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## Ritualization - Hybridization - Fragmentation

### The Mutability of Roman Vessels in Germania Magna AD 1–400

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RITUALIZATION – HYBRIDIZATION – FRAGMENTATION



Fredrik Ekengren

RITUALIZATION – HYBRIDIZATION – FRAGMENTATION  
THE MUTABILITY OF ROMAN VESSELS IN GERMANIA MAGNA AD 1-400

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# 1. PRELIMINARIES

Vessels of Roman manufacture discovered in Germanic contexts are by tradition given great importance in Roman Iron Age research. Ever since they first began to receive sizable scholarly attention in the nineteenth century their presence has been instrumental in the cultural-historical interpretations of the period, and a considerable amount of literature has been published on the subject. Scandinavian scholars like J.J.A. Worsaae, C.F. Wiberg and S. Müller were among the first to outline the extent of Roman and Germanic interactions, as well as to argue the importance of these interactions for the cultural development of the North European peoples.<sup>1</sup> These studies represented the launch of a research tradition which endeavoured to map all the known finds of Roman vessels in the Germanic areas, with origin, distribution, typology, as well as the character and chronological situation of the trade and exchange, as the main focal points.<sup>2</sup> The most influential example of this undertaking is H.J. Eggers' *Der römische Import im freien Germanien* from 1951, whose extensive compilation of Roman objects, together with his chronological study from 1955, forms an important basis for much of Roman Iron Age research even today.<sup>3</sup>

During the 1950s and 1960s, European archaeology became increasingly influenced by the neoevolutionistic currents within American anthropology, which also came to affect Iron Age research particularly in Great Britain and Scandinavia. While German and Polish scholars very much retained their cultural-historical perspective, other scholars became more interested in processual analyses and models in order to approach the nature of the Roman and Germanic contacts. This trend was a very deliberate repudiation of the cultural-historical approach. Within this theoretical framework the methodological focus was placed on comparisons between cultures on a presumed identical evolutionary level, and thus the use of ethnographic analogies became the foundation for this movement. Functional and processual perspectives became important, and patterns in the material culture were often explained with reference

<sup>1</sup> Worsaae 1854; Wiberg 1867; Müller 1874.

<sup>2</sup> This has produced a vast literature, of which a complete review lies beyond the scope of this study, e.g. Ekholm 1974 (articles published between 1933 and 1965); Klindt-Jensen 1950; Eggers 1951; Kunow 1983; Lund Hansen 1987; Berke 1990; Erdrich 2001.

<sup>3</sup> Eggers 1951; 1955.

to economic factors. One example of this approach within studies on the Roman Iron Age is L. Hedeager's article from 1979 where she interpreted the distribution of Roman imports in Germania Magna as the manifestation of three different economic zones, reflecting different levels and intensities of contact.

With this approach came an increasing interest in the underlying reasons why Roman vessels were imported and used by the Germanic peoples. In Hedeager's article, the concept of prestige goods was introduced for the first time as a specific analytical concept in Roman Iron Age research. While German scholars, such as J. Kunow in his 1983 study on *Der römische Import in der Germania libera bis zu den Markomannenkriegen*, continued their interest in trade relations, trade routes, distribution patterns, as well as chronological and typological problems, this interest in the ideological and political background to the Roman vessels was taken further by several scholars, for instance U. Lund Hansen in her thesis from 1987, *Römischer Import im Norden: Warenaustausch zwischen dem Römischen Reich und dem freien Germanien während der Kaiserzeit unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Nordeuropas*. While providing an updated documentation and analysis of this particular suite of material culture, as well as the subsequent chronology of the region, she also discussed the relationship between distribution patterns, trade and the political organization. A further attempt to analyse the Roman imports in their socio-political setting was made by Hedeager in her thesis *Iron-Age Societies: From tribe to state in Northern Europe, 500 BC to AD 700*, first published in Danish in 1990 and later in English in 1992. She postulated that the exchange of Roman goods in the Roman Iron Age reflected the presence of a prestige goods economy, which in turn was instrumental in the region's transition from a tribal society to an early state. The imported Roman objects were viewed as luxury goods, as exotica, which were used and redistributed by the social elite as material symbols in order to demonstrate power as well as forge alliances which would further their political control. This political-ideological line of interpretation, of which Hedeager's thesis is only one example, has exerted great influence on the modern view of Roman imports as well as the social reconstructions of the period in question, at least among Scandinavian scholars. In modern-day continental research there is also an increasing focus on Roman imports as signs of influences of a more ideological nature, particularly regarding the importance of trade relations in Roman political manoeuvring of the Germanic tribes.<sup>4</sup>

## 1.1 AIM OF THE STUDY

Although the bulk of current research still concentrates on issues such as trade, typology, chronology and prestige, the number of studies that depart – to a larger or lesser degree – from these themes is increasing. These studies rarely have the same geographical or chronological scope as those mentioned above, but they are more open to new theoretical perspectives on the imported objects, for instance theories brought from the fields of sociology and post-colonial studies.<sup>5</sup> While many of them deal with issues of

<sup>4</sup> E.g. Tejral 1995a:225.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. Fernstål 2003; Ingemark 2003; Fernstål 2004; Ekengren 2005; 2006; Ströbeck 2006; Hjørungdal 2007; 2008.

symbolic and ideological function of the imported objects, few have thoroughly discussed the issue of material culture *transformation*. By this I mean the way externally introduced objects were culturally interpreted and consequently changed with regard to their function and meaning.

Since the Roman vessels were brought to Germania Magna from outside the area and then incorporated within Germanic society, it is in my opinion vital to study them using perspectives that acknowledge *interpretation* and *transformation* as important elements in cultural interaction. We thus need perspectives that help us understand what occurs when a category of foreign objects is appropriated by a society; what happens in the encounter between local traditions and new social situations and new material culture, and what those encounters result in. The aim of this thesis is to explore these questions in a number of case studies, which are outlined in the following chapter. Although the questions are demanding, I believe they provide us with a new approach to the Roman vessels within a challenging theoretical template, which in turn may add to the continuing debate concerning this familiar group of material evidence.





## 2. THE CULTURAL EMBEDDEDNESS OF THINGS – NAVIGATING BETWEEN TRANSMISSION AND TRANSFORMATION

Trying to discern the implicit theoretical standpoints behind much of the previous research on Roman imports, one promptly discovers undercurrents that unite past and present analyses in their outlook regarding both the nature of material culture and the nature of cultural interaction. In my view, one of the most critical of these undercurrents is the diffusionistically orientated perspective on culture, seeking to understand the spread of cultural traits, such as objects, over large distances. Although the term *diffusion* itself does not have a prominent place in the earlier studies, the underpinnings behind the discussions of trade routes and chronological divisions, and their view on *material culture in motion*, is very much coloured by the scholarly discourse of the early twentieth century (particularly cultivated in anthropology) wherein diffusionism was an actively used theoretical and interpretative model. Here, cultures were regarded as bounded, localized wholes. And given the marked differences in social and economic structures between the Roman and Germanic societies, this perspective subsequently outlined a clearly asymmetrical giver-receiver relationship, with civilization spreading in one direction from a dominant, in this case Roman, culture to a lesser recipient. Although many theoretical revisions have taken place within anthropology and archaeology that certainly have challenged the diffusionistic view in a number of ways, its ethnocentric ideas linger on within much Roman Iron Age study. And the interpretative consequences of this are still felt today. Even though scholars nowadays are more nuanced in their view of Roman and Germanic interaction, the focus of their explanations still very much lies on how dominant foreign elements affect and diverge indigenous cultural traits. As a consequence the asymmetrical perspective is retained, and any dialectical relationships between cultures overlooked.

Underlying this asymmetrical viewpoint on cultural interactions we may observe traditionally deep-rooted attitudes towards culture and civilization rivalling those of the European colonial powers in their encounter with distant cultures. Although the presumed ignorance and savagery of the barbarians was occasionally matched in strength in some scholarly treatises by the claimed decadent life of the Mediterranean cultures, the Roman Empire with its roots in Greek culture still held its ground as the cradle of Western culture and the active bringer of civilization to the passive inhabitants beyond its borders.

Coupled with a static view of material culture, this bias has caused many interpretative problems in Roman Iron Age studies. When we archaeologists encounter artefacts of past societies, we instinctively feel the need to give them labels and names in order to understand them and provide them with meaning. Accordingly, the unfamiliar objects found in Germanic contexts became *Roman* since scholars could identify them with other, similar artefacts found in the area that once constituted the Roman Empire. But by labelling them as *Roman* they were also, intentionally or unintentionally, assigned with much more than simply a provenance. They were fraught with meanings of a more cultural or ideological nature. So when, for instance, nineteenth-century scholars labelled the graves furnished with objects of Roman origin as “Roman graves”, or as the graves of Romano-Greek priests among refined barbarians, they automatically transferred several presupposed connotations to this suite of material culture.<sup>6</sup> By doing this, scholars transformed the objects from being manufactured within the boundaries of the Roman Empire to being *Roman*, even outside their original setting. In this way material culture was detached from human practice, and viewed as static containers for an equally static content. Therefore most scholars regarded the presence of Roman material culture in the areas outside the borders of the Empire as the result of cultural transmission, since they saw the transmitted objects as containers of cultural ideas and values. A comparable static view of material culture may be recognized in later studies of imported Roman objects utilizing the so-called prestige goods model developed by S. Frankenstein and M.J. Rowlands in the 1970s.<sup>7</sup> This model, constructed to assist archaeologists in grasping the development of social hierarchies, focuses not merely on the wealth that imported material culture may bring, but more specifically on how imported material culture may be used to strengthen social stratification. Emphasis is put on the social value of foreign objects and their role in social and political organization within the local communities. In this model the acquisition, display, and further distribution of these objects are of vital importance for the creation and augmenting of political power in society. They are symbols of power and their desirability rests in their exotic origin, which accordingly facilitates their ostentatious use. Employed to explain the presence of Roman drinking vessels in Germanic mortuary contexts, this model has, somewhat drastically put, generated a picture of how a Roman way of banqueting was imported by the Germanic peoples, and how their elite sought to elevate themselves by showing knowledge of civilized Roman customs.<sup>8</sup>

As we can see here, the notion of culture is often stiffly utilized. To facilitate comparisons in order to grasp similarities and differences in time and space, cultures are often conceived of as separate and bound cultural entities. Studies of cultural interaction therefore often render cultural interaction as the meeting of two homogeneous, although often unequal, units. This outlook was a general trend in the early twentieth-century studies of culture and history, particularly in anthropology, but offshoots managed to linger on within some areas of archaeology towards the end of the century.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. Lisch 1838:56; Wiberg 1867:42; Lisch 1870.

<sup>7</sup> Frankenstein & Rowlands 1978; cf. Hedeager 1987; 1992.

<sup>8</sup> This line of interpretation is present in numerous scholarly contributions, either explicitly or implicitly, e.g. Hedeager & Kristiansen 1982; Lund Hansen 1987; Hedeager 1992; Ravn 2003; von Carnap-Bornheim 2006; cf. Thompson 1965 for an early example of a similar sentiment.

But during the last decades the focus has slowly started to shift as a result of the increasing influence of contemporary social theory. The breakdown of the old colonial powers following the Second World War generated a focus within modern social theory on various aspects of globalization and cultural mobility. An important part of this post-colonial outlook was the de-essentialization of the concept of culture. Its critique contained the deconstruction of the idea of cultures as homogeneous and pure entities, and it contested the image of individuals and groups as passive participants or passive receivers of culture.<sup>9</sup> Instead the attention was directed towards social and cultural practice and the ways in which individuals and groups experience and envisage themselves and their physical and social milieu. In this line of research, critical concepts such as cultural hybridization, syncretism and creolization are used as a means to disengage from the idea of homogeneous cultures and to capture the dynamic fusions of various cultural practices through the constant and ongoing processes of transnational human interaction. Due to their links to the post-structuralist and post-modern discourse, these post-colonial perspectives on culture and change have also found their way into post-processual studies in archaeology. Several studies (although rarely concerning Northern Europe in the Iron Age<sup>10</sup>) are now witnessing a gradual move away from the essentialistic notion of culture through the use of post-colonial theory. With regard to the study of Roman and Germanic interaction, this alternative angle on culture forces us to reassess our view of the Roman versus the Germanic. The concepts used to denote features and practices as Roman, foreign, Germanic, or native/indigenous are often necessary, but must be spacious and flexible enough to allow for these features and practices to cut across our preconceived cultural boundaries. Furthermore, it forces us to acknowledge the fact that societies on a seemingly superior level of social and economic complexity do not necessarily serve as the cultural role models for more “peripheral” areas.

## 2.1 THE DIFFUSIONIST’S BLIND SPOT

Behind concepts such as Roman imports, Roman influences, chieftains, elite, and prestige featured in numerous studies, one may often distinguish a perspective on historical and social development as the desired result of individuals who deliberately used material culture as instruments in their aspirations for power. This has spawned several studies where the funerary practices, which form the main operational context of the imports in Germania Magna, are considered as a reflection of the socio-political status of the deceased. The graves and their grave goods are employed as a blueprint for calculating the complexity of the social structures outside the boundaries of the mortuary context. Because of their presumed exotic origin, vessels and other objects of Roman manufacture are seen as an especially lavish form of grave goods and consequently considered a reliable indicator of high status.<sup>11</sup> This attitude towards mortuary remains, where an archaeologically calculated degree of “energy” or wealth spent on the ritual

<sup>9</sup> E.g. Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 2003 for an overview on the subject.

<sup>10</sup> For exceptions, cf. Fernstål 2003; Svanberg 2003; Fernstål 2004; Hjørungdal 2007; 2008.

<sup>11</sup> E.g. Ethelberg 2000:193–198; cf. Tainter 1975.

and the grave goods determines the level of social standing, has been criticized within the archaeological theoretical debate for years, mainly because it often lacks an approach to the question *why* a given set of objects or actions was used as a sign of identity and rank. It also often disregards the question of how intentionality may affect the archaeological record.<sup>12</sup>

A vital question born out of a critical review of this traditional approach is whether the social importance of cultural interactions is assessable through mere quantifications of the archaeologically preserved exotic objects. This problem was approached by E.M. Schortman and P.A. Urban, who pointed out the possibility for systems of interaction where objects were exchanged on a relatively small scale, but still played a vital role in the construction of regional and interregional hierarchies.<sup>13</sup> According to them, the assumption that the volume of exchange corresponds to the socio-political importance of the interregional contacts is baseless. I. Hodder made a similar point in his studies in the Baringo district of Kenya, when he illustrated the very selective process of exchange.<sup>14</sup> He observed that only limited ranges of objects were exchanged between the neighbouring tribes, regardless of the daily interaction between them. Here we clearly see that some objects were more appropriate than others in an exchange situation. The question is why. Again Schortman and Urban draw our attention to the fact that objects and ideas that travel between societies may have different meanings depending on which groups they come in contact with.<sup>15</sup> Although they argued for the probability that the function and meaning of the ideas and objects were transmitted in the exchanges, they also admitted to the possibility that these may just as well have been transformed in the crossing from one society to another.

Even though we should not undervalue the attraction of Roman material culture for the communities outside its borders, it is imperative that we challenge the casual and mechanical attitudes towards Roman and Germanic exchange that often fail to appreciate the dynamics of cultural interaction. Quite often traditional studies focus on the presumed prestigious value of exotic objects, and overlook the processes within the exchange situation, as well as in the daily use of these objects in the receiving society, through which these values were created and/or negotiated. But as several anthropological scholars have pointed out, we cannot simplistically speak of a society in terms of a uniform economic formation, such as the prestige goods economy.<sup>16</sup> In order to grasp the dynamics of interaction we have to focus on discerning how the imported objects were used and given meaning within the local context.

Consequently, if we want to understand the function and meaning of objects of Roman origin in Germanic mortuary practices, we need a different set of conceptual tools from those currently on offer in most studies of the Roman Iron Age. Therefore, we must acknowledge interpretation and transformation as an integral part of cultural interaction. Within other archaeologies in recent decades (particularly in British, Swedish and Norwegian archaeology dealing with Stone Age or Bronze Age scenarios), similar problems concerning influences and appropriation of foreign material-culture

<sup>12</sup> E.g. Härke 1994; Hodder 1995.

<sup>13</sup> Schortman & Urban 1992:236f.

<sup>14</sup> Hodder 1982b.

<sup>15</sup> Schortman & Urban 1992:237.

<sup>16</sup> E.g. Thomas 1991:50.

have been broached with the aid of perspectives from contemporary social theory. From having previously been concerned with mainly questions about form, function, origin and circulation, we have now witnessed a shift to questions concerning the meaning of objects, especially in relation to social practice. Today, material culture is often viewed in terms of communication; as expressions, or even agents in their own right, rather than merely products, of cultural and social categories and relationships. This shift in approach can also be seen in other material culture studies, and has had a great impact on cultural analysis.

## 2.2 FROM STRUCTURE TO DIALECTICS

In social theory, several attempts have been made to bridge the gap between perspectives focusing on social structures as determining human behaviour on the one hand, and perspectives focusing on human practice and its structuring powers on the other. These discussions, mainly developed in the writings of P. Bourdieu and A. Giddens and the various applications and expansions of their theories of practice and structuration,<sup>17</sup> were greeted with much enthusiasm in archaeological theory in the 1980s,<sup>18</sup> mainly because they gave equal weight to human practice and the structures, social as well as material, in relation to which these practices take place. With questions regarding the function and meaning of foreign material culture within social practice as the focal point in my study, this perspective is relevant since it may assist us in illuminating the above-mentioned questions of interaction, interpretation and transformation.

Taking their beginning in the late 1970s, Bourdieu's theory of practice and Giddens's theory of structuration established a dialectic way of regarding human agency, social practice, and the structures surrounding these. According to their perspective, social structures, traditions, conventions, cultural categories and schemas, etc. are shaped through human action, and these structures are in turn the background grid or medium through which further action is generated. Embodied in individuals or groups through processes of socialization, these structures take the form of cultural and social knowledge and experiences – a sort of cognitive structure, which Bourdieu labelled *habitus*,<sup>19</sup> that impacts on the way people think and act in social situations. Human action and reaction are in other words not simply the result of external conditions, but rather brought into being through the interaction between embodied structures and social situations.

This encounter between embodied structures and social circumstances generates what the social sciences refer to as *agency*. This concept signifies not the intentions behind practice, but rather the ability to act altogether caused by the conscious or unconscious apprehension of the social situation.<sup>20</sup> Within archaeology, the notion of agency was brought into the theoretical debate in the 1980s as a reaction to the previously common concept of *behaviour*, whereby human action was viewed in a very

<sup>17</sup> E.g. Bourdieu 2000; Giddens 1979; 2001.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Pader 1982; Shanks & Tilley 1992; Hodder 1995.

<sup>19</sup> Bourdieu 2000:78–87; cf. Giddens 2001:19, 25.

<sup>20</sup> Giddens 2001:9.



objectivistic sense as mere reactions to external forces.<sup>21</sup> And the vitality in the theories of practice and structuration that attracted archaeologists to them in the first place came from the recognition that structure, agency and practice were dependent upon each other. Agency, as J.C. Barrett carefully pointed out, is not formed in a vacuum, but in both physical and historical contexts.<sup>22</sup> He emphasized that practice, time, space and agency penetrate each other. Agency is formed through knowledge, experiences and actions, and these actions are the outcome of the convergence of time, space, and agency. Consequently we must not regard agency as an independent and timeless object. It cannot exist beyond time, space and the resourceful dialectics between knowledgeable human agents and social practice.

This dependence between embodied structures, time, space, human agents and the social situations they enter is summarized in Giddens's concept of *duality of structure*.<sup>23</sup> According to this, humans, through their social practices, create, re-create and transform the social structures they live in. These structures are in turn the circumstances within which further social practice come to pass. When persons enter into social situations, they carry with them social knowledge and experiences which function as the lens through which the situation is interpreted. While this knowledge and these experiences, both discursive and non-discursive, set the framework for the comprehension of social situations, they are at the same time enabling since the result of this interpretation then forms the basis for action. And as soon as a person has acted, he/she has contributed a new precedent and consequently created new knowledge and experiences, whether the result of the action is intentional or not. According to M. Sahlins, who has also developed his social theories along these lines, the cultural categories acquire new values because they are "burdened with the world".<sup>24</sup> Action is in other words cumulative, and structure must be viewed as a process in a constant state of reconstitution.<sup>25</sup> Since the process of structuration is formed in the dialectic relationship between structure and practice, the same practice may consequently have different meanings for different groups, which is an important point to consider when studying cultural interaction. Also, the knowledge and experiences are transposable, which means that they may be applied to social situations beyond the context within which they were first learnt.<sup>26</sup>

## 2.2.1 TRADITION AND TRANSFORMATION

These perspectives open up fruitful avenues for the study of foreign material culture as they move our focus away from mere chronological and typological issues, as well as questions of the geographical distribution of objects, to the specific situations in which the objects were put to use and their meaning was produced and conveyed. So, when confronted by something unknown or foreign, people strive to *make sense* of it

<sup>21</sup> Hodder 2000:22; cf. Wobst 2000:40.

<sup>22</sup> Barrett 2000:62.

<sup>23</sup> Giddens 2001:25ff; cf. Sahlins 1985:144f., 149, 152-156.

<sup>24</sup> Sahlins 1985:138.

<sup>25</sup> For theoretical deliberation on the same concept within archaeology, cf. Barrett 2000: 61f; Wobst 2000:40.

<sup>26</sup> Bourdieu 2000:82f.

in the full active meaning of the expression. That is, the foreign is confronted with past knowledge and experiences and thus placed within the already existing frame of reference. This frame of reference is in turn widened in the process.

There are a number of inspirational authors from other academic fields working along similar avenues towards the study of structuration of cultural elements in different settings, including their reproduction and transformation. Within the study of folklore, comparable sentiments are gathered around the rather eclectic notion of “tradition-ecology”, which I find closely intertwined with the practice-theoretical discourse and thus worthy of note in this framework of cultural study. This contextual approach was first and foremost outlined by the Finnish ethnologist L. Honko in the 1980s and primarily used in comparative studies of oral poetry.<sup>27</sup> Tradition, in this perspective, is defined as the cultural practices and elements shared by a social group. They are passed on from generation to generation, or introduced and adopted from outside the social group.<sup>28</sup> Of the different forms of cultural transformations of traditions discussed in this perspective, it is mainly the so-called tradition-morphological adaptation and functional adaptation that I find relevant for this discussion.<sup>29</sup>

Tradition-morphological adaptation is when foreign elements of a tradition enter into a new cultural context. Within this approach the diffusionistic outlook is overturned, and instead it is the cultural structuration of traditions that stands to the fore. Just as social scientists emphasize the duality of structure, so the tradition-ecological perspective has as its starting point the basic fact that a tradition must have a function and meaning within the mindset of the social groups that (re)produce it in order to survive, and that the learning and appropriation of new cultural elements is an intercultural event. Passing through the cultural filters of the local setting, i.e. interpreted through the already existing structure, the new elements are either rejected or transformed into something culturally comprehensible, and organized in ways that facilitate their further use.<sup>30</sup> Honko stated:

Without alternatives, without the potential for adoption and rejection, without the adaptation of available elements into contemporary systems of interests and values, without social control and interpretation, no tradition can pass into culture.<sup>31</sup>

Consequently, the way cultural elements move in time and space is not considered a straightforward matter. The focus is rather on how elements of traditions are formed, how they may migrate, how they are selected, learnt, adapted and used, how they develop further and how they eventually disappear.<sup>32</sup>

While the tradition-morphological adaptations produce long-lasting changes observable only over a period of time, the form of cultural transformation labelled as functional adaptation pertains to the more fleeting transformations of function and

<sup>27</sup> Note in particular Honko 1981b; 1993.

<sup>28</sup> Honko 1988:10.

<sup>29</sup> Honko 1981a:23–26.

<sup>30</sup> Honko 1981a:24; 1981b:30, 35–39; 1993:51f.

<sup>31</sup> Honko 1981b:36f; 1988:11.

<sup>32</sup> Honko 1981b:28.

meaning generated when the traditional elements are utilized in a specific performance or situation. Although these transformations seldom have a lasting effect, they are an important part of a tradition. According to Honko:

it produces constant variation according to the unique features of the situation and represents a sort of final polishing in the adaptation process. It contains both the general social function and the specific communicative function of a tradition product in a certain context.<sup>33</sup>

Both the tradition-morphological and the functional adaptations reinforce the notions previously observed in practice theory. Furthermore, Honko emphasized that direct contacts with foreign cultures are quantitatively rare in a person's life. Instead, the majority of cultural elements are appropriated and understood as the person's own culture, regardless of their possible foreign origin.<sup>34</sup>

This line of reasoning may clearly be correlated to some of the discussions in literary theory regarding memory, time and tradition as cultural phenomena, as well as studies of the psychodynamics of oral cultures. In this respect I find the works of A. Assmann, W.J. Ong and M.E.F. Bloch especially thought-provoking.

According to Assmann, the concept of tradition is intimately connected with cultural memory. Tradition, as well as memory, is the interlinking of the past and the present in thought and practice.<sup>35</sup> The concepts of tradition and memory may thus, in the lingo of practice theory, be seen as another way of expressing the discursive or non-discursive knowledge and experiences that through the duality of structure are burdened with the world (as Sahlins<sup>36</sup> put it) and thus gradually transformed. The discursive and non-discursive knowledge and experiences shared within a social group are also central for keeping the group together, for maintaining the group's integrity. Shared memories and traditions create a sense of unity and kinship. Indeed, the structures, or traditions if one will, may in themselves be regarded as cultural strategies for continuity since, by filtering unfamiliar elements and adapting to new social situations, they create links between the past, the present and the future.<sup>37</sup> Thus, although social groups may be part of larger cultural networks, it is not certain that this fact is strategically articulated or made visual in any certain way. In fact, some anthropologically studied societies are instead known to express this link to greater cultural and economic milieus by dressing it the language of tradition rather than rendering it as something foreign and external, and apparently some do not even experience their society as entangled in these networks at all.<sup>38</sup> But that is not to say that they are not influenced by them. This is rather an example of a cultural strategy of continuity.

Memory and tradition are, in other words, something that is produced. Bloch pointed out that when it comes to recollections and narratives about the past, what

<sup>33</sup> Honko 1981a:27; cf. 1981b:39f.

<sup>34</sup> Honko 1981b:30.

<sup>35</sup> E.g. Assmann 2004:113.

<sup>36</sup> Sahlins 1985:138.

<sup>37</sup> Assmann 2004:184.

<sup>38</sup> E.g. Sahlins 1985; Thomas 1991.



is said never can be equated with what actually happened.<sup>39</sup> Only through an act of appropriation, whereby the past is transformed in agreement with the cultural schema of the present, are past events able to form the basis for memories and narratives.<sup>40</sup> He also showed that two differing narratives concerning the same event may exist side by side in a community without creating a conflict and without one narrative dominating the other or representing the “true” account of things passed. Rather, their suitability is highly dependent on context.<sup>41</sup> Consequently, Bloch considered the past to be an “ever changing resource” from which different narratives can be evoked depending on the social context of the recollecting person.<sup>42</sup>

Most of the cultures studied by Honko and Bloch are predominantly oral, that is, cultures that do not have a developed system of writing. According to Ong’s studies of the psychodynamics of oral cultures with regard to narration, the oral-based consciousness has consequences for how knowledge is retained and narratively conveyed. Memories in oral cultures are very much dependent upon their significance in the present social situation for their survival. Memories that are no longer relevant are not preserved. Words are not static, like those bound in text, but dependent on the circumstances in which they are uttered for their survival. Meaning is thus formed through context. But this meaning is also to some extent a product of the words’ previous meanings, which form a framework for their use and the creation of new meaning.<sup>43</sup> Literacy, on the other hand, has a different kind of structuring influence on the psyche. Literate cultures use text to bind together and organize their content. This requires a level of abstraction which detaches the narratively structured knowledge from the arena of social practice. In other words, knowledge is separated from the knowledgeable agent, who is consequently distanced from the receiver of the narrative (the reader).<sup>44</sup> In oral cultures, however, knowledge is often situational and aggregative rather than abstract and analytic. It is the interlinking of personal and situational knowledge and experiences that shapes the interpretation and understanding of the milieu. Therefore its members strive to grasp the total context of a situation.<sup>45</sup> This is why they sometimes have trouble analysing and evaluating themselves in ways familiar to members of literate cultures, for it requires them to detach from the centre of the situation.<sup>46</sup>

Since knowledge in oral cultures is aggregative, people learn through examples, by listening and repeating, by combining and compiling proverbs and by appropriating other kinds of formulaic material. Storing and remembering all this knowledge thus requires noetical structures of a markedly different kind than in literate cultures, which to a large degree depend on texts for this function. Narrative repetition of formulaic elements and themes is the key if knowledge is to survive in an oral culture. These elements and themes are then brought together and arranged into narratives depending on the social situation. This is how their storytellers manage to remember long and surprisingly

<sup>39</sup> Bloch 1998:100.

<sup>40</sup> Bloch 1998:122.

<sup>41</sup> Bloch 1998:108.

<sup>42</sup> Bloch 1998:119.

<sup>43</sup> Ong 1991:60f.

<sup>44</sup> Ong 1991:57.

<sup>45</sup> Ong 1991:70f.

<sup>46</sup> Ong 1991:68f.

complex stories, seemingly without effort. Although these narratives, due to their formulaic elements and themes, may give the appearance of being ageless and unchanged, the themes are never static; they transform in conjunction with social change. If they are to remain relevant and functional in society they must be adapted to the existing social circumstances. Variation and transformation are therefore never trivial or random, but must be seen as a requisite for the survival of the structure. Interestingly enough for our sake, these transformations and adaptations, as well as the introduction of new themes and concepts, always work within the intellectual system, and because of this the new elements are not perceived as contradictory with previously existing traditions.<sup>47</sup> So even if the function and meaning of a tradition may have changed over the course of time, in its outward appearance the tradition characteristically upholds an air of continuity.

## 2.3 CONSUMPTION AS PRODUCTION

Within archaeology as well as material culture studies in anthropology, scholars have been keen on integrating the concept of material culture with theories that acknowledge the relationship between agency, practice and transformation – in other words, to make clear the social connection between people and material culture. For as Dobres and Robb pointed out in their introduction to *Agency in Archaeology*, the dialectic perspective on structure and agency has significant consequences for the way we look at patterns and variations in material culture.<sup>48</sup>

While the majority of Roman Iron Age scholars often address the symbolic properties of objects, they rarely address the question of how material culture and its meanings are formed through social processes. This strikes me as somewhat remarkable since the concept of material culture itself, arguably the most essential concept in archaeology, refers to material objects in their social and cultural context; that is to say, the circumstances in which objects are made, used and interpreted.<sup>49</sup> Material culture is not just physically manufactured, but also socially constructed. As T. Dant pointed out:

Much more of our daily lives is spent interacting with material objects than interacting with other people. Even when not actually handling them, our contact with objects is often continuous and intimate in comparison with our contact with people.<sup>50</sup>

So everything in the material world that humans cultivate and interact with becomes part of a social dimension. Or as M. Douglas stated: “objects constitute social systems and would have no recognizability if they did not.”<sup>51</sup> In other words the material world is transformed into social system through practice.

<sup>47</sup> Ong 1991:55f.

<sup>48</sup> Dobres & Robb 2000:8.

<sup>49</sup> Dant 1999:11.

<sup>50</sup> Dant 1999:15.

<sup>51</sup> Douglas 1994:20.

As emphasized earlier, agency cannot exist detached from time and space. Rather it “fashion[s] itself within materially and historically specific conditions”.<sup>52</sup> Bourdieu expressed this by claiming that the mind is “born of the world of objects.”<sup>53</sup> The objects are in a constant state of dialogue with humans, since it is through material culture that humans create themselves.<sup>54</sup> It forms the physical landscape in which social interaction take place, and may thus be used to grasp and define the cultural context in which persons are situated. All human action, including the creation of material culture, occurs in the presence of *artefactual precedents* that form the references for our choices and actions.<sup>55</sup> Material culture is therefore central in the creation, recreation and maintenance of social life. But it is likewise important to emphasize that the material context for action is not just a backdrop, but that it also in return is formed, interpreted and structured through action.<sup>56</sup> It is the outcome of actions that in turn have been formed and restricted by knowledge and experiences that were activated in a given situation. This is the reason why scholars like Barrett and K.J. Fewster preferred to compare material culture not to a structurally bound text, but rather to a spoken discourse.<sup>57</sup> In the textual analogy, the underlying structures (the grammar) dominate and shape the form of the text, and this gives little room for human agency. The idea of the spoken discourse, on the other hand, is more in line with the dialectics of Giddensian ontology since it focuses on the spatial and temporal framework (comparable to the ideas put forward by Ong, as mentioned above) as well as the connections to the social structures of which it is part.

Within archaeology, scholars often speak of the prehistoric use of foreign material culture in terms of consumption, often labelling it as *conspicuous consumption* referring to the objects’ presumed exotic or luxury qualities. However, from a perspective informed by practice theory it is clear that this consumption also must be regarded as a form of *production*.<sup>58</sup> As mentioned earlier, the context of human practice is something that is created and structured in the action itself. The context is in other words not pre-set, but created, delimited and interpreted in connection with practice. The material surroundings are consequently open to a large variety of readings and interpretations depending on the person’s disposition. By means of these embodied structures, the extent and limits of the context are defined and the relevant similarities and differences identified against which the object is then defined, given meaning and a place within people’s understanding.<sup>59</sup> “It is from the discursive context that desire for objects emerges; to know what one wants, one first has to know what it is and what it can do.”<sup>60</sup> Each interpretation of an object must thus refer to already organized and encircled knowledge and experiences. But at the same time as this occurs, the interpretation creates new precedents, which consequently changes the context in which further understandings

<sup>52</sup> Barrett 2000:62.

<sup>53</sup> Bourdieu 2000:91.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Miller 1987:15; Riggins 1994:2.

<sup>55</sup> Wobst 2000:41; cf. Lubar 1993:197.

<sup>56</sup> Giddens 1979:83; cf. Hodder 1988; Dant 1999:11; Wobst 2000:41.

<sup>57</sup> Barrett & Fewster 2000:32 with ref. to Giddens 1979:20, 203.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. de Creteau 1984:xii.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Hodder 1988:68f; Park 1994:149.

<sup>60</sup> Dant 1999:57.

of material culture are formed. The function and meanings of a set of material culture is therefore different depending on who is observing and making use of it.

Through practice theory, material culture may be seen both as part of the structure that affects human action and as a result of these actions. Viewing material culture as part of the artefactual precedents that surround humans is not far from regarding it as infused with history; that material culture is a part of the mnemonic apparatus with which human actions and expressions are formed as well as accumulated. Using the expression of Assmann, one might say that material culture is part of the cultural strategies for continuity.<sup>61</sup> This perspective is also significant for our understanding of the presence of foreign material culture in the local archaeological record. These objects were, as mentioned above, put in relation to previous knowledge and experiences and were thus interpreted and given a place within people's understanding. But instead of being part of the formation of new traditions of foreign origin, which is the usual social interpretation of their presence, they might equally well be instrumental in the assertion of native traditions.<sup>62</sup> Since novelties in material culture are usually most acceptable in already known and established contexts,<sup>63</sup> it is not seldom the case that they are also understood in terms of the functions and meanings of already known categories. In other words, a symbolic link is forged between the new elements and the already existing ones.<sup>64</sup> Honko made a similar point regarding tradition-morphological adaptation when he stated that the foreign cultural elements are often considered by the native population as old and deep-rooted parts of already existing traditions.<sup>65</sup> The past is thus re-constructed based on the present situation, and material culture is important in this process. But it is often in the interest of the cultural time construction to claim otherwise; to argue for continuity even in the face of innovation and change.<sup>66</sup> Simply put; foreign elements may be used to reaffirm tradition, or be characterized as long-established, and thus be seen as part of a continual practice instead of as novelties whose existence in a society is solely based on their presumed outlandishness. If the objects are not integrated in the society, cognitively as well as functionally, then they will be unable to acquire a prominent place within social practice. However, this does not mean that the objects of exotic origin were not relevant factors in the meaning production surrounding them.

Material culture as well as traditions are constantly interpreted and reconfigured in order to continue their function and meaning in society. As Ong pointed out, oral cultures live in the present,<sup>67</sup> given that structures, social as well as material, no longer relevant to the present situation are consequently not maintained. Meaning is formed through context, but this meaning is also very much a product of previous connotations that form a framework for its use and the creation of new meaning. Thus material culture is assigned meaning that relates to contemporary society, and its meaning is very likely subject to change, depending on social changes. Age-old memories and narratives involving material culture are thus gradually transformed in accordance

<sup>61</sup> Assmann 2004:184.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Park 1994.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Hodder 1988:73.

<sup>64</sup> Thomas 1991:105f.

<sup>65</sup> Honko 1988:10.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Hobsbawm 1983:1f.; Ong 1991:55f.; Hodder 1993:270; Assmann 2004:184.

<sup>67</sup> Ong 1991:60.

with their present socio-cultural context. A perspective focusing on interpretation and transformation therefore does not only apply to foreign material culture that is appropriated by a society; already existing material culture is also continually interpreted and transformed in accordance with society.

The problem with the dominant research tradition concerning the Roman Iron Age lies in its often rather mechanical view of inter-cultural contacts and exchange. This is evident in its approach to cultural transmission that often disregards creative processes (what I have referred to as *interpretation* and *transformation*) and entails cultural patterns being discarded in favour of new ones. But the likelihood that cultural elements are transmitted unchanged at the expense of previously existing traditions is rather small, as is evident from the discussions above. In my opinion we must therefore subvert the traditional notion of transmission in favour of perspectives that acknowledge transformation. Thus I consider the concept of *appropriation* as more apt to use in studies of interaction and exchange. Because of its attentiveness to the duality of structure, it captures the hermeneutic process of interpretation and conceptualization of material culture, that in turn leads to new knowledge and understanding and in so doing transforms the ones who appropriate.<sup>68</sup>

From this outlook, changes in the contexts of material culture may indicate changes in the objects functions and/or meanings.<sup>69</sup> As D. Miller pointed out, the consumption of an object does not end with its “purchase”; it is only the beginning of a long process through which the object is appropriated and recontextualized.<sup>70</sup> This dynamic perspective on material culture as both the objects and subjects of cultural change clearly falls in line with practice theory and the idea of the duality of structure.<sup>71</sup> As for example S.B. Ortner emphasized, practice theory is about the “conversion, or translation, between internal dynamics and external forces.” These external forces, she argued, are always deciphered and transformed with reference to the internal structures.<sup>72</sup> Material culture, in this framework, is invested with social life.

One of the anthropological scholars who have extensively studied the social life of material culture is A. Appadurai.<sup>73</sup> Dealing primarily with the social differences between gifts and commodities, he argued that objects may have different meanings depending on contexts. According to M. Mauss, whose work on gifts and gift-giving has been highly influential in archaeological studies of interaction and material culture, the exchange relation of gifts forms a social bond of indebtedness between the giver and the receiver.<sup>74</sup> The objects that are given become imbued with histories reflecting the social relationships, and are thus considered inalienable. Appadurai, however, was careful to point out the risks of viewing objects and their meaning as unchanging in situations of exchange. According to him no value is intrinsic but rather formed and transformed through social practice. He preferred to speak of different situations, phases and contexts in the social life of things, and stated that objects may move between different

<sup>68</sup> Ricoeur 1981:178, 191–193.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Hodder 1988:69.

<sup>70</sup> Miller 1987:190.

<sup>71</sup> E.g. Giddens 2001:25.

<sup>72</sup> Ortner 1989:200.

<sup>73</sup> Appadurai 1986.

<sup>74</sup> Mauss 2000.

regimes of value. He argued that the movement of material culture, in time as well as space, may distort the knowledge of its uses and values in the original setting. In its place, new associations and understandings may be formed.

Consequently we must not make the mistake of presuming that an object's desirability originates from its distant origin or the difficulty of attaining it.<sup>75</sup> Similar arguments have been put forward by I. Kopytoff, who stated that the meaning and value of objects cannot be tied to just one stage of the object's life history. Instead we have to acknowledge all the processes and cycles of production, exchange and consumption as fields where meaning is created, negotiated and transformed.<sup>76</sup> Therefore the classifications of objects as commodities or gifts says nothing about the value or status of the objects after they have been traded or exchanged.<sup>77</sup> Both Appadurai and Kopytoff consequently stressed the importance of social recontextualizations as modifiers of material culture meanings. N. Thomas, who studied the presence of western material culture in the Pacific, took a related approach to material culture. Rather than concentrating on the traditional questions of trade and exchange, he also gave preference to the mobility of meanings in material culture.<sup>78</sup> The central idea of his study was that objects are not what they were made to be, but what they have become.<sup>79</sup>

The circulation of objects, especially across the edges of societies, civilizations, and trading regimes, is not merely a physical process but also a movement and displacement of competing conceptions of things.<sup>80</sup>

Similar to Miller,<sup>81</sup> he discussed the active appropriation of material culture. He stated, "[w]estern commodities cannot be seen to embody some irresistible attraction that is given the status of an inexorable historical force."<sup>82</sup> Instead, he argued that the foreign objects must be interpreted within the context of the receiving society.<sup>83</sup>

Insistence upon the fact that objects pass through social transformations effects a deconstruction of the essentialist notion that the identity of material things is fixed in their structure and form.<sup>84</sup>

To him, objects never embody any pure or original meaning, and he emphasized that their function and meaning are dependent upon cultural knowledge.<sup>85</sup> "To say that black bottles were given does not tell us what was received."<sup>86</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Appadurai 1986:4, 56.

<sup>76</sup> Kopytoff 1986.

<sup>77</sup> Kopytoff 1986:76.

<sup>78</sup> Thomas 1991.

<sup>79</sup> Thomas 1991:4.

<sup>80</sup> Thomas 1991:123.

<sup>81</sup> Miller 1987.

<sup>82</sup> Thomas 1991:103.

<sup>83</sup> Thomas 1991:185f.

<sup>84</sup> Thomas 1991:28.

<sup>85</sup> Thomas 1991:87.

<sup>86</sup> Thomas 1991:108.



This view of gift giving poses important questions regarding the exchange of objects between what are considered different cultural areas. The presence of vessels of Roman manufacture in areas outside the borders of the Empire is often considered to be the outcome of a complex mixture of different forms of exchange, one of them being diplomatic gift giving between Roman officials and Germanic chiefs. Since most scholars regard the Roman material culture found in Germanic contexts as a form of cultural transmission and the objects exchanged as containers of cultural ideas, as stated earlier, it is theoretically important to consider how strong the bond between giver and receiver really is and whether this is reflected in the objects exchanged. We must caution ourselves to remember the high unlikelihood that all the objects that found their way to the Germanic graves were the result of direct contacts between Romans and the Germanic peoples. We must in most cases imagine several middlemen and transactions before the objects were finally deposited. Considering the present discussion, we must therefore ask ourselves if it is possible to distinguish between the gift and the social relationship that was formed in connection with its transfer. In other words, were the Roman objects always *Roman*? And when did the exotic cease to be exotic?

## 2.4 APPROACH AND OUTLINE OF THE THESIS

This contextual outlook regarding the relationship between social practice and material culture, focusing on recontextualizations, the movement of meaning, and appropriation, offers some key perspectives clearly valuable also for studies of the Roman Iron Age in Germania Magna. Still very much dominated by a processual and essentialist approach to material culture, research on this period often perceives the Roman vessels as fixed in their function and meaning. The vessels are habitually viewed as *Roman* in their signification, exotic and prestigious, and lumped together under labels such as *import* or *influence*. This traditional approach bears with it several serious drawbacks grounded in its inadequate attention to the fact that objects are culturally and socially structured in time and space. In it, material culture becomes simply an end-product of human practices long since past and an expression of ideas and ideologies, instead of a viable part of the structuring of human practice and meaning itself. Thus the much debated (and criticized) dichotomy between society and individual is maintained.

Entering into this framework of Roman Iron Age study, it is my ambition to tackle the dialectics between social practice and transformation within a particular archaeologically delimited group of material culture (the vessels of Roman manufacture), one of the challenges being to grasp the link between cultural expressions at a local level and the continental dimensions with reference to social relationships and cultural interaction. With the starting point in the theoretical perspectives discussed in this chapter, the meaning of foreign objects is not specifically dictated or constrained by their use in their original setting, nor is their signification bounded by their physical form or stationary in time and space. Instead, material culture must be regarded as multiauthored, its function and meaning being culturally structured through social practice and originating from several sources including the materiality of the objects, the knowledge and experiences embodied in their users and observers, and the objects' physical and social surroundings including their temporal setting and their geographical locality. So in

order to grasp the significations attributed to the vessels of Roman origin in Germanic mortuary practices, we must interpret them culturally and pay attention to the creation of meaning through the social practices involving people and objects.

Because of the vast corpus of Roman manufactured vessels, I have designed the thesis around a limited number of case studies. These are thematic in nature and centre on three specific theoretical subject matters that I deem central to the discussion above, namely *ritualization* (chapter 3), *hybridization* (chapter 4) and *fragmentation* (chapter 5). The delimitation of each of these themes is based on certain questions and problems I have come across when reviewing previous research with the theoretical standpoints discussed above in mind. The case study on ritualization investigates the primary operational context for Roman manufactured vessels in Germania Magna, namely the funerary ritual. In most previous studies, the graves and their content are viewed as the “black box” of past society, containing all the facts necessary for reconstructing social structures and organizations, seldom considering the *ritual* framework of the material culture itself. In this chapter, however, I analyse the funerary context as a field of social practice through which significance is generated and transformed. By studying the mortuary environment in which the vessels were a part, I hope to illuminate the structuring influence this use had on the rituals and the vessels themselves. The second case study on hybridization focuses on the combination of actual Roman vessels or vessel forms with local stylistic features into new material culture expressions. The objects studied are a small number of silver vessels, which were produced locally and thus traditionally interpreted as imitations or forgeries of Roman vessels. Using this as my point of departure, I discuss the question of authenticity in material culture and how external impulses are refracted and rearranged through the encounter with local structures, and then fused together with these to create new forms. The third and last case study deals with the fragmentation of glass; more exactly, the intentional deposition of glass fragments in graves, either on the dead person (e.g. in the mouth or in the clothes), together with the grave goods, or in the grave fill. Based on this physical transformation I discuss the biography of the glass vessels, the interaction between Mediterranean rituals and indigenous traditions of ritual destruction, and the convergence of different regimens of value.

Each case study is treated as a single case that dictates its own methodological approaches based on the nature of the material, the questions asked, and the theoretical entry-points relevant for the case. By choosing a case study method, which emphasizes the comprehensive analysis of limited groups of problems and materials, I hope to gain a sharpened understanding of material culture transformation, which in turn may add a further dimension to what is already known about the dynamics of cultural interaction through previous research on the period.



### 3. RITUAL, TRADITION AND POWER – RITUALIZATION IN PRINCELY SETTINGS

Dealing with the presence of Roman material culture among Germanic peoples beyond the borders of the empire is a tricky business, especially when trying to discern Rome's socio-cultural and economic impact on the native societies. The archaeological record displays a large variety of material evidence of influences.<sup>87</sup> Although few scholars today place these influences solely within an elite environment in the Germanic societies,<sup>88</sup> objects of Roman manufacture, especially vessels of metal, glass and pottery, are still habitually associated with social power and prestige. Few attempts have been made to explain the complexity of the underlying cultural patterns suggested by the plethora of material evidence.

The focus of this chapter is directed towards the ritualization of Roman vessels in the so-called princely graves in Germania Magna. Due to the quality and quantity of grave goods, this category of graves is generally regarded as belonging to the uppermost segments of society who were using the material culture in a ceremonial display of status. Although there are differences in the construction of the graves and the orientation of the bodies,<sup>89</sup> the high level of congruence between the graves, particularly regarding grave goods, has led several scholars to argue that this social elite was part of a close social network that ran across large parts of Northern and Middle Europe,<sup>90</sup> and whose members shared a common material culture, traditions and religious ideas. Furthermore, the abundance of objects of Roman manufacture in the graves is regarded as evidence of a Romanized lifestyle, utilized in the mortuary context to enhance their social standing.<sup>91</sup> Consequently, the princely graves have played a central part in research concerning the cultural interactions and social structures of the period.

So why concentrate on this established and often studied category of graves? As I argued in the previous chapters, the view of Roman drinking vessels as prestige goods

<sup>87</sup> E.g. Lund Hansen 1987:233f.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Gebühr 1974:88; Köhler 1975:55-58; Ströbeck 2006.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. von Carnap-Bornheim & Kreft 2001:36.

<sup>90</sup> E.g. Eggers 1953:107; Hachmann 1956:17f.; Hedeager 1992:143, 157; Tejral 1995b; Storgaard 2003, who uses the phrase "cosmopolitan aristocrats" to denote this group; cf. Wells 2003:122f.

<sup>91</sup> E.g. Werner 1950; Künzl 1988a-b; Wielowiejski 1990:218; Hedeager 1992:156; Peška 2002:23; Abegg-Wigg 2008:293f.

brings with it several problems.<sup>92</sup> The idea that the Germanic peoples used Roman vessels in the mortuary rituals because of their exotic origin is based on a very simplistic and instrumental view of material culture. It fails to consider the contextual complexity and the dialectic nature of material culture, and rarely does it explain *why* specific objects were so often chosen as grave goods.<sup>93</sup> Nor does it pay attention to *how* these objects were actually utilized within the mortuary framework. It is my opinion that the princely graves will be highly suitable for a case study with these questions in mind. These graves have generally played a significant, and sometimes dominant, role in research on the period. They are elemental in the reconstruction of both the social structure and the cultural history. Furthermore, one of their key characteristics, regarding both the classification of them as a group and their presumed social significance in the past, is the presence of Roman objects, mainly vessels, which are thought to mirror a Romanized lifestyle. Some scholars have classified the presence of Roman vessels as an *imitatio imperii*.<sup>94</sup> Occasionally, the presence of vessels of Roman manufacture is the sole reason why certain graves are classified as “princely,” or belonging to a social elite. Consequently, the graves as a whole and their content of Roman objects, are interesting from the point of view of research history, and because of the extensive cultural interactions they are thought to symbolize. Since the overarching purpose of this thesis is to study the transformation of Roman vessels, particularly within Germanic mortuary practices, I find it especially interesting to investigate the recontextualization and ritualization of these objects within this group of graves. How were the vessels arranged and related to the dead person and the rest of the grave goods? What images and narratives can we imagine were created using this suite of material culture? The aim of this case study is consequently to review how important the Roman vessels were in the prehistoric conceptualization of the so-called princely graves, and discuss this in relation to the importance of the grave in the social reconstructions of the Roman Iron Age. Based on the theoretical perspectives outlined in the previous chapter, I will focus on how these imported vessels were actually used in the funerary contexts. This will then be compared to their use within the original Roman context in order to evaluate the potential adoption of Roman traditions. My hope is that this approach to familiar material will add a new dimension to the continuing debate concerning their interpretation.

### 3.1 THE PRINCELY GRAVES OF THE EARLY ROMAN IRON AGE

How have the princely graves been conceptualized in previous research? The term “princely graves”, or “Fürstengräber” in German, is often used synonymously with terms like “aristocratic” and “elite” graves. Basically, it is employed to denote richly furnished graves, both male and female, which distinguish themselves in comparison with more common mortuary practices. The term was established with reference to

<sup>92</sup> Cf. also Ekengren 2005 & 2006.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. Shanks & Tilley 1982:152.

<sup>94</sup> E.g. Peška 2002:67; cf. Stupperich 1995:96.

the *principes*, i.e. the nobility or leading men, mentioned by Tacitus in his account of the Germanic peoples,<sup>95</sup> but scholars do not always interpret it as a specific, legally defined, social position.

For the definition of the princely graves in the Early Roman Iron Age, there are mainly three scholars that are referred to, namely H.J. Eggers, R. Hachmann and M. Gebühr. Eggers was one of the first to investigate and classify this type of graves. During his studies of the Roman imports in Northern Europe, he had noticed a group of Early Roman Iron Age graves characterized by what he called “a princely lifestyle”, containing large amounts of grave goods, especially objects of Roman manufacture.<sup>96</sup> Based on his studies of the grave field at Lubieszewo (Lübsow)<sup>97</sup> in West Pomerania (Poland), Eggers came to classify them as graves of Lübsow type. He defined the Lübsow type as inhumations in large stone or wooden chambers richly furnished with grave goods, especially imported Roman objects, but devoid of weapons. Eggers also tried to place them in a socio-historical context. According to him they displayed close interregional similarities and were only found in the North, East, and Elbe Germanic areas, and were interpreted as the remains of Germanic nobility.<sup>98</sup>

Eggers’ classification was to a large extent accepted by other scholars. However, Hachmann pointed out that several cremations in the Elbe region could also be classified as princely graves due to their lavish grave goods.<sup>99</sup> This inclusion of cremations in the list of Lübsow graves diverged somewhat from Eggers’ original definition, but was backed by scholars like Gebühr.<sup>100</sup> Gebühr also pointed to a number of further discrepancies in the archaeological record. He had noticed that the criteria established by Eggers and Hachmann, including the presence of Roman vessels, were as common outside this group of graves as within it, and could not be regarded as exclusive for a certain type. Furthermore, no criterion, besides vessels of Roman manufacture, was shared by all the identified Lübsow-type graves.<sup>101</sup> Also, the inhumation practice, according to Gebühr, could not be regarded as the sign of a princely burial, since we have plenty of finds of poorly equipped inhumations and richly furnished cremation graves.<sup>102</sup>

Consequently Gebühr argued that the group of graves studied by Eggers is not as homogeneous as one might think and that the previously determined criteria are inadequate. Based on both the quality and the quantity of the grave goods he thus established a new set of criteria, consisting of objects of gold and silver, objects of Roman manufacture, drinking horns and more than ten objects per grave (in combination with one of the preceding criteria).<sup>103</sup> Gebühr agreed that the quality and quantity of the grave goods in the Lübsow type indicates a special status, but he argued that the number of

95 E.g. Tac. *Germ.* 10.4, 11.5, 13.2, 14.1; cf. Ethelberg 2001.

96 Eggers 1953.

97 The village where the find was made is today called Lubieszewo in Polish, but since its German name Lübsow is well established in the research, I will use both.

98 Eggers 1953:107.

99 Hachmann 1956:17.

100 Gebühr 1974.

101 Gebühr 1974:88, 90–92, 95, 110f.; cf. Köhler 1975:55–58.

102 Gebühr 1974:111f.

103 Gebühr 1974:119–128.

princely graves is too high for all of them to represent a regional ruling body. Instead, he regarded them as members of an upper class who may have governed a family or a small village.<sup>104</sup>

### 3.2 THE PRINCELY GRAVES OF THE LATE ROMAN IRON AGE

The princely graves of the Late Roman Iron Age, often called the Haßleben-Leuna type after two gravesites in Central Germany,<sup>105</sup> are classified along much the same lines as the Lübsow type. The focus lies on the mode of burial, which is dominated by inhumation, as well as the quantity and quality of grave goods. W. Schulz was one of the first to make a social distinction of the princely inhumation graves in Central Germany into a higher nobility (characterized by graves containing gold) and a lower nobility (characterized by graves containing silver).<sup>106</sup> This social grading of the elite was supported by W. Schlüter who divided the princely graves of Haßleben-Leuna type into two groups. The first group, group Ia, was represented by the wealthiest graves and defined by objects of gold (e.g. coins, finger-, arm-, and/or neckrings), as well as spurs<sup>107</sup> and silver arrowheads. These graves also contained gaming boards, large sets of Roman vessels, and were often marked by a grave mound. The second group, group Ib, was characterized by objects of silver or imported Roman vessels.<sup>108</sup>

A comparable classification was made by K. Godłowski, who also distinguished between two clusters of characteristics. The first consisted of high-quality imported vessels of metal and glass vessels, silver tools and objects of everyday use, large amounts of silver and gold jewellery (more than two pieces). The second group included ornaments (more than ten pieces), tools and objects of everyday use (more than five), bronze objects of everyday use, spurs (although more sporadically), and seldom weaponry. According to him, a grave may be defined as a princely grave only if a combination of objects specified in the first group of characteristics were deposited in this grave.<sup>109</sup>

Wielowiejski, who referred to Godłowski's scheme, elaborated this one step further.<sup>110</sup> Like Godłowski he distinguished between two groups of characteristics. The first contained features that were exclusive for the princely graves: Scissors and knives of bronze or silver; imported Roman vessels of gold or silver; mirrors, tweezers and ear spoons of gold or silver. The second group contained features that were mainly, but not solely, distinctive for the princely graves: a location of the grave separate from other

<sup>104</sup> Gebühr 1974:127f.

<sup>105</sup> Schulz 1933 & 1953. Occasionally, this type is also called *Haßleben-Leuna-Zakrzów* or *Haßleben-Leuna-Gommern*, based on the inclusion of the richly furnished graves from Wrocław-Zakrzów/Sakrau in Lower Silesia (Poland) and Gommern in Saxony-Anhalt (Germany).

<sup>106</sup> Schulz 1953:35.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. Gupte 2002.

<sup>108</sup> Schlüter 1970.

<sup>109</sup> Godłowski 1960:52.

<sup>110</sup> Wielowiejski 1970:258.

cemeteries; inhumation practice; deposition in a chamber or under a mound; an absence of iron weapons; inclusion of at least a pottery vessel or a Roman vessel of bronze or glass; at least a couple of pieces of jewellery of gold or silver; wooden vessels with metal fittings; and gaming pieces. Only those graves that display at least two features from the first group of characteristics may be classified as princely graves.

All the different classifications of the Haßleben-Leuna group mentioned above have in common that they regard the graves as an expression of wealth and social standing, a sentiment they share with research on the Lübsow group. On a general level, objects of Roman manufacture, objects made of precious metals, spurs, as well as objects considered to represent leisure activities – such as gaming pieces and the arrowheads of silver found in some of the graves – are interpreted as representations of a more elevated lifestyle.<sup>111</sup> However, some scholars put more weight on the political dimensions of the typology, and regard some of the grave goods as insignia of certain social positions. For instance, the golden neckrings with a pear-shaped lock and the arm rings of kolben type seen in some of the graves are considered by many as tokens of military leadership and royal or aristocratic power, as are the rosette fibulae, the golden snakehead rings, the Roman military belt (*cingulum*) and the Roman *Zwiebelknopffibel*.<sup>112</sup>

This interpretation of the princely graves in the Late Roman Iron Age as manifestations of a socio-political structure has led some scholars to hypothesize about the establishment of early kingdoms in the period. Based on the distribution of the arm rings of kolben type and arm- and fingerings of snakehead type, particularly on Zealand in Denmark but also in Central Sweden and Northern Germany, P. Ethelberg has argued for the establishment of the first kingdoms in the middle of the second century AD.<sup>113</sup> At the centre of these early kingdoms stood the king, represented in the archaeological evidence of the kolben rings, and around him gathered a group of aristocratic families and their following of warriors, symbolized by the snakehead rings.<sup>114</sup> Ethelberg sees similar developments expressed in the richly furnished inhumations in the north-eastern and central parts of Germany during the third century AD.<sup>115</sup>

This expressed political aspect quite naturally carries with it a spatial dimension as well. The princely graves have always been of importance in discerning centres of power during the Roman Iron Age. Eggers, for instance, described the Lübsow cemetery as a manorial site.<sup>116</sup> Likewise, the princely graves of the Late Roman Iron Age are interpreted as indicative of settlements of central importance. However, this period is according to many scholars marked by more hierarchic and centralized power structures than the preceding period. For instance, the graves from the Himlingøje cemetery at Stevns on Zealand (Denmark), are often interpreted as a supraregional centre dominating southern Scandinavia and the surrounding regions during the Late Roman Iron Age.<sup>117</sup> Storgaard, for example, even classified eastern Zealand in this period as

<sup>111</sup> E.g. Schlüter 1970:139.

<sup>112</sup> E.g. Lund Hansen 1995c:374–384; von Carnap-Bornheim & Ilkjær 1996:353ff., 368f.; Ethelberg 2000:194–196; Lund Hansen 2001a; Storgaard 2001:103, 105; Tejral 2001b; Ethelberg 2003:291; cf. Werner 1973:4.; Feustel 1984:198–200.

<sup>113</sup> Ethelberg 2003:272, 289.

<sup>114</sup> Ethelberg 2003:293f.; cf. Lund Hansen 1995c:374–384; Ethelberg 2000:162–166.

<sup>115</sup> Ethelberg 2003:291.

<sup>116</sup> Eggers 1953:88; 1964:22.

<sup>117</sup> Lund Hansen 1995c:375f., 385; Storgaard 2001:104.



the centre of a larger tribal confederation of an almost imperial character.<sup>118</sup> He even went as far as to suggest that the Romans might have had a more or less direct hand in the establishment of this barbarian empire in order to alleviate some of the Germanic pressure on their borders and thereby safeguard their own territories.<sup>119</sup> Other scholars, however, dispute this interpretation by referring, among other things, to the lack of explicit literary sources that support this claim, as well as the geographical distance between the Roman Empire and Zealand.<sup>120</sup>

To summarize, the princely graves of both the Lübsow and Haßleben-Leuna type are thought to represent interrelated social elite groupings spread over a large part of Germania Magna. Although some scholars have tried to diversify this picture of a suprarregional network of elites by focusing on the discrepancies that do exist between the burial traditions in different regions,<sup>121</sup> the majority of studies refer to the princely graves as a fairly homogeneous practice whose specific categories of material culture were used as symbols to express shared values and an elevated lifestyle. Here the notion of prestige goods has a central position, either explicitly or implicitly, especially concerning the presence of vessels of Roman manufacture. The basic idea of the prestige goods model is that political power was linked to control over the acquisition and distribution of foreign luxury goods. Due to their exotic origin these objects functioned as symbols of power and were distributed as gifts between rulers and their allies. This gift giving was a means of socio-political control, since it forged dependencies and loyalties. The prestige objects were furthermore used by the elite in mortuary rituals to legitimate their power ideologically.<sup>122</sup> Based on this outlook, the access to objects of Roman origin was elemental to social stratification in the Roman Iron Age, and thus also to the development of the so-called princely graves as a tradition.

According to this research, the materiality of the mortuary rituals served to support the social structure and to legitimize social authority. Some objects, such as the snake-head rings in the Haßleben-Leuna graves, almost take on the role of badges of office and the grave as a whole is interpreted in terms of an investment made to bolster one's status. The relationship between the quality and quantity of grave goods on the one hand and the social standing of the buried individual on the other, is considered quite direct and easily calculated. Hence the burial is reduced to an almost exclusively political occasion. One of the more influential examples of this research trend, and also one of the few more theoretically attentive studies, is Hedeager's thesis from 1992.<sup>123</sup> Although she departed from the more traditional research by stating that graves are not just passive reflections of power relations but rather constitute them, she nevertheless interpreted them and their contents as means to discern social structures and social evolution. Her study should be viewed in the light of the historical-materialistic perspective that established itself in archaeology during the 1980s as a result of the theoretical shift between processual and post-processual archaeology and its symbolic approach to material culture. She argued that the observable shift in the use of prestige goods during

<sup>118</sup> Storgaard 2001:96.

<sup>119</sup> Storgaard 2001:103f.

<sup>120</sup> E.g. Näsman 2002:355–356; Ethelberg 2003:294; Herschend 2003:314f.

<sup>121</sup> E.g. Gebühr 1974.

<sup>122</sup> Frankenstein & Rowlands 1978; cf. Hedeager 1979; 1987; 1992; Ravn 2003:27, 34.

<sup>123</sup> First published in Danish in 1990.

the Pre-Roman Iron Age, from communal wetland offerings to grave goods, marked a political as well as ideological transition. According to her, this showed that the elite families were now using luxury objects to ritually associate themselves with a supernatural sphere, and thus to elevate themselves from the rest of the community. The richly furnished graves containing Roman objects were thus characterized by her as investments of wealth, and the graves as platforms to institutionalize and legitimize power through ideological mystification.<sup>124</sup>

However, as I have stated earlier, this idea of the Roman vessels as status symbols which were consumed conspicuously rarely discusses the fact that consumption is always a form of production in the sense that the objects were selected, used, interpreted and given a meaning within the specific context, in this case the mortuary rituals. Therefore we may criticize the rather instrumental approach to Roman vessels which views them as *Roman* in an essentialistic fashion, with hardly any function or meaning other than being prestigious due to their exotic origin.<sup>125</sup> Consequently, in the following I will focus on the ritualized framework of the so-called princely graves in order to come closer to an understanding of the function and meaning given to the Roman vessels in some of the Germanic mortuary practices.

### 3.3 THE MORTUARY RITUALS AS OPERATIONAL CONTEXT

Mortuary practices are the chief operational context for the majority of imported Roman vessels in Germania Magna. Therefore, it is my opinion that we must first direct our focus to ritual practice if we are to understand these objects and their function and meaning.<sup>126</sup>

Graves and their content are the result of intentional actions. The quest for the function and meaning of certain grave goods, whether or not we acknowledge their mutability of meaning or regard them in a more essentialistic fashion, thus attributes some degree of symbolic power to the objects. So, how is meaning shaped and interpreted by practitioners, participants and observers in a ritual context? As seen above, previous research on the so-called princely graves has to a large extent viewed grave goods as signs of status and power and as instruments that enabled the prevailing social order. Indeed, the objects of Roman origin are regarded as especially efficient and powerful resources for ideological manifestations: they were exotic, precious, and signalled a Romanized (and thus elevated) lifestyle among the indigenous elite. This perspective regards the mortuary remains as symbols whose social meanings may be deciphered because they refer to a fixed system of knowledge that forms the background grid to their meaning. Furthermore, the graves are seldom approached as the result of a sequence of actions, and scholars rarely discuss what effects these sequences of actions may have on the function and meaning of the objects that were used. Instead the graves are perceived as the society's *black box*, containing all the clues necessary to reconstruct

<sup>124</sup> Hedeager 1992.

<sup>125</sup> Cf. the critique by Oldenstein 1975:299.

<sup>126</sup> Cf. Ekengren 2005; 2006.

the past. The grave and its content is thus conceptualized as the result of a singular instalment, not a process, and equated to a coded communication whose primary message, once deciphered, tells a story of social structure and political organization.

While this attitude towards mortuary remains is still present in much of Roman Iron Age research, it has been criticized for years within other fields of archaeology.<sup>127</sup> The main arguments of this critique boil down to a very different view of material culture and ritual practice. E.-J. Pader, for instance, pointed out that the meaning of objects is not static and unchangeable but dependent on context, and the rituals are not unvarying traditions but dynamic practices open to change and innovation. She argued for an intricate and entangled relationship between ideology, actions and material culture, and that all are continually being reinterpreted and recreated in a dialectic process. Thus, the function and meaning of material culture is highly dependent on the cultural surroundings in which it occurs, and is attributed the capacity to influence social action and ideology.<sup>128</sup> A large portion of the incentive for this perspective may be found in the theories of practice and structuration developed by scholars like Bourdieu and Giddens, mentioned in the previous chapter. But the critique is also founded on the anthropological observations that graves and grave goods in some societies overturn or misrepresent the social reality of the living.<sup>129</sup> At best they would be an indirect expression of social structures since they were filtered through ideological frameworks (such as religious beliefs) and traditions of ritual practice. Several of the scholars working with mortuary practices from a post-processual outlook point to the fact that the dead do not bury themselves, and as H. Härke stated:

burials would reflect *not* the realities of the lives of the people buried in them, but images of their lives and of their role in society in the minds of those arranging the burial and participating in the ritual. These images (or in other words: the ideal world) may coincide with the real world – but then again, they might not.<sup>130</sup>

This paved a way for a view of graves as a form of symbolic communication, which conveyed idealized images of society. This approach also stressed the importance of context, stating that archaeologists must consider every relevant aspect, both material and socio-cultural, which might influence the object of study.<sup>131</sup> According to this viewpoint, people were active agents in the creation of social practice, not just passive receivers who adapted to their surroundings. Consequently, post-processual scholars argued that the social meaning of the grave goods could not be disconnected from their context, i.e. their ritual framework, to be analysed as an independent class of data.

<sup>127</sup> Examples of this critique may be found in Pader 1982; Bennett 1987; Hjørungdal 1988; Jennbert 1988; 1993; Härke 1994; Hodder 1995; Gillespie 2001; Ekengren 2005; 2006; Jennbert 2006.

<sup>128</sup> E.g. Pader 1982:12, 34f.

<sup>129</sup> Cf. Hertz 1960; Bloch & Parry 1982; Shanks & Tilley 1982:133; Jacobson-Widding 1988; Barrett 1990:182; Metcalf & Huntingdon 1991.

<sup>130</sup> Härke 1994:32; cf. Barrett 1990:182; Kjeld Jensen & Høilund Nielsen 1997:35.

<sup>131</sup> Numerous scholars made this point early on in post-processual archaeology, e.g. Hodder 1982a; 1982c; Pader 1982; Barrett 1990; Härke 1994; Hodder 1995; Parker Pearson 2001. For an excellent review of this theoretical development, see Nilsson Stutz 2003.



Rather, the deposition of grave goods was a conscious ritual act, and the motivations behind which combinations of objects were suitable were dependent upon interwoven ideological and cultural notions.<sup>132</sup>

### 3.3.1 THE RITE OF PASSAGE

One of the most important factors to take into account in an analysis of mortuary remains is that those interred are not just persons, but more specifically dead persons, and that the grave and its content are in some way related to the social and biological transitions brought about by death.<sup>133</sup> As numerous anthropological scholars have pointed out, most societies consider death as an extensive transformative process and have noted that the purpose of the mortuary practices is to handle the subsequent social transformations of both the deceased and the bereaved. A funeral is never a question of a portrayal of a static personhood of either the deceased or the bereaved, but rather a reconfiguration of their identities in order to cope with the physical, emotional and social demands of death.

The idea of death as a transition was first put forward by R. Hertz in an essay on the phenomenon of secondary burials on Borneo. He remarked that the process which the body underwent, with a temporary burial followed by decomposition and then finally a second interment, paralleled the mourning process of the living society as well as the assumed journey of the soul to the afterlife. Only at the conclusion of the secondary burial did the soul arrive at its final destination and the society of the living found peace again. Thus, death and the mortuary practices were conceived of as a process of "disintegration and synthesis",<sup>134</sup> where the rituals guided the deceased and the living through analogous social transitions, simultaneously reorganizing and re-establishing the society disrupted by death.

A. van Gennep developed this idea further through his theory of *passage rituals*. He conceptualized society as a house with doorsteps or thresholds separating different social areas. He argued that funerals were one of many ritual passages or transitions leading from one social area to another. He observed that these passage rites may be subdivided into three phases: rites of separation (pre-liminal phase) where the individual was detached from his or her previous state of being; rites of transition (liminal phase) where the individual existed in an ambiguous in-between state; and lastly rites of incorporation (post-liminal phase) which conclude the ceremonial sequence by establishing the individual's new state.<sup>135</sup> Consequently, while the old identity was destroyed through death, a new identity was created using rituals. Thus a funeral was not just a transition but also a transformation. It revolved around the change of an individual into a new state of existence; that is, a new state in relation to the survivors. The survivors, through rituals, gave the dead a new position in society in relations to themselves, and thus a new form of social relationship is created between the dead and the living.

<sup>132</sup> E.g. Pader 1982:57f.; Gillespie 2001:78.

<sup>133</sup> Cf. Tarlow 1999:178.

<sup>134</sup> Hertz 1960:56, 58, 86.

<sup>135</sup> van Gennep 1960.

The dead, who are often transformed into ancestors or other forms of spirits as the result of funerary rites, are resignified at the time of death rituals and also in subsequent actions that may involve handling their curated remains and in rites of commemoration that innovate social memories of the dead for political ends. Such ritual may purposely result in the loss of individual identities as the dead represent the social collectivity, for example, becoming generic ancestors in the oft-cited example of the Merina of Madagascar.<sup>136</sup>

Using this idea as a point of departure, several anthropological studies have argued that the creation and mediation of social relationships between the living and the dead through mortuary practices is a way for society to recover from the loss of one of its members and to reshape the social order.<sup>137</sup>

The transformational aspect of mortuary practices emphasized by numerous other archaeologists inspired by the works of Hertz and van Gennep challenge the sentiment in traditional Roman Iron Age grave studies which consider the grave more or less as a one-dimensional reflection of the existing social structures. It has fundamental consequences for our understanding of the material culture, since also the grave goods undergo the ritual or are introduced and associated with the dead body during various stages of the funerary sequence. So if the function and meaning of material culture is dependent on context, the contextual shift from the *context of life* (i.e. the use of the vessels in everyday life) to the *context of death* (i.e. their treatment in the grave) most likely affected the function and meaning of the vessels.

### 3.3.2 RITUALS AS PRACTICE

More recent developments in anthropology and religious studies have led to a strengthening of the practice-theoretical perspective on archaeological studies of ritual and mortuary remains.<sup>138</sup> At the forefront of this trend stand the works of scholars like C. Bell, C. Humphrey and J. Laidlaw. These studies focus on rituals as dynamic and transformative processes, and criticize the traditional discourse on rituals that views them as an inert category of action, separated and autonomous from other social practices. Rather than striving for an all-inclusive definition of ritual, Bell therefore preferred to speak of practices that are marked off as significant or special through the process of ritualization.

Ritualization is fundamentally a way of doing things to trigger the perception that these practices are special. A great deal of strategy is employed simply in the degree to which some activities are ritualized and therein differentiated from other acts. While formalization and periodization appear to be common techniques for ritualization, they are not intrinsic to “ritual” per se; some ritualized practices distinguish themselves by their deliberate informality, although usually in contrast to a known tradition or style of ritualization. Hence, ritual acts must be

<sup>136</sup> Gillespie 2001:78.

<sup>137</sup> E.g. Gillespie 2001:97 with ref.

<sup>138</sup> E.g. Nilsson Stutz 2003; 2006.

understood within a semantic framework whereby the significance of an action is dependent upon its place and relationship within a context of all other ways of acting: what it echoes, what it inverts, what it alludes to, what it denies.<sup>139</sup>

Through this contextual outlook, Bell managed to bridge the dichotomy between structure and action, similar to what Bourdieu and Giddens did with their theories of practice and structuration. Consequently, rituals cannot be regarded as static containers of meaning or as mere tools for the transmission of information. The meaning or effectiveness of a ritual and its elements is not pre-defined. Rather, ritual practice is viewed as generative, since it is in the act of doing (i.e. the convergence between structure and agency) that the ritual takes form and meaning is created.<sup>140</sup>

But this is not to say that rituals are merely spontaneous improvisations devoid of intentions. Ritual practices are strategic and socially prescribed; they have identities and objectives that are stipulated by tradition and often maintained by officiants presiding over them.<sup>141</sup> There is, in other words, a structure to which the practitioners must relate. Humphrey and Laidlaw captured the heart of this sentiment when they wrote:

Ritualized action is non-intentional, in the sense that while people performing ritual acts do have intentions (thus the actions are not unintentional), the identity of a ritualized act does not depend, as is the case with normal action, on the agent's intention in acting.<sup>142</sup>

They concluded this argument by summarizing that:

it is clear that people have their own ways of enacting these ideas, if they hold them at all. They give their own meanings to customary actions. That is to say, the themes can be and are interpreted and applied in various, even contradictory ways. [...] There is no "grammar" or "code". [...] It is not even possible to sort out "correct" or "orthodox" meanings from others, because [...] there are many orthodoxies. The same person could give several meanings for a single act, with no sense of contradiction between them.<sup>143</sup>

The reason for performing the ritual may thus shift from person to person, while the stipulated idea behind it, or its identity, remains.<sup>144</sup> This is because ritual is grounded in tradition (e.g. part of a religious and/or ritual system), and consequently perceived as external to the practitioners themselves.<sup>145</sup> Therefore this structure restricts the actors

<sup>139</sup> Bell 1992:220.

<sup>140</sup> Bell 1992: 123f.; Humphrey & Laidlaw 1994:74, 80; Bell 1997:82f. Royal coronations are striking examples of this property of ritual, as pointed out by Roy Rappaport, since these ceremonies are not simply symbolic representations of kingly status, but the actual moments in which the monarch is invested with regal power. (Rappaport 1999:111f.)

<sup>141</sup> Humphrey & Laidlaw 1994:5; Rappaport 1999:32–36.

<sup>142</sup> Humphrey & Laidlaw 1994:89.

<sup>143</sup> Humphrey & Laidlaw 1994:204.

<sup>144</sup> Cf. Rappaport 1999:52–53.

<sup>145</sup> Humphrey & Laidlaw 1994:5.

at the same time as it enables individual variation. The persons partaking in a ritual may therefore combine the stipulated intention with their own purpose, without the former being compromised.<sup>146</sup> A similar sentiment was put forward by E.L. Schieffelin in an article on ritual performance, when he wrote:

Because ritual in performance is a reality apart from its participants, the participants may not all experience the same significance or efficacy. Indeed, unless there is some kind of exegetical supervision of both performance and interpretation by guardians of orthodoxy, the performance is bound to mean different things to different people. In the absence of any exegetical canon one might even argue there was no single “correct” or “right” meaning for a ritual at all. The performance is objectively (and socially) validated by the participants when they share its action and intensity no matter what each person may individually think about it.<sup>147</sup>

However, on the other hand, the fact that there are stipulated intentions behind the rituals does not mean that the customary identity of rituals is unchanging. Bell emphasized that the social *consequences* of the rituals are independent of their stipulated purposes and the individual intentions of their practitioners.<sup>148</sup> And since the practice-oriented perspective conceptualizes rituals as generative, they have the power to influence and change the structures to which they are anchored. This is the process through which ritual and religious traditions change their form and identity over time and space.

### 3.3.3 CONVERGING HORIZONS

The practice-theoretical approach to ritual, where ritual is conceptualized as a dialectic process involving structure and agency, focuses mainly on the experiences of the participating actors and rarely directs its theoretical apparatus to understand the role of material culture in these practices. How then are we to approach objects in rituals; the interplay between the stipulated ideas behind their use, their practical function in the ritual actions, and their interpretation by the ritual participants?

Maurice Bloch showed, in an article dealing with formalization as an instrumental trait in ritual, that the meaning of ritual symbols, whether they are verbal or material, is shaped by the way in which they are presented. He said that “we cannot understand what is being said in a ritual, if we do not bear in mind that it is being said in a way which denies what we commonly understand by communication.”<sup>149</sup> According to his contextual perspective, where the syntax of the ritual determines for how meaning is created and understood, one cannot straightforwardly interpret ritual symbols based on meanings and explanations that derive from other, for instance everyday, situations.

<sup>146</sup> Humphrey & Laidlaw 1994:5, 88f, 128.

<sup>147</sup> Schieffelin 1985:722.

<sup>148</sup> Bell 1992:108–110.

<sup>149</sup> Bloch 1974:72.

Ritual expressions are, according to Bloch, often highly formalized,<sup>150</sup> which reduces the propositional force of the communication.<sup>151</sup>

Only when it is clearly realised that the features of articulation in the argument in a ritual are fundamentally different from the features of articulation in logic or in ordinary speech will we be able to understand what sort of link-up there can be between ritual structure and the structure of concepts and thoughts in a non-ritual context.<sup>152</sup>

But just because ritual expressions are often highly formalized, it does not mean that they are devoid of meaning. Instead of being argumentative, they rather bear the characteristics of statements. Consequently, rituals are not always suitable instruments for exercising social control, which is an otherwise commonly held concept in archaeological research, especially in connection with the idea of graves as ideological tools.<sup>153</sup> Since the formalized characteristic of ritual does not only influence and constrain how things are said but also *what can* be said, the space for ideological manoeuvring and the possibilities for manipulation are limited.<sup>154</sup> Thus, the material symbols used in rituals have a very limited argumentative strength. But in return, the material symbols “gain in ambiguity and hence their illocutionary and emotional force,” as Bloch put it.<sup>155</sup> In other words, since they are not restrictive in meaning, the ritual participants may fill them with their own content. In connection with this he referred to V. Turner, who claimed that this ambiguity is a central characteristic of rituals.<sup>156</sup>

Turner’s discussions on ritual symbols, to which he also included the material culture used in ritual, are – despite their age – an interesting theoretical starting point for archaeologists trying to understand material culture in ritual contexts, such as graves.<sup>157</sup> For example, he diverged from the more positivistic or essentialistic standpoint which characterized much of the older research on symbols, where the informants’ statements on symbolic meaning to a large extent constrained the anthropological interpretations. Instead he took note of the multivocality of symbols and the fact that there are always different levels, or circumstances, where meaning is shaped and interpreted. He discerned three properties of ritual symbols:<sup>158</sup>

- *Condensation* – One symbolic form may hold several meanings, and consequently represent many things and actions. To each symbol may thus be attributed a broad spectrum of referents.

<sup>150</sup> Other scholars as well have pointed out that formalization often is a characteristic of rituals; cf. Rappaport 1979:176; 1999:33–36. Bell listed six characteristics for ritual actions: they are (1) formal, (2) traditional, (3) regularly recurring, (4) governed by rules, (5) filled with sacral symbols, and (6) scenically performed (Bell 1997:138–164).

<sup>151</sup> Bloch 1974:56, 65.

<sup>152</sup> Bloch 1974:58.

<sup>153</sup> Cf. Hedeager 1992.

<sup>154</sup> Bloch 1974:64.

<sup>155</sup> Bloch 1974:75.

<sup>156</sup> Turner 1970.

<sup>157</sup> Turner 1970; 1995.

<sup>158</sup> Turner 1970:27–29, 50; 1995:52f.

- *Unification of disparate significata* – These referents, or significata, are often interconnected by the association between what is perceived as analogous qualities. Turner exemplified with the so-called Milk Tree among the Ndembu that may represent women's breasts, motherhood, matrilineality, learning etc. – the central themes permeating these significata being nourishment and dependence.<sup>159</sup>
- *Polarization of meaning* – Each symbol has two poles or clusters of meaning connected to them; one ideological and one sensory. The ideological pole contains norms, values, and ideas of the social order. On the sensory pole, the meaning of the symbol is connected to its outer form.

Furthermore, Turner emphasized that the informants' interpretation of a symbol may sometimes be contradicted by the way people treat them.<sup>160</sup> Thus he concluded that we must differentiate between three levels of meaning: The meanings attributed by the users of the symbols (i.e. the exegetical meaning); the operational meaning of the symbols, i.e. how they were actually used; and the positional meaning of the symbols, i.e. their relationship to other symbols and cultural concepts.<sup>161</sup> By acknowledging these different levels or circumstances, the researcher may detect symbolic meanings of which the informants may not be aware. According to Turner, the positioning of the symbol in relation to other symbols and actions is decisive for its meaning. In other words, the symbols must be studied in their context in order to understand the meaning attributed to them.<sup>162</sup> In addition, Turner reminds us that the same symbol may have different meanings in different phases of the ritual, and that the prevailing significance is dependent on the intention behind the ritual phase in which it takes place.<sup>163</sup> This is an important observation to consider when studying the ritual use of material culture.

These perspectives presented by Bloch and Turner are very much in line with the practice-theoretical approach in which meaning, knowledge and experience are created and shaped through the interplay between previous structures, the current circumstances and the agency of the individual actors. Edward L. Schieffelin suggested that the modes of ritual performance "serve to impose [...] meaning upon the social event by bringing symbols and contexts into relation with one another within the order of the performance."<sup>164</sup> In other words, the formalized performance creates meanings that influence the situation in which the performance takes place, by bringing symbols and contexts together and creating a relationship between them. One could characterize it as the converging of different horizons of meaning, creatively linking them together into a web of allusion.

To a large degree [...] the meanings of the symbols and of the rite itself are created during the performance, evoked in the participants' imagination in the negotiation between principal performers and the participants.<sup>165</sup>

<sup>159</sup> Turner 1970:28.

<sup>160</sup> Turner 1970:22.

<sup>161</sup> Turner 1970:50f.

<sup>162</sup> Turner 1970:51.

<sup>163</sup> Turner 1970:52.

<sup>164</sup> Schieffelin 1985:709.

<sup>165</sup> Schieffelin 1985:722.



Thus the symbolic meaning of the material culture used in the rituals are shaped, experienced through, and regarded as a part of, the ritual itself.

### 3.3.4 THE METHODOLOGICAL CHALLENGE

The practice-theoretical view of ritual has compelled archaeologists in general to move further away from the more symbolic and structural approach to rituals and their material culture. As J.E. Robb has observed, a growing number of scholars have instead embraced the idea that it is in the interaction between people and things, when people “apprehend and assemble them into meaningful formations”, that the meaning of objects is created.<sup>166</sup> He also stated that:

Methodologically, the approach diverts attention from the formal or economic qualities of artifacts toward understanding how they were incorporated into experiences – how they appeared, sounded, channeled bodily movement and attitudes, recalled other artifacts, and were fit into collages of images.<sup>167</sup>

The methodological challenge is thus to assume this approach, based on the theoretical discussions above, and utilize it on the so-called princely graves of the Roman Iron Age. In other words, to acknowledge the practical implications of the theoretical perspectives and to make them work on an operational level. In this endeavour there are a number of important aspects that I find especially relevant for analysis in order to understand the function and meaning attributed to the vessels of Roman manufacture in the mortuary context.

#### 3.3.4.1 VESSELS IN RITUAL SEQUENCES

Although scholars like Bell have emphasized that formalization is not an *universal* characteristic of ritual,<sup>168</sup> there are a good deal of recurring patterns in the material culture of Roman Iron Age graves, as in many other prehistoric periods, that indicate that formalization may have been a central trait of parts of the mortuary rituals. Bloch's observations of how the forms of ritual practice shape the meaning of the material culture that is used are thus important to keep in mind when studying graves. Similarly, the ideas put forward by Hertz, van Gennep and others concerning *rites of passage*, where some rituals consist of different structural phases pertaining to the transformation of individuals, emphasize that a contextual approach to mortuary practices is essential. The methodological points made by Turner regarding the study of ritual symbols likewise argue for a comparable approach since, as he concluded, “[t]he same symbol may be reckoned to have different senses at different phases in a ritual performance. Which sense shall become paramount is determined by the ostensible purpose of the phase of the ritual in which it appears.”<sup>169</sup> Since it is clear that the patterns

<sup>166</sup> Robb 1998:337f.

<sup>167</sup> Robb 1998:338.

<sup>168</sup> Bell 1992:220.

<sup>169</sup> Turner 1970:52.

in the material culture of the graves are the result of sequential actions, and since function and meaning are dependent on context, it is therefore necessary to be mindful of the temporal positioning of the vessels in relation to each other, other objects, the dead body and the mourners.<sup>170</sup>

#### 3.3.4.2 SPATIAL ARRANGEMENTS OF VESSELS

Another theoretical point presented above, held by scholars like Turner and Schieffelin, states that meaning is created by bringing symbols and contexts together and creating a relationship between them. This idea corresponds well with the theoretical approach where the ritual context is regarded as constitutive in itself. Ritual actions are ordinary actions that are changed through the present circumstances and through the actors' relationship to them. Through ritualization, using different techniques (such as formalization), new contexts are created for the actions. So even if these rituals contain elements (e.g. objects) known from other contexts as well, the shift of discourse to the ritualized environment with its own framework of reference and interpretation requires that their function and meaning are not simply equated with similar elements used in other contexts. Meaning is thus understood as fluid and created in practice. In other words, we cannot presume that the meaning of grave goods is directly related to the objects' use outside the funerary context. This perspective also negates the compartmentalization of objects that is widespread in mortuary studies, where types or categories of objects are often analysed independently of each other, irrespective of their arrangements and combinations. Consequently, interpretative frameworks like the *prestige goods model*, which is used to categorize some objects as more socially valuable than others, do not really explain what is done to the objects in the mortuary practices, i.e. how they are deposited, arranged and combined. That this kind of compartmentalizing approach may be misleading is also confirmed by studies on oral cultures by scholars like Ong mentioned in the previous chapter. These show that members of oral societies seldom classify their surroundings in categorical terms. This way of thinking is instead characteristic of literate societies whose mindset is highly influenced by the abstract and linear aspects of text. Rather, the process of classification in oral societies is situational, that is to say, grounded in the practical situation, and their understanding of a group of objects is based on the total impression of their arrangement and their context.<sup>171</sup> As archaeologists working with prehistoric cultures, we must therefore not place too much emphasis on object categorizations since this way of thinking may not have had any equivalence in the society that created them. Although analyses of grave goods sorted into broad categories in this fashion may reveal interesting aspects of the mortuary practices, I attempt to complement these with a more situational perspective. I will mainly focus on a spatial analysis of the layout of the grave and the arrangements of vessels; in other words what people did with the vessels in relation to other objects and the dead body within the framework of the mortuary rituals. This is because, even if the grave goods may have been part of the dead person's possessions in life, they were selected, deposited and arranged by one or more persons at the time of the funeral. The grave is thus a product of action, and therefore the sensory setting of the grave is an important focus

<sup>170</sup> Cf. Hallam & Hockey 2001:14f.

<sup>171</sup> Ong 1991:63–72.



of analysis. But rather than being restrained by the traditional material categories of grave analysis, such as imported vessels vs. local vessels, I will try to explore other possible categorizations based on the spatial patterning of vessels in the graves. By doing so, I believe we may form an understanding of the identifications or references created through the material culture of the grave, and thus grasp the interplay between structure and agency.

### 3.3.4.3 LEVELS OF MEANING

As mentioned above, it is in practice that meaning is created, and we cannot assume that objects had the same function and meaning regardless of context. But neither can we assume that the perceived meaning that was formed through participation in the ritual actions corresponded to the intentions and meanings formulated by tradition. In my opinion, there must have existed prescribed reasons for why a funeral was performed in a certain way, and why certain objects were included in the grave. This is indicated by the observable patterns and similarities in the archaeological record. However, as stated by Humphrey and Laidlaw, we must distinguish between the stipulated identities and objectives, and the meanings created on an individual plane through practice. A similar sentiment was expressed by Turner, who argued that we must differentiate between the meanings attributed by the actors; the operational meaning, i.e. how the objects were actually used; and the positional meaning of the objects, i.e. their relationship to other objects and cultural concepts. Thus, our analyses must acknowledge the multidimensional character of material culture, and the idea that there existed many different levels of interpretations side by side, sometimes in harmony and sometimes in conflict with each other. In my study I will therefore try to consider the functions and meanings stipulated by tradition, the functions and meanings formed and embodied by the practitioners and bystanders, as well as the functions and meanings recalled and/or recreated after the performance.

## 3.4 PRESENTATION OF THE MATERIAL

For this case study I have compiled a catalogue containing a total of 221 princely graves from Austria, The Czech Republic, Denmark, Germany, The Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Slovakia and Sweden (appendix 2). I have only registered those graves containing vessels of Roman manufacture, since they are the primary focus of this study.<sup>172</sup> The

<sup>172</sup> Thus graves with no Roman vessels, but occasionally classified as belonging to the princely graves, have been omitted. These include Soběsuky in the Czech Republic (Blažek 1995:145–148); Bæk (Korthauer 1997), Billum 4 (Frandsen & Westphal 1996:52), Bredal (Kaldal Mikkelsen 1990:162–182), and Juellinge 3 (Müller 1911:16f.) in Denmark; Berlin-Rudow (Fiedler 1993), Hamfelde 366 (Bantelmann 1971:124, pl. 55), Haßleben 14 & 19 (Schulz 1933:16f, 18f.), Häven 2, 1967 (Hollnagel 1970:269–276); and Heiligenhafen 1 (Raddatz 1962:94) in Germany; Hunn F.19 (Resi 1986:70–72) in Norway; Chmielów Piaskowy 39 (Godłowski & Wichman 1998), Lubieszewo (Lübsow) 4, 1926 and 3, 1938 (Eggers 1953), Odry 139 (Bierbrauer 1989:65) in Poland; Fullerö (Arwidsson 1948:41f.; Andersson 1993:236) Sörby-Sörlinge A39 (Hagberg 1967:92; Beskow Sjöberg 1987:304) in Sweden.

catalogue is based predominantly on the graves listed by Eggers, Gebühr, Schlüter, R. Köhler, Lund Hansen, V. Bierbrauer, E. Krekovic and J. Peška.<sup>173</sup> The data on the contents of these graves is, for the most part, based on published catalogues like those of Eggers, V. Sakař, Kunow, Lund Hansen, S. Berke, and the *Corpus der römischen Funde im europäischen Barbaricum* (CRFB),<sup>174</sup> and my catalogue therefore has approximately the same level of detail regarding the data as these.<sup>175</sup> For further references to the finds and their content I refer the reader to these publications. In some cases, the data are assembled from other sources, which are consequently cited. This is for example the case with some more recently discovered graves not mentioned in the catalogues above, but which are generally regarded as belonging to the group of princely graves.<sup>176</sup> It must, however, be emphasized that there may be further graves which are classified as such in the vast amount of research on the Roman Iron Age, besides those compiled here. As mentioned before, the label “princely grave” is often used arbitrarily and synonymous with richly furnished graves, and since there are numerous ways of classifying them, it is not easy to establish the boundaries of the category.<sup>177</sup> Thus, the catalogue must neither be viewed as a complete record, nor as the result of a thorough analysis founded on an established set of criteria. The purpose here is to investigate this category of finds which have such an important place in the research history on the period, and whose classification depends on various notions on the function and meaning of Roman imports.

