The Roman Empire and Southern Scandinavia – a Northern Connection!



by
Thomas Grane

The Roman Empire and Southern Scandinavia – a Northern Connection!

- A re-evaluation of military-political relations between the Roman Empire and the Barbaricum in the first three centuries AD with a special emphasis on southern Scandinavia



Submitted as Ph.D.-dissertation
at the SAXO-Institute, University of Copenhagen
by Thomas Grane, MA.

Supervised by: Ulla Lund Hansen & Annette Rathje

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Frontispiece: Ptolemaios' map of Germania with Roman cups from Hoby and Varpelev, the Hedegård pugio and Roman denarii. After (Biblioteca Nazionale "Vittorio Emanuele III" Napoli, ms. V.F.32 (Claudius Ptolemaeus, Cosmographia: membr, sec.XV (1460-66), mm 440x295) "su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali" and photos: National Museum/L. Larsen, Museum Sønderjylland, Arkæologi Haderslev/S. Hendriksen and P. Dehlholm.

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"For if the city of the Lacedaemonians should be deserted, and nothing should be left of it but its temples and the foundations of its other buildings, posterity would, I think, after a long lapse of time, be very loath to believe that their power was as great as their renown. (And yet they occupy two fifths of the Peloponnesus and have hegemony of the whole, as well as of their many allies outside; but still, as Sparta is not compactly built as a city and has not provided itself with costly temples and other edifices, but is inhabited village-fashion in the old Hellenic style, its power would appear less than it is.) Whereas, if Athens should suffer the same fate, its power would, I think, from what appeared of the city's ruins, be conjectured double what it is."

Thucydides
History of the Peloponnesian War I.10.2
5th century BC
(LOEB edition, transl. by C.F. Smith)

Introduction

The aim of this work is to enhance the knowledge of Roman relations to the northern *Barbaricum*, i.e. southern Scandinavia. The nature and extent of the northern parts of the Roman Empire has for long been thoroughly examined within a multitude of scholarly disciplines. Likewise, the parts of Europe outside the Roman Empire have undergone thorough scholarly examination. However, whereas the Roman Empire has attracted the attention of both historians, philologists and archaeologists, northern Europe has mainly been subjected to the scrutiny of prehistorical archaeologists. But the fact that one area was seen to have influenced the other is quite apparent as the period of interest in prehistorical chronology is labelled 'The Roman Iron Age'. That the two parts of Europe were not completely isolated is of course well known and for one thing illustrated by the numerous finds of Roman origin in northern Europe. However, within provincial Roman research, represented by both classical and prehistorical archaeologists as well as historians, Roman-'Barbarian' contacts has generated an interest in the immediate vicinity of the Roman borders. The parts of Europe more distantly situated from the Roman Empire have primarily been of interest to prehistorical archaeologists alone, who have looked southwards with a base in the local context.

As is apparent from the title, this work strives to reveal military-political connections between the Roman Empire on one hand and on the other an area situated at quite a distance from this Empire. The motivation for choosing this part of *Barbaricum* is based on a number of reasons. Various aspects of the Roman Iron Age in Scandinavia indicate that relations could have been present. This is seen through finds from, for instance, the princely graves at Himlingøje or from the war booty sacrifices. Within each of these fields of study, it has been suggested that there might be some sort of connection to the Roman Empire or occurrences related to the Roman Empire. It is therefore the purpose here to examine all these vague indications from another point of view for once, in order to establish an overview of these relations.

Approach

The *modus operandi* will be to accumulate a working material based on several fields of research. In order to gain the fullest picture, archaeological remains from both the prehistorical and classical fields are needed, as well as the literary sources. With a background in Classical Archaeology and previous projects on both the development of the Rhine *limes* through my MA-thesis and the war booty sacrifices of southern Scandinavia through involvement in the exhibition '*The Spoils of Victory*', I found myself well prepared for such an inter-disciplinary endeavour.

The dissertation is divided in three parts, which deal with the *limes*, possible Roman-Scandinavian contacts and southern Scandinavian features of relevance.

Chronological frame

The starting point is the *Germania* campaigns of Augustus. The beginning of the principate also marked an increase in contacts between the Romans and the Germanic world. A natural chronological end point would have been the end of the Western part of the Roman Empire in AD 476. However, as that would be too far reaching, I have limited the investigation to cover the first three centuries AD from Augustus to Probus, who managed for a short while to secure the Empire. A few years later, Diocletian initiated a thorough re-organisation of the Empire and formed the tetrachy. At this time, large groups of *Barbari* were alowed to settle in the provinces. These occurences created fundamentally different circumstances in the north-western Empire, and therefore constitute a natural break point.

Part one

The starting point is an investigation of the north-western *limes*. Focus is on four episodes from the first three centuries AD, which are important for the understanding of Roman-Germanic relations. Each of these episodes was dominated by large scale war between Romans and *Germani*. This had a great impact on the subsequent behaviour of the Romans towards *Barbaricum*.

The first episode is the *clades Variana*, the defeat of Varus, and the end of the Augustan *Germania* campaigns. During these encounters the first substantial indications of contact appear.

The second episode is the Batavian revolt following in the wake of the civil war in AD 69 – 70. Although the revolt proved not to be fatal for the Roman Empire, it forced the Romans to re-think their policy

towards their eastern neighbours.

The third episode concerns the reign of Marcus Aurelius, in which an external pressure apparently forced Rome's long term friend, the *Marcomanni*, to attacks on the Roman provinces. In the end Rome was fighting practically every neighbour in *Barbaricum*.

The fourth episode is constituted by the troubles in the second half of the 3rd century AD that led to the loss of the *Agri Decumates* and the rise of new Germanic 'federations'.

The investigation of these four episodes provides a new view on various aspects, as well as an outline of Roman-Germanic relations, which can be used as models for Roman contacts to other parts of *Barbaricum*, to which such information is not available.

Part two

Part two is dealing with what could be construed as reflections of Roman-Scandinavian contacts. It begins with a brief outline of Roman diplomacy and the use of foreign military resources. This is followed by an investigation of, what is commonly known as 'Roman imports', which is initiated by a discussion of methods exemplified by the works of U. Lund Hansen and M. Erdrich.

One of the main features of this period is the large amount of Roman vessel. A description of the occurrence of these objects in Scandinavia is based on U. Lund Hansen's '*Römischer Import im Norden*', the only thorough work on this subject. After this, an overview of Roman coins is presented.

A feature that has not been subjected to much examination is the possibility of Roman *auxiliarii* or *foederati*. As a case study, ten graves from Denmark are examined. Among the grave goods of these graves certain objects may be interpreted as indications of a direct contact and diplomatic connections. For each of these graves the objects differ, and it is important to realise that it is the context of the objects that determines, if what they reflect could be diplomatic contacts. This section is concluded by an examination of certain Germanic finds from the *limes*, which may relate to southern Scandinavia.

The last investigation of part two concerns the literary sources to the North. Here, the traditional interpretations, which are mainly based on linguistic considerations, are challenged.

Part three

Several features of Scandinavian origin will be investigated. The most important group of evidence of unrest in this period is

that of the war booty sacrifices. This puzzling phenomenon is most widespread in south-eastern Jutland and Funen, but is found in all of southern Scandinavia. At the larger sites more than one deposition has been identified as has the origins of the former owners of the material. What is most intriguing about these finds is that it is not at all clear how they came to be there. Are the depositions a result of battle in the vicinity of the location or has the material been brought from another place. No matter the theory they should be able to help chart adversaries and alliances. What is of the utmost importance is the chronology and how it fits with the chronology of Western Europe. Again speculations are made whether there might be a connection to the contemporary unrest in Central and Western Europe.

Closely connected with the above are defensive measures of regional i.e. more than local importance found in southern Scandinavia. This part includes sea barrages, of which several are dated to the Iron Age, and larger wall structures, which are mainly found in southern Jutland. Like the war booty sacrifices, these can hopefully contribute to the understanding of regional conflicts.

Part four

Finally, the results of my investigations are correlated in a chronological analysis, which provides an appropriate overview of the survey of military-political relations between the Roman and southern Scandinavia in the first three centuries AD. A number of other considerations and further perspectives are subsequently discussed.

The literary sources

In my work with the literary sources, I have had great help in the bilingual compilations of texts on *Germania* and the *Germani* by H.-W. Goetz and K.-W. Welwei from 1995, *Altes Germanien. Auszüge aus den antiken Quellen über die Germanen und ihre Beziehungen zum römischen Reich*, (*Quellen zum alten Geschichte bis zum Jahre 238 n. Chr.*), and the similar type of publication edited by J. Hermann in the years from 1988 to 1992, *Griechische und Lateinische Quellen zur Frühgeschichte Mitteleuropas bis zur Mitte des 1. Jahrtausends u.Z.* in four volumes.[1] The last of these was also equipped with an extensive commentary to the

1) Goetz & Welwei 1995a-b; Hermann 1988; 1990; 1991; 1992. A note to notes: I believe that the reader should be provided with precise information in a footnote. Therefore, no annoying back referencing such as *ibid* or *ebenda* will be found, why the same reference may appear successively. Furthermore, references are given alphabetically.

individual texts and authors. Naturally, other commentaries have been used as well, when ever I have found it necessary, for instance, concerning the troublesome period in the end of the 3rd century AD.

Definitions

In my work, I have used a number of descriptions, which I would like explain beforehand to avoid any misunderstandings, as there could be doubt as to how they should be understood.

Some of the most frequently used words are the descriptions of the parts involved. When I use the word '*Roman*', it covers everything that comes from within the borders of the Roman Empire. I am well aware that calling both objects and people from the provinces for 'Roman' is a point of discussion and that some scholars would prefer to restrict the use of this word, but in the present case that is not a relevant issue.

The other part in this work is the '*barbarians*'. I have generally avoided this word, as it has bad modern connotations, although I do not find that this necessarily applies to the Latin word '*Barbaricum*'. This is used along side the general description '*Germania*', but not indifferently. All of *Germania* is a part of *Barbaricum*, but this word covers everything east of the Rhine and North of the Danube from the North Sea to the Black Sea. Concerning *Germania* I have followed Ptolemaios' description, which means that the Vistla River separates *Germania* and *Scythia*. For instance, the Sarmatian tribes are not part of *Germania*, although they are part of *Barbaricum*.

Lastly, the use of the word 'trade' needs a few words. Trade in the ancient world is an entire study in itself, and it is not my intention to go into that issue in this study. Clearly, the nature of trade is varied, from the petty trade that occurs at markets in the vicinity of the Roman border to more controlled trade, where recipients may almost have held a monopoly on certain goods. However, in the present study, this matter will be touched only briefly. Therefore, no particular meaning is inherent in my use of the word, other than what appears from the text.

Appendices

I have added a number of appendices to facilitate the access to certain information. They include: 1) A list of Emperors. 2) A chronology

key. 3) A list of Latin descriptions used. 4) A full translation of Plinius *Naturalis Historia* 4.94-7. Maps of the north-western limes and of the Roman provinces of the first three centuries AD are added in the back.

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Part 1. The north-western *limes* from the 1st to the 3rd century AD

The Research History

The research history for the present area of investigation, i.e. more or less the northwestern *limes* from the North Sea to the River Inn, developed differently. This development was caused not only by the fact that the two modern nations of The Netherlands and Germany were involved, but also because Germany still consisted of a number of independent states, when the research of the Roman frontiers took off in the 19th century.

Germany

The Limes and the Reichs-Limeskommission

The first writer in Germany to mention the Roman *limes* was *Johannes Turmair* (1477 – 1535), called *Aventinus*. In the following 200 years little happened. Then the archivist *Christian Ernst Hanßellmann* (1699 – 1775) published a paper on the '*Vallum Romanum*' connecting the Taunus *limes* and the Raetian *limes* (Fig. 1). After the Napoleonic wars the interest in the Roman past grew in the new German states. This led to the rise of numerous archaeological or historical societies, initiated by *Verein für Altertumskunde in Ellwangen* from 1819. These societies undertook archaeological excavations of fortifications, towers and the *limes* itself. In 1852, the societies founded the '*Commission zur Erforschung des Limes Imperii Romani*' in an attempt to establish systematic research of the Limes across the borders of the small German states. At the same time local state *Limes*-commissions provided funding. The effect was numerous society-military- and library archives, but the co-operation attempted in 1852



Fig. 1 The limes of Christian Ernst Hanßelmann (1699 - 1775). After Braun 1992: 14-15, fig. 13.

did not create that general view of the chronology and military history that was wanted.[2]

In 1871, the German states were united in the German Empire. That gave the ancient historian *Theodor Mommsen* (1817 – 1903) (Fig. 2) the opportunity to speak for a national systematic examination of the *limes* followed by publication. With the support of *Generalfeldmarschall Helmuth von Moltke* (1800 – 1891) Mommsen worked for twenty years to organize this project. Twice he failed due to petty differences of opinion and then he lost the support of the *Reichskanzler Otto Fürst von Bismarck*. Not until the fall of Bismarck in 1890 could the first conference on the *limes* be held. In 1892, the government approved the results of the conference and the *Reichs-Limeskommission* could start working. An executive committee led by professor and librarian *Karl Zangemeister* (1837 – 1902) from Heidelberg was in charge of the project. Two *Dirigenten*, *Felix Hettner* (1851 – 1902), director of the Provincial Museum in Trier, and *Generalleutnant Oscar von Sarwey* (1837 – 1912) were elected to take care of practical matters. In 1898, *Ernst Fabricius* (1857 – 1942), professor in Freiburg, was called to assistance. When Zangemeister and Hettner died in 1902, Fabricius took over their positions. From that time, he alone was in charge of the project. The *limes* from the Rhine to the Danube was divided into 15 '*Strecken*'. Each stretch was to be examined and the sites excavated. The results were to be published in a work called '*Der Obergermanisch-Raetische Limes des Roemerreiches*'. For this work the commission needed five years. After several extensions, the last volume was published in 1937. At that time almost 100 *castella* and around 1000 watchtowers had been examined and published in 14 volumes in two parts, *Abteilung A* about *Strecken* and *Abteilung B* about *castella*. Hereafter the *Reichs-Limeskommission* was dissolved and any remaining tasks taken over by the *Römisch-Germanische Kommission* in Frankfurt.[3]

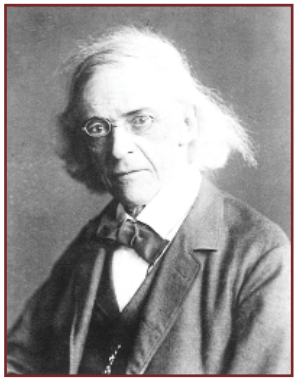


Fig. 2 Theodor Mommsen (1813 - 1903) Founder of the Reichs-Limeskommission. After Braun 1992: 10, fig. 1:

Roman Rheinland

Not all of Roman Germany was covered by the work of the *Reichs-Limeskommission*, but that did not mean that nothing happened. In Rheinland-Westfalen as well there were studies of the Romans in the 15th and 16th century. In the following two centuries, much thought and romanticizing centred on Varus and Arminius based

2) Braun 1992: 9-11; Kuhnen 1992a: 13-14.
3) Braun 1992: 11-24; Hüssen 1992: 33; Kuhnen 1992a: 14.

on the ambush in the *Teutoburger Wald* as described in the literary sources.[4] However, critical research on the Romans did not take place until 1820. That year the '*Königlich Preußische Museum Vaterländischer Altertümer in den rheinisch-westfälischen Provinzen*' was founded with *Wilhelm Dorow* as the first *Direktor*. He was the first to initiate proper excavations in the province. With a publication in 1857 on the Roman stations and roads between *Colonia Agrippina* (Köln) and *Burginatium* (Kalkar-Altkalkar close to the Dutch border) *Alfred Rein* was to become the father of systematic research of the lower German border. The main forum of discussion was the *Bonner Jahrbücher*, in which *Hans Dragendorff* published his typology of *terra sigillata* in 1895. In the 19th century, pupils of Mommsen, under the auspices of the *Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaft*, began the enormous work of collecting the Roman inscriptions in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (CIL).[5] From the beginning of the 20th century, excavations were initiated of the legionary fortresses in Xanten-Birten, Haltern and Neuss as well as of various sanctuaries and cemeteries. In Haltern, this led to the discovery of postholes, something that revolutionized excavation techniques.[6]

Post-war Research

In those parts of Roman Germany hitherto concerned with the *limes*, new fields of interest were added. The essential factor in the post-World War II Roman provincial research was an enormous building boom. This resulted in massive rescue excavations throughout the German states.[7] Furthermore, the bombing of the German cities had resulted in museum-'casualties'. The result was great activity in that area of research as well.[8] The '*Limesforschung*' has come to mean not only research on the Roman military border between the Rhine and the Danube, but research on the entire Roman part of Germany. Those responsible are the museums and the archaeological heritage management of the various states together with the *Römisch-Germanische Kommission* in Frankfurt. The research at these institutions is kept up to date through various '*Berichte*' and '*Jahrbücher*'. The last twenty years have seen an increasing interest in the civilian settlements as well as in the military installations.[9] From the end of the 1960s large-

4) Rüger 1987a: 13-19.
5) Rüger 1987a: 20-22.
6) Rüger 1987a: 22-24; Schnurbein 1979: 23.
7) Filtzinger 1986a: 20-21; Hüssen 1992: 36; Rüger 1987a: 24-25.
8) Decker & Selzer 1990: 38; Filtzinger 1986a: 20.Rüger 1987a: 24.
9) Filtzinger 1986a: 21-22; Hermann 1989: 36-37; Hüssen 1992: 36-37; Rüger 1987a: 25-26.

scale excavations have taken place in the area of the Roman city *Ara Flaviae*, present day Rottweil, the first Roman *Civitas* on the right bank of the Rhine.[10] Likewise numerous *vici* and *villae rusticae* have been excavated.[11] In 1985, H. Schönberger described the state of research on the military installations along the *limes* from the North Sea to the River Inn.[12] Furthermore, the 1980s and '90s saw the publication of handbooks from each province with the latest research on the Roman part of Germany.[13]

In the 1980s, another important find was made. At Kalkriese, north of Osnabrück remains were found of a battlefield believed to be the place of the Varus disaster in AD 9, where three Roman legions and auxiliaries were annihilated in an ambush led by the Cheruscan prince, Arminius. This renewed a research interest in the time of the Augustan campaigns. Only a few years earlier a discovery was made in Bayern of a double legionary camp at Marktbreit near the Main, situated much further east, than hitherto expected.[14] In 1993, excavations started at an Augustan site at Waldgirmes in Hessen. At first it was believed to be another Roman camp, but extensive excavations showed that it was in fact a civilian structure; the only Roman 'town' east of the Rhine dated the time of Augustus discovered so far.[15] Just two years ago, remains of a Roman camp were discovered, namely at Hedemünden in Niedersachsen on the east side of the river junction, where the Rivers Fulda and Werra run into the Weser.[16]

In 2000, the four *Bundesländer* of Bayern, Baden-Württemberg, Hessen and Rheinland-Pfalz began a coordinated effort to obtain a place for the *Obergermanisch-Rätische Limes* in UNESCO's world heritage list, with which they succeeded in 2005, as this part of the Roman frontier was joined with Hadrian's Wall, a world heritage site since 1987, under the name *Frontiers of the Roman Empire*.[17] Another project has been to make the stretch of frontier easily accessible to the public. That has led to the '*Verein Deutsche Limesstraße*' and the publication '*Der Limes*

10) Planck 1986: 521-534. Ara Flaviae I-IV, Forschungen und Berichte zur Vor-Frühgeschichte in Baden-Württemberg Band 6.I-II: 1975, 13: 1982, 18: 1986 & 28: 1988.
11) e.g. Burmeister 1998; Seitz 1999; Heiligmann-Batsch 1997; Gaubatz-Sattler 1994.
12) Schönberger 1985.
13) Horn 1987: Nordrhein-Westfalen; Cüppers 1990: Rheinland-Pfalz; Baatz & Herrmann 1989: Hessen; Filtzinger *et al.* 1986: Baden-Württemberg; Czysz *et al.* 1995: Bayern.
14) Pietsch 1995.
15) Becker 2003; Horn 2005: 115; Schnurbein *et al.* 1995.
16) Horn 2005: 115; Kühlborn 2000: 27-33.
17) Banzer & Schallmayer 2005: 7-8; UNESCO homepage: http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/. Checked September 25th 2006.

– *Die Deutsche Limesstraße vom Rhein bis zur Donau*'.[18] A more popular measure of the interest of the public in the Romans may perhaps be seen in the fact that in their 2007 series, the German toy company, *Playmobil*, now has a *Römer* selection.[19]

The Netherlands

In the case of the archaeology of the Netherlands, it is not possible to sort out provincial Roman archaeology as a discipline in itself. When Roman remains are mentioned it is as an integrated part of either prehistoric or classical archaeology. The research and registration of archaeological monuments began in the early 16th century. The remains were placed in a historical and general geographical context. Spectacular sites like the Roman fort '*Brittenburg*' at the river mouth of the Rhine on the other hand were separately described and depicted (Fig. 3).[20] In 1660, *Johannes Picardt* (1600 – 1670) published one of the first overviews of the Dutch antiquity in the book '*Antiquiteten*'. In 1734, the government interfered for the first time in the preservation of historical monuments. A few years before the Dutch coastal defences were being destroyed as the wood was attacked by the exotic shipworm '*teredo*'. In the northern province of Drenthe, it was suggested that stones from the '*hunebedden*' (Stone Age graves) could be used to rescue the defences. This resulted in the first Dutch act concerning the preservation of archaeological monuments.[21] However, not until 1818 did the State initiate an institution with the purpose of documenting, registering and inventarizing the archaeological monuments of the entire country. This was '*Het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden* (RMO) in Leiden. It was led by *C.J.C. Reuvens* (1793 – 1835), who at the same time was appointed professor of national archaeology at the University at Leiden, the first non-classical in the world. This was the beginning of modern archaeology. Reuvens' work led to the publication in 1845 after his



Fig. 3 The Roman fort 'Brittenburg' from copper-plate by Abraham Ortelius in 1581. After de Weerd 1986: 284, fig. 1.

18) Planck 2004: 163-8; Rabold *et al*. 2000.
19) http://www.playmobil.de. Checked on December the 5th 2006.
20) van Es 1988: 209.
21) Willems 1997: 4.

death, of an archaeological atlas, the first of its kind. Atlases were hereafter published on a regular basis by the RMO.[22] This institution practically had a monopoly of excavations, which lasted a century. At the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century, various societies were formed on both a national and regional level. Two examples are '*De Nederlandse Oudheidkundige Bond*, founded in 1899, which dealt with legislative matters and the archaeological heritage, and '*De Vereeniging voor Terpenonderzoek*', whose primary concern was the examination of the mounds of the provinces of Groningen and Friesland.[23] The latter society was to play a major role in the Dutch Roman provincial research. In 1905, the Director of the RMO, *J.H. Holwerda* (1873 – 1951), introduced examination of postholes from Haltern in Germany to the Netherlands. In 1913, *Albert Egges van Giffen* (1884 – 1973) was employed at the RMO (Fig. 4). These two scholars did not see things the same way. Whereas Holwerda chose a classical point of view based on historical sources, van Giffen operated from an objective collection of material. This led to the foundation of the '*Biologisch-Archaeologisch Instituut*' (BAI) at the University of Groningen by van Giffen in 1922. Soon the excavations of the BAI showed superior excavation techniques including van Giffen's invention of the quadrant method. Due to the rivalry, relations between the two institutions were very poor.[24] 1941 was a turning point in the history of Roman provincial research in the Netherlands. Until then, provincial Roman archaeology was characterized by haphazard excavations consisting of trial trenches with no thought for stratigraphy or periodisation. The result was the hypothetical reconstruction of plans of sites that no one had tried to put into some sort of system or context.[25] This all changed, when van Giffen started the excavations in the centre of the village of Valkenburg Z.H. For the first time a Roman *castellum* was examined thoroughly and almost completely excavated. This created a renewed interest in other Roman sites like the *castella* in Utrecht and Bunnik-Vechten.[26]



Fig. 4 Albert Egges van Giffen (1884 - 1973) Founder of BAI, ROB & IPP. After www.rug.nl/ museum/ geschiedenis/ hoogleraren/ giffen. Checked on the 15th of December 2006

22) van Es 1988: 209-210.
23) Willems 1997: 5.
24) Brongers 1976: 10; van Es 1972: 18; Willems 1997: 5.
25) De Laet 1969: 28.
26) van Giffen 1953: Beilagen I-IX; De Laet 1969: 29-31.

Post-war Research

In the years after the war, several important archaeological institutions saw the light. In 1947, the State Service for Archaeological Investigations, '*De Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek*' (ROB) was founded. This institution, which was to be a central Dutch state institute, was founded on the initiative of van Giffen.[27] The primary tasks of ROB were excavation and documentation of the archaeological heritage of the Netherlands. As BAI had become renowned for its ecological approach, van Giffen decided there might be a use for an institution with a more literary and philosophical aspect. The result of these thoughts was the '*Instituut voor Pre- en Protohistorie*' (IPP) at the University of Amsterdam, which was founded in 1951.[28] In the following decades, large-scale excavations were made e.g. in Nijmegen and Cuijk as well as along the *limes*.[29] In 1972, W.A. van Es published the first edition of *De Romeinen in Nederland*, the second and last of which came in 1981.[30] As directors of ROB, he and his successor Willem J.H. Willems became one of the key factors behind the Roman period projects in the regions of the southern part of the Netherlands.[31] One of these involves Valkenburg Z.H. Apart from the *castellum*, a large area south of the town has been excavated recently. Among other things, a part of the *limes* road was revealed for the first time. The excavations led to the foundation of a trust, *Stichting Onderzoek Romeinse Bewoning Valkenburg* (Foundation for the Investigation of the Roman Settlement at Valkenburg) providing financial and organisational support.[32] In 1997, more remains of the *limes* road was discovered at Vleuten-De Meern near Utrecht. These discoveries created a renewed interest in the Roman *limes* area.[33] In the last couple of years, there have been massive investigations along the *limes*. In Nijmegen, both Augustan and late roman fortifications have been examined. These excavations became possible after intense urban development.[34] This interest in the Roman background in the Netherlands led to the opening of a permanent exhibition in the Museon in Den Haag in the fall 1999. In

27) van Es 1972: 25-26.
28) Glasbergen 1961: 2-3.
29) Bechert 1995: 13-14; Willems 1997: 9-10.
30) van Es 1981.
31) Hessing 1999: 149.
32) Willems 1993: 7.
33) Hessing 1999: 149-151.
34) Haalebos & Willems 1999: 247-262.

this event a local Dutch newspaper, Groot Voorschoten stated that the Romans in the Netherlands were about to become '*in*'.[35]

International Research

Apart from the national measures taken with respect to the examination of the *limes* and the Roman provinces, another step was taken when the first Congress of Roman Frontier Studies was held in Newcastle. It took place in 1949 at the University of Durham led by Eric Birley. The purpose of the congresses is to give scholars the opportunity to meet across the borders and to enlighten the progress of the study of the frontiers of the Roman Empire by presenting the latest research.[36] The congress has been held every two or three years in various parts of the frontier area, the 20th just held in Léon in Spain in September 2006.[37] At the last two congresses in Pécs 2003 and Léon 2006, a plan developing from the archaeology department at the University of Copenhagen to integrate studies of Roman influences on the northern *Barbaricum* with the traditional *limes* studies has been put into effect by a number of lectures.[38]

35) Groot Voorschoten, 2 December 1999, 5.
36) Birley 1952: v-vii.
37) Website: http://www.20fronteraromana.unileon.es. Checked December 5th 2006.
38) Grane forthcoming.

The *Clades Variana* AD 9 and the end of the Germania campaigns

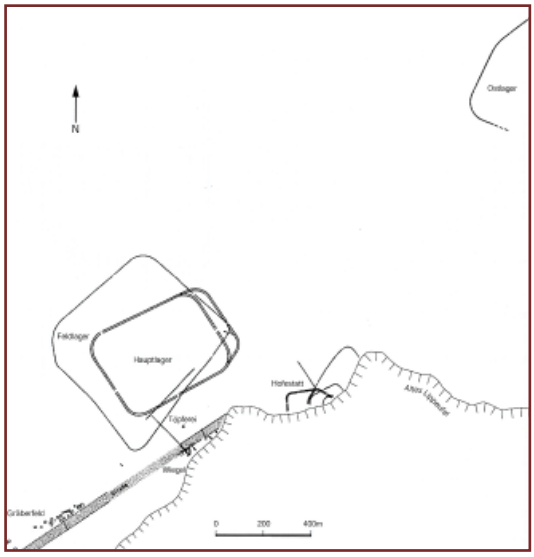
The Roman conquest of *Germania* was abruptly put to a halt, when large scale rebellion broke out in *Pannonia* in AD 6. At this point, Tiberius was just about to crush the last remaining unconquered part of *Germania*, the Marcomannic kingdom of Maroboduus. Tiberius had to settle quickly and turn his attention towards the Balkans, where it would stay for the next three years.[39] Meanwhile, as Tiberius was busy quenching rebels, The Romans slowly tried to transform occupied *Germania* into a province with Maroboduus serving Rome as a friendly king. However, as is well known everything turned from bad to worse. When Tiberius had finally succeeded in calming the hot spirits of *Pannonia*, news arrived of the fatal disaster that had taken place in the dense woods and foggy marshlands of *Germania*.[40] P. Quinctilius Varus, the Roman legate of the Rhine army along with his three legions and auxiliaries had fallen into an ambush led by the Cheruscan prince, Arminius. Varus had been heading for winter quarters, when Arminius had betrayed him and led the Roman army into difficult terrain, where Germanic warriors were waiting to strike. Few survived the attack that lasted several days.



Fig. 4 Known Military and civilian sites from the Augustan/Tiberian Germania campaigns 12 BC – AD 16.

The Augustan campaigns in *Germania* and the defeat of Varus as well as the following campaigns are well attested in the literary works of both contemporary and later authors.[41] The archaeological record also provides us with an extensive source material to this period providing a knowledge that has increased rapidly during the last couple of decades.

39) Velleius Paterculus *Historia Romana* 2.108-110.
40) Velleius Paterculus *Historia Romana* 2.117.1; Cassius Dio *Ῥωμαϊκά* 56.18.1.
41) Most prominent are Velleius Paterculus, Cassius Dio and Tacitus



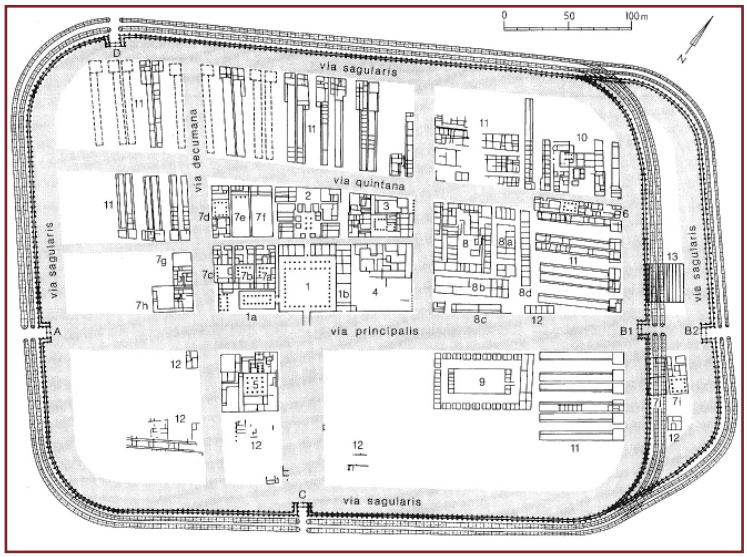


Fig. 6 ➥ Haltern. Roman structures. After Schnurbein 2002: 534, fig. 7.

Fig. 7 ➥ Haltern. Legionary camp. After Kühlborn 2000: 30, fig. 22.

The background

From the campaigns of Tiberius in AD 4 and up to the disaster in AD 9, we learn that most of *Germania* up to the Elbe has been conquered. Precisely what that means and what the exact situation in *Germania* prior to the ambush in AD 9 was is difficult to know. In the literary sources we see differences in the degree of Roman occupation, which add to the uncertainty. Velleius Paterculus writes that after Tiberius' campaigns only the Marcomannic kingdom is yet to be conquered.[42] Cassius Dio on the other hand states that the Romans were only in control of certain areas here and there and not of a continuous stretch of land.[43] For long now, evidence of the Augustan advances have been unearthed east of the Rhine (Fig. 5). The prominent site at Haltern on the Lippe River was discovered more than a hundred years ago with excavations still in progress (Fig. 6). Excavations began in 1899 with discoveries proving important for the history of the Augustan age.[44]

Military presence

A number of fortifications were found along with evidence of longer occupation, namely a main street flanked by large and small Roman burial sites. The interior setup and number of officer's buildings in the main camp suggest that it had some sort of administrative function as well as being the winter quarters of a legion (Fig. 7).[45] Beside Haltern, a number of military sites have been discovered, mainly along the Lippe and in Hessen and Mainfranken. The latest discovery at Hedemünden

42) Velleius Paterculus *Historia Romana* 2.108.1.
43) Cassius Dio *Ῥωμαϊκά* 56.18.1.
44) Kühlborn 1995: 82-6; Kühlborn 2005: 119-22.
45) Eck 2004: 69 Kühlborn 1987: 431-8; 1995: 20-2.

is situated as far east as Niedersachsen just east of the junction where the rivers Werra and Fulda become the Weser. This site was a supply station. The Augustan sites are not all contemporary as a few belong to the campaigns of Drusus and Tiberius from 12 – 7 BC.[46]

From the peace agreement with Maroboduus in AD 6 to the defeat of Varus in AD 9 little is written of what happens in *Germania*. However, as an introduction to the disaster, both Velleius Paterculus and Cassius Dio give a quick overview of the situation. Paterculus describes the behaviour of the legate, Quinctilius Varus, who came to *Germania* after governing the province of *Syria*. As a poor man he had come to a rich country and rich he had left the country poor. In *Germania*, he was trying to install administration and law the Roman way, rather than to use force.[47] Cassius Dio tells us that in the meantime in the areas that they occupied, the Romans stayed in winter camps, and built cities and that the natives adjusted to the Roman way of life, to use marketplaces and to live in peaceful coexistence.[48] I.e. both authors tell us that the provincialisation of *Germania* was well under way under the leadership of Varus, legate since AD 7. Until recently, these descriptions were thought of as overstated and the authors were believed perhaps to have tried to make the development of *Germania* as a province appear more advanced than was the case.[49] Today, the idea that the Romans had made as much progress as described seems less dubious.

Civil presence

In the early 1990s, a new site was discovered at Lahnau-Waldgirmes in Hessen. Excavations from 1993 and onwards revealed what was at first believed to be one more Augustan military camp, but further investigation pointed towards another possibility.[50] The site was surrounded by the usual Augustan wall-and-ditch setup, i.e. a double ditch and a wood-and-earth wall, but other factors differed from the military layout (Fig. 8). The central building had a stone foundation, which is the earliest of its kind this far North. Furthermore, the layout was rather that of a *forum*, than that of a *principia*. The remainder of the buildings found inside the walls also resembled civic structures more than those of an Augustan military camp. From the central building

46) Grote 2006 especially 54-5 for the function; Horn 2005: 115; Kühlborn 2000: 27-33.
47) Velleius Paterculus *Historia Romana* 2.117.
48) Cassius Dio *Ῥωμαϊκά* 56.18.1-2.
49) E.g. Hermann 1991: 611: Goetz & Welwei 1995b: 47 n. 34; 53 n. 52.
50) Becker 2002: 461: n. 1 & 2; Becker *et al.* 1999: 1-19.

were found more than 150 fragments of a gilt bronze equestrian statue, most likely of the Emperor Augustus himself. The statue was probably placed in the inner courtyard on a sandstone base from the area around Metz in Lorraine. Another difference from the military sites was the amount of local Germanic pottery, which constituted about 20 %. This pottery only appeared mixed with Roman finds indicating a close contact between the Romans and the local population. An absence of a military presence is also indicated by the very few finds of Roman *militaria*, a find group that is plenty represented otherwise at Roman sites in *Germania*.[51] Based on these recent finds it looks like the Romans were indeed busy 'provincialising' occupied *Germania* at the time of the Varus disaster. Whether this was the case in other parts of the territory we will not know until more sites are discovered.

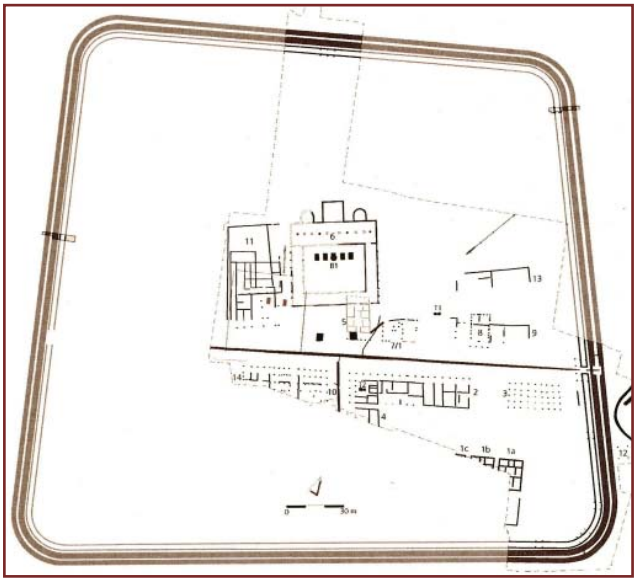


Fig. 8 The Augustan site of Lahnau-Waldgirmes. After Becker 2003: 326, fig. 1.

The clades Variana

Varus was apparently acting as if he was governing a more or less peaceful province rather than operating in enemy territory. In the summer of AD 9, he had been 'lured' as far into *Germania* as the Weser. Vexillations of the army were carrying out minor assignments such as the protection of locals from bands of robbers or as escorts of supplies. Meanwhile the Cheruscan nobleman, Arminius was plotting against the Romans. He and his father, Segimer were frequent guests of Varus, who was staying in the land of the *Cherusci*. Arminius had served as an officer in the Roman army, which had acquired him Roman citizenship with equestrian rank. Probably he had participated in the preparations against Maroboduus. Arminius now organized an ambush on the Roman army, as it moved out for winter quarters. This plan was allegedly known to Segestes, uncle and father-in-law to Arminius. Segestes was pro-Roman and the fact that Arminius had married his daughter against his will would only have added to the enmity towards Arminius. The sources tell us that he warned Varus on several occasions and suggested that Varus should imprison himself,

51) Becker 2002: 461-5; Becker *et al.* 1999: 1-19; Becker & Rasbach 2000: 38-40; Horn 2005: 115; Schnurbein 2004: 42-43.

