



From Hospitium to Hybridisation

The acquisition, adoption, and transformation of Roman zoomorphic forms in Barbaricum

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ARKM21 Master's Thesis in Archaeology, 30 credits

Spring semester 2022, June 2022

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Abstract

This text is an attempt to re-evaluate the significance of Roman imports in Scandinavian contexts as well as to answer overarching questions concerning frontier zones, and the building of core-periphery relationships. This is achieved by applying the Roman concepts of hospitium and dona militaria as well as theoretical frameworks such as provincial ritual practices and cultural hybridisation to a predefined group of material culture. The study traces the lives of these objects, from initial acquisition, through to the adoption of pre-existing traditions, finally culminating in the creation of new material identities via local representations. The frameworks themselves merge into a method of application dubbed “The Three-Part Method”, with each part acting as a theoretical approach to the three main topics of discussion; acquisition, adoption, and lastly, transformation. The empirical material itself comprises Roman zoomorphic imports as well as locally-produced material that exhibits zoomorphic elements. After introducing the various material categories, the study proceeds to analyse the distribution patterns of the Roman and local material prior to the introduction of three analytical case studies, at which the materials are studied based on their origins and find contexts. The study reveals a number of interesting findings with regard to the three central themes of the study (acquisition, adoption, and transformation). Firstly, it is uncovered that Roman imports may not have been brought to the region via a trade network, but instead via the utilisation of Hospitium or possibly as “spoils of war”; and the adoption of provincial Roman practices is generally more commonplace than the use of “pure” and unmixed Roman ritual practices in Scandinavia. Lastly, it emerges that locally-produced material does indeed often share similarities with the Roman zoomorphic material, with the replication of several examples of Roman symbolism, however, the lasting influence of pre-existing traditions may also have served as key inspiration for much of the material that followed the fall of the Empire.

Keywords: *Zoomorphism, Romans, Roman imports, Romanisation, hybridisation, Barbaricum, hospitium, dona militaria, spoils of war, gift-giving, Roman provinces, Roman Iron Age, Iron Age societies.*

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Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to thank Fredrik Ekengren for his invaluable advice and guidance throughout the entirety of this project.

I would also like to thank Lund University as a whole for the past few years of excellent tutoring and the fond memories I have gained from my time there.

I am tremendously grateful to Thomas Eriksson of SHM, Mogens Bo Henriksen of Odense Bys Museer, Olle Andersson of LUHM, and Hanna Wilhelmsson of Kalmar Läns Museum for their knowledge as well as their digital contributions.

Last but not least, I would like to thank my family and friends for their continued support and encouragement throughout the duration of this undertaking.

Preface

In the Autumn of 2021, I published my Bachelor's thesis, *Vestiges of Roman Cult Religion and Household Deities in the Northern Barbaricum* (Parker 2021). In short, the study sought to understand the significance of Roman *anthropomorphic* imports present in Scandinavia, and the impact these coveted objects may have had on the material culture of local Iron Age societies. Though the study was certainly an interesting endeavour, I was not aware that this particular field of study would proceed to be the principal focus of my professional interests throughout the following years.

Despite the fact the study succeeded in many ways, I felt then (as I do now) that a tantalising gap in the field of Roman archaeology in *Barbaricum* still exists, and that indeed a great many more looming questions lack sufficient answers; particularly in relation to topics such as networking patterns and the impact of Roman ritual practices and symbolism on local societies. This contemporary work is an attempt to address some of these areas, and to offer fresh perspectives in this somewhat under-researched field, however, this time the focus has instead been shifted toward *zoomorphism*, and the gradual process of *acquisition*, *adoption*, and *transformation* that so often permeate social and cultural interactions between Romans and Iron Age societies.

D. S. Parker

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1. Introduction

1.1 Aim and research questions

In archaeological terms, *zoomorphism* is a concept that deals with the pictorial representation of animals in human material culture. It is an idea that is far from unique to any particular culture, though certain zoomorphic qualities may be said to characterise the material culture of a given group of people (Nanay 2021). This statement holds true whether the subject matter concerns Iron Age societies (e.g. Andersson 2021; Green 1992), or prehistoric communities of the Stone and Bronze Ages (e.g. Price 2015), though prior to the Roman expansion and conquest of northern Europe, the zoomorphic motifs and representations of animals differed somewhat from that which appeared both during and after the intervention of Roman cultural influence (e.g. Andersson 2021; Lund Hansen 1987). This study is an attempt to explore some of these concepts, while simultaneously providing new insight into the nature of contact between the Roman Empire and Scandinavia during the Roman Iron Age (1-400 CE). This is achieved via the medium of zoomorphic imports as well as locally-produced objects that possess zoomorphic characteristics, which are combined to serve as the core empirical material for this text.

The study aims to address *three* fundamental research areas within the topic of Roman imports in Scandinavia, as well as answer general questions related to the study of frontier zones and borderlands; be them historic or contemporary (e.g. Mata 2017; Naum 2010). These areas have been categorised into three themes or “stages”, which form the basis of this study’s operational sequence. These three research questions will later also be posed as case studies, in which various material categories shall be analysed based on the context surrounding their discovery. These *stages* can effectively be posed as the following research questions:

- How were these Roman zoomorphic imports acquired/consumed by Scandinavian Iron Age societies? Was this acquisition achieved via a regular “trade network” or were the interactions more sporadic in nature?
- Are Roman imports encountered in Scandinavian contexts similar to continental examples and/or the Roman provinces? Are provincial Roman practices relating to these objects retained and adopted by the local Iron Age societies?

- What are the types of objects that exhibit parallels with the Roman material, and/or pre-Roman symbolism? Which types of material were generally favoured by local societies in their own “representations”?

The general notion is that these central research questions shall successfully produce new insight into the significance of Roman interactions with Iron Age societies, by accurately documenting groups of zoomorphic material that share common characteristics, and by following the lives of these imports beyond the frontier, from *acquisition* through to *transformation*.

1.2 Research history

This study is not the first attempt to explain the presence and significance of Roman imports in *Barbaricum*, and is unlikely to be the last, though it *is* an attempt to reveal a new perspective on the topic. Furthermore, it does not appear as if a formal attempt has been made to group these specific zoomorphic materials together in the same study, as previous catalogues of this nature have focused primarily on material such as vessels and glassware, as well as other miscellaneous objects (e.g. Eggers 1951; Lund Hansen 1987). Hans J. Eggers (1951) was perhaps the first author to produce a catalogue of all known Roman imports found in Scandinavia, which was later revised and reimagined by Ulla Lund Hansen (1987), as part of her dissertation. These works provide a glimpse into the wealth of Roman imports present in the region, alongside maps that demonstrate the regional distribution of various material categories. These catalogues are a strong starting point for future studies within the field of Roman imports in Scandinavia, and are crucial tools when studying the material available to archaeologists.

In general, the topic of *zoomorphism* has been covered to varying degrees prior to this attempt. Studies conducted by the likes of Alexandra Pesch (2015) and Joachim Werner (1966) have shed new light on the significance of zoomorphic material beyond the frontier; both with regard to Roman imports as well as local examples. Pesch (2015) also alludes to a possible connection between Roman Iron Age zoomorphism and the latter-period animal ornamentation from the Migration Period. Furthermore, Kent Andersson (2021) has recently published a book, titled *Järnålderns djur*, which perhaps should be placed into the category of “popular science”, rather than “true science”. This said, the publication is of a similar flavour to this text, and is nonetheless a welcome addition to the field, with some interesting examples and comparisons.

Aside from the cataloguing of objects, a number of attempts have also been made to explain the meaning of these imports in Scandinavian contexts. Thomas Grane (2005, 2007, 2013, 2017) is one such author who has devoted much of their time to this particular area of research, with several works that tackle the movement of these materials from Roman spheres to Iron Age societies. His principal focus rests primarily on the exchange of commodities via military means, as opposed to the existence of a wider trade network, and it is this hypothesis that too provides a starting point for this study. In addition, several foregoing authors have attempted to apply various models to these exchanges and the transmission of new material culture beyond the frontier. Kent Andersson (1981), Gad Rausing (1987), and Valerie A. Maxfield (1981) have utilised the phenomenon of *dona militaria* in order to explain the existence of at least some groups of Roman imports in Scandinavia, whereas others argue that many of these objects are more likely “spoils of war”; distributed between Roman *auxiliaries* after victorious campaigns (e.g. Carnap-Bornheim 2015; Jørgensen, Storgaard & Thomsen 2003). Fredrik Ekengren (2009) has also produced a study titled, *Ritualization - Fragmentation - Hybridization: the mutability of Roman vessels in Germania Magna AD 1-400*, in which he devised a three-part case study in order to explain the connection between three groups of Roman material and the usage of them by local societies in Germanic contexts.

With regard to the topic of *Romanisation*, a couple of other authors should be mentioned here. *Becoming Roman* by Greg Woolf (1998) is perhaps one of the more prominent works regarding the concept of Romanisation in northern Europe. Woolf (1998) argues that Romanisation is a form of “acculturation” and should generally be avoided whenever possible. Instead he proposes the use of *hybridisation* and explains the important difference between the two perspectives. Although studies into the concept of Romanisation have provided much of the information we have on the topic (at least from a continental perspective), the theory often falls short when applied to the wider provincial Roman world; particularly beyond the frontier. Peter Wells (1999) has also tackled the concept of Romanisation in his work, *The Barbarians Speak*, which seeks to provide local societies living in the shadow of the Roman Empire a stronger “voice”, while also challenging the traditional concept of “acculturation”. Furthermore, though many of these ideas are borrowed from studies on Romans and Germanic societies in the provinces of Roman Gaul (e.g. Carnap-Bornheim 2015; Woolf 1998) as well as those living on

or near to the Roman border itself (Kemkes 2004; 2015), their ideas can also be applied to interactions beyond the frontier and in the hinterlands.

Lastly, the topic of Romans and Iron Age societies appears to have suffered from a general trend in which researchers oftentimes focus on acculturation/hybridisation from a “top-down” perspective, rather than a two-way interactive relationship; also known as “cultural entanglement” (e.g. Thomas 1991). This means that the perspective of the “barbarian” is often overlooked, amongst the overwhelming dominance of Roman culture in the eyes of the modern world (Mata 2017, pp. 20-24). Though the works of anthropological authors such as Nicholas Thomas (1991), or their modern counterparts such as Thomas Eriksen (2003), have focused on *entanglement* when applied to postcolonial theory in the traditional sense, the existence of thorough studies on similar prehistoric examples appears to be somewhat deficient.

1.3 Theoretical framework

Much of the theory utilised by this archaeological study is borrowed from other fields within humanities, such as anthropology (e.g. Eriksen 2003; Thomas 1991). As the research questions deal with the concept of interaction between two cultures, this study draws greatly upon the concept of “frontiers” and their many social and cultural repercussions (Hingley 2017). The concept of *frontier zones* is a vast area of discussion, and has given rise to specific terms such as “The Middle Ground” (Mata 2021), or “The Third Space” (Naum 2010); both of which serve as fitting titles for these “in-between spaces”, where mutual understanding and negotiation are permitted more space to formulate “core-periphery relationships”. The topic of discussion also tackles traditional debates on “dominant” and “subordinate” cultures, which draws upon contemporary studies on areas such as *creolisation* and entanglement; particularly within the realms of postcolonial theory and the meeting between caucasians and “natives” (e.g. Thomas 1991). Several other theoretical perspectives are interwoven with the study of frontiers, and as this study explores the interaction between societies existing on either side of a prehistoric “border”, many of these concepts are utilised in this study; serving as central themes, or stages, for each of the study’s three case studies.

Philipp W. Stockhammer’s (2012) research is of a flavour perhaps most similar to my own interpretations, as he breaks down the processes by which *cultural entanglement* occurs. In his “process of appropriation”, the factors that form part of this phenomenon are described in

detail. The first, “appropriation”; explains how material is transferred from one culture to another and, thus, subsequently becomes material “possessions”. “Objectivisation” refers to the manner in which these objects take on a new meaning, and are subsequently placed into a pre-existing category of objects. “Incorporation” explains the way in which material is utilised in either the traditionally correct, or incorrect manner by the receiving party. Lastly, “transformation” refers to the application of new meanings to objects depending on the local traditions of the receiving party (Stockhammer 2010, p. 48ff).

My own study utilises a similar concept, which I have dubbed the “The Three-Part Method”; an analytical framework devised in order to study the manner by which new material influences the ritual practices and traditions of prehistoric communities (e.g. Stockhammer 2012). Aside from Stockhammer (2012), Ekengren (2009) also provided a huge source of inspiration for the “three-part” nature of this study as well as some of the central themes; as though the perspectives differ slightly, the common goal appears to be the shared goal of debunking preconceived notions of interactions between Romans and Iron Age societies. Hunter (2013) also describes a similar “*chaîne opératoire*”, though his study begins with “selection”, and follows with “use”, and finally “deposition”. I have chosen, however, to place “deposition” under the wider umbrella term of “adoption”, and add the final stage of “transformation” in order to explain the phenomenon of hybridisation when applied to “adopted objects”. Furthermore, it should also be noted that “The Three-Part Method”, is, as a concept, still in its infancy, and is an idea largely conceived by myself, thus it is far from a tried-and-tested theory at this juncture.

The framework is designed to be broken down into *three* separate “stages”: the first stage, “acquisition”, explores the manner by which material is transferred from one party to another, with studies made by Grane (2005, 2007, 2013, 2017), Hunter (2013), and Thomas (1991) providing a basis for this standpoint. Explained in brief by Hunter, (2013, p. 15ff), “acquisition” addresses the manner by which Roman imports exchanged hands, however, Hunter (2013) also describes the concept of “selection” as part of his discussion on “acquisition. This study, however, tackles “selection” and “use” under the wider umbrella term of “adoption”, as presented in the following paragraph.

With regard to the second stage, “adoption”, the concept explores the process by which the materiality of material is selected, copied, and “reimagined” to fit the needs of the receiving party (Hunter 2013, p. 17). This idea is inspired by ritual and materiality theories associated with

burial practices within Scandinavian contexts (e.g. Ekengren 2009; Grane 2007). The study explores which elements of provincial Roman practices, if any, were adopted and incorporated into local traditions, as well as regional variations with regard to preference and forms of adoption. As this study analyses a number of prehistoric materials often used in conjunction with votive offerings and other acts of ritual behaviour, it is important to explore the impact these objects may have had on the receiving party, particularly with regard to religious and cult practices. Furthermore, during this second stage of “adoption”, the *materiality* of the Roman objects have an effect on the user (Gosden 2005, p. 208f; Wells 2013, p. 45ff), leading to new expressions of identity, and ultimately “transformation”, which in turn poses as the final stage of this study.

The third stage, “transformation”, unlike Stockhammer’s (2010) broader usage of the phenomenon, explains the process by which certain examples of material culture are subsequently “transformed” into new “material representations” by the receiving party. As this study attempts to diverge from traditional postcolonial theories surrounding “Romanisation” (e.g. Ackermann 2012; Stockhammer 2012), the focus is instead placed on the more modern perspectives of *cultural hybridisation* and *entanglement*, which are concepts central to the overarching theme of this study. The teachings provided by these ideas allow for a more mutual understanding of the parties involved, and offer a more dualistic outlook on the topic of discussion. In my own words, the concept of transformation is the idea that after a prolonged period of exposure to foreign material that has been “acquired”, and subsequently “adopted”, the next stage is often a new manifestation of material culture, also known as cultural “newness”, as explained by Eriksen (2003).

It has been suggested that many examples of Migration Period art have their roots in earlier Roman and pre-Roman material, and that the examples left behind by intervening parties has had an impact on the material culture of local Iron Age societies (Theune 2015). This phenomenon is known as *cultural hybridisation*, which is discussed in broader terms by authors such as Ackermann (2012), Maran (2012), and Stockhammer (2012), as well as Derks (1995; 1998) within the context of aspects such as provincial Roman religion and ritual practices, such as examples where the hybrid religious and cultistic traditions of provincial Romans led to the conception of hybrid deities (Derks 1998), after which Roman votive rituals were eventually incorporated into a wider local society (Derks 1995). Ackerman (2012) focuses on the historical

usage of “hybridity”, and the many forms it takes, whereas Maran (2012) explains the significance of “interculturality” and the appropriation of new material into pre-existing cultural patterns. To summarise, *hybridisation* relates to the coming together of two (or more) cultures, resulting in the creation of new ideas, concepts, and traditions. This, in turn, also “transforms” the material culture, with the conception of a myriad of new forms, such as the famous example of Migration-Period bracteates in Scandinavia, and their likeness to Roman medallions (e.g. Wicker 2013; 2016).

1.4 Material and methods

The material presented in this study consists primarily of a mixture of Roman imports and locally-produced examples from the RIA within southern Scandinavian contexts. Additionally, provincial Roman material that exhibits “zoomorphic” characteristics, be them naturalistic or stylistic, compliments the Scandinavian material with the contribution of continental parallels from both Roman and “Celtic” spheres of influence, such as the *La Tène* and *Halstatt* cultures of Pre-Roman Europe (e.g. Nerman 1943; Thrane 1989). This looseness permits a balanced study, in which similarities and differences may be observed within various regional-specific cases. The zoomorphic aspects of the empirical material are both significant, while simultaneously insignificant, depending on the context; however, as an attempt to delimit the study to some extent, only materials that exhibit aspects of zoomorphism are included in the study; regardless of the fact that other groups of Roman imports may oftentimes be applicable. The three core material categories utilised by this study are *stray finds*, *grave finds*, and *local zoomorphic representations*; i.e. material that has taken on a new form of zoomorphic duality within a specific region. The aforementioned material groups are posed as individual case studies that are designed to answer key research questions related to the overarching study of frontier zones, though this text is converged on the hinterlands and beyond the northernmost continental Roman frontier. Thus, it is the relationships existing between the provincial Romans occupying the lands within this border and the Iron Age societies that lie beyond the frontier in an area coined by the Romans as “*Barbaricum*”, that are the chief focus of this study.

This text may effectively be broken down into three key parts; two analytic sections in which regional distribution patterns are studied and contemporary interpretations are produced based on the material at hand, and a third, descriptive section in the form of an *appendix*, which

serves as a “catalogue” of zoomorphic material culture from the Roman Iron Age (RIA) (1-400 CE). The decision to purely include examples from this period was established chiefly due to the extant debate surrounding the origins of Nordic animal ornamentation; a phenomenon that began in and around the early part of the Migration Period (400-550 CE), and continued on through to the tail end of the Viking Age (1050 CE) (e.g. Andersson 2021; Price 2015). This said, material from the Migration Period demonstrating parallels with the Roman material may be utilised for comparative purposes, as future studies on this topic could be centred around later periods if so desired.

Methodologically, the study has been divided into two core elements: the first is a form of *quantitative* analysis, in which various material groups are observed based on their regional distribution as well as their symbolic, functional, and material commonalities, before subsequently being grouped into the three central categories that form the overarching theme of the subsequent *qualitative* analysis. This method allows various sets of data to be analysed and scrutinised for the purpose of identifying patterns in the empirical research material.

The second section is a more *qualitative* approach, at which various materials are cross-referenced alongside other similar materials in order to identify correlations between the material categories with regard to aspects such as style and function, thus providing a sound foundation for addressing the three individual case studies. The general idea is that these two methods should compliment one another, by providing a balanced set of results based on a variety of different circumstances and contexts. These three case studies yield the opportunity to apply the theoretical perspectives presented in *Section 1.3* under various contextual conditions.

As stated previously, the theoretical frameworks associated with the study of frontier zones and their hinterlands are numerous, which demonstrates a requirement to tackle the empirical material in a manner that reflects this multifaceted theoretical playing field. Each case study is, thus, equipped to target a different element of “The Three-Part Method”, depending on the set of circumstances in question. Furthermore, as the topic of “transformation” is itself highly subjective, the *catalogue* solely lists locally-produced material that exhibits striking parallels with the Roman material; therefore zoomorphic material culture that cannot be intrinsically connected to any form of foreign intervention are not listed in the *catalogue*. This said, a handful of these more challenging aspects of material culture may be included in the analysis, in which various stylistically similar examples may be drawn upon for comparative purposes.

1.5 Source criticism

A general pretence has been suggested by a number of foregoing authors (e.g. Cavka 2017; Eggers) that Roman imports in Scandinavian contexts must be the product of a profitable “trade network” (Meyer 2015, p. 2). Despite this popular opinion, very little evidence exists that rules in favour of a vast trade network of any description. Instead, there is more evidence that the majority of imports may be better explained in terms of more sporadic encounters between Romans and “Celts”, at which the commodity in question was more likely “service” than physical currency (Grane 2007). The principal reason for this hypothesis is that the quantity of Roman imports found in Scandinavia does not reflect the amount one would associate with an established trade network. Furthermore, if a trade network did indeed exist, the types of import found in Denmark and Sweden would likely reflect the flavour of those that derive from mass-production centres on the continent, however, when reviewing the array of Roman imports found in Scandinavia, this does not appear to be the case (Lund Hansen 1987).

Additionally, as mentioned earlier in brief, studies have all too often been conducted via relatively confined postcolonial theories associated with *Romanisation* and the traditional idea of a more dominant culture versus a more subordinate one; a tendency that has thoroughly tainted the field of Roman archaeology throughout the last century (e.g. Derks 1998; Woolf 1998). This essentially means that regional and cultural variations on this preconceived notion are largely ignored at a micro level, and studies that somewhat apply to instances far beyond the frontier, are not wholly adapted in order to fit the “region-specific” cases where these interactions are observable (Ekengren 2009). With this in consideration, it is perhaps wiser to handle these encounters between two cultures in a more “case-specific” manner, rather than to simply treat all cases as a single example of “Roman meets outsider”.

2. Zoomorphic forms in Southern Scandinavia

This second section of the text serves two purposes; firstly, by providing an overview of the core materials analysed by the study; and second, as a form of *quantitative* analysis with the aim of understanding and documenting the variations in Scandinavian zoomorphic material as well as the distribution patterns associated with their find contexts. The ultimate aim is that the findings

gained from this analysis will later assist more qualitative observations of the empirical material before any further conclusions may be drawn.

2.1 Overview of the empirical material

The empirical material featured in this study comprises a vast array of both Roman imports, as well as local examples that exhibit zoomorphic characteristics. With the help of numerous literary sources as well as various museum collections, I have attempted to gather together all known examples of these zoomorphic forms from the Roman Iron Age (1-400 CE) that exist within the southern Scandinavian archaeological record. The wealth of Roman imports include a large number of brooches, fittings, figurines, as well as vessels, such as *Terra Sigillata*, *circus beakers*, and other examples of ceramic and glassware. Prior to the commencement of any formal analysis, it is evident that the locally-produced material is a slightly less extensive list; at least in terms of variety, with the inclusion of figurines, brooches, fittings, as well as ceramic vessels. This said, the sheer quantity of locally-produced examples vastly outnumbers the Roman material. It is also important to note that a great many more examples would likely have been in circulation throughout the Scandinavian region during the RIA, thus, what remains today is merely a tiny piece of the jigsaw puzzle (Wells 2013, p. 9).

Regarding the zoomorphic subjects themselves, the types of animals commonly depicted among *Roman imports* include a variety of different species, though the most common of these are deer, birds, rabbits/hares, horses, bulls, dogs, bears, wolves, boars, and a handful of feline species. In addition, mythical creatures such as gryphons are also encountered, though exclusively in Roman contexts. Comparatively, local representations of zoomorphism are slightly more limited, with depictions of bovines (bulls & cows), horses, deer, and birds among the examples. Prior to any further categorisation of the empirical material, it may be beneficial to first establish the regional patterns and preference of zoomorphic forms as well as their general use. By analysing the material in this manner, it may be possible to generate a series of material categories, based on shared aspects such as style, function, and context. The data below shows

the distribution of these animal types across the various Scandinavian regions featured in this study (Fig. 1).¹

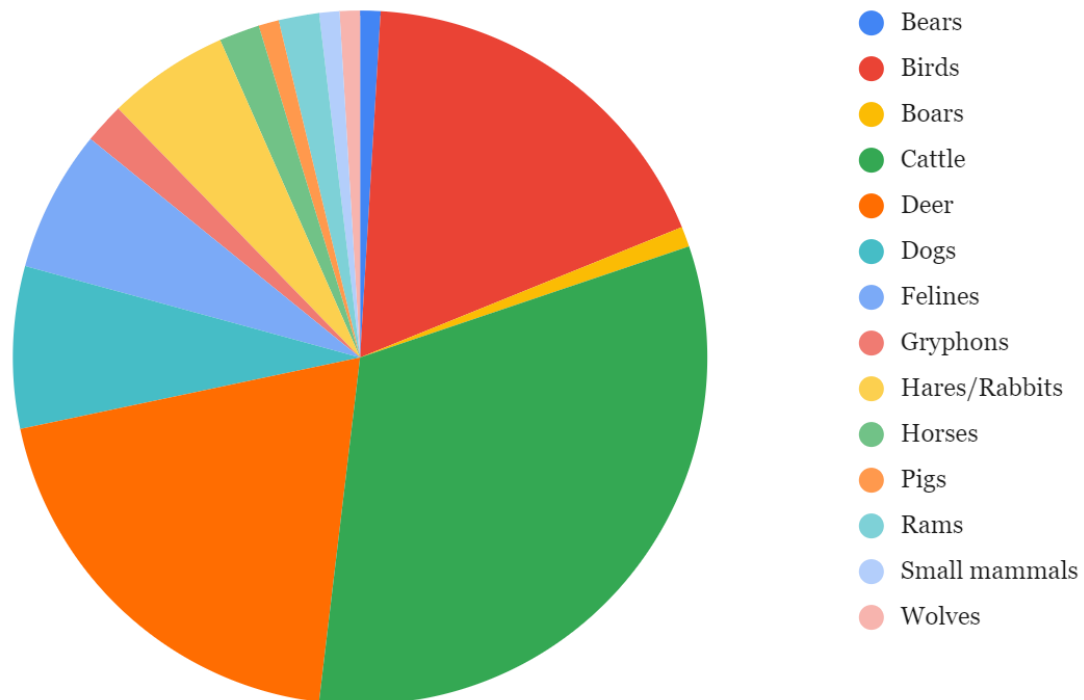


Figure 1. Division of the various animal species that together comprise the empirical research material.

2.2 Material categories

The following material categories form a quantitative representation of the various defining characteristics shared amongst the material set that are worthy of deeper quantitative observation. There are, of course, a multitude of ways in which the objects could be grouped, though the categories mentioned in this section have been selected primarily due to the tendency at which they occur, though also because of the impact that many of the examples have had on the Iron Age societies with which they became “entangled”. After analysing the material based on their shared motifs, functions, and material composition, the attention shall be turned toward the “three central categories”, which are thereafter posed as individual case studies based on the

¹ As with any sound analysis of ancient material, my own assessment of these zoomorphic forms is primarily based on interpretation, therefore, examples where the genuine species of the animal cannot be ascertained with any degree of certainty are not included in the representative data.

circumstances surrounding their discovery and their shared origins. The following section outlines these material categories, together with colourful maps, showing the quantity and interregional distribution patterns of each group of materials.

2.2.1 Motifs

2.2.1.1 Backward-facing animals

This first category comprises material that exhibits zoomorphic forms with “backward-facing poses”. The group includes objects that have been identified as *Roman imports* as well as *local zoomorphic representations*, though the distribution of the two shall be analysed separately before being merged together. The group predominantly encompasses deer-like animals with turned heads (Fig. 2) (Werner 1966, p. 16), though other animal depictions are also featured.² Much like *hunting motifs*, as described later, this group deserves to be placed into a separate category; in large part due to the fact that the motif in question is one that appears to have been adopted by local Iron Age societies to a relatively large extent. This is evident from the number of examples that bear this coveted symbolism, both in the form of vessel ornamentation (*e.g. cat. 17 & 50*) (Engelhardt 1873, 285 ff) as well as on everyday items such as belt buckles (*cat. 67 & 68*) (Pesch 2015, p. 378). It has been suggested that backward-facing animals present on Roman imports may have inspired a series of backward-facing motifs present on Nordic animal ornamentation, both from the RIA as well as into the subsequent Migration Period (Pesch 2015). In the subsequent section of the text (*Section 3*), this theory, among others, shall be tested in more detail.

Figure 2. A silver belt buckle from the Swedish island of Öland that depicts a backward-facing animal (*cat. 67*). Photo: Olsson, SHM 1996 (CC BY 2.5).



² The motif of the *backward-facing animal* is present on the following objects in the *Catalogue*: 13, 17, 19, 46, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 66.

Map legend



Stray finds



Grave finds



Local zoomorphic representations

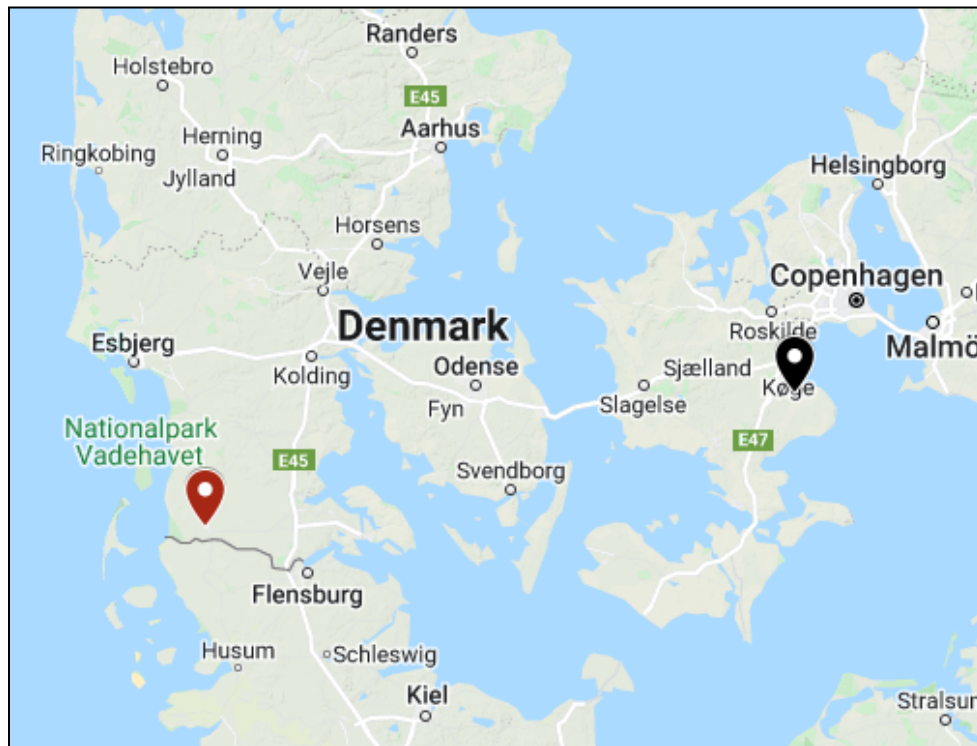


Figure 3. The interregional distribution of *Roman imports* in the category of *backward-facing animals*.