The catalogue forms the basis for a general background to the material. From this collection I have then singled out 50 graves for closer study, and the analysis of these is presented in appendix 1. These are all inhumations since the focus of the analyses is on the arrangement and positioning of the grave goods in relation to each other and the dead body; information which is insufficient or non-existent in cremation graves due to the prehistoric treatment of the objects and manner of their disposal, and/or the archaeological documentation. The selection of these 50 graves is based on how well they are published, especially the quality of plans or reconstructions showing the layout of the grave. The majority of the so-called princely graves were excavated in the

<sup>173</sup> Eggers 1953; Schlüter 1970; Gebühr 1974; Köhler 1975; Lund Hansen 1987; Bierbrauer 1989; Krekovic 1992; Gebühr 1998 and Peška 2002. Peška 2002 made a slight distinction between princely graves and cremations, but this distinction is merely based on the treatment of the body. He regarded inhumation as a distinctive mark of the princely graves, and this is the only thing which separates them from the rich inhumations. In other words he considered the rich cremations as closely related to the inhumations, and in his map of cremations he named several finds which other scholars classify as belonging to the princely grave group. He also used the cremations as comparative material for the inhumations, which makes the boundary between them rather fluid. The richly furnished cremations are thus vital to his arguments on the princely grave custom, the Germanic elites and their use of Roman vessels.

<sup>174</sup> Eggers 1951; Sakař 1970; Kunow 1983; Lund Hansen 1987; Berke 1990; CRFB D 1–6.

<sup>175</sup> As a result, there may appear inconsistencies in the way the grave goods are presented. Furthermore, the dating of the graves follows the aforementioned catalogues, and the most important chronological systems that they refer to are presented in appendix 3.

<sup>176</sup> But also older finds which in some literature is considered princely graves, like Öremölla in Scania (cf. Helgesson 2002:30, 34).

<sup>177</sup> E.g. Köhler 1975:18 for a similar critique.

nineteenth or in the beginning of the twentieth century and several of them were retrieved by laymen. In many cases the excavators primarily focused on the rich, conspicuous, and well preserved objects, and often omitted information on the spatial layout of the grave. They often lack information on the find circumstances, are insufficiently documented, and/or insufficiently published. Furthermore, the integrity of the finds is often compromised, either due to older (sometimes prehistoric) interferences or due to the finds being excavated by laymen. So I have found it necessary to concentrate my spatial analyses of the arrangement of grave goods on a smaller number of graves where I deem such an analysis possible. This is also the reason why some of the often-cited graves have been excluded from the catalogue altogether, such as grave 1835 from Himlingøje (Baunehøj) in Denmark whose objects probably stem from more than one grave.<sup>178</sup> My studies will focus on the grave inventories, first and foremost on the arrangement of vessels of both Roman and local manufacture. Although the selection of 50 graves is not enough to sustain any statistically valid conclusions, it is deemed sufficient to highlight a number of traits in the ritual practices that have bearing on how the graves and their content may be interpreted.

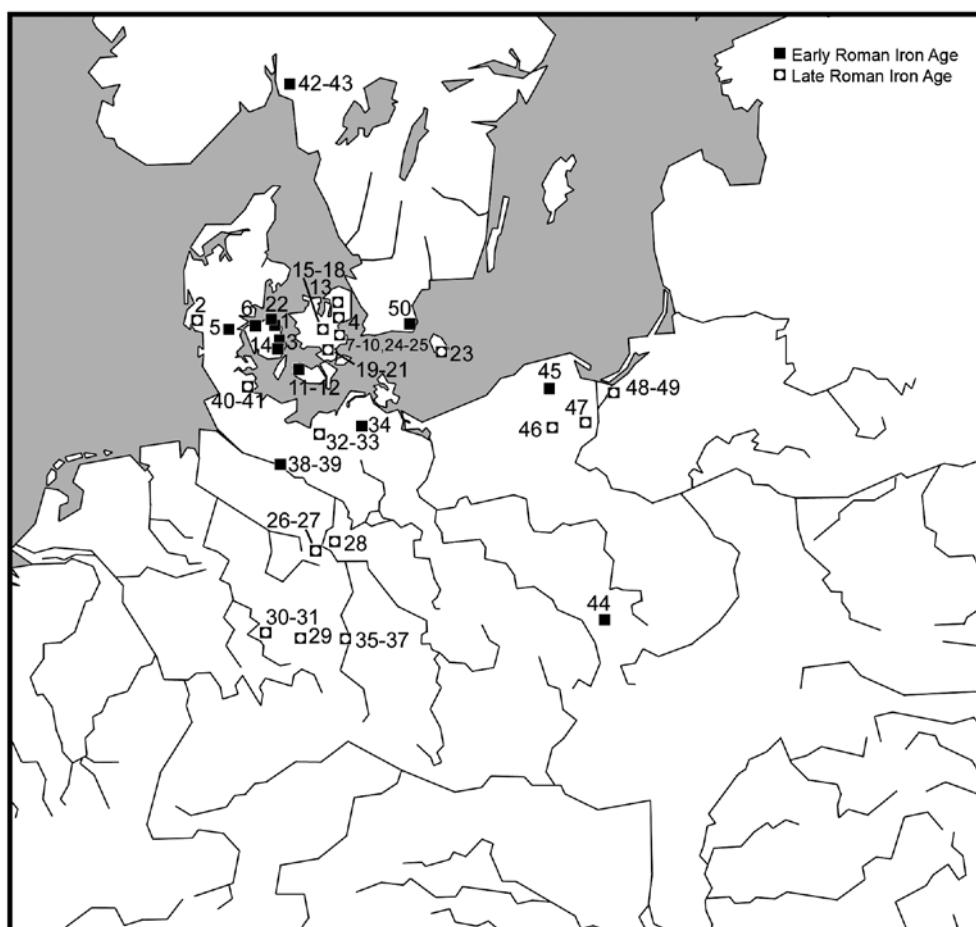
### 3.5 DISPLAY, DEPOSITION, CONCEALMENT – RITUAL SEQUENCES IN THE GRAVES

That the imported vessels, or any other forms of grave goods for that matter, should all belong to a single instance of the funerary ritual is contradicted by the archaeological data. There is ample evidence of different objects being used during different stages of the funeral. Thus the material culture associated with a grave cannot be studied in an additive fashion as a completely unified and delimited whole, or regarded as indisputably related to the deceased and his or her social persona in life. The objects were handled, displayed, arranged, interrelated or separated, deposited and concealed at different stages of the ritual and in different parts of the grave.

Based on the 50 inhumations that I have singled out for closer study in appendix 1, a number of relative sequences of deposition of the Roman and local vessels may be observed. These graves are located in Denmark, Germany, Norway, Poland, and Sweden, and are dated to both the Early and the Late Roman Iron Age (fig. 3.1). Consequently the features discussed do not seem to be exclusive to any specific region or period.

We may imagine a number of actions taking place approximately contemporary with the time of death, or shortly thereafter. While the burial site was prepared, the body was made ready for interment. Although we have no solid archaeological evidence to support this assumption, we may well imagine that the corpse was washed and groomed

<sup>178</sup> Lund Hansen 1987:412. Similar uncertainties are also present in graves like Bendstrup Mark (Hedeager & Kristiansen 1982:81–93), Brokjær (Lund Hansen 1987:407, 429), Espe (Lund Hansen 1987:405), and Højby Mark in Denmark (Lund Hansen 1987:404); Grabow (Schach-Döriges 1970:176), Großörner 1 (e.g. Schulz 1952:130, n. 66; *CRFB D6*, no. VIII-06-4/1.2) Hagenow 1, 1841 (e.g. Gebühr 1974:98), Hiddensee (Gebühr 1974:97), Marwedel 3 (Laux 1993) and Varbelvitz in Germany (e.g. Gebühr 1974:107); Tzum in the Netherlands (Erdrich 2004); Avaldsnes in Norway (Lund Hansen 1987: 438); and Kossin and Łęg Piekarski 30:9 in Poland (Wielowiejski 1985:266; Lund Hansen 1987:199).



*Fig. 3.1 Distribution of the princely graves chosen for closer study in chapter 3 (numbering corresponds to that in appendix 1).*

before it was clothed and adorned. Funerary practices in many historical and contemporary societies prescribe the ritual washing and preparation of the corpse before interment. Furthermore, the presence of combs and vessels in different sequences of the burial ritual may be taken as support for this assumption. We do not know the length of time for this preparation phase. It may have been a matter of days as the body lay in state, but also much longer depending on the season of the year, place of death, ritual traditions, among other things.<sup>179</sup> Parallel to this phase, grave goods, ritual paraphernalia and other objects relevant for the mortuary practices were assembled and animals were slaughtered. The corpse, sometimes dressed in an elaborate funerary costume,<sup>180</sup> was then laid in a coffin, on a funerary couch, or directly on the floor of the grave which was constructed either as a simple deep cut in the ground, or a stone or wooden chamber. In coffin burials, it is plausible that the coffins were placed in the grave before the

<sup>179</sup> An illustrative example of the sometimes remarkable temporal dimensions of funerary rituals, possibly stretching over several years, is given by T. Gansum (2002:271–282) in his discussion on the famous Viking Age burial from Oseberg in Norway.

<sup>180</sup> See Fernstål 2004 & 2007 for an interesting discussion on the funerary costumes of the women buried in e.g. Skovgårde and Himlingøje.

body and grave goods were deposited, i.e. that the body was laid down and arranged when the coffin was already in position in the grave. This has been suggested for the graves at Skovgårde (Denmark).<sup>181</sup>

After the body was deposited, objects were arranged around it. We are often able to discern different groupings or clusterings of vessels around the deceased, which will be dealt with further on in this chapter, and it is evident that these arrangements are likewise the result of, and components in, certain sequences of the ritual. In other words, the vessels were *activated* at different stages of the burial. In some cases the vessels were closely integrated with the display of the corpse itself, as may be seen in grave 1 from Juellinge (Denmark) where the deceased is holding a strainer of bronze clutched in her right hand (fig. 3.2). Comparable *incorporations* of vessels may be observed in grave 1 at Marwedel (Germany) where a large saucepan of bronze was placed on top of the deceased's upper body (fig. 3.3), and possibly also in Himlingøje 1894-1 (Denmark) where a ladle and strainer of bronze, each containing a glass cup, were placed partially on top of the deceased's right arm (fig. 3.4). This practice will also be discussed in more detail below.

Moreover, some of the imported vessels were intentionally placed upside-down, which further emphasizes the intentionally arranged character of the grave goods. This was observed in the graves presented in table 3.1. The vessels were in other words not haphazardly deposited in the grave, and similar treatment is observable for vessels made of pottery as well.

Furthermore, the vessels were often stacked on top of, or inside of, each other (fig. 3.5; cf. fig. 3.6). This is an important observation with regard to the visibility of the vessels. The presumed visibility of the imported vessels is often a (sometimes indirect) reason for their interpretation as ideological tools that were displayed in the funerary ritual to generate power and prestige. Although it is quite possible that the vessels were on display before they were deposited, we have numerous examples of how they were obscured and sometimes even rendered invisible once they were arranged inside the grave, as seen in table 3.2.

These examples remind us that we cannot assume that all of the vessels were equally visible and thus able to make a visual impression on the bystanders comparable to the effect they have on us archaeologists who excavate them or view them on display in the museums. Furthermore, the single shard of glass which had apparently been deliberately placed under the large tutulus fibula on the deceased's chest in grave 400 at Skovgårde (Denmark) is especially worthy of note. This special circumstance would probably have been overlooked in a summary analysis based on the total inventory of objects in the grave, which would merely have counted it as a "Roman glass", not functionally set apart from the other glass vessels in the grave. That kind of analysis disregards the fact that objects belonging to the same category or type may be deposited in different stages of the ritual as well as in different contexts, which naturally have a bearing on their interpretation. Likewise, the fact that a single shard of glass was deposited, and not a whole vessel, connects this grave as well as grave 209 at Skovgårde (Denmark) and possibly also Leuna 2, 1917 (Germany), with other fragmentation practices observable in Germanic mortuary practices. This is dealt with in more detail in the third and last case study in chapter five, but in this framework dealing with the so-called princely graves it is interesting

<sup>181</sup> Ethelberg 2000:22.



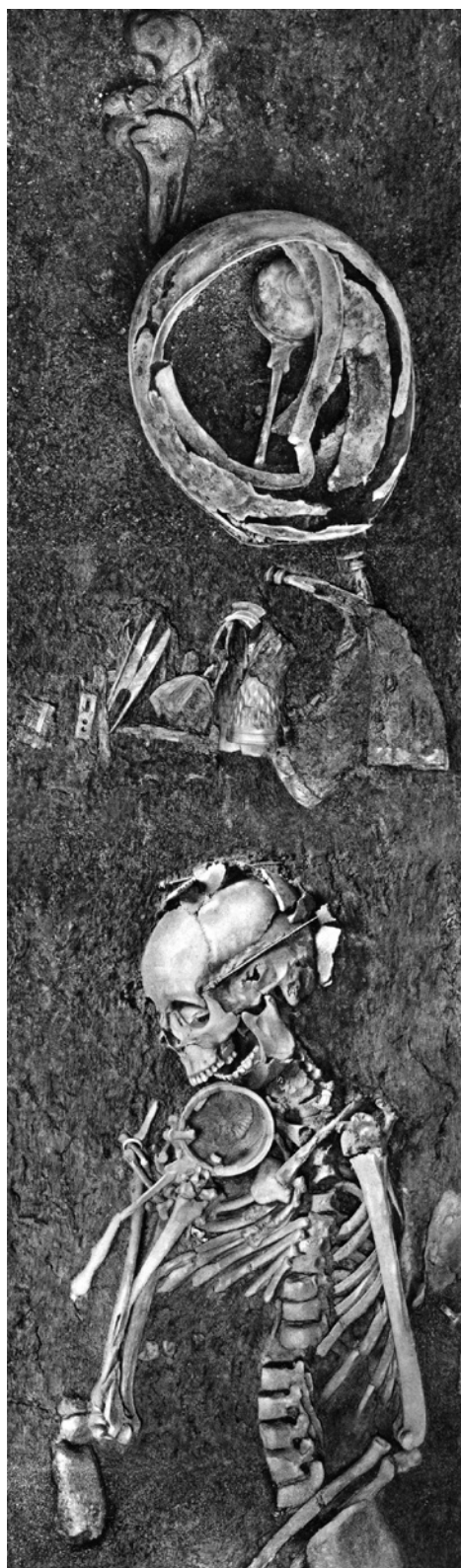
to mention that the two silver beakers found in Lubieszewo (Lübsow) grave 1, 1908, as well as the two silver beakers from Lubieszewo (Lübsow) grave 2, 1925 (Poland), apparently had been broken intentionally before deposition.<sup>182</sup> Both pairs consisted of one complete vessel and one with parts of the handles missing. An analogous treatment was observed in Juellinge 1 (Denmark) where one of the glass beakers was deposited with its foot missing, while the other beaker was complete. And likewise, in the so-called “royal grave” at Mušov (Czech Republic), several of the silver vessels had been broken seemingly deliberately, possibly as the result of a ritual treatment.<sup>183</sup>

Even though we can argue that the body and the grave goods, based on their arrangement, were on display in the coffin or chamber (bearing in mind that not all of the objects were as visible as one might presume), it is clear that this visual effect came to an end when the coffin or chamber was sealed with a wooden cover. But although the body and grave goods were taken out of view, the ritual actions continued. In several of the graves, the burial space itself was dug in two levels, creating terrace-like ledges or benches surrounding the coffin. This is a common practice in Germanic inhumations in the Roman Iron Age, and it was probably used to facilitate the deposition of the coffin, corpse and grave goods as well as to support the cover.<sup>184</sup> In a number of the analysed graves, seen in table 3.3 and 3.4, these ledges, benches and other surfaces outside the primary

<sup>182</sup> Belkowska 1986:90f.; appendix 2, no. 175 & 179.

<sup>183</sup> Peška 2002:16, 56, 57; appendix 2, no.14.

<sup>184</sup> Cf. Ethelberg 2000:22.



*Fig. 3.2 Grave 1 from Juellinge, Lolland Municipality, Region Zealand in Denmark (after Müller 1911:pl. 1).*

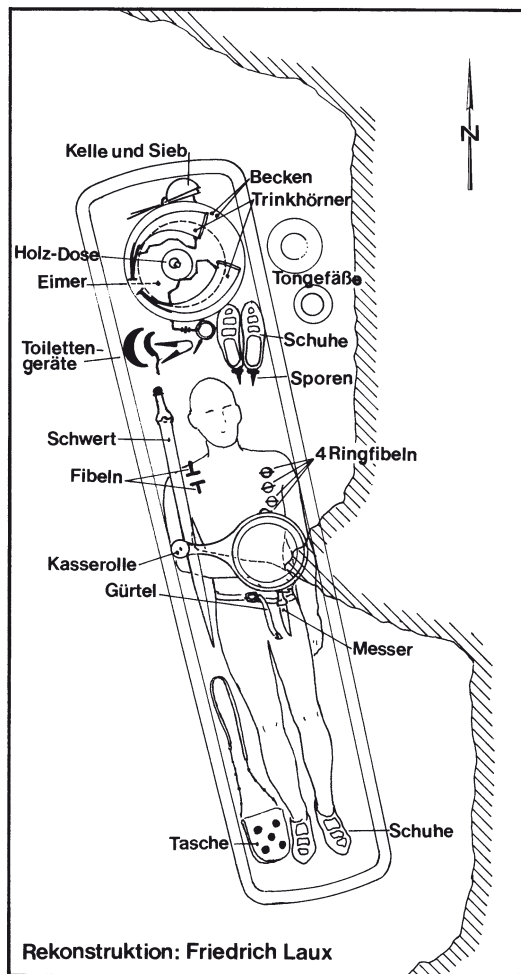


Fig. 3.3 Layout of grave 1 from Marwedel, district of Lüchow-Dannenberg, Lower-Saxony in Germany (after Laux 1993:319 fig. 3).

burial space were also used to deposit vessels of both local and Roman manufacture (fig. 3.3; fig. 3.7; fig. 3.8). And not only vessels were deposited in this stage of the ritual. In grave 400 from Skovgårde (Denmark) a bone comb was found on the ledge outside the coffin together with the wooden plate or tray, and in grave 4 from Neudorf-Bornstein (Germany) the vessels were accompanied by a wooden tray and the remains of a calf. In Simris 2, 1972 (Sweden) the vessels were found together with an iron lancehead. Likewise, on the ledge outside the coffin in Himlingøje 1978-35 (Denmark), at the level of the wooden cover, the skeleton of a dog was found together with the remains of at least two sheep, a goose and a small bird.<sup>185</sup> On the ledges surrounding Skovgårde 8 the remains of a pig, a comb and a needle were placed, and deposited on the ledge outside the coffin at Skovgårde 209 (Denmark) was the skeleton of a lamb (see fig. 5.2 in chapter five). Both the

pig and the lamb in these graves were in a non-articulated state, indicating that they were probably cut into pieces before deposition.<sup>186</sup> A comparable treatment may be seen in grave 2 at Juellinge (Denmark) as well. Deposited partly on the cover of the coffin and partly on the ledge above the foot end were the hind legs of a sheep, while the front part of the animal lay on the ledge above the head end of the coffin.<sup>187</sup> That this practice of depositing objects and animal remains on ledges and areas outside the primary resting place for the corpse was not exclusive for inhumations with imported Roman vessels is evident from numerous other examples dating to both the Early and the Late Roman Iron Age.<sup>188</sup> For instance, on the northern ledge of one of the famous

<sup>185</sup> Schou Jørgensen 1995:125f.

<sup>186</sup> Hatting 2000:405.

<sup>187</sup> Müller 1911:11. Parts of a sheep were also deposited on the head end ledge in grave 1 at Juellinge (Müller 1911:2).

<sup>188</sup> Numerous examples could be cited, cf. Broholm 1953; Raddatz 1962; Klindt-Jensen 1978a-b; Ethelberg 1986; Lind 1991:36f.; Ethelberg 1990.





SITE	COUNTRY	DATE	REVERSED VESSELS
Blidegn	DK	B2	Two saucepans and a ladle
Favrskov I, 2	DK	B2	A strainer of bronze
Nordrup I	DK	C1b	A ladle and strainer of bronze
Haßleben 8	DE	C2	A bronze basin, and a ladle and strainer of bronze
Leuna 2, 1917	DE	C2	A silver cup and a ladle and strainer of bronze
Store-Dal 6	NO	B2	A saucepan of bronze and two glass bowls

*Table 3.1 Graves with Roman vessels deposited upside-down.*

SITE	COUNTRY	DATE	OBSCURED OR CONCEALED VESSELS
Blidegn	DK	B2	Two saucepans and a ladle of bronze were placed in a wooden box.
Dollerupgård, A2	DK	B2	Two silver beakers (although considered locally manufactured) were placed in containers of bark.
Himlingøje 1894-1	DK	C1b	A glass beaker was placed in a strainer of bronze.
Himlingøje 1949-2	DK	C1b	A cup and beaker of glass were placed in a bronze pail.
Himlingøje 1977-3	DK	C1b	A glass cup was placed in a strainer of bronze, and all had been covered by textile and wood.
Juellinge 1	DK	B2	A ladle of bronze placed inside a bronze cauldron.
Kirkebakkegård	DK	C1b	A ladle and strainer of bronze were placed in a bronze pail.
Nordrup A	DK	C1b	A glass cup was placed in a strainer of bronze.
Skovgårde 8	DK	C1b2	Two glass cups were deposited in ceramic vessels.
Skovgårde 209	DK	C1b1	A single shard of glass was placed in a ceramic bowl.
Skovgårde 400	DK	C2	A cup and a beaker of glass were deposited in a ceramic bowl, and a single shard of glass hidden away under a large tutulus-fibula on the deceased's chest.
Skrøbeshave	DK	B2	A ladle and strainer of bronze was stowed away inside a bronze pail, which in turn lay in a bronze basin.
Varpelev A	DK	C2	A bronze basin was placed in a wooden bowl.
Emersleben 2	DE	C2	A bronze basin covered by a bronze plate.
Gommern	DE	C2	A silver pail, bronze basin and three glass beakers were stowed away in a large bronze basin under the funerary couch. The glass beakers were in turn deposited in a small woven basket.
Leuna 2, 1917	DE	C2	A bronze plate, ladle and strainer, a silver cup and shards of a glass vessel were placed inside what may have been a wooden box.
Marwedel 2	DE	B2a	A large saucepan of bronze containing a two silver cups and two small saucepans of silver had possibly been wrapped in cloth.
Neudorf-Bornstein 4	DE	C2	A large bronze basin, possibly wrapped in cloth, inside of which stood a glass beaker and two small ladles of wood. Inside the basin were also found the remains of a rush woven basket, possibly a container for the glass vessel.
Leśno	PL	B2/C1	A bronze pail had possibly been wrapped in cloth.

*Table 3.2 Graves with obscured or concealed Roman vessels.*

SITE	COUNTRY	DATE	HEAD END	FOOT END	UPPER BODY	LEGS	COMPARTMENT	ON THE BODY	OUTSIDE
Annasholm	DK	B2		X					
Blidegn	DK	B2					X		
Dollerupgård A1	DK	B2	X	X	X				X
Dollerupgård A2	DK	B2	X	X					X
Favrskov I, 2	DK	B2	X	X					
Juellinge 1	DK	B2	X					X	
Juellinge 2	DK	B2	X						
Møllegårdsmarken 1109	DK	B2	X		X	X			X
Skrøbershave	DK	B2	X	X	X				
Lalendorf	DE	B1b	X						
Marwedel 1	DE	B2a	X					X	X
Marwedel 2	DE	B2a		X					
Store-Dal 5	NO	B2	X						
Store-Dal 6	NO	B2	X						
Gosławice	PL	B1c					X		X
Leśno	PL	B2/C1	X	X					
Weklice 208	PL	B2/C1-C1a	X						
Weklice 495	PL	B2/C1-C1a	X						
Simris 2, 1972	SE	B2							X
Total			14	7	3	1	2	2	6

Table 3.3 Placement of vessel arrangements in graves dated to the Early Roman Iron Age (presence and absence).

above, except Neudorf-Bornstein 4 (Germany), more uncertain. Likewise, on top of the deceased's feet in Skovgårde 400 (Denmark) the excavators found a large bronze-bound wooden pail, and a large ceramic bowl containing the complete skeleton of a small pig (see fig. 5.3 in chapter five). The pail was found in an upright position, which according to the excavators indicates that it was placed directly upon the deceased's feet, and had not stood on the coffin lid and fallen down onto the body. Similar examples where vessels were placed directly on top of the corpse are seen in Himlingøje 1894-1 (see fig. 3.4) and 1978-35. This pattern of depositing vessels on top of the coffin lid (or directly on top of the deceased) was not exclusive for the so-called princely graves.<sup>191</sup> Furthermore, it is quite possible that objects found at the head or foot end of other graves might have originally been deposited on top of the coffin or chamber as well.

In the next phase of the ritual the grave was back-filled with stones and soil, and even here we occasionally find evidence for the ritual deposition of vessels. In

<sup>191</sup> E.g. Pietrzak 1997:38f., pl. LXXIX.223.

SITE	COUNTRY	DATE	HEAD END	FOOT END	UPPER BODY	LEGS	COMPARTMENT	ON THE BODY	OUTSIDE
Billum 1	DK	C2	X						
Brøndsager 2000	DK	C2	X		X	X			
Himlingøje 1894-1	DK	C1b		X	X				
Himlingøje 1949-2	DK	C1b		X					
Himlingøje 1977-3	DK	C1b	X	X					
Himlingøje 1978-35	DK	C1b	X	X					
Kirkebakkegård	DK	C1b	X						X
Nordrup 1873	DK	C1b	X						
Nordrup A	DK	C1b	X		X	X			
Nordrup H	DK	C1b		X					
Nordrup I	DK	C1b	X	X	X				
Skovgårde 8	DK	C1b2							X
Skovgårde 209	DK	C1b1		X					
Skovgårde 400	DK	C2	X					X	X
Slusegård 1	DK	C1	X						
Valløby	DK	C1b		X		X	X		
Varpelev A	DK	C2	X	X					
Emersleben 1	DE	C2		X		X			X?
Emersleben 2	DE	C2	X	X	X	X			X?
Gommern	DE	C2	X	X	X	X			
Haina	DE	C2		X					
Haßleben 4	DE	C2	X		X				X
Haßleben 8	DE	C2	X		X	X			
Häven 1, 1967	DE	C2	X		X				
Häven 1968	DE	C2			X	X			
Leuna 2, 1917	DE	C2	X				X		
Leuna 2, 1926	DE	C2		X					
Leuna 3, 1926	DE	C2	X		X	X			
Neudorf-Bornstein 4	DE	C2							X
Neudorf-Bornstein 7	DE	C3	X		X				X
Odry 423	PL	C1b	X						
Osiek	PL	C1a	X	X					
Total			21	15	12	9	2	1	8

Table 3.4 Placement of vessel arrangements in graves dated to the Late Roman Iron Age (presence and absence).

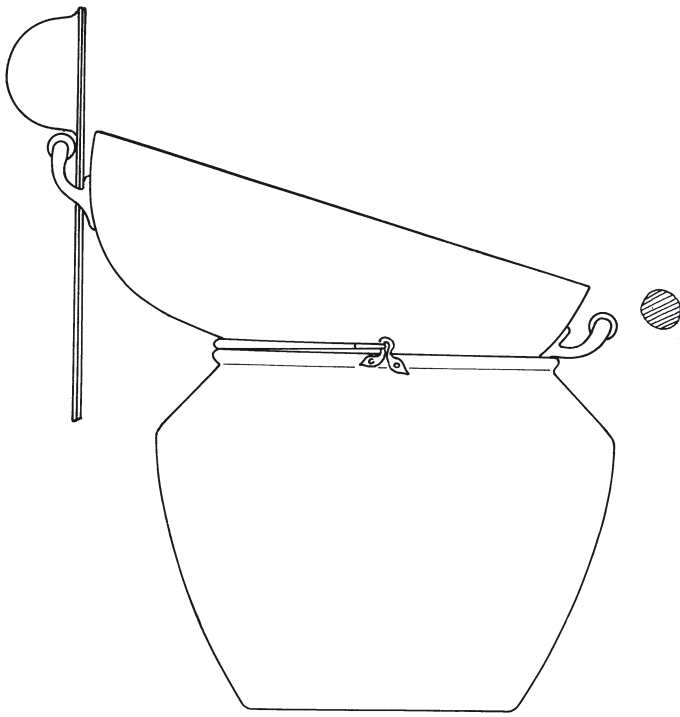


Fig. 3.5 Vessels stacked ontop of each other in grave 1 from Marwedel, district of Lüchow-Dannenberg, Lower-Saxony in Germany (after Laux 1993:324 fig. 5).

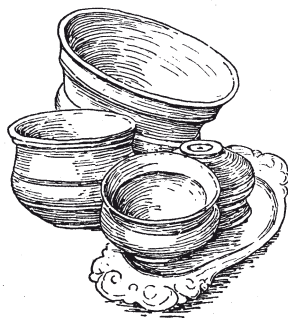


Fig. 3.6 The vessel arrangement in grave 2, 1926 from Leuna, district of Saalekreis, Saxony-Anhalt in Germany (after Schulz 1953:19 fig. 30).

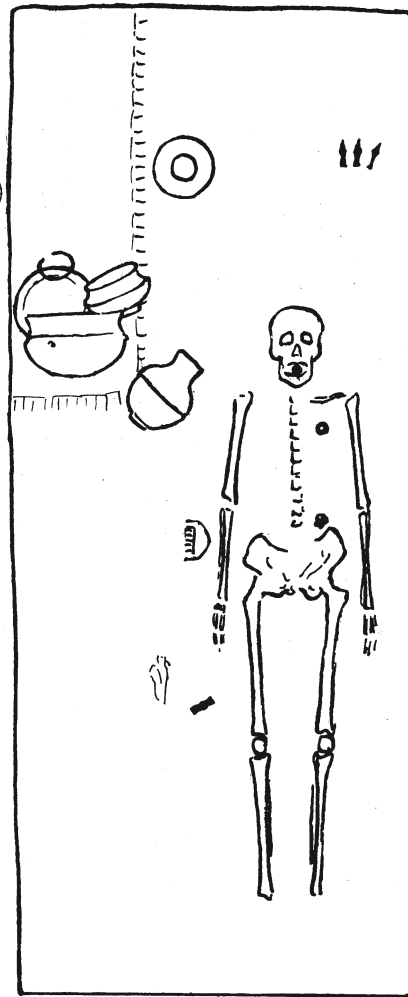


Fig. 3.7 Layout of grave 4 from Hafsleben (district of Weimar, Thuringia in Germany) with vessels deposited on a ledge in the north-west side (after Schulz 1933:pl. 3 fig. 2).

Møllegaardsmarken 1109 (Denmark) a bronze ladle belonging to the strainer deposited inside the grave was found on top of one of the large stones that had once covered the grave. The published documentation is vague, but it seems as if this vessel had been deliberately deposited among the stones that covered the grave. This is a singular find concerning a Roman vessel, which makes it difficult to argue a more general practice. While it might be argued in this specific case that the vessels should not be interpreted separately, since ladles and strainers are often deposited as sets, the sequential disconnection between them makes this unlikely. A comparable practice of dividing or breaking up objects may be seen in grave 2, 1910 in Lubieszewo (Lübsow) in Poland, where the feet belonging to a saucepan of bronze were found among the grave goods. The rest of the vessel was discovered in Lubieszewo (Lübsow) grave 3, 1913 (see appendix 2, no. 176–177).<sup>192</sup> Furthermore, it is quite common for objects

<sup>192</sup> Wielowiejski 1985:282, 287.

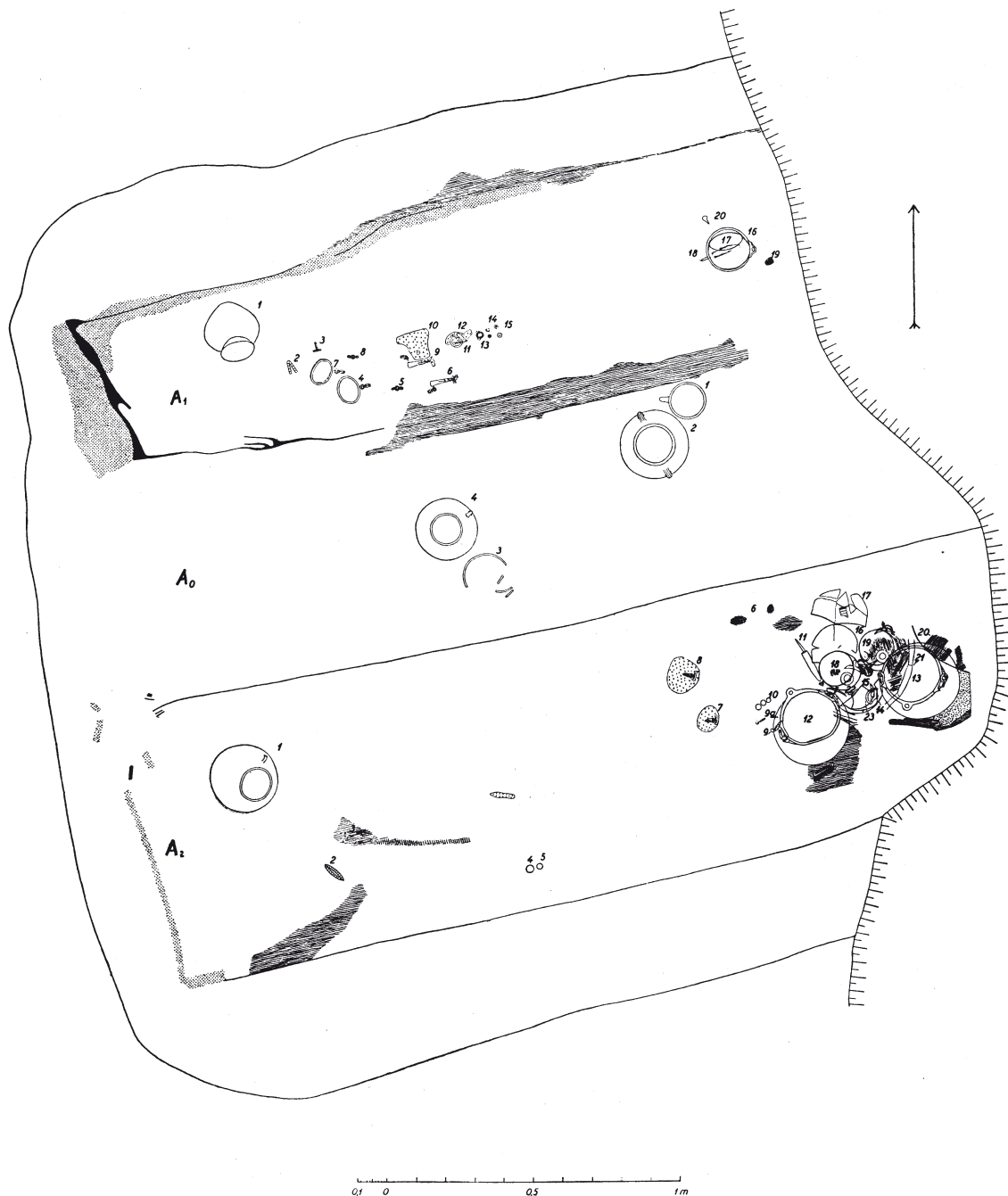


Fig. 3.8 Layout of the grave from Dollerupgård, Kolding Municipality, Region South Denmark, Jutland (after Voss & Ørsnes-Christensen 1948:211 fig. 2).

and animal remains to have been deposited at this last stage of the burial. We know of a few possibly analogous cases where shards of glass seem to have been intentionally deposited during the back-filling of the grave, as in Fienstedt 898 (Germany) and in Harpelev 2 (Denmark), which will be dealt with in more detail in chapter five. Likewise, in Skovgårde 8 (Denmark) a collection of beads were found in the grave fill.<sup>193</sup> In Skovgårde 209 (Denmark) the non-articulated skeleton of a lamb was found in the fill. In Gosławice (Poland) ceramic vessels were found deposited among the stones covering the chamber (see fig. 3.10), and in the grave at Kirkebakkegård the

<sup>193</sup> Ethelberg 2000:32–35.



coffin had been covered with large stones on top of which a fire had been lit and several ceramic vessels smashed.<sup>194</sup> Comparable practices are visible in non-princely graves as well, like grave 7 at Vandet Skole (Denmark), dated to period B2, where three ceramic vessels had been deposited among the stones covering the grave,<sup>195</sup> and in grave A 114 at Hedegård (Denmark), dated to the Early Roman Iron Age, several ceramic vessels had been deposited at the closing of the grave.<sup>196</sup> Many more examples could be cited. These kinds of practices, both the deposition of vessels and other objects outside or on top of the coffin, and the deposition in the grave fill are most commonly interpreted as either offerings or the remains of a funerary meal eaten by those performing the ritual.<sup>197</sup> Given the objects associated with grooming found in some of the graves, like the comb and needle found on the ledge in Skovgårde 8 and the comb found in a similar position in Skovgårde 400 (Denmark), as well as the basin, plate and comb found on top of the deceased's feet (and thus possibly placed on top of the chamber) in Emersleben 2 (Germany), it is also possible that some of the objects had been used in the preparation of the corpse and thus not connected with the actual assemblages of grave goods placed alongside the deceased.

In the observations above we see that imported and local vessels were used in a similar fashion, both assembled around the body (in some cases incorporated into the posture of the corpse) and intentionally arranged together in groups. Occasionally the imported vessels were obscured or hidden away in these assemblages, which limited their visual impact on the spectators. It is also clear that the vessels were treated differently in different phases of the ritual. For instance, some imported vessels were intentionally deposited as fragments. Furthermore, not all objects were directly associated with the arrangement of the corpse. Some, and not only objects but also animal remains, were deliberately deposited outside the coffin. Thus, their placement differs from the grave goods inside the coffin or chamber since the body had been sealed off at the time of their deposition. This shows that not all ritual actions were directly associated with the dead body but rather belonged to sequences where the deceased was separated (at least visually) from the spectators. As already mentioned, this might dispute the often-presumed notion that all objects in a grave were directly related to the deceased's social persona. This fact especially indicates that we should be careful about directly connecting the imported vessels with the staging of the deceased. Like the locally manufactured vessels, the Roman ones were also used in ritual activities after the deceased had been taken out of view, possibly in funerary meals and offerings performed by the participants. Granted, it is possible that the survivors used imported vessels in these rituals precisely in order to illustrate the deceased's social status, even though they did not use the vessels directly in association with the dead body. Nevertheless, they were part of a different phase than the rest of the grave goods. From the perspectives discussed above we may thus reach a much more dynamic picture of how the grave goods were utilized during the ritual, how vessels were displayed, arranged and concealed in different parts of the funeral, and how the same category of objects, be they of

<sup>194</sup> Thrane 1966:4.

<sup>195</sup> Christensen 1998:79.

<sup>196</sup> Madsen 1986:17f.

<sup>197</sup> E.g. Neergaard 1928:34; Brøndsted 1960:147f.; Friis 1964:49; Thrane 1966:4; Madsen 1986:17f.; Diinhoff 1997:115.



Roman or local manufacture, very well could have different functions within the same phase of the ritual.

### 3.6 THE CHOREOGRAPHY OF THE GRAVE

If meaning in ritual is shaped in the way both verbal and material symbols are used and combined at the moment of performance, then we cannot just settle with analyses that look for the presence or absence of object categories or types. We must focus on the way objects are used in more practical terms, in the grave itself. This perspective confronts previous studies that register the presence and absence of categories and interpret the patterns as expressions or signs of the social structure. For example, weapons in graves are often interpreted as an insignia of warrior status and an expression of martial ideologies, and the presence of objects of Roman manufacture is viewed as tokens of a civilized, Mediterranean lifestyle. I argue that this approach must be supplemented with studies that focus on the practical use of the objects in the funerary context; what was done with them and in what stage of the mortuary rituals they were introduced and used. In that way we may be able to reach an understanding of the different levels of meaning – the exegetical, the operational, and the positional meaning – as argued by Turner. In the following sections of the chapter I will thus focus on the spatial use of the grave to see if it is possible to distinguish conceptual structures in the assemblages of vessels of both local and Roman manufacture. By conceptual structures I refer to spatial assemblages in which the grouped objects have something in common. In other words, objects arranged together because they are conceptually linked with each other. In the context of Roman Iron Age burials, one such often-discussed conceptual arrangement is the drinking set. As I have mentioned previously, the frequent use of imported vessels in the graves is often interpreted as an *imitatio imperii*. Also, several of the studies that have dealt with the question of Romanized drinking sets in Germanic graves have used the total inventory as their point of departure, ignoring the complexity of arrangements and ritual sequences. Since I would argue that the mere presence of Roman vessels is not enough evidence for an emulation of Roman customs, it is important to critically assess the Roman drinking sets in relation to the actual arrangements of vessels in the graves. Was the arrangement of vessels, both Roman and local, a way to illustrate that they were functionally related, and if so in what way?

#### 3.6.1 DISRUPTED SPACE

Since it is through spatial clustering and dispersing of vessels that possible sets are discernable, I have studied the spatial layout of the graves and registered the arrangements of vessels, together with other objects, in groups and their positions in relation to each other and the dead body (see appendix 1). I have focused on how the vessels were connected or disconnected, i.e. which objects were co-located in the same space and which objects were separated from each other by the use of space. The incentive for this perspective is the notion that the same type or form of object might have different

functions and meanings depending on the situations in which they occur, of which we already have seen examples above concerning the ritual sequences.

First of all it is clear that coffin or chamber was not considered a uniform surface for deposition. The space of the grave was disrupted and divided into sections through different placements of vessel arrangements (see table 3.3 and 3.4) as well as other objects. The vessels could be:

- Arranged in a box or in a special compartment
- Arranged along the axis of the body, at either the head or the foot end
- Arranged along the upper body of the deceased
- Arranged along the legs of the deceased
- Incorporated in the posture of the body
- Distanced from the body and the primary burial space, e.g. placed outside the coffin or grave

In other words, vessels were clustered together in different ways within the ritual space of the grave, possibly as a means of highlighting them and thus making them more salient. While studying these arrangements, it becomes clear that the imported vessels are in general not made more salient than other vessels of local manufacture. And as I have already mentioned in connection with the ritual sequences, some vessels were even concealed or obscured through their arrangement in the graves.

That this use of space, which separated groups of vessels from each other (and other objects), was deliberate, both regarding the vessels inside the coffins and those placed outside in the chamber, on ledges or benches, is clearly visible in examples like the double grave from Dollerupgård (Denmark) dated to the period B2 (fig. 3.8). Each coffin contained a handled ceramic vase placed above the head of the deceased, and a larger arrangement of vessels and other objects was placed at the foot end. Outside each coffin, on the bench that separated them, stood two handled ceramic vessels, one larger and one smaller. The same intentionality and correspondence in practice is visible in the contemporary graves 1 and 2 from Juellinge (Denmark) where comparable arrangements of vessels, containing a cauldron, ladle and strainer, drinking horns together with a wooden box containing a comb, a pair of scissors, a knife and a needle, were found above the heads of the deceased individuals. Furthermore, if we compare the graves from Juellinge with the contemporary grave 1 from Marwedel (Germany), we see that the similarities in practice transcended geographical distances as well. In Marwedel 1, the deceased was buried with a cauldron, ladle and strainer, two drinking horns and a wooden box containing a knife, a razor and a pair of scissors above his head. On his chest lay a large saucepan, analogous to the strainer in the woman's hand in Juellinge 1. The only object that did not match up to the set in Juellinge 1 was the basin of bronze.

Similar correspondences may be discerned in Late Roman Iron Age graves as well, as in Häven (Germany). In grave 1, 1967, a handled ceramic bowl and below it a bone comb were placed by the eastern wall of the chamber, parallel to the deceased's left hip. Comparably, in grave 2, 1967, which is also regarded as a Haßleben-Leuna-type grave but does not contain any vessels of Roman manufacture, a small ceramic cup and a bone comb were found in a similar position (fig. 3.9).<sup>198</sup> In grave 1968 a wooden plate

<sup>198</sup> Hollnagel 1970:267, fig. 181, 269-276.

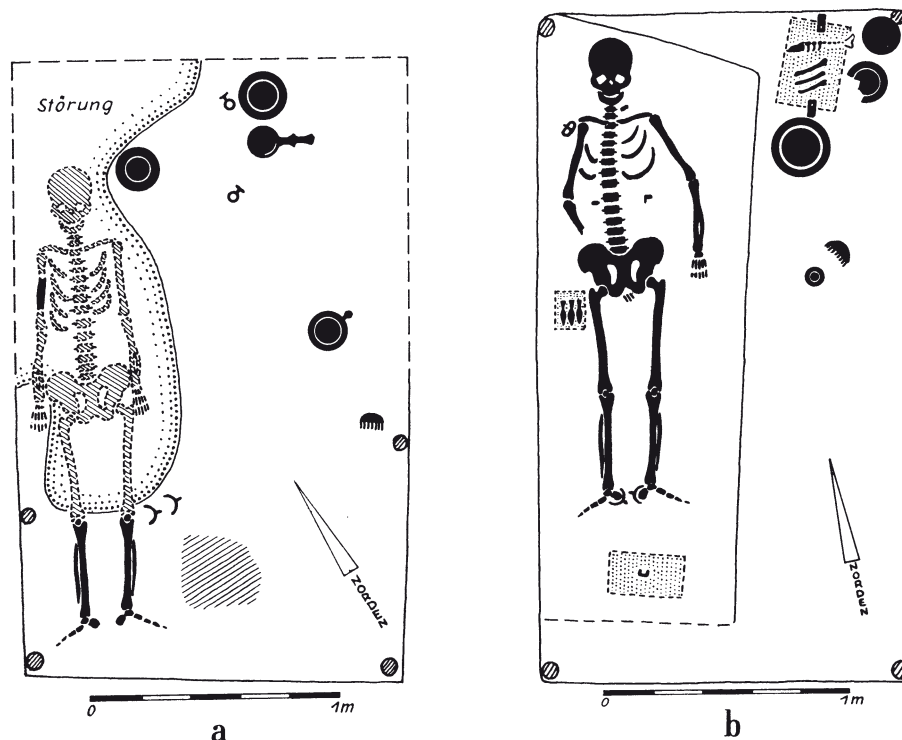


Fig. 3.9 Layout of graves 1, 1967 (a) and 2, 1967 (b) from Häven, district of Wismar, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania in Germany (after Hollnagel 1970:267 fig. 181, copyright the Landesamt für Kultur und Denkmalpflege, Abteilung Archäologie und Denkmalpflege, Schwerin).

and a bone comb were found parallel to the deceased's left knee, below the funerary couch, a position which should possibly be seen as a parallel to the two other graves. Likewise, Skovgårde (Denmark) graves 8 and 209 both contain a large tureen-like vessel, a handled ceramic cup and a glass vessel deposited at the foot ends of the coffins. The only difference is that the glass vessel in grave 8 is complete, while the one in grave 209 was represented by a single shard (see fig. 5.2 & 5.3 in chapter five). Lastly, the two graves from Neudorf-Bornstein (Germany) also seem to share some of the basic layout, in that outside the coffins a single vessel was placed parallel to the upper body of the deceased, while a second arrangement of vessels was deposited parallel to the legs and feet. And in both graves a large basin was placed apparently on top of the foot end of the coffin. This intentionality of deposition should not be taken for granted, since it is most likely an expression of ritual customs, and as such an expression of stipulated functions and meanings with continuity between interments. This continuity is especially evident in Neudorf-Bornstein, where grave 4 dates to period C2 and grave 7 to period C3. Furthermore, the deliberate deposition of vessels in different arrangements that were spatially separated from each other in the graves, as well as separated in time through the different ritual phases in which they were activated, shows that the functions and meanings of the different vessel arrangements in a grave were almost certainly not identical.

I have already discussed the custom of separating certain vessel arrangements from the primary interment space for the body, by depositing them on ledges or benches outside the coffin, or outside the grave itself or in its fill. An additional use of the space

in the graves, which was possibly a way of highlighting the association between certain objects or the salience of certain compositions, as well as deliberately separating them from the body, may be termed *framing*. This practice is seen in two graves in Poland and Denmark during the Early Roman Iron Age, and two in Denmark and Germany in the Late Roman Iron Age. In Gosławice (Poland), dated to period B<sub>1</sub>, the grave goods were deposited in a special compartment at the head end of the chamber (fig. 3.10). The objects consisted of two bronze pails, a bronze basin, a gold-plated silver beaker, a saucepan of bronze, a bronze ladle and strainer, two drinking horns, two glass bowls, two ceramic bowls, three ceramic jars or beakers, a bronze knife and a pair of bronze scissors. No divisions into clear arrangements or groupings of the objects are discernable. In Blidegn (Denmark), dated to period B<sub>2</sub>, a wooden box containing two saucepans, a ladle of bronze and a ceramic cup were placed inside a stone-enclosed section at the foot end of the coffin. The box also contained a belt buckle and strap-end of bronze, a large ring or spindle whorl of amber, a spindle whorl of glass, a ring or spindle whorl of clay, a bronze wire, two bronze knives, a bundle of willow twigs wrapped with wool thread, textile fragments, and a small reed box containing a sea urchin, a pinecone scale and seeds of bladder nut. In the grave at Valløby (Denmark), dated to period C<sub>1b</sub>, a stone-enclosed section at the head end of the coffin displayed a large terra sigillata bowl, two silver beakers, two bronze pails, two sets of ladles and strainers of bronze, a drinking horn, and at least two glass beakers (fig. 3.11). And lastly in grave 2, 1917, at Leuna (Germany), dated to period C<sub>2</sub>, a closed compartment, or possibly a wooden box, at the foot end of the coffin contained a bronze plate, a ladle and strainer of bronze, a silver cup, pieces of a glass vessel, two ceramic bowls, a ceramic cup as well as the bones of a chicken, a rooster and a suckling pig (fig. 3.12).

This form of framing of certain vessels using special compartments within the primary burial space is also seen in Germanic graves not belonging to the princely group.<sup>199</sup> Whether it was a way of indicating that they shared a common identity, that they belonged together either based on their function or due to other factors, is hard to say but will be explored further below. However, I would argue that it is clear that the vessels placed in these compartments should not be viewed in the same fashion as the objects deposited together with the body. They were deliberately cut off from the rest of the burial space. I would argue that these compartments were not necessarily sealed from view but rather a way of highlighting certain objects and at the same time intentionally (and perhaps also conceptually) separating them from the body itself. In the case of Blidegn it appears as if it was the box itself that was highlighted in this fashion, while the objects inside may have been *imagined*, but not visible to the spectators. They are thus closely related to other similar cases, like the ceramic cup deposited in a wooden box in the approximately contemporary grave at Leśno (Poland), and the saucepan of bronze, two silver cups and two small silver saucepans in Marwedel 2 (Germany), dated to period B<sub>2a</sub>, which had been wrapped in cloth before deposition. Rather, these vessels appear to have been stowed away or put in safekeeping, as mentioned above. The vessels arranged below or under the funerary couches, as in Gommern and Häven 1968, both dated to period C<sub>2</sub>, should in my opinion not be equated with vessels arranged in special compartments, nor vessels deposited outside the coffin or burial chamber. The chamber and the funerary couch constitute the same space, and the vessels thus

199 E.g. Rau 1972:192.

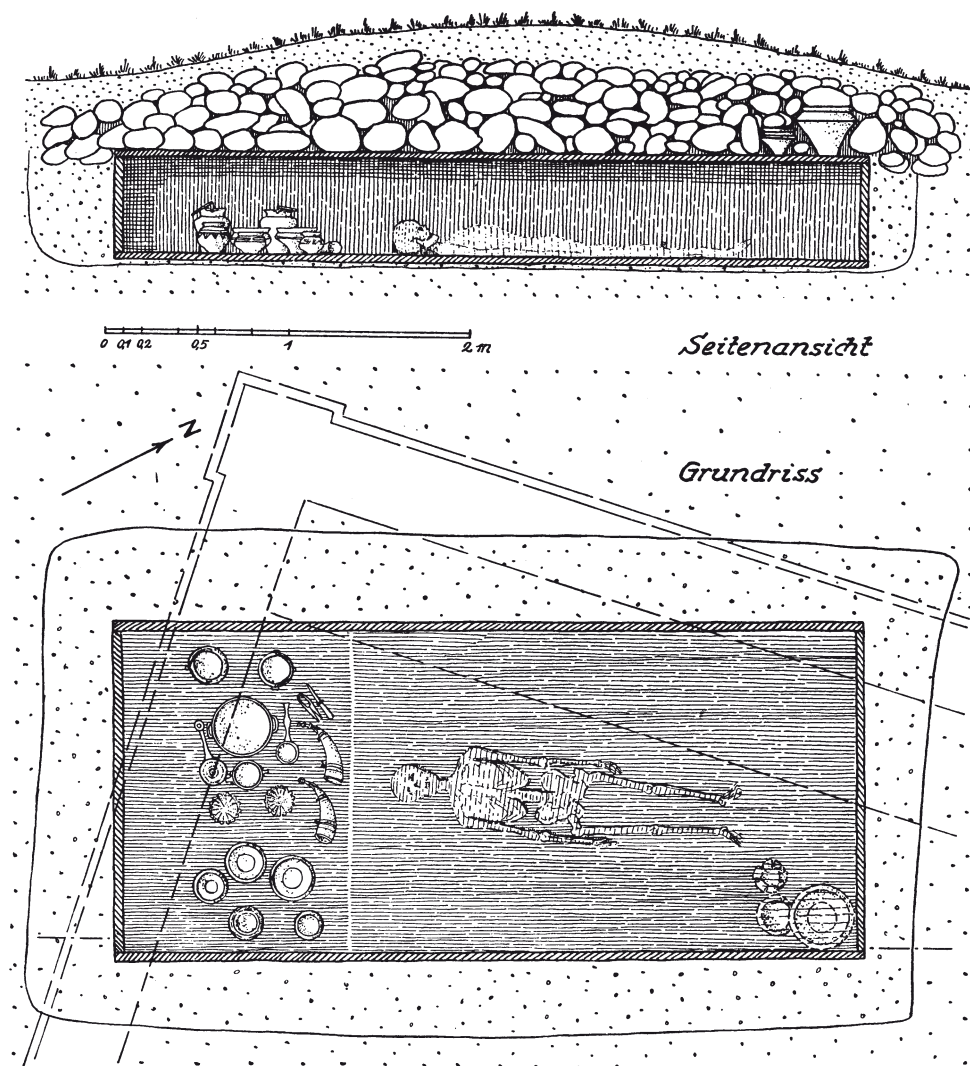


Fig. 3.10 Layout of the grave from Gostawice, Opole County, Opole Province in Poland (after Raschke 1939:59 fig. 3).

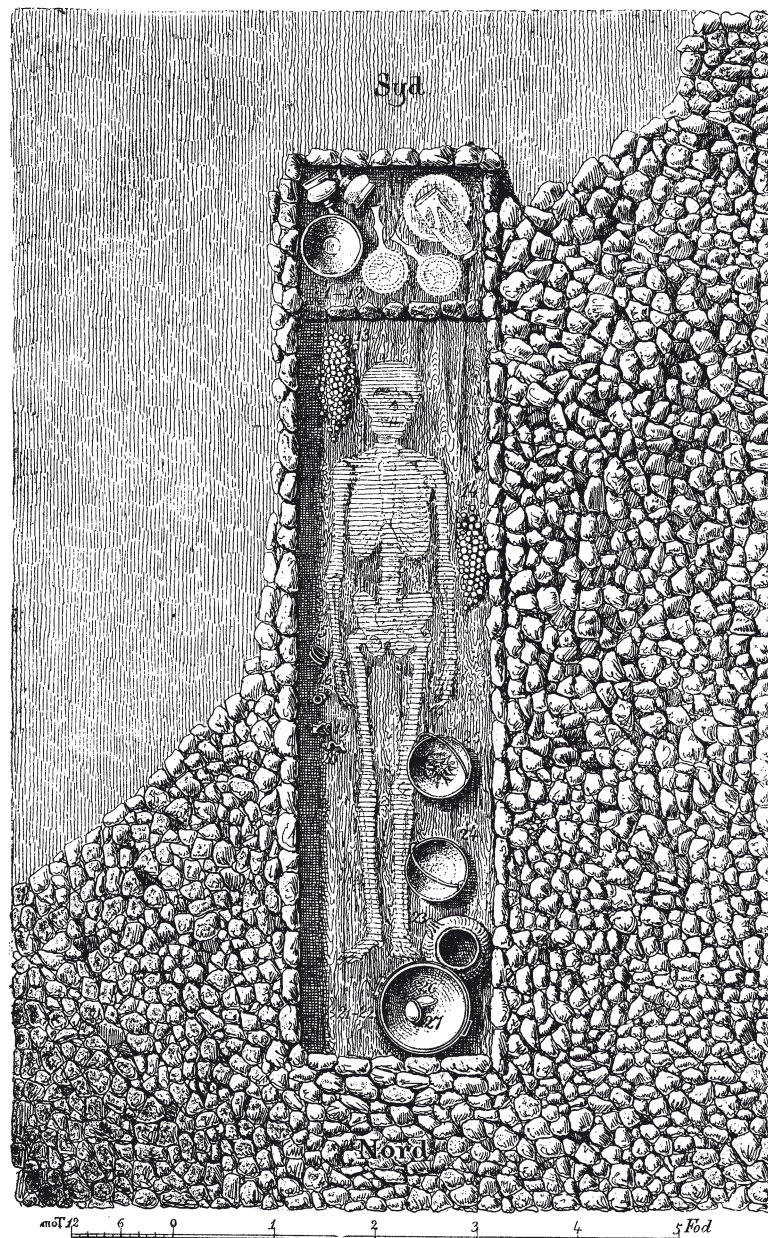
inhabited the same ritual area, and were not separated from the body by a wall, coffin lid or through the chamber construction itself.<sup>200</sup>

### 3.6. ANIMATED BODIES

Of the graves in my spatial analysis, the most common placement of vessels in relation to the body of the deceased is at the head end of the coffin or grave (table 3.3 & 3.4). This is roughly the same for both the Early and the Late Roman Iron Age, and is in my material visible in Denmark, Germany and Norway in the Early Roman period

<sup>200</sup> Similar practices may be observed in several other Germanic inhumations as well, but exclusively involving local pottery, as in grave 918 in Slusegård on Bornholm in Denmark dated to the Late Roman Iron Age (Klindt-Jensen 1978b:190f.; Sellevold 1996:187).





*Fig. 3.11 Layout of the grave from Valløby, Stevns Municipality, Region Zealand in Denmark (after Engelhardt 1873:288 fig. 3).*

and in Denmark, Germany and Poland in the late part of the period. The head end is closely followed by the foot end as the most favoured position for vessel arrangements. But the foot end becomes slightly more frequent during the Late Roman Iron Age. This position is present in Denmark and Germany during the Early Roman Iron Age and in Denmark, Germany and Poland in the Late Roman period. Although it is hard to get any real statistically viable data from this sample of graves I have studied, it is nevertheless interesting to discuss the reason behind the head and foot end being the dominant places for deposition of vessels. While some scholars have argued that the head end was reserved for specially important and personal grave goods belonging to

the deceased,<sup>201</sup> one might also argue for more practical reasons behind the positions, as the head or foot end could be easily extended to hold the grave goods. But a purely practical explanation depending on the available space in the coffins seems unlikely, as vessels are often deposited alongside the upper body of the deceased as well. Thus the positions at the head and foot end seem to have some meaning behind them. One gets the impression that the vessels placed at the head or foot end of the coffin or grave were associated with the body, compared to those placed outside the coffins, but at the same time assembled or stacked on top of each other and put aside. However, occasionally some vessels were deposited alone and were not part of an assemblage. In the double grave from Dollerupgård (Denmark), dated to period B2, a single large ceramic vase was placed above the deceased's heads in both coffins (fig. 3.8). In Favrskov I grave 2 (Denmark), contemporary with Dollerupgård, a vessel made of wood or leather was placed alone at the foot end of the grave. Likewise in Himlingøje 1894-1 (Denmark), dated to period C1b, a single bronze basin was deposited below the deceased's feet (fig. 3.4). In Haßleben 4 (Germany), dated to period C2, a single ceramic bowl was deposited at the head end of the grave (fig. 3.7). In the contemporary grave Leuna 2, 1917 (Germany), a ceramic beaker was placed closely behind the deceased's head (fig. 3.12). Lastly, in Brøndsager 2000 (Denmark), dated to period C2, a small handled cup was placed by the deceased's lower right leg, clearly separate from the other vessels in the grave. It is difficult to interpret the meaning of these lone vessels in relation to the other arrangements in the graves. One possibility is that the single vessels were part of a separate act performed by the ritual participants that was associated with the body and thus deposited near it, but yet apart from the rest of the assemblages. A similar interpretation is presented by Schlüter for vessels that he is unable to assign to either a drinking set or an eating set in his study of the Haßleben-Leuna graves in Central Germany.<sup>202</sup> Due to their isolated position, he suggested that the lone beakers sometimes found next

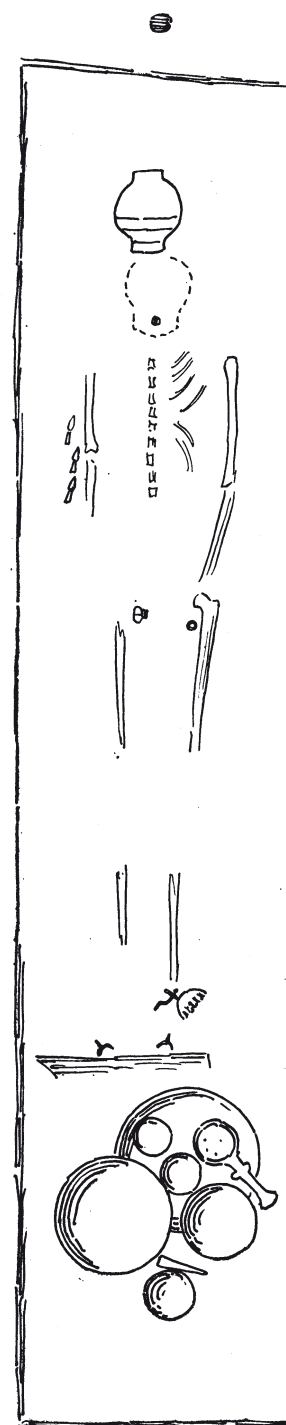


Fig. 3.12 Layout of grave 2, 1917 from Leuna, district of Saalekreis, Saxony-Anhalt in Germany (after Schulz 1953:12 fig. 7).

<sup>201</sup> E.g. Hunter 1977:35.

<sup>202</sup> Schlüter 1970:34.



to the deceased's head were an offering of drink.<sup>203</sup> However, since the vessels discussed above are of differing types, it is difficult to single out just one explanation. Nevertheless, it is clear that they were placed in their position deliberately and thus intentionally distanced from the rest of the vessels, possibly as a way of highlighting them and making them more prominent.

The highlighting of certain vessels and groups of vessels was also done by other means, for instance by creating a kind of *narrative structure* in the way the vessels and the dead body were visually linked to each other – to be more precise, by intentionally incorporating the vessels with the posture of the body, and thus occasionally creating the impression of the deceased as interacting with the objects surrounding him or her. One of the graves that illustrate this pattern most clearly is Juellinge 1 (Denmark), dated to period B2, where the deceased woman was holding a strainer of bronze clasped in her right hand (fig. 3.2). Originally the strainer would have pointed up towards her right shoulder, but the collapse of the grave pressed the content together and forced the strainer closer to her lower jaw. In the contemporary grave 1 at Marwedel (Germany), a large saucepan of bronze was placed on the deceased's upper body before the coffin was closed, and not arranged together with the other vessels at the head end (fig. 3.3). It is possible that this feature should be viewed as analogous to the strainer clutched in the woman's hand at Juellinge,<sup>204</sup> but since the skeleton was not preserved it is impossible to say whether the deceased held the saucepan in his hand or not. This position of a scooping/pouring vessel could perhaps be compared with the Early Roman Iron Age inhumation 121 from Abrahám in western Slovakia, where a man in his fifties was buried with a ladle and strainer set right next to his left shoulder, with the handles placed parallel to his upper arm.<sup>205</sup>

While the finds from Juellinge 1 and Marwedel 1 are unique, there are other princely graves where vessels have been closely associated with the articulation of the deceased's upper body. In coffin A1 at Dollerupgård (Denmark), dated to period B2, two drinking horns were apparently placed close in front of the chest of the crouched body. The same pattern may be seen in the contemporary graves at Skrøbeshave (Denmark), where two drinking horns were deposited in a similar fashion, and Møllegårdsmarken 1109 (Denmark), where a handled ceramic cup was placed in front of the deceased's chest.

One may also argue for comparable finds in the Late Roman Iron Age. In the Danish find from Himlingøje 1978-35, dated to C1b, vessels were found on top of the disarticulated body. They could not have been deposited on top of the closed coffin, a practice seen in other graves reviewed above, since the vessels themselves were covered with the wooden remains of the coffin lid.<sup>206</sup> Also, in Himlingøje 1894-1 (Denmark), likewise dated to period C1b, a ladle, strainer and two glass cups were arranged partly on top of the deceased's right arm and shoulder (fig. 3.4), comparable to the graves from Juellinge, Marwedel and Abrahám mentioned above. Again, the vessels were not placed on top of the coffin since they were covered with wood from the coffin lid, and parts of the clothing of the deceased were preserved due to the corrosion of the bronze vessels, meaning

<sup>203</sup> Schlüter 1970:134.

<sup>204</sup> Cf. Laux 1993:322.

<sup>205</sup> Kolník 1980:50f., pl. XXXIX:121. The grave is dated to B1b by Kunow (1983:139f., no. 153).

<sup>206</sup> Schou Jørgensen 1995:125.

that the vessels and the fabrics had been in contact.<sup>207</sup> In Nordrup A (Denmark), dated to the same period, a ladle and strainer of bronze were arranged together with two glass cups alongside the deceased's left arm and waist (fig. 3.13), which is clearly reminiscent of the vessel composition in Himlingøje 1894-1. Also in Nordrup A, a small handled ceramic cup was placed on the right side of the deceased's waist and right elbow, and a handled ceramic bowl on the left side of the deceased's head. In Nordrup I from period C1b, a beaker of glass, a handled ceramic cup, a silver beaker, a ladle and strainer of bronze and a handled ceramic vase were arranged alongside the right side of the deceased's head and upper body (fig. 3.13). In Brøndsager 2000 (Denmark), dated to period C2, two cups of glass were placed together with a cut of lamb not far from the deceased's right elbow, but separate from the larger group of vessels at the head end of the chamber.

In the find from Emersleben 2 (Germany), dated to period C2, a ceramic beaker or a cup was placed by the woman's right shoulder, and two silver spoons by her right arm. In the grave from Gommern (Germany), dating to the same period, several turned wooden vessels, possibly containing hazelnuts, were placed on the funerary couch by the left side of the deceased's upper body. A ceramic beaker was deposited close by the deceased's right shoulder in Haßleben 4 (Germany), dating to period C2 as well (fig. 3.7). And in Haßleben 8 from the same period, a glass vessel of unknown type was placed by the deceased's right hip, and next to her left hip and hand a wooden box with silver fittings containing several beads of amber and a finger ring of glass (fig. 3.14). In Häven 1, 1967 (Germany), dating to period C2 as well, a large ceramic pot was placed on the left side of the deceased's head (fig. 3.9 a). Lastly, in Neudorf-Bornstein 7 (Germany), dated to period C3, a drinking horn had been deposited by the waist of the deceased.

That this position of vessels, either integrated with the posture of the corpse or close to the upper body, may hold some special significance is indicated by numerous comparable graves from both the Early and the Late Roman Iron Age found over large parts of Germania Magna, where an analogous pattern involving both vessels and other objects may be discerned.<sup>208</sup> One of the more illustrative parallels is found in the so-called pottery graves in eastern Jutland in Denmark, dated to the Early Roman Iron Age, where in many cases the deceased was placed on the side facing an assemblage of vessels deposited at the head end. Close in front of the head stood a lone vessel towards which the deceased appeared to be stretching one of his or her hands.<sup>209</sup> In some cases, the vessels even seem to have been placed directly in the hand (fig. 3.15).<sup>210</sup>

Although a more systematic study is needed in order to determine both the geographical and temporal distribution of comparable practices, the cited examples

<sup>207</sup> Schou Jørgensen 1995:101f.

<sup>208</sup> E.g. Albrechtsen 1956:14f., 83, 135; Schmidt 1963:485; Albrechtsen 1968: 37, 55; Klindt-Jensen 1978a; Kolník 1980:pl. XII:3, pl. XIII:4; Liversage 1980:16–38; Lund Hansen 1980:88f.; Blažek 1995:143, 150; Wołagiewicz 1995:19, pl. XII:71; Jaskanis 1996:pl. XLVIII; pl. LXVIII; pl. LXXIV; pl. LXXV; Pietrzak 1997:pl. LXIX:212; pl. XCII:262, pl. XCIX:286; Schön 1999b:167; Ethelberg 2000:112, 219; Skorupka 2001:pl. 24, 50–51, 59–60, 65–66, 75, 88, 103; Jaskanis 2005:pl. XLIX:172, pl. LXXXVI:307.

<sup>209</sup> E.g. Neergaard 1928:29, 31; Norling-Christensen 1954:23f., pl. 88:1; Aarup Jensen 1984:177.

<sup>210</sup> E.g. Neergaard 1928:30f.; Eriksen 1996:67.

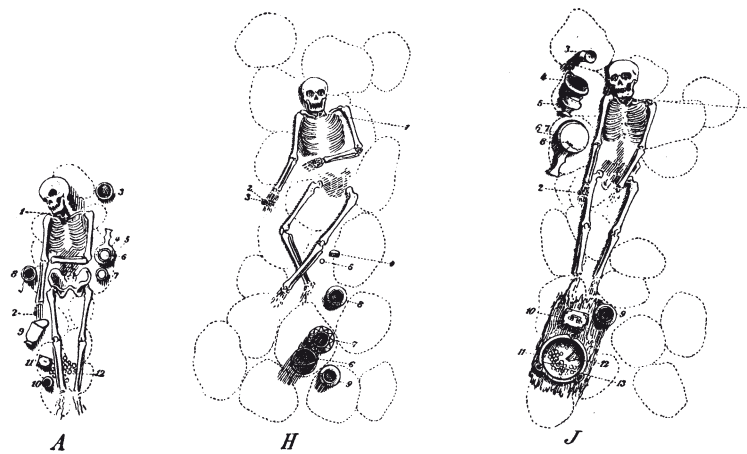


Fig. 3.13 Nordrup graves A, H and I, Ringsted Municipality, Region Zealand in Denmark (after Petersen 1890:5 fig. 6).

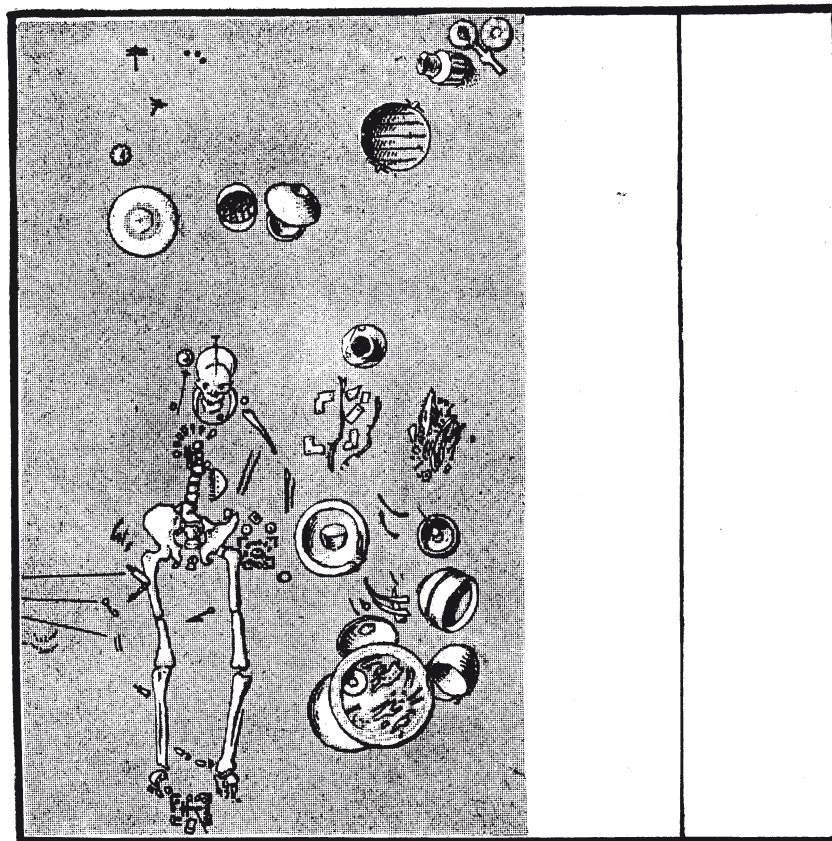


Fig. 3.14 Layout of grave 8 from Haßleben, district of Weimar, Thuringia in Germany (after Schulz 1933:pl. 2 fig. 1).





Fig. 3.15 Pottery grave from Bulbjerg north of Århus, Jutland i Denmark (after Neergaard 1928:33 fig. 11).

nevertheless establish that the corporeal presence of the deceased is an important variable in order to understand the function and meaning of the vessel arrangements in Roman Iron Age graves in general. Since the vessels deposited close by the upper body of the deceased were integrated in the articulation of the corpse, unlike those vessels arranged at the head or foot end, I argue that they should be interpreted as parts of a *narrative structure*. Especially vessels closely associated with the hands of the deceased may indicate that the practical function of the vessels was significant for their position. One could say that the vessels thus were deposited in *active mode*, contrasting to the vessels stacked at the head or foot end, which are thus in *passive mode* in relation to the posture of the body. I would argue that this practice reflects a way to conceptualize the vessels as being “close at hand”. What is more, the deceased themselves were thus imagined as active, and capable of using the vessels, possibly in the afterlife. I also suggest that this line of thinking should be extended to the other cases discussed above, where vessels were placed in close vicinity to the dead body, especially the head and upper body, in such a way that they were integrated in its articulation. Again, this could then be contrasted to the vessels stacked at the head or foot end of the grave, or alongside the body but not as close as to be integrated with its posture. A comparable interpretation has been suggested by E. Rudebeck and K. Ödman for three of the Late Roman Iron Age inhumations found at Kristineberg in Malmö (Sweden), where different objects (beaker, needle, shard of glass,<sup>211</sup> and combs) were found by the waist or the hands of the deceased. They proposed that this practice reflects an idea of the dead having access to their possessions in the afterlife.<sup>212</sup> This will be further elaborated on below.

<sup>211</sup> This find is dealt with more closely in the third case study.

<sup>212</sup> Rudebeck & Ödman 2000:203f.

### 3.7 CONCEPTUAL STRUCTURES – SETS AND COMPOSITIONS

As I have already mentioned, the idea of a Roman style of drinking set being used among the Germanic elite is central to much research on the princely graves. Consequently, in social analyses based on the graves and their content, these sets are conceptualized as prestigious markers of Romanization,<sup>213</sup> and are sometimes used as an interpretative background against which the locally manufactured vessels are appraised and assigned function and meaning.<sup>214</sup> K. Friis Johansen's publication in 1923 of the Hoby find from Lolland (Denmark) has proven fundamental to this line of reasoning. This grave, dated to the earliest phase of the Roman Iron Age, has turned into one of the most important finds in the scholarly understanding of the cultural connections between Rome and the Germanic elite in Northern Europe (fig. 3.16). Drawing on comparisons with classical written sources, Friis Johansen was the first to present the idea that the Roman vessels in the Hoby grave constituted a closed set, in which all the vessels were designed to function together. According to him, the pail was used to transport the wine from the storage area, the saucepan to measure up the right amount, the cups for drinking and the basin and jug to wash the hands and rinse the beakers.<sup>215</sup> This sentiment of a closed set has led to the widespread notion that the Hoby find represents one of the most complete suites of Roman vessels in Germania Magna.<sup>216</sup> Being regarded as a whole set, with all the parts necessary to drink in Roman style, it is often interpreted as a reflection of Roman customs being emulated by the Germanic elite in an effort to validate or enhance their position in society.<sup>217</sup> This is an interesting, yet problematic, interpretation which has influenced much of the work done on Roman vessels and their function and meaning in Germanic graves. Although some research has taken steps to widen and diversify this notion of Roman influences,<sup>218</sup> the nature of Rome's impact on Germanic customs via this array of objects is still viewed as straightforward by many scholars.

Due to the importance attributed to these vessels, I have found it relevant to study the nature and composition of the vessel arrangements in the princely graves, and compare the results with the research in classical archaeology and ancient history dealing with Roman drinking sets. In these analyses it is also relevant to consider the role of local pottery. When Friis Johansen wrote of the presumed complete Roman drinking set in the Hoby grave, he did not discuss the relationship between the foreign vessels and the local pottery in any depth. And up until recently it has been quite common to omit the locally produced vessels in analyses of the imported ones, even though local and foreign vessels are regularly arranged together in the graves. This may partly be due to the analytical compartmentalization of the grave goods into modern-day categories of objects, such as imported and locally produced. Today, however, there is a growing

<sup>213</sup> E.g. Stupperich 1995:96.

<sup>214</sup> E.g. Stjernquist 1955:70f.

<sup>215</sup> Friis Johansen 1923:156.

<sup>216</sup> E.g. Stjernquist 1955:70; Hedeager & Kristiansen 1982:134; Grane 2007:168.

<sup>217</sup> Cf. Jensen 2003:313; von Carnap-Bornheim 2006:113.

<sup>218</sup> E.g. Fernstål 2003; 2004; Ekengren 2005; 2006; Ströbeck 2006; Hjørungdal 2007.



*Fig. 3.16 The grave goods from Hoby, Lolland Municipality, Region Zealand in Denmark (photo by Lennart Larsen, The National Museum, Copenhagen).*

awareness of the need to study the interrelation between the local and the foreign vessels in order to gain a deeper understanding of the function and meaning of the objects in their local setting.<sup>219</sup> I have therefore striven to approach a number of interrelated questions that I consider important in this pursuit, based on the 50 inhumations discussed above.

<sup>219</sup> E.g. Ekengren 2005:56; 2006:112; Hjørungdal 2007:274.

- How are the vessels, of both Roman and local manufacture, associated with each other in the princely graves?
- Were the arrangements composed in certain ways to signal *domestic utility*, or may we trace other functions and meanings behind their deposition?
- Do the arrangements correspond to specific vessel arrangements in Roman graves or Roman domestic contexts, or can we discern other strands of influence to their composition?
- Did the vessels of local manufacture deposited together with imported ones function as substitutes for certain Roman types in fixed Roman style sets?

I have divided the ceramic and wooden vessels into a number of broad, semi-functional categories based on shape and size.

- Large tureen- or vase-like containers – large and deep vessels with a wide or a more restricted mouth, possibly intended for preparation, storage, transportation and/or serving of larger quantities.
- Wooden pails or tubs – cylindrical, metal-bound vessels with an open top, flat bottom and a semicircular handle or ring handles; possibly intended for storage, transportation and/or serving of larger quantities.
- Large, low bowls – large, open vessels with a diameter that is greater than its height. Possibly intended for holding, processing and/or serving larger quantities.
- Small bowls – small, open vessels with a diameter that is greater than its height. Possibly intended for the serving, eating, and/or drinking of small quantities.
- Beakers and cups – small vessels that are either higher than they are wide (beakers) or about as high as wide (cups),<sup>220</sup> probably intended for drinking.
- Handled vessels – small cups or bowls with extended handles, which might have been used for scooping, pouring or drinking.
- Plates – flat or shallow, circular vessels, sometimes with a low rim, possibly used for serving of smaller quantities.
- Trays – flat, square-shaped platforms possibly used for the transportation of objects and/or foodstuffs.

This division is relative in nature, and the differences between categories are sometimes highly arbitrary, for instance between small bowls, cups and beakers. Although I maintain the division between these categories, many of the forms might very well have been interchangeable in function.

The vessels of Roman manufacture found in the graves may in turn be divided into the following categories:

- Cauldrons
- Pails
- Basins
- Tubs
- Large and deep ceramic bowls

<sup>220</sup> The two small, bulbous vessels with a restricted rim that were found in the grave at Gosławice in Poland (see appendix 1, no. 44) are in this analysis included in the category of beakers and cups.



- Large and low ceramic bowls
- Small bowls of glass, metal and ceramic
- Plates of metal or ceramic
- Saucepans
- Ladles
- Strainers
- Cups
- Beakers
- Horns

In order to integrate the analysis of Roman and locally produced vessels, and to focus on how different forms were assembled into arrangements which might indicate their function and meaning, I have joined together these categories with the ones created for local vessels, based again on similarity in form and size.<sup>221</sup> This results in the following categories:

- Large containers like cauldrons, pails, tubs, tureen- and vase-like vessels
- Basins, large and low ceramic bowls
- Beakers, cups, small bowls and drinking horns
- Handled vessels like ladles, strainers, saucepans, as well as cups and bowls with one handle
- Plates and trays

Of the assemblages studied in appendix 1, 24 exclusively contain one or more vessels of Roman manufacture, distributed among six graves from the Early Roman Iron Age<sup>222</sup> and 17 from the Late Roman Iron Age.<sup>223</sup> Apart from these exceptions, it is obvious that the majority of Roman vessels were deposited intermingled with locally produced vessels.<sup>224</sup> Even the wealthiest graves containing a large number of imported vessels distributed among several vessel assemblages within the grave show this mix, which indicates that purely Roman sets were not necessarily desired in the graves. This observation is interesting, as the imported vessels are often thought to have been used as symbols of a Mediterranean way of drinking and thus, explicitly or implicitly, elevated from local customs. In that interpretative framework one might have expected more assemblages to contain only Roman vessels, or the Roman vessels being separated from the local vessels or highlighted in other ways. The question is therefore if this mixture of local and foreign vessels was part of a deliberate strategy, and/or reflects the cultural embeddedness of the foreign objects.

<sup>221</sup> The siphon found in Varpelev grave A (see appendix 1, no. 25) is a unique object, and thus set aside from these categories.

<sup>222</sup> Annasholm (a), Juellinge 1 (a), Møllegårdsmarken 1109 from Denmark, Marwedel 1 (b) from Germany, Store-Dal 6 (a) from Norway, and Leśno (a) from Poland.

<sup>223</sup> Brøndsager 2000 (b), Himlingøje 1894-1 (a+b), Himlingøje 1977 (a), Nordrup 1873 (a), Nordrup A (b), and Valløby (b) from Denmark, and Emersleben 1 (a), Emersleben 2 (d), Gommern (b + d) and Neudorf-Bornsten 7 (a+b+d) from Germany, and Osiek (a) and Wekllice 208 (a) from Poland.

<sup>224</sup> Cf. Ekengren 2005:56; 2006:112.

Studying the graves further, we may construe a number of recurring compositions within the assemblages, which are presented in table 3.5. This table illustrates combinations of vessels spanning both the early and the Late Roman Iron Age. These overarching patterns also transcend the different geographical areas of Germania Magna. Whether this reflects an intentional, social (and/or ritual) interconnectedness, where the different local Germanic groups infused a certain choice of vessels and their deposition with the same meaning, or if it reflects structures of ritual deposition which were interpreted in different ways in different areas, is hard to say. Nevertheless, some of the similarities across time and space are striking, and it enhances the image of groups of people who were closely connected, both socially and ritually.

The combinations displayed in table 3.5 consist of groupings of vessel categories (not counting the actual number of vessels), of both foreign and local manufacture, or the grouping of vessels with other objects that could possibly be interpreted as indicators of their domestic function. This indicates, among other things, that several of the indigenous and foreign vessels could be used interchangeably, and that there existed a correspondence or sameness between those vessels manufactured in local materials and those imported from the Roman realm. This has been argued by other scholars as well, for instance regarding the relationship between wooden and metal pails.<sup>225</sup> This pattern would indicate a form of *categorical extension* between the two groups. The groupings are occasionally supplemented with other vessels, but one might argue that there exist a number of core combinations of vessel categories within several of the various assemblages. Although, once again, the material base for these analyses is limited, and does not hold up for a closer chronological or chorological study, some of the graves nevertheless display certain tendencies in the combination of vessels which in turn illustrates some of the ritual practices involving vessels in the funerals.

### 3.7.1 LARGE CONTAINERS AND VESSELS FOR SCOOPING/POURING AND DRINKING

A total of 16 assemblages contained the combination of large containers (such as cauldrons, pails, tubs, and/or tureen- or vase-like vessels), drinking vessels (beakers, cups, horns, and/or small bowls), and ladles and strainers. Occasionally, this combination was accompanied by other vessels, such as metal basins or large and low ceramic bowls. In 12 of the cases, the assemblages were placed at the head end of the grave or in close vicinity to the deceased's upper body. The cohesion and intentionality of this style of assemblage is further enhanced in the graves at Valløby (Denmark) and Leuna 2, 1917 (Germany), where the vessels were boxed up in a special compartment in the grave. Besides this combination, where the assemblage contains a ladle and/or strainer, there are 11 assemblages where large containers and drinking vessels are combined with saucepans of bronze or handled cups or bowls of wood or ceramic, which might be interpreted as scooping or pouring vessels in the same manner as the ladles and strainers.<sup>226</sup> Furthermore, there are a number of assemblages combining either a large container and a drinking vessel; a large container and a scooping/pouring vessel; or a drinking

<sup>225</sup> E.g. Ethelberg 2000:126.

<sup>226</sup> Cf. Friis Johansen 1923:150.

Site (arrangement)	Country	Date	Large containers + ladles & strainers + drinking vessels	Large containers + (handled) vessels + drinking vessels	Large containers + drinking vessels	Large containers + scooping/pouring vessels	Drinking vessels + scooping/pouring vessels	Drinking vessels + basins	Drinking vessels	Large containers	Ladles/strainers/saucepans/scooping or pouring vessels	Drinking vessels in pairs	Vessels + spoons	Plates/trays/bowls/basins + comb	Vessels + knife	Vessels + scissors	Vessels + spindle whorls/hooks	Vessels in box	Vessels + game	Vessels + nimal remains	Vessels + drink
Anasholm (a)	DK	B2				X?					X										
Billum	DK	C2		X																	
Blidegn (a)	DK	B2					X										X	X			
Brøndsager 2000 (a)	DK	C2		X																	
Brøndsager 2000 (b)	DK	C2							X			X								X	
Brøndsager 2000 (c)	DK	C2							X												
Dollerupgård (a)	DK	B2			X																
Dollerupgård (b)	DK	B2			X?																
Dollerupgård (c)	DK	B2								X											
Dollerupgård (d)	DK	B2							X			X									
Dollerupgård (e)	DK	B2													X						
Dollerupgård (f)	DK	B2								X											
Dollerupgård (g)	DK	B2		X								X		X	X						
Favrskov I/2 (a)	DK	B2	X									X									
Himlingøje 1894-1 (a)	DK	C1b					X					X									
Himlingøje 1894-1 (b)	DK	C1b																		X	
Himlingøje 1949-2 (a)	DK	C1b	X									X									
Himlingøje 1977-3 (a)	DK	C1b					X					X		X							
Himlingøje 1977-3 (b)	DK	C1b								X?											
Himlingøje 1978-35 (a)	DK	C1b		X								X									
Himlingøje 1978-35 (b)	DK	C1b									X?										
Juellinge 1 (a)	DK	B2									X										
Juellinge 1 (b)	DK	B2	X									X		X	X	X				X	X
Juellinge 2 (a)	DK	B2	X									X		X	X	X				X	X
Kirkebakkegård (a)	DK	C1b	X									X								X	

Møllegårdsmarken 1109 (a)	DK	B2							X											
Møllegårdsmarken 1109 (b)	DK	B2									X									
Møllegårdsmarken 1109 (c)	DK	B2									X									
Nordrup 1873 (a)	DK	C1b	X									X								
Nordrup A (a)	DK	C1b							X			X								
Nordrup A (b)	DK	C1b					X													
Nordrup A (c)	DK	C1b							X											
Nordrup A (d)	DK	C1b			X?													X		
Nordrup H (a)	DK	C1b							X?											
Nordrup H (b)	DK	C1b			X?															
Nordrup I (a)	DK	C1b	X									X								
Nordrup I (b)	DK	C1b						X					X					X		
Skovgårde 8 (a)	DK	C1b2		X								X								
Skovgårde 209 (a)	DK	C1b1		X																
Skovgårde 400 (a)	DK	C2		X								X								
Skovgårde 400 (c)	DK	C2								X									X	
Skovgårde 400 (d)	DK	C2											X							
Skrøbershave (a)	DK	B2							X										X	
Skrøbershave (b)	DK	B2	X									X								
Skrøbershave (c)	DK	B2							X											
Slusegård 1 (a)	DK	C1	X											X						
Valløby (a)	DK	C1b	X									X								
Valløby (b)	DK	C1b								X									X	
Valløby (c)	DK	C1b				X?														
Varpelev A (a)	DK	C2							X?			X							X	
Varpelev A (b)	DK	C2								X								X	X	
Varpelev A (c)	DK	C2												X					X	
Emersleben 1 (a)	DE	C2								X										
Emersleben 1 (b)	DE	C2							X											
Emersleben 1 (c)	DE	C2						X										X		
Emersleben 2 (a)	DE	C2							X											
Emersleben 2 (c)	DE	C2			X?							X								
Emersleben 2 (d)	DE	C2												X						
Emersleben 2 (e)	DE	C2									X									
Gommern (a)	DE	C2			X							X								X?
Gommern (b)	DE	C2								X										
Gommern (c)	DE	C2																	X	
Gommern (d)	DE	C2					X											X		
Haina (a)	DE	C2								X									X	
Haßleben 4 (a)	DE	C2			X?															
Haßleben 4 (b)	DE	C2																	X	
Haßleben 4 (c)	DE	C2							X											
Haßleben 8 (a)	DE	C2			X															
Haßleben 8 (b)	DE	C2	X									X								
Haßleben 8 (c)	DE	C2							X											

Haßleben 8 (d)	DE	C2			X						X?	X							X		
Häven 1, 1967 (a)	DE	C2								X											
Häven 1, 1967 (b)	DE	C2				X															
Häven 1, 1967 (c)	DE	C2											X								
Häven 1968 (a)	DE	C2			X							X									
Häven 1968 (b)	DE	C2											X								
Lalendorf (a)	DE	B1b						X				X				X					
Lalendorf (b)	DE	B1b								X											
Leuna 2, 1917 (a)	DE	C2							X												
Leuna 2, 1917 (b)	DE	C2	X									X							X		
Leuna 2, 1926 (a)	DE	C2			X																
Leuna 3, 1926 (a)	DE	C2	X									X	X								
Leuna 3, 1926 (b)	DE	C2						X										X	X		
Marwedel 1 (a)	DE	B2a	X									X			X	X					
Marwedel 1 (b)	DE	B2a									X										
Marwedel 1 (c)	DE	B2a			X																
Marwedel 2 (a)	DE	B2a	X									X									
Neudorf-Bornstein 4 (a)	DE	C2		X																	
Neudorf-Bornstein 4 (b)	DE	C2			X														X		
Neudorf-Bornstein 7 (a)	DE	C3							X												
Neudorf-Bornstein 7 (b)	DE	C3							X												
Neudorf-Bornstein 7 (c)	DE	C3							X												
Neudorf-Bornstein 7 (d)	DE	C3																X			
Neudorf-Bornstein 7 (e)	DE	C3							X												
Neudorf-Bornstein 7 (f)	DE	C3			X																
Store-Dal 5 (a)	NO	B2		X								X			X						
Store-Dal 6 (a)	NO	B2		X								X			X						
Gosławice (a)	PL	B1c	X									X			X	X					
Gosławice (b)	PL	B1c																	X		
Leśno (a)	PL	B2/C1			X							X									
Leśno (b)	PL	B2/C1							X							X	X				
Odry 423 (a)	PL	C1b							X?								X				
Osiek (a)	PL	C1a									X				X						
Osiek (b)	PL	C1a							X?												
		B2/ C1-																			
Weklice 208 (a)	PL	C1a			X																
		B2/ C1-																			
Weklice 495 (a)	PL	C1a						X?													
Simris 2, 1972 (a)	SE	B2		X								X							X?		
TOTAL			16	11	16	3	6	4	22	11	8	34	2	10	10	4	3	2	7	19	4

Table 3.5 Combinations of vessels within the assemblages (based on appendix 1).

vessel and a scooping/pouring vessel. These combinations may perhaps be viewed as reduced versions of the full set.

In this context it is relevant to discuss the saucepans of bronze a little further. If we look at the way they are deposited with other vessels in the graves, it appears as if they on occasion may have filled the position of the ladles and strainers of bronze. Take the saucepan from Marwedel 1 (Germany) for instance, which was deposited on the upper body of the deceased in a manner comparable to the bronze strainer found in the contemporary grave 1 at Juellinge (Denmark). Therefore, in finds like Store-Dal 5 and 6 (Norway) and Simris 2, 1972 (Sweden), where large containers and drinking vessels were combined with a saucepan of bronze, the saucepans may have functioned as alternatives for the ladles and strainers. Other finds (some of them with large containers, ladles and strainers, and drinking vessels), however, show the combination of saucepans and ladles and strainers, which shows that the two categories were not mutually exclusive.<sup>227</sup> But this is not their only possible reference. If we take into consideration the size of the saucepans we quickly realize that some of them are very large, occasionally rivaling the smaller pails in size. Thus, we cannot exclude the possibility that some of them may have been comparable to the pails, cauldrons or large tureen- or vase-like vessels.<sup>228</sup> In Annasholm (Denmark), for instance, a large saucepan was combined into a set together with two smaller saucepans. Likewise, grave 2 at Marwedel (Germany) contained a large saucepan wherein two beakers and two smaller saucepans were placed. If the combination of vessel categories reflected a functional relationship, then it is obvious that the saucepans were multi-purpose vessels whose function depended on both size and context. Therefore they could be comparable to some of the handled ceramic bowls or cups found in some of the graves in both the Early and Late Roman Iron Age, since they appear in roughly the same size range and are arranged together with other vessel categories in a similar manner.