Arminius and Segimer to prevent the coming assault on the Roman army. Varus, however, believing that peace would not be broken did apparently not listen to Segestes. The army now moved towards the Rhine along a route designed by Arminius, a road leading the Romans into certain death. The Romans were led into an area of thick forest and swamps, which meant that it was difficult even to make way. Adding to this, the weather season showed itself from the worst side with rain and storms knocking down trees. Suddenly, attackers jumped the marching columns from all sides creating great confusion and destruction amongst the Roman soldiers, who were hindered by their heavy arms in the rainstorms and the dense and slippery undergrowth. Although they managed to form some sort of stand in the following skirmishes it did them little good. On the fourth day everything was lost and Varus and his officers committed suicide.[52]

The battlefield

All Roman posts and camps in the area were lost, but one. At *Aliso* the *primipilaris*, L. Caedicius had taken command and he was able to fend off the attackers until it was possible for the besieged to escape to safety.[53]

The last few centuries had led to extensive discussions concerning the location of the Varus-battle. In 1831, the construction of a huge statue of Arminius, the '*Hermannsdenkmal*' was initiated near the town of Detmold, a place believed to be the site of the battle. The construction of the statue, a symbol of German liberation from France, was not concluded until almost half a century later.[54] In 1885, Th. Mommsen suggested the area of Kalkriese as a possible site based on Roman coin finds.[55] Nothing conclusive had yet been discovered when the English officer J.A.S. Clunn started investigating in 1987 using a metal detector and Mommsen as a 'guide'. Clunn found a hoard consisting of pre-Tiberian Roman *denarii* in the *Kalkrieser-Niewedder Senke* and the following year he found three Roman lead sling shots indicating Roman military presence. These finds initiated extensive excavations from 1989 and onwards.[56] The area of interest was six kilometres long

52) Cassius Dio *Ῥωμαϊκά* 56.18-22; Flor: 2.30.29-39; Velleius Paterculus *Historia Romana* 2.118-9.
53) Cassius Dio *Ῥωμαϊκά* 56.22.2; Fron.: *Strat.* 4.7.8; Velleius Paterculus *Historia Romana* 2.120.4.
54) Tacitus *Annales* 2.88.2; E.g. Harnecker 1999: 28-30; Timpe 1999: 721-734.
55) Mommsen 1885.
56) Harnecker 1999: 31-9; Schlüter 1999: 13-50; Wilbers-Rost 2003a: 123-5.

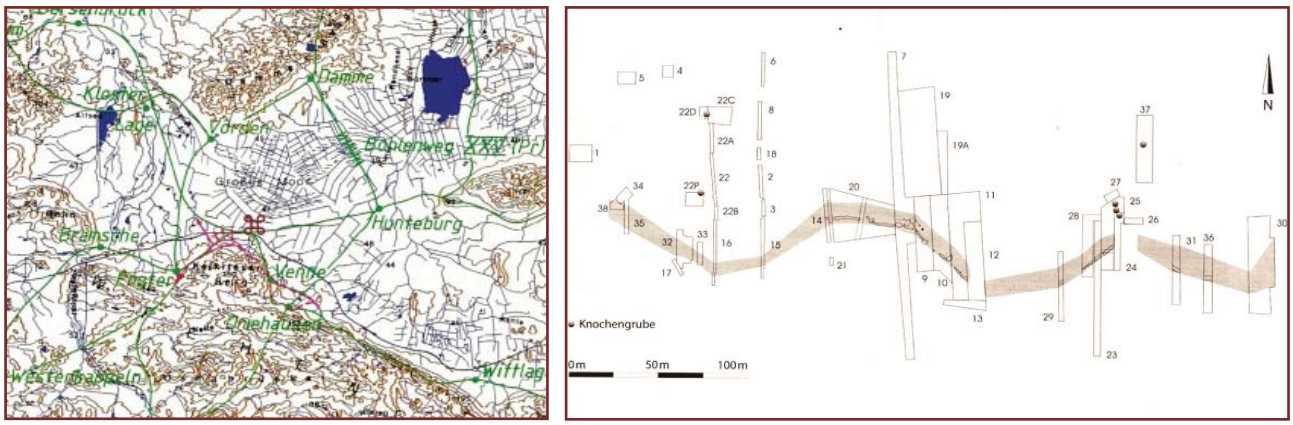


Fig. 9 ↼ *Kalkrieser-Niewedder Senke.* ⌘*: The Oberesch. After Schlüter 1999: 17, map 1.*

Fig. 10 ⇀ *Kalkriese. The Oberesch and the wall structures. After Wilbers-Rost 2005: 589, fig. 1.*

and about one kilometre at the narrowest point stretching E-W (Fig. 9). This 'bottleneck' was flanked by the *Kalkrieser Berg* on the south side and the *Großes Moor* on the north side. The excavations in the area have revealed more than 5.000 Roman finds, of which about 1.300 are coins. Especially one area, the *Oberesch*, provided 4.000 finds including 300 coins.[57] The finds were scattered on what had once been the surface. Mostly, they were small finds such as iron nails and fragments of different sorts of Roman *militaria*. It became clear that a part of the finds had been covered by a wall structure that had fallen upon them. After closer examination of the finds and surroundings of the wall, it could be seen that the wall did not belong to a closed structure. It was *c*. 400 m long and running zigzag in an E-W direction (Fig. 10). The construction showed that it had been built in a fairly short time with what was at hand close by. The wall was also supplied with a drainage ditch, which indicates that the wall was supposed to remain intact for some time. It was also supplied with several passages. Since most Roman finds were located on what appeared to be the outside of the wall, a Germanic origin seemed the most plausible. The find complex indicated that this was the scene of a battle between Romans and Germanic tribes.[58] The find circumstances under the wall showed a pattern different from the rest of the excavated area, as plunder had been prevented by the fallen wall. Here, the showpiece of the excavation, a face mask from a Roman equestrian helmet was found. The mask had been stripped of its silver sheet, a fact that is hard to explain, however. The excavator, S. Wilbers-Rost suggests that the silver had been torn of during plundering and the iron mask then left behind for unknown reasons. If this was the case, the wall must have tumbled down during the plundering. The skeletal remains of one

57) Schlüter 1999: 34-37, map 3-4. This is clearly illustrated on the maps though they show the state in 1999; Wilbers-Rost 2003a: 138.
58) Wilbers-Rost 2003a: 124-5; 2003b: 31-2.

half and one whole mule were found. The excavations revealed the bones of both humans and animals, but only at this site the bones were *in situ*. The remaining half of the mule still had its harness, the other a bell and bridle. These, along with other larger finds, such as a pickaxe and other tools and weapons would have been removed during the plunder.[59] This leads us back to the enigma of the silver sheet. If it had been taken during plunder, it should be expected that the other items would have been removed as well. I think a possible solution is that this mask had already been stripped and at the time of attack was kept as a spare part for later use and that it was carried by one of the mules, which possibly belonged to a blacksmith.[60]

C. von Carnap-Bornheim suggested that the find under the wall was the remains of a Germanic sacrificial setup in line with the war booty sacrifices from, for instance, Thorsberg, and that the wall had fallen somewhat later, but before the arrival of Germanicus. This could explain the half mule, as the other half had then been sacrificed at another place.[61] Wilbers-Rost rejects this theory concerning the mules, as the skeletons would not have been in this condition had they been subjected to wild animals prior to the covering of the wall.[62] Carnap-Bornheim's theory could still be applicable to the scene of the battlefield, though, but there is no way to tell.



Fig. 11 Kalkriese. Bone pits. Photo: Museum und Park Kalkriese, Varusschlacht im Osnabrücker Land GmbH.

The remaining skeletal remains constituted another important find group. Five pits of up to 2x2x1 m were discovered. In the pits, bones and bone fragments from both humans and animals had been gathered (Fig. 11). Two of the pits were packed with bones, while the remaining three had considerably fewer bones. In two of the pits, fragments of skulls had been deposited inside each other as bowls. For all pits the facts were the same. A few Roman items scattered among the bones indicated that they belonged to the battlefield, as they would have come from the surface. The bones never constituted a whole body, and zoological and anthropological analyses showed that the bones had been exposed for some years prior to the deposition. Red spots on some bones suggested close contact to metal objects for

59) Wilbers-Rost 2003a: 132-7; 2003b: 35-6.
60) To this also Carnap-bornheim 1999a: 499.
61) Carnap-bornheim 1999a: 500-3.
62) Wilbers-Rost 2003a: 133.

some time. There were also bite marks from small animals. No bones could be said conclusively to have come from women. Furthermore, the bones did not represent a 'normal' population, but, as Wilbers-Rost puts it, what is to be expected from a military context. The animal remains derived almost entirely from mule.[63] These pits seem to have a parallel in the literature, as Tacitus describes how, upon arrival to the battlefield in AD 15, Germanicus ordered the scattered bones collected and buried.[64]

The largest single find group is the coins. Most of them had been buried in hoards. An examination of the coins provided F. Berger with the following conclusions: None were younger the 1 AD, but the countermark VAR on some of the coins provided a *terminus post quem* of AD 7, when Varus became governor. No coins could be dated to a post-Varian period, and the coins resemble those of Haltern with an end date of AD 9. Furthermore, the proportion of coins of precious metals compared to other metals was more than 1:1. Comparisons to other Augustan sites showed at best a ratio of 1:7, for Haltern even 1:23. With this huge amount of valuables, Berger sees no reason to believe this site to be anything other than the final battlefield of the Varus-disaster.[65]

Not everyone agrees with him, though. The ancient historians P. Kehne and R. Wolters each have argued against the conclusions put forward by Berger. Basing their arguments on a re-evaluation of the numismatic evidence and the literary sources they reach the conclusion that Kalkriese is most likely not the site of the Varus-disaster, but more likely an incident occurring in AD 15. Kehne lists a number of possible incidences. He argues that the end date of the coins is rather AD 16, as he reads some of the countermarks differently than Berger. Therefore he believes the battlefield to belong to the Germanicus campaigns from AD 14-16. Furthermore, he finds it plausible to identify the Roman fort of *Aliso* with Haltern. Tacitus tells us that *Aliso* was re-occupied by Germanicus and Berger himself placed Kalkriese in the so-called Haltern-horizon, reckoning with a similar end-date.[66] One indication brought forward that Haltern was in use after the *clades Variana* is found in a mass grave with the bones of 24 males ages 18 to 60. The remains were found southwest of the *porta praetoria* in a pottery oven.

63) Wilbers-Rost 1999: 62, 81-7; 2003a: 137-8; 2003b: 34-5. Recently three additional pits have been discovered. S. Wilbers-Rost, Kalkriese: Personal communication.
64) Tacitus *Annales* 1.62.
65) Berger 1996: Berger 1999: 271-6; Berger 2000: 12-8.
66) Tacitus *Annales* 2..1-3; Kehne 2000: 61-74.

The oven had then been filled with refuse from the surroundings.[67] Kehne has also accused the scientific staff occupied with the Kalkriese excavations of 'selling out' to the advantage of marketing, sacrificing their scholarly integrity. This *Kalkriese-Kartell*, as he calls them, also profited economically by their exploitation of the Varus-disaster theory. He even mentions unofficial photocopies of Roman graffiti from everyday utensils mentioning the *legio I* and *legio V Alaudae*, which apparently have been kept aside by the *Kartell*, since the finds could prove them wrong.[68]

Wolters agrees with Kehne concerning the *Aliso*-problem and puts forward a series of numismatic considerations.[69] For both scholars, the Kalkriese find is most likely connected to an incident in AD 15, where the legate of the lower Rhine army, A. Severus Caecina finds himself and his men in trouble.[70] The arguments of Kehne and Wolters are all analysed and rejected by F. Berger and U. Werz.[71] One archaeological response to this dispute can be read in an article from 2003 by S. Wilbers-Rost. She states that it is first and foremost a numismatic discussion and that from an archaeological point of view it is much more likely that Kalkriese is the site of the Varus-disaster.[72] This is the conclusion of A. Rost as well. He compares the archaeological and literary sources and plausibly explains how the Romans might have thought the Germanic wall to be part of a Roman camp, thereby placing the battlefield inside the camp. That explains why the camps mentioned by Tacitus and Cassius Dio are not there.[73] H.G. Horn however, is not so sure. He believes that there are serious arguments for the Caecina-theory.[74] In his article, *Von Drusus bis Varus*, S. Schnurbein eloquently avoids taking sides, but he does point out the annoying fact that so far no archaeological remains from Germanicus' campaigns have been found anywhere.[75]

67) Kehne 2000: 67; Kühlborn 1995: 93-6, 98-101.
68) Kehne 2003: 94-103.
69) Wolters 2000: 82-5, 103-10.
70) See below.
71) Berger & Werz 2000: 253-8.
72) Wilbers-Rost 2003a: 138.
73) Cassius Dio *Ῥωμαϊκά* 56.21.1; Tacitus *Annales* 1.61.2; Rost 2003: 26-9.
74) Horn 2005: 113-4.
75) Schnurbein 2004: 40-41.

The aftermath

After the defeat of Varus, an army was immediately sent to the Rhine under Tiberius. During the next couple of years he toured the right side of the Rhine without much trouble. With him as second-in-command he had Germanicus. In AD 13, he went back to Rome. The following year he succeeded Augustus as Emperor.[76] That left Germanicus as supreme commander of the upper and lower Rhine armies, led respectively by C. Silius and A. Severus Caecina, all in all an army of eight legions with auxiliaries. During the next three years Germanicus campaigned in *Germania* with varying success. In AD 15, he encountered the battlefield, where Varus and his army were defeated. Survivors, who accompanied him, could point out where everything had happened. Germanicus had the rotting bones of the fallen gathered and buried, and a *tumulus* raised.[77] So far the only explanation of the bone pits from Kalkriese mentioned above is that they could be identified as parts of this burial. After a minor skirmish with Arminius, Germanicus decided to go back to the winter quarters. After leading the army to the River Ems, Germanicus himself led half the army back by way of the ocean, while Caecina were to lead the lower Rhine army by way of the *pontes longi*. The long bridges were roads of planks leading through the immense swamps and bog areas. During this retreat Caecina's army was attacked by Arminius. In order to make a stand, Caecina formed a battle line along a narrow stretch of land between the hills and the bogs. That night he dreamt that Varus came out of the bog to drag him down. The next day Arminius taunted the Romans comparing them to Varus and his legions. However due to the cunning of Caecina, the Romans carried the day in the end.[78] This description of Caecina's retreating problems and especially the geographical setting of hills, stretch of land and bog, which somewhat resembles the geographical settings in the *Kalkrieser-Niewedder Senke*, has led Kehne and Wolters to suggest that the remains come from this battle rather than the defeat of Varus.

But there are other suggestions as to where the *pontes longi* could have been. In 1995, P. Pieper came across a wooden object, which he immediately identified as a weapon, believing it to be of an early medieval date. Great was the surprise, when he realized that it came

76) Cassius Dio *Ῥωμαϊκά* 56.25.2-3; Suetonius *Tiberius* 18-20; Tacitus *Annales* 1.3..5-6; Velleius Paterculus *Historia Romana* 2.121-3.
77) Tacitus *Annales* 1.49-51, 1.55-62.
78) Tacitus *Annales* 1.63-8.



Fig. 12 Wooden weapons from the Bohlenweg with reconstructions. After Pieper 1999: 79, fig. 8.

from an excavation in *Großes Moor*. It was an excavation of a plank road, *Bohlenweg XXV*, between Damme and Hunteburg approximately 10 km northeast of the *Kalkrieser-Niewedder Senke*. The road was believed to be from the Pre-Roman Iron Age. A total of 11 weapons were found, of which seven were clubs and the remaining four shaped as one-edged swords (Fig. 11). The road had a destruction layer from which the weapons came. This layer had an end date based on C^{14} and dendrochronological analyses of AD 15. On some of the wooden weapons there were cut marks from use in battle. In fact, in his account of Germanicus' last campaign, Tacitus mentions that wooden weapons were used by the Germanic warriors and that only the front line had spears with iron spearheads. An example of a spear without iron head was indeed also part of the finds from the *Bohlenweg XXV*. It is 250 cm long, of which the last 50 cm constitute the point.[79]

In AD 16, Germanicus decided to move the army by fleet to the Ems to avoid long marches. While the fleet was being prepared, he learned that the fort, probably *Aliso*, on the Lippe was besieged, but coming to their relief the attackers withdrew. He then secured the road from *Aliso* to the Rhine and raised an alter set up by Drusus, which had been destroyed by the attackers. The *tumulus* recently set up for Varus' legions had been destroyed as well, but he left that alone.[80] Then, after returning and leading the fleet to the Ems, Germanicus finally met Arminius in the battle on the plain of *Idistaviso* by the Weser. Arminius was defeated, but got away. After another successful engagement, Germanicus returned. He had arrived at the Ems by fleet and returned now the same way with most of the army. Unfortunately the fleet was surprised by a storm, which inflicted enormous casualties. Learning of this accident the Germanic tribes grew bold again, but Germanicus immediately sent the legate of the upper Rhine army, C. Silius against the *Chatti*, himself invading the *Marsi*, quickly crushing their newfound spirit. Shortly hereafter Tiberius called Germanicus back to Rome, although Germanicus had been eager to continue campaigning. This ended Roman military engagement in *Germania*. According to Tacitus, the reason was that Tiberius was envious and did not want Germanicus to become too powerful by re-establishing order in *Germania*.[81]

79) Tacitus *Annales* 2.14.2-3; Pieper 1999: 509-24.
80) Tacitus *Annales* 2.5-7.
81) Tacitus *Annales* 2.8-26.

Considering that Germanicus had Arminius on the run, the reason to end the conquest must have been political and not military.[82]

Conclusion

As is clear from the above, there are still plenty of questions that remain unanswered, and perhaps questions that have not yet been asked. The recent archaeological discoveries have clearly demonstrated that the answer to the question of a Roman presence east of the Rhine in the first decade AD is much more nuanced than previously believed. The discoveries also provide a reason for a cautious view of the certain elements of the early narratives. It is obvious that Varus is made responsible by some of the authors.[83] Especially the fact that he ignored Segestes' warnings was seen as an obvious sign of Varus' incompetence. What the sources do not discuss is Segestes' possible motives. He was obviously an adversary to Arminius, but that may easily be because they represented two fractions of the *Cherusci*. The fact is that he only reunited with the Romans, at a time when he was besieged by Arminius' forces, and needed help. This was in AD 15, six years after the ambush. *Now* he wanted to be friends with the Romans like in the good old days, and *now* he told them, what no one could verify, that he had warned Varus before the disaster, and that Varus ignored him. This situation is described by Tacitus as a surrender to and pardon by the Romans.[84] And it is no mystery that Germanicus could benefit by acting leniently towards Segestes. Apparently, Segestes' story also fitted well with what was to be the official version of the incident. I think modern scholars should be careful to accept the stories of Varus' incompetence as a governor and commander. It was his third governorship after *Africa* and *Syria* and although *Germania* must have appeared frightfully barbaric compared to the other two provinces, he had had two years to get used to it by the time of his death. Following the standard education and line of position suitable for a person of his status, he would have served in a Legion at different levels several times during his career. Certainly, it did help Varus that he was close to the imperial family. As supreme commander in Syria, he was responsible for suppressing a serious revolt in Judea in 4 BC.[85] Therefore, the picture of Varus, apart from what we get from those

82) Wolters 2006: 84.
83) This is also discussed in Timpe 1970: 117-40.
84) Tacitus *Annales* 1.59.1.
85) Wolters 2006: 81-2.

authors describing the *clades Variana*, is one of a skilled, competent and experienced governor.

I believe that the overall picture available today also makes it possible to suggest an alternative explanation to the unfinished double legionary camp at Marktbreit, another recent find. This camp was situated at a bend of the Main, 140 km east of *Mogontiacum* (Mainz). Apart from the circumvallation, only the central buildings, some work facilities and a few head-buildings for barracks were built, before the work was stopped and the site left alone. The few objects found showed a presence of both *legionarii* and Germanic *auxiliarii*. [86] From the beginning, the construction as well as the abandonment has been connected with the Marcomannic campaign of Tiberius in AD 6, which had to be given up because of the Pannonian revolt.[87] However, considering that the next three years were spent trying to civilise *Germania*, it would have made more sense to keep the camp. I believe the Marktbreit camp was a piece of the process of civilising *Germania*, intended to function as a winter camp, such as those mentioned above, described by Cassius Dio. Therefore, it should belong to the later phase and was only abandoned after the *clades Variana*.

What has exited some people lately is obviously the question of the site in the *Kalkrieser-Niewedder Senke*. This is not new, of course. In 1906, Mommsen talked about *die Schlacht um die Varus-Schlacht* because every local historian seemed to be able to locate the battlefield in his own backyard.[88] Several scholars have pointed out the difficulties of the literary sources concerning the geography of the site. R. Wiegels demonstrated that on one hand the descriptions of Cassius Dio and Tacitus fit the Kalkriese scene, i.e. all the elements are present such as mountains or hills with gorges and ravines, dense forest and swampland and bogs. On the other hand, the descriptions are of a general character in line with a literary tradition, which can be seen, for instance, in the works of Pomponius Mela. Basically Mela describes *Germania* as a terrible and unfriendly land full of the above mentioned features. And in fact lots of other places fit the description as well as Kalkriese.[89] Kehne and Wolters have found that the Caecina incident seems more probable. But we learn that Germanicus led the army back to the Ems to send back the legions with the fleet. Then part of

86) Pietsch 1995.
87) Pietsch 1995: 478-9; Schnurbein 2000: 35-6.
88) Wiegels 1999: 639 n. 6.
89) Pomponius Mela *De Chorographia* 3.29; Horn 2005: 111; Wiegels 1999: 649-52.

the cavalry was sent along the coast, while Caecina was to take his army along the *pontes longi*.[90] If Tacitus is to be read like this, Caecina would have to go east in order to reach Kalkriese. As he was heading for the Rhine, I find that highly unlikely. The high amount of gold and silver coins and the bone pits also speak against the Caecina theory. It should be remembered that Caecina won the battle, a fact that makes quite a difference. I.e. the Romans had the opportunity to get their things together and to dispose of their dead. Especially the bone pits are weighty evidence, although one 'but' might be uttered. Germanicus' men gathered the bones and built a *tumulus*. If the text is to be taken literally one should expect one large pit, above which the tomb would be created. But the possibility remains that the men made small pits, and then one large tomb was raised in honour of them all. The excavations have shown that the pits had been dug, where the soil was softer.[91] So far, I believe that the most plausible theory concerning the *Kalkrieser-Niewedder Senke* is still the Varus-theory.

Another questions is, what Varus was doing with an army of that size in that area. That as well as other aspects has already been taken under thorough consideration by D. Timpe in his *Arminius-Studien* from 1970.[92] According to Cassius Dio, Varus was lured all the way to the *Cherusci* by the Weser.[93] He also tells us that Varus did not concentrate his troops as would be normal in enemy territory.[94] Apparently Dio believes that Varus should have thought himself to actually be in enemy territory, something he had no reason to do. That the territory of the *Cherusci* should be unsafe perhaps indicates that the Romans did not have as much control over the area east of the Weser.[95] However, up to the time of the ambush, Arminius and the *Cherusci* were thought to be loyal allies of Rome. Timpe points out that the only reason valid for Varus to bring an army that size, had to be military. And as such the threat had to be external. Arminius must have asked Varus to deal with certain security matters concerning the neighbouring tribes of the *Cherusci*, such as the *Langobardi* or the *Semnones*.[96] Prior to the rebellion, Arminius rouses some Germanic tribes 'living far away'.[97] Who they are is impossible to know. Only the *Cherusci* are mentioned during the battle. From the

90) Tacitus *Annales* 1.63.3.
91) Wilbers-Rost 2001: 84-5.
92) Timpe 1970.
93) Cassius Dio *Ῥωμαϊκά* 56.18.5.
94) Cassius Dio *Ῥωμαϊκά* 56.19.1.
95) To this also Timpe 1970: 99-100.
96) Timpe 1970: 101-2.
97) Cassius Dio *Ῥωμαϊκά* 56.19.3.



Fig. 13 The Hoby grave. Photo: National Museum/ Lennart Larsen.

later campaigns, however, it is possible to identify at least some of those tribes that followed them in the uprising, namely the *Angrivarii*, *Bructeri*, *Chatti*, *Marsi*, *Tubantes* and *Usipetes*.[98] Perhaps Arminius had used Varus and the Roman army to frighten the neighbours, thereby coercing them to join forces with him. The only tribe mentioned in connection with the Romans is that of the *Chauci*, who provide Germanicus with auxiliaries.[99] In the spring of AD 15, Caecina raised unspecified auxiliaries in *Germania* during an attack on the *Chatti*.[100]

From the literary sources we have no evidence that the Romans hired extra-provincial help, which is not to say that they did not. Speculations have been made especially concerning the find of an almost complete Roman banquet set in a grave from Hoby on the island of Lolland in eastern Denmark (Fig. 13).[101] It is a set of the finest italic craftsmanship available from the time of Augustus. The set contains two silver cups decorated with motifs from the Iliad, much resembling the Boscoreale cups.[102] On the bottom of the silver cups the name *Silius* is found, which is the name of the legate of the upper Rhine army from AD 14-21. Was the Hoby chieftain active on the Roman side during the campaigns from AD 14-16? And did he receive the set from C. Silius for his help? The fact that the set is almost complete indicates that it was passed on directly to the chieftain. A grave from Bendstrup on Djursland contained what appears to be missing at Hoby, a bronze krater. There were also two Roman *fibulae* of a sort that are found in local copies in the Hoby grave.[103] Possibly these two graves were related.[104] This question will be examined later. Another important find contained object similar to the Hoby cups only on a much larger scale, namely the Hildesheim find. In a trench dug by Prussian soldiers in 1868, a basket with 70

98) Tacitus *Annales* 1.51.2, 2.8.4; Wiegels 1999: 647.
99) Tacitus *Annales* 1.60.2.
100) Tacitus *Annales* 1.56.1.
101) Friis Johansen 1923; Lund Hansen 1987: 403. See also below.
102) Stefani 2006: 181.
103) Hedeager & Kristiansen 1981: 94-6, 103-8.
104) Hedeager & Kristiansen 1981: 133-4.

pieces of Roman silverware was discovered. As the contents could be identified as Augustan, the hoard was naturally connected to the Varus disaster. Suggestions have been both that they had belonged to a Roman officer, perhaps even Varus, and had been buried, when the Romans were attacked, or that some *Germani* had buried their loot. Some scholars believe that some of the objects belong to a later period, why the hoard cannot be connected with the Augustan campaigns. However, this is not the prevailing opinion.[105] One suggestion that to my knowledge has not been uttered is that the hoard belonged to a treasury, which was used in diplomatic affairs with the Germanic chieftains.

105) Gregarek 1997: 94-5; Jørgensen *et al*. (eds.) 2003: 383-5.

The Batavian Revolt ad 69-70

After the death of Nero in ad 68, the Roman Empire was once again thrown into civil war. The turmoil that followed in the wake of his death brought four new emperors in only two years time. In ad 70, as the forces of Vespasian had ended the short rule of Vitellius, the civil war was over, but the Empire was by no means at peace. At this point the new Emperor was left with several uprisings all over the Roman world. One of these was the Batavian Revolt.

The revolt is described almost in its entirety by Tacitus, who is our only useful literary source to the incident.[106] Furthermore, it is supported by numerous archaeological remains. At the death of Vespasian in ad 79, the Batavian revolt would seem to have been only a small part of the times and troubles that brought Vespasian to power. ad 70 would rather be the start of a new and more sober rule of the Romans. And for the western part of the Empire this was truly the beginning of the *Pax Romana*. However, this was not the prevailing image after the death of Vitellius on the 20th of December ad 69.

The background

The *Batavi* had once been a part of the *Chatti*, but had been driven off after some domestic dispute some time in the 1st century BC. They settled in the area between the rivers Rhine and Waal in what the Romans came to know as the *Insula Batavorum*, or Island of the *Batavi*. Certain indications suggest that this migration happened with the knowledge and consent, if not even instigation of Julius Caesar.[107] The *Batavi* held an extraordinary position within the Roman Empire, as they were exempted of taxes and only had to provide military assistance. The *Batavi* were renowned for their fighting abilities, for instance, that they were capable of crossing rivers on horseback in full fighting formation.[108]

Tacitus tells us that the leader of the revolt, Julius Civilis and his brother Julius Paulus were of royal descent and by far the most prominent of the Batavian people. During Nero's last year, the legate on the lower Rhine, Fonteius Capito falsely accused both of planning an uprising, probably in connection with a revolt in spring ad 68 of C. Julius

106) Tacitus *Historiae* 4.12-37, 54-79; V.14-26.
107) Roymans 2004.
108) Tacitus *Historiae* 4.12.2-3.

Vindex, the legate of *Gallia Lugdunensis*. Paulus was executed, while Civilis was sent to Nero in Rome in shackles. Meanwhile, Nero was dead and his successor, Galba set Civilis free. After the death of Galba, he was once again accused by the Rhine armies, but was eventually let go by Vitellius out of fear of aggravating his Batavian cohorts.[109] Thus, a solid enmity towards the Romans was built up in Civilis. Apart from this the *Batavi* were increasingly being treated worse by the Roman enlistment officers.[110]

The revolt

So when Vitellius called the Batavian auxiliaries from the Rhine to Rome and Civilis was asked by Vespasian's friend, Primus Antonius, to hinder these troop movements, he took the opportunity to initiate a revolt under cover of supporting Vespasian.[111] Being cunning beyond the average barbarian, as Tacitus puts it, Civilis seemingly remained loyal to the Romans. As the levies on the Batavian youths were increasing, he had little trouble getting the support of the leading men of the Batavian society. The conspiracy was joined by the *Canninefates* and the *Frisii*, who under the command of one Brinno of the *Canninefates* had attacked and burned some of the forts near the mouth of the Rhine. Other forts were incinerated by the Romans themselves as they could not hold them. P.G. van Soesbergen believed that the coalition at this point had already been joined by the *Marsaci* and possibly also the *Chauci*, although this is not specifically mentioned by Tacitus.[112] When Civilis organized the first combined attack, his position became clear to the Vitellian Romans. The result of the battle was that the Tungrian auxiliaries defected to Civilis and that the Rhine fleet, which was largely manned by Batavian sailors, fell into his hands.[113] After this victory, Civilis and his coalition were hailed as liberators and he received offers of assistance from Germanic tribes.[114] Soon the Romans had been driven out of the *Insula Batavorum*, effectively the Dutch part of the frontier.

After the expulsion of the Romans from his homeland, Civilis set his mind on the legionary fortress, *Castra Vetera* (Xanten). He had recently been reinforced by the eight Batavian cohorts that Vitellius originally

109) Tacitus *Historiae* I.59.1; IV.13.1; Levick 1999: 108.
110) Tacitus *Historiae* 4.14.1-2.
111) Tacitus *Historiae* 4. 13.2-14.1.
112) van Soesbergen 1971: 240-2.
113) Tacitus *Historiae* 4.13.2-16.3.
114) Tacitus *Historiae* 4.17.1; Levick 1999: 108-9.

had called to Rome, but who had returned on Civilis' command. He was also joined by the Germanic tribes of the *Tencteri* and *Bructeri* and possibly other Germanic tribes, though at this point that is a matter of interpreting the text of Tacitus, and perforce by the *Cugerni* in whose area *Castra Vetera* was situated. It seems that throughout the revolt Civilis had close connections to the leader of the *Bructeri*, the prophetess Veleda.[115] *Castra Vetera*, a double fortress occupied by two Vitellian legions, proved to be a more than difficult obstacle, which kept Civilis busy for some time. The Romans were able to withstand a siege, and at the same time a relief army camped near *Gelduba* (Krefeld-Gellep). In the following period it came to several skirmishes in the area, even as far as inside the Roman camp, but no decisive results were made. Meanwhile Civilis had Germanic tribes attack the land of the *Ubii* i.e. the area around Köln and the land of the *Treveri* around Trier as well as the lands of the *Menapii* and *Morini* near the coast. These attacks involved at least the *Chatti*, the *Usipi* and the *Mattiaci*, but probably other tribes as well, as, '*At Civilem immensis auctibus universa Germania extollebat*', '*all Germania increased the power of Civilis by huge reinforcements*'.[116]

Now, when news came of Vitellius' death, Civilis revealed his true purpose. Within the Roman ranks, The Treveran nobleman Julius Classicus, prefect of a Treveran *ala* along with his countryman Julius Tutor, prefect of the Rhine bank and the Lingonian Julius Sabinus decided to break with the Romans to create a Gallic Empire. They were followed by some Ubians and Tungrians. An alliance was formed with Civilis' coalition, and soon they also had the sworn loyalty of the Roman Legions, who had supported Vitellius and therefore thought they had nothing coming from Vespasian except trouble. Also the town, *Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensis* (Köln) decided for the Gallic Empire, perhaps mostly out of necessity. Now, at last the *Castra Vetera* fell. Soon all Roman military bases along the Rhine were destroyed and burned except the legionary fortresses of *Mogontiacum* (Mainz) and *Vindonissa* (Windisch). The only tribes left for Civilis in the area were those of the *Sunuci*, *Tungri*, *Baetasii* and *Nervii*, who followed shortly after.[117] At this point Civilis and his Gallic allies were in control of the entire Rhine frontier, the military districts of the upper

115) Tacitus *Historiae* 4.21.2, 26.3; Bengtson 1979: 136; Chilver & Townend 1985: 42; van Soesbergen 1971: 242-4.
116) Tacitus *Historiae* 4.21-31; Levick 1999: 108-9; van Soesbergen 1971: 243-4. Quote from Tacitus *Historiae* 4.28.1.
117) Tacitus *Historiae* 4.54-66; Levick 1999: 109-10; van Soesbergen 1971: 244-6.

and lower Rhine and most of the province of *Gallia Belgica* (Fig. 14). But the alliance was made up of parties with separate agendas, and preparation for Roman retaliation apparently was not one of them. The first indication that *Fortuna* had grown tired of the alliance came, when Sabinus and his *Lingoni* were defeated by the *Sequani*. The second indication came at a meeting in *Durocortorum* (Reims), the capital of the *Remi*, where the Gallic tribes were gathered to discuss whether they should join the fight for freedom or remain in peace with the Romans, Julius Valentinus of the *Treveri* speaking for the alliance. The tribes had already learned that Roman armies were approaching and decided in favour of the Romans.[118] And what did the leaders of the alliance to enforce their newly won power? Tacitus describes it as follows:



Fig. 14 The Batavian revolt. Tribes and sites mentioned in the text. 1: Valkenburg Z.H. 2: Insula Batavorum 3: Oppidum Batavodurum/Het Kops Plateau. 4: Vetera. 5: Gelduba. 6: Novaesium. 7: CCAA. 8: Bonna. 9: Durocortorum. 10: Colonia Augusta Treverorum. 11: Rigodulum. 12. Mogontiacum. 13: Vindonissa. After Soesbergen 1971: 249, map 1.

> *…not even the leaders consulted together, but Civilis ranged the pathless wilds of Belgium in his efforts to capture Claudius Labeo*[119] *or to drive him out of the country, while Classicus spent most of his time in indolent ease, enjoying his supreme power as if it were already secured; even Tutor made no haste to occupy with troops the Upper Rhine and the passes of the Alps.*
>
> Tacitus *Historiae* 4.70.1

The Roman armies on their way to the North were impressive, and due to the ineptitude of the Alliance to think strategically, the restoration of peace and order did not take long. Vespasian's man in Rome, C. Licinius Mucianus sent from Italy the 2nd, 8th, 11th, 13th and 21st legion under the leadership of Q. Petillius Cerealis. From *Hispania* came the 1st and 6th and from *Britannia* the 14th legion. From *Raetia* came the procurator of *Noricum*, Sextilius Felix with some cohorts and an elite cavalry unit, an *ala singularium*, led by Julius Briganticus, Civilis' nephew.[120] Little by little the rebel forces were defeated, or they defected, as did the Vitellian legions that had sworn allegiance to the Gallic Empire. At *Rigodulum* near *Augusta Treverorum* (Trier), the capital of the *Treveri*, Cerealis defeated the Treveran army led by Valentinus. Here Civilis,

118) Tacitus *Historiae* 4.67, 68.5-69; Levick 1999: 110-1; van Soesbergen 1971: 250.
119) A Batavian, who was a former rival and traitor. See Tacitus *Historiae* 4.18.4, 56.3, 66.
120) Tacitus *Historiae* 4.68.1, 70.2.

Classicus and Tutor attacked the camp of Cerealis, but although they had the upper hand, the battle ended with Roman victory. Hereafter some counter attacks were initiated, but they only led to minor unimportant victories. In *Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensis*, the citizens liberated the city of Civilis' men and delivered his wife and sister and Classicus' daughter to the Romans. Civilis now tried to make a stand at *Castra Vetera*, but after two days fighting he was forced to retreat. The following events finally forced Civilis even to abandon his own homeland and to cross the Rhine. At this point he decided to surrender. He demanded to meet with Cerealis, and doing so standing on each side of a broken bridge across the otherwise unknown river *Nabalia*, the extant part of Tacitus' Histories ends…right in the middle of Civilis' speech.[121]

The aftermath

In the end, what could have been a grave danger to the safety of the Roman Empire was settled relatively easily by the Roman army. As the main source for the revolt is so abruptly ending we do not know the terms of the peace agreement between Civilis and Cerealis. Tacitus mentions that Civilis later stated that he and the Germanic tribes could have crushed the Roman legions had he not dissuaded them, a statement Tacitus finds plausible. Cerealis had secretly initiated peace negotiations with the *Batavi* and had sent a message to Veleda and the *Bructeri* that all they would get out of prolonging this fight would be trouble with the Romans.[122] Most likely Civilis and Cerealis came to an understanding, where the *Batavi* kept their privileges and were treated with respect, but accepted that they were now a formal part of the Roman Empire organized in the *Civitas Batavorum*.[123] To ensure this treaty a legion was stationed in Nijmegen next to the *Civitas* capital, *Oppidum Batavodurum*. Furthermore, the destroyed auxiliary forts were rebuilt and new were erected. The Batavian units were reorganized and sent to other parts of the Empire, while the Rhine area was occupied by auxiliaries of different nationalities. These units were from now on commanded by Roman officers.[124]

121) Tacitus *Historiae* 4.70.3, V.14-26; Levick 1999: 111-2; van Soesbergen 1971: 250-5.
122) *Tacitus Historiae* 5.24.
123) Tacitus *Germania* 29.1.
124) Levick 1999: 112-3, 160-1; Schönberger 1985: 359; Spaul 2000: 205-6; Willems 1986: 402-3.

The archaeological record

The account of Tacitus provides details of an important incident in the history of Rome that could not have been told so explicitly by the archaeological record. This said we could come far on archaeological data alone.