Figure 4. The interregional distribution of *backward-facing animals* on *Roman imports*, with the addition of *local zoomorphic representations*.

2.2.1.2 *Hunting motifs*

This category comprises Roman vessels decorated with friezes depicting “hunting motifs”, such as the varieties present on Roman *Terra Sigillata* pottery (e.g. *cat. 5 & 18*) (e.g. Albrechtsen 1968, p. 95ff; Engelhardt 1873, 285ff) (Fig. 5) as well as other scenes depicting interaction between humans and animals, such as the abstract scenes featured on local *silver beakers* (E 177) (*cat. 49-51*) (Fig. 6) (e.g. Lund Hansen 1987; Werner 1966). In addition, the group also includes motifs showing “running animals”, both depicted on vessel friezes as well as in object form. It is my belief that these examples should also be included in this category; primarily due to the fact that this symbolism appears to be largely connected to the overarching theme of hunting. It is also worth noting that the term “running animals” suggests that these motifs commonly depict animals in movement, with their bodies shown forward-facing, while animals with backward-facing poses are not included in this category, as they appear to represent a entirely different symbolic expression that would perhaps be better studied as part of a separate analysis. The group itself mostly comprises *Roman imports*, though a couple of *local zoomorphic*

representations also exist; the likes of which will be studied separately before being compared alongside the Roman finds. The list of animals depicted in these hunting scenes include wild animals such as deer and rabbits/hares, to felines and bulls shown in the midst of gladiatorial combat (e.g. Björklund & Hejl *et al* 1999, p. 389f).³



Figures 5 & 6: (Left) A Terra Sigillata vessel (Dragendorff 54) showing a hunting scene with various larger zoomorphic figures chasing smaller animals (cat. 5). Photo: Odense Bys Museer 2022 (CC-BY-SA); (Right) Hunting motif present on a silver beaker from Himlingøje (cat. 49). Figure: Werner 1966, Catalogue.

³ *Hunting motifs* are present on the following objects in the *Catalogue*: 3, 4, 5, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 24, 26, 27, 47, 48, 49, 59.

Map legend




-  Stray finds
-  Grave finds
-  Local zoomorphic representations



Figure 7. The interregional distribution of Roman imports in the category of hunting motifs.

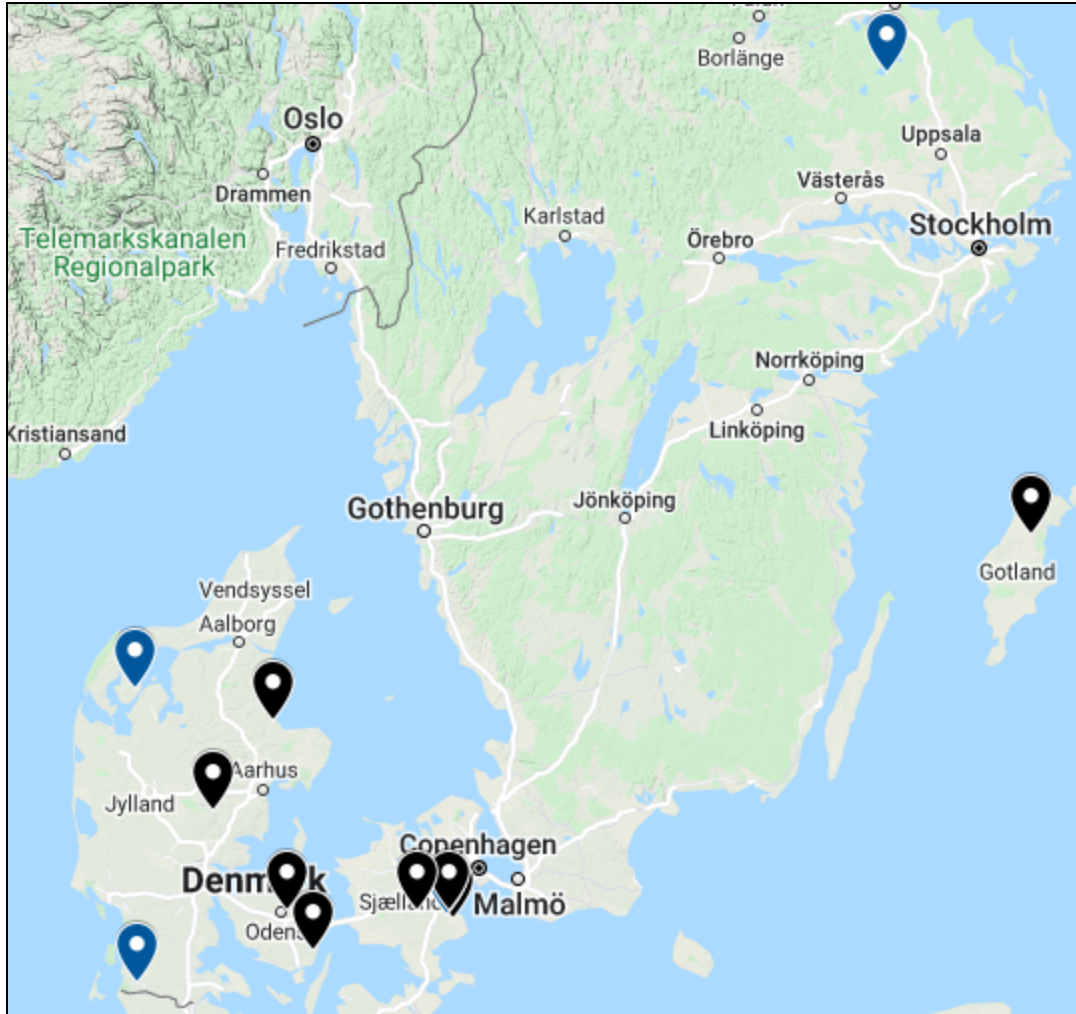


Figure 8. The interregional distribution of *hunting motifs* on *Roman imports*, with the addition of *local zoomorphic transformations*.

2.2.1.3 Static birds

This category comprises vessels that feature friezes depicting birds with “static poses” as well as brooches, fittings and figurines depicting similar subjects. Both *Roman imports* and *local zoomorphic representations* are included in the group, though the distribution of the two shall be analysed separately before being merged together. The examples range from motifs on Roman *Terra Sigillata* vessels to Roman plate brooches in the shape of birds. The locally-produced material also includes clay vessels with stylised bird figures shown in profile (*cat. 41-43*) (Fig. 9), as well as bronze fittings/figurines (*e.g. cat. 1, 11, 12, 46, 58, 63*).

The term “static poses” is of preference, partly due to a consistent lack of movement among these depictions, though also because these forms often only show birds in profile, therefore it is difficult to ascertain whether the artist/s intended to express any form of movement. Furthermore, none of the examples in this category feature “flying” birds, which also adds to the “static” nature of these examples. The group includes objects that have been identified as *Roman imports* as well as *local zoomorphic representations*, though the distribution of the two shall be analysed separately before being merged together.⁴



Figure 9. A locally-produced ceramic vessel from Møllegårdsmarken showing static birds in profile (*cat. 43*). Photo: Odense Bys Museer 2022 (CC-BY-SA).

Map legend



Stray finds



Grave finds



Local zoomorphic representations

⁴ *Static-bird* motifs are present on the following objects in the *Catalogue*: 1, 3, 7, 11, 12, 18, 25, 41, 42, 43, 46, 55, 56, 58, 62.



Figure 10. The interregional distribution of *Roman imports* in the category of *static birds*.

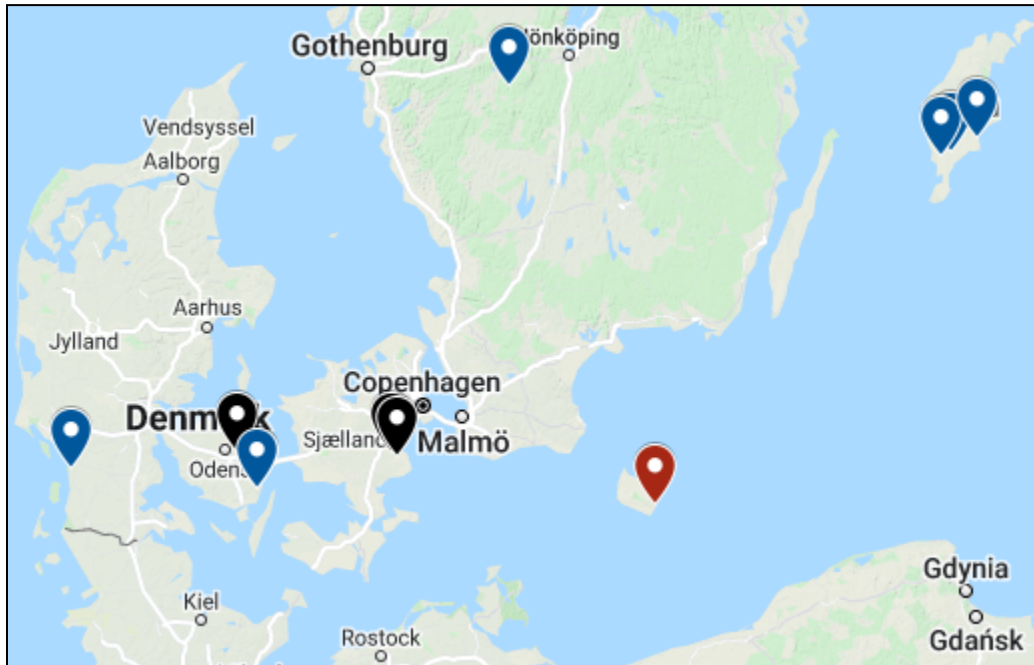


Figure 11. The interregional distribution of *static-bird motifs* on *Roman imports*, with the addition of *local zoomorphic representations*.

2.2.2 Functions

2.2.2.1 Brooches

This category comprises all *brooches* presented in the study; both *Roman imports* and *local zoomorphic representations*, though the distribution of the two shall be analysed separately before being merged together. The common characteristic associated with this object group is their shared functional use as “brooches”; as opposed to objects intended for purely decorative purposes. The types of brooch contained in this category include Roman enamelled and non-enamelled plate brooches (*cat. 1 & 27*), commonly associated with the late Roman Empire (between the 2nd and 4th centuries) (e.g. Bayley & Butcher 2004; Brown 1981; Seehusen & Lund Hansen 2015), and local variations of crossbow brooch, such as the deer brooches from Dankirke, Denmark (*cat. 46*) (Thorvildsen 1972, p. 47ff) and Skillinge, Sweden (*cat. 60*) (Stjernqvist 1995, p. 132f).⁵ Often, Roman brooches were produced in whimsical zoomorphic forms, such as cockerels, hares/rabbits (Fig. 12), horses, dogs, and even dragons (Brown 1981).

The core production zones for these brooches seems to have been centred from two primary locations; one from Roman Britain (Bayley & Butcher 2004, p. 35ff), and the other from the Rhineland in Gaul (Wells 1999, p. 157f), though some may also have been imported from Gaul to Britain (The British Museum 1964, pp. 14-23). It is widely believed that metalworking factories once existed along the Rhine and Moselle rivers, though to which extent these copper brooches were produced is not known, though the region surrounding the large Roman town of Trier is a likely source (Wightman 1970, p. 196f).

Figure 12. Two bronze enamelled plate brooches in the shape of hares; discovered in an inhumation burial on the island of Gotland, Sweden (*cat. 27*). Photo: Kusmin, SHM 2006 (CC BY 2.5).



⁵ Objects in the category of *brooches* are represented by the following items in the *Catalogue*: 1, 8, 16, 22, 27, 46, 56, 60.

Map legend




-  Stray finds
-  Grave finds
-  Local zoomorphic representations



Figure 13. The interregional distribution of *Roman imports* in the category of *brooches*.



Figure 14. The interregional distribution of Roman *brooches*, with the addition of *local zoomorphic representations*.

2.2.2.2 *Figurines*

This category comprises all *figurines* presented in the study; both “Roman” or otherwise, though the distribution of the two shall be analysed separately before being merged together. The shared property associated with this object group is the use of a sculptured “three-dimensional figurine” as well as the (at least upon first glance) lack of obvious non-votive function. This said, several examples included in this category may also be placed into the *fittings* category, due to their dual identities as both figurines and fittings. This is particularly apparent in the case of three figurines from Vejrupgård that were once attached to a bronze vessel (*cat. 10-12*) (Björklund & Hejl *et al* 1995, p. 205). This said, locally-produced material in close proximity to these fittings was likely influenced by these figurines/fittings based more on their figurative aspects, rather than their functional intention (Thrane 1989, p. 373ff). The most common types of figurine are those which depict bulls (*e.g. cat. 31 & 36*) (Fig. 15) (Thrane 1989), though a number of small bird figurines have also been discovered (*cat. 58 & 62*) (*e.g. Andersson 2021, p. 137ff; Thrane 1989, p. 373ff*).⁶

⁶ Objects in the category of *figurines* are represented by the following items in the *Catalogue*: 10, 11, 12, 30, 31, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 44, 45, 58, 62, 64, 68, 69, 70.



Figures 15a & 15b. (Left) A mysterious Roman bull figurine from Öland (*cat. 31*). (Right) A small locally-produced bull figurine from Gudme on the island of Funen (*cat. 36*). Photos: SHM 1997 (CC BY 2.5); Fortuna & Ursem, Natmus n.d. (CC-BY-SA).

Map legend




-  Stray finds
-  Grave finds
-  Local zoomorphic representations



Figure 16. The interregional distribution of *Roman imports* in the category of *figurines*.



Figure 17. The interregional distribution of Roman *figurines*, with the addition of *local zoomorphic representations*.

2.2.2.3 Fittings

This category comprises all *fittings* presented in the study; be them *Roman imports* or *local zoomorphic representations*, though their patterns of distribution shall be analysed separately before being subsequently merged together. The shared property associated with this object group is their functional use as “fittings”; the likes of which may have been attached to items such as vessels (*e.g. cat. 30*), drinking horns (*e.g. cat. 57*), and other miscellaneous objects (*e.g. cat. 32*). The most common types of fitting are those which depict animal heads (*e.g. cat. 28*) (Fig. 18) (*e.g. Holmqvist 1954, p. 283f; Lund Hansen 1987, p.447*), though other forms are also present in the archaeological record, such as examples featuring *figurines* in the shape of animals such as birds and bulls (*e.g. cat. 10 & 58*) (Andersson 2021, p. 141; Thrane 1989, p. 373ff), and belt buckles depicting backward-facing deer (*e.g. cat. 66*) (Pesch 2015, p. 378).⁷ These fittings most often take the form of animal heads, though sometimes also depict complete animals, both three-dimensional and in profile.

⁷ Objects in the category of *fittings* are represented by the following items in the *Catalogue*: 2, 9, 10, 11, 12, 28, 30, 32, 33, 48, 52, 54, 57, 58, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66, 67.

Figure 18. A gilded bronze fitting in the shape of a gryphon's head; found on the island of Funen, Denmark (cat. 9). Photo: Fortuna & Ursem, Natmus 2008 (CC-BY-SA).



Map legend




-  Stray finds
-  Grave finds
-  Local zoomorphic representations



Figure 19. The interregional distribution of *Roman imports* in the category of *fittings*.



Figure 20. The interregional distribution of Roman *fittings*, with the addition of *local zoomorphic representations*.

2.2.2.4 Vessels

This category comprises all *vessels* presented in the study; both *Romans imports*, such as *Terra Sigillata* (Dragendorff types 37 & 54) (e.g. *cat. 5 & 18*) (Albrechtsen 1968, p. 244; Eggers 1951) and *circus beakers* (E 209) (e.g. *cat. 20 & 21*) (Lund Hansen 1987, p. 208ff) as well as *local zoomorphic representations* (e.g. *cat. 43 & 49*). The distribution patterns of the Roman material shall be analysed initially, before the locally-produced examples are combined with the Roman contexts. The shared characteristic associated with this object group is their common functional use as “vessels”; i.e. a container used to store liquids or for use in burial rituals; though, naturally, some vessels were likely purely decorative. The most common objects among the *Roman imports* are the terracotta (*Terra Sigillata*) vessels, closely followed by glass beakers (*circus beakers*) (E 209) (Fig. 21). Regarding *local zoomorphic representations*, the primary examples are the silver beakers (E 177) (*cat. 49-51*) (Fig. 22) (Engelhardt 1873, 285ff) and the ceramic vessels from Møllegårdsmarken, Gudme with *static birds* in profile (*cat. 41-43*)

(Albrechtsen 1968; 1971).⁸ Regarding *TS* vessels, several types exist, though the two types of vessel most associated with zoomorphic motifs are the Dragendorff 37 and Dragendorff 54 forms. Dragendorff 37 vessels (e.g. *cat.* 18 & 24) comprise the vast majority of Scandinavian examples, and are characterised by their use of hunting motifs and floral designs, and were produced between the 1st and 3rd centuries CE. Dragendorff 54 vessels (*cat.* 5), on the other hand, are a later *TS* type, with production beginning sometime in the 2nd century. These vessels seem to be less common and commonly feature animal figures positioned centrally on the vessel that are often larger in size than their Dragendorff 37 counterparts. In addition, the vessels are produced using a different technique from that of Dragendorff 37, and are often also decorated with less floral ornamentation (Cavka 2017, p. 20ff; Lund Hansen 1987, p. 182f).

Figure 21. A *circus beaker* with colourful birds; from Zealand, Denmark (*cat.* 25). Photo: Fortuna & Ursem, Natmus n.d. (CC-BY-SA).



Figure 22. One of the locally-produced *silver beakers* from Zealand, Denmark (*cat.* 50). Photo: Parker 2022.



⁸ Objects in the category of *vessels* are represented by the following items in the *Catalogue*: 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 29, 41, 42, 43, 47, 49, 50, 51, 53, 55, 59.

Map legend




-  Stray finds
-  Grave finds
-  Local zoomorphic representations



Figure 23. The interregional distribution of *Roman imports* in the category of *vessels*.

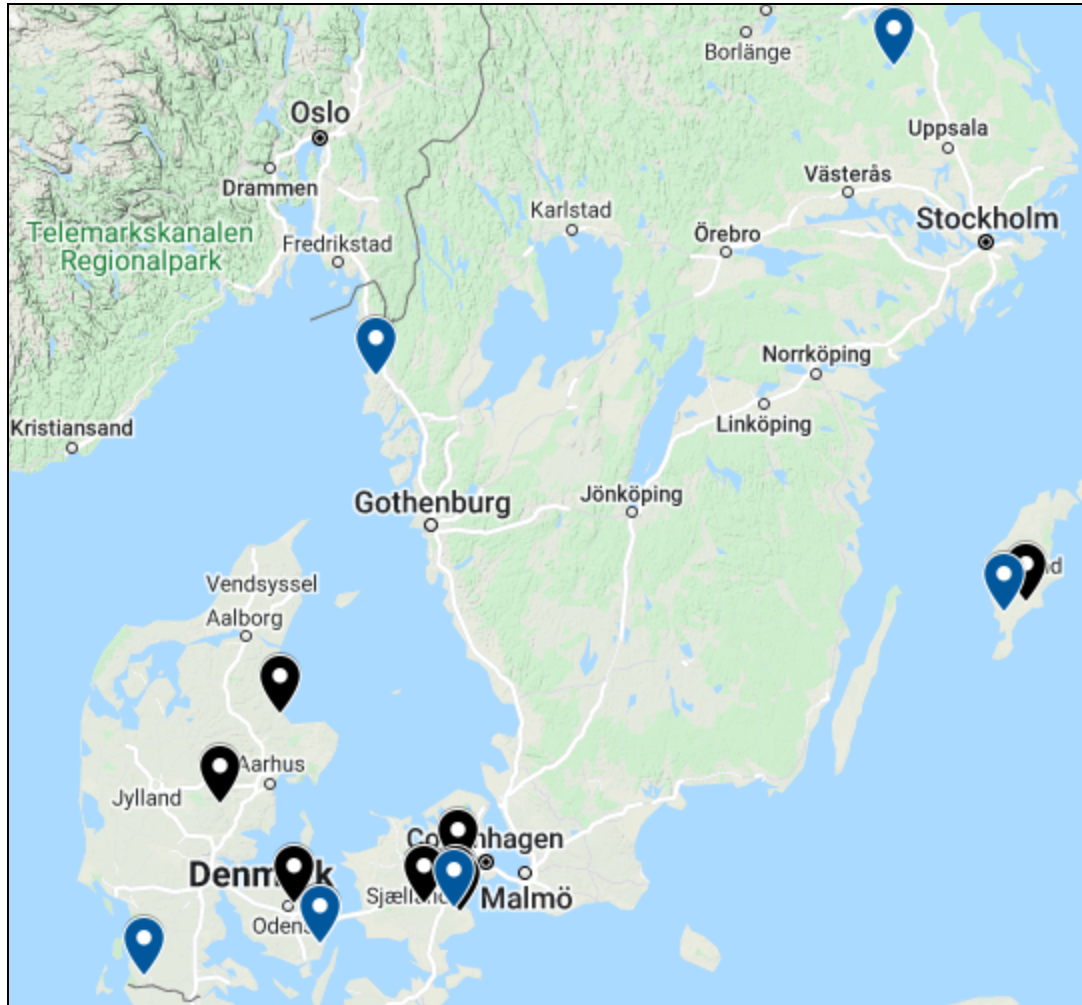


Figure 24. The interregional distribution of Roman vessels, with the addition of *local zoomorphic representations*.

2.2.3 Production materials

This second subsection groups the objects based on material of production; the likes of which includes bronze, clay, glass and silver. The group is a combination of both *Roman imports* and *local zoomorphic representations*, and features the entirety of the empirical research material, regardless of the motif, form or function of the object in question. Grouping the objects in this manner may reveal some interesting patterns with regard to specific regional preferences in material composition and the ritual practices that arise from the utilisation of such material compounds. In addition, from a purely practical perspective, the production material of choice may also uncover some interesting findings regarding regional variations in surveying methods,

and the impact this may have had on the types of material encountered by archaeologists. As an example, the use of metal detectors is permitted throughout Denmark (DIME 2022), however, in Sweden metal detecting for private persons is currently illegal without prior consent from the local County Administrative Board (Länsstyrelsen). This legislation has been in force since 2013, which predates the discovery of a number of the objects featured in this study (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2019).

Map legend



Stray finds



Grave finds



Local zoomorphic representations



Bronze



Clay



Glass



Silver

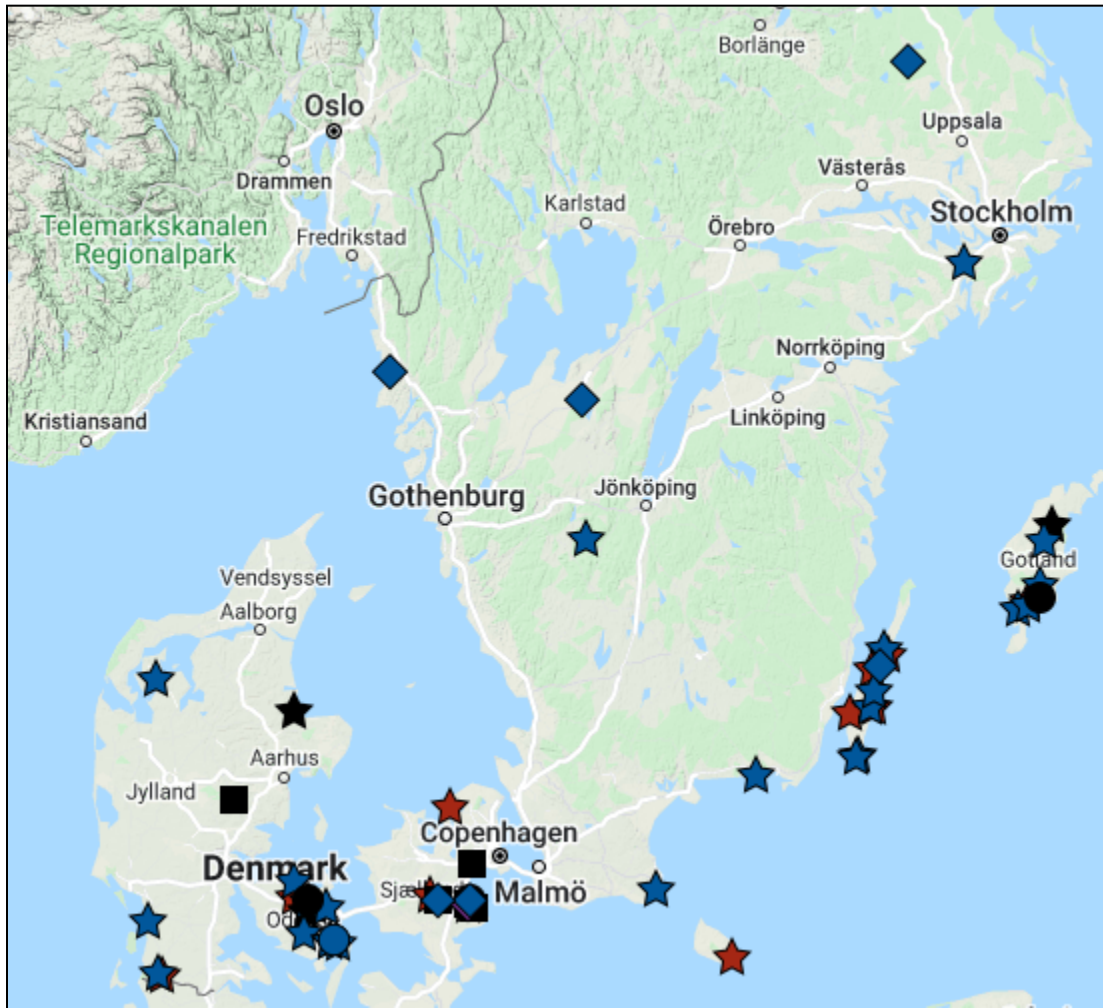


Figure 25. The interregional distribution of *production materials* across southern Scandinavia.

2.2.4 Contexts

These contextual categories form the core of this study, and may effectively be divided into the categories: *stray finds*, *grave finds*, and lastly, *local zoomorphic representations*. Furthermore, these categories will also be employed later as individual “case studies”, forming part of the qualitative analysis. Although the consistent theme of this study is characterised by zoomorphic forms, the study itself does not rely solely on these zoomorphic aspects to draw its key conclusions; but instead also utilises the contexts and circumstances surrounding their discovery in order to better understand the significance of Roman imports in *Barbaricum*, as well as the impact they may have had on the subsequent representative material culture of local groups.

2.2.4.1 *Stray finds*

This category comprises *stray finds* depicting zoomorphic forms that have been identified as “Roman imports”. The group includes objects such as plate brooches (*e.g. cat. 1*), fittings (*e.g. cat. 32*), and figurines (*e.g. cat. 31*). Most of the objects in this category were discovered with little to no contextual information, such as during agricultural work (*e.g. Lund Hansen 1987*), or by metal-detecting hobbyists (*DIME 2022*). The subjects of these finds comprises a large menagerie of birds, dogs, bulls, horses, hares/rabbits, as well as gryphons.⁹ In addition to purely “stray finds”, this category also includes “deposition finds” (*cat. 9*); i.e. Roman imports that cannot be classed as “grave finds” (i.e. not buried alongside human remains), though were discovered under circumstances that are in line with Iron Age votive practices (*e.g. the deposition of prestige objects in bogs*). This is particularly apparent when observed within Iron Age contexts in Scandinavia; a period and region characterised by a tradition of bog depositions, both in the form of people as well as inanimate material (*Jørgensen, Storgaard & Thomsen 2003, p. 61ff*).

Map legend



Stray finds



Grave finds



Local zoomorphic representations

⁹ Objects in the category of *stray finds* are represented by the following items in the *Catalogue*: 1, 9, 13, 16, 22, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33.

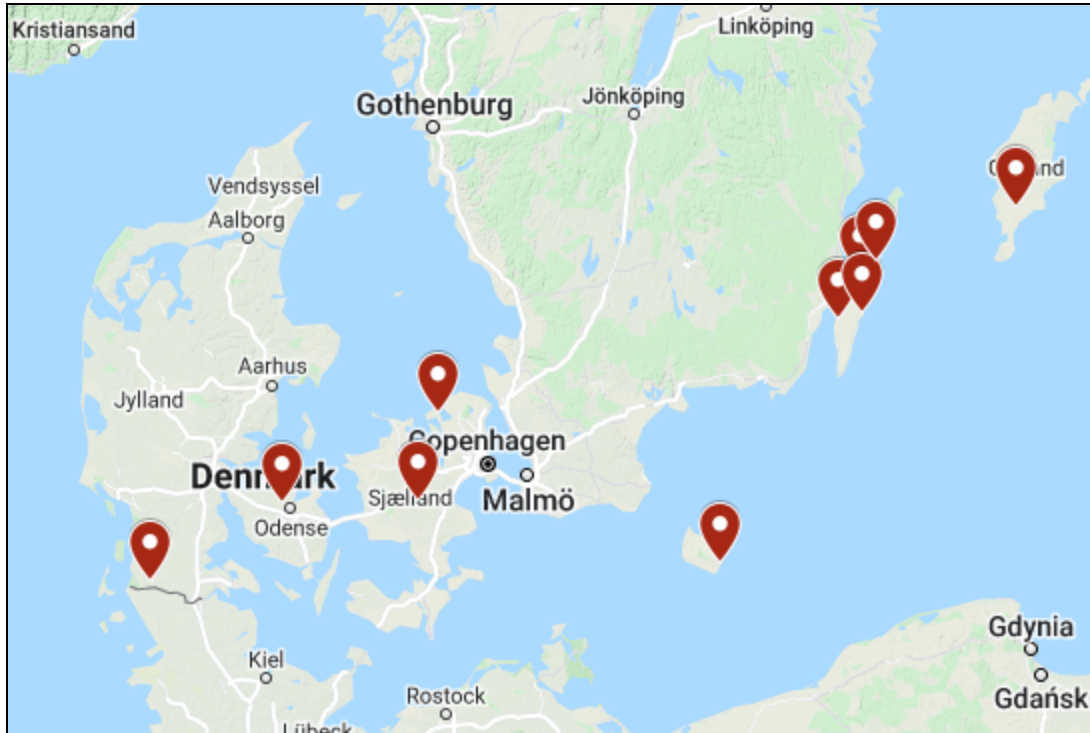


Figure 26. The interregional distribution of *stray finds*.