The combination of large containers, scooping and/or pouring vessels, and drinking vessels has been acknowledged on several occasions before. J. Oldenstein, for instance, called the combination of Roman pails or cauldrons with beakers or cups and ladles and strainers a canonical set in the princely graves.<sup>229</sup> Kunow classified pails, beakers or cups and ladles and strainers as “Roman sets” and argued that this combination of vessels reflected an understanding of their original use as drinking vessels in Roman society. He then contrasted this combination with those where the pail was replaced by a Roman cauldron, and classified these as “barbarian” sets referring to what he considered to be the un-Roman use of cauldrons in connection with drinking.<sup>230</sup> The problem with this interpretation is that it viewed each grave as a whole, as a uniform enclosure of objects, and thus disregarded the various ways of combining and separating vessels (both sequentially and spatially) in the graves. In addition, the graves he listed contained a number of cremations,<sup>231</sup> which are highly problematic when it comes to

227 Blidegn and Skråbershave in Denmark; Marwedel 2 in Germany; Gosławice in Poland.

228 Cf. Natuniewicz-Sekula & Okulicz-Kozaryn 2007:75.

229 Oldenstein 1975:300; cf. Wielowiejski 1973:272.

230 Kunow 1983:69–80; cf. Künzl 1993:196.

231 Kunow 1983:167, 192 map 22. The graves are Velatice 6 from the Czech Republic; 1942 Bjergelid VII and Himlingøje 1875, sb. 15 from Denmark; Apensen and Hagenow 2, 1899 from Germany; Bešeňov A from Slovakia; Öremölla from Sweden; cf. appendix 2.

establishing the interrelationship between vessels, both in the course of the funerary rituals and in the graves themselves. Furthermore, the analysis focused on the imported vessels, and disregarded the locally produced vessels. Thus, from the approach that I advocate, Kunow's division of the graves into those containing Roman or barbarian sets cannot be maintained. However, he was correct in acknowledging the recurring combination of large containers, ladles and/or strainers, and drinking vessels.

Schlüter did not make the same distinction between Roman and barbarian sets in his study on the Haßleben-Leuna graves, but he acknowledged the same composition of sets consisting of a bronze pail, a ladle and strainer of bronze, and drinking vessels of silver or glass. To this arrangement he also added bronze basins, which corresponds well with the graves in focus for the present study where these types of arrangements are often supplemented with other vessels, for instance basins. What Schlüter also did, unlike Kunow and other scholars dealing with Roman vessels, was to include the locally produced vessels in his analysis. He acknowledged that the imported vessels might not have been used for drinking in the manner usually assumed, and that they could have been replaced and supplemented with local vessels. Also, he argued that the interpreted function of the vessels was highly dependent on context, i.e. what other kinds of vessels they were combined with as well as their position in the graves.<sup>232</sup>

Comparable combinations of vessels containing large containers, handled vessels (possibly for scooping or pouring), and drinking vessels may be seen in graves outside the "princely" category, for instance in the Early Roman Iron Age pottery graves from eastern Jutland, mentioned earlier in this chapter.<sup>233</sup> This group of inhumations contain very specific sets of vessels, although none of Roman manufacture, which makes them important comparative material in this framework:<sup>234</sup>

- *At the head end of the grave*: A large tureen- or vase-like vessel, a smaller handled bowl, and a footed beaker with a small handled cup inside or close by. This set is occasionally complemented with 1–3 vase-like vessels of various sizes, an additional handled bowl, a large flat bowl, and/or a beaker.
- *Closer to the centre of the grave, near the deceased's head*: A smaller, vase-like vessel.
- *At the foot end of the grave*: A large flat bowl or plate, and inside it a small bowl.
- *On one of the ledges outside the grave*: One or more ceramic vessels, occasionally deposited together with animal remains.

The practice of depositing large containers, handled cups and bowls which might be used as a scooping/pouring vessels, as well as beakers at the head end of the grave is thus discernable in Early Roman Iron Age inhumations in Scandinavia which do not contain Roman vessels. In other words, this composition was not dependent upon imported vessels. However, the question remains whether this reflects a Roman-inspired

<sup>232</sup> Schlüter 1970:125, 128f.

<sup>233</sup> The similarities between the vessel arrangements in the Jutlandic pottery graves and the richly furnished graves containing imported vessels have previously been pointed out by e.g. Albrechtsen 1956:135, 137.

<sup>234</sup> Cf. Friis Johansen 1915:153f.; Neergaard 1928:27f., 31, 33f.; Ejstrud & Kjeld Jensen 2000:23.



practice or not, although in a society with no access to vessels of Roman manufacture.<sup>235</sup> This will be discussed further below.

Basins of bronze seem to hold a special position in relation to the vessel arrangements. They occasionally accompany the sets of large containers, ladles and strainers, and drinking vessels.<sup>236</sup> As mentioned above, the interrelationship between these vessel forms was also made by Friis Johansen and Schlüter.<sup>237</sup> Occasionally, the role of the basin might have been played by large ceramic bowls, as in grave 2, 1917, from Leuna (Germany). This might also have been the case with the large terra sigillata bowl in the grave from Valløby (Denmark), found with the pails, ladles and strainers and beakers and horns. Basins, or large ceramic bowls, are also combined with sets of large containers and beakers.<sup>238</sup> They thus appear to have functioned as supplemental vessels, which were added to core compositions of vessels.

### 3.7.2 SINGLE-CATEGORY ARRANGEMENTS

Besides the combinations of vessels discussed above, one of the most common forms of arrangement, if we can call it an arrangement, consists of single-category deposits of one or more beakers, cups, drinking horns or small bowls.<sup>239</sup> There is no specific recurring location in the graves for this group, but they are generally separated from the other arrangements and placed close to the body of the deceased, often at the head, upper body or waist area. This pattern might again be viewed as analogous to the Jutlandic pottery graves mentioned above, where single vessels are often detached from the vessel arrangements at the head end and placed close to the upper body, head or hands of the deceased.

The presence of drinking vessels arranged in pairs, either as parts of larger vessel assemblages or on their own, has been central in the discussions on Germanic drinking practices as well as the question of Roman influences. Once again, one of the most frequently cited Germanic finds with a pair of drinking vessels is the grave from Hoby (Denmark) with its two silver beakers. The custom of using pairs of drinking vessels is generally considered Roman in origin, based on a theory put forward by J. Werner.<sup>240</sup> He compared the Germanic finds with the pairs of vessels in the hoards from Boscoreale, Casa del Menandro, and Hildesheim, as well as on the painting in the tomb of Vestorius Priscus in Pompeii, and concluded that the pairing of beakers and cups in the graves reflected the knowledge (and practice) of Roman-style drinking among the Germanic elite.<sup>241</sup> In the present study we may observe 33 graves of a total of

<sup>235</sup> Cf. Neergaard 1928:29; Stjernquist 1955:70f.

<sup>236</sup> This is seen in Himlingøje 1942-2 and Skråbeshave in Denmark; Marwedel 1 and Neudorf-Bornstein 4 in Germany; Store-Dal 6 in Norway; and Gosławice in Poland.

<sup>237</sup> Friis Johansen 1923:156; Schlüter 1970:125.

<sup>238</sup> As in Haßleben 8 in Germany; and in Wekllice in Poland.

<sup>239</sup> Besides drinking vessels, we also find large containers such as pails, cauldrons and tureen- and vase-like vessels, as well as ladles, strainers and saucepans, deposited separately from other vessel arrangements (see table 3.5).

<sup>240</sup> Werner 1950.

<sup>241</sup> Werner 1950.

50 that contain isolated pairs of vessels, or assemblages with enough vessels of this sort to comprise one or more pairs. Of these, 14 are dated to the Early Roman Iron Age and 19 to the Late Roman Iron Age (see table 3.5).<sup>242</sup> It is interesting to note that these pairs may consist of either two or more Roman vessels of similar type, two or more Roman vessels of differing type, or a combination of Roman and indigenous vessels, like ceramic vessels or drinking horns. Some of the cases are clearer than others, for instance in Juellinge 1 (Denmark), Marwedel 2 (Germany), Brøndsager 2000 (Denmark), and Nordrup 1873 (Denmark). Here the beakers have clearly been paired with each other. They are even typologically identical. In graves like Haßleben 8 (Germany) on the other hand, the arrangements are more mixed, and the pairing of the vessels is not as apparent. However, this latter group of graves does contain enough drinking vessels to comprise one or more pairs. It is furthermore interesting to note the frequent occurrences of indigenously manufactured drinking horns in pairs, and the fact that pairs of Roman vessels and pairs of horns are not mutually exclusive. In some cases a pair of horns is arranged together in the same assemblage with a pair of Roman beakers. Furthermore, Nierhaus pointed to the fact that the pairing of drinking horns is a practice that occurs in Germanic graves already in the late La Tène,<sup>243</sup> a period which predates the bulk of the Roman influences, and in which the material culture displays marked similarities to the Celtic areas on the continent. In other words, it is in this respect somewhat difficult to distinguish between the Roman and locally produced vessels in our analyses, or to view the latter as substitutes for vessels of glass or metal.<sup>244</sup>

### 3.7.3 DOMESTIC UTILITY

While it is notoriously hard to determine the function for each type of vessel, it is equally difficult to assign a function to each specific combination of vessels, for instance to determine whether the vessel assemblage was a set used for drinking, eating or any other activity. Occasionally, we may argue for a functional relationship between the vessels due to the way they were deposited together, like in grave 1 at Juellinge (Denmark), dated to the Early Roman iron Age, where a ladle was placed inside a cauldron filled with drink. A similar close relationship was seen in grave 2 from the same grave field. But the relationships between vessels are not always this clear. This difficulty is not only due to the functional ambiguity of certain vessel forms, but also due to the fact that recurring combinations of vessels are frequently supplemented with objects such as tools and gaming pieces, as well as animal remains. In some instances, however, one may argue that these objects can be interpreted as determinants, perhaps not for entire sets but for certain vessels. This is the case in several graves where plates, trays, large bowls and/or basins are accompanied by toiletries such as combs and scissors. An example of this is the Late Roman Iron Age grave 400 from Skovgårde (Denmark), where a comb was found together with the remains of what appears to be a wooden tray on the ledge outside the coffin. A comparable find was made in the contemporary grave Varpelev A

<sup>242</sup> The grave from Leśno (Poland) containing a pair of glass beakers, dates to the transition period B2/C1.

<sup>243</sup> Nierhaus 1955:256.

<sup>244</sup> This is also pointed out by Gebühr 1970:100.

(Denmark), where a comb lay inside a bronze basin that in turn was placed in a large wooden bowl. In these cases, the combination of comb and tray or basin may be interpreted as equipment to be used in connection with washing and grooming.<sup>245</sup> On the other hand, in many of the cases where a basin or similar vessel is combined with a toilet object like a comb, these are arranged as parts of sets that are commonly classified as drinking sets. Grave 1 from Marwedel (Germany) might be taken as an Early Roman Iron Age example of this, where a knife, a razor and a pair of scissors were found inside a basin together with two drinking horns and the remains of a small wooden box. The basin itself stood on top of a bronze cauldron, and had a ladle and strainer set stuck into one of its handles. It is possible that the knife, razor and scissors were originally placed inside the wooden box, and then deposited inside the basin. Wooden boxes of this kind, containing objects that may be associated with grooming, are quite customary in the princely graves and are often closely associated with the vessel arrangements.<sup>246</sup> Occasionally, vessels themselves are found inside boxes like these, together with tools and other objects, as in Blidegn (Denmark) and Leśno (Poland).

A further group of objects that is now and then found together with vessels are implements that may be associated with textile production, like the whorls and/or hooks from spindles. This is seen in three of the 50 inhumations in this study, all dating to the Early Roman Iron Age. Textile implements are furthermore a common ingredient in the grave goods of the princely graves (see appendix 2). In Blidegn (Denmark), a ladle and two saucepans were stowed away in a wooden box together with, among other things, spindle whorls and fragments of woollen textiles. A similar find was made in Leśno (Poland), where a ceramic cup was found in a wooden box together with a spindle whorl and the remains of wooden textiles. And in Lalendorf (Germany), a spindle hook was found together with a turned wooden vessel inside a bronze basin at the head end of the grave.

Objects associated with games, such as gaming boards, gaming pieces, and dice, appear in a number of the richly equipped Roman Iron Age graves.<sup>247</sup> Furthermore, they are sometimes closely integrated with the vessel arrangements, as seen in table 3.5 of the graves I have selected for closer study. For instance, in Nordrup A (Denmark), 41 gaming pieces of glass were found in a vessel arrangement below the deceased's right hand and along the right leg. In grave I from the same cemetery, 40 gaming pieces were found in a basin below the deceased's feet (fig. 3.13). All of the eight graves where gaming equipments are arranged together with vessels date to the Late Roman Iron Age, and these arrangements are all found by the feet of the deceased or at the foot end of the grave.

The most frequent functional distinction that scholars try to make is between vessels for drinking and vessels for eating. This distinction is generally made based on the presence of knives, spoons and/or animal remains. For instance, Schlüter was very much dependent on animal remains when he classified arrangements of locally made bowls

<sup>245</sup> Similar combinations may be observed in other categories of graves as well, which neither contain Roman vessels, nor are classified as princely graves, e.g. grave 25 from Slusegård (Klindt-Jensen 1978b:31).

<sup>246</sup> The presence of wooden boxes with metal fittings is occasionally regarded as characteristic of the princely graves (cf. Gebühr 1997:119; Ethelberg 2000:114).

<sup>247</sup> See appendix 2; cf. Krüger 1982.

of different sizes, plates, trays, and spoons as eating vessels in the Haßleben-Leuna graves.<sup>248</sup> However, although he was one of the few scholars who tried to assign function to the range of vessels in the graves, he did not explain the fact that the graves in many instances contain several separate assemblages of vessels. Rather, he frequently disregarded the combination of vessels and instead viewed the contents of the grave as a whole, trying to summarize them into the categories of either eating or drinking vessels. This made his categorizations rather muddled at times. This is very much due to the confusing fact that animal remains, which could be interpreted as food, are frequently found jumbled together with vessels commonly associated with drinking, for instance beakers. This is also seen in the graves I have analysed.<sup>249</sup> In some instances this relationship is quite direct, as in Varpelev A (Denmark), where animal remains (among them fish bones) were deposited inside the two cups at the head end of the grave. Similarly, knives, which are often linked to eating, are found closely associated with vessels commonly connected with drinking, as seen in Dollerupgård (Denmark), Store-Dal 5 and 6 (Norway), and Gosławice and Osiek (Poland). The same is the case with spoons, as seen in Haßleben 8 and Leuna 3, 1926 (Germany).

From the 50 graves I have studied we may conclude that the vessel assemblages are never “pure” in the sense that they only represent one exclusive function or area of domestic practice. Although we may argue for the presence of certain sets or recurring compositions, as with the combination of large container, scooping or pouring vessel and drinking vessel, the vessels generally associated with drinking and eating are not separated from each other. Nor are drinking vessels separated from animal remains, which in turn may be interpreted as food. This tendency to integrate vessels we often assign to different functional areas is furthermore emphasized through cases where vessels for food and drink were arranged together with objects which might represent other spheres of activities, such as combs, scissors and knives. This shows that not only were there no strict boundaries between what we might characterize as functional categories of vessels, there was no discrepancy between objects which might be connected to eating and drinking and objects associated with other areas of life. In my opinion, this makes the search for different spheres of domestic utility expressed in the grave goods rather pointless, and we may ask ourselves whether the intentional compilation of vessels and other objects in every instance had to do with practical function or whether it was more a reflection of metaphorical relationships connected with the intentions behind the funerary rituals.

A further conclusion that may be drawn from this material concerns the division between foreign and locally produced vessels. What we see is in my opinion not the presence of exclusively Roman sets, in the sense of compositions containing solely vessels of Roman manufacture. The predominant picture is that of assemblages mixing foreign and local vessels. This is apparently a deliberate practice, since several of the graves contain enough imported vessels to create larger, solely Roman sets. Instead of being grouped together, the imported objects are dispersed in the grave and assembled with other vessels and objects. Of these arrangements of mixed provenance there

<sup>248</sup> Schlüter 1970:125, 130, 132, 133f.

<sup>249</sup> As in Brøndsager 2000, Juellinge 1 and 2, Kirkebakkegård, Skovgårde 400, Skrøbershave, Valløby, and Varpelev A in Denmark; Haina, Haßleben 8, Leuna 2, 1917, and Neudorf-Bornstein 4 in Germany.

are a number that display a recurring composition, or what I have called a core composition, consisting of a large container, scooping or pouring vessel and beaker or other type of drinking vessel. I would also argue that a large number of other arrangements could be regarded as reduced versions of this set, with one or more of the vessel categories missing.

The idea that the vessel sets were Roman in their composition and that their use thus reflects an understanding of Roman drinking practices, assumes that the vessels were combined and used in the same way on Roman territory. This is not an entirely unproblematic assumption. Some scholars have already pointed to a number of discrepancies in the vessel use between Roman and Germanic finds, which indicates the importance of contextual comparisons. For instance, Oldenstein mentioned a ladle of the *simpulum* type (E 163) found in grave IV from Straky (Czech Republic) whose vertical handle was bent to a horizontal position, presumably to resemble the more common types of ladles and saucepans. Based on this he concluded that we cannot assume that Roman vessels had the same function in Germanic contexts. He wrote:

Dies veranschaulicht, wenn auch nur an einem kleinen Beispiel, daß “Importstücke”, die in das freie Germanien gelangten, anscheinend ganz bestimmten Zwecken dienten und nicht nur als Andenken- oder Schaustücke Verwendung fanden. Es muß für die Benutzung nicht zwingend römische Tradition angenommen werden, sondern die römischen Metallgefäße können von ihrer Form her durchaus germanischen Benutzungstraditionen entgegengekommen sein.<sup>250</sup>

In a similar fashion, Kunow distinguished between utility and meaning when he argued that just because the function of a certain vessel type, e.g. a ladle used for ladling, might have been maintained in the Germanic context, it does not automatically mean that they were used to perform identifiably Roman drinking customs.<sup>251</sup> Consequently, we must bear in mind that the mere presence of Roman vessels in Germanic contexts is not enough evidence when arguing for an ideological transference.

In order to answer the question whether or not the combinations of vessels observed above reflect a specifically Roman practice, one must first of all study whether these occur in graves and other contexts within the Roman Empire. One must also investigate the origins of the inhumation practice in Germania Magna, especially the combination of inhumation burial and large vessel arrangements, since this practice is generally viewed as an integrated part of an ideological complex with Roman cultural roots.

### 3.8 ROMAN DRINKING

When I first began the study of Roman vessels in Germanic mortuary practices I was rather taken back by the amount of scholarly writing, within both archaeology and classical studies, on this suite of material culture. But I was equally astonished by the

<sup>250</sup> Oldenstein 1975:301.

<sup>251</sup> Kunow 1983:69–80.



lack of rigorous treatments of these objects, giving proper attention to their form as well as possible function and meaning in relation to their contexts. One of the difficulties is to sort out the chronological and geographical variations of the functions and meanings of these vessels on Roman territory. This is largely due to an old antiquarian approach to Roman material culture that still prevails in some areas of classical archaeology today, where a rather homogeneous image of the Roman Empire and its material culture is presented. Although there is a growing critique against this nineteenth- and early twentieth-century outlook, it is still, to some extent, reproduced in modern research. In the case of Roman domestic life, the well-preserved cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum have become models for the rest of the Roman Empire, irrespective of geographical and chronological differences.<sup>252</sup> And despite the opportunity for thorough contextual analysis offered by these domestic remains, the excavated material mainly serves as illustrations to the textual nomenclature found in Roman literary sources. The focus of that approach has been to identify the objects mentioned in the texts, without paying attention to their archaeological context.<sup>253</sup> This decontextualization of the archaeological finds, and the preference given to the literary sources, has serious consequences for this field of research. For instance, during the early excavations, restorations and reconstructions of the houses in Pompeii, archaeological structures and patterns not in accordance with the literary sources were “corrected”. Thus, objects have been moved around so as to better match the literary statements on architectural use and domestic life, not paying attention to the archaeological context nor the chronological differences between the archaeological remains and the texts used for analogy.<sup>254</sup> Assigning a function to the objects based on textual references to material forms instead of the actual circumstances in which they were found, and then using this as a foundation for further research and interpretation, is a rather effective way of circumventing the archaeological context. This point of departure, where, as P.M. Allison puts it, “[a]ncient texts were seen as the key to a comprehension of the social reality behind found artefacts”,<sup>255</sup> and where the texts were thought to “better explain the specific, unique function of an excavated vessel than [...] its context or any possible remains of content”,<sup>256</sup> has long been appreciated by classical archaeologists and still haunts research on Roman material culture today. Age-old established interpretations are taken for granted by others and thus indolently reproduced to the extent of becoming archaeological truths.

When studying the presence of Roman vessels in Germanic mortuary practices, one quickly realizes that this outlook also affects the research on Roman objects found outside the borders of the Empire. Archaeologists working with Northern Europe often turn to studies dealing with the north-western provinces or the Mediterranean areas of the Roman Empire for insights into the function and meaning of the Roman objects. These studies are not infrequently accepted at face value. But this is not the whole extent of the problem. As mentioned before, archaeologists studying the Roman Iron Age tend to search for similarities in function between the Roman area on the one

<sup>252</sup> Allison 1999:57f.

<sup>253</sup> Allison 2004; cf. critique by White 1975:107.

<sup>254</sup> Cf. Allison 1999:58–62.

<sup>255</sup> Allison 1999:65.

<sup>256</sup> Allison 1999:62.



hand and the Germanic area on the other, since similarities are taken as evidence of cultural influences from the Romans on the peoples north of the imperial borders. This has often resulted in the quest for Roman table sets in Germanic graves, arguing that the more complete and “authentic” the table setting, the greater the cultural influences. However, following the chain of interpretations back to the earlier classifications of the Roman vessels on which the interpretations of Germanic finds are later based, one runs into a serious problem. Many works dealing with vessel functions and the arrangement of table settings within the Roman Empire have turned to finds outside the borders of the Empire for comparisons and explanations. This is largely due to the often unreliable contexts of the Mediterranean or provincial material, and the fact that a considerable amount of vessels of Roman manufacture are found beyond the Roman borders. Thus, Germanic finds often serve as decisive analogies when table settings in Roman contexts are interpreted. For instance, Willers argued that ladles and strainers of bronze were used in the preparation of wine in the Roman world by referring both to grave 1873 from Nordrup (Denmark), where a ladle and strainer were found together with a beaker, and a Roman relief from Cherchell in Algeria showing a ladle-like object.<sup>257</sup> Likewise, R. Nierhaus referred to Germanic finds in order to strengthen his argument that certain vessels found in provincial contexts functioned as drinking vessels.<sup>258</sup> Also, Kunow referred to Germanic finds in order to discern the original Roman function of e.g. bronze pails of type E44–49.<sup>259</sup> A further example is S. Künzl, who in a discussion of silver plates argued their Roman function as serving dishes by referring, among other things, to the Danish finds from Dollerupgård and Hoby.<sup>260</sup> Despite the apparent dangers with this method of analogy, scholars working particularly with Germanic areas employ the results of these studies as testimonies of the vessels’ original Roman function before they were recontextualized in the Germanic setting. What we have here is in other words a tendency to a circular argument, where the Germanic finds of Roman vessels are interpreted using assumptions which in turn are largely based on finds from Germanic contexts. Consequently, it is not surprising that striking similarities in vessel practice appear between the Roman and Germanic areas.

In order to acknowledge the cultural diversity of the Roman Empire, we must treat the archaeological material and the literary accounts as two separate sources with their own source-critical complexities. Recent studies on domestic practices in Pompeian houses have shown that there are discrepancies between the archaeological and textual evidence when it comes to use of architectural space as well as domestic artefacts.<sup>261</sup> It is a well-known fact that the far from straightforward textual evidence presented by the ancient Roman writers is filled with inconsistencies. So when scholars try to negotiate and adjust divergent testimonies with each other and then apply this to the archaeological record, the result is often unclear and unreliable as well as unconvincing. Furthermore, the use of written sources as analogies seldom takes into account what purpose the authors had in writing them. Besides the offhand language

<sup>257</sup> Willers 1901:59, 200f. n. 5; cf. Nuber 1973:180, n. 1085. The relief from Cherchell is also depicted in Sintès & Rebahi 2003:137, no. 57.

<sup>258</sup> Nierhaus 1966:69.

<sup>259</sup> Kunow 1983:71, cf. 76f.

<sup>260</sup> Künzl 1997c:21.

<sup>261</sup> Allison 2004.

of the ancient writers, making it notoriously hard to ascertain the physical properties of the objects described in text and then linking them to archaeological remains, the narrative itself is rigged with an agenda of its own and filled with cultural conventions which affect the outlook of the text. Few written sources have the description of vessels and vessel use as their primary focus. Furthermore, the circumstances in which the vessels figure, i.e. banquets and drinking parties, were literary devices rather than accounts of factual events. The literary theme of banquets and drinking parties, often reserved for accounts of the upper stratum of society, was often used metaphorically to illustrate cultural principles and moral issues. The way dining and drinking was conducted often functioned as a yardstick of civilization; the elaborate and decadent parties acting as deterrents.<sup>262</sup> The widely known banquet of Trimalchio, an episode in the *Satyricon* by Petronius dated to the first century AD, is one of the most frequently cited examples of this.<sup>263</sup> Here the former slave Trimalchio uses his acquired wealth to throw an elaborate dinner party for his friends, which becomes the setting for a satirical account of riches and excess.<sup>264</sup> A similar set of problems accompanies the archaeological sources. It should for instance be observed that many of the Roman banquet scenes on wall paintings and reliefs are of a semi-mythological nature, filled with religious symbolism, and therefore not completely reliable when it comes to everyday practice.<sup>265</sup> Moreover, Roman art was highly characterized by conventions and the artists often combined contemporary imagery with elements several centuries old.<sup>266</sup>

These source-critical factors notwithstanding, scholars generally agree that the Roman drinking-party, the *comissatio*, had its roots in the Greek *symposion*, and as a consequence many of them assume that the same values and practices characterized the two.<sup>267</sup> Although both traditions functioned as important social and cultural institutions, permeated by ritual and tradition, a closer comparison reveals major structural differences. For instance, while scholars like L. Hannestad,<sup>268</sup> K.-W. Weeber<sup>269</sup> and R. Strong<sup>270</sup> claimed that the Romans followed the Greek tradition and drank sparingly during the actual meal (*cena*, in its grander form also-called *convivium*), saving most of the wine consumption for the succeeding drinking-party, there is also evidence that suggests the contrary. K.M.D. Dunbabin has shown that the Romans put more emphasis on the meal and the food, with a variety of ingredients and a wealth of detail, and paid less attention to the *comissatio*. Instead, a majority of the Roman references to wine consumption concern drinking during the dinner itself.<sup>271</sup> Another area in which the Roman banquet differed from the Greek symposion was the entertainment. While intellectual conversation, poetry and drama was preferred by the Greeks, these

<sup>262</sup> Gowers 1993:esp. 4f.; Dunbabin 1993:116; 2003:3f.

<sup>263</sup> Petron. *Sat.*

<sup>264</sup> Cf. Strong 2002:3–8.

<sup>265</sup> Dunbabin 1993:119.

<sup>266</sup> Dunbabin 1995:253.

<sup>267</sup> Cf. Dunbabin 1993:118.

<sup>268</sup> Hannestad 1979:90.

<sup>269</sup> Weeber 1993:32.

<sup>270</sup> Strong 2002:18, 20.

<sup>271</sup> Dunbabin 1993:129.

forms of diversions, although known from our Latin sources,<sup>272</sup> did not appear to have the same significance for the Romans. Instead they favoured things like dice playing and performances by musicians and dancers.<sup>273</sup> Also when it comes to gender structures we can observe discrepancies between the Greek and Roman traditions. The symposium was a gathering of men, all considered equals, and the only women allowed were the *hetairai*, courtesans or prostitutes serving as companions to the men and often performing sexual services. The Romans during the Imperial Period, on the other hand, permitted honourable women, such as wives of the hosts, to share in the festivities.<sup>274</sup> But even if the women partook in the Roman banquets, it does not say that they shared in the wine drinking itself. Wine, according to some literary accounts, was thought to induce adultery in women, and Valerius Maximus gave a first-century AD account of how Egnatius Metellus had his wife killed for drinking wine.<sup>275</sup> Whether this source is to be regarded as representative for the entire Imperial Period is highly uncertain, since we have accounts dated to Late Antiquity which tell of wine being a fully accepted beverage for women at that time.<sup>276</sup>

Also, the actual physical space within which the dining and drinking took place is of interest in order to understand the wine drinking customs and the objects connected to them. To drink and dine in a reclining position by the table was considered a mark of civilization according to the literary sources, and that which distinguished free men from slaves, and men of honour from barbarians.<sup>277</sup> The dining room, the *triclinium*, was therefore fashioned with couches along the walls, and with a table in the middle. The wealthy often had several such dining rooms in their house, suited for different occasions and seasons.<sup>278</sup> At the end of the second century and in the early third century, the *triclinia* changed to make room for a semicircular couch called a *stibadium*, *sigma*, or *accubitus* with room for 7–8 guests.<sup>279</sup>

Several scholars have rightly classified the Roman banquets and drinking parties as important social events. For instance, Strong wrote:

The Roman dinner party began as a pure expression of an elite republican society, essential to its social cohesion. In the absence of an imperial court they served to bring together powerful people who were equal [...]. During the imperial period, however, the dinner party was seen as the survival of a format of a vanished era, an occasion in which host and guests of various ranks could behave as equals around the table. At least that is the way the way the old Republican *convivia* were viewed in retrospect, as pleasant classless affairs where social barriers were lowered and normal conventions relaxed, with inferiors allowed to indulge freely in sharp wit without fear of recrimination.<sup>280</sup>

<sup>272</sup> E.g. Mart. *Ep.* 3.45; 3.50; 11.52.16–18; Plin. (Y) *Ep.* 3.1.9–10.

<sup>273</sup> Weeber 1993:32f; cf. Strong 2002:36.

<sup>274</sup> Murray 1985:48f.; Weeber 1993:32; Bradley 1998: 38, 47; Dunbabin 1998:81.

<sup>275</sup> Val. Max. 6.3.9; cf. Ankarloo 1994:67.

<sup>276</sup> Bradley 1998:41, with ref. to August. *Conf.* 9.8.

<sup>277</sup> Cf. Apul. *Met.* 10.17; Columella, *Rust.* 11.1.19; Lucian *Asinus* 48; Petron. *Sat.* 64, 68.

<sup>278</sup> Dunbabin 1991:124.

<sup>279</sup> Dunbabin 1991:128–131; Nielsen 1998:109; Strong 2002:29.

<sup>280</sup> Strong 2002:25; cf. D'Arms 1990.

K. Bradley, on the other hand, compared the banquets with the Roman triumph, whose purpose was to instil recognition as well as display influence and power. He argued that the parties were political tools used to socially include and exclude people.<sup>281</sup> The bonds of friendship that were forged at these events were mainly instrumental, and the banquets were therefore of central importance to the upper stratum of society which was dependent upon joint contacts for their social advancement.<sup>282</sup> “As a social mechanism, the *convivium* was thus as important to the Romans as the salon to eighteenth-century France or the dinner party to Victorian England.”<sup>283</sup>

Since the Romans never drank their wine un-diluted, the practices and utensils associated with the mixing wine with water were central during the banquets and drinking-parties. However, while the Greek *symposium* opened with the ritual mixing of wine and water in a large mixing bowl (a *krater*), from which the drink was later dispensed to the participants, the Roman practice was rather different. Literary sources inform that the mixing of wine and water was normally done according to the guest’s own wishes directly in his beaker.<sup>284</sup> Some scholars have tried to solve this discrepancy between Roman practice and Greek ideals by suggesting that the Roman mixed the wine in his beaker during the meal, but used a *krater*, in accordance with Greek tradition, during the *comissatio*.<sup>285</sup> However, as mentioned above, you rarely see this clear distinction between the meal and the drinking bout in Roman sources. Dunbabin illustrates this problem by referencing Martial, who often mentions the preparation of wine, although every time he goes into detail it turns out that he is referring to the individual and not communal mixing.<sup>286</sup> How are we then to understand the function of the mixing bowl in the literary sources? It is possible that the *krater* should be regarded as yet another literary convention and the mixing of the wine in mixing bowls as a metaphor for the banquet itself, its meaning as a social arena, as well as the affluence this event wished to communicate.<sup>287</sup> A similar use of the motif is visible, for instance, on wall paintings and mosaics. Dunbabin points to the fact that images of *krater*-shaped vessels had an emblematic value. They functioned as symbols for wine, and by appearing on paintings and mosaics in dining rooms they indicated the places where wine was consumed. An example of this is the floor mosaic in the dining room of the *House of the Buffet Supper* in Antioch in modern-day Turkey. Here we can see the image of an overflowing *krater* surrounded by peacocks and cupids, which were common symbols of prosperity.<sup>288</sup> Before the wine was diluted, the Romans would often season it with pepper, honey, flowers, fruit, etc.<sup>289</sup> Consequently a strainer was always used in the preparations. The Romans were also in the habit of heating their wine with hot water; a treatment which differs from Greek traditions. According to Dunbabin, the use of *caldā* (hot water) was

<sup>281</sup> Bradley 1998:39, 50.

<sup>282</sup> D’Arms 1990:319.

<sup>283</sup> Strong 2002:25.

<sup>284</sup> Dunbabin 1993:128; 1995:259; Kaufmann-Heinimann 1997:92.

<sup>285</sup> Cf. Weeber 1993:49.

<sup>286</sup> Dunbabin 1993:128–129 with ref. to Mart. *Ep.* 5.64; cf. Varro *Rust.* 3.5.15–16; Juv. 5.63; Sen. (Y) *Ep.* 78.23; Petron. *Sat.* 64, 65.

<sup>287</sup> Cf. Gowers 1993:235, n. 59.

<sup>288</sup> Dunbabin 1995:255f.; cf. Levi 1947b:pl. XXIIIb.

<sup>289</sup> E.g. Hannestad 1979:63; Weeber 1993:35.

considered a specific Roman custom already in antiquity,<sup>290</sup> and she referred to written accounts dated to the Late Republic and later, where the use of *caldā* is mentioned more frequently than *frigida* (cold water) as a complement to wine.<sup>291</sup> This explains the frequent depiction of samovars in connection with drinking in Roman art.<sup>292</sup> Nevertheless, kraters are occasionally depicted together with samovars, and Dunbabin argued that these vessels were no longer used to mix the wine and water, but simply functioned as the containers in which the wine was poured from the amphorae. She suggested that they obviously needed a vessel between the amphora and the jug, a vessel from which the wine could be ladled. She referred to passages in Latin poetry and prose which mention the krater and argued that there is nothing in these accounts to indicate that it was used as anything other than a container for wine.<sup>293</sup> She wrote that:

the only clear references to mixing are metaphorical or by transference. [...] One may, I think, conclude from this that the concept of mixing was, for the Roman observer, no longer integrally associated with the *crater* shape; its primary association was that of “container of refreshing liquid”. Indeed, *misceri* [Latin for “to mix”] in some phrases [...] looks as though it too had undergone a comparable transformation, and ended up meaning little more than “to pour out”.<sup>294</sup>

By the middle and late Imperial Period, the samovar had become the most significant image used in this context; the one that best conveyed the proper values and associations.<sup>295</sup>

### 3.8.1 DEATH AND DRINKING IN THE ROMAN WORLD

Between the first century BC and the second century AD the classical sources reflect an increasing symbolic connection between death and the drinking of wine in the Roman world. Poets sang of wine and death in both Greek and Latin to remind the listeners of their mortality and encourage them to enjoy life.<sup>296</sup> But the meaning of wine, and the drinking of it, stretched even further than that. Besides being enjoyed in life, wine had a prominent position in the Roman afterlife as well as in the mortuary rituals. The dead were thought to reside in the tombs and were able to enjoy the same customs as in life. Thus the living could share food and drink with their ancestors at the cemeteries. According to the written sources there were numerous occasions on which eating and drinking ceremonies were performed at the gravesite. And on every occasion, some of the food and drink was presented as an offering to the dead.<sup>297</sup> The importance

<sup>290</sup> Although wine coolers are also depicted in banquet scenes on Pompeian wall paintings (e.g. Riz 1990:pl. 51:2–3, pl. 52:3).

<sup>291</sup> Dunbabin 1993:127.

<sup>292</sup> Dunbabin 1993:149.

<sup>293</sup> Dunbabin 1993:140.

<sup>294</sup> Dunbabin 1993:140.

<sup>295</sup> Dunbabin 1993:140.

<sup>296</sup> Grottanelli 1995:67–69.

<sup>297</sup> Toynbee 1996:51; Naumann-Steckner 1997:148



of these rituals is evident from preserved wills where the testators instruct that money is to be set aside so that the heirs will be able to perform the necessary libations and ritual meals at the grave.<sup>298</sup> Some Roman graves were even fashioned with empty chairs and couches for the dead to use on these occasions.<sup>299</sup> Regardless of the great diversity of cults and philosophies relating to death and the afterlife in Roman times, both literary and archaeological sources show that a majority of the Romans in the Imperial Period believed in the continued life of the individual soul after death, as well as the ability of the dead and the living to influence each other.

Roman law allowed for three burial types; inhumation, cremation, and embalmment, the last usually being reserved for the very wealthy and powerful. However, cremations were the standard of burial in Late Republican and Early Imperial periods. In most of the Empire, cremations were done in the cemetery proper, specifically in the *ustrinum*, a place set aside as a crematorium. The deceased was placed on a pyre surrounded with gifts and personal items. After the body was burnt the fires were doused with wine and the ashes were placed in containers ranging from leather pouches to gold canisters, depending on the affluence of the deceased.<sup>300</sup> While the upper class was usually laid to rest in sarcophagi housed in mausoleums, the Roman middle class was often buried in graves marked with a large upright pot, or *amphora*, fashioned with a hole in the bottom and partially thrust into the ground. At other times, a pipe leading from the surface down into the grave was installed. This allowed offerings, in the form of libations, to be poured into the grave of the deceased.<sup>301</sup> In the course of the second and third centuries AD, inhumations became increasingly popular and spread gradually across the empire.<sup>302</sup> But it was not until the fourth century AD onwards that inhumation practice became the dominant funerary practice. What caused this transition is difficult to say, but it took place gradually, without a clear break between the two traditions.<sup>303</sup> A contributing factor to the transition may have been the influx of Germanic settlers who practised inhumation burial.<sup>304</sup> Regardless of which practice we are dealing with, cremation or inhumation, it is notoriously difficult to assign function to the objects found in the funerary contexts. In the Late Republican and Early Imperial Rome, the deceased were often sparsely accompanied by a rather standardized set of objects, such as small drinking vessels (e.g. beakers), balsamaria, lamps, and occasionally coins. Larger vessel sets are however rare as grave goods, and the majority of vessel remains occasionally found by the graves may rather be connected to the funerary meals or ritual offerings performed by the mourners at the site. This pattern is repeated irrespective of whether the graves were cremations or inhumations, and is observed in many of the urban gravesites across the Roman Empire.<sup>305</sup> The large number and rich variety

<sup>298</sup> Toynbee 1996:62.

<sup>299</sup> Toynbee 1996:214; 215; e.g. Naumann-Steckner 1997:166, no. 26.

<sup>300</sup> Jones 1987:813, 815; Toynbee 1996:50; Naumann-Steckner 1997:147–150; von Hesberg 1998:13, 24.

<sup>301</sup> Fasold & Witteyer 1998:182; cf. von Hesberg 1998:26.

<sup>302</sup> R. Jones 1987:815–817; Toynbee 1996:33f, 40; Dierkens & Périn 1997:81.

<sup>303</sup> Altjohann 2001:199.

<sup>304</sup> Dierkens & Périn 1997:81.

<sup>305</sup> E.g. Böhme-Schönberger 1998:263; Fasold & Witteyer 1998:182; von Hesberg 1998:15, 17, 19.



of grave goods, particularly vessel arrangements, found in provincial settings are generally considered a continuation of pre-Roman, indigenous, traditions and not a particular Roman trait, since this expression is not seen in the Italian heartland itself.<sup>306</sup> If we direct our focus to the north-western provinces of the Empire, the grave goods in the first and second century in general consisted of plates, bowls, jugs, drinking vessels (beakers and cups), flasks and other utensils made of terra sigillata, glass or local pottery. This was complemented by lamps as well as balsamaria and aryballoi.<sup>307</sup> This picture does not change to any significant degree in the graves of the third and fourth centuries, including the increasingly common inhumations. Far from all graves contained all of these vessels, and it is furthermore difficult to determine to what extent the character of the grave goods reflected pre-Roman customs in the area. However, some have suggested that the fragments of vessels for eating and drinking recovered from the cremation graves belonged either to the personal items of the deceased which were placed on the pyre, or were the remains of the *silicernium*, the feast held at the grave site at the time of the burial.<sup>308</sup> The same uncertainty concerns the inhumations, where the grave goods could either belong to the deceased or be the leftovers of practices performed by the living. Nevertheless, the fact that vessels for eating and drinking were an integral part of the mortuary practices testifies to the importance of these activities in life as well as death. Even the cremation urns and grave markers express this. Some urns were shaped like beakers or wine jugs.<sup>309</sup> Some graves were marked by an amphora stuck into the ground through which wine was poured into the grave as an offering to the dead.<sup>310</sup> We also know of grave markers shaped as wine barrels, probably symbolizing the mundane pleasures enjoyed by the dead in the afterlife.<sup>311</sup>

### 3.8.1.1 THE FUNERARY BANQUET MOTIF

Of relevance to our understanding of the relationship between drinking and death in the Roman world is the so-called *funerary banquet motif* (or “Totenmahl” in German), i.e. funerary reliefs depicting a male figure reclining on a couch with a drinking vessel in his hand. This motif of the reclining banqueter has its origin in the Near East. It is known on Assyrian reliefs from the end of the seventh century BC, and also appears in Greek vase paintings from roughly the same period. During the sixth and the fifth centuries BC, it began to be used in a funerary context in Asia Minor, where it was transmitted to the Greeks, who in turn began using it on votive and funerary reliefs in the two subsequent centuries. This is in turn regarded as the starting point of a favoured tradition of mortuary imagery frequently revisited by the Mediterranean peoples in both Hellenistic and Roman times and found on not only on grave markers but also on sarcophagi and funerary altars.<sup>312</sup> The meaning of the motif is difficult to discern,

<sup>306</sup> E.g. Lichardus 1984:60; Böhme-Schönberger 1998:263; Reinert 1998:292; cf. R. Jones 1987:816.

<sup>307</sup> E.g. Friedhoff 1991:60–64; Naumann-Steckner 1997:148, 150–152, 158–164.

<sup>308</sup> R. Jones 1987:813; Altjohann 2001:200.

<sup>309</sup> Cf. Toynbee 1996:50, 254.

<sup>310</sup> Toynbee 1996:101.

<sup>311</sup> Toynbee 1996:253, pl. 81.

<sup>312</sup> Grottanelli 1995; Toynbee 1996:138, 228, 230, 267, 272; Dunbabin 2003:14–16, 104–106.

and the suggestions put forward by scholars range from genuine representations of the deceased in life to more symbolic or idealizing, eschatological renderings.<sup>313</sup> A large number of reliefs with funerary banquet motifs are found on stelae in the north-western provinces of the Roman Empire, especially in lower and upper Germania and adjacent areas of Gaul, with offshoots into the province of Raetia.<sup>314</sup> The largest concentration is found in the area of modern Cologne. But the composition of the motif on these reliefs differs somewhat from those found in the Italic area,<sup>315</sup> and the most likely explanation is that they arrived in the Rhine area via Thrace and northern Greece.<sup>316</sup> The motif was used on funerary stelae that were erected in commemoration of soldiers or veterans, primarily from the Roman auxiliary troops.<sup>317</sup> The central motif depicts the deceased reclining on a *kline*, clad in a garment corresponding to representations of Greek heroes, which further attests to the motif's eastern origin.<sup>318</sup> He is reclining on his right side, supporting himself on the left arm, and holds a beaker or a folded napkin (a *mappa*) in the right hand. In the foreground stands a three-legged table laid with beakers, occasionally a plate, and sometimes with a bowl of fruit. Occasionally, a wine jug or flask is placed on the floor beside the table. Most of the time, a servant is depicted standing by the foot of the *kline*, holding a jug and handled bowl in his hand (fig. 3.17). And if the stele also commemorated the deceased's wife or sister, she is depicted seated on a high-backed chair at the foot of the table, occasionally with a bowl or basket of fruit in her lap.<sup>319</sup> The affluent symbolism in the motif – the heroic representation, servants, beakers, napkins, wine jugs, and the bowls with fruit – indicates the desire for a prosperous afterlife. Some scholars also suggest that the depiction of banqueting, fine furniture and highly crafted drinking vessels functioned as status symbols, representing a sophisticated, high-status lifestyle.<sup>320</sup> The funerary banquet was the dominating theme on *stelae* in the Rhine area from the Flavian period (AD 69–96) to the second half of the second century. During the second century the motif was gradually adopted by civilians, and slowly transformed from an idealized representation into a more profane and realistic image of family meals with the deceased surrounded by his family members.<sup>321</sup>

### 3.8.2 ROMAN FUNCTIONS

Although there existed much variation in drinking customs and mortuary practices within the Roman Empire, the above review gives us a general idea of some of the overall tendencies in Italy and the provinces. It is consequently relevant for us to compare this general image with practices involving vessels of Roman manufacture among

<sup>313</sup> Dunbabin 2003:108.

<sup>314</sup> E.g. Faust 1998; Noelke 1998; 2001.

<sup>315</sup> Cf. Grottanelli 1995:70.

<sup>316</sup> Faust 1998:80 with ref.; cf. Verdiani 1945:409.

<sup>317</sup> Noelke 1998:405.

<sup>318</sup> Faust 1998:81.

<sup>319</sup> For further description and discussion on this motif, see e.g. Bauchhenss 1978:10; Boppert 1992:62–65; Faust 1998:81; Noelke 1998; 2001:160; cf. Dunbabin 2003:103–140.

<sup>320</sup> Noelke 1974:558; Faust 1998:77 n. 471, 80 with ref.; Noelke 2001:163.

<sup>321</sup> Faust 1998:82.



*Fig. 3.17 A funerary banquet relief from Bonn (after Bauchhenß 1978:pl. 28; RML Inv. Nr. 21 357; photo RGZM T 76/963).*

the Germanic peoples. The most systematic comparison between vessel use in Roman and Germanic contexts is presented by Kunow in his thesis, where he assigns each vessel type a specific area of function, based on a variety of sources.<sup>322</sup> However, reading Kunow's analysis, and viewing the extant sources, one is struck by how many varying functions a category of vessels could have had in the Roman context, and in how many different areas of life the vessel forms seem to appear. So, the question what function the imported vessels originally had in their Roman context is not as straightforward as one first might think. Although Kunow's analysis is both thorough and insightful, he relies heavily on written sources, especially cited in the work by W. Hilgers,<sup>323</sup> when he assigns functions to the vessels in their Roman context. And in the written sources a vessel name is very rarely bound to a specific form of vessel or a specific vessel function.

<sup>322</sup> Kunow 1983:69–83.

<sup>323</sup> Hilgers 1969.

If we take a closer look at the original context of the vessel types that eventually found their way to the Germanic area, trying to discern their function and in what way they fitted into the general Roman conception of banquets and their accoutrements described above, one finds a number of significant discrepancies. If we disregard the written sources and instead study contemporary imagery of drinking and dining, mainly on wall paintings and reliefs, which is one of the few instances where we can tie together the form of vessel with a specific activity or function, we see that a number of specific types of vessel were used.<sup>324</sup> Again, we must not forget that the imagery is wrought with artistic conventions, and is unlikely to have been intended as documentary footage of its time. The wall paintings with banquet scenes or still-life scenes with one or more vessels (e.g. bowls of fruit, or a jug and beaker, or a beaker, krater and ladle, often together with a *thyrsus*) seem to draw on Hellenistic iconographic traditions and Dionysiac themes.<sup>325</sup> Few of the banquet scenes make reference to actual Roman practice. They are idealizing.

The paintings are clearly meant to evoke [...] an appropriate mood of festivity, to serve as a paradigm for a luxurious life; a life that was beyond the reach of middle-class inhabitants of small town Pompeii, except in their dreams or in their cups.<sup>326</sup>

Also, the scenes depicted on sarcophagi and tombstones bear a similar idealizing tone (see below). However, these scenes are nevertheless one of our main sources for Roman banquets where we occasionally may connect certain vessel forms with specific practices. As mentioned above, kraters are depicted as containers for wine, and samovars for heating water to mix with the wine. In some wall paintings, kraters are depicted together with wine coolers; large basins with water in which the krater was placed. Sometimes, large flasks or bottles are depicted, presumably also as containers for the wine. Strainers are only rarely depicted in Roman art, and then in the shape of slender, spoon-like utensils, occasionally termed *colatoria* by the scholars.<sup>327</sup> Ladles with vertical handles<sup>328</sup> are more frequent on the other hand, and were used to scoop the wine, probably into wine jugs or directly into the drinking vessel.<sup>329</sup> Spoon-like ladles with long and slender, horizontal handles are also part of the tableware in some scenes, and were probably used to stir and perhaps also to ladle the wine and water. Beakers, cups,

<sup>324</sup> Cf. Wagner *et al.* 1973; Künzl 1975; Bauchhenss 1978; Borriello *et al.* 1986; Riz 1990; Boppert 1992; Mattern 1999; Boppert 2001; Mattern 2001; Dunbabin, esp. 2003.

<sup>325</sup> Cf. Riz 1990.

<sup>326</sup> Dunbabin 2003:56.

<sup>327</sup> One of these rare occasions is possibly seen on a wall painting from a house on the Caelian Hill in Rome. Here, a servant is depicted with a beaker in his right hand and what appears to be a slender, spoon-like strainer in his left. The painting dates to the early fourth century (e.g. Martin 2002:183, fig. 6).

<sup>328</sup> I.e. *not* vessels of Eggers type 159–162.

<sup>329</sup> DeMaine (1990:136), however, pointed out that jugs and ladles with vertical handles are rarely depicted together in banquet scenes, and she therefore suggested that these two forms were not complementary, but rather had the same function, which was to distribute the wine into the individual drinking vessels.



horns or small bowls were used as drinking vessels, and water jugs together with handled bowls were used for hand washing. Bowls and plates were used to serve the food.

These types of vessels are the ones most frequently used in depictions of wine drinking, although they are rarely depicted all at once in a single scene. Based on a general review of the visual representations it becomes clear that neither the pails, the cauldrons, nor the saucepans of types found in Germanic graves have a prominent place in these visual representations of Roman drinking and dining. Furthermore, the ladle- and strainer-sets of Eggers type 159–162, which are so common in Germanic finds, are missing altogether from the banquet scenes. So were these types of vessels, so frequently used in Germanic graves, actually used in connection with the Roman banquet?

Since kraters are extremely rare in Germanic graves,<sup>330</sup> cauldrons and pails are thought to have replaced them as mixing bowls or containers for wine.<sup>331</sup> When it comes to the pails, it is often argued that they were used as mixing bowls within the Roman Empire as well, while the use of cauldrons as containers for liquids is considered a barbarian adaptation, as mentioned above. The scarcity of cauldrons and pails in drinking and dining imagery may be attributed to the predominant use of kraters and samovars as symbolic representations of wine and banquets, and not a reflection of their actual domestic use. Besides the more prosaic functions as water buckets or as part of the field gear of the legionaries, as is evident from depictions on Trajan's Column,<sup>332</sup> pails are rather frequently depicted in religious contexts within the Roman Empire, for instance as divine attributes, and in connection with consecrations and offerings, as seen on Pompeian paintings. This is often the case with cauldrons as well.<sup>333</sup> We also have actual finds of cauldrons and pails bearing votive inscriptions, which further emphasizes their function in religious contexts.<sup>334</sup> Occasionally, there seems also to have been a metaphorical link between pails and kraters, especially regarding their use in symbolic representations of prosperity. This is evident from provincial matronae altars depicting pails filled with fruit. This should possibly be regarded as comparable to the *horns of plenty*, sometimes depicted on the same reliefs.<sup>335</sup> Besides these contexts there are, however, a small number of instances where cauldrons and pails are associated more directly with banquets and wine drinking. On the sculpted sarcophagus from Simpelveld in the Dutch province of Limburg, dated to the late second or early third century AD, we also have a direct link between pails, tableware and funerary customs. The reliefs on the interior walls of the sarcophagus show a reclining woman on a couch surrounded by furniture and household objects. In one of the cupboards along the wall are two pails, and on the shelf above them, what appear to be four drinking vessels of glass. Beneath the pails are two jugs.<sup>336</sup> Likewise, on Pompeian wall paintings, we find images of household deities, *lares*, depicted with drinking horns in one hand and pails in the other.<sup>337</sup> The fact that

<sup>330</sup> Only a few finds are known, e.g. Bendstrup in Denmark (Hedeager & Kristiansen 1982). To my knowledge, no samovars have been found in Germania Magna.

<sup>331</sup> E.g. Kunow 1983:69–80; Künzl 1997c:20; cf. Künzl 1993:196, n. 282.

<sup>332</sup> Settis *et al.* 1988:265; cf. Willers 1901:190.

<sup>333</sup> E.g. Riz 1990.

<sup>334</sup> E.g. Klumbach 1940; Fernstål 2003.

<sup>335</sup> Willers 1901:182, fig. 70.

<sup>336</sup> E.g. Galestin 2001.

<sup>337</sup> E.g. Riz 1990:54, no. 21.

several pails are manufactured of silver also suggests that they were occasionally used as tableware. However, the exact function of these pails within the household or in connection with the banquet is difficult to discern based on the imagery. If we instead turn backwards to the early Iron Age of south-central Europe, we have a number of finds of bronze pails decorated with incised narrative scenes, known as *situla art*, with representations of pails being used as containers for drink.<sup>338</sup> But whether this function could be directly transferred to pails in the Roman period is hard to say. Cauldrons, on the other hand, seem at times to have been directly involved in the preparation of wine. For instance, there are a number of banquet scenes on late third-century sarcophagi from Italy where the preparation of wine is a central theme. Occasionally, cauldrons are depicted as being heated over a fire, and in some cases what appears to be wine is poured from an amphora into the cauldron, thus showing wine and water being heated together.<sup>339</sup> This association between the cauldron and the banquet is also known from other media, like the picnic scene on the so-called Hunting Plate from the Sevso Treasure, dated to the mid to late fourth century.<sup>340</sup> But only rarely are we able to determine whether the content of the cauldrons is wine or not.

The deep bowl with flat, horizontal handle, which is here labelled a saucepan, is in other cases called casserole or frying pan based on analogies with modern vessel forms, or *patera* or *trulla* based on textual nomenclature. It is rarely depicted in Roman imagery, but it is generally referred to as either cooking or serving equipment in the archaeological literature. The finds from Pompeii are predominantly associated with tableware of finer quality.<sup>341</sup> However, these contexts are not always an entirely reliable representation of functional arrangements. There is, for instance, evidence of hoarding connected to the time just before the final destruction of the town. These hoards are most likely not a reflection of customary storage areas, but may instead be an expression of the inhabitants trying to rescue or protect their valuables. Thus the objects collected and assembled may not have been used together in ordinary domestic practices.<sup>342</sup> Nevertheless, some saucepans are made of silver and ornate, which implies that they were occasionally used for serving rather than cooking. Sometimes their handles are decorated with a *thyrsus*, a staff covered with ivy vines and leaves that was a symbol of Bacchus, the god of wine, indicating their connection to the preparation or serving of wine.<sup>343</sup> In the few cases where they are depicted, they seem to be associated with both the preparation and the serving of food and drink. For example, on a pair of horizontal grave stones from Algeria, so-called *mensa funéraire* dated to the second or third century, saucepan-like vessels are depicted from above with indented bowls where food and drink could be offered to the dead. On one of these reliefs, the saucepans are combined with two bowls or beakers, two spoons and a plate. It is however difficult to discern what the saucepans could have been filled with.<sup>344</sup> On the other hand, in one of

<sup>338</sup> E.g. Kastelic 1966.

<sup>339</sup> Himmelmann 1973:pl. 44a & 47d; Dunbabin 1993:136–138, 141; 1995:161–162; cf. Hilgers 1969:93–94; n. 464; White 1975:135.

<sup>340</sup> Dunbabin 2003:141–150.

<sup>341</sup> Allison 2004:56–58.

<sup>342</sup> Cf. Allison 2004:182–186.

<sup>343</sup> Weeber 1993:22; cf. Künzl 1997c:17.

<sup>344</sup> Sintes & Rebahi 2003:232f.



the scenes on the fourth-century grave monument from Igel, south-west of Trier in Germany, two bulky vessels with hemispheric bowls and long, horizontal handles are shown in connection with a banquet scene also depicting the preparation of wine.<sup>345</sup> H. Dragendorff and E. Krüger have suggested that these vessels could either be the depiction of two saucepans or a ladle and strainer set.<sup>346</sup> However, it appears that the former suggestion is more likely, since none of the vessels displays the characteristic holes of a strainer. The vessels are placed on top of a table together with a handled flask, a footed beaker and a jug, all indicating the preparation of liquids.<sup>347</sup> Next to the table is a servant who is reaching for the jug with one of his hands while holding a beaker in the other. Next to him stands a second servant who is busy pouring drink from a jug into a beaker. A further example is seen on a relief fragment from a grave monument from Neumagen in Germany, dating to the end of the first century, where a servant is depicted standing beside a table decked with a beaker, two jugs, a mirror and what appears to be a saucepan.<sup>348</sup> On a relief from Gratwein in Austria dated to the second century, a female servant is depicted holding a jug and standing beside a table with a saucepan-like vessel, what appears to be a beaker, a ladle with vertical handle, and a piece of bread or pastry. Underneath the table stands a jug.<sup>349</sup> And on the dining room mosaic in the House of the Buffet Supper in Antioch, already mentioned above, two saucepan-like vessels are shown in close proximity to both food and drink.<sup>350</sup> While D. Levi interpreted them as containers for gravy and sauces that might accompany the meat on the table,<sup>351</sup> Dunbabin emphasized their proximity to the krater and thus read them as vessels used to serve the wine.<sup>352</sup> Based on the imagery mentioned above, vessels resembling the saucepans can thus be identified as used in connection with eating and drinking. However, it is impossible to discern their exact function within this context. Some scholars lean towards interpreting them specifically as wine-serving vessels, comparing them with ladles.<sup>353</sup> S. Künzl and A. Kaufmann-Heinimann both suggest that they also could have been used as mixing bowls for small portions of wine and water.<sup>354</sup> Others see them more as general utensils used in both cooking and serving within the Roman household.<sup>355</sup> And although the imagery appears to relate the saucepans to banquets, we must not forget the scene from Trajan's Column in Rome, where this type of vessel (together with pails) is depicted in more prosaic circumstances as part of the field gear of the legionary soldiers.<sup>356</sup> Some scholars also emphasize their function in religious contexts, which is indicated by the fact that some of the saucepans are decorated with

<sup>345</sup> Dragendorff & Krüger 1924:73f.

<sup>346</sup> Dragendorff & Krüger 1924:74.

<sup>347</sup> A comparable arrangement of a saucepan-like vessel together with a handled flask is portrayed on a funeral monument from Arlon (Espérandieu 1913:269).

<sup>348</sup> Nuber 1973:pl. 20:1; Cüppers *et al.* 1983:225.

<sup>349</sup> Garbsch 1965:137, pl. 4:36.

<sup>350</sup> Levi 1947b:pl. XXIV.

<sup>351</sup> Levi 1947a:136.

<sup>352</sup> Dunbabin 1995:256.

<sup>353</sup> E.g. Ekholm 1940; Künzl 1993:195.

<sup>354</sup> Künzl 1993:193; Kaufmann-Heinimann 1997:92.

<sup>355</sup> E.g. Strong 1966:145.

<sup>356</sup> Settis *et al.* 1988:265.

reliefs portraying religious motifs, bear inscriptions dedicating them to different deities, and are found in sacred springs, bogs, lakes, or rivers.<sup>357</sup> Thus, Kunow appears to be quite right when he labels them as multi-purpose vessels within the Roman Empire.<sup>358</sup> We also know that this form of vessel varies considerably in size, from very large bronze specimens, sometimes rivalling the pails in size and thus appearing to be unsuitable as ladles used to dip into the containers that accompany them, to smaller models, manufactured of silver, associated with finds of richly decorated tableware.<sup>359</sup> This further enhances the picture of the versatility of this form.

The saucepans are often discussed in relation to the handled bowls of Eggers type 154–155, and indeed they are roughly similar in form. However, they seem to have been functionally separated from the saucepans in Roman contexts. Compared to the saucepans, they frequently appear in scenes of banqueting, and they are almost always coupled with a jug and placed in the hands of servants who are attending to the diners. From a number of images it is apparent that they functioned as basins for hand washing: the guests hold out their hands over the bowl, and the servants pour water over them.<sup>360</sup> This combination of jug and handled bowl also appears in several Germanic graves, indicating that they still retained this function outside the Empire.<sup>361</sup> However, it is noteworthy that the deposition of handled bowls together with jugs in graves was only practised in the north-western provinces of the Empire and beyond in Germania Magna, not in mainland Italy.<sup>362</sup> Their function within the funerary context is thus something particular for the northern areas, and may rather be associated with indigenous Gallo-Germanic mortuary practices, with their large assemblages of vessels as grave goods, rather than traditional Roman ones.

Ladles and strainers of Eggers type 159–162 are frequently found in Germanic graves (while ladles with vertical handles are uncommon), and occasionally in funerary contexts within the Roman Empire. They are often analysed together with the saucepans, and often assigned similar functions to these; as vessels used in the preparation and serving of wine. Willers was one of the first to assign the ladles and strainers this function within the Roman household. As mentioned above, he came to this conclusion by comparing a Danish grave find from Nordrup with an Algerian relief depicting a ladle-like object.<sup>363</sup> There are, however, several difficulties with this comparison and classification. First of all, Willers used the Germanic find to discern the original Roman function of the vessels, which is problematic in itself (see above). Also, as some scholars have pointed out, it is difficult to see exactly what kind of ladle is depicted on the cited relief.<sup>364</sup> The relief appears furthermore not to depict a wine-preparation context at all. It is part of a funerary stele, whose Latin text commemorates an *oliarius*, i.e. an oil merchant, named Publius Livius Pileros. It depicts a man placing a funnel

<sup>357</sup> Strong 1966:145; Collingwood & Wright 1991: e.g. RIB 2414.33, 2414.37, 2415.18.

<sup>358</sup> Kunow 1983:74f.; cf. also Nuber 1973:180f.

<sup>359</sup> As in the silver hoards from the villa della Pisanella at Boscoreale (e.g. Baratte 1998) and the House of the Menander at Pompeii (e.g. Painter 2001).

<sup>360</sup> Dunbabin 1993:133–136.

<sup>361</sup> Nuber 1973.

<sup>362</sup> E.g. Wielowiejski 1996:60.

<sup>363</sup> Willers 1901:59, 200f., n. 5.

<sup>364</sup> Nuber 1973:180, n. 1085.

over a jar with his left hand, while using his right hand to dip a ladle-like object into a bowl or basin.<sup>365</sup> Most likely, this is the representation of an oil merchant performing his duties, ladling oil into jars. If we turn instead to the finds of ladles and strainers in bronze hoards, they often appear together with vessels generally characterized as kitchen utensils.<sup>366</sup> Moreover, A. Mau mentioned a strainer found in Pompeii containing the remains of meat, indicating it was used in the kitchen. He therefore argued that the ladle and strainer sets with horizontal handles should not be mistaken for ladles used in wine drinking.<sup>367</sup> So, if the ladles and strainer sets had an important part in the serving of wine, which is often maintained, then why are they not depicted in the Roman banquet scenes, and why are they not found as parts of the fine-quality silver tableware in the Roman Empire,<sup>368</sup> while ladles with vertical handles appear in both these contexts? Strong, for instance, suggested that wine in the Imperial Period was strained in the kitchen before it was brought to the dining room, eliminating the need for strainers at the table.<sup>369</sup> One possible conclusion is thus that the ladles and strainers were multi-functional objects, utilized in the preparation of both food and drink in the kitchens, but not frequently part of the tableware, nor displayed in the dining areas. As with the saucepans, the ladle and strainer sets come in a wide range of sizes, from small, slender sets, to large and robust ones that could only with difficulty be used as dippers.

Another feature that is of central importance to the reading of Roman influences on the drinking and dining customs of the Germanic peoples is the presence of drinking vessels in pairs in the graves, be they beakers, cups, bowls or horns. Werner argued, with reference to Pompeian wall paintings and Roman literary sources, that the deposition of drinking vessels in pairs in Germanic graves was evidence of Roman drinking customs being incorporated by the indigenous population.<sup>370</sup> The two silver cups from the Hoby grave on Lolland are often mentioned as a prime example of this custom, and compared to other Italian silver vessels with relief decoration, manufactured in pairs during the first and second century. The same theory is also argued by scholars like Nierhaus, who furthermore referred to the silver hoards from Hildesheim, Boscoreale and Casa del Menandro.<sup>371</sup> However, this sentiment has been directly or indirectly contested by other scholars, which forces us to reconsider the validity of it. Gebühr, for instance, pointed to the fact that the deposition of drinking vessels in pairs in Germanic graves is not exclusive for imported vessels, and was a custom practised in earlier periods as well, using locally produced objects,<sup>372</sup> a trait which is also observable in the graves analysed in this case study. Furthermore, by comparing

<sup>365</sup> Sintes & Rebahi 2003:137.

<sup>366</sup> Cf. Nuber 1973:180.

<sup>367</sup> Mau 1901:592. The same interpretation is suggested by e.g. Radnoti 1966:209, n. 39.

<sup>368</sup> There are only a few finds with this type of vessels made of silver, e.g. a strainer in a grave mound in the Republic of Kazakhstan (Kunow 1983:76, n. 641 with ref.), and the ladle and strainer in the grave at Gommern in Germany (see appendix 1, no. 28).

<sup>369</sup> Strong 1966:145.

<sup>370</sup> Werner 1950.

<sup>371</sup> Nierhaus 1966:67.

<sup>372</sup> Gebühr 1974:120, n. 107.

Roman grave finds with pictorial representations of banquets, Painter has argued that each guest could use one, two or more drinking vessels on the same occasion. This, according to him, makes it impossible to determine how many persons the famous Roman dining sets in silver, e.g. the one from Casa del Menandro, were meant for.<sup>373</sup> Likewise, he argued that there is no evidence in the archaeological record that the ancient Romans ever owned a dining set where all the vessels were designed to match each other. Rather, it consisted of vessels of different materials and worth, and need not have been a homogeneous set or manufactured in the same workshop or in the same style.<sup>374</sup>

From the discussion above it is evident that there are several discrepancies between Germanic funerary patterns and Roman texts and imagery, concerning drinking and dining. The types of vessels that were used on the Roman tables seem in part to differ from the vessel types that we find in the Germanic graves studied here, especially if we take the Roman wall paintings and literary accounts of table settings as our point of departure. Although several of the types appear to have been associated with the general context of drinking in their original setting, it is difficult to discern their exact function. Consequently, there is nothing in the choice of specific types to indicate an exact reproduction of a Roman custom or a specific Roman drinking set. How are we then to understand the compositions of vessels in the Germanic graves, and the use of vessels of Roman manufacture, if the material does not support the previously argued notion of a directly imported Roman drinking set? Based on the frequency of Roman vessels in Germanic mortuary contexts, it is obvious that they were held in high esteem. And it is also clear that it was a specific selection of vessels that were in demand – vessels which do not appear to have had an equally prominent place in the Roman drinking contexts if we trust the imagery available to us. So, was it rather the composition of certain *categories* of vessel that referred to Roman practices within the Germanic context, i.e. the general combination of large containers and vessels for scooping, pouring and drinking? Was it this functional arrangement, occasionally expressed in Roman art (although not particularly prominent in Roman domestic or burial contexts), that the Germanic peoples strove for when they imported the vessels and combined them with vessels of local manufacture? The answer to that question runs the risk of becoming overly extensive and general, and of not producing any substantial insights into the dynamics of cultural influences, if we do not try to put it into a chronological and geographical context. The use of large containers, scooping vessels and drinking vessels in the preparation and serving of liquids is not particular for the Mediterranean area, or for the Roman Iron Age. We must therefore try to trace the vessel compositions through time, and integrate this with a discussion on the origin of the inhumation practice and large assemblages of vessels generally held as two of the fundamental characteristics of the so-called Germanic princely graves. These features are often considered the basis for the *imitatio imperii*, the imitation of Roman practices, especially banqueting and mortuary traditions.<sup>375</sup>

<sup>373</sup> Painter 2001:21.

<sup>374</sup> Painter 2001:20f.

<sup>375</sup> E.g. Steuer 1970:154; cf. Lichardus 1984:10.

### 3.9 A ROMAN WAY OF DEATH?

The origin of the princely grave custom is a much-disputed subject.<sup>376</sup> However, the majority of scholars seem to advocate an Elbe-Germanic starting-point; the custom having evolved among the Marcomanni in Bohemia.<sup>377</sup> Regarding the origin of the inhumation practice, there are several different theories depending on which part of the Roman Iron Age, as well as which region of Germania Magna, we are dealing with. Although some scholars have suggested a Roman origin for the spread of inhumations in Northern European and Scandinavian during late La Tène period and the Early Roman Iron Age,<sup>378</sup> the majority argue for a Celtic origin for the practice.<sup>379</sup> Most of them derive it from the Celtic groups inhabiting an area covering parts of Germany, the Czech Republic, and southern Poland. This corresponds to the north-eastern parts of the late Hallstatt core area in the sixth century BC, and which would later cover the geographical centre and northern extension of the La Tène culture. According to O. Klindt-Jensen and others, a wave of inhumation practice spread northward from the Celto-Germanic Middle Silesia during the first century BC. In the Early Roman Iron Age it continued from Bohemia along the Elbe, Oder and Vistula to Denmark and adjacent countries.<sup>380</sup> He argued that the grave goods found in the Silesian graves correspond to the Jutlandic inhumations from Early Roman Iron Age, and he suggested that the Germanic peoples who settled in Silesia were influenced by the Celts in this region and that the mortuary custom consequently spread northward.<sup>381</sup> Likewise, J. Lichardus argued for Celtic influences on the Elbe-Germanic inhumation practices of the early first century AD, but he saw the impetus for this movement as originating in the eastern parts of the province of Raetia which comprised the central and eastern parts of modern-day Switzerland, parts of Baden-Württemberg and Bavaria in Germany, Vorarlberg and Tyrol in Austria, as well as Lombardy in Italy. Here, the inhumation practice still existed in this period, although cremation had become increasingly popular among the Celts. The inhumations were located away from the larger, common burial sites, and were richly furnished particularly with costume details and Italic imports,<sup>382</sup> which correspond to some of the characteristics of the early princely graves of the Lübsow type. Lichardus especially emphasized the Elbe-Germanic groups, in particular the Marcomanni, in the process of spreading the inhumation practice northward.<sup>383</sup> According to him, it was likely that the Marcomanni picked up the practice from their Celtic neighbours while the tribe was still settled in the Main river valley, before their migration into Bohemia. At the beginning of the first century AD

376 Cf. Lichardus 1984. For a general overview of the research, see Gebühr 1998 and Bemmman & Voß 2007.

377 E.g. Lichardus 1984; Bemmman & Voß 2007:158.

378 Stjernquist 1955:65–68.

379 E.g. Klindt-Jensen 1950:176–179; Albrechtsen 1956:142; Ekholm 1957:284; Brøndsted 1960:156; Lichardus 1984:60–68; Dąbrowska 1988:330; Schultze 1992:204.

380 Klindt-Jensen 1950:60; Ekholm 1957:208; Schultze 1992:204, with ref.

381 Klindt-Jensen 1950:177; cf. Stjernquist 1955:62f.; Dąbrowska 1988:330; Czarnecka 2003:274; Bemmman & Voß 2007:154.

382 Lichardus 1984:60; cf. J. Bemmman 1999:169.

383 Cf. J. Bemmman 1999:169.



inhumation had developed into an elite practice, right about the time of the consolidation of the so-called Marcomannic confederation,<sup>384</sup> whose sphere of influence stretched from the river Vistula and the province of Pannonia in the east to the Elbe in the west, and from the Danube in the south and the Baltic coast in the north.<sup>385</sup>

Even if there still are several uncertainties about the spread of inhumations, for instance concerning the continuity between La Tène Celtic and Late Republican and Early Imperial funerary traditions,<sup>386</sup> the general consensus thus seems to be that the practice among the Germanic peoples derived its impetus from the Celts in the south. This must generally be considered the more likely theory than the suggested Roman origin, since Roman funerary practice was dominated by cremations, and the rise in popularity of inhumations in the Empire did not occur until the second and third century AD,<sup>387</sup> long after the introduction of the practice in Germania Magna. As mentioned above, some even attribute the occurrence of inhumations in the Roman north-western provinces to Germanic settlers from areas beyond the imperial border. The Romans can rather be credited with the spread of cremation among some European groups, as in Britain where inhumations were common until the arrival of the Romans.

There is no on-site continuity between princely graves of the Lübsow and the Haßleben-Leuna group, and this fact has led scholars to refute a monocausal explanation for the origin of the princely grave phenomenon in the Roman Iron Age.<sup>388</sup> A similar lack of on-site continuity exists if we look exclusively at the inhumation practice in some areas of Germania Magna.<sup>389</sup> Therefore, it has been suggested that there were two impulses to the inhumation practice; one impulse from the Celts in late La Tène and the Early Roman Iron Age, and one from the Romans in northern Gaul during the Late Roman Iron Age, especially to north-western, central and south-western Germany and north-western Bohemia, possibly brought back by returning Germanic mercenaries.<sup>390</sup> This has however been refuted by other scholars. For instance, M.D. Schön argued for an internal Germanic development of the inhumation practice with regard to the area between the rivers Weser and Elbe in north-western Germany. Here, he argued, the composition of the grave goods shows closer similarities to the local cremation graves, rather than the graves in the areas of the Roman provinces wherein Germanic *Foederati* are thought to have been stationed.<sup>391</sup> Others, like Genrich and Werner, have suggested that the inhumation practice spread from Scandinavia or Pomerania to the north-western and central parts of Germany in the Late Roman Iron Age.<sup>392</sup> Likewise, Ethelberg commented on the lack of continuity in the inhumation practice in southern Jutland, and argued that the Early Roman inhumations in the area could not have functioned as models for the Late Roman graves. Furthermore, he refuted a southern origin for

<sup>384</sup> Lichardus 1984:88f.

<sup>385</sup> Cf. Droberjar 1999.

<sup>386</sup> Bemann & Voß 2007:158, with ref.

<sup>387</sup> E.g. Toynbee 1996:40; cf. Lichardus 1984:60.

<sup>388</sup> Bemann & Voß 2007:158f.

<sup>389</sup> E.g. Schulze 1992:204f.

<sup>390</sup> Cf. Roeder 1933:337f.; Steuer 1970:154; Böhme 1974:165; Steuer 1982:198f.; Schultze 1992:205; Böhme 1999:66; Kleemann 1999:259; Bemann & Voß 2007:159, 162.

<sup>391</sup> Schön 1999b:150–161; 2003:39f.

<sup>392</sup> Genrich 1939; 1954; Werner 1973:14.



the practice, since cremations dominated the funerary practice of northern Germany. Instead he suggested that eastern Zealand, due to the similarities in the burial practice and the area's apparent central position in the distribution of imported goods in southern Scandinavia, might have been the driving force behind the spread of the inhumation practice to southern Jutland at the beginning of the Late Roman Iron Age.<sup>393</sup> In other words, he suggested the possibility of internal transmission of inhumation practice within Scandinavia in the Late Roman Iron Age. These contesting interpretations speak for an internal diffusion of the practice between different Germanic tribes, sometimes coupled with shifts in the socio-political landscape (perhaps due to population movements) causing the establishment of new central areas for the inhumation practice as well as the princely grave custom. Those seeking a Roman origin, on the other hand, often base the bulk of their argument on the presence of Roman material culture in the graves, particularly vessel assemblages, and not so much the other features of the funerary custom.

### 3.9.1 LARGE VESSEL ASSEMBLAGES

Roman objects in the princely graves, particularly vessels of metal or glass are one of the main reasons some scholars have argued for a Roman origin of the princely grave custom, in both the Early and the Late Roman Iron Age. Lichardus, for instance, suggested that the vessel sets which appear in some of the Elbe-Germanic graves in the Early Roman Iron Age, such as the jug and handled bowl, drinking vessels in pairs, and basin, ladle and strainer, do not originate in Raetia or Noricum, but rather correspond to the assemblage visible on the famous wall painting in the tomb of C. Vestorius Priscus in Pompeii. He thus argued that it reflects a funerary custom within a specific segment in Roman society, the magistrates, and that this custom was transmitted to the Marcomannic elite through its close contacts with Rome. Based on this, he concluded that the Marcomannic elite originally took over the inhumation practice from the Celtic elite, and then added to it the use of Roman table settings as a form of *Imitatio Imperii Romani*.<sup>394</sup>

This line of reasoning is followed by several other scholars. J. Bemmman agreed with Lichardus and emphasized the importance of the Marcomannic elite for its spread:

Die markomannische Elite wiederum besaß Vorbildfunktion für die germanischen Verbündeten Maroboduus', so daß der provinzialrömischen Lebensstil nicht direkt, sondern durch den markomannischen Filter von den nördlich des Erzgebirges siedelnden Germanen wahrgenommen und nachgeahmt wurde.<sup>395</sup>

In other words, even if scholars attribute the Early Roman Iron Age inhumation practice to Celtic influences, the princely grave custom itself is regarded as the expression of a Roman lifestyle, or the desire thereof, although filtered through the Marcomannic elite. This is considered evident from the objects of Roman manufacture deposited in

<sup>393</sup> Ethelberg 1990:113–118.

<sup>394</sup> Lichardus 1984:68, 71.

<sup>395</sup> J. Bemmman 1999:171; cf. Wołagiewicz 1970:244.

the graves, which Lichardus argued were fused together with the inhumation practice and formed the Germanic princely grave custom. This line of reasoning thus attributes the composition of the grave goods in the princely graves to an adoption of Roman ideas. For the Late Roman Iron Age, the custom of using large vessel assemblages as grave goods is likewise seen as the result of Roman influences. Here, scholars seek the origin of the custom in the richly furnished inhumations found in the Rhine area and dated to the Late Roman Iron Age and the Early Migration Period. The mortuary ritual, including both the inhumation practice and the use of large vessel assemblages, is then thought to have been spread by returning Germanic mercenaries.<sup>396</sup>

There are several problems with these interpretations. The wall painting in the tomb of C. Vestorius Priscus, referred to by Lichardus, must be seen in its proper artistic or art-historical context as discussed above, rather than as a snapshot of domestic practices of a certain segment in Roman society. Furthermore, the types of vessels depicted are not the same as those found in the princely graves, so the simple transferral of a ready-formed Roman drinking set cannot be argued. Another problem, which has already been broached above, is that the graves themselves have been dealt with as a uniform space, not giving attention to the distribution of the grave goods, including clustering and separation of objects, within the burial space. Furthermore, the Italic-Roman funerary practice is in general sparsely provided with grave goods, which is evident from both archaeological and literary sources. Where, then, do we find equal grave furnishings, which might shed light on the changes in Germanic funerary customs? Is the advent of richly equipped inhumations the result of an internal development within the Germanic elite, as suggested by Eggers?<sup>397</sup>

I would argue that the deposition of large vessel assemblages in the princely graves has its roots partly in Celtic mortuary practices, which in turn were transformed through interaction with the Roman (material) culture in the late La Tène period. This has been suggested by other scholars as well. J. Tejral argued that the Marcomanni not only adopted the inhumation practice from the Celts, but the way Roman vessels were used as grave goods as well.<sup>398</sup> If we look at richly furnished Celtic graves in general from the late La Tène cultural area, we find comparable grave goods arrangements. The deceased is occasionally inhumed in a chamber and accompanied by ceramic pots, vases, large jugs or flasks, bowls and cups. Often, a small vessel is placed close to the upper body of the deceased.<sup>399</sup> An even closer connection in the grave goods, particularly if we proceed from the Germanic cremations belonging to the princely grave group, may be seen in the rich Celtic cremations such as those at Antran, Fléré-la-Rivière, and Fontillet (Berry-Bouy) in central France, as well as Nospelt (Tonn) in Luxembourg, all of which contained comparable sets of Roman cauldrons, pails, jugs and handled bowls, ladles and strainers, as well as saucepans.<sup>400</sup> The large vessel assemblages in these graves have occasionally been viewed as a sign of Romanization of the Celtic elite, but this view has changed in recent years. Now, they are generally regarded as a continuation of an indigenous Celtic tradition, set in contrast to the Roman mortuary practices that spread northwards with

<sup>396</sup> Kleemann 1999:259; cf. Böhme 1974.

<sup>397</sup> Eggers 1964:25.

<sup>398</sup> Tejral 1995b:239f.; cf. 2001a:19.

<sup>399</sup> E.g. Neugebauer 1992:30.

<sup>400</sup> E.g. Voß 2006:25, fig. 4, table 1; cf. Metzler 2001:274; 2006:88.

the conquest of Gaul and the Germanic provinces. So the presence of Roman vessels in the rich Celtic graves in e.g. Goeblingen-Nospelt (Luxembourg) and Badenheim, in Bad Kreuznach, Rhineland-Palatinate (Germany), is then rather seen as superficial form of Romanization, where the core composition of the grave goods was part of an older tradition, while some of the objects were of Roman manufacture. The use of wooden burial chambers, and grave goods consisting of ceramic vessels, weapons, tools, and portions of meat are considered traditional Celtic features. To this were then added objects of Roman manufacture, such as bronze vessels, mirrors, coins, lamps and small glass bottles.<sup>401</sup> "Das einheimische Element kommt in einer allgemeinen konservativen Tendenz zum Ausdruck, die anfangs durch die modernen, römischen Gegenstände überdeckt wird."<sup>402</sup> One can even argue for an intentional archaization in the late La Tène, where the Celtic mortuary practice was oriented towards early La Tène traditions rather than Roman practices.<sup>403</sup> F. Reinert suggested that richly furnished graves like Goeblingen-Nospelt were intentional expressions of power and independence born out of intensified altercations with the Romans.<sup>404</sup> P. Wells argued that Goeblingen-Nospelt shows that the Celts integrated Roman and local vessels in the graves and thus recontextualized the foreign impulses. He also suggested that the general pattern of this grave from about 20 BC, despite the fact that it is a cremation grave, shows that they strove to revitalize the burial practice of elite graves that had existed several centuries earlier. According to him, both Goeblingen-Nospelt and the grave at Clemency testify to the reaction against the expansion of the Roman Empire.<sup>405</sup> He argued that:

We can understand the funerary rituals [in the last century BC] reflected in these graves as responses to the disruptive effects of the Roman military ventures west of the Rhine and the collapse of the oppida east of it. As the economic and social systems of which the oppida were part broke down, people moved out to establish new communities and, at a time of considerable cultural stress, sought to recreate identities based in part on past traditions and in part on borrowing and adapting traditions from neighbouring peoples. On the one hand, they were reaching back in time using historical memory to recreate the practices of the past – before the abandonment of the subsurface burial practice around the mid-second century BC. On the other hand, they were embracing the increasingly cosmopolitan, Europe-wide signs of greater mobility and unity among indigenous peoples throughout the continent.<sup>406</sup>

A similar sentiment was expressed by Lichardus, who suggested that the rich Celtic inhumations found in Raetia show how the Celtic elite turned back to old inhumation traditions as a reaction against the Roman expansions in the reign of Augustus and Tiberius.<sup>407</sup> So in the field of tension between acceptance and resistance, the Celts

<sup>401</sup> E.g. Böhme-Schönberg 1993:343; 1998:263f; Reinert 1998:285, 289f.

<sup>402</sup> Reinert 1998:289.

<sup>403</sup> Rieckhoff 1998:497; Metzler 2001:272f.

<sup>404</sup> Reinert 1993:355f.

<sup>405</sup> Wells 2002:99.

<sup>406</sup> Wells 2002:101.

<sup>407</sup> Lichardus 1984:62; cf. Wells 1998:284f.; 2005:71, 72f.

introduced Roman objects in their grave goods, integrating them with the structures of their local material culture, and thus giving rise to the patterns we may see in the late La Tène elite graves. Therefore, the mortuary practices on which the Germanic princely grave custom was partly built may be seen as an intentional orientation away from Roman practices.

If we focus on the vessel assemblages found in the Celtic graves in the La Tène period, their origin is often sought in the encounter with the Mediterranean cultures already in the Hallstatt period, and the emulation of the symposium, the drinking party.<sup>408</sup> However, the picture appears a little more complicated than that. The material culture of the symposium, originally dominated by the beaker and the krater, seems first to have spread from the Greeks to the Etruscans, where it developed during the seventh century into a more elaborate and standardized set, containing large containers for wine and water, mixing vessels, ladles and strainers, pouring vessels and drinking vessels. The early Romans appropriated this tradition through their interactions with the Etruscans in central Italy and the Greeks in Magna Graecia. North of the Alps, in the Hallstatt area, the Greco-Etruscan symposium and its material culture subsequently encountered indigenous mortuary traditions which used pails or cauldrons, ladles, strainers, cups and beakers, together with bowls and plates as grave goods; a practice which in turn had Bronze Age roots.<sup>409</sup> It therefore appears impossible to tie this composition of vessels found in the graves to a specific Mediterranean origin, despite the fact that many of the locally produced vessels were combined with imported ones. In the early La Tène period in the Middle Rhine-Moselle region we can see the continuation of this arrangement of predominantly local vessels in the form of mainly large containers (such as cauldrons or pails), jugs, and drinking vessels (in the form of drinking horns), which were often supplemented with ladles, strainers, basins and/or beakers.<sup>410</sup> These vessels were in several cases replaced by Etruscan or Greek products. Here it is evident that specific types of foreign vessels were imported.<sup>411</sup> After a period of decline, the standardized combination of vessels was revisited again in the late La Tène grave goods of the rich Middle Rhine-Moselle graves, often including vessels of Roman manufacture.<sup>412</sup>

Based on this discussion, I am reluctant to view the combination of large containers, ladling or pouring vessels, and drinking vessels as something particularly Roman in origin when it is found in the Germanic graves. This arrangement appears to have been a *topos* shared by many peoples in Europe in the centuries before and after Christ, and may have passed through many cultural filters. We may instead argue that the composition of the grave goods in the rich Germanic graves of the Early Roman Iron Age is associated with features in the mortuary practice of a Celtic elite of the late La Tène period, which in turn had cultural roots reaching back into Bronze Age mortuary practices as well as Mediterranean influences in the Hallstatt and early La Tène period, rather than a direct Roman influence. The prerequisite for this influence was not only the close contacts between the Marcomanni and the Celtic groups inhabiting the Main

408 E.g. Metzler 2001:278; Krause 2006:68.

409 Rieckhoff 1998:491; Diepeveen-Jansen 2001:39–44.

410 Diepeveen-Jansen 2001:82.

411 Diepeveen-Jansen 2001:119.

412 E.g. Diepeveen-Jansen 2001:115.

river valley, but also the wide-ranging latinization of the Northern Europe in the centuries before Christ.<sup>413</sup> This patchwork of influences shaped a ritual tradition in the mortuary practices within which vessels of Roman manufacture became a part.

### 3.10 CONSTRUCTING IDENTITIES OF THE DEAD AND THE LIVING

So far we have seen how the majority of the Roman vessels in the Germanic princely graves were deposited mixed together with locally produced vessels, and that vessels of both foreign and indigenous manufacture were activated in a number of comparable ways in the graves. There existed in other words a functional, and perhaps also a symbolic, correspondence between the Roman and locally produced vessels, which I interpret as a form of *categorical extension*. This mixing of foreign and indigenous vessels was apparently a deliberate practice, since several of the graves contained enough imported vessels to create larger, solely “Roman” sets. But rather than being deposited together, the imported vessels were dispersed in the grave and assembled with other vessels and objects instead. Consequently, it does not seem that the vessels of local manufacture merely functioned as substitutes for certain Roman types whenever these were missing, nor that the imported vessels were elevated above the use of local vessels. They could be closely associated with the corpse, either by being incorporated in its posture or by being placed near the head, hands or upper body. This may be interpreted as an intentionally created narrative structure, intended to give the impression of the deceased as interacting with the surrounding objects, or having them “close at hand” possibly to be used in the afterlife. An opposite strategy of highlighting certain vessels was through e.g. *framing*, thus intentionally separating them from the body itself. Other vessels were deliberately obscured or concealed from the ritual participants by being stowed away in wooden boxes or wrapped in cloth. Vessels were also stacked in each other in the coffin or primary burial space but spatially distanced from the corpse, or deposited outside the coffin or primary burial space. Furthermore, there are several examples of the Roman vessels being used in different, contrasting ways in the same grave. For example, glass vessels were deposited together with pottery or as a shard on the body, as seen in Skovgårde 400 (Denmark). Likewise, the incorporation of vessels in the posture of the deceased may be contrasted to the stacking of vessels at the head end or in arrangements outside the coffin. Thus, the function and meaning of Roman imports in the graves cannot be given a single and encompassing interpretation. These various uses of vessels, which are observable in both the Early and Late Roman period, also challenge the idea that all objects in a grave were directly related to the deceased’s social persona. Rather, the vessels, and other grave goods as well, were used in diverse stages of the ritual and thus likely associated with diverse functions and meanings, and possibly also involving different ritual actors.

Even if it is possible to argue for certain sets or recurring compositions of vessel categories in the graves, the vessels generally associated with drinking and eating are not separated from each other. Nor are vessels for drink separated from animal remains

<sup>413</sup> E.g. Klindt-Jensen 1950; Brandt 2001.



that may be interpreted as food. One of the most illustrative examples of this is the two glass cups found in Varpelev grave A (Denmark) with animal bones found inside. In other words, the assemblages do not appear to represent an exclusive function or area of domestic practice. Furthermore, vessels for food and drink are often combined with objects that may be associated with other areas of life, e.g. games and tools. I therefore question the search for different spheres of domestic utility expressed in the grave goods, as well as the search for distinctive domestic performances carried out by the deceased in life,<sup>414</sup> and ask whether the intentional compilation of vessels and other objects in every instance had to do with practical functions or whether it was more a reflection of metaphorical relationships related to the intentions behind the funerary rituals.

I have also contested the idea of drinking sets as an expression of a Romanized, or Roman-inspired, practice being reproduced in the Germanic princely graves, and I have tried to diversify the picture by discussing the nature and origin of the assemblages. It is particularly the combination of a large container, a vessel for ladling or pouring, and a drinking vessel that scholars have referred to as a *Roman* set or service. However, I argue that there is nothing in the specific types of vessels in these assemblages to indicate an exact reproduction of a specific Roman set. Many of the vessel types that were imported do not belong to the same types depicted in banqueting scenes on Roman paintings or reliefs, or used in traditional Roman mortuary practices. Neither can the basic categories of objects in these sets be seen as a particular Mediterranean composition directly imported from the Romans, since the composition appears already in the grave goods of the central European Bronze Age. The prominence of compositions with large containers, scooping or ladling vessels, and drinking vessels in European mortuary practices may rather be seen as a result of an extended process of cultural intermingling of Central European (both Urnfield, Hallstatt, and La Tène) and Mediterranean (both Greek, Etruscan, and Roman) traditions. The attraction of this composition among the Germanic tribes can possibly be traced to the extensive latinization in the late La Tène or pre-Roman period, when a great deal of Celtic influences are seen in Germanic mortuary practices. One of these influences is the princely grave custom itself. The richly furnished Celtic graves of the late La Tène, which contained similar compositions of vessels and may be seen as a deliberate revitalization of early La Tène traditions as a response to the growing pressures from the Roman Empire, came to inspire the Marcomanni who adapted the custom and brought it to Bohemia from where it spread further.

So what was the purpose of the vessels in the graves? Grave goods might be the former possessions of the deceased, symbols of his or her positions and roles in life, equipment for the journey and/or stay in the afterlife, tainted objects that had been in contact with the corpse. The list of possible reasons could be made quite long.<sup>415</sup> But many scholars would argue that the underlying reason for depositing the imported vessels was social power and influence; that the graves were ritual investments and the imported vessels were prestige goods; luxury items used by the elite as ideological tools to symbolize wealth, contacts, and knowledge of foreign customs, and thus legitimize

<sup>414</sup> E.g. the “lady with a mead cup” as argued by Enright (1996:101) based on grave 1 from Juellinge (Denmark); cf. also Fernstål 2003.

<sup>415</sup> Cf. Ucko 1969.



their power and elevate themselves above the rest of the population. The vessels are also thought to evoke memories of past feasts hosted by the deceased and their kin; the feast being one of the primary arenas for social competition. Through feasts and distribution of gifts (e.g. vessels of Roman manufacture) leadership was affirmed and loyalties forged.<sup>416</sup> One problem with this line of reasoning is that *status* or *social organization* is the sole basis on which the meaning of the grave goods is interpreted, and was so even by the ritual participants in the past. As C. Kjeld Jensen and K. Høilund Nielsen put it:

Status is still only one of many things that the surviving relatives may wish to express at the funeral. The social relations of the dead (kinship, marriage), the religion of the dead (and the relatives) and the ethnic background of the dead (and again the relatives) are also likely to be important features when burying both a person and personal effects. To this may be added a number of rituals or acts that have no (or at least no remembered) meaning but are just an established tradition: things that were simply a natural part of a funeral in that particular society.<sup>417</sup>

According to Bloch, the framework created by the ritual context itself may limit the possible interpretations made by the participants in the funeral. But this does not mean that the formalized expression of the ritual is always a suitable tool for the exercise of social control,<sup>418</sup> as mentioned also at the beginning of this chapter. This is otherwise a widely held assumption among archaeologists with a structural-marxist inclination. Bloch argued that since rituals not only influence and limit *how* things are said and done, but also *what* might be said, the ideological manoeuvrability and the potential for manipulation are limited accordingly.<sup>419</sup> Ritual is instead conceptualized by many scholars as a process that may create power relations through the participation and acceptance of it, rather than a force for control.<sup>420</sup> This gives us a slightly different approach to the mortuary practices studied in this chapter.