The forts

The most prominent Roman feature in the lower Rhine area is the chain of Roman forts along the river. The initiation of the chain of forts can be dated to around AD 50.[125] Those of the forts that predate the Flavian period all have destruction layers that are dated to the time around the year of the revolt.[126] One example is Valkenburg Z.H., which was possibly one of the forts that were destroyed during the raid of the *Canninefates* and *Frisii* at the beginning of the revolt. At this fort, which covers eight periods, dating from AD 40 to the 2nd half of the 4th century, a massive incendiary layer was found between periods 3 and 4. Material found in the layer included Neronian *terra sigillata* relating the destruction to the post Neronian troubles in the area.[127] The layout of the fort as well as the garrison changed considerably from the 3rd to the 4th period. There is a strong possibility that a Gallic cohort occupied the fort prior to the revolt.[128] After the rebuilding, a single tile stamp indicates that the fort was now garrisoned by the *cohors IIII Tracum*.[129]

The men

Normally the archaeologists are hard put to identify specific individuals from specific early historical periods and events. Few finds have given sufficient evidence. However, from the time of the revolt a find from Nijmegen brings us close to a known individual. Of the Roman defence of the *Insula Batavorum* Tacitus tells us the following:

The Roman ensigns and standards with all the soldiers were concentrated in the upper part of the island under the leadership of Aquilius, a centurion of the first rank…

Tacitus *Historiae* 4.15.3.

125) Bogaers & Rüger 1974: 12; Schönberger 1985: 346-7, 438-48.
126) van Es 1981: 37; Schönberger 1985: 357-8.
127) E.g. van Giffen 1955: 121; Glasbergen 1972: 15, 41-5; de Weerd 1977: 256. For more litt. See Hessing 1995: 100-1.
128) Grane 2002: 66-9; Holder 1980: 11.
129) Bogaers 1974: 452-5; Holder 1980: 38; Spaul 2000: 378.



Fig. 15 Nijmegen, Phalera with inscription: C. AQVILLI/PROCVLI/D·LEG·VIII/AVG. Photo: Museum Het Valkhof, Nijmegen.

This rest of Roman forces were soon to be annihilated by Civilis and probably Aquilius with them. Finds from the military installation on Het Kops Plateau in Nijmegen have shown that this site was in use at least to a time shortly prior to the Batavian revolt. In a cellar within the fort a bronze disc was found, probably a so-called *phalera*. The back had a pin for the fastening of the disc. The front was covered with silver sheet and had the following inscription carved in the silver (Fig. 15): *C·AQVILLI / PROCVLI / D·LEG·VIII / AVG* i.e.: '*(the belonging) of Caius Aquillus Proculus, centurio in legio VIII Augusta.* The *legio VIII Augusta*, originally stationed in *Moesia*, had been brought to Italy by Mucianus and then to the North under Cerealis' command. Aquilius, a former centurion of this legion, had risen to the rank of *primipilaris* i.e. former 1st centurion of the 1st cohort, and as such had been designated for some leading position in the area. Being the most experienced he led the Roman defence.[130]

The battles

One of the most important episodes of the revolt was the fighting around *Castra Vetera* (Xanten). After the Roman surrender, this double legionary fortress was completely destroyed. As the Roman stronghold nearest to the Batavian homeland, this was necessary.[131] After the revolt, only one legion was to be garrisoned there. A new fortress was built closer to the Rhine and the old site abandoned, which has led to the discovery of several elements such as the wall and gates, as well as some of the main buildings like the *principia*, *praetoria*, *valetudinarium* and staff officers' buildings.[132]
The Roman camp at the village of *Gelduba* (Krefeld-Gellep), also saw heavy fighting, as we know from Tacitus:

…thus the burden now fell on the legionaries, and they, having lost their standards, were already being cut down inside the palisade…
Tacitus *Historiae* 4.33.2.

Excavations in the area have revealed a number of field camps as well as remains of the *Vicus* of *Gelduba*. The remains consist mainly of ditches that can be divided in three phases. The 2nd phase relates to the

130) Enckevort & Zee 1999: 67-8; Levick 1999: 44, 81, 110.
131) van Es 1981: 39; Willems 1986: 401.
132) Gechter 1987b: 620-5.

battle mentioned by Tacitus. From the ditches four camps can be identified. They show that the *vicus* had already been destroyed, when the relief army arrived. The most prominent feature, though, is a large number of horse cadavers found in the ditches of the camps (Fig. 16). Based on these and the orientation of the camps compared to Tacitus' account it has been possible to suggest how the battle was evolving. The layout of the 3rd phase compared to the 2nd shows that alterations were made. When the Romans had arrived at *Gelduba* they received supplies transported on the river. In fact such a transport had been the reason for one of the skirmishes that had taken place.[133] After the battle the harbour was no longer needed, as Civilis had absolute control of the river. Therefore the camp had been withdrawn from the river bank. The largest concentration of horse cadavers was near one of the gates. This particular gate had been cancelled in the new layout. Perhaps the Romans had learned that this had been a weak spot. Few military objects were found. One was a helmet of the Weisenau-type that had been altered. The cheek plates and neck guard had been removed and along the edge leather was attached, which had held feathers and the rest had been covered with fur. This indicates that it had probably not been used by a Roman.[134] At Het Kops Plateau in Nijmegen a parallel has been found (Fig. 17). The find context of this helmet, though predating the Batavian revolt with about fifty years, is related to auxiliary troops, who were probably of Batavian origin.[135]

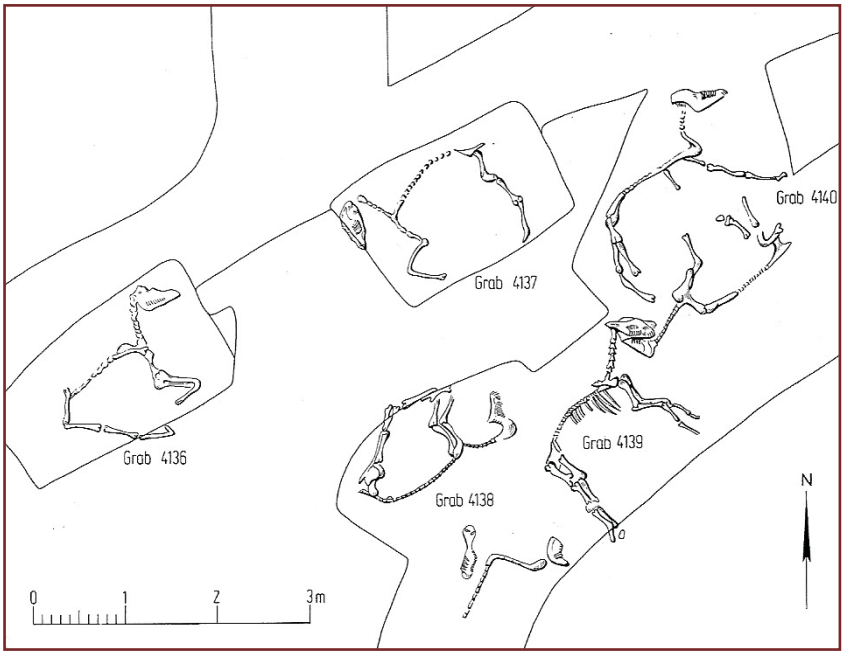


Fig. 16 Gelduba. Horse cadavers in the camp ditch. After Reichmann 1999: 107, fig. 5.

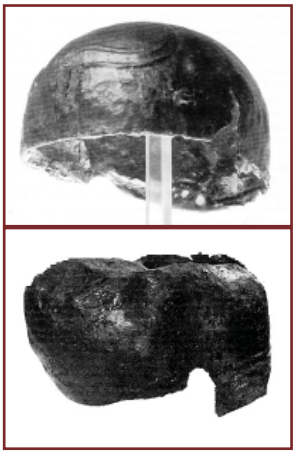


Fig. 17 Modified Roman helmets. A (⬆): Nijmegen. B (⬇): Gelduba. After Enckevort & Zee 1999: 41 & Reichmann 1999: 109, fig. 6.

The Germanic allies

The call for Germanic allies from the East side of the Rhine by Civilis and the *Batavi* initiated the first large scale encounter between Romans and Germanic tribes since the Augustan/Tiberian conquest

133) Tacitus *Historiae* 4.27.1.
134) Pirling 1986: 244-6; Reichmann 1999: 100-12
135) van Enckevort & Zee 1999: 41-3.

of *Germania*.[136] In the last fifty years there had been trouble here and there, naturally, but never on this scale. From north to south Civilis involved the tribes of the *Frisii*, *Chauci*, *Bructeri*, *Tencteri*, *Chatti*, *Usipi* and *Mattiaci* (Fig. 14). Apart from these, he received reinforcements from '*universa Germania*'.[137] It seems a fair estimate that every tribe along the Rhine was activated, but other than that it is hard to guess who exactly '*universa Germania*' was. Based on Tacitus' descriptions of the closest Suebian tribes, i.e. the *Langobardi*, *Semnones* and *Hermunduri* it is not likely that they were involved.[138] We know little of what happened to the Germanic tribes after the restoration of peace. One of the tribes that we hear of in the following period is the *Bructeri*, whose leader, Veleda had been paramount to the organisation of the Germanic tribes. Tacitus tells us that Cerealis, at the time of the initial negotiations with Civilis, also advises Veleda to make peace or feel the vengeance of Rome.[139] Apparently the *Bructeri* did not behave to the Romans' satisfaction. A few years later an army was sent against them led by C. Rutilius Gallicus, the legate of the lower Rhine army from AD 76-9. Veleda was captured and installed as a temple-cleaner in *Ardea* in *Latium*.[140] According to Tacitus the *Bructeri* were almost annihilated at some point by other Germanic tribes. 60.000 were to have died, though this number is believed to be an exaggeration.[141]

South of the river Main, physical control was extended on the east side of the Rhine with the rebuilding of the few forts that were already there and with the addition of a number of other forts. This action will have had the effect of checking the Germanic tribes in the area, among these at least the *Mattiaci*, as can be deduced by the rebuilt fort of *Aquae Mattiacorum* (Wiesbaden). The mentioning in Tacitus' account of Agricola of a cohort of *Usipi* that had been shipped to *Britannia* shows that this tribe was also subjected Roman rule now.[142] The third of the southernmost mentioned Germanic tribes were the *Chatti*. They were attacked in AD 83 by Domitian, who might have extended the Roman territory on the east side, the *Agri Decumates*, even further.[143] Some scholars have suggested that Domitian's actions against the *Chatti* in

136) *Tacitus Germania* 37.4-5.
137) Tacitus *Historiae* 4.28.1; van Soesbergen 1971: 243.
138) *Tacitus Germania* 39-41.
139) *Tacitus Historiae* 5.24.1.
140) Statius *Silvae* 1.4.89-90; Bengtson 1979: 68, 136-7; Hermann 1991: Anh.I.10, 416-7, 586-7; Levick 1999: 160.
141) *Tacitus Germania* 33.1; Levick 1999: 160.
142) Tacitus *Agricola* 28.1; Levick 1999: 160-1; Schönberger 1985: 360-2, 450-6.
143) Bengtson 1979: 196-9; Levick 1999: 162; Schönberger 1985: 369-71, 461-70.

AD 83-85 in fact fulfilled a process begun by his father in AD 70, and therefore did not as such represent a further extension of the Empire.[144] In this case the purpose would be twofold. The campaign gave him opportunity to wage a war, by which he could grant himself a triumph and the title of '*Germanicus*'. That this triumph was belittled by many of those surviving him is not given credit by H. Bengtson, who sees this as slander of a much disliked and deceased tyrant.[145] The result of the campaign was that Domitian elevated the two military zones of the Upper and Lower Rhine Armies to the provinces of *Germania Superior* and *Germania Inferior*.[146] The northern tribes of the *Frisii* and *Chauci* are not heard of again in Flavian times. As they were with Civilis at the end, perhaps an agreement was reached at that time.[147]

144) Kortüm 1998: 50; Schallmayer 2000: 67.
145) E.g. Tacitus *Agricola* 39.1; Cassius Dio *Ῥωμαϊκά* 67.3.5; Bengtson 1979: 198.
146) Schallmayer 2000: 67; Southern 1997: 85.
147) E.g. *Tacitus Historiae* 5.19.1.

The Marcomannic wars of Marcus Aurelius AD 166 – 175 and 177 – 180

In the middle of the 2nd century AD, the northern borders were once again put under serious pressure. Although this crisis mostly involved the Danube provinces of *Pannonia* and *Dacia* rather than the Rhine area, the impact had an enormous effect on both the Roman and Germanic world and the relations between them afterwards. Major focus was on the Suebic tribes of the *Marcomanni* and *Quadi*, who lived north of the above mentioned provinces. Confrontations with these and other Germanic tribes coming to these regions are what were to be known as the Marcomannic wars from AD 166 to 175 and 177 to 180. In the Middle Danube region the archaeological remains tell us of unrest in the second half of the 2nd century AD on both sides of the Danube, but there is also evidence of cooperation between Romans and Germanic peoples from the beginning of the 2nd century AD. Unrest can be traced down to Italy and both eastwards and westwards of the Middle Danube region. However, not all traces of violence can be attributed to these wars. Through correlation with the literary sources it is possible with reasonable safety to combine certain finds with certain events. The image created by these sources is one of a profound unrest within Rome's northern neighbours from the North Sea to the Black Sea in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

The Marcomannic wars attracted by far the most attention from Marcus Aurelius and his staff consuming almost two thirds of the Emperor's reign. Both archaeological and literary sources reveal a close relationship between the two sides for centuries going back to the age of Augustus.

The background - Roman-Marcomannic/Quadic relations

The archaeological record

In Böhmen, Mähren and south-western Slovakia north of the middle Danube the find complexes show how settlement concentrations moved through time (Fig. 18). In the early years of the 1st century AD the majority of finds are located in the northern part of Böhmen.[148] An important part of the finds were Roman imports of Augustan and early Tiberian date. At this time there are only a few finds in the more easterly

148) Böhme 1975: 184-5.

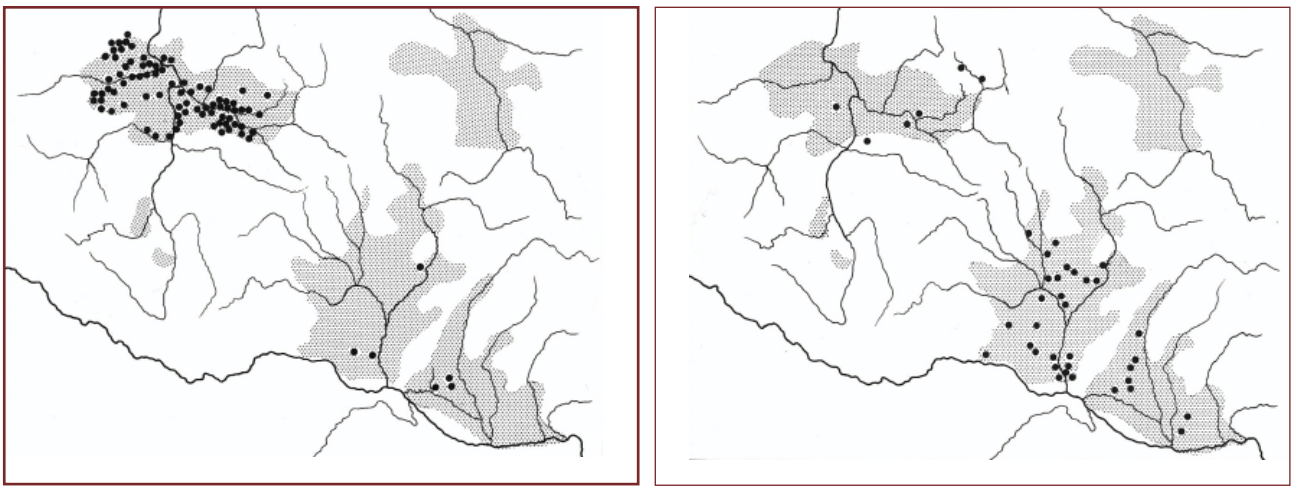


Fig. 18 Böhmen and Mähren. Find concentrations reflecting a movement from Böhmen to Mähren. A (➥): B1a, B (➦): B1b. After Böhme 1975: 185, 187, figs. 11-2.

areas of Mähren and south-western Slovakia, which are separated by the Lesser Carpathian Mountains.[149] In the following Tiberian to Flavian periods, the finds in Böhmen decreased markedly. This decline in imports was accompanied by a sudden influx of Roman imports north of *Carnuntum* (Bad Deutsch-Altenburg) in south Mähren and south-western Slovakia. Based on the imports, the Roman interests seemed to shift eastwards to the area that was to form the base of the trading route to the Baltic area.[150] As an example, the distribution of Roman bronze *trullae* or cooking pans in the early years clearly illustrates this shift. The proportion between Augustan and post-Augustan cooking pans in Böhmen was 6,5:1, while the proportion in the regions north of *Carnuntum* was 1:4, i.e. almost the opposite.[151] In Mähren and south-western Slovakia, coin finds show the same proportion between small change and large valued coins as south of the Danube. This indicates a knowledge and use of coins in a monetary system such as the Roman.[152] These observations have lead scholars to correlate the archaeological material with the literary sources. Few areas in *Barbaricum* have been of interest to the Roman literates for so long providing us with observations concerning the relations to and conditions of the kingdom of the *Marcomanni* and *Quadi*.



Fig. 19 Roman 'stations' in Mähren and south-western Slovakia. After Pitts 1989: 57, fig. 3.

In Mähren and south-western Slovakia in the settlement areas of the two tribes, a number of sites situated up to 50 km north of the Danube have revealed some interesting similarities (Fig. 19). The most striking of these was the presence of

149) Tejral 1995: 225-7.
150) Böhme 1975: 184-8; Pitts 1989: 54-6; Tejral 1995: 231-3.
151) Tejral 1995: 231.
152) Pitts 1989: 57-8.

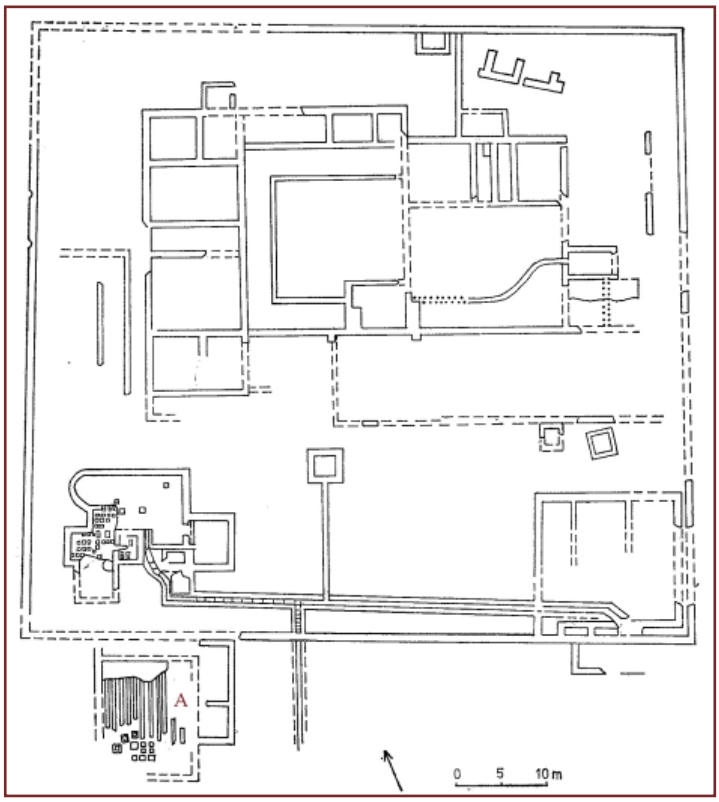


Fig. 20 Stupava. A: Granarium. After Hečková 1986: 393, fig. 2.

Roman stamped bricks. Some of the sites consisted of an almost square area lined with a stone wall or palisade. Inside the walls could be found a series of masonry buildings including one with a heating system and apsidal rooms, i.e. a Roman bath. The stamps showed that the Roman army had supplied most of the building material, although there was nothing military about the buildings whatsoever. Another similarity was that the complexes were always close neighbours to Germanic settlements. At several sites the archaeological evidence has shown the presence of craftsmen in the vicinity. Thanks partly to the stamps these sites can be dated from the early 2nd to the late 4th century AD with concentrations in the 2nd and 4th centuries respectively. The best preserved of these sites was found at Stupava *c*. 15 km northeast of *Carnuntum* (Fig. 20). A total of nine complexes have been confirmed and a similar number are suspected due to the finds of stamped tiles.[153] Practically every one of these complexes were placed near roads or rivers only a days travel from the next complex or from the *limes* and often on a hilltop; Stupava, for instance, was within visual range of both the legionary fortresses at *Vindobona* (Wien) and *Carnuntum*.[154] In his thorough examination of the '*Archäologische Zeugnisse zur Geschichte der Markomannenkriege*' from 1975, H.W. Böhme brings further the comment by A. Mócsy that such structures if found south of the Danube would easily have been taken for small *villae rusticae*.[155] Mócsy also brought forward the idea that these sites could be the seats of Germanic chieftains. That was dismissed by Böhme for several reasons. He stated that if that was the case, then the uniformity of the sites would demonstrate that there had been no development or change from the 2nd to the 4th century AD. Another argument against this idea is the lack of evidence for the production of finer crafts, which would be expected at a chieftain's residence. Also, it would mean that Trajan should have initiated a development programme

153) Böhme 1975: 190-7; Hečková 1986; Kolník 1986: 411-34; Pitts 1987: 223-33.
154) Hečková 1986: 392; Kolník 1986: 425.
155) Böhme 1975: 192; Mócsy 1974: 91.

for this area. Böhme would rather see these places as stations, where, for instance, cattle and grain was stored prior to export to *Pannonia*. Possibly they could be road stations.[156] This view was supported by T. Kolník in 1986. He took the absence of Germanic pottery related to the earliest phase of the Stupava station from around 100 ad as an indication that these stations were not meant for the Germanic rulers. A function related to the trade along the 'amber route' seemed to him much more likely. For this, Kolník also found support in the recently discovered *granarium* at Stupava, measuring 11 by 13 m (Fig. 20, A).[157] To conclude, Kolník presented five points, which to him were undisputable at the time. 1. The construction of the stations occurred under Roman auspices, but sometimes in close collaboration with the local population. 2. Civilian comforts outranked fortifications. 3. The function was rarely constant. Trade- and production stations could be used as staff headquarters and the other way around. In times of peace the sites were predominantly civilian. 4. The relationship with the surrounding Germanic settlements varied from station to station and in time. 5. Arguments for an interpretation that the stations were built for Germanic chieftains were so far not adequate.[158]

In 1987, L.F. Pitts saw three explanations for these features. They could be official trading stations. Several are situated on the 'amber-route' along the River March. Another possibility was that they were built for the Roman centurions appointed to oversee local meetings according to the peace treaty in ad 180. Finally, the Romans could have built the sites for the Germanic nobility.[159] In 1989, Pitts only advocated the last of these possibilities, however.[160] It is interesting that Pitts has no reference to Böhme's article at all, especially as Böhme had argued against the very explanation that Pitts favours.

In 1991 however, after the discovery of the exceptionally rich princely grave at Mušov, Böhme revised his view on these sites. At this time one of these civilian Roman structures was believed to be located on the Burgstall hill, and the proximity to the royal tomb was an indication to Böhme that it might be a Roman-built Germanic chieftain's residence after all. This was supported by finds from recent excavations at Oberleiserberg in Austria, another of the Roman structures, which indicated that it had been a chieftain's residence from the fourth

156) Böhme 1975: 194-5.
157) Kolník 1986: 427-8.
158) Kolník 1986: 430-1.
159) Pitts 1987: 235.
160) Pitts 1989: 56.

century AD.[161]

However, Burgstall was not one of the Roman 'stations', it was a Roman Fortification. The case of Oberleiserberg shows that the idea of a local chieftain's seat is not impossible, but that could have been a 4th century reuse of an older Roman building, which had been used differently in the 2nd century.

In 1994-5, Kolník showed himself to swing towards a favour of the Germanic chieftain's residence theory.[162] This change was not so much caused by new information, as by an acceptance that an anti-German(ic) attitude had blinded scholars in the former Republic of Czechoslovakia.[163] As an example he examined the complex at Cífer-Pác in the River Waag valley. This site is exceptional among other things for two huge pit houses of 9x6 and 11x14 m that had been roofed with *tegulae*.[164] A Roman gold ring from a 3rd century context, a silver *fibula* from the 4th century and a onion knob *fibula* showed connections to the higher social strata, but the main period of use of this complex was the 4th century AD.[165] For this theory, Kolník found support in a sentence from Ammianus Marcellinus (*c*. 330-400 AD), who reports how the Emperor Julian the Apostate after the battle of *Argentorate* in AD 357 had his men surge the Alamannic lands, the former *Agri Decumates*, where they burned the houses that were constructed in the '*ritu Romano*', i.e. the Roman way.[166] But this comparison is problematic, as the houses of the *Alamanni* might have been old Roman houses that had been reused.[167]

What is certain, however, is that these sites are evidence that close and peaceful contact and interaction, whatever the form, must have existed between Romans and natives up through the 2nd century and on.[168]

The literary record

Relations between the Romans and the Suebic tribes of the *Marcomanni* and *Quadi* go all the way back to the formation of the principate. Their first encounter probably happened during Caesar's Gallic campaigns, where the *Marcomanni* are mentioned among the

161) Böhme 1991: 299; Friesinger & Krinzinger 1997: 283-4; Stuppner 2004: 313-20.
162) Kolník 1995; 1997.
163) Kolník 1995: 359-60.
164) Kolník 1995: 361.
165) Kolník 1995: 361; 1997: 419-20; Pitts 1987: 229-31.
166) Ammianus Marcellinus 17.1.7.
167) Hermann 1992: 445.
168) Böhme 1975: 196; Pitts 1987: 236

Suebic tribes.[169] Later the Marcomannic prince Maroboduus, a protégé of Augustus according to Strabo, grew up in Rome.[170] There he had been educated and had received Roman citizenship and equestrian rank. Upon returning from Roman service, he forged a kingdom with his tribe, the *Marcomanni* ruling over neighbouring Suebian tribes as well, but alarming the Romans at the same time. In AD 6, Tiberius was about to embark on the conquest of this Marcomannic kingdom, the only part of *Germania* left unconquered according to Velleius Paterculus. When a revolt broke out in *Pannonia*, a treaty had to be made in haste with Maroboduus. This arrangement must have been so much to Maroboduus' advantage that it kept him from joining Arminius against the Romans. Eventually Maroboduus was overthrown by Catualda and was settled by Tiberius in Ravenna, where he lived for 18 years. Catualda soon suffered the same fate, and he too was settled on Roman soil at *Forum Iulii* (Fréjus). This indicates that whatever agreements existed between the Romans and Maroboduus must in some form have continued under Catualda. The following power vacuum was used by the Romans, who settled the followers of both Maroboduus and Catualda in an area in Mähren between the Rivers March and *Cusus*, probably the River Waag, and gave them a new king, Vannius of the *Quadi*. His rule lasted for 30 years constituting what some have labelled the first real Roman client state in the north.[171] This is supported by Tacitus, who says about the Marcomannic royalty: '*sed vis et potentia regibus ex auctoritate Romana: raro armis nostris, saepius pecunia iuvantur, nec minus valent*', '*but the power and strength of the kings comes through Roman influence: rarely by our arms, more often they are supported by money, which is no less effective*.'[172] When Vannius was driven from power by his nephews Vangio and Sido in AD 50, he too could settle within the Empire, in his case in *Pannonia*. Again, the close connection to the Roman Empire was kept intact.[173] Possibly the nephews had been in Rome as hostages, when they were young.[174] In the critical years after Nero's death, Sido and Italicus, presumably Vangio's successor, partly supplied Vespasian with troops, while protecting the Roman borders, as Vespasian had withdrawn the legions stationed

169) Caesar *De Bello Gallico* 1.51.2
170) Strabo *Γεωγραφία* 7.1.3.
171) Tacitus *Annales* 2.63, 12.29; Velleius Paterculus *Historia Romana* 2.108-10; Austin & Rankov 1995: 24-5, 121-2; Goetz & Welwei 1995b: 126, n. 74; Southern 2001: 188-90; Wolters 1990: 40-1.
172) Tacitus *Germania* 42.2. All translations are by the author.
173) Tacitus *Annales* 12.29-30.
174) Hermann 1991: 530.

on the Danube.[175] The first diplomatic crisis that we know of between the Romans and the *Marcomanni* arose, when Domitian was refused help against Dacian tribes. A following punitive campaign only led to Roman defeat.[176] Little is written mentioning these tribes by name in the following period, but that the dependence on Rome continued is supported by the Tacitus-quote above written in the reign of Trajan in the start of the 2nd century AD. In the beginning of the 140s AD, this relationship is further confirmed by a coin issue by Antoninus Pius with the print, *REX QUADIS DATUS,* indicating that he had installed a Quadian king.[177] Even Marcus Aurelius was asked to approve of a Quadian king just when the trouble had started.[178]

The first years of Marcus Aurelius' reign

The Marcomannic wars dominated Marcus Aurelius' 19 year long reign from AD 161 to 180, but he had to deal with wars on various fronts from the beginning. He himself was not directly involved in all these wars, however. Already in AD 162 trouble brewed in both ends of the Empire (Fig. 21).

In the East, the Parthian king Vologaeses III replaced a pro-Roman king in *Armenia*. In the attempt to re-establish Roman control of *Armenia*, the governor of *Cappadocia* was defeated. The co-Emperor Lucius Verus went to the East to deal with the Parthians, while Marcus Aurelius stayed in Rome. Not until AD 166 were things under control to Roman satisfaction.[179]

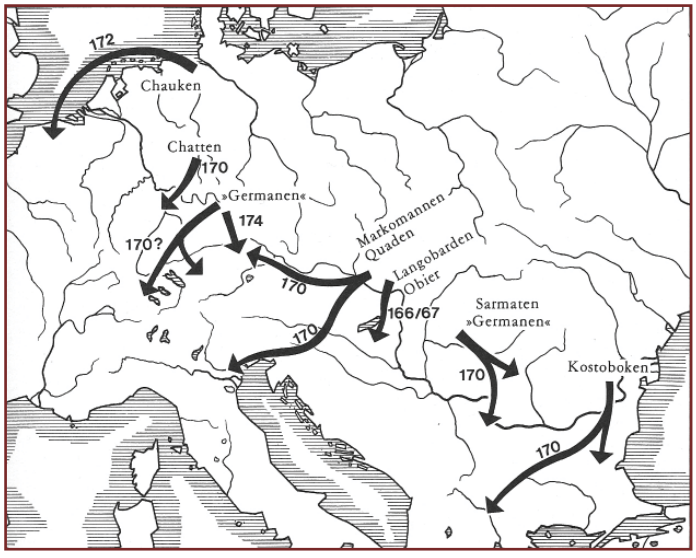


Fig. 21 Raids from the North on the Roman Empire in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. After Böhme 1975: 165, fig. 3.

In the West, war threatened in *Britannia* and on the Continent, Rome's long term enemies, the *Chatti* broke into *Germania Superior* and *Raetia*, first in AD 162 and then again in AD 170.[180] These intrusions we only know of from a few sentences in the *Historia Augusta* and they are not easily mapped by the archaeological data. Some signs of destruction or unrest can

175) Tacitus *Historiae* 3.5.1, 3.21.2.
176) Cassius Dio *Ῥωμαϊκά* 67.7.1.
177) RIC III: 8, 110, no. 620, pl. V, 107.
178) SHA *Marcus Antoninus* 14.3.
179) Cassius Dio *Ῥωμαϊκά* 71.2-3; SHA *Marcus Antoninus* 8.6, 9-14, 9.1, 12.7; Birley 2001: 121-6, 128-32, 140-5.
180) SHA *Marcus Antoninus* 8.7; SHA *Didius Julianus* 1.6-9.

be dated more generally to the 160s to 180s AD. Especially the Roman *castella*, for instance at Butzbach or Echzell, in the northern tip of the *Agri Decumates* show signs that could relate to the raids of the *Chatti*.[181] A coin hoard from Stockstadt with an end coin from AD 167/8 has been connected to the second raid in AD 170.[182] Presumably the *Chatti* should even have reached as far south as the province of *Raetia*, but there is no obvious archaeological support of this, and it is very likely an exaggeration or misunderstanding.[183]

A few years later, sometime between AD 172 and 174, the other troublesome tribe in the West, the *Chauci* crossed the borders of the Empire. As the attack was repelled by the governor of the province of *Gallia Belgica*, Didius Julianus, with locally raised auxiliaries, the *Chauci* are assumed to have come by sea, as they had done previously.[184] According to H. Schönberger only the destruction of certain Roman villas in this province could possibly be related to this incidence.[185] At the *castellum* at Valkenburg Z.H., however, the excavators saw a possible relation to the raid of the *Chauci* in the incendiary layer between period 5 and 6 to be dated in the middle of the 170s AD.[186] This is based on *tegula* stamps from period 6, which constituted a change in building materials from earth-and-wood and wattle-and-daub to stone concerning the *vallum* and *principia* i.e. a substantial strengthening of the fort. The tiles had the stamp *SVBDIDIOIVLCOS* i.e. *Sub Didio Iuliano Consulare*. According to the *Historia Augusta* Didius Julianus was awarded the consulship for his merits in *Belgica*.[187] This probably took place in AD 175 and after a stay in *Dalmatia* he was back in the north as governor of *Germania Inferior* around AD 180.[188] Apparently some building activity was initiated during his leadership as indicated by the stamps. Similar stamps are found in Nijmegen and Krefeld-Gellep.[189] It is difficult to correlate archaeological data with historical events, a fact that should always be stressed.[190] Considering that each *contubernium* in a *castellum* had a fireplace there would be plenty of possibilities to cause an incendiary layer even without the meddling

181) Baatz 1989a: 246; 1989b: 264; Schönberger 1985: 401-3.
182) Kellner 1963: 119-22.
183) Schönberger 1985: 403.
184) SHA *Didius Julianus* 1.7; Schönberger 1985: 403-4. Earlier attacks: Tacitus *Annales* 11.18.1.
185) de Maeyer 1937: 287-8; Schönberger 1985: 404.
186) van Giffen 1955: 126; Glasbergen 1972: 13.
187) SHA *Didius Julianus* 1.8.
188) Eck 1985: 185. Birley believes that he was appointed already in AD 177, Birley 2001: 199.
189) CIL XIII 12515,8; CIL XIII 12521, 39.
190) E.g. Schönberger 1985: 404.

of barbarian brigands. At the same time, the building activity could be caused not by a need to rebuild after destruction, but by a belief that the frontier needed strengthening now that the borders were under control again.[191] But other forts in this area also undergo a change from earth-and-wood to stone in these years. The *castellum* at *Fectio* (Vechten) was rebuilt in the second half of the 2nd century AD.[192] At *Nigrum Pullum* (Zwammerdam), the *castellum* was rebuilt in stone around AD 175.[193] The capital of the *Batavi* at *Ulpia Noviomagus Batavorum* (Nijmegen) built a city wall in the third quarter of the 2nd century AD. This must have been a reaction to an immediate threat; perhaps the attack of the *Chauci*, as the town was devastated shortly after.[194] Based on this information, one could construct a scenario, in which some of the forts at the *limes* had been involved, but that would be purely hypothetical. The idea that Nijmegen should have been affected by this attack is rejected by W. Eck with reference to the *Historia Augusta* that the province involved was not *Germania Inferior*, but *Gallia Belgica* and that the attack was repelled by locally raised troops.[195] However, as the description of the life of the Emperor Didius Julianus is our only literary reference to the attack of the *Chauci*, a question must be asked. Can we assume that only *Gallia Belgica* was affected, or is only this province mentioned because that is where the subject of the text, Didius Julianus, was governor? Were incidents related to the attack of the *Chauci* in *Germania Inferior* simply not relevant to the point? If we look at the text, there is nothing to indicate that other provinces could not have been affected as well. '*inde Belgicam sancta ac diu rexit. ibi Chauchis,…,erumpentibus restitit tumultuariis auxiliis provincialium.*' I.e., '*then he governed Belgica just and for a long time. There, with hastily raised auxiliaries from the province, he resisted the Chauci,…, as they burst forth.*' It is clear that nothing in the text speaks against the hypothesis proposed above. On the other hand the archaeological data can provide us with indications only and not with any absolute evidence.

In *Gallia Belgica*, a number of other sites have been related to the raid of the *Chauci* (Fig. 22). The sites are situated near the North Sea just south of the River Schelde. They have been identified as military installations partly based on the presence of defensive structures such as walls and ditches. At Aardenburg, a stone circumvallation has been dated to the

191) To this also Hessing 1995: 91.
192) van Tent 1994: 212.
193) Haalebos 1977: 64-5, 288-90; Hessing 1995: 90-1.
194) van Enckevort & Thijssen 2003: 85.
195) Eck 2004: 535-6, n. 69

first half of the 170s ad.[196] The Roman site at Maldegem just six km south of Aardenburg provided ambiguous material concerning a military or civilian use, but a double ditch led the excavator to incline to the first suggestion. The site was dated to the period from 170 to 275 ad.[197] A third fortification was found at Oudenburg, roughly 30 km west of Maldegem. The date of this is more uncertain, as the major part of the finds, including the stone *vallum*, is from the 3rd century ad.[198] It has been suggested that these fortifications were built as a response to the raids of the *Chauci*, thus laying the basis for the so-called *litus Saxonicum* in the late Roman period, i.e. the defence against Saxon coastal raids.[199]

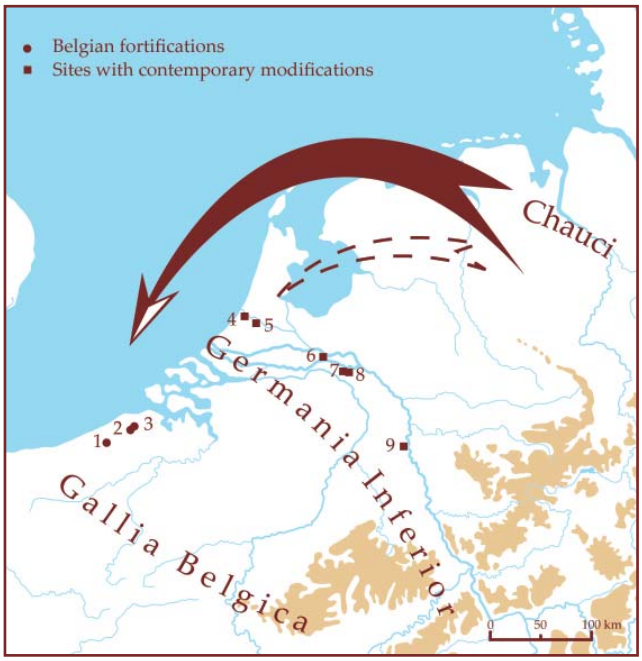


Fig. 22 The raid of the Chauci in ad 172. 1: Oudenburg, 2: Maldegem, 3: Aardenburg, 4: Valkenburg Z.H., 5: Zwammerdam, 6: Vechten, 7: Ulpia Noviomagus Batavorum, 8: Nijmegen (military site), 9: Krefeld-Gellep.