2.2.4.2 *Grave finds*




This category comprises *grave finds* depicting zoomorphic forms that have been identified as *Roman imports*, however, other contextual finds that have been found within “settlement contexts” (e.g. *cat.* 29) are also included in this category, primarily due to the fact that it is generally easier to understand the significance and function of these objects within a wider human landscape. This is particularly true in the case of Iron Age central places, such as Gudme, Lundsgård, Uppåkra etc. (e.g. Jørgensen 2011; Lund Hansen 1987; Petersen 1988). With regard to the mortuary practices themselves, the types of burial most commonly associated with Roman imports are elite graves, also known as “princely graves”, as these social elites were the main participants involved in interactions with Romans (Ekengren 2007).

This category, much like *stray finds*, includes objects such as plate brooches (e.g. *cat.* 27), fittings (e.g. *cat.* 2), figurines (e.g. *cat.* 10), though is also complemented with ceramic and glass vessels (e.g. *cat.* 6 & 7).¹⁰ The contextual information connected with these objects is also

¹⁰ Objects in the category of *grave finds* are represented by the following items in the *Catalogue*: 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29.

far richer than the previous category, which deems these objects strong candidates for assessing and understanding the ritual practices associated with Roman imports in *Barbaricum*. The types of animal depicted includes birds, bulls, bears, dogs, pigs, deer, and rabbits/hares. Vessel ornamentation commonly shows hunting and gladiatorial scenes with running animals as well as *backward-facing animals*. As Roman imports are oftentimes found alongside locally-produced material, it can be difficult to ascertain (at least upon first glance) whether the objects in question are indeed Roman imports (Thrane 1989). This said, in addition to my own interpretations, the vast majority of material included in this category has been attributed to having originated from Roman sources (e.g. Eggers 1951; Lund Hansen 1987; Jørgensen, Storgaard & Thomsen 2003).

Map legend

-  Stray finds
-  Grave finds
-  Local zoomorphic representations

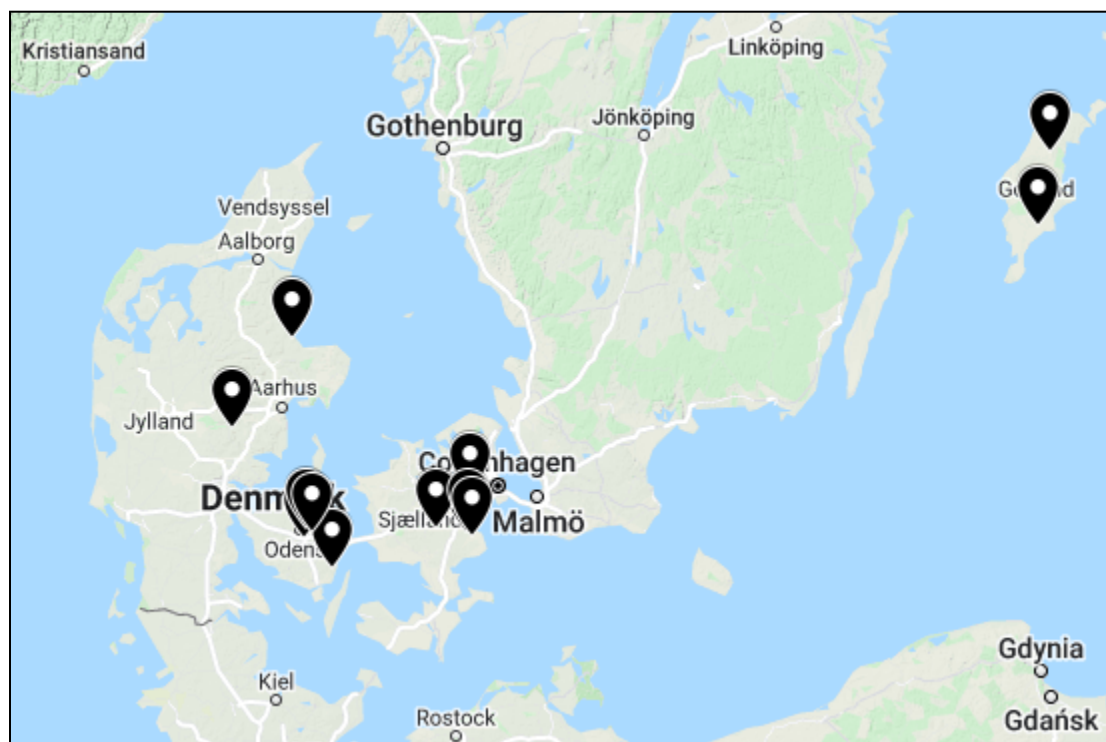


Figure 27. The interregional distribution of *grave finds*.

2.2.4.3 Local zoomorphic representations

This last category comprises locally-produced “representations” depicting zoomorphic forms that show parallels with *stray finds* and *grave finds*, such as the aforementioned central themes of *hunting motifs* (e.g. cat. 47), *static birds* (e.g. cat. 62), and *backward-facing animals* (e.g. cat. 52). Additionally, the close proximity of Roman zoomorphic imports to a number of these locally-produced examples provides a rather strong argument for their connection to the Roman material; particularly regarding cases in which the symbolic and functional similarities are wholly apparent. The material dates from between the Roman Iron Age (1-400 CE) to the beginning of the Migration Period (400-550 CE). The group includes (but is not limited to) objects such as brooches (e.g. cat. 60), figurines (e.g. cat. 70), fittings (e.g. cat. 65), as well as ceramic vessels (e.g. cat. 43).¹¹ As the context of these finds is widely diverse, the material shall not be not grouped purely on the circumstances surrounding its discovery, but instead on their stylistic and functional commonalities. The types of animal generally depicted includes bulls, birds, pigs, deer, and rabbits/hares, and vessel ornamentation demonstrates a geographically wide adoption of Roman hunting motifs and backward-facing poses; both of which shall be outlined in greater detail in the *qualitative analysis* (Section 3).

Map legend



Stray finds



Grave finds



Local zoomorphic representations

¹¹ Objects in the category of *local zoomorphic representations* are represented by the following items in the *Catalogue*: 34- 70.

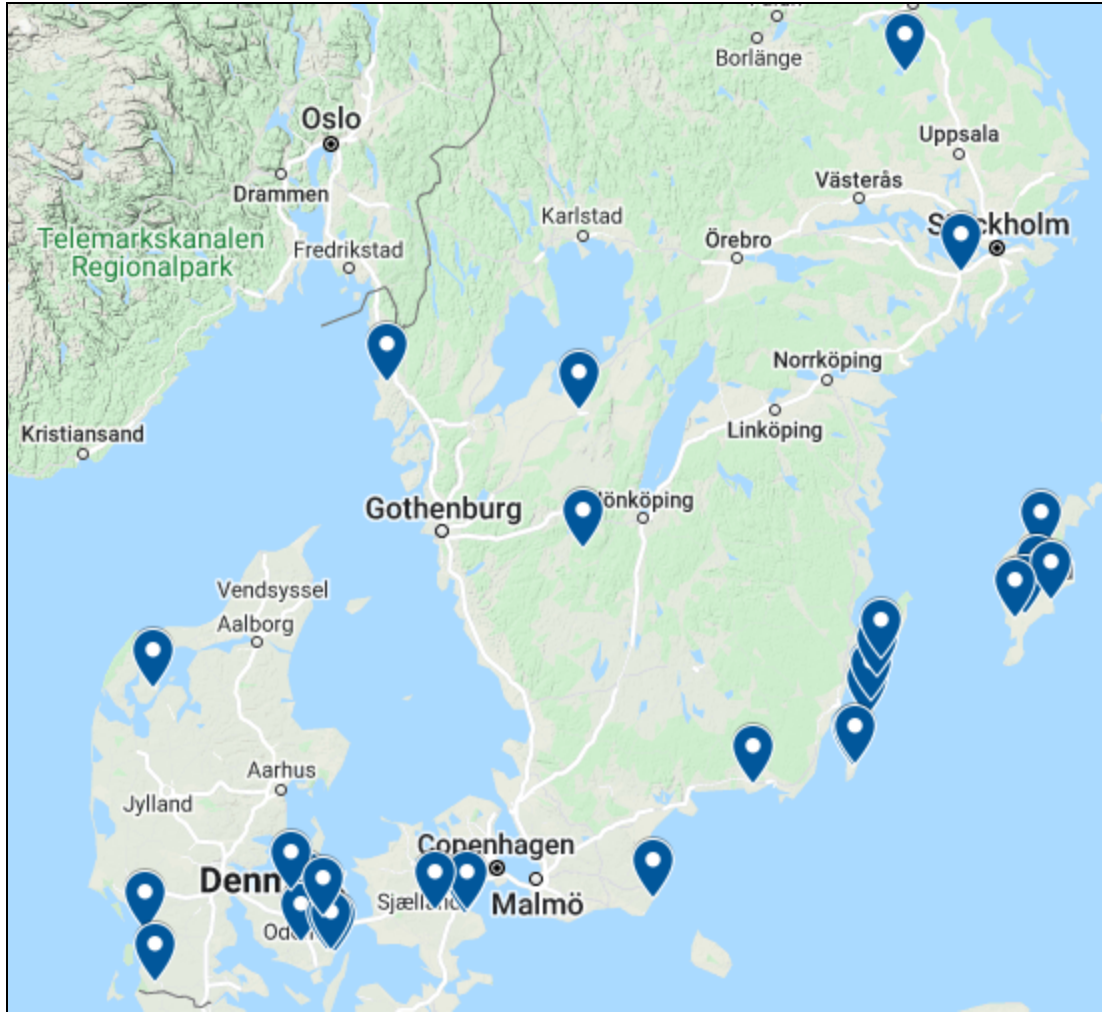


Figure 28. The interregional distribution of *local zoomorphic representations*.

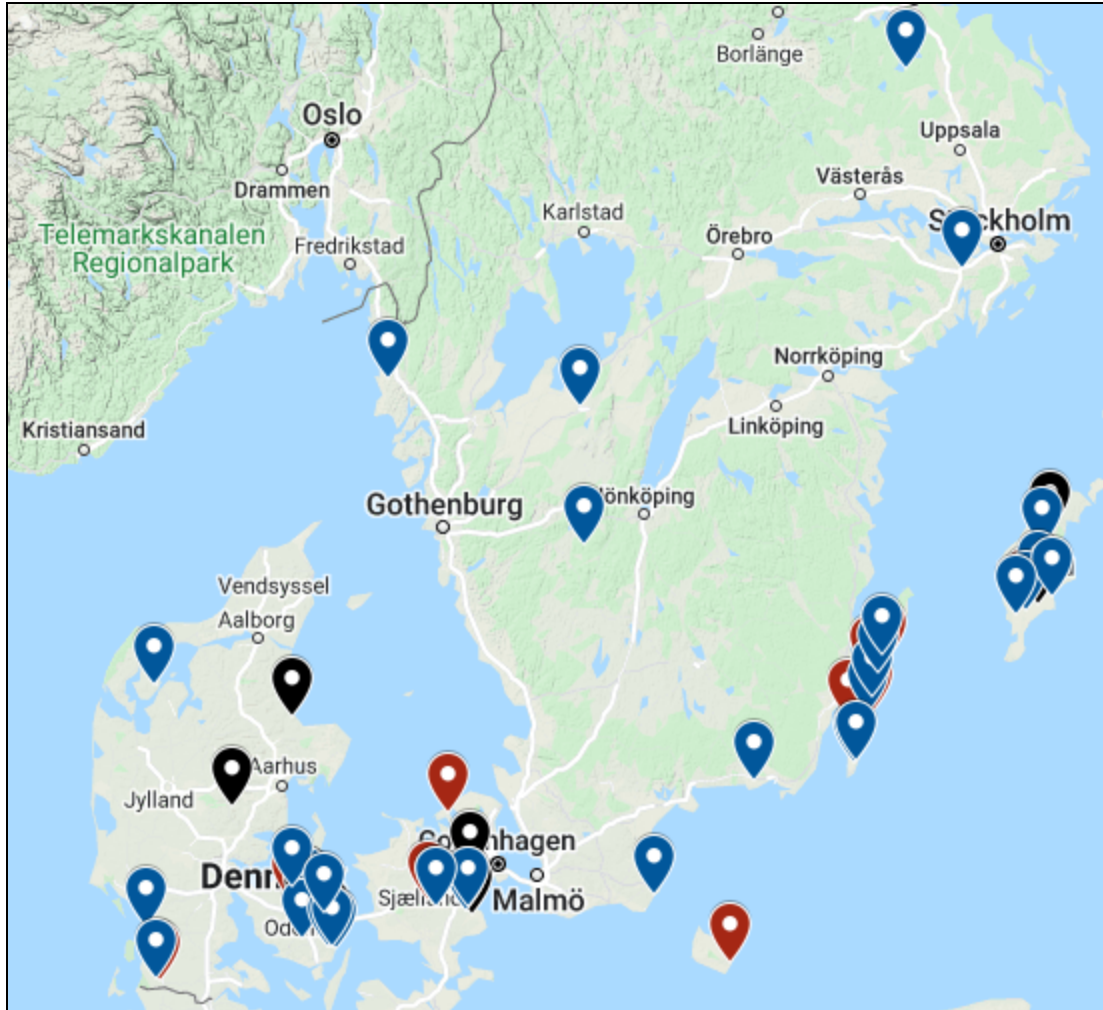


Figure 29. The combined interregional distribution of Roman *stray finds*, *grave finds* as well as *local zoomorphic representations*.

2.3 Results

The quantitative analysis of the empirical material has produced a number of conclusive results that will be discussed at greater length later in the text. This section, however, serves as a general presentation of these results, prior to the qualitative analysis in the subsequent section (*Section 3*). A discussion can be found at the end of the *results* section, which attempts to tie together the individual results of each material category. Furthermore, the discussion assists in identifying and assessing central themes that may then be weaved into a final discussion, alongside the results of the qualitative analysis.

2.3.1 Distribution patterns

What follows is an overview of some of the key results from the quantitative analysis. This section does not delve into great detail concerning the stylistic properties of the objects, aside from the motifs they represent. Instead, the focus has been placed on aspects such as patterns of distribution and the connection between *Roman imports* and *local zoomorphic representations*.

2.3.1.1 Motifs

2.3.1.1.1 Backward-facing animals

The motif of *backward-facing animals* was generally well-represented across the empirical material, with a total of **thirteen** examples. *Local zoomorphic representations* evidently outnumbered Roman examples of the phenomenon; in fact, only **two** of the examples can be said to be “Roman” in origin, and both examples were discovered on opposite sides of the Danish mainland; one in Jutland (*cat. 13*) and the other in Zealand (*cat. 19*). The backward-facing motif in general also appears to be almost exclusive to Denmark, aside from **one** isolated example that was found in the region of Bohuslän in western Sweden (*cat. 53*). Regarding locally-produced material, the *silver beakers* of Zealand (E 177) (*cat. 49-51*) seem to be particularly associated with the motif, with several of these coveted vessels displaying images with backward-facing deer-like figures.

2.3.1.1.2 Hunting motifs

Examples showing *hunting motifs* comprised a relatively large portion of the empirical material. Of the **eighteen** examples that feature hunting and gladiatorial scenes involving animals, only **one** object could be placed into the category of *stray finds*, which comes in the form of a “running dog” plate brooch that was discovered in Zealand (*cat. 16*). In addition, the quantity of *Roman zoomorphic imports* vastly outweighs the number of *local zoomorphic representations*, suggesting a somewhat diminished interest in adopting the motif into local traditions. Furthermore, there appeared to be a general vague pattern regarding the regions where Roman *hunting motifs* are encountered, and the regions in which local representations are created. Lastly, only **one** example of a *hunting motif* was evident in the Swedish archaeological record, with the addition of an isolated find from the region of Gästrikland, which features a frieze scene showing running deer that once adorned a drinking horn (*cat. 59*).

2.3.1.1.3 Static birds

This material category amounted to a relatively average number of the examples featured in this study; a total of **fifteen** to be exact. “Static bird” motifs seem to have been generally well-received by local societies, as a fair number of *local zoomorphic representations* are present; particularly on the island of Gotland, where no *Roman zoomorphic imports* depicting scenes with *static birds* have so far been found. Additionally, a clear regional connection presented itself between static-bird motifs on the island of Funen (e.g. *cat. 7, 11 & 12*), and locally-produced examples of ceramic pottery found at the site of Møllegårdsmarken on Funen (*cat. 41-43*); a possible indication of a region-specific interest in the motif. **One** of the category’s examples is confined to the island of Bornholm, and takes the form of a Roman enamelled plate brooch in the shape of an owl (*cat. 1*).

2.3.1.2 Functions

2.3.1.2.1 Brooches

Perhaps one of the smaller material categories featured in this study, with the existence of only **nine** examples. Of the three contextual categories, *stray finds* comprised the largest proportion of *brooches*, with **four** examples lacking any viable archaeological context (*cat. 1, 13, 16 & 22*). **Four** burial-context finds were also among the examples; **two** Roman *grave finds* (*cat. 27*), and **two** locally-produced examples (*cat. 46 & 60*), suggesting some form of positive response from local Iron Age societies; at least in the way of ritual use. **One** particular locally-produced brooch was found in the region of Scania, Sweden (*cat. 60*), and is the only zoomorphic object from the area to be included in this study. With regard to both Roman and locally-produced finds, plate brooches appeared to be the most common type of brooch encountered, with crossbow and pin brooches falling closely behind.

2.3.1.2.2 Figurines

Figurines comprised the study’s third largest material category, with a grand total of **twenty-one** examples. *Local zoomorphic representations* represented by far the largest proportion of the finds, demonstrating an overwhelmingly strong response from local societies. The largest concentration of local *figurines* was centred on Funen, with **sixteen** examples (*cat. 34-40, 44 &*

45); though other “hot spots” for *figurines* included the Swedish islands of Gotland and Öland (e.g. *cat. 31 & 68*). The locally-produced figurines of Öland are particularly interesting, with the discovery of **two** pairs of aesthetically similar figurines in close proximity to one another (*cat. 64, 68, 69 & 70*). Additionally, a couple of isolated *static-bird figurines* appeared on the Swedish mainland; both of which are also *local zoomorphic representations* (*cat. 58 & 62*). This category is perhaps one of the strongest candidates for further discussion on the topic of “transformation”, as several of the examples exhibit parallels that may be researched further.

2.3.1.2.3 Fittings

The second largest material category (after *vessels*), with a grand total of **twenty-two** examples. *Fittings*, as a whole, was the only material category in the analysis that outnumbered the percentage of Danish material, with **fourteen** examples throughout southern Sweden, compared to just **eight** in Denmark. The Swedish islands of Gotland and Öland were particularly associated with zoomorphic *fittings*, with a large quantity of both Roman and locally-produced materials present in the archaeological record (e.g. *cat. 30 & 65*). The Danish material was predominantly represented on Funen, where a number of examples have been discovered within similar cultural layers to the other material groups (e.g. *cat. 10-12 & 34-40*). The vast majority of *fittings* featured in this study originated from objects such as drinking horns (e.g. *cat. 54*) and bronze vessels (e.g. *cat. 10-12*), though others are more difficult to identify, such as the case with a bronze *fitting* in the shape of a gryphon from Öland (*cat. 32*), and a small *figurine* in the shape of a species of waterfowl from Västra Götaland (*cat. 62*).

2.3.1.2.4 Vessels

The largest of all the study’s material categories, with a total of **thirty-two** examples. *Vessels* made up a large number of *Roman zoomorphic imports* as well as *local zoomorphic representations*, though the locally-produced material seems to have been largely confined to Denmark (e.g. *cat. 47 & 49*). The most positive response in the way of local material was focused on Zealand, with a large number of silver beakers (E 177) (*cat. 49-51*) found in the region. Møllegårdsmarken is another notable location, with the existence of both Roman *Terra Sigillata* (*cat. 5, 6 & 8*) and locally-produced ceramic wares (*cat. 41-43*) found in similar

contexts. This said a handful of examples also cropped up in Sweden, chiefly in the form of silver friezes from drinking vessels (*e.g. cat. 53 & 59*).

	Bornholm	Funen	Jutland	Zealand	Blekinge	Bohuslän	Gotland	Gästrikland	Scania	Uppland	V. Götaland	Öland	Total
Brooch	1	0	2	2	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	9
Fitting	0	5	3	0	1	0	4	0	0	1	2	6	22
Figurine	0	16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	22
Vessel	0	9	4	15	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	32
HM	0	3	4	9	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	18
SB	1	7	1	2	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	15
BFA	0	0	2	7	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	13

Table 1. A numerical representation of *motifs* and *functions* across the various regions featured in this study.

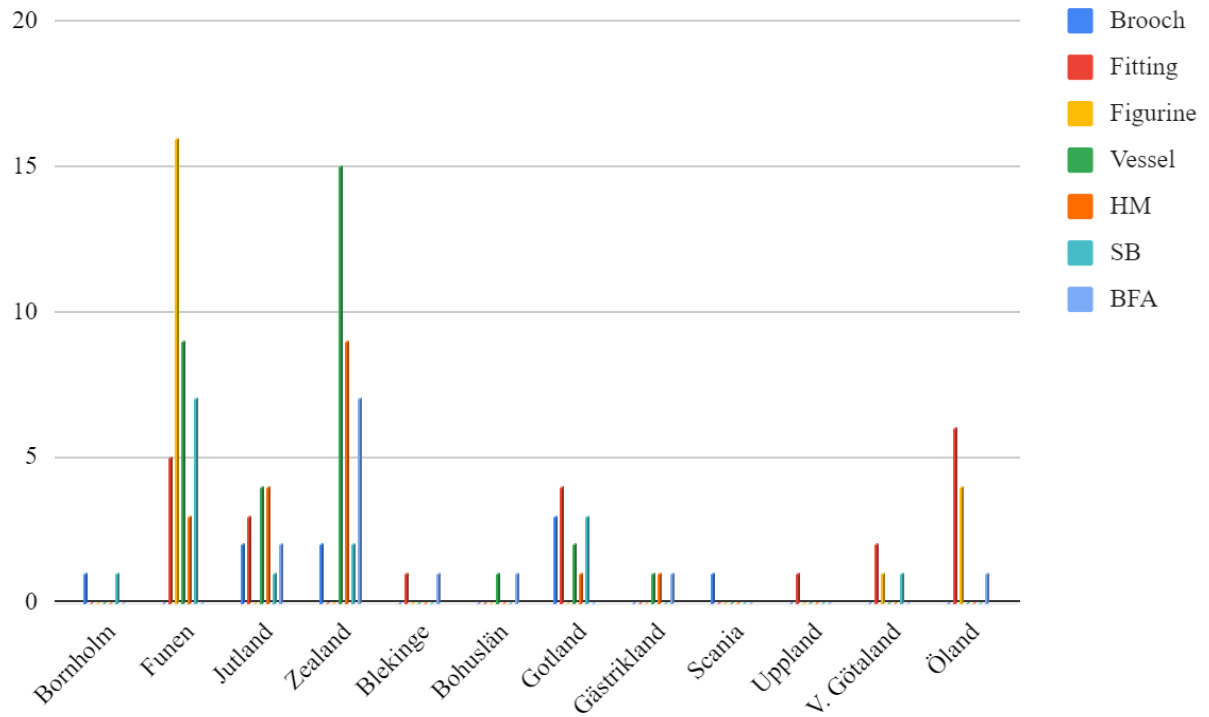


Figure 30. The proportion of *motifs* and *functions* across the various regions featured in the study.

2.3.1.3 Production materials

Organising the materials based on the medium of their production also provided some interesting findings. Firstly, *bronze* was by far the most utilised material, with a grand total of **forty-eight** examples. Of these bronze finds, the highest density seems to have been focused on the island of Funen; predominantly consisting of bull *figurines* (*cat. 34-40 & 44-45*) produced by local Iron Age societies. The key regions for *bronze* finds in Sweden were the islands of Gotland and Öland, indicating a possible surge of interest in its prestige properties.

Clay finds were also focused on Funen, as a large quantity of *Terra Sigillata* vessels had been found in burial contexts in the area. In contrast, only one example of *TS* was represented in the Swedish zoomorphic material, in the form of an isolated example from Gotland. Less represented than the **eleven** *clay* examples, material produced from *glass* appears to have survived well in Zealand, Denmark, with **seven** examples, mostly in the form of Roman *circus beakers* (E 209) (*cat. 7, 20, 21, 23, 25 & 26*).

Lastly, objects of *silver* were also present in the empirical material, with **eleven** examples. The production material is particularly prevalent in Zealand, predominantly in the form of local *silver beakers* (E 177) (*cat. 49-51*). *Silver* is also heavily represented in the Swedish material, with examples from the regions of Gotland, Gästrikland, Västra Götaland, and Öland. Perhaps one of the most striking observations concerning *silver* finds was the evident lack of Roman material, as *silver* is only represented among locally-produced examples of zoomorphism.

	Bornholm	Funen	Jutland	Zealand	Blekinge	Bohuslän	Gotland	Gästrikland	Scania	Uppland	V. Götaland	Öland	Total
Bronze	1	18	6	3	1	0	6	0	2	1	1	9	48
Clay	0	8	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	11
Glass	0	1	1	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
Silver	0	1	0	5	0	1	3	1	0	0	1	1	13

Table 2. A numerical representation of *production materials* across the various regions featured in the study.

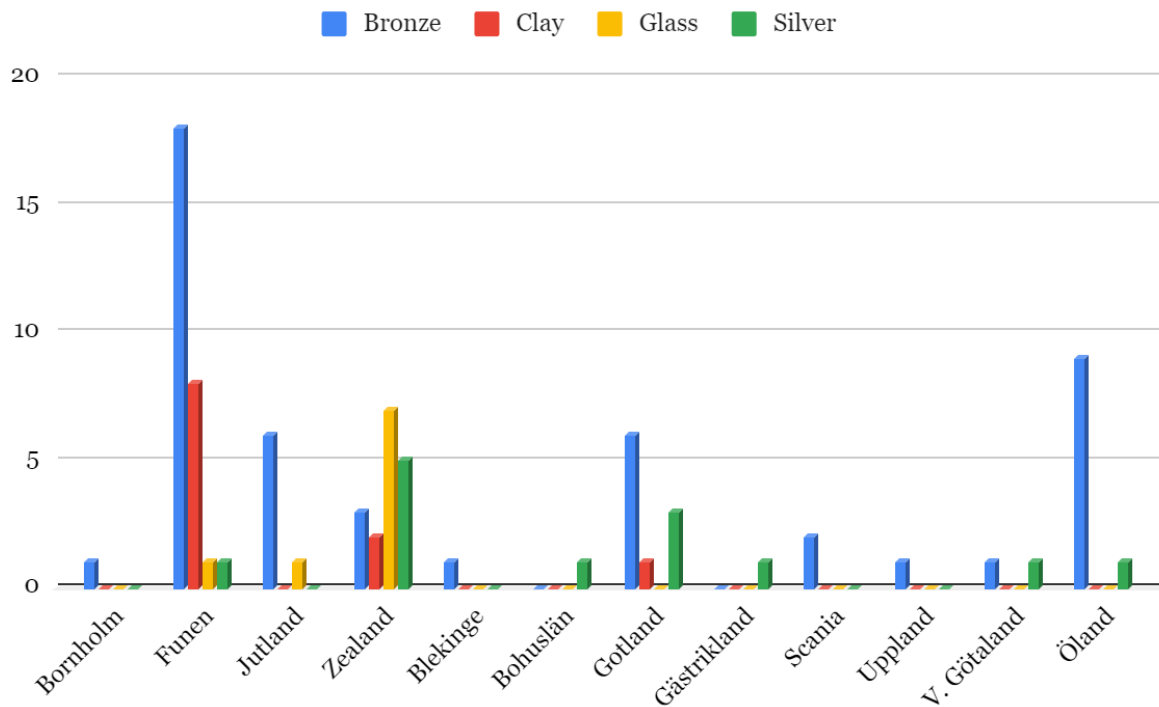


Figure 31. The proportion of production materials across the various regions featured in the study.

2.3.1.4 Contexts

2.3.1.4.1 Stray finds

The contextual material category of *stray finds* totalled **ten** examples, and the highest density of these appeared to have been centred on the island of Öland, Sweden (e.g. cat. 32 & 33). The only object from the island of Bornholm featured in the analysis was a *stray find* (cat. 1). A number of *stray finds* have also been found in mainland Denmark, principally in the form of Roman plate brooches (e.g. cat. 13, 16 & 22); however, the overall significance of this finding is unclear at this stage in the study. Furthermore, **no** *stray finds* were revealed to have originated from mainland Sweden, with the islands of Gotland and Öland the sole regions associated with the category. In addition, *stray finds* comprised the smaller of the two “Roman import” categories with only **ten** examples, the other being *grave finds*. Lastly, the categorical function most associated with *stray finds* was *brooches* (e.g. cat 1 & 13).

2.3.1.4.2 Grave finds

The core regions for *grave finds* were the island of Funen, Denmark and the area that now surrounds the country’s capital of Copenhagen, known as Zealand (*e.g. cat. 2-8*). **No** *grave finds* were revealed on mainland Sweden, though a couple of examples did present themselves on the island of Gotland (*cat. 27 & 29*). A general coastal distribution pattern emerged upon observing the find locations of *grave finds*, with the vast majority of finds deriving from sites on, or near to, the sea (*e.g. cat. 14 & 27*). Furthermore, *grave finds* comprised the second largest quantity of Roman imports, with a grand total of **twenty-three** examples.