Above we have identified a number of contexts of ritual action where vessels of both Roman and indigenous manufacture, as well as other grave goods, were used in the inhumation graves. These contexts were associated with different areas of the grave and different sequences of the ritual. They are:

- The body
- The coffin or primary burial space
- The area of the grave outside the coffin or primary burial space
- The grave fill or the moment when the grave was back-filled

These contexts were in turn associated with different ritual actions and uses of the objects, which enabled and restricted the access to the grave goods in various ways, especially the possible sensory impact of the objects. I would argue that they formed

<sup>416</sup> E.g. Hedeager 1992:28, 79f., 88f., 130, 138, 155–157; cf. Schlüter 1970:140; Lichardus 1984:71, 89; Enright 1996:101f.; Ingemark 2003:242; Solberg 2004:206, 209.

<sup>417</sup> Kjeld Jensen & Høilund Nielsen 1997:35.

<sup>418</sup> Bloch 1974:64.

<sup>419</sup> Bloch 1974:64.

<sup>420</sup> E.g. Bell 1992:215f.

separate, but interconnected, spheres of meaning production, which must be considered as such if we are to understand the multiple functions and meanings of the grave goods. Considering the discursive changes taking place during the ritual process we must not think that all the vessels had the same ritual function and meaning just because some of them may be categorized as vessels for food or drink.

### 3.10.1 COMPOSING THE DECEASED

If we regard the mortuary rituals as a passage, as a medium for social transition in accordance with the theories of van Gennep, Turner and others, then parts of the rituals centred on introducing a new social status following the biological and social deconstruction, which in turn must have affected the structure and content of the rituals. The parts of the funeral visible to us, the grave and its grave goods, thus served as instruments to transform and shape the personhood of the deceased in accordance with his or her social transition from a living member of society to whatever lay beyond. And in this process of *composition*, the corpse and its materiality functioned like any of the other objects.<sup>421</sup> The deceased were assembled, dressed in often elaborate costumes, and staged quite consciously in the graves. In several cases, vessels (and other objects) were furthermore intentionally integrated with the posture of the corpse, which I have chosen to interpret as a *narrative structure*, since it occasionally gives the impression of the deceased as active; as using the objects. And I have signified the objects themselves as being represented in *active mode*, as if they were being “used” or placed “close at hand” for the deceased. Thus I have distinguished them analytically from the objects stacked at the head or foot end of the grave or alongside the body, which I have signified as being in *passive mode*. This way of using objects and the corpse within the primary burial space, i.e. by integrating the corpse and certain objects together in postures, gives us an idea of which stage of the ritual passage we are dealing with. I would argue that it represents the stages of the burial where the deceased’s new social status and role was created. The vessels of Roman manufacture activated by the ritual practitioners in this part of the funeral were in other words tools used to embody this new personhood in the dead.

Then what about the vessels deposited in *passive mode*, stacked together and placed at the head or foot end, or by the side of the primary burial space? Is it a question of food and drink display? This may be the case for some of the graves. Analysis of the contents in the cauldrons in graves 1 and 2 from Juellinge (Denmark) revealed the remains of a fermented beverage made of barley, bilberry, cranberry, lingonberry and bog-myrtle.<sup>422</sup> Organic remains of either food or drink were also found in grave 2, 1972, from Simris.<sup>423</sup> Likewise, the wooden pails in Gommern (Germany) contained the remains of food or beverage sweetened with honey.<sup>424</sup> But it is very difficult to determine whether the beverages were intended as drink for the deceased in the afterlife, or if they were the leftovers from funerary feasts performed by the ritual participants

<sup>421</sup> Cf. Hallam & Hockey 2001.

<sup>422</sup> Gram 1911:43f.; Müller 1911:10; cf. Größ 1931.

<sup>423</sup> Stjernquist 1977:69.

<sup>424</sup> Hellmund 2001:172.

at the gravesite. I am furthermore not altogether sure that we can distinguish between these two explanations. It may very well be that of the food and drink prepared for the funeral, some was consumed by the ritual participants and some deposited with the dead. There are, however, a few interesting features in some of the graves studied here, which indicate that the grave goods arranged with the deceased in the primary burial space were intended for the deceased and the funeral, and had not had any practical function above ground, nor were the leftovers deposited by the funeral-goers. For instance, the animals found in some of the graves appear to have been deposited in a complete state, i.e. the whole skeleton of the animal was recovered, occasionally in an articulate state, which makes it unlikely that the bones were the leftovers from a funeral meal eaten by the bystanders. This is seen in the Late Roman Iron Age grave 400 from Skovgårde (Denmark).<sup>425</sup> Comparably, the edge of the scissors found in grave 1 from Marwedel (Germany), dating to the Early Roman Iron Age, had never been sharpened, nor did the other parts of the toilet equipment show any signs of wear.<sup>426</sup> This indicates that they had never been used before deposition, and were possibly manufactured with the sole purpose of being used as grave goods. Further support for this line of reasoning may be found in the arrowheads of silver, generally regarded as a more symbolic than practical form of weaponry, found in the Late Roman Iron Age graves of Emersleben 1, Flurstedt, Friestedt 898, Leuna 1834, Leuna 2, 1917, Leuna 1, 1926, Leuna 3, 1926, Stráze 2, as well as the weapons of bronze found in the grave at Beroun-Závodí.<sup>427</sup>

This was, however, not the case with some of the ceramic and metal vessels which show clear signs of having been used prior to deposition. For instance, one of the ceramic vessels in grave 400 from Skovgårde (Denmark) can be dated to the beginning of C1b, while two other vessels and the grave itself are dated to period C2. One possible explanation for this gap in time of at approximately 30–40 years may be that the vessel was deposited as an heirloom or a vessel that had been in her and her family's possession through her entire life, considering the fact that the interred woman was around 30 years old when she died.<sup>428</sup> The grave goods thus give a dual impression, some objects being both old and used, perhaps possessions of the deceased, while others were not necessarily the possessions of the deceased, but put in the grave because tradition demanded it. It thus appears that the ritual use of these grave goods forms a stereotype pattern, working with certain recurring *ingredients*, which, if they were not available among the possessions of the deceased or his or her family, were commissioned for the funeral.

This stereotyped pattern in the grave goods is strengthened by the overall distribution of Roman vessels in the graves catalogued in appendix 2. If we look at the finds from Denmark, Germany and Poland, which are the countries with the largest number of graves belonging to the princely type, we may see that roughly the same categories of imported vessels were utilized, although the distribution varies to some extent between countries and periods (fig. 3.18 a–f).

The Roman vessels in the Early Roman Iron Age inhumations in Denmark are dominated by saucepans followed by ladles, beakers/cups, strainers, cauldrons, pails and ba-

<sup>425</sup> Hatting 2000:406; cf. Ekengren 2005:56; 2006:112.

<sup>426</sup> Laux 1993:331f.

<sup>427</sup> See appendix 2; cf. Fischer 1983:126.

<sup>428</sup> Ethelberg 2000:118.

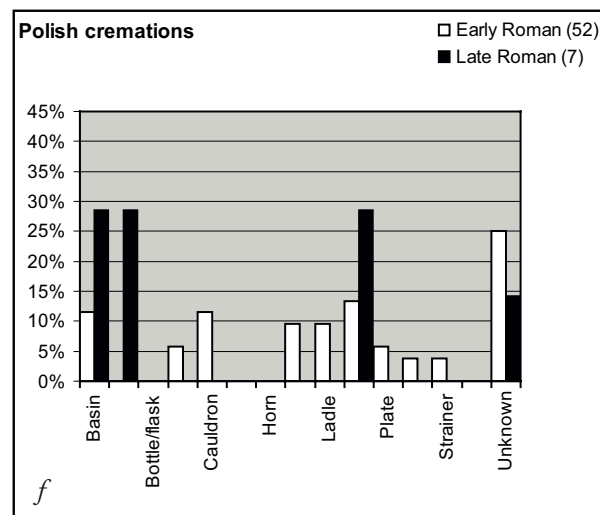
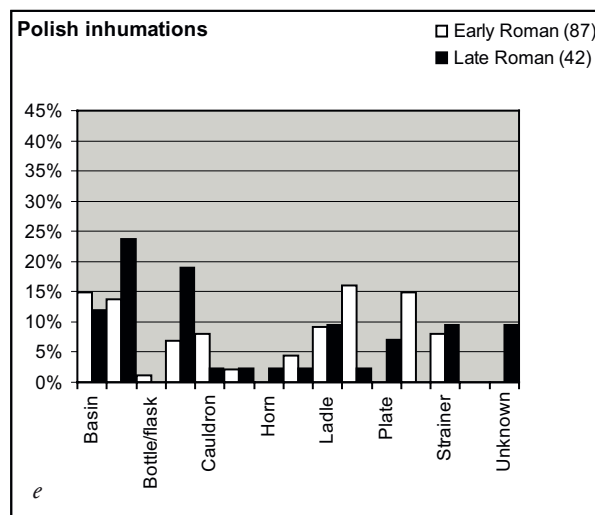
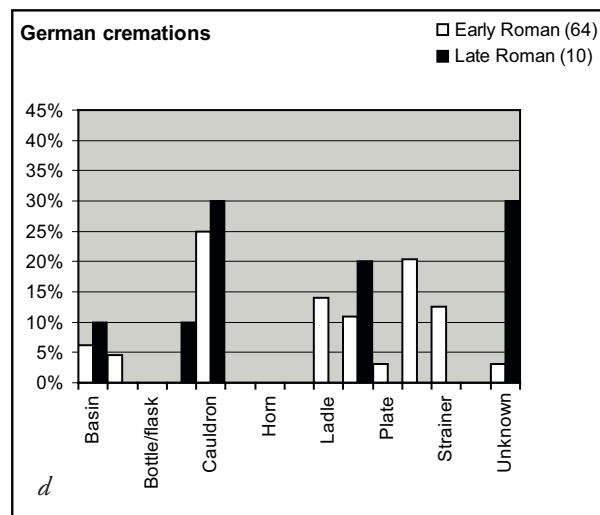
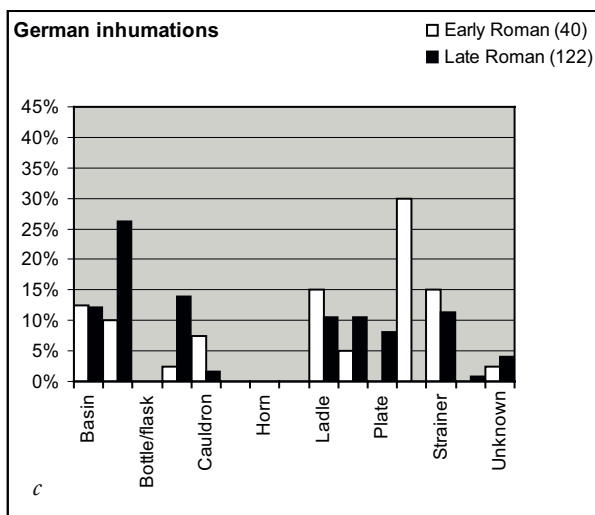
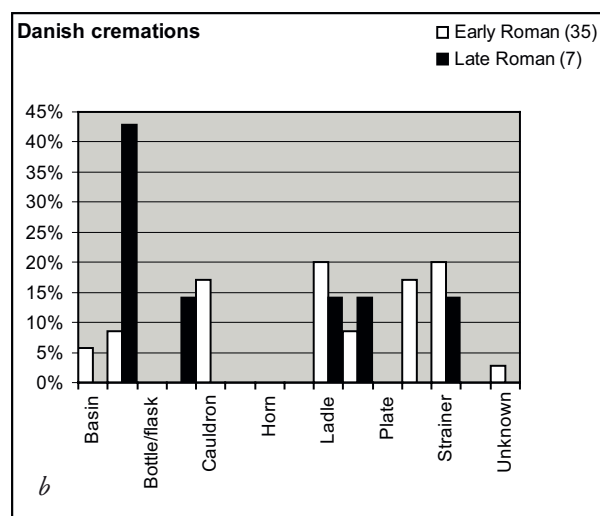
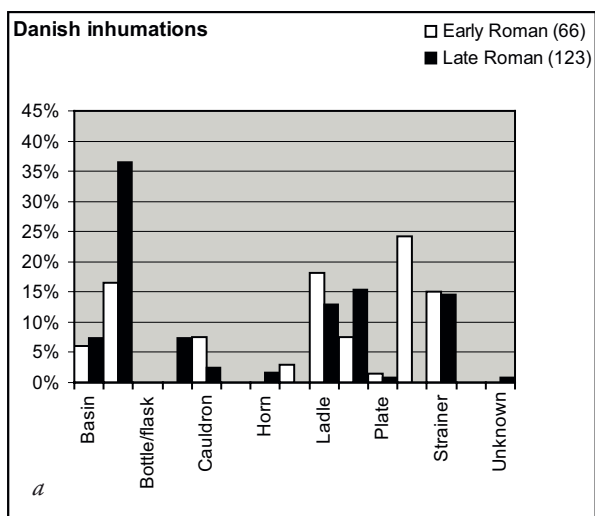


Fig. 3.18 a–f Number of Roman vessels in the princely graves from Denmark, Germany and Poland (in percent). Based on appendix 2. Numbers in brackets denote the sample size.

sins. In the Late Roman Iron Age the saucepans disappear and the cauldrons are reduced in numbers while the other categories to a large extent hold their position, although supplemented by bowls. The Danish cremations in the Late Roman Iron Age display a similar pattern as the contemporary inhumations. The vessels in the Early Roman Iron Age inhumations in Germany are dominated by saucepans followed by ladles, strainers, basins, beakers/cups, cauldrons and pails, quite similar to the Danish graves. The similarities with the Danish area continue to some extent in the Late Roman Iron Age, although bowls and plates are added to the list. The most frequent vessel categories in the German cremations of the Early Roman Iron Age are cauldrons and saucepans followed by ladles, strainers and pails. The Late Roman Iron Age cremations are dominated by cauldrons, pails, basins and bowls, and completely lack beakers/cups, ladles, and strainers. However, these graves contain a large number of unidentifiable vessels, which complicates the analysis. The Roman vessels in the Early Roman Iron Age inhumations in Poland are dominated by pails, saucepans, basins and beakers/cups followed by ladles, strainers, cauldrons and bowls. In the Late Roman Iron Age, beakers/cups is the most frequent vessel category followed by bowls, basins, ladles, strainers and plates. The Polish cremations are problematic since they, like the German cremations, contain a large number of unidentifiable vessels. Nonetheless, the most frequent vessel categories in the Early Roman Iron Age cremations are pails, cauldrons, basins, ladles, and jugs. The dominating categories in the Late Roman Iron Age are basins, beakers/cups and pails. From this we may conclude that quite specific categories of vessels were in demand by the Germanic peoples, particularly large containers, vessels for scooping and/or pouring, as well as drinking vessels in the form of beakers, cups or bowls.

Occasionally, a certain degree of utility may be argued based on the means by which the vessels were assembled in the graves; i.e. that the way the vessels were physically combined might indicate that they functioned together, and also how, as in the grave from Kirkebakkegård (Denmark) where a ladle and strainer were placed inside a pail. Comparably, two silver beakers were placed on a wooden tray in coffin A2 in Dollerupgård (Denmark), two ceramic bowls were placed on a bronze tray in Leuna 2, 1926 (Germany), a bronze plate and three ceramic bowls were put on top a wooden tray in Leuna 3, 1926 (Germany), and lastly two bronze pails were placed on top of what appears to have been a wooden plate in Haina (Germany). Otherwise, the arrangements appear muddled, containing objects pertaining to many different spheres of life. Also, in some cases vessels were deposited in an incomplete state, like the shard of glass in Skovgårde grave 200 (Denmark), where one could argue that the object's symbolic value was favoured above its functionality.

While the vessels incorporated in the posture of the corpse may be interpreted as tools for embodiment of a new identity of the deceased, the vessels arranged around the deceased, e.g. stacked at the head and foot end, were possibly connected to this identity since they inhabited the same space and were not sealed off from the deceased, albeit not directly connected to the manoeuvring of the body. However, the *framing* of certain assemblages, which may be seen in graves like Valløby (Denmark), where a number of vessels were deposited in a special compartment, can also be regarded as an extension of this practice. Even though the vessels were clearly separated from the body, much more so than those inside the coffin, the compartment was part of the primary burial space in the sense that it created an extension of it. It gives the impression

of a storage area. The arrangement of the body and the objects surrounding it may have been a way of creating a *state of being* or *existence* for the deceased, and the objects in the compartments may have shared this sphere of meaning, although indirectly associated with the body itself. I would therefore argue that the incorporated objects, the objects assembled alongside the body or at the head or foot end of the grave, as well as the objects deposited in special compartments, were interrelated features which would have been visible together with the corpse before the primary burial space was sealed off. These features, inhabiting roughly the same sequence of the funerary ritual (that of depositing the deceased and arranging the grave goods), formed a shared expression; an image or collage if one will. The question is what the meaning behind this image was.

Many scholars have argued that the grave goods found in Roman Iron Age graves served as metaphors for certain ideal actions and/or principles, and this is an interesting interpretation in this context. Schlüter, for instance, suggested that the imported vessels, spurs and arrowheads of silver, and gaming boards found in the princely graves of Haßleben-Leuna type reflected the deceased's elevated lifestyle by symbolizing equestrian contests, games and festivities.<sup>429</sup> According to M. Hanisch, the grave goods were part of a metaphorical language intended to depict the heroic acts the deceased was supposed to have accomplished. This was not necessarily a true representation of the deceased's actual undertakings in life, but served to portray the deceased as faithful to the social ideals.<sup>430</sup> Influenced by M.J. Enright's idea of the *lady with a mead cup*,<sup>431</sup> he purposed that the imported vessels were used to express, among other things, the value of the alliances that were forged through banquets.<sup>432</sup> Also B. Solberg regarded the vessels in the graves as metaphors used to evoke images of the deceased and his or her roles in past feasts and rituals.<sup>433</sup> According to K. Jennbert, the grave may be interpreted as a montage of lifestyle attributes, and the funerary ritual as a *mortuary language*.<sup>434</sup> She argued that there are a number of recurring *metaphors* expressed through the grave goods in the period 200–1000 AD:

- Warfare and violence, expressed through horses, weaponry, etc.
- Hunting, expressed through birds of prey, dogs, etc.
- Negotiation and communication, expressed through domestic animals, drinking vessels, gaming boards, etc.
- Personal appearance and attraction, expressed through animal ornamentation, combs, costume details, etc.
- Work experience, expressed through tools, etc.
- Wealth, expressed through domestic animals, heavily expressed materiality, and the monumentality of the grave itself.

By the ritualization of the deceased's wealth and characteristics, thus creating a *heroized* version of the deceased, the continuity and social standing of the family were

<sup>429</sup> Schlüter 1970:140.

<sup>430</sup> Hanisch 2003:27.

<sup>431</sup> Enright 1996.

<sup>432</sup> Hanisch 2003:33f.

<sup>433</sup> Solberg 2004:205f.

<sup>434</sup> Jennbert 1988; 2006.



secured at the same time as the deceased was honoured.<sup>435</sup> This conception of the creation of an ideal identity was also touched upon by S. Kristoffersen and T. Oestigaard in their study on Migration Period graves in Norway. They argued that the cause of death might be one of the reasons behind the variability in mortuary practices. They introduce the concept of *death myths* by which they refer to the beliefs concerning personal eschatology in relation to causes of death, which in turn guided the mortuary practices. According to them, “[e]ach funeral is composed according to myths prescribing the ideal death and death rituals which secure the deceased the best destiny in the Otherworldly spheres.”<sup>436</sup> These death myths “prescribe how the survivors can create a divine and cosmological situation through the arrangement of different rituals where the deceased appears before the gods as though they had died the ideal death despite this not actually having occurred.”<sup>437</sup>

These approaches to understanding the grave goods all revolve around the creation of memory, in one way or another. Although the question of how material culture was used to form accounts of past events is not a novel one in archaeological research, the use of *memory* as an analytical concept has become increasingly popular of late, especially concerning the study of grave goods. In this research, several scholars now conceive of memories as created by, and attached to, material culture. By using the *material culture of death*<sup>438</sup> (such as the corpse and the grave goods) to create memories, the mourners were thought to create themselves and their sense of identity. Consequently, social relationships were re-evaluated in the process. Memory-making is thus thought of as instrumental in the recreation of society after a death has challenged its structure. However, memory in this respect is not understood as the mere recollection of past events, but as a generative process. Although material culture may be used to preserve pieces of the past, the survivors *choose* and *create* this recollection.<sup>439</sup>

All [i.e. the treatment of the body, placement of grave goods, raising of a tombstone, etc.], in different ways, could be regarded as strategies by which the living sought to remember the dead, both recalling and constructing aspects of identity, or destroyed, subsuming, dispersing others.<sup>440</sup>

According to H. Williams, who has discussed at length the role of memory in mortuary practices, the rituals and the objects used served as mnemonic devices for the recollection of the new status that was formed for the deceased.<sup>441</sup> As he has emphasized, “the aim was not to portray the dead as they were in life, but to re-create the dead into a new image and body in the grave.”<sup>442</sup> This creative aspect of memory-making is

<sup>435</sup> Jennbert 2006:136, 138.

<sup>436</sup> Kristoffersen & Oestigaard 2008:127

<sup>437</sup> Kristoffersen & Oestigaard 2008:128

<sup>438</sup> Hallam & Hockey 2001.

<sup>439</sup> Numerous scholars have contributed to the discussion on the role of memory and material culture in mortuary practices, e.g. Mizoguchi 1993; Hallam & Hockey 2001; Williams 2001; 2003a-c; 2004 a-b.

<sup>440</sup> Williams 2003a:10; cf. Parker Pearson 2001:32.

<sup>441</sup> Williams 2003b:92f.

<sup>442</sup> Williams 2001:59; cf. Bloch 1982:220; Parker Pearson 1982:101; 1993:203.

important, and, I feel, has not been fully explored at any length in past research on the meaning of Roman Iron Age grave goods which often regard the objects as more or less objective representations, or rather repositories, of the dead person's status and role in life.<sup>443</sup> As Bloch pointed out; when it comes to narratives about the past, what is said never can be equated with memory.<sup>444</sup> Recollection is a social event that occurs in interactions with others, and in this process, individual memories are interpreted and re-worked.<sup>445</sup> Bloch considered the past to be an "ever changing resource" from which different narratives can be evoked depending on the social context of the recollecting person.<sup>446</sup> This sentiment can clearly be linked to the idea of the duality of structure as proposed by Giddens.

I consider it important to regard the grave goods deposited in the Roman Iron Age graves as objects which created and transmitted identities, but I believe it to be a mistake to view them solely in a one-dimensional fashion as repositories of the deceased's identity while living, without considering the creative aspect of memory-making advocated above. Also, based on the theories of transitional rites in combination with the patterns in the material I have studied, I would argue that we have to be more mindful of the eschatological dimensions of the funerary ritual, and how these influenced the use and past interpretation of the grave goods and the body. When a person dies, he or she leaves behind a rift in the social fabric. For society to mend this rift, the bereaved use rituals to transform the personhood of the once living member of society into one suitable for the dead. This transformation is in other words necessary in order to recreate the social order.<sup>447</sup> The new personhood of the deceased often interacts with the old one somehow, but it is often not a mirror of the old. It may in fact have very little to do with the actual social circumstances of the deceased while living. Instead the old biography of the deceased becomes a canvas in death for the painting of a new personhood, often using stereotypes and drawing from long-established symbols. Thus the bereaved give the deceased a new position in relation to themselves,<sup>448</sup> and by doing so they overcome the challenge that death has put on society. This new personhood of the deceased often involves eschatological notions of an afterlife and ancestors.

E. Hallam and J. Hockey, for instance, developed the concept of "the material culture of death" and called attention to how objects, and the way they are handled and the images they invoke, are used to achieve the transformation of the deceased.<sup>449</sup> Each phase of this transformation (that is, each phase in the funerary ritual) is expressed through symbols of different kinds. The objects used in mortuary practices in relation to the dead body are in other words employed because they bear meaning to the transformation whereby the deceased is given a new place and personhood within the world-view of the survivors. Sometimes this involves the incorporation of the dead person into the afterlife and community of the dead. Indeed the corpse itself should be seen as part of the material culture of death, since it is the object of action and not capable of

443 Cf. Ekengren 2005; 2006.

444 Bloch 1998:100, 122.

445 Bloch 1998:117; cf. Assmann 2004:35.

446 Bloch 1998:119; cf. Hallam & Hockey 2001:23.

447 E.g. Hertz 1960; Bloch 1982; Bloch & Parry 1982.

448 Cf. Mizoguchi 1993:225.

449 Hallam & Hockey 2001.

intentional actions itself. Together with the surrounding artefacts it becomes a means for expression.

I would argue that the staging of the body and the nature and arrangement of the grave goods created an image of an afterlife and the deceased's new status and activities in this existence. There are a number of interconnected features that point in this direction. First of all, deposition of the body, and the arrangement of the grave goods around it as part of the primary burial space, most likely formed part of the integrating phase of the passage ritual whereby the deceased was given a new identity in relation to the old one and the surrounding mourners; i.e. representing the transformation of the deceased's identity. This is seen in numerous other cultures, where the interment itself was part of the final stage that incorporated the deceased into the world of the dead.<sup>450</sup> In this stage, a new identity was crafted which was in accordance with whatever beliefs people had of the existence after death. Furthermore, the grave goods in the primary burial space seem to form part of a more or less stereotyped pattern containing an assortment of ingredients. Some of the objects may have been part of the deceased's, or his or her family's, possessions while others, as I mentioned above, appear to have been unused or untouched, possibly deposited because tradition demanded it. This could be equated to the *mortuary language* that Jennbert discussed, as mentioned above. Moreover, the body was not just deposited but often carefully arranged together with the grave goods, which occasionally gives the impression of the deceased as an *active* agent in death. This image is enhanced by the deceased's costumes. According to Gebühr, the woman buried in the famous grave from Juellinge may have been bedridden for some time before her death, due to a large tumour on her right thighbone. He therefore suggested that the rich costume she was buried in was not the costume she wore at the time of her death.<sup>451</sup> This rather simple and non-controversial argument may be proposed for other graves from the period as well, where the deceased was buried in elaborate costumes, indicating that this emphasis on bodily aesthetics formed part of the mortuary language. What we are dealing with here, I suggest, is a practice of attribution or creation that must not be equated to the actual social circumstances and activities of the deceased while living, but rather part of an elaborate ritual script intended to create the deceased's new existence beyond death.<sup>452</sup> The "heavily expressed materiality", which Jennbert argued was part of the lifestyle metaphors in the graves,<sup>453</sup> may thus rather be interpreted as death-style metaphors. Although the material wealth of the graves considered in this chapter is often striking, we must be careful with the social classification of the deceased. The term "princely graves" carries with it a notion of individuals belonging to a clearly defined, socially elevated, group. However, studies have shown that the presumed characteristics of these graves do not appear more regularly within this group than in other graves from the period, and that in some areas there are too many contemporary graves of this princely type for them to realistically belong to a small ruling class of people.<sup>454</sup> Even if we can presume that the individuals buried in the graves were part of a social context where it was possible to

<sup>450</sup> E.g. Hertz 1960:43f.; Davies 1997:12f.

<sup>451</sup> Gebühr 2007:38.

<sup>452</sup> I have suggested this before in Ekengren 2004 & 2005.

<sup>453</sup> Jennbert 2006:136.

<sup>454</sup> Gebühr 1974; 1998.

accumulate and emit that kind of material wealth, we do not know whether this context constituted the close family, a larger kin group, or an entire community. There are furthermore significant anthropological studies which show that notions of honour, wealth and individual eschatology are not necessarily inseparably linked to (high) social status. For instance, S.K. Bonsu and R.V. Belk's study on death ritual consumption among the Asante in Ghana showed how wealth was used to create symbolic immortality for the deceased. Through the material wealth displayed in connection with the funeral, the mourners stated that they came from a considerate and distinguished family.<sup>455</sup> Funerals were used to express status, but not in the sense of direct markers of the authentic social standing of the living. Rather:

it was necessary for the bereaved to publicly tout positive images of their dead for social benefit in efforts to maintain their good relationship with the deceased. [...] [The informant's] comments indicate a vivid sense of obligation, sanction, and a social prescription for the bereaved to stage elaborate funerals in honor of the deceased and, by association, in honor of the bereaved.<sup>456</sup>

The identity displayed in death was not a reflection of the deceased's identity in life, but was rather created by presenting the deceased in accordance with what was considered an honourable funeral and an appropriate social status for the deceased.<sup>457</sup> The primary goal of the funeral was not to display or create prestige for the mourners, but to refine the social image of the deceased. Therefore, there was no equality in social status between the dead and the mourners. But by placing the social needs of the deceased above their own – by making the dead look good – the mourners would indirectly benefit by showing that they were caring and respectable members of the community. And sometimes, in order to provide honour to the deceased through a lavish funeral, and avert the risk of social stigmatization, the relatives had to place themselves in financial debt,<sup>458</sup> especially in order to obtain foreign goods that had become markers of status among the Asante, and were therefore coveted in the mortuary rituals.<sup>459</sup> However, the representations of foreign economic and cultural capital were always converted into local cultural and social capital to fit into the local context.<sup>460</sup> They conclude:

These observations lead us to conclude that the deceased is often the focus of Asante funerals and that social benefits resulting from the ritual are not equally shared between the bereaved and the deceased. On the one hand, positive outcomes from death-ritual consumption are attributed first to the deceased before trickling down to the bereaved. The bereaved's benefits derive primarily from how they present their dead to the public.<sup>461</sup>

<sup>455</sup> Bonsu & Belk 2003:42.

<sup>456</sup> Bonsu & Belk 2003:45.

<sup>457</sup> Bonsu & Belk 2003:47; cf. Turner 1995:95.

<sup>458</sup> Bonsu & Belk 2003:45f.

<sup>459</sup> Bonsu & Belk 2003:45.

<sup>460</sup> Bonsu & Belk 2003:50.

<sup>461</sup> Bonsu & Belk 2003:47.

This study give us an interesting take on the dialectic relationship between honour, status, wealth and ritual tradition, which I consider helpful also in order to understand the mortuary practices of the Roman Iron Age. The use of Roman vessels in the mortuary practices had dual characteristics. They were items of foreign origin, certainly representing a level of wealth not accessible to everyone in society. This character lent itself well to the symbolic representation of a rich and distinguished afterlife. However, looking at the way they were deposited and arranged in the graves, we see that they do not appear to have been more highlighted than other vessels or objects. The imported vessels were closely integrated on a functional level with the indigenous material culture expressions concerning the display of locally produced vessels in the graves. Thus, one could say that, in the ritual process, they were converted into local cultural and social capital much like the foreign material culture in the Asante case. External influences were transformed and integrated into the local tradition; i.e. they had to be interpreted and given a place within the local context, in this case the ritual context, in order to bear meaning and perform the task at hand. And this particular ritual context, the arrangement of the corpse and the grave goods in the so-called princely grave custom, appears to have centred very much on wealth or abundance. The somewhat stereotyped pattern in the grave goods, in my opinion, refutes a focus on individuality. If the deceased's individual biographies (experiences, life histories, etc.) were the superseding factor that governed the nature of the grave goods, we might have expected a much more varied composition of objects to have been buried with the dead. I would, however, argue that it was not the individual biography of the deceased while living that was displayed through the overarching patterns of grave goods in the princely graves, but rather a stereotyped mortuary identity associated with the accoutrements of an opulent afterlife, centred on eating and drinking. We may consequently imagine two levels of action and meaning. One is the framework set by the ritual tradition at work. This framework dictated the certain ritual actions (and meanings) that were to unfold at the funeral. I would argue that it is at this level that the stereotyped pattern of grave goods observable in the princely graves is to be understood. To append this to the theories on memory-making mentioned above, Ong's idea of *heavy characters* may be helpful. He argued that oral memory operates more effectively with characters of heroic proportions, that is, individuals who are larger than life and whose deeds are epic and unforgettable. These characters lend themselves well to oral narratives precisely because they are stereotypical and therefore easy to memorize.<sup>462</sup> In this respect, Jennbert's idea that the metaphorical mortuary language, with its heavily expressed materiality, functioned as a form of heroization, fits well within this framework.<sup>463</sup> However, based on the ritual sequence wherein these embellished images were created, we are more likely dealing with the remembrance of the deceased as drinking and dining in the hereafter. The other level entails what I have called the participants' room to manoeuvre within the ritual framework. This level may explain the variations that are visible on a smaller scale, of which some perhaps can be attributed to aspects of the deceased's individual biography.

<sup>462</sup> Ong 1991:85f.

<sup>463</sup> Jennbert 2006:136; cf. Shanks & Tilley 1982:133f.; Williams 2004a: 270f.



### 3.10.2 OUTSIDE THE COFFIN... AND BEYOND

The vessels deposited outside the primary burial space seem to represent a different stage of the ritual. This, I would argue, represents a deliberate detachment from the dead body. These vessels, of both foreign and indigenous manufacture, were deposited after the primary burial space had been closed off or at the time when the grave was filled. Therefore, we should not view them as directly interacting with the dead body in the same manner as the vessels incorporated with it, or arranged around it. The vessels outside the coffin or chamber were rather part of the bereaved activities after they had established the deceased's new identity and passed him or her out of view. They were vessels used by the living, and not by the dead, so to speak. There can be many meanings behind such graveside rituals, depending on what kind of objects we may observe. Some of the vessels probably served in ritual eating and drinking performed at the gravesite in connection with the burial, and they (and their content) may also simultaneously have functioned as offerings to the dead. These actions could be interpreted as interactions with the dead or the ancestors at the gravesite; as funeral meals shared between the bereaved and the dead. They probably functioned as the last part of the incorporation stage, where the bereaved were reunited into a social group with a new configuration due to the loss of one of its members.<sup>464</sup>

Some of the vessels may also have been instrumental in the handling of the dead body and then offered or discarded in the grave because they were deemed unsuitable to be further used by the living. This attitude towards objects that have been in contact with the corpse is well known from numerous historical and modern societies. It may explain the comb and wooden plate or tray deposited on the ledge outside the coffin in grave 400 at Skovgårde (Denmark), and possibly also the bronze basin placed on top of the coffin in Neudorf-Bornstein 7. Perhaps these objects had been used in the washing and grooming of the body, and were then considered polluted through their association with the dead body and therefore deposited prior to the sealing of the grave.

From the above it is apparent that the vessels were used in diverse ways, inside and outside the primary burial space, and one can argue for an equal diversity of meaning attributed to the vessels, both pertaining to the ritual, and as a result of the ritual practitioners' and/or the bereaved's interaction (both physically and visually) with the vessels. For while the creation of the deceased's new identity and existence in death was the main purpose of the interment, the performance itself created meanings which would have influenced the ritual in return. And there would have been various ways in which the grave interacted with the participants and thus influenced the possibilities for interaction with the grave and the consequent meaning production in the moment of action. This could take the shape of distinct postures or gestures, where the body was arranged closely together with objects, which commanded a certain level of visual engagement and association from the spectators and produced an intimate relationship between the participants and the grave. Conversely, a distance was occasionally created by concealment of the objects, and at a later stage of the ritual, by the filling of the grave itself. Furthermore, the very act of deposition itself would have permitted a certain degree of creativeness, based on a number of factors such as what grave goods were available for deposition, which people

<sup>464</sup> E.g. van Genneep 1960:165.



were participating, the location and construction of the grave, etc. The fish and animal bones found in the cups of glass in Varpelev grave A (Denmark), and similar examples, might be interpreted as this *unstructured space* within the ritual practice. We know that vessels for food and drink, regardless of their origin, functioned as prescribed parts of the ritual. But the fact that the ritual participants placed animal remains in what is generally interpreted as drinking cups etc. enhances the impression of the vessels as not necessarily arranged or separated according to domestic function. Rather, it appears as if the vessels signified a broader symbolic complex pertaining to food and drink as well as the acts of eating and drinking. The latter aspect is indicated by the graves where vessels are integrated with the dead body. Thus the animal bones in the drinking cups might be a manifestation of the ritual participants' *room to manoeuvre*, with regard to both the performance and the interpretation of the objects used. This resulted in patterns which perhaps do not completely deviate from the general domestic framework of eating and drinking, but which nevertheless illustrate the more symbolic nature of the deposition and reveal the disparity between domestic and ritual utility.

Through the ritual, the participants and spectators stitched together pre-existing themes and formulas with their own responses and interpretations shaped in the moment of performance. This would then, like any other practice, add to the participants' knowledge and experiences of these rituals, thus influencing the structures that generated them. Therefore, we must not only view the rituals as prescribed by tradition and belief systems, but also the other way around; that the traditions and belief systems were gradually created through the ritual performance. Through mortuary rituals and their manipulation and staging of material culture (including the corpse), society's thoughts and images of death, the dead and the afterlife were (re)created, embodied and sustained. In other words, through the funeral rites the afterlife was structured. The burial site became equal to a theatre stage in the creation of visual representation of death, and the body and grave goods were parts of the scenery. And after the graves were sealed, the objects literally became part of the world of the dead, and from their place buried with the corpses they would continue to evoke images and feelings of the dead and the afterlife through the memories created in the survivors and through the materiality of the cemetery itself. People most likely knew what the cemeteries contained, and thus the grave goods still had a social impact after the rituals were completed. Of course, this *duality of structure* not only applies to the sphere of ritual and religious beliefs, but also to society as a whole. What I am suggesting here is a nuanced model for our understanding of the relationship between imported vessels, mortuary rituals, and social structure and prestige. We must not overlook the fact that the grave and its material culture had primarily a social function among the living. It was among the living that the deceased's personhood was created and considered meaningful. Here, the notion of the generative nature of ritual and material culture again is important. Through the materiality of the grave the personhood of the deceased was generated, not simply reflected. Thus the deceased was honoured with an elaborate funeral not necessarily because he or she was a prominent member of society. The deceased was a prominent social member for the reason that he or she was afforded an elaborate funeral. This may also be associated with certain cosmological conceptions, as suggested by Kristoffersen and Oestigaard mentioned above,<sup>465</sup> where the mode of funeral was directed by notions of the ideal way of death and its corresponding afterlife existence.

<sup>465</sup> Kristoffersen & Oestigaard 2008.

What then was the role of the vessels in this metaphorical language, besides the opulent existence created through their abundance in some of the graves? Jennbert suggested that they symbolized *negotiation* and *communication*.<sup>466</sup> I would like to elaborate on this idea and suggest that the reason vessels were arranged together with the body, either incorporated in its posture or stowed away in the primary burial space, had to do with the importance of feasting in producing and channelling social relationships and thus in the creation and maintenance of identity. Through customs in eating and drinking, or the referral to such customs, people define themselves and the social group to which they profess to belong.<sup>467</sup> Through the use of a heroizing metaphorical language, as suggested by both Hanisch and Jennbert, identities might be created in death which may never have been achieved in life. In turn, the incorporation of the deceased into the afterlife reintegrated him or her into the social life and understanding of the living. By re-constructing the deceased and by performances such as shared meals and offerings at the grave site, the participants gave the deceased a new position in relation to themselves and also (re)created the social group, overcoming the challenge that death had posed for society. It was moreover through this process of restoration that the richly furnished mortuary identity was allowed to reverberate among the living, creating the “trickle down” effect discussed by Bonsu and Belk. The symbolic entitlements generated through a rich and well-organized funeral (and the honour it bestowed on the deceased) would, if properly harnessed, accentuate the bereaved as well as his or her family as important and respectable members of society. Thus the rituals might well have been enmeshed in power relations.<sup>468</sup> In the words of P. Metcalf and R. Huntington, “the society of the dead structures the society of the living.”<sup>469</sup>

<sup>466</sup> Jennbert 2006:136, 138.

<sup>467</sup> Cf. Dietler 1996.

<sup>468</sup> Cf. Hedeager 1992:78.

<sup>469</sup> Metcalf & Huntington 1991:83.



## 4. MULTIPLE BEGINNINGS – IMITATION AND HYBRIDITY

*One may see among them silver vases, given as gifts to their envoys and chieftains, but treated as of no more value than earthenware.*<sup>470</sup>

Thus wrote Tacitus in his famed account of the Germanic peoples around the end of the first century AD. Although his description of the Germans was in many respects meant as the backdrop for a critical appraisal of his own society, it is held up as a crucial source of information on the Roman Iron Age of Northern Europe. Most archaeologists, however, interpret the quotation above as an expression of the rhetorical vernacular of Tacitus. Moreover, they argue for the erroneousness of Tacitus' account by referring to the lavishly equipped graves in Germania Magna, containing silver vessels of Roman manufacture that demonstrate a considerable symbolic value embodied in Roman vessels among what is considered a Germanic elite.<sup>471</sup>

As discussed in the previous case study, these richly furnished graves have always assumed a prominent place in the research, and have often led scholars to equate grave goods of Roman manufacture with a "royal lifestyle", referring to the prestige the Roman objects were thought to bestow on their owners. Therefore the two silver beakers found in grave no. 2 on the Tunnehult site at Lubieszewo (Lübsow) in Poland, whose form resembled Roman vessels, but in their manufacture and ornamentation gave an expression alien to the Roman craft tradition, were regarded as barbaric imitations and taken as a further expression of the allure of the Roman Empire and the popularity of its material culture.<sup>472</sup> Since the discovery at Lubieszewo (Lübsow), a number of silver vessels have been added, forming a small group of vessels which display this characteristic of combining presumed Roman traits with other, non-Roman, features. They are generally regarded as imitations, as objects manufactured by Germanic craftsmen attempting to duplicate the design of Roman vessels.<sup>473</sup>

In this case study I will argue why the use of the concept of *imitation* is problematic when dealing with these vessels. The concept refers of course to their similarities to

<sup>470</sup> Tac. *Germ.* 5.3.

<sup>471</sup> E.g. Künzl 1988a:50; Andersson & Herschend 1997:67.

<sup>472</sup> Cf. Künzl 1988a:55; 1988b:550; Wielowiejski 1990:226.

<sup>473</sup> E.g. Pernice 1912; Kunkel 1927; Voss 1949; Holmqvist 1954; Wielowiejski 1983; Bełkowska 1986; Künzl 1988a-b; Wielowiejski 1990:226; Künzl 1997a; cf. Hedeager 1992:121 and 156 who claimed that objects of Roman manufacture were never copied, which she argued is evidence of their prestigious value as exotica.

vessels of Roman manufacture. But this notion also has other, more deep-rooted cultural dimensions that in turn have consequences for our interpretations of the period in question. Generally, the use of the word *imitation* often brings with it an implication of inferiority. It assumes that the value of the object depends on its faithfulness to an original, and therefore it denotes something inauthentic and consequently of lesser value than the *genuine*. Those who imitate are thus depreciated; they are perceived as inferior to others who are more accomplished. Though it is seldom the intent of the researchers, this value-laden quality of the concept filters down into the research, and with the help of expressions like *simple*, *barbaric* and *primitive* it enhances a hierarchical and evolutionistic outlook on cultural interaction. Some scholars have gone so far as to classify these silver vessels as forgeries, claiming they were used by members of the social elite who sought to counterfeit the symbolic value incorporated in the genuine vessels of Roman manufacture.<sup>474</sup> This attitude is very much an outcome of an essentialistic view of material culture inherent in the research, also grounded on the fact that objects of Roman origin are generally regarded as the main indicator of social status and power when found outside the borders of the Empire.<sup>475</sup> The prevailing notion is therefore that these vessels must have been manufactured in order to take advantage of this quality.

The way cultural influences are reflected in material culture is a well-known and often discussed subject in archaeology. In this chapter I will approach this small group of silver vessels from a different vantage point than the one discussed above. The potential of this archaeological material has hardly been used in discussions of the interpretative processes within the indigenous population. While I will briefly trace the genealogies of these objects and their different design elements, my primary focus will not be on establishing cultural identities, but on the complex histories of objects and the fluidity of material culture, keeping in mind that the notions of *original* and *copy*, as well as the separation of these two concepts, are fairly modern. Although the question of cultural interaction is a central one, my ambition is rather to explore the tension between transmission and transformation in order to understand how different material culture identities may converge and how their meaning may be refracted as a result of that encounter.

## 4.1 THE SILVER VESSELS

The number of silver vessels belonging to this group of presumed imitations is now 15 vessels, from a total of 10 sites.<sup>476</sup> They have previously been dealt with extensively by scholars like O. Voss, W. Holmqvist, I. Bełkowska; E. Künzl, J. Wielowiejski and S. Künzl.<sup>477</sup> In this case study I will focus exclusively on seven of these sites, a total of

<sup>474</sup> E.g. Andersson & Herschend 1997:67; Andersson 2001:226.

<sup>475</sup> This outlook is in turn clearly related to the classical notion of the spread of civilization from Greece to the West.

<sup>476</sup> The sites are Holubice from the Czech Republic; Agersbøl, Byrsted and Dollerupgård from Denmark; Tzum from the Netherlands; Czarnówko 430, Łęg Piekarski 2, 1936, Łęg Piekarski 3, 1947/1975, Łęg Piekarski A, and Lubieszewo (Lübsow) 2, 1925 from Poland. For more information on the contents of these finds, except the find from Tzum, see appendix 2. For more information on Tzum, see Erdrich 2004.

<sup>477</sup> E.g. Voss 1949; Holmqvist 1954; Bełkowska 1986; Künzl 1988a-b; Wielowiejski 1990; Künzl 1997b; 2000.

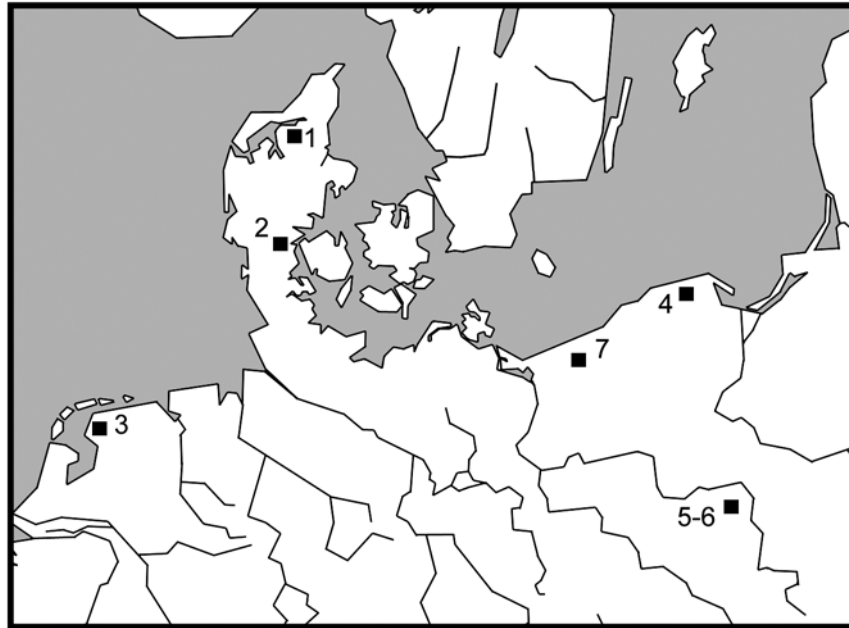


Fig. 4.1 Distribution of the sites with Germanic silver vessels discussed in this chapter (numbering corresponds to that in the text).

12 vessels, since they most clearly display independent ornamental features which deviate from the classical Greco-Roman design. These are the finds from Byrsted and Dollerupgård from Denmark; Tzum from the Netherlands; Czarnówko 430, Łęg Piekarski 2, 1936, Łęg Piekarski 3, 1947/1975, and Lubieszewo (Lübsow) 2, 1925, from Poland (fig. 4.1). The vessels from the remaining sites consist of fragmented pieces of vessels that are solely considered local imitations due to the crude execution of their Greco-Roman style shape.<sup>478</sup>

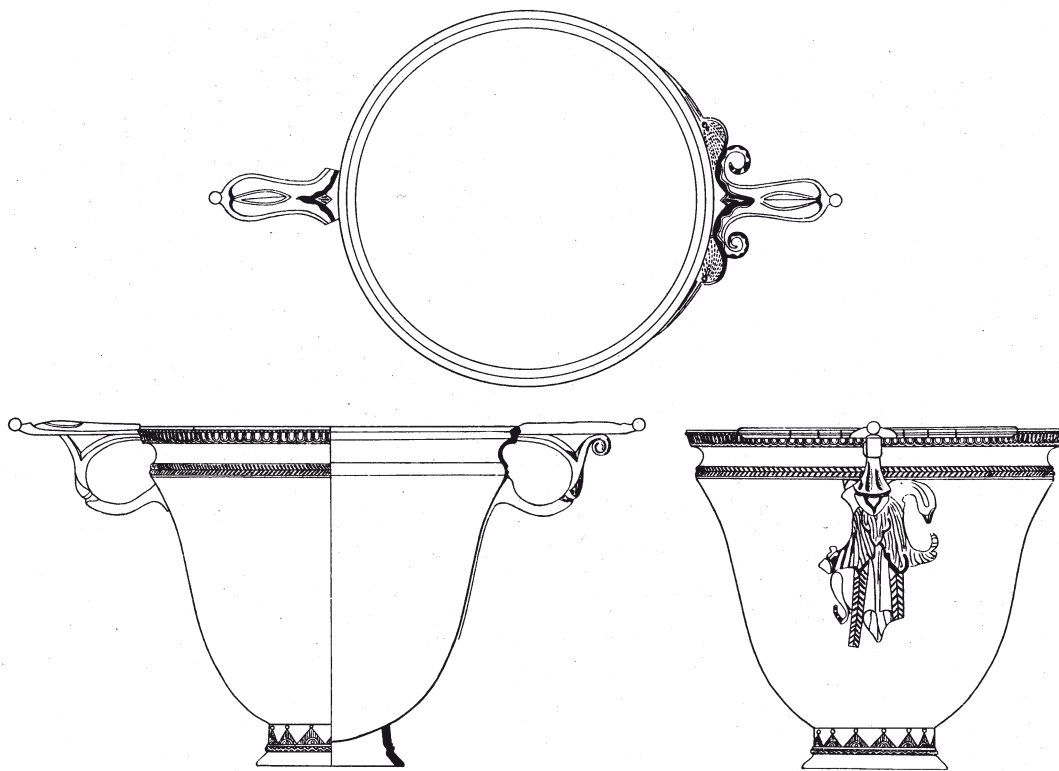
*1. Byrsted, Rebild Municipality, Region North Jutland, Denmark*

The inhumation from Byrsted is dated to period B1. It contained, among other things, two bell-shaped silver vessels of type E173 which measure 10.4 cm high and have a mouth diameter of 10.8 cm (fig. 4.2). Underneath the egg-and-dart decorated rim is a concave moulding followed by a band filled with a spicatum-like pattern. The handles are made of horizontal thumb rests shaped like a leaf and two naturalistic birds heads. Underneath each thumb rest is a vertical finger ring shaped like a plant stem. The upper parts of the vessel, including the handles, bear the characteristics of Mediterranean manufacture (although the spicatum-like pattern is rare in Greco-Roman metalwork), and the shape of the vessel and its handle is reminiscent of finds from both Berthouville and Hildesheim. The 1.2 cm high foot, on the other hand, appears to have been a later addition, probably a repair made by a Germanic silversmith.<sup>479</sup> It is decorated with an engraved row of standing triangles, each filled with vertical lines and two concentric

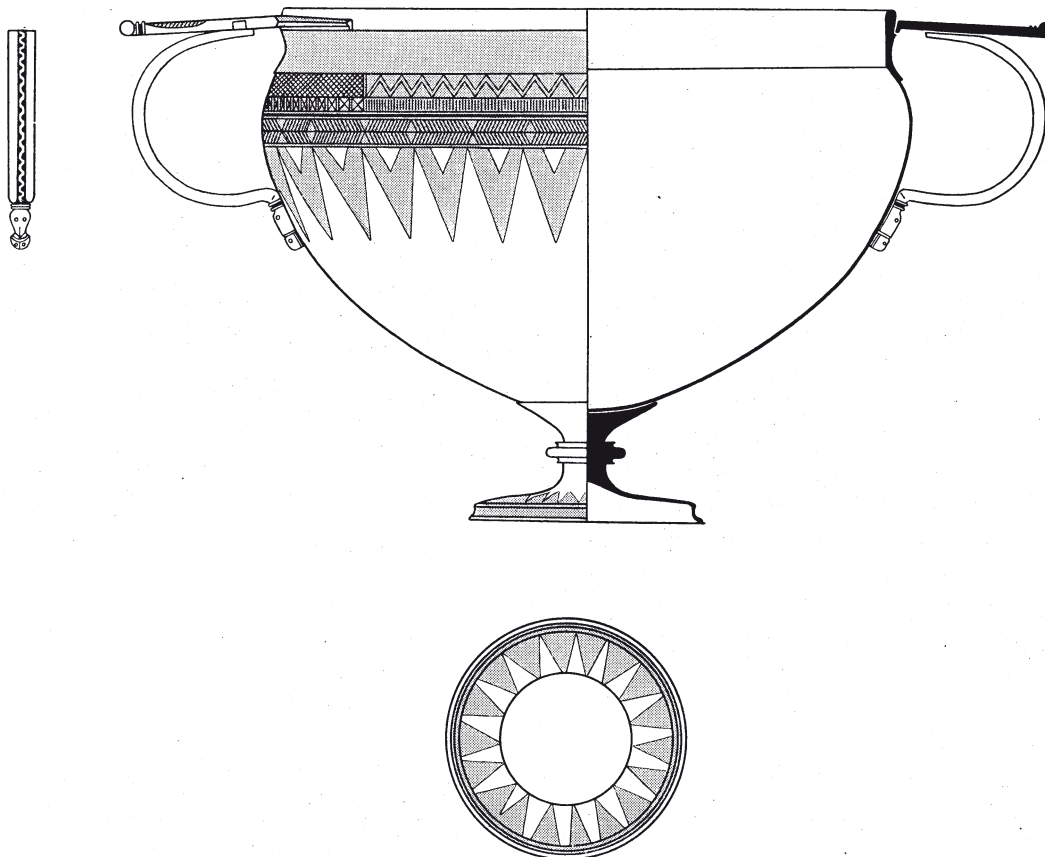
<sup>478</sup> E.g. Künzl 1997a & 2002 for recent overviews. The two silver goblets from Mollerup (Denmark), which are often included in this group of vessels, are generally regarded as Celtic in origin (e.g. Kaul & Martens 1995).

<sup>479</sup> Künzl 2000.





*Fig. 4.2 One of the silver beakers from Byrsted, Rebild Municipality, Region North Jutland in Denmark. Scale 1:2 (after Voss 1949:255 fig. 42).*



*Fig. 4.3 One of the silver beakers from Døllerupgård, Kolding Municipality, Region South Denmark, Jutland. Scale 2:3 (after Voss 1949:251 fig. 39).*

semicircles, and crowned by a small circle. Underneath this is a horizontal field decorated with a moulded chevron pattern.<sup>480</sup>

2. *Coffin A2 from Dollerupgård, Kolding Municipality, Region South Denmark, Denmark*

This double inhumation discovered in Dollerupgård is dated to the period B2. The grave goods in coffin A2 consisted, among other things, of two silver beakers of type E 170 (fig. 4.3). The beakers are 7.9 cm high and the diameter of the mouth measures 12.1 cm. It is decorated below the rim with a horizontal concave moulding. Below this is a decorative frieze composed of three horizontal bands filled with geometric motifs in the form of chevrons, cross-hatching, spicatum patterns and X-shaped crosses. Running under the frieze is a large chevron pattern created by the serial repetition of large pendant triangles. The concave moulding, the pendant triangles and the upper parts of the handles are fashioned with gold foil, which gives a contrasting texture to the surface compared to the rest of the vessel. The handles are composed of horizontal thumb rests shaped like leaves and stylized bird's heads, and below this a vertical finger ring terminating in a stylized animal's head. The profiled foot of the vessel is decorated with triangles in gold foil.<sup>481</sup>

3. *Tzum, Franekeradeel Municipality, Province of Friesland, Netherlands*

The remains of a probable cremation at Tzum contained, besides a silver fibula and a pair of bronze scissors, the rim fragment of a silver vessel, most likely a beaker of scyphus type (fig. 4.4). The vessel had been cut up in ancient time and the rim piece folded together. The fragment is decorated with an engraved ornamental frieze below the rim, consisting of pendant triangles filled with a tree-like pattern, and concentric circles between two chevron-patterned borders. Although the entire find is dated to the period between the second half of the second century and the early third century, Erdrich dates the vessel itself to the Early Roman Iron Age.<sup>482</sup> The beaker from Tzum is closely related to the find from Lubieszewo (Lübsow) 2, 1925 (Tunnehult). According to Erdrich, the find from Tzum should be regarded as foreign in its Frisian context, since the character of the find, in particular the fibula (a *Rollenkappen* fibula), rather connects it to the East Germanic area around the river Vistula.<sup>483</sup>

4. *Grave 430 from Czarnówko, district of Leborg, Pomerania Province, Poland*

Inhumation grave no. 430 from Czarnówko is dated to period B2/C1. Among the finds was the ring handle of a silver beaker E168/170 (fig. 4.5). The ring of the handle is decorated with a narrow band of vertically engraved lines, while the top surface of the thumb rest is decorated with punched triangles in a similar fashion as the beakers from Lubieszewo/Lübsow 2, 1925 (Tunnehult), described below.<sup>484</sup>

5. *Grave 2, 1936 from Łęg Piekarski, district of Dobra, Greater Poland Province, Poland*

This inhumation was discovered in 1936 in a mound at the burial site of Łęg Piekarski. The find is dated to the period B2a and consisted, among other things, of two silver

480 Ekholm 1934:360–362; Voss 1949:254–256; Künzl 2000; cf. appendix 2, no. 31.

481 E.g. Voss 1949; Holmqvist 1954; Belkowska 1986; Künzl 1988a-b; Wielowiejski 1990; cf. appendix 2, no. 32.

482 Erdrich 2004:792.

483 Erdrich 2004:795.

484 Mączyńska & Rudnicka 2004:401f., 413; cf. appendix 2, no. 155.

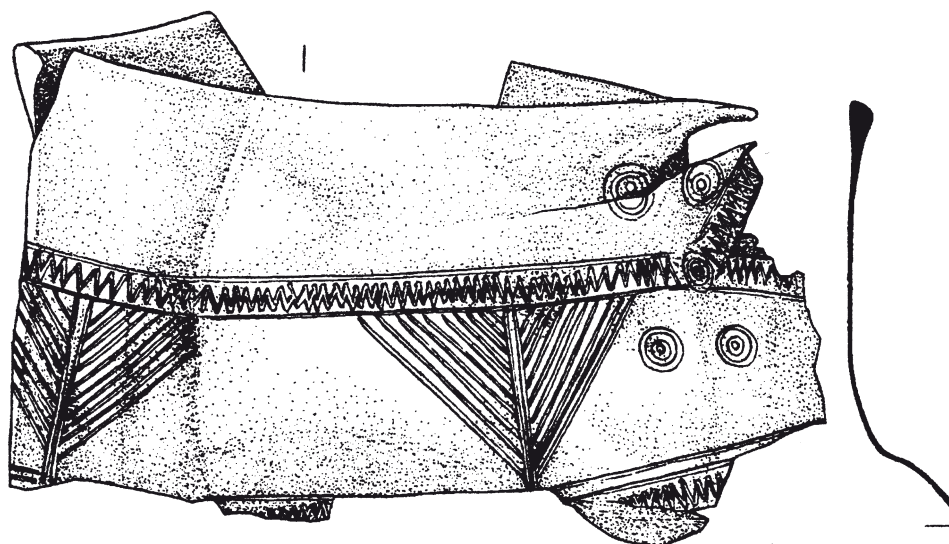


Fig. 4.4 Fragment of a silver vessel from Tzum, Franekeradeel Municipality, province of Friesland in the Netherlands. Scale unknown (after Erdrich 2004:797 pl. 1:a).

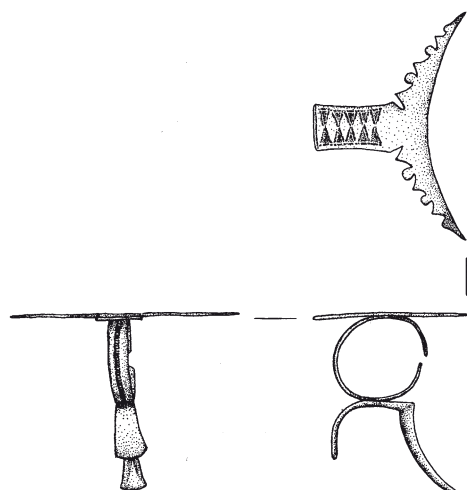


Fig. 4.5 The handle of a silver vessel found in Czarnówko grave 430, district of Lębork, Pomerania Province in Poland. Scale 1:2 (after Mączyńska & Rudnicka 2004:401 fig. 3:6).

beakers of type E 170 (fig. 4.6). The beakers are approximately 6 cm high and the diameter of the mouth measures 7.3 cm. Below the rim is a convex moulding decorated with eight fields filled with engraved spicatum patterns, separated by double vertical lines. The foot is composed of a profiled middle part and a tin-plated stand decorated with punched triangles. The two handles are made of a horizontal thumb rest and a vertical finger ring.<sup>485</sup>

6. Grave 3, 1947/1975 from Łęga Piekarski, district of Dobra, Greater Poland Province, Poland  
This inhumation, excavated in 1947 and 1975, has been dated to the period B1c and included two silver beakers (fig. 4.7). The beakers are 6.0 cm high and have a mouth diameter of 9 cm. Below the rim is a band decorated with a cross-hatched pattern, and the body of the vessels is characterized by curved, inverted flutings (gadrooms). The stand of the low, profiled foot is composed of three concentric levels. Attached to the

485 E.g. Petersen 1940; Voss 1949; Eggers 1953; Holmqvist 1954; Jażdżewski & Rycel 1981; Bełkowska 1986; Künlz 1988a-b; Wielowiejski 1990; cf. appendix 2, no. 170.

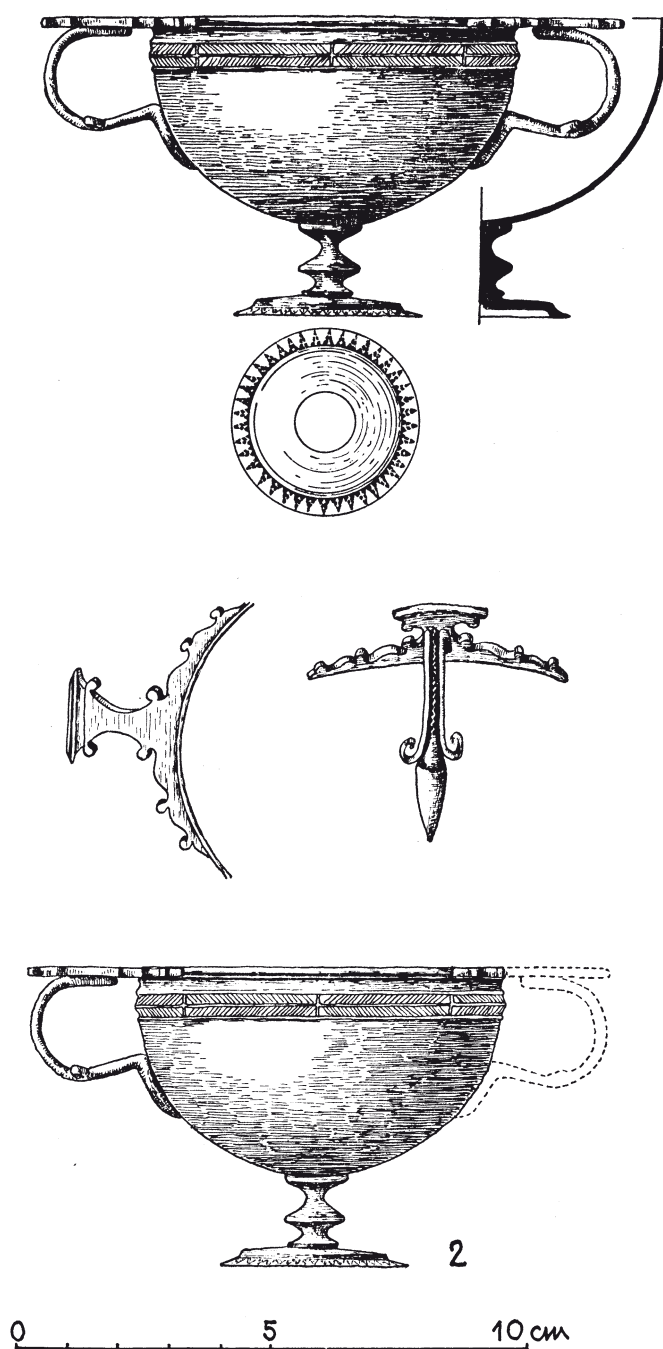


Fig. 4.6 The silver vessels from Łęg Piekarski 2, 1936, district of Dobra, Greater Poland Province (after Kietlińska & Piętka-Dąbrowska 1961:pl. 33:1 fig. 1-2).

body of the vessels is a separately kept double wire-like handle with a semicircular curving.<sup>486</sup> The gadrooning is reminiscent of a bowl found in the Hildesheim hoard, and this shape, together with the shape of the handle, may be traced back to late Hellenistic and early Augustan craft traditions.<sup>487</sup> The find was stolen from the archaeological museum in Poznań in the 1960s.

486 E.g. Holmqvist 1954; Leciejewicz 1957; Jądzewski & Rycel 1981; Bełkowska 1986; Künzl 1988a-b; Wielowiejski 1990; cf. appendix 2, no. 171.

487 Hitzl *et al.* 1997:50; Künzl 2002:340.

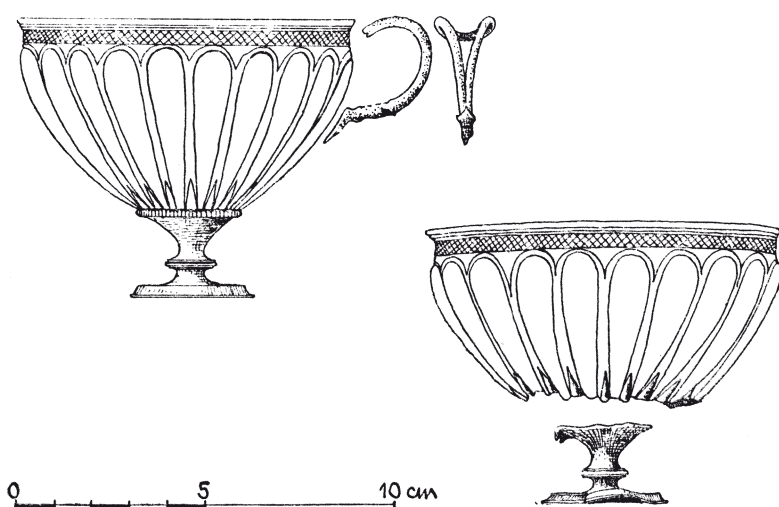


Fig. 4.7 The silver vessels from Łęg Piekarski 3, 1947/1975, district of Dobra, Greater Poland Province (after Abramowicz et al. 1960:pl. 26:2 fig. 5-6).



Fig. 4.8 One of the silver vessels from grave 2, 1925 from Lubieszewo (Lübsow), district of Gryfice, West Pomerania Province in Poland (after Kunkel 1927:pl. 15).

7. *Grave 2, 1925 from Lubieszewo (Lübsow), district of Gryfice, West Pomerania Province, Poland*

In their 1925 excavation of burial mound no. 2 at Tunnehult in Lubieszewo (Lübsow), located in Western Pomerania in Poland, the archaeologists found an inhumation dated to period B2a. Among the grave goods were two beakers of silver of type E 171, which measure 8.7 cm high and have a mouth diameter of 9 cm (fig. 4.8). They consist of a deep cup manufactured of thinly driven silver sheet, a low profiled foot on a round plate, and vertical handles topped by horizontal thumb rests in the shape of square plates with small protruding knobs. Below the rim is a horizontal field of gold foil decorated with an engraved spicatum pattern, and underneath this a horizontal row of punched, pendant triangles. The find was kept in the Provinzialmuseum in Stettin until it was stolen in 1945.<sup>488</sup>

## 4.2 NATIVE TRAITS

The vessels are found in Germanic graves predominantly dated to the early parts of the Roman Iron Age (period B1 and B2), a time when Roman drinking vessels of silver on occasion appear as parts of the grave furnishing among the tribes beyond the imperial border. Their form, often an egg-shaped cup with vertical ring handles, sometimes with thumb plate and finger rest, as well as a footed base, closely resembles the classical Greco-Roman *scyphi* of the late Republican and early Imperial periods. In these periods, Roman craftsmen were very much influenced by Greek traditions. Indeed, due to Rome's conquests in the eastern Mediterranean, many of the Roman silversmiths were of Greek origin. Several of the Roman silver vessels which found their way to the northern parts of Europe in the Early Roman Iron Age were produced in Italian workshops, particularly those in the area of Capua in central Italy, and then traded all over the Italian mainland and the provinces. This is illustrated by the treasure finds from Casa del Menandro and Boscoreale in or near Pompeii, as well as finds from Hildesheim in Germany and Berthouville in France. Later on, in the course of the first century AD, silver vessels of this sort were also manufactured in workshops of the Gallo-German provinces.<sup>489</sup>

The question whether the vessels reviewed above were manufactured in or outside the Empire has been a much-debated issue. Although some scholars have argued that vessels of this type are to be regarded as Italian products,<sup>490</sup> the majority have interpreted them as native Germanic imitations of Roman vessels combined with ornamentation based on Germanic traditions.<sup>491</sup> The case of the Byrsted vessels, however, is somewhat different. The upper parts of the vessels are considered to be Italian products, while the feet are regarded as Germanic additions. The time period in question is

488 E.g. Kunkel 1927; Voss 1949; Eggers 1953; Holmqvist 1954; Bełkowska 1986; Künzl 1988a-b; Wielowiejski 1990; cf. appendix 2, no. 179.

489 Cf. Fügél 2000:128.

490 E.g. Voss 1949:270; Leciejewicz 1957:110.

491 E.g. Kunkel 1927:122f.; Petersen 1940:44; Voss 1949:270; Eggers 1953:87; Holmqvist 1954:276; Künzl 1988a:48; 1988b:550; Wielowiejski 1990:206.



generally regarded as the starting point for the development of a new Germanic practice of metalworking in gold, silver and iron that culminates in the animal ornamentation of the later Iron Age. Scholars usually seek the impetus for that movement in the craft traditions of the expanding Roman Empire. So the finds of silver vessels fashioned in a style corresponding to examples found, for instance, in Italy and the provinces, but with a decoration more resembling minor metalwork of seemingly native manufacture, have naturally led to discussions of imitation practices. But this combination of foreign forms and native decoration is seldom viewed as an expression of a local interpretation or transformation. Instead the value-laden sense of the concept of imitation is apparent, as is illustrated by C. von Carnap-Bornheim's argument that these silver vessels "show how a Germanic craftsman attempted to imitate the form and decoration of an imported precious silver skyphos, an attempt which didn't fully succeed."<sup>492</sup> Since the social interactions theory implicit in the stylistic analyses of the vessels to a large degree presumes a correlation between stylistic similarity and the depth and intensity of social interaction, they make an excellent case for a discussion of the fluidity of material culture. In the following I will therefore review the traits and elements in this group of silver vessels that stand in the centre of their stylistic discussion, and assess the interpretations and the arguments behind them.

#### 4.2.1 FORM AND ORNAMENTATION

Although the silver of which the vessels were fashioned, and the gold that is part of their decoration, must be regarded as imported raw materials, most likely from the Roman area since there is no evidence for indigenous mining of silver or gold before medieval times,<sup>493</sup> the manner in which these materials were formed into objects and decorated is generally regarded as evidence of their Germanic origin. Scholars have brought a number of aspects to our attention over the years, and although a long time has passed since some of them wrote their treatises on the vessels, their ideas and interpretations are still important and influential in research today.

One of the most common conceptions when it comes the shape and construction of the silver vessels is that they are simpler and of a lower quality of craftsmanship than the vessels of established Roman origin. For instance, the outline of the profile of the rim on the presumed Germanic vessels usually consists of two vertical borders, of which one is decorated, separated by a concave groove. This shape, e.g. on the vessels from Dollerupgård as well as Łęg Piekarski graves 2 and 3, is regarded as a simplified imitation of the outline of Roman examples.<sup>494</sup> When it comes to the pair from Lubieszewo (Lübsow), on the other hand, there is no outlined rim at all. According to scholars like G. Ekholm and Voss, this lack of demarcation and concave groove or moulding gives them a simple, more "primitive" look, and further elements in their construction as well, such as that of the handles, are thought to enhance this impression.<sup>495</sup>

<sup>492</sup> von Carnap-Bornheim 2001:272.

<sup>493</sup> Oldeberg 1966; Andersson 1995:9.

<sup>494</sup> Künzl 1997a:38; 2002:334; cf. the vessels from grave 1 in Lubieszewo (Lübsow, site Sandberg).

<sup>495</sup> Ekholm 1934:362; Voss 1949:263.

Furthermore, the construction of the two pairs of vessels from Łęg Piekarski has been identified as divergent from what are considered genuine Roman examples. The vessels from grave 3 were perceived by Voss as primitive due to the copious material and the bipartite construction of the foot.<sup>496</sup> According to E. Künzl the vessels from grave 3, decorated with curved, inverted flutings (gadroons), are likely to be Germanic imitations since they lack a smooth and even inset, as seen for instance on the comparable bowl from the Hildesheim treasure.<sup>497</sup> Instead these convex gadroons on the surface of the vessels create concave impressions on their interior walls.<sup>498</sup>

When it comes to the ornamentation of the vessels, there are a number of elements that are debated as to whether they are of Germanic or Roman origin: punched triangles, X-shaped crosses and rosettes, engraved spicatum patterns, chevrons and cross-hatchings, as well as gilding through the application of gold foil.

The research history of the punched decoration and its origin in the Iron Age is at times remarkably hard to outline. The various arguments concerning the origin are grounded on several detailed analyses of individual elements in the motifs, both in research concerning the silver vessels as well as research dealing with other forms of metalwork, a discussion that is too lengthy to review in full here. Some general trends may be discerned, however. During the period B2, to which the vessels with punched ornamentation are dated, there are several examples of both Roman and Germanic metalwork with punched motifs. Scholars have argued for either a Roman provincial or a native Germanic origin of this mode of decoration. O. Kunkel, in his work on the vessels from Lubieszewo (Lübsow), claimed that the punched geometrical motifs did not exist on Roman vessels but could instead be found on contemporary Germanic jewellery. According to him, this together with the gold foil decoration pointed to a native origin for the vessels.<sup>499</sup> Since then other scholars have followed his argument to some degree, advocating a Germanic tradition in this use of punched geometrical decoration.<sup>500</sup>

There are various punched motifs of a geometric design, such as triangles and X-shaped crosses, in North European metalwork dated from the Early Roman Iron Age up to the Migration Period, and even longer, and they appear on different kinds of objects. For instance, both punched triangles and X-shaped crosses are well known on Elbe Germanic and North Germanic snakehead rings dated to the period B2.<sup>501</sup> However, scholars have occasionally argued for a Roman derivation concerning some of the punched motifs.<sup>502</sup> We know, for instance, of X-shaped crosses on contemporary metalwork from the Roman area.<sup>503</sup> And E. Cosack brings our attention to finds of period B1 fibulae from the Rhine area, which are decorated using punched triangu-

<sup>496</sup> Voss 1949:263.

<sup>497</sup> Hitzl *et al.* 1997:50.

<sup>498</sup> Künzl 1988a:48; 1988b:550; cf. Bełkowska 1986:88.

<sup>499</sup> Kunkel 1927:122f.

<sup>500</sup> Voss 1949:270; Eggers 1953:87; Bełkowska 1986:88; Künzl 1988a:41f.; Wielowiejski 1990:205, 209.

<sup>501</sup> E.g. Verma 1989:14–19; Andersson 1985; 1995:183.

<sup>502</sup> E.g. Salin 1904:158ff; Holmqvist 1954; Beckmann 1969; Arrhenius 1971; Andersson 1985; Storgaard 1990.

<sup>503</sup> Andersson 1985:134, fig. 46; Andersson 1995:201.

lar motifs similar to those on Scandinavian metalwork.<sup>504</sup> But yet other scholars, such as K. Andersson who has studied punched decoration on Scandinavian gold jewellery from the Roman Iron Age, choose a more multivariate explanation. He concluded that many of the punch motifs that appear on the Scandinavian gold objects in the Late Roman Iron Age have their parallels in contemporary Roman handicrafts. Thus he attributed the upswing in punching seen during periods C2 and C3 to Roman influences. However, he also concluded that this stimulus was indirect, since many of the actual punch motifs had already existed in Scandinavia since the Early Roman Iron Age.<sup>505</sup>

Another element viewed as typical for Germanic silversmithing is gilding through the application of gold foil, found on the vessels from Lubieszewo (Lübsow) and Dollerupgård.<sup>506</sup> This method, where thinly hammered gold foil is attached using an adhesive (as on the vessel from Dollerupgård), or in some cases driven into the surface using a stamp (as on the vessel from Lubieszewo/Lübsow), is most likely to have come from the Roman Empire, but is unheard of on silver vessels in the Roman Empire. Instead the Roman craftsmen used a technique called fire gilding, also known as amalgam or mercury gilding.<sup>507</sup> In the Germanic area we have several examples of apparently native metalwork from the Early Roman Iron Age using gold foil. One of the cited groups in relation to the silver vessels consists of the so-called Rollenkappen fibulae (Almgren's group II, nos. 24–30) with punched gold foil, found predominantly in Jutland in Denmark and dated to the first and second centuries AD.<sup>508</sup> They are decorated with punched motifs similar to those on the vessels from Łęg Piekarski 2 and Lubieszewo (Lübsow). Holmqvist put forward as a possibility that the ornamentation on the Rollenkappen fibulae, and thus also some of the silver vessels above, was inspired by metalwork in the western provinces.<sup>509</sup> Cosack referred to contemporary finds of Roman fibulae in the provinces using punched triangular motifs similar to those on the Danish Rollenkappen fibulae, and he regarded this type of ornamentation using punched inlays of gold as a Germanic interpretation of Roman provincial techniques.<sup>510</sup>

Apart from the punched ornamentation, several of the engraved motifs, such as chevrons, spicatum patterns, cross-hatching and X-shaped crosses, have also been considered of a typical Germanic and/or Nordic character.<sup>511</sup> These motifs occur particularly on the vessels from Dollerupgård, but also from Byrsted, Tzum, grave 2 at Lubieszewo (Lübsow), and graves 2 and 3 from Łęg Piekarski. Occasionally scholars refer to individual decorative elements on native pottery for comparable motifs, but mostly they prefer to look at forms of native metalwork for their parallels.

The chevron pattern is known from the Early Roman Iron Age on Elbe Germanic snakehead rings<sup>512</sup> as well as on the East Germanic *Shildkopf* rings.<sup>513</sup> However, we also

<sup>504</sup> Cosack 1979:80.

<sup>505</sup> Andersson 1995:202.

<sup>506</sup> E.g. Kunkel 1927:122f.; Eggers 1953:87; Holmqvist 1954:276; Künzl 1988b:549; Wielowiejski 1990:209.

<sup>507</sup> E.g. E. Künzl 1988b:549; cf. Hammer & Voß 1997.

<sup>508</sup> E.g. Holmqvist 1954:278; Eggers 1964:38.

<sup>509</sup> Holmqvist 1954:287 n. 56.

<sup>510</sup> Cosack 1979:50, 80f, pl. 62:1–2.

<sup>511</sup> Eggers 1953:87; Bełkowska 1986:88.

<sup>512</sup> Verma 1989:17.

<sup>513</sup> Verma 1989:79–83 (fig. 20), 93.

know of Roman metalwork decorated with chevrons, such as provincial Roman fibulae dated to the Early Roman Iron Age.<sup>514</sup>

The spicatum pattern, which decorates the beakers from Lubieszewo (Lübsow), Dollerupgård and Łęg Piekarski 2, is sometimes considered a crude imitation of the classical laurel leaf pattern, as seen for instance on the beakers from grave 1 at Lubieszewo (Lübsow, site Sandberg) and the smooth beaker from Hildesheim and the beaker from Byrsted.<sup>515</sup> However, we may also observe the pattern on other forms of metalwork in the Germanic area, such as the Rollenkappen fibulae,<sup>516</sup> as well as on North Germanic snakehead rings.<sup>517</sup>

Furthermore, cross-hatching is a pattern observable on metalwork found in both the Roman and the Germanic area. We see it on the vessels from Łęg Piekarski 3 and Dollerupgård, and in this case they are often characterized as “barbaric”.<sup>518</sup> However, the motif is also found on a small bowl from Hildesheim.<sup>519</sup>

One of the claimed characteristics of silver vessels dealt with in this chapter is the lack of plastic elements in the decoration, a trait that is common on Roman silver vessels of the early Imperial period.<sup>520</sup> This is yet another customary argument for a Germanic, barbaric, origin of the vessels. However, there is one exception to this. The ring terminals on the handles of the Dollerupgård vessels have the shape of a three-dimensional animal heads with a distinct muzzle. The design of the animal head may also be found on some of the North and East Germanic snakehead rings dated to the first and second centuries AD.<sup>521</sup> Despite Voss’s doubts concerning the origin of the Dollerupgård style of animal heads, which he would rather refer to bronze mountings found in Noricum,<sup>522</sup> its composition is generally regarded as a native Germanic feature.<sup>523</sup>

From this review it is clear that previous research on the subject is characterized by a hierarchical division between the genuine original on the one hand and the simple copy in the other. This often unspoken bias has several consequences for the interpretations of the vessels, and thus also for the larger social reconstructions of the period in question, in which these interpretations are a building block.

In my opinion, it is difficult to gain a general understanding of the similarity between decorative motifs on presumably Germanic and Roman objects (which design was first?; who influenced whom?; etc.) just by sporadic analyses of single details. We may establish that there are similarities in both the technical workmanship (such as the form of the vessels, and punching as a method of decoration) and some of the decorative motifs. We can possibly claim that the punching technique itself was first developed in Roman workshops. Based on this traditional perspective we find no sharp boundaries between Germanic and Roman techniques or ornamentation. And this is a fascinating and viable conclusion in itself, but it is highly dependent on which

<sup>514</sup> Cosack 1979:pl. 79:1–2.

<sup>515</sup> E.g. Ekholm 1934:361; Stupperich 1997a:21.

<sup>516</sup> Cosack 1979:pl. 10:1, 60:8.

<sup>517</sup> Verma 1989:66.

<sup>518</sup> E.g. Wielowiejski 1990:207.

<sup>519</sup> Hitzl *et al.* 1997:42.

<sup>520</sup> E.g. Ekholm 1934:362.

<sup>521</sup> Voss 1949:266–269.

<sup>522</sup> Voss 1949:269f.; cf. Verma 1989:85–88 and cited literature.

<sup>523</sup> E.g. Holmqvist 1954:287, n. 58; Künzl 1988a:44f.; 1988b:549;.

contextualization the researchers choose to make; that is, which archaeological material the objects are compared with. When it comes to the silver vessels dealt with here and the composition of their geometrical decoration we must, in my opinion, acknowledge their difference from minor metalwork of both Roman and Germanic origin. The individual elements of the decoration are in themselves nothing special, i.e. there is nothing culturally distinctive in the punching or engraving of a triangle, X-shaped cross or a chevron. Neither does the fact that single elements like this appear in different geographical areas necessarily indicate places of origin or networks of social interaction. In order to discuss problems and questions of this nature, and arrive at a more dynamic picture that allows for perspectives on culturally embedded interpretation and transformation, we need to widen our scope of analysis and instead focus on the combinations and placement of the decorations on the vessels. The different design elements, such as triangles, X-shaped crosses and spicatum patterns, have been transformed on the vessels and brought together into compositions of a kind we do not find on other metalwork of the period. I argue that previous research has been too limited in its analyses of different design traits, and that by widening our contextualization beyond the most customary comparisons and references we may gain a view of a much more multi-layered state of things.

Kunkel, in his work on grave 2 at Lubieszewo (Lübsow), noted early on that the decorative elements on the silver vessels gave a cohesive impression. He wrote that the spicatum pattern at first glance might appear as the mock-up of the classical laurel leaf pattern. But, as he explained further, “bei genauerem Zusehen aber vereinigen sich die verschiedenen Zierelemente zu einer solchen Geschlossenheit des Stiles, daß schwerlich irgendein Bestandteil als Fremdkörper empfunden werden dürfte.”<sup>524</sup> I would like to follow up this statement and argue that the primary comparative material to further our understanding of these silver vessels is the native Germanic pottery. It is in this medium that we find comparable decorative elements that give the same cohesive impression. That similarity exists between the ornamentation on the silver vessels and that of the native pottery is not a novel statement but something claimed by several other scholars who argue for a Germanic origin of the silver vessels.<sup>525</sup> However, previously made comparisons, like the comparisons with contemporary metalwork, have focused on the individual details separated from their context instead of on the composition of decorative elements. By doing this they have often overlooked the most striking parallels.

In the following I will focus on the arrangement of decorative elements into compositions and their place on the vessels. Reviewing the design arrangements on the silver vessels, we see the following configurations:<sup>526</sup>

- *Spicatum band on the upper part of the vessel.* This pattern may be either in the shape of a simple serial repetition along a straight line with no change in orientation, as on the vessel from Lubieszewo (Lübsow), or in the shape of slide reflection where the pattern repeatedly changes orientation, as on the vessels from Łęg Piekarski 2. The

<sup>524</sup> Kunkel 1927:122.

<sup>525</sup> E.g. Wielowiejski 1985:223; Künzl 1988a:42; 1988b:549.

<sup>526</sup> These do not pertain to the silver handle found in grave 430 from Czarnówko. Although the punched triangles put it very close to the beakers from grave 2 at Lubieszewo (Lübsow), this feature cannot be compared to the prominent geometric compositions on the rest of the silver vessels.



latter style is similar to the slide-reflected spicatum pattern in the ornamental field on the vessels from Dollerupgård.

- *Chevron pattern creating a row of pendant or standing triangles.* This may be seen on the vessels from Lubieszewo (Lübsow) with their punched triangles in a serial repetition below the spicatum-engraved band, creating a row of pendant triangles pointing down towards the belly of the vessel. The same pattern is also present on the vessels from Dollerupgård with their gold foil triangles in a serial repetition below the slide-reflected spicatum band that is part of a larger ornamental field, also pointing down across the belly of the vessel. Also the decoration on the fragment from Tzum, with filled triangles forming a pendant sequence (although between two decorative bands) may be interpreted in the same manner. On the feet of the repaired beakers from Byrsted, on the other hand, the motif is reversed, creating a row of standing triangles.
- *Cross-hatched band under the rim.* This pattern is seen engraved on the vessels from Łęg Piekarski 3. A similar cross-hatched field is found on the ornamental field of the Dollerupgård vessels.
- *Zonal or metope-like frieze under the rim.* This pattern is in the shape of a wide horizontal border with segmented ornamentation combining several different motifs. It may be seen on the vessels from Dollerupgård, on which the zones are filled with cross-hatching, x-formed crosses, chevrons, spicatum patterns, as well as fields with short vertical lines.

Comparable patterns, and comparable arrangements, can be found when reviewing contemporary as well as pre-dating pottery from the Germanic area.

## 4.3 THE GERMANIC POTTERY

Many of the ceramic vessels that display the above-mentioned decorative compositions are made of dark and polished fabric, so-called fine ware. The decoration is engraved, pricked or applied through finger impressions. In most cases the ornamentation is restricted to the upper sections of the vessels, highlighting the shoulders, neck and rim. The most compelling parallels for the ornamentation are found on funerary pottery.

### 4.3.1 CHEVRON PATTERNS

There is a vast variety of chevron patterns on pottery all over the Germanic area, in both pre-Roman and Roman periods.<sup>527</sup> Indeed, the chevron design appears to be the underpinning of most other decorative motifs, such as the spicatum patterns, cross-hatchings and X-shaped crosses. Its basic element consists of one or more oblique lines

<sup>527</sup> May also be called “zigzag” in English, or “Zickzack-” or “Winkelbandverzierung” in German.



that are arranged in a slide reflection to create a repetitive V-shaped pattern, and the variation of its execution is abundant. Often it traces a path between two parallel lines and thus forms a band, but also common is the chevron located under a line or a band, similar to the patterns created by gold foil or triangular stamps on the silver vessels from Dollerupgård and Lubieszewo (Lübsow). This latter version is plentiful in both Pre-Roman and Early Roman times in the entire Germanic area (fig. 4.9).<sup>528</sup>

One of the more important parallels to the pendant triangles on the beakers from Dollerupgård is found in the same grave, namely, two ceramic bowls decorated with a comparable chevron pattern and arranged together with the two silver beakers (fig. 4.10). Even the execution of the pendant triangles gives the same impression as those on the silver beakers; the surface inside the pendant triangles is coarse while the body is polished and smooth, which creates a contrast in texture between the decoration and the rest of the vessel.<sup>529</sup>

Other comparable examples may be found on the pottery from the princely grave in Hoby (Denmark), dated to period B1. Here, two of the vessels are decorated on the shoulders by lines and dots in the shape of a border and pendant triangles (fig. 4.11). Joined to the tip of the triangles on one of these vessels were concentric circles made of dots, forming a comparable pattern to the one on the feet of the Byrsted beakers (although reversed).<sup>530</sup> Triangles with joint dots are a frequent feature on pottery, as well as in punched triangle motifs on Germanic metalwork from the period.

Further parallels to the pendant triangle motif are found on footed beakers dated to the Early Roman Iron Age, for instance the beaker from a grave in Sarnow in Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania (Germany). It was decorated with a horizontal border of alternating incised lines and dotted rows, and below this a dotted chevron pattern creating the characteristic pendant triangles. The form of the vessel shows similarities with pottery from both the North and the East Germanic area.<sup>531</sup>

Sometimes the zones defined by the chevron are filled with dots, oblique lines, concentric semicircles etc., thus creating a sequence of zigzag-based triangles, much like the serial repetition of triangles on the vessels from Byrsted, Dollerupgård and Lubieszewo (Lübsow).<sup>532</sup> In some cases the triangles are filled with a tree-like pattern, thus resembling the decoration found on the vessel fragment from Tzum. Examples of the latter type of pattern, dating to the Pre-Roman as well as Roman periods, may be found in many parts

<sup>528</sup> E.g. Hougen 1924:36, fig. 23; Bøe 1931:37, fig. 34; 39, fig. 38; Müller 1933:27, fig. 37, 53, fig. 67, 72, fig. 108; von Uslar 1938:pl. 41:4; Albrechtsen 1956:204, fig. 50:e, h; von Müller 1957:16f.; Behrends 1968b:pl. 262:2314; Bantelmann 1971:pl. 32:251, pl. 35:273; Wegewitz 1972:pl. 111–124; Keiling 1984:pl. 9:37, 9:40, 12:62; Müller 1985:105–109, fig. 16–20; Christensen 1988:pl.5:66, pl. 7:89; Wołagiewicz 1997:pl. VIII:72, XVI:123A; G. Bemann 1999:pl. 86:579, 96:6361, 102:664; Eger 1999b:pl. A.

<sup>529</sup> Voss & Ørsnes-Christensen 1949:226, fig. 12.

<sup>530</sup> Friis Johansen 1923:151; Jørgensen 1992:169, fig. 1; cf. Putensen grave 371 for an example of standing triangles crowned by dotted circles on a vessel dated to the Pre-Roman Iron Age (Wegewitz 1972:pl. 68:371); cf. also the urn from grave 1 at Kostolná Pri Dunaji in western Slovakia, dated to the Early Roman Iron Age and decorated with a chevron pattern on its foot, comparable to the beakers from Byrsted (Kolník 1980:pl. LXXV:1).

<sup>531</sup> von Müller 1957:14, pl. 7 g; cf. Ejstrud & Kjeld Jensen 2000:181.

<sup>532</sup> E.g. Albrechtsen 1968:pl. 116:e.