The Marcomannic wars

The offensive of the Germanic tribes ad 166-171

According to the *Historia Augusta* the war against the Parthians had not been concluded, when war broke out at the Danube frontier, although it had been postponed by diplomacy.[200] But Marcus Aurelius was prepared, as he had raised two new legions in Italy, which were to take part in the coming conflicts, and a new military district was formed for the defence of Italy, the *Praetentura Italiae et Alpium*. North of the middle Danube in the lands of the *Marcomanni* and *Quadi* several Germanic tribes had apparently gathered due to pressure from the northeast of other tribes, the *superiores barbari* mentioned in the *Historia Augusta*. These pressured tribes were interested in receiving land inside the Empire.[201] The pressure of the *superiores barbari* is, according to K. Godłowski, reflected in movements of the Przeworsk- and Wielbark-cultures in the 2nd century ad.[202] The migration of the Wielbark-culture towards the south-east he connected closely with the description of the migration of the Goths in the *Getica* by Jordanes from the 6th

196) van Es 1981: 112-4.
197) Thoen 1988: 29.
198) Thoen 1978: 128-44.
199) Brulet 1991: 155-69; Hessing 1995: 98; Thoen & Vermeulen 1988: 3-4.
200) SHA *Marcus Antoninus* 12.13.
201) SHA *Marcus Antoninus* 14.1; Birley 2001: 157; Böhme 1975: 169.
202) Godłowski 1984.

century AD.[203] Such a combination of tribal movements seen in literary and archaeological sources should be looked upon with the utmost care, as especially the work of Jordanes is extremely dubious. In fact, A. Søby Christensen has demonstrated how this tale was based largely on a figment of Cassiodorus' imagination.[204] The Przeworsk-culture Godłowski believes is the Germanic tribe of the *Lugii*. This tribe is not mentioned among those attacking the Romans to Godłowski's surprise, possibly because of a diminished significance.[205] More generally, Godłowski has seen the presence of the Przeworsk-culture in the upper Theiß area as reflecting the presence of Vandals near the Roman borders, mentioned in the literary sources.[206] Böhme too mentioned the Przeworsk-culture, but he also emphasized the north-west, where he saw the presence of Roman ring-pommel swords and coats of mail in graves in the lower Elbe area and southern Jutland as evidence of participation in the Marcomannic wars on the Germanic side. As such, the pressure on the borderland tribes came from all possible sides.[207] Although it is a strong possibility, as the *Langobardi* are believed to come from this area, the context of the ring-pommel swords has shown that some of the graves must be earlier than the Marcomannic wars.[208] Whatever the reason for these migrations, it seems that not all tribes felt compelled to wander off from their homelands. Thus, the earlier so prominent *Cherusci* living in the Weser area, are not mentioned at all.[209] And the *Semnones*, *vetustissimi nobilissimique Sueborum*, the oldest and noblest of the *Suebi* according to themselves,[210] also stayed where they were, as far as we know, although probably living between the middle Elbe and the Oder they must have experienced heavy traffic on all sides by the many wandering peoples. At least, we have no reason to believe otherwise, as the *Quadi* tried to migrate north to the *Semnones* at the end of the war.[211]

In AD 166/7, some of the barbarians lost their patience and 6.000 *Langobardi* and *Obii* crossed the border into *Pannonia*. Here they were met by a determined Roman army, which quickly convinced them that they had made a mistake in crossing the Danube. A delegation

203) Godłowski 1984: 339-40.
204) Søby Christensen 2002.
205) Godłowski 1984: 327-8.
206) Godłowski 1984: 340.
207) Böhme 1975: 212-5.
208) Biborski 1994: 90-1; Kaczanowski 1994a: 140-1.
209) Böhme apparently made a mistake including the *Cherusci* in the list of enemies. Böhme 1975: 215-6.
210) Tacitus *Germania* 39.1.
211) Cassius Dio *Ῥωμαϊκά* 71.20.2.

consisting of representatives from each of ten tribes led by Ballomarius, king of the *Marcomanni*, was sent to the governor of *Pannonia*, Iallius Bassus to sue for peace.[212] However, before Marcus Aurelius could plan any countermeasures an epidemic had broken out. The army had brought back a plague from the east. This decease ravished the empire for years to come and decimated both the general population and the army.[213] In AD 168, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus were heading for *Pannonia*, where the *Marcomanni* and *Victuali* had started trouble again demanding land, if they were not to take it themselves. The coming of the Emperors, however, caused the tribes to settle their differences and apologize for disturbing the peace, and the *Quadi*, who had lost their king during this, asked the Emperor to accept their new king, as he used to. As things had calmed down, Verus wanted to return to Rome, since part of their army had perished to the plague, but on the way he died of a stroke forcing Marcus Aurelius to bring him back to Rome for burial.[214] Due to the loss of manpower to the plague, Marcus Aurelius had to use untraditional methods to replenish his armies. He enlisted slaves, gladiators, brigands and perhaps most notably '*emit Germanorum auxilia contra Germanos*', he hired Germanic auxiliaries against the Germanic enemy.[215] In the *Historia Augusta* the author clearly illustrates what the Emperor was up against, as he lists all barbarian peoples from the 'borders of *Illyria*' to *Gallia*, i.e. in all practicality from the Black Sea to the *Agri Decumates*. The enemies were the *Marcomanni*, *Varistae*, *Hermunduri*, *Quadi*, *Suevi*, *Sarmatae*, *Lacringes*, *Burei*, *Viktuali*, *Sosibes*, *Sicobotes*, *Roxolani*, *Bastarnae*, *Halani*, *Peucini* and *Costoboci*.[216] To those we can add the *Chatti*, *Chauci* and *Cotini*.[217] In AD 170, Marcus Aurelius went north again to launch a counter offensive. Meanwhile there was heavy fighting in *Dacia* and *Moesia Superior*. The offensive started poorly, as a large Roman force was defeated, probably followed by an invasion by a combined force of *Marcomanni* and *Quadi* reaching all the way to Italy and *Aquileia* before they were defeated and pushed back across the Danube. At the same time, the tribe of the *Costoboci*, an eastern tribe invaded the Balkans almost reaching Athens. This was also the time of the 2nd invasion of the *Chatti*.[218]

212) Cassius Dio *Ῥωμαϊκά* 71.3.1a.
213) CIL III 5567, Cassius Dio *Ῥωμαϊκά* 73.14.3; SHA *Marcus Antoninus* 13.6, 17.2, 28.4; SHA *Verus* 8.1-2; Birley 2001: 149-55.
214) SHA *Marcus Aurelius* 14; SHA *Verus* 9.10-11. Birley 2001: 155-6.
215) SHA *Marcus Antoninus* 21.6-7.
216) SHA *Marcus Antoninus* 22.1.
217) Cassius Dio *Ῥωμαϊκά* 71.12.3; SHA *Didius Julianus* 1.7-9.
218) Ammianus Marcellinus 29.6.1; Cassius Dio *Ῥωμαϊκά* 71.3.2-4; Lukian *Pseudomantis* 48;

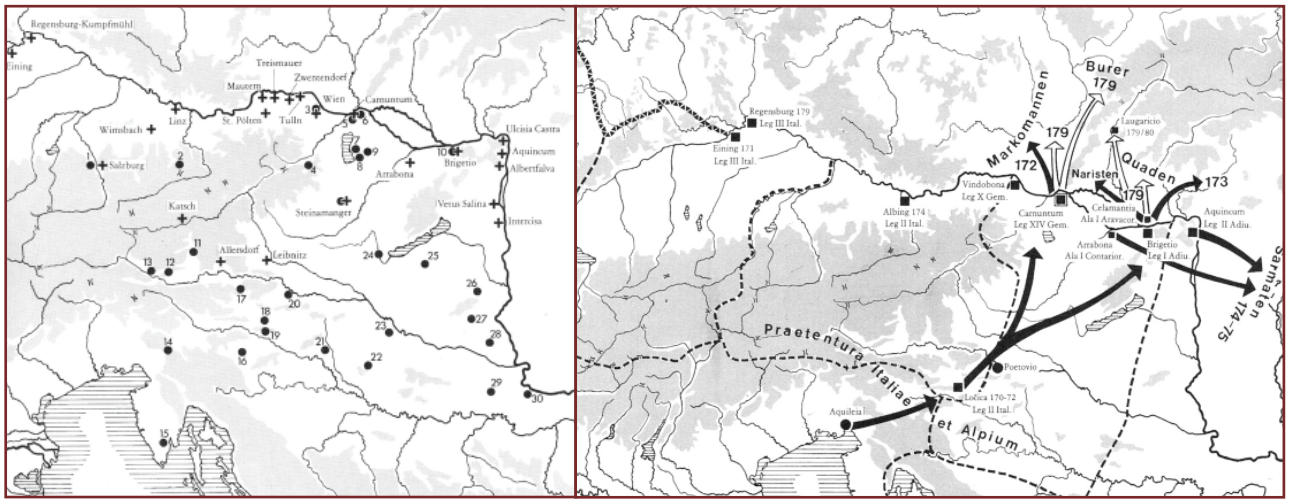


Fig. 23 ← Pannonia, Noricum and Raetia. Coin hoards (•) and traces of destruction (+). After Böhme 1975: 175, fig. 7.

Fig. 24 → Roman advances from AD 172 – 9. After Böhme 1975: 198, fig. 15.

A great number of archaeological remains from the Danube provinces testify to the trouble in these years. These are mostly hoard finds and destruction layers of military and civilian structures such as forts, towns and villas, but also evidence of new or temporary constructions such as marching camps or permanent forts is found (Fig. 23-4).[219] In *Noricum*, several towns such as *Iuvavum* (Salzburg) and *Aelium Cetium* (St. Pölten) have shown traces of destruction.[220] In *Raetia*, in the surroundings of a mountain pass leading to Böhmen, still the home of part of the *Marcomanni*, traces of destruction were found, for instance, in Straubing and *Castra Regina* (Regensburg). The incursions in this area probably caused the construction of a city wall at *Augusta Vindelicum* (Augsburg). At Eining, where the *Agri Decumates* frontier meets the Danube, a *vexillatio* of the newly raised *legio III concors Italica* had a temporary camp. So far no effects of the Marcomannic wars have been found further west.[221] Although the finds cannot be dated to a specific year, there is little doubt that they are related to the barbarian invasions, as the Romans were now to bring the war into *Germania*. One of the new constructions was the short-lived legionary fortress for the new *legio II pia Italica* at Ločica in Slovenia in the southern part of the province of *Noricum*. Initiated after the invasion of the *Marcomanni* and *Quadi* to prevent such a calamity again, it was given up only a few years later, as the northern border had been re-established.[222]

The following year the Romans had the situation under control and various tribes approached Marcus Aurelius at his headquarters in *Carnuntum* to sue for peace. These negotiations and peace conditions

Birley 2001: 163-9, 250-1; Böhme 1975: 162-6; Schmitt 1997: 142-3.

219) Böhme 1975: 168-82; Gabler 1980: 641-5;Schönberger 1985: 404-7.

220) Scherrer 1994: 447-52.

221) Böhme 1975: 172-3; Fischer 1994: 350-1.

222) Böhme 1975: 169-70.

are thoroughly described by Cassius Dio and equally thoroughly examined by M. Stahl.[223] In *Dacia*, negotiations were handled by the governor. The arrangements agreed to by the Romans depended much on the position of the tribes to the Romans and to the other tribes. Some were used against other tribes receiving payment for it. Some were settled within the Empire. The *Quadi* were granted peace separately in order to isolate them from the *Marcomanni* and *Iazyges*, as these three tribes were the main adversaries. Part of the agreement was that they should not allow entrance to people from the other two tribes into their territory.[224]

The Roman offensive AD 172-175

Finally in the seventh year of the war it was pay-back time for the Emperor.[225] The Romans crossed the Danube into Marcomannic territory. This is depicted as the first scene on the commemorative column of the Marcomannic wars in the Piazza Colonna in Rome, which probably only depicts the first war from AD 172 to 175, as no co-regents are present.[226] The primary target was the *Marcomanni*. By the end of the campaign they had been subjugated and severe peace conditions had been imposed on them. One of these was the demand that a stretch of land along the Danube remained without Germanic settlements, something that is reflected in the find situation of *terra sigillata* in the area.[227] The Roman approach was systematically to place marching camps at, or even on top of native settlements as can been seen, for instance, at Bernhardstal in Austria and at Mušov 'Na Pískách', Modřice and possibly Charvátská Nová Ves in Mähren.[228] Also the Roman stations north of the Danube mentioned above were most likely used by the Romans during the wars.[229] The location of Roman military sites north of the Danube clearly shows that the 'amber-route' along the River March was the major approach road of one or more of the Roman campaigns (Fig. 25). The largest concentration of remains

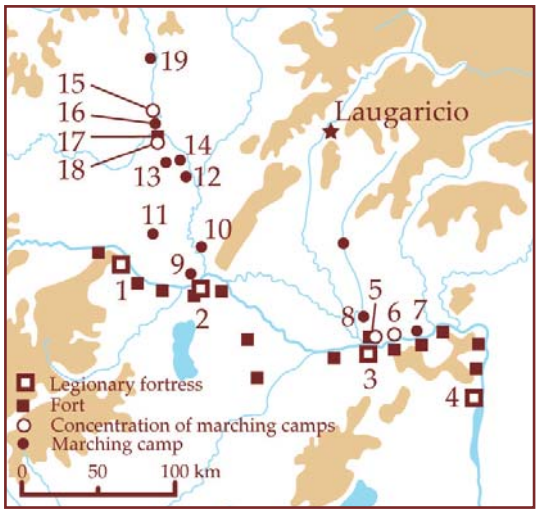


Fig. 25 Roman military structures at the frontier and north of the Danube. 1: Vindobona, 2: Carnuntum, 3: Brigetio, 4: Aquincum, 5: Iža, 6: Radvaň nad Dunajom-Virt, 7: Mužla, 8: Chotín, 9: Engelhartsstetten, 10: Suchohrad, 11: Kollnbrunn, 12: Bernhardstal, 13: Poštorná, 14: Charvátská Nová Ves, 15: Přibice, 16: Ivaň, 17: Mušov-Burgstall, 18: Mušov "Na Pískách", 19: Modřice. After Tejral 2002b: 88, fig. 9.

223) Cassius Dio Ῥωμαϊκά 71.11-2; Stahl 1989.
224) Birley 2001: 169-71; Stahl 1989: 295-8, 302.
225) Cassius Dio Ῥωμαϊκά 71.7-10, 71.13-6; Birley 2001: 171-8, 183; Böhme 1975: 197-206; Stahl 1989: 310-5.
226) Swikker 1941: 257.
227) Stuppner 1994: 290-1.
228) Stuppner 1994: 287; Tejral 2002b: 91-2.
229) Kolník 1986: 428-31.

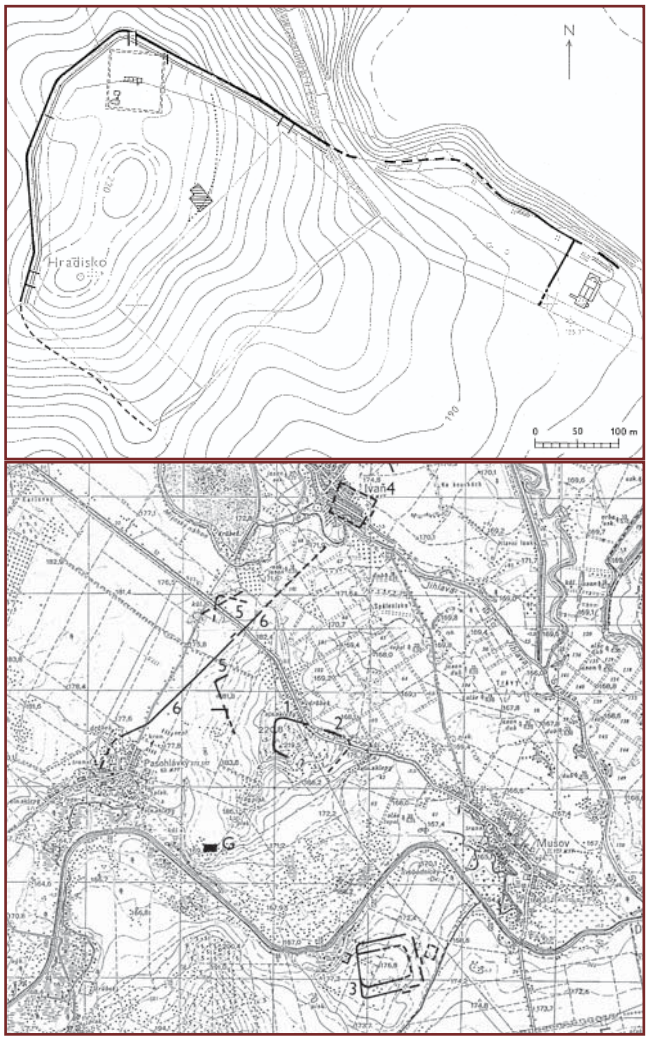


Fig. 26 ↑ Mušov Burgstall. After Tejral 2002b: 76, fig. 3.

Fig. 27 ↓ Roman military structures in the vicinity of Mušov. 1: Burgstall, 2: Neurissen, 3: Mušov "Na Pískách", 4: Ivaň, 5: Remains of march camps, 6: Two km long wall-and-ditch with titulum. After Tejral 2002b: 74, fig. 1.

of Roman military structures was situated around Mušov. The most prominent site was Mušov-Burgstall (Fig. 26). This hilltop only 1,5 km northeast of the Mušov grave was surrounded at least on three sides by a wood-and-earth wall with an earth bank on the inside. On the north side there was a single V-shaped ditch, which was doubled on the west and south sides. Different types of buildings have been identified inside the fort, among these a bath, barracks and possibly working facilities. An incendiary layer indicates two phases, as the wall has been repaired and enforced with sun-dried bricks. A later discovery on the north-eastern slope at Neurissen appear to be a part of the fortification. The small finds from the site were all related to the Roman military of the second half of the 2nd century AD, although coins and *terra sigillata* finds narrow this down to the 170s. One group of coins is from AD 170 to 173, while coins found above the incendiary layer are dated to AD 175-6. The latest coins are from AD 179.[230] Although the finds have not yet been fully examined, it seems reasonable to relate the first phase to the campaigns in AD 172-5 and the second phase to the second war in AD 177-80. Other fortifications were found in the vicinity of Mušov (Fig. 27). 500 m north-west of Burgstall, there was a two km long ditch going in a SW-NE orientation. The ditch was 4,4 m wide and 1,98 m deep and had an opening in the middle with a *titulum* on the north-western side indicating the outside of the fortification. The north end was blocked by a temporary camp by the town of Ivaň, while the south end almost reached the Thaya River. A few km south of Burgstall at Mušov 'Na Pískách' was found a group of four temporary camps. Air photography indicates that there are several other structures of a similar nature in the surroundings of Mušov. At Přibice, eight km north of Burgstall, three marching camps have been identified, of which the largest was 28 ha. The northernmost situated Roman military installation was found 20 km further north

230) Komoróczy & Tejral 2005: 1-2; Tejral 2002b: 78-83.

at Modřice. These camps clearly show the strategic importance of the Roman approach road into *Barbaricum* along the 'amber-route' and this is also supported by the numerous finds of Roman military equipment from this period in this area.

The huge concentration of Roman camps around Mušov and the overwhelming amounts of Roman small finds including luxury items strongly indicate that this place was both a strategic-military and commercial-political centre of the region during the wars in the 170s AD.[231] Perhaps Mušov was even intended to be the centre of a new province, as mentioned in the *Historia Augusta*.[232]

After the defeat of the *Marcomanni*, the *Quadi* once more created problems, probably while Marcus Aurelius was busy with the *Iazyges*. The *Quadi* were violating their agreement and had even deposed their pro-Roman king, Furtius, and chosen one Ariogaesus without even asking. This quite aggravated Marcus Aurelius. He put a bounty on Ariogaesus' head, 1.000 gold pieces if alive, 500 if dead, and then he invaded the *Quadi*. Once he had dealt with them, he returned to the unfinished business with the *Iazyges*. The *Quadi* had more or less the same peace conditions imposed on them, as the *Marcomanni*. Once Ariogaesus was caught, he was sent in exile to Alexandria, the poor man!

A number of marching camps on the north side of the Danube have been connected to campaigns against the *Quadi* (Fig. 25). They are situated in south-western Slovakia and form three groups. The largest contained five camps situated in Iža just opposite the legionary fortress at *Brigetio*. Here the Romans built a permanent wood-and-earth fort. Based on the finds, especially coins, it is believed that the fort was built at the end of the first war in AD 175. A destruction layer is dated to AD 179 during the second war.[233] A coin places the marching camps in the Marcomannic wars, but it is impossible to say, whether they were used in the beginning or the end of a campaign. At Radvaň nad Dunajom-Virt a little further east, two overlapping camps were found. They would have been respectively 20 and 50 ha large, which means the larger one could have housed roughly 15.000 men, which is approximately equivalent to two legions and auxiliaries. The camps were dated to the Marcomannic wars based on six soldier's graves near by, which included coins from the 160s AD. Further east, two more

231) Komoróczy & Tejral 2005: 3; Tejral 2002b: 83-90.
232) SHA *Marcus Antoninus* 24.5; Birley 2001: 183, 253-4; Tejral 2002b: 90.
233) Hüssen & Rajtár 1994: 218.

camps were discovered at Mužla. The dating is somewhat insecure, as no datable material was found, but one of the ditches apparently cut through a pit-house, where some Antonine pottery was found. Giving the circumstances the camps most likely belong to these wars as well. However, the dates of these camps cannot place them with certainty in the first or second war, only that they were used during the 170s AD.[234]

In AD 175, news came from the east that Avidius Cassius, the governor of Syria, had proclaimed himself Emperor, as Marcus Aurelius was believed dead. At this time the Emperor was still fighting the *Iazyges*. Although Cassius was killed even before the campaign against the *Iazyges* had ended, Marcus Aurelius was forced to go east to secure his position, why he had to settle with the *Iazyges* instead of annihilating them, as he seemingly intended. According to the *Historia Augusta*, this also prevented Marcus Aurelius from creating the two new provinces of *Marcomannia* and *Sarmatia*.[235] That concluded the first Marcomannic war. Probably the fort at Iža and others were built at the withdrawal to enforce the peace conditions, especially the settlement ban.

The second War AD 177-180

In AD 177, trouble had started again in the Danube region, but Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, who was now co-emperor did not arrive until late in 178. The following year the Germanic tribes were defeated again and peace conditions were renegotiated. This time the lands of the *Marcomanni* and *Quadi* were each occupied by a Roman force of 20.000 men, who could enjoy civilised Roman facilities such as the baths, whilst harassing the natives. The *Quadi* attempted to emigrate to the *Semnones*, but were stopped by the Romans. That the Romans spent the winter AD 179/180 in *Barbaricum* is attested by an inscription carved into a rock wall near Trenčín (*Laugaricio*) in Slovakia (Fig. 25). The inscription was made by 855 *milites legionis* from *legio II adiutrix* camped at *Laugaricio*, under the command of the legion's legate, Marcus Valerius Maximianus, to the victory of the Emperors. This is confirmed by a memorial stone from Zana in Algeria commemorating the same Maximianus stating that he commanded a vexillation



Fig. 28 The honorary inscription of M. Valerius Maximianus from Zana in Algeria. After Böhme 1975: 203, fig. 17.

234) Rajtár 1997: 474-7.

235) CIL III 13439; Cassius Dio Ῥωμαϊκά 71.16-7, 71.23.1, 71.27.2, 71.33.4[2]; SHA *Marcus Antoninus* 24.5, 27.10 Birley 2001: 183, 189. To a discussion of the intent to create new provinces see Birley 2001: 253-4.

that spent the winter at *Laugaricio* (Fig. 28). Quite possibly some of the temporary camps and the second phase of Burgstall mentioned above also belong to this occupation. After the death of Marcus Aurelius in AD 180, Commodus concluded the second Marcomannic war. Part of the peace agreements included the withdrawal of the Roman troops from the lands of the *Marcomanni* and *Quadi*. Furthermore, public assemblies were to be restricted to one each month supervised by a centurion.[236]

The Mušov grave

The grave and its content

One of the most important recent finds related to the time of Marcus Aurelius is the princely grave at Mušov in Mähren. The grave was discovered during road work in October 1988 in what had been an old gravel pit. The grave had been situated just off the eastern riverbank of the River Thaya and what is today the Mušover Lake (Fig. 29). The grave was found just 1,5 km south southwest of the Roman fort at the Burgstall hill. The excavations revealed a chamber grave, of which approximately three quarters were preserved, as the work on the road had demolished the last quarter. The excavated area measured 5,75 by 2,5-3,1 m suggesting a size of 6 by 4 m. The floor of the chamber was found 1,4 m below the present gravel pit surface. A remaining profile of the pit showed that the original surface would probably have been an additional 1,8 m above, placing the chamber floor 3,2 m below surface. Soon it became clear that the excavators were not the first to violate the grave. Right in the centre, clear traces of grave robbers were found. They had dug a more or less square shaft all the way to the bottom of the chamber, thereby disturbing most of the grave.[237]



Fig. 29 Mušov. The location of the grave. After Peška 2002: 5, fig. 2.

The grave contained an enormous amount of grave goods of impressive richness (Fig. 30-1). The excavators identified eight find groups, of which the six were found 15 cm above the last two at floor level. Scattered among the groups were both human and animal bones. Most of the goods showed traces of deliberate violence assumed to have derived

236) CIL III 13439; Cassius Dio *Ῥωμαϊκά* 71.18-21, 71.33.3, 72.2-3.2; SHA *Marcus Antoninus* 27.5, 9-10; SHA *Commodus* 2.4-5, 3.5; Birley 2001: 205-10; Böhme 1975: 206-11.
237) Peška 2002: 3-7, 56-7; Tejral 1992: 424-6.

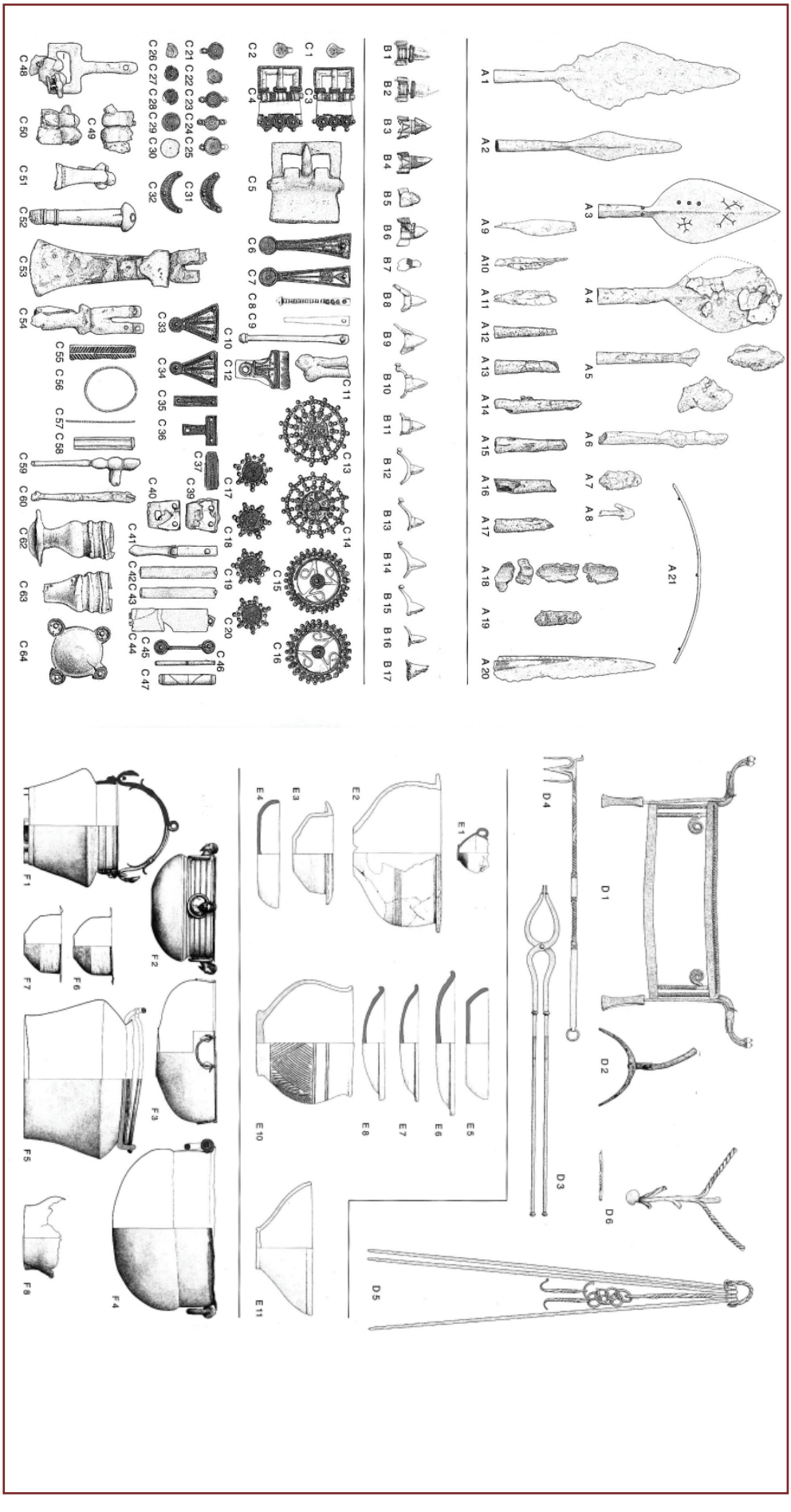


Fig. 30 Mušov. Grave goods. After Peška 2002: 17-8, figs. 7a-b.

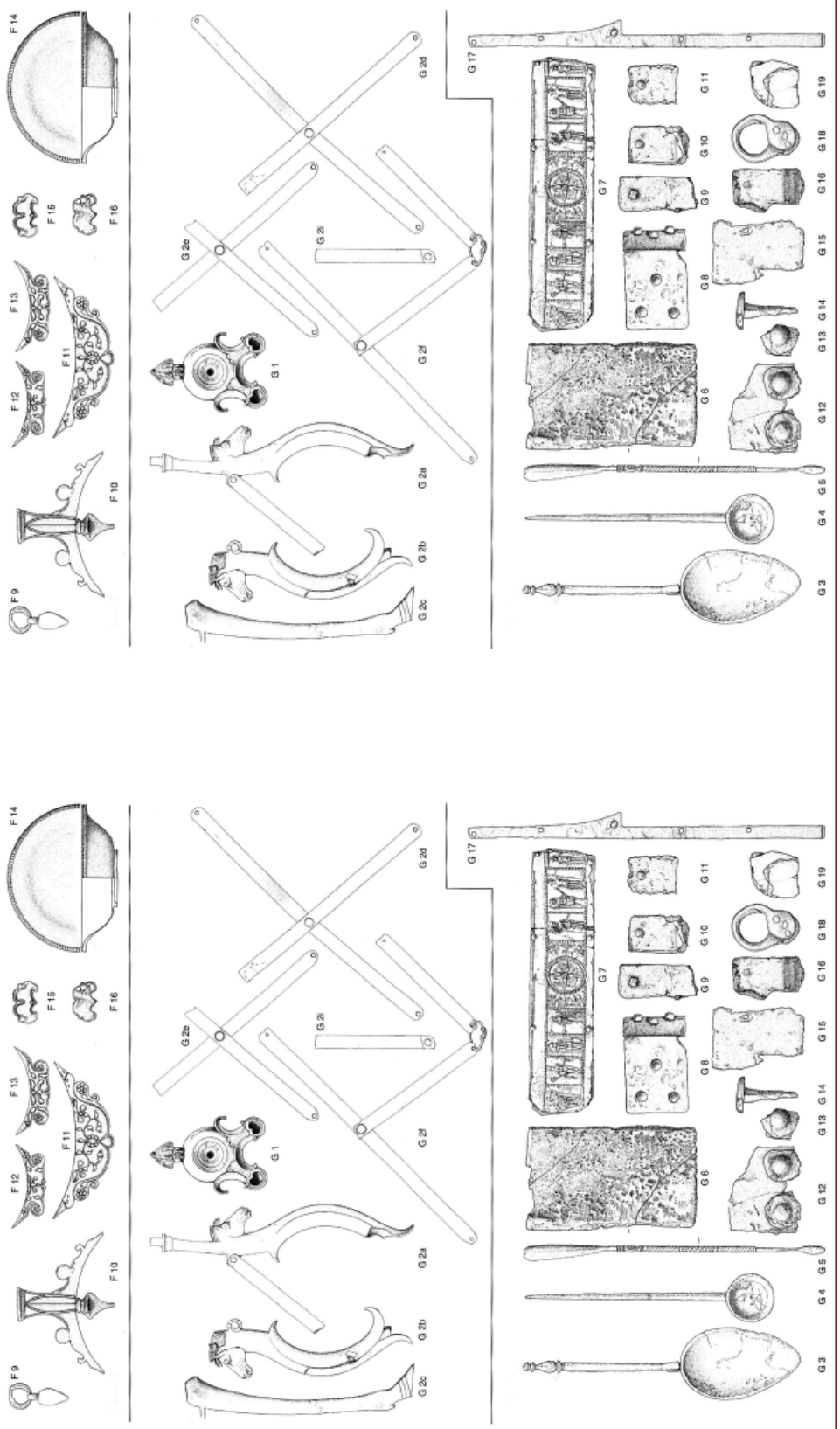


Fig. 31 Mušov. Grave goods. After Peška 2002: 19-29, figs. 7c-d.

from the robbers. The vertical sides of the shaft might well correspond to the assumed wooden casing of the chamber, which indicates that the chamber had not yet collapsed. Otherwise the robbers would have had to remove *c*. 40 m^3 of earth and stones. The scattering of the bones and their patina show that the bodies had decomposed. These facts indicate that the robbery took place within a relatively short time after the burial, after the decay of the flesh, but before the collapse of the wooden casing.

The many grave goods represent a variety of traditions unlike any other known grave. The metal objects were made of gold, silver, bronze and iron and furthermore there were items of glass, pottery, stone, ivory, bone and textile. Their origin was Roman, Germanic and even Celtic. Some elements, for instance, the Roman metal vessels and the grave chamber reflect the composition of Germanic princely graves of the so-called Lübsow type from the first one and a half centuries AD.[238] Other elements unrelated to this type of grave, however, point towards weapon graves and the later Haßleben-Leuna horizon, which also often contain elements known from the Lübsow-graves. A third part links to the Roman provinces such as the silver plates and spoons as well as most of the pottery. An almost complete iron fire dog with iron tools and cooking pots suggests a Roman inspired burial, as do other Roman artefacts like an oil lamp, cosmetics utensils and remains of furniture. The excavators found remains of at least 187 more or less fragmented goods. Certain types of these goods were more prominent than others. Of the remains of cooking, eating and drinking vessels and containers there were nine of bronze, four of silver, 15 of glass, nine pieces of Roman and two of Germanic pottery and two drinking horns. Of the more personal items, there were several magnificent belts. One belt fitting was of a Roman type, a *pteryx*.

The amount of weaponry was enormous compared to any other Germanic graves. 24 different items could be identified. Of these there was a one-edged sword, three magnificent shields with silver edge fittings, seven spearheads, 12 arrowheads and a Roman *lorica squamata* or scale mail of iron. Also related to a military role of the deceased are 17 spurs, three and a half pairs of these with silver inlay and gilt decorations.[239] This is not the place to bring a full examination and analysis of the grave finds, but a short description and résumé of the

238) Eggers 1950; For a definition see Gebühr 1998.
239) Peška 2002: 8-21, 56-7.

conclusions should produce the necessary information.

The examination of the grave itself and its construction was difficult due to the later disturbance and the partial destruction of the site at the discovery in 1988. The construction consisted of a wooden chamber under a stone layer probably topped by a barrow. Three individuals seem to have been inhumed here. The immediate anthropological examinations showed traces of two males aged 40-60, but further chemical analyses of the bone material revealed a female presence as well.[240] As the bones had been scattered when the grave was robbed, the position of the goods in relation to the bodies of the deceased was difficult to reconstruct. Comparisons to other graves showed similarities to both Germanic and provincial Roman burials. Curiously, the only other comparable chamber graves with double inhumations are found in Denmark e.g. at Dollerupgård.[241]

The large amounts of weaponry provide equally ambiguous indications. The seven spearheads generally represent Germanic types, but are mostly found within the Roman sphere as well, and most of the spearheads are heavily corroded making an exact identification impossible. For two of the types there are even parallels from the Roman fort at Burgstall. Only a leaf shaped head with silver inlay can be positively identified as Germanic. It has been suggested that the ornaments could be runic letters equipped with decorative half-moons. If so, that would point towards a northern Germanic contact, as that is where the runic alphabet was developed.[242] The remains of 12 arrowheads indicate that this weapon was of importance to the deceased. The origin, however, is as difficult to determine as that of the spearheads. The types of arrowheads appear both in Roman and Germanic contexts, but the Roman use of archers in the *cohortes sagittariorum* could indicate a southern influence. To E. Droberjar and J. Peška the high number suggests a position of the deceased as a commander of such a cohort of archers.[243] The silver plated or gilt bronze shield edge fittings revealed that the three shields were oval of the Zieling type E and even of three different variants depending on the engraved decoration. Although this type is found all over *Barbaricum* a few are found inside the Roman borders, most likely as remains from Roman auxiliaries. Therefore, Droberjar and Peška do

240) Mazura 2002: 497-8; Stloukal 2002: 495-6.
241) Peška 2003: 23-56, 68-71, abb. 37: Beside Dollerupgård also Agersbøl and Nørre Broby from the Early Roman Iron Age, Årslev and Sanderumgård from the Late Roman Iron Age.
242) Droberjar & Peška 2002: 103-11; Stoklund 2003: 173-4.
243) Droberjar & Peška 2002: 111-5.

not exclude the shields as a link to the Roman army.[244] All in all, the weaponry chronologically belongs in the second half of the 2nd century AD. It also shows that the deceased not only belonged to the highest level of the society, but also carried the rank of a military commander.[245]
The remains of a one-edged sword appear to be of a type mostly found in the Przeworsk-culture in the later part of the Early Roman Iron Age.[246] Related to a sword is a baldric plate with no obvious parallels belonging to a Roman-type baldric. J. Ilkjær, it seems, would prefer to associate the plate with a two-edged (Roman?) sword, although he admits it could be related to the one-edged sword actually found in the grave.[247]
Only the *lorica squamata* is certainly of Roman origin. The iron scales have a size of only 6 x 7 mm and were probably silver plated. The quality of the armour indicates to E. Künzl the theoretical possibility that also the shields could have had Roman features such as the bosses. Furthermore, he would expect an original presence of a helmet in the grave. Parallels to this coat of mail are found in several princely tombs in the Roman provinces, for instance at Vize and Stara Zagora in the Roman province of *Thracia*.[248]
The majority of the spurs were of types found in a wide area east of the Elbe. These are the relatively simple knob and combined knob-and-chair spurs. The magnificently ornamented chair spurs with silver inlay, however, are only found in the north, apart from a few in the vicinity of Mušov and just south of the Danube. Some are located around the western Baltic Sea, but the main concentration is found at the lower Elbe, Schleswig-Holstein and Jutland. Stylistically, the finest pair of the chair spurs must be seen in connection with the two magnificent belts, which have similar ornamental features, and with certain *fibulae* found in the region.[249]
The pendants, belts and accessories follow the same pattern as most other groups of Germanic objects; there are parallels almost everywhere. Certain areas seem to dominate, however; the local regions north of the Danube, from where some of the bronze belt fittings come, the Przeworsk-culture between the rivers Oder and Vistla and finally the Elbe-region, especially the lower Elbe represented by the graves of

244) Droberjar & Peška 2002: 118-24.
245) Droberjar & Peška 2002: 125.
246) Droberjar & Peška 2002: 99-103.
247) Ilkjær 2002: 307-10.
248) Künzl 2002a: 127-36.
249) Tejral 2002a: 141-88.