2.3.1.4.3 Local zoomorphic representations

The distribution of *local zoomorphic representations* appears to have been far more diverse than as was the case with the previous categories, though active “hotspots” for local material included Funen (*e.g. cat. 41-43*), Gotland (*cat. 54-58*) and Öland (*e.g. cat. 64-70*). **Four** of the finds in the category were located further inland (*cat. 59, 61, 62 & 63*), which greatly exceeds the number of inland finds from the categories of Roman *stray finds* and *grave finds*. As with *grave finds*, a predominantly coastal distribution pattern continues to emerge after observing the find location associated with locally-produced examples. The category was represented across all **twelve** regions featured in the study (except Bornholm) (*cat. 1*). *Local zoomorphic representations* were by far the largest group of the quantitative analysis, with a grand total of **forty-three** finds across both southern Sweden and Denmark. In general *local zoomorphic representations* far outnumbered Roman imports, both in terms of stylistic variety as well as geographical distribution.

	Bornholm	Funen	Jutland	Zealand	Blekinge	Bohuslän	Gotland	Gästrikland	Scania	Uppland	V. Götaland	Öland	Total
Stray	1	1	1	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	4	10
Grave	0	10	2	10	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	25
Local	0	16	4	5	1	1	5	1	1	1	2	7	44

Table 3. A numerical representation of the various *contextual* categories across the various regions featured in the study.

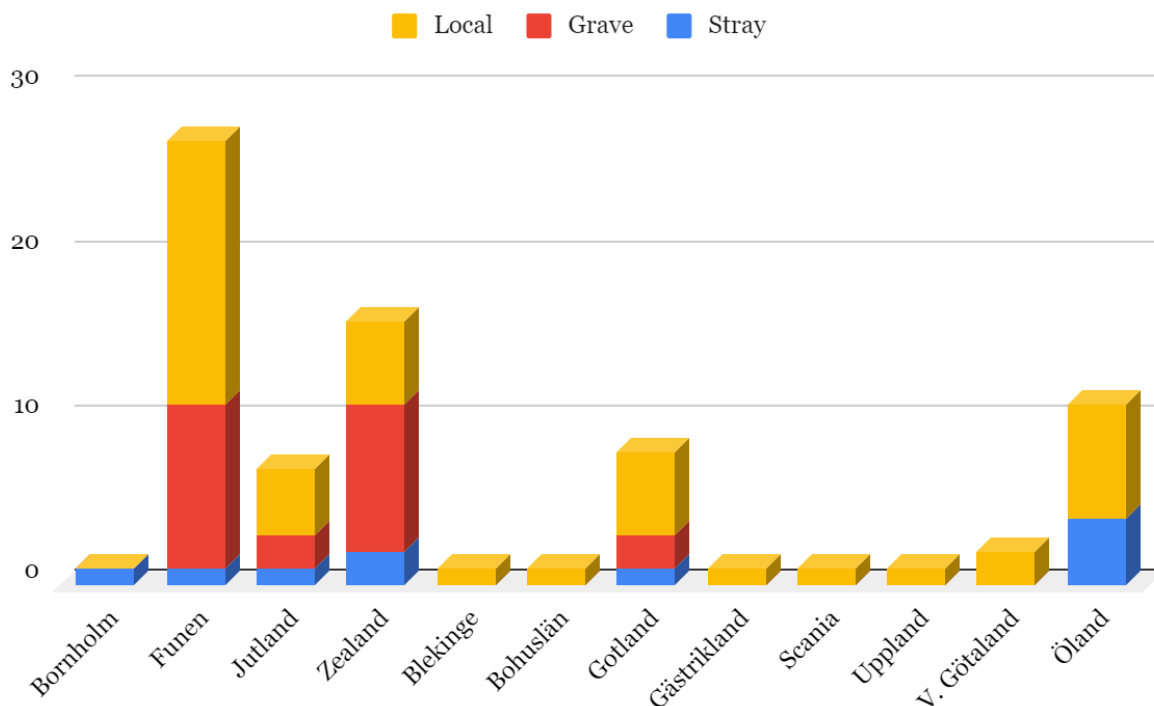


Figure 32. The proportion of the *contextual* categories across the various regions featured in this study.

2.3.2 Discussion

Upon reviewing the results from analysing the various material categories, it is evident that a region-specific preference with regard to function, motif, and material emerged in relation to the types of Roman material selected by Iron Age societies in Scandinavia, as well as the types of material that may have served as primary inspiration. The principal aim of the quantitative analysis was to identify possible correlations between the overarching frameworks outlined in *Section 1.3* (i.e. acquisition, adoption, and transformation), and the distribution patterns observed among the material categories. Given the vastness of the empirical research material and the variation of distribution, the decision to deeper analyse the material in this manner prior to the introduction of more qualitative methods, was thus deemed necessary.

Regarding Denmark, Funen appears to have been a power centre for many of the material categories, aside from *vessels*, *stray finds*, *brooches* and *hunting motifs*. *Local zoomorphic representations* on the island of Funen also greatly outnumber the other regions, which may explain a stronger response from local Iron Age societies in these areas. The number of

locally-produced bull figurines depicting bulls in the region suggests a strong connection to votive practices of which these bronze figurines seem to be an integral element. One interesting finding, however, is that there appears to be a general lack of similar Roman zoomorphic figurines in the area, aside from an isolated example at Vejrupsgård (*cat. 10*). The object likely served as a fitting to some form of Roman bronze vessel, alongside two other bronze bird figurines (*cat. 11-12*).

This said, there appears to be a lack of united response to bird figurines from Iron Age societies in the region; at least not in the medium of “figurines”, though local interest *has* been observed via the medium of clay vessels, with ornamentation that shows birds in profile with “static poses” (*cat. 41-43*). As these clay vessels were discovered only a few kilometres from the find location of the bird figurines, it is likely that they may have inspired these same motifs. The results from the region of Zealand also suggest a similar “melting pot” with regard to the interplay between Roman zoomorphic imports and locally-produced material. It is evident that some form of power centre also existed in this area, though the focus seems to have been on *vessels*, as opposed to figurines, much in line with the findings of my predecessors (e.g. Eggers 1951; Lund Hansen 1987). Is it possible, therefore, that two key power centres for these zoomorphic forms once existed in Denmark; one for figurines on Funen, and a second centred around the area of modern-day Copenhagen in Zealand; though with a stronger focus on vessels. In addition, the relatively limited number of both Roman zoomorphic imports and local zoomorphic representations in the Jutland region suggests that the closer proximity of this area to the continent has little to do with the quantity of zoomorphic imports. It is perhaps more the case that the influence of central places on Funen and Zealand allowed certain examples of Roman zoomorphism to filter into the surrounding area, which explains the isolated finds encountered in less “centralised” areas.

So, what of the situation in southern Sweden? Across all material categories, it is profoundly clear that the Baltic islands of Gotland and Öland were “central places” for the acquisition and production of RIA zoomorphic forms, though the choice motifs and functions differ somewhat from the Danish regions, with fittings and figurines comprising the majority of the finds; at least from a functional standpoint. Motif-wise, however, “static birds” seem to dominate the Swedish material, with a number of examples shown to have been present on the island of Öland. The presence of both Roman and non-Roman fittings and figurines on Gotland

and Öland makes total sense, especially considering the amount of finds discovered merely a stone's throw from one another. The apparent lack of zoomorphic motifs on vessels in these areas can also be explained by the low number of Roman imports bearing similar imagery (*cat. 29*).

Regarding material composition, *bronze* is by far the most common production material, though a fair few examples of the other materials should also be considered. *Silver*, for instance, seems to have been a favoured medium among the social elites of Zealand, from which their coveted *silver beakers* were produced. *Figurines* were the object type most associated with bronze production; particularly with regard to local material on the island of Funen. Concerning metal objects in general, there appears to be a lack of unequivocal correlation between the quantity of bronze and silver objects found in Danish contexts, and those encountered in Swedish contexts. Although Funen, Denmark has the highest density of bronze finds, this fact appears to be more a product of the large quantity of bronze bull figurines found in the area, rather than the application of greater metal-detecting efforts. Aside from a few examples made of bronze (*cat. 1, 13, 16, 22*), all other metal objects featured in this study were discovered prior to the limitation of use regarding metal detecting equipment, as imposed in 2013. This said, three of the aforementioned examples were discovered by Danish enthusiasts, which raises the further question of whether more metal zoomorphic objects from the RIA are still yet to be found on Swedish soil.

Clay vessels appear to also have been a popular medium for local representations, which is not particularly remarkable, considering the fact that they were in use by local people for generations prior to the arrival of the first Roman. In addition, many of the locally-produced examples are found on the same sites as Roman *TS* pottery, which further demonstrates a correlation between imports and local representations. *Glass*, on the other hand, is exclusively produced and imported to *Barbaricum* by the Romans (Wells 1999; Wightman 1970); the largest quantity of which was discovered in Zealand in the form of *circus beakers* (E 209). The presence of Roman *TS* shards on Gotland, and the complete lack of glass objects bearing zoomorphic motifs in Sweden, is also notable. Whether these findings are due to a lack of interest or geographical proximity to the continent remains to be assessed, though the abundance of metal objects in power centres such as Gotland and Öland, provides an interesting representation concerning the preferred material choices of Iron Age societies in Swedish contexts.

Overall, the findings seem to point towards a general correlation between the types of Roman import encountered by local Iron Age societies, and the types of “representations” that are subsequently produced. A few anomalies are also present in the findings, such as the seemingly random contexts associated with a number of the examples; for instance, no clear pattern emerged regarding the handful of examples from the Swedish mainland. At this time, no Roman zoomorphic imports have been found in this region, though alas locally-produced examples of *zoomorphism* are encountered nonetheless. Could this suggest that power centres based on Gotland and Öland held certain cultural and social influence over surrounding areas, resulting in ideas spreading to the mainland over the following decades?

Regarding the debate on whether a “trade network” was actively utilised between provincial Romans and Scandinavians, the results provided by this particular group of Roman imports generally does not support this claim. If a form of “network” *did* indeed exist, then it was likely not a particularly “well-travelled” route. This is particularly evident when observing the relatively low number of Roman imports present in the region, which certainly does not reflect the extensiveness one would expect from an established trade route. Aside from a few isolated examples, the majority of zoomorphic imports seem to have originated from settled islands and coastal regions, which suggests one of two possibilities. The first interpretation is that the Romans who encountered these societies travelled to Scandinavian regions by sea, passing by the Danish islands and along the southern and eastern coasts of Sweden, visiting the islands of Öland and Gotland *en route*. The second interpretation, and perhaps the more likely, is that the Scandinavian Iron Age population was already focused around these coastal regions, giving the Romans little reason to venture further inland. Whether one adopts the “trade route argument” or not, the possibility of gift-giving and sporadic encounters may also have coexisted alongside this “network”.

The quantitative element of this study has undeniably provided some insight into the significance and interregional distribution patterns of these zoomorphic forms, though a more qualitative inspection of the material is required in order to fully understand the wider contextual matrix.

3. The Three-Part Method

Throughout the following core section of the text, the Scandinavian empirical material shall be analysed as unique and individual case studies, and compared alongside similar examples from provincial contexts. In contrast with the foregoing section, this element of the study is far more analytical in nature, and focuses on the deeper archaeological contexts and stylistic properties of each object in question. The principal purpose of this analysis is to test each of the three core elements of “The Three-Part Method” (see *Introduction 1.5*) on material from three of the aforementioned material categories; which are *stray finds*, *grave finds*, and *local zoomorphic representations*. In addition, the other material categories will be utilised against the backdrop of these three central themes, such as objects exhibiting backward-facing motifs, hunting motifs, and the various zoomorphic material groups, from vessels to brooches.

3.1 Case study I: *Acquisition*

This first case study examines the concept of “acquisition”, which poses as the initial element of the “Three-Part Method”. *It* deals with the methods of transferal that once existed between “provincial Romans” and Iron Age societies, and builds upon the results provided by the preceding quantitative analysis. By applying an explanatory model in the form of the Roman act of *hospitium* (Nicols 2011; 2016) to a select group of Roman “stray finds” found in Scandinavia, it may be possible to interpret these subtle interactions with a higher degree of understanding. As a region that lies far beyond the former limits of the Empire, Scandinavia serves as a strong candidate for such a study, where Roman objects have been gradually filtered down to an amount that reflects the ambiguous nature of “*Barbaricum*” as a prehistoric region. For comparative purposes, one similar European area with conditions that roughly correspond to the situation in Scandinavia during the RIA, is perhaps Ireland. This is largely because the country (much like the geographical proximity of Germany to southern Scandinavia), was positioned within striking distance of “Romanised” Britain (e.g. Soderberg 2013; Wilson 2017). This fact, therefore, provides an interesting Atlantic parallel for studies on Roman imports in Scandinavia.

Stray finds largely dominate the Roman archaeological record in Scandinavia, which deems them strong candidates for studying the way in which these objects have been received by local groups. This is in large part due to the fact that these objects often lack a great deal of

contextual information; therefore, it is generally difficult to interpret their significance, or even attempt to understand their ritual use in a domestic setting. What is ascertainable, however, is the nature of their transfer from one party to another. This, naturally, could be achieved via the analysis of other material categories, such as *grave finds* and so on, though these less elusive finds may be subjected to more rigorous theoretical scrutiny due to their more contextual circumstances. One aspect of these Roman stray finds that *can* be studied, however, is the nature of their “acquisition”. In order to contextualise these “non-contextual finds”, I have chosen to explore the Roman concepts of *dona militaria* and *hospitium* in order to better explain the presence and significance of Roman imports in Barbaricum.

3.1.1 Hospitium & Dona Militaria

The concept of honorary distinctions in the Roman military is an extensively well-researched topic (e.g. Andersson 1985; Maxfield 1981; Rausing 1987), and this same model may also be applied to the phenomenon of elite Scandinavian “mercenaries” in the Roman army (Grane 2007). *Dona Militaria* is in fact a wider term for the concept of deserving soldiers and officers becoming “decorated” for their services in times of war (Maxfield 1981). In order to mark these honorary affairs, badges of honour would often be gifted to the individual in question. The physical manifestations of these “badges” is not wholly understood, though epigraphic evidence suggests that war booty and items of particular prestige were often gifted in order to reward these individuals (Maxfield 1981, p. 60ff). The idea of *dona militaria* seems all-in-all a suitable fit for this study, and is also a particularly poignant reminder of the ways in which Roman influence could be asserted on outsiders. The issue with applying this phenomenon to encounters between Romans and Iron Age Scandinavians, however, arises when one considers its general association with Roman citizenship (Maxfield 1981). There is, in fact, little evidence that non-Roman citizens were invited to partake in these affairs (Maxfield 1981, p. 121f; Rausing 1987, p. 131), which essentially means that either the vast majority of mercenary elites were rather adept in Latin, and fully-trained in the ways of Roman life, or that a new paradigm is required in order to tackle the meaning of these Roman imports in foreign contexts. Based on the fundamental idea behind *dona militaria*, this text seeks to apply a further Roman model known as *hospitium*, which may assist in presenting a clearer understanding of these events of exchange.

Similarly to *dona militaria*, the act of “*hospitium*” also relates to the concept of “gift-giving”, though its use is not strictly limited to spheres of warfare (e.g. Nicols 2011). In addition, there is no evidence to suggest that Romans did not employ the concept when dealing with “outsiders”; in fact, quite the contrary; the act was commonly used to gain the respect and admiration of those on the peripheries of the Roman world (Nicols 2016). *Hospitium* is also a particularly “Roman” ritual, though its roots can be traced back further still, to the time of the Etruscans (Lusci 2008, p. 142) and the Greeks (Nybakken 1946, 248ff). *Hospitium*, in layman's terms, relates to the peaceful trade of goods that carry an equal “value” between two unrelated parties. These goods, or “gifts”, were often physical in form, however, the gift of “service” was also a prized commodity (Nicols 2011, 432f).

During these acts of exchange, small tokens or (*tesserae*) were often exchanged in order to mark the occasion. These tokens come in a variety of forms, though they were commonly produced in the shape of tablets, human hands, or animals (Nicols 2011, 328f), with the latter posing as the main focus for this particular study. *Tesserae* in “clasped hands” (Fig. 33) and “tablet” form (Fig. 34) are of little interest to this study, as these types of token were almost always accompanied with some form of written agreement; meaning that they were likely more beneficial during exchanges in which both parties would have had at least some comprehension of the written Latin language (Nicols 2011).



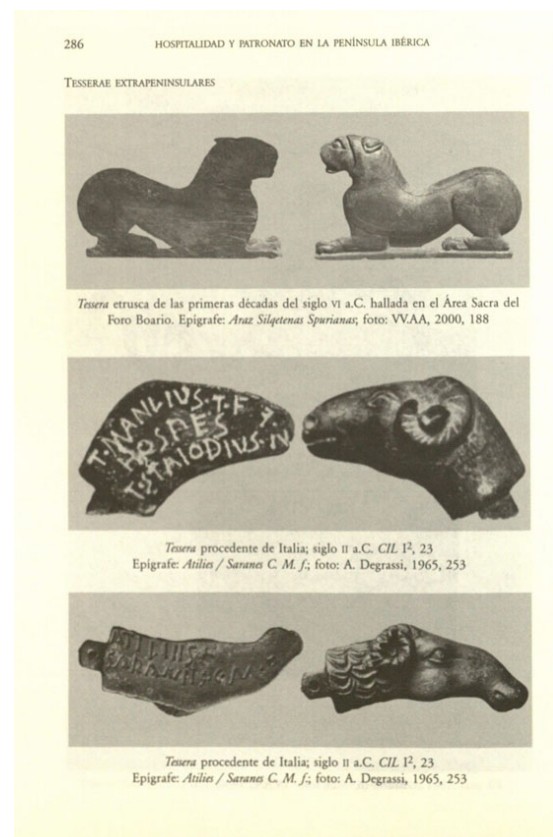
Figure 33. (Left) A bronze *tessera* in the shape of two clasped hands. Figure: Luschi 2008, p. 148; Figure 34. (Right) A bronze “tablet” *tessera*. Photo: Aegon 2001 (CC0 1.0).

Zoomorphic examples, on the other hand, though commonly also engraved with writing, are less reliant on their epigraphic nature; it is, thus, the form of the animal itself that also holds meaning. For instance, it is believed that these “zoomorphic *tesserae*” were often employed to symbolise various rituals performed in conjunction with the act of *hospitium* itself, such as the sacrificial slaughter of an animal, or the exchange of symbolic gifts. The tokens themselves most often depict zoomorphic shapes in profile, and are designed so that they may be intentionally split into two halves (Chamorro 2004, p. 138ff; Nicols 2011, p. 328). Some tokens also appear to show signs of secondary use; i.e. that they may have had alternate intended functions at the time of their production, but were subsequently converted into *tesserae* (Fig. 35).

Figure 35. Various forms of zoomorphic *tesserae* tokens, both from the Roman period (bottom and centre), and from the time of the Etruscans (top). Figure: Chamorro 2004, p. 286.

At this point some consideration must be given to the practice of using small tokens or tesserae for identification purposes in hospitium. For if it is true, as frequently stated, that a guest was expected to furnish evidence in the form of an inscribed token before he received hospitality, that requirement seems to contradict the statement that the custom rested on faith in man's word. - (Nybakken 1946; 250)

As it is believed that the act of *hospitium* was commonly performed between *peregrines* (provincial Romans) and Romans from the heartlands (Nicols 2016, p. 190), it is, therefore, not unacceptable to assume that these interactions also took place between these same *peregrines* and the Iron Age societies of *Barbaricum*. *Hospitium* also challenges the principles of “ours” and “theirs”, and the honour and protection of each party is heavily respected (Nicols 2016, p. 182), which allows for a more level playing field between Roman and “Celt”; by which *both* parties could benefit from the proceedings, whether from material or immaterial means.



With regard to the act itself, there are two primary forms of *hospitium*; the first, *Hospitium Publicum*, relates to public acts of *hospitium*, which would have been performed during public ceremonies involving several individuals. The second, *Hospitium Privatum*, concerns the private agreements of two sole parties, whereby *tesserae* would often be employed, so that either party would recognise the other (Nybakken 1948, 271f). These tokens were, thus, a form of binding agreement between two individuals, and encouraged both parties to “keep their word”.

There is also evidence, at least in the written sources, that *tesserae* were not always an integral element of these procedures, as sometimes “faith in a man’s word” was sufficient. This said, for many Romans, these word of mouth agreements were not wholly trustworthy, therefore, the act of giving and receiving tokens was often of preference (Nybakken 1948, 252f). Lastly, and perhaps the most significant element of *hospitium* in the case of this study, is the ceremonial “exchange of gifts” that often accompanied these acts. Not much is known about the form these “gifts” took, though epigraphic evidence provides written accounts of wealthy Roman citizens impressing their “*hospites*” (guest-individuals or groups) with objects of supreme artistic value (Nicols 2011, p. 424). With such a loose description of these “gifts”, there are reasonable grounds to believe that virtually any prestige object could have been received in this manner.

With regard to what was given in return by Iron Age Scandinavians, physical gifts do not appear to be the most obvious commodity. Based on the epigraphic evidence, Romans were known to accommodate their guests (*hospites*), offering them shelter as well as clothing. Furthermore, important information and the promise of protection were also offered during these exchanges (Nicols 2011, p. 329f). Could these forms of immaterial commodities have been offered by Iron Age societies? To employ a more contemporary comparison, the meeting between European Caucasian and Pacific Islanders reveals a similar exchange of “gifts” taking place (Thomas 1991). It is, therefore, not far-fetched to assume that a Roman official or traveller could have been hosted in such a manner, particularly when understanding the parallels between Romanised and non-Romanised individuals, and chance encounters between far-separated cultures of the modern world.

3.1.2 A *Tessera* in Scandinavia?

If we are to return to the concept of *tesserae* themselves, is there any evidence for these Roman tokens in the archaeological record in Scandinavia? The empirical material presented in this study may reveal some possible parallels. Perhaps, the strongest example of a *tessera* beyond the frontier is a bronze “fitting” in the shape of a gryphon that was found on the Swedish island of Öland (*cat.* 32) (Fig. 36). The object has a slight concave and looks as if it has been purposely split in two; its sister half seemingly lost, or perhaps retained by a second individual. In addition, scratch marks on its rear side appear to indicate human intervention; as if lines have been made in order to mark an exchange of goods, or service; or perhaps to mark a ritual occasion of some description.



Figure 36. The bronze gryphon fitting (*cat.* 32), as seen from both sides. Photo: Eriksson, SHM 2022 (CY BY 4.0).

In the case of the gryphon “fitting”, the subject in question is a mythical creature, however, it was common for *tesserae* to be designed in the shape of the animals for which these rituals were intended to represent, such as pigs and rams (Luschi 2008). Despite this, as relatively few examples of zoomorphic *tesserae* from the Roman world have ever been discovered, it is difficult to know for certain whether the mythological nature of this gryphon depiction deems it impossible to be considered a *tessera*. Without a Roman version of a gryphon *tessera* with which to compare with this isolated example, it is difficult to suggest an indefinite connection to the object’s use in terms of *hospitium*, though the similarities between this object and other confirmed zoomorphic *tesserae* are hard to ignore. Is it possible that this mythological example of the phenomenon reflects the abnormality and informality of Roman practices when removed

from their original context, or perhaps other examples of *tesserae* in the shape of gryphons are yet to be found throughout the Roman world?

3.1.3 Roman zoomorphic brooches

Although they do not match the precise description of *tesserae*, the presence of stray Roman zoomorphic brooches on Scandinavian soil is nonetheless an interesting discovery. They, like zoomorphic *tesserae*, are made of bronze, and are of a similar size and proportion. Perhaps the most obvious difference is their one-piece design, unlike *tesserae*, which are designed to be broken into two halves. This said, due to the fact that virtually anything *could* be converted into a *tessera*, it is not unacceptable to ponder the use of such objects outside of their intended setting, where substitutes could have served a similar purpose. As explored later in *Section 3.2*, these brooches have also been found in pairs, further suggesting a connection between these provincial Roman objects and the act of *hospitium*.

The Danish island of Bornholm lies just off the south coast of Sweden, and is a rich treasure trove of archaeological finds, though the recent discovery of a Roman brooch in the shape of an owl is the first of its kind (*cat. 1*) (Fig. 37) (Seehusen & Lund Hansen 2015). The owl brooch is a Roman bronze enamelled plate brooch, which was a fairly common type throughout the northern provinces between the 3rd and 4th centuries (e.g. Bayley & Butcher 2004; Brown 1981). The owl is positioned in profile with its head turned to face the viewer, and is decorated with fine enamel elements.



Figure 37. The owl brooch from Bornholm (*cat. 1*).
Photo: Lee, Natmus 2015 (CC-BY-SA).

The owl brooch from Bornholm is somewhat of an enigma; in part due to the particularly vague circumstances surrounding its discovery, but also because of the relatively low number of Roman brooches that exist in the archaeological record this far north of the Roman border. In fact, only a handful of examples have been beyond the frontier, of which six are included in this study (*cat. 1, 13, 16, 22, 27*). Solely one example of a Roman enamelled brooch comes from the continent in

the form of a stray find from Erwitte, Germany (Fig. 38), which is located approximately 150 km from the approximate border of the Roman frontier (Stephan & Berenger 2009).

Figure 38. A damaged enamelled copper brooch in the shape of a horse from Erwitte, Germany. Figure: Corpus der römischen Funde im europäischen Barbaricum 2009, Catalogue.



The existence of this object suggests the possibility that other brooches likely *do* exist, however, the current number of examples does not reflect this fact. I, myself, have been unable to locate a similar “owl” brooch anywhere throughout the Roman provinces, suggesting that the Bornholm owl is a fairly unique object of its kind. Roman zoomorphic brooches in the shape of birds are relatively common throughout the provinces, often shaped in the form of cockerels. The majority of these cockerel brooches derive from the Gaulish provinces and Roman Britain (Fig. 39). These brooches have long been associated with the cult of Mercury, as the Roman god was believed to have kept a cockerel as an animal companion (Crummy 2007).



Figure 39a & 39b. (Left) A Gallo-Roman enamelled copper brooch in the shape of a cockerel from Tongerwen in the Netherlands. Figure: Creemers 2015, p. 128; (Right) A Romano-British enamelled copper brooch in the shape of a cockerel from Lincoln, England. Photo: The Trustees of the British Museum n.d (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

Regarding other Danish regions, information on Roman zoomorphic brooches in the region of Jutland is rather weak when compared with Denmark’s neighbouring regions. The sole example is a stray find that was found in Tønder Municipality by a metal-detecting enthusiast (*cat. 13*)

(Fig. 40) (DIME 2022). The object is a rather worn bronze plate brooch in the shape of a *backward-facing animal*. As explored earlier, these backward-facing motifs are particularly prevalent in Scandinavia, and this example exhibits many of the common characteristics, with a neck turned at a 180-degree angle and the common use of a deer motif. As a metal-detector find, it is difficult to interpret the brooch with any degree of contextual certainty, though the fact that it is Roman in origin is particularly likely. The workmanship and realistic pose are reminiscent of other Roman zoomorphic motifs, and, though severely worn, the object clearly shares properties with other plate brooches featured in this study. It is also difficult to ascertain whether the subject is in fact a deer, as its likeness to a dog cannot be ruled out, however, motifs showing backward-facing animals rarely feature predators, and are far more commonly associated with herbivores. In light of this, it is perhaps more likely that the subject in fact depicts a deer, or some other form of prey animal.

Figure 40. The reverse side of the backward-facing animal brooch from Jutland (*cat. 13*). Photo: DIME 2020 (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0)



Two other Roman plate brooches have been found on the island of Zealand by metal detector hobbyists (DIME 2022). Similarly to the deer brooch from Jutland, these examples also exhibit typically Roman characteristics, such as realistic poses and high levels of honed workmanship. The subjects in this case, however, are a “dog” plate brooch (*cat. 16*) and a brooch in the shape of a “bovine” animal (*cat. 22*) (Fig 41). Of the two, the dog brooch is easier to discern, and appears to depict a canine species, though it could also be a deer. The animal depicted in the second brooch, however, is far more difficult to establish. Is it a bull, a deer, or perhaps another animal entirely? Perhaps the animal itself is of little importance, and instead the symbolism it represents as a gift, or *token*, is more important to consider. Whatever the reason, it nonetheless demonstrates a connection to the outside world, and the presence of Roman material culture in the region.



Figures 41a & 41b. (Left) Reverse side of the bronze plate brooch in the shape of a running dog/deer (*cat. 16*). Photo: DIME 2020 (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0); (Right) Reverse side of the heavily-eroded zoomorphic brooch from Zealand (*cat. 22*). Photo: DIME 2020 (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

3.1.4 Gifts of hospitality or spoils of war?

Naturally, not all Roman imports in Scandinavia may be unequivocally classed as *tesserae*, however, as stated earlier, gifts were also a common part of these exchanges between Romans and Iron Age societies. Although not all zoomorphic objects can be linked to *hospitium*, some may have been given as gifts in order to gain the support of “outsiders”. This section of the text explores some of these objects that may have served as gifts from Roman officials to Scandinavian elites in return for military service.

The remaining Roman *stray finds* fit this description rather well, as many of the subjects depict animals commonly associated with sacrifice and daily life, such as a large bronze bull figurine (*cat. 31*) (Fig. 42) and a fitting in the shape of a ram’s head from Öland (*cat. 30*) (Fig. 43). The bull figurine from Lilla Frö is thought to have been placed atop a Roman banner, chiefly due to the fact that the object has a hole gouged out of its underside, and also due to its large size, at 23.5 cm in length. Perhaps serving as some form of icon for the conquering armies of Roman Gaul (Lund Hansen 1987, p. 445; Thrane 1989, p. 385ff), the figurine certainly highlights the possibility that war booty may often have been taken by Scandinavian elites and returned to their homelands as “spoils of war”. The figurine also shows signs of heavy patination, commonly observed among bronze bog depositions (Jørgensen, Storgaard & Thomsen 2003, p. 61ff), suggesting a possible indication of its use as a ritual sacrifice by Iron Age Ölanders.



Figure 42. (Left) The bronze ram's head fitting (*cat. 30*). Photo: Jansson, SHM 1995 (CC BY 2.5); *Figure 43.* (Right) The bronze bull figurine (*cat. 31*), showing signs of heavy patination. Photo: SHM 1997 (CC BY 2.5).