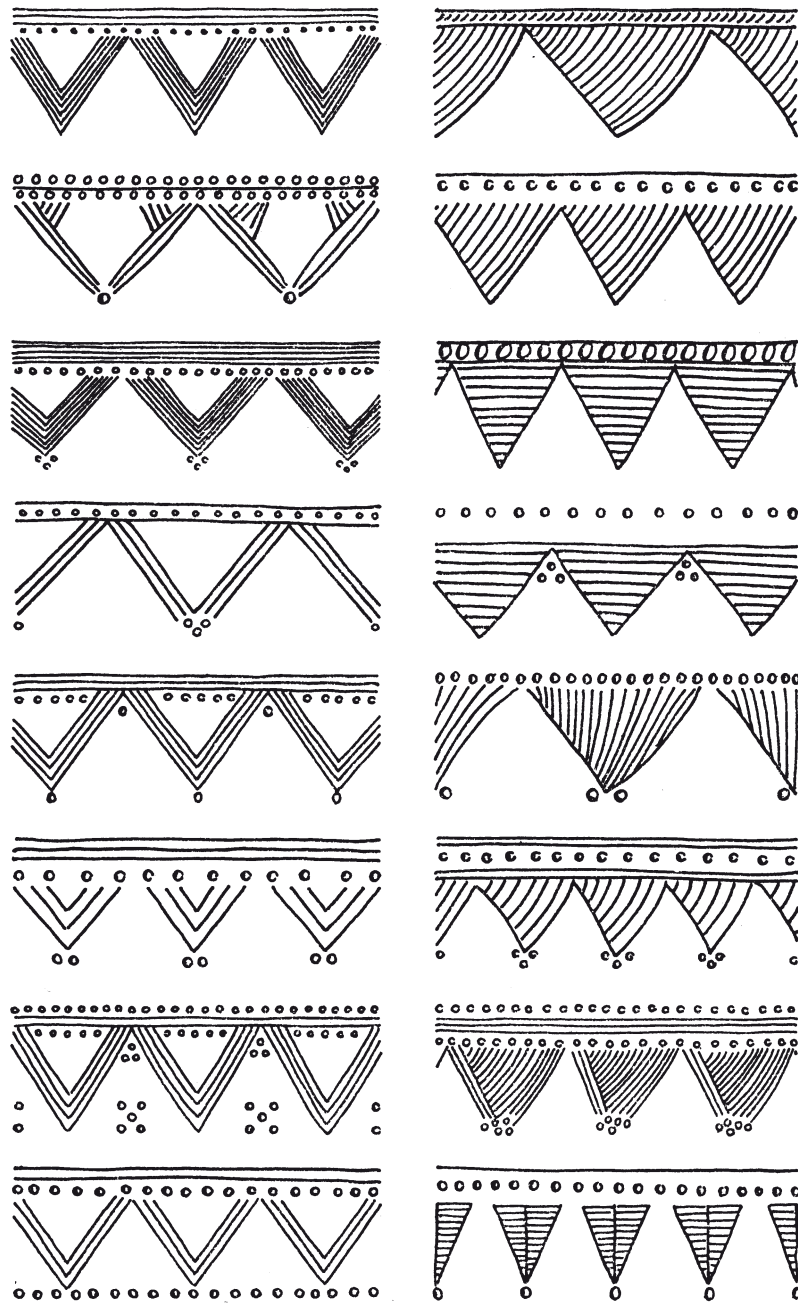
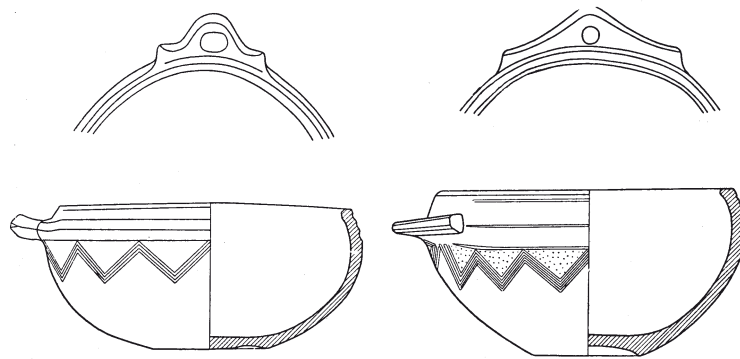


Fig. 4.9 Pendant triangles on Pre-Roman pottery from the Lower Saale and Middle Elbe area (after Müller 1985:107 fig. 18; Landesamt für Denkmalpflege und Archäologie Sachsen-Anhalt).

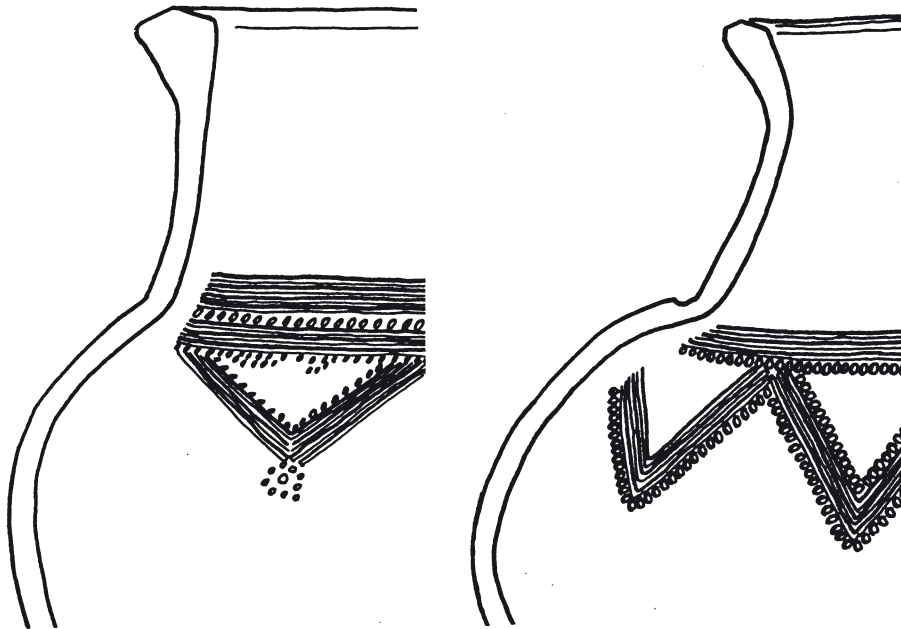
of the Germanic area.<sup>533</sup> The tradition of decorating vessels with chevrons below the rim may also be seen on several drinking horns from the same period. A good example of this is found in grave 1 at Lubieszewo (Lübsow, site Sandberg), where two horns were decorated with a chevron pattern on a silver band right below the mouths of the vessels.<sup>534</sup>

<sup>533</sup> E.g. Klindt-Jensen 1950:73, fig. 43a; Albrechtsen 1954:89; Keiling 1984:92, pl. 24:138, 138, pl.70:528; Müller 1985:105, fig. 16; G. Bemmman 1999:pl. 101:662.

<sup>534</sup> Pernice 1912:142.



*Fig. 4.10 Two of the ceramic vessels from Dollerupgård, Kolding Municipality, Region South Denmark, Jutland, decorated with pendant triangles. Scale 1:4 (after Voss & Ørsnes-Christensen 1948:226 fig. 12 c-e).*



*Fig. 4.11 Two of the ceramic vessels from Hoby, Lolland Municipality, Region Zealand in Denmark, decorated with pendant triangles (after Jørgensen 1992:169 fig. 1 c-d).*

### 4.3.2 SPICATUM PATTERNS

The spicatum pattern, consisting of two horizontally reflected bands with oblique lines in serial repetition, is also frequent on Germanic pottery.<sup>535</sup> Sometimes the pattern may also change direction at intervals, creating a slide reflection. It usually runs as a

<sup>535</sup> May also be called “fishbone” or “herringbone” pattern in English, or “Tannenzweig-” or “Fischgerätmuster” in German.

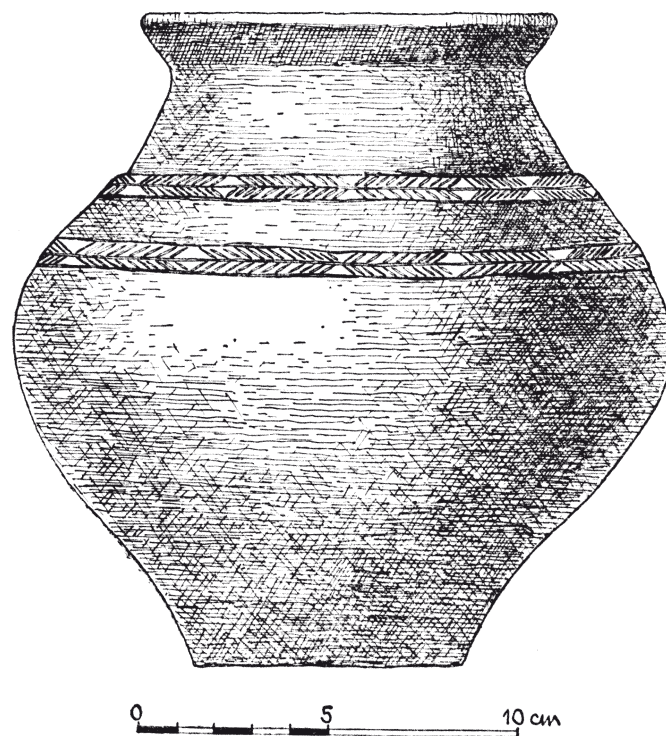


Fig. 4.12 One of the ceramic vessels from Łęg Piekarski 3, 1947/1975, district of Dobra, Greater Poland Province, decorated with a spicatum pattern that change orientation at intervals (after Abramowicz et al. 1960:pl. 26:2 fig 10).

border on the neck or along the shoulder of the vessels, but it may also form the filling of other contemporary decorative patterns, such as swastikas or meanders.<sup>536</sup>

The spicatum may be observed on pottery from the entire Germanic area. We find it on both Pre-Roman and Roman Iron Age pottery in the East and North Germanic areas, as in other regions.<sup>537</sup> One of the most striking parallels to the spicatum bands on the vessels from Łęg Piekarski 2, 1936 and Dollerupgård happens to be found in grave 3, 1947/1975 from Łęg Piekarski, dated to Brc. Here the excavators found two black and polished vessels, one with a spicatum pattern in simple serial repetition, and one with a spicatum pattern that change orientation at intervals (fig. 4.12).<sup>538</sup>

A further interesting parallel is found on a ceramic vase from an Early Roman Iron Age grave in Jåberg in Sandefjord, Vestfold County (Norway). It was decorated on the shoulder by chevron pattern underneath a spicatum band, closely resembling the compositions on the silver vessels from Dollerupgård and Lubieszewo (Lübsow).<sup>539</sup>

<sup>536</sup> E.g. Dąbrowska 1997:pl. LIX:113:5; Eger 1999b:pl. 26:125; Ziemińska-Odojowa 1999:pl. XV:43; Machajewski 2001:pl. IV.30.1.

<sup>537</sup> E.g. Bøe 1931:39, fig. 38; von Uslar 1938:48 n. 122; Klindt-Jensen 1950:69-73; Bantelmann 1971:pl. 5:30, pl. 17:128; Wegewitz 1972:pl. 29:125; Keiling 1984:pl. 28:137, 86:618, 98:695; Müller 1985:105, fig. 16, 22-23.; Dąbrowska 1997:pl. LVII:109:2, pl. LXXIV:139:2, pl. LXXXV:157:4, pl. CLIX:348:6; Andrzejowski 1998: pl. II:4:1, pl. IV:5:3, pl. LXIII:105:1; Godłowski & Wichman 1998:pl. XLII:4; G. Bemann 1999:pl. 83:562; Ziemińska-Odojowa 1999:pl. LXXIX:12, pl. CXI:6, pl. CXXI:31.

<sup>538</sup> Leciejewicz 1957:105, 108, fig. 12 & 13.

<sup>539</sup> Hougen 1924:37, fig. 23; Bøe 1931:39, fig. 38.

### 4.3.3 CROSS-HATCHING

Cross-hatched bands are not as common as the other patterns. Sometimes referred to as “Kreuzbandschraffur” in German, they often appear as the juxtaposition of several multi-lined chevrons, creating an intertwined, net-like pattern. Cross-hatching may be found on vessels from the entire Germanic area, dated to both Pre-Roman and Early Roman periods (fig. 4.13).<sup>540</sup>

### 4.3.4 ZONAL OR METOPE-LIKE FRIEZES

The zonal or metope-like friezes are an elaborate form of decoration created by combining several zones of ornamentation. These are in turn filled with different kinds of motifs, such as chevrons, spicatum patterns, cross-hatching, X-shaped crosses etc., similar to the decoration on the vessel from Dollerupgård.

These friezes on the upper section of the vessel body are most common in the East Germanic area, and we find this in both Pre-Roman and Early Roman periods (fig. 4.14).<sup>541</sup> However, versions of this pattern are also found on pottery in the Elbe and North Germanic areas, which indicates that versions of this composition existed here as well (fig. 4.15).<sup>542</sup>

## 4.4 THREADS OF INFLUENCE

Based on the review above, I have found it important to make an analytic distinction between form, the technical production of form, the technical production of ornamentation, the motifs and the composition of motifs. Looking more closely at the different design elements on the silver vessel, I argue that we can see no less the six different threads of influences:

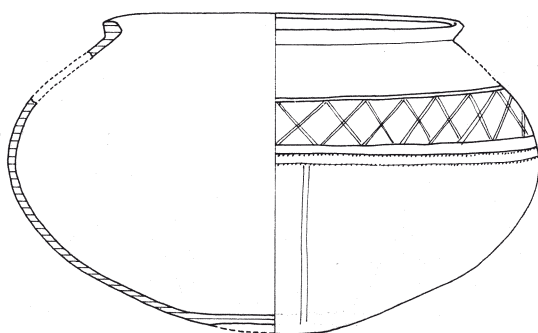
- *The form of the vessels*, which alludes to a Greco-Roman style of vessel.
- *The technical production of the vessels*, which is done in a way that differs from Greco-Roman traditions and is most likely embedded in local craft traditions.
- *The punching technique*, whose origin is difficult to locate. It occurs frequently on Germanic metalwork, but since some of the earliest punch-decorated objects are of

<sup>540</sup> E.g. Wegewitz 1972:pl. 72:431, pl. 79:511; Dąbrowska 1997:pl. VII:9:1, pl. XXIII:46:5, pl. XXVIII:146:11, pl. LVI:104:9; pl. LXXVIII:146:11, pl. CLI:334:3; Pietrzak 1997:pl. XIX.70.1, pl. XCVII.274.1; Eger 1999b:pl. 36:197; Ziemińska-Odojowa 1999:pl. CCXIX:619:11.

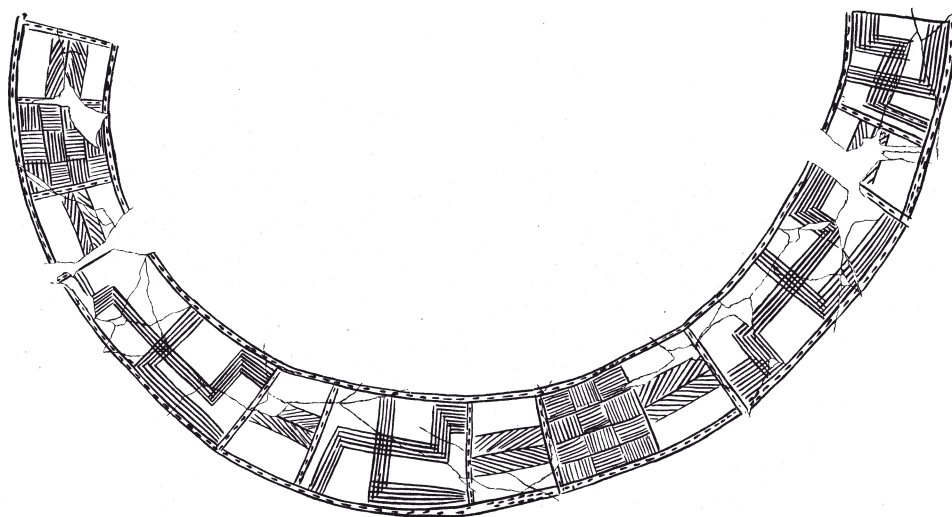
<sup>541</sup> E.g. Dąbrowska 1997:pl. XIV:27:3, pl. LIX:113:5, pl. CLVI:344:14, pl. CLIX:348:6; Pietrzak 1997:pl. XXIX:100:1, pl. LVII:161:1; pl. CXXXV:446:1; Andrzejowski 1998:pl. IV:5:1, pl. XII:13:1a, pl. XIII:16:1; Machajewski 2001:pl. VIII.54.1, pl. XII.71.1, pl. XVIII.77.1

<sup>542</sup> E.g. Müller 1933:62, fig. 79; Klindt-Jensen 1950:65, 66, 69-73; Becker 1961:Pl. 79:n, pl. 115:a, pl. 121:3:a; Wegewitz 1972:pl. 110:681; Keiling 1984: 81, pl. 13:71, 128, pl. 60:445; Müller 1985:110, fig. 21, 280, pl. 77:8; G. Bemann 1999:pl. 8:46, 69:483.

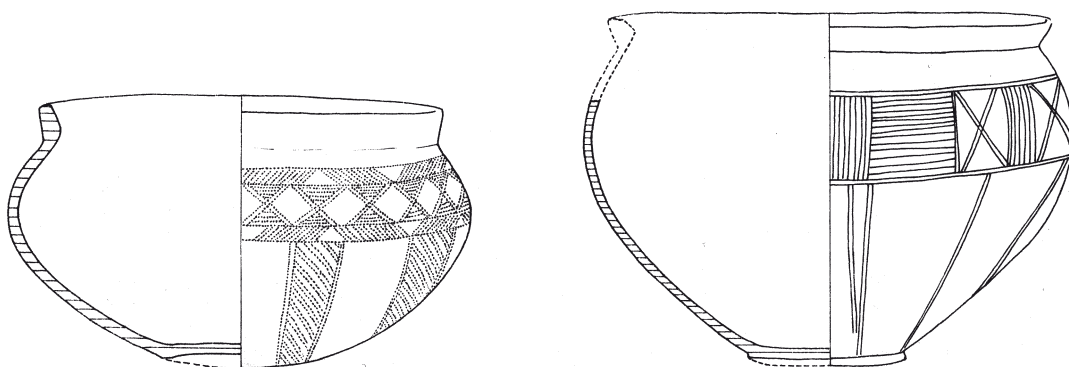




*Fig. 4.13 Example of a vessel decorated with cross-hatching from the Pre-Roman Iron Age cemetery at Wiebendorf, District of Ludwigslust, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania in Germany. Scale 1:4 (after Keiling 1984:pl. 26:160).*



*Fig. 4.14 Zonal or metope-like decoration on a Late Pre-Roman vessel from Suckschin, Gdansk County, Pomerania Province in Poland. No scale (after La Baume 1934:107 fig. 51:d).*



*Fig 4.15 Zonal or metope-like decoration on two Pre-Roman vessels from Wiebendorf, District of Ludwigslust, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania in Germany. Scale 1:4 (after Keiling 1984:pl. 3:10; pl. 60:445).*



Roman origin it is likely that the technique itself originally developed within the Empire.

- *The design of the punched motifs*. I would argue that there are structural differences between the way the punched motifs are outlined on objects of Germanic manufacture and the way they are outlined on Roman objects. Even though particular punched motifs on the silver vessels (such as triangles and rosettes) are also found on presumed Roman metalwork, their composition on the silver vessels follows the design vocabulary found in Germanic metalwork. This becomes apparent when we widen our scope of analysis from the isolated motifs and rather look at how they are combined and placed on the objects.
- *The use of leaf gold*, which is the characteristic form of gilding on Germanic metalwork.
- *Geometric patterns*, which are characteristic of both Germanic metalwork and pottery decoration during the period in question.
- *The composition of geometric patterns*, which allude to similar compositions in Germanic pottery.

These strands show that the general shape of the silver vessels, and some of the decorative techniques used on them, were associated with metalwork within the Roman Empire, while, at the same time, the style and composition of the decoration alluded to indigenous traditions in, above all, pottery. We have seen how comparable compositions in decorative compositions were used on Germanic fine ware pottery over a very long period of time. Some of them can be traced back to pre-Roman pottery and down into the Bronze Age, possibly even further. In other words, the silver vessels display a similar design vocabulary to that used on earlier and contemporary pottery of local manufacture. From this we may argue that they were rooted in the local context in which they were found and consequently cannot be interpreted as simple and imperfect imitations of Roman material culture. Rather, we may argue that, through their design, the vessels alluded both to material culture from distant places and to the past by making reference to older, local traditions. They thus give the impression of a cultural mindset where different threads of influences could converge and coexist without necessarily creating a conflict between them – a form of categorical extension where the craftsmen (and possibly also the users) created a functional, and possibly also a symbolic, link between local and foreign vessels. The question we then have to ask ourselves is whether we see in the silver vessels an instinctive or intentional combination of design elements, and within what cultural environment it was possible for these threads to intertwine.

## 4.5 CRAFT TRADITIONS AND ROMANIZATION

The study of how cultural traits and styles are transmitted across time and space, and how craft traditions change, has always had a central place in archaeological research. However, in studies on the Roman Iron Age, particularly on the presence of vessels of Roman manufacture outside the Empire, most of the attention has focused on the transmission of culture and tradition, without discussing the process whereby cultural traits are appropriated. This question is, nevertheless, brought to the fore by the silver

vessels treated in the present study, since they display influences from a Greco-Roman style of vessels but were most likely manufactured in a local environment, either on a single site or in a number of interconnected workshops.<sup>543</sup> Since elements do not move about of their own accord, it is social relationships that stand at the heart of appropriation. It is therefore important to consider the artisan and the cultural, social, and also intellectual, environment, he/she worked in. In the following I attempt an approach to both the manufacturer's and the user's perspective, and the dialectic relationship between the two. This is in contrast to the discussions of the imported vessels, where the craftsman, the manufacturing process and the craft traditions it builds on are no longer part of the picture in the same creative way when the objects appear beyond the boundaries of the Empire. In those cases, the focus must rather be on the users (and interpreters) of the material culture. In order to understand the background to the appearance of the silver vessels analysed in this case study, we must broach the questions of craft tradition and the craft process: Who was the craftsman and who had control over the production? Who impelled the development in design and in which socio-cultural environment did this design appear?

#### 4.5.1 THE ITINERANT ARTISAN

I have already referred to the Roman Iron Age as the period when we see the beginnings of a distinctive Germanic craftsmanship and design, particularly within gold- and silverwork. The archaeological material from this period, regarding the objects themselves, their quality and their distribution, seems to indicate the appearance of more professional artisans who worked separately from the common household crafts. Likely, these artisans were not only specialized on precious metals, but also on bronze and iron.<sup>544</sup>

The emergence of the artisan as a social category has given rise to a number of questions regarding his/her position in society. These discussions have mainly revolved around two lines of interpretation: one where the artisan is interpreted as a free person of high social status, who travelled between different seats of power, and another where the artisan is interpreted as an unfree person without legal rights, who was tied to, and dependent upon, a social elite. These two modes of interpretation have been criticized by several scholars because of their one-sidedness, and it has been suggested that the prehistoric social reality was probably much more complex and varied.<sup>545</sup> But the question of the artisan's social position and agency is still important since it affects the way we perceive how craft traditions were passed along, and who we consider to be the prime mover in the development of the design idiom.

A strong argument for the mobility of the artisan between different locales and between different patrons is the similarities visible in the metalwork over large areas. The

<sup>543</sup> Belkowska 1986:88.

<sup>544</sup> Cf. Cosack 1979:82; von Carnap-Bornheim 2001:263. The emergence of professional artisans is most clearly reflected in the scrap metal finds at the so-called *central places* which appear in the Late Roman Iron Age, indicating the development of centralized metal workshops under the control of an elite (e.g. Lund Hansen 2001b).

<sup>545</sup> Cf. Andersson 1995:115f; von Carnap-Bornheim 2001:263–267 with ref.

fact that certain components, e.g. the appearance and manufacture of particular decorative elements, appear on different categories of objects suggests a common design vocabulary and shared technical skills, which were most likely not transmitted solely through the trade and exchange of objects, but through personal encounters between people where information and knowledge was exchanged. In connection with this, it is relevant to discuss the presumed Roman techniques and design elements that appear within indigenous craft production of the period. P. Hammer and H.-U. Voß pointed to several elements and techniques in Germanic crafts with clear parallels within the Roman Empire. According to them, detailed knowledge of Roman crafts was visible in the sophistication by which the presumed Germanic artisans combined different alloys with the appropriate manufacturing techniques, coupled with the methods they used for decoration and finishing.<sup>546</sup> A comparable argument was put forward by R. Stupperich, who claimed that the local repairs which are visible on some of the imported Roman vessels give us an idea of the level of technical skill among the Germanic artisans. As an example he mentioned the bronze pail of Eggers type 46 that was found at Öremölla in Scania (Sweden; see appendix 2, no. 221), and which had been repaired with new, separately manufactured, handle attachments in the shape of human faces.<sup>547</sup> Similar expressions are also known from the Late Roman Iron Age, and appear for instance in von Carnap-Bornheim's analyses of the *phalera* from Thorsberg which show that specific Roman tools were used by the, according to him, Germanic artisans to produce the decoration.<sup>548</sup>

These factors raise the question of how the Roman design elements spread to the Germanic peoples. According to Stupperich, the similarities between Roman and Germanic products may be the result of artisans who had acquired their skills in Roman service, and who then, either voluntary or involuntary, serviced as smiths for Germanic patrons.<sup>549</sup> Von Carnap-Bornheim referred to the account of Tacitus on Roman tradesmen who resided at the court of Maroboduus in Bohemia. Tacitus wrote:

Among the Gotones was a youth of good family, named Catualda, exiled some time ago by the arms of Maroboduus, and now, as his fortunes waned, emboldened to revenge. With a strong following, he entered Marcomanian territory, seduced the chieftains into complicity, and burst into the palace and adjoining fortress. There they discovered the ancient Suebian spoils, together with a number of sutlers and traders out of the Roman provinces, drawn from their respective homes and implanted on hostile soil first by the commercial privileges, then by the lure of increased profits, and finally by oblivion of their country.<sup>550</sup>

According to von Carnap-Bornheim, the itinerant tradesmen from the Roman Empire, like the itinerant Germanic artisans, may have been important for the exchange of craft skills.<sup>551</sup> O. Klindt-Jensen, for instance, stated that if the vessels from Dollerupgård, Læg

<sup>546</sup> Hammer & Voß 1997.

<sup>547</sup> Stupperich 1995:75; 1997a:20.

<sup>548</sup> von Carnap-Bornheim 1997:83-92; 2001:269-271.

<sup>549</sup> Stupperich 1997a:19.

<sup>550</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 2.62.

<sup>551</sup> von Carnap-Bornheim 2001:271f.

Piekarski and Lubieszewo were manufactured in Germania Magna, then they must have been the result of schooling by Roman artisans.<sup>552</sup> The question of which people partook in the exchange and spread of craft skills, whether they were Romans or Germans, is however a difficult one since we cannot equate the objects of Roman manufacture, or objects that display Roman design elements, with the presence of persons deriving from the Roman Empire.

There are, however, valid arguments for the metal smiths having been closely associated with the upper stratum of the Germanic societies. The most obvious one is the fact that objects of gold and silver appear in the richly furnished graves of the period; in other words associated with a segment in society that was able to acquire and deposit large quantities of precious metals. The silver beakers treated in this chapter predominantly appear in graves of the Lübsow type. According to Eggers, the graves at Lubieszewo indicated a *manorial site* that would have functioned as a centre for trade and also housed a workshop for the gold objects deposited in the graves, among other things the gilded silver vessels from grave 2 at site Tunnehult. He argued that the vessels found in this grave were manufactured by craftsmen who were associated with the elite at the site, and that this elite offered them protection as well as a market for their products.<sup>553</sup> Comparably, scholars like Stupperich argued that craftsmen in the Early Roman Iron Age were tied to the courts of the Germanic chieftains.<sup>554</sup> This line of interpretation is however problematic regarding the Early Roman Iron Age, since there are no actual remains of either the manorial site itself in Lubieszewo or the workshop, and it is purely based on the graves and their content.<sup>555</sup> What the grave finds do indicate is that the outlet for the craft products (i.e. the silver vessels) was in a portion of society that had access to objects of Roman manufacture and could afford objects manufactured in precious metals. Since evidence suggests that the early parts of the Roman Iron Age were dominated by gift exchange, and that it was not until the Late Roman Iron Age that proper administrative trade developed characterized by central places which promoted long-distance trade and the distribution of local products,<sup>556</sup> then the control over the distribution of precious raw materials was most likely in the hands of the social elite. The major part of the raw materials necessary for gold and silver smithing in this period most likely originated in the Roman Empire, arriving at the richly furnished Germanic graves via the same social networks as objects of Roman manufacture. This points to the artisans' position of dependence on the upper segments of Germanic society.<sup>557</sup> According to P. Ramqvist, the artisans had an important function since they manufactured their social and political symbols.<sup>558</sup> But at the same time, the material displays the spatial mobility of the artisans, since both techniques and design elements appear on various categories of objects spread over vast geographical areas. However, these patterns are not necessarily conflicting, since an unfree artisan could quite well have had a privileged social position and could have been sent by his/her patron to

<sup>552</sup> Klindt-Jensen 1962:214.

<sup>553</sup> Eggers 1953:88; 1964:22.

<sup>554</sup> Stupperich 1997a:21; 1997b:71.

<sup>555</sup> Cf. Lund Hansen 2001b:113f.

<sup>556</sup> E.g. Lund Hansen 1987; Näsman 1990:111; Andersson 1995:117.

<sup>557</sup> Cf. von Carnap-Bornheim 2001:267f.

<sup>558</sup> Ramqvist 1990:60f.

other elites within their social network.<sup>559</sup> We must also acknowledge the possibility that the artisans responsible for these types of craft products, including the silver vessels treated in this chapter, may even have belonged to the social elite themselves.

## 4.6 REFRACTED IDENTITIES

As I have argued, previous research has perceived the silver vessels as simple and of a lesser quality and status than genuine Roman objects. We must therefore ask us whether or not their design was intentional, or if it was the result of a slow process of appropriation. A question that often comes up when one studies this group of vessels, including the vessels from Byrsted, concerns the importance of authenticity for the people in the past. To a great extent, the meaning scholars attribute to objects of Roman manufacture is grounded on an unspoken notion of authenticity. Especially when scholars use the prestige goods model as an interpretative background, and the emphasis it puts on the status-giving qualities of presumed exotic material culture, the value of these objects is generated through their supposed genuine “Roman” nature. In my opinion, this line of interpretation often confuses origin or place of manufacture with aesthetic value, which is most likely due to the rather essentializing view of material culture as I mentioned in the second chapter. This outlook is largely responsible for the vessels discussed in this chapter being interpreted as of lower status, occasionally even forgeries, since they display traits which conflict with the scholars’ preconceived notions of authenticity. According to this way of thinking, imitation represents a form of contamination. However, based on the patterns in material culture in Germania Magna, one may question whether the notion of authenticity is at all applicable in studies of foreign influences. Did the people inhabiting these areas distinguish conceptually between indigenous and Roman-made objects, or could they even have gone so far as to regard the locally produced silver vessels as Roman? These are important questions in this context. Since the authenticity of an object rests in its history, an object is authentic if conceptions of an undisputable origin and history can be tied to it. Authenticity is in other words a question of known pedigree.<sup>560</sup> According to J. Attfield:

Authenticity assures provenance and assumes origins – that the history of the conception and birth of an object, idea or particular individual or group identity can be traced back to a particular place and moment in time of coming into existence.<sup>561</sup>

This, in turn, requires established principles and conventions in the society, which decide what is to be classified as authentic and what are to be regarded as imitations and counterfeits.<sup>562</sup> Consequently, authenticity is not predetermined but rather a relative

<sup>559</sup> von Carnap-Bornheim 2001:268, 276; cf. Andersson 1995:115 f. with ref.

<sup>560</sup> Cf. Douglas 1994.

<sup>561</sup> Attfield 2000:79.

<sup>562</sup> Attfield 2000:78f.



concept that has as much to do with rhetoric as historical facts.<sup>563</sup> In other words, the concept of authenticity is closely linked to a discourse of power; someone decides what is genuine and what is not.

Some scholars, however, emphasize that the distinction between genuine and false is a relatively modern phenomenon which is closely related to a number of events, such as the advent of professional designers, the industrial revolution and the establishment of mechanized crafts, which in turn gave rise to a distinction between mass production and handicrafts, as well as the founding of establishments, such as museums, whose work created the principles and conventions that filtered the false from the genuine. It also relates to the idea that it is possible to create a design that is new and unique without referring to previous models.<sup>564</sup> It is highly unlikely that this outlook on material culture existed in the more distant past. We may, among other things, see that there were no such ideas of authenticity and forgery in the Roman Empire, and that craftsmen instead was inspired by many designs of different origin. This is evident from the relationship between Roman and Greek art, for instance, where classical Greek ideals were mirrored in the neoclassical or idealizing expressions which appeared in the late Republican and early Imperial Period.<sup>565</sup> A similar phenomenon is evident from the relationship between vessels of metal, glass and ceramic in the Roman Empire, where similar design elements, such as relief decoration or cut decoration, appeared in various materials in such a range that it is impossible to determine which category was the original and which was the imitation. It is often concluded that the ceramic vessels imitated the ones made of glass or metal, since ceramic is a simple and inexpensive material. However, objects manufactured of presumably more valuable materials sometimes displayed features that derived from objects and materials of lesser value. This fluidity of the design vocabulary, appearing seemingly effortless on different materials, thus shows that the artistic expressions were much more creative and unregimented than that.<sup>566</sup> In order to understand these expressions we must think beyond our modern society with the professional designers and mechanized production and all this represents.

How then did the local people view the silver vessels discussed in this chapter with regard to the question of authenticity? If we study the find contexts of the vessels it becomes quite clear that they appear in graves also containing vessels of Roman manufacture, such as pails, saucepans, plates, ladles and strainers. It is therefore doubtful that they were forgeries made or commissioned by people without access to the social networks through which objects of Roman manufacture were brought to the local communities, as suggested by some scholars. In my opinion, this indicates that there existed no conflict between the expressions of the locally made silver vessels and the vessels of Roman manufacture. The close association with Roman vessels in the graves shows that they did not necessarily make a conceptual or symbolic distinction between the locally and foreign produced objects, which in turn would indicate the cultural embeddedness of the vessels of Roman origin. When it comes to the design of the vessels themselves, it becomes clear that, despite the allusion to the Greco-Roman form of vessel, it was not a question of a flagrant attempt at forgery. Because the vessels combined

<sup>563</sup> Attfield 2000:79.

<sup>564</sup> Attfield 2000:100f. 102, 117f.

<sup>565</sup> E.g. Gazda 2002; Perry 2002.

<sup>566</sup> E.g. Franken 1997; cf. Gazda 2002; Perry 2002.



different design vocabularies, and thus referred to both indigenous and foreign environments, they formed their own expression that, in my opinion, shows that they were not the result of an attempt to counterfeit a Roman origin.

Based on our knowledge of other Germanic craft products, we may furthermore claim that the indigenous artisans had all the resources and knowledge to be able to manufacture vessels in the same technique and with the same decoration as the Romans.<sup>567</sup> For instance, S. Künzl argued that the manufacture of some of these silver vessels so closely resembled vessels of Roman manufacture that it was unclear until just recently which of them were imports and which were local products.<sup>568</sup> So why did the artisans choose not to make faithful copies? I would argue that the biographies of the silver vessels were rather shaped in a Germanic context. Although part of their meaning may have associated them with the Mediterranean world, their function and meaning was consciously formed in a Germanic context, which is for instance shown in their references to local fine ware ornamentation. The Germanic fine ware is predominantly found in funerary contexts, where the vessels function as ritual containers for the cremated dead or as accompanying grave goods in both cremations and inhumations. Most likely they also had a function outside the funerary context, as drinking vessels or for the service of food compared to the coarse ware pottery used for food preparation and storage. Thus, the biography of the silver vessels was rooted as much in the local drinking, dining, and mortuary contexts as in foreign influences. This manner of appropriation, joining old elements and traditions with new ones, can be traced in almost all material culture production, both past and present. New impulses are refracted, interpreted and rearranged via previous cultural and social structures, and then fused together with these, creating new forms. That is why we sometimes may find threads of continuity, even in seemingly novel or foreign manifestations, like the silver vessels. It is thus important not to jump the gun and uncritically equate new material forms with new meanings. As Hodder puts it, “changes in material culture may often result from different modes of expression (rhetoric) rather than from changes in the narrative content.”<sup>569</sup> A related argument is made by scholars like C. Gosden, who in his study on pots and metal ornaments in Roman Britain emphasized that one of the most significant contexts for an object is other objects of the same form and function, which together create the stylistic universe, or “inter-artifactual domain”,<sup>570</sup> which in turn influence the way objects of this kind are used and interpreted.<sup>571</sup> It is thus unfruitful to hang on to the interpretative dichotomy between local and foreign styles when studying appropriations, since these are scholarly constructs fashioned with the aim of making some sense and order of an otherwise dynamic and muddled reality.<sup>572</sup> And it is highly uncertain whether these modern constructs capture the categorizations made by people in the past. Above we have identified the locally produced fine ware pottery, local metalwork (jewellery, mountings for drinking horns, etc.), and Mediterranean forms of drinking vessels as parts of the stylistic universe from which the silver vessels

<sup>567</sup> Cf. Stupperich 1997a; Voß *et al* 1999.

<sup>568</sup> Künzl 2000:92.

<sup>569</sup> Hodder 1993:270

<sup>570</sup> An expression he borrows from A. Gell (1998:215); cf. Thomas 1991.

<sup>571</sup> Gosden 2005:195, 197.

<sup>572</sup> Cf. Gosden 2005:209.

derived. The local craftsmen thus combined designs, as well as techniques, from many sources into a new type. These vessels, particularly regarding their ornamentation, thus indicate that the line between native and foreign styles was blurred. The fact that the ornamentation may be linked to multiple areas of material culture shows that the locally produced silver vessels were part of a complex of design. The presence of Roman-manufactured objects provided a collection of motifs and shapes from which the artisans could draw inspiration. If we add this to the fact that Roman material culture became more and more common among the Germanic peoples during the course of the Roman Iron Age, it indicates that objects and impulses of Roman origin were integrated within local socio-cultural structures. We may thus argue that the silver vessels were in some respects the continuation of older traditions which had formed partly new ways of expression through the presence of objects of Roman manufacture, but which may not have signified anything “Roman” in our understanding of the word.

#### 4.6.1 AMALGAMATION AND HYBRIDIZATION

If we now argue that the silver vessels were a new form of expression that combined an old design vocabulary with new forms, we must ask why this new rhetoric developed. P. Wiessner stated that “style is a form of non-verbal communication through doing something in a certain way that communicates information about relative identity.”<sup>573</sup> The negotiation of relative identities, i.e. identity that is deconstructed and reworked through the interplay with others, is thus a key notion in this context. And according to Hodder, the role of artefact styles in symbolizing group identity is especially significant when tensions exist between groups.<sup>574</sup> Other scholars, studying colonial contexts, have furthermore observed that phenomena such as imitations, emulations and allusions (often ironical in kind) are common in situations where cultures in their initial stages of independent development seek to assert themselves through the use of structures and traditions from a dominant culture.<sup>575</sup> Could it be, despite the lack of a colonial context in the strictest sense, that the silver vessels with their clear reference to both native and foreign styles, are the products of a comparable competitive discourse?

We know the Late Pre-Roman and Early Roman Iron Age was a politically unstable period in Central Europe as the Romans sought to encompass the Rhine area as well as the lands beyond. The Germanic response to this expansion was one of both cooperation and resistance. It has been suggested that Roman pressures might be the reason behind the *Germanization* of previously non-Germanic features of the Jastorf culture visible in the late La Tène.<sup>576</sup> At the end of the first century BC the Marcomannic leader Maroboduus organized a network of Germanic tribes in order to counter the Roman expansion into the Rhine-Danube basin. According to some scholars, this political confederation stretched from the Elbe in the west to the Vistula in the east, and from the Danube in the south to the Baltic area in the north.<sup>577</sup> On and off, the

<sup>573</sup> Wiessner 1993:107.

<sup>574</sup> Hodder 1979:450.

<sup>575</sup> Granqvist 1995; Bhabha 2004.

<sup>576</sup> Shchukin 1989:32.

<sup>577</sup> E.g. Droberjar 1999.

Marcomannic kingdom would form close ties to the Roman state; occasionally supplying it with troops and helping it protect its borders. It was in this politically volatile environment that the princely grave custom is thought to have developed and in this context I believe the present silver vessels are to be understood.

The classical authors dealing with this period speak of envoys from the Germanic tribes in the area, seeking to negotiate peace with the Roman state. In the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* we read in the words of Augustus who says:

My fleet sailed from the mouth of the Rhine eastward as far as the lands of the Cimbri to which, up to that time, no Roman had ever penetrated either by land or by sea, and the Cimbri and Charydes and Semnones and other peoples of the Germans of that same region through their envoys sought my friendship and that of the Roman people.<sup>578</sup>

Strabo gave a more stern account of this when he wrote:

and they sent as a present to Augustus the most sacred kettle in their country, with a plea for his friendship and for an amnesty of their earlier offences.<sup>579</sup>

This may give us an idea of the relationship between the Germanic tribes and the Romans at the time, as well as the Germanic reaction towards the Roman expansion. Indeed, as I have mentioned previously, many of the finds of silver vessels of Roman manufacture in Germania Magna are, with reference to the account by Tacitus quoted at the beginning of this chapter, interpreted as the result of diplomatic dealings between the Roman and Germanic envoys.<sup>580</sup> By the year 5 AD, the Romans considered the area between the Rhine and Elbe conquered and they began incorporating it into the Roman provincial structure. But the negative reactions to the demands that followed are thought to be one of the reasons behind the rebellion by some Germanic tribes, led by Arminius, against the Roman forces which ended in the legendary battle of the Teutoburg Forest in the year 9 AD. For instance, several historians write that Roman tax collection from the tribes east of the Rhine provoked resistance among a population that was at first willing to accept Roman rule.<sup>581</sup>

The unsteady and antagonistic atmosphere illustrated by the events recounted above is also considered distinguishable in the archaeological record. For instance, Voß interpreted the appearance of richly furnished weapon graves in the first two centuries AD as evidence of the identity production within certain Germanic elite environments. He stated that the interaction between Germanic groups, as well as their confrontation with the Roman culture, gave rise to a number of innovative elite expressions visible in the grave goods. He regarded the similarities, particularly in weaponry and warrior paraphernalia that are found in these graves in Scandinavia, along the Lower Elbe, in the western region of the Przeworsk culture, and in the Middle Danube area in the Early Roman Iron Age, as manifestations of a network of kinship alliances. He furthermore

<sup>578</sup> Aug. *Res Gest.* 5.26.

<sup>579</sup> Strabo 7.2.1.

<sup>580</sup> Künzl 2002:347, n. 131.

<sup>581</sup> Cf. Vell. Pat. 2.117–120; Florus 2.30; Dio Cass. 56.18–24.

linked this grouping to the *superiores barbarii* mentioned in the classical sources, i.e. the Germanic groups who would become responsible for the Marcomannic Wars.<sup>582</sup> Another interesting pattern is the appearance of the Lübsow-group of princely graves mentioned above, in which we find most of the silver vessels of Roman manufacture as well as the silver vessels discussed in this chapter. These graves are primarily located in the Germanic areas east of the Elbe, i.e. in the areas that were not pacified by the Roman forces. The rich furnishings of these graves made an important social statement, in which the silver vessels played a part, as discussed in the previous chapter. I would however suggest that this intentional statement might also have reflected a different political dimension than most often interpreted for this category of graves.

What the period shows us are socio-political situations, formed as a result of the Roman expansion, in which both collaboration and conflict are evident, a period when the Germanic tribes show signs of being receptive to Roman influences in some circumstances, yet resistant in others. It is this complexity that makes me hesitant about the concept of *imitation*. Again, imitation often brings to mind a pure duplication. Human agency, which might lead to transformations in form, function, and/or meaning, is thus ignored. In the light of the archaeological record and its historical context, I argue that the silver vessels should rather be considered as products of *hybridization*. The concept of cultural hybridity, meaning the creation of an amalgamation through the confluence of two or more cultural elements otherwise separated by time or by social or physical space, has become a frequently used notion in post-modern social sciences.<sup>583</sup> Fashioned within the postcolonial discourse out of an anti-essentialist view of culture, it has been used by scholars who seek to break free from misconceptions of cultural purity and capture the fluidity of cultural practices. Postcolonial theory is very much an approach that deals with how identities are constructed and negotiated. It contests the top-down, or giver-receiver, perspective and instead focuses on the dialectic aspects of cultural interaction. Thus, the hybrid product is not a mechanical copy of an original but a synthesis and thereby something unique and original in itself.<sup>584</sup> And an interesting observation made within this theoretical framework is that similarities created through hybridization often do not represent a consolidation but rather the opposite. Through their mere presence, and the cultural space for interpretation and transformation they represent, the hybrids challenge and destabilize the authority and purity of the dominating structure, and may thus be considered a disruptive force that creates a form of rival discourse.<sup>585</sup> And sometimes the similarities and dissimilarities created through hybridization, and the rival discourses that result, may also have an intentional dimension, with allusion as a mode of resistance or mockery.<sup>586</sup> In other words, by “domesticating” foreign cultural elements and fusing them with native ones, the local culture may reaffirm its structures and consequently create an air of continuity and stability, thus adapting to possible social pressures.<sup>587</sup>

<sup>582</sup> Voß 2006:44, 66; 2008:258f.; cf. Stjernquist 1991:52f.; Andersson & Herschend 1997:63; Wells 2003:120f.

<sup>583</sup> E.g. Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 2003:118–121.

<sup>584</sup> Bhabha 2004:162.

<sup>585</sup> Bhabha 2004:55f., 122–128, 172.

<sup>586</sup> Granqvist 1995.

<sup>587</sup> Cf. chapter 2.

These theories offer an interesting perspective on the silver vessels. I suggest, on the basis of the composition of the vessels as well as their cultural and historical contexts, that although the lines between the genealogically different design elements seems to have been blurred, they may not have been totally erased but intentionally capitalized on in response to the turbulence of the period in question. One could also argue that the sentiment behind these silver vessels was passed on to the Late Roman Iron Age, and expressed in the group of indigenously manufactured vessels belonging to type E177.<sup>588</sup> This type was probably manufactured on Zealand in Denmark and may be dated to periods B2–C1a and C1b. They are found at Brokær, Himlingøje 1828–5, Himlingøje 1875–10, Nordrup and Valløby in Denmark, at Godøy in Norway, and at Lilla-Jored and Järnsyssa in Sweden.<sup>589</sup> They deviate even more from the Greco-Roman form of silver vessel, and except for the fragmented vessels from Brokær which were decorated with pendant triangles under a border, these vessels do not allude to the geometric decoration on indigenous pottery in the same way as the vessels discussed in this chapter. Instead they are adorned with embossed figure bands of gilded silver that are predominantly decorated with human and animal figures in relief. Even though the decoration, especially on the beakers from Himlingøje, Nordrup and Valløby, is often tied to the similar decorative friezes on vessels of Roman manufacture (particularly the so-called Hemmoor vessels), the vessels of type E177 are generally regarded as expressions of a more independent and self-confident style, which in turn is thought to reflect the changing political climate of the period.<sup>590</sup>

We may thus imagine practices where native and foreign elements existed side by side and without conflict, and where foreign elements were transformed, melded and unified into an integrated part of the local structure, but without losing some of their perceived foreignness or otherness. These elements became a natural part of local life, but their external genealogies could be conjured up and emphasized in certain situations. However, we must remember that this notion of foreignness may have nothing to do with the image of Rome and Roman culture created through modern research, but was rather a construct based on local preconceptions.

Although the vessels embedded both the local and the distant, they were original in the sense that their meaning cannot be equated with either/or, but rather both at the same time. This fluidity negates the essentialistic perspective that dominates much research and shows the importance of contextualizations in order to understand the function and meaning of foreign objects and influences. Instead of tightly delimited entities we must view the design vocabularies as multilayered. From this viewpoint, Tacitus may have been quite close to the mark in his statement that silver vases and earthenware were treated in the same manner by the Germanic peoples.

<sup>588</sup> Cf. Holmqvist 1954:289; Stupperich 1997a:21; 1997b:72.

<sup>589</sup> E.g. Werner 1941:44–69; Holmqvist 1954; Eggers 1964:66; Lavik 1969; Bełkowska 1986; Rasmussen 1995; Lund Hansen 1995a:237 with ref.; Künzl 1997.

<sup>590</sup> E.g. Eggers 1964:58f.; Lund Hansen 2001b:115; Storgaard 2001:103; 2003.

## 5. SHATTERED BUT NOT BROKEN – THE RITUAL USE OF GLASS SHARDS

**F**ragments are an archaeologist's tools of trade. Through the material remnants – the disintegrated bodies, the waste, the scattered pieces of objects, and the impressions of structures long since gone – we strive to recreate and understand those who once peopled the past. To some this broken scenery represents disorder, something out of place which should be re-assembled and made whole again through careful contextual studies and scientific interpretations. The reason for this is simple. We believe ourselves able to catch a glimpse of functions and meanings still remaining in the pieces, which might be traced back like a trail of breadcrumbs to a whole, unbroken past. This often instinctive sentiment may however be highly problematic in archaeological analysis, as argued by some scholars.<sup>591</sup> A common mistake is when we conceive of broken pieces of objects as something incomplete which must be reassembled and reconstructed into complete objects, perhaps not always physically but conceptually, so that we can gain information from them. The broken pieces are often viewed as transitional, or we interpret them as raw materials, deposited, discarded or lost on their way to be transformed into something else. Viewed from other standpoints, however, there are materials and patterns of deposition that may shift and break down the categories we normally use to sort and classify the material culture of the past.

In this chapter I will explore the intentional use of broken glass vessels in Germanic mortuary practices. In a number of inhumation graves we may observe how solitary shards of glass were deposited on the body or among the grave goods in a manner indicating that they were intentionally placed there as broken pieces. Up until recently when glass shards were found in graves, their fragmented state was rarely given any special interpretative attention. Often they were simply regarded as the presence of Roman imports, and used as a point of reference for dating the find and evaluating the social position of the deceased. This attitude still remains in some areas of research even today. Consequently, published information on the graves, especially catalogues or corpora of Roman imports, frequently lack detailed information on the vessels' physical state and the specific find context within the grave. Instead the shards are quite often treated as vessels. In this chapter I will draw attention to a number of graves where the intentional use of shards of Roman glass shows that this was not always the

<sup>591</sup> E.g. Chapman 2000; Chapman & Gaydarska 2007.



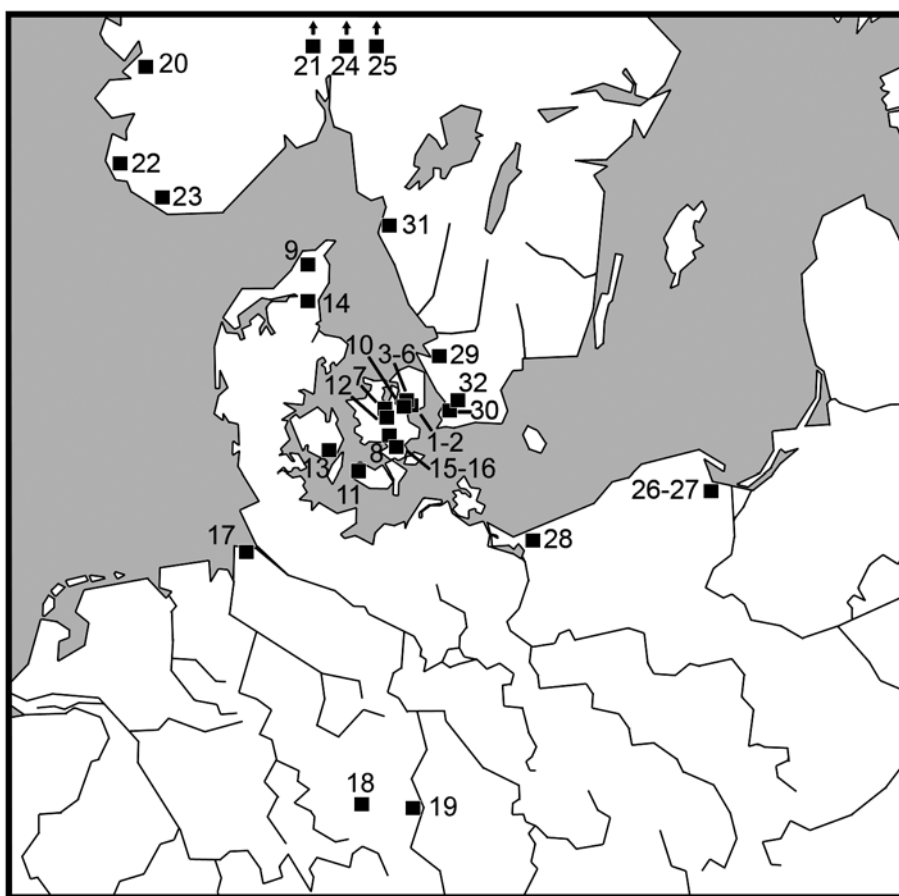


Fig. 5.1 Distribution of graves with intentionally deposited glass shards (numbering corresponds to that in the text).

case. These finds, I argue, will illuminate the shortcomings of “Roman imports” as a category and interpretative concept.

The intentional deposition of glass shards in Germanic graves has been known and discussed by previous scholars over the years, although on a fairly limited scale. The most extensive studies, however, have been made by J.R. Hunter, L. Boye, and most recently by Lund Hansen together with P.O. Rindel. Hunter made the observation that partially broken vessels and solitary shards were deliberately placed, sometimes together with complete glass vessels, in Scandinavian graves.<sup>592</sup> According to him this was a gesture of importance. He argued that “[t]his incompleteness infers that despite their condition they were of some significance and this is a fact which in itself indicates a high value factor in daily life for reasons of either shortage or cost.”<sup>593</sup> He further stated that the presence of glass “either in complete or token form in the burial reflected the comparative wealth of the deceased before death.”<sup>594</sup> Similar ideas have also been put forward by other scholars, occasionally making reference to Hunter.<sup>595</sup> However,

<sup>592</sup> Hunter 1973; 1975; 1977.

<sup>593</sup> Hunter 1977:32; cf. 1975:83.

<sup>594</sup> Hunter 1977:35.

<sup>595</sup> E.g. Näsman 1984:7; Straume 1984:79.

the problem with Hunter's study, as I see it, is that it is based on highly uncertain finds. Through a review of the published graves he referred to, it has been made clear that many of them are destroyed either in part or in whole, inadequately excavated by laymen, poorly documented, or lack information on the position of the fragments in the grave.

In the late 1990s there was a renewed interest in the study of glass shards in graves, largely thanks to the excavation of the Late Roman Iron Age cemetery at Engbjerg in Høje-Taastrup west of Copenhagen (Denmark), where a number of individuals were found buried with shards of glass deposited in their mouths. These graves were published by Boye, who interpreted this special kind of deposition in the light of the Greco-Roman tradition of burying the dead with a Charon's fee.<sup>596</sup> The Charon's fee interpretation was later upheld by Lund Hansen and Rindel in the most recent article on this practice.<sup>597</sup>

Although there is a growing interest in the fragmentation practices involving glass in Germanic graves, we rarely see attempts to understand the depositional patterns in relation to the mortuary practices as a whole, engaging objects of both local and foreign make, as well as other forms of fragmentation practices associated with Germanic mortuary customs in the Roman Iron Age. On the basis of these considerations I will attempt in this chapter to re-evaluate and expand the discussions on the use of glass shards in graves, and see if there are other possible explanations for the practice. What role did the shards of glass play in the mortuary rituals in connection with the deceased and the rest of the material culture of death? What image do we gain of people's relationship to objects of Roman manufacture via the study of their fragmentation as an intentional practice?

## 5.1 SHARDS IN GRAVES

The material in this case study centres primarily on a limited selection of inhumation graves, where an intentional deposition of glass shards may be argued. This selection is mainly based on a close review of a number of published catalogues.<sup>598</sup> Proceeding from these, graves with vessel glass were examined more closely through the referenced literature. I also studied the finds from the Engbjerg cemetery on Zealand (Denmark) meritoriously published by Boye,<sup>599</sup> as well as a number of recently discovered graves containing solitary glass shards, which have not yet been published. The selected graves are fairly well preserved and sufficiently documented, have information on the position of the glass shards, and/or can be argued with some reasonable certainty to have contained glass that was deposited in a fragmented state. For this reason I have omitted cremation graves where fragmented glass vessels are of course also found, but where

<sup>596</sup> Boye 2002a-b.

<sup>597</sup> Lund Hansen & Rindel 2008.

<sup>598</sup> Eggers 1951; Schach-Döriges 1970:161–257; Rau 1972; Hunter 1977; Kunow 1983; Lund Hansen 1987; 1995b; Voß *et al.* 1999:344–349, Fundliste 1; Jacobsson 2000; Tegnér 2005; *CRFB Dr-6*; *CRFB L*; *CRFB Pr*; Hirsch *et al.* 2007.

<sup>599</sup> Boye 2001; 2002a-b; 2004a-b.

it is hard, if not impossible, to determine their original state and whether the glass remains were originally deposited as complete vessels or in pieces on the pyre.<sup>600</sup> I have thus selected a total of 32 inhumations for closer study, deriving from Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Germany and Poland (fig. 5.1; summarized in table 5.1). The number is scant, and there are most likely more finds that could have been included, but the published documentation is often too insufficient. However, I consider the number of graves presented here adequate for the task at hand.

1. *Grave 34 at Ellekilde, Ishøj Municipality, Capital Region of Denmark, Zealand, Denmark*

The inhumation of an approximately 45-year-old man placed in supine position. In his mouth lay a piece of badly preserved glass of indeterminate type. For the rest of the grave goods, see appendix 2, no. 33. The grave is dated to C1b/C2.<sup>601</sup>

2. *Grave 38 at Ellekilde, Ishøj Municipality, Capital Region of Denmark, Zealand, Denmark*

The inhumation of an individual of as yet unclassified sex and age. About 35 cm down, in the centre of the 40 cm deep grave, lay a single shard of cut, yellow-green glass (approx. 2.0 x 2.0 cm). No other glass shards were found, which made the excavators conclude that the shard was deposited as a fragment. Nothing other than a tooth of the skeleton was preserved, which makes it hard to discern the spatial relationship between the shard and the deceased. But since the shard was found in the centre of the grave, it may possibly have been deposited somewhere in the vicinity of the upper body. Other grave goods consisted of a string of glass beads, one half of an amber bead, three ceramic vessels and a poorly preserved bronze fibula. The grave is roughly dated by the excavators to the Late Roman Iron Age.<sup>602</sup>

3. *Grave 4 at Engbjerg, Høje-Taastrup Municipality, Capital Region of Denmark, Zealand, Denmark*

The inhumation of a woman aged 20–40 years, who lay on her side with her legs flexed. Located next to her lower jaw was a single, rectangular shard of green glass (1.11 x 0.6 cm) from a vessel of indeterminate type. It shows signs of having been intentionally cut into a square shape. Other grave goods included a beaded hairnet, a hair pin of silver decorated with gold foil, two beaded necklaces, two spiral finger rings of gold, three small silver fibulae, a large swastika fibula of silver, a spindle whorl and spindle hook of bronze, an intact glass beaker, two pottery vessels and the remains of a pig and a sheep. The grave dates to period C1b/C2.<sup>603</sup>

600 It is however quite possible that the remains of glass so often found in cremation graves were deposited as shards or incomplete vessels, which has been argued by some scholars (e.g. Henriksen 1998:103; Thieme 2000; 2004).

601 The grave was excavated in the autumn of 2007 and has not yet been published. I extend my thanks to museum inspector Rune Iversen, Mag. Art., at Kroppedal Museum for making the information available to me.

602 This grave was also excavated in the autumn of 2007. I again extend my thanks to Rune Iversen at Kroppedal Museum for the unpublished information.

603 Boye 2001:5f.; 2002a:5–7; 2002b:205f.; 2004a:147f.; 2004b:50; Lund Hansen & Rindel 2008:123f.

4. *Grave 6 at Engbjerg, Høje-Taastrup Municipality, Capital Region of Denmark, Zealand, Denmark*

The inhumation of a roughly 50-year-old man placed in a supine position. In his mouth lay a triangular shard of light green glass that is probably a fragment of the foot of a vessel. However, the shape of the vessel is indeterminate. Other grave goods included two pottery vessels. The grave dates to period C1b.<sup>604</sup>

5. *Grave 12 at Engbjerg, Høje-Taastrup Municipality, Capital Region of Denmark, Zealand, Denmark*

The inhumation of a girl, approximately 6–8 years of age, deposited on her side. During sieving of the soil from the area of the skull and chest, three shards of glass were found. The skeleton was not found in an anatomically correct position (e.g. the girl's head had turned around so that the back of the skull was facing up), and this was attributed to an abundance of space in the coffin, causing the bones to fall into disarray as the body decayed. Two of the shards derive from two different vessels of indeterminate type; one is a triangular piece of green glass (0.4 x 0.7 cm), possibly from the foot of a vessel, the other a piece of colourless glass (1.0 x 0.5 cm). The third is a piece of faintly green glass refuse and does not derive from a vessel. It is possible that the three pieces of glass were originally deposited in the mouth of the dead, but it is also quite possible that the shards were placed beside the head or somewhere in the chest area. Other grave goods included a finger ring of gold, a beaded necklace wrapped twice around her neck, two fibulae of silver, a tutulus fibula of gilded silver and a bone comb. The grave dates to period C1b/C2.<sup>605</sup>

6. *Grave 18 at Engbjerg, Høje-Taastrup Municipality, Capital Region of Denmark, Zealand, Denmark*

The inhumation of a 25-year-old woman lying in a slightly crouched position on her left side. A triangular shard of light green glass (1.0 cm on the longest side) from a cup of type Hastrup II<sup>606</sup> was found in her mouth during excavation of the skull. Other grave goods included two silver fibulae, two bronze fibulae, a tutulus fibula of gilded silver, a hair pin of silver, a few amber and glass beads and a bead of gold foil, a spindle whorl of bronze, two pottery vessels and the remains of a sheep. The grave dates to period C1b/C2.<sup>607</sup>

7. *Grave 2 at Haraldsted, Ringsted Municipality, Region Zealand, Zealand, Denmark*

The inhumation of an over 60-year-old person of indeterminable sex,<sup>608</sup> lying in a slightly crouched position on the right side. Between the head and the fingertips of the right hand lay a lone shard of dark green glass (3.0 x 4.4 cm) from a beaker of indeterminate type. According to H. Norling-Christensen the shard was deposited as a fragment. Other grave goods consisted of three bronze fibulae, 59 beads of glass, bronze and amber, two pottery vessels and a comb of bone.<sup>609</sup> The grave is dated to period C3.<sup>610</sup>

604 Boye 2002a:7, 2002b:208; Lund Hansen & Rindel 2008:124.

605 Boye 2002a:7, 2002b:206f.; Lund Hansen & Rindel 2008:127.

606 Cf. Lund Hansen 1987:110, fig. 50.

607 Boye 2002a:7, 2002b:207f.; Lund Hansen & Rindel 2008:124f.

608 Norling-Christensen 1957:16; Sellevold *et al.* 1984:57.

609 Norling-Christensen 1957:15f., 43.

610 Lund Hansen 1987:411.

8. *Grave 2 at Harpelev, Vordingborg Municipality, Region Zealand, Zealand, Denmark*

An inhumation with no preserved skeletal remains. Three shards of yellow-green glass (5.1 x 3.0 cm; 4.5 x 3.0 cm; 3.1 x 2.0 cm) from a drinking horn of type E 247 were found in the grave fill together with shards of pottery, an amber bead and fragments of an hook and eye of silver. Closer to the bottom of the grave lay a silver ring, an amber bead and further fragments of a hook and eye of silver. The grave is dated to period C1b.<sup>611</sup>

9. *Høgsted, Hjørring Municipality, Region North Jutland, Jutland, Denmark*

An inhumation with no preserved skeletal remains. At the head end of the grave the excavators found a single shard of dark green glass (3.4 x 2.0 cm) decorated with white threads. Judging by its position in relation to a silver fibula also found in the grave, the shard was placed in front of the deceased's face. However, since no information is recorded concerning the grave fill it is impossible to determine whether the grave was intact or whether it had been disturbed in the past, causing the fragmentation of the glass. On the other hand, if the glass had shattered due to disturbance of the grave, one would expect more shards to have been found. Other grave goods consisted of a ceramic vessel, an iron knife and a smoothing stone. The grave is dated to period C1b.<sup>612</sup>

10. *Grave 87 at Højbakkegård, Høje-Taastrup Municipality, Capital Region of Denmark, Zealand, Denmark*

An inhumation with a very young individual (0–6 years old<sup>613</sup>) of unclassified sex. Only teeth remained of the body, and between them lay a small shard of colourless glass (approx. 1.0 x 0.6 cm). The rest of the grave goods consisted of a silver fibula, a finger ring of silver, a bone comb and the remains of a ceramic vessel.<sup>614</sup> Based on the fibula, an Almgren's group VII s.2 (196), the grave may be dated to period C1b–C2.<sup>615</sup>

11. *Grave 1 from Juellinge, Lolland Municipality, Region Zealand, Zealand, Denmark*

The inhumation of a 20–35-year-old woman placed on her right side in a slightly crouched position. Above her head, next to a wooden box containing a comb of bone, a pair of bronze scissors, a bronze knife and a bone needle or pin, stood two glass beakers of type E185, of which one was completely disintegrated, while the second was recon-

<sup>611</sup> Lund Hansen 1976:94–96; 1987:415; Lund Hansen & Rindel 2008:129.

<sup>612</sup> Lund Hansen 1987:426. A special thanks to Torben Nilsson, archaeologist at Vendsyssel Historical Museum, who provided me with information from the excavation report, as well as museum inspector Per Lysdahl, Mag. Art., who provided me with a photo of the shard in question.

<sup>613</sup> Thanks to Dr. Verner Alexandersen at the Laboratory of Biological Anthropology, University of Copenhagen, and Ulla Isabel Zagal-Mach, M.A., at the Dept. of Archaeology and Ancient History, Lund University, for help with the age determination.

<sup>614</sup> The grave was excavated in the autumn of 2005 and has not yet been published. I extend my thanks to museum curator Linda Boye, Mag. Art., at Kroppedal Museum for making the information available to me.

<sup>615</sup> Cf. Ethelberg 2000:46, fig. 35.

structable. The reconstructable vessel had three large pieces of its foot missing, which could not be found in the excavation. Therefore, the excavators argued that the beaker had been deposited in an incomplete state.<sup>616</sup> For the rest of the grave goods, see appendix 2, no. 48. The grave dates to period B2.<sup>617</sup>

*12. Grave 3688 at Kerup Nord, Ringsted Municipality, Region Zealand, Zealand, Denmark*

The inhumation of a small child, possibly a girl of about one year of age, lying on her right side. In the child's mouth lay a small triangular shard (1.0 x 1.2 cm) of as yet unclassified, translucent glass. Other grave goods consisted of a necklace with 16 glass beads, a ceramic vessel and a bone comb. The grave is dated to period C1 or C2.<sup>618</sup>

*13. Grave 1304 at Møllegårdsmarken, Svendborg Municipality, Region South Denmark, Funen, Denmark*

The inhumation of a person of indeterminable sex and age. By the person's head lay a single shard of painted glass (4.5 cm long) next to a pottery vessel and parts of a mail coat. The shard, which came from a translucent, painted cup of type E 209, was according to E. Albrechtsen deposited as a fragment. Other grave goods consisted of 10 glass beads, and from the grave fill a perforated shard of terra sigillata.<sup>619</sup> The grave is dated to period C1b.<sup>620</sup>

*14. Grave 10 at Sejlflod, Aalborg Municipality, Region North Jutland, Denmark*

The inhumation of a woman of indeterminable age. At the undisturbed foot end of the grave a single shard of translucent glass (3.0 x 6.5 cm) was found in situ and in the vicinity of a bronze key, a spindle whorl of glass, a bone comb, a knife and two ceramic vessels. Other grave goods consisted of miniature ceramic vessel, the remains of two fibulae, nine glass beads, one amber bead, a silver button, a niello-decorated silver disc, as well as fragments of iron and bronze. The grave is dated to period C3.<sup>621</sup>

*15. Grave 209 at Skovgårde, Vordingborg Municipality, Region Zealand, Zealand, Denmark*

The inhumation of an approximately 20-year-old woman lying in a crouched position on her left side (fig. 5.2). Deposited by her feet were two pottery vessels, and in one of these lay a single shard of painted glass (5.6 x 6.0 cm) from a cup of type E 209. For the rest of the grave goods, see appendix 2, no. 71. The grave is dated to period C1b.<sup>622</sup>

<sup>616</sup> Müller 1911:7, 32.

<sup>617</sup> Lund Hansen 1987:402.

<sup>618</sup> Mailund Christensen 2006:35; (*forthcoming*):28, 40, 100. I extend my thanks to Lehne Mailund Christensen, Mag. Art., at Sydvestsjælland Museum, who was in charge of the excavation, for having made the forthcoming report available to me. Also to museum inspector Hugo Hvid Sørensen.

<sup>619</sup> Albrechtsen 1971:115f.

<sup>620</sup> Lund Hansen 1987:423.

<sup>621</sup> Ringtved 1991:50; Nielsen 2000:115f.

<sup>622</sup> Ethelberg 2000:287–301.



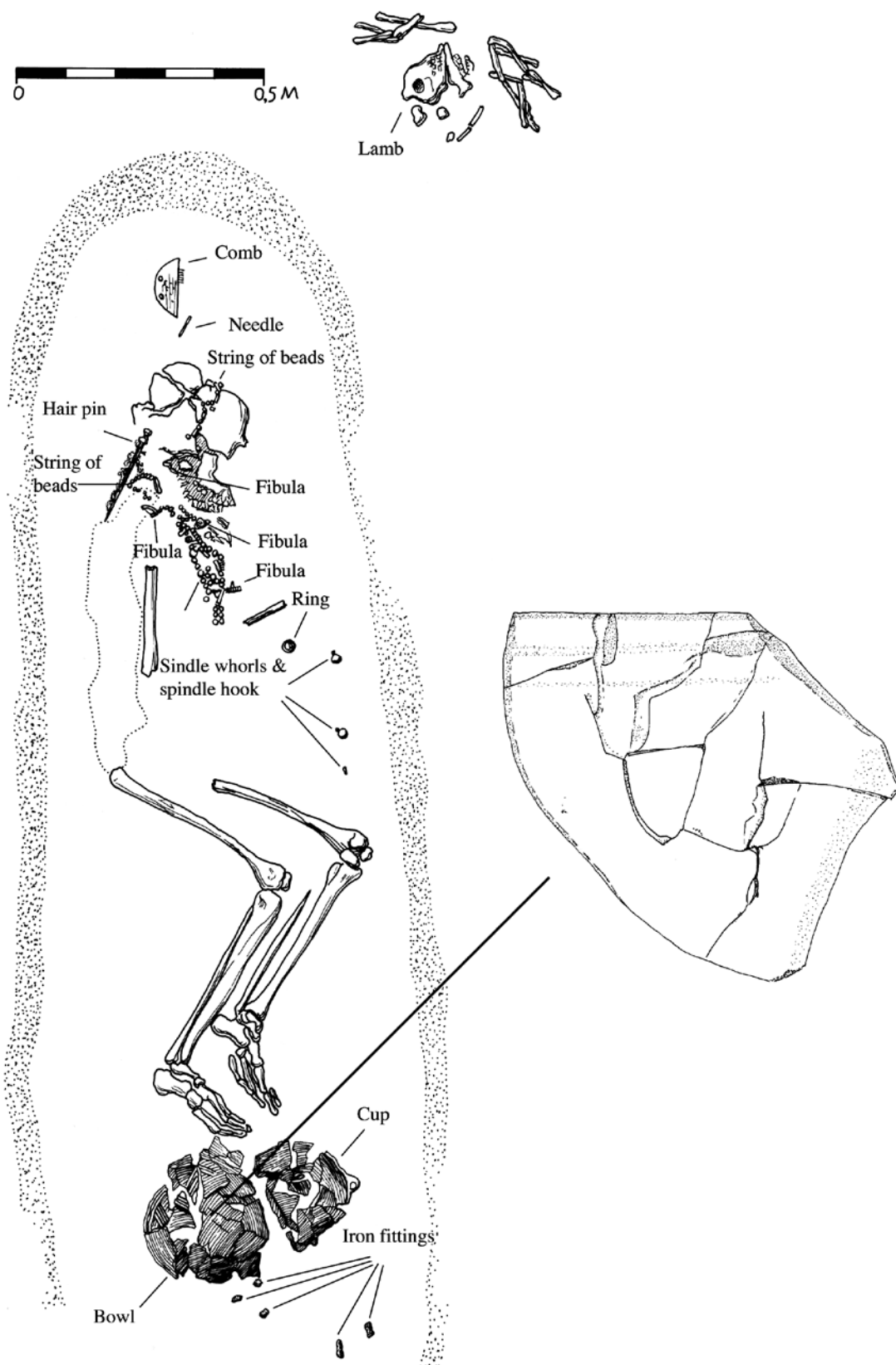


Fig. 5.2 Grave 209 from Skovgårde, Vordingborg Municipality, Region Zealand in Denmark. In one of the ceramic vessels at the deceased's feet lay a single shard of painted glass. The shard in scale 1:1 (after Ethelberg 2000:292; Lund Hansen 2000:322 fig. 3b).

16. *Grave 400 at Skovgårde, Vordingborg Municipality, Region Zealand, Zealand, Denmark*

The inhumation of a woman in her thirties, placed in a supine position, slightly leaning to her right side (fig. 5.3). Underneath a large tutulus fibula of gilded silver on her chest, the excavators found a triangular shard of painted glass (1.3 x 2.0 cm) originating from a vessel of type E 209. According to Boye, the shard may have been placed in the dead woman's mouth and then fallen out and landed by the fibula.<sup>623</sup> However, I find it more likely that it was deliberately placed underneath the fibula. For the rest of the grave goods, see appendix 2, no. 72. The grave is dated to the beginning of period C2.<sup>624</sup>

17. *The "Mädchengrab" from Fallward, district of Cuxhaven, Lower Saxony, Germany*

The inhumation of a young individual placed in a slightly crouched position. A single shard of green glass was found behind the deceased's head, close to the 78 beads of amber and glass, and four silver fibulae, and not far from a small ceramic vessel. The shard was interpreted as a *pars pro toto* gift. The rest of the grave goods consisted of two cylindrical wooden objects, a low wooden table, a small wooden stool, a wooden foot-rest, three wooden bowls, a wooden trough, and a wooden box. The grave is dated to the first half of the fourth century.<sup>625</sup>

18. *Grave 898 at Frienstedt (Fundplatz 1 "Alacher Feld"), district of Erfurt, Thuringia, Germany*

The inhumation of a 30–40-year-old man deposited in a supine position. The grave goods consisted of five silver arrowheads, a bone comb, a ceramic folded beaker, a finger ring of gold, a silver fibula, the remains of a pig, and an aureus (Philippus II. Filius, 244–247) placed in the deceased's mouth. In the grave fill, starting approximately 25 cm above the bottom of the grave, were found a large number of small shards of glass (about 670 pieces, the smallest with a diameter between 2 and 4 mm, the largest between 1 and 1.2 cm). According to the excavators, these pieces were scattered throughout the whole grave. The grave is dated to period C2.<sup>626</sup> In my opinion, due to the distribution of the shards, it seems unlikely that they were the remains of one or more vessels that had naturally disintegrated as a result of the taphonomic process. It rather appears as if the glass vessel(s) were intentionally smashed in connection with the back-filling of the grave.

19. *Grave 2, 1917 at Leuna, district of Saalekreis, Saxony-Anhalt, Germany*

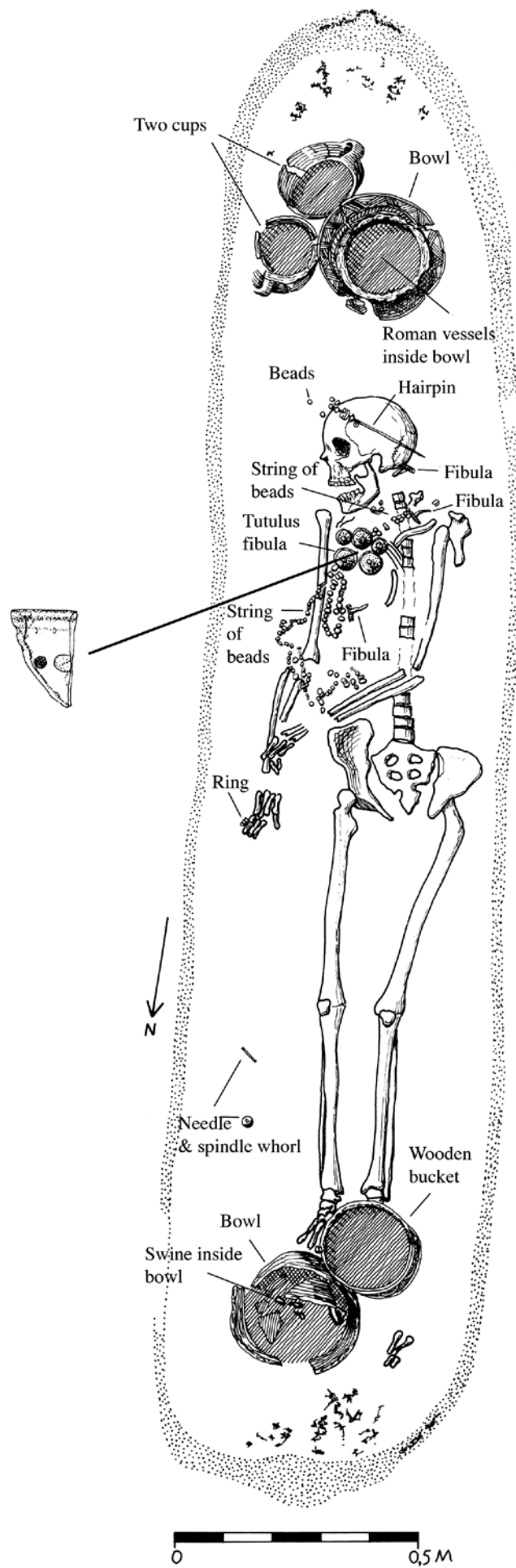
This inhumation contained a person of indeterminate sex and age, placed in a supine position (fig. 5.4). In an enclosed compartment at the foot end of the grave stood a bronze plate of type E 117, on top of which lay a broken rim section (4.8 x 5.2 cm) of a murky white glass cup of type E 205–206, an inverted silver cup of type E 179, and a

623 Boye 2002a:9, 2002b:208f.

624 Ethelberg 2000:301–318; Lund Hansen & Rindel 2008:127f.

625 Schön 1995:38–61; 1999a:52–73; 1999b:154; 2000:231–235; 2003:44f.; 2004; pers. comment by Matthias D. Schön, M.A., Museum Burg Bederkesa, Cuxhaven.

626 The find is being published by Christoph G. Schmidt, M.A., Thüringisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege und Archäologie, Weimar. I hereby thank him for making the information available to me.



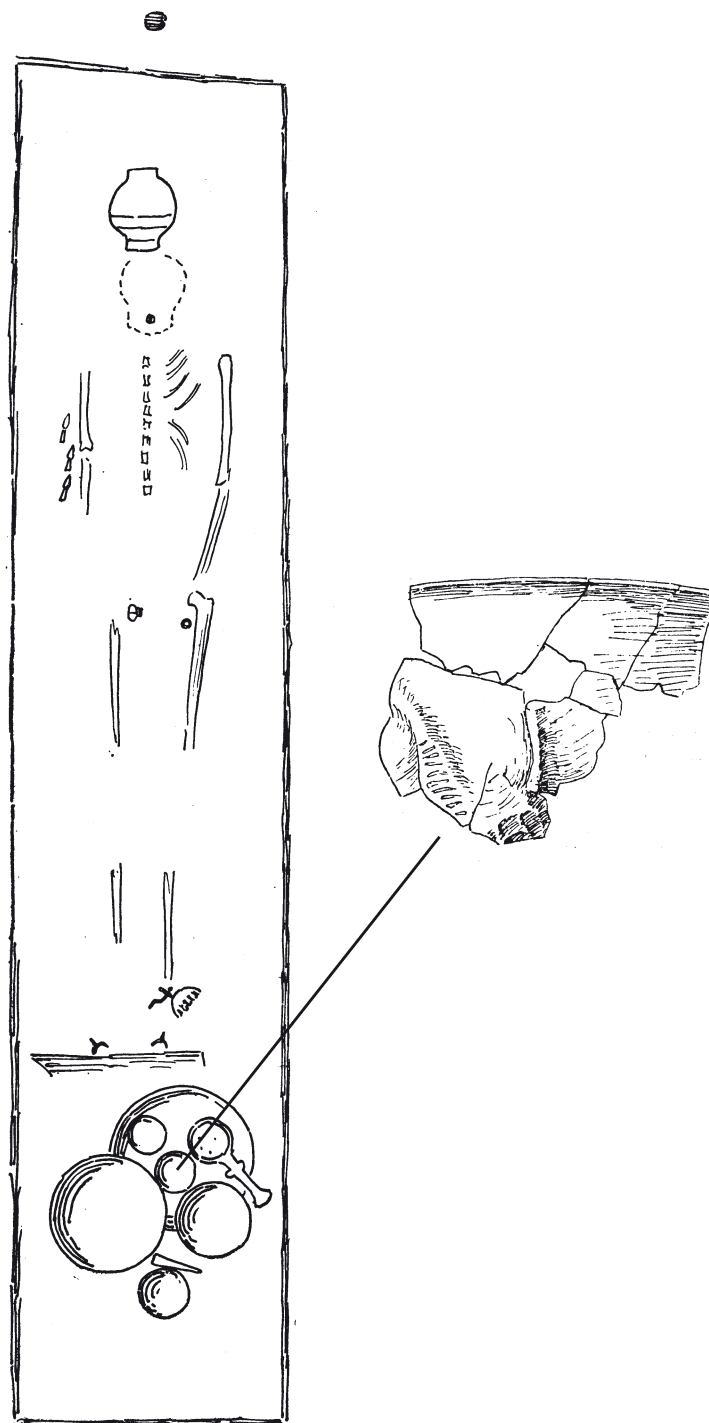


Fig. 5.4 Grave 2, 1917 from Leuna, district of Saalekreis, Saxony-Anhalt in Germany. The broken rim section of a glass vessel lay arranged together with metal and ceramic vessels in the foot end of the grave. The shard in scale 2:3 (after Schulz 1953:12 fig 7, 15 fig. 15).

< Fig. 5.3 Grave 400 from Skovgårde, Vordingborg Municipality, Region Zealand in Denmark. Underneath the large fibula on the deceased's chest lay a small shard of painted glass. The shard in scale 1:1 (after Ethelberg 2000:304; Lund Hansen 2000:322 fig. 4b).

type E 161 ladle and strainer set of bronze. Next to the plate stood three complete pottery vessels, one of them containing the remains of a suckling pig, a rooster and a chicken. For the rest of the grave goods, see appendix 2, no. 131. The grave is dated to period C2.<sup>627</sup> Since all three of the ceramic vessels were complete, and no other pieces of the glass were found than the rim section, one might argue that the glass was deposited as a fragment.

*20. Grave 1 from Døssland, Kvinnherad Municipality, Hordaland County, Norway*

An inhumation with no preserved skeletal remains. Approximately at the centre of the grave lay two shards of clear, green glass (4.8 x 2.0 cm; 2.9 x 1.5 cm) from a beaker of type E 220-237, together with a ceramic cup, a curved iron knife and two iron arrowheads. The rest of the grave goods included two ceramic vessels, three fragments of bronze, possibly from a buckle, and fragments of iron and wood, presumably originating from a wooden coffin. According to Straume, it is possible that the glass shards were deposited as fragment, perhaps as substitutes for a complete vessel. The grave is dated to C3/D1-D1.<sup>628</sup>

*21. Gaalaas, Ringsaker Municipality, Hedmark County, Norway*

An inhumation with what has been identified as a woman.<sup>629</sup> On the deceased's right side were caulking from a vessel of organic material, the remains of a wooden box with iron nails, and next to the nails a single green shard of glass (3.9 x 1.7 cm) from a cut vessel of type E230. For the rest of the grave goods, see appendix 2, no. 149. The grave is dated to the second half of the fourth century.<sup>630</sup>

*22. Grave 30 from Kvassheim, Hå Municipality, Rogaland County, Norway*

An inhumation with an individual of indeterminable sex. At the head end of the grave lay three biconical pendants of silver, one or more spiral-shaped silver beads, and 50 beads of amber and glass. These objects were probably part of one or more necklaces worn on the chest, as indicated by their position in the grave, and fastened by the two bronze fibulae found in their vicinity. The biconical pendants, shaped as small capsules or containers, were filled with organic matter, possibly wood, and sealed underneath one of these fillings was a splinter of glass. The other grave goods included a small bronze pin, two silver chain links, two bronze chain links, an iron knife, pieces of resin caulking and bark, and textile remains. The grave is dated to the fourth century.<sup>631</sup>

*23. Grave 3 from Lunde, Farsund Municipality, Vest-Agder County, Norway*

An inhumation in a wooden chamber exposed by farmers in 1872 and then excavated in 1877. The grave is jumbled due to the modern intrusion, making it difficult to assess the interrelationship of the grave goods. At one end of the chamber lay a number

<sup>627</sup> Eggers 1951:134, no. 1536; Schulz 1953: 11-16; *CRFB D6*, no. VIII-10-12/1.1-8.

<sup>628</sup> Straume 1984:34.

<sup>629</sup> It is, however, unclear whether the sex determination is based on osteological analysis or on the nature of the grave goods.

<sup>630</sup> Nybruget 1986; Fernstål 2004:146f.; the accession catalogue for *Oldsaksamlingen* in Oslo, no. 35805.

<sup>631</sup> Lillehammer 1996:172; Nielsen 1997:32.

of small shards from a light yellow glass beaker of type E238. Since no human remains were recorded, it is impossible to determine whether the shards lay the head or foot end of the grave. The beaker lay covered by a stone slab, and according to the excavator who recovered the find the shards were too few to make up an entire vessel. He therefore suggested that the vessel was deposited in an incomplete state. The rest of the grave goods consisted of three ceramic vessels, the remains of a bronze vessel (possibly a cauldron), two bronze clasps with buttons, a finger ring of gold, a curved piece of silver, a pair of bronze tweezers, an iron axe blade, a shield boss and shield grip of iron, two iron spearheads, an iron sword, five arrowheads of iron, a large iron knife wrapped in cloth, a whetstone, an iron awl and a fork-shaped iron tool (fishing spear point?).<sup>632</sup> The grave is dated to period C3–D1.<sup>633</sup>

24. *Salthammer, Levanger Municipality, Nord-Trøndelag County, Norway*

The inhumation of an individual of indeterminable sex and age. On the right side of the deceased's head was found a complete glass beaker (E195) and next to it lay a green piece of glass, possibly a foot, from a second beaker of indeterminable type. The rest of the grave goods consisted of fragments of pottery, a finger ring of gold, a bronze ring with parts of a belt mounting, fragments of an iron knife, an iron spearhead, and fragments of a bone comb.<sup>634</sup> The grave dates to period C3.<sup>635</sup>

25. *Søndre Kjørstad, Sør-Fron Municipality, Oppland County, Norway*

The inhumation of an individual of indeterminable sex and age, placed in a supine position. On the person's chest lay a piece of clear white glass (6.3 x 10.1 cm) with a tinge of green, stemming from a cup of type E 204. Next to the shard were three finger rings of gold. For the rest of the grave goods, see appendix 2, no. 150.<sup>636</sup> The grave is dated to period C2.<sup>637</sup>

26. *Grave 5 (1935) at Pruszcz Gdański/Praust, Gdansk County, Pomerania Province, Poland*

The inhumation of an old woman, possibly shrouded and placed in a supine position. No closer age determination was made. Near her right forearm the excavators found a single shard of murky white glass from a vessel of indeterminate type, and next to it an amber bead. The other grave goods included a bronze ladle of type E 161, two pottery vessels, a comb of bone, and the skeletal remains of bovine. The grave may be dated to C1a.<sup>638</sup>

<sup>632</sup> de Lange 1911:25–30; Straume 1984:63f.; Lund Hansen 1987:436; Andersson 1993:150.

<sup>633</sup> The grave was dated to period C3 by Andersson (1993:150). E. Straume (1984:63f), on the other hand, dated the grave to period D based on the pottery and the bronze clasps. Lund Hansen (1987:436) dated the glass vessel, finger ring of gold and the parts from a bronze vessel to period C3, while assigning the rest of the grave goods to period D.

<sup>634</sup> Rygh 1881:228; Bjørn 1920:19.

<sup>635</sup> Lund Hansen 1987:442.

<sup>636</sup> *Ab* 1868:53f.; Eggers 1951:169, no. 401; Lund Hansen 1987:432f.; Andersson 1993:138f.

<sup>637</sup> Lund Hansen 1987:432f.; Andersson 1993:138f.

<sup>638</sup> Schindler 1939:41; Eggers 1951:104, no. 638.; Wielowiejski 1985:297, no. 259.



27. *Grave 211 at Pruszcz Gdański/Praust (Fundstelle 10), Gdansk County, Pomerania Province, Poland*

The inhumation of a woman of indeterminate age placed in a supine position. In it, a lone shard of light green glass (approx. 2.8 x 2.9 cm) of type E 188a was found located near the left joint of the woman's jaw, which may indicate that it had originally been deposited in her mouth. The shard originates from a beaker of type E 188. Other grave goods included three beaded necklaces, four bronze fibulae, a belt clasp of bronze, a comb of bone, a needle of bone, two needles of bronze, as well as a small cylindrical box made of bronze. The grave dates to period C1a.<sup>639</sup>

28. *Stuchowo, Kamień County, West Pomerania Province, Poland*

An inhumation dated to the late C2 or early C3 containing a man of indeterminate age placed in a supine position. Between the ribs and the chest bones was found a shard of translucent glass from a vessel of indeterminate type, together with a fibula of silver, a neckring of silver, two silver pins, a small silver capsule with lid, a bead of agate, and a bead of bronze and bead of amber combined into a small rod. The head of the man was covered with a bronze basin.<sup>640</sup>

29. *Grave 1 (A1961) from blocks Bandyklubban & Skridskon, Ängelholm Municipality, Skåne County, Sweden*

An inhumation with no preserved skeletal remains. In what appears to have been the head end of the grave, a small, handled ceramic beaker was found lying on its side, and close by its rim lay a single shard of glass. Other grave goods consisted of a second ceramic vessel, two bronze fibulae and 34 amber beads. The grave was dated to the Late Roman Iron Age.<sup>641</sup>

30. *Grave 152B at Kristineberg, Malmö Municipality, Skåne County, Sweden*

The inhumation of a 30–40-year-old woman placed on her left side in a crouched position (fig. 5.5). Close in front of the chest area was found a single shard of green glass (approx. 4.1 x 2.3 cm) decorated with facet-cuttings, probably belonging to a beaker of type E 227–238 (most likely a type E 230). The shard was accompanied by a sewing needle of bronze. The excavators suggest that the shard and needle may originally have been placed in a container of a perishable material, and that the shard was a *pars pro toto* gift that symbolized a complete vessel, perhaps a highly prized possession.<sup>642</sup> Boye, on the other hand, stated the possibility that the shard had been placed in the dead woman's mouth, and later fell out,<sup>643</sup> which to me seems like an unlikely explanation. Lund Hansen and Rindel, on the other hand, suggested that it had been placed on her chest.<sup>644</sup> Additional grave goods consisted of a beaded necklace, four fibulae of bronze, a belt with iron fitting, as well as a comb of bone or horn. The grave was dated to period C3 or the transition from the Late Roman Iron Age to the Early Migration Period.<sup>645</sup>

<sup>639</sup> Pietrzak 1997:36, pl. LXXIII.

<sup>640</sup> von Hagenow 1840:276; Eggers 1938:196–198; 1951:107, no. 718.

<sup>641</sup> Ericson Borggren 1996:5; Helgesson 2002:247; Lund Hansen & Rindel 2008:128.

<sup>642</sup> Rudebeck & Ödman 2000:188.

<sup>643</sup> Boye 2002b:209.

<sup>644</sup> Lund Hansen & Rindel 2008:129.

<sup>645</sup> Rudebeck & Ödman 2000:183–189; Lund Hansen & Rindel 2008:128.

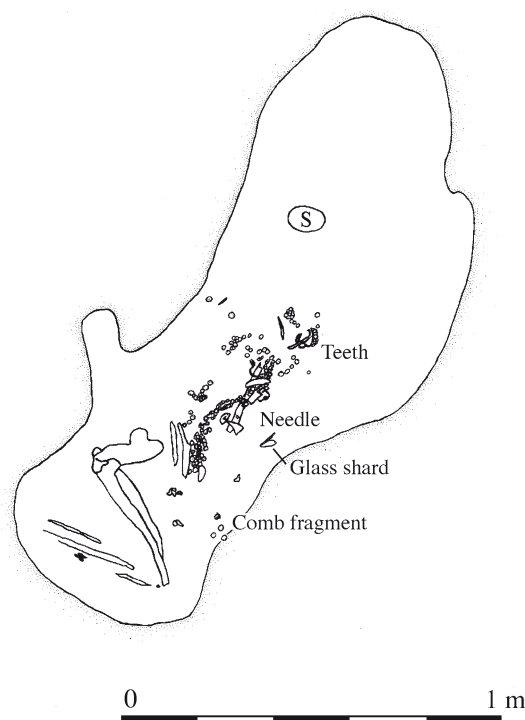


Fig. 5.5 Grave 152B at Kristineberg, Malmö Municipality, Skåne County in Sweden. A single shard of glass was found together with a needle close in front of the deceased's chest (after Rudebeck & Ödman 2000:184 fig. 158).