Hagenau, Körchow, Marwedel and Hamfelde. A link to the Roman world is recognised by the *pteryx* from a Roman military belt. The two magnificent belts are also possibly links to the Roman military sphere. The two circular gold pendants, on the other hand provide an archaeological connection to the presence of a woman in the grave. Although this type is found all over *Barbaricum*, the only parallels in massive gold are from Jutland and Funen possibly with one exception from Wielbark in Poland. C. von Carnap-Bornheim dates this group of items to the end of period B2 i.e. in the middle of the 2nd century AD. As the magnificent belts show no traces of use, he believes they were buried only shortly after production, why the grave must pre-date the various Roman installations in the region.[250] This is not the conclusion reached by J. Peška and J. Tejral, who would rather place the belts in the transition B2/C1 i.e. after the middle of the 2nd century.[251]

The tableware in the grave was mostly Roman. Of the silverware remained only four handles from cups and three bowls or plates. One bowl had been bent double deliberately. The handles had been torn off deliberately as well. The cup had been produced under Augustus at the latest, while the bowls resembled types from the 1st and 2nd century AD. Inscriptions on the bowl show that the use was secondary. Two small pelta shaped feet probably belonged to two different silver *trullae* (cooking pans) or *trullei* (ladles). The last of the silver items is a set of spoons, a *ligula* and a *cochlear*. These too had inscriptions. The presence of such a set is highly unusual and reveals knowledge of Roman dining. S. Künzl concludes that the silverware could not have been trade, but must be either booty or gifts. The fact that Roman silver cups in *Barbaricum* are always of an Augustan date shows that they must have been part of diplomatic contacts in the early years of the 1st century AD. The rest of the silverware rather points towards the later Haßleben-Leuna group than to the earlier Lübsow group.[252]

The bronze vessels were all large and were either used for serving such as the *situlae* or for cooking. One of the serving vessels was equipped with four attaches in the form of busts of men with long beards and Suebic knots in the hair (Fig. 32). K.R. Krierer believes it should be connected to some peace negotiations, perhaps those ending the Marcomannic wars in AD 180. Another possibility might be that it was a gift to a new king. Hypothetically, that could be the king of the

250) Carnap-Bornheim 2002: 193-4, 245-7.
251) Peška & Tejral 2002: 504-5.
252) Künzl 2002d: 329-49; Künzl 2002e: 351-6.

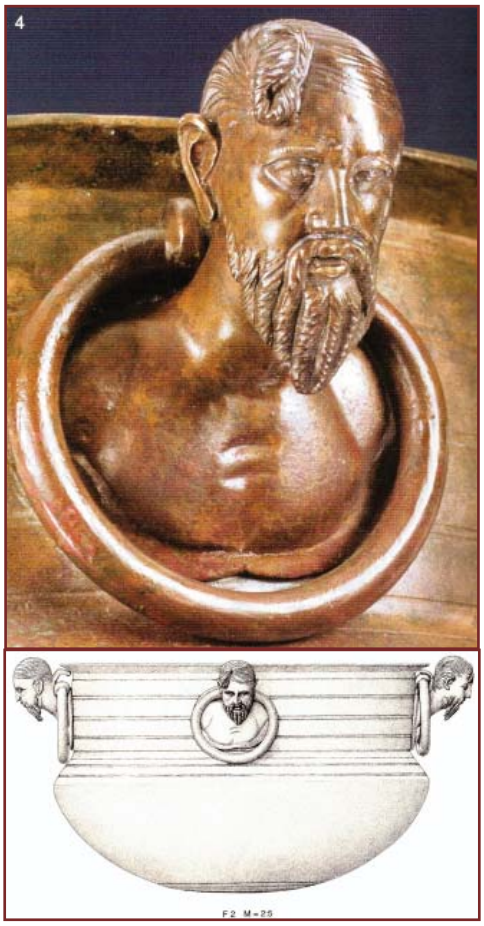


Fig. 32 Mušov. Roman bronze vessel with attaches shaped as bearded heads with the hair tied in a Suebic knot. After Künzl & Künzl 2002b: 572 & colour pl. 6.4.

Quadi instated by Antoninus Pius sometime between AD 140 and 144 as documented by the *REX QUADI DATUS* coin.[253] However, I think it would be safe to assume that all kings were sanctioned by the Romans, not just the few we know about. The 14 glass vessels were of types unknown in *Barbaricum*. There were four low bowls, of which two had handles and two one-handled circular bottles. They were tableware for serving and probably drinking. Eight four-edged flasks had most likely been containers for unguents for personal care. At least one of the bowls, a mosaic bowl, was dated to the middle of the 2nd century AD. Due to the political situation in the 2nd century AD and the quality of the glass vessels, A.-B. Follmann-Schulz finds it difficult to connect them with trade, but identifies them as official gifts.[254] The pottery consisted of two Germanic bowls of local origin and nine Roman vessels. Among these there were two sets of three plates, of which one set was termed '*Soldatenteller*'. The tradition of depositing sets of pottery is seen in the provincial Roman grave rituals in both the Danube and Rhine provinces. An origin in the province of *Pannonia* is most probable, though some of the types are found in the western provinces as well. The pottery is generally dated to the first half of the 2nd century AD. A comparison with the pottery from Burgstall shows that the latter belonged to the 170s AD. Furthermore, the pottery from Burgstall is of a military nature, while the pottery from the grave is of both a civilian and a military character.[255]

The fire dogs and iron tools (e.g. grill, foldable tripod and pair of tongs) are probably the most antique goods in the grave. They are of outstanding quality and have their closest parallels in late La-Téne Celtic graves dated to the 1st century BC. M. Feugére suggests that the antiques might have been collected from an older grave of a Suebic Hero.[256]

A number of items often found in the richer provincial Roman graves are different kinds of furniture. In Mušov there are remains of a folding table, mountings for a casket or beauty box and possibly for a top for

253) Krierer 2002: 367-83; Künzl & Künzl 2002a: 357-66.
254) Follmann-Schultz 2002: 387-400.
255) Droberjar 2002: 411-8, to Roman provincial graves see 417, n 60-2.
256) Feugére 2002: 421-49.

the folding table. A piece of ivory may belong to a stool or bed. Of the smaller objects there was a double-mouthed oil lamp and some cosmetic utensils. The oldest of these are from the second half of the 1st century BC, while the youngest are from the middle of the 2nd century AD.[257]

Interpretations

To give an overall interpretation of the grave is not an easy task. A number of uncertainties must be considered such as the diverse production dates and the disturbance of the grave, which most likely was the cause of the deliberate destruction of several of the goods. At this time it is also likely that a number of artefacts were removed from the grave. That could include jewellery such as arm and finger rings or *fibulae* as well as parts of the silverware and weaponry etc. etc. The only solid gold objects left in the grave were the two circular pendants. The examination of the different find groups has provided different thoughts on the political and chronological position of the grave and the deceased. J. Peška and J. Tejral see Mušov as a Germanic political and cultural centre. This centre had wide-ranging contacts as seen by the widespread areas of origin of most of the goods. The close contact to and inspiration from the Roman world is emphasized and Peška and Tejral sees this in close relation to the surrounding Roman features, not least the Roman fort at Burgstall. The Roman and Celtic antiques may be explained as dynastic heirlooms that for some reason were buried at this time. A possibility that cannot be dismissed is that the demolished silverware had been deposited as such in the grave solely for its metal value. M. Mączyńska suggests a ritual, where the silver vessels had been cut up deliberately and deposited as symbolic heirlooms.[258] But apart from the connection to the Roman world the grave also shows strong connections to Germanic burial traditions both in the form of the grave itself and other parts of the grave goods. This leads Peška and Tejral to the following conclusion: '*Von der Zusammenstellung des Inventars, vor allem von den repräsentativen Waffenbeigaben, laßt sich ablesen, daß im Grab nicht nur ein Mitglied der vornehmsten germanischen Nobilität beigesetzt wurde, sondern auch der erste Krieger des Stammes, der in sein Händen sowohl die erbliche Würde des Stammeskönigs als auch die Macht des Heerführers oder Oberbefehlshabers*

257) Künzl 2002b: 461-4; Künzl 2002c: 467-9; Künzl 2002f: 471-4.
258) Mączyńska 2005: 461.

vereinigt hatte.'[259] Therefore, the deceased was most likely a pro-Roman Suebic king buried sometime during the 170s, i.e. during the wars and probably under Roman auspices. In a Germanic context, Peška and Tejral believe that this grave shows how an intensive contact with the Romans now more and more leads to a position of the chieftain or king as a leader of his tribe on one hand and a Roman confederate on the other hand. Furthermore, it is seen how the contact to an advanced culture and a certain political constellation leads the Germanic elite to identify with a superior partner. Naturally, there have also been references to historical persons such as Furtius, king of the *Quadi*, who was deposed by the anti-Roman Ariogaesus, or Ballomarius, the Marcomannic king, who led the Germanic delegacy during the first peace negotiations in AD 167.[260]

The conclusions reached by Peška and Tejral do not stand alone. A support for this theory is found in the statement of J. Bouzek, who sees the Roman antiques as the dynastic heritage of the ruler, a ruler on friendly terms with the Romans, perhaps the last one prior to the wars.[261] Several have suggested that the Roman and Celtic antiques might be old war booty that had been preserved and for some reason ended in the Mušov-grave. Interestingly, Tacitus actually mentions Marcomannic booty in his description of the fall of Maroboduus and the usurpation of the throne by Catualda around AD 19-20. Catualda stormed Maroboduus' royal seat and the neighbouring fort. '*veteres illic Sueborum praedae …reperti*', '*There the Suebians' old stores of booty… were discovered*.'[262] As the *Marcomanni* were one of the Germanic tribes that had invaded *Gallia* and thereby in the end had led to Caesar's Gallic wars, it is not at all unthinkable that the Celtic fire dogs and iron tools were brought back, as Caesar kicked the *Marcomanni* back across the Rhine along with the other Germanic tribes.[263]

In 1991, H.W. Böhme suggested that the deceased belonged to the nobility of the *Langobardi* based on the origin of the spurs with silver inlay. He believed the *Langobardi* had settled in Mähren already a generation or so prior to the acts of war initiated precisely by this tribe in AD 166. That they should have arrived from the lower Elbe at that time seemed unlikely to Böhme.[264]

259) Peška & Tejral 2002: 512.
260) Peška & Tejral 2002: 501-13.
261) Bouzek 2000: 55-7.
262) Tacitus *Annales* 2.62.3.
263) Caesar *De Bello Gallico* 1.51.2
264) Böhme 1991: 297-9.

Tejral has an interesting alternative to the Langobardian element. '*Wohl dürften hier die möglichen erhöhten Forderungen Roms, suebische Krieger als irreguläre Hilfstruppen zu stellen, die besonders in Zusammenhang mit den dakischen Kriegen anwuchsen, eine gewisse Rolle spielen, wobei auch die verwandten Kriegsgefolgschaften von entfernten Gebieten miteinbezogen und unter Mithilfe der einheimischen Herrscher in die römischen Dienste angeworben werden konnten.*'[265] Although Tejral does not see this connection in the Mušov grave itself, he connects this theory with Germanic graves in *Pannonia* from B2 starting around AD 100. Weaponry and horse harnesses are characteristic for these graves, for instance, in Inota and Vinár-Cseralja, where a silver ornamented horse harness, respectively silver ornamented chair spurs and a shield boss, Zieling F 6 show parallels to the Elbe region.[266] This supports Böhme's suggestion that at least some *Langobardi* had already arrived generations earlier. Tejral sees the rise of a local workshop, where elements from the Elbe region, i.e. the ornamented chair spurs are united with other elements exemplified in the magnificent belts from the Mušov grave and silver *fibulae* from a grave in nearby Mikulov.[267] Interestingly, this particular grave, dated to the middle of the 2nd century AD in the late B2 period, contained two arrowheads of bone. Arrowheads of this particular material are otherwise not seen further south than the Baltic coast.[268]
Some disagreement is found in the conclusion of the examination of the belts and accessories by C. von Carnap-Bornheim. He states that the grave should be dated to the period before the war based on that material.[269] In 2000, Carnap-Bornheim proposed a scenario built on seven theses in which the king at Mušov is an enemy rather than a confederate of the Romans. 1. In the area around Mušov a Germanic power centre was located prior to the Marcomannic wars. 2. This power centre was the target of a Roman advance. The purpose of the Roman temporary and permanent military structures around Mušov was to conquer and gain control of this centre. Possibly this was to be the core of a new province. 3. The deceased was a kind of person, who could create efficient political and military structures, which were the basis for the long-lasting conflicts with the Romans. 4. The deceased controlled massive natural resources and the workshops to process them. That means that he had extensive control over the

265) Tejral 2002a: 157.
266) Palágyi 1982: 26, pls. 3.1-3, 16; Tejral 2002a: 156-8; Zieling 1989: 183-4.
267) Tejral 2002a: 158.
268) Droberjar & Peška 1994: 275-6.
269) Carnap-Bornheim 2002: 245-7.

Germanic trade. 5. The richly decorated spurs as well as the number of spurs deposited in the grave show the importance of horses and probably consequently cavalry. These spurs are important markers of military rank. 6. The three silver decorated shields represent the oldest use of such items to show rank. 7. The richly decorated military belts can also be interpreted as signs of rank. So, Carnap-Bornheim sees the Roman presence in the area as the result of a Roman strike at the main political and cultural Suebic adversary, the successor of the Mušov king, i.e. the grave predates the Marcomannic wars. The wide political reach of the king as expressed in the many Germanic goods originating in Böhmen, the Elbe area and the Przeworsk-culture is seen as a build-up leading to the acts of war in AD 166. By targeting this area from the start, the Romans would be able both to cripple the main opposition and to take over the strategic position, perhaps with the intent to found an administrative centre for the future occupation of the Suebic regions. In such a scenario, the Roman belt fitting could have been lost, as Roman soldiers looted the royal grave.[270] Especially in Carnap-Bornheim's third point, there is a suggestion that the attacks on the Roman borders were planned in unison among the Germanic tribes. That would mean that the Romans were tricked by Ballomarius in particular. But the Romans dealt with the various tribes individually as far as we know from the literary sources. That counts against the theory of Carnap-Bornheim. But what would the goal of such an enterprise be. Was it to gain land inside the Empire like the request made in AD 168? This is the time, when the *Marcomanni* took over the lead, or perhaps when they showed their true colours. It is difficult fully to grasp the importance of the *superiores barbari*. They more or less vanish once the fighting starts. From then on the primary adversaries are the *Marcomanni*, *Quadi* and *Iazyges*. This might be seen as a supportive argument for Carnap-Bornheim's theory. The idea of a build-up of allies against Rome is, to my belief, the weak point of the theory, whereas the rest of the theory including the response of the Roman forces is perfectly plausible. Carnap-Bornheim's theory is also reflected in his examination of the belt parts from Mušov as stated above.[271] Curiously, Peška and Tejral never address his theory, as they make their conclusions concerning the Mušov-grave, although that theory is even formulated as a response to Tejral's (and presumably

270) Carnap-Bornheim 2000: 59-65.
271) Carnap-Bornheim 2002: 246-7.

now Peška's) theory. '*Doch fordert diese [Tejrals] These fast zwangsläufig – quasi als logische Konsequenz – eine Antithese heraus.*'[272] The fact that these two scholars date this material so differently perhaps allows for a small peek into the problem that is the chronology of *Barbaricum* in the transition from the Early to the Late Roman Iron Age often referred to as B2/C1. However, one could wonder why Carnap-Bornheim was asked to examine this material at all, when there is such a reluctance to use his results, especially as his conclusion is the only really interesting alternative to the 'official' version presented in the publication. What they do bring forward is a quote from Carnap-Bornheim's article, where he accurately nails the position of the Mušov-king by comparing to the position of Ballomarius. Carnap-Bornheim mentions the duality of both kings as major political players in the diplomatic game with the Romans as well as other Germanic tribes. Accordingly '*würde sich so in fast idealer Weise einerseits die besondere Bedeutung des Königs von Mušov für Rom. Anderseits aber auch seiner hervorragende Rolle innerhalb der germanischen Gesellschaft widerspiegeln.*'[273] Unfortunately this quote was never printed in the article, but luckily that puzzle was solved by M. Mączyńska, in her review of the Mušov-publication.[274] This quote underlines the position of the Mušov-king also as Tejral and Peška see him.

However, the overall view of such a person in light of the historical sources, and I am not yet pondering whether we are dealing with a certain historical individual, should be more than simply anti- or pro-Roman, as one might get the impression of from the two theories mentioned above. With reference to this, it is interesting that in the examinations of almost all groups of materials there seem to be links to the Roman military. Is that caused alone by the proximity both geographically and intellectually to the Roman Empire? For some items like the *lorica squamata* it is only a natural inference, but such a link would seem out of place, if we were looking at silver shield edge fittings and magnificent belts, for instance, from the southern Scandinavian war booty sacrifices. Clearly these objects are seen as markers of military rank in the Germanic society, a rank that would have been transferred if the deceased were to be associated with the Roman army. However, a commander on the Roman side, wearing Germanic equipment signifying his rank, would not be commanding

272) Carnap-Bornheim 2000: 59.
273) Peška & Tejral 2002: 512.
274) Mączyńska 2005: 462.

a Roman unit, but an allied force, or perhaps what is often referred to as an irregular auxiliary unit. For the Roman units they used Roman officers.[275] This status of a Roman military commander is always strangely hovering above the publication, even in Carnap-Bornheim's examination of the magnificent belts, where he states that *if* a Roman influence is to be seen, it is most likely linked to the military sphere.[276]

One particular problem with this grave is the number of the deceased. Several of the authors do mention the fact that there is more than one person in the grave, but they rarely deal with the fact that there are remains of three individuals. Carnap-Bornheim, for instance, argues through the archaeological material for a female in the grave.[277] Peška, on the other hand, though he mentions a woman, concentrates on the duality of the grave goods in relation to the two males, e.g. two fire dogs, two belts, two kettles an so on, but also two gold pendants, the same that Carnap-Bornheim uses to argue for a female presence.[278] The presence of two men and a woman leads Peška and Tejral to identify the grave as a family grave as known from Mediterranean and provincial Roman environments. The find circumstances do not support an alternative view that the goods of an older grave on the site have been included in a new grave. However, an older grave could have been completely eradicated by the construction of the new chamber grave. We have no way of knowing why there is a sudden appearance of objects from the 1st century BC in a grave almost 200 years later. It is not impossible that the presence of the Roman forces in the area had an influence on how the grave ritual was carried out and how the grave was equipped.[279]

From the various theories we see that the Mušov-king represented multiple dualities both internally and externally in the society, i.e. he was the king *and* the military commander and he was a respected equal with respect to Rome (normally represented by the nearest provincial governor) *and* with respect to his fellow Germanic peers. Let us scratch that surface a little! The first point is obvious based on the amounts and nature of the grave goods. But they appear to represent another duality as formulated by Peška signifying two males. It is naturally a major difficulty to recognize the status of the three individuals, as the

275) Webster 1998: 146-9.
276) Carnap-Bornheim 2002: 245. My italics.
277) Carnap-Bornheim 2002: 191-5.
278) Peška 2002: 22-4.
279) Peška & Tejral 2002: 510.

grave was thoroughly disturbed. Let us accept the female as one of high status based on the circular gold pendants and the cosmetic utensils. That leaves us two males that are either of equal status or not. In the last case, everything belongs to one man, the king. In the first case, there should be two sets of goods, something that is indeed reflected in the find. Then do these two men represent different functions in the society, but on the same status level? '*Reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute sumunt.*' '*Kings they select from the nobility, commanders by their bravery*', we are told by Tacitus.[280] This is what is referred to, when scholars see the two united in the Mušov-material. Only one group of material allows us to formulate a hypothesis. The Roman pottery found also represents dual depositions, namely the two sets of three plates. The fact is that one set comes from a military setting, the so-called 'Soldatenteller', while the other set is used indifferently. Is this a coincidence, or did they mark *two* entities, a military and a civilian, and therefore *not* two functions united in one individual?

If three individuals belong to the grave and if nothing indicates multiple burials, then we must be dealing with three individuals that have died at the same time. Apart from coincidence, there are two major factors that come to mind, which would bring about the death of three individuals at the same time, violence and decease. We have both for the duration of the Marcomannic wars. We know that the Roman army was decimated by the plague, as it went north in AD 168. Is there any reason why this decease should not have crossed the Danube, when the Roman provinces were affected for the next decade? Considering the richness of the grave, the number of deceased in the grave would not, to my belief, inflict upon the basis of the ideas and theories presented above and below, even if, according to these, the grave might be interpreted as belonging to one male.

Let us turn to the suggestion that the deceased functioned as a Roman commander. To throw some light on this and some of the other aspects, it could be helpful to look at what the substance of any diplomatic contacts between the deceased and the Romans could have been. This is a perspective that has been fully ignored in the publication. To the Romans, we can presume, the Marcomannic and Quadic kingdoms are seen as 'client states' or something to that effect.[281] The purpose of supporting these states would be that they should prevent hostile

280) Tacitus *Germania* 7.1.
281) See the chapter on Roman diplomacy.

tribes from reaching the Roman provinces and perhaps to some extent that they could supply troops under special circumstances. That this relationship could be perceived differently by the two parts is illustrated by the refusal of the *Suebi* to supply troops for Domitian's Dacian campaign, something for which he tried to punish them. Such a relationship had lasted for almost 150 years at the time of death of the Mušov-king. The primary contact would be with the nearest provincial governor, in this case probably *Pannonia Superior* as reflected by the peace talks between the governor of this province, Iallius Bassus and Ballomarius, the Marcomannic king in AD 167. As mentioned, a great deal of the grave goods could in some way indicate a relation to the Roman army, most of these in a more general fashion and the arrowheads more specifically. The large number of arrowheads led Droberjar and Peška to suggest that the king had been the commander of a *cohors sagittariorum*, something Peška and Tejral had already proposed in the early 1990s.[282] But such units of archers were a regular part of the Roman *auxilia*.[283] There would be no need for the Romans to enrol the king and his men in the *auxilia*, as they needed them outside the borders of the Empire. Of course this does not mean that archers were not important to the king such as Droberjar and Peška suggest. Another consequence of the suggestion is that the king supposedly should have been the commander of mere 500 men or perhaps 800 if a *miliaria* unit. If we consider him the supreme commander of the *Suebi* he would have commanded thousands of men. We cannot know the size of such an army, but we are told that the *Marcomanni* and *Quadi* each delivered around 13.000 men for the *auxilia* according to the peace agreement in AD 180.[284] The delivery of men for the Roman *auxilia* was a part of most of the peace treaties made during the wars.[285] That should be a fair indication that the *Suebi* were able to raise a considerable army. Hypothetically, he could have served as an auxiliary commander in the Roman army as a youth. Possibly he was even raised in Rome, as we know other Germanic princes had been.[286] In all fairness, Tejral also speaks of irregular auxiliaries used by the Romans during the Dacian wars in the beginning of the 2nd Century

282) Droberjar & Peška 2002: 115 and n. 96.
283) Spaul 2000.
284) Cassius Dio *Ῥωμαϊκά* 72.1.3.
285) Stahl 1989: 302-6.
286) For instance the cheruscan prince, Italicus, who was instated as king in AD 47. See Tacitus *Annales* 11.16.1.

AD.[287] I think it will be closer to the mark to propose that rather than symbolizing that the king was a commander of such an auxiliary unit, the many arrowheads and spurs symbolized the king's ability to send a detachment of archers and cavalry…or mounted archers, perhaps?
However, was he a friend or foe to the Romans? The two theories each favour a side. Considering the status of the king and the tribes in relation to the Roman Empire, the deceased must have been an ally to the Romans at some point, although that did not necessarily make him a friend. If we follow the theory of Carnap-Bornheim he would have been an ally all the while he was scheming against the Romans with his own allies in the hinterland. This brings us to another problem, which is that of the nature of contacts as represented by foreign objects in the grave. The grave goods of Roman and Celtic origin are all considered to be either booty or diplomatic gifts. Most of these items are simply of too high a quality for the examining scholars to regard them merely as a result of petty trade. The grave goods of Germanic origin, whether from the lower Elbe area or the Przeworsk-culture, are *always* considered to show intra-Germanic contacts, but *never* booty. This seems odd for several reasons. We know of massive intra-Germanic conflicts as represented, for instance, by the South Scandinavian war booty sacrifices.[288] If we assume that this king is kept in position, at least partly by Roman funding, he would be obliged to keep a check on his northern neighbours. Admittedly this could be done with the same means as those used by the Romans, but it is equally thinkable that a certain measure of force was needed. Unfortunately, this leaves us rather relativistically with all or no possibilities for the reconstruction of a reasonable scenario concerning the Mušov-grave. However, that should not prevent me from attempting to clarify, what we are dealing with.

1. Status. The sheer amount of grave goods shows that we are dealing with the absolute top. The amount of military rank markers such as spurs, shields, belts and scale mail indicates a supreme commander. In this grave, the function of commander and king is seen to have merged into one. This person commanded respect from all foreign counterparts, something that is reflected in the contacts.

2. Contacts. A wide number of objects show contacts mainly to the lower Elbe area, the Przeworsk-culture, Böhmen/Mähren and the Roman

287) Tejral 2002a: 157.
288) Jørgensen *et al.* 2003.

Empire, primarily the province of *Pannonia*. Are all these contacts of a benign nature? The setup of the burial reflects strong links to the Roman provinces through the iron tools, bronze vessels and furniture, but also by way of the cosmetic utensils and unguent containers. Was the woman of Pannonian birth and was she perhaps even a descendant of Elbe-Germanic immigrants arriving in the Empire during the reign of Trajan? The history of the nature of relations between this area and the Roman Emperor is that of a political friendship on an equal basis, where one can presume the Emperor was *primus inter pares*, first among equals.

3. Military capabilities. The number of spurs and arrowheads are seen as signs that archers and cavalry, or perhaps mounted archers, were important parts of the king's army. But the amount of spearheads is equally impressive. Strangely there are no javelinheads. Is that significant? A relation to the Roman army is seen in the rank markers and the arrowheads. This should rather signify the king's ability to dispatch units, than that he himself led such a unit.

Lastly, I will refer the attention to the comparison made by Carnap-Bornheim between the Mušov-king and Ballomarius. The Mušov-king was a man of an age between 40 and 60. He was buried in a region connected to the *Marcomanni* and not the *Quadi*, who are believed to have lived east of the lesser Carpathians. He died in the 160s or 170s AD. In AD 167, Ballomarius was chosen to speak for the Germanic tribes at the negotiations with Iallius Bassus, governor of *Pannonia Superior*. As a Marcomannic king they would doubtlessly have met before, perhaps even at several occasions. For him to carry sufficient weight among his equals, we can assume that he was also of an age that commanded respect, perhaps between 40 and 60. After these negotiations we hear nothing of him again. But already the next year his tribe, the *Marcomanni* as well as other tribes caused trouble, trouble they regretted as soon, as they learned that the Emperors were on their way. '*nam plerique reges et cum populis suis se retraxerunt et tumultus autores interemerunt*', '*for most of the kings withdrew with their people and disposed of those responsible for the insurrection*'.[289] Is it plausible to believe that Ballomarius, the most powerful of the Germanic leaders, who enjoyed the respect of the Roman governor, could not control his people and honour the agreement made the year before? Had young and audacious Marcomannic aristocrats regarded him as an overly

289) SHA *Marcus Antoninus* 14.2.

cautious old fool after the peace negotiations and ignored him? Or had he in fact died and been buried by then…in Mušov? And was he placed in his grave along with a number of gifts received from the leaders of those other tribes, which had approached him to request that he would lead the peace negotiations on their behalf with the Roman governor, his old acquaintance? Obviously this is just fascinating guesswork, but the pieces of this particular puzzle actually do fit.

From Gallienus to Probus - Three decades of turmoil and recovery

At the death of Severus Alexander, the last of the Severan dynasty, in AD 235, the Roman Empire was thrown into 50 years of turmoil marked by internal as well as external unrest. This period is often categorized as the 3rd century crisis of the Roman Empire.[290] When the first large scale invasion of Germanic tribes took place in AD 233, Severus Alexander was campaigning against the Persians.[291] In the 220s AD, the relatively peaceful Parthian Empire had succumbed to the Persians, who were much more aggressive towards Rome and therefore served as a constant stress factor throughout the 3rd century AD. The Germanic raid is believed to be a result of a weakened frontier due to troop movements in connection with Severus Alexander's Persia campaign. The borders were once more secured and restored by his replacement, Maximinus Thrax.[292] He was the first of the soldier Emperors, who were elected by their officers or soldiers and mostly slain the same way at times within months of their elections. Furthermore, this happened continuously at several locations in the Empire creating pretenders and usurpers in abundance, as well as breakaway 'Empires' like the 'Gallic' and the Palmyran.

A great difficulty concerning the understanding of this period is the condition of the literary sources. Unlike the earlier Empire or the 4th century AD there are no great and trustworthy contemporary history writers.[293] The larger part of the sources derives from the 4th century or later, Zonaras is even as late as the 12th century. Many of these sources appear to have used the same original, but lost text designated the *Kaisergeschichte*.[294] The relevant part of the *Scriptores Historia Augusta* is even believed mostly to be fraud, with an occasional truth.[295] The text seems to have been designed partly to blame the Emperor Gallienus (AD 253-68) for all miseries that occurred to the Roman Empire in the last half of the 3rd century AD.[296] The purpose of this approach was to

290) Strobel 1993; Witschel 2004: 252 and n. 12.
291) As the names *Alamanni* and *Franci* are not securely attested until the end of the 3rd century AD, I will refrain from using other terms than 'Germanic' if possible. This matter will be addressed below.
292) Herodian 6.7.2-10, 6.8.3-4, 7.2.1-9; Reuter 1999: 533-8; Schönberger 1985: 414-20.
293) Such as e.g. Tacitus, Cassius Dio and Ammianus Marcellinus.
294) Drinkwater 1987: 46; Watson 1999: 210-1.
295) F. Unruh believes the SHA is completely useless. See Unruh & Gralfs 1992: 21. Against this e.g. Kerler 1970: 247-8 and Drinkwater 1987: 60-70.
296) Unruh 1993: 243-5.

present a better view of his successors Claudius II Gothicus, who was claimed by Constantine the Great to be a relation, and Aurelian, who re-united the Empire. The collection of the so-called *Panegyrici Latini* is another kind of source, although a certain panegyric style is also seen in some of the lives of the *Historia Augusta*. These texts, written as praise to specific Emperors for specific occasions, are often equally biased, as the purpose of the text is to show the relevant Emperor in the best light possible, also if that means belittling prior Emperors, Gallienus in particular.[297] Analyses of the texts, all with different objectives, are made e.g. by J.F. Drinkwater, G. Kerler, P. Southern, F. Unruh & B. Gralfs and A. Watson.[298] The following historical outline will be given with these analyses in mind.

The Empire in peril

A definite low point of this period was the year of AD 260. Valerian, Emperor since AD 253 along with his son, Gallienus, and responsible for the eastern part of the Empire, campaigned against the Persian king Shapur I suffering the dubious honour of being the only Roman Emperor to be captured by his enemy.[299] The exact order of events for the reign of Valerian (as well as for the entire period of interest in this chapter) has been difficult to pin-point, but it is clear that Gallienus had to deal with several Germanic raids. This is attested both by the literary sources and coin issues, on which Gallienus is given the titles *Germanicus*, *Germanicus Maximus* and *Restitutor Galliarum*, Restorer of the Gallic provinces.[300] This is not reflected in the archaeological record for the two Germanies and Raetia, which shows no decisive evidence of unrest that can be linked directly to raids in the mid 250s.[301] An inscription from *Vindonissa* (Windisch) testifies to a refortification at the site of the old legionary fortress under Gallienus.[302] At the site of the later *Castrum Rauracense* (Augst), an auxiliary camp was built in the AD 260s, which probably accommodated cavalry from the Danube army.[303] The capture of his father was most likely the catalyst of the subsequent

297) Unruh 1993: 246-7.
298) Drinkwater 1987: 45-91; Kerler 1970; Southern 2001 (Discussions are found in the notes); Unruh & Gralfs 1992: 21-4; Unruh 1993; Watson 1999: 209-12.
299) Zosimos 1.30.2, 1.36.2; Southern 2001: 78-80.
300) RIC V.1: 68-72.
301) Aurelius Victor 33.1; Eutropios 9.8; Zosimos 1.30; Drinkwater 1987: 21-2, 167; Schönberger 1985: 422-3; Southern 2001: 78-9.
302) CIL XIII 5203; Drack & Fellmann 1988: 75 and n. 87; König 1981: 198, no. 33.
303) Schwarz 1996: 63-4. Possibly they are related to Gallienus campaign against Postumus. See below.

events in Gallienus' *annus horribilis*. Apart from already ongoing raids, Gallienus had to deal with several usurpers. In the Danube region he had left his son and Caesar, Valerian II in the care of one Ingenuus. At some point the son died and Ingenuus was suspected of mischief. With the capture of Valerian in the East Ingenuus proclaimed himself Emperor.[304] Gallienus, who had been busy kicking Germanic warriors back across the Rhine, hastened eastwards leaving his other son Saloninus, whom he had proclaimed Caesar after the death of Valerian II, in the care of Silvanus, who was possibly one of the praetorian prefects. The charge of evicting the barbarian raiders was given to a commander of consular rank by the name of Postumus. His position is not confirmed. Possibly he was the governor of either *Germania Superior* or *Inferior*. The *Historia Augusta* calls him '*transrhenani limites dux*' i.e. commander of the borders across the Rhine, which would mean a command of the *Superior*. Dutch scholars have argued that he was of Batavian origin, a theory that, although not uninteresting, has failed to materialize elsewhere.[305] The uprising of Ingenuus was followed by another in *Carnuntum* (Bad Deutsch-Altenburg) by Regalianus. Once Gallienus had defeated him, there was more trouble in the west. His attention was required by Germanic raids that had penetrated as far as *Tarraco* (Tarragona) on the north-eastern coast of Spain and Milan and Ravenna in northern Italy; some were even supposed to have reached Africa. At the same time, after a dispute with Silvanus resulting in the prefect's and Saloninus' death, Postumus seized power creating a 'Gallic Empire' including the two Germanies, *Gallia*, *Britannia* and for some time *Raetia* and Spain that lasted for fourteen years. Gallienus, however, had no time to respond as he had to save Italy from devastation.[306] Based on the literary sources Drinkwater states that the attack on *Tarraco* devastated the town so much that it never recovered and that the country was haunted for well over a decade.[307] This is also reflected in the work of A. Watson, who says that the town was sacked.[308] Interestingly, the archaeological record fails to produce material that would support such a statement. On the contrary there

304) It is not quite clear whether Ingenuus rebelled before or after the capture of Valerian. See Drinkwater 1987: 23, 88; Southern 2001: 79 & n. 100.
305) de Boone 1954, 36 and following him van Es 1981: 48; Willems 1986: 409.
306) Aurelius Victor 33.3; Eutropius 9.7, 9.8.2; Orosius 7.22.6-8; SHA *Tyranni triginta* 3.9. For discussions of dates and the order of events see Drinkwater 1987: 20-1, 88-91, 100-3; Eck 2004: 561; König 1981: 20-66, 189-224; Southern 2001: 79-80, 309-10, n. 99-100. To Postumus also Eck 1985: 222-4.
307) Drinkwater 1987: 88-9.
308) Watson 1999: 34.

are very few signs of destruction at this time. Some repairs on the town wall could derive from this attack and at the coast outside *Tarraco* at Altafulla a rich villa had been completely destroyed. In fact, *Tarraco* was taken by the Visigoths in AD 476 and survived to be sacked by the Arabs in AD 724.[309] Excavations in *Arelate* (Arles) have shown two clear destruction layers dated to AD 260 and more generally to the third quarter of the 3rd century AD.[310]

A grim reflection of these raids was found outside the fort at *Gelduba* (Krefeld-Gellep). Here 124 bodies were found buried haphazardly, presumably where they had been slain, sometimes in groups of two or three. A larger group was found in what had been a *Mithraeum* (Fig. 33). Rather than emptying the sanctuary, it was filled with earth. The deceased were both soldiers, identified by the nails from their boots, and civilians, some still wearing rings or necklaces. To the soldiers belonged a chain and lock used to chain prisoners. A date of AD 259 was based on four silver coins from a small purse found in the hand of a woman. This date also coincides with a number of coin hoards found in *Germania Inferior*. The bodies reflected a Roman defeat.[311] 113 bodies were soldiers and 11 were civilian.[312] In addition there were 23 horses. Based on the finds and position of the bodies west of the castellum, R. Fahr and C. Reichmann have presented the following hypothesis: In the late summer of AD 259,[313] a vexillation of a *centuria* and a *turma*, all in all about 117 men, from the fort was sent out to respond to a reported raid at a villa. For this they brought shackles for prisoners. Finding nothing they returned bringing the household of the villa to provide them with the safety of the fort. Getting close, they found their natural entry point, the north gate, blocked by raiders. Therefore, they tried to cross a meadow to reach the west gate instead. Here the Romans were surrounded and annihilated. Probably the remaining garrison could

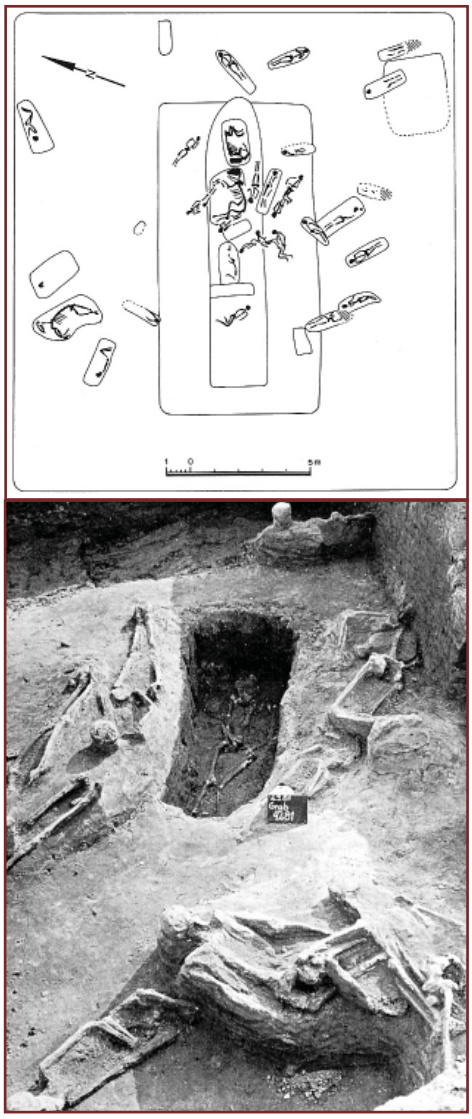


Fig. 33 Gelduba. Mithraeum with bodies. After Pirling 1986: 245, figs. 4-5.