The ram's head (*cat. 30*) is a further interesting discovery, because it depicts an animal known to be associated with *tesserae* tokens, such as the Mediterranean counterparts presented earlier (e.g. Chamorro 2004; Lusci 2008). It has been suggested that the object may be of Greek craftsmanship, though it is difficult to confirm this, primarily based on the lack of a stable network between the Scandinavian and Greek worlds during the RIA (e.g. Andersson 2021; Lund Hansen 1987). In contrast to the gryphon fitting, the ram's intended use is easier to interpret, due to its round shape and the holes on its base that perhaps once held nails to which a bronze vessel was attached (Fig. 44). This said, it is not unacceptable to believe that the ram's head was removed from its vessel in order to be gifted by a Roman to a local Scandinavian via the practice of *Hospitium Privatum*. Furthermore, it is also possible that a ram, or other bovine species was slaughtered to mark the gift-giving occasion.

Figure 44. The ram's head fitting (*cat. 30*) as it may have looked prior to removal from its adhering bronze vessel. Photo: Lindwall, SHM 1960 (CC BY 2.5).



The last of the Öland finds comes in the form of a bronze panther's head from Spångebro (*cat. 33*). Not much is known about the object, much like many of the *stray finds* featured in this study (Lund

Hansen 1987, p. 445). What is evident, however, is that the object is of particularly high-quality craftsmanship, and that, similarly to the ram's head, it was likely attached to some form of Roman vessel. The object does not appear to show any traces of patination, though the possibility that it was used in some form of votive practice cannot be ruled out, particularly when considering the powerful allure that such an exotic animal would likely have had to the local populace.

Another Swedish example that can be mentioned here comes from the island of Gotland. This object, though difficult to identify, seems to be a hollow bronze fitting in the shape of a wolf's head, though the subject could also depict a bear or other predatory animal (*cat. 28* (Fig. 45). The animal head, much like other fittings mentioned previously, seems to have once adorned some form of Roman bronze vessel, though the vessel itself is lost, and the reasons for why it was removed (if it was removed purposely), are unknown. Upon inspecting the object's lower portion, it appears as if the object has been forcefully removed from its original setting, though it is difficult to establish this with any degree of certainty. Furthermore, the bronze head seems to lack a continental parallel (e.g. *Corpus der römischen Funde im europäischen Barbaricum 1998-2017*), thus the significance of the object is difficult to comprehend. Could the wolf head have been removed by a Roman, in order to be given as a gift to an elite on the island of Gotland?

Figure 45. The bronze “wolf head”, shown here in profile (*cat. 28*). Photo: Kusmin, SHM 2006 (CC BY 2.5).



Last but not least, another strong example of “spoils of war” is a rather impressive bronze gilded gryphon's head that was discovered in an area called Vimose in Næsby-hoved, Denmark (*cat. 9*) (Fig. 46). Some have interpreted the object as an adornment from a Roman cavalry or parade helmet, while others theorise that the gryphon fitting likely sat atop a Roman standard banner (Jørgensen, Storgaard & Thomsen 2003, p. 57ff), similarly to the bull figurine mentioned earlier. Whatever its intended use, the object was found deposited in a bog, much in line with weapon sacrifices elsewhere in Denmark, such as the renowned Illerup Ådal and Nydam deposits

(Jørgensen, Storgaard & Thomsen 2003, p.47ff). Considering this, it is likely that this gilded gryphon's head was sacrificed due to its visual power, and the prestige it would have carried in the eyes of high-ranking tribal elites (e.g. Jensen 2017).

Figure 46. The bronze gilded helmet “fitting” in the shape of a gryphon head (*cat. 9*). Photo: Lee, Natmus n.d. (CC-BY-SA).



The concept of “spoils of war” provides a welcome alternative for understanding the significance of zoomorphic examples that do not possess the usual characteristics associated with *tesserae*. It is certainly possible that a number of these objects could have been taken from the battlefield by Germanic elites and held in their possession for generations, however, they may also have been “gifts of hospitality”.

3.1.5 Results and discussion

How were these Roman zoomorphic imports acquired/consumed by Scandinavian Iron Age societies? Was this achieved through a regular trade network or were the interactions more sporadic?

The results provided by *Case study I*, in addition to the regional distribution patterns, reveal a general sporadic and “loose” interaction network between local Iron Age societies and provincial Romans. The evidence does not show an extensive supply of Roman “trade goods”, but more the result of sporadic meetings between the two parties. The empirical material points towards the possible use of *hospitium* and *dona militaria*, or perhaps a combination of the two. Additionally, the likelihood that at least some of the objects were simply “spoils of war”, cannot be ruled out.

It is not unacceptable to believe that the Roman act of *hospitium* may have been performed during these social interactions, and this is apparent when one considers the types of material that was received by local societies. In fact, all of the stray finds observed in this study may have been gifted to Scandinavian elites via *hospitium*, and a couple of the examples even

possess many of the described characteristics of *tesserae*; even if they lack the epigraphy and other details present on examples that derive from southern European contexts. This said, we will never know for sure whether these objects were used within these “gift-giving” contexts, primarily due to the uncertainty surrounding their discovery, as well as the lack of credible written sources that detail interaction between Romans and Scandinavian Iron Age societies. It is also worth noting that even though these *stray finds* are useful for demonstrating some variation of *hospitium* taking place, the gifted material in question could just as well be a *grave find* or otherwise. It is, thus, not the non-contextual nature of stray finds that deems them strong candidates for this case study, but more that it is difficult to apply the same level of theoretical thought to objects that lack a great deal of usable contextual information. Furthermore, if these objects were indeed intended to be *tesserae*, would every Scandinavian elite in possession of such tokens have genuinely felt compelled to retain these objects to the grave? After all, however beautiful they may appear to us today, to Scandinavians of the RIA they were likely regarded as objects borne out of practicality, rather than prestige goods observed within mortuary practices. In spite of this, some *tesserae* may have been treasured by their receiving parties; a matter that shall be explored further in the following section of the text (*Section 3.2*).

In general, a number of distinct patterns have been identified. Firstly, it has been observed that the act of *hospitium* would have been advantageous for ensuring the future service and cooperation of Iron Age societies in *Barbaricum*, particularly during a period when physical manifestations and visual culture were the metaphorical language, as opposed to the spoken and written latin of the Roman world (Wicker 2016). With this in mind, the fact that examples of possible *tesserae* found in Scandinavia do not bear any latin inscriptions, is not a true indicator of their intended purpose. After all, why would a “Roman” go to the effort to inscribe a token with a language that would be wholly indecipherable to an outsider? Considering this, any object showing the desired visual characteristics could be “converted” into a *tessera*, regardless whether the object in question was intended to in fact be a token or not. This means, relatively speaking, that all of the stray finds featured in this study fit the description of a token. Although these objects were likely not designed to be used solely during the act of *hospitium*, it is not unacceptable to assume that these objects may have been “adapted” to accommodate the traditions and practices of local Iron Age societies.

So, what of the concept of *dona militaria*? If we are to apply *hospitium* to examples that share characteristics with those *tesserae* found in the provinces, then *dona militaria* may help to explain the context of other stray finds featured in this study. The rules surrounding this act *do* appear to be less stringent than those outlined in the act of *hospitium*. After all, *dona militaria* does not require a formal agreement or “promise” between the parties involved, and relies instead on the cooperation of the non-Roman to participate in military service for the Roman army. This raises a number of issues, however; for instance, *hospitium* is designed to be performed prior to the carrying out of a “deed”, whereas *dona militaria* is a “post-practice” act. The question is, how many of these Roman imports were gifted prior to, and after military service? Were *dona militaria* gifted to these Iron Age elites or was the act of *hospitium* utilised in connection with these affairs, or even a combination of the two? Perhaps the deep-rooted issue of the connection between *dona militaria* and Roman citizenship should be respected, and the use of *hospitium* should be of preference. After all, to assume that all “Germanic mercenaries” fighting in Roman wars became citizens, is a particularly bold statement. Perhaps it is more acceptable to think of these specific examples in terms of “spoils of war”, as opposed to *dona*. To suspect that Germanic mercenaries plundered the battlefield after a victory, and in doing so, brought home Roman objects, is not unrealistic. Furthermore, this more informal “acquisition” of foreign material culture would have not required the more official ritual of *dona militaria*. This conclusion bears far less controversy than the stringent rules of Roman ritual practices, and instead reverts back to something much more “human”; the desire to bring back souvenirs from events that dwell in our memories.

In summary, the *stray finds* depicting zoomorphic forms in southern Scandinavia often lack contextual information, though they nonetheless point towards a number of common themes. One particular aspect shared among the examples is their size; they are, alas, small objects that could easily be lost or disposed of. Whether willingly or unwillingly, these objects may have been dropped *en route* from one settlement to another, which brings us to another interesting aspect; their connection to central places. For instance, nearly all of the examples were found exceptionally close to areas known to be important cultural centres during the Roman Iron Age, such as Gudme, Uppåkra, and the islands of Bornholm, Gotland, and Öland. A further interesting observation is that Roman imports deemed to be *fittings* are almost never found with the vessels to which they were originally attached. Could this be an indication that such vessels

were of little importance to local Scandinavians, and that these fittings were instead removed in order to be sacrificed as bog depositions; *or* were the vessels already removed from the equation by the Romans that gifted them? It is an interesting question on which to ponder, though perhaps one that is difficult to answer with the limited number of examples included in this study.

3.2 Case study II: *Adoption*

This case study explores the second element of “The Three-Part Method”, “adoption”. The section principally concerns objects in the category of *grave finds*; i.e. finds associated with mortuary practices, though other “contextual finds” also fall into this category. Of the twenty-five Roman grave finds found in southern Scandinavia that exhibit zoomorphic motifs, the vast majority are “vessels”, however, a number of other objects such as figurines and brooches are also included. These materials, thus, provide this section with a wealth of information regarding the adoption of provincial practices and material culture as well as evidence on the selection and reuse of various material categories.

The appropriation of Roman items for non-Roman practices does not disguise the fact that a sphere of practice was being actively reproduced using a Roman medium, if not to “Roman” ends. - (Pitts 2004; 24)

3.2.1 Provincial Roman material culture and practices

One of the central theories behind this study is that the Iron Age societies of Scandinavia were not necessarily influenced by Romans from “Rome” itself, or indeed Romans from the Mediterranean heartlands of “pure” unaffected Roman culture. It is perhaps more logical to assume that the provincial Romans of nearby northern countries such as Germany, France, Netherlands or even Britain, were more likely key sources from which much of this cultural transmission originated (e.g. Grane 2007; Wicker 2013; 2016). This is particularly evident when observing Roman imports found in Scandinavia, as, based on the stylistic and functional nature of the material, very few of the examples seem to actually derive from the Italian heartlands themselves. For instance, the coveted red clay vessels known as *Terra Sigillata*, which are provincial commodities known to originate from production centres in Rheinzabern, Trier, and Westendorf (Cavka 2017; Lund Hansen 1987, pp. 183-185; Wightman 190, p. 197ff) in addition

to Roman zoomorphic enamelled brooches, are predominantly associated with the northern European territories of Roman Gaul and Britain; places in which hybridisation had already occurred to varying degrees. With regard to imports that cannot be unequivocally linked to the *provinces* based on their design and style alone, it is nonetheless possible that the objects were not transported directly from Rome to Scandinavia, but in actuality, swapped hands with a number of “provincial Romans” prior to reaching their final destination.

With regard to provincial burial practices, Gallo-Roman practices were in fact a mixture of Celtic and Roman traditions, with the active use of both inhumation and cremation burials. Depending on the wealth of the deceased person in question, the burial may have been a fairly simple affair, such as in the case of “urn burials” or “cremation pit graves”; or lavish ones, by which a large mausoleum would be erected in honour of the deceased (Höpken 2015, p. 18f). These monumental tombs were often located along major roads out of Roman cities, such as the example at the Gallo-Roman city of Trier (Wightman 1970). The myriad of coexisting religions and beliefs of those residing in these “Romanised” regions, resulted in a wide variety of mortuary practices. This means that it is often difficult to trace a certain “adopted practice” to a conclusive source, though, naturally, it is possible to see the wider perspective regarding what is “Gallo-Roman” and that which pre-existed prior to Roman intervention. The most important aspect of these provincial practices (at least in terms of this text), is the use of grave goods. As an example, the decorated vessels featured in this study were not originally intended to be “grave goods”, and were instead primarily used as lavish household items to decorate the tables and homes of wealthy Roman citizens (Biegert & Helfert 2015). Roman provincial practices *do*, however, demonstrate a use of ceramic vessels for burial purposes, possibly to represent the items the deceased would require in the afterlife. The use of ceramic tableware in mortuary practices is not a typically “Roman” tradition, though it was fairly common within the provinces, where Roman and pre-Roman Gaulish traditions were intertwined (e.g. Höpken 2015, p. 16ff; Woolf 1998, p. 190ff). Furthermore, in provincial regions such as *Germania Magna*, princely graves show use of *TS* vessels and other Roman prestige goods in mortuary practices (Ekengren 2009), therefore it is possible that the practices in Scandinavia also reflect these neighbouring traditions.

3.2.2 Terra Sigillata and the hunt

As mentioned earlier, *Terra Sigillata* are perhaps one of the premier examples of Roman material culture for studying the significance of Roman imports within RIA mortuary practices in Scandinavia. *Terra Sigillata* fragments in settlement contexts such as Lundeberg and Lundsgård are also strong examples of Roman zoomorphism finding its way to the region (*cat. 3 & 4*). The vessels are of the “Dragendorff 37” type, and both derive from different find contexts. The first set of shards (*cat. 3*) is from a settlement context known as “cultural layer 313”, and the second from a burial (*1504*) (Lund Hansen 1989, p. 420; Petersen 1988, p. 47). The example from “cultural layer 313” shows several animal figures, including a static-bird motif, a deer-like figure, and parts of some form of feline species. It also appears as if the entire scene may have once formed a *hunting motif*, though it is difficult to establish this for certain. The latter shard from “burial 1504” also depicts running animals associated with the “hunt”, including a rabbit/hare and a dog-like figure. In addition, several human figures can be seen directly beneath the zoomorphic motifs. Parallels for these *TS* types found in Denmark can be found on the European continent, such as Dragendorff 37 shards from regions of Germany and Poland that once formed part of *Barbaricum* (Figs. 47 & 48).



Figure 47. A set of *Terra Sigillata* vessels (Dragendorff 37) from central Germany. Figure: Corpus der römischen Funde im europäischen Barbaricum 2017, Catalogue.

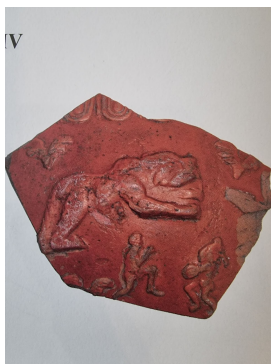


Figure 48. Zoomorphic *TS* shards (Dragendorff 37) from the region of Kleinpolen, Poland. Figure: Corpus der römischen Funde im europäischen Barbaricum 2017, Catalogue.

Perhaps one of the more fascinating archaeological sites featured in this study is the burial field at Møllegårdsmarken, which consists primarily of cremation burials. The site is believed to have been a major cemetery that served the Iron Age settlement at Gudme as well as acting as a crossroads for the wider surrounding area (e.g. Albrechtsen 1968; 1971; Thrane 1989). To date, three *Terra Sigillata* vessels bearing zoomorphic motifs have been found at the site in contexts 795, 834, and 1687b (*cat. 5, 6 & 8*). All of the examples have been damaged; presumably with intention as part of the cremation process. Despite their discoloration, it is still possible to distinguish the various animal figures adorning these Roman vessels. The more remarkable of the vessels are perhaps objects (*cat. 5 & 6*). The former is the only *TS* vessel of “Dragendorff 54” type (*cat. 5*) that has been found in Scandinavia, and shows various large running animal figures in pursuit of smaller animals. The vessel also seems to have been involved in mortuary ritual practices, as it too shows signs of fire damage; possibly as a result of cremation. The second Dragendorff 37 vessel (*cat. 6*), also shows a form of hunting motif, although the figures are much more difficult to interpret in this case, due to the vessel’s poor level of preservation. With the help of contemporary sketches, however, it is possible to see how the ornamentation may originally have looked, with the inclusion of both human and animal figures in various interactive scenes (Fig. 49).

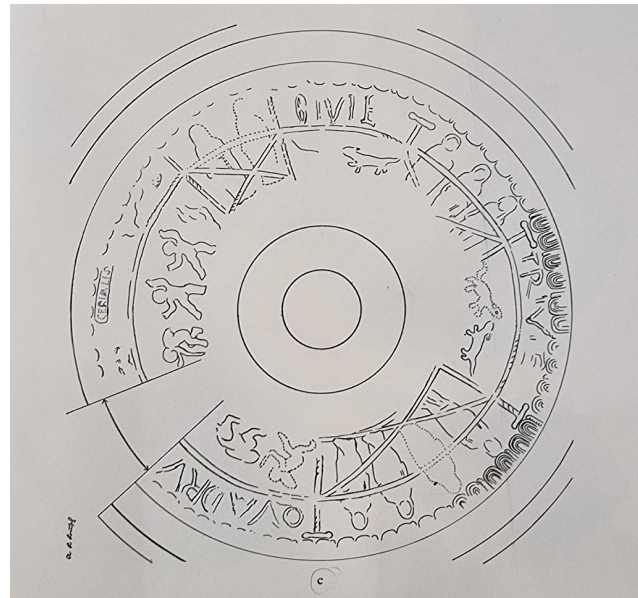


Figure 49. A reconstruction of the various motifs present on the *TS* vessel from context 834 at Møllegårdsmarken (*cat. 6*). Figure: Albrechtsen 1971, Catalogue.

A number of *TS* vessels have also been found in Zealand, and are among the best-preserved examples of the provincial Roman pottery featured in this study. The first example comes from Himlingøje (*cat. 18*), and shows small static birds alongside floral patterns and medallions, though, the second, however, is a more vivid scene. This example is from Valløby, and, like the Himlingøje, is a complete vessel, which shows a variety of animals associated with the hunt, such as boars, hounds, as well as human figures with

bows and arrows (*cat. 24*). It is unclear whether the figures are representations of people or deities, however, the symbolism seems to be nonetheless connected to hunting.

The Swedish island of Gotland is home to perhaps the only surviving example of *Terra Sigillata* pottery with zoomorphic motifs, though other examples likely existed in the Roman Iron Age. This said, other *TS* shards *do* exist, though other examples feature only floral ornamentation and other non-zoomorphic symbolism. Of the four shards found in Burs parish, Gotland, only one shows a potential zoomorphic motif in the form of a running animal-like figure with horns; possibly a bull or a deer. The other three shards are severely worn, therefore it is difficult to envision the scene in its entirety. Perhaps the vessel once showed a hunting motif, similar to the Danish *TS* examples? What is known, however, is that the shards were discovered in a settlement cultural layer, inside a house foundation (Cavka 2015, p. 15; Lund Hansen 1987, p. 182). This means that the *TS* vessel is the only example featured in this study that is not associated with mortuary practices. Was the Roman object used in daily life? Or was it kept purely for decorative and symbolic purposes?

All in all, *Terra Sigillata* vessels provide archaeologists with a rich backdrop for studying Roman hunting motifs and the effect this vivid symbolism may have had on local Iron Age societies. This said, the connection between this imagery and the adoption of provincial practices in Scandinavia is a rather well-researched area, therefore in the next section of the text, the study tackles other aspects of Roman material culture that also illustrate this phenomenon.

3.2.3 A trio of bronze figurines: A provincial Roman connection?

A few kilometres away from Møllegårdsmarken lies the Iron Age site at Vejrupsgård, where a set of bronze figurines/fittings have been discovered (*cat. 10, 11 & 12*) (Fig. 50). It is thought that the three figurines came from the same bronze vessel. A number of bronze vessels were found in the same context (*Burial I*) as the figurines, though attempts to establish the exact vessel in question have largely fallen short (Thrane 1989). What is certain, however, is that other Roman prestige goods buried alongside these figures originate from provincial backgrounds, indicating a possible link to Roman traditions on the continent, as opposed to Italo-Roman iconography (e.g. Lund Hansen 1987). The bull figurine (*cat. 10*) is quite unlike the more naturalistic forms most commonly associated with Roman contexts (*see cat. 31*), though simultaneously, it does not appear to hold true to the more “abstract” style associated with locally-produced bull figurines;

the likes of which shall be presented in more detail later in the text (e.g. *cat.* 38). The bird figurines are of further interest, as they differ greatly from one another in appearance; for instance, (*cat.* 11) is a rather naturalistic bird figurine, possibly depicting some form of waterfowl, while the other (*cat.* 12) is a more stylised rendition of a bird depiction.

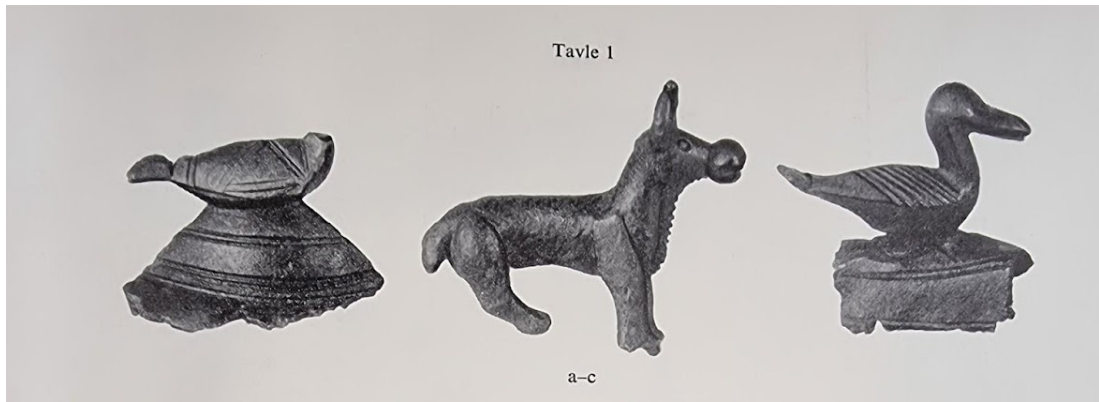


Figure 50. The three bronze figurines from *Burial I* at Vejrupsgård (*cat.* 10-12). Figure: Albrechtsen 1973, Catalogue.

Although these figurines are difficult to place, it is highly unlikely that they were produced by local Scandinavian craftsmen, as bronze was a material seldom used in vessel production during the RIA (e.g. Eggers 1951; Lund Hansen 1987). Could the figurines be inspired by pre-Roman traditions? An example that springs to mind when contemplating the possibility of pre-Roman connections, comes in the form of a pair of pre-Roman bronze zoomorphic figurines from the Iron Age settlement at Fredbjerg (Fig. 51). The figurines appear to be “*La Tène*” in style, and depict a bull and a twin-headed water bird. In addition, they are also of a similar size and proportion to the Vejrupsgård figurines (Jensen 1980, p. 185ff).

Though the pre-Roman connection is hard to ignore, when observing provincial bull figurines discovered elsewhere in *Barbaricum*, the similarities are also apparent. An example from Bremerhaven, Germany shows a 2nd-century provincial bronze bull figurine (Fig. 52) (Corpus der römischen Funde im europäischen Barbaricum 2002). Compared with pre-Roman *La Tène* bulls, the horns and snout are far less pronounced. In addition, the figurine only measures 5.4 cm in height, which also suggests a stronger connection to local zoomorphic material found in the region (*cat.* 34-40), at least in terms of size. Could the three bronze figurines from Vejrupsgård be some form of missing link between pre-Roman symbolism and

provincial Roman traditions? Based on the foregoing analysis, this is entirely possible. For this reason, I have decided to include the trio in the “Roman imports” section of the catalogue (*Appendix I*), as, although their origins are hard to trace, it is unlikely they were of local origin, and, thus, should instead be handled as imports.



Figures 51 & 52. (Left) A pair of pre-Roman zoomorphic figurines from the settlement at Fredbjerg. Photo: Larsen, Natmus n.d. (CC-BY-SA) (Right) A small 2nd-century bull figurine from Bremerhaven, North Germany. Figure: *Corpus der römischen Funde im europäischen Barbaricum* 2002, Catalogue.

3.2.4 Roman zoomorphic glassware in Denmark

The region of Zealand is a particularly rich area for Roman imports; particularly with regard to vessels, and has thus been dubbed a “power centre” for contact with Romans and local Iron Age societies (e.g. Grane 2013; Lund Hansen 1987). One of the largest groups of Roman objects is the array of *circus beakers* (E 209) found in the region. These glass vessels are interesting because they are always unique in their design, and often show motifs featuring humans and animals in various scenes (Fig. 53).

The two most common motifs are hunting motifs and gladiatorial scenes, hence the name “circus beakers”, though other motifs also exist, such as one example from Varpelev showing birds with “static poses” (*cat.* 25). All of these Roman glass vessels were discovered in burial contexts, and many have survived largely intact. Considering this, they must have been especially treasured by the individuals that were gifted them, possibly due to their apparent visual qualities, or perhaps because of the symbolism they represented; with scenes depicting

hunting motifs and exotic animals that would likely have been appealing to Scandinavian Iron Age elites (Jørgensen, Storgaard & Thomsen 2003, p. 395; Lund Hansen 1987, p. 208ff).



Figures 53a & 53b. Two of the *circus beakers* found in Zealand. (Left) Hunting motif featuring exotic animals; from Himlingeje (*cat. 17*). (Right) Gladiatorial scene featuring a gladiator and exotic animals; from Nordrup (*cat. 21*). Photos: Fortuna & Ursem, Natmus 2020/21 (CC-BY-SA).

A further notable aspect of these exquisite examples of Roman glassware is that they are also associated exclusively with the provinces, much like *Terra Sigillata* vessels. Furthermore, *circus beakers* are linked exclusively to the workshops of the western European provinces (Lund Hansen 1987). The examples found on Danish soil have extraordinarily similar parallels on the continent, such as four colourful vessels that were found in the German region of *Barbaricum* (Fig. 54).

The provincial examples, though similar in their symbolism, appear to have been produced by a different craftsman or workshop, however, as these coveted glass vessels vary significantly in terms of decoration and artistry. Because of this it is exceedingly difficult to determine the origins of each individual example. This said, it is evident that these circus beakers provide archaeologists with a clear parallel between the Scandinavian region and the Roman provinces, as they are, as with the other material examples, evidence of close ties with provincial Roman practices. In addition to a *Terra Sigillata* shard (*cat. 4*), a single fragment of a glass *circus beaker* was also found in *burial 1304*. This small fragment depicts a “static-bird figure” in profile (*cat 7*), and appears to be the only example of a circus beaker bearing zoomorphic motifs found on the island of Funen.

Figure 54. A set of circus beakers from *Germania Magna*. Figure: *Corpus der römischen Funde im europäischen Barbaricum* 1998, Catalogue.



In addition to *circus beakers*, another glass Roman import (*cat. 14*) was found in Jutland, at a site known as Dalagergård. The current object is in a poor state of preservation, thus, it is difficult to discern the glass vessel’s ornamentation. A modern reconstruction, however, has since revealed a hunting motif depicting a rider on horseback, a pair of hunting dogs, and a form of deer-like animal (Fig. 55). It is a classic hunting scene, showing many of the elements also common on Roman *Terra Sigillata* vessels (*e.g. cat. 5, 24*), with the inclusion of both human figures and hunting animals in pursuit of game animals such as deer, boar, and rabbits/hares. Other than the glass bowl, no other zoomorphic examples are present in the grave, though the individual was also buried with other notable Roman imports such as twenty-five glass playing pieces, a bronze vessel, and a bronze brooch of the “Nydam” type (Fischer & Bluestone, p. 165f; Lund Hansen 1987, p. 429).



Figure 55. A reconstruction of the hunting motif on the glass bowl from Dalagergård (*cat. 14*). Figure: Fischer & Bluestone 1981, p. 170.

3.2.5 The Hemmoor bronze buckets

Another example of Roman material culture that is particularly known for the use of zoomorphic ornamentation are the bronze buckets of the “Hemmoor” variety; based on Eggers’ typology (E 55) (*cat. 15, 19*). Not all variations of Hemmoor buckets feature zoomorphic symbolism, though

a number of examples are decorated with hunting motifs and backward-facing animals. These Hemmoor buckets are strong examples of provincial Roman material culture, as they belong to a group of objects that originate from the region of Lower Germany, which is interesting as they are commonly found in Danish RIA graves; both with and without zoomorphic friezes (Werner 1966, p. 18f). These Hemmoor buckets, much like *TS* vessels and enamelled brooches, originate from production centres in the Rhineland (Lund Hansen 1987), and similar examples have filtered their way up to areas of Lower Saxony and Mecklenburg-Vorpommern in Germany (Fig. 56) (Corpus der römischen Funde im europäischen Barbaricum 2004).

Figure 56. A Hemmoor bucket from northern Germany shows parallels with the Danish examples (*cat. 15, 19*). Figure: Corpus der römischen Funde im europäischen Barbaricum 2004, Catalogue.

Two examples of this phenomenon have also been found in Denmark; the first in an area known as Udby (*cat. 15*); also located in the north-eastern area of the region (Lund Hansen 1987, p. 414). The rim of the vessel shows a hunting motif featuring a number of figures in motion, including humans, deities, hounds and deer, and as with the Dalagergård glass bowl, the Udby bucket was also buried alongside other elite objects such as gold spiral rings and a silver fibula.

The second bronze Hemmoor bucket (*cat. 19*), much like the example from Udby, has also been found in the power centre of Himlingøje. The Zealand bucket also shows a hunting frieze featuring various animals, however, the Himlingøje bucket also includes the use of backward-facing animal motifs, whereas the figures on the Udby bucket are shown in forward-facing running poses. The object was found in a princely grave, particularly rich with Roman imports, as well as lying in close proximity to the grave in which the Himlingøje *circus beaker* (*cat. 18*) was also discovered. Could these coveted objects be yet another clue as to how provincial Roman traditions may have been adopted into Scandinavian ritual practices?