31. *Grave 5 at Ytter Restad, Kungälv Municipality, Västra Götaland County, Sweden*

An inhumation grave with no preserved skeletal remains. However, based on the distribution of the grave goods it appears as if the body lay in a crouched position. At the head end, close to where the skull would have been, the excavators found a single shard of yellow glass (1.8 cm long) together with the remains of a comb, a spindle with two spindle whorls, a needle tip and pieces of a silver ring (interpreted as parts of a buckle). Placed above these objects were two ceramic vessels and a weaving sword. Further grave goods consisted of three necklaces with a total of 321 beads of amber and glass, two bronze fibulae, two flint blades, resin caulking from at least one further vessel, a small bronze ring and an iron rod fragment. The excavator interprets the lone piece of glass as part of a window vessel. However, no ceramic vessel or potsherds were found in direct connection with the shard. The grave dates to the transition from the Late Roman Iron Age to the Early Migration Period.<sup>646</sup>

32. *Grave 1 at Önsvala, Staffanstorp Municipality, Skåne County, Sweden*

The inhumation of a 60–70-year-old woman and an 8–9-year-old child. The grave was disturbed by an intercutting Merovingian grave, so no information on the position of the bodies or the grave goods is available. However, in the fill covering the Merovingian grave, the excavators retrieved the remains of a ceramic vessel, a spindle whorl of stone, four glass beads, one amber bead, indeterminate fragments of further beads, three fragments of bronze, part of an iron knife, as well as several rods, rivets and fragments of iron – all originally part of the grave goods in grave 1. Among these objects was also

<sup>646</sup> Särilvik 1980: 384, fig. 5, 389, 390, 400.

found a small shard of green glass (2.3 x 1.8 cm) that shows clear signs of being retouched. According to L. Larsson it was probably deposited among the rest of the grave goods in its present, fragmented state. The grave is dated to the transition from the Late Roman Iron Age to the Early Migration Period.<sup>647</sup>

## 5.2 OBSERVATIONS AND PREVIOUS INTERPRETATIONS

In the material reviewed above (see table 5.1), we may observe five manners of deposition:

- Deposition on or near the chest or upper body.
- Deposition in or near the mouth.
- Deposition near the hands.
- Deposition near other grave goods, especially vessels of pottery and/or metal.
- Deposition in the grave fill.

The first kind consists of graves where one or two shards of glass are recovered from the chest or upper body area, as in the finds from Haraldsted 2, Skovgårde 400, Søndre Kjørstad, Stuchowo and Kristineberg 152B. To this I would also add the small shard found in the pendant in Kvassheim 30, since it would have hung around the deceased's neck. Like the shard from Skovgårde 400 it had been concealed by a piece of jewellery, and placed on the chest. The second mode of deposition consists of glass shards found in or near the mouth of the deceased, as observed in Ellekilde grave 34, graves 4, 6 and 18 at Engbjerg, Højbakkegård 87, Kærup Nord 3688 and grave 211 at Pruszcz Gdański. Engbjerg 12 may belong to either of these two groups, since three pieces of glass were found through sieving of the soil from the head and chest area. The same goes for Høgsted and Fallward where the shards were found close to the head of the deceased. It is also quite possible that these find locations, i.e. in association with the chest, head or the mouth, are the result of one and the same traditional practice. Furthermore, as I have mentioned above, Boye has stated the possibility that shards found in the chest area may originally have been placed in the mouth but later ended up in their present location through the decomposition of the body.<sup>648</sup> The position of the shard in grave 1 at Önsvala is impossible to determine, but it had been intentionally retouched similarly to the shard from grave 4 at Engbjerg, which was found close to the woman's jaw. This may indicate the same mode of deposition. The third kind of deposition practice may be seen in the find from grave 5 at Pruszcz Gdański, where a shard was deposited near the hand. It is also possible that the grave from Kristineberg belongs here. All these three patterns are characterized by their close association with the dead body. The two remaining forms of deposition, on the other hand, are more closely associated with the surrounding grave goods and practices performed at the closing of the grave. In the finds from Juellinge 1; Sejlflod 10; Skovgårde 209; Møllegårdsmarken 1304; Leuna 2,

<sup>647</sup> Larsson 1981:132–134, 155–156; Björk 2005:197; Lund Hansen & Rindel 2008:128.

<sup>648</sup> Boye 2002b:209.

NO.	SITE	COUNTRY	DESCRIPTION	POSITION OF GLASS SHARD(S)	DATE
1	Ellekilde 34, Ishøj	DK	Shard of glass, indeterminate type	In the mouth	C1b/C2
2	Ellekilde 38, Ishøj	DK	Shard of glass, unclassified	In the centre of the grave	Late Roman
3	Engbjerg 4, Høje-Taastrup	DK	Shard of glass, indeterminate type	Next to the lower jaw	C1b/C2
4	Engbjerg 6, Høje-Taastrup	DK	Shard of glass, indeterminate type	In the mouth	C1b
5	Engbjerg 12, Høje-Taastrup	DK	Two shards of indeterminate types; glass refuse	In the skull and chest area	C1b/C2
6	Engbjerg 18, Høje-Taastrup	DK	Shard of glass, type Hastrup II	In the mouth	C1b/C2
7	Haraldsted 2, Ringsted	DK	Shard of glass, indeterminate type	In front of the chest, between the right hand and the head	C3
8	Harpelev 2, Vordingborg	DK	Three shards of glass, type E 247	In the grave fill	C1b
9	Høgsted, Hjørring	DK	Shard of glass, indeterminate type	In front of the face	C1b
10	Højbakkegård 87, Høje-Taastrup	DK	Shard of glass, indeterminate type	Between the teeth	C1b
11	Juellinge 1, Lolland	DK	Incomplete vessel of type E185	Next to a complete vessel and wooden box containing a comb, a pair of scissors, a knife and a needle.	B2
12	Kærup Nord 3688, Ringsted	DK	Shard of glass, unclassified	In the mouth	C1/C2
13	Møllegårds-marken 1304, Svendborg	DK	Shard of glass, type E209	Next to the head, together with ceramic vessel and parts of chain mail	C1b
14	Sejlfjord IO, Aalborg	DK	Shard of glass, indeterminate type	At the foot end together with a key, spindle whorl, comb, knife and two ceramic vessels	C3
15	Skovgårde 209, Vordingborg	DK	Shard of glass, type E209	Inside ceramic vessel	C1b1
16	Skovgårde 400, Vordingborg	DK	Shard of glass, type E209	On the chest, underneath tutulus fibula	C2
17	Fallward, Cuxhaven	DE	Shard of glass	Behind the head	Fourth c.
18	Frienstedt 898, Erfurt	DE	Approx. 670 small shards of glass, indeterminate type	In the grave fill	C2
19	Leuna 2, 1917, Saalekreis	DE	Shards of glass, type E205–206	On a bronze plate together with other vessels	C2
20	Døssland 1, Kvinnherad	NO	Two shards of glass, indeterminate type	In the centre of the grave together with a ceramic cup, a knife and two arrowheads	C3/D1—D1
21	Gaalaas, Ringsaker	NO	Shard of glass, type E230	By the deceased's side together with a wooden box and a organic vessel	Fourth c.
22	Kvassheim 30, Hå	NO	Small piece of glass, indeterminate type	Inside the capsule of a biconical pendant. Part of a necklace	Fourth c.
23	Lunde 3, Farsund	NO	An incomplete glass vessel of type E238	At the head or foot end of the grave	C3/D1
24	Salthammer, Levanger	NO	The foot of a glass beaker, indeterminate type	Beside the head of the deceased together with a complete glass beaker.	C3
25	Søndre Kjørstad, Sør-Fron	NO	Piece of glass of type E204 together with three finger rings of gold	On the chest	C2
26	Pruszcz Gdanski 5 (1935), Gdansk	PL	Shard of glass, indeterminate type	Close to the right forearm, and together with an amber bead	C1a
27	Pruszcz Gdanski 211 (Fundstelle 10), Gdansk	PL	Shard of glass, type E188	By the left joint of the jaw	C1a
28	Stuchowo, Kamien	PL	A shard of glass, indeterminate type	On the chest	C2/C3
29	Bandyklubban & Skridskon 1, Ängelholm	SE	A shard of glass, unclassified	Together with a ceramic vessel	C1/C2
30	Kristineberg 152 B, Malmö	SE	Shard of glass, type E230	In front of the chest	C3/D1
31	Ytter Restad 5, Kungälv	SE	Shard of glass, unclassified	At the head end together with a comb, pin, buckle, spindle, weaving sword and two ceramic vessels	Late Roman
32	Önsvala 1, Staffanstorps	SE	Retouched shard of glass, unclassified	Unknown	Late Roman

Table 5.1 Germanic inhumations with intentional depositions of glass fragments.

1917: Døssland 1; Gaalaas; Lunde 3; Salthammer; Bandyklubban & Skridskon 1; and Ytter Restad 5, shards or incomplete glass vessels were found apparently distanced from the body (as far as this may be determined based on the level of preservation) and often recovered inside or close to additional vessels or other objects. And in the find from the grave at Harpelev and Frienstedt 898, the shards were found scattered in the grave fill.

In 12 of the graves, the type of glass vessel was possible to determine on the basis of the shards, and all of these were in the form of beakers, cups and a horn used for drinking. While it is often hard to determine whether objects were fragmented before or after they were placed in the grave, in these cases the shards are found in such a fashion that we may be fairly sure they were set down individually. This is for instance evident when the shards are found in the mouth of the deceased. Several of these graves, especially those at Ellekilde, Engbjerg, Højbakkegård and Kærup Nord, have been thoroughly excavated, assuring that the recovered shards were the only ones deposited. Also, the shard from grave 4 at Engbjerg shows signs of being intentionally cut into its shape, as mentioned previously. This indicates an additional sequence of treatment of the glass in between the breaking of the vessel and the deposition of the shard, which moreover supports the interpretation of an intentional placement and not a deterioration of the glass due to post-deposition processes. The same goes for the shard from Önsvala that had been deliberately retouched before deposition. The circumstances regarding shards deposited in or near vessels of pottery and/or metal also support this conclusion. As seen in grave 209 at Skovgårde, for instance, the lone shard is placed inside a pottery vessel, and in grave 2 (1917) at Leuna the rim section was recovered on a bronze plate next to three complete pottery vessels, which makes it unlikely that the glass was destroyed later in the ground. Likewise, the incomplete vessels from Juellinge and Salthammer were found together with complete glass vessels in good condition. Furthermore, the shard in grave 10 at Sejlflod was found in situ, and according to J. Ringtved the piece was of such good quality that it seems unlikely that it was the result of the deterioration of a complete vessel.<sup>649</sup>

One might however question whether the shards of glass found in the grave fill in Harpelev 2 and Frienstedt 898 were the remains of intentional depositions or just remains from older graves or occupation layers on the site. In the case of Frienstedt 898, it has been suggested that the vessels had shattered due to the chemical processes in the earth.<sup>650</sup> However, this seems unlikely since the shards were recovered in the fill beginning at 25 cm above the grave bottom and covered the extent of the grave. When it comes to the find from Harpelev, Ethelberg referred to it as an example of intentional depositions. He compared it to grave 8 at Skovgårde where beads of glass, bronze and amber were found in a fashion that, in his opinion, warrants a ritual explanation. He stated that the number of beads was too great for it to be a coincidence and therefore chooses to interpret them as a form of ritual offering at the conclusion of the burial.<sup>651</sup> This is an interesting parallel practice, and we know of beads being deposited in the grave fill also in later periods in the Danish area, as on Bornholm during the Migration

<sup>649</sup> Ringtved 1991:50.

<sup>650</sup> Personal comment by Christoph G. Schmidt, M.A., Thüringisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege und Archäologie, Weimar.

<sup>651</sup> Ethelberg 2000:32–35, note 32.



Period.<sup>652</sup> The finds from Harpelev and Frienstedt may also be compared with some of the graves at Sejlflod in Jutland (Denmark). In inhumation graves IM, IO, IS and KA, the excavators recovered shards of glass in the fill, and according to Ringtved, many of them may have been deliberately deposited in a fragmented state. However, she also pointed out that all of the graves were in some parts disturbed, which makes it impossible to determine the intentionality for certain.<sup>653</sup>

Besides this ritual explanation, the intentionally deposited shards are most often interpreted as symbolic representations of complete vessels.<sup>654</sup> Hunter argued for three different practices as regards glass shards in his studies from 1975 and 1977; one where only a small portion of the glass vessel is missing; one where only a single or a few shards were placed in the grave; and one where two similar vessels were deposited, of which one was fragmented while the other was complete.<sup>655</sup> Although he admitted that some of the incomplete vessels might be the result of bad retrieval, he also argued that there exist enough cases to suggest a deliberate practice of depositing fragments.<sup>656</sup> According to him, it is possible that damaged and partial vessels were deposited based on the idea that fragments were enough to symbolically represent a complete vessel.<sup>657</sup> He stated that: “[p]erhaps one can assume that glass was costly or difficult to obtain and that it represented status for the deceased.”<sup>658</sup> The problem with Hunter’s study, as I have mentioned before, is that the majority of the finds on which he bases his conclusions are disturbed and/or poorly excavated and documented, so that such conclusions are highly uncertain. However, the general idea of symbolic representation, or *pars pro toto*, which he presents corresponds to other scholars’ interpretations.

Norling-Christensen argued that the shard of glass deposited in grave 2 at Haraldsted symbolized a complete vessel. Likewise, Lund Hansen proposed that the shard found in grave 209 at Skovgårde had a similar function, and she pointed to the fact that it was deposited in the same fashion as other finds with whole vessels; inside a pottery vessel. She therefore suggested that the shard replaced a complete vessel in a time when glass vessels were rare in Denmark.<sup>659</sup> This theory of symbolic representation is also shared by Boye.<sup>660</sup> U. Näsman, on the other hand, argued that this form of *pars pro toto* treatment of the grave goods is rare in Nordic Iron Age and therefore suggested that an amuletic function, or something along those lines, is more likely when solitary shards are found in the graves.<sup>661</sup>

The *pars pro toto* interpretation is not suggested concerning the shards found in the mouth or chest area. That this is a correct standpoint seems to be indicated by finds like grave 400 at Skovgårde. Here, the small shard was found on the chest, while two complete glass vessels were deposited inside a pottery vessel. It is unlikely that the shard

<sup>652</sup> Seit Jespersen 1985:105.

<sup>653</sup> Ringtved 1991:53f.

<sup>654</sup> Cf. Lund Hansen 1987:247.

<sup>655</sup> E.g. Hunter 1977:28, 40f.

<sup>656</sup> Hunter 1977:32.

<sup>657</sup> E.g. Hunter 1975:83f.; 1977:31.

<sup>658</sup> Hunter 1975:85; cf. 1977:31.

<sup>659</sup> Lund Hansen 2000:338f.

<sup>660</sup> Boye 2002b:209.

<sup>661</sup> Näsman 1984:25.



was placed in the grave as a substitute due to the lack of whole vessels. According to Ethelberg, this shard should rather be interpreted as a form of amulet.<sup>662</sup> A similar interpretation is also suggested for the biconical pendant containing a small shard of glass found Kvassheim 30.<sup>663</sup> These types of pendants are often interpreted as amulets, and are known to contain different substances, for instance human and animal hair.<sup>664</sup> They may be compared to the so-called amulet boxes occasionally hung as part of the necklace, like the one found in Himlingøje 1949-2 containing a small silver tube, threads and fibres of flax, wheat grains, two plant stems and a piece of fur.<sup>665</sup>

Lund Hansen, on the other hand, interpreted the shard in Skovgårde 400 as a symbol, a memento or favourite keepsake that recalled the dead person's family or place of origin.<sup>666</sup> Boye argued that the shard from grave 400 at Skovgårde may originally have been placed in the deceased's mouth, and that this practice should be interpreted as a version of the Mediterranean custom of placing coins in the mouth of the dead as payment to ferryman Charon for the crossing to the land of the dead.<sup>667</sup> This custom, which is studied more closely in the following section, was according to several scholars appropriated in Germanic graves in the form of coins or pieces of gold or silver placed in the deceased's mouth. Since the three female graves from Engbjerg with shards of glass are the wealthiest of all the graves in the cemetery, Boye argued that the shards cannot be regarded as a cheap substitute. Instead she claimed that they must have had an independent ritual value, corresponding to the value of coins and gold.<sup>668</sup>

### 5.3 THE GRECO-ROMAN OBOLUS TRADITION

Shards of glass in the mouth of the corpse, or in the head area, have been compared to the Late Roman Iron Age practice of placing coins in the mouth of the dead in some of the Germanic inhumations.<sup>669</sup> This is in turn regarded by many scholars as the outcropping of a Mediterranean mortuary tradition with its origin in the Greek myth of Charon. This tradition, however, which is often referred to as the *obolus tradition*, has been highly debated by classical archaeologists and historians, and no agreement has been reached concerning its historical validity and possible archaeological expressions.<sup>670</sup> It is therefore important to briefly examine the dominant strands of interpretation in order to evaluate the validity of this analogy as a model for the finds of coins in Germanic graves, and consequently the use of glass shards.

A number of Greek and Latin authors between the late fifth century BC and the late second century AD wrote that the dead had to pay a fee to the ferryman Charon, who guided the passage over the river Styx to the land of the dead. The payment was

<sup>662</sup> Ethelberg 2000:125.

<sup>663</sup> Nielsen 1997:28.

<sup>664</sup> Nielsen 1997:31-33.

<sup>665</sup> Lund Hansen 1995b:154; cf. Ethelberg 2000:88f. with ref.

<sup>666</sup> Lund Hansen 2000:339.

<sup>667</sup> Boye 2002a:7-9; 2002b:205, 209; 2004b:50.

<sup>668</sup> Boye 2002a:9; 2002b:208; cf. Bemmman 2005:26.

<sup>669</sup> E.g. Boye 2002a-b; 2004a-b.

<sup>670</sup> For a general overview, see Steuer 2002.

done with a coin placed in the mouth of the person at the moment of death. Some scholars have argued that the coin's specific position on the dead person was because the mouth was where the Greek usually kept their money since they had no pockets in their clothes.<sup>671</sup> Other scholars dispute this and refer to the notion that the soul left the body through the mouth, and they suggest that the coin was placed there to prevent the soul from returning, or the body from being possessed by evil spirits.<sup>672</sup> The archaeological record from the Greek area, however, shows a great variation in the use of coins as grave goods, which bears witness to a broad spectrum of functions and meanings associated with coins in the mortuary practices. Besides the placement in the mouth, coins are found in the hands of the dead, beside the body, placed in vessels or found loose in the grave fill. Often more than one coin is found, even when they are placed in the mouth. And although the written sources speak of the Charon's fee as an *obol*, a silver coin worth a sixth of a drachma, the coins found in the graves are made of bronze, silver, gold, or gold plaques occasionally bearing the imprint of a real gold coin.<sup>673</sup> The fact that the coins were often deposited together with other objects, and not exclusively around the head but also elsewhere in the grave, made S.T. Stevens interpret them as symbolic representations of the social role and prestige of the deceased, rather than as payment to the ferryman.<sup>674</sup>

Around the mid-third century BC the custom apparently was adopted by the Romans, who according to written sources placed a coin in the mouth of the corpse after it had been washed and dressed for the *lit de parade*.<sup>675</sup> The use of coins in the graves is found all over the Roman world in a variety of placings, as well as in both inhumation and cremation graves, and is widely interpreted as a material expression of the myth of Charon.<sup>676</sup> In Gaul, the placing of a coin in the dead person's mouth is attested in the archaeological material from the second century AD. J. Gorecki, however, who has done the most extensive study of this subject in cemeteries in northern Gaul in the Late Roman period, noted widely varying practices concerning coins in the graves. They are found in the mouth; between the teeth; inside the skull; in the eye-sockets; beside the head; as jewellery around the neck; on the chest; alongside the waist (possibly in pouches); in the pelvis area; in or next to the hands; alongside the upper arms; beside or between the knees; beside, under or in between the lower legs; by the feet; in wooden caskets; in vessels; outside the tomb; or scattered in the grave fill. Occasionally coins are deposited in more than one of these locations in the same grave.<sup>677</sup> In cremation graves, unburnt coins are found both outside and inside the grave urn. Fire-damaged coins have frequently been found together with the burnt remains inside the urn, at times inside the residual skull-bone itself, indicating they were deposited on the pyre or in the mouth of the corpse before the cremation. Occasionally, some of the burial urns were fashioned with a hole that had then been sealed with a coin.<sup>678</sup>

<sup>671</sup> Gorecki 1995:98.

<sup>672</sup> E.g. Gräslund 1967:172f. with ref.; Stevens 1991:221.

<sup>673</sup> Grinsell 1957:262; Grinder Hansen 1988:116f.; Stevens 1991:225.

<sup>674</sup> Stevens 1991:225.

<sup>675</sup> Marquardt 1886:348f.; Grinsell 1957:263; Grinder Hansen 1988:117f.; Toynbee 1996:44.

<sup>676</sup> E.g. Grinder Hansen 1988:117f.; Toynbee 1996:49, 119, 291 note 168; Thüry 1999:17f.

<sup>677</sup> Gorecki 1976; 1995.

<sup>678</sup> Gorecki 1995:99f.

Although most of the finds of coins in provincial graves are interpreted as a form of Charon's fare, Gorecki was critical of the way literary sources have been used to explain this burial practice.<sup>679</sup> He argued that the use of coins is too complex and varied to warrant a single explanation.<sup>680</sup> Furthermore, he claimed that coins deposited in the mouth of the dead in Roman graves cannot be interpreted as an obolus tradition since there was no religious tradition centred on the Greek myth of Charon in the Roman period. The passages in the Latin sources which mention this tradition should, according to him, rather be viewed as mere literary remnants of older Greek beliefs, with no merit in actual Roman mortuary practices.<sup>681</sup> Instead he interprets the practice as a general notion regarding provisions or payment for the passage to the after-life, without the reference to a specific mythological character.<sup>682</sup> Gorecki thus tried to present more varied explanations for the use of coins in the graves. Mounted coins or coins with holes are consequently interpreted as jewellery or as amulets.<sup>683</sup> He suggested that the coins deposited in pottery vessels might be a form of gift or donation presented by the funeral guests.<sup>684</sup> They may also be interpreted as the dead person's own possessions, like the coins deposited in pouches or caskets.<sup>685</sup> He also noted that some of the coins found in the graves are of outdated denominations, and according to him, the older or rarer the coin, the more likely it is that they were either donations made by the funeral guests or mementoes of special personal meaning to the deceased.<sup>686</sup> Coins found in the grave fill in both cremations and inhumations are on the other hand interpreted as the remains of a special offering custom where people scattered coins over the grave as it was being closed.<sup>687</sup> He referred to other Roman contexts where coins were offered into the ground, as in sanctuaries, temples and springs, and thus compared the graves to the notion of the *mundus*, i.e. the ritual pit where offerings were made to the deities of the underworld.<sup>688</sup> In those cases where the fire-damaged coins are found in cremation graves, he suggested that they may have accompanied the corpse on the pyre as personal belongings, but he also acknowledge that they could have been thrown into the fire as part of an offering.<sup>689</sup>

Despite the validity of Gorecki's critique of the way coins are generally interpreted as a form of Charon's fee, no matter their number or placing, other scholars dispute his claim that the myth of Charon did not exist in the Roman world. G.E. Thüry, for example, pointed to the fact that two thirds of the written sources referring to the Charon's fee date to the Roman period, and that many of these mention the custom as part of the mortuary practices in both Rome and the provinces. According to him, many of these sources describe Charon as a divinity, and the belief in him as widely spread among the

679 Gorecki 1976; 1979; 1995; cf. Stevens 1991:215f.

680 Gorecki 1995:101.

681 Gorecki 1976:236f., 244; 1995:98.

682 Gorecki 1976:244?.

683 E.g. Gorecki 1976:249, 1995:101.

684 Gorecki 1976:265f.

685 Gorecki 1976:256, 264.

686 Gorecki 1976:266–274; 1995:101.

687 Gorecki 1976:276.

688 Gorecki 1976:213, 276, 278.

689 Gorecki 1995:99.

Roman people.<sup>690</sup> However, he agreed that no one-to-one correspondence could be drawn between coins found in the graves and the obolus tradition. He referred again to sources which mention that only a small denomination was to be paid to Charon, that it should be placed in the mouth and that the archaeological material thus only partially corresponds to the written sources.<sup>691</sup> He argued that finds of more than two coins were most likely not a representation of the obolus tradition, but rather a *pars pro toto* of the deceased persons own wealth, or part of an offering or donation made by the funeral guests.<sup>692</sup> And coins placed on the eyes of the corpse he suggested might be interpreted as protective measures taken against the dead person's allegedly harmful gaze.<sup>693</sup> But he also stated that just because the written sources describe coins in the deceased's mouth as payment to Charon, it does not necessarily mean that this was the only place where the Charon's fee was deposited in practice.<sup>694</sup>

A similar sentiment was also expressed by H. Steuer, who stated that it is probably too restrictive to regard coins found in the mouth solely as part of the obolus tradition.<sup>695</sup> He argued for the possibility that coins found in the hands of the deceased also could be interpreted as payment to the ferryman, and he referred to classical imagery where the deceased is depicted paying his fee to Charon with a coin in his outstretched hand. But he also acknowledged the possibility that not only single coins may have functioned as a Charon's fee, but also larger amounts of coins carried in a pouch fastened at the belt, placed on the chest, next to the head or alongside the body.<sup>696</sup> While Steuer thus gave merit to the interpretation of some of the coin finds as payments to the ferryman, he also stressed the great variety of coin use in mortuary practices which may not all account for the obolus tradition. He thus listed a number of possible explanations for the varying forms of depositions, ranging from general grave gifts or funeral offerings to a Charon's fee, provisions for the afterlife, a representation of the deceased's wealth, a memento or the actual belongings of the dead, a symbolic compensation for the inheritance, or as an apotropaic measure to prevent the deceased's return or harmful influences.<sup>697</sup>

A more inclusive and incorporating argument in this discussion is presented by Stevens, who argued for an underlying structure that permeated the wide-ranging use of coins in graves. She stated that the obolus tradition is only one manifestation of a widespread and conceptually related use of coins in the mortuary practices, and she thus argued for a much broader context in which this tradition must be understood.<sup>698</sup> According to her analyses of the textual references to the Charon's fee, the coin may be viewed as a symbolic preparation for death. She stated that the placing of the coin in the mouth indicates that the living intended it for the soul, since the soul according to common beliefs had its seat in the head and passed through the mouth upon

690 Thüry 1999:22–25; cf. Stevens 1991:215.

691 Thüry 1999:18.

692 Thüry 1999:20f.

693 Thüry 1999:21f.

694 Thüry 1999:25f.

695 Steuer 2002:499.

696 Steuer 2002:499.

697 Steuer 2002:500–503.

698 Stevens 1991:21.

death. The deposition of a coin in this fashion thus signalled the beginning of the soul's journey to the afterlife, and was considered a form of provisioning for this passage.<sup>699</sup> On the other hand, the placement of coins with other objects at the time of burial may have been associated with aspects of the social role or prestige of the deceased.<sup>700</sup> But she also referred to a more abstract and invisible power ascribed to coins in the Mediterranean world. Among the Greeks, for instance, coins could be used to ritually buy oneself free from religious duties or debts to both gods and men. According to her, coins were thus suitable as offerings to ensure fertility and health.<sup>701</sup> And like Gorecki, she therefore compared the so-called obolus tradition in the graves with the Roman custom of offering coins at a *mundus*, a gateway to the underworld, in order to guarantee prosperity. She stated that:

Whether the coins were intended as offerings of the dead to the gods or offerings of the living to the dead, all of the practices are based on the conviction of the intrinsic value of money and the importance of the tomb as the threshold to the other world. Coins offered at the time of death or at the time of interment were a way for the living to communicate with the dead, to promote life among the dead, while the door to the other world was still open.<sup>702</sup>

This short review of the most common strands of interpretation demonstrates no consensus among the classical scholars. Rather, many different approaches to the subject are apparent, with some maintaining that all coins in the graves were payments to Charon, while others totally reject this sentiment. Further scholars try to outline a more nuanced picture, suggesting that the obolus tradition might be a valid explanation for the presence of some coins in the graves, while others should be interpreted in different ways. And then there are those who search for general underlying structures in the people's mindset regarding coins as a source of power on the one hand, and death and the grave on the other hand as a moment and place where people's social relationships with the dead might be communicated and maintained.

## 5.4 THE OBOLUS TRADITION AND GERMANIC GRAVES

The different modes of interpreting coins in Greek and Roman graves have rarely carried over into the research on Germanic graves, even though the obolus tradition is a common interpretative model when analysing the presence of coins in this area, especially coins found in the mouth of the dead. The mortuary use of coins among the Germanic peoples is known from sporadic finds in the Early Roman Iron Age, but the practice does not appear more widely until the beginning of the Late Roman period.<sup>703</sup> Many of the Late Roman grave finds with coins are associated with the so-called

<sup>699</sup> Stevens 1991:220f.

<sup>700</sup> Stevens 1991:225.

<sup>701</sup> Stevens 1991:227f.

<sup>702</sup> Stevens 1991:229.

<sup>703</sup> Bemmman 2005:7.



Haßleben-Leuna group of princely graves in period C2. Although single coins do appear in “poorer” graves, most scholars associate the Germanic use of coins with a social elite.<sup>704</sup> The custom of placing some of these coins in the mouth of the dead or close to the head or upper body, presumably as payment to the ferryman, is also closely associated with the princely graves and commonly considered to have spread from northern Gaul in the Late Roman period.<sup>705</sup> A.-S. Gräslund has characterized the custom as a *spiritual* or *religious import*, and many scholars appear to agree with the sentiment that it was part of Rome’s cultural influences on the peoples beyond the borders of the Empire.<sup>706</sup> A commonly held view is that the custom was brought back to the Germanic homelands by returning mercenaries who had served in the Roman army.<sup>707</sup> Thus the dominant picture seems to be that of a social elite who, through their networks of interaction, both within and beyond the Germanic area, developed a shared mortuary belief rooted in the classical tradition involving the ferryman Charon and the journey to the afterlife.<sup>708</sup> This interpretation is sometimes taken to encompass all the finds of coins in the Germanic graves, not only those found in the mouth of the dead or near the upper body. However, not all scholars agree with this sentiment. In a recent article, H.W. Horsnæs strongly questioned this explanation of the practice and stated that most of the coins found in Danish graves were either made into jewellery, which is evident from coins fashioned with a loop or with punched holes, or carried in pouches together with other personal belongings. Therefore she argued that they should not be interpreted as the remains of a ritual directed towards the ferryman who carried the dead to the afterlife.<sup>709</sup> Like the scholarly discussions concerning Roman graves, these different arguments express the complexity of the archaeological material. It is clear that no one-sided explanation is sufficient to explain the apparently broad spectrum of function and meaning revolving around coin deposition in mortuary practices.

In order to outline the practice of a so-called Charon’s fee in Germanic graves I have compiled a table (table 5.2) presenting those Roman Iron Age inhumations where coins and other objects are found in the mouth, in the chest area<sup>710</sup> or by the hands of the deceased. These are the locations that are often associated with the practice of a Charon’s fee in the Mediterranean area and the north-western provinces of the Roman Empire.<sup>711</sup> The carrying of the Charon’s fee in the mouth or in the hand is moreover the practice attested in classical written sources and in classical imagery.<sup>712</sup> I have focused solely on inhumations, since these are the only cases where we may determine the relation of the

<sup>704</sup> E.g. Steuer 2002:503; Bemmman 2005:20–23.

<sup>705</sup> For a general overview, see Rosenstock 1982; Dölle 1991; Steuer 2002.

<sup>706</sup> In Swedish *andlig import*, Gräslund 1967:173f.; cf. Werner 1950:29f.; Herteig 1955:60–62; Steuer 1970:154; Andersson 1985:137; Grindler Hansen 1988:118f.; Axboe 1989:471f.; Boye 2002; Solberg 2000:77, 100, 106f.; Bemmman 2005:22, 29, 35.

<sup>707</sup> E.g. Gräslund 1967:173f.; Werner 1973:12f.; Gorecki 1976:238f.; Steuer 2002:503.

<sup>708</sup> Cf. Steuer 2002:503.

<sup>709</sup> Horsnæs 2005:14.

<sup>710</sup> Regarding finds from the chest area I have excluded punched or looped coins, since it is very difficult to determine whether these were part of a necklace or deposited independently. However, some scholars also interpret coins that are part of a necklace as a Charon’s fee (cf. Axboe 1989:471).

<sup>711</sup> E.g. Steuer 2002:499.

<sup>712</sup> E.g. Gorecki 1995:98, fig. 5.



NO.	SITE	REGION	COUNTRY	OBJECT	POSITION	DATE	REFERENCES
1	Bakkegård Øst o	Zealand	DK	Two small pieces of gold	In the mouth	Late Roman	AUD 2001:no. 50; Sv-end Åge Tornbjerg, Køge Museum (pers. com.); Lund Hansen & Rindel 2008:121
2	Bakkegård Øst h	Zealand	DK	A small piece of gold	In the mouth	Late Roman	AUD 2001:no. 50; Sv-end Åge Tornbjerg, Køge Museum (pers. com.); Lund Hansen & Rindel 2008:121
3	Bæk	Jutland	DK	Aureus (Tiberius 14-37)	Possibly in the hand of the dead	B2	Korthauer 1997; Bemmann 2005:40.
4	Brandelev	Zealand	DK	Finger ring of gold; Finger ring of gold with 2 carneols	Finger ring in the mouth; Carneol ring on the chest	Late Roman	Holten 1989:122.
5	Brøndsager 2000	Zealand	DK	Gold piece	In the mouth	C2	Fonnesbech-Sandberg 2004a:100; Bemmann 2005:40; Lund Hansen & Rindel 2008:121.
6	Greve	Zealand	DK	Gold disc	In the mouth	C2	Holten 1989:75, 112.
7	Gyngstrup 6	Funen	DK	Finger ring of gold	Together with teeth and two fibulae	B2/C1	Albrechtsen 1973:49; Andersson 1993:70.
8	Hågerup	Funen	DK	Denarius (Lucius Aelius 137) + gold wire spiral	Coin in the mouth; Gold wire beneath the lower jaw	C1b	Bemmann 2005:40.
9	Haraldsted 4	Zealand	DK	Three amber beads	Between the teeth	C3/D	Norling-Christensen 1957:16f.
10	Hastrup 2	Zealand	DK	Gold wire	In the mouth	C1b/C2	Bemmann 2005:40; Lund Hansen & Rindel 2008:127.
11	Himlingøje 1894-1	Zealand	DK	Finger ring of gold	In the mouth, under the lower jaw.	C1b	Holten 1989:117; Schou Jørgensen 1995:102; Bemmann 2005:40; Lund Hansen & Rindel 2008:125f.
12	Himlingøje 1949-2	Zealand	DK	A small gold bar	In the mouth	C1b	Holten 1989:117f.; Lund Hansen 1995b:156; Bemmann 2005:40; Lund Hansen & Rindel 2008:126f.
13	Kærup Nord 3663	Zealand	DK	Polished piece of amber	In the mouth	C1b2/C2	Mailund Christensen 2006:35; (forthcoming):25-27.
14	Maglebjerg	Zealand	DK	Worked/cut piece of amber	At the head end	C2	Borby Hansen 2007:12.
15	Nyrup 13	Zealand	DK	Two spiral finger rings of gold	By the head	C3	Holten 1989:113.
16	Regnemark Æ	Zealand	DK	Gold bead with loop	Between the teeth	Early Roman	Liversage 1980:27f.; Andersson 1993:17; Andersson 1995:32-34.
17	Slusegård 244	Bornholm	DK	Iron fibula	In the mouth	Early Roman	Klindt-Jensen 1978b:86; Sellevold 1996:185.
18	Slusegård 1251	Bornholm	DK	Iron fibula and a string of glass, amber, silver-foil and gold-foil beads	On the mouth	C1	Klindt-Jensen 1978b:272; Bech 1996:60, 75, 100.
19	Varpelev A	Zealand	DK	Golden spiral arm ring of snakehead type	By the neck	C2	Engelhardt 1877:352; Holten 1989:124.
20	Emersleben 1	Saxony-Anhalt	DE	Punched aureus (Severus Alexander 233)	In the mouth	C2	Schulz 1952:105; Bemmann 2005:43.
21	Emersleben 2	Saxony-Anhalt	DE	Punched aureus (Postumus 259)	In the mouth	C2	Schulz 1952:109; Bemmann 2005:43.

22	Frienstedt 898	Thuringia	DE	Punched aureus (Philippus II Filius 244/247)	In the mouth	C2	Bemmann 2005:43; Christoph G. Schmidt, Thüringisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege und Archäologie (pers. com.).
23	Gommern	Saxony-Anhalt	DE	Aureus (Trajan 112/114)	In or on the mouth;	C2	Becker et al. 1992:308; Becker 2001a:132; Bemmann 2005:43.
24	Halle-Südost	Saxony-Anhalt	DE	Denarius (Commodus 186/187)	In the mouth	Late Roman	Bemmann 2005:43.
25	Haßleben 4	Thuringia	DE	Aureus (Victorinus 268/270)	In the mouth	C2	Schulz 1933:14; Bemmann 2005:43.
26	Haßleben 8	Thuringia	DE	Aureus (Gallienus (260/268)	In the mouth	C2	Schulz 1933:7; Bemmann 2005:43f.
27	Haßleben 18	Thuringia	DE	Gold plate	In the mouth	C2	Schulz 1933:17; Bemmann 2005:44.
28	Haßleben 20, 1931	Thuringia	DE	Aureus (Laelianus 268)	In the mouth	C2	Schulz 1933:51; Bemmann 2005:44.
29	Häven 2, 1967	Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania	DE	Disc of spiral gold wire	In the lower jaw	C2	Hollnagel 1970:270; Bemmann 2005:42.
30	Leubingen	Thuringia	DE	Aureus (Valerian 258)	On the chest	C2	Werner 1973:8; Bemmann 2005:44.
31	Leuna 2, 1917	Saxony Anhalt	DE	Aureus (Tetricus I. 271-274)	In the mouth	C2	Schulz 1953:13; Bemmann 2005:43.
32	Neudorf-Bornstein 4	Schleswig-Holstein	DE	Spiral ring of gold	In the mouth	C2	Schäfer 1968:49; Bemmann 2005:41.
33	Otterndorf-Westerwörden 5	Lower-Saxony	DE	An amber bead	On the lower jaw	C3/D1	Herrmann & Großkopf 1999:199f.; Schön 1999b:165f.
34	Schkeuditz	Saxony-Anhalt	DE	Bronze fibula	In the mouth	Early Roman	Schulz 1922:98, n. 1c.
35	Gile 17	Oppland	NO	Punched silver disc	In the mouth	C1a	Herteig 1955; Bemmann 2005:38.
36	Søndre Kjørstad	Oppland	NO	Finger ring of gold; golden finger ring with mounted glass; golden finger ring of snake head type;	On the chest	C2	Ab 1868:53-57; Andersson 1993a:138f.
37	Elbląg-Pole Nowomiejski 20	Warmia-Masuria	PL	Denarius (Marcus Aurelius 162)	By the skull	C2	Bemmann 2005:46.
38	Masłomęcz 200	Lublin	PL	Looped subaeratus (Antoninus Pius (138/161)	By the left hand	C2	Kokowski 1995:157; Bemmann 2005:47.
39	Masłomęcz 201	Lublin	PL	Looped Denarius (Nero 54/56)	By the left hand	C2	Kokowski 1995:179; Bemmann 2005:47.
40	Szwajcaria 8	Podlasie	PL	Bone bead	In the mouth	C3/D1	Tempelmann-Maczyńska 1985:145, 317.
41	Weklice 379	Warmia-Masuria	PL	Denarius (Trajan 103/111)	In a small bronze box which lay together with a ring in a pouch in the deceased's right hand	C2	Bursche & Okulicz-Kozaryn 1999:153; Bemmann 2005:47.
42	Kälder 2	Gotland	SE	Imitation of Constantine gold coin or medallion	In the mouth	C3	Almgren 1903:89f.; Bemmann 2005:39.
43	Simris 54	Scania	SE	Bobbin-shaped piece of amber	In the mouth	C1b/C2	Stjernquist 1955:20-23; Gejvall 1961:168.

Table 5.2 Germanic inhumations with coins and/or other objects deposited in the mouth, head, chest or hand area.

objects to the dead body. This is not to say that the ritual deposition of a Charon's fee was not practised in connection with Germanic cremations.<sup>713</sup>

Looking at the Germanic inhumations with coins placed in the corpse's mouth, the emerging image does not appear as certain as one might think based on Horsnæs's argument above. While several scholars besides Horsnæs have argued for a decorative or amuletic function for coins with a loop or coins with punched holes,<sup>714</sup> we also have finds of such coins deposited in the mouth of the dead. In graves 1 and 2 at Emersleben in Saxony-Anhalt, (Germany), both dating to period C2, punched aurei were found placed in their mouths.<sup>715</sup> The same practice is seen in the contemporary male grave from Friestedt in Thuringia (Germany), already mentioned above. These examples demonstrate the difficulties of distinguishing between a jewellery function and the practice of coins in the mouth, especially when solely based on whether the coins have holes/loops or not. Not even when these coins are found in the chest area may we be certain of their function, since their location may be the result of the body's decomposition or the activities of burrowing animals.<sup>716</sup> This might for instance also be a valid explanation for coins without holes or loops found in the chest or head area of the bodies, like the aureus found in the grave at Leubingen in Thuringia (Germany). But according to M. Axboe, a distinction between jewellery and the obolus tradition might not even be necessary. He suggested incidentally that "Vielleicht haben einige Personen schon zu ihren eigenen Lebzeit ihr Totengeld herstellen lassen und als Anhänger bei sich getragen, wie man in späteren Zeiten selbst Sarg und Totenkleid besorgen konnte."<sup>717</sup>

Further examples exist which clearly enhance our impression of a close relationship between coins and jewellery. First we have the so-called *Münzfingerringen*, i.e. coins mounted on finger rings, known from finds in Lower Saxony, Brandenburg, Schleswig-Holstein and Zealand. There is also an example of a coin mounted on a disc fibula from Silesia in Poland. Furthermore, there are finds showing that coins occasionally functioned as stamps to decorate metalwork, like the strap-end decorated with the imprint of a denar, found among the weapon offerings in the Esbjøl bog in Jutland, Denmark.<sup>718</sup>

The apparent association between coins and jewellery becomes even more distinct if we go beyond the inhumations with coins, and include the substantial amount of grave finds where other objects were placed in the deceased's mouth. Of all the inhumations listed in table 5.2, only 11 of them have coins deposited in connection with the mouth. Of the remaining graves, 23 have alternative forms of objects placed at the deceased's mouth. These alternative forms of objects consist of pieces of silver or gold, golden finger rings, gold wire, iron and bronze fibulae, beads of gold, amber and bone, as well as solid pieces of amber. A special case is the grave from Hågerup on Funen in Denmark, where a coin was found in the mouth while a spiral-shaped gold wire was found just beneath the lower jaw, which might indicate that both objects were originally deposited in the mouth. The fibulae mentioned above may have been used to fasten some

<sup>713</sup> E.g. Shetelig 1908; 1912:68; Møllerop 2004; cf. Steuer 2002:500.

<sup>714</sup> E.g. Fønnesbech-Sandberg 1989:446, 449; Axboe 1989:470; cf. Bemmman 2005:29–36.

<sup>715</sup> Schulz 1952:105, 109.

<sup>716</sup> Bemmman 2005:23.

<sup>717</sup> Axboe 1989:471.

<sup>718</sup> Bemmman 2005:1–3; cf. Horsnæs 2003:338, fig. 3.

sort of organic wrapping of the body, and ended up at their location in the process of decomposition. This might be the case with the fibula found on the mouth of the deceased in Slusegård grave 1251 (Denmark). However, in Slusegård 244 (Denmark) and Schkeuditz (Germany) the fibulae were located inside the mouth, which is remarkable. Furthermore, the step between fibulae and coins (or other forms of money, such as pieces of gold and silver) may not have been particularly long in some areas, considering the princely grave from Gommern (Germany) where the deceased was buried with two fibulae hooked into each other and placed at his waist, presumably in some form of pouch hung at the belt. This has been interpreted in terms of money rather costume.<sup>719</sup>

The deposition of other objects than coins in the mouth of the deceased, especially pieces of precious metals, is often characterized as a particular Germanic phenomenon.<sup>720</sup> Also, in the graves where actual coins were used (whether they were Roman products or native imitations) a golden aureus or a silver denar was preferred, which sets them apart from the contemporary provincial Roman graves in which coins of copper were used.<sup>721</sup> According to scholars like Steuer and J. Bemmman, this is explained by the role of gold as a symbol of rank among the Germanic peoples.<sup>722</sup>

Several scholars argue that the use of imitations or other objects rather than Roman coins shows how the foreign currency was replaced by a native form of money.<sup>723</sup> Andersson, for instance, suggested that the gold rings in the mouth indicate that they could replace coins as a Charon's fee. He also argued that these finds thus indirectly show that worked gold was regarded as payment and that it was meant to circulate as such.<sup>724</sup> According to Axboe this may have been because the genuine article, the Roman coin, was too rare, or in high demand among the living.<sup>725</sup> The fact that Roman coins were emulated in native versions, like the find from Kälder on Gotland, Sweden, indicates that not only the use of currency was important in these practices, but also the actual physical form of the coin. This pattern, where imitations of Roman coins, jewellery and pieces of precious metals seem to have been integrated with Roman coins in the mortuary practices, indicates that both a practical and a symbolic link was made between these foreign and local products. This relationship is also supported by finds from other contexts. In her work on beads in Germanic finds from the Roman Iron Age and the Migration Period, Tempelmann-Maczyńska referred to beads and pieces of amber being found in ritual deposits together with coins. According to her, and other scholars as well, these objects may thus be interpreted as a form of currency; as *commodity money*.<sup>726</sup>

<sup>719</sup> Becker 2008:301.

<sup>720</sup> However, in an Austrian grave find from Salzburg, a shard of terra sigillata was found in the mouth of the corpse (Hell 1967:111).

<sup>721</sup> E.g. Dölle 1991:173f.; Steuer 2002:505.

<sup>722</sup> Steuer 2002:511; Bemmman 2005:23.

<sup>723</sup> E.g. Axboe 1989:469, Andersson 1993:29; Bemmman 2005:27.

<sup>724</sup> Andersson 1993:29.

<sup>725</sup> Axboe 1989:471.

<sup>726</sup> Tempelmann-Maczyńska 1985:146; cf. Thomsen 1995:20; Ilkjær 2000:45; 122; cf. also Olczak 2007 for beads as commodity money in Central and Eastern Europe during the medieval period.

The case of beads is especially interesting in this context, partly because it is so problematic. Even though we have a number of finds where beads are found inside or near the mouth, several of them are problematic, for example the finds from Haraldsted 4, Slusegård 1251, and Otterndorf-Westerwörden 5 (table 5.2). In Haraldsted 4, three beads were found between the teeth of the deceased. In the case of Slusegård 1251 the beads appeared on a string together with an iron fibula on top of the mouth of the deceased. And in Otterndorf-Westerwörden 5 a bead was found on the lower jaw. It is hard to determine whether these beads ended up on their location as the result of a deliberate act or due to other factors such as the decomposition of the body and the grave. Lone beads are often found in the head area of the graves, and it is most likely that these were hung on a string around the neck.<sup>727</sup> Occasional beads found in the head area may also be interpreted as parts of a hairstyle or headgear. From the Baltic area we know of bonnet-like head coverings decorated with beads, dating to the early and Late Roman Iron Age, as well as the Migration Period.<sup>728</sup> On the other hand, an Early Roman Iron Age inhumation from Favrskov on Funen in Denmark contained, among other things, a collection of silver foil beads that had their holes filled with melted glass, and thus could not have been fastened to a string or to the clothing.<sup>729</sup> If, however, we accept Axboe's sentiment that even coins hung on necklaces might have been a part of the obolus tradition, then there may not even have been a division of function and meaning between beads and coins found deposited in the mouth or head area, and beads and coins hung on a necklace.<sup>730</sup>

The finds of punched or looped coins, finger rings, beads, and fibulae deposited in the mouth of the dead may not only indicate that those objects were regarded as a form of payment, but we may also indicate a special association between jewellery and currency. It is then especially interesting to note that in graves like Brøndsager 2000 and Himlingøje 1949-2 a piece of gold was placed in the mouth of the deceased, while a punched or looped coin was found hung on a beaded necklace.<sup>731</sup> This indicates that it was not the lack of a genuine Roman coin (or an imitation of one, as is the case with the coin from Brøndsager) that warranted the use of a piece of gold in the mouth. These finds should rather be regarded as confirmation of the fluidity of function and meaning between coins, jewellery and precious metals.

According to Bemmman's survey of Germanic inhumations with coins in the mouths, this practice first appeared on Zealand and Funen during period C1b, and may not be found on Gotland and in the Middle German area of Thuringia and Saxony-Anhalt until period C2, and in Norway not until the middle of the fifth century.<sup>732</sup> An interesting fact, however, is that if we include the graves with other objects than coins placed in the deceased's mouth in this chronological survey, we see that the grave from Schkeuditz in Saxony-Anhalt in Germany dated to the Early Roman Iron Age and grave 17 from Gile in Oppland in Norway from period C1a, predates even the Danish

727 Cf. Tempelmann-Maczyńska 1985:145; Wołagiewicz 1995:40.

728 Tempelmann-Maczyńska 1985:144.

729 Olldag 1995:27.

730 Cf. Olczak 2007:133.

731 Lund Hansen 1995b:155; Fønnesbech-Sandberg 2004a:99f.; 2004b:59.

732 Bemmman 2005:27, 37. This later date of the obolus tradition in the Middle German area might, according to Bemmman, be due to the prevailing cremation practice in this region in period C1.



finds. It is thus hard to argue for an evolution from the use of coins to the use of substitute materials, or a steady geographical dispersal of the custom from a core area, presumably close to the Roman Empire, to the peripheral Scandinavian areas. Bemmman stated that this use of other objects than Roman coins is evidence of a deeper understanding of the obolus tradition, and an ability to adapt it to the local conditions without changing its content.<sup>733</sup> Others scholars, however, approach the subject from a slightly different angle and argue that the obolus tradition was not a straightforward imitation of a Roman tradition, but rather a transformed practice,<sup>734</sup> and some of them even suggest that the custom may have been practised without knowledge of its original Mediterranean meaning, i.e. the myth of Charon, but rather fused together with local conceptions.<sup>735</sup>

While it is quite likely that the specific practice of placing coins in the mouth of the dead may have spread from the provincial Roman area to the Germanic tribes outside the empire, it is however very difficult to discern the beliefs and meanings behind the act. It is a well-known fact that the deposition of coins or other objects as payment for the passage to the afterlife is documented in many societies around the world. Scholars like van Gennep and L.V. Grinsell mentioned anthropological cases from many countries including Burma, Australia, New Zealand, Samoa, Fiji, Japan, Peru and Mexico.<sup>736</sup> The general idea, shared by numerous cultures around the world, is that the dead embarks on a journey, and that this journey or the entrance to the otherworld is surrounded by a number of requirements that take on different material expressions in the mortuary practices. Irrespective of the specific religious beliefs, these practices mark the social transition of the deceased and his or her incorporation into the world of the dead. Therefore I find Stevens's explanation for the Mediterranean practice appealing – that the ritual deposition of coins, whether in the mouth of the dead or in the grave at the time of burial, at a general level was a way of marking the transition of the deceased to the land of the dead, as well as the relationship between the land of the living and the otherworld. These are conceptions that are easily transferable and adaptable, and it is even quite possible that similar ideas were already present among the Germanic peoples, but in relation to other forms of material culture. I will return to this discussion later on. What we see in the cases with coins and other objects deposited in the mouth in Germanic inhumations is the categorical extension involving coins, precious metals and jewellery. The question then is whether this extension also included shards of glass found deposited on the dead person, since it has been suggested that these finds are yet another representation of the obolus tradition among the Germanic tribes.

There are many similarities between the so-called obolus tradition and some of the depositions of glass shards. The first, and most obvious one is the placement of shards in or near the mouth of the dead, but other patterns may be discerned as well. In several cases, coins in or by the hands or in the chest or head area are also regarded as manifestations of the obolus tradition, and in a number of graves, namely Engbjerg 12, Haraldsted 2, Skovgårde 400, Fallward, Kvassheim 30, Søndre Kjørstad, Pruszcz Gdański grave 5, Stuchowo and Kristineberg 152B, shards of glass are found in

<sup>733</sup> Bemmman 2005:27.

<sup>734</sup> E.g. Gorecki 1976:242; Steuer 2002:503.

<sup>735</sup> Broholm 1952:17f.; Axboe 1989:417; Steuer 2002:502.

<sup>736</sup> Grinsell 1957; van Gennep 1984:154.



comparable circumstances. As mentioned previously, it is possible that in some of these cases the shard was originally located in the deceased's mouth and at a later stage landed in the chest area due to the body's decomposition. The association between glass shards, beads, punched or looped coins, and other forms of jewellery or adornment (like fibulae) is further enhanced by a number of known cases where shards of glass or terra sigillata were perforated and reused as beads or pendants.<sup>737</sup> In this respect, Axboe's suggestion that even coins hung on a necklace functioned as a Charon's fee becomes very interesting.<sup>738</sup> Perhaps the perforated shards of glass and terra sigillata hung around the neck should be equated to the practice of placing coins, glass shards and other objects in the mouth or in association with the upper body.

When it comes to the geographical and chronological distribution of graves with glass shards in the mouth, hands, or chest area compared to the obolus tradition, it is very hard to draw any decisive conclusions due to the source-critical concerns. The deliberate deposition of glass shards in graves has not been given much attention in archaeological excavations, and therefore the number of published finds where such patterns may be claimed is limited. Nonetheless, the geographical distribution of the finds with glass partly overlaps the distribution of the finds with coins and other objects such as pieces of gold or jewellery. In Scandinavia, the glass finds are most prominent on Zealand in Denmark, while two finds were found in Scania, Sweden, and two in Norway, in Oppland and Rogaland respectively. The interconnectedness of these practices is furthermore illustrated by the find from Oppland, the grave from Søndre Kjørstand, where the glass shard was found on the chest together with three finger rings of gold. Further south, both practices are found along the southern Baltic coast, while the use glass shards is not found further down than the northern part of Lower Saxony. The chronological patterns also roughly correspond with each other. The graves with coins etc. are dated from the Early Roman Iron Age/B2 to C3/D1, while the finds with glass shards are known from between period C1a and C3/D1. Therefore I think it is likely that the deposition of glass shards, coins, pieces of gold or silver, gold finger rings, fibulae, pieces of amber, and possibly also some of the finds of beads, in association with the mouth, the head, the hands or the chest of the deceased, should be viewed as manifestations of interconnected ideas.

While this use of glass shards may be seen as a transformation of the so-called obolus tradition, this interpretative model does not fit the practice where shards or incomplete glass vessels were deposited together with pottery inside the grave, as is the case with the finds from Juellinge 1, Møllegårdsmarken 1304, Sejlflod IO, Skovgårde 209, Leuna 2, 1917, Døssland 1, Gaalaas, Lunde, Salthammer, Bandyklubban & Skridskon 1, and Ytter Restad 5. Nor does it necessarily explain the finds of glass shards scattered in the grave fill as in the cases from grave 2 at Harpelev and grave 898 from Friestedt. Should the deliberate deposition of these fragments be considered solely as an expression of the scarcity and prestigious value of glass vessels, as suggested by some of the scholars who have previously broached the subject? To understand these particular find circumstances, I suggest it is necessary to investigate other Germanic mortuary practices where objects have been fragmented and intentionally deposited in incomplete parts.

<sup>737</sup> E.g. Albrechtsen 1971:115f.; Klindt-Jensen 1978b:189; Ringtved 1991:52f.; Hirsch *et al.* 2007:no. II-08-10/1.1.; Garhøj Rosenberg 2008:101.

<sup>738</sup> Axboe 1989:471.

## 5.5 FRAGMENTATION PRACTICES IN THE ROMAN IRON AGE

I believe it is possible to find further dimensions of meaning attached to these related practices in comparison with other grave goods, especially other forms of fragmentation practices observable in Germanic graves. All over Germania Magna we find numerous examples of how objects were bent or broken before they were deposited as grave goods, a treatment that is generally considered ritual.<sup>739</sup> Fibulae, belt details, spurs, tools, combs and a number of other objects, appear to have been intentionally bent, broken or taken apart before pieces of them were deposited in the graves.<sup>740</sup> In this section, however, I will focus on the fragmentation of pottery and metal vessels, beads and beaded strings, as well as weapons for comparison with the finds of glass discussed above. I will start with the fragmentation of pottery and metal vessels, since it shows many similar patterns to the use of sharded glass. Then I will briefly examine the use of beads in the mortuary practices, since it shows similarities to practices involving glass shards. As a final point, weapons are considered, since in this group of objects we may observe one of the clearest examples of intentional breakage before deposition.

### 5.5.1 POTTERY

In the previous chapter I illustrated how silver beakers of Germanic craftsmanship alluded to Greco-Roman forms of vessels at the same time as they made intentional reference to the motifs and compositions of ornamentation found on local fine ware pottery. In consequence I argued that an interpretative link was forged between the Mediterranean silver vessels and Germanic pottery, and that the Germanic silver vessels should be regarded as amalgamations or hybrids, deliberately manufactured with the intent to reflect both foreign and local traditions. For this reason it is especially interesting in the present chapter to compare the intentional use of glass shards in the mortuary context with similar practices in connection with local pottery, predominantly observed in cremation graves.

The intentional deposition of fragmented pottery in graves is a well-known practice in Germania Magna, and may be observed in both the Pre-Roman and the Roman Iron Age. It is mainly noted in cremations, but is not unheard of in connection with inhumations. There is, however, no comprehensive study on this subject, and therefore no detailed comparisons have been made between fragmentation practices in different geographical regions and in different periods. The present discussion is therefore only a sparse and rather sweeping survey of a phenomenon that in itself warrants a thorough archaeological investigation.

Reviewing numerous cemetery studies from Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Germany and Poland, a number of practices may be discerned regarding the use of broken pottery in the mortuary rituals that seem to be commonplace in many parts of the Germanic

<sup>739</sup> E.g. Köhler 1975:32–33; Voigt 1978:181; Schultze 1992:210f.; Henriksen 1998.

<sup>740</sup> Köhler 1975:32–34; Leube 1978:30; Stange 1987:36; Bantelmann 1988:74; Schultze 1991; Henriksen 1998:101–104; Czarnecka 2003:281; Jaskanis 2005:111f.

area. For instance, a pottery vessel frequently accompanied the dead body on the pyre, and was thus fragmented as a result of the cremation process. Later, after the fire had died and the ashes were sufficiently cool, a few of the burnt shards were selected from the remains to be deposited in the grave pit along with the charred bones and fragments of the rest of the grave goods.<sup>741</sup>

In other cases, vessels were not placed on the pyre but smashed and pieces placed unburnt in the grave.<sup>742</sup> Some of these vessels were represented in the grave by only a single or a few shards,<sup>743</sup> but cases like the complete but shattered pottery vessel in grave A 65 at Løkkebjerggård on Funen in Denmark, dated to the Late Roman Iron Age, whose worn shard edges indicate that it was broken into large fragments before deposition, show that even reconstructable vessels might not always have been deposited intact.<sup>744</sup> Larger shards or partially fragmented vessels are also known to have functioned as lids for the funerary urns in both the Pre-Roman and the Roman period.<sup>745</sup>

In some cremations dated to the Early Roman Iron Age we find shards of both unburnt and fire-damaged shards belonging to different types of vessels, indicating a mixture of the practices mentioned above.<sup>746</sup> However, on occasion these burnt and unburnt shards belonged to the same vessel, as in some of the graves at the cemetery of Kamieńczyk in eastern Masovia (Poland) dated to the Early Roman Iron Age, where secondary burnt shards fit together with shards that show no sign of being on the pyre. It thus appears that the vessel was broken before the cremation and some of its pieces burnt together with the body and then recovered for deposition, while others were put aside and later placed unburnt in the grave together with the remains of the pyre.<sup>747</sup>

While the examples above show the use of completely shattered pottery, finds of only partially fragmented urns and supplementary pottery indicate that in some cases a vessel with pieces missing, such as handles, the bottom, or parts of the rim or wall, was placed in the grave.<sup>748</sup> The origin of this widely observed custom is sometimes placed in the pre-Roman Jastorf culture where it frequently appears.<sup>749</sup> Most of the Roman Iron Age finds come from cremation graves, but examples are known also from inhumations.<sup>750</sup>

In many of the cases discussed above, it is difficult to know if the vessels were intentionally fragmented as part the mortuary rituals, or whether they were (intentionally or

741 E.g. Artursson 1996b:32; Artursson, Stark & Sunderlin 1996:168; Becker 1996:24; Reisborg 1996:280; Dąbrowska 1997:109; Stilborg 1997:201f.; Henriksen 1998:104.

742 Cf. Norling-Christensen 1954:no. 229; Wegewitz 1973:106; 1986:95; Stief 1988:62, 124; Lind 1991:26, 49; Reisborg 1996:280; Dąbrowska 1997:108; Stilborg 1997:192, 202; Dommasnes 1998:197; Eger 1999a:7; Bokinić 2005:119.

743 E.g. as observed by Rudebeck & Ödman (2001:163) in some of the early Iron Age cremation graves in the Scanian cemetery of Kristineberg, Sweden.

744 Stilborg 1997:207f.; cf. Becker 1961:158.

745 E.g. Wegewitz 1973:106; Keiling 1979:14; Bode 1998:12; Skorupka 2001:?:; Czarnecka 2003:278; Bokinić 2005:119.

746 E.g. Norling-Christensen 1954: no. 198, 258.

747 Dąbrowska 1997:108.

748 Becker 1961:165f.; Keiling 1979:14; Artursson 1996a:393f., 1996b:32; Andrzejowski 1998:102; Machajewski 2001:46; cf. Stilborg 1997:202.

749 E.g. Krüger 1961:16f.

750 E.g. Norling-Christensen 1954:24; Pietrzak 1997:87.

not) broken a long time before that.<sup>751</sup> However, in grave 124 at Nadkole 2 in Masovia (Poland), dated to the Late Roman Iron Age, two handles and a large piece of the upper body of a cremation urn were broken off, causing parts of the vessel's content to spill out. The handles were then intentionally pushed into the resulting pile of ashes and bone on the bottom of the grave pit.<sup>752</sup> This indicates, I would argue, that the vessel was deliberately broken in connection with the funeral itself.

The last example of fragmentation practices regarding pottery is what appears to be the deliberate scattering of shards in the grave fill or on top of the grave.<sup>753</sup> At times it appears that entire sets of vessels, containing bowls, beakers and jugs, were shattered and then strewn over the grave pit.<sup>754</sup> In other cases, like the so-called *Scherbenlagern* in the Elbe- and East-Germanic areas, the burnt and cleaned bones were mixed with sherds from several broken pots and then strewn in a small patch on the cemetery.<sup>755</sup> Admittedly, it is possible that some of the shards in depositions of this kind stem from earlier but destroyed urn graves in the cemetery. But similar finds show that this was not always the case, for instance, in the Early Roman Iron Age cemetery at Garlstorf in Lower Saxony (Germany), where comparable depositions were found with no apparent association with the neighbouring urn burials.<sup>756</sup>

The intentional deposition of pottery shards is not as widely discussed in association with inhumations as with cremations, but the practice does occur, for example in the so-called pottery graves in Jutland dated to the Early Roman Iron Age.<sup>757</sup> Likewise, in an inhumation from Zollchow, the district of Uckermark, Brandenburg (Germany), dated to the Early Roman Iron Age, shards of pottery were intentionally deposited as fragments in different places alongside the body.<sup>758</sup> Furthermore, the practice of smashing pottery and depositing the shards in the grave fill may also be seen in inhumations. I have already mentioned examples like the Late Roman Iron Age grave 2 from Harpelev on Zealand in Denmark, where shards of both glass and pottery seem to have been intentionally deposited in the fill. Ethelberg argued that this grave and other contemporary inhumations display too many shards of pottery in the fill for it to be a coincidence.<sup>759</sup> He gave special reference to finds in Jutland in Denmark, and other scholars have likewise noted this practice in Jutlandic graves. One of them is S. Diinhoff, who drew attention to Early Roman Iron Age inhumations in northern Jutland where pottery vessels were found placed on the grave floor as well as broken and deposited in an ashy layer in the upper grave fill or on top of the stones of the burial chamber. Frequently, further shards of multiple pottery vessels are found deposited in heaps, small ash-pits or fireplaces next to the grave.<sup>760</sup> Diinhoff acknowledged the possibility that these shards may be the remains of recurring rituals on the cemetery, possibly

<sup>751</sup> Cf. Becker 1961:165; Behrends 1968a:21.

<sup>752</sup> Andrzejowski 1998:102.

<sup>753</sup> E.g. Stange 1987:35; Artursson 1996a:393f.; Reisborg 1996:280; Eger 1999a:8.

<sup>754</sup> Czarnecka 2003:278.

<sup>755</sup> E.g. Eger 1999a:8f.

<sup>756</sup> Thieme 1984:145f.

<sup>757</sup> Brøndsted 1960:143.

<sup>758</sup> Raddatz 1991:96.

<sup>759</sup> Ethelberg 2000:38, n. 32.

<sup>760</sup> Diinhoff 1997:112–114.

separated from any one specific funerary ritual.<sup>761</sup> However, in some of these assemblages the excavators even found broken pottery that could be refitted with shards found in the upper grave fill.<sup>762</sup> In other words it seems that a portion of the pottery was scattered over the grave and the rest placed in a pit beside it, which would suggest that the depositions at least on occasion took place at the time of burial. An interesting parallel dated to the Late Roman Iron Age is found in the so-called princely grave from Kirkebakkegård. Here, the coffin was covered by large stones on top of which a fire had been lit. Among the remains of the pyre were found the remains of bones and broken pottery. Directly beside the grave there were also three stone-filled pits with pyre remains and pottery shards. According to H. Thrane, these features may be interpreted as the remains of the funerary meal.<sup>763</sup>

The above practices have been interpreted in a number of ways, all of which usually entail some form of ritual and/or symbolic explanation. In noting the deliberate deposition of fragmented pottery at the cemetery of Bollbacken in Västmanland (Sweden), M. Artursson argued that an economic explanation for the practice, i.e. that the shards were deposited since a complete vessel was too valuable, was not a very convincing one since the pottery in this specific region was often simple and of low quality. However, Artursson asked himself whether the actual act of breaking the vessels was the most significant feature or if a symbolic meaning was attached to the actual fragments themselves.<sup>764</sup> Cases where one or more shards are found among the grave goods or scattered over the grave, both in cremations and in inhumations, are often interpreted as evidence of a ritual destruction, perhaps in connection with meals or offerings of food and drink performed by the persons at the funeral as part of a mortuary ritual.<sup>765</sup> Ethelberg, while commenting on inhumation grave 2 from Harpelev, suggested that the shards of both glass and pottery found in the upper layers were ritual offerings made when the grave was being back-filled.<sup>766</sup> This particular find, where shards of different materials were used in the same way, may thus indicate conceptual similarities between the use of fragmented glass and fragmented pottery. Others argue that vessels found in this way were destroyed to prevent them being used again.<sup>767</sup> Several scholars have proposed that the practice was a way to spiritualize or symbolically kill the vessels so that they could accompany the dead person to the afterlife.<sup>768</sup> A further explanation is that these shards functioned as *pars pro toto* gifts, i.e. that they were symbolic representations of complete vessels and/or of the pottery that had originally accompanied the body on the pyre.<sup>769</sup> However the reason why complete vessels were symbolized through single shards in this fashion is seldom elaborated on. O. Stilborg, however, argued that it was important that

<sup>761</sup> Diinhoff 1997:115.

<sup>762</sup> Diinhoff 1997:112f.

<sup>763</sup> Thrane 1966:4.

<sup>764</sup> Artursson 1996a:394.

<sup>765</sup> E.g. Stange 1987:35; Raddatz 1991:98; Diinhoff 1997:114; Czarnecka 2003:278, cf. 293f.; cf. Eger 1999a:8.

<sup>766</sup> Ethelberg 2000:33f.

<sup>767</sup> E.g. Wegewitz 1986:95; Czarnecka 2003:278.

<sup>768</sup> E.g. Stilborg 1997:208 with ref. to Kaliff 1992; Andrzejowski 1998:103; Czarnecka 2003:283.

<sup>769</sup> E.g. Stilborg 1997:192; Dommasnes 1998:197f.



the dead persons buried in the Gudme-Lundeborg area on Funen (Denmark) were accompanied with a complete set of pottery vessels, containing at least a large coarse or fine ware vessel and a smaller fine ware vessel. Even the funerary urn was included in this set. Fragmented pottery would therefore sometimes be deposited as a *pars pro toto* ritual in order to assure the completeness of this set.<sup>770</sup> In contrast to this view, scholars like L.H. Dommasnes argued that the broken pottery found in west Norwegian graves were not necessarily part of the personal grave goods, i.e. the personal belongings of the dead or objects intended to be used in the afterlife. Instead they may have been deposited as symbolic illustrations of the transformation through death.<sup>771</sup>

### 5.5.2 METAL VESSELS

Although the focus in this chapter is on the fragmentation of glass vessels, these are not the only vessels of Roman manufacture to be found seemingly intentionally broken in Germanic graves. Vessels made of bronze and silver are sometimes found under circumstances indicating they were fragmented before or during the funeral. These cases however, like the finds of fragmented glass, have not been studied as much as the breaking of pottery, and only limited attempts have been made to explain this practice. But they are nonetheless important in this context.

Some of the best-known cases may be found in Elbe Germanic cemeteries from the late Pre-Roman Iron Age as well as the early and Late Roman Iron Age, where the Roman cauldrons, pails and basins used as funerary urns display signs, in the form of torn-off handles or fittings, of having been deliberately damaged before they were placed in the grave.<sup>772</sup> Other forms of imported vessels were also treated in this apparently violent manner. This practice is strikingly similar to that of pottery urns mentioned above, where handles or other parts had been broken off before or in connection with the burial. In addition, saucepans, ladles and strainers that sometimes accompanied the dead in the fire were often broken or hacked into pieces before being placed on the pyre.<sup>773</sup> This treatment is frequently interpreted as ritual deformation and part of the funeral; as a form of *pars pro toto* custom that in turn is often equated with similar handling of other grave goods, such as weapons and dress accessories, where only fragments of the objects were deposited.<sup>774</sup> Comparable finds are found in other areas as well, as in the princely grave from Schwechat in Austria, dated to period B1, where the handle of a saucepan of bronze had been deliberately broken off before its deposition on the funerary pyre.<sup>775</sup> A number of cremation graves from the cemetery at Brudager on Funen (Denmark) display a similar pattern, where bronze vessels were cut into small pieces prior to the cremation.<sup>776</sup>

<sup>770</sup> Stilborg 1997:192f., 202f.

<sup>771</sup> Dommasnes 1998:208.

<sup>772</sup> E.g. Drescher 1963:46–48, fig. 3; Wegewitz 1972:211; Köhler 1975:34; Wegewitz 1986; Laser & Leineweber 1991:238; Laux 1995b:188; Becker 1996:24; Leineweber 1997:23.

<sup>773</sup> E.g. Laux 1995a-f.

<sup>774</sup> E.g. Wegewitz 1972:211, Laser & Leineweber 1991:199.

<sup>775</sup> Künzl 1997b:118.

<sup>776</sup> Henriksen 1998:103.



Similar treatment is seen in silver vessels. The broken pieces of several bronze and silver vessels were found deposited in a Roman bronze pail in the princely cremation grave at Apensen in Lower Saxony (Germany), dating to the period B2. According to W. Wegewitz they were part of a table set used in the funerary ritual by its participants, and then intentionally broken and some of its pieces thrown onto the pyre. The remaining parts of the vessels were kept and may have been reused in the Germanic metal workshops.<sup>777</sup> A similar explanation involving re-circulation or re-use of the remaining fragments has been put forward concerning the fragmented bronze vessels found in the graves at the Danish cemetery of Brudager mentioned above.<sup>778</sup> Likewise, in the elaborately furnished B2/C1 inhumation at Mušov in Moravia (Czech Republic), parts of several silver vessels were found with signs indicating they had been intentionally torn or cut off. M. Mączyńska argued that this reflects a deliberate ritual destruction.<sup>779</sup> J. Peška likewise suggested that this treatment might have been part of a ritual practice, although he also argued that it might also be the result of disturbances made by grave robbers at a later stage.<sup>780</sup> However, the fact that most of the precious artefacts of silver, bronze and glass were left behind, apparently intentionally damaged, makes this explanation unlikely.

Further finds may be viewed in the same light. According to Bełkowska, the two pairs of silver vessels found in the princely graves of Lubieszewo (Lübsow) grave 1, 1908, at site Sandberg dating to B1c, and grave 2, 1925, at site Tunnehult (both in the district of West Pomerania, Poland) dating to B2a, show signs of being intentionally fragmented before deposition. Both pairs consist of one complete vessel and one with parts of the handles missing.<sup>781</sup> It is quite possible that these vessels should be viewed in the same light as the cases mentioned above. In this respect, the combination of one complete and one fragmented vessel is especially interesting, since Hunter observes the same, in his view intentional, practice with regard to vessels of glass in Scandinavian inhumations; as seen in Juellinge 1. Another find, from Lubieszewo, this time from the princely grave 2, 1910 dated to B1b, is also noteworthy in this discussion. Here the excavators found parts of a saucepan of bronze of type E131, while the missing parts of the vessel turned up much later in the contemporary grave 3, 1913.<sup>782</sup> In other words, we are dealing with the intentional fragmentation and splitting up of vessels, and the deposition of the fragments in different graves. A similar practice is again visible in a number of cases at Brudager on Funen, mentioned above, where fragments of the same object appeared in several graves at the cemetery.<sup>783</sup> One possible interpretation is that this was done to symbolize some form of relationship between the two graves, perhaps their occupants or the bereaved and their families. The practice is reminiscent of some of the Jutlandic pottery graves mentioned above, where it has been possible to refit some of the pottery shards with those found in pits outside the grave. However, more studies are needed in order to establish whether this

<sup>777</sup> Wegewitz 1929:150, 155; 1986:127, 132; cf. Laux 1995c:196.

<sup>778</sup> Henriksen 1998:109.

<sup>779</sup> Mączyńska 2005:461.

<sup>780</sup> Peška 2002:16, 56, 57.

<sup>781</sup> Bełkowska 1986:90f.

<sup>782</sup> Wielowiejski 1985:282 no. 168, 287 no. 196.

<sup>783</sup> Henriksen 1998:110.

pattern may be observed in other Germanic cemeteries as well, and in other kinds of fragmented objects, for instance glass vessels.

### 5.5.3 BEADS

The intentional fragmentation and subsequent use of pieces of objects may also be reflected in some of the practices involving beads in Germanic graves. Beads of glass, amber, bone or metal were not solely used as dress accessories in the common sense. Occasionally, they are found in circumstances not part of the costume, but scattered in the grave, or placed away from the body together with other grave goods. Granted that some finds of lone or apparently scattered beads might be explained as, say, decorations sewn onto the funerary garb,<sup>784</sup> certain cases display a different feature, for example, some of the period B2/C1 inhumations at Kowalewko 12 in the region of Greater Poland (Poland), where beaded strings were broken and placed snaking on the body, or a few single beads were deposited together with pottery and other objects by the head or feet of the dead.<sup>785</sup> Comparable features, where one or a few beads of glass and/or amber were deposited together with pottery, may for instance be found in the Late Roman Iron Age graves of Gårdlösa 2 and Simris 27 in Scania (Sweden), and Freltofte 9 on Funen (Denmark).<sup>786</sup> They are also known from the Early Roman Iron Age grave Kannikegaard 187 on Bornholm (Denmark).<sup>787</sup> Similarly, in some of the second- and third-century inhumations at Tjæreborg (Jutland) beads were found in small collections; apparently having been deposited together in a small bag. In one of these several broken beads were found together with a small shard of *terra sigillata*.<sup>788</sup> Likewise, we must not forget the remains of small bags or purses found in the Late Roman sacrificial hoard at Illerup Ådal (Denmark) containing beads, scrap metal, and coins, which most likely had been part of the warriors' personal equipment (as raw materials and/or means of payment).<sup>789</sup> These cases make it evident that we must be open to other explanations besides costume and jewellery for the presence of beads in the graves, at least in some areas. This also becomes clear when we look at grave 2 at Harpelev, as well as grave 8 at Skovgårde, both mentioned previously. Several types of beads were apparently deposited in the back-filling of these graves – in the case of the grave at Harpelev, together with shards of pottery and glass. As Ethelberg pointed out, the beads were too many to be the coincidental waste from previous graves or settlements, nor were they deposited as part of a necklace. Rather, they should be seen as a form of funerary offering.<sup>790</sup>

<sup>784</sup> Tempelmann-Maczyńska 1985:144.

<sup>785</sup> For instance graves 84, 195, 353, and 357 (Skorupka 2001).

<sup>786</sup> Stjernquist 1955:12f.; Albrechtsen 1968:74; Stjernquist 1993:49; 1994:39.

<sup>787</sup> Vedel 1872:64.

<sup>788</sup> Siemen 1988:54.

<sup>789</sup> E.g. Thomsen 1995:20; Ilkjær 2000:45, 122; cf. Olczak 2007:131f. who mentions a comparable practice with beads in pouches or money-bags found in Viking Age graves in Scandinavia and seventh–eighth century graves in Central Europe.

<sup>790</sup> Lund Hansen 1976:94–96; Ethelberg 1986:6f., 2000:32–35, 93.

#### 5.5.4 WEAPONS

The starting point of the weapon burial custom in Germania Magna is generally placed in the Pre-Roman Iron Age, and is often regarded as the result of Celtic influences. In the course of the Early and Late Roman Iron Age, the custom of burying weapons with the dead appears frequently in the Scandinavian countries, Germany (especially along the Elbe), Poland and the Czech Republic.<sup>791</sup> With this custom appeared the practice of intentionally destroying the weapons before deposition, a practice that is frequently also traced back to Celtic origins.<sup>792</sup> This treatment, where swords were rolled together, lanceheads bent and shield bosses hacked to pieces or flattened, may consequently be found to a varying degree in many parts the Germanic area, during a large portion of the Roman Iron Age.<sup>793</sup>

In the cremation graves, the weapons were burnt together with the dead body. Afterwards, they were bent, smashed and hacked into pieces, most likely using implements like stones or hammers.<sup>794</sup> The reason for this treatment is often disputed, and some scholars claim they were bent and broken in order for them to fit in the limited space of the funerary urn.<sup>795</sup> However, in several cases this seems unlikely, since the weapons were deposited outside the urn or container,<sup>796</sup> as in the Early Roman Iron Age grave 88 at Wahlitz in Saxony-Anhalt, Germany, where a bent lancehead was placed underneath the urn, and in grave 29 at Kleinzerbst, also in Saxony-Anhalt and dating to the Late Pre-Roman or Early Roman Iron Age, where a sword was bent around it.<sup>797</sup> It could be that the weapons were destroyed in order to fit them into the burial pit itself. But considering the fact that this appears to be a selective treatment not given to all the weapons, it seems unlikely. Many scholars consequently interpret the destruction as an intentional part of the funerary ritual, and sometimes link it together with similar treatment of other objects in cremation graves.<sup>798</sup> While many have suggested that this practice was way to ritually *kill* the objects, in order to ensure that they accompanied the dead person to the afterlife,<sup>799</sup> others have suggested that it may have been done to inhibit grave robbery.<sup>800</sup>

791 E.g. Köhler 1975:33f.; Weski 1982; Adler 1993:207–212, 232f.; Czarnecka 2003:274.

792 Voigt 1978:182; cf. Haffner 1989.

793 Schmidt-Thielbeer 1967:10f.; Müller 1985:210–213, pl. 7–10; Stange 1987:36; Bantelmann 1988:74; Schmidt & Nitzschke 1989:23; Lind 1991:26; Rasch 1991:480; Schultze 1992:211; Droberjar & Peška 1994; Wikborg 1996:274; Nicklasson 1997; Andrzejowski 1998:102; Solberg 2000:76f.; Czarnecka 2003:274; Schön 2003:46; Jaskanis 2005:111f.; cf. also Grinsell 1973:113.

794 E.g. Czarnecka 2003:279, 281–283.

795 E.g. Voigt 1978:181; Adler 1993:136f.

796 However, the deposition of objects outside the urn may also have had to do with spatial divisions similar to those visible in the inhumation graves (see chapter three). The objects inside the urn may have been associated with the deceased, while the objects placed outside the grave pit may have been conceptually distanced from the deceased and instead associated with certain activities performed by the ritual practitioners during the back-filling of the grave.

797 Schmidt-Thielbeer 1967:10f.; 1998:70f.

798 Wegewitz 1972:211; Bantelmann 1988:74.

799 E.g. Czarnecka 2003:283.

800 E.g. Wegewitz 1972:234.

Not only weapons found in cremations show signs of intentional damage. In the rich Early Roman Iron Age inhumation at Mušov in Moravia, previously mentioned in connection with the broken silver vessels, a shield and a sword were found in conditions that indicate intentional breakage.<sup>801</sup> But since this particular grave appears to have been plundered, the damage might also be the result of later intrusions. However, according to E. Droberjar and Peška we should not rule out ritual intentions.<sup>802</sup>

Besides these observations, scholars have shown that at times not all the parts of the weapons placed on the funeral pyre were later included in the urn or in the grave pit. For instance, the find of shield fittings but no shield boss, as well as the remains of scabbards but no sword, may indicate that the funeral celebrants made a selection of what burnt remains would be deposited in the cemetery. This practice, which is comparable to the patterns observed above with the pottery, is often classified as a *pars pro toto* custom and has especially been noted in the cremation burials from the Early Roman Iron Age along the Elbe area but may be observed in other areas and periods as well.<sup>803</sup> Parts of the weapons were, according to this line of interpretation, sufficient to symbolize the complete equipment of the deceased.<sup>804</sup> The explanation of this custom varies. Some have interpreted it as a purely ritual destruction, while others, like E. Schultze, stated that it might rather be governed by economic motifs. He argued that weapons had a factual material value that would be lost if they were placed in the grave, and therefore suggested that the greater part of the weapon was kept and returned to the relatives or the community and only represented in part on the pyre. For example, the valuable sword was kept while the expendable sheath was placed in the fire.<sup>805</sup> However, not all scholars are certain of the intentional nature of this funerary practice. W. Adler, for instance, cautions that many of these weapon parts may be the remnants of older, destroyed cremation graves.<sup>806</sup>

## 5.6 SHARDS OF A SOCIO-RITUAL ARENA

The above-mentioned treatment of objects such as pottery, metal vessels, beads and weapons shows that the fragmentation and deposition of parts of objects was quite common in burials all over the Germanic area. This is predominantly observed in cremation graves, but may also be found in inhumations. What we have here are patterns in the treatment of objects that are spread over a wide area, and which materialized in, and infused, the local variations in material culture, styles and mortuary practices. In my opinion these patterns also give us an important background for the intentional use of glass shards in the mortuary rituals.

I suggest that the material presented in this case study demonstrates how the imported Roman goods were not conceived of as a uniform and unambiguous category

801 Droberjar & Peška 1994:283; Peška 2002:12.

802 Droberjar & Peška 1994:283; Peška 2002:56; cf. Schön 2003:46.

803 E.g. Bantelmann 1988:74; Schultze 1991; 1992:210; Becker 1996:32; Lüth & Voß 2001:203; cf. Henriksen 1998:104f.

804 Schultze 1991:179.

805 Schultze 1991:182.

806 Adler 1993:131.

in the Germanic area, but rather were passed along numerous trajectories of functions and meaning within the local communities, some of which perhaps retained their foreignness, and some of which integrated their function and meaning with pre-existing local customs. As seen above, the deposition of glass shards in the mouth or head area, by the hands, or in the chest area of the deceased might partly be viewed in the light of the so-called *obolus* tradition, although not as mere imitation, but as a form of amalgamated practice, fusing together foreign traits with local materials and conceptions regarding coins, precious metals and jewellery. Furthermore, the fact that pieces of glass vessels were used may reflect the common characteristic of intentionally using fragmented material culture in Germanic mortuary practices. Hence the *obolus* tradition was not only linked to local materials but also made reference to local ritual practices. The other form of treatment of glass vessels analysed in this chapter, where shards or incomplete vessels were either intentionally placed in the grave together with imported or local vessels or scattered in the grave fill, may also be viewed as an extension of these practices observed regarding pottery, metal vessels, beads and weapons. Consequently we observe that both imported glass and metal vessels, as well as local pottery, strings of beads, weapons and other objects were broken or damaged and then intentionally placed alongside complete objects in the graves. Moreover, in a few cases shards of glass, like shards of pottery and beads, were intentionally scattered or deposited in the grave fill or on top of the grave.<sup>807</sup> These patterns of use thus show us that the imported glass vessels were integrated in already existing ritual structures, and that interpretative links were created between the foreign and local objects. Furthermore, the utilization of glass fragments shows different stages in the life-history of the vessels, which in turn demonstrates the mobility of form, function and meaning alike. All of these practices display various ritual means by which the relationship between parts and the whole, between the fragment and the complete object, was conceived, and this in turn might give us some idea of the function and meaning of these objects in social relationships.

### 5.6.1 A BIOGRAPHICAL APPROACH

That objects have various stages in their life history is a well-established observation in archaeological research. In order to grasp the social and cultural implications of the various intersections in function and meaning of material culture that were created by these various stages, scholars have often employed a biographical approach in their analyses. I broached this subject briefly in chapter two, but it is worth revisiting in this context in order to understand the fragmentation of glass and intentional use of the broken shards, and how this practice is related to the use of complete vessels.

<sup>807</sup> One might be tempted to argue that the smashing and scattering of pottery on the grave is also of Roman origin, since similar practices are observed, for instance in the north-western provinces, and written sources mention libation offerings at the funerals after which the vessels were broken and deposited on the grave. (E.g. Grinsell 1961:482–484; Taylor 2001:102) On the other hand, such practices can be found in Central Europe already in pre-Roman periods, (e.g. Metzler 2001:271, 275, 277; Abegg 2006:99; Metzler 2006:83) so a strictly Mediterranean origin for this treatment is impossible to establish. In the present context, we may thus understand it as a widespread European custom.



The advent of a biographical perspective on objects in archaeological research is closely associated with the establishment of the post-processual or contextual/interpretative approach, and founded on the understanding that material culture not only has physical properties, but is an integral agent in social practice. While the use-life approach in processual archaeology often focused on changes in morphological and functional characteristics, where the material culture was conceived of as passive and subject to action, the biographical approach focuses on the dialectic relationship between how people invest meaning in material culture and how the objects influence the people handling them. This idea of the biography of objects is mainly based on the writing of Kopytoff, who stated that objects move through several stages in their lifetime, and that they can accumulate histories in this process. Each stage in their existence will add to the background on which the current meaning is built, and thus, through their biographies, the objects are able to link together persons and social events.<sup>808</sup> In other words, this perspective is highly contextual. However, scholars like Appadurai, who have also approached objects from a biographical perspective, stressed that a change in context may also transform their function and meaning.<sup>809</sup> As objects are recontextualized, in time or geographical space, their functions and meanings are socioculturally renegotiated and changed according to the current setting. The biographical approach to material culture thus implies a dialectical relationship between people and objects.

This understanding of objects is clearly relevant for our interpretation of the geographical and temporal movement of material culture. But how then are we to understand fragmented material culture within this context, such as the use of glass shards analysed above? Here the studies on fragmentation as social practice by J. Chapman and others are relevant.<sup>810</sup> Chapman is one of the few scholars who have tried to integrate a biographical approach with the study of fragments in the material record. In his studies, which deal with fragmented objects, hoards and bodies in south-eastern Europe from the Mesolithic and through the Copper Age, he used an anthropological model of social relationships and identity which states that people are not individuals, but rather multifaceted individuals, made up of the totality of their relationships with other people as well as the material world. Chapman based his approach on influential anthropologists like M. Strathern who argued that people derive their identity from networks of relations involving both people and objects. Carrying further the arguments presented by scholars like M. Mauss and others,<sup>811</sup> she viewed objects passed between people in the form of gifts as forming an unbreakable social bond of indebtedness between the giver and receiver. Consequently the objects are invested with personhood and become parts of people moving through the social world.<sup>812</sup> From this perspective we could therefore claim that people not only exchange objects but also themselves. Focusing on finds of fragmented objects, such as figurines found in various archaeological contexts, Chapman argued that they might not have been broken by accident. Since objects could be carriers of personhood according to the anthropological model above, their fragments may thus have functioned as physical representations of the

808 Kopytoff 1986.

809 Appadurai 1986.

810 Chapman 2000; cf. Fowler 2004:64–71; Chapman & Gaydarska 2007.

811 Mauss 2000.

812 Strathern 1988.



social network in which they and the individuals handling them were a part. Therefore, what is frequently classified by archaeologists as incomplete, broken objects, or waste, may not be socially dead but highly significant in their partial state by linking together the individual persons in a sequence of enchainment. By selecting an object, breaking it and distributing the parts, two or more persons may symbolically proclaim an initiated social relationship.<sup>813</sup> Chapman stated that:

the notion that fragments of objects transmit not only the symbolism of their complete, once-intact form but also the enchainment, or fractal, connotations of past makers and owners would account for a wide variety of fragmentation behaviour.<sup>814</sup>

The observations made of the glass shards in the present study clearly indicate multiple life-stages and levels of meaning connected to this material. However, simply stating that objects might have had rich histories is not very helpful in trying to reach an understanding of how people in the Roman Iron Age used and interpreted foreign objects. I would nevertheless argue that an analysis informed by the perspective presented by Chapman and others might allow us to move a step closer to reconstructing some of the biographical trajectories of imported Roman glass vessels. As I have argued in chapter three and elsewhere, the grave goods arranged around the dead person should be viewed as dramaturgical elements used to create the deceased's new social identity in death.<sup>815</sup> Likewise, the fragmented glass vessels arranged together with other vessels and objects might have been part of this practice. The fragmented state of the vessels, however, makes it likely that they were deposited as symbolic representations of complete glass vessels; as a form of *pars pro toto* deposition like the ones we have seen in pottery.<sup>816</sup> But this does not necessarily mean that the shards were used due to a lack of complete vessels,<sup>817</sup> or that the finds represent social segments that could not obtain complete vessels, as suggested by some scholars.<sup>818</sup> A number of the finds with fragmented glass belong to some of the most richly furnished graves of the period.<sup>819</sup> Furthermore, considering how common the intentional breaking of objects seems to be in the Roman Iron Age, there may be other symbolical dimensions connected to the practice, which may have had nothing to do with material constraints like a shortage of raw materials or objects. Rather, based on the discussions above, what the cremation graves indicate is the existence of a widespread notion that not all objects originally placed on the pyre, nor complete objects, were required in the concluding funerary deposition. Likewise we must remember that not all parts of the cremated body were recovered from the pyre, nor deposited in the urn or grave pit. A. Kaliff argued that the rituals in which the cremated remains were placed in the ground in early Iron Age Scandinavia was more of a symbolic nature and that the cremation act itself was the main ritual; a symbolic

<sup>813</sup> Chapman 2000:5f.

<sup>814</sup> Chapman 2000:39.

<sup>815</sup> Ekengren 2005; 2006.

<sup>816</sup> Cf. Ringtved 1986:155; Holand 1999:149; Helgesson 2002:30.

<sup>817</sup> E.g. Lund Hansen 2000:338f.

<sup>818</sup> E.g. Straume 1984:79.

<sup>819</sup> Cf. Lund Hansen 2008:141.

part representing the whole.<sup>820</sup> The selection of bones from the pyre to be buried may, in his view, be seen as an additional destruction besides the actual cremation. One possible reason for this, he argued, may be that remaining parts of the cremated body were distributed in other settings, for instance on settlements as human remains found deposited in houses seem to indicate.<sup>821</sup> He thus suggested that the intentional destruction of the grave goods, either by the fire or by hand, may be analogous to the destruction of the body.<sup>822</sup>

In my opinion, this intentional practice of using broken pieces together with other vessels and objects in the mortuary context may imply that the fragmented parts were indeed used as symbolic representations of the whole (whether objects or social persons), and that in the Roman Iron Age there was a conception of personhood and social relationships similar to the idea of the fractal person as theorized by Chapman and others. In addition, this notion was most likely not limited to the cremation practice, but may have infused the inhumation practice as well. The intentional deposition of the pieces, perhaps the act of fragmentation itself, may thus have been associated with the fragmentation of the body through death<sup>823</sup> – not only the physical deterioration on the pyre or in the ground, but also the fracture of the social person caused by death, as well as the bereavement felt by the living. And like the mortuary ritual itself, the fragments may have been used in order to mend this fracture.

I would suggest that the pieces of glass found together with other containers were deposited in the grave as representations of complete vessels during the part of the mortuary ritual when the grave goods were used to create the deceased's new identity in death. The shards would then allude both to the transformation and new identity of the dead, and to a complete vessel and the social contexts of the living in which it used to be handled. These contexts may have been in the form of communal and/or ritual drinking where social bonds were tied, thus further enhancing the sense of a social relationship created through their fragmentation and possible distribution. Inspired by Chapman's studies, it is appealing to imagine that the rest of the shards were distributed among the living, and then may have functioned as reminders, or embodiments, of these social contexts. Furthermore, I would not hold it for impossible that shards from one glass vessel could be deposited in more than one grave, particularly when we are dealing with cremations where it is notoriously hard to determine the original state of the fragmented glass vessels. As I have mentioned, this practice may be seen with other objects, e.g. at the cemetery of Brudager on Funen (see above).

In this context it is also relevant to consider another use of glass shards, which may not directly be regarded as the ritual deposition of fragments, but is nevertheless closely related to the mortuary practice of the Roman Iron Age; namely the so-called window vessels. These take the form of ceramic vessels wherein one or more shards of glass have been inserted, most often in the bottom of the vessel (see table 5.3).<sup>824</sup> A total of 53 vessels are known which can be dated to the Roman Iron Age, and of them only one dates to the early period while the rest are dated to the late period. Furthermore, the

<sup>820</sup> Kaliff 1992:68 f.

<sup>821</sup> Kaliff 1992:71.

<sup>822</sup> Kaliff 1992:106; 1997:98.

<sup>823</sup> Cf. Dommasnes 1998:245.

<sup>824</sup> For a review of this practice, see Sakař 1967, Häßler 1994 and Schunke 1998.