309) Richardson 1996: 250-1; Stepper 2002: 36-7.
310) Droste 2003: 114-6.
311) Fahr & Reichmann 2004: 5-7; Reichmann 1999: 98-100.
312) Three children under 10 years of age, one youth, two young, two middle aged and one old woman and two old men. Possibly civilian men in the 'military' age have been identified as soldiers.
313) The reconstruction of Fahr and Reichmann is also based on the assumption that Postumus siezed power in AD 259: Fahr & Reichmann 2004: 16.

not assist because they were besieged; an attempted rescue would have meant a total slaughter of the garrison. No evidence has been discovered, which attests that the fort was taken.[314] Only some time after (between two weeks and two months) could they bury their dead. A building inscription from the vicinity of Krefeld-Gellep mentioning Postumus and coin issues by him with Hercules Deusoniensis, a deity belonging to the lower Rhine area with a sanctuary also near Krefeld-Gellep are indications to Fahr and Reichmann that Postumus may have been personally involved in a rescue of the garrison.[315]
In the East, a superior magistrate, Macrinus proclaimed his two sons, Macrinus and Quietus, Emperors. Later the two Macrini were defeated by Aureolus, the commander of Gallienus' new cavalry field army, as they marched on Rome. Quietus was eliminated by Odenathus, a Palmyran *nobilis*, who established a de facto vassal state in the East with the reluctant consent of Gallienus, as he could do little about it anyway.[316] At the end of the year, Gallienus had lost his father, his two sons and control of roughly two thirds of his Empire.

Stabilisation

After the invasions in AD 260, there seem to have been no more trouble for Gallienus on the western front; in fact this was constituted by the 'Gallic Empire'. At one time, he attempted to re-conquer the west from Postumus, but without any luck. In the north only the *Gothi* were still invading. In AD 268, Gallienus' cavalry commander, Aureolus found himself worthy of a promotion and revolted against Gallienus. Responding quickly to this threat, Gallienus laid a siege on Milan, where Aureolus was located. However, before an end could come to it, Gallienus was murdered. He survived for fifteen years as Emperor; an impressive accomplishment in these days.[317]
In the meantime, Postumus had consolidated his position in the 'Gallic Empire', or rather a Roman Empire ruled from *Gallia*, which was in fact *Germania Inferior*, but the description '*Gallia*' in this period is often geographically understood, why it included all land to the Rhine.[318] Although he had been proclaimed Emperor, he never attempted to reach Rome and depose Gallienus. His main concern in fact seems to

314) Fahr & Reichmann 2004: 8-15.
315) Fahr & Reichmann 2004: 16-8.
316) Southern 2001: 89, 100.
317) Southern 2001: 102-8.
318) Eck 1985: 223; Drinkwater 1987: 15.

have been to stabilize the frontier, positioning himself in *Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensis* (Köln).[319] Thereby he spent his reign following the orders of Gallienus after all.[320]

A number of fortifications have been connected to his rule. At Qualburg a small military installation was expanded to hold the *numerus Ursariensium*. It was destroyed in the raids of AD 275/6, but rebuilt immediately by Probus.[321] The important roads, such as the one going west from *CCAA* to Boulogne was fortified in this period in the form of *burgi* and circumvallations of road stations and towns, for instance, at Liberchies, Morlanwelz and Hüchelhoven. Whether these constructions were initiated at the time of Gallienus or Postumus or perhaps not until Aurelian or Probus is not possible to state more precisely. The *Historia Augusta* claims that Postumus built fortifications *in solo barbarico*, but no such constructions are to be found, if we should understand this as the east side of the Rhine.[322] After some years, in which Postumus apparently succeeded in keeping the barbarians under control, probably in AD 269, he was challenged by a usurper, Laelianus in *Mogontiacum* (Mainz). When Postumus had defeated him and subsequently denied the troops the opportunity to sack the town, he was murdered. The following Emperors, Marius, Victorinus, Tetricus I and II could not measure up to the standard of Postumus and in AD 274 Tetricus I lost the 'Gallic Empire' to Aurelian. After being paraded in Aurelian's triumph, he was given an official post in *Lucania* in Italy, while his son became a Roman senator.[323]

Exactly when Gallienus attempted to win back the western provinces is naturally disputed, but there is a consensus among scholars that it happened in AD 265.[324] Although he successfully invaded *Gallia* and cornered Postumus, Gallienus fell ill from a wound and was forced to withdraw, not to attempt again.[325] Despite the apparent failure Gallienus might have accomplished to regain the province of *Raetia* during this campaign.[326] Coin finds from South Germany indicate a shift

319) Drinkwater 1987: 26-7, 89.
320) Aurelius Victor 33.8¸Eutropius 9.9; Drinkwater 1987: 90.
321) Gechter 1987a: 347-8; Willems 1986: 432. The date is debated by Drinkwater 1987: 219-20.
322) Brulet 1995: 106-11; Drinkwater 1987: 218-20; Mertens 1980: 424-47; Thoen & Vermeulen 1998: 4-6; Willems 1986: 432-3
323) Drinkwater 1987: 34-44, 89-91; Southern 2001: 118-20.
324) SHA *Gallieni Duo* 7.1; Drinkwater 1987: 105-6, 172; König 1981: 102-11; Southern 2001: 100; Watson 1999: 35-6. For a date of AD 261 see Kerler 1970: 178. Also for a date before AD 265 see Strobel 1999: 27-8.
325) SHA *Gallieni Duo* 4.4-6; SHA *Tyranni triginta* 3.5, 11.3.
326) Schallmayer 1995a: 10.

at this time.[327] That he needed to win back *Raetia* was not known until the find of the Augsburg victory altar, as that province was believed always to have been part of the Central Empire of Gallienus.[328]

The Augsburg victory altar

In 1992, a construction company in Augsburg was commissioned to build an underground garage. During the digging they came across a couple of huge rectangular cut blocks of Jura limestone, which they quickly covered again. Luckily, someone with a sense of history reported this to the *Stadtarchäologie* of the Roman Museum before the blocks were engulfed in concrete. On one of the blocks there was a large inscription dedicated to the goddess of victory commemorating a Roman victory over a Germanic tribe (Fig. 34). The other block formed the base of this victory monument. It is believed to have been found more or less *in situ*, which was 350 m east of the provincial capital of *Raetia*, *Augusta Vindelicum* (Augsburg). It was found lying with the inscription downwards at the bottom of a former arm of the River Lech.[329] Wooden balks and posts found close by are evidence of a Roman river pier. They were C^{14}- and dendrochronologically dated to the 3rd century AD.[330] On one side Mars, the God of War poses, while Victoria triumphs over a vanquished Barbarian on the other. On the front there was the following inscription:

IN H(onorem) D(omus) D(ivinae)
DEAE SANCTAE VICTORIAE
OB BARBAROS GENTIS SEMNONVM
SIVE IOVTHVNGORVM DIE
VIII ET VII KAL(endarum) MAIAR(um) CAESOS
FVGATOSQVE A MILITIBUS PROV(INCIAE)
RAETIAE SED ET GERMANICIANIS
ITEMQVE POPVLARIBVS EXCVSSIS
MVLTIS MILIBVS ITALORVM CAPTIVOR(um)
COMPOS VOTORVM SVORVM
[[M(ARCUS) SIPLICINIVS GENIALIS V(ir) P(erfectissimus) A(gens) V(ices) P(raesidis)]]
[[CVM EODEM EXERCITV]]
LIBENS MERITO POSVIT
DEDICATA III IDVS SPTEMB(res) IMP(eratore) D(omino) N(ostro)
[[POSTVMO AV]]G(usto) ET [[HONORATIANO CO(n)S(ulibus)]]

327) Reuter 1997: 67.
328) Drinkwater 1987: 18, fig. 1.1.
329) Bakker 1993: 371.
330) Bakker 1996: 7.

In honour of the divine household,
to the holy goddess Victoria.
Due to barbarians of the Semnonian People
or rather the Iuthungian, who on day
8 and 7 before the Kalendae of May (24th-25th of April) were massacred
and driven out by soldiers from the province of
Raetia, but also from the Germaniciani
and also by countrymen, whereby they liberated
many thousands of captured Itali
Bound by his oaths
[[*Marcus Simplicinius Genialis, equestrian acting on behalf of the Governor*]]
[[*with the same army*]]
has readily and deservedly erected (the altar)
Inaugurated on the 3rd day before the Idus of September (11th) *in our Lord and Emperor*
[[*Postumus*]] *Augustus' and* [[*Honoratianus' consulate*]] (AD 260)

The stone had been used for an inscription for the Emperor Severus Alexander, but had been smoothed and given this new inscription. Lines 11, 12 and 15 had been erased, although they were still legible.[331]

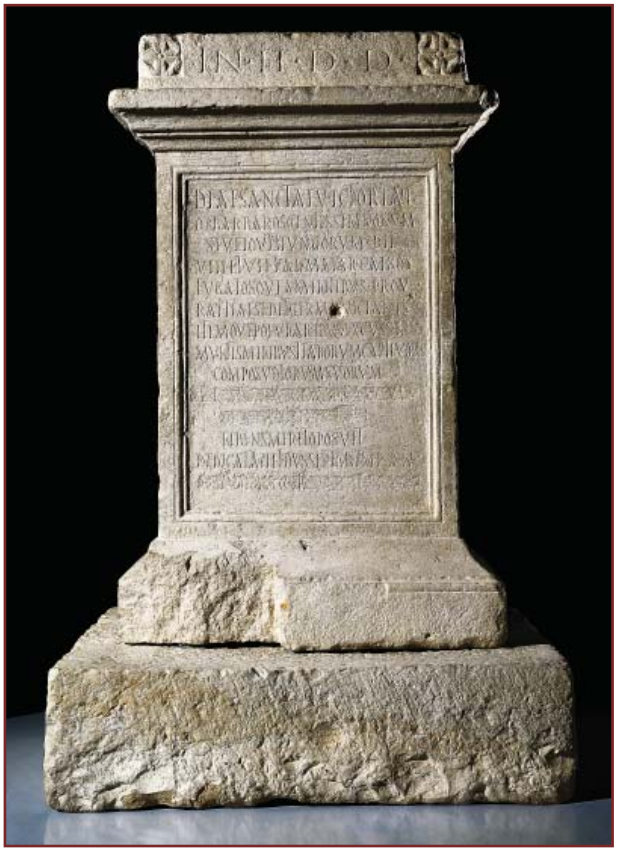


Fig. 34 The Augsburg Victory Altar. Photo: Römisches Museum, Augsburg.

From this inscription we learn that the *Iuthungi*, upon returning from a raid to Italy with a great number of prisoners, were defeated by a Roman army led by one Marcus Simplicinius Genialis. The interesting construction '*gentis Semnonum sive Iouthungorum*' tells us that the *Semnones* and *Iuthungi* are the same or that one is part of the other. Until the discovery of the Augsburg victory altar the latest mentioning of the *Semnones* was in connection with the Marcomannic wars.[332] The *Iuthungi* on the other hand did not appear until they raided the Roman Empire in AD 270 and were thrown out by the Emperor Aurelian.[333] The name, *Iuthungi*, is believed to mean 'youths' or 'descendants', or an emancipated '*Jungmannschaft*' as H.

331) Lines in [[ ]]
332) Cassius Dio *Ῥωμαϊκά* 71.20.
333) Dexippos *Σκυθικά* fr. 6.

Castritius has put it.[334] An inscription from Köln with the text: '[mat]*RIBVS SVEBIS EVTHVNGABUS*…' to the Mother Goddesses of the Suebi, the Matres Suebae, here with the addition '*Euthunges*' could now be related to this group as well.[335] From the literary sources we learn that the *Iuthungi*, in peace negotiations with the Romans in AD 270, described themselves as no mixed troops and no weaklings, but *Iuthungi* alone, renowned for their cavalry skills.[336] The Roman army consisted of elements from *Raetia*; both soldiers and a civilian militia. A third part was the *Germaniciani*. L. Bakker believes that these were troops from the province of *Germania Superior*.[337] This is defined more precisely by T. Stickler, who refers to a contemporary inscription from Pannonia mentioning vexillations of *leg*(ionum) / [G]*ermanicia*[r(um)] / [e]*t Brittanician*(arum) / [cu]*m auxili*(i)*s* / [e]*arum*.[338] The troops mentioned in the Pannonian inscription were legionary and not auxiliary soldiers. That makes a similar assumption for the *Germaniciani* in *Raetia* probable.[339] Another suggestion is presented by T. Kissel. The *Germaniciani* might be part of a special unit stationed at Lyon originally raised by Septimius Severus. This unit consisted of vexillations from all four legions stationed in *Germania Superior* and *Inferior*. Like other similar units, this was used as a reserve that could be employed quickly, when needed.[340] The inscription contributes greatly to the understanding of the position of *Raetia* in the domestic affairs of the Empire. The fact that Postumus as Augustus is one of the eponymous consuls shows that M. Simplicinius Genialis as acting governor of *Raetia* had chosen his side over that of Gallienus. That it was not a lasting position is seen by the eradication of the governor, his army and the consuls from the inscription. As the Gallic Emperors were not subjected to an official *damnatio memoriae*, this indicates that it happened only a short while after the inauguration, probably when *Raetia* was won back by Gallienus. As Postumus had not been proclaimed Emperor already in April, this battle was fought under Gallienus. Otherwise, Postumus would most likely have had a more prominent position in the text.[341] That this policy was used reversely as well is seen on the inscription on the north gate of *CCAA*. The city

334) Castritius 1998: 356.
335) CIL XIII 8225; Castritius 1998: 355-6.
336) Dexippos *Σκυθικά* fr. 6.4.
337) Bakker 1993: 377; 2005: 97.
338) CIL III 3228
339) Stickler 1995: 239.
340) Kissel 1995: 102, 105-7.
341) Bakker 1993: 377-84; Bakker 1996: 11-2; Schallmayer 1995b: 25-6; Strobel 1999: 15.

name had been extended with *Valeriana Gallieniana*, something that probably happened when the two Emperors were in town in AD 257. This addition had been erased by Postumus.[342]

The loss of the Agri Decumates

The most obvious long term effect of these troubles on the provinces of Germania Superior and Raetia was the loss of the Agri Decumates with a return to the Rhine and the Danube as frontiers of the Empire (Fig. 35). The evidence of these events is constituted by archaeological, numismatic, epigraphic and literary material. The correlation of this material had become the basis of straightforward interpretations in the last century. During the last 15-20 years scholars have critically revised the interpretations of the initial examinations of this material reaching strikingly different conclusions.[343]



Fig. 35 Agri Decumates. Detail of map 1. 29: Niederbieber, 44: Butzbach, 47: Echzell, 60: Miltenberg-Ost, 71: Strasbourg, 85: Pfünz. Legend see map 1.

The traditional view of the '*Limesfall*' was that it was a result of a large scale Alamannic raid in AD 260 on the *Agri Decumates*, which swept away the Romans and pushed back the borders to the Rhine and Danube. The Roman soldiers held out to the end, but any civilians not already on the run stayed under Germanic rule. The ongoing Germanic pressure caused the Romans to give up the *Agri Decumates*.[344] This supposition was based largely on the huge work '*Der obergermanisch-raetische Limes des Roemerreiches*' edited by E. Fabricius, F. Hettner and O. von Sarwey from 1898 to 1937 as well as the literary sources, who are notoriously slandering the supposedly responsible Emperor, Gallienus. An example is a panegyric from AD 297 to the Emperor Constantius Clorus, claiming that the province of Raetia was lost under the rule of Gallienus:'*…Sub principe Gallieno…amissa Raetia, Noricum Panonniaque vastatae.*', '*Under Gallienus…Raetia was lost and Noricum and Pannonia devastated.*'. A description of the provinces,

342) Eck 2004: 554-6.
343) For examples of earlier theories see e.g. Unruh 1992; Strobel 1999. For a updated research history see Theune 2004: 25-48.
344) Nuber 1990: 54-6 & n. 12-26.

the *Laterculus Veronensis* from the 7th century based on sources from the first half of the 4th century tells us that Roman territory across the Rhine from *Mogontiacum* (Mainz) up to a distance of 80 Gallic *leugae* (c. 178 km) '*…sub Gallieno imperatore a barbaris occupatae sunt.*', '*was occupied by the Barbarians under the Emperor Gallienus*.'[345] An important support for this picture was the *castellum* at Niederbieber in Rheinland-Pfalz. This fort was the first on the right bank of the Rhine in the north-western corner of the *Agri Decumates*. The remains showed that the fort had suffered a violent end. In a room next to the *aedes*, the skeleton of what must have been a signifer was found. Next to him were the remains of a field-standard with a name plate of the *cohors VII Raetorum equitata* and a silver *signum* disc with a young man. Three coin hoards were found in the ruins of the destroyed fort, in which the youngest coin was dated to AD 259/60.[346] Coin hoards were used as evidence for Germanic invasions. By plotting all hoards with same end-coins the invasion routes were believed to be indicated. For this reason incendiary layers in *Raetia* were often placed in AD 259/60, for instance at *Campodunum* (Kempten), *Augusta Vindelicum* (Augsburg) and *Aventicum* (Avenches).[347] The problematic interpretation of coin hoards was not only related to the *Agri Decumates*. Coin hoards all over *Gallia* with end-coins from this period were taken to indicate Germanic raids.[348] Today, all kinds of reservations are made concerning the coin hoards. Considerations have to be made whether a hoard is buried out of fear (*metus causa*) or for general safekeeping (*custodiae causa*). Furthermore, some earlier coins may have been kept aside due to the general devaluation, which means they could have been underground for years at the time any possible unrest prevented the owner from claiming the hoard.[349] But even with these reservations in mind the coin hoards from *Gallia* can still be viewed as reflecting larger Germanic incursions. That is the opinion of both B. Hanemann and E. Künzl.[350] Künzl draws parallels to other periods and areas of unrest, which leads him to a conclusion: *'Das Münzenddatum eines Schatzes als terminus ante quem eines Ereignisses zu werten, ist methodisch legitim: Die vielen Münzhorte in den germanischen und gallischen Provinzen*

345) E.g. *Panegyrici Latini* 8 (5)10, 1-4; Laterculus Veronensis. 14; Hermann 1991: 645-6; Strobel 1999: 12.
346) Schallmayer 1995c: 51-4; Nuber 1990: 61, 64-6.
347) Kos 1995: 132-3; Nuber 1990: 58-9.
348) Kuhnen 1992b: 39-41; Okamura 1984: 152-6; 1996: 32.
349) Okamura 1996: 31-2
350) Hanemann 2005: 104; Künzl 2001: 217-8.

zwischen 250 und 280 n. Chr. sind sicher überwiegend mit den germanischen Invasionen dieser Jahre zu verbinden, da sich Invasionsgebiet und Hortgebiet decken; ebenso lassen sich an der Donau die Spuren des Alamanneneinfalls von 233 n. Chr. an den Schlußmünzen etlicher Hortfunde erkennen.'[351] Künzl continues with a warning that coin hoards from *Raetia* and *Britannia* do not follow this pattern, but for the Gallic and Germanic provinces hoards of silver ware support the theory.

In 1995, H.-J. Kellner is still partly drawing on the old hypotheses.[352] This view is also presented without any elaboration of details in recent historical research, for instance, in the work on Aurelian by A. Watson from 1999.[353] In the otherwise thorough work on the Roman Empire in the 3rd century AD from 2001, P. Southern equally fails to present the later development in archaeological and numismatic research on the fall of the *Agri Decumates*, as she bases her statement on H. Schönberger, who is in fact questioning at least parts of the old theories.[354] In 1994, a revised view is taken by C.R. Whittaker, who dates the evacuation of the *Agri Decumates* to the end of the reign of Aurelian in AD 275.[355]

In Schönberger's important overview of the *limes* from the North Sea to the River Inn from 1985, he reviews the '*Limesfall*' stating that this part of Roman history needs further investigation. Although excusing himself from this task he concludes with an assumption that Roman control must have been intact until AD 259/60.[356]

In 1990, H.U. Nuber thoroughly investigated the different aspects of the end of the *Obergermanisch-Raetische Limes*, listing the different types of sources and the problems they bring with them.[357] The latest epigraphic traces of Roman administration are two milestones from Ladenburg and Heidelberg from the joint reign of Valerian and Gallienus in AD 254/5.[358] The coins constitute a difficult material. They are dominated by coins struck under Severus Alexander (AD 222-35). This could easily lead to wrong conclusions. For instance, the fort at Echzell revealed 27 coins with an end coin from Alexander Severus, but later excavations brought an inscription to light mentioning his mother Julia Mamaea. The stone had been used secondarily in a wall.[359] When

351) Künzl 2001: 217-8.
352) Kellner 1995: 345-6.
353) Watson 1999: 33-4.
354) Schönberger 1985: 423; Southern 2001: 98.
355) Whittaker 1994: 157, 167.
356) Schönberger 1985 414-24.
357) Nuber 1990.
358) CIL XIII 9103, CIL XIII 9111; Nuber 1990: 57.
359) Nuber 1990: 58-9.

later coins appear there is a decrease until Philippus Arabs (AD 244-9), after which they almost disappear. This has been explained differently. One reason could be the decrease in the number of soldiers present at the frontier. As parts of units were transferred to other parts of the Empire never to return, this would also mean fewer people to receive pay. This is supported by the reduction of space used, for instance, in various fort baths. They had, in fact, been increased in the beginning of the century only to be reduced as the space was no longer needed. The fact that a female presence can be detected through the finds also supports that space was available inside the walls of the *castella*.[360] The cornerstone of the earlier theories, the end coin of AD 259/60 from Niederbieber can only tell us that no later coins reached this fort, as the general scarcity of later coins has shown that a lack of these does not necessarily mean an earlier end date of a given site. Here, Nuber refers to L. Okamura, who has suggested that the attackers were not the *Germani*, but supporters of Postumus and that the man on the *signum* disc was in fact Gallienus' son Saloninus.[361] This implies that the *Agri Decumates* became a demarcation line between Postumus and Gallienus. '*Der Krieg zwischen Gallienus und Postumus unter Mitwirkung der Germanen dessen chronologische Abfolge im einzelnen unklar ist, zieht sich über Jahre, jedenfalls über 265 n. Chr. hinaus. In dieser Zeitspanne und unter diesen Umständen beginnt sich das Ende des obergermanisch-raetischen Limes abzuzeichnen. Niederbieber war demnach nicht das letzte, sondern möglicherweise eines der ersten Kastelle, das am Limes nicht wieder aufgebaut wurde*.'[362] In 1998, Nuber more or less recapitulates his thoughts from 1990, as he sees Postumus as the one responsible for a withdrawal of troops from the frontier forts in the period from AD 260 to 265. He also points out that evidence of a Germanic presence is found both in military and civilian contexts.[363]

In 1992, new theories were put in play with the exhibition of the *Württenbergisches Landesmuseum* at *Limesmuseum Aalen* with the title: *Gestürmt – Geräumt – Vergessen*.[364] The point of view was that financial stagnation and an ecological decline due to an excessive abuse of natural resources played a considerable role in the abandonment of the *Agri Decumates*.[365] The massive need for wood had led to a deforestation,

360) Nuber 1990: 61-3
361) Nuber 1990: 64-66; Okamura 1990: 49-51.
362) Nuber 1990: 67.
363) Nuber 1998: 370-9.
364) Kuhnen 1992.
365) Kuhnen 1992b: 32-4.

which was followed by erosion. As a consequence floods destroyed the arable land. The archaeological evidence for both military and civic structures points rather towards a voluntary abandonment than a violent end. If such an end is seen, as is the case in Niederbieber and Pfünz, it might as well have had to do with internal Roman struggles. Instead of one single incident, it is more likely that the evacuation happened over time in the period from AD 233 to AD 260.[366] The reduction of the fort baths is seen as a sign that wood for fire was running low.[367] The views presented in the exhibition were further elaborated on by H.-P. Kuhnen in 1997. Here, he included recent research by the ancient historian F. Unruh, who concluded that the literary and epigraphic sources could not support a breakdown in AD 259/60, only that it could have happened between the years AD 254 and AD 268.[368] The work of the numismatist, P. Kos from 1995 showed that the numismatic evidence for the province of *Raetia* could not support any destruction horizon prior to AD 272.[369] Kuhnen, however, does not mention explicitly that Kos practically only examined evidence from south of the Danube, as his point was to show that the province of *Raetia* was not lost during the reign of Gallienus. The Raetian part of the *Agri Decumates* constituted only a small part of the province. The new information derived from the Augsburg victory altar that *Raetia* was loyal to Postumus in the beginning of the AD 260s confirmed Kuhnen in the belief that the *limes* was superfluous, as Postumus was basing his defence partially on Germanic mercenaries.[370] This explained why there is no evidence that the frontier forts were maintained or strengthened. Likewise, he was confirmed by recent excavations in the area in the theory that evidence of destruction in forts could easily be related to the internal Roman problems, while destruction in civilian settlements should not always be seen as the result of marauding *Alamanni*, considering that adjacent wooden structures were standing closely enough to facilitate the spreading of an accidental fire.[371]

Not entirely of the same opinion is K. Kortüm, who investigated coin finds from the *Agri Decumates*. He states that the analyses of the coins show a break at the beginning of the joint reign of Valerian and

366) Kuhnen 1992b: 33, 35-6.
367) Luik 1992: 68-70.
368) Kuhnen 1997: 430; Unruh 1993: 252.
369) Kos 1995: 143-4; Kuhnen 1997: 430.
370) See below.
371) Kuhnen 1997:

Gallienus and at the rise of Postumus.[372] '*Zwar ist mit Unterschieden im Einzelfall zu rechnen, doch reichen sie meiner Ansicht nach nicht aus, um von einem allgemeinen, lang andauernden Auflösungsprozess zu Reden, der im Limesfall endet. Vielmehr scheint es so zu sein, daß erst in den 50er Jahren die Truppen abgezogen und die Zivilbevölkerung das Land verlassen hat*.'[373] According to Kortüm the material lends no credence to the statement by Nuber that Niederbieber was the first rather than the last fort to be destroyed or evacuated.[374] Obviously these data cannot verify whether Germanic attacks were the reason or if perhaps it was a result of a voluntary withdrawal like that of Dacia, but if Kortüm should point towards events at this time, which could have affected the area that could be the rise to power of Valerian in AD 253. To support his claim to the principate he moved with an army from *Raetia* and the west, with which he fought later both at the Danube and the lower Rhine. These actions would have removed considerable forces from the *Agri Decumates*.[375] This argument I believe is enforced by the inscription from the Augsburg altar. The text implies that all available forces in the province had been used by Marcus Simplicinius Genialis in this battle. That would have included border troops as well. That the population felt unsecured, as the removal of forces from the *limes* of the *Agri Decumates* weakened the frontier, is evidenced by the construction of the town wall of *Mogontiacum* in the winter of AD 252/3.[376]

In 1999, K. Strobel examined the '*Limesfall*' through the latest years of research. He followed the line that the *Agri Decumates* suffered a differentiated downfall over the second third of the century and that there were several signs that there was Roman activity in the area also after AD 260.[377] He had limited faith in the analyses of Kortüm, as he found the approach too rigid.[378] He also highlights the faulty focus on Gallienus in the literary sources as the reason for all misery. The comment cited above from the *Laterculus Veronensis* that the *Agri Decumates* was occupied by Barbarians under Gallienus is placed by Strobel in the same anti-Gallienic tradition that dominates most of the 4th century sources.[379] With the knowledge derived from the Augsburg

372) Kortüm 1996: 38-44; 1998: 45-9, 58-60.
373) Kortüm 1996: 43.
374) Kortüm 1998: 49 n. 197.
375) Kortüm 1996: 43 n. 9. To this, CIL III 3228 mentioning vexillations of *Germaniciani* and *Britanniciani* and their auxiliary units.
376) Steidl 1996: 25 & n. 19.
377) Strobel 1999.
378) Strobel 1999: 12.
379) Strobel 1999: 12-3.

altar inscription he interpreted the much cited panegyric mentioning the loss of *Raetia* as referring to a loss of the province not to Germanic raiders, but to Postumus.[380] However, the continuation in the text is that the provinces of *Noricum* and *Pannonia* were devastated, linking *Raetia* with those provinces. Had the panegyrist meant a loss to Postumus, why then did he only mention *Raetia* and not the Germanic, Gallic, Hispanic and British provinces? Postumus was also a Roman, and certainly one of the good guys in the *Historia Augusta*.[381] Therefore, I believe that this reference does not refer to Postumus, as that would merely be a change in the balance between rival Emperors and not considered a loss to the Empire. Strobel has argued that neither Gallienus nor Postumus had any interest in securing the frontier, but that they may have had a few secure positions. Most of the *Agri Decumates* became a sort of no mans land. Therefore, the Germanic tribes had nothing to do with the development, but were possibly even encouraged by either side to raid the other's area. '*Von einem Untergang wesentlicher Teile des raetischen und des obergermanischen Heeres im Sturm der Alamannen respektive Germanen von 259/60 n. Chr. sollte man jedenfalls nicht länger sprechen. Das dauerhafte Ende der direkten römischen Herrschaft zwischen Rhein, oberer Donau und Limeslinie war die Folge von Usurpation und Bürgerkrieg*.'[382]

In 1999, T. Fischer delivered a contribution to the discussion in an article on certain hoard finds. He underlined the importance of understanding that he, as most contemporary scholars, does not see the '*Limesfall*' as a single event, but a process evolving over the second third of the century. Fischer followed Schönberger and Nuber in the belief that the *Agri Decumates* did not fall apart piece by piece, although the garrisons stationed along the border, as well as their quarters were reduced. A controlled perimeter would only make sense, if it was not compromised by occasional gaps. Here the focus of attention is the date AD 259/60, for which Niederbieber is the only support.[383] A profound scepticism is apparent concerning the theories presented by Okamura and Kuhnen. Fischer pointed out that Okamura's idea that civil war rather than Germanic raids should be the primary reason for the fall is supported by no archaeological facts what so ever. The one indication based on the belief that a tower at Niederbieber had been undermined,

380) *Panegyrici Latini* 8 (5)10, 1-2; Strobel 1999: 15-6.
381) SHA *Tyranni triginta* 3.6-9.
382) Strobel 1999: 27-9.
383) Fischer 1999: 22-3.

undermining a siege tool not mastered by the *Germani* and therefore an indication of intra Roman disputes, had to be rejected by D. Baatz, who demonstrated that the 'undermining' was a result of later quarrying for building material. Fischer felt obligated to emphasize that Okamura's idea did not gain in authority simply by being repeated all the time.[384] A lack of a solid empirical basis is also the reason for Fischer's disbelief in Kuhnen's theory that the fall was caused by a general economic and ecological 30 year crisis followed by civil war. Fischer wondered how this phenomenon only affected the *Agri Decumates* and not the neighbouring and considerably older Roman regions south of the Danube and west of the Rhine.[385] Interestingly, already in 1983 W. Groenman-van Waateringe pointed towards the problem of over-production and exploitation of the land due to increased demands from a growing population in the 3rd century AD. Her conclusions were based on an examination of pollen analyses from the lower Rhine area and Britain.[386] Fischer's own analysis has led him to conclude that the hoards of material showed a concentration particularly in the eastern part of *Raetia* indicating Germanic raiders en route to Italy.[387] '*Im Lichte dieser Ergebnisse scheint es mir geraten, bei allen Theorien zum sog. Limesfall nach wie vor von erheblicher äußerer Gefährdung durch Germanen (Franken, Alamannen, Juthungen) im 3. Jh. N. Chr. auszugehen*.'[388] The archaeological remains of these hoards do not support the theories of civil war or economic and ecological breakdown. Furthermore, this study should be taken as one contribution to the research of the events of the second third of the century and as an encouragement to the examination and correlation of other groups of material, '*damit sich nicht in den Fragen den "Limesfall" weiterhin die Gefahr besteht, daß sich die von konkreten Daten losgelösten und mehr oder weniger luftigen Theorien schneller und dominierender darstellen, als die solide Sammlung und Bearbeitung der einschlägigen archäologischen Quellen*.'[389]

In this period, the archaeological record testifies to a reduction of a number of frontier forts. This is believed to be the result of massive troop movements as mentioned earlier. These reductions are seen in a number of small *numerus* forts and the even smaller so-called

384) Baatz 1996: 84-9; Fischer 1999: 23.
385) Fischer 1999: 23.
386) Groenman-van Waateringe 1983: 149-52.
387) Fischer 1999: 28. For a definition of the hoards of material and the analysis, see Fischer 1999: 24-8.
388) Fischer 1999: 28.
389) Fischer 1999: 28.

Kleinkastelle and are related to the abandonment of watchtowers and *limes* gates. According to M. Reuter this kind of evidence is limited and cannot be taken as a general development for the entire *limes* of the *Agri Decumates*. It does, however, show that the frontier was not deserted all at once, as some of the fortlets, like Butzbach-Degerfeld went out of use decades before the end, while some remained fully functional, for instance, Rötelsee. As finds from the last decades before the loss of *Agri Decumates* are missing from the watchtowers, Reuter believes that the control of the *limes* was henceforth carried out by patrols instead of a static watch.[390] An examination of this phenomenon in *Germania Superior* by M. Jae and M. Scholz has shown that it was practised primarily in the north, while only Miltenberg-Ost was reduced along the eastern stretch. At this fort alone is evidence found of a violent destruction prior to the remodelling. In the northern part, where the largest concentration of reduced fortlets is found, at least five *limes* gates had been closed.[391]

Also the civilian settlements, both the *vici* outside the *castella* and the *vici* in the country side, witnessed a reduction in this area. This is attested by B. Steidl in an examination of the Wetterau in the 3rd century including part of the Taunus *limes* and the area of the *Civitas Taunensium*. Although the *Civitas* capital of *Nida* (Heddernheim) outside Frankfurt shows a continuation into the 270s AD, there are indications from inscriptions from *Mogontiacum* that members of the upper social layers may have withdrawn from the town earlier. For instance, the arch of Dativius, a *decurio* of the *Civitas Taunensium*, was dedicated to Jupiter Conservator.[392] In four castella, coins are found from the period AD 260 – 268/275. Steidl therefore has placed an end of a Roman presence in the Wetterau in the middle of the 270s AD. '*Ein "Limesfall" von 260 n. Chr. ist weder aus dem archäologischen, noch aus dem numismatischen Befund abzuleiten*.'[393] This statement conflicts greatly with that of Kortüm, although both scholars use the coin circulation as a basis. Furthermore, the civil war coins of Postumus and Gallienus from AD 260 – 268 are more or less divided around AD 262 so that the first is represented mainly on coins up to that year and the latter on those from that year onwards.[394] At least in the AD 280s this area shows traces of Germanic settlers. To this context belong

390) Reuter 1996: 76, 79-82.
391) Jae & Scholz 2002: 418-9.
392) Steidl 1996: 24-8; 2000a: 116-20.
393) Steidl 1996: 28.
394) Steidl 2000a: 117-8.

a great number of Roman coins including counterfeit copies. These coins have been connected with remaining Romans or a Roman militia, but the Germanic context speaks against it. To Steidl this could be an indication that a Germanic community was already there before the end of Roman administration. They may have served in the army, or tilled the land. As the Roman population was exchanged with Germanic settlers, Roman craftsmanship would sink into oblivion leading to the use of Germanic building forms instead of Roman.[395] The withdrawal of the Romans is related by Steidl to the withdrawal from *Dacia* under Aurelian. They were possibly re-settled west of the Rhine in an area that was known from the late 3rd century as the *Decem Pagi*. This is supposed to be a Latinised version of the *Agri Decumates*, which is believed to derive from Celtic meaning '*Ten Cantons*'.[396]

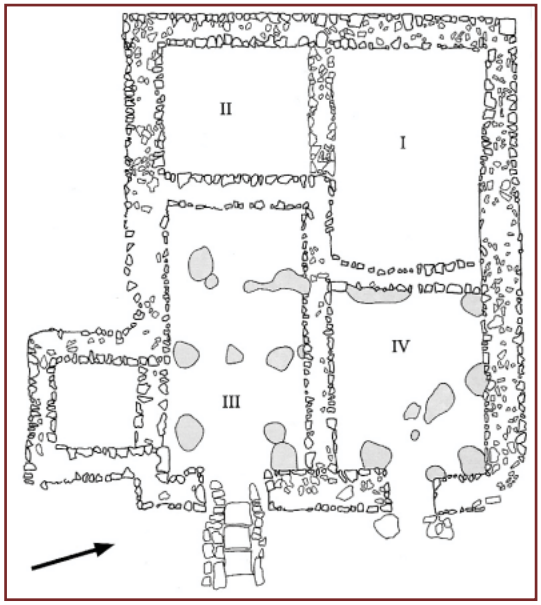


Fig. 36 Wurmlingen. Roman bath building with Germanic post holes. After Reuter 2003: 68, fig. 32.