3.2.6 Roman brooches in Scandinavian mortuary practices

Serving as the only Swedish region represented in the category of *grave finds*, Gotland presents a unique insight into Roman zoomorphic imports in burial contexts. The information provided by these examples, however, is particularly relevant nonetheless. If Öland is the island of *stray finds*, then Gotland is the equivalent for *grave finds*. So, what is the evidence of “adoption” on Gotland? The first example comes in the form of two zoomorphic enamelled copper brooches in the shape of hares/rabbits that were found in an elite grave in Bjärs, Hejnum parish (*cat. 27*) (Fig. 57) (Björklund & Hejl *et al* 1996, p. 205). Provincial parallels for these brooches originate from workshops both in Roman Britain (Fig. 58) and on the continent, therefore it is difficult to establish the origin of this pair. The Gotland burial itself has been dated to the Vendel Period (550-800 CE), and as such presents an interesting chronological challenge for archaeologists. The burial is known to be a Vendel burial due to the other objects buried alongside these Roman imports, such as a “back button” brooch and a Vendel-period axe (SHM 2011).

Figure 57. The pair of “hare brooches” from the Vendel burial at Bjärs, Gotland (*cat. 27*). Photo: Kusmin, SHM 2006 (CC BY 2.5).



Figure 58. A 2nd-3rd century “hare brooch” from Lincoln, England. Photo: The British Museum n.d., (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



The brooches themselves are of a type described earlier in *Section 2*; i.e. “Type 7.25”, after Almgren’s typology, and are, as such, a variety that are known to date from between the 2nd and 4th centuries (Bayler & Butcher 2004). This

means that they were either retained as “heirlooms”, or acquired much later via an indirect source. It is difficult to confirm this with any real certainty, though it seems likely considering the evident “time gap”. The presence of a pair of almost identical brooches in the possession of a single individual also raises questions about their origins. For instance, why are these the only

Roman brooches linked to mortuary practices? Could they have lived double lives as *tesserae*, eventually ending up in the hands of a Scandinavian elite who once entered into a formal agreement with a Roman? Though largely speculative, the circumstances surrounding their discovery are certainly mysterious, and will likely continue to be so for generations to come.

One final miscellaneous Roman import that should be mentioned here is a bronze fitting that ends in the shape of a ram's head (*cat. 2*); similar to the fitting from the island of Öland (*cat. 30*). It was found in an urn burial at Højby Mark, Denmark, alongside a number of other notable finds, such as a silver fibula, a bronze belt buckle, and bronze plate fragments from a pair of drinking horns. The fitting itself may have been attached to some form of Roman sacrificial bowl, such as a *patera*, though the vessel itself has not been found (Albrechtsen 1956, p. 56). Much like the above-mentioned zoomorphic brooches, the majority of Roman fittings are discovered as *stray finds*, therefore this ram's head is the only fitting from a burial context. Could this find have been given to a tribal elite as a standalone object, or was the original *patera* also received, only to be lost prior to the burial of this person? Due to the connection between vessels and RIA mortuary practices, it seems likely that a vessel would have been a favourable grave object, though perhaps the zoomorphic qualities of the object were adequate grounds for use in this context.

3.2.7 Results and discussion

Are Roman imports encountered in Scandinavian contexts similar to continental examples and/or the Roman provinces? Are provincial Roman practices relating to these objects retained and adopted by the local Iron Age societies?

One of the main purposes of *Case study II* was to attempt to understand the use of Roman zoomorphic imports under unacculturated conditions, and to study the ways in which material culture was repurposed beyond the confines of Roman influence. What has emerged is a plethora of results that are largely variable from region to region.

Firstly, it is important to remember that not all people of provincial “Romanised” regions were thoroughly “Roman” from the offset, and much like other parts of the Empire, new forms of material expression were already mass-produced on a seemingly large scale, prior to their eventual transfer to Scandinavia.

Of the contextual material categories, *Terra Sigillata* is the largest representative group, and the area that best represents these coveted wares is the burial field of Møllegårdsmarken on Funen. As touched upon earlier, the production centres for these vessels were principally based from the Rhineland and Westendorf regions of Germany, which shows at least some form of interaction with “Romans” from this region, based on the idea that the key people involved in these exchanges would have likely originated from either the “source” itself, or were residing in neighbouring regions of *Barbaricum* between the “source” and Scandinavia. These renowned vessels are, thus, perfect examples of material that is unique to the northern provinces, which has then filtered up beyond the frontier.

Another strong example of provincial material ending up in Scandinavia is the pair of “hare brooches” from the Vendel burial on Gotland. As it is widely known that this particular type of enamelled brooch was only produced in Roman Britain and the Gaulish provinces, a connection between RIA Scandinavians and the culture of these regions is not unacceptable to suggest. The brooches themselves are also particularly interesting because of their possible connection to the type associated with Roman British craftsmanship, as shown earlier. Could these brooches demonstrate a further-reaching network than previously thought; one that stretched all the way across the North Sea? The fact that these brooches were buried with an elite on an island with strong links to the Baltic sea and beyond, there seems to be at least some weight to this claim. Perhaps the brooches are a sign of “secondary contact”; i.e. that the brooches were produced in Britain, travelling along well-established Roman trade routes to Gaul, such as the one that existed between Colonia Agrippina and the British Isles (British Museum, The 1964; Wightman 1990; Wells 1999), before eventually ending up on Gotland. Although an interesting idea, it is not the aim of this text to attempt to draw a line between Scandinavia and Roman Britain, though the possibility of some form of awareness of the other’s existence is not an unacceptable hypothesis. Whether the source of these brooches is indeed Roman Britain, or Gaul, the result is, thus, the same; that provincial Roman material culture is the type most often encountered within Scandinavian contexts, and rarely of a flavour that matches the description of southern European varieties of Roman material culture.

Additionally, there is at least some evidence with regard to the retention of provincial Roman practices by the new “possessors” of these objects. Visual art depicting scenes of the hunt would likely have had a strong impact on the Iron Age societies of the north, as the act of

hunting is a ritual they would have been all too familiar with. This particular Roman pastime was not something alien and exotic like so many other aspects of Roman culture, but instead a tradition that would have provided a medium to which the two parties could have shared a mutual aura of understanding. As an example, the decision to bury *TS* vessels alongside the elites of Funen would have echoed the deeds they undertook in life; i.e. to demonstrate acts of bravery and prestige, and to please the gods with bounties from the hunt (Green 1992, p. 44ff). Furthermore, the positioning and choice of zoomorphic imports represented in princely graves reflects those from continental examples, though the types of burial in Scandinavia perhaps more echo mortuary practices elsewhere in *Barbaricum* (Ekengren 2007), as opposed to types observed in provincial Roman contexts. This is difficult to evaluate, however, due to the fluid nature of provincial Roman burials and the variation depending on tradition and class (e.g. Höpken 2015; Wightman 1990).

As with so many archaeological interpretations that are based on material culture alone, much is loosely speculative, however, if we are to return to the culturally diverse nature of the Roman world, it is possible to understand the desire of Scandinavian societies to “mimic” their brethren to the south. Were the individuals in possession of these Roman imports really re-enacting the traditions of the Romans *per se*, or were they simply nodding to their Germanic cousins who had already undergone “Romanisation”, and, as such, had allowed it to become more “socially acceptable” to welcome certain aspects of Roman culture to mix with their long upheld traditions.

3.3 Case study III: *Transformation*

The Roman world was as multifaceted as the mosaics it created, and each “Romanised” region had its own specific culture and traditions; thus, the proximity of these regions to their non-hybrid neighbours would have had cultural and social repercussions on the material and social fabric of those beyond the frontier (e.g. Derks 2009; Ekengren 2009; Grane 2007; 2013; 2017). When observing the zoomorphic material present in Scandinavian contexts, it is evident that this “cultural entanglement” appears to have also spread well beyond the Empire’s limits, to the far reaches of northern *Barbaricum*.

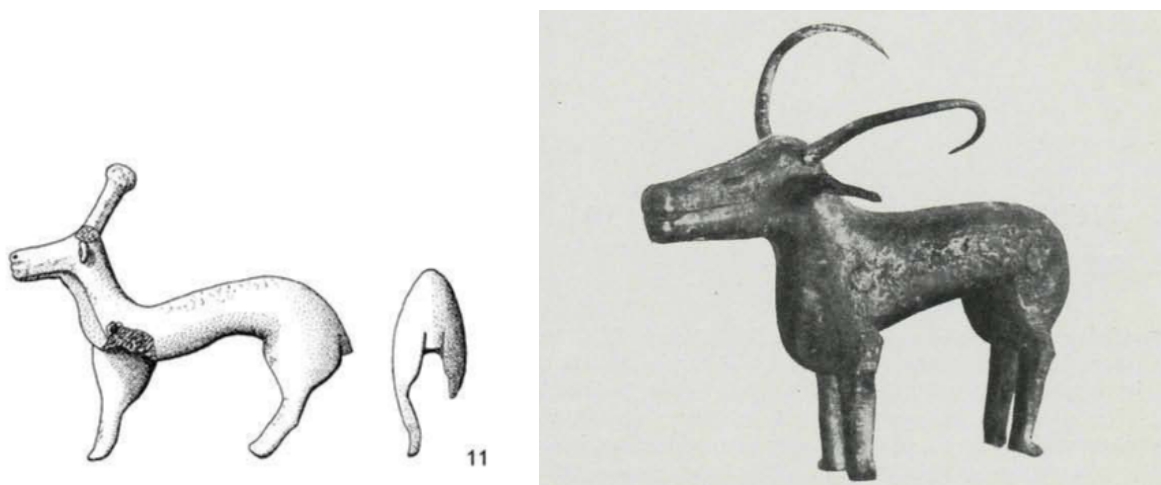
By utilising theories methodised in works that highlight “cultural entanglement” (e.g. Ekengren 2009; Stockhammer 2012; Woolf 1998), the concept of *cultural hybridisation* shall be tested within the limitations of zoomorphic forms from RIA Scandinavia, in order to trace any possible parallels between the Roman and locally-produced material. Furthermore, this final section of the qualitative analysis also deals with the final element of the “The Three-Part Method”, “transformation”; a phenomenon that in the case of this study concerns the representation of zoomorphic forms, inspired by Roman imports, or other outside sources found within similar regional contexts. The ultimate aim is to gain a clearer understanding regarding the types of Roman material culture that inspire those residing beyond the frontier to produce new representations, or “transformations” of the source material.

3.3.1 The birds and the bulls

As explored in the previous section, of the zoomorphic forms studied in the quantitative analysis of this text, objects depicting bulls were the most prevalent, and the greatest number of bronze zoomorphic figurines have so far been discovered on Funen, Denmark. This suggests the possibility of a region-specific cultural identity, and the existence of strong votive practices linked to these particular objects and animals. Regarding these figurines, the vast majority clearly depict bovines (e.g. *cat.* 34, 36, 37, 39, 40, 44, & 45), though several of the examples could in fact be horse representations (*cat.* 35 & 38). The Funen figurines are thought to have been produced at various intervals during the Roman Iron Age. Three of the figurines are believed to date from the Early RIA (C1) (*cat.* 40, 44 & 45), due to their likeness to pre-Roman bulls, and the rest of the group, with more abstract features, likely date from either the middle or Late RIA (C2/3) (e.g. Björklund & Hejl *et al* 1996; Thrane 1989). This rather loose use of *zoomorphism* marks the identification of species more difficult, though it also assists with dating the figurines to the RIA. This is because the era is often associated with abstract and simpler zoomorphic design, prior to the Migration Period when zoomorphism began to morph into what would eventually become Nordic animal ornamentation (e.g. Andersson 2021; Pesch 2015).

pre-Roman zoomorphic depictions, in contrast, are generally more lifelike, such as another bull figurine from Funen as well as a pre-Roman figurine from the Swedish island of Öland (Figs. 59 & 60) (Nerman 1943; Thrane 1989, p. 386ff). Much like the other Funen bulls, they are made of bronze, and are of a similar size and build, however, unlike the RIA examples, these figurines

have much broader horns, which often end in spherical shapes. In addition, the snouts are generally more lifelike than those encountered among RIA examples (Nerman 1943; Thrane 1989, p. 372ff). This artistic realism reflects the reality that bull depictions were more common in pre-Roman Europe than in latter periods. As mentioned earlier, three of the bull figurines; namely the examples from Lundsgård (*cat. 40*), Uggerslev (*cat. 44*), and Ullerslev (*cat. 45*), potentially also fit into this category. The Lundsgård figurine, for instance, possesses “rounder” horns than its RIA counterparts, and the Uggerslev and Ullerslev bulls are more lifelike, with protruding snouts and more pronounced tails. Despite these similarities to pre-Roman representations, they are nonetheless more stylistic than pre-Roman examples, meaning the figurines should instead be placed chronologically closer to the other Funen bulls. Perhaps it is thereby more suitable to consider this trio as a “middle ground” between pre-Roman and RIA styles (Thrane 1989, p. 377f).



Figures 59 & 60. (Left) An incomplete Pre-Roman figurine with rounded horns, from Funen, Denmark. Figure: Thrane 1989, p. 372. (Right) A Pre-Roman bull figurine with long curled horns, from Källa, Öland. Figure: Nerman 1943, p. 304.

As alluded to by previous authors (e.g. Green 1992, p. 220f; Thrane 1989), this obsession with bulls can be somewhat explained, particularly as bulls mirror virtues such as power, dominance, and fertility; attributes held in particularly high regard by the social elite of the community. In any case, the quantity of nearby Roman imports depicting “bulls” is not a considerable amount (Albrectsen 1971), or at least an amount sufficiently large enough to warrant transformation on the scale observable on Funen. So, how did these bull representations become so popular in this specific region? One possible cause could be the result of a combination of both Roman intervention and pre-Roman traditions (e.g. Ekengren 2009, p. 214; Thrane 1989, p. 394ff), as

the must already have been somewhat accustomed to symbolism from the wider ancient world; principally in the form of *Hallstatt* and *La Tène* influence several centuries prior to the arrival of the first “Roman”. The above-mentioned pre-Roman examples also reflect this fact.

Yet another significant region for bronze bull figurines is the island of Öland, Sweden, however, the four examples from the island vary greatly in appearance from those found on Funen. In general, they are far more “naturalistic” than the rather abstract forms of the Danish figurines, and their proportions, more lifelike. Two of the quartet appear to have been produced using a similar method, due to their “one-piece” bronze construction and shared dimensions (*cat. 68-69*) (Fig. 61), meanwhile the other two figurines look as if they were produced using an alternate technique, in which bronze plates have been hammered together using tiny nails. As with the previous pair, the plated figurines also share a similar scale and finish (*cat. 65-70*).

Figure 61. Two bronze bull figurines from Solberga, Öland that were found within a forty-year period (*cat. 68 & 69*). Figure: Rasch & Fallgren 2001, p. 368.



Three of the figurines have been analysed to some extent by Henrik Thrane (1989), however, the fourth (*cat. 69*) was discovered three years after his work was published (Rasch & Fallgren 2001), and is, thus, not included in the study. Although stray finds, both the “one-piece” bronze bull figurines from Solberga were found within a four-kilometre radius, which suggests a further connection other than a purely stylistic one. The bronze-plated figurines were also separated by a mere eleven kilometres, however, their find dates are separated by some eighty years. The figurines are uncannily alike; both in terms of size but also construction method. The smaller of the two appears to resemble a cow (Andersson 2021, 100f), though previous interpretations liken the figurine to a horse (Thrane 1989, 386ff) (*cat. 64*) (Fig. 62). This interpretation is not unsuitable until the figurine is placed alongside its twin, the bronze-plated bull figurine (*cat. 70*) (Fig. 63), after which the idea seems a tad unbased. Due to the geographical proximity and the obvious stylistic similarities, it is not unacceptable to assume that these two figurines were

intended to be a pair; one depicting a cow, and the other a bull; hence representing the male and female of the species. As unique examples unparalleled anywhere else, it seems likely that these figurines were perhaps also constructed by the same craftsperson. Andersson (2021, p. 101) suggests that the figurines could have been made for children, perhaps a primitive form of toy, however, this idea can be nothing more than speculative considering the lack of evidence that supports a “toy culture” in northern Europe at this time (e.g. Jørgensen, Storgaard & Thomsen 2003; Price 2015). Whatever their intended purpose, the figurines were likely modelled after Roman imports known to have been present on the island, such as the Roman bull figurine from Lilla Frö (*cat. 31*), which is also constructed in a similar size and scale to this pair of local figurines.



Figures 62 & 63. (Left) The bronze-plated “cow” from Frösåkarna, Öland (cat. 64). Photo: Skans, SHM 2005 (CC BY 2.5); (Right) The bronze-plated “bull” from Spjuterum, Öland (cat. 70). Photo: Parker 2022.

In addition to full-size bull figurines, other depictions of bulls have also been discovered in Scandinavia, foremost on Gotland (*cat. 54 & 57*) (SHM 2011), however, other examples also exist, such as fitting in the shape of a bull’s head from Igelsta, Uppland (*cat. 61*) (SHM 2011). These “bull heads” seem to be a particularly Swedish phenomenon, and functioned primarily as mounts for drinking horns (Fig. 64) (Holmqvist 1951, 283f; Stjernqvist 1978, p. 135). Though only the head of the animal is depicted, the stylistic similarities are evident when comparing these incomplete “busts” and the complete figurines mentioned above.

One particularly interesting aspect of these “fittings” is the fact they have so far only been found on Gotland and in Uppland (SHM 2011), which are both regions not particularly associated with bull depictions during the Roman Iron Age. After all, most of the aforementioned figurines derive from Funen and Öland; both of which are regions that do not seem to have produced zoomorphic fittings of this type. Could this be an indication of a region-specific interest in the production of these drinking horn mountings? Or perhaps the people residing in these regions were aware of the figurines on Öland, and so styled their own representations after these depictions?



Figure 64. The “bull” fitting from Ardags (*cat.* 54), mounted to its connected drinking horn. Photo: Ljungkvist, SHM 2005 (CC BY 2.5).

Aside from bull representations, other examples of zoomorphism among the Scandinavian examples that hold some archaeological “weight” are those depicting birds. These RIA bird representations consistently show non-flying or “static” birds in profile, and range greatly in terms of interregional distribution (*see Section 2*). Perhaps the most significant locality associated with birds is the site at Møllegårdsmarken; an Iron Age burial field that has already been explored to some extent previously. Here, “static-bird” symbolism is shown on three relatively mysterious examples of local RIA ceramic production, which I have affectionately named “bird pots” (Fig. 65). Due to the fact that these pots are often found in the same contexts as Roman *TS* vessels, it has been assumed that these vessels can be explained as a local “reaction” to these continental imports (Albrechtsen 1968, p. 106; 1971, p. 81), and I too largely stand by this hypothesis. The use of zoomorphic motifs on prehistoric Scandinavian pottery is practically unheard of prior to this period, at least in the form of vessel decoration (Albrechtsen 1968; 1971; Lindahl, Olausson, Carlie & Stilborg 2002), which could suggest possible evidence of region-specific consumption of these elements from intervening Roman culture. In addition to the Funen pottery, a group of “similar” vessels bearing bird motifs from the Elbe region of

Germany have loosely been described (Albrechtsen 1971), though I have been unable to track down any images or sketches of these vessels. Was there some form of contact between Gudme and this continental region, or is this correlation purely coincidental?

Figure 65. The most detailed of the three “bird pots” (*cat. 43*) from the burial field at Møllegårdsmarken. Photo: Odense Bys Museer 2006 (CC-BY-SA).



As well as these Danish vessels, a handful of “static-bird” representations from the RIA have also cropped up in Swedish contexts; namely Västra Götaland and on the island of Gotland. The example from the former region comes in the form of a small figurine that resembles perhaps a duck or other species of waterfowl (*cat. 62*). The figurine looks as if it was once attached to some form of larger object, though it is hard to determine as to the nature of its attachment (Andersson 2021, pp. 68-70). This small bronze bird was found in Dalstorp, inside the burial of a female elite that has been dated to the 2nd century CE. Other miscellaneous objects were found alongside the figurine, such as ornate charms and pearls, suggesting that the woman buried with these prestige goods likely was of some renown (Fig. 66).

Figure 66. The small bird figurine (*cat. 62*) alongside other objects found in the female burial at Dalstorp. Photo: Bruxe, SHM 1994 (CC BY 2.5).



Aside from the example at Dalstorp, a second example of a figurine in the shape of a waterfowl was discovered on Gotland (*cat. 58*) (Fig. 67). This example is still attached to its original handle, and is thought to have once been connected to a drinking horn; perhaps similar to the examples mentioned above adorned with bulls. Regrettably, not much is known about the significance of the find, although the small bird was also found in a RIA burial (Andersson 2021,

p. 141; SHM 2011). In my opinion, I find it generally difficult to believe that either of these bird figurines are Roman in origin, due to the devoid lack of other Roman imports in both grave contexts as well as a non-traceable presence of Roman objects depicting birds in either regions.



Figure 67. The small bird fitting from Gotland (*cat. 58*); shown attached to its original handle. Photo: Nyberg, SHM 1997 (CC BY 2.5).

In addition to three-dimensional figurines, “static-bird” motifs are also represented on a couple of other objects from Gotland, such as a small bird image pressed into the silver plating of a “rosette” fibula from Lau (*cat. 56*) (Werner 1966, p. 28), and fragments of bronze plate that once adorned a drinking vessel of some description (*cat. 55*) (Andersson 2021, p. 71; Pesch 2015, p. 396). Although small, these objects are nonetheless an indication of an island-wide interest in these bird motifs. Perhaps the most striking observation regarding this surge of interest in birds on Gotland during the RIA, is the root of the tradition. As stated previously, a lack of surviving Roman imports featuring this particular theme have been found anywhere in Sweden, therefore, the inspiration for creating these depictions must either have originated from an outside source, or the phenomenon was a region-specific expression of identity; borne out of a local interest in these bird motifs. This said, based on the example of a *Terra Sigillata* vessel found on the island, it is possible that other fragments with zoomorphic designs once existed during the RIA. If these “lost” vessels indeed featured birds, then the inspiration behind the decision to, at least, include static-bird motifs on ornamented drinking horns (*cat. 55*), may be explained. Where the inspiration for the figurines derives from, however, is not at this time possible to ascertain.

3.3.2 Hunting motifs and the phenomenon of backward-facing animals

Of all of the Roman symbolism that seems to have had the greatest influence on the artistic expression of RIA Scandinavians, hunting motifs and backward-facing animals are perhaps the most impactful. After handling these motifs separately in the quantitative analysis, I have decided to analyse these two motifs as one single entity in this section. This is primarily due to

the evident thematic connection between the two motifs, as expressed by foregoing authors (e.g. Andersson 2021; Pesch 2015). The backward-facing deer, for instance, is thought to be inextricably intertwined with the hunt, and has been interpreted as a deer raising its head in order to hear the sound of an approaching predator or hunter. Whether one treats these original Roman motifs as a single phenomenon or respects their differences, it is important to remember that the Iron Age societies who produced their own representations would unlikely have differentiated between the two. This is largely because deer were already viewed as spiritual representations of the hunt, and, thus, would have been regarded as such (Green 1992).

Perhaps the most famous example of hunting motifs dated to the Roman Iron Age are those present on the famous Golden Horns of Gallehus (*cat. 47*), which both date to the Late RIA (Björklund & Hejl et al 1996, 147ff; Pesch 2015). To this day, the horns continue to induce a deep-rooted sense of national pride in the Danish people, despite the fact that the original horns have since been melted down and replaced with faithful copies. The symbols adorning these two horns feature various anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, and hybrid figures, and are particularly enigmatic. Due to their evident mystic and renown, several archaeologists have dedicated much time to studying the horns' symbolism (Fig. 68) (e.g. Pesch 2015). One of the most exciting aspects regarding the horns is the location in which they were discovered, largely because Roman imports bearing similar hunting motifs have been found nearby, such as the glass Dalagergård bowl (*cat. 14*), and the *Hemmoor bucket* from Udby (*cat 15*).



Figure 68. A section from the shortest of the two Gallehus horns (*cat. 47*) features scenes with both animals and humans. Photo: Larsen, Natmus n.d. (CC-BY-SA).

With this in consideration, it is possible that the horns are a local representation of Roman prestige goods connected to the act of hunting. Although these fabled representations are certainly significant for this study, there are, in fact, a myriad of Danish examples that too demonstrate a strong connection to the Roman world.

Perhaps one of the most apparent examples of “transformation” in material form is the phenomenon of backward-facing animals among locally-produced examples. The close proximity of these Scandinavian representations to Roman imports bearing the same motif, suggests a clear unbroken connection between selection and re-representation. All of the examples described in this next section are dated to the Roman Iron Age, though the backward-facing motif is also later assimilated into animal ornamentation from the Migration Period onwards. This connection shall not be explained to any great length in this particular text, though the potential connection cannot be ignored (Pesch 2015).

One of the premier representations of this motif from a local perspective are the *silver beakers* (E 177) from Zealand (*cat. 49-51*) (Fig. 69), all of which derive from mortuary contexts uncovered between 1829 and 1871. These prestige objects have so far only been found in the Zealand area and have contributed to the suggestion that the region was somewhat of a “power centre” during the RIA, holding great influence over the surrounding area. The beakers have so far been found in Himlingøje, Nordrup, and Valløby.



Figure 69. The complete set of silver beakers from various Iron Age sites in Zealand (*cat. 49-51*). Photo: Larsen, Natmus n.d. (CC-BY-SA).

One aspect that the aforementioned areas have in common is their unbroken connection to Roman imports. For instance, within the same kilometre radius of the Himlingøje beakers, a Roman *circus beaker* and *Terra sigillata* vessels have also been discovered. Similarly to Himlingøje, *circus beakers* and *TS* have also been found at the Iron Age sites of Nordrup and Valløby. Both motifs have been creatively incorporated into the friezes of these beakers, both separately and simultaneously. On a pair of the beakers, human figures are shown in pursuit of animal figures, and on others a group of backward-facing deer are shown in procession. This combination of shared symbolism, and regional context, provides Scandinavian archaeologists

interested in cultural hybridisation with perhaps one of the strongest examples of locally-produced hybrid material to date.

An almost identical Swedish parallel for these Zealand *silver beakers* comes in the form of an example from Lilla Jored, Bohuslän (*cat.* 53). The object in question is a silver frieze with backward-facing animals of a similar style to those on the *silver beakers* (Pesch 2015, p. 378). The object was found a couple of decades prior to the first Zealand beaker, in 1816, and is also a grave find. Roman glass was also uncovered from the same site, though no *TS* fragments or other imports were present (Holmqvist 1951, p. 33f; Werner 1966, p. 27f). Could the vessel that once held this frieze have been of a similar type and construction to those from Zealand? Could this vessel have been produced in Denmark, only to be gifted/traded with elites in Western Sweden; or perhaps this object was the creation of a local “Swedish” craftsman? Although merely speculative, the idea that these region-specific *silver beakers* may have spread to other parts of Scandinavia is a tantalising possibility.

Another mysterious addition to this study takes the form of a grave find from Gästrikland, which features a frieze showing a procession of running stags (*cat.* 59) (Fig. 70). In this case, however, the frieze once adorned a drinking horn rather than a beaker (Werner 1966, p. 26). Despite this, the similarities between the beakers and this drinking horn are hard to ignore. The main issue with this zoomorphic example concerns the location in which it was discovered, as no other zoomorphic objects from this period (Roman or otherwise) have been found so far north in Sweden. Some archaeologists have speculated that the frieze, and thus, the horn itself, date to the Vendel Period (550-800 CE). Though largely sound, this interpretation is based principally on the presence of other objects in the burial that date to later periods of the Iron Age, such as *relief brooches* (SHM 2011). This makes perfect sense, and under normal circumstances this would be the preferred method of dating. In spite of this assigned date, I disagree somewhat with the “Vendel Period” argument; primarily because the motif on the frieze does not match the description of Nordic animal ornamentation during the Vendel Period. At this time, zoomorphism had entered into a period of particularly abstract and stylistic expression (e.g. Andersson 2021; Pesch 2015), and the “running stags” on this silver frieze are almost lifelike in appearance, and of a flavour far more in accordance with Roman examples. It is not the purpose of this text, however, to argue this particular point beyond that which is necessary, though the possibility of a Roman connection is not unacceptable. This suggestion is also supported by the myriad of

similar motifs shown in other regions from earlier periods. Could this vessel be a relic of the Roman Iron Age, perhaps kept as a family heirloom until the burial of this elite individual during the Vendel Period?

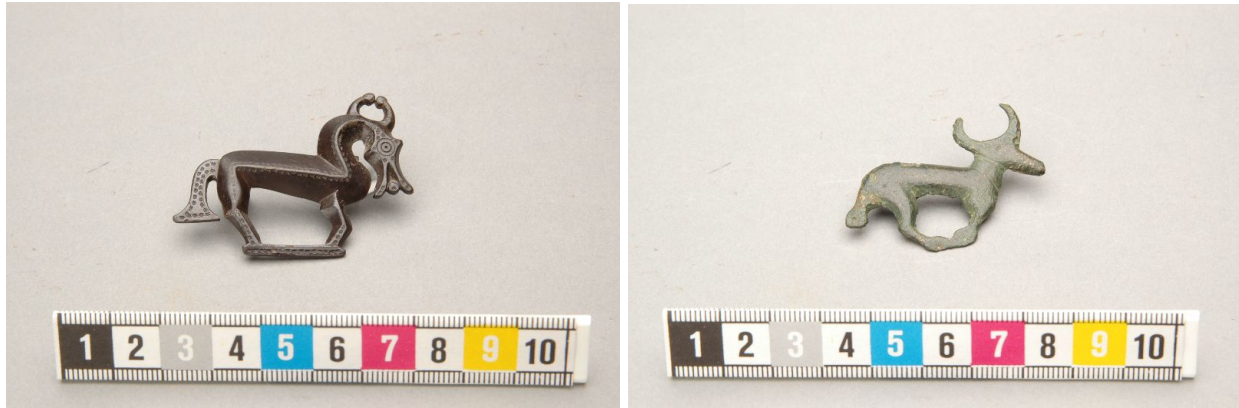
Figure 70. The silver hunting frieze featuring running deer, from Hade, Gästrikland (*cat. 59*). Figure: Werner 1966, Catalogue.