NO.	SITE	COUNTRY	DATE	CONTEXT			FORM	NO. AND POSITIONS OF GLASS SHARDS			REFERENCES (E.G.)
				Inh	Cre	Settl		Shoulder	Belly	Bottom	
1	Hulin, Kroměříž	CZ	C1a			X	Beaker			1	Cizmarova 1989:73-75; Schunke 1998:149
2	Komořany , Vyškov	CZ	C1a			X	Bowl			1	Cizmarova 1989:73-75; Schunke 1998:149
3	Pavlov, Břeclav	CZ	C1a			X	Beaker			1	Cizmarova 1989:73-75; Schunke 1998:149
4	Ålehøj, Randers	DK	C1/C2	X			Beaker			1	AUD 1995:no. 299; Schunke 1998:149
5	Dankirke, Esbjerg	DK	Late Roman			X	Unknown	1			Jarl Hansen 1990:223; Schunke 1998:147
6	Lundergård, Jammertbugt	DK	Late Roman	X			Beaker			1	Nilsson 1999:19-21
7	Møllegårdsmarken, Svendborg	DK	C2		X		Bowl			1	Albrechtsen 1971:109; Schunke 1998:147
8	Bornim, Potsdam	DE	C2		X		Bowl	3		1	Sakař 1967; CRFB D1, no. IV-18-1/1.2; Schunke 1998:147
9	Borstel, Stendal	DE	C2		X		Bowl			1	Sakař 1967; CRFB D6, no. VII-13-4/1.15; Schunke 1998:147
10	Borstel, Stendal	DE	C2		X		Bowl			1	Sakař 1967; CRFB D6, no. VII-13-4/1.16; Schunke 1998:147
11	Borstel, Stendal	DE	C2		X		Bowl			1	Sakař 1967; CRFB D6, no. VII-13-4/1.17; Schunke 1998:147
12	Butzow, Potsdam-Mittelmark	DE	Late Roman		X (?)		?			1	Buttel-Reepen 1927; CRFB D1 1994:24; Schunke 1998:147
13	Gettorf, Rendsburg-Eckernförde	DE	C2/C3		X		Vase			1	Schunke 1998:147; Articus 2004:238, pl. 110:19
14	Großpaschleben, Anhalt-Bitterfeld	DE	C2		X		Bowl		3	1	Sakař 1967; Schunke 1998:147; CRFB D6, no. VIII-09-11/1.6
15	Heeren (-Ost), Stendal	DE	Late Roman		X		Bowl			1	Schunke 1998:147; CRFB D6, no. VII-13-15/2.1
16	Husby, Schleswig-Flensburg	DE	C1b/C2		X		Vase			1	Raddatz 1974:40, pl. 87:433; Schunke 1998:147; Articus 2004:29
17	Kalbe (Milde), Altmarkkreis Salzwedel	DE	C2/C3		X		Bowl (?)			1	Sakař 1967; Schunke 1998:147; CRFB D6, no. VII-02-6/1.1
18	Kasseedorf, Ostholstein	DE	C1		X		Bowl			1	Schunke 1998:147; Articus 2004:29, pl. 24:104
19	Lüerte, Oldenburg	DE	C1/C2		X		Beaker		2	1	Sakař 1967; Schunke 1998:147
20	Mechau, Altmarkkreis Salzwedel	DE	C1/C2		X		Bowl			1	Sakař 1967; Schunke 1998:147; CRFB D6, no. VII-10-12/1.4
21	Mechau, Altmarkkreis Salzwedel	DE	C1/C2		X		Bowl			1	Sakař 1967; Schunke 1998:147; CRFB D6, no. VII-10-12/1.4
22	Pfingstberg, Helmstedt	DE	C2/C3		X		Bowl		1		Gaedtke-Eckardt 1991:90
23	Pinnow, Schwerin	DE	C1/C2		X		Bowl			1	CRFB D3, no. II-08-3/1.1; Schunke 1998:148
24	Rebenstorf, Lüchow-Danneberg	DE	C3/D1		X		Bowl			1	Sakař 1967; Schunke 1998:148; CRFB D4, no. XXI-04-3/1.9

25	Rebenstorf, Lüchow-Danneberg	DE	C3/D1		X		Bowl			1	Schunke 1998:148; CRFB D4, no. XXI-04-3/1.10; Sakař 1967
26	Rebenstorf, Lüchow-Danneberg	DE	C3/D1		X		Bowl			1	Schunke 1998:148; CRFB D4, no. XXI-04-3/1.11; Sakař 1967
27	Wittstock, Wittstock	DE	C2		X		Bowl			1	CRFB D1, no. IV-15-5/1.4; Schunke 1998:148
28	Zethlingen, Salzwedel	DE	C1		X		Bowl			1	Sakař 1967; Schunke 1998:148; CRFB D6, no. VII-10-25/1.4
29	Zethlingen, Salzwedel	DE	C1		X		Bowl			1	Sakař 1967; Schunke 1998:148; CRFB D6, no. VII-10-25/1.7
30	Zethlingen, Salzwedel	DE	C1/C2		X		Bowl			1	Sakař 1967; Schunke 1998:148; CRFB D6, no. VII-10-25/1.5
31	Zethlingen, Salzwedel	DE	C2		X		Bowl			1	Sakař 1967; Schunke 1998:148; CRFB D6, no. VII-10-25/1.6
32	Zethlingen	DE	Late Roman		X		Bowl			1	Schunke 1998:147; CRFB D6, no. VII-10-25/1.8
33	Burmania terp, Ferwerd,	NL	C3 (?)			X	Beaker			1	Sakař 1967; Schunke 1998:148
34	Wijster, Drenthe	NL	Late Roman			X	Beaker			1	v. Es 1967:207; Schunke 1998:148
35	Dyster, Akershus	NO	C3	X			Beaker			1	Lund Hansen 1987:432; Schunke 1998:148
36	Dyster, Akershus	NO	C3	X			Beaker			1	Lund Hansen 1987:432; Schunke 1998:148
37	Skagestad, Vest-Agder	NO	C3		X		Beaker			1	Sakař 1967; Schunke 1998:148
38	Stenstad, Telemark	NO	C3/D1		X		Beaker			1	Sakař 1967; Schunke 1998:148
39	Øvre Væmestad, Vest-Agder	NO	C2/C3	X			Beaker	5	5	1	Sakař 1967; Straume 1984:95; Schunke 1998:148
40	Gasior, Mrągowo	PL	Late Roman		X		Unknown	Unknown			Schunke 1998:149
41	Gasior, Mrągowo	PL	Late Roman		X		Unknown	Unknown			Schunke 1998:149
42	Grudynia Mała, Kędzierzyn-Koźle	PL	Late Roman		X		Beaker (?)			1	Jahn 1919:104; Sakař 1967; Schunke 1998:149
43	Krosno, Elbląg	PL	C1/C2	Gravefind			Beaker		2	1	Jasnosz 1958:407f.; Sakař 1967; Schunke 1998:149
44	Krószina Wielka, Trzebnica	PL	B1/B2		X		Beaker			1	Sakař 1967; Schunke 1998:149
45	Młodzikowo, Środa	PL	C1/C2		X		Cup			1	Jasnosz 1958:406f.; Sakař 1967; Schunke 1998:149
46	Mogilno-area, Mogilno	PL	C1		X		Cup			1	Sakař 1967; Schunke 1998:149
47	Naclaw, Kościan	PL	C1/C2	X			Beaker		1	1	Sakař 1967; Schunke 1998:149
48	Rataje, Wołów	PL	C1/C2		X		Cup			1	Sakař 1967; Schunke 1998:149
49	Sadzarewice, Krosno Odrzańskie	PL	C1/C2		X		Cup			1	Jasnosz 1958:407; Sakař 1967; Schunke 1998:149
50	Greby, Bohuslän	SE	C2/C3		X		Cup			1	Sakař 1967; Schunke 1998:149
51	Ytter Restad 22, Bohuslän	SE	C3	X			Beaker			3	Sarauw 1917:100-102; Sakař 1967; Särilvik 1980:400; Schunke 1998:149
52	Ryżavka, Cherkasy	UA	C1/C2	X			Bowl			1	Sakař 1967; Schunke 1998:149
53	Ryżavka, Cherkasy	UA	C1/C2	X			Bowl			1	Sakař 1967; Schunke 1998:149

Table 5.3 Finds of window vessels dated to the Roman Iron Age.

practice continues well into the Migration Period. The vessels are distributed over large parts of the Germanic area, more widely so than the glass fragments discussed above, and are found in the Czech Republic, Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Sweden, as well as in the Ukraine. Although a few window vessels are found in inhumations and on settlements, the majority of them are recovered from cremation graves, where they were used either as containers for the ashes or as parts of the rest of the grave goods. Most of the window vessels are in the shape of medium-size bowls, while a smaller number appear as drinking vessels like beakers and cups. The meaning behind the practice of inserting glass shards in pottery has been much disputed, and there exist today several lines of reasoning. Since some of the vessels seem to emulate the shape and/or decoration of glass vessels, some scholars have argued that they functioned as imitations or replacements of actual vessels of glass.<sup>825</sup> Many refer to the light that would have been reflected in the shard as the vessel was emptied, and some argue that it therefore functioned as a form of decoration,<sup>826</sup> while others interpret it as having had some form of magical meaning.<sup>827</sup> Others compare the windows with the practice of “Seelenlöchern”, i.e. the puncturing of holes in cremation urns prior to deposition in the graves, as seen in the Pre-Roman and Early Roman period.<sup>828</sup> Schunke suggested that the re-use of glass in this fashion may have been a way to preserve the value of the broken glass by transferring it to a ceramic vessel<sup>829</sup> – in other words, as a form of *pars pro toto*. This sentiment is supported by the occasional emulation of the shape and/or decoration of glass vessels.<sup>830</sup> Solberg interpreted the shards in the pottery as carriers of memories and stories of their previous owners. According to her, the glass vessels, and the banquets at which they were used, were central to the establishment of social networks and alliances.<sup>831</sup> She wrote:

One way of increasing one’s prestige was to acquire objects which had belonged to prominent persons, or parts of them – as a *pars pro toto* phenomenon. This may help to explain why broken glass sometimes was neither repaired nor discarded but distributed piece by piece to several persons, later to be inserted in ceramic vessels. The “window urns” then formed material links between the former and the new owners.<sup>832</sup>

These examples and this line of reasoning, although in our case with a clearer focus on the mortuary context of the finds, are important. I would suggest that by depositing glass shards in the graves, distributing them further, and perhaps integrating them again in ceramic vessels, various facets of social relationships were visualized. But since the parts represented the whole, these bonds that were challenged by the death of an individual were not completely broken, and thus symbolic links between the living and

825 E.g. Wielowiejski 1970:234.

826 E.g. Arbman 1932:155.

827 E.g. Schmidt 1985:294.

828 E.g. Andrzejowski 1998:103; Articus 2004:29; cf. Tackenberg 1976.

829 Schunke 1998:140; cf. Näsman 1984:25.

830 Schunke 1998:140.

831 Solberg 2004:206–209.

832 Solberg 2004:208f.



the dead were kept and memorialized.<sup>833</sup> The shards of glass may consequently embody enchainment relationships,<sup>834</sup> which carried both the transformation of the deceased and his/her (re)created social relationship with the living. And these enchainment relationships could again be set in motion through the use of window vessels.

This is not only relevant for the shards of glass deposited together with other vessels, but may also be useful in understanding the shards placed in the mouth of the dead or scattered in the grave fill.<sup>835</sup> As mentioned, the placing of a shard of glass, a coin, a piece of precious metal, a piece of amber or jewellery in the mouth, by the head, in the chest area or by the hands of the dead may be interpreted as a version of the obolus tradition, and was thus a way of marking the mortuary and social transformation of the deceased. A similar explanation may also be valid for the finds from Harpelev 2 and Frienstedt 898, where shards of glass were found in the grave fill. Diinhoff suggested that the rituals preformed at the Jutlandic graves in the Early Iron Age, where e.g. pottery was broken and scattered in the fill or deposited in nearby pits, could have been the descendants' way of demonstrating a link between the living and the dead in order to establish group identity as well as land rights.<sup>836</sup> In a similar way, the finds from Harpelev and Frienstedt may be interpreted as depositions signifying the conclusion of the funerary ritual where the deceased was re-introduced and re-established in the community and memory of the living with a new state of being and identity. This could in turn be connected to the more nuanced and inclusive discussion of the Mediterranean obolus tradition carried by Stevens, who argued that coins deposited in various ways in the grave (in association with the body or the grave goods, or in the back-fill), as well as the grave itself, were appropriate means for communicating and maintaining people's social relationships with the dead (see above).

Glass shards, coins, pieces of precious metal, amber, beads, and other forms of adornment (such as fibulae), are useful small items that can easily be divided, joint together, re-used, transformed and passed between different regiments of value.<sup>837</sup> It is therefore not unlikely that glass shards were dispersed across the landscape, which may explain the deposits of shards found on Late Roman Iron Age settlement sites like Lundeberg (Funen in Denmark), Mühlberg (district of Gotha in Thuringia, Germany) and Klein Körös (district of Dahme-Spreewald in Brandenburg, Germany). Although it has been suggested that the glass was imported to the sites in a fragmented state and used as raw material for bead making, we have yet to find any clear evidence that supports this use of shards from the period in question.<sup>838</sup> Furthermore, these deposits contained large numbers of shards, but remarkably no more than a few originated from the same vessel. For instance, the 140-150 shards found deposited in Lundeberg represented approximately 100 different vessels.<sup>839</sup> As Chapman and Gaydarska wrote:

<sup>833</sup> Cf. van Gennep 1960:163f.

<sup>834</sup> Chapman 2000:37, 39.

<sup>835</sup> Cf. Lund Hansen 2000:339, who is the scholar who comes closest to this idea of social enchainment through the use of glass shards when she interprets the shard found in Skovgårde 400 (Denmark) as a symbol, memento or favourite trinket which told of the deceased's family and origin.

<sup>836</sup> Diinhoff 1997:115; cf. Kaliff 1997:98.

<sup>837</sup> Cf. Fernstål 2004:168.

<sup>838</sup> Thomsen 1995; cf. Helgesson 2002:85.

<sup>839</sup> Thomsen 1995:22f.



The absence of re-fits from a fragmentation analysis of well excavated assemblages from totally excavated sites must indicate either that fragments of the incomplete objects were moved off the site for deposition elsewhere or that the orphan fragments found on the site were the only parts of the object moved on to the site.<sup>840</sup>

An alternative explanation could thus be that the shards were included in a system of enchainment together with coins, jewellery, and precious metals as suggested above. Presumably, this entailed both economic and social or symbolic value. Furthermore, the boundaries between these fields were most likely fluid considering the non-monetary system of the Roman Iron Age in Northern Europe. But this might not have been the only frame of reference that joins these materials together. Tacitus wrote how the Aestii, generally regarded as a tribe living on the south-eastern shore of the Baltic Sea, “ransack the sea also, and are the only German people who gather in the shallows and on the shore itself the amber, which they call in their tongue ‘glesum.’”<sup>841</sup> *Glesum* means something bright, transparent or lustrous and is derived from *glaes*, from which we have our own word *glass*. Perhaps it was the bright, lustrous qualities that forged the categorical extension between glass, amber, precious metals, coins and jewellery.

Consequently, the various practices regarding shards of glass dealt with in this chapter were linked to each other through a web of allusion. This is partly because they were expressions of a much wider practice concerning intentional fragmentation and use of the broken objects in Germanic mortuary practices, as well as their association with other economic and symbolic valuables such as coins, pieces of precious metals, amber and jewellery. But also, I would argue, they all seem to reflect the social transformation of the deceased in relation to the living society.

<sup>840</sup> Chapman & Gaydarska 2007:9.

<sup>841</sup> Tac. *Germ.* 45.4.

## 6. ALLUSION AND REFRACTION – SUMMARY CONCLUSIONS

*One lives in a field of influences, one is influenced by everyone one meets, everything is an exchange of influences, all opinions are derivative. Once you deal a new deck of cards, you've got a new deck of cards.*<sup>842</sup>

*Mélange, hotch-potch, a bit of this and a bit of that is how newness enters the world.*<sup>843</sup>

The aim of this thesis has been to shift some of the traditional interpretations of Roman vessels found in Germanic contexts. I have argued that there still exists an asymmetrical view of cultural interaction in Roman Iron Age studies, coupled with a fairly static view of material culture. Given that vessels of Roman manufacture are frequently interpreted not just as having been made within the boundaries of the Roman Empire but also, often unconsciously, as embodying Roman *culture* and thus signifying the delivery of a Roman ideological package once they are found in Germanic contexts, I found it important to discuss various aspects of material culture transformations. In this I have included both the transformation of the physical objects themselves and the changes in function and meaning that objects may have undergone as a result of recontextualization. This standpoint was based on a number of theoretical considerations outlined in chapter two. I especially tried to nuance the view of foreign objects, such as Roman vessels, as intrinsically exotic, arguing that even the consumption of foreign goods was a form of production. Stating that an object was imported, or a valuable luxury item, does not necessarily provide an answer to how and why it was used. Influenced by theoretical studies within anthropology and other social sciences, particularly the theories of practice and structuration, I argued that we have to focus on the way external objects and influences were confronted with indigenous practices, and as a result placed within already existing frames of reference. This process, it was claimed, would result in the change of both the indigenous structures and the external elements. The external elements would be interpreted by those they encountered, and in the process the indigenous frames of references would be expanded. Furthermore, based on various theoretical studies it was also observed that, although traditions may have changed through cultural interaction, they were not always promoted as changed. By integrating new elements in the rhetoric of the already existing ones, an air of continuity may have been upheld. New elements could therefore be used to bolster pre-existing traditions. This could be done by creating symbolic links between new elements and already existing ones, whereby the new elements were understood in terms of the functions and meanings of the al-

<sup>842</sup> Peter Brook, director, quoted in an article by A. Riding in *The New York Times*, June 28, 1998.

<sup>843</sup> Rushdie 1990:4.

ready existing ones. I therefore asked myself how strong the bond between the traditional categories of “giver” and “receiver” of foreign influences would really be if we looked at the case of Roman vessels in Germania Magna from this viewpoint. I asked myself whether the Roman objects always were considered *Roman*, and if the exotic ever ceased to be *exotic*. Based on these theoretical considerations, I singled out three case studies that would enable me to study recontextualizations, the fluidity of meaning, and appropriation of Roman vessels in Germanic contexts.

In my first case study I discussed how vessels of Roman manufacture were ritualized in mortuary practices. It centred on the group of graves widely regarded as princely in character, belonging to the upper stratum of Germanic society. The reason for this choice was twofold. First of all, their classification is generally based on the presence of Roman vessels, which in turn is interpreted as an expression of *imitatio imperii*. Second, this group of graves has been instrumental in the reconstruction of Germanic society, and therefore made a suitable as well as important case study based on general perspectives summarized above. The aim of the study was to see how the Roman vessels were actually utilized in mortuary practices, how they were arranged and related to the dead person and the rest of the grave goods, and thus to gain insight into the possible mutability of this suite of material culture.

The case study observed how the Roman vessels were deposited in different ritual sequences, placed upside-down, stacked, obscured or concealed, associated or disassociated with the body, fragmented, deposited inside or outside the primary burial space, deposited in the back-fill or outer construction of the grave. These diverse modes of deposition must have affected the meaning attributed to them. One important conclusion was that the foreign vessels were almost always ritually entangled with locally produced vessels, and not necessarily given a more salient position than the rest of the grave goods. This mixing, I argued, was deliberate and not the result of a lack of foreign goods, since a number of graves contained enough vessels to create purely Roman sets if required. Instead the Roman vessels were dispersed throughout the grave, and not necessarily given a more salient position than the vessels of local manufacture. I suggested that this indicates a categorical extension between vessels of foreign and local manufacture; in other words, that they were used in a similar manner and given similar functions and meanings in the ritual.

While it may be argued that certain categories of vessels were frequently combined, i.e. large containers, scooping or ladling vessels, and drinking vessels, the functions and meaning of these assemblages within the grave are not easy to establish, since vessels were combined with objects pertaining to different spheres of life. Therefore, I disputed the notion that the assemblages are suitable for identifying specific domestic utilities and performances. Moreover, it was observed that some vessels were intimately associated with the dead body and its posture, which I characterized as an *active mode* of display that created a narrative structure in which the deceased was conceptualized as active, or capable of acting. Other vessels were deposited in *passive mode*, stacked away or stored at the head or foot end of the primary burial space. In addition to this, some vessels were used outside the coffin and in connection with the closing of the grave, thus distanced from the body itself. These varying contexts indicate different ritual actions and uses of the vessels, which I argued enabled or restricted the ritual participants' sensory access to them. I argued that they pertained to different passag-

es in the deceased's transition from a living member of society to whatever lay beyond. Thus, we could say that the vessels arranged with the body went through the same transformation as the deceased. My main argument was that those vessels accompanying the corpse in the primary burial space, either integrated with its posture or stowed away at the head or foot end or in special compartments, belonged to the same ritual sequence and together created a collage which formed the deceased's new identity and existence in the afterlife. The vessels used by the bereaved outside the primary burial space, on the other hand, may have been associated with the last parts of the incorporation ritual where offerings were made and ritual meals were shared.

This gives us a new take on the aspects of wealth and prestige often associated with Roman vessels in Germanic graves. I argued that we cannot interpret all the Roman vessels in Germanic mortuary practices in the same manner, nor can they automatically be interpreted as an expression of an exclusive Roman drinking set, or the desire to emulate a Roman lifestyle or Roman mortuary practices. They appear too culturally embedded for this. Based on the ritual sequences, I argued that the objects in the grave were not a direct reflection of the affluence or social position of the once living person, nor the bereaved. The wealth of objects, of both local and foreign manufacture, in the graves studied here may rather be interpreted as the creation of a rich and distinguished existence for the deceased in the hereafter. This does not mean that the wealth and prestige of the living were not important aspects of the mortuary practices. But we must approach the matter from a different angle. Bearing in mind the generative nature of rituals, which were dealt with in the case study's theoretical discussion, the grave did not merely reflect the personhood of the deceased, it created it. Therefore, as I suggested, the deceased was honoured with an elaborate funeral not necessarily because he or she was a prominent member of society; the deceased was a prominent member of society because he or she was afforded an elaborate funeral. Based on the ideas of scholars like Hanisch, Jennbert, Kristoffersen and Oestigaard, I further suggested that this, in turn, was associated with cosmological notions of an ideal way of death and corresponding afterlife existence. But the ritual not only created the personhood of the deceased, and a way of death, it also restructured the participants of the ritual and the social group surrounding them. By accentuating a particular way of death and afterlife, the bereaved created themselves.

The second case study did not deal with vessels of Roman manufacture *per se*, but rather a number of locally produced (or in the case of Byrsted, repaired) silver beakers which were inspired by Greco-Roman form and design, but at the same time intentionally fused these traits together with a style of decoration alluding to indigenous fine ware pottery. My purpose with the case study was to touch upon the tension between transmission of influences and their transformation. By studying these vessels from the perspectives set out in chapter two, I argued, we would be able to come closer to an understanding of how different material identities may have converged and changed in the process. The Iron Age artisans who manufactured the beakers had been able to combine foreign design with indigenous craft and decoration traditions, and thus created something new which was part of a wider network of design. It was argued that the primary local reference for these silver vessels was the fine ware pottery of indigenous design. In this pottery, we are able to find a comparable design vocabulary to the one used on the silver vessels. Thus, through the decoration, the silver vessels displayed

firm roots in the local context while at the same time being of foreign shape. Rather than viewing the silver vessels as imitations (or even forgeries), which has been the dominant trend so far, I therefore argued that they should be regarded as cultural hybrids which reflect the ability of the Germanic peoples to interpret foreign influences and in that way also give them new and altered meanings. This was suggested based on the deliberate nature of the indigenous decorative style applied to them. Furthermore, the vessels cannot be regarded as mere replacements of genuine Roman vessels due to poverty or a lack of resources or connections, since they are generally found in the so-called princely graves and predominantly together with other imported objects. We would therefore be wrong in claiming that they were attempts to counterfeit something intrinsically *Roman* in value and meaning. I also argued for a political dimension to their manufacture and use. The intentionality behind the decoration and the choice of geometric motifs alluding to the indigenous pottery may partly be grounded in the political turbulence of the Early Roman Iron Age, where the pressures of the expanding Roman Empire would have been widely felt among the Germanic tribes. This period saw number of widespread material culture expressions in the Germanic area that were the result of certain socio-political environments positioning themselves in relation to the Roman power. And it is in this context that the hybrid vessels appear. I argued that these vessels and their deliberate combination of both native and foreign styles were the products of this competitive discourse and that their twofold genealogy was important in this context. It was a way to domesticate the foreign, to blend it together with indigenous cultural traits and thus create a sense of continuity and stability.

The third and last case study dealt with the tension between fragments and the whole. It discussed the intentional use of glass shards in Germanic mortuary practices, a practice which has been all the more acknowledged scholars in recent years. It was argued that this practice would illuminate some of the shortcomings of the concept of *Roman imports*. The study asked what role glass shards played in the mortuary rituals, how they were associated with the grave goods and the dead body, and what their deliberate deposition said about the mutability of vessels of Roman manufacture in Germanic contexts. Based on a number of grave finds, it was established that a shard of glass might have had just as important a role in the mortuary practices as a complete vessel. The shards were either deposited on the body or inside its mouth, along with the grave goods, or in the grave fill. It was argued that these different practices were entangled through a web of allusion, which entailed the Greco-Roman obolus tradition, an elaborate value system concerning coins, precious metal, amber and jewellery, as well as native fragmentation practices involving pottery, metal vessels, weaponry and beads. It was also suggested that this use of fragments may have involved a complex notion of enchainment, where fragments distributed along social networks and deposited in various contexts may have functioned as symbolic reminders of both the whole objects and the whole social fellowship to which the deceased and the bereaved belonged. Being part of the social transformation of the deceased, it was suggested that the deposition and dispersal of fragments tied together the various social relationships in focus at the funeral. What we learn from this case study is that imported Roman goods had different stages in their life history and cannot be understood as a uniform category. As I stated, these objects passed along numerous trajectories of function and meaning in



their new contexts, and forged interpretative links with local goods and traditions.

I would argue that the case studies presented in this thesis, where I have striven to link together an analysis of form, content, and practice, illustrate how the same category of material culture may have had several different forms of function and meaning. They show reactions to Roman material influences that involved both *allusion* and *refraction*. The concept of *allusion* signifies those instances when an object or practice refers to other objects and practices, without necessarily losing their separate identities. The concept of *refraction*, on the other hand, refers of course to what happens when a beam of light passes through a medium and consequently changes direction, and is in this context taken to signify the unpredictable way that features of material culture are dispersed and mixed when they encounter new cultural structures. It was in the encounter between the foreign material culture and the previously existing structures that the function and meaning of these objects and structures were renegotiated. They were broken and refitted again into new constellations, both figuratively and literally. And in this process their identities merged together with other regimens of value, became muddled or even obscured. The people at the centre of this encounter may have interpreted these new constellations as ancient and traditional, as Roman or as Germanic, but they were never the same as before. Because of this, objects that to our eyes look Roman may well have been interpreted as something completely different, at the same time as something that appears un-Roman to us, may have been interpreted as characteristically Roman according to the understanding of the people in the past. To paraphrase Sahlins, the objects were *burdened by the world*.<sup>844</sup> Returning to the question of authenticity, which was dealt with in chapter four, the authenticity of the vessels of Roman manufacture were just as grounded in their biographies shaped within the Germanic context in which they were used, as in the knowledge of their foreign origin. The case studies have thus provided examples of various ways in which influences and/or material cultures emanating from the Roman Empire were culturally embedded in Germanic practices. We have seen how functions and meanings were retained in some instances, and dissolved or mixed together in others so that the individuality of each component was obscured. Some of the practices that were analysed recurred in many different parts of Germania Magna, even if this does not say much about the exact meaning that was ascribed to them. Other practices were particular for certain areas. But the examples which I have focused on illustrate the fluidity of function and meaning of these objects; a fluidity that also transcended geographical distances. Some patterns might be construed as pan-Germanic, although Germanic culture was of course never uniform or static but equally fluid. But we can also see how a category of objects, which may appear homogeneous in our eyes, received different functions and meanings even within the same context, such as the mortuary practices. Thus I would argue that these case studies have illustrated the agency of the Germanic peoples when it came to dealings with the Romans and Roman material culture; an agency that was not grounded in naivety but often in deliberate choices.

In this thesis I have on occasion referred to the tension between *acceptance* and *resistance* created in the crossing point between cultural influences. In chapter three, I briefly argued that the so-called princely grave custom may in part originate in the transformation of Celtic practices, which in turn were the revitalization of an early

<sup>844</sup> Sahlins 1985:138.



La Tène tradition in response to pressures from the expanding Roman Empire. It is also possible that the Germanic princely graves should be viewed as a related process of identity production. In chapter four the intentional combination of foreign form with a native style of decoration was explained within the framework of postcolonial theory as a hybrid, which may have an element of resistance or mockery in it. This notion of resistance deserves some further elaboration in the conclusion of my study, and it is especially relevant when considering the idea of the diplomatic gift, which is one of the more important interpretative models when dealing with Roman imports.<sup>845</sup> In this interpretation, resting heavily on the accounts of ancient authors like Tacitus and Caesar,<sup>846</sup> the Romans bought loyalty and security to the Empire by bestowing valuable gifts, e.g. silver vessels, on important Germanic chieftains. The princely graves of the first century AD, containing large numbers of imported vessels, are believed to be the material manifestations of the Germanic peoples' conformity to this policy. Von Carnap-Bornheim argued that a transition from acculturation and conformity to resistance is visible in the princely graves in the course of the Roman Iron Age. He maintained that the rich furnishings of Roman vessels in graves like Hoby (Denmark) and Lubieszewo (Lübsow, Poland) reflect an emulation of Roman customs, which in turn suggests a process of compliance to the Roman Empire in the early part of the period.<sup>847</sup> For the Late Roman Iron Age, on the other hand, he argued for super-regional coalitions between members of a developing Germanic military elite, visible archaeologically through the similarities in objects of Germanic manufacture present in the princely graves of the period.<sup>848</sup>

Based on the perspectives advocated in the present thesis, one may question whether a strong presence of Roman objects, as in the graves from Hoby and Lubieszewo, solely reflects a process of imitation and conformity. The case studies presented above force us to approach the subject from a different angle. Although it is quite possible that some of the imported vessels were originally received as diplomatic gifts, this says very little about the functions and meanings they received in their new context. As was mentioned in chapter four, as well in the summary above, the Roman Iron Age was a turbulent period, characterized by both collaboration and conflict between the Romans and their Germanic neighbours. The expanding and consolidating Roman Empire put quite a serious socio-cultural and economic strain on the societies inhabiting the areas beyond the imperial borders, causing ripples throughout the Germanic realm. We know of large tribal confederations becoming client kingdoms, but we also know of several instances when these relationships broke down and resulted in open conflict. How are we then to understand these processes of conformity and resistance archaeologically?

As has been discussed in the chapter two, and argued throughout this thesis, meaning is ascribed to objects based on their cultural contexts, and it is thus by following the *movements* of objects, e.g. their uses, recontextualizations and their physical transformations, that this meaning production may become visible. Furthermore, it has been

845 Cf. Hedeager 1987:127; Tejral 1995a:225f.; Andersson & Herschend 1997:65–67; Künzl 2002:347, n. 131; Jensen 2003:316; Grane 2007:169, 262f., 271.

846 Caes. *B Gall.* 1.43; Tac. *Germ.* 5.3.

847 von Carnap-Bornheim 2006:112f.

848 von Carnap-Bornheim 2006:115f., 120, 124; cf. Grane 2007:70–80.

frequently emphasized in anthropological studies, particularly in postcolonial studies, that this *movement* and meaning production often entails a competitive dimension, where novel objects and their meanings are negotiated based on local political as well as economic agendas. Using the words of Thomas, the objects get *entangled*.<sup>849</sup> This does not mean that the foreign objects were not held in high esteem. It rather means that they were understood against the internal logic of the indigenous population, and that, at least in the early contacts, the motivating force behind the direction exchange and the appropriation of foreign objects often lay in their hands and not the foreigners'. Based on this, we must be cautious of the top-down perspective often entailed in the interpretation of such things as diplomatic gifts.

Again, the concept of cultural hybridity is helpful in order to bridge the gap between these two interpretative standpoints; between acculturation and conformity on the one hand, and negotiation, transformation and occasionally resistance on the other.<sup>850</sup> Although this concept was referred to mostly in chapter four, it is also useful for understanding the case studies in chapter three and five as well, since it pinpoints the cultural processes whereby foreign elements are re-interpreted and blended, thereby creating something novel which may quite deliberately depart from the perceived original. Postcolonial studies have furthermore observed that cultural hybridity as a distortion, or even mockery, is common in situations where colonial cultures, in their initial stages of independent development, seek to assert themselves by the deliberate use of traditional elements from the dominant culture. This emulation is thus a more or less subtle counter-hegemonic process, whereby the local communities use foreign material culture or foreign rhetoric, but infuse it with their own meanings as a form of domestication. To the outward appearance, the distance between native and foreign expressions is thus shortened, which challenges the assumed superiority of the culture in power.<sup>851</sup>

Therefore, a concept such as imitation is unfortunate, both the presumed imitation of Roman practices and the presumed imitation of Roman objects, since it gives an impression that a referral to an original (and its cultural value) was the reason behind the imitation. But if we look at how vessels of Roman manufacture were actually deployed in mortuary practices, as well as how both Roman and indigenous design vocabularies were used, a much more varied picture emerges. Roman objects were conceptually associated with indigenous objects; they were fragmented; designs were fused together into new expressions. All of this obscured the boundaries between indigenous and foreign – boundaries which are sometimes very unclear to begin with.

<sup>849</sup> Thomas 1991.

<sup>850</sup> Cf. also the concepts of *reactive adaptation* (van der Leeuw 1983:25) and *competitive emulation* (e.g. Renfrew 1996).

<sup>851</sup> E.g. Bhabha 2004; 122, 126.



# APPENDIX 1

## VESSEL ASSEMBLAGES IN THE PRINCELY GRAVES CHOSEN FOR CLOSER STUDY IN CHAPTER 3

### DENMARK

1. Annasholm,<sup>1</sup> (App. 2, no. 23) dated to B2  
*a) At the foot end of the grave:* A large saucepan of bronze together with two smaller, overturned saucepans of bronze.
2. Billum I,<sup>2</sup> (App. 2, no. 25) dated to C2  
*a) At the head end of the grave, and partly behind the head of the deceased:* A glass cup and the remains of one or more wooden vessels. Next to it stood a small bronze-bound wooden pail, a large bronze-bound wooden pail and a handled ceramic bowl. Below these three vessels, partly behind the deceased's head, stood a ceramic bowl with a vertical grip.
3. Blidegn,<sup>3</sup> (App. 2, no. 27) dated to B2  
*a) In a wooden box placed inside a stone-enclosed section at the foot end of the coffin:* Two saucepans and a ladle of bronze, placed upside-down inside each other. Next to it a small ceramic cup and a reed box containing a small sea urchin, a pinecone scale and seeds of bladder nut. The wooden box also contained a belt buckle and strap-end of bronze, a large bead or spindle whorl of amber, a spindle whorl of glass, a ring or spindle whorl of clay, a bronze wire, two bronze knives, a bundle of willow twigs wrapped with golden wool thread, and fragments of woollen textiles.
4. Brøndsager 2000,<sup>4</sup> (App. 2, no. 30) dated to C2  
*a) By the deceased's right shoulder:* A bronze-bound wooden pail, a handled ceramic cup, a smaller ceramic cup, and a large ceramic vase.  
*b) By the deceased's right elbow:* Two glass cups and below them a cut of lamb.  
*c) To the right of the deceased's light leg:* A handled ceramic cup.
5. Dollerupgård,<sup>5</sup> (App. 2, no. 32) double inhumation dated to B2  
*a) On the soil bench between the coffins, close to coffin A1:* A handled ceramic cup and a handled ceramic vase.

<sup>1</sup> Albrechtsen 1954:45f.

<sup>2</sup> Frandsen & Westphal 1996:49–52; Sørensen 1996; Frandsen 2000:96f.; 2001:20–22.

<sup>3</sup> Helweg Mikkelsen 1938:14–39; Albrechtsen 1954:73–75.

<sup>4</sup> Boye & Fønnesbech-Sandberg 1999:34f.; Fønnesbech-Sandberg 2002; 2004a:99f.

<sup>5</sup> Voss & Ørsnes-Christensen 1949:212–217.

*b) On the soil bench between the coffins, closer to coffin A2:* A handled ceramic bowl and a handled ceramic vase.

Coffin A1:

*c) Above behind the deceased's head:*<sup>6</sup> A large handled ceramic vase.

*d) In the area of the deceased's upper body, possibly in front of the chest:* Two drinking horns.

*e) At the foot end of the coffin:* A handled ceramic bowl in which lay an iron knife. Inside the bowl, and on top of the knife, stood another ceramic bowl.

Coffin A2:

*f) Above on the left side of the deceased's head:* A large handled ceramic vase.

*g) Below the feet of the deceased:* On a wooden tray stood two silver beakers covered in woven bark, possibly the remnants of one or two containers in which the beakers were kept. Arranged around them were an iron knife, two bronze pails, a handled ceramic bowl, another ceramic bowl, and a comb.

6. Favrskov I, grave 2,<sup>7</sup> (App. 2, no. 36) dated to B2

*a) At the head end of the grave:* A large ceramic vase, and inside it a small handled ceramic cup. Next to the vase, a small handled ceramic cup, a strainer of bronze placed upside-down, and two drinking horns.

*b) At the foot end of the coffin:* Resin caulking from a vessel of wood or leather.

7. Himlingøje 1894-1,<sup>8</sup> (App. 2, no. 41) dated to C1b

*a) On top of the deceased's right shoulder and arm:* A glass cup and below it a large strainer and ladle of bronze. Inside the strainer was another glass cup.

*b) At the foot end of the coffin:* A bronze basin and next to it the remains of a swine and an ox.

8. Himlingøje 1949-2,<sup>9</sup> (App. 2, no. 43) dated to C1b

*a) Below the deceased's feet:* A bronze pail inside of which lay a cup and a beaker of glass. Next to it stood a bronze basin with a large ceramic tureen-shaped bowl placed on top. Behind the pail lay an overturned ladle and strainer set of bronze, and next to it two small ceramic cups and a handled ceramic cup and handled ceramic bowl.

9. Himlingøje 1977-3,<sup>10</sup> (App. 2, no. 44) dated to C1b

*a) At the head end of the coffin:* A silver-coated bronze plate, on which lay a drinking horn of glass, a comb of bone, a ladle and strainer of bronze, and inside the strainer a glass cup. Over and between the objects on the tray were organic remains of probably textile and wood.

6 Due to the arrangement of the grave goods the excavators suggest that the body lay in a crouched position on its right side.

7 Albrechtsen 1954:40f.

8 Müller 1897:217f.; Schou Jørgensen 1995:99–103.

9 Schou Jørgensen 1995:105f.

10 Schou Jørgensen 1995:136–140.

*b) At the foot end of the coffin:* A wooden tray and on top of it a pail of bronze. A lid of organic material had covered the pail.

10. Himlingøje 1978-35,<sup>11</sup> (App. 2, no. 45) dated to C1b
  - a) At the head end of the coffin:* A glass cup, and below it a handled ceramic cup and a bronze-bound wooden pail partly placed on top of the disarticulated skeleton.
  - b) At the foot end of the coffin:* A handled ceramic bowl partly placed on top of the disarticulated skeleton.
11. Juellinge 1,<sup>12</sup> (App. 2, no. 48) dated to B2
  - a) In the deceased's right hand:* A strainer of bronze.
  - b) Above the deceased's head:* Two glass beakers placed beside a wooden box containing a comb of bone, a pair of bronze scissors, a bronze knife and a bone needle or pin. Close to the right of the glass beakers lay two drinking horns, and immediately above them stood a bronze cauldron with a ladle of bronze inside. Above the cauldron lay parts of an ox and a young swine. Inside the cauldron were the remains of a fermented beverage containing barley, bilberry, cranberry, lingonberry and bog-myrtle.
12. Juellinge 2,<sup>13</sup> (App. 2, no. 49) dated to B2
  - a) Above the deceased's head:* A number of tightly grouped vessels consisting of a bronze cauldron, and on top of it a wooden plate with a shoulder of pork on it. Near to the cauldron stood a large ceramic vase and a small ceramic cup. Resting on the mouth of the vase were a ladle and strainer of bronze, and near to the cauldron and the vase lay two drinking horns. Closely above the vessels stood a wooden box containing a comb of bone, a pair of bronze scissors, a bronze knife and a bronze needle. Inside the cauldron were the remains of a fermented beverage containing barley, bilberry, cranberry, lingonberry and bog-myrtle.
13. Kirkebakkegård (Uggeløse),<sup>14</sup> (App. 2, no. 54), dated to C1b
  - a) Above on the right side of the deceased's head:* On a layer of grass stood a pail of bronze, and inside it lay a ladle and strainer of bronze placed inside each other. By the side of the pail stood three glass beakers and a ceramic cup. Next to the vessels lay the remains of a goose and a swine.
  - b) On top of the stone covered coffin:* The remains of a fire together with bones and broken pottery.
  - c) In three stone-filled pits immediately next to the grave:* The remains of fire and broken pottery.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Schou Jørgensen 1995:125f.

<sup>12</sup> Müller 1911:2–10.

<sup>13</sup> Müller 1911:10–16.

<sup>14</sup> Thrane 1966; 1967:71f.

<sup>15</sup> According to Thrane (1966:4) the features on top of the coffin and next to the grave were the remains of a funerary banquet.



14. Møllegårdsmarken 1109,<sup>16</sup> (App. 2, no. 58) dated to B2
  - a) *Possibly in front of the deceased's chest:*<sup>17</sup> A handled ceramic cup.
  - b) *Possibly by the deceased's knees:* A strainer of bronze.
  - c) *Among the stones placed on the lid of the coffin:* The bronze ladle belonging to the strainer lay on top of one of the stones that had sunk down into the coffin.
  
15. Nordrup 1873,<sup>18</sup> (App. 2, no. 60) dated to C1b
  - a) *Above the deceased's head:* A pail of bronze, a ladle and strainer of bronze placed inside each other, and two glass beakers.
  
16. Nordrup A,<sup>19</sup> (App. 2, no. 61) dated to C1b
  - a) *On the left side of the deceased's head:* A small handled ceramic bowl.
  - b) *On the left side of the deceased's waist and left arm:* A ladle and strainer of bronze placed inside each other. In the strainer stood a glass cup. Immediately below these vessels stood another glass cup.
  - c) *On the right side of the deceased's waist:* A small handled ceramic cup
  - d) *Below the deceased's right hand and along the right leg:* A bronze pail, a ceramic vessel, possibly a cup, and a wooden box. Among these objects, and partly under the legs of the deceased, lay 41 gaming pieces of glass.
  
17. Nordrup H,<sup>20</sup> (App. 2, no. 62) dated to C1b
  - a) *On the left side of the deceased's feet:* A small ceramic vessel of unknown type.
  - b) *At the foot end of the grave:* A bronze pail, a handled ceramic vase, and a small ceramic vessel of unknown type.
  
18. Nordrup I,<sup>21</sup> (App. 2, no. 63) dated to C1b
  - a) *On the right side of the deceased's head and upper body:* A glass beaker, a handled ceramic cup, a silver beaker, and a ladle and strainer of bronze placed inside each other and turned upside-down over a handled ceramic vase.
  - b) *Below the deceased's feet:* A wooden board or tray on which stood a small ceramic vessel, possibly a cup, together with a wooden box and bronze basin. Inside the basin lay a comb of bone together with 40 gaming pieces of glass.
  
19. Skovgårde 8,<sup>22</sup> (App. 2, no. 70) dated to C1b2
  - a) *On top of the deceased's feet:* A large handled tureen-like ceramic vessel and a handled ceramic cup. Inside each ceramic vessel stood a small glass cup.

<sup>16</sup> Albrechtsen 1962:126–130.

<sup>17</sup> There were no traces of the skeleton. However, the layout of the grave goods led the excavators to suggest that the body lay in a crouched position on its right side, which would place the ceramic cup in front of the chest.

<sup>18</sup> Petersen 1890:1–3.

<sup>19</sup> Petersen 1890:4–8.

<sup>20</sup> Petersen 1890:10f.

<sup>21</sup> Petersen 1890:11–13.

<sup>22</sup> Ethelberg 2000:236–249.

20. Skovgårde 209,<sup>23</sup> (App. 2, no. 71) dated to C1b1  
*a) Below the deceased's feet:* A large tureen-like ceramic vessel and a handled ceramic cup. Inside the bowl lay a single shard of a glass cup.
21. Skovgårde 400,<sup>24</sup> (App. 2, no. 72) dated to C2  
*a) At the head end of the coffin:* Two handled ceramic bowls and a large tureen-like ceramic vessel. In the bowl stood a glass cup and a glass beaker placed inside each other  
*b) On the deceased's chest:* A small shard of a glass cup deposited underneath a large tutulus fibula.  
*c) On top of the deceased's feet:* A large bronze-bound wooden pail, and a large ceramic vase containing the complete skeleton of a small swine.  
*d) On a ledge outside the coffin:* The remains of what appears to be a bronze-fitted wooden plate or tray, together with a comb of bone.
22. Skrøbeshave,<sup>25</sup> (App. 2, no. 73) dated to B2  
*a) At the head end of the grave:* A small ceramic cup, and underneath and next to it the remains of a cow.  
*b) At the foot end of the grave:* A large bronze basin, and inside it lay a pail and saucepan of bronze. Stowed away in the pail was a ladle and strainer set of bronze, in which was stacked a ceramic beaker and a handled ceramic cup.  
*c) In front of the deceased's chest:* Two drinking horns.
23. Slusegård 1,<sup>26</sup> (App. 2, no. 74) dated to C1  
*a) Above the deceased's head:* An assemblage dominated by a large, tureen-like ceramic vessel. Beside it stood a handled, ceramic cup and below it a ceramic jug. Below the handled cup lay an iron knife and a bone comb. Above the large tureen-like vessel stood a large glass cup with a handled ceramic cup inside it. Next to the large glass cup stood a second, smaller glass cup, a ceramic beaker, and a ladle and strainer set of bronze.
24. Valløby,<sup>27</sup> (App. 2, no. 80) dated to C1b  
*a) In a closed compartment at the head end of the stone coffin:* A large bowl of terra sigillata, two silver beakers, two bronze pails, two sets of ladles and strainers of bronze, a drinking horn, and at least two glass beakers.  
*b) Below the deceased's left hand, close to the left knee:* A bronze pail with the remains of a bird inside.  
*c) By the deceased's lower left leg and foot:* A bronze pail, a large handled ceramic vase, and two bronze basins placed inside each other. At the bottom of the upper basin lay two tutulus-like silver objects.

<sup>23</sup> Ethelberg 2000:287–301.

<sup>24</sup> Ethelberg 2000:301–318.

<sup>25</sup> Norling-Christensen 1938:118–120; Albrechtsen 1954:56–58.

<sup>26</sup> Klindt-Jensen 1959; 1978b:20–26; Lund Hansen 1987:418.

<sup>27</sup> Engelhardt 1873:291–307.

25. Varpelev A,<sup>28</sup> (App. 2, no. 83) dated to C2
- a) *At the head end of the grave:* A small glass and silver cup with animal bones inside, a small glass cup with fishbone inside, a glass beaker, a glass cup, a glass siphon, a small ceramic vessel, and a drinking horn. The remains of further glass and ceramic vessels.
  - b) *At the foot end of the grave, possibly in a sealed compartment:* A bronze-bound wooden pail which probably had been covered by a wooden lid on top of which lay 42 gaming pieces of bone. Beside the pail lay some animal bones.
  - c) *At the foot end of the grave, possibly in a sealed-off compartment:* Below the pail and animal bones stood a set consisting of a wooden bowl inside of which the remains of a swine were deposited. In the wooden bowl, on top of the swine remains, stood a bronze basin. In the basin lay a comb of bone.

## GERMANY

26. Emersleben 1,<sup>29</sup> (App. 2, no. 94) dated to C2
- a) *By the deceased's right thigh:* Two bronze pails.
  - b) *On the right side of the deceased's feet:* Three small ceramic bowls.
  - c) *On top of the deceased's feet:* A bronze basin in which stood a ceramic bowl. Slightly under the bronze basin, probably beside the deceased's feet, stood a gaming board with approximately 54 gaming pieces.
27. Emersleben 2,<sup>30</sup> (App. 2, no. 95) dated to C2
- a) *By the deceased's right shoulder:* A small ceramic vessel.<sup>31</sup>
  - b) *On the right side of the deceased's right arm:* Two silver spoons
  - c) *On the right side of the deceased's right leg and feet:* Two bronze-bound wooden pails and a tub-shaped bronze vessel. Four small ceramic vessels.
  - d) *On top of the deceased's feet:* A bronze basin covered by a bronze plate. Inside the basin or on top of the plate lay a bone comb.
  - e) *On the left side of the deceased's feet:* A ladle and strainer of bronze placed inside each other.
28. Gommern,<sup>32</sup> (App. 2, no. 98) dated to C2
- a) *Partly under the funerary couch, parallel to the head area of the deceased:* A large bronze cauldron in which stood a bronze basin, two bronze-bound wooden pails, a bronze-bound wooden tub and a ceramic bowl. In the tub stood a silver pail, and inside the pail a glass cup. Two more glass cups were placed inside each other in a small woven basket. Inside the wooden pails were the remains of food or beverage sweetened with honey.

<sup>28</sup> Engelhardt 1877:350–359.

<sup>29</sup> Schulz 1952:105.

<sup>30</sup> Schulz 1952:109.

<sup>31</sup> A total of five ceramic vessels were found in the grave; a beaker, two bowls and two cups, but unfortunately the documentation does not mention the exact location of each form. Nevertheless, all the vessels are stated to be of approximately the same size.

<sup>32</sup> Becker *et al.* 1992; Becker 2001a:127–147; 2001b:148–157.

- b) Under the funerary couch, parallel to the deceased's legs:* Two bronze pails.
- c) On the funerary couch at the left side of the deceased's upper body:* Numerous silver fittings of various size which were the remains of approximately three turned wooden vessels, possibly bowls. In their vicinity lay several hazelnuts.
- d) Close to a folding table of bronze by the foot end of the couch:* A glass beaker together with a ladle and strainer set of silver, which according to the reconstruction was placed on a nearby folding table. Close to the beaker, ladle and strainer, and the folding table were the remains of a gaming board and approximately 48 gaming pieces.

29. Haina,<sup>33</sup> (App. 2, no. 106) dated to C2

- a) At the foot end of the grave:* Two bronze pails which stood on top of what appears to have been a wooden plate, and next to them a bronze-bound wooden pail. Underneath one of the metal pails lay what appears to have been a crushed egg. Close by this assemblage lay a portion of animal ribs.

30. Haßleben 4,<sup>34</sup> (App. 2, no. 112) dated to C2

- a) On a ledge in the north-west side of the grave:* A bronze plate on which stood one small ceramic bowl and a large, tureen-like ceramic vessel. Next to it laid a piece of silver sheet from a drinking horn or a wooden vessel.
- b) Below the ledge, at the head end of the grave:* A ceramic bowl together with the remains of sheep/goat, swine and hen.
- c) Below the ledge, to the right of the deceased's upper body:* A ceramic beaker.

31. Haßleben 8,<sup>35</sup> (App. 2, no. 113) dated to C2

- a) In the middle of the head end of the grave:* An overturned bronze basin, a silver-bound wooden pail, and a ceramic cup covered by an overturned ceramic bowl.
- b) In the north-east corner of the head end of the grave:* A bronze-bound wooden pail, a ceramic folded beaker, an overturned ladle and strainer set of bronze, a drinking horn and a glass cup.
- c) By the deceased's right hip:* a glass cup.
- d) On the left side of the deceased's left leg and upper body:* A silver-plated bronze plate on top of which lay the remains of a possible wooden plate. On these plates stood a large silver plate on which was placed a small silver-plated bronze bowl together with the remains of goose and hen. Next to the stacked plates stood a bronze pail and three ceramic vessels, two bowls and a large tureen-like vessel. In one of the smaller bowls lay a silver spoon. In between the different vessels lay the remains of a deer and a sheep or goat. Next to these vessels stood a ceramic flanged bowl (a mortar) of Roman manufacture, in which a glass cup was placed. Next to the flanged bowl, close to the left hand and hip of the deceased, stood a wooden box with silver fittings, containing several beads of amber and a finger ring of glass. Further up alongside the body were a ceramic beaker, a glass cup, a wooden tray with bronze and silver fittings and the remains of a swine.

<sup>33</sup> Schreiner & Huck 1989; The head end of the grave, where a bronze basin and four glass bowls were found, was disturbed due to modern construction on the site.

<sup>34</sup> Schulz 1933:14f.

<sup>35</sup> Schulz 1933:4–12; Text pl. 2:1.

32. Häven 1, 1967,<sup>36</sup> (App. 2, no. 117) dated to C2  
*a) By the left side of the deceased's head:*<sup>37</sup> A large ceramic vase.  
*b) At the head end of the chamber, by the north-eastern corner:* A bronze-bound wooden pail and next to it a ladle and strainer placed inside each other.  
*c) Parallel to the waist and left hip of the deceased, by the eastern wall of the chamber:* A handled ceramic bowl and below it a bone comb.
33. Häven 1968,<sup>38</sup> (App. 2, no. 118) dated to C2  
*a) Parallel to the left side of the deceased's upper body, below the funerary couch:* a ceramic bowl, a large tureen-like ceramic vessel, a ceramic cup, and a glass cup. Next to the vessels lay a wooden quiver with three arrows of bronze. Originally, the quiver may have been placed on the couch, at the left side of the deceased, and only later ended up by the vessels due to the taphonomic process.  
*b) Parallel to the left knee of the deceased, below the funerary couch:* A wooden plate and next to it a bone comb.
34. Lalendorf,<sup>39</sup> (App. 2, no. 128) dated to B1b  
*a) At the head end of the chamber:*<sup>40</sup> A bronze basin, a small ceramic cup, a round wooden box with a bronze lid. Inside the basin lay the remains of a turned wooden vessel and a spindle hook of bronze. In this area were also found the remains of two drinking horns.  
*b) By the left side of the deceased's head:* A handled ceramic vase. Some parts of the two drinking horns were also found close to this vessel.
35. Leuna 2, 1917,<sup>41</sup> (App. 2, no. 131) dated to C2  
*a) Above the deceased's head:* A ceramic beaker.  
*b) In a closed compartment or a wooden box at the foot end of the coffin:* A bronze plate on which was placed an overturned ladle and strainer set inside each other, a small, overturned silver bowl and pieces of a glass bowl. Next to the plate stood two large tureen-like ceramic bowls and a ceramic cup. Above and inside one of the bowls lay the bones of a hen, a rooster and a suckling pig.
36. Leuna 2, 1926,<sup>42</sup> (App. 2, no. 133) dated to C2  
*a) At the foot end of the coffin:*<sup>43</sup> A bronze plate on top of which stood two ceramic bowls, one of them overturned. Next to the tray stood one large, tureen-like ceramic vessel and one smaller ceramic bowl.

<sup>36</sup> Hollnagel 1970:266–269.

<sup>37</sup> Parts of the grave, the area where the body lay, were disturbed.

<sup>38</sup> Schuldt 1969.

<sup>39</sup> Keiling 1971.

<sup>40</sup> Only the western part of the grave (the head end) was undisturbed. The rest was cut as result of the construction on the site.

<sup>41</sup> Schulz 1953:13–16.

<sup>42</sup> Schulz 1953:20f.

<sup>43</sup> Only the southern end of the grave (the footend) was intact.

37. Leuna 3, 1926,<sup>44</sup> (App. 2, no. 134) dated to C2  
*a) In the North-East corner of the chamber, on the left side of the deceased's upper body:*<sup>45</sup> A large tureen-like ceramic vessel, a smaller ceramic bowl, a ceramic cup, a ceramic folded beaker of Roman manufacture, a wooden pail with bronze handles, a silver bowl, a glass cup, and a glass beaker. Next to the tureen-like vessel lay a silver spoon. Below these vessels stood a bronze plate on top of which lay a ladle and strainer of bronze. Below the plate stood a glass bowl.  
*b) In the south-eastern part of the chamber, on the left side of the deceased's left leg:* A wooden tray with bronze fittings on top of which stood a bronze plate and three ceramic bowls. On the tray were also the remains of a pig, two suckling pigs, two roosters, a pike and three roach. Next to the tray stood a small ivory box, and below it a bronze basin. Below the basin stood a gaming board with 59 gaming pieces of glass and stone.
38. Marwedel 1,<sup>46</sup> (App. 2, no. 135) dated to B2a  
*a) At the head end of the coffin:* A bronze cauldron on top of which stood a bronze basin. Stuck into the handle of the basin were a ladle and strainer of bronze, placed inside each other. In the basin lay two drinking horns, a small wooden box, a curved knife, a razor and a pair of scissors.  
*b) On top of the deceased's upper body:* A large saucepan of bronze.  
*c) Outside the coffin, on the eastern side:* A ceramic beaker and a ceramic bowl.
39. Marwedel 2,<sup>47</sup> (App. 2, no. 136) dated to B2a  
*a) On a skin rug at the foot end of the chamber:* A large saucepan of bronze in which stood two silver cups and two small saucepans of silver. Textile remains indicate that the saucepan and its content were wrapped in cloth. Next to the large saucepan stood a ladle and strainer of bronze, placed inside each other, and beside them a cauldron of bronze. Next to the cauldron lay two drinking horns, and beside them a pair of glass beakers.
40. Neudorf-Bornstein 4,<sup>48</sup> (App. 2, no. 138) dated to C2  
*a) At the foot end of the grave, possibly on top of the coffin lid:* A large bronze basin, possibly wrapped in cloth, inside of which stood a glass beaker and two small ladles of wood. Inside the basin were also found the remains of a rush woven basket, possibly a container for the glass vessel. Next to the basin stood a bronze pail.  
*b) On the chamber floor, possibly on top of the coffin lid, and parallel to the deceased's lower and upper body:* Two large bronze-bound wooden pails, and next to them a wooden tray on top of which lay the remains of what appears to be a calf. Next to, or on top of, the tray stood a ceramic vessel, roughly parallel to the deceased's shoulder area.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Schulz 1953:22–29.

<sup>45</sup> Of the northern part of the chamber only the eastern corner was intact. The north-western part, where the deceased's upper body lay, was destroyed.

<sup>46</sup> Laux 1993:318–344.

<sup>47</sup> Laux 1993:345–363.

<sup>48</sup> Schäfer 1968:46–51; Steinert 1968; Abegg-Wigg 2008.

<sup>49</sup> The form of the vessel is not mentioned by Schäfer 1968.



41. Neudorf-Bornstein 7,<sup>50</sup> (App. 2, no. 139) dated to C<sub>3</sub>
- a) On the right side of the deceased's head:* A glass beaker.
  - b) On the left side of the deceased's head:* A small glass vessel.
  - c) In the waist area of the deceased:* A drinking horn.
  - d) At the foot end of the coffin, on top of the deceased's legs and feet:* A large bronze basin. Next to it, further down the foot end, lay a gaming board with 26 gaming pieces of glass, as well as two bronze spurs.
  - e) On the chamber floor, parallel to the right side of the deceased's upper body:* A ceramic beaker.
  - f) On the chamber floor, parallel to the right leg and foot of the deceased:* Two bronze-bound wooden pails and two ceramic cups.

## NORWAY

42. Store-Dal 5,<sup>51</sup> (App. 2, no. 152) dated to B<sub>2</sub>
- a) At the southern end of the grave, possibly the head end:*<sup>52</sup> A saucepan of bronze, an overturned ceramic vase, two drinking horns, and two curved knives.
43. Store-Dal 6,<sup>53</sup> (App. 2, no. 153) dated to B<sub>2</sub>
- a) At the head end of the grave:* A bronze basin inside of which stood an overturned saucepan of bronze together with two overturned glass bowls. Beside the basin lay, on its side, a bronze cauldron. By one side of the vessels lay an iron knife and on the other side (possibly) a wooden box with iron fittings.

## POLAND

44. Gosławice (Goslawitz, Wichulla),<sup>54</sup> (App. 2, no. 163) dated to B<sub>1c</sub>
- a) In a closed compartment at the head end of the chamber:* Two bronze pails, a bronze basin, a gold-plated silver beaker, a saucepan of bronze, a bronze ladle, a bronze strainer, two drinking horns, two glass bowls, two large tureen-like ceramic vessels, a ceramic bowl, two ceramic jars or beakers, a bronze knife, and a pair of bronze scissors.
  - b) Among the stones on top of the chamber roof, at the foot end of the grave:* Two large tureen-like ceramic vessels found together with the remains of a third ceramic vessel of indeterminate type (a bowl?) and unburnt bones.

<sup>50</sup> Schäfer 1968:52–59; Abegg-Wigg 2008.

<sup>51</sup> Petersen 1916:49f., pl. XVII.

<sup>52</sup> Since no skeletal remains were found, nor any other objects which might indicate the position of the deceased, this suggestion for the location of the vessels is based on grave 5 from Store-Dal. In this grave the vessels were found arranged at the head end.

<sup>53</sup> Petersen 1916:38f., pl. XII.

<sup>54</sup> Raschke 1939:61–64, 70.

45. Leśno,<sup>55</sup> (App. 2, no. 174) dated to B2/C1a  
*a) Above the deceased's head:* A bronze pail and two glass beakers. In between the beakers and the pail lay two spindle whorls of glass. Inside the pail lay textile remains of wool and flax which may indicate that the pail had been wrapped in cloth.  
*b) At the foot end of the coffin:* A wooden box with bronze fittings and a bronze key. On top of it lay textile remains of wool. Placed inside the box were a ceramic cup and a ceramic spindle whorl.
46. Odry 423,<sup>56</sup> (App. 2, no. 182) dated to C1b  
*a) At the head end of the grave:* A terra sigillata bowl and a handled ceramic beaker.
47. Osiek (Komorów, Kommerau),<sup>57</sup> (App. 2, no. 183) dated to C1a  
*a) At the head end of the grave:* A ladle and strainer of bronze together with a dagger and a knife, also of bronze.  
*b) By the feet of the deceased:* A drinking horn, a handled ceramic cup, a ceramic beaker, a small ceramic bowl, and a fourth ceramic vessel of which there is no information.
48. Weklice (Wöcklitz) 208,<sup>58</sup> (App. 2, no. 198) dated to B2/C1–C1a  
*a) At the head end of the coffin:* A large terra sigillata bowl and inside it a glazed ceramic beaker of Roman manufacture. Beside the bowl stood a bronze pail.
49. Weklice (Wöcklitz) 495,<sup>59</sup> (App. 2, no. 199) dated to B2/C1–C1a  
*a) At the head end of the coffin:* Arranged around a wooden box with metal fittings were a saucepan of bronze, two glass beakers, a miniature ceramic vessel, and a ladle and strainer of bronze.

## SWEDEN

50. Simris 2, 1972,<sup>60</sup> (App. 2, no. 218) dated to B2  
*a) In the eastern corner of the head end of the grave, outside the coffin:*<sup>61</sup> A bronze cauldron, in which were found the organic remains of either food or drink. Beside it a saucepan of bronze, a small wooden box, two drinking horns, a small ceramic cup and a lancehead of iron.

<sup>55</sup> Grabarczyk *et al.* 1979:pl. 270.

<sup>56</sup> Grabarczyk *et al.* 1979:pl. 271.

<sup>57</sup> Günther 1922; Kossinna 1922; Wielowiejski 1985:295.

<sup>58</sup> Okulicz-Kozaryn 1992:91–95; Natuniewicz-Sekula & Okulicz-Kozaryn 2007:74f.

<sup>59</sup> Natuniewicz-Sekula & Okulicz-Kozaryn 2007:75.

<sup>60</sup> Stjernquist 1977:6–8.

<sup>61</sup> This arrangement of objects was found among the fragments of wood indicating the northern edge of the coffin. It is thus difficult to establish whether they were all deposited outside the coffin or it, perhaps on top of the coffin's lid. It is also possible that the ceramic cup was placed inside the coffin, while the rest of the objects were placed outside of it.



# APPENDIX 2

## CATALOGUE OF PRINCELY GRAVES

### AUSTRIA

1. Neuruppersdorf  
Mistelbach District, state of Lower Austria. Inhumation with a 45–50-year-old man. The grave goods consisted of a bronze cauldron E40; bronze jug E127; handled bowl of bronze E154–155; two glass bowls E183; ceramic vessel; finger ring of bronze. The grave is dated to B2. (E.g. Kunow 1983:139, no. K151; Peška 2002:26, table 1)
2. Rothenseehof, PB Mistelbach  
Mistelbach District, state of Lower Austria. Cremation containing fragments of a bronze pail E24–25 (?); a handled bowl of bronze E154–155 (?); a ceramic urn; a silver fibula; a bronze fibula; a bronze buckle; three iron spurs; an iron sword; an iron lancehead; an iron shield boss and shield handle. Dated to Bra. (E.g. Neugebauer & Neugebauer 1986:313; Windl 1990:fig. 8, 9 & 11; Tejral 2002:212, fig. 8)
3. Schwechat  
Wien-Umgebung District, state of Lower Austria. Cremation containing the fragmented remains of at least two bronze pails E24; a saucepan of bronze E151; a silver ladle (simpulum?); a candelabra of bronze; bronze mounting from a drinking horn; a bronze spur. Dated to B1. (Künzl 1997d)
4. Wulzeshofen  
Mistelbach District, state of Lower Austria. Cremation containing fragments of a silver plate; a bronze vessel of uncertain type; two iron fibulae; a gold chain; a gold and silver needle with a pear-shaped head of gold; a golden arm ring of snake-head type, an ear-ring of gold; a finger ring of gold; an iron key (?); fragments of bronze and silver. Dated to B2/C1. (E.g. Beninger 1932:216–238; Bernhard-Walcher 1988:232)

### CZECH REPUBLIC

5. Beroun-Závodí  
Beroun District, Central Bohemian Region. Inhumation containing a roughly 40-year-old man. The grave contained a glass beaker; six ceramic vessels; a pair of scissors; a comb; a leather pouch; a pair of tweezers; an ear spoon; an awl; a strike-a-light; a buckle; a button; a knife; a bone-hilted sword; a shield boss; several arrow-points; a spear head; possibly a wooden bow. All the metal objects were of bronze. The grave is dated to C3. (E.g. Břicháček 1981:127f.; Droberjar 2007:98)

6. Dobrichov-Pichora I (Eggers grave 6)  
Kolín District, Central Bohemian Region. Cremation with a bronze cauldron E7; five bronze fibulae; a bronze pin; numerous belt fittings of bronze; a finger ring of gold; fragment of a gold pendant; an iron sword; bronze fittings from a shield; an iron knife; a ceramic spindle whorl; fragments of silver and bronze. Dated to B1a. (E.g. Eggers 1951:140, no. 1737; Sakař 1970:4; Karasová 1998:65; Droberjar 1999:213f.)
  
7. Dobrichov-Pichora II (Eggers grave 2)  
Kolín District, Central Bohemian Region. Cremation containing fragments of a bronze pail E18; a silver beaker E173(?); a bronze basin E 91 or E97; a bronze basin E99–100; a bronze jug E124–125; a saucepan of bronze E131; a saucepan of bronze E134–135; a handled bowl of bronze E154–155; a ladle and strainer of bronze (uncertain type); fragments of bronze vessels; mountings of a drinking horn; a silver fibula; six bronze fibulae; a bronze needle; a bone needle-case; a pair of iron scissors; a pair of bronze scissors; a buckle and belt plate of bronze; two strap-ends of bronze; an iron sword; an iron lancehead; two iron spearheads; fragments of bronze and iron. Dated to B1a. (E.g. Eggers 1951:140, no. 1733; Sakař 1970:4–8; Karasová 1998:65f.; Droberjar 1999:214–217)
  
8. Dobrichov-Pichora III (Eggers grave 4)  
Kolín District, Central Bohemian Region. Cremation containing a bronze cauldron E38; fragment of a bronze jug E124–125; fragments of a ladle and strainer of bronze E159a; fragments of a silver beaker E170(?); fragments of a small bronze amphora or flask of type Boesterd 264/265; fragments of a bronze vessel (uncertain type); bronze mountings from two drinking horns; two silver fibulae; several belt details of bronze (belt plate, strap-end; four mountings; 14 rivets); two bronze pins; two iron knives; two small bronze rings. Dated to B1a. (E.g. Eggers 1951:140, no. 1735; Sakař 1970:8; Karasová 1998:66; Droberjar 1999:217–218)
  
9. Dobrichov-Pichora IV (Eggers grave 3)  
Kolín District, Central Bohemian Region. Cremation containing a bronze cauldron E38; a bronze jug E124–125; a handled bowl of bronze E154–155; fragment of a bronze vessel (possibly a saucepan); fragment of a bronze vessel (possibly a pail); bronze mountings from a drinking horn; a silver fibula; a bone needle; a belt buckle and belt fittings of bronze; finger ring of gold; three iron fittings from a scabbard; an iron shield boss; a shield grip and shield fittings of bronze; an iron spur; two iron drawknives; an iron knife; a pair of bronze scissors; a whetstone; nine bear claws; fragments of silver and iron. Dated to B1a. (E.g. Eggers 1951:140, no. 1734; Sakař 1970:8; Karasová 1998:66f.; Droberjar 1999:218–220)
  
10. Dobrichov-Pichora V (Eggers grave 1)  
Kolín District, Central Bohemian Region. Cremation containing a bronze pail E24 and fragments of a bronze pail E18; a bronze basin E91 or 97; a bronze jug E124–125; a saucepan of bronze E131; a saucepan of bronze (uncertain type); a handled bowl of bronze E154–155; a bronze vessel (possibly a pail); five or more

bronze vessels (uncertain types); a silver fibula; a gilded silver fibula; a bronze pin or needle (?); belt fittings of bronze; an iron sword; bronze fittings from a scabbard; three iron lanceheads; an iron shield boss; a shield grip and shield fittings of bronze; an iron knife; iron fittings from a wooden box; a piece of iron sheet; a small piece of resin. Dated to B1a. (E.g. Eggers 1951:140, no. 1732; Sakař 1970:8; Karasová 1998:67; Droberjar 1999:220–222)

11. Dobrichov-Pichora VI (Eggers grave 5)  
Kolín District, Central Bohemian Region. Cremation containing a bronze cauldron E8 and fragments of a bronze cauldron E38; a saucepan of bronze E131; a bronze vessel of uncertain type; six bronze fibulae; a belt buckle and several belt fittings of bronze; an iron sword; iron fittings from a scabbard; an iron lancehead; a spear butt of iron; an iron arrowhead; an iron shield boss; a shield grip of bronze; shield fittings of bronze; two iron knives; a curved knife of iron; an iron razor; 14 gaming pieces of stone; 13 bear claws; an iron fragment. Dated to B1a. (E.g. Eggers 1951:140, no. 1736; Sakař 1970:12; Karasová 1998:67; Droberjar 1999:222–224)
  
12. Holubice  
Prague-West District, Central Bohemian Region. Cremation containing a bronze pail E33; fragments of bronze pail E18; a bronze basin E96; a bronze basin E67; a bronze saucepan E131; the foot of a bronze vessel; a silver beaker of Germanic manufacture E170; a mounting from a drinking horn; a silver fibula; a bronze fibula. Dated to B1. (E.g. Sakař 1970:29; Karasová 1998:70)
  
13. Lovosice  
Litomerice District, Ústí nad Labem Region. Inhumation containing a bronze cauldron E40 with textile imprints on its wall; fragments of a ladle and strainer of bronze E160; a bronze basin E72; a bronze vessel (possibly a basin); a bone comb. Dated to B2. (E.g. Sakař 1970:32; Karasová 1998:74).
  
14. Mušov  
Breclav District, South Moravian Region. Inhumation with the remains of two men of about 40–60 years and a woman. The grave goods consisted of a bronze pail E24 or 28; a fragmented bronze pail E27–29; a bronze cauldron E42; a bronze cauldron E12 with handle attachments (or escutcheons) in the shape of male heads with Suebian knots; a bronze cauldron E6–8; a bronze basin E77; two bronze pots of Gose type 503; the fitting of a bronze vessel; a handle of a silver beaker; a small silver bowl; three handles of silver plates; two vessel feet of silver; two silver spoons; the fragment of glass bowl Is. 18; three saucepans of glass Is. 75; two glass bottles Is. 51b; at least nine glass bottles Is. 50a; a Roman ceramic beaker; two Roman ceramic bowls; six Roman ceramic plates; a tureen-shaped ceramic vessel; a ceramic bowl; two gilded mountings from two drinking horns, two iron fire dogs; a pair of iron fire tongs; an iron meat hook; an iron tripod; the fragment of iron grill; a bronze lamp; a folding table of bronze; a furniture fitting of bronze with gilded silver relief; bronze and iron fittings from a wooden box; two ivory fragments; a cosmetic spoon of bronze; a plate of calcite; two whetstones;



two gold pendants; two identical sets of belts with clasps, mountings and strap-ends of gold and silver; further belt details (clasps, mountings etc.) of silver, gilded silver, bronze, and iron; a bronze and silver mounting from a balteus; three fire steels; three iron fragments; seven iron lanceheads; four iron arrowheads; eight arrowhead sockets of iron; a fragmented iron sword blade; the silver fittings from three shields; fragments of iron scale armour; ten iron spurs; two silver spurs with gold decoration; four iron spurs with gold and silver decoration; parts of a silver decorated spur; a small bronze knife; two knife fittings of bronze; two iron knives; a small gold sheet; four iron fragments; a bear claw; a clam; the remains of two calves, two suckling pigs; two geese, two hens, a beaver's tail, sheep/goat, fish. Dated to B2/C1. (E.g. Peška 2002)

15. Prag-Bubenec 1942  
Prague, Capital City Region. Inhumation containing a bronze basin E73; ceramic vessel; two fibulae; belt fittings of bronze. Dated to B1a. (E.g. Sakař 1970:38; Kunow 1983:145, no. K228)
  
16. Prag-Bubenec 1948  
Prague, Capital City Region. Inhumation of a man containing a bronze basin E92; a bronze jug E124; a saucepan of bronze E131; a handled bowl of bronze E154; ceramic vessel; three bronze fibulae; a fibula; a bronze ring; two spurs; shoe fittings (?). Dated to B1a. (E.g. Sakař 1970:38; Kunow 1983:145, no. K229)
  
17. Repov (Repow)  
Mladá Boleslav District, Central Bohemian Region. Possible inhumation containing a bronze cauldron E39; a bronze basin E70; a saucepan of bronze E142; a ladle and strainer of bronze E162; bronze fittings from a drinking horn; a bronze razor; a pair of bronze scissors; two suspension rings of bronze; two cylindrical bronze mountings; ring of sheet bronze; bronze mounting with a ring; bronze ring with attached spike. Dated to B2a. (E.g. Eggers 1951:143, no. 1829; Sakař 1970:40; Karasová 1998:79f.)
  
18. Straky IV (Sakař's and Karasová's grave III)  
Nymburk District, Central Bohemian Region. Inhumation containing a bronze basin E69; a saucepan of bronze E131; three pelta-shaped vessel feet (from the saucepan E131?); a bronze ladle E163; fittings from a drinking horn; a ceramic vessel; a bronze fibula. Dated to B1. (E.g. Motyková-Sneidrová 1963:59; Sakař 1970:41; Karasová 1998:81f.)
  
19. Velatice 2  
Brno-Country District, South Moravian Region. Cremation containing a bronze cauldron E37–43; ladle and strainer of bronze E162; a fibula. Dated to B2. (E.g. Kunow 1983:147, no. K264)
  
20. Velatice 6, 1942  
Brno-Country District, South Moravian Region. Cremation containing a bronze cauldron E37–43; a bronze saucepan E139; a ladle and strainer E160 (?); a glass

bowl E181; a drinking horn; parts of a belt of Roman manufacture; three fibula; a finger-ring of bronze; a needle; a pair of scissors; a curved knife; a knife. Dated to B1b. (E.g. Kunow 1983:147, no. K265)

21. Zliw (Zliv)

Jicín District, Hradec Králové Region. Double cremation containing a bronze pail E30 (?); a bronze pail E30; fragments of a bronze basin E91–92; a bronze jug E124; a saucepan of bronze E131; a handled bowl E154; fragments of numerous bronze vessels (uncertain types); fittings from a drinking horn; two bronze knives; a bronze razor; four bronze fibulae; three bronze buckles; a bronze spur; several bronze fragments (fittings?) with engraved decoration. Dated to B1a. (E.g. Eggers 1951:145, no. 1894; Sakař 1970:53; Karasová 1998:85f.)

## DENMARK

22. Agersbøl

Hedensted Municipality, Region Central Jutland, Jutland. Double inhumation containing the handle of a silver beaker E170; nine ceramic vessels; pottery sherds; a finger ring of gold; a bronze buckle; two iron knives; an iron sword; an iron arrowhead; two spearheads; a round silver plate decorated with a mask; three gaming pieces of glass; a bronze disc; wood with silver rivets and fittings; two silver knobs; fragments of silver and iron. Dated to B2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:18, no. 3; Lund Hansen 1987:407)

23. Annasholm

Odense Municipality, Region South Denmark, Funen. Inhumation containing a large saucepan of bronze E142; two smaller saucepans of bronze E142; a bronze buckle; a bronze knife; a pair of bronze scissors; a bone comb. Dated to B2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:82, no. 99; Albrechtsen 1954:45f.; Lund Hansen 1987:404)

24. Årslev

Faaborg-Midtfyn Municipality, Region South Denmark, Funen. Double inhumation of possibly a male and female individual. The grave goods consisted of a bronze cauldron E43; a bronze pail E56–58; a bronze basin E105; silver fittings from a wooden pail; bronze fittings and handle from a wooden pail; a silver spoon; a gold fibula with carnelians and garnets; a silver fibula; a pin of gold and silver; a set of seven gold pendants decorated with lion masks; three pendants of gold; a finger ring of gold; a finger ring of gold with red stone; a crystal ball with inscription; an aureus (copy of Geta 211–212); gold mounting. Dated to C2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:81, no. 84; Lund Hansen 1987:426)

25. Billum 1

Varde Municipality, Region South Denmark, Jutland. Inhumation containing a glass cup E205; two bronze-bound wooden pails; two ceramic vessels; the remains of one or more wooden vessels; a large tutulus fibula of iron, bronze and silver decorated with gold foil and glass; a small, bird-shaped silver fibula with gold foil;

three small and massive gold pins; a long silver pin; two bronze rings; 350 glass and amber beads; an iron comb; an iron knife; an unknown wooden object with seven iron rivets in a row; a further iron rivet; a dissolved animal tooth. Dated to C2. (E.g. Frandsen & Westphal 1996:49–52; Sørensen 1996; Frandsen 2000:96f.; 2001:20–22)

26. Bjergelide VII

Hedensted Municipality, Region Central Jutland, Jutland. Cremation containing a bronze cauldron E7 and fragments of a saucepan of bronze E142–143; a ladle and strainer of bronze E162; a bronze vessel of uncertain type; a beaker of glass of uncertain type; bronze fittings from a drinking horn; an iron spoon; two finger rings of gold; an iron sword; an iron lancehead; an iron spearhead; a shield boss of bronze; a shield grip of iron; bronze fittings and rivets from a shield; two iron spurs; an iron knife or dagger; an iron knife; a curved knife of iron; a pair of iron scissors; an iron buckle; fragmented bronze fibula; silver sheet; bronze fitting; molten bronze and iron. Dated to B2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:78, no. 7; Lund Hansen 1987:407)

27. Blidegn

Faaborg-Midtfyn Municipality, Region South Denmark. Inhumation of a woman. The grave goods consisted of two saucepans of bronze E142; a bronze ladle E162; a ceramic vessel; two bronze knives; the needle from a silver fibula; glass beads; a belt buckle and strap-end of bronze; a ring of bronze wire; a bead or spindle whorl of amber; a spindle whorl of glass; a ring or spindle whorl of clay; a wooden box; a reed box with a small sea urchin, a pinecone scale and seeds of bladder nut; a bundle of willow twigs wrapped with golden wool thread, and fragments of woollen textiles. Dated to B2. (E.g. Helweg Mikkelsen 1938; Eggers 1951:81, no. 87; Lund Hansen 1987:404f.)

28. Bodummark (Risemark)

Aabenraa Municipality, Region South Denmark. A grave containing a ladle and strainer of bronze E60; a fragmentary glass bowl; several ceramic vessels; gilded finger ring of bronze; strap-end of bronze; four spurs; a sword; an axe. Dated to B2/C1a. (E.g. Eggers 1951:80, no. 59a; Lund Hansen 1987:430)

29. Borritshoved

Faxe Municipality, Region Zealand, Zealand. Inhumation containing three glass cups E209; a ladle and strainer of bronze E161; a bronze pail E56; a silver fibula; a ceramic vessel; a golden spiral finger ring; wood; organic material; bones. Dated to C1b. (E.g. Eggers 1951:84, no. 157; Lund Hansen 1987:414)

30. Brøndsager 2000

Høje-Taastrup Municipality, Capital Region of Denmark, Zealand. An inhumation containing the remains of an approximately 12-year-old boy. The grave goods consisted of two glass cups E199–200; a bronze-bound wooden pail; four ceramic vessels; a bone comb; a gaming board with bronze fittings and 59 gaming pieces

of glass; a necklace consisting of three bronze beads, one amber bead, two glass beads and an imitation of a golden aureus (Antoninus Pius 138–161); a piece of gold wire, a golden finger ring of snakehead type; a cut of lamb; a piglet. Dated to C2. (E.g. Boye & Fonnesbech-Sandberg 1999:34f.; Fonnesbech-Sandberg 2002; 2004a:99f.)

31. Byrsted  
 Rebild Municipality, Region North Jutland, Jutland. A possible inhumation containing a bronze basin E92; two silver beakers E173; a silver fibula decorated with gold wire; seven silver needles; two gold beads; a gold pendant; a finger ring of gold; an iron lancehead and the remains of a further two (uncertain whether they belong to the find). Dated to B1a. (E.g. Ekholm 1934:360–362; Voss 1949:254–256; Eggers 1951:78, no. 15; Lund Hansen 1987:405; Künzl 2000)
  
32. Dollerupgård  
 Kolding Municipality, Region South Denmark, Jutland. Double inhumation containing the remains of a man and a woman. *Coffin A1* contained two drinking horns; three ceramic vessels; a silver-plated iron fibula; three iron rods; an iron buckle; a gold ring; six small silver discs; an iron knife; fragments of iron and wood. *Coffin A2* contained two bronze pails E26; two silver beakers E170; three ceramic vessels; a wooden tray; a silver fibula; a silver bead; a glass bead; two finger rings of gold; two bronze spurs; an iron knife; a bone comb; six circular silver discs (possibly from a leather bag); about 70 silver rivets; the remains of cloth and animal skin. *On the soil bench between the coffins* stood four ceramic vessels. Dated to B2. (E.g. Voss & Ørsnes-Christensen 1949; Eggers 1951:78, no. 17; Holmqvist 1954; Kunow 1983:150, no. K17; Bełkowska 1986; Lund Hansen 1987:407; Künzl 1988a–b; Wielowiejski 1990; Peška 2002:26, table 1)
  
33. Ellekilde 34  
 Ishøj Municipality, Capital Region of Denmark, Zealand. Inhumation of an approximately 45-year-old man containing a bronze pail E52–56; a ladle and strainer of bronze E161; two glass cups E209; a piece of badly preserved glass found in the mouth of the dead; bronze fittings from a drinking or blowing horn; a ceramic vessel; a large silver fibula with inlaid glass and semi-precious stones; a finger ring of gold; a comb; 58 gaming pieces of glass; animal remains. Dated to C1b/C2. (Personal comment of museum inspector Rune Iversen, mag. art., at Kroppedal Museum. Also the Kroppedal Museum website, [www.kroppedal.dk/arkaeologi/Udgravninger/tak1355ellekilde.htm](http://www.kroppedal.dk/arkaeologi/Udgravninger/tak1355ellekilde.htm), accessed 2008-01-29)
  
34. Ellerup  
 Svendborg Municipality, Region South Denmark, Funen. Cremation containing a bronze cauldron E40; a bronze pail E48; a bronze basin E77; a ladle and strainer of bronze E160; a ceramic vessel; bronze fittings from two drinking horns; two iron knives; a finger ring of gold; two iron spurs; an iron sword with a bronze chape; an iron lancehead; an iron axe; a iron shield boss; a pinhead of silver. Dated to B2/C1a. (E.g. Eggers 1951:81, no. 89; Lund Hansen 1987:420)

35. Favrskov I, inhumation 1  
Assens Municipality, Region South Denmark, Funen. Inhumation containing a saucepan of bronze E144; two saucepans of bronze E146; a bronze ladle E162; a wooden beaker; a bone comb; a ceramic urn with burnt bone. Dated to B1b. (E.g. Eggers 1951:82, no. 92; Lund Hansen 1987:403)
36. Favrskov I, inhumation 2  
Assens Municipality, Region South Denmark, Funen. Inhumation containing a bronze strainer E162; three ceramic vessels; bronze mountings from two drinking horns; resin caulking from a wooden or leather vessel; seven glass beads; a gold bead; four silver needles; three silver fibulae; an S-shaped clasp of silver; belt buckle of bronze; needle or strap-end of bronze; a finger ring of bronze (?); a silver *bullae*; a piece of bronze sheet. Dated to B2. (E.g. Albrechtsen 1954:40f.; Kunow 1983:129, no. K2; Lund Hansen 1987:403)
37. Gjenner  
Aabenraa Municipality, Region South Denmark, Jutland. Cremation containing a ladle and strainer of bronze E160; a ceramic vessel; an iron knife; a bone comb; a finger ring of gold; two iron buckles; two spurs, one of iron and the other of bronze; a decorative plate (mounting?) of silver; iron. Dated to B2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:79, no. 23; Lund Hansen 1987:408)
38. Hågerup  
Faaborg-Midtfyn Municipality, Region South Denmark, Funen. Inhumation of a 20–25-year-old man. The grave goods consisted of a bronze cauldron E41; a ladle and strainer of bronze E161; a silver bowl E179; a glass bowl E216; two ceramic vessels; sherds of pottery; a bronze-bound wooden pail; a silver spoon; a finger ring of gold with onyx; a bronze pendant; two strap-ends of silver; a pair of silver tweezers; an ear spoon of silver; a silver ring (part of a belt or the toilettries); a bone comb; a spiral of gold wire; a silver denar (L. Aelius Caesar 137); an iron sword (uncertain whether it belongs to the grave). Dated to C1b. (E.g. Eggers 1951:82, no. 102; Lund Hansen 1987:426)
39. Himlingøje 1875, sb. 15  
Stevns Municipality, Region Zealand, Zealand. Cremation containing a saucepan of bronze E142 and the fragments of two bronze pails E27–28; two sets of ladles and strainers E160; a molten glass beaker; one or more silver beakers; a bronze cauldron (probably of Östland type); a ceramic vessel; a gold disc; three bronze spurs; a bronze fibula; a bronze fitting; a bone needle; a bone comb. Dated to B2/C1a. (E.g. Eggers 1951:85, no. 173; Lund Hansen 1987:412; Lund Hansen 1995b:146f.)
40. Himlingøje 1878-1  
Stevns Municipality, Region Zealand, Zealand. Inhumation containing a drinking horn of glass E249; a bronze-bound wooden pail; two fragmentary ceramic vessels; a swastika-shaped fibula of bronze; a hair pin of silver; a golden finger ring of snakehead type; spindle whorl of bronze; 50 glass beads; an amber bead. Dated

to C1b/C2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:85, no. 175; Lund Hansen 1987:412; Lund Hansen 1995b:147f.)

41. Himlingøje 1894-1

Stevns Municipality, Region Zealand, Zealand. Inhumation of a 20–35-year-old man containing a bronze basin E82; a ladle and strainer of bronze E161; a glass cup E209; fragments of a glass cup E209; a silver fibula; a golden arm ring of kolben type; a golden finger ring of snakehead type; a spiral finger ring of gold; a belt buckle of silver and bronze; a bone comb; two arrowheads of bone; bronze and gilded silver sheet; organic material; remains of a swine and and ox. Dated to C1b. (E.g. Müller 1897:217f.; Eggers 1951:85, no. 176; Lund Hansen 1987:412; Lund Hansen 1995b:149–150; Schou Jørgensen 1995:99–103)

42. Himlingøje 1949-1

Stevns Municipality, Region Zealand, Zealand. Inhumation containing a bronze pail E58; a bronze basin E83; a bronze basin E108; a ladle and strainer of bronze; three glass bowls E216; sherds from five ceramic vessels; a golden finger ring of snakehead type. Dated to C1b. (E.g. Eggers 1951:85, no. 178; Lund Hansen 1987:413; Lund Hansen 1995b:150–152)

43. Himlingøje 1949-2

Stevns Municipality, Region Zealand, Zealand. Inhumation of a 35–55-year-old woman containing a bronze pail E61; a bronze basin E80–82; a ladle and strainer of bronze E161; a glass beaker E189; a glass cup E209; five ceramic vessels; a bone comb; a silver fibula with rune inscription; five silver fibulae; a pin (possibly two) of gilded silver; a gold bead; nine silver beads; three bronze beads; two bone beads; about 66 glass beads; about 43 amber beads; two basket-shaped silver pendants; two golden arm rings of snakehead type; two golden finger rings of snakehead type; a bronze ring; a piece of gold (obolus); a silver denar (Titus 79–81); an amulet box of silver; iron fittings, possibly from a wooden box; animal bones. Dated to C1b. (E.g. Eggers 1951:85, no. 179; Lund Hansen 1987:413; Lund Hansen 1995b:152–158; Schou Jørgensen 1995:105f.)

44. Himlingøje 1977-3

Stevns Municipality, Region Zealand, Zealand. Inhumation of an approximately 20-year-old individual of unknown sex. The grave goods consisted of a bronze pail E55–66; a silver-coated bronze plate E118; a ladle and strainer of bronze E116; a drinking horn of glass Evison type I; a glass cup of Goethert-Polaschek 1977 type 22; a bone comb; a golden arm ring of snakehead type; a finger ring of gold; a wooden tray; organic remains of probably textile and wood. Dated to C1b. (E.g. Lund Hansen 1987:413; Lund Hansen 1995b:160–162; Schou Jørgensen 1995:136–140)

45. Himlingøje 1978-35

Stevns Municipality, Region Zealand, Zealand. Inhumation of a 20–35-year-old man. The grave goods consisted of a glass cup E203; two ceramic vessels; sherds of



pottery; a bronze-bound wooden pail; a piece of gilded silver sheet, possibly from a fibula; a golden finger ring of snakehead type; three silver rings; a bone comb; two amber beads; three glass beads; four pail-shaped silver pendants; a silver pendant; the remains of a dog and a suckling pig. Dated to C1b. (E.g. Lund Hansen 1987:413; Lund Hansen 1995b:162–164; Schou Jørgensen 1995:125f.)

46. Himlingøje 1980

Stevns Municipality, Region Zealand, Zealand. Cremation of a 18–25-year-old man. The grave goods consisted of a terra sigillata bowl Drag. 37; molten glass from at least three beakers; fragments of at least three bronze vessels, among them a bronze pail E44–48 and a ladle and strainer of bronze E160–161; a ceramic vessel with wooden lid; gold sheet and gold fragments; two bronze spurs; a probable bronze fibula; an iron spearhead; shield fittings of bronze; bronze fittings from a belt and weaponry. Dated to C1. (E.g. Lund Hansen 1987:413; Lund Hansen 1995b:165–166)

47. Hoby

Lolland Municipality, Region Zealand, Lolland. Inhumation of a 20–30-year-old individual, possibly a man, containing a bronze pail E24; a bronze basin E97; a bronze plate E115; a bronze jug E126; a saucepan of bronze E140; a handled silver cup E166; two silver cups E168; three ceramic vessels; sherds of pottery; bronze fittings from two drinking horns; bronze fittings from a wooden box; five silver fibulae; two bronze fibulae; two golden finger rings; a bronze buckle; a bone needle; a bronze knife; bronze sheet; iron sheet; an iron object. Dated to B1a. (E.g. Friis Johansen 1923; Eggers 1951:88, no. 246; Lund Hansen 1987:403)

48. Juellinge 1

Lolland Municipality, Region Zealand, Lolland. Inhumation of a 20–35-year-old woman containing a bronze cauldron E40; a ladle and strainer of bronze E162; two glass beakers E185; two drinking horns with bronze fittings; four silver fibulae; two silver hair pins with pendant-shaped heads; a glass bead; an amber bead; two gold beads; a gold pendant; an S-shaped clasp of silver; a finger ring of gold; bronze fittings from a wooden box; a curved knife of bronze; a pair of bronze scissors; a bone comb; a bone needle; a bronze needle; a T-shaped piece of bronze covered with decorated silver sheet. Dated to B2. (E.g. Müller 1911:2–10; Eggers 1951:88, no. 247; Lund Hansen 1987:402)

49. Juellinge 2

Lolland Municipality, Region Zealand, Lolland. Inhumation of an at least 60-year-old individual, possibly a woman, containing a bronze cauldron E40; a ladle and strainer of bronze E160; two ceramic vessels; bronze fittings from two drinking horns; four silver fibulae; a hair pin of silver; two beads of gold; a gold pendant; an S-shaped silver clasp; bronze fittings from a wooden box; a curved bronze knife; a pair of bronze scissors; a bone comb; remains of swine and sheep. Dated to B2. (E.g. Müller 1911:10–16; Eggers 1951:88, no. 248; Lund Hansen 1987:402f.)