Another example of Germanic settlers comes from a villa at Wurmlingen close to the main road from the Danube to *Argentorate* (Strasbourg). In the 3rd century AD, it consisted of a farmhouse, an outhouse and a bathhouse. It appears that the farmhouse burned to the ground some time between AD 220 and 240. Although this time span overlaps the Germanic raids of AD 233, there are no indications that violence had been involved. The building was never rebuilt. Instead the residents moved into the outhouse, which was also converted into a scrap metal workshop. The bathhouse was modified as a cold water basin was removed indicating a reduction. Although appearing to be a time of general decline, the presence of fine tableware indicates that this was perhaps not entirely the case. The youngest datable Roman material is from AD 255. Shortly hereafter the residents left, leaving large amounts of scrap metal on the floor only to be found by the excavator M. Reuter in 1994. It appears that the tile roof of the outhouse caved in shortly after the departure, hiding the metal from the Germanic settlers moving into the buildings around the time of Postumus' accession in AD 260 (Fig. 36). Coins from the 'Gallic Empire' found in this context indicate that the Germanic settlers may have been placed near the important road by Postumus. The bathhouse was remodelled as a storeroom and a pit house was

395) Steidl 1996: 28-30; 2000a: 121-6; Stribrny 1989: 425-37.
396) Hind 1984: 189-92; Steidl 2000a: 120: 2000b: 79.

built into the ruins of the farmhouse. The dwellings of the newcomers were situated outside the Roman villa.[397]

In 2004, C. Theune examined the area later known as *Alamannia*, i.e. the former *Agri Decumates*, involving *castella*, civilian settlements and burials from the 3rd to the 7th century AD. She reached the conclusion that close relations to the Roman provinces continued, especially near the Rhine. In the second third of the 3rd century AD there was a general decline concerning all matters of civilian and military affairs. The military administration disappeared after AD 260, but Roman hegemony probably continued in the years to come. Furthermore, she states, *'daß vom 3. bis 7. Jahrhundert ein römischer/romanischer Einfluß auf die Bevölkerungsentwiklung in der Alamannia zu konstatieren ist und nicht mit einem völligen Abbruch um 260 n. Chr. gerechnet werden kann. Eine Siedlungskontinuität konnte für einige Regionen in Rheinnähe beschrieben werden.'*[398]

An overview of the theories

As it is demonstrated here, there are several theories for the loss of the *Agri Decumates* and more opinions and suggestions. These are differently placed on the two axes: who were mostly responsible, and when did it take place? Although most scholars express opinions about these two questions, only few consider the difference between a military and civilian presence. One important aspect of this is whether the frontier line could be maintained if some links in the chain were given up. Particularly Schönberger and Fischer address this, as they both express their doubts that such a situation was tenable. But the present state of research does not allow for a clear answer. Furthermore, a temporary set-back did not necessarily lead to an official withdrawal. But who were in a position to order an official withdrawal? Basically, three reasons for the loss are presented; Germanic raids, civil war and an economic/ecological decline.

When scholars began critically to review this period other reasons than the raids were sought as explanations. Okamura's ideas concerning Niederbieber followed by Kuhnen's shifted focus towards civil war and general decline at the expense of the raids has led to a belief that civil war was the main, if not sole reason as expressed, for instance, by Strobel, who states about Germanic involvement: *'Die Germanen haben*

397) Reuter 2003: 15-6, 102-9.
398) Theune 2004: 381-9.

bei dieser Entwicklung, wie man wohl mit aller Deutlichkeit sagen kann, letztlich keine entscheidende Rolle gespielt.'[399] This movement is opposed by Fischer, who, after reviewing the different theories in a slightly sarcastic tone, encourages to a return to the archaeological facts, which in his case point towards Germanic raids and not civil war. The tendency is quite accurately described by G. Fingerlin in the catalogue to the first part of the exhibitions '*Imperium Romanum*' in Baden-Württemberg in 2005. '*Wenn aber heute vor allem die innenrömischen Auseinandersetzungen zwischen dem Gallischen Sonderreich unter dem „Gegenkaiser" Postumus und dem rechtmäßigen Herrscher Gallienus für die Preisgabe des Limes und damit des Dekumatlandes verantwortlich gemacht werden, kommt der germanische Anteil an diesem Vorgang vielleicht doch zu kurz*.'[400]

The following table presents the various opinions elaborated on above.

Scholar	post quem	ante quem	Arguments for dates and/or causes for the loss of Agri Decumates
H. Schönberger 1985	AD 260		Frontier control must have remained intact
H.U. Nuber 1990/1998	AD 260	AD 265	Frontier control remained intact /Civil war/Germanic raids
H.-P. Kuhnen 1992/1997	AD 233	AD 260s	Economic and ecological decline/ civil war
K. Kortüm 1998	AD 255	AD 260	Coin circulation/AD 253, a turning point
K. Strobel 1999	AD 233	AD 260s	Civil war
T. Fischer 1999	AD 260		Frontier control must have remained intact /Germanic raids
B. Steidl 1996/2000	AD 260	AD 275	Primarily civil war, secondarily economic crisis and Germanic raids. Coin circulation

What is absolutely certain is that the sources are too inadequate for us to get a clear picture. The literary sources are of little help, but the archaeological sources are expanding and may in time provide us with sufficient material. Obviously, this does not mean that any scenarios can not be deduced.

The garrisons were reduced and this fact apparently instigated raids. Especially in the northern part of *Germania Superior* forts were reduced or given up. The hoard evidence presented by Fischer has shown that the most likely route of the raiders was through *Raetia* into Italy. If we assume that the military organisation was intact, the reductions

399) Strobel 1999: 28.
400) Fingerlin 2005: 453.

could indicate that this part of the border was not considered a high threat area as opposed to the Raetian stretch. But the *Agri Decumates* would also have been affected by the dispute between Gallienus and Postumus. One indication of this is the fact that coins from southern Germany shift around AD 264 from coins minted by Postumus to coins minted by Gallienus.[401] From this we can assume that the re-conquest of *Raetia*, which is evident from the Augsburg victory inscription, did take place in the middle of the AD 260s. A similar pattern is seen in the Wetterau by Steidl, who also saw a connection to the re-conquest of *Raetia* in the middle of the 260s AD.[402] From this point on the area is divided between the two Emperors. According to some scholars this would evidently lead to an abandonment of the frontier forts, as both Emperors needed to secure their mutual front. And this might also have been effectuated by inviting Germanic allies to settle within the frontier; the evidence from Wurmlingen indicates that. But we have no knowledge of attacks until AD 268, so the frontier may well have been functioning still, although Germanic settlers may have constituted a part of this defence. This stand off may have continued until Aurelian won back the western part of the Empire. This would be a sensible time to rearrange the frontier defences. We know Aurelian withdrew from *Dacia*. It may already have happened *de facto* as stated by the literary sources.[403] A similar scenario is not improbable for the *Agri Decumates*. If this line of thought is to be followed, it could lead to this postulation: Had the Empire not been subjected to the Germanic raids, civil war should not have led to the loss of land. The Empire had survived usurpers before and did so again. However, had there not been civil war splitting the *Agri Decumates* would the area have survived as a formal part of the Empire? If we look at *Dacia* once again, we see a part of the Empire that was not affected directly by the civil war, yet it was lost. Naturally, it may have been affected indirectly by the removal of troops to the field army. Obviously, the two parts are not directly comparable, so I would not postulate that *Dacia* fell, therefore the *Agri Decumates* would also fall, but the possibility remains. We should not assume that the *Agri Decumates* seized to be considered Roman territory, just because a military and administrative organisation had been withdrawn.[404] This is also suggested by Nuber.[405] What about the

401) Reuter 1997: 67.
402) Steidl 2000a: 118.
403) See below.
404) Whittaker 1994: 167-9.
405) Nuber 1990: 67.

ecological factor? Fischer asked if this phenomenon should not have been detectable in the older parts of the provinces. Another question is, if this eco-determinism still stands as more and more evidence shows that *Germani* were settled in the area soon after, if not before. Would they not have adapted? If the remaining population of the *Agri Decumates* had been transferred to the left side of the Rhine that area could not have suffered the same. The indications presented by Steidl that the *nobiles* of the *Civitas Taunensium* had already retreated to *Mogontiacum* could be interpreted as fear of living in a frontier zone that could be raided any time. However, a risk of a low yield of produce, difficulties in obtaining sufficient supplies of fire wood and occasional flooding of fields for those with water boundaries combined with the fear of raids might have led to the conclusion for some of the population that it was no longer worth the while to stay in the *Agri Decumates*. A similar life on the west side of the Rhine, but without the fear of raids, may have been preferable. Another question, which I will refrain from answering, is the role of the *Agri Decumates* concerning army supplies. Were crops no longer needed in the same amount after the decrease in local forces and did that also make a withdrawal possible?

The scenario just presented above can of course only be taken as an unsubstantiated hypothesis. What little evidence we have should, however, confirm that both civil war and Germanic raids played a part in the loss of the *Agri Decumates*. It is possible that economic and ecological decline played a part as well, but in my belief this would only have been of minor importance, not to the ordinary life in the *Agri Decumates*, but to the vacation of the area. It was a state of affairs that would have an impact only because of the two other factors. Depopulation for whatever reasons had occurred in the Roman Empire before, for instance, as a result of the plague in the 160s to '80s AD mentioned earlier. To become any wiser on this matter, we have to wait for clarifying new discoveries and further research. As both Fischer in 1999 and Fingerlin in 2005 pointed out, this matter should be observed, no less today than sixteen years ago, in the same way that H.U. Nuber did: '*Die Erhellung jener Zeitabschnitte, die noch unter römischem Verwaltungsanspruch und danach unter römischer Einflussnahme zur endgültigen Neuaufsiedlung Alamanniens geführt haben, bietet noch ein weites Betätigungsfeld und ist eine Zukunftsaufgabe der archäologisch/historischen Landesforschung*.'[406]

406) Fingerlin 2005: 453 & n. 4; Fischer 1999: 22; Nuber 1990: 68.

Recovery

Gallienus was succeeded by Claudius II (AD 268-70), who had to deal with new Germanic invasions in northern Italy, as well as the *Gothi* further east. These campaigns earned him the title *Gothicus*. During his reign Spain turned away from the 'Gallic Empire', as did a part of *Gallia Narbonensis*. This is attested by inscriptions naming Claudius as ruler, for instance, from *Saguntum* (Murviedro), *Barcino* (Barcelona) and *Gratianopolis* (Grenoble). But as Claudius Gothicus had to concentrate on the different Germanic invasions, he never got to the usurpers in the west.[407]

After yet another short-lived Emperor, Quintillus, brother of Claudius, Aurelian came to power (AD 270-5). Much like his predecessors he had to deal with Germanic invasions right after his accession both on the Danube front and in Italy. During his reign both East and West was finally re-united with the Empire.[408] Aurelian fought a number of wars against northern tribes of both Germanic and Sarmatian origin, which are attested by the literary sources. However, little agreement is found between the texts making it difficult to determine where these wars took place and who were involved. Dexippos mentions *Iuthungi* and Vandals, while Zosimos talks about *Alamanni* and Scythians.[409] The *Historia Augusta*, however, lists the *Suebi* and Sarmatians, as well as the *Marcomanni*, whom we know are part of the *Suebi*.[410] Scholars have debated on this subject concerning the number of wars and whether these tribal names are overlapping.[411] In fact, the sources may refer to the exact same tribes i.e. *Iuthungi* = *Alamanni* = *Suebi* and Vandals = Scythians = Sarmatians, but Southern warns against such a straightforward comparison.[412] The *Historia Augusta* also tells us that Aurelian rescued the *Vindelici* i.e. the inhabitants of the area around *Augusta Vindelicum* (Augsburg) (wrongly placed in *Gallia*), from a siege by the Barbarians.[413] Destruction layers in *Castra Regina* (Regensburg) with a *post quem* date of AD 272 by Aurelianic coins might have had something to do with these Barbarian raids.[414] An important act by Aurelian was the withdrawal from *Dacia*, something Gallienus

407) Inscriptions mentioning Claudius II: CIL XII 2228, II 4505; Pseudo Aurelius Victor 34.2; König 1981: 205-9, 189-224; Southern 2001: 108-10.
408) Zosimos 1.48.1-49.2; Southern 2001: 115-20.
409) Dexippos *Σκυθικά* fr. 6-7; Zosimos 1.48.1-49.2.
410) SHA *Divus Aurelianus* 18.2-6.
411) Southern 2001: 111-4 & n 40.
412) Southern 2001: 113. See also below in discussion of the Germanic tribes.
413) SHA *Divus Aurelianus* 35.4, 41.8.
414) Kellner 1995: 350.

had been accused of as well.[415] There are different views as to when it happened, but it seems that life went on as usual at least until AD 272. As a substitute he created two new Dacian provinces south of the Danube.[416] One of the most visible remains from the Aurelianic period, and evidence of the threat that the Germanic invasions posed on the Roman people, is the circumvallation of Rome, the Aurelian wall. The wall was finished by the Emperor Probus (AD 276-82), ironically at a time, when the raiders were no longer able to get past the Alps and into Italy.[417] Aurelian's murder in the fall of AD 275 was followed by new raids, as it had become usual, when Emperors were killed.[418]

After a power vacuum of unknown length, a man of no obvious military qualities named Tacitus was chosen to follow Aurelian; according to the literary sources soldiers of the army were not entirely happy with the murder of their supreme commander, why no generals wanted to attract their wrath by succeeding him.[419] The *Historia Augusta* passes on an imaginary speech from the senate, in which the election of a new Emperor is asked for. The reason is not only that the army needs a commander, but there is also a pressing matter, '*…nam limitem Transrhenanum Germani rupisse dicuntur, occupasse urbes validas, nobiles, divites et potentes.*', '*…because Germanic tribes are said to have broken through the borders on the other side of the Rhine, where they have taken strong, famous, rich and powerful cities.*'[420] This sentence is believed to mean simply the Roman border, as the border along the *Agri Decumates* supposedly had not been in use for 15-20 years in AD 275.[421] But as I have shown above the *Stand der Forschung* is now somewhat more complex. In this light, the quote from the life of Tacitus could in fact indicate that the *Agri Decumates* definitely constituted a part of the Roman Empire in AD 275, albeit no longer as an administrative unit.[422] Tacitus never got to the Rhine; he spent his six months in the purple fighting Goths at the Danube.[423]

In the summer of AD 276, Probus was proclaimed Augustus.[424] The actions and wars of Probus are predictably obscure.[425] The different

415) Eutropius 9.8.2, 9.15; SHA *Divus Aurelianus* 39.3-9; Southern 2001: 120-1.
416) Southern 2001: 120-1.
417) SHA *Divus Aurelianus* 21.9; Zosimos 1.49.2; Coarelli 1975: 23-32.
418) Aurelius Victor 37.3; SHA *Probus* 13.1; Kerler 1970: 241.
419) Southern 2001: 126-7.
420) SHA *Tacitus* 3.3-4.
421) Hermann 1992: 501.
422) See above. This possibility is also mentioned by Stribrny 1989: 435.
423) Southern 2001: 126-7.
424) Southern 2001: 328 n. 66.
425) Southern 2001: 128-32. For an examination of the sources to the reign of Probus see also

literary sources are not easily correlated, as they often mention different events. What can be agreed on is that Probus cleaned the Gallic and Germanic provinces of Germanic raiders.[426] At least some were those resulting from the death of Aurelian in the fall. According to Zosimos he went to the Rhine to help the cities of *Germania*, i.e. the Roman province(s).[427] As the *Historia Augusta* conveys that he restored 60 towns in *Gallia*, Southern believes that Zosimos mistook *Gallia* for *Germania* due to poor geographical knowledge.[428]

Probus also recovered, not some or most, but all booty taken by the Germanic raiders.[429] Obviously, this was an exaggeration, and a positive proof of this is seen, for instance, in the dredger finds, of which those from Hagenbach and Neupotz are the most important (Fig. 37).[430] The dredger finds are Germanic booty that ended in the Rhine, when the raiders tried to cross. Possibly they were disturbed by Roman river controls. The find spots were situated approximately in the middle between the legionary bases of *Argentorate* (Strasbourg) and *Mogontiacum* (Mainz). The composition of the finds makes it probable that they belonged together, but the booty had been split up to facilitate the river crossing. In the find from Neupotz, a Probus coin dates the booty to the severe raids of the mid 270s AD.[431] The Neupotz find with its more than 700 kg is the largest by far of any hoard finds (Fig. 38). The majority consisted of iron tools and wagon parts possibly from the transport cart (70,48 %) and bronze cooking vessels and tableware (27,88 %). The otherwise considerable amount of silver of 10 kg made out only 1,41 %.[432] The provenance of the find was determined by an examination of the occurrence of certain of the items as well as an inscription, in which the letter Ð was found.



Fig. 37 The origin of the hoard finds of Neupotz and Hagenbach. After Bernhard & Petrovszky 2006: 204, fig. 268.

Kerler 1970: 237-59; Hermann 1992: 501-3.

426) Aurelius Victor 37.3; Eutropius 9.17.1; Hieronymus *Chronica* 223g; SHA *Probus* 13.5-14.7; Zosimos 1.67-8.

427) Zosimos 1.67.1.

428) SHA *Probus* 13.6; Southern 2001: 129, 329 n. 68.

429) SHA *Probus* 13.8.

430) Bernhard *et al.* 1990; Künzl 1993: Stadler 2006.

431) Hanemann 2005: 104-5; Künzl & Künzl 1993: 494-501.

432) Hanemann 2005: 104; Höckmann 1993: 27-8; Künzl & Künzl 1993: 484; and Künzl 1993 in general.



Fig. 38 A part of the Neupotz find. After Berhard & Petrovszky 2006: 203, fig. 267.

This indicated an origin in *Gallia Belgica*.[433] The Hagenbach find 'only' amounted to 109 kg. The most spectacular part of the booty was 129 votives of silver sheet, half of these bundled together. The rest of the find consisted of iron tools, weapons, wagon parts, bronze vessels, cut up silver vessels and silver jewellery.[434] The inscriptions on the silver votives, for instance, '*Andossus Obbelexxi filius*', '*Andossus, son of Obbelixxus*', made it clear that they originated in the province of *Gallia Aquitania* on the French side of the Pyrenees.[435] As no absolute dates could be linked to the find, a possible connection to the invasion that reached *Tarraco* was seen, but also to raids after the death of Aurelian.[436] The later examination of the Neupotz find showed that several vessels and tools were very similar and one item even identical. It is therefore very likely that the two finds belonged to the same loot.[437] These finds show that the raiders wanted raw metal. The items that ended in the river reflect whatever metal could be looted from the Gallic villas and sanctuaries. An interesting element of the Hagenbach find is the presence of Germanic spoils. They include a shield boss, possibly some remains of swords and a disc *fibula*. The *fibula* is mainly found in the

433) Künzl & Künzl 1993: 483-4.
434) Bernhard *et al.* 1990: 6-7; Hanemann 2005: 105.
435) Bernhard *et al.* 1990: 14-9.
436) Bernhard *et al.* 1990: 44-6.
437) Künzl & Künzl 1993: 484-5, 499-501.

middle Elbe area and on the Danish islands, but is also found inside the Empire, for instance at Zugmantel and in a grave from Tirlemont/ Thienen in Belgium.[438] Did the raiders perhaps come across the home of a Germanic warrior, who had settled inside the Empire?

Although *Gallia* was heavily affected by the raids, the raids of the 270s AD also had an impact on the *limes* of *Germania Inferior*.[439]

It was more or less the consensus earlier that the entire Dutch part of the *limes* was destroyed around AD 270.[440] That this was not the case has been revealed by 4th century finds from a number of the military sites. Based on this a re-occupation of some *castella* from the time of Constantine the Great (AD 305-337) was seen.[441] The conception of complete destruction was partly based on the lack of coins minted between AD 274 and AD 305. An examination by A. Kropff and J.P.A. van der Vin aimed to show that a break in the coin series from the last of the Gallic Emperors to Constantine the Great was a phenomenon that the entire West had in common. They examined histograms of the coin circulation from selected Roman sites in the Netherlands and compared them with histograms from both British and more southern continental sites. This has shown strong indications of continuity in the last three decades of the 3rd century and the first decade of the 4th century AD.[442] This is also attested for other parts of the Empire as far away as Greece and Portugal.[443] Kropff and van der Vin argued that for the invaders to go through the Dutch River area to get to the riches of *Gallia* would have been a detour. They used the Roman highways from Köln and Mainz into the centre, something that is supported by the many coin hoards in those areas in the times of trouble. Therefore, there is no reason for a general breakdown, nor does the archaeological record support a violent end.[444] As an example of a use of coins to determine the time of abandonment, Kropff and van der Vin referred to among other I.D. Tymann, who based the abandonment of *Fectio*, the *castellum* at Vechten on an end coin from the reign of Tetricus in AD 273.[445] This was in fact a pour choice, as Vechten is one of only two out of a dozen castella on the stretch of the Rhine from the Waal to

438) Bernhard *et al.* 1990: 26-8, 40-1.
439) For signs of destruction in *Gallia* see e.g. articles in King and Henig 1981.
440) E.g. Bernhard 1990a: 125; van Es 1981: 47-9, 121. H. von Petrikovits states that the fate of the Dutch *limes* is unknown and that none of the units stationed there are mentioned after Diocletian (AD 284-305) Petrikovits 1974: 17-9.
441) Brulet 1995: 102-6; van Es 1994: 66-67; Willems 1986: 452-3, fig. 143.
442) Kropff & van der Vin 2003: 58-80.
443) Brem *et al.* 1996: 209-12.
444) Kropff & van der Vin 2003: 80-4.
445) Tymann 1996: 148.

the North Sea, the other being *Nigrum Pullum* (Zwammerdam), which actually produced an incendiary layer indicating a violent end to the fort.[446] For the most of the remaining forts, the archaeological record runs dry of datable material around the middle of the 3rd century AD, but at least eight sites have revealed 4th century remains.[447] Another problem literally rose for the dwellers of the Dutch river area, namely the sea. Due to the so-called Dunkirk II transgression, the sea level increased in the 3rd century AD with the consequence that wide areas were flooded by salt water making living conditions intolerable. Although progressing slowly through the century the result was that by AD 275 large areas had been depopulated. Only along the Oude Rijn and on the coastal sand ridges are settlements found in this period, for instance, the Dutch regions of Zeeland and western Friesland were practically devoid of population.[448] The two neighbouring forts at *Matilo* (Leiden) and *Albaniana* (Alphen aan de Rijn) may have been vacated in the middle of the century as a result of this.[449] As a support for their theory, Kropff and van der Vin refer to the only contemporary literary source for the area, the *Panegyricus Latinus*, who praised the Emperor Constantius in AD 297 in Trier.[450] The main theme is the re-conquest of Britain and the defeat of yet another usurper. Part of the preparations, which included a victory over invading Germanic tribes, took place in the Dutch river area defined by the Rivers Schelde and the two arms of the Rhine, i.e. the Oude Rijn and the Waal. The panegyrist gives an elaborate description of a land that is more water than soil, and even where there is soil it is, as if there is water beneath, i.e. a contemporary description of the region.[451] The military action, however, is hardly mentioned, as the next section is more concerned with the fact that the perpetrators, the *Chamavi* and *Frisii* are been settled as *laeti* (serfs) inside the Empire.[452] To Kropff and van der Vin this shows that little strength was needed to clear the Dutch *limes* area for invaders. But the situation might well have been different 20 years earlier in AD 275/6. As for now the evidence does not allow us to decide either for or against continuous occupation. Certainly, it does not support the statement by J. Kunow that: '*Am stärksten betraf der Frankeneinfall des Jahres 276*

446) Haalebos 1977: 291; Kropff & van der Vin 2003: 55; van Tent 1994: 212-5.
447) van Dockum 1995; Hessing 1995; Willems 1986: 431.
448) Bloemers 1990: 116; van Es *et al.* 1988: 91-3; Kropff & van der Vin 2003: 82.
449) Brandenburgh & Hessing 2005: 36; Hessing 1995: 91-2.
450) *Panegyrici Latini* 8 (4).
451) *Panegyrici Latini* 8 (4).8; Kropff & van der Vin 2003: 82-3.
452) *Panegyrici Latini* 8 (4).9; Hermann 1991: 638.

den heute niederländischen Anteil der Germania Inferior. Aus dem nördlichen Frontabschnitt ist kein unbeschädigtes Lager bekannt. Der niedergermanische Limes wurde in diesem Bereich als Festungslinie nie wieder errichtet.'[453] It is true, however, that we have little knowledge of the nature of the forts that were in use in the 4th century. The forts at Katwijk-De Brittenburg and Valkenburg Z.H. appear to have been used as grain storage facilities that would have had to do with the grain route from *Britannia*, which was of great importance into the 5th century AD.[454] All we really have from Katwijk-De Brittenburg is a lithography from 1581, as the location of the fort is now situated in the North Sea, but the depicted site is clearly a late Roman fort with semicircular protruding towers with the layout of the foundations of double stone *granaria* (Fig. 39).[455] At Valkenburg Z.H. foundations of three wooden *granaria* were found, as well as repair of the wooden piling under the stone principia (Fig. 40).[456]

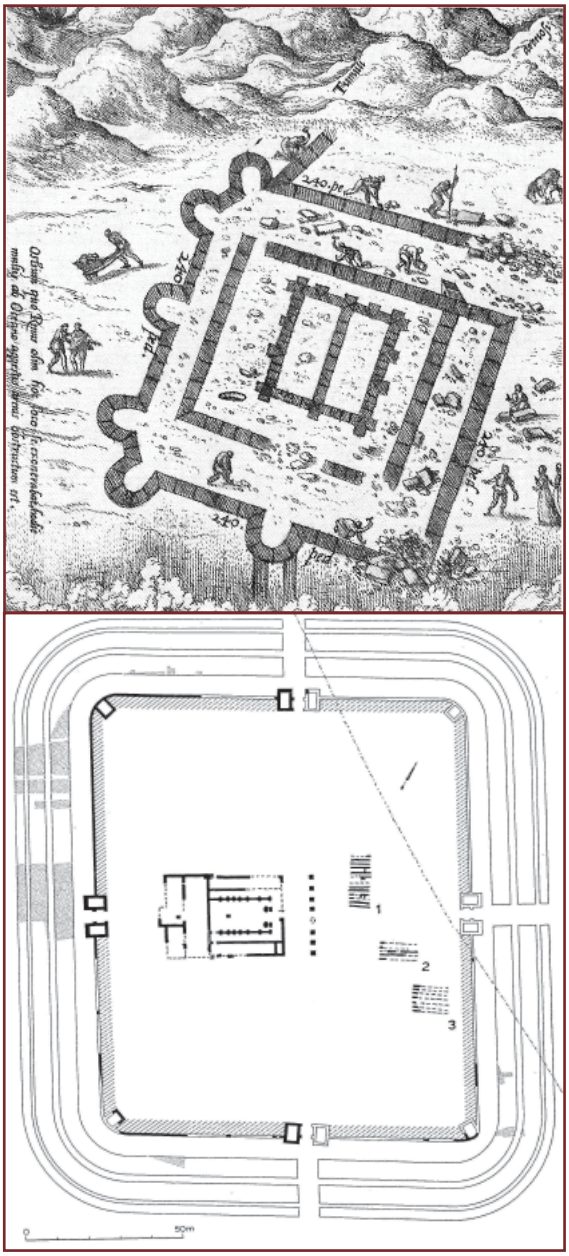


Fig. 39 ↑ *The late Roman castellum of Brittenburg. After Hessing 1995: 98.*

Fig. 40 ↓ *The late Roman phase of the castellum of Valkenburg Z.H. 1-3: Foundations for granaria. After Glasbergen 1972: 145, fig. 50 & Groenman-van Waateringe & van Beek 1988: 36, fig. 1.24.*

Not only smaller sites like the *vici* and *castella* were affected by the raids, thus the end was near for larger towns like *Colonia Ulpia Traiana* (Xanten) in *Germania Inferior* and *Colonia Paterna Munatia Felix Apollinaris Augusta Emerita Raurica* (Augst), or shorter, *Augusta Raurica* in *Germania Superior*. The two colonies shared much the same fate. They were probably both given a garrison; in *Augusta Raurica* a defensive wall and ditch in the northern part of town known as Kastelen provided the citizens with a refuge from raiders. A Probus-*antoninianus* (AD 276-82) from the foundations place this refuge in the time of this Emperor's consolidation of the Rhine. The discovery of *militaria* in both towns, as well as some human skeletal remains has been seen as indications of both the presence of the garrison and as signs of struggle within the town perimeter.[457]

453) Kunow 1987: 87.
454) Groenman-van Waateringe 1983: 150; Hessing 1995: 94-7. Kropff & van der Vin 2003: 81.
455) de Weerd 1986: 284-9.
456) Groenman-van Waateringe 1986: 159-67.
457) Drack & Fellmann 1988: 84-7, 335; Laur-Belart 1988: 16, 43; Lenz 1999: 99-111; Schwarz

In both cases the devastation of the town was followed after some while by the construction of a late Roman fortress, in one case by the river known as *Castrum Rauracense* (Kaiseraugst) and in the other, a circumvallation of the nine central *insulae*, the *Tricensimae*.[458]
The *Historia Augusta* tells us that, after chasing the surviving invaders back across the River Neckar, Probus built fortifications serving as bridgeheads on the east bank of the Rhine across from the Roman towns. All necessities were provided for the frontier troops and an *aureus* was awarded for each Germanic head, if to be trusted, a policy that probably aimed at and in any case succeeded in harassing the Germanic tribes so much that nine chieftains (*reguli*) came forward '*atque ad pedes Probi iacerent*', '*and threw themselves at Probus' feet*' to sue for peace.[459] This peace agreement apparently included the usual elements such as the delivery of men for the *auxilia*, hostages, naturalia in the form of cattle, sheep and grain, and the return of booty. Punishment was in store for those who cheated. Furthermore, it was prohibited to carry arms. When in need the tribes were to alarm the Romans, who would come to their aid. This, the author states, would be hard to uphold until the entire *Germania* was conquered. How much faith can we have in this text where it is not supported by other references? The examination by G. Kerler of foreign politics in the *Historia Augusta* leads him to state concerning this particular part that '*Im Bereich der Außenpolitik bewegt sich der HA-verfasser, soweit es die Fakten betrifft, auf dem durch Quellen gesicherten Boden, d.h. außenpolitische Ereignisse werden nicht erfunden oder aus einem anderen Zeitabschnitt transponiert*.'[460] A similar conclusion is reached by J. Hermann.[461] Obviously, that did not exclude the normal use of rhetorical tricks, like the fiddling with numbers and sizes of armies among other things.[462] The alleged fort constructions have left no trace. At Mainz, for instance, the permanent bridgehead on the right bank of the Rhine, *Castellum Mattiacorum* (Kastel) was destroyed during the raids and not rebuilt until Constantine the Great.[463] Naturally, it is very plausible that Probus would secure the crossing of the Rhine by establishing bridgeheads, but these may have been of a less permanent nature than a stone fort. The campaign probably

1996: 60-5.
458) Drack & Fellmann 1988: 411-5; Gechter 1987b: 625; Laur-Belart 1988: 176-191; Lenz 1999: 111-4; Rüger 1987b: 636-7; Schwarz 1996: 65-6.
459) SHA *Probus* 13.7-14.7.
460) Kerler 1970: 247-8.
461) Hermann 1992: 502.
462) For several examples see Kerler 1970: 248-50.
463) Baatz 1989c: 371-2.

lasted to the end of AD 278, when Probus went to the Danube region.[464] Continuous invasions possibly created two usurpers on the Rhine in the absence of the Emperor. They were defeated by Probus using Germanic mercenaries.[465] Probably the Emperor went east once more. According to the *Historia Augusta* he went to *Illyria* by way of *Raetia*, which he cleaned up as well, fighting off *Burgundi* and Vandals. This took place in AD 281 and is attested by an inscription honouring the Emperor as the restorer of the provinces and the public buildings.[466] One of these buildings might have been the *castellum Vemania* (Isny-Bettmauer) on the road from *Brigantium* (Bregenz) at the bottom of Lake Constance to *Campodunum* (Kempten) by the River Iller, which was to be a part of the late Roman Danube-Iller-Rhine *limes*.[467] '*Τούτων οὕτω περὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον αὐτῷ διαπολεμηθέντων*', '*Thus, he ended the wars at the Rhine*'.[468] The same year he celebrated a Triumph in Rome over among others the Germanic tribes.[469] In AD 282, Probus was in *Sirmium* (Sremska Mitrovica) preparing a campaign against the Persians. There, a long lasting tradition was honoured, as he was murdered by his men.[470]

Alamanni and *Franci*

In the end of the 3rd century AD, we see the rise of the western Germanic tribal federations of the *Alamanni* and *Franci*. This is not the place for a detailed study of the *Alamanni* and *Franci* and their origin or rise, as that would be, and has been for many a scholar, a project entirely on its own. A few comments do seem to be in order, though. Two issues have concerned scholars through time; what do the names mean and what is their ethnic origin. The *Alamanni* have been subjected to the major part of research within several disciplines. An overview of past opinions is given by G. Jentgens in his dissertation published in 2001.[471] Other recent works are, for instance, the large exhibition, *Die Alamannen* from 1997 by the *Archäologisches Landesmuseum Baden-Württemberg*, the publication edited by D. Geuenich, *Die Franken und die Alamannen*

464) Southern 2001: 129.
465) Aurelius Victor 37.3; SHA *Probus* 18.5; SHA *Quadri Tyranni* 13.3-4, 14.2, 15.1. Hermann 1992: 503-4.
466) SHA *Probus* 16.1; Zosimos 1.68; Hermann 1992: 502; Kellner 1995: 351-2; Kerler 1970: 251-2; Wagner 1957: 224, no. 30, pl. 12.
467) SHA *Probus*, 20.2; Filtzinger 1986b: 97-9; Filtzinger 2005: 136-7.
468) Zosimos 1.69.1.
469) SHA *Probus* 19.2.8
470) Aurelius Victor 37.4; Eutropius 9.17; SHA *Probus* 21.2.
471) Jentgens 2001: 15-120

bis zur „Schlacht bei Zülpich“, or that of C. Theune on *Alamannia* from 2004 and most recently the second part of the exhibition, *Imperium Romanum* with the subtitle, *Römer, Christen, Alamannen – Die Spätantike am Oberrhein*.[472] A strictly philological tool is the compilation by the *Kommission für Alamannische Altertumskunde* of all literary sources to the *Alamanni*, the *Quellen zur Geschichte der Alamannen* in seven volumes published 1976-87. The *Franci* have been examined on a somewhat smaller scale, for instance, by P. Périn and L.C. Feffer in 1987 and 1997, E. James in 1988, by *Reiss-Museum Mannheim* in the exhibition, *Die Franken* from 1996 and by E. Taayke *et al*. in 2003.[473]

The appearance and meaning of the names

The first time the *Alamanni* seemed to have been mentioned was by Cassius Dio, who described a campaign by the Emperor Caracalla against the *Alamanni* in AD 213.[474] That this was the case has been rejected, for instance, by M. Springer in 1984, as an examination of the relevant sources showed him that later alterations had been made to the text.[475] Instead, the first confirmed reference to the *Alamanni* was made by the Gallic *panegyricus* Marmertinus, who held a speech in Trier in the honour of the Emperor Maximianus on the 21st of April AD 289.[476] The word *Alamannia* occurred on coins dated to AD 310-13 for the first time and the victory title *Alamannicus* was used for the first time by Constantine II in AD 331.[477] Springer elaborates greatly on the development of the use of this name. It is not until the middle of the 4th century AD that the *Alamanni* have an impact on the literary sources. Until then the people east of the Rhine are still seen as *Germani*. However, with the appearance of the *Alamanni* the name of the *Germani* is pushed away. In the *Historia Augusta* a reference to a victory of the usurper, Proculus in AD 280 over the *Alamanni* continues: ‘*qui tunc adhuc Germani dicebantur…*’,’*who were still at that time called Germani…*’[478] As the *Alamanni* designate people in the south-western part of *Germania*, a new name rises for those living to the north of the *Alamanni*, namely the *Franci*. According to Springer *Germani* designate those, who are not *Alamanni*, whereby *Germani* in time is substituted

472) Fuchs *et al.* 1997; Geiberger *et al.* 2005; Geuenich 1988; Theune 2004.
473) James 1988; Périn & Feffer 1987 & 1997; Taayke *et al.* (eds.) 2003; Wieczorek *et al.* 1996.
474) Cassius Dio *Ῥωμαϊκά* 77.13.4.
475) Springer 1984: 99-102, 113. His analyses are generally accepted. See e.g. Reuter 2003: 105, n. 556; Steidl 2000a: 106, n. 797; Steuer 2005: 28.
476) *Panegyrici Latini* 10 (2). 5.
477) CIL 3 7000; RIC 6, 223, no. 823; Springer 1984: 114-5.
478) SHA *Quadrigae tyrannorum* 13.3.

by *Franci*.[479] This name underwent a similar transformation, as can be seen in a statement by the church father, Hieronymus (ad 345-414), who described an exorcism of a Frankish guard: '*inter Saxones ... Alamanos gens ejus…apud historicos Germania, nunc Francia vocatur…*', '*His 'gens' between the Saxones and the Alamanni was called Germania by the historians, but now Francia…*'.[480] Springer states that the first to mention the *Franci* is, in fact, the same Marmertinus in a speech from the 21st of July ad 291 also in honour of the Emperor Maximianus.[481] The name of the *Franci* appears on coins more or less at the same time as that of the *Alamanni*, while Julian the Apostate (ad 360-3) was the first emperor that we know of that was given the title *Francicus*.[482] T.D. Barnes advocates a first appearance of the *Franci* in the reign of Probus (ad 276 – 282) with reference to events mentioned by Zosimos that are backed by a panegyric from ad 297.[483]

There are different suggestions to the meaning of the name of the *Alamanni*. According to a supposedly Roman source it should mean a mob of mixed men, which has been interpreted as a war band consisting of Germanic warriors of different origins.[484] Other suggestions are that it is connected to the *Suebi* and means 'pure' or 'complete' men or simply 'all' men. That the name itself is of Germanic origin has been generally agreed upon.[485] Springer, however, goes somewhat further. To the Romans the Germanic war bands called *Alamanni* belonged in *Alamannia*, the name the Romans gave the former *Agri Decumates*, but no such place would exist in the minds of the *Alamanni*, as it was only the war-going men of their respective tribes that were called *Alamanni*. Springer has found support in the statement of the Swabian Walafrid Strabo († ad 849), abbot of Reichenau, who stated that the Schwaben were called Alemannen by those, who spoke Latin.[486] It goes without saying that the Romans saw the *Alamanni* as the residents of *Alamannia*. It is my belief that if we accept that *Alamanni* is simply a Germanic name for 'war band', then there is no reason that this name should mean anything in particular until the same war bands came to occupy a known confined geographical area, which the Romans, although they had abandoned it officially, still considered a part of the

479) Springer 1984: 115-32.
480) Hieronymus *Vita S. Hilarionis Eremitae 22* (*Patrologia Latina* 23, 40); Springer 1984: 120.
481) *Panegyrici Latini* 11 (3).5.4; Springer 1984: 120.
482) RIC 6, 223, no. 824; Springer 1984: 120-1.
483) Zosimos 1.68.2; 1.72.2; *Panegyrici Latini* 8 (5).18.3; Barnes 1994: 15-7.
484) Agathias 1.6.3; Geuenich 1997: 74; Kuhn 1973: 138; Springer 1984: 130; Steuer 2005: 29.
485) Geuenich 1997: 74; Springer 1984: 130; Steuer 2005: 28-9.
486) Springer 1984: 130-1.