Another vivid stag depiction is a grave find in the form of a *crossbow brooch* from the east coast of Scania (*cat. 60*) (Fig. 71). The “stag brooch” was found in a female inhumation burial in Simris; an area well-known as a power centre during the Iron Age. Furthermore, unlike Migration Period zoomorphic brooches that feature more “abstract” depictions of animals, such as examples depicting bovine and equine figures from the regions of Västergötaland and Gotland (Figs. 72 & 73), this unique deer brooch has been unequivocally dated to the late Roman Iron Age, primarily due to its realistic proportions as well as the type of brooch closure it possesses (Stjernqvist 1955, p. 132). Brooches in the shape of animals are not a phenomenon encountered from periods prior to the RIA, which suggests some form of intervention from outside influence, though it is difficult to hypothesise whether this influence derives from purely Roman sources or from other more provincial compositions, such as Germanic examples of deer depictions from the continent (Stjernqvist 1955, p. 133).

Figure 71. The deer brooch from Simris (*cat. 60*), as seen from both the front and back. Figure: Stjernqvist 1955 Catalogue.





Figures 72 & 73. (Left) A Migration Period brooch in the shape of a horse from Gotland. Photo: Kusmin, SHM 2006 (CC BY 2.5); (Right) A Migration Period brooch in the shape of a bull from Västergötaland. Photo: Kusmin, SHM 2006 (CC BY 2.5).

The deer, long associated with the hunt, is, as explored earlier, common among hunting motifs on Roman vessels, and the deer depicted on this brooch certainly shares many similarities with the kind commonly depicted in Roman art. It is also worth taking into consideration the coastal setting of Simris, suggesting a possible link to the islands of Gotland and Öland; places in which RIA zoomorphic material is known to be present. The deer brooch is both the sole local representation of a zoomorphic brooch that survives from RIA Scandinavia (Stjernqvist 1955, p. 133) as well as this study's sole example of zoomorphism from the region of Scania.

A small deer brooch from Dankirke, Jutland, also depicts a backward-facing deer with a bird perched atop it. Similarly to the zoomorphic brooches found on Gotland, this brooch presents somewhat of a puzzle to archaeologists, as it was found in a Migration Period context, alongside items that date to that era. My belief, however, is that the small brooch was in fact produced at least a century or so earlier, due to the likeness with other RIA examples as well as the combined use of both a backward-facing deer and a static-bird motif on the same object. This interpretation is primarily based on the symbolism and the type of brooch in question. For example, other than the zoomorphic element itself, the brooch resembles other *crossbow brooches* of the RIA (Lund Hansen 1987), and the backward-facing deer is particularly "naturalistic" in its appearance; far unlike the more stylised examples of the Migration Period.

A further archaeological site of some renown is the area of Skedemosse on Öland, which is a well-known sacrificial site that was active from the Pre-Roman Iron Age (500-0 BCE) through to the Viking Age (800-1050 CE) (Burenhult 1991, pp. 155-157). A vast number of *deposition finds* have been discovered in an area that once consisted of thick peat bogs, and

among these finds are two silver belt buckles that have been dated to the RIA (Figs. 74 & 75). The first, and perhaps most significant of the two bears a central motif depicting a backward-facing deer with a rather “stylised” appearance (*cat. 66*). The object is clearly a local representation, as the Romans rarely depicted animals in such an abstract manner (e.g. *Corpus der römischen Funde im europäischen Barbaricum 1998-2017*). The second belt buckle also shows a deer-like figure (*cat. 67*), though the subject is not shown in a backward-facing pose, unlike its twin. Despite this, the object seems to share several similarities with the former, such as its square shape, and the use of a “frame” that forms a border around the central animal motif.

Could these zoomorphic representations have been produced by the same individual or group of individuals? As no other Roman imports bearing these backward-facing motifs have so far been found on Öland, it is not wholly apparent how this symbolism became popular in the region, though the fact that Öland was a “central place” during the RIA, and, thus, would have had at least some level of contact with the Danish regions associated with Roman imports, it is acceptable to assume that the inspiration for these buckles may have originated from outside sources. Another version of these zoomorphic buckles *does* exist however, though not in Sweden. A bronze belt buckle that shares a similar motif comes from Fredsø, Jutland (*cat. 48*), and, although damaged, provides a Danish parallel to this pair of Öland buckles.



Figures 74 & 75. Two belt buckles with backward-facing animals from Skedemosse, Öland; one made of silver (left) (cat. 66), and the other bronze (right) (cat. 67). Photos: Olsson, SHM 1996 & Sillén, SHM 2006 (CC BY 2.5).

A final representation of backward-facing animals comes from the southern Swedish region of Blekinge in the form of a stray find. The object has been interpreted as a bronze buckle of some description, and features what appears to be three distinct zoomorphic figures, possibly bulls

(*cat.* 52). The “bull” figures are of a style similar to that described previously, though with some subtle differences. Firstly, the bulls themselves are particularly “lifelike” and may be likened to depictions observed among the pre-Roman traditions of the La Tene culture. In addition, a number of spiral motifs are present on the object; a further indication of a stronger connection to earlier traditions surviving from the Bronze and early Iron Age. The object has been relatively dated to the Roman Iron Age, presumably due to the existence of backward-facing motifs. This combination of Pre-Roman and later Roman traditions certainly provides an interesting addition to this study. With regard to context, it is difficult to ascertain as to how this object ended up in a region not especially renowned for Roman imports (e.g. Lund Hansen 1987; SHM 2011).

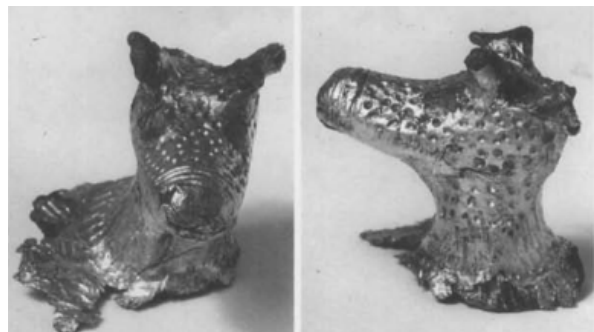
How did the zoomorphic buckle come to be in modern-day Blekinge? It is possible that the region’s close proximity to the Baltic Sea allowed passing ships between the islands of Gotland and Öland to bring Roman influence into the area; perhaps in a similar way to the aforementioned deer brooch from Simris.

3.3.3 Miscellaneous zoomorphic representations

A pair of *local zoomorphic representations* featured in this study do not seem to fit into either of the above-mentioned categories, and, as such, should be analysed independently. The first of these “oddities” is a small gilded silver fitting that was once attached to a goblet-like vessel (*cat.* 63) (Fig. 76). It is hard to determine the type of animal this “fitting” represents, though other authors have suggested that it may be a deer depiction (Holmqvist 1954, 271ff; Künzl & Foltz 1997, p. 129). If we consider that the vessel was possibly used for the purpose of drinking, then a deer motif would certainly fit this role, as the object may have been reserved for celebrations after a successful hunt. Both the animal head and vessel frieze is made of silver, which also suggests that the object was a prized possession to whomever it belonged. The closest parallels to the Järnsyssla fitting are perhaps the bull-shaped drinking-horn mountings mentioned earlier, even if the symbolism is largely dissimilar (*cat.*

54, 57 & 61).

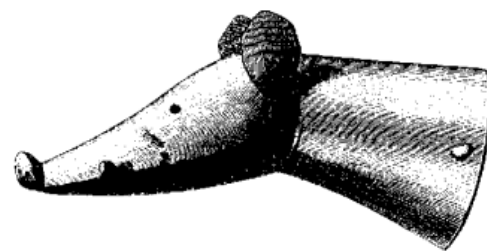
Figure 76. The small silver “deer” fitting (*cat.* 63) as it appears from the front and in profile. Figure: Künzl & Foltz 1997, p. 132.



In terms of Roman influence, it is difficult to pinpoint a concrete link to an outside source, though other Roman fittings of a similar size and style have been found in Scandinavia. Both the ram's head (*cat. 30*), and the panther (*cat. 33*) from Öland, for instance, are both possible candidates from which a source may have been provided to local craftsmen, however, the distance between the find locations deems it difficult to unequivocally confirm this connection.

The second of these miscellaneous representations is a bronze pig's head that was found on Öland (*cat. 66*) (Fig. 77). The small object presumably was also attached to a vessel of some description, though the vessel itself has since been lost. As a stray find, it is difficult to imagine the vessel's description, though due to the shape of the object, a drinking horn may have been of a suitable size. The most interesting aspect of this small fitting, however, is its subject. Where did this pig motif originate? Andersson (2021) and Green (1992, p. 169f) describe the significance of the "pig" in Iron Age society, and its connection to power, status, and the feast; all of which seem relevant within a Scandinavian context. This said, three-dimensional pig depictions are especially rare during this period; not appearing in Scandinavian art until the latter animal ornamentation of the Migration and Vendel periods, such as those present on *bracteates* and *guldgubber* (Pesch 2015, pp. 360-368). Could this object be a "one-off" unique artistic detail for a member of the community? Perhaps there are similar examples out there still waiting to be discovered....

Figure 77. A sketch of the small bronze "pig's head" fitting from Öland (*cat. 65*). Figure: SHM 1936, Catalogue.



48.

3.3.4 Results and discussion

What are the types of objects that exhibit parallels with the Roman material, and/or pre-Roman symbolism? Which types of material were generally favoured by local societies in their own "representations"?

Upon analysing *local zoomorphic representations* from the RIA in Scandinavia, it is evident that "transformation" has been observed among several groups of zoomorphic material. The most represented animals are bulls, birds, and deer, and the most replicated motifs are those depicting backward-facing animals and static birds. In addition, hunting motifs depicting human figures

and animals have been reciprocated on a handful of examples, such as the famous Gallehus horns as well as the Zealand *silver beakers*, although these representations are more abstract than the type seen on Roman vessels.

Other transformed objects are the vast myriad of bull depictions from the core regions of Funen and Öland, however, this transformation does not seem to be unequivocally dependent on the Roman material *per se*. As stated earlier in brief, pre-Roman traditions concerning the use of bovine symbolism would have been a familiar concept to Scandinavian Iron Age culture long before the intervention of Roman beliefs, therefore, the Roman material may have merely provided a resurgence in these ancient traditions. It could be considered that this blend of Roman and pre-Roman symbolism was made manifest through the *local zoomorphic representations* of the latter Roman Iron Age, and perhaps even continuing on into the early Migration Period. As mentioned earlier, it is not my intention to attempt to trace the origins of Nordic animal ornamentation to an indisputable outside source, though there does seem to be some form of correlation between the influx of zoomorphic forms that appeared in coordination with the expansion of the Roman Empire's limits. As a whole, it is largely difficult to assume any form of pure intervention from the Romans. Instead, the zoomorphic material present in Scandinavia seems to be more the result of an intricate network of relationships between Romans as well as other continental patterns; be them synchronised or disconnected.

The fact that Iron Age societies latched onto hunting motifs is not especially surprising, particularly when considering the evocative symbolism that hunting scenes carried. Celtic belief, after all, perceived animals associated with hunting to be inextricably linked to the gods and the underworld (Green 1992, p. 164f). With this in consideration, it feels somewhat natural for Scandinavian groups to be inspired by Roman art depicting these types of scenes, resulting in the creation of their own representations. Similarly to hunting scenes, deer were also believed to represent supernatural forces, and were even considered to be deities that had taken the form of worldly creatures (Green 1992, p. 166ff). With these factors in mind, the decision to incorporate this symbolism via these imports with pre-established local traditions and beliefs does not seem at all far-fetched. This too links back to the phenomenon of backward-facing animals; a motif commonly associated with deer depictions. Whether Iron Age societies fully understood the meaning of the motif itself, they certainly would have been more than capable of inventing their own interpretation of the idea without the guidance of "outsiders".

In general, there seems to be a universal correlation between the areas where Roman imports are encountered and the areas where local representations occur, however, there are exceptions. For instance, certain regions of Sweden, such as Gotland and Västra Götaland, have provided several significant examples of RIA zoomorphism, despite the devoid lack of Roman inspiration in the surrounding area. This said, it is not surprising that pockets of Scandinavia not directly influenced by the material culture of provincial Rome could still have benefited from the fruits of the Empire's labour. After all, it is difficult to determine how much time would have passed in between the production of hybrid material culture (e.g. *silver beakers* and bronze figurines) in "hybridisation hotspots", and the re-distribution of said objects to far-reaching regions. If this process was an especially gradual one, then it could explain the eventual exposure of these forms to these anomalous regions.

4. Closing discussion

After conducting the various case studies and reviewing the rich analytical data revealed by this study, it may be possible to weave some of the findings from the various case studies into a combined discourse. The quantitative and qualitative analyses have provided a number of results that have been discussed individually, though what do these results provide in terms of a more comprehensive understanding of the field of Roman archaeology in *Barbaricum*?

Although the three case studies proposed in this text differ in terms of material as well as the theoretical frameworks applied, they are nonetheless an attempt to achieve the same primary goal; to shed light on the mysterious circumstances that often surround these imported objects. The study has followed the lives of Roman objects beyond the frontier, from initial *acquisition*, through to *adoption*, and in some cases, into a "transformed state" via the medium of local representations. This applicability has allowed the material to be inspected under different conditions and from various perspectives. What has emerged is a traceable line between the consumption of Roman zoomorphism and the adoption of ritual practices surrounding the use of these objects. Additionally, in some cases zoomorphism has entered into a final stage of transformation, by which new embodiments of local identity have become fused with Roman cultural traditions. In other cases, Roman and pre-Roman expressions have worked in combination to create new hybrid forms of zoomorphic material via the medium of local representations.

The key findings of the combined analyses leads to the conclusion that the vast majority of Roman zoomorphic imports were not brought to Scandinavia via trade, but instead gifted; be it via *hospitium*, *dona militaria* or otherwise. *Hospitium* itself has provided a new model with which to assess at least some of these coveted objects, and provides some understanding regarding the complexity of Roman social relations with the unconquered world, as well as questioning the preconceived rigidity of certain Roman traditions. Though there is no unequivocal proof that *hospitium* was engaged for the purpose of building closer peripheral relationships with Scandinavian societies, the model does seem to match the archaeological evidence on several fronts. With regard to *dona militaria*, the possibility also remains open, however, as only one case exists in the epigraphical record of a non-citizen ever receiving military awards in this manner, this is best left open for speculation. The idea that many of the zoomorphic imports found in *Barbaricum* once began life as “spoils of war” brought back from various provincial wars, appears to be a less controversial model of assessment.

Regarding *adoption*, the concept of provincialism seems to ring true above all else. The social and cultural influence of neighbouring provincial Romans seems to have had a great impact on the material culture of RIA Scandinavians; at least in the way of mortuary practices and the “reuse” of Roman symbolism in new forms of materiality. The archaeological evidence shows an overall acceptance of Roman zoomorphism; at least among the social elite. The use of Roman vessels depicting zoomorphic forms, such as *Terra Sigillata*, *circus beakers*, and *Hemmoor buckets* in princely graves shows a collective reuse of Roman prestige goods in mortuary practices, regardless of the original intended function of the object in question.

Lastly, *transformation* has been observed across many of the examples, with the reciprocation of several Roman themes within locally-produced contexts. For instance, bronze bull figurines suggest a strong link back to pre-existing traditions, while simultaneously maintaining a strong-rooted foot in the present. With regard to symbolism, hunting motifs and backward-facing animals displayed on local material, such as those present on *silver beakers* and belt buckles shows a keen interest in the material expression of Roman society, though also upholds traditions that were nothing particularly new to their creators. Afterall, hunting, in some capacity or another, occurred throughout the ancient world, regardless of culture. With this in consideration, the act of hunting itself would more likely have provided a more stable medium with which to convey aspects of Roman culture than pastimes that would not have interested

RIA Scandinavians. With this blend of pre-Roman and Roman influence, it appears as if the local Iron Age societies of Scandinavia were both compelled to look backwards, while also keeping one foot toward the future; a trait still largely observable in contemporary Scandinavian societies.

5. Conclusions

In conducting this study, my primary goal was to address a series of relatively “open questions” within the field of Roman imports in Scandinavia. These questions were posed in such a manner that they would also serve as case studies that could be applied to various material groups, as well as assist in testing the applicability of “The Three-Part Method”. For the most part, I feel that this study has largely achieved these goals, though, as is often the case when studying Roman imports, the researcher is often left with as many questions as answers. This is perfectly acceptable, however, and, similarly to other like-minded archaeologists, I am well-prepared for the challenges that lie ahead.

I am positively surprised by the variety of answers provided by this study; not least in terms of the central themes of *acquisition*, *adoption*, and *transformation*, but also regarding the perplexing nature of the objects themselves. As the ambiguous interpretations of the pair of bronze-plated bull figurines from Öland shows, outdated analysis of archaeological material must always be re-evaluated in light of new discoveries; especially when concerning a particularly under-researched set of materials, such as the one utilised by this study. I strongly feel, much as I did prior to undertaking this project, that the field of Roman archaeology in Scandinavia requires a multifaceted approach, in which various groups of materials that share similar characteristics may be studied under regional and case-specific conditions. This approach also reflects the liquid nature of such a dynamic and fast-changing archaeological landscape.

Studying zoomorphism in this manner has helped to reveal a deep-rooted resurgence in animal symbolism during the RIA in Scandinavia as well as helping to understand the role that Roman intervention may have played in this renaissance of pre-Roman traditions. Some of these traditions, as we have learned, were essentially reawakened by the influence of the “other”, whereas others brought about wholly new ideas that eventually became “transformed” and reimagined as local zoomorphic representations....

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Available at: <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/image/710649001> [Accessed 01 August 2022].

Appendix I: Catalogue of Roman Imports

Part one of the catalogue comprises Roman imports from the Roman Iron Age (1-400 CE) . In order to ease the search for objects featured in this study, this section provides an overview of all Roman zoomorphic imports featured in this study; from stray finds to grave finds and so on. Each entry is listed in order of geographical origin, and is named after its corresponding inventory number. The list begins with objects from Denmark and concludes with material from Sweden. Lund Hansen’s chronological system is preferred wherever possible; with the use of the traditional three-period (Roman Iron Age) and “common era” (BCE-CE) systems in its absence.

Abbreviations

B2 - 70 - 150 CE

C1a - 150 - 210 CE

C1b - 210 - 250 CE

C2 - 250 - 310 CE

C3 - 310 - 400 CE

C - Roman Iron Age

E - Eggers’s typology

LH - Lund Hansens’s typology

RIA - Roman Iron Age

RAÄ - “Fornlämningsnummer”

DIME - ”Digitale Metaldetektorfund”

SHM - Swedish History Museum

Natmus - National Museum of Denmark

Inv. no: Inventory number



Photo: Odense Bys Museer 2012
(CC-BY-SA).



Photo: Eriksson, SHM (CC BY 4.0).

Example

(Entry no.) (Find location)

(Short description)

Material: (Material of production)

Inv. no: (Inventory number)

Classification: (Typological classification)

Context: (Type of find)

Production date: (Absolute/relative dating)

Find date: (Date of excavation/discovery)

Dimensions: (Length, width, height, etc.)

References: (Literature and other sources)

1. Denmark

1.1 Bornholm



Photo: Lee, Natmus 2015 (CC-BY-SA).

1. Lavegård, Bornholm

A bronze enamelled plate brooch in the shape of a static bird in profile.

Material: Bronze

Inv. no: NM C 40004

Classification: Typ 7.25

(Enamels-Champlevé)

Context: Stray find (*metal detector*)

Production date: 3rd - 4th century CE
(RIA)

Find date: 2013/2014

Dimensions: L. 4.8 cm

References: Seehusen & Lund Hansen
2015, 3ff.

1.2 Funen

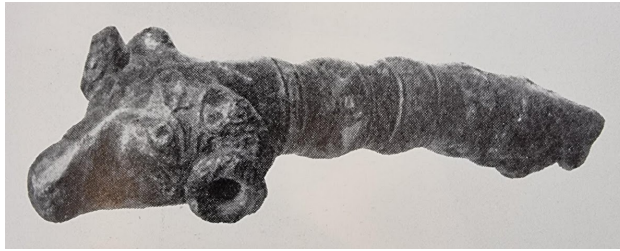


Figure: Albrechtsen 1956, Catalogue.

2. Højby mark, Åsum, Odense

A bronze fitting that ends in the shape of a ram's head; presumably from some form of Roman vessel.

Material: Bronze

Inv. no: MMCCXXIV

Classification: N/A

Context: Grave find (*Burial 19b*)

Production date: RIA

Find date: 1831

Dimensions: L. 14.3 cm

References: Albrechtsen 1956, 56.

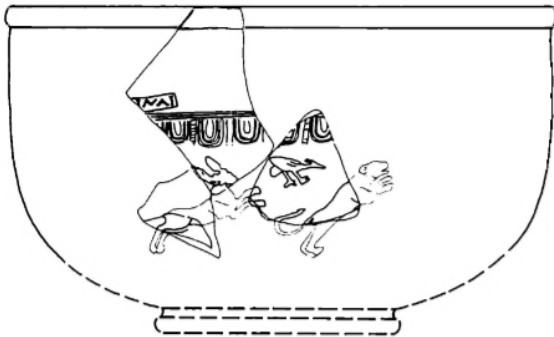


Figure: Petersen 1988, p. 47.

3. Lundeborg, Svendborg

Four shards of a Terra Sigillata vessel (Dragendorff 37) depicting several animal motifs.

Material: Clay

Inv. no: FSM B 1504

Classification: Dragendorff 37 (E 116a)

Context: Grave find (*cultural layer 313*)

Production date: Phase C (RIA)

Find date: 1988

Dimensions: N/A

References: Cavka 2017, 46; Petersen 1988, 47.



Photo: Odense Bys Museer 2022
(CC-BY-SA).

4. Lundsgård, Åsum, Odense

A large shard of a Terra Sigillata vessel (Dragendorff 37) with embossed dogs and hares.

Material: Clay

Inv. no: OBM-FSM B1504

Classification: Dragendorff 37 (E 116a)

Context: Grave find (*Burial 1304*)

Production date: Phase C (RIA)

Find date: 1940-44

Dimensions: L. 11 cm (approx.)

References: Cavka 2017, 46; Lund Hansen 1987, 420.



Photo: Odense Bys Museer 2012
(CC-BY-SA).

5. Møllegårdsmarken, Gudme

A Terra Sigillata (Dragendorff 54) with hunting scenes featuring various animals. (fire-damaged).

Material: Clay

Inv. no: OBM-FSM 10427

Classification: Dragendorff 54 (LH 123)

Context: Grave find (*Møllegårdsmarken 797*)

Production date: Phase B2/C1a (RIA)

Find date: 1959-66

Dimensions: H. 13.6 cm

References: Albrechtsen 1968, 95ff, Albrechtsen 1971, 109ff; Cavka 2017, 46; Lund Hansen 1987, 422.



Photo: Odense Bys Museer 2006
(CC-BY-SA).

6. Møllegårdsmarken, Gudme

A complete Terra Sigillata vessel (Dragendorff 37) showing faint traces of animals and a maker's mark (fire-damaged).

Material: Clay

Inv. no: FSM 10464

Classification: Dragendorff 37 (LH 125)

Context: Grave find (*Møllegårdsmarken* 834)

Production date: Phase B2/C1a (RIA)

Find date: 1959-66

Dimensions: H. 8.3 cm

References: Albrechtsen 1971, 72; Cavka 2017, 46; Lund Hansen 1987, 423.

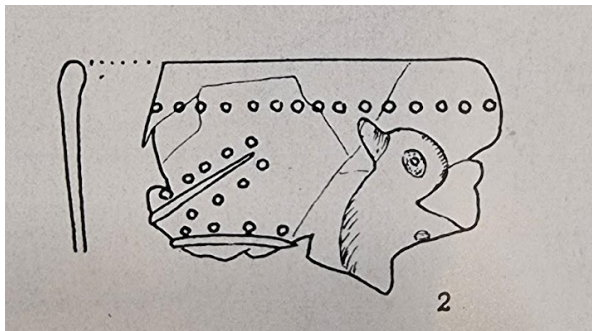


Figure: Albrechtsen 1968, Catalogue.

7. Møllegårdsmarken, Gudme

A shard from a painted circus beaker, depicting a bird.

Material: Clay

Inv. no: FSM 10934

Classification: E 209 (LH 134)

Context: Grave find (*Møllegårdsmarken* 1304)

Production date: Phase C1b (RIA)

Find date: 1959-66

Dimensions: L. 4.5 cm

References: Albrechtsen 1968, 95ff; Lund Hansen 1987, 423.



Figure: Albrechtsen 1968, Catalogue.

8. Møllegårdsmarken, Gudme

A complete Terra Sigillata vessel (Dragendorff 37) embossed with various medallions and small animals. (fire-damaged).

Material: Clay

Inv. no: FSM 11317

Classification: Dragendorff 37 (LH 155)

Context: Grave find (*Møllegårdsmarken 1687b*)

Production date: Phase B2/C1a (RIA)

Find date: 1959-66

Dimensions: N/A

References: Albrechtsen 1968, 95ff, Albrechtsen 1971, 94; Cavka 2017, 46; Lund Hansen 1987, 424.



Photo: Fortuna & Ursem, Natmus 2008 (CC-BY-SA).

9. Næsbyhoved-Broby, Odense

A gilded bronze vessel fitting in the shape of a gryphon head.

Material: Bronze

Inv. no: NM 10840

Classification: N/A

Context: Stray find

Production date: Phase C1a (RIA)

Find date: 1849

Dimensions: H. 12.0 cm

References: Jørgensen, Storgaard & Thomsen 2003, 237ff.



Photo: Odense Bys Museer 2006
(CC-BY-SA).

10. Vejrupgård, Marslev

A bronze bull figurine/fitting with realistic features; once attached to a bronze vessel.

Material: Bronze

Inv. no: OBM-FBS980a

Classification: N/A

Context: Grave find (*Burial I*)

Production date: Phase C1a (RIA)

Find date: 1862

Dimensions: L. 5.1 cm

References: Albrechtsen 1973, 148, 205; Lund Hansen 1987, 419f; Thrane 1989, 373ff.



Photo: Odense Bys Museer 2006
(CC-BY-SA).

11. Vejrupgård, Marslev

A realistic bronze bird figurine/fitting with a section of a bronze vessel still attached.

Material: Bronze

Inv. no: OBM-FS980-1

Classification: N/A

Context: Grave find (*Burial I*)

Production date: Phase C1a (RIA)

Find date: 1862

Dimensions: L. 4 cm

References: Albrechtsen 1973, 148; Lund Hansen 1987, 419f; Thrane 1989, 373ff.



Photo: Odense Bys Museer 2016
(CC-BY-SA).

12. Vejrupgård, Marslev

A stylised bronze bird figurine/fitting with a section of a bronze vessel still attached.

Material: Bronze

Inv. no: OBM-FS980-2

Classification: N/A

Context: Grave find (*Burial I*)

Production date: Phase C1a (RIA)

Find date: 1862

Dimensions: L. 3.3 cm

References: Albrechtsen 1973, 148; Lund Hansen 1987, 419f; Thrane 1989, 373ff.

1.3 Jutland



Photo: DIME 2020 (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

13. Tønder Municipality

Bronze plate brooch in the shape of a backward-facing animal.

Material: Bronze

Inv. no: DIME 67841

Classification: N/A

Context: Stray find (*metal detector*)

Production date: RIA?

Find date: March 2020

Dimensions: L. 3.5 cm (approx.)

References: DIME 2022.



14. Dalagergård, Sønder Vissing

A reconstruction of the back section of a Roman glass bowl with hunting motifs.

Material: Glass

Inv. no: NM I C 13881-99

Classification: E 185

Context: Grave find (*Burial 1*)

Production date: Phase C3 (RIA)

Find date: 1977-78

Dimensions: N/A

References: Fischer & Bluestone 1981, 165ff; Lund Hansen 1987, 429.

Figure: Fischer & Bluestone 1981, p. 429.



Figure: Werner 1966, Catalogue.

1.4 Zealand



Photo: DIME 2020 (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

15. Udby, Norddjurs

A bronze bucket of Hemmoor type, with an embossed frieze depicting hunting scenes.

Material: Bronze

Inv. no: NM I C 24129-34

Classification: E 55

Context: Grave find (*"Burial I"*)

Production date: Phase C1b (RIA)

Find date: 1943

Dimensions: N/A

References: Lund Hansen 1987, 414;
Werner 1966, 18ff.

16. Halsnæs Municipality

A bronze plate brooch in the shape of a running dog. A nail holder is clearly visible on its rear side.

Material: Bronze

Inv. no: DIME 99962

Classification: N/A

Context: Stray find (*metal detector*)

Production date: Late RIA (175 - 374 CE)

Find date: November 2020

Dimensions: L. 3.15 cm

References: DIME 2022.



Photo: Fortuna & Ursem, Natmus n.d.
(CC-BY-SA).

17. Himlingøje, Bjaeverskov, Præstø
A circus beaker depicting a hunting scene featuring a leopard and a backward-facing deer.

Material: Glass
Inv. no: NM C 7675
Classification: E 209
Context: Grave find (*Burial 1894*)
Production date: Phase C1b (RIA)
Find date: 1894
Dimensions: D. 12 cm, H. 8.3 cm (approx.)
References: Jørgensen, Storgaard & Thomsen 2003, 395; Lund Hansen 1987, 412.



Photo: Fortuna & Ursem, Natmus n.d.
(CC-BY-SA).

18. Himlingøje, Bjaeverskov, Præstø
A complete Terra Sigillata vessel showing people and bird figures.

Material: Clay
Inv. no: NM HØ/188
Classification: Dragendorff 37
Context: Grave find (*Burial 1980*)
Production date: Phase C1a (RIA)
Find date: 1980
Dimensions: N/A
References: Cavka 2017, 46; Lund Hansen 1987, 413.



Photo: Lee, Natmus n.d. (CC-BY-SA).

19. Himlingøje, Bjaeverskov, Præsto

A bronze bucket of Hemmoor type, with an etched frieze depicting hunting scenes and backward-facing animals.

Material: Bronze

Inv. no: NM MCMXXXIX-XL

Classification: E 58

Context: Grave find (*Burial 1829*
“Baunehøj”)

Production date: Phase C1b (RIA)

Find date: 1829

Dimensions: N/A

References: Jørgensen, Storgaard &
Thomsen 2003, 393; Lund Hansen 1987,
412.



Photo: Fortuna & Ursem, Natmus n.d.
(CC-BY-SA).