50. Juellinge 4  
Lolland Municipality, Region Zealand, Lolland. Inhumation of a possibly female individual. The grave goods contained a bronze cauldron E40; a saucepan of bronze E142; a ladle and strainer of bronze E162; two glass beakers E184; fittings from two drinking horns; sherds of pottery; fittings from a wooden box; a bronze knife; a pair of bronze scissors; a bone comb; a bone needle; two spindle whorls of glass; two silver fibulae with gold decoration; two silver fibulae; five glass beads; two gold beads; a gold pendant; an S-shaped clasp of gold; a small capsule pendant; wood; animal remains. Dated to B2. (E.g. Müller 1911:17–21; Eggers 1951:89, no. 249; Lund Hansen 1987:403)
51. Kærumgårde  
Assens Municipality, Region South Denmark, Funen. A presumed inhumation containing a bronze jug E122; a saucepan of bronze E136; fittings from two drinking horns; two ceramic vessels; a bronze mirror. Dated to B1. (E.g. Eggers 1951:82, no. 110; Lund Hansen 1987:404)
52. Kastrup 1  
Haderslev Municipality, Region South Denmark, Jutland. Cremation containing a ceramic urn; two iron handles and several pieces of bronze sheet from a large cauldron; seven thick iron bars, possibly from the rim of the cauldron; a ceramic vessel; the bronze chain from a drinking horn; a bronze fibula; a sword; a shield boss; a shield grip; a lance; a spear; two iron buckles; a belt buckle and belt mounting of silver; two spurs of iron; a spur of bronze; three knives; a whetstone; iron fragments; pieces of bronze and silver; twelve astragali of sheep; further bones from sheep. Dated to B2. (E.g. Neumann 1957; Lund Hansen 1987:407f.; Leen Jensen 2006:50f.)
53. Kastrup 2  
Haderslev Municipality, Region South Denmark, Jutland. Cremation containing a ceramic urn; the iron handle and pieces of bronze sheet from a cauldron E37–43; parts of a saucepan of bronze; mountings for four drinking horns; a sword; a bronze chape and bronze mountings from the scabbard; a shield boss; a shield grip; shield mountings; a spear; a lance; a knife; a pair of iron scissors; four iron spurs; belt fittings from a shoe; an iron buckle; six astragali of sheep; further bones of sheep. Dated to B2. (E.g. Neumann 1957; Lund Hansen 1987:408; Leen Jensen 2006:51f.)
54. Kirkebakkegård (Uggeløse)  
Allerød Municipality, Capital Region of Denmark, Zealand. Inhumation of a 35–55-year-old man. The grave goods consisted of a bronze pail E24–29; a ladle and strainer of bronze E161; three glass beakers E190; a ceramic vessel; a golden finger ring of snakehead type; a finger ring of gold; two silver fibulae; two bronze spurs; a bronze buckle; two strap-ends of silver; baldric fitting of bronze and gold; three silver-plated bronze rings; three silver-plated silver rings; remains of goose and swine. Dated to C1b. (E.g. Thrane 1966; 1967; Lund Hansen 1987:409)

55. Lundegårde 4  
Aalborg Municipality, Region North Jutland, Jutland. Inhumation containing a fragmented ladle and strainer of bronze E159–162; two ceramic vessels; two strings of beads; two silver fibulae; a rosette fibula of gilded silver with a rune inscription; a dagger with silver grip; an iron knife. Dated to C1b. (E.g. Lund Hansen 1987:427)
56. Martofte 1  
Kerteminde Municipality, Region South Denmark, Funen. Cremation containing a fragmentary ladle and strainer of bronze E160–162; three ceramic vessels; bronze fittings from a drinking horn; bronze fittings from a wooden pail; a gold bead; molten gold; a silver fibula; a fragmentary silver fibulae; two bridle rings of bronze; a bronze spur; iron. Dated to B2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:83, no. 118; Lund Hansen 1987:403)
57. Møllegårdsmarken 99  
Svendborg Municipality, Region South Denmark, Funen. A possible double cremation containing a bronze cauldron E8; fragments of a saucepan of bronze E139; fragments of a ladle and strainer E160–162; bronze fittings from a drinking horn; a ceramic cup; sherds of pottery; an iron fibula; bronze fragments, possibly from a fibula; finger ring of gold; a pendant of gold; two iron knives; fittings from a knife sheet; an iron awl or needle; an iron chape; an iron key; two iron fittings; an iron ring; a spindle whorl of glass; pieces of molten silver; bronze ring with pendant; at least 17 bone needles; a sea urchin; a clam; flint. Dated to B2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:83, no. 125; Gebühr 1974:106; Lund Hansen 1987:404)
58. Møllegårdsmarken 1109  
Svendborg Municipality, Region South Denmark, Funen. Inhumation containing a ladle and strainer of bronze E160; a ceramic vessel; three silver fibulae; a gold pendant; two gold beads; two glass beads; a bronze nail. Dated to B2. (E.g. Albrechtsen 162:126–130; Lund Hansen 1987:404)
59. Møllerup  
Viborg Municipality, Region Central Jutland, Jutland. Inhumation containing two silver beakers E175; a bronze beaker E167; several ceramic vessels; a bronze object; a knife scabbard of bronze; an animal head of bronze. Dated to B. (E.g. Lund Hansen 1987:406)
60. Nordrup 1873  
Ringsted Municipality, Region Zealand, Zealand. Inhumation of a 35–55-year-old woman containing a bronze pail E48; a ladle and strainer of bronze E161; two glass beakers E189; two silver fibulae; beads of glass and amber; a bronze pendant; a bone comb; a spindle whorl of bronze; a bronze die; a bronze box with lid; remains of a lamb and a suckling pig. Dated to C1b. (E.g. Petersen 1890:1–3; Eggers 1951:86, no. 193; Lund Hansen 1987:411)

61. Nordrup A  
Ringsted Municipality, Region Zealand, Zealand. Inhumation of a grown man. The grave goods consisted of a bronze pail E58; a ladle and strainer of bronze E161; two glass cups E209; three ceramic vessels; a silver fibula; a golden finger ring of snakehead type; bronze fitting and handle from a wooden box; 41 gaming pieces of glass. Dated to C1b. (E.g. Petersen 1890:4-8; Eggers 1951:86, no. 194; Lund Hansen 1987:411)
  
62. Nordrup H  
Ringsted Municipality, Region Zealand, Zealand. Inhumation of a man. The grave goods consisted of a bronze pail E58; a ceramic vessel; a fragmentary ceramic vessel; a silver fibula; two finger rings of gold; a silver denar (Antoninus Pius 159–160); a bone comb. Dated to C1b. (E.g. Petersen 1890:10f.; Eggers 1951:86, no. 195; Lund Hansen 1987:411)
  
63. Nordrup I  
Ringsted Municipality, Region Zealand, Zealand. Inhumation, possibly of a woman. The grave goods consisted of a bronze basin E87; a ladle and strainer of bronze E161; a silver beaker E177; a glass beaker E210; three ceramic vessels; a silver fibula; a finger ring of gold; bronze fittings from a wooden box; a bone comb; 40 gaming pieces of glass. Dated to C1b. (E.g. Petersen 1890:11–13; Eggers 1951:86, no. 196; Lund Hansen 1987:411)
  
64. Nørre-Brobby  
Faaborg-Midtfyn Municipality, Region South Denmark, Funen. Possible inhumation containing a bronze basin E99; a saucepan of bronze E140; a bronze ladle; fittings from a bronze-bound wooden pail; a silver pin with gold head; two silver pins; a gold pendant; nine gold beads; gold spiral; glass beads; a bronze mirror; two spindle whorls of glass; two pieces of bronze, probably spurs; two bridles of bronze; bird-shaped piece of metal; a bronze knob. Dated to B2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:83, no. 132; Hedeager & Kristiansen 1984; Lund Hansen 1987:405)
  
65. Nyrup  
Odsherred Municipality, Region Zealand, Zealand. Inhumation of a 20–35-year-old woman. The grave goods consisted of a glass beaker E233; a bronze-bound wooden pail; sherds of pottery; swastika-shaped fibula of silver; two silver fibulae; two bronze fibula; gold-plated silver pin; gold pendant; pendant of gilded silver sheet; 484 amber beads; 738 glass beads; two finger rings of gold; six finger rings of silver; a bronze ring; silver loops; two silver denars (Constantine the Great 312–337); gold solidus (Constantine 337–350). Dated to C3. (E.g. Eggers 1951:86, no. 197; Lund Hansen 1987:410)
  
66. Ravnekilde  
Rebild Municipality, Region North Jutland, Jutland. Inhumation containing a bronze bowl with silver fittings E112; a bronze pail E58; ceramic vessel; gold finger ring with carnelian; gold finger ring of snakehead type. Dated to C2. (E.g. Lund Hansen 1987:428)

67. Ringe I, grave 1  
Faaborg-Midtfyn Municipality, Region South Denmark, Funen. Inhumation containing a bronze saucepan E144; a ladle and strainer of bronze E162; a silver fibula; a finger ring of gold; textile remains; an animal hide. Dated to B1b. (E.g. Eggers 1951:83, no. 138; Lund Hansen 1987:404)
68. Sanderumgård 1  
Odense Municipality, Region South Denmark, Funen. Double inhumation of a 35–55-year-old man and a possible woman of 35–55 years. The grave goods consisted of a bronze cauldron E12; a bronze pail E56–58; a bronze strainer E161; fragments of one or two glass bowls of indeterminate type; a bronze-bound wooden pail; a ceramic vessel; a silver fibula; two finger rings of gold; a strap-end of bronze; six gilded bronze rings. Dated to C1b. (E.g. Eggers 1951:84, no. 142; Lund Hansen 1987:420)
69. Sanderumgård 2  
Odense Municipality, Region South Denmark, Funen. Inhumation of a 35–55-year-old woman. The grave goods consisted of a bronze pail E58; four ceramic vessels; a bronze-bound wooden pail; an iron ladle E165; a fibula of gold; three silver fibulae; a silver needle; 34 glass beads; 41 amber beads; an S-shaped silver clasp; six pendant-parts of silver; an iron knife; a pair of iron scissors; an iron comb; a bone comb; a finger ring of gold; silver tweezers; an ear spoon of silver; a bronze link; remains of a suckling pig. Dated to C2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:84, no. 143; Lund Hansen 1987:420)
70. Skovgårde 8  
Vordingborg Municipality, Region Zealand, Zealand. Inhumation of a woman, approximately 20 years old. Grave goods consisted of a glass cup E203; a glass cup E205; two ceramic vessels; a bone comb; an iron needle; a spindle whorl and spindle hook of bronze; three silver fibulae; a large disc-shaped fibula decorated with glass and gold foil; 93 amber beads; 61 glass beads; six bronze beads; a pair of tweezers and an ear spoon of bronze; neckring of silver; spiral finger ring of gold; a swine. In the grave fill 24 beads of glass, bronze, and amber deposited. Dated to C1b2. (E.g. Ethelberg 2000:236–249)
71. Skovgårde 209  
Vordingborg Municipality, Region Zealand, Zealand. Inhumation of a woman, approximately 20 years old. Grave goods consisted of a large shard of glass E209; two ceramic vessels; iron fittings from a wooden box; two spindle whorls and a spindle hook of bronze; a bone comb; a silver needle; four silver fibulae; a rosette fibula of silver and gold; elaborate strings with 108 glass beads, 43 amber beads, 10 silver beads, one bone bead, nine bronze beads, four pail-shaped bronze pendants, an S-shaped clasp of bronze, a Roman denar made into a pendant; a silver hair pin with gold foil; a golden finger ring of snakehead type; the skeleton of a lamb. Dated to C1b1. (E.g. Ethelberg 2000:287–301)

72. Skovgårde 400  
Vordingborg Municipality, Region Zealand, Zealand. Inhumation of a woman in her thirties. Grave goods consisted of a glass beaker Isings type 30; a glass cup E212; a shard of glass E209; four ceramic vessels; a bronze-bound wooden pail; a wooden plate or tray with bronze fittings; a comb of bone; a spindle whorl of bronze; a needle of bronze; four silver fibulae; a large tutulus fibula of silver and gold; a hair pin of silver and gold; seven gold-foil beads; five bronze beads; 22 silver beads; 93 amber beads and pendants; 107 glass beads; a golden finger ring of snakehead type; remains of a swine. Dated to C2. (E.g. Ethelberg 2000:301–318)
73. Skrøbeshave  
Nyborg Municipality, Region South Denmark, Funen. Inhumation of a woman more than 60 years old. Grave goods consisted of a bronze pail E25; a bronze basin E101; a saucepan of bronze E142; a ladle and strainer of bronze E162; bronze fittings from two drinking horns; three ceramic vessels; two gold-plated silver fibulae; two silver needles; a bone needle; a bronze buckle; belt fitting of bronze; a bronze knife; a bone comb; a small piece of bronze; remains of a cow. Dated to B2. (E.g. Norling-Christensen 1938:118–120; Eggers 1951:84, no. 145; Albrechtsen 1954:56–58; Lund Hansen 1987:405)
74. Slusegård 1  
Bornholm Regional Municipality, Capital Region of Denmark, Bornholm. Inhumation of an approximately 18-year-old individual of undeterminable sex. Grave goods consisted of two glass beakers of type Slusegård 1; a ladle and strainer of bronze E161; five ceramic vessels; resin caulking from an organic vessel; a finger ring of gold; an iron spearhead; an iron lancehead; an iron shield boss; shield mountings of bronze; an iron sword; bandolier mounting; a bronze buckle; an iron knife; a bone comb. Dated to C1. (E.g. Klindt-Jensen 1959; 1978b:20–26; Lund Hansen 1987:418; Sellevold 1996:185)
75. Stenlille  
Sorø Municipality, Region Zealand, Zealand. Inhumation of a 35–55-year-old man. The grave goods contained a bronze cauldron E40; a ladle and strainer of bronze E162; a glass beaker E187; a fragmented glass beaker E187; bones of sheep. Dated to B2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:87, no. 224; Lund Hansen 1987:401)
76. Store Kongshøj  
Thisted Municipality, Region North Jutland, Jutland. Inhumation containing a bronze cauldron E37–43; a bronze pail E48; a ladle and strainer of bronze E160; approximately seven ceramic vessels; bronze fittings from a drinking horn; a iron-bound wooden pail; an iron sword in a wooden scabbard with silver fittings; an iron spearhead wrapped in cloth; an iron shield boss; an iron spur; a pair of iron scissors. Dated to B2/C1a. (E.g. Engelhardt 1875:31; Eggers 1951:80, no. 66; Lund Hansen 1987:427)



77. Thorslunde Mark  
Ishøj Municipality, Capital Region of Denmark, Zealand. Inhumation of a 35–55-year-old individual of indeterminate sex. The grave goods consisted of fragments of three glass cups E209; bronze pail E48; ladle and strainer of bronze E161; a bronze strainer E164; fragments of at least two ceramic vessels; a bone comb; two silver-plated bronze fittings; the remains of a small mammal. Dated to C1b. (E.g. Eggers 1951:88, no. 231; Lund Hansen 1987:410)
78. Tombølgaard 1  
Sønderborg Municipality, Region South Denmark, Jutland. Cremation containing a saucepan of bronze E140; a ceramic vessel; a fibula of bronze; a bone needle; an iron razor. Dated to B1. (E.g. Lund Hansen 1987:408)
79. Tombølgaard 2  
Sønderborg Municipality, Region South Denmark, Jutland. Cremation containing a bronze basin E92; a saucepan of bronze E140; a ceramic urn; bronze fittings from two drinking horns; a silver fibula; a gold bead; beads of glass and amber; three bronze rings; an iron knife; iron fragments. Dated to B1a. (E.g. Norling-Christensen 1960:133; Lund Hansen 1987:408)
80. Valløby  
Stevns Municipality, Region Zealand, Zealand. Inhumation containing two bronze pails E29; two bronze pails E48; two bronze basins E77; a ladle and strainer of bronze E161; a smaller pair of a ladle and strainer of bronze E161; two silver beakers E177; a glass beaker E189; a glass beaker E190; a terra sigillata bowl Drag 37; a ceramic vessel; bronze fitting to a drinking horn; two silver fibulae; a golden arm ring of snakehead type; three finger rings of gold; two tutulus-like objects of silver; 105 gaming pieces of glass; a piece of amethyst. Dated to C1b. (E.g. Engelhardt 1873:291–307; Eggers 1951:86, no. 191; Lund Hansen 1987:413)
81. Varpelev sb. 6  
Stevns Municipality, Region Zealand, Zealand. Inhumation of a 35–55-year-old man. The grave goods consisted of a bronze pail E58; a ladle and strainer of bronze E161; three glass cups E209; a ceramic vessel; a spiral finger ring of gold; three gaming pieces of glass; the remains of goose and deer. Dated to C1b. (E.g. Eggers 1951:88, no. 239; Lund Hansen 1987:416)
82. Varpelev sb. 8  
Stevns Municipality, Region Zealand, Zealand. Inhumation containing a fragmentary glass beaker E230; a bronze-bound wooden pail; two ceramic vessels; a golden finger ring of snakehead type; a golden finger ring with a carnelian; a silver pin with golden head and a carnelian; a swastika-shaped fibula of silver; beads of glass and amber; a small square gold plate. Dated to C2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:88, no. 240; Lund Hansen 1987:416)

83. Varpelev grave A, sb. 8  
Stevns Municipality, Region Zealand, Zealand. Inhumation of an adult individual of unknown sex containing a cup of glass and silver E172; a glass cup E229; a glass beaker E231; a glass siphon E250; fragments of further glass vessels, among them a cup; a bronze basin E105; silver fittings from a drinking horn; a bronze-bound wooden pail; a wooden bowl; a ceramic vessel; fragments of a ceramic vessel; a looped solidus (Probus 276–282); a golden arm ring of snakehead type; a golden pin; a silver buckle; a silver buckle with joint fittings; part of a silver buckle; two finger rings of gold; two finger rings of silver; 42 gaming pieces of bone; a bone comb; four bear claws; two silver sheets; the remains of a swine; further animal remains. Dated to C2. (E.g. Engelhardt 1877:350–359; Eggers 1951:88, no. 241; Lund Hansen 1987:416)
84. Vellinge  
Nordfyn Municipality, Region South Denmark, Funen. Inhumation containing two saucepans of bronze E143; a fragmentary ladle and strainer of bronze E162; a finger ring of gold. Dated to B2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:84, no. 150; Lund Hansen 1987:404)
85. Vrangstrup 1  
Favrskov Municipality, Region Central Jutland, Jutland. Inhumation containing fragments of one or two glass beakers; three ceramic vessels; potsherds; bronze handle from a wooden pail; a gold pin; four silver pins; a finger ring of gold; bronze; textiles; wood; animal teeth. Dated to C2. (E.g. Lund Hansen 1987:428)
86. Vrangstrup 3  
Favrskov Municipality, Region Central Jutland, Jutland. Inhumation containing fragments of a glass beaker; two bronze-bound wooden pails; two ceramic vessels; potsherds; a fibula; a neckring of gold; a gold pin; a finger ring of gold; textiles. Dated to C2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:81, no. 81; Lund Hansen 1987:428)
87. Vrangstrup 5  
Favrskov Municipality, Region Central Jutland, Jutland. Inhumation containing a glass beaker E223–224; a bronze-bound wooden pail; three ceramic vessels; a gold pin; a finger ring of gold; a gold finger ring with a blue stone; an iron knife; decorated gold fitting, probably from textile; five hemispherical glass ornaments. Dated to C2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:81, no. 82; Lund Hansen 1987:428)

## GERMANY

88. Apensen  
District of Stade, Lower-Saxony. Cremation containing a bronze pail E25; two intentionally fragmented bronze basins E99–100; two intentionally fragmented pairs of a ladle and strainer of bronze E160; two fragmented silver beakers E170; fragment of a third silver beaker; sherds of pottery; bronze mountings from two

drinking horns; bronze fittings from a wooden box; a silver fibula; belt- or strap-mountings of bronze; a silver-decorated spur of bronze. Dated to B2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:116, no. 951; *CRFB D4*, no. XXI-09-6/1.1-7)

89. Bietikow

District of Uckermark, Brandenburg. Inhumation containing a bronze pail E25; a ladle and strainer E162; a glass bowl E183; a pair of bronze scissors; a bone needle; a bronze buckle. Dated to B2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:111, no. 804; *CRFB D1*, no. V-08-1/1.1-3)

90. Bornitz, FK 29 (Eggers 1951 grave 6):

District of Burgenlandkreis, Saxony-Anhalt. Cremation containing a bronze cauldron E8; a saucepan of bronze E131; a saucepan of bronze E132; silver and bronze mountings from a drinking horn; a silver fibula; two bronze needles; 11 decorative mountings; four strap-ends; an iron sword; a scabbard; two spurs; a knife blade; a curved knife; fragments of a knife; a pair of scissors; a whetstone. Dated to B1. (E.g. Eggers 1951:132, no. 1476; Gebühr 1974:102; *CRFB D6*, no. VIII-20-1/1.1-3)

91. Bornitz, FK 21 (Eggers 1951 grave A):

District of Burgenlandkreis, Saxony-Anhalt. A cremation containing a bronze pail E24; fragments of a bronze vessel (possibly a basin); fragments of a silver fibula; a silver needle; a belt buckle of bronze; a strap-end of bronze; bronze mountings from a drinking horn; two iron spurs; a small knife of iron; a curved knife of iron; a pair of iron scissors; urn resin. Dated to B1. (E.g. Eggers 1951:132, no. 1474; Gebühr 1974:102; *CRFB D6*, no. VIII-20-1/1.4-5)

92. Bornitz, FK 23 (Eggers 1951 grave B):

District of Burgenlandkreis, Saxony-Anhalt. Cremation containing the remains of a bronze vessel (possibly a saucepan); ceramic vessels; a sword; a spearhead; a lancehead; a shield boss; a spur; two knives; a pair of scissors; a ring. Dated to B1/B2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:132, no. 1475; Gebühr 1974:102; *CRFB D6*, no. VIII-20-1/1.20)

93. Dienstedt

District of Ilm-Kreis, Thuringia. Inhumation of a woman containing a bronze pail E58; a bronze basin E85; three silver fibulae; a silver needle; a bone needle; beads of glass and amber; a pail shaped pendant; an S-shaped clasp of silver; a neck-ring of silver; an arm ring of silver; an iron knife; silver fittings. Dated to C2. (E.g. Eichhorn 1908:902–914; Eggers 1951:136, no. 1608; Peška 2002:27, table 2)

94. Emersleben 1

District of Harz, Saxony-Anhalt. Inhumation of a man. The grave contained two bronze pails E58; a bronze basin E105; four ceramic vessels; a silver fibula; two amber beads; pieces of a silver ornament; three arrowheads of silver; an arrowhead of gilded bronze; approximately 54 gaming pieces of glass; a pair of silver tweezers; an ear spoon of silver; an aureus (Severus Alexander 233). Dated to C2. (E.g.

Schulz 1952:105; Eggers 1951:132, no. 1493; Peška 2002:27, table 2; *CRFB D6*, no. VII-04-5/1.1-5)

95. Emersleben 2

District of Harz, Saxony-Anhalt. An inhumation of a woman. The grave goods contained a bronze basin E82; a tub-shaped bronze vessel; a bronze plate (possibly E120); a ladle and strainer of bronze E161; five ceramic vessels; two bronze-bound wooden pails; two silver spoons; a silver fibula, partly gilded; a golden arm ring of snakehead type; a finger ring of gold; a bone comb; an aureus (Postumus 259). Dated to C2. (E.g. Schulz 1952:109; Eggers 1951:132, no. 1494; Peška 2002:27, table 2; *CRFB D6*, no. VII-04-5/1.6-12)

96. Flurstedt

District of Weimar, Thuringia. Inhumation containing a ladle and strainer of bronze E161; a cauldron-shaped bronze vessel with a grip and a lid; a glass cup; a ceramic vessel; two silver fibulae; a golden neckring of kolben type; three arrowheads of silver; an aureus (Galliena Augusta 260–268). Dated to C2. (E.g. Götze *et al* 1909:296; Eggers 1951:136, no. 1611, Körner 1951)

97. Frienstedt 898 (Fundplatz 1 “Alacher Feld”)

District of Erfurt, Thuringia. Inhumation of a 30–40-year-old man. Grave goods contained a Roman folded beaker, ca 670 small shards of glass, a finger ring of gold, a fibula of silver (Schildfibel), five silver arrowheads, a bone comb, an aureus (Philippus II Filius, 244–247 AD) placed in the mouth of the deceased, the remains of a swine. Dated to C2. (This find is not yet published. I extend my thanks to Christoph G. Schmidt, Thüringisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege und Archäologie, Weimar, for the information)

98. Gommern

District of Jerichower Land, Saxony-Anhalt. Inhumation of a 35–40-year-old man. The grave goods consisted of a silver pail E60–61; two bronze pails E60; a ladle and strainer of silver E161; a bronze cauldron E11–12; a bronze basin E83; three glass cups; a glass beaker; two bronze-bound wooden pails; a bronze-bound wooden tub; three turned wooden vessels with silver fittings; a ceramic bowl; a golden neckring of kolben type; a finger ring of gold; two gold fibulae; a silver fibula; a leather belt with gold foil and silver fittings; the decoration from two further belts; a silver knife; a pair of silver scissors; two silver spurs with inlaid; three silver arrow heads; fittings from a quiver; approximately 48 gaming pieces of glass; a wooden gaming board with bronze fittings; an aureus (Trajan 112–114); a denarius (Hadrian 125–128); a denarius (Antoninus Pius 145–161); a denarius (Antoninus Pius 148/149); a denarius (Marcus Aurelius under Antoninus Pius 153/54); a denarius (Lucius Verus for Lucilla 164–169; shield decoration of silver; a silver shield boss with gilded sheet metal and inlaid glass; a folding table of bronze with silver inlays and a wooden table board with bronze fittings; colour remains in red and blue; the remains of madder for red textile dye; bronze nails; hazelnuts; the remains of food or beverage. Dated to C2. (E.g. Becker *et al.* 1992;

Becker 2001a:127–147; 2001b:148–157; Peška 2002:27, table 2; *CRFB D6*, no. VI-01-3/1.1-19)

99. Groß-Kelle

District of Müritz, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania. Possible inhumation containing parts of a bronze basin E99–101; a saucepan of silver E152; a ladle and strainer of bronze E160; silver mountings from a drinking horn; a bronze knife; a pair of bronze scissors; a bronze rings; three dice and five gaming pieces of bone. Dated to B. (E.g. Eggers 1951:113, no. 867; *CRFB D3*, no. III-08-1/1.1-3)

100. Hagenow I, 1899.

District of Ludwigslust, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania. Cremation containing a bronze pail E26; a bronze basin E72; silver mountings from at least two drinking horns; four strap-ends of silver; three strap-ends of bronze; 16 gilded belt fittings of silver; a gilded iron spur; bronze and iron fittings; fragments of a pair of iron scissors; a bone comb; a bone needle. Dated to B2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:113, no. 869; Gebühr 1974:99; *CRFB D3*, no. II-04-9/1.8-9)

101. Hagenow II, 1899

District of Ludwigslust, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania. Cremation containing two saucepans of bronze E142; a fragmented bronze cauldron E37–43; a ladle and strainer of bronze E160; molten glass from a possible glass vessel; bronze fittings from at least one drinking horn; a helmet of iron and bronze; a chain mail of iron; an iron sword; an iron shield boss; a flintstone. Dated to B2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:113, no. 870; Gebühr 1974:99; *CRFB D3*, no. II-04-9/1.10-16)

102. Hagenow VII, 1907

District of Ludwigslust, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania. Cremation with parts of a bronze cauldron E40; possible bronze ladle E159–162; a chain mail of iron; seven glass beads; a silver buckle; two iron spurs; an iron sword; an iron lancehead; an iron spear; the remains of an iron shield boss; rivets from a shield. Dated to B2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:113, no. 872; Gebühr 1974:99; *CRFB D3*, no. II-04-9/1.19-22)

103. Hagenow VIII, 1907

District of Ludwigslust, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania. Cremation containing a bronze cauldron E40; bronze fittings from a drinking horn; belt fitting of bronze; belt buckle of iron; two strap-ends of iron; three iron spurs; shield boss of iron; two rivets from a shield. Dated to B2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:113, no. 873; Gebühr 1974:99; *CRFB D3*, no. II-04-9/1.23)

104. Hagenow X, 1920

District of Ludwigslust, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania. Cremation containing the remains of a bronze cauldron, possibly E40; fragmented saucepan E140–141; bronze fibula; a bronze ring with stud; two iron spurs; two lanceheads of iron; two shield grips of iron; iron fittings from a wooden box; an iron key; a pair of iron scissors. Dated to B2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:113, no. 875; Gebühr 1974:99; *CRFB D3*, no. II-04-9/1.24-25)

105. Hagenow 9, 1995  
District of Ludwigslust, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania. Cremation with a 55-year-old man. The grave goods contained a bronze and iron cauldron E8; silver chain links and terminals from two drinking horns; two penannular fibulae of bronze; four bronze fibulae; a chain mail of iron with silver details; bronze and silver fittings from a sword belt or *balteus*; silver and gold fittings from a military belt of *cingulum* type; Scharnier belt with bronze and fittings and gilded stamped sheet metal; an iron sword; bronze fittings from a scabbard; two lanceheads of iron; a shield boss of iron; a shield grip of bronze; bronze rivets and fittings from a shield; four round decorative discs of silver from the shield; six silver damascened spurs of iron; a small decorative disc of silver from shoe or spur straps; a stone and a silver damascened strike-a-light of iron; a gold bar (4.71 g); a knife; textile remains. Dated to B2. (E.g. *CRFB D3*, no. II-04-9/1,31-34; Voß 2000:200; Lüth & Voß 2001)
106. Haina  
District of Gotha, Thuringia. Inhumation, possibly of a man, containing two bronze pails E58; a bronze basin E83; a ladle and strainer of bronze E161; four glass bowls E216; a bronze-bound wooden pail; a wooden plate or tray; a roman finger ring of gold; two silver fibulae; a bronze fibula; a bronze buckle; two arrow heads of bronze; a bone comb; animal remains; an egg (?). Dated to C2. (E.g. Schreiner & Huck 1989)
107. Hamburg-Marmstorf (Marmstorf)  
District of Harburg, Hamburg. Cremation containing a bronze cauldron E40 (?); a saucepan of bronze E142; a ladle and strainer of bronze 160; an iron fibula with silver filigree; a bronze needle; a bronze nail; bronze fragments. Dated to B2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:119, no. 1055; Wegewitz 1964; Lund Hansen 1987:199)
108. Hamfelde 512  
District of Herzogtum Lauenburg, Schleswig-Holstein. Cremation containing fragments of a bronze pail E27-28; three feet belonging to a further bronze pail; fragments of a bronze cauldron E38-41; fragments of a bronze basin E79; fragments of a bronze vessel with curved wall; rim pieces and handle fittings from two further bronze vessels (cauldrons); bronze fittings and four iron handles, probably belonging to bronze-bound wooden pails; an iron sword; iron parts of a scabbard; an iron axe; an iron lancehead; an iron spearhead; an iron shield boss; an iron shield grip; shield fittings of bronze; four iron spurs; two bronze clamps; two bronze sheets; two worked pieces of bone; two bronze buttons. Dated to C1. (E.g. Bantelmann 1971:144)
109. Hankenbostel  
District of Celle, Lower Saxony. Cremation containing a ladle and strainer of bronze E162; a saucepan of bronze E144; a ceramic urn; bronze fittings from two drinking horns; an iron knife; a pair of iron scissors; a bronze fibula A. V. 138-140; a penannular fibula of bronze; a silver buckle; two belt fittings of bronze; two bronze spurs; an iron sword with a bronze pommel; bronze fittings from a



scabbard; a lancehead of iron; an iron pilum; an iron shield boss; a shield grip of bronze; a whetstone; fragments of bronze and iron. Dated to B2a. (E.g. Eggers 1951:117, no. 983; *CRFB D4*, no. XXI-01-3/1.1-4)

110. Haßleben 1

District of Weimar, Thuringia. Inhumation with the remains of a woman. The grave contained a Roman folded beaker; mountings from a bronze-bound wooden pail; four ceramic vessels; a silver fibula; a golden finger ring with gem; a bone comb. The grave dates to C2. (E.g. Schulz 1933:13; Eggers 1951:137, no. 1632)

111. Haßleben 3

District of Weimar, Thuringia. Inhumation containing a bronze plate E121; a bronze bowl; three ceramic vessels; a silver fibula. The grave dates to C2. (E.g. Schulz 1933:13f.; Eggers 1951:137, no. 1633)

112. Haßleben 4

District of Weimar, Thuringia. Inhumation of a man. The grave goods consisted of a bronze plate E117 [material]; four ceramic vessels; the silver mounting from a drinking horn or a wooden vessel; a silver fibula; a silver buckle; strap-end of silver; a finger ring of gold; a bone comb; an aureus (Victorinus 265–268); the remains of a swine, a goat/sheep and a hen. Dated to C2. (E.g. Schulz 1933:14f.; Eggers 1951:137, no. 1634)

113. Haßleben 8

District of Weimar, Thuringia. Inhumation of a woman. The grave goods consisted of a bronze pail E58; a bronze basin E78; a silver plated bronze bowl E112; a silver plated bronze plate E116; a silver plate; a ladle and strainer of bronze E161; three glass cups E217, E219 and E219; a ceramic folded beaker and a flanged bowl of Roman manufacture; six Germanic ceramic vessels; two bronze and silver bound wooden pails; a wooden tray with bronze and silver fittings; a drinking horn; two gilded silver fibulae; two silver fibulae; two gold fibulae; two silver hair pins decorated with gold and almandines; beads of amber, glass and gold; pendants of silver, gold, amber and jet; a golden neckring of kolben type; a golden finger ring decorated with an almandine; a finger ring of glass; a silver clasp; strap fittings of silver; a strap-end of silver; an ivory ring; two wooden boxes with silver fittings; a spindle of bone; a silver knife; a silver spoon; three gold coins of Hadrian and Ant. Pius; a gold coin of Galienus (254–268); the remains of deer, swine, goat/sheep, goose, hen and pike. Dated to C2. (E.g. Schulz 1933:4–12; Eggers 1951:137, no. 1635)

114. Haßleben 18

District of Weimar, Thuringia. Inhumation with the remains of a child. The grave contained a glass cup E218; a ceramic beaker of Roman manufacture; five ceramic vessels; three pail-shaped pendants of gold; a gold disc (in the mouth of the deceased); a glass bead. The grave dates to C2. (E.g. Schulz 1933:17f.; Eggers 1951:137, no. 1636)

115. Haßleben 20, 1931  
District of Weimar, Thuringia. Inhumation of a woman with two glass cups E217–219; a folded beaker of Roman manufacture; four ceramic vessels; two pail-shaped pendants of gold; a capsule-shaped pendant of gold; an aureus (Laelianus 268) placed in the mouth of the deceased; a bone comb; the remains of two swine and a hen. Dated to C2. (E.g. Schulz 1933:51)
116. Haßleben 22  
District of Weimar, Thuringia. Inhumation of a woman containing a mussel shaped bronze basin; a Roman folded beaker; an alabaster vessel; a glass vessel; a bronze-bound wooden pail; three ceramic vessels; three silver fibulae; two silver fibulae with glass decoration; silver hair pin with gold decorated head; strings with beads of amber, gold and jet, and pendants of amber, silver, gold and jet; a suspended aureus (Probus 276/282); two amber spindle whorls; glass spindle whorl; ceramic spindle whorl; golden finger ring of snakehead type; an ivory ring; a silver knife; a silver spoon; the remains of a hen and a piglet. Dated to C2. (E.g. Möller 1934:271; Eggers 1951:137, no. 1637; Dušek 1999: 41f.; Bemmman 2005:44)
117. Häven 1, 1967  
District of Wismar, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania. Inhumation with a 30–35-year-old man. Grave goods consisted of a ladle and strainer of bronze E161; a bronze-bound wooden pail; two ceramic vessels; a silver fibula; a pair of tweezers of silver; two bronze spurs; three arrowheads of bronze; two bronze buckles; two bronze rings with studs; a bone comb; textile remains; remains of a sheep/goat. Dated to C2. (E.g. Hollnagel 1970:266–269; *CRFB D3*, no. II-09-6/1.19)
118. Häven 1968  
District of Wismar, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania. Inhumation containing a man. The grave goods consisted of a glass beaker (Isings 96 a); three ceramic vessels; a wooden plate; a bronze fibula; a wooden quiver with three arrowheads of bronze; two bronze spurs; two bronze buckles; a bone comb; a wooden box with bronze fittings. Dated to C2. (E.g. Schuldt 1969; *CRFB D3*, no. II-09-6/1.20; Peška 2002:27, table 2)
119. Ichstedt  
District of Kyffhäuserkreis, Thuringia. Cremation containing a terra sigillata bowl Drag 37; fragmented bronze vessel; fragmented glass vessel; ceramic urn; pottery fragments; four ceramic spindle whorls; a disc-shaped silver fibula; a silver arm ring; a silver needle; a bronze cone; a small bronze chain; two small bronze buttons; an iron knife; iron lock for a wooden box; iron fittings; iron nails; beads of glass; two bone needles; a bone comb; urn-resin. Dated to C2. (E.g. Becker 1992)
120. Jesendorf 2  
District of Wismar, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania. Double inhumation with two pairs of ladles and strainers of bronze E161; two glass cups E209; four ceramic vessels. Dated to C2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:114, no. 882; *CRFB D3*, no. II-09-7/1.1-4)

121. Kemnitz 622

District of Potsdam, Brandenburg. Cremation containing two bronze cauldrons E39–40, one of them pressed together to fit inside the other; a ceramic urn; urn-resin; a ceramic bowl; a finger ring of gold; remains of several glass beads; a bone comb; an iron mail shirt; a bronze sheet with a hinge; a bronze sheet with relief decoration; an iron buckle; an iron clamp; several fragments of bronze. Dated to B2b. (E.g. Kunow 1983:137, no. K125; Fischer 2004)

122. Klatzow

District of Demmin, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania. Cremation with a bronze pail E25; three bronze cauldrons E40; two bronze saucepans E142–143; fragments of a bronze strainer E162; fragment of the bottom of a bronze vessel; bronze fittings from three drinking horns; two finger rings of gold; fragment of a bronze bracelet; a strap-end of bronze; a die and 8–9 gaming pieces of bone. Dated to B2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:105 f., no. 680; *CRFB D3*, no. III-01-5/1.1-7)

123. Körchow 95

District of Ludwigslust, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania. Cremation with a bronze cauldron E4–6; the remains of a ladle and strainer of bronze E162; fittings from a drinking horn; a bronze fibula; fittings; a shield boss of iron; two lanceheads; two spurs; two iron buckles; two iron knives; an iron sickle. Dated to B1. (E.g. Eggers 1951:114, no. 899; Gebühr 1974:108; *CRFB D3*, no. II-04-10/1.2)

124. Körchow 120

District of Ludwigslust, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania. Cremation with a bronze ladle E159–162; a ceramic beaker of Roman manufacture; bronze fitting from a drinking horn; a fibula; two bronze buckles; three strap-ends; an iron shield boss; a shield grip of bronze; shield fittings of bronze; four bronze spurs with silver; an iron sword; a lancehead of iron; an iron knife; an iron razor; three dice of bone; nine astragali/tali of bone. Dated to B2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:114, no. 901; Gebühr 1974:108; *CRFB D3*, no. II-04-10/1.28-29)

125. Körchow 421

District of Ludwigslust, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania. Cremation with pieces of a possible saucepan of bronze E142–143; the remains of a ladle and strainer of bronze E160; a ceramic urn; fittings from a drinking horn; fragment of an iron fibula; a bronze needle; a bronze buckle; three spurs of bronze and iron; bronze fittings from a shield; an iron shield boss; an iron shield grip; an iron sword; an iron lancehead; a pair of scissors; a [material?] razor; a wheat stone; an awl; flint. Dated to B2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:114f., no. 915; Gebühr 1974:108; *CRFB D3*, no. II-04-10/1.26-27)

126. Körchow 1935 (Eggers 1951 grave 1936)

District of Ludwigslust, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania. Cremation with a bronze cauldron E8; a finger ring of gold; a silver strap-end; three bronze strap-ends; a fibula of bronze and silver; a shield boss; a shield grip of bronze; shield

fittings; a ring with a stud; a lancehead of iron; an iron awl; an awl; a bronze knife; an iron razor; a pair of iron scissors; a small ring; four pinheads; a smoothing stone. Dated to B2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:115, no. 917; Gebühr 1974:108; *CRFB D3*, no. II-04-10/1.8)

127. Krottorf

District of Börde, Saxony-Anhalt. Inhumation with a Roman folded beaker; two ceramic vessels; a golden pail-shaped pendant; a chain fastener or pendant, two bronze fibulae; five aurei (Postumus 263 and 259/268). Dated to C2. (E.g. *CRFB D6*, no. VII-08-6/1.1-2)

128. Lalendorf

District of Güstrow, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania. Inhumation of a 13-year-old individual. The grave goods contained a bronze basin E92; fittings from two drinking horns; two ceramic vessels; a turned wooden vessel; two silver fibulae; a bronze fibula; a hairpin of silver; a folding mirror; the bronze lock from a wooden box; eight silver pins with hook-shaped ends; two bronze pins with hook-shaped ends; three pins with curved heads; a needle of bronze; a spindle hook of bronze. Dated to B1b. (E.g. Keiling 1971; 1973; Kunow 1983:138, no. K132; *CRFB D3*, no. II-03-4/1.1-3; Peška 2002:26, table 1)

129. Leubingen

District of Sömmerda, Thuringia. Inhumation containing a bronze pail E58; a bronze basin E79; shards of glass; a bone comb; fragments of a silver fibula; a finger ring of gold; a bronze buckle; a gold coin (Aurelianus 253–260 AD) Dated to C2. (E.g. Götze *et al.* 1909:109f.; Eggers 1951:134, no. 1534)

130. Leuna 1834

District of Saalekreis, Saxony-Anhalt. Inhumation containing a ladle and strainer of bronze E161; a glass bowl E215; a glass bowl E216; a terra sigillata bowl Drag. 37; three ceramic vessels, fragments of a bronze-bound wooden pail; three silver fibulae; a belt buckle of bronze; two silver spurs; two arrowheads of silver; a pair of tweezers and ear spoon of silver; parts of possibly a neckring of bronze and an arm ring of bronze. Dated to C2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:134, no. 1535; Schulz 1953:31–34; *CRFB D6*, no. VIII-10-12/1.20-23)

131. Leuna 2, 1917

District of Saalekreis, Saxony-Anhalt. Inhumation of a man. The grave goods include bronze plate E117; a ladle and strainer of bronze E161; a silver bowl E179; fragments of a glass bowl E205–206; four ceramic vessels; bronze fittings from a wooden tray or box; a silver fibula with niello; a golden finger ring with a carnelian; fragments of a bronze pin; an aureus (Tetricus I. 271–274); a belt buckle of silver; two silver spurs; three arrowheads of silver; two glass balls; a bone comb; pieces of leather; bones from a hen, a rooster and a suckling pig. Dated to C2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:134, no. 1536; Schulz 1953:11–16; Peška 2002:27, table 2; *CRFB D6*, no. VIII-10-12/1.1-8)

132. Leuna 1, 1926  
District of Saalekreis, Saxony-Anhalt. Inhumation of a man. The grave contained a glass cup E226; a terra sigillata bowl Drag. 37; three ceramic vessels; a silver fibula; a bronze buckle; a bone comb; two silver spurs; two arrowheads of silver. Dated to C2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:134, no. 1537; Schulz 1953:17–19; Peška 2002:27, table 2; *CRFB D6*, no. VIII-10-12/1.26-27)
133. Leuna 2, 1926  
District of Saalekreis, Saxony-Anhalt. Inhumation of a man. The grave contained a bronze plate E121; four ceramic vessels; a golden finger ring with an almandine; two spurs of bronze; fragment of a bronze pin; a bone comb; fragments of bronze. Dated to C2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:134, no. 1538; Schulz 1953:20f.; Peška 2002:27, table 2; *CRFB D6*, no. VIII-10-12/1.24-25)
134. Leuna 3, 1926  
District of Saalekreis, Saxony-Anhalt. Inhumation of a man, 20–25 years old. The grave contained a bronze basin E89; a bronze plate E117; a bronze plate E118; a ladle and strainer of bronze E161; a silver bowl E179; a glass cup E222; shards of a glass beaker (possibly E189); shards of a glass bowl; a Roman folded beaker; six ceramic vessels; a bronze ring, possibly the handle of a wooden pail; a silver spoon; a wooden tray with bronze fittings; two silver spurs with buckles; two strap-ends and a buckle-shaped fitting of silver; two arrowheads of silver; 59 gaming pieces of glass; fragments of a gaming board; a small ivory box; fragments of a bronze pin; bones from a swine, two suckling pigs, two roosters, a pike and two roach. Dated to C2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:134, no. 1539; Schulz 1953:22–29; Peška 2002:27, table 2; *CRFB D6*, no. VIII-10-12/1.9-19)
135. Marwedel 1  
District of Lüchow-Dannenberg, Lower-Saxony. Inhumation with a man of about 50. Grave goods consisted of a bronze cauldron E39; a bronze basin E99–100; A saucepan of bronze E142; a ladle and strainer of bronze E162; bronze fittings from two drinking horns; two ceramic vessels; a *cingulum*-like belt buckle of silver with a rectangular belt fitting; further belt fittings of silver and bronze; five silver fittings from a bag; two silver fibulae; four penannular fibulae of bronze; a pair of bronze scissors; a horn needle; a curved knife of bronze; a razor of bronze; a bronze tip, possibly from a scraping knife; an iron spur; parts of a bronze knife; a small wooden box; bronze fittings from a pair of leather shoes. Dated to B2a. (E.g. Eggers 1951:119, no. 1057; Laux 1993:318–344; *CRFB D4*, no. XXI-04-4/2.1-4)
136. Marwedel 2  
District of Lüchow-Dannenberg, Lower-Saxony. Inhumation with a grown man. The grave goods consisted of a bronze cauldron E40; a saucepan of bronze E142; two saucepans of silver E153; a ladle and strainer of bronze E160; two silver cups E174; two glass beakers E185 (Isings 21 or Goethert-Polaschek 35); bronze fittings from two drinking horns; a silver fibula; five silver-plated penannular fibulae of bronze; a finger ring of gold; two bronze spurs; a leather shoe; silver fittings from

a leather bag, textile remains. Dated to B2a. (E.g. Eggers 1951:119, no. 1058; Laux 1993:345–363; *CRFB D4*, no. XXI-04-4/2.5-12)

137. Mehrum

District of Wesel, North Rhine-Westphalia. Cremation containing two bronze pails E24; a bronze pail E31; a bronze cauldron E39–40 (?); a fragmented bronze flask; two terra sigillata plates Drag. 18; bronze fittings from a drinking horn; an iron sword; bronze fittings from a scabbard; an iron lancehead; a bronze-plated shield boss of iron; a shield grip of bronze; an iron dagger; two belt-hooks of bronze; two belt fittings of bronze; remains textile and leather. Dated to B1. (E.g. Gechter & Kunow 1983)

138. Neudorf-Bornstein 4, 1967

District of Rendsburg-Eckernförde, Schleswig-Holstein. Inhumation containing a bronze pail E58; a bronze basin (damaged, and therefore not assigned to a specific type); fragmented glass beaker; two large bronze-bound wooden pails; two small ladles of wood; a ceramic vessel; the remains of a wooden tray with bronze fittings; a large neckring of gold; a spiral ring of gold; a bronze fibula; remains of a wooden game board with bronze fittings; 42 gaming pieces of glass; textile remains with gold brocade; the remains of a rush woven basket; several animal bones of swine and cattle. Dated to C2. (E.g. Schäfer 1968:46–51; Steinert 1968; *CRFB D5*, no. XXIV-11-11/1.4-8; Abegg-Wigg 2008)

139. Neudorf-Bornstein 7, 1967

District of Rendsburg-Eckernförde, Schleswig-Holstein. Inhumation containing a bronze basin E68; shards of a glass vessel of unknown type; a glass beaker E236-37; two bronze-bound wooden pails; silver fittings from a drinking horn; three ceramic vessels; a large neckring of gold; a bronze fibula decorated with gold and silver; two bronze spurs; wooden remains, possibly from a box; 26 gaming pieces of glass; a wooden gaming board with bronze fittings; a possible bronze pin; a bronze fitting; undefined organic remains, possibly leather from a belt, with metal plating (possibly silver) and small gold badges; a possible bronze buckle; textile remains; a bronze fragment with organic remains (leather or wood); bone and teeth, possibly of cattle. Dated to C3. (E.g. Schäfer 1968:52–59; *CRFB D5*, no. XXIV-11-11/1.9-12; Abegg-Wigg 2008)

140. Nordhausen

District of Erfurt, Thuringia. Inhumation with a 20–40-year-old man. The grave goods consisted of a terra sigillata bowl of type Ludowici Fre; a terra sigillata bowl of type Ludowici Smc/Oelmann 19; a Roman folded beaker; fragments of two bronze pails E55; a bronze basin E83; fragments of two sets of a ladle and strainer of bronze E161; a glass bowl E216; fragments of two glass bowls E216; two ceramic vessels; a neckring of gold; two penannular fibulae of bronze; a silver spur; a bronze disc; a bone comb; a possible whetstone; a polyhedric lump of clay; bones of cattle. Dated to C2. (E.g. Feustel 1984:141–180; Berke 1990, 183, no. 483)



141. Poggendorf  
District of Nordvorpommern, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania. Possible inhumation containing a bronze basin E92; a saucepan of bronze E135; bronze fittings from possibly two drinking horns; silver fragments from a mirror; a bronze knife; a pair of bronze scissors; two bronze needles. Dated to B1. (E.g. Eggers 1951:106, no. 698; *CRFB D3*, no. I-04-3/1.1-3)
142. Putensen 150  
District of Harburg, Lower Saxony. Cremation containing a bronze cauldron E8; a saucepan of bronze E137; a saucepan of bronze E134-135; bronze fittings from two drinking horns; six silver fibulae A. II 24; a bronze fibula; an iron fibula; a hair pin of silver; an iron buckle; four strap-ends of bronze; four bronze spurs; two iron spurs; leather and bronze fittings from a pair of shoes; an iron sword; an iron lancehead; an iron knife; an iron shield boss; an iron shield grip; iron fittings from a shield; four bronze rings; iron fragments; remains of textile. Dated to B1a. (E.g. Wegewitz 1972:41, 82-85; Kunow 1983:134f., no. K82; *CRFB D4*, no. XXI-03-5/3.7-9)
143. Quetzdölsdorf  
District of Anhalt-Bitterfeld, Saxony-Anhalt. An inhumation with an adult male. The grave goods consisted of a bronze pail E25; a saucepan of bronze E142; a saucepan of bronze E143; a ladle and strainer of bronze E162; a ceramic vessel; a bronze spur; a double button of bronze; a pair of bronze scissors; a wooden handle; nine bronze fittings. Dated to B1/B2. (E.g. Nitzschke & Schröter 1989; *CRFB D6*, no. VIII-03-5/1.1-4)
144. Schladitz-Zwochau (Schladitzsch)  
District of Nordsachsen, Saxony. Inhumation containing a bronze basin E99-100; a deformed bronze vessel, possibly a basin E75 or a pail E24; two saucepans of bronze E140; a saucepan of bronze E141; a ladle and strainer of bronze E159; bronze fittings from two drinking horns; an iron razor. Dated to B2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:135, no. 1564; *CRFB D2*, no. XIII-02-4/1.1-4)
145. Trebitz 1  
District of Saalekreis, Saxony-Anhalt. Inhumation containing a bronze basin E82; a bronze basin E90; a bronze plate E119; a finger ring of gold; a bone comb. Dated to C3. (E.g. Eggers 1951:135, no. 1582; *CRFB D6*, no. VIII-16-14/2.1-3)
146. Wilhelmshof  
District of Ostvorpommern, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania. Inhumation containing a bronze cauldron E40; a saucepan of bronze E142; three ceramic vessels. Dated to B2. (E.g. *CRFB D3*, no. I-10-16/1.1-2)
147. Woldegk  
District of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania. Inhumation containing a bronze basin E81; a strainer of bronze E161; a glass cup E209; two sil-

ver fibulae; a bronze buckle; belt fittings of bronze; two arrowheads of bronze or silver; a bronze ring; a flattened, unidentifiable gold coin. Dated to C1/C2. (E.g. Eggers 1949; 1951:115, no. 922; *CRFB D3*, no. III-09-3/1.1-3)

## NETHERLANDS

### 148. De Waal

Island of Texel, province of North Holland. Cremation containing a bronze pail (indeterminate type); a bronze basin (indeterminate type); ladle and strainer of bronze E162; bronze fittings from a drinking horn; an iron knife; two bronze buckles; bronze fittings; two spurs; an iron lancehead; three iron axes; three iron snaffle bits; a snaffle chain; an iron kettle hook; a whetstone. Dated to B2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:122, no. 1137)

## NORWAY

### 149. Gaalaas

Ringsaker Municipality, county of Hedmark. An inhumation with what has been identified as a woman, containing a single shard of a glass beaker E230; caulking from a vessel of organic material; four ceramic vessels; the remains of a wooden box with iron nails; two silver fibulae; three bronze fibulae; several fibula parts of bronze and silver; parts of a bronze chain; five bronze pins; a bronze needle with a hooked end; a key ring of bronze; eight pendant bronze rods; a needle case of bronze; a finger ring of gold; two finger rings of silver; four rings of bronze; a silver ring; about 720 beads of amber, glass, stone, gold foil and silver; a bone comb; an iron heddle; an iron knife; a curved iron knife; possibly a pair of iron scissors; an iron awl; a further wooden box with iron nails; and fragments of iron and bronze. Dated to the second half of the fourth century. (E.g. Nybruget 1986; Fernstål 2004:146f.; the accession catalogue for *Oldsaksamlingen* in Oslo, C. 35805)

### 150. Søndre Kjørstad

Sør-Fron Municipality, county of Oppland. Inhumation containing a bronze basin E106; fragments of a glass cup E204; a ceramic vessel; three bronze-bound wooden pails; two golden finger rings of snakehead type; a finger ring of gold; a silver fibula; a bronze fibula; a hair pin of silver; a pair of iron scissors; a spindle whorl of bronze; a pair of bronze tweezers; a needle case of bronze; an iron sword; an indeterminate iron tool; fragments of bronze and iron. Dated to C2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:95, no. 401; Lund Hansen 1987:432)

### 151. Store-Dal 5

Sarpsborg Municipality, county of Østfold. Inhumation containing a saucepan of bronze E139; a ceramic vessel; bronze and silver fittings from two drinking horns; a finger ring of gold; a spindle whorl of iron; two curved knives of iron; iron

fragments. Dated to B2. (E.g. Petersen 1916:49f.; Eggers 1951:95, no. 405; Lund Hansen 1987:431)

152. Store-Dal 6

Sarpsborg Municipality, county of Østfold. Inhumation containing a bronze cauldron E40; a bronze basin E101; a saucepan of bronze E140; two glass bowls E183; two silver fibulae; a bronze fibula decorated with gold; two gold beads; a gold pendant; an s-shaped clasp of silver; two finger rings of gold; a possible wooden box with iron fittings; an iron knife; an iron sickle; an iron spindle. Dated to B2. (E.g. Petersen 1916:38f.; Eggers 1951:95, no. 406; Lund Hansen 1987:431)

## POLAND

153. Białęcino (Balenthin)

District of Malechowo, Sławno County, West Pomerania Province. Inhumation containing a bronze plate E117; shards from 1–2 glass bowls E216; a ceramic vessel; a silver spoon; a gilded silver fibula; two finger rings of silver with gemmae; two further silver finger rings; 28 beads of glass, amber and jet; four punched denarii (Faustina I, Faustina II, Antoninus Pius, Septimius Severus); two pail-shaped pendants of bronze; arm ring of jet; eight bronze rings; bronze fragment; pierced piece of bone. Dated to C2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:105, no. 657; Wielowiejski 1985:308, no. 327; Hahula 1996)

154. Chojne 2, grave 4

District of Sieradz, Sieradz County, Łódź Province. Inhumation with a man. The grave goods contained a bronze basin E67–68; a bronze basin E81–82; a bronze basin E89; fragments of a bronze basin; a bronze fitting from a drinking horn; 10 ceramic vessels; a bronze fibula; fragment of a bronze fibula; an iron fibula; a small bronze buckle; parts of a belt; 12 gaming pieces of glass; a pair of bronze scissors; a small bronze knife; fragment of a small iron knife; fragment of a bronze razor; two bronze spurs; an iron lancehead. Dated to B2. (E.g. Kaszewska *et al.* 1971:pl. 166; Kunow 1983:148, no. K280; Wielowiejski 1985:277, no. 136)

155. Czarnówko 430

District of Lębork, Lębork County, Pomerania Province. Inhumation containing a bronze cauldron E13–14 with handle attachments (or escutcheons) in the shape of male heads with Suebian knots; a bronze cauldron E44; bronze pail E28; a bronze ladle E161; a glass beaker E190–194; the handle of a silver cup or beaker E168–170, likely of Germanic craftsmanship; two silver fibulae; bronze fibula decorated in gold and silver; two belt fittings of silver-plated bronze; two belt fittings of bronze; two strap-ends of bronze; a bronze spur; a bronze knife; four bronze rivets; a bronze nail; fragments of wood; fragments of bronze; a piece of leather. Dated to B2/C1. (E.g. Mączyńska & Rudnicka 2004)

156. Dębe (Dembe)  
District of Żelazków, Kalisz County, Greater Poland Province. Cremation containing a silver-coated saucepan of bronze E151; a glass bowl E181; two ceramic vessels. Dated to B1c. (E.g. Eggers 1951:150, no. 2025; Nosek 1961:pl. 36; Wielowiejski 1985:292, no. 224; 1990:235f., no. 22)
157. Dmochy-Rodzonki 2  
District of Czyżew-Osada, Wysokie Mazowieckie County, Podlaskie Province. Inhumation containing the remains of a 25–40-year-old individual. The grave goods consisted of the ring handle of a bronze basin; a circular gold plaque mounted on a frame of silver rings; fragments of gold, silver and bronze; fragment of a rotary quern. Dated to C3. (E.g. Jaskanis 1975:139f.; 1976:237f.)
158. Dobra (Karlsburg)  
District of Dobroszyce, Oleśnica County, Lower Silesian Province. Cremation containing a bronze pail E24–25; six ceramic vessels; a gold pendant; a gold-plated arm ring in silver of snakehead type; a finger ring of iron; iron fittings from a wooden box; bronze fitting; a bone comb; a ceramic spindle whorl. Dated to B2b. (E.g. Eggers 1951:108, no. 746; Wielowiejski 1985:258f., no. 28)
159. Dorotowo (Dorotheenhof)  
District of Więcbork, Sępólno County, Kuyavia-Pomerania Province. Inhumation containing a bronze pail E44; a neckring of twisted gold; fragment of a bronze fibula; 20 gaming pieces of glass; two bone dice; bronze and iron fragments. Dated to B2/C1a. (E.g. Eggers 1951:150, no. 2030; Wielowiejski 1985:268f.; Bierbrauer 1989:66)
160. Giebułtów  
District of Wielka Wieś, Kraków County, Lesser Poland Province. Cremation containing fragments of a bronze pail E24 (?); a bronze cauldron E7; a bronze cauldron E9, a bronze cauldron E11–14 (?); a bronze basin E91; two bronze basins E97; two bronze jugs E125; a bronze jug; fragments of bronze vessels; molten glass; three fragments of terra sigillata; five ceramic vessels; a pair of iron scissors; a bronze knife; an iron knife; a bone comb; a small chain made of gold; a small lump of silver; three iron keys; iron mountings from a wooden box; three bronze rivets. Dated to B1c. (E.g. Eggers 1951:151, no. 2038; Nosek 1961:pl. 35; Wielowiejski 1985:259, no. 29)
161. Gledzianówek 1, 1934  
District of Witonia, Łęczyca County, Łódź Province. Cremation containing fragments of a bronze pail E25–26(?); a bronze basin E69–72; a bronze jug (indeterminate type); the handle of a bronze ladle E160; fragments of bronze vessels; three ceramic vessels; bronze fittings of two drinking horns; an iron buckle; an iron knife; a bronze fibula A. II 37–38; remains of an iron fibula; an iron awl. Dated to B2a. (E.g. Kaszewska 1977:66f.; Kunow 1983:148f., no. K283; Wielowiejski 1985:259, no. 30)

162. Gosławice (Goslawitz, Wichulla)  
Opole, Opole County, Opole Province. Inhumation containing two bronze pails E24; a bronze basin E100; a saucepan of bronze E140; a ladle and strainer of bronze E160; a gold-plated silver beaker E170; two glass bowls E182; eight ceramic vessels; bronze fittings from two drinking horns; a bronze knife; a pair of bronze scissors; a strap-end of bronze; bronze fittings and fragments. According to Wielowiejski (1990:227), the grave may have contained two or three further silver vessels. Dated to B1c. (E.g. Raschke 1939; Eggers 1951:110, no. 781; Wielowiejski 1985:256f., no. 20; 1990:227f., no. 1)
163. Grónowo 1, 1926 (Groß-Grünowo)  
District of Ostrowice, Drawsko County, West Pomerania Province. Inhumation containing two terra sigillata bowls or plates Drag. 18/31; a bronze jug E125; a ladle and strainer of bronze E160; a ceramic vessel; two bronze spurs; a pair of bronze tweezers; a buckle and strap-end of bronze. Dated to C1a. (E.g. Eggers 1951:105, no. 672; Wielowiejski 1985:294, no. 238; Berke 1990:206, no. 711)
164. Groß Bestendorf  
Groß Bestendorf, Ostróda County, Warmia-Masuria Province. Inhumation containing a twisted neckring of gold; a pair of bronze spurs; a gilded bronze locket (*bulla*). A silver beaker and ceramic vessels were reportedly also found at the site. Dated to the early third century. (E.g. Gaerte 1926; Bierbrauer 1989:66)
165. Grudziądz-Rządź (Rodensen) 1  
Grudziądz, Kuyavia-Pomerania Province. Inhumation containing fragments of a saucepan of bronze E141; two silver fibulae; a gold pendant. Dated to B1b. (E.g. Eggers 1951:155, no. 2151; Wielowiejski 1985:290, no. 213)
166. Grudziądz-Rządź (Rodensen) 2  
Grudziądz, Kuyavia-Pomerania Province. Inhumation containing a bronze jug E124; a handled bronze bowl E154; three bronze fibulae; two bronze pendants; six bronze fittings from a set of horse trappings; a pendant made from a cowry shell; two bronze tubes. Dated to B1a. (E.g. Eggers 1951:155, no. 2152; Wielowiejski 1985:303, no. 300)
167. Kietrz 1512  
District of Kietrz, Głubczyce County, Opole Province. Cremation containing fragments of a bronze cauldron E42; ladle and strainer of bronze E160–162; a glass vessel; three ceramic vessels; an iron fibula A. V 123; a bone comb; a bone needle; an iron key; an iron knife; fragments of bronze and iron. Dated to B2/C1. (E.g. Gedl & Gedl 1976:pl. 228; Kunow 1983:149, no. K287; Wielowiejski 1985:262, no. 50)
168. Lachmirowice 4, 1951  
District of Kruszwica, Inowrocław County, Kuyavia-Pomerania Province. Cremation containing fragments of two bronze basins E77 (?); a ceramic urn; a

miniature ceramic vessel; sherds from ten (?) ceramic vessels; a ceramic lamp; molten glass and enamel; a piece of a bronze fibula; a piece of an iron fibula; fragment of a piece of gold jewellery; a pail-shaped pendant; a bronze buckle; an iron strap-end; fittings from a wooden box; three keys; three ceramic spindle whorls; a bone comb; three fittings; a chain; two nails; gold remains. Dated to C1a. (E.g. Kunow 1983:149, no. K291; Wielowiejski 1985:277, no. 141)

169. Łęg Piekarski 1, 1933

District of Dobra, Turek County, Greater Poland Province. Inhumation containing a silver-coated saucepan of bronze E142; a saucepan of bronze E141; bronze fragments of a saucepan; two bronze feet from a pail E24–25; a bronze cauldron E38; a bronze basin E100; a thieromorphic strainer; a bronze knife; a pair of bronze scissors; bronze fittings. Dated to B1c. (E.g. Eggers 1951:153, no. 2093; Kunow 1983:154, no. 2093; Wielowiejski 1985:259, no. 32; 1990:234f., no. 18)

170. Łęg Piekarski 2, 1936

District of Dobra, Turek County, Greater Poland Province. Inhumation containing a bronze pail E24; a bronze cauldron E37–39; a bronze basin E99–100; a bronze jug E125; a saucepan of bronze E141; a handled bronze bowl E155; a ladle and strainer of bronze E162; two silver beakers E170 of Germanic manufacture; bronze fittings from two drinking horns; two silver decorated fittings from two further drinking horns; a finger ring of gold; a silver fibula; a silver buckle; a terret of bronze; a iron fittings from a wooden box; fragment of a razor of bronze; four bone dice; 29 gaming pieces of glass; iron fittings from a shield; bronze fragments. Dated to B2a. (E.g. Petersen 1940; Voss 1949; Eggers 1951:153, no. 2094; Eggers 1953; Holmqvist 1954; Jażdżewski & Rycel 1981; Wielowiejski 1985:257 no. 23; Belkowska 1986; Künzl 1988a-b; Wielowiejski 1990:232f., no. 11)

171. Łęg Piekarski 3, 1947/1975

District of Dobra, Turek County, Greater Poland Province. Inhumation containing a bronze cauldron E38; a silver-coated saucepan of bronze E140; a ladle and strainer of bronze E162; a glass bowl E182; two silver beakers of Germanic manufacture; three ceramic vessels; a pair of bronze scissors. Further excavations at the site in 1975 produced a finger ring of gold; bronze fittings from a wooden box; potsherds. Dated to B1c. (E.g. Holmqvist 1954; Leciejewicz 1957; Jażdżewski & Rycel 1981; Wielowiejski 1985:260, no. 37; Belkowska 1986; Künzl 1988a-b; Wielowiejski 1990:231f., no. 9)

172. Łęg Piekarski A

District of Dobra, Turek County, Greater Poland Province. Double inhumation containing a Roman silver beaker; a silver beaker of indigenous manufacture; fragments of a bronze basin and a ladle and strainer of bronze; fragments of a bronze pail; a small glass flask; bronze fittings from a drinking horn; ceramic vessels; three silver fibulae with gold filigree; two silver fibulae; a silver pin with decorated head; a pair of bronze scissors; a spindle whorl; bronze fragments. Dated to B2a. (E.g. Wielowiejski 1985:266, no. 73; 1990:229, no. 4)



173. Leśno

District of Brusy, Chojnice County, Pomerania Province. Inhumation with a woman. The grave goods consisted of a bronze pail E47; two glass beakers E187; a ceramic beaker; four silver fibulae; two bronze fibulae; nine glass beads; 13 amber beads; a gold pendant; an S-shaped clasp of gold; two silver arm rings of snake-head type; a bronze buckle; two strap-ends of bronze; bronze fittings and key from a wooden box; two spindle whorls of glass; a ceramic spindle whorl; wool and textile remains. Dated to B2/C1a. (E.g. Grabarczyk *et al.* 1979:pl. 270; Kunow 1983:149f., no. K297; Wielowiejski 1985:271, no. 99)

174. Lubieszewo (Ladekopp)

District of Nowy Dwór Gdański, Nowy Dwór Gdański County, Pomerania Province. Cremation containing a bronze pail E48; a ladle and strainer of bronze E161; a bronze basin E77. Dated to B2/C1a. (E.g. Eggers 1951:104, no. 635; Wielowiejski 1985:272, no. 104; Bierbrauer 1989:68)

175. Lubieszewo (Lübsow) 1, 1908 (Sandberg)

District of Gryfice, Gryfice County, West Pomerania Province. Inhumation containing a bronze pail E24; a bronze basin E99; a bronze jug E123; a saucepan of bronze E131; a saucepan of bronze E138; two silver beakers E170; two glass bowls E182; ceramic vessels; silver fittings from two drinking horns; a pair of bronze scissors; a Roman fibula of gold and silver; three silver fibulae; two silver pins; a belt clasp of bronze; a silver-coated bronze mirror; bronze fragments. Dated to B1c. (E.g. Eggers 1951:106, no. 688; Wielowiejski 1985:257, no. 22; 1990:228f., no. 2)

176. Lubieszewo (Lübsow) 2, 1910 (Sandberg)

District of Gryfice, Gryfice County, West Pomerania Province. Inhumation containing a bronze basin E98; parts of the saucepan of bronze E131 found in Lubieszewo 3, 1913; a ceramic vessel; several bronze fittings from a drinking horn; a bronze fibula. Dated to B1b. (E.g. Eggers 1951:106, no. 689; Wielowiejski 1985:282, no. 168)

177. Lubieszewo (Lübsow) 3, 1913 (Sandberg)

District of Gryfice, Gryfice County, West Pomerania Province. Inhumation containing a bronze basin E76; a saucepan of bronze E131, parts of which was found in Lubieszewo 2, 1910; two silver fibulae; two bronze fibulae; a gold bead; a gold pendant; a bronze buckle; two silver needles; a ceramic spindle whorl; a bronze mirror; textile remains. Dated to B1b. (E.g. Eggers 1951:106, no. 690; Wielowiejski 1985:287, no. 196)

178. Lubieszewo (Lübsow) 1, 1925 (Tunnehult)

District of Gryfice, Gryfice County, West Pomerania Province. Inhumation containing a bronze pail E25; a bronze basin E100; a bronze jug E125; three ceramic vessels; a bronze fibula; four silver fibulae; a finger ring of gold; a finger ring of silver; a silver mirror; fragments of silver thread; a bronze comb. Dated to B2a. (E.g. Eggers 1951:106, no. 691; Wielowiejski 1985:258, no. 26)

179. Lubieszewo (Lübsow) 2, 1925 (Tunnehult)  
District of Gryfice, Gryfice County, West Pomerania Province. Inhumation containing two bronze cauldrons E40; a bronze ladle E162; two painted glass beakers E186; two silver beakers E171 of Germanic manufacture; three ceramic vessels; four bronze terminals, possibly from drinking horns; three silver fibulae; two finger rings of gold; three decorative buttons of silver; a disc-shaped amber bead. Dated to B2a. (E.g. Kunkel 1927; Voss 1949; Eggers 1951:106, no. 691; Eggers 1953; Holmqvist 1954; Wielowiejski 1985:258, no. 26; Belkowska 1986; Künzl 1988a-b; Wielowiejski 1990)
180. Mściszewice 7 (Mischischewitz)  
District of Sulęczyno, Kartuszy County, Pomerania Province. Inhumation containing bronze pail E44; a glass beaker E193; four ceramic vessels; a bronze chain and fittings from a drinking horn; a pair of bronze spurs; a bronze fibula; a belt buckle of bronze; two strap-ends of bronze; bronze fittings. Dated to B2/C1a. (E.g. Eggers 1951:153f., no. 2116; Wielowiejski 1985:269, no. 90; Bierbrauer 1989:66)
181. Odry 423  
District of Czersk, Chojnice County, Pomerania Province. Inhumation containing a terra sigillata bowl Drag 37; a handled ceramic beaker, a bronze fibula A. VI 162; a belt buckle of bronze; a strap-end of bronze; bronze needle; a pair of bronze tweezers; two spurs of bronze; two iron rivets; fragment of bronze; textile fragments of wool. Dated to C1b. (E.g. Grabarczyk *et al.* 1979:pl. 271)
182. Osiek (Komorów, Kommerau)  
District of Warlubie, Świecie County, Kuyavia-Pomerania Province. Inhumation with a man. The grave goods contained a ladle and strainer E160 of bronze; four ceramic vessels; bronze fittings from a drinking horn; a fibula; a golden arm ring of snakehead type; two finger rings of gold; a buckle and fitting of bronze; two bronze spurs; a gaming piece; a bronze dagger; a bronze knife. Dated to C1a. (E.g. Günther 1922; Kossinna 1922; Eggers 1951:152, no. 2079; Wielowiejski 1985:295, no. 242)
183. Pielgrzymowo (Pilgramsdorf)  
District of Kozłowo, Nidzica County, Warmia-Masuria Province. Inhumation of a man. The grave goods consisted of shards from a glass bowl; a ceramic vessel; a wooden vessel with lid; a wooden lid; a silver fibula; a golden arm ring of kolben type; an iron buckle; two silver buckles; two silver strap-ends; belt fittings of silver; a finger ring of bronze; two bronze coins (one Hadrian, 117–138); a gaming piece of glass; a gaming board of wood; fragments of a possible wooden box; textile fragments. Dated to C2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:103, no. 606; Lau 2003:144–148)
184. Pilipki (Filipki)  
District of Bielsk Podlaski, Bielsk County, Podlaskie Province. Cremation containing a bronze pail E44; fragments of ceramic vessels; cut pieces of gold objects including an arm ring of snakehead type, two neck-ring terminals, two S-shaped

clasps, and fragments of a lunar-shaped pendant; two gem mountings; lumps of gold and bronze; glass beads; a lignite ring. Dated to C1a. (E.g. Wielowiejski 1985:270, no. 93)

185. Podwiesk (Podwitz) 1887

District of Chełmno, Chełmno County, Kuyavia-Pomerania Province. Cremation containing a ladle of bronze E159–160; a bronze jug E122. Dated to B1a. (E.g. Eggers 1951:154, no. 2140; Kunow 1983:154, no. 2139; Wielowiejski 1985:300, no. 283; Bierbrauer 1989:64)

186. Postomino (Pustamin)

District of Postomino, Sławno County, West Pomerania Province. Inhumation containing a bronze cauldron E38; a strainer of bronze E160; a saucepan of bronze E137; fragments of a ceramic vessel; two bronze fibulae; a finger ring of gold; a bronze buckle; a bronze mirror; bronze fittings. Dated to B2b. (E.g. Eggers 1951:106, no. 710; Wielowiejski 1985:260f., no. 38; Bierbrauer 1989:65)

187. Przywózi

District of Wierzchlas, Wieluń County, Łódź Province. Cremation containing lumps of molten bronze; lumps of molten glass (either from vessels or beads); sherds of at least two terra sigillata vessels; sherds of a terra nigra vessel; two hollow-pedestalled ceramic vessels (of which one functioned as urn); a silver fibula A. V. 96; several hundred small globules and grains of gold from a molten ornament (50 g); five bronze strap-ends from a belt; the remains of a wooden box with bronze fittings. The grave dates to B2/C1a. (E.g. Jążdżewski 1976:211f.)

188. Rostoły 1

District of Juchnowiec Koscielny, Białystok County, Podlaskie Province. Inhumation containing a strainer of bronze E161; fragments of glass, possibly a beaker E189–192; a glass bead; a bone comb. Dated to C1. (E.g. Eggers 1951:154, no. 2147; Jaskanis 1976:235; Wielowiejski 1985:297, no. 260)

189. Rostoły 2

District of Juchnowiec Koscielny, Białystok County, Podlaskie Province. Inhumation containing a bronze ladle E161; shards from a glass vessel; sherds from a ceramic vessel; a pair of silver tweezers; three carnelian beads; gaming board; a lock spring and fittings of bronze; a bone comb; two silver plaques (from a shield?) decorated with gold foil; animal bones. Dated to C1. (E.g. Jaskanis 1961:399; 1976:231–235; Wielowiejski 1985:297, no. 261; Bierbrauer 1989:64, 68)

190. Rostoły 3

District of Juchnowiec Koscielny, Białystok County, Podlaskie Province. Inhumation containing fragments of two glass beakers E189; glass bead; silver mounting; piece of a quern stone; a gaming piece of glass; fragments of wood. Dated to C1. (E.g. Jaskanis 1976:239f.; Bierbrauer 1989:64, 68)

191. Rostolty 4  
District of Juchnowiec Koscielny, Białystok County, Podlaskie Province. Inhumation containing glass shards from a beaker E189; glass shards of a drinking horn E246–247; glass shards of a painted cup E209; one and a half gaming pieces of glass; fragments of silver fibulae. Dated to C1/C2. (E.g. Jaskanis 1976:236f., Bierbrauer 1989:64, 68)
192. Sandomierz-Krakówka (Krakówka) 1928  
District of Sandomierz, Sandomierz County, Świętokrzyskie Province. Cremation containing fragments of a bronze pail E24–25; a bronze cauldron E40; a bronze plate E115; pieces of bronze vessels of unknown types; two terra sigillata plates; eight to ten ceramic vessels; an iron sword; an iron lancehead; an iron spearhead; a shield boss; two iron spurs; a knife; a pair of iron scissors; one small globule of gold and six small globules of silver; a silver fibula; four gaming pieces of bone; two bone combs; the molten remains of glass beads; a whetstone; an iron buckle; eight bolts of bronze; eight iron nails. Dated to B2a. (E.g. Eggers 1951:152 no. 2085; Wielowiejski 1985:260, no. 34)
193. Sapólno (Sampohl)  
District of Przechlewo, Człuchów County, Pomerania Province. Cremation containing a bronze pail E44; the molten remains of a further bronze vessel; a ceramic jug; an arm ring of gold and silver; three belt buckles of bronze; a strap-end of bronze. Dated to C1a. (E.g. Sprockhoff 1928; Eggers 1951:102, no. 596; Wielowiejski 1985:270f., no. 96; Bierbrauer 1989:62)
194. Skiwy Małe 1  
District of Siemiatycze, Siemiatycze County, Podlaskie Province. A cremation containing the remains of a young individual (infans II–juvenis). The grave goods consisted of molten glass, probably from a cup or beaker; fragments of several ceramic vessels; four gaming pieces of glass; an iron belt buckle; a comb; a bronze rivet. Dated to the end of the Late Roman period. (E.g. Jaskanis 1973:180f.; Bierbrauer 1989:64, 68)
195. Skiwy Małe 2  
District of Siemiatycze, Siemiatycze County, Podlaskie Province. A cremation containing an adult male and possibly also a second, younger individual. The grave goods consisted of molten glass, possibly from a cup or beaker; pottery sherds; two glass beads; a gaming piece. Dated to the end of the Late Roman period. (E.g. Bierbrauer 1989:64, 68)
196. Slonowice (Schlönwitz)  
District of Brzeźno, Świdwin County, West Pomerania Province. A possible inhumation containing a bronze pail E24; a bronze basin E75; a bronze ladle E159; glass beads. Dated to B1a. (E.g. Eggers 1951:107, no. 712; Wielowiejski 1985:257f.)

197. Weklice (Wöcklitz) 208

District of Elbląg, Elbląg County, Warmia-Masuria Province. Inhumation with a woman of about 55–60 years. The grave goods consisted of a large terra sigillata bowl Drag. 37; a bronze pail E48; a glazed ceramic beaker of Roman manufacture; an S-shaped clasp of gold; two gold beads, three silver fibulae; a gold-plated, disc-shaped, silver brooch with the stamped portrait of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (ca 164–169); two golden bracelets of snakehead type; two golden, meander-shaped bracelets with disc-shaped clasps of silver wire; a belt buckle of bronze with buckle plate; a strap-end of bronze; a bronze needle fragment. Dated to B2/C1–C1a. (E.g. Okulicz-Kozaryn 1992:91–95; Natuniewicz-Sekula & Okulicz-Kozaryn 2007:74f.)

198. Weklice (Wöcklitz) 495

District of Elbląg, Elbląg County, Warmia-Masuria Province. Inhumation with a woman of about 35–55 years. The grave goods consisted of a saucepan of bronze E142; a ladle and strainer of bronze E161; two glass beakers E188a; sherds from a ceramic miniature vessel; a bronze fibula; a bronze needle or pin from a fibula; an amber bead; a glass bead; a wooden box with bronze fittings. Dated to B2/C1–C1a. (E.g. Natuniewicz-Sekula & Okulicz-Kozaryn 2007:75)

199. Witaszewice 22

District of Góra Świętej Małgorzaty, Łęczyca County, Łódź Province. Cremation containing a terra sigillata bowl Drag 37; fragments of a bronze pail E24–25; fragments of a bronze basin E102; parts of a bronze cauldron E37–43; fragments of a bronze ladle; fragments of a saucepan of bronze; a partially fire-damaged silver vessel with decorated lid; a small ceramic beaker; two further ceramic vessels; fragments of iron chain mail; a bronze spur; several bronze fragments; a perforated, conical stone object; a small circular decorated bronze plate; a bronze buckle; large button in thin brass sheet; bronze fitting; piece of cast glass; several bronze fragments. Dated to B1b. (E.g. Kaszewska *et al.* 1971:Taf. 167; Lund Hansen 1987:197)

200. Wrocław Zakrzów(Sackrau) 1

District of Twardogóra, Oleśnica County, Lower Silesian Province. Double inhumation containing a silver pail E60; a bronze basin E83; a bronze basin; a ladle and strainer of bronze E161; a glass bowl E240; a glass plate; shards of two further glass vessels; a Roman folded beaker; a silver spoon; nine ceramic vessels; silver ring with stud, possibly from a wooden vessel; two gold fibulae; beads of amber and glass; a golden neckring of kolben type; a golden arm ring of kolben type; a finger ring of gold; three gold buckles; gold fittings; silver fittings from a wooden box; a silver knife; a pair of silver scissors; a folding table of bronze; an ear spoon of gold; gaming pieces of glass; a ceramic spindle whorl; a gold spiral. Dated to C2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:109, no. 768; Wielowiejski 1985:280, no. 155; 1990:229f., no. 5)

201. Wrocław Zakrzów(Sackrau) 2

District of Twardogóra, Oleśnica County, Lower Silesia Province. Inhumation containing a bronze basin E114; a bronze plate E117; a glass cup E229; a Roman folded beaker; approximately eight ceramic vessels; a bronze-bound wooden pail; four

silver fibulae; beads of amber, carnelian and rock crystal; an amber pendant; a finger ring of silver; belt buckle and fittings of silver; an amber disc; a piece of jewellery consisting of eight crescent-shaped gold pendants; a ring of silver wire; iron fittings from a wooden box; a bronze key; lock of bronze; lock springs of bronze and silver. Dated to C2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:109, no. 769; Wielowiejski 1985:284, no. 178)

202. Wrocław Zakrzów (Sackrau) 3

District of Twardogóra, Oleśnica County, Lower Silesia Province. Inhumation containing the remains of a bronze cauldron (?); a bronze basin E83; a glass bowl E241; a Roman folded beaker; a silver spoon; a silver-bound wooden pail; 11 ceramic vessels; two wooden vessels; a silver ring with stud; a finger ring of silver; three finger rings of gold; four silver fibulae; amber beads; two pail-shaped gold pendants; amber pendants; a golden neckring of kolben type; a golden arm ring of kolben type; two silver buckles; two gold buckles; two silver strap-ends; two gold strap-ends; belt fittings of gold and silver; an aureus (Claudius Gothicus 268–270); four denarii (one Hadrian); silver fittings with an inserted aureus (Septimius Severus 193–211) from a wooden box; a bone comb; a silver knife; a pair of silver scissors; gaming pieces of glass. Dated to C2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:109, no. 770; Wielowiejski 1985:275f., no. 131)

203. Wymysłowo 176

District of Krobia, Gostyń County, Greater Poland Province. Cremation containing fragments of a bronze pail E27–28; a terra sigillata bowl from Lesoux; fragments of bronze vessel(s); eight ceramic vessels; a bronze buckle; a strap-end of bronze; a bronze spur; a crescent bronze knife; six bronze rivets; a bone comb; bronze fragments. Dated to B2/C1. (E.g. Wielowiejski 1985:260, no. 35)

## SLOVAKIA

204. Bešeňov A

Nové Zámky District, Nitra Region. Cremation containing a bronze cauldron E40; a fragmentary ladle and strainer of bronze E162; a glass bowl E183; A ceramic urn; a ceramic vessel; urn-resin. Dated to B2. (E.g. Kraskovska 1978:5; Kunow 1983:140, no. K155)

205. Czjéke (Cejkov)

Trebišov District, Košice Region. Inhumation containing a glass plate E243; fragments of a glass beaker E251; a bronze strainer E161; bronze bowl; a bronze basin E104; a bronze jug E128; a Roman ceramic jug; ceramic vessels; a bronze-bound wooden pail; five golden pendants; finger ring of silver; a golden bracelet of kolben type; a golden neckring of kolben type; four pail-shaped gold pendants; amber pendants; 69 gold sheets; a golden chain; a small golden rod; eight fragments of silver fibulae; silver wire; bronze ring with snakehead ending; gaming pieces; six glass beads; magnesite bead; a bone comb; copper imitation of a silver denarius (Antoninus Pius 139 AD); a boar tusk. Dated to C2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:147, no. 1944; Krekovic 1992:58)



206. Kostolná Pri Dunaji 10

Galanta District, Trnava Region. Cremation containing a fragment of a bronze cauldron E40; the handle of a bronze saucepan E137–138; fragments of a saucepan of bronze of indeterminate type; a fragmented handled bowl of bronze E155; a fragmented ladle of bronze E159–160; fragments of a bronze jug E123–127; two Roman ceramic beakers; a ceramic urn; bronze fittings from two drinking horns; a bronze buckle and belt-pieces of Roman manufacture; an iron shield boss; a shield grip of iron; shield fittings of iron with bronze rivets; a iron lancehead; a piece of an iron fibula; an iron razor; an iron knife; urn resin; a bear claw; a massive piece of melted bronze; burnt wood. Dated to B1b. (E.g. Kraskovská 1978:8; Kolník 1980:98f.; Kunow 1983:141, no. K181)

207. Kostolná Pri Dunaji 35

Galanta District, Trnava Region. Cremation containing a bronze cauldron E6; fragment of a saucepan of bronze E137–138; fragments of a bronze basin E92; bronze fragments of a pail or a ladle; piece of molten glass (vessel?); two silver fibula; a hair pin of bronze; fragment of a pair of bronze scissors; an iron knife; fragment of an iron razor; a whetstone; a bronze buckle; two strap-ends of bronze; belt fittings and rivets of bronze; five pieces of urn resin; six bear claws; piece of a stone. Dated to B1a. (E.g. Kraskovská 1978:9; Kolník 1980:109–110; Kunow 1983:142, no. K188)

208. Ostrovany (Osztrópataka) 1

Sabinov District, Prešov Region. Inhumation containing a silver cup E169; a golden goblet E178; a silver cup; a silver spoon; a *Kaiserfibula* of gold; three gold fibulae; a golden neckring of kolben type; a golden arm ring of kolben type; a folding table of bronze. Dated to C1b/C2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:148, no. 1966; Krekovic 1992:58)

209. Ostrovany (Osztrópataka) 2

Sabinov District, Prešov Region. Inhumation containing three glass bowls E216; a bronze-bound wooden pail; rim fittings from a wooden beaker; a gold fibula; two silver fibulae; a gold bead; a golden neckring of kolben type; a golden arm ring of kolben type; two finger rings of gold; a silver finger ring with carnelian; a buckle of silver; a pair of bronze scissors; a bone comb; a bronze needle; a gold coin (Herennia Etruscilla 248–251); four saddle fittings of silver; fragments of bronze. Dated to C2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:148, no. 1967; Koch 2001:93–97)

210. Stráže 1

Piešťany (Pistyan) District, Trnava Region. Inhumation with a woman in her twenties. The grave goods consisted of a bronze pail E61; a bronze basin E108; a ladle and strainer of bronze E161; two glass flasks E245; five glass bowls E216; a ceramic vessel; six silver fibulae; three silver spurs; a bronze buckle with fitting; a bronze knife; a pair of bronze scissors; the remains of Chinese silk. Dated to C1b/C2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:148f., no. 1978; Krekovic 1992:58; Peška 2002:27, table 2)

211. Stráže 2

Piešťany (Pistyan) District, Trnava Region. Inhumation of a 20–30-year-old man. The grave goods consisted of a silver basin E84; a bronze basin E84; a ladle and strainer of bronze E161; a silver beaker E169–172; a bronze jug E127; a bronze jug E128; the bottom of a bronze vessel, possibly a pail; a small silver cup; a strainer of silver; a silver plate; two silver bowls; two silver handles from a vessel; two silver spoons; a terra sigillata plate Drag 32; a handled bowl E155; two bronze-bound wooden pails; silver fittings from a possible wooden vessel; nine silver fibulae; a silver knife; a bone comb; a silver awl; a golden fibula; six belt fittings of silver and gold; 17 belt accessories of silver and bronze; four silver spurs; an arrowhead of silver; three arrowheads of bronze; a folding table; gaming piece of glass; the remains of horse trappings; a piece of sheet metal in silver; the remains of a swine. Dated to C1b/C2. (E.g. Eggers 1951:149, no. 1979; Krekovic 1992:58; Peška 2002:27, table 2)

212. Vysoká pri Morave

Malacky District, Bratislava Region. Inhumation containing a bronze pail E25; a bronze basin E70; a bronze jug E127; a saucepan of bronze E142; two saucepans of bronze E146; a handled bowl of bronze E155; a bronze ladle E162; two glass beakers (new forms); fittings from a drinking horn; a bronze buckle. Dated to B1b/B2a. (E.g. Kunow 1983:147f., no. K271; Krekovic 1992:58)

213. Zohor 3

Malacky District, Bratislava Region. Inhumation containing a bronze cauldron E40; a saucepan of bronze E142; a bronze strainer E160; a bronze ladle E162; two glass bowls E181–182; two glass bowls E183. Dated to B1b/B2a. (E.g. Kunow 1983:148, no. K276; Krekovic 1992:58)

214. Zohor 4

Malacky District, Bratislava Region. Inhumation containing a bronze cauldron E39–40; a saucepan of bronze E142; a ladle and strainer of bronze E162; two glass bowls E183; miniature ceramic vessel; a bronze knife; an iron knife; a razor of bronze. Dated to B1b/B2a. (E.g. Kunow 1983:148, no. K277; Krekovic 1992:58)

215. Zohor 5

Malacky District, Bratislava Region. Inhumation containing a bronze pail E24; a bronze pail E26; a bronze basin E100; a bronze jug E127; a handled bowl E155; a ladle and strainer of bronze E162; a bronze jug of Radnóti type 77; two silver beakers; two silver fibulae; an arm ring of gold; a pair of bronze scissors. Dated to B1b/B2a. (E.g. Kunow 1983:148, no. K278; Krekovic 1992:58)

## SWEDEN

216. Lilla Jored

Tanum Municipality, Västra Götaland County. Inhumation containing the bottom of a bronze vessel, probably a cauldron; at least one further bronze vessel of

indeterminate type; a fragmented glass vessel; fitting with animal decoration, possibly from a beaker of type E177; a bronze-bound wooden pail; three ceramic vessels; potsherds; a gaming piece of glass; a gold medallion (imitation of a East-Roman coin from the fourth century); two finger rings of gold; a golden arm ring of snakehead type; a piece of gilded sheet silver with inlaid pieces of glass, possibly from a belt; a belt buckle and several fittings made of gilded silver; silver fittings from a scabbard; a bronze covered wooden grip; a metal button. Dated to C3. (E.g. Sällström 1943:6–10; Lund Hansen 1987:450)

217. Simris 2, 1972

Simrishamn Municipality, Skåne County. Inhumation containing a bronze cauldron of Stjernquist type E39–40; a saucepan of bronze E142; bronze fittings and pieces of leather from two drinking horns; resin caulking and wood from a wooden vessel; a ceramic cup; an iron belt buckle; two iron spurs; a lancehead of iron; a shield boss of iron; an iron sword; fragments of wood; an unidentified iron object. Dated to B2. (E.g. Stjernquist 1977; Lund Hansen 1987:449)

218. Sörby-Störlinge A2

Between Sörby and Störlinge, Borgholm Municipality, Kalmar County, Öland. Inhumation containing fragments of two glass bowls E183; bronze and silver fittings from a drinking horn; sherds of pottery; two spurs of bronze, iron and silver; bronze fittings from a sword; bronze fittings from a shield; belt fittings of bronze; a bronze awl; various metal sheet and fittings of bronze and silver. Dated to the Early Roman Iron Age. (E.g. Hagberg 1967:92; Beskow Sjöberg 1987:304, 319, 342–344)

219. Tuna X

Västerås Municipality, Västmanland County. Inhumation, presumably for a woman. It contained two bronze pails E58; a bronze basin E81–82; fragments of a bronze vessel (unknown type); fragment of a glass beaker E189; fragments of a glass vessel (unknown type); two silver spoons; fragments of a bronze-bound wooden pail; two dress pins of gold; a finger ring of gold; a golden finger ring of snakehead type; a golden neckring of snakehead type; two golden arm rings of snakehead type; four glass beads; a silver ring; two gilded silver fittings; an iron bar; fragments of silver. Dated to C2. (E.g. Lund Hansen 1987:451; Nylén & Schönback 1994a:18–36; 1994b:157–167)

220. Västra Alstad

Trelleborg Municipality, Skåne County. Possible inhumation containing a glass cup E204; a bronze-bound wooden pail; a ceramic vessel; a spiral finger ring of gold. Dated to C1/C2. (E.g. Lund Hansen 1987:450; Branca 2001:53)

221. Öremölla

Skurup Municipality, Skåne County. Cremation containing a bronze cauldron E46; a ladle and strainer of bronze E160; two glass beakers E187; fragments of a ceramic bowl; parts of an iron chain mail; a spur; iron weapons of uncertain type; textile fragments. Dated to B2. (E.g. Lund Hansen 1987:449; Björk 2005:237, no. 165)

# APPENDIX 3

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

Eggers 1955 Scandinavia & Europe	Godłowski 1970 Europe	Wielowiejski 1970 Central Europe	Lund Hansen 1987 Scandinavia
375		375	400
C3	C3	C3	C3
300	310/320	310	310/320
C2	C2	C2	C2
	250/260		250/260
	C1b	230	C1b
200	210/220		210/220
C1	B2/C1 C1a	C1	B2/C1a C1a
150	150/160	180	150/160
		B2b	
B2		120	B2
50		B2a	100
		70	70
		B1b	B1b
		40	40
B1		B1a	B1a
		10	0



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