20. Nordrup, Ringsted, Sorø

A circus beaker depicting a hunting scene featuring a pouncing leopard and a springing deer.

Material: Glass

Inv. no: NM C 4613

Classification: E 209

Context: Grave find (*Burial A*)

Production date: Phase C1b (RIA)

Find date: 1881

Dimensions: D. 12 cm, H. 8.3 cm (approx.)

References: Jørgensen, Storgaard &
Thomsen 2003, 389; Lund Hansen 1987,
411.



Photo: Fortuna & Ursem, Natmus 2020 (CC-BY-SA).

21. Nordrup, Ringsted, Sorø

A circus beaker depicting a gladiatorial scene featuring a bear and a bull.

Material: Glass

Inv. no: NM C 4614

Classification: E 209

Context: Grave find (*Burial A*)

Production date: Phase C1b (RIA)

Find date: 1881

Dimensions: D. 12 cm, H. 8.3 cm (approx.)

References: Jørgensen, Storgaard & Thomsen 2003, 389; Lund Hansen 1987, 411.



Photo: DIME 2018 (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

22. Ringsted Municipality

A heavily-eroded bronze brooch in the shape of an unidentified animal. The nail holder, though faint, is visible on the rear side.

Material: Bronze

Inv. no: DIME 8131

Classification: “Anden” type

Context: Stray find (*metal detector*)

Production date: RIA

Find date: 2018

Dimensions: N/A

References: DIME 2022.

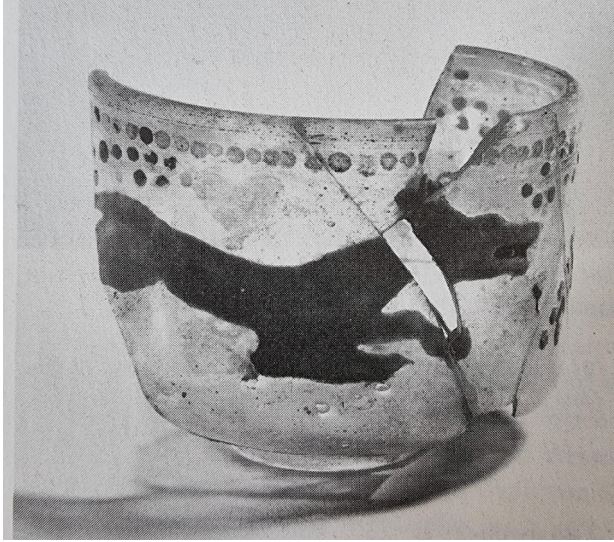


Figure: Lund Hansen 1987, p. 209.

23. Torslunde Mark, Copenhagen

An incomplete painted circus beaker depicting a dog-like figure.

Material: Glass

Inv. no: NM I C 105

Classification: E 209

Context: Grave find (*Burial E 231*)

Production date: Phase C1b (RIA)

Find date: 1870

Dimensions: D. 12 cm, H. 8.3 cm (approx.)

References: Lund Hansen 1987, 410.



Photo: Larsen, Natmus n.d. (CC-BY-SA).

24. Vallbø, Herfølge, Præsto

A complete Terra Sigillata vessel showing embossed hunting scenes featuring various animals.

Material: Clay

Inv. no: NM C 1378

Classification: Dragendorff 37

Context: Grave find (*Burial "Møllehøj"*)

Production date: Phase C1b (RIA)

Find date: 1872

Dimensions: N/A

References: Cavka 2017, 46; Engelhardt 1873, 285ff, Lund Hansen 1987, 413.



Photo: Fortuna & Ursem, Natmus n.d. (CC-BY-SA).

25. Varpelev, Stevns, Præsto

A circus beaker depicting two colourful birds amongst floral decorations.

Material: Glass

Inv. no: NM I 19678

Classification: E 209

Context: Grave find (*Burial E 239*)

Production date: Phase C1b (RIA)

Find date: 1861

Dimensions: D. 12 cm, H. 8.3 cm (approx.)

References: Lund Hansen 1987, 416.



Figure: Lund Hansen 1987, p. 208.

26. Varpelev, Stevns, Præsto

A pair of circus beakers depicting lions in various poses and stylisations.

Material: Glass

Inv. no: NM I 19674-85

Classification: E 209

Context: Grave find (*Burial E 239*)

Production date: Phase C1b (RIA)

Find date: 1861

Dimensions: D. 12 cm, H. 8.3 cm (approx.)

References: Lund Hansen 1987, 416.

2. Sweden

2.1 Gotland



Photo: Kusmin, SHM 2006 (CC BY 2.5).

27. Bjärs, Hejnum

A pair of bronze enameled brooches in the shape of running hares/rabbits.

Material: Bronze

Inv. no: SHM 122933/8062:46

Classification: Typ 7.25
(Enamels-Champlevé)

Context: Grave find (*Vendel burial*)

Production date: Late RIA

Find date: 1885-86

Dimensions: L. 3.25 cm

References: Andersson 2021, 162f;
Björklund & Hejl *et al* 1996, 205; SHM
2011.



Photo: Kusmin, SHM 2006 (CC BY 2.5).

28. Hemse

Hollow bronze wolf's head showing signs of damage to the nose and ears (fitting).

Material: Bronze

Inv. no: SHM 371962/12530:3

Classification: E 541b

Context: Stray find

Production date: RIA

Find date: N/A

Dimensions: L. 6 cm, W. 5.3 cm

References: Lund Hansen 1987, 447; SHM
2011.



Photo: Kusmin, SHM 2006 (CC BY 2.5).

29. Känne, Burs

Four shards of Terra Sigillata (Dragendorff 37). One of the shards appears to depict a running animal figure (centre).

Material: Clay

Inv. no: SHM 271956/18905:1

Classification: Dragendorff 37 (E 542)

Context: Grave find ("Kämpagrav")

Production date: Phase C (RIA)

Find date: 1928

Dimensions: L. 21 mm (*shard with figure*)

References: Cavka 2017, 46; Lund Hansen 1987, 446; SHM 2011.

2.2 Öland



Photo: Kusmin, SHM 2005 (CC BY 2.5).

30. Karås, Räpplinge

A bronze adornment from a Roman vessel in the shape of a ram.

Material: Bronze

Inv. no: SHM 267315/13243

Classification: E 498

Context: Stray find

Production date: Late RIA

Find date: 1907

Dimensions: L. 7 cm, W. 7.2 cm

References: Andersson 2021; Lund Hansen 1987, 445; SHM 2011.



Photo: SHM 1997 (CC BY 2.5).

31. Lilla Frö, Resmo

A large figurine in the shape of a bull.

Material: Bronze

Inv. no: SHM 120482/1210

Classification: E 51

Context: Stray find

Production date: RIA

Find date: 1845

Dimensions: L. 23.5 cm, H. 16.3 cm

References: Lund Hansen 1987, 445;
Thrane 1989, 385ff; SHM 2011.



Photo: Eriksson, SHM 2022 (CC BY 4.0).

32. Norra Näsby, Sandby

*A bronze "fitting" in the shape of a gryphon.
Some scratches and traces of lead can be
seen on the underside.*

Material: Bronze

Inv. no: SHM 267316/17360

Classification: LH 286

Context: Stray find

Production date: RIA

Find date: 1923

Dimensions: L. 5.7 cm, W. 4 cm

References: Björklund & Hejl *et al* 1996,
206; Lund Hansen 1987, 445; SHM 2011.



Photo: Kusmin, SHM 2005 (CC BY 2.5).

33. Spångebro, Löt

A panther head made of bronze.

Material: Bronze

Inv. no: SHM 372291/32794

Classification: N/A

Context: Stray find

Production date: RIA

Find date: 1975?

Dimensions: L. 3.8 cm, W. 3.8 cm

References: Björklund & Hejl *et al* 1996, 218; Hanse 1987, 445; SHM 2011.

Appendix II: Catalogue of Local Zoomorphic Representations

The second part of the catalogue comprises locally-produced zoomorphic material from the Roman Iron Age (1-400 CE) through to the dawn of the Migration Period (400-550 CE). In order to ease the search for objects featured in this study, this section provides an overview of all zoomorphic transformations featured in this study; from vessels to objects and so on. Each entry is listed in order of geographical origin, and is named after its corresponding inventory number. The list begins with objects from Denmark and concludes with material from Sweden. Lund Hansen's chronological system is preferred wherever possible; with the use of the traditional three-period (Roman Iron Age) and "common era" (BCE-CE) systems in its absence.

Abbreviations

B2 - 70 - 150 CE

C1a - 150 - 210 CE

C1b - 210 - 250 CE

C2 - 250 - 310 CE

C3 - 310 - 400 CE

C - Roman Iron Age

E - Eggers's typology

LH - Lund Hansens's typology

MP - Migration Period

RIA - Roman Iron Age

RAÄ - "Fornlämningsnummer"

DIME - "Digitale Metaldetektorfund"

SHM - Swedish History Museum

Natmus - National Museum of Denmark

Inv. no: Inventory number



Photo: Odense Bys Museer 2016 (CC-BY-SA)



Photo: Odense Bys Museer 2006
(CC-BY-SA)

Example

(Entry no.) (Find location)

(Short description)

Material: (Material of production)

Inv. no: (Inventory number)

Classification: (Typological classification)

Context: (Type of find)

Production date: (Absolute/relative dating)

Find date: (Date of excavation/discovery)

Dimensions: (Length, width, height, etc.)

References: (Literature and/or sources)

3. Denmark

3.1 Funen



Figure: Björklund & Hejl *et al*, Malmö
Museer 1996, p. 205

34. Espe, Hordaland

A small animal figurine with a heavily stylised appearance.

Material: Bronze

Inv. no: OBM-FSB 889

Classification: N/A

Context: Stray find

Production date: Phase C3 (RIA)

Find date: N/A

Dimensions: L. 8.7 cm, H. 3.1 cm

References: Björklund & Hejl *et al* 1996, p. 205; Thrane 1989, 377ff.



Photo: Lee, Natmus n.d. (CC-BY-SA)

35. Gudme Halls, Svendborg

A small bronze animal figurine that forms part of a collection of votive offerings found in a ritual pit inside a cult building.

Material: Bronze

Inv. no: NM GN 1108

Classification: N/A

Context: Stray find (*cultural layer*)

Production date: Phase C3 (RIA)

Find date: 1992

Dimensions: N/A

References: Jørgensen, Storgaard & Thomsen 2003, 431; Sørensen 1994, 25ff.

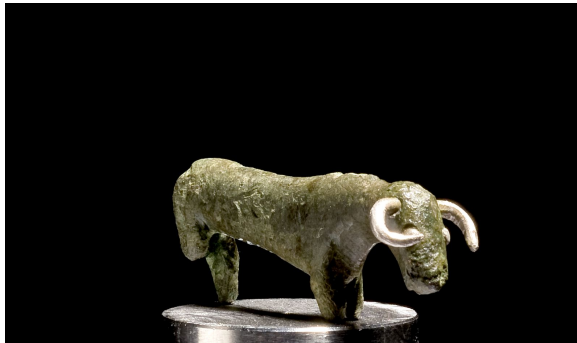


Photo: Fortuna & Ursem, Natmus n.d. (CC-BY-SA)

36. Gudme II, Svendborg

A small bull figurine with added silver horns and eyes.

Material: Bronze

Inv. no: NM 7885-95X605

Classification: N/A

Context: Stray find (*cultural layer*)

Production date: RIA

Find date: 1999

Dimensions: L. 3.5 cm (approx.)

References: Jørgensen, Storgaard & Thomsen 2003, 432; Thomsen 1999, 25ff.



Photo: Lee, Natmus n.d. (CC-BY-SA)

37. Gudme II, Svendborg

Two complete bronze figurines and one half of another figure which form part of a collection of various metal detector finds from the Gudme settlement.

Material: Bronze

Inv. no: NM GU 381/GU 216

Classification: N/A

Context: Stray find (*cultural layer*)

Production date: RIA

Find date: 1988

Dimensions: N/A

References: Jørgensen, Storgaard & Thomsen 2003, 432; Thrane 1989, 379f.



Figure: Björklund & Hejl *et al*, Malmö Museer 1996, p. 205

38. Lundeberg, Svendborg

A group of three small bronze animal figurines depicting abstract animals.

Material: Bronze

Inv. no: A7 x357/608 - A2 x2705

Classification: N/A

Context: Stray find (*settlement context*)

Production date: Late RIA

Find date: 1987

Dimensions: N/A

Literature: Björklund & Hejl *et al* 1996, 205; Petersen 1988, 27.



Figure: Thomsen 1999

39. Lundeberg, Svendborg

A small animal figurine with horns and a simple stylised appearance.

Material: Bronze

Inv. no: SOM 352

Classification: N/A

Context: Stray find (*cultural layer*)

Production date: RIA

Find date: 1999

Dimensions: L. 6 cm

References: Thomsen 1999, 26ff.



Photo: Odense Bys Museer 2006
(CC-BY-SA)

40. Lundsgård, Åsum, Odense

A small bronze bull figurine with a slight stylised appearance.

Material: Bronze

Inv. no: OBM-FSB 889

Classification: N/A

Context: Stray find (*settlement context*)

Production date: Phase C1 (RIA)

Find date: 1939

Dimensions: L. 8.5 cm, W. 2.6 cm, H. 4.2 cm

References: Thrane 1989, 377f.



Photo: Odense Bys Museer 2006
(CC-BY-SA)

41. Møllegårdsmarken, Gudme

A local representation of Roman TS-pottery with faint traces of birds shown in profile.

Material: Clay

Inv. no: OBM-FS 10382

Classification: N/A

Context: Grave find (*Møllegårdsmarken 752*)

Production date: Phase C3 (RIA)

Find date: 1959-66

Dimensions: H. 10.1 cm

References: Albrechtsen 1971, 125.



Photo: Odense Bys Museer 2006
(CC-BY-SA)

42. Møllegårdsmarken, Svendborg

A local representation of Roman TS-pottery with several birds shown in profile.

Material: Clay

Inv. no: OBM-FS 10949-1

Classification: N/A

Context: Grave find (*Møllegårdsmarken 1319*)

Production date: Phase C3 (RIA)

Find date: 1959-66

Dimensions: H. 20 cm (approx.)

References: Albrechtsen 1971, 81.



Photo: Odense Bys Museer 2006
(CC-BY-SA)

43. Møllegårdsmarken, Svendborg

A local representation of Roman TS-pottery with several stylised birds shown in profile.

Material: Clay

Inv. no: OBM-FSD 907

Classification: N/A

Context: Grave find (*Møllegårdsmarken 208*)

Production date: Phase C3 (RIA)

Find date: 1959-66

Dimensions: H. 24 cm

References: Albrechtsen 1968, 106.

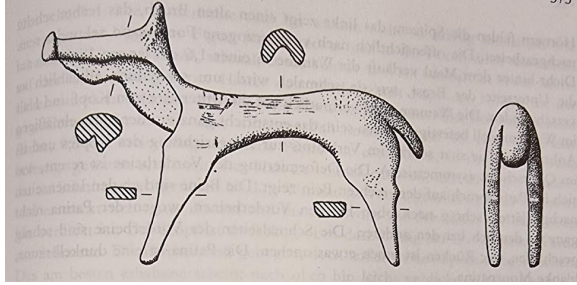


Figure: Thrane 1989, p. 375

44. Uggerslev

A stylised bronze bull figurine with small horns, a visible tail, and a large snout.

Material: Bronze

Inv. no: N/A

Classification: N/A

Context: Stray find (*settlement context*)

Production date: Phase C1b(RIA)

Find date: 1912

Dimensions: L. 8.35 cm, H. 5.1 cm

References: Thrane 1989, 374f.

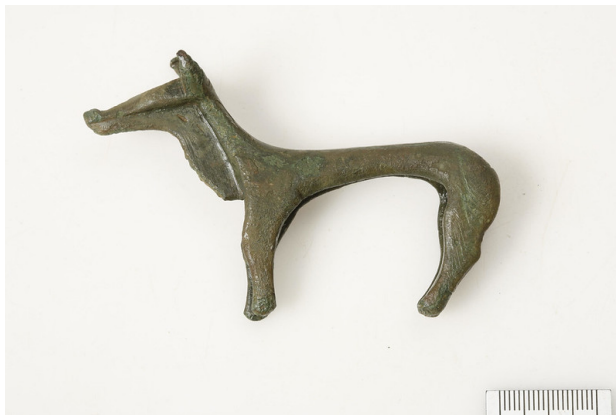


Photo: Odense Bys Museer 2016
(CC-BY-SA)

45. Ullerslev

A bronze bull figurine with small horns and a slight stylised appearance.

Material: Bronze

Inv. no: OBM-FSC6

Classification: N/A

Context: Stray find (*settlement context*)

Production date: Phase C1b (RIA)

Find date: 1906

Dimensions: L. 8.7 cm, H. 5.8 cm

References: Björklund & Hejl *et al* 1996, 205; Thrane 1989, 375.

3.2 Jutland



Figure: Björklund & Hejl *et al* 1996, p. 204

46. Dankirke, Vester-Vedsted, Ribe

Decorated brooch in the shape of a backward-facing deer with a bird mounted atop its back.

Material: Bronze

Inv. no: NM DK 174 (*LH 187*)

Classification: N/A

Context: Grave find

Production date: Late RIA / Early MP?

Find date: 1965-70

Dimensions: L. 5.0 cm

References: Björklund & Hejl *et al* 1996, 204; Lund Hansen 1987, 429; Thorvildsen 1972.



Photo: Larsen, Natmus 1984 (CC-BY-SA)

47. Gallehus, Tønder

Copies of two legendary bronze horns with various symbols including several animal motifs.

Material: Bronze

Inv. no: NM 19015

Classification: N/A

Context: Stray find

Production date: Phase C3 (RIA)

Find date: 1639/1734

Dimensions: L. 75.8 cm (approx.)

References: Björklund & Hejl *et al* 1996, 147ff; Pesch 2015.

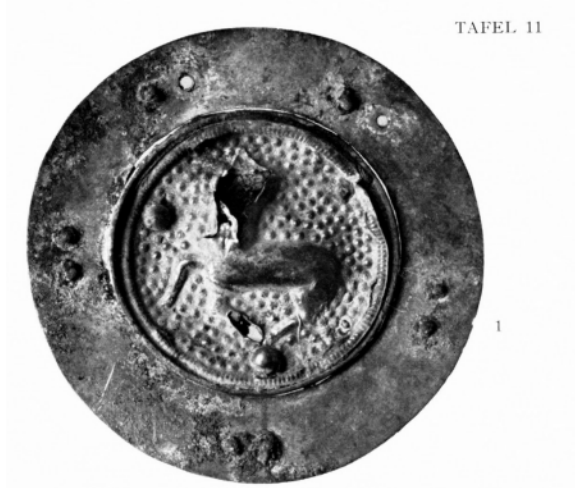


Figure: Werner 1966, Catalogue

48. Fredsø, Morsø

A belt buckle fitting with an embossed deer motif.

Material: Bronze

Inv. no: N/A

Classification: N/A

Context: Stray find

Production date: 3rd century CE (RIA)

Find date: 1952?

Dimensions: N/A

References: Pesch 2015, 378; Werner 1966, 25.

3.3 Zealand



Photo: Larsen, Natmus n.d. (CC-BY-SA)

49. Himlingøje, Bjaeverskov, Præstø

Two silver beakers with gilded neck ornamentation depicting various stylised animals.

Material: Silver

Inv. no: NM MCMXXXVI

Classification: E 177

Context: Grave find. (*Burial 1829*
"Baunehøj")

Production date: Phase C1b (RIA)

Find date: 1829

Dimensions: N/A

References: Engelhardt 1873, 285ff, Lund Hansen 1987, 413.



Photo: Parker 2022

50. Nordrup, Ringsted, Sorø

A silver beaker with gilded neck ornamentation depicting a row of backward-facing animals and a second row of fish-like forms on the body.

Material: Silver

Inv. no: NM C 4829

Classification: E 177

Context: Grave find. (*Burial J*)

Production date: Phase C1b (RIA)

Find date: 1881

Dimensions: N/A

References: Engelhardt 1873, 285ff, Lund Hansen 1987, 411.



Photo: Lee, Natmus n.d (CC-BY-SA)

51. Valløby, Herfølge, Præstø

Two silver beakers with gilded neck ornamentation with backward-facing animals.

Material: Silver

Inv. no: NM C 1372

Classification: E 177

Context: Grave find (*Burial "Møllehøj"*)

Production date: Phase C1b (RIA)

Find date: 1872

Dimensions: N/A

References: Engelhardt 1873, 285ff, Lund Hansen 1987, 413.

4. Sweden

4.1 Blekinge



Photo: SHM 1995 (CC BY 2.5)

52. Yxnarum, Listerby

A bronze buckle, designed in the shape of several backward-facing animals.

Material: Bronze

Inv. no: SHM 444677/6636:1

Classification: N/A

Context: Stray find

Production date: RIA

Find date: 1878

Dimensions: N/A

References: SHM 2011.

4.2 Bohuslän



Photo: Eberlein, SHM 2014 (CC BY 2.5)

53. Lilla Jored, Kville

A gilded silver frieze that once formed part of a drinking horn/vessel.

Material: Silver

Inv. no: SHM 883100/413

Classification: N/A

Context: Grave find

Production date: Phase C1b (RIA)

Find date: 1816

Dimensions: L. 10.5 cm (approx.)

References: Holmqvist 1951, 33ff; Pesch 2015, 378; SHM 2011; Werner 1966, 27f.

4.3 Gotland



Photo: Ljungkvist, SHM 2005 (CC BY 2.5)

54. Ardags, Ekeby

A bronze fitting from a drinking horn in the shape of a bull's head.

Material: Bronze

Inv. no: SHM 181632/23533

Classification: N/A

Context: Grave find (*Ekeby 15:1 - RAÄ*)

Production date: RIA

Find date: 1948-54

Dimensions: L. 4.2 cm (approx.)

References: Holmqvist 1954, 283f; SHM 2011; Stjernqvist 1978, 135.



Photo: Kusmin, SHM 2006 (CC BY 2.5)

55. Havor, Hablingbo

Eight fragments of a bronze plate that once adorned a vessel or a drinking horn. Features small bird symbols.

Material: Bronze

Inv. no: SHM 371712/7785:95

Classification: N/A

Context: Grave find (*Hablingbo 50:1 - RAÄ*)

Production date: RIA

Find date: 1885

Dimensions: See photo*

References: Andersson 2021, 71; Pesch 2016, 396; SHM 2011.

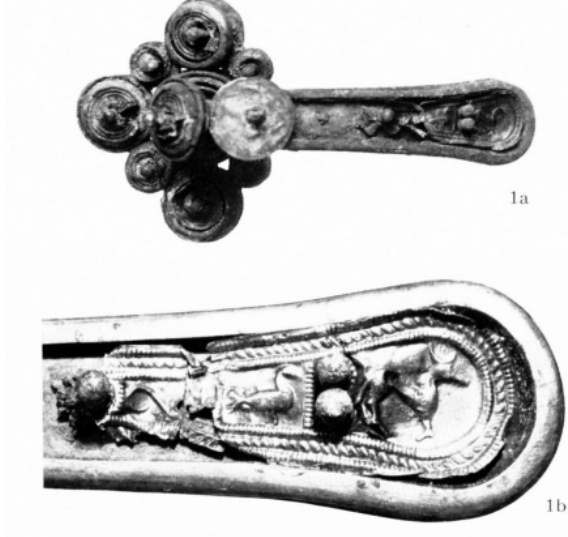


Figure: Werner 1966, Catalogue

56. Lau backar, Lau

A silver fragment adorning a bronze “rosette” fibula, featuring a bull and a bird.

Material: Silver

Inv. no: SHM 270908/17661

Classification: N/A

Context: Grave find

Production date: RIA

Find date: 1925

Dimensions: L. 9.6 cm, W. 5.3 cm

References: SHM 2011; Werner 1966, 28.



Photo: Kusmin, SHM 2006 (CC BY 2.5)

57. Tänglings, Etelhem

A bronze fitting from a drinking horn in the shape of a bull's head.

Material: Bronze

Inv. no: SHM 122928/6202

Classification: N/A

Context: Stray find

Production date: RIA

Find date: 1893

Dimensions: L. 2.4 cm

References: SHM 2011.



Photo: Nyberg, SHM 2007 (CC BY 2.5)

58. Rangsarve, Alva

A small bronze bird-shaped fitting/figurine attached to a handle; once part of a drinking horn.

Material: Bronze

Inv. no: SHM 458680/9121:13

Classification: N/A

Context: Grave find (*Burial 16106*)

Production date: RIA

Find date: 1892

Dimensions: L. 2 cm (approx.)

References: Andersson 2021, 141; SHM 2011.

4.4 Gästrikland



Figure: Kusmin, SHM 2006 (CC BY 2.5)

59. Hade, Gävle

A gilded silver frieze depicting running stags; once attached to a drinking horn.

Material: Silver

Inv. no: SHM 371924/1209

Classification: N/A

Context: Grave find (*Hedesunda 219:1 RAÄ*)

Production date: RIA?

Find date: 1845

Dimensions: L. 5.2 cm

References: SHM 2011; Werner 1966, 28.

4.5 Scania



Figure: Björklund & Hejl *et al* 1996, p. 204

60. Skillinge, Simris

A locally-produced bronze crossbow brooch in the shape of a deer or elk.

Material: Bronze

Inv. no: LUHM 28981

Classification: N/A

Context: Grave find

Production date: 2nd - 3rd century CE (RIA)

Find date: 1951

Dimensions: L. 4 cm, H. 4.5 cm

References: Björklund & Hejl *et al* 1996, 20; Stjernqvist 1955, 132f.

4.6 Uppland



Photo: Kusmin, SHM 2006 (CC-BY-2.5)

61. Igelsta, Västerängen, Norrtälje

A fitting for a drinking horn in the shape of a bull's head.

Material: Bronze

Inv. no: SHM 371707/23189:51

Classification: N/A

Context: Grave find (*Hög 51*)

Production date: RIA

Find date: 1943

Dimensions: L. 4.6 cm

References: SHM 2011.

4.7 Västra Götaland



Photo: Bruxe, SHM 1994 (CC BY 2.5)

62. Knestorp Rättaregården, Dalstorp

A small whimsical figurine/fitting in the shape of a bird.

Material: Bronze

Inv. no: SHM 431807/32780

Classification: N/A

Context: Grave find (*Dalstorp 61:1 - RAÄ*)

Production date: 2nd century CE (RIA)

Find date: 1979

Dimensions: L. 1.5 cm, H. 1.2 cm

References: Andersson 2021, 68ff; SHM 2011.



Figure: Künzl & Foltz 1997, p. 130

63. Järnsyssla, Skara

A small gilded silver fitting in the shape of an animal head; once attached to a silver vessel (see reconstruction).

Material: Silver

Inv. no: SHM 109071/13314

Classification: N/A

Context: Grave find (*Burial E 461*)

Production date: Phase C1 (RIA)

Find date: 1906

Dimensions: L. 2.1 cm

References: Holmqvist 1954, 271ff; Künzl & Foltz 1997, 129; Lund Hansen 1987, 451; SHM 2011.

4.8 Öland



Photo: Dabir, SHM 2006 (CC BY 2.5)

64. Frösåkrarna, Gårdby

A bronze-plated bovine figurine.

Material: Bronze

Inv. no: SHM 267202/1304/1832:72

Classification: N/A

Context: Stray find

Production date: RIA

Find date: 1925

Dimensions: L. 18.5 cm, H. 13.5 cm

References: Andersson 2021, 100f; Gustawsson 1928, 20; Thrane 1989, 386ff; SHM 2011.



Photo: SHM 1998 (CC BY 2.5)

65. Ormöga, Alböke

Bronze pig's head of unknown date and origin.

Material: Bronze

Inv. no: SHM 145771/11433

Classification: N/A

Context: Stray find (*deposition*)

Production date: RIA?

Find date: 1901-02

Dimensions: N/A

References: Andersson 2021, 113f; Björklund & Hejl *et al* 1996, 206; SHM 2011.



Photo: Olsson, SHM 1996 (CC BY 2.5)

66. Skedemosse, Gårdslösa

A silver belt buckle/fitting with press-plate work in the shape of a backward-facing animal.

Material: Silver

Inv. no: SHM 109213/26239

Classification: N/A

Context: Stray find (*cultural layer*)
(*Gårdslösa 171:1 - RAÄ*)

Production date: Phase C1b/C2 (RIA)

Find date: 1959-60

Dimensions: N/A

References: Andersson 2021, 168; Pesch 2015, 378; SHM 2011; Werner 1966, 16.



Photo: Sillén, SHM 2006 (CC BY 2.5)

67. Skedemosse, Gårdslösa

A bronze belt buckle/fitting with press-plate work in the shape of an animal; perhaps a deer.

Material: Bronze

Inv. no: SHM 448908/26732

Classification: N/A

Context: Stray find (*cultural layer*)
(*Gårdslösa 171:1 - RAÄ*)

Production date: Phase C1b/C2 (RIA)

Find date: 1961

Dimensions: N/A

References: Pesch 2015, 378; SHM 2011.



Photo: Rosberg, Kalmar Läns Museum 2000
(CC-BY-4.0)

68. Solberga, Gräsgård

A bronze bull figurine with realistic proportions and features.

Material: Bronze

Inv. no: KLM 024067

Classification: N/A

Context: Stray find

Production date: RIA

Find date: 1952

Dimensions: L. 8.3 cm, H. 7.3

References: Rasch & Fallgren 2001, 368ff;
Thrane 1989, 386ff.



Photo: Kalmar Läns Museum 2017
(CC-BY-4.0)

69. Solberga, Gräsgård

A crowned bull figurine with realistic proportions and features.

Material: Bronze

Inv. no: KLME E74207-7

Classification: N/A

Context: Stray find

Production date: RIA

Find date: February 1991

Dimensions: H. 7.3

References: Rasch & Fallgren 2001, 368ff.



Photo: Parker 2022

70. Spjuterum, Gårdslösa

A bronze-plated bull figurine.

Material: Bronze

Inv. no: N/A

Classification: N/A

Context: Stray find

Production date: RIA

Find date: 1840

Dimensions: L. 18.5 cm, H. 13.5 cm

References: Gustawsson 1928, 20; Nerman
1943, 164; Thrane 1989, p. 386ff.