Roman Empire. Perhaps this particular designation was a Germanic description of all raiding parties that had crossed the borders in the past decades, but it may not have mattered to the Romans until some of the raiding parties no longer returned to their homes, but decided to stay in the former, and now partly vacated, Roman territory. Thus, the *Alamanni* to the Romans became those *Germani* who settled in the former *Agri Decumates*, from the very end of the 3rd century AD also known as *Alamannia*.[487] Possibly they were in fact allowed settlement by the Romans.[488] Concerning the name of the *Franci* there are several suggestions. The Greek orator, Libanios stated in a speech to the Emperors Constantius II and Constans that the *Franci* called themselves *Φρακτοι* after the Greek word '*Φρακτός*' meaning 'armoured' or 'armed', but that may easily have been his own invention.[489] Another suggestion is that it should mean 'free'.[490]

The origin of the *Alamanni*

That was a few comments on the names. A completely different matter is the question of their origins. In this part I will focus on the *Alamanni*. It is generally believed that the main part of the newcomers were of some sort of Suebic origin.[491] The main Suebic tribe was the *Semnones*, as far as we are told by Tacitus.[492] As discussed above, the discovery of the Augsburg victory altar added greatly to our knowledge of the later history of the *Semnones* and their relation to the *Iuthungi*, but even though Ammianus Marcellinus describes the *Iuthungi* as part of the *Alamanni* in AD 357 they were still perceived as an independent group in the 5th century AD according to the *Chronica Gallica*.[493] As the two 'tribes' are mentioned side by side with the *Iuthungi* east of the *Alamanni* it is reasonable to exclude them from the initial *Alamanni*. Based on the Augsburger inscription L. Bakker has argued that the core of the *Alamanni* were *Chatti* and *Hermunduri*, who had been pushed south and south-west by the *Semnones*. Instead, to Bakker, an origin of the *Iuthungi* in the Haßleben-Leuna region is more plausible.[494] This has been rejected by T. Stickler. He agues that

487) To this also Nuber 1998: 367, 77; Steuer 2005: 28-9.
488) Theune 2004: 195.
489) Libanios 59.127; Hermann 1991: 659; Springer 1984: 120.
490) Beck 1995: 373-4.
491) Knaut 1988: 311; Kuhn 1973: 138
492) Tacitus *Germania* 39.
493) Ammianus Marcellinus 17.6.1; *Chronica Gallica* 4.106 p. 658; Stickler 1995: 249.
494) Bakker 1993: 376.

W. Schultz, who initially examined Haßleben, had found clear cultural influences on the burial customs from the south-east, but these reflected contacts rather than immigrants.[495] Furthermore, later work of Schultz on the graves from Leuna and examinations by G. Mildenberger has made it clear that there was settlement continuity from the 3rd to the 5th century AD in the Haßleben-Leuna region. Therefore, the archaeological evidence speaks against newcomers from the south-west.[496] Stickler sees the theory of Bakker as a direct continuation of a suggestion put forward by A. Radnóti in 1965. In an attempt to explain the presence of Roman metal vessels in the Haßleben-Leuna graves, he suggested either a movement of booty from the *Agri Decumates*, i.e. from south-west, or a payment by the Romans for services rendered.[497] Bakker's theory, however, is not a continuation of Radnóti's, as his arguments require that some of the *Iuthungi* returned to their original homes and therefore Stickler's counter arguments are not applicable to the case, although he does state that the *Iuthungi* were already present north of the Danube, quite far south of Haßleben and Leuna.[498] H. Schach-Dörges has taken the Augsburg inscription as proof that the *Semnones*/*Iuthungi* were part of the Alamannic conquerors. This supposition she backs by a reference to the comment of Ammianus Marcellinus that the *Iuthungi* were a part of the *Alamanni*.[499] However, if we presume that the idea of the *Alamanni* in *Alamannia* did not appear until after the Romans had formally given up the *Agri Decumates* probably some time between AD 260 and AD 275, then the *Iuthungi* were there before the *Alamanni*. A reason they were not among the first *Alamanni* might be that they did not occupy former Roman land. It is believed that they were situated outside the old Roman border in the Oberpfalz north of *Castra Regina* (Regensburg), an area that only later may have been considered a part of *Alamannia*.[500]

The archaeological evidence of Germanic newcomers in the area is extremely scarce for the initial fifty years or so, i.e. from c. AD 260 – 310/20 (period C2).[501] H. Steuer puts it this way: '*Aus der ersten Phase der Alamannischen Ethnogenese gibt es nur einen geringen archäologischen Niederschlag der es kaum erlaubt, die Herkunft der Krieger und ihres Anhangs*

495) Schultz & Zahn 1933: 31-2; Stickler 1995: 238.
496) Mildenberger 1970; Schultz 1953: 71.
497) Radnóti 1965: 243-4.
498) Stickler 1995: 238.
499) Schach-Dörges 1997: 79.
500) Schach-Dörges 1997: 100-1; 1998: 640.
501) Material datable to period C2. Schach-Dörges 1998: 639.

näher zu bestimmen.'[502] The reason appears to be that the geographical indicators, for instance, pottery, *fibulae* or burial customs all point in the general direction of the Elbe.[503] The only usable find group so far to the early phase is the grave material. An outline of this relatively limited material was given in 1998 by H. Schach-Dörges and again in 2004 by C. Theune.[504] The graves were found in very specific areas, namely at the lower Main, at the middle and lower Neckar and north of the Danube. The entire southern part of the old *Agri Decumates* was devoid of Germanic graves in the initial settlement phase.[505] The number of graves listed by the two scholars differs slightly as Schach-Dörges includes Mainfranken, the *Vorfeld* of the Raetian *limes*. However, this leads only to minuscule differences.[506] The number of burials is limited to seven cremations and nine to ten inhumations, which are more or less equally divided between male and female burials. The males were all adult and were predominantly buried near old Roman sites. The weaponry deposited in the graves also differs from region to region. In the Main area, two graves contained axes, while near the Danube two graves contained three bronze arrowheads each. One of these also contained a spear, remains of a Roman shield and a pair of spurs.[507] The different types of weaponry is seen by Theune as an indication that the settlers had different origins.[508] She concluded that the graves show a close connection both to the Romans and the Elbe area and the Haßleben-Leuna group, for instance, by way of the *Obulus* custom. In this initial phase a few individuals or small groups were settled in *Alamannia*, most likely by the Romans. The evidence cannot support that large immigrations took place at this time. To compare the C3 (4th century) dated material counts around 100 graves. These continually show connections to the Elbe.[509] Steuer also sees a close connection between the equipment from the male graves and the late Roman army.[510] From the amount of finds from the end of the 3rd and the 4th century we can assume that the *Alamanni* as a group did only manifest widely during the 4th century. Furthermore, the military aspect of the male graves may indicate that some Roman allies were settled along

502) Steuer 1998: 283.
503) Steuer 1998: 284, 291-311.
504) Schach-Dörges 1998; Theune 2004, 176-200.
505) Schach-Dörges 1998: 639-41; Theune 2004: 179.
506) Schach-Dörges 1998: 640, 643; Theune 2004: 176.
507) Schach-Dörges 1998: 640-3, 648; Theune 2004: 176-80. See also below.
508) Theune 2004: 197.
509) Theune 2004: 180, 194-6.
510) Steuer 1998: 283.

the old borders to impede new Germanic raids. It is quite possible that these allies received this status only after defeat to the Romans as a part of a peace agreement.

The Erlbach – Skovgårde disc *fibula* enigma

An interesting example of these contact indicators is a female inhumation grave from Spielberg bei Erlbach, Stadt Oettingen in Bayern, Kr. Donau-Ries.[511] This grave is situated in the area north of the lower Danube inside the former Roman border.

In 1910, an inhumation grave on the Spielberg was disturbed by quarrying. The grave goods were completely recovered, although nothing was saved of the bones. A majority of the goods were of silver and gilt silver, among these and most prominently two disc *fibulae* and two hair pins (fig. 41). There was also a three-layered bone comb with semi circular grip and a hand made pot. The silver objects all have parallels in the Elbe area and Haßleben-Leuna.[512] The two disc *fibulae* with blue glass inlay have very close parallels in women's graves at Nienburg at the lower Saale and Dolinek near Prague, as well as Skovgårde on Zealand (fig. 42-3).[513] Other disc *fibulae* are found at about a dozen other sites at the middle and upper Elbe. A resemblance to Roman provincial disc *fibulae* from the first half of the 3rd century was noted by J. Werner.[514] The hair pins and three-layered comb as well as a silver neck ring were quite common in the mentioned Germanic regions, although the neck rings were often equipped with a pear shaped eye, as, for instance, the example from Nienburg.[515] The Erlbach grave has been dated to *c.* AD 300.[516]



Fig. 41 ⬆ *Spielberg bei Erlbach. After Schach-Dörges 1997: 71, fig. 70.*

Fig. 42 ⬇ *Skovgårde. Disc fibula. After Ethelberg et al. 2000: 57, fig. 48.*

Ethelberg and the Skovgårde model

A number of similarities between Skovgårde and Erlbach has led the excavator of Skovgårde, P. Ethelberg to suggest that close

511) Werner 1960.
512) Werner 1960: 164-7.
513) Schmidt 1958: 468-9; Svoboda 1948: 187; Ethelberg 1991: 561-3.
514) Schach-Dörges 1997: 81; Werner 1960: 166-7.
515) Schmidt 1958: 470; Werner 1960: 167.
516) Werner 1960: 169.



Fig. 43 Disc fibulae. Type Dolinék. Distribution map.

Pairs of discs.

Single disc.

relations may have existed between the two places. The disc *fibulae* are so much alike that Ethelberg believes they are produced by the same person. Skovgårde grave 8, however, belongs to period C1b (AD 210/20-250/60) and most likely the beginning due to the presence of a certain type of simple crossbow *fibulae*.[517] As the disc *fibula* from Skovgårde cannot be dated to the second half of the 3rd century, the two examples from Erlbach must be heirlooms. Otherwise, the Erlbach grave is older than presumed. Ethelberg has stated that most items from Erlbach have parallels in C1b graves from Zealand. Three-layered combs are found in abundance and so are hair pins with gilt decorations. Although there are no exact matches, a number of matching details are found on the Zealand examples. The silver neck ring from Skovgårde Grave 8 is not similar, but has a pear shaped eye like the one from Nienburg, except that the Skovgårde ring is tortuous.[518] Apart from these similarities there are also a number of differences. The Skovgårde material contains several bead necklaces and several vessels including two Roman glass bowls, whereas Erlbach has revealed a knife, more pins and a heavy bronze ring buckle. The orientation of the graves is also different. At Skovgårde it is S-N and at Erlbach it is W-E. Ethelberg has suggested that the Erlbach grave shows a mix of Zealandic and Alamannic traditions and that Erlbach possibly belongs to C1b or more likely the transition to C2 in the middle of the 3rd century instead of the end of C2 around AD 300.[519] As a support for this hypothesis, Ethelberg points towards a number of other similarities between Zealandic and central Germanic graves. One of these parallels concerns a grave from Dienstedt that belongs to the Haßleben-Leuna horizon.[520] A pair of tutulus *fibulae*, a type that somewhat resembles the disc *fibula*, have close parallels in several Danish examples and mostly a unique piece, a triple tutulus from Skovgårde grave 400. A special characteristic of the Zealandic disc and tutulus *fibulae* among other things is the integration of the rivet head in the decoration, something that is also found on the Erlbach and Dienstedt fibulae.[521] As an explanation to these circumstances and in the belief that all here

517) Ethelberg 1991: 568-9.
518) Ethelberg 1991: 570.
519) Ethelberg 1991: 570-1.
520) Steuer 1984.
521) Ethelberg 1991: 572-3; Ethelberg *et al.* 2000: 53-6, 411.

mentioned *fibulae*, except Nienburg, were made on Zealand in the first half of the 3rd century AD, Ethelberg proposes that the woman buried at Erlbach arrived from Zealand, possibly married off to confirm an alliance between Alamannic and Zealandic families.[522]

Continental rejection

In an inventory of South German grave finds from the early Alamannic period, H. Schach-Dörges comments Ethelberg's hypothesis. '*Gegenstandslos ist darüber hinaus die historische Verknüpfung der Funde von Erlbach im Ries und Skovgårde auf Seeland*.'[523] She understands that Ethelberg wants to place Erlbach in C1b. She points to the fact that only one disc *fibula* has been found north of the Haßleben-Leuna region and furthermore that except for the one from Skovgårde they are always found in pairs.[524] Also the use is different she claims: '*Es ist dort schon ein Fremdling, weil es entgegen kontinentaler Sitte als brustschmuck getragen wurde, denn der Typ Erlbach ist sonnst immer als Paar überliefert*.'[525] Furthermore: '*Er ist vielmehr mit archäologischem Material in Nordwestböhmen und Mitteldeutschland zu verbinden, denn hier wie dort sind die beiden Scheibenfibeln paarig auf den Schultern getragen worden, bei dem seeländischen Befund das Einzelstück hingegen als Brustschmuck*.'[526] More important are the burial customs to Schach-Dörges. On 3rd century Zealand the dead were buried on the side in a sleeping position with their heads towards south and this custom is not found in early Alamannic times at all. '*Skandinavisch-süddeutsche Beziehungen sind also nicht alleine aufgrund des archäologischen Materials, sondern wegen des unterschiedlichen Totenbrauchtums sehr unwahrscheinlich*.'[527] As support for this statement, she refers to her own article in the exhibition catalogue '*Die Alamannen*', where indeed she presents several examples of connections between the middle and upper Elbe area and Southwest Germany.[528]

More critical remarks are given by J. Bemmann in his review article on Ethelberg's Skovgårde publication from 2000.[529] Emphasizing Ethelberg's considerations concerning relations to the continental

522) Ethelberg 1991: 573-4; Ethelberg *et al.* 2000: 60.
523) Schach-Dörges 1998: 641.
524) Schach-Dörges 1997: 81; 1998: 641-2.
525) Schach-Dörges 1997: 81.
526) Schach-Dörges 1998: 641.
527) Schach-Dörges 1998: 642.
528) Schach-Dörges 1997.
529) Bemmann 2002.

material, Bemmann demonstrated with several examples how inadequate research and a problematic geographical understanding combined with a dubious methodological approach has led Ethelberg to wrong conclusions.[530] Concerning the main object of the present discussion, the disc *fibula*, Bemmann referred to the work by S. Thomas on Germanic disc *fibulae*, in which it was clear that the middle Elbe region and Böhmen are the main distribution areas.[531] To the statement that the Skovgårde, Erlbach and Dienstedt *fibulae* should have been produced on Zealand, due to the production technique, i.e. the incorporation of the rivet heads in the ornamentation, Bemmann notes that the majority of disc *fibulae* in the middle Elbe region come from cremations, why such a technique is not recognizable. According to Bemmann: '*…deuten alle Indizien daraufhin, daß die Fibel aus Grab 8 von Skovgårde aus Mitteldeutschland stammt und der seeländischen Trachtsitte entsprechend eine Brustperlenkette hielt*.'[532]

Deconstructing the arguments

Schach-Dörges and Bemmann both rather anxiously reject Ethelberg's attempt to push some of the continental graves to an earlier date. This they do with quite different results, as Bemmann applies much heavier arguments, than Schach-Dörges. Of course it should be remembered that they deal with two different versions of Ethelberg's theory, although he confirms his preliminary thoughts in the final publication. If we analyse the objections presented, we see that Schach-Dörges only presents two real counter arguments. One is that the disc type *fibula* was used in pairs on the shoulders in all but the Skovgårde example. The other is that Zealandic burial customs are not seen in the Alamannic region. The first counter argument presents some problems, because if we look at the find circumstances of the Erlbach find it appears that after the grave had been discovered due to the stone quarrying it was seen to that everything from the grave was salvaged, except for the bones of the deceased, but '*über die Lage der Beigaben ist nichts bekannt…*', as Werner put it.[533] In the Nienburg grave the two discs were found '*auf der Brust der Toten…*'[534] Of course it is debatable whether something is on the shoulders or on the breast,

530) Bemmann 2002: 718-20.
531) Thomas 1967; e.g. 21-2, 176-7 for this particular type A.I.Ib.
532) Bemmann 2002: 719.
533) Werner 1960: 164.
534) Schmidt 1958: 467.

but when Schach-Dörges refers to '*hier wie dort*' i.e. in Erlbach as in the Haßleben-Leuna area, she is constructing evidence herself.[535] Her other argument about burial customs is not entirely obvious either. The orientation of the Erlbach grave is not S-N as on Zealand, but nor is it N-S as in Haßleben and Leuna. Also in Nienburg is the orientation N-S. At Erlbach it is W-E. At Dienstedt, another grave mentioned by Ethelberg, the Orientation is E-W. A W-E orientation does, however, exist in the Haßleben-Leuna area, for instance, at Emersleben and Trebitz.[536] To this should be noted a relevant comment by C. Theune in her work on *Alamannia* that individuals or small groups of settlers are much more liable to adapt local burial customs, whereas larger migrating groups tend to use their own and well known customs.[537] If the Erlbach woman was the Zealandic part of an exogamous connection, she would not have been buried in a Zealandic fashion, but in the fashion of her Alamannic husband and her new home.

The dating of the disc *fibula* and grave is also ignored, except that Schach-Dörges erroneously believes that Ethelberg dates Erlbach to C1b. Indeed he may find such a date more appealing, but in the end he actually admits that an early C2 date is more realistic due to the location of Erlbach inside old Roman territory.[538]

Bemmann delivers several damaging blows to Ethelberg's theory, and quite rightly he points out that Ethelberg goes to far, when he attempts to place the genesis of the Haßleben-Leuna dynasty on Zealand.[539] Along the same lines, it is impossible not to smile at Ethelberg's comment that the inventory of the two graves automatically leads to the thought that the two women must have known each other.[540] However, there are some elements that Bemmann does not thoroughly address, if at all. Like Schach-Dörges, Bemmann avoids touching the unpleasant matter of the chronology. As eagerly as the former, he defends the late C2 date of the continental graves, but he does not dispute Ethelberg's dating of the Skovgårde complex. Ethelberg believed that the Skovgårde, Erlbach and Dienstedt *fibulae* were crafted by the same individual or workshop. That too was rejected by Bemmann, but his only argument was that cremations may have distorted other examples of *fibulae* with integrated rivets. However, if we look at S. Thomas' work on Germanic

535) Schach-Dörges 1998: 641.
536) Peška 2002: 27; Werner 1960: 164.
537) Theune 2004: 196.
538) Ethelberg 1991: 577.
539) Bemmann 2002: 721; Ethelberg *et al.* 2000: 143.
540) Ethelberg 1991: 573.

disc *fibulae*, this argument does not weigh heavily. Type A, which is disc *fibulae* with a flat layer of sheet metal, holds 119 examples, of which 68 could be arranged in series and variations. 51,7% came from cremations. The sheet metal layer was either soldered or riveted. The condition of the *fibulae* was mostly bad. 17 were well preserved, 26 were badly preserved and on 68 the sheet metal had not been preserved at all. As it is unlikely that they were not ornamented and as none had rivet marks, Thomas believed all 68 to have been soldered. Series I of type A containing the riveted versions held 24 examples. Variant I b, the Dolínek group, which had a cross arrangement of five blue glass beads, only contained the three pairs mentioned above, Erlbach, Nienburg and Dolínek.[541] In these figures I find little support for Bemmann's argument that cremations may have concealed that more *fibulae*, than we are aware of, could have been made with integrated rivets.

As keen as Schach-Dörges and Bemmann are to reject Ethelberg's theory, as surely are they avoiding the real enigma, namely that a disc *fibula* that is almost identical to those of the Dolínek group is found in a grave that presumably pre-dates the other graves by two generations. To that neither have any explanations, let alone comments. Their solution that the Skovgårde example must have come from the middle Elbe region simply ignores the chronological problem.

The Skovgårde disc fibula enigma

As a matter of fact, this is a brilliant example of a fundamental issue that we as archaeologists are far too reluctant to address, namely that some finds simply do not fit in, where they are supposed to. An obvious reason could be that we have no real solution, and that it may seem tedious to repeat this fact. I shall not presume to present any solutions here, merely attempt to elaborate. I am aware that this may appear a small digression from the present discussion, but it seem to me a proper end to the Skovgårde disc *fibula* enigma. One the one hand, we have three pairs of discs from the continental Germanic area, two from the middle Elbe region and one from new Alamannic territory just north of the Danube, but presumably with roots in the afore mentioned area. On the other hand, we have one single disc from Zealand (Fig. 42). The single disc is unique chronologically, geographically and concerning the use. In fact, perhaps the most striking difference is

541) Thomas 1967: 18-23.

that the glass beads in the single disc are white, whereas all other are blue.[542] It was carried on the chest and connected to a bead necklace as was customary on Zealand.[543] The pairs were presumably used as clothes pins on the shoulders. The implication of this, as stated by both Schach-Dörges and Bemmann, is that the single one had been removed from its normal surroundings and was no longer used 'correctly'. The pairs are all presumed to have been used identically, why their bearers must all have the same origin. Furthermore, they hold the majority; therefore, they present the 'correct' use. For this setup to stand, it would have been preferable that the majority pre-dated, or at least had a similar date as the minority. That is not the case here, so it is ignored. Furthermore, it should be remembered that the statistical material of the setup consists of only three pairs, of which one pair holds no information of placement on the body. This does not in itself present a problem, because as a pair it is automatically placed in the same grid as the other pairs. In order to generate an overall picture, we have to lock the material into grids, and the problem arises, when we no longer remove the grid from time to time. Furthermore, the weak statistical material is backed by a reference from Bemmann to both Thomas and Schach-Dörges, who showed that the middle Elbe region was the main distribution area for disc *fibulae*, although Denmark is not entirely invisible on the general map by Thomas (Fig. 44).[544] He did not, however, mention that the distribution area for the Germanic swastika shaped disc *fibula* is Denmark, even though he ought to have noticed that a distribution map for this object is present in the work he was reviewing.[545] That the Erlbach pair is considered to belong to the main group overrules the fact that it was *not* found in the Elbe area, but actually almost as far away from the main area of distribution as Skovgårde. This means that in reality we have four discs from the 'area of origin' and three discs from outside.

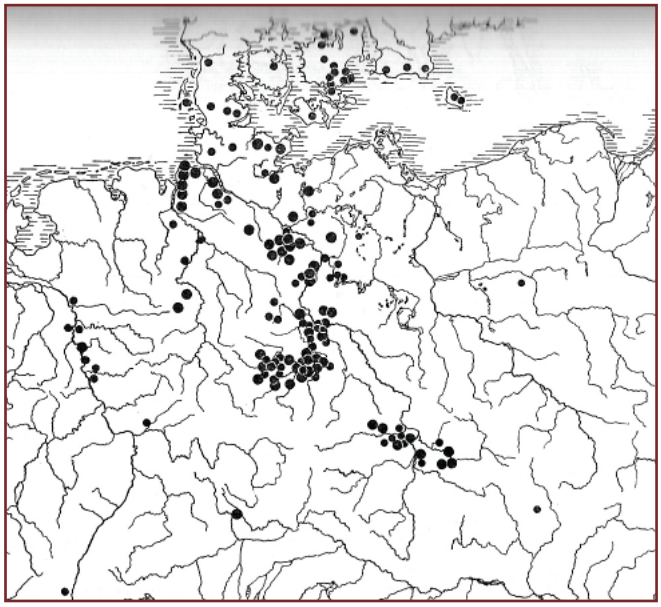


Fig. 44 Disc fibulae. Distribution map. After Thomas 1967: 173.

In a female grave from Berching-Pollanten a glass bead necklace fastened

542) Ethelberg *et al.* 2000: 57, fig. 48.
543) See e.g. Himlingøje grave 1949-2. Lund Hansen *et al.* 1995: 152-8, 167.
544) Bemmann 2002: 719; Thomas 1967: 172, Karte 1.
545) Ethelberg *et al.* 2000: 55, fig. 47; Thomas 1967: 42-53, 182, Karte 6.



Fig. 45 Berching-Pollanten. Bead necklace with fibulae. After Fischer 1988: 101.

by a *fibula* in each end was found (fig. 45), a combination that is not uncommon.[546] This grave complex equally had links to the middle Elbe region, as demonstrated in the following case study. Could the development of the use of these discs go from one disc in a necklace to two discs in a necklace to two discs without a necklace? Perhaps one of these women had simply chosen to wear her pair of *fibulae* in a different fashion than the other women. These questions may seem banal, but even though we will never get an answer to most of them, we can never afford to ignore these questions, and they will only appear, if we remove our grid occasionally. To sum up, I do not think Ethelberg's theory can be dismissed as easily as is done. Although a number of errors have been pointed out, the chronological issue is far too important to ignore.

Germanic *foederati* or *auxiliarii*?

In Pollanten, Stadt Berching, Kr. Neumarkt in der Oberpfalz, in the area north of the lower Danube outside the former Roman border a grave site was discovered in the early 1980s.[547] The site was unique among the multiple grave sites in Southwest Germany, as it contained both cremations and inhumations. The four inhumations, of which there were two male and two female, constituted the founders of an Alamannic or Iuthungian settlement in the second half of the 3rd century AD. A man and a woman with notable grave goods and two servants were buried here. In grave 4, the man had been placed on his back in a wooden chamber of 150 x 250 cm (Fig. 46 A). Most of the grave goods belonged to a military sphere (fig. 46 B). With him he had three arrowheads, a spearhead, a knife and a repaired Roman shield boss, all of bronze. He also had a set of bronze spurs and around the waist he had worn a military belt with oblong diamond shaped silver fittings. His clothes had been adorned by a bronze *fibula*.[548] Especially the three arrowheads link the grave to a tradition found in the middle Elbe area, for instance, in grave 1917-2 from Leuna.[549] The weaponry of the grave also links the deceased to the Roman military, as it greatly resembles the equipment of the army, although in this case they had

546) Fischer 1988: 100-1; Schach-Dörges 1997: 100. Other examples: Schach-Dörges 1997: 92, figs. 74 & 75a-b. This feature is also not uncommon in the Skovgårde cemetery. Ethelberg *et al.* 2000: 98.
547) Fischer 1983.
548) Fischer 1988: 20-2, 98-100; Theune 2004: 177.
549) Schach-Dörges 1997: 91, 93-4; Schultz 1953: 11-6.

been made for the burial and could not have been used for fighting.[550]

This leads us to the eternal question: Friend or foe? Clearly the first descriptions of *Alamanni*, *Iuthungi* and *Franci* present them as defeated enemies.[551] However, we also know from the literary sources that in the time of civil war in the AD 260s, both sides used Germanic mercenaries. The *Historia Augusta* mentions at several places that Postumus used Germanic auxiliaries against Gallienus.[552] It is also attested that Gallienus used a Germanic tribe to keep others from reaching the Rhine.[553] Some of this information may have been rejected as fantasy due to the dubious nature of the *Historia Augusta*, but it would be no great surprise, as it fits perfectly with long lasting Roman practice.[554] As mentioned above, several scholars see a connection between the settlers of the late 3rd century AD and the Romans.[555] The grave goods of the Pollanten warrior link him to a military sphere, and the repaired Roman *umbo* could be an indication that it was the Roman army. Also the Haßleben-Leuna horizon has been connected to the Romans as foederati. The first to do so thoroughly was A. Radnóti in an examination of oval bronze plates, of which a number had been found outside the Roman Empire, namely in Sachsen and Thüringen, the regions, where Haßleben and Leuna are situated.[556] He suggested that the fine bronze and glass vessels as well as the gold coins found in these graves had been part of subsidies coming from Köln. Through this city, one of the seats of the 'Gallic Emperors', the oval plates were funnelled from the workshops in *Gallia Belgica* to the Germanic elite at the middle Elbe. One argument was that this type of plate has not been found in-between.[557] This theory was picked up by J. Werner in 1973.[558] He particularly studied the finds of aurei. At that time, 16 coins from nine graves produced five pre-civil war coins,

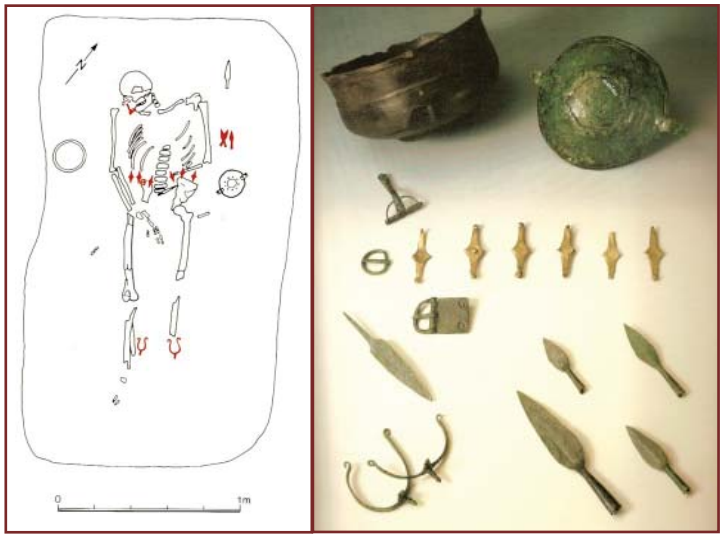


Fig. 46 Berching-Pollanten, grave 4. A (↼): grave 4, B (⇀): grave goods. After Schach-Dörges 1997: 77, fig. 76 & Fischer 1988: 99.

550) Fischer 1988: 98.
551) The Augsburg victory altar and the early panegyrics as desribed earlier.
552) SHA *Gallieni duo* 7.1; *Tyranni Triginti* 6.2.
553) Zosimos 1.30.3.
554) Barnes 1994: 12.
555) Steuer 1998: 276, 283: Theune 2004: 194-5.
556) Radnóti 1965.
557) Radnóti 1965: 243-4.
558) Werner 1973.

while nine came from the 'Gallic Empire' and two from Gallienus' reign. Half of the *aurei* had been put in the mouth of the deceased, but this only occurred in the richest of the graves. Combined with the occurrence of certain Roman bronze vessels, the large percentage of 'Gallic' coins was seen as an indication of military political contacts. A conversion of the weight of other gold objects into *aurei* would give an idea of the amount of *aurei* that were received. For grave 8, the richest of the Haßleben graves, it would amount to c. 60 *aurei*.[559] No *aurei* of the 'Gallic Empire' have appeared in Southwest Germany or South Scandinavia. The youngest *aureus* from the Haßleben-Leuna area is from the reign of Tetricus, the last of the 'Gallic Emperors'. That is another indication that the Haßleben-Leuna horizon is linked to the 'Gallic Empire'. Although Radnóti and Werner respectively favoured the *Iuthungi* and the *Thuringi*, they both believed that these Germanic warlords could not be *Alamanni*, as they appeared to have been hired to fight the *Alamanni*.[560] However, as demonstrated above, there are numerous links between the early Alamannic graves and the Haßleben-Leuna horizon. Therefore, it appears that this all dominating group of graves from the last third of the 3rd century has been identified both as *Franci* and *Alamanni*. Fortunately this enigma need not trouble us for long. Following the discussion on the origin of the name of the *Alamanni* that reached the conclusion that no such group as an ethic entity existed until the end of the 3rd century, we can only conclude that, if we accept this theory, such a problem did not exist during the civil war. Werner has explained that the superiority of 'Gallic' versus Roman *aurei* and the lack of any post-'Gallic' coins in the Haßleben-Leuna graves meant that these Germanic *foederati* went home, as they were dismissed by the Emperor Aurelian, when he had gained control over the separatists in AD 274.[561] One scenario could be that a few of these warriors had been asked to settle at certain places in the *Agri Decumates*. These settlers would not have been the rich warlords, but small groups of minions or individuals, who preferred new adventures rather than to return to their old homes. For the early graves are not very rich, lacking both gold and precious Roman vessels. This was one of Werner's arguments against a connection between the *Alamanni* and the Haßleben-Leuna horizon, but in the given scenario I believe that

559) Werner 1973: 7-12, 15-6.
560) Radnóti 1965: 243, n. 296; Werner 1973: 6-7.
561) Werner 1973: 27.

this does not constitute a contradiction.[562]

In 1989, Werner followed up on his theory in an article on two Roman cloak *fibulae*, one of gilt silver from Leuna grave 1917-2 and one of gilt bronze from Leuna grave 1926-5.[563] They were forerunners of the so-called onion knob type, which was used as a sign of rank in the Roman army in the 4th century AD, and as such the *fibulae* indicated that the two deceased had held a rank equivalent to a Roman officer. Close parallels between grave goods from the middle Elbe region and the surroundings of the capital of *Germania Inferior* equally backed Werner's theory.[564] The silver *fibula* from Leuna 1917-2 also had parallels in two graves from *Aquincum* (Budapest) and *Brigetio* (Szöny) in *Pannonia*. A niello ornamented, gilt silver staff in the *Brigetio* grave indicated that the deceased apart from being a Roman magistrate or officer had held some sort of priesthood. The deceased from *Aquincum* was a Roman officer, as shown by his signs of rank, the *fibula* and his *cingulum militare*, or officer's belt, but he had also been buried with a battle axe, which indicated that he had a Germanic origin. These parallels convinced Werner that the deceased in Leuna had been buried with a Roman officer's cloak, which he could have received to identify his rank in the *ingentia auxilia Germanorum*.[565]

Although Werner's theory has been generally accepted, for instance, by R. Laser, J.F. Drinkwater and H. Steuer to mention a few, there are also sceptics.[566] M. Erdrich has briefly touched this question in his dissertation, '*Rom und die Barbaren*'. He found that the coin evidence could not quite support the statement that the Haßleben-Leuna horizon had closer ties to Postumus than Gallienus. Referring to R. Laser's work from 1982 on Roman and Byzantine coin finds from East Germany, Erdrich found it difficult to believe, with a total of seven *aurei* minted by Gallienus and eight by Postumus found in the inhumation graves, that the Germanic warlords had been paid off with coins presenting a rival Emperor.[567] '*Aus diesen Überlegungen heraus erscheint eine Gleichsetzung der in den mitteldeutschen Skelettgräbern bestatteten germanischen Eliten und ihrer Gefolgschaften mit den historisch überlieferten "ingentia auxilia Germanorum" kaum vereinbar.*'[568] According to Erdrich, those sources

562) Werner 1973: 7.
563) Werner 1989.
564) Werner 1989: 121-4.
565) Werner 1989: 130-2
566) Drinkwater 1987: 225; Laser 1982: 28; Steuer 1998.
567) Erdrich 2001: 133-4.
568) Erdrich 2001: 134.

mentioning Frankish auxiliaries much more likely referred to groups of raiding *Franci* that, after defeat to Postumus, were given the choice to die or join. Postumus was, furthermore, counting on a traditional defence of the Provinces, much more than Gallienus, who used his field army to track down the raiders on their way home.[569] '*Vor diesem Hintergrund erscheint eine Anwerbung germanischer Hilfskontingente wie die immer wieder bemühten Thüringer abwegig*.'[570] Erdrich has brought forward a valid argument concerning both the coin material and the possible identification of the *ingentia auxilia Germanorum* as raiders. However, he has misread the tables of Laser somewhat, as he has used a list of the total finds of *aurei*.[571] That same list shows that in the years of the 'Gallic Empire', there are a total of eight central Roman *aurei* and 14 'Gallic', but when we look at grave finds, the numbers, as presented by Werner, are two central Roman *aurei* and nine 'Gallic'.[572] I.e. of the *aurei* mentioned by Erdrich five of the seven Gallienus-coins and two of the Postumus-coins are stray finds.[573] Still, the statistical material is diminutive. Coin finds should be treated with the utmost care. If only to add to the complexity, one could mention a hoard find from Holzthaleben, approximately 50 km northwest of Haßleben. It originally consisted of more than 200 *antoniniani*, of which 147 could be determined. Four coins were minted by Postumus, while the remaining 143 coins were from the central Empire, ranging from Valerian (AD 253-60) to Quintillus, the short-lived and insignificant Emperor of the year AD 270.[574] Naturally this hoard might as easily be booty as subsidies. In his short discussion of this problem, Erdrich concentrates on coins alone, and that was also the main interest of Werner's article from 1973, but Erdrich completely disregards both the arguments of Radnóti concerning Roman high value silver, bronze and glass vessels, and Werner's article from 1989 in his rejection of this theory. To this, one could also add the work by S. Dušek from 1992 on Roman craftsmen in Thüringen, in which a number of Roman influences within most parts of society on the middle Elbe region in the last third of the 3rd century AD are shown. Of these, perhaps the most intriguing is the evidence that Roman pottery was in fact

569) Erdrich 2001: 134.
570) Erdrich 2001: 134.
571) Laser 1982: 456-7.
572) Laser 1982: 451.
573) Laser 1982: 427-30.
574) Laser 1982: 286-7.

produced in Haarhausen using Roman mass production techniques.[575] Erdrich finishes by stating that any diplomatic attempts to influence the *Thuringi* to attack the central Empire remain untouched by this theory.[576] However, what Erdrich finds contradicting, i.e. *foederati* and vanquished enemies that are forced to help, is not concordant with other information that we have. For instance, some years ago the first appearance on the world stage by the *Iuthungi* was believed to be in a fragment by Dexippos, an Athenian *nobilis* and historian, born around ad 210 and probably surviving the reign of Aurelian († ad 275). His works are only known in fragments, but one of the largest from his '*Σκυθικά*', on wars with the tribes at the Danube, concerns a conflict between the Emperor Aurelian and the *Iuthungi* in ad 270.[577] The fragment deals with peace negotiations after a Roman victory. At four places in the text, an earlier treaty between the Romans and the *Iuthungi* is mentioned. This earlier treaty allegedly involved that the *Iuthungi* refrained from attacking the Romans and that they would join the Romans in battle against other enemies in a *συμμαχία*, as *foederati*. To seal this friendship they were paid in gold and silver.[578] Therefore, this was not the first meeting between the Romans and the *Iuthungi*. This was also confirmed by the find of the Augsburg victory altar, which took the *Iuthungi* ten years back in time to ad 260. Did they fight in between? We have no idea! However, given the pragmatic approach of the Romans they would turn a defeated enemy into something useful. For this, there are several examples.[579] A plausible result of the peace negotiations following Iuthungian defeat could be what has been described by Dexippos.

Since Laser's '*Fundmünzen*', new coins have appeared in the middle Elbe region, for instance, in one of the most spectacular Roman Iron Age graves at Gommern.[580] This grave, which was discovered in 1990, contained large amounts of grave goods surpassing all other graves from this region. The most prominent were a number of gold objects including a kolben neck ring, a spiral finger ring, two *fibulae* and an *aureus* from the reign of Trajan. Moreover there were silver weaponry and utensils normally only found in bronze, such as a ladle and sieve

575) Dušek 1992: especially 133-47.
576) Erdrich 2001: 134.
577) Dexippos *Σκυθικά* fr. 6; Brandt 1999: 169-76.
578) Dexippos *Σκυθικά* fr. 6.1, 5, 7, 12. *συμμαχία* particularly: fr. 6.7.
579) E.g. during the Marcomannic wars. See, for instance, Stahl 1989. Also negotiations by the Emperor Probus: SHA *Probus* 14.
580) E.g. Becker *et al.* 1996; 2006; Sailer & Roeder 2001: 108-214.

and a Hemmoor bucket, as well as numerous other Roman vessels of bronze and glass. The *aureus* had been placed in the mouth, while five *denarii* had been kept presumably in a purse at the waist.[581] This evidence does not affect the theory of Werner, though.

The question of Germanic *foederati* and the *ingentia auxilia Germanorum* during the civil war from AD 260 to 274 is not a simple one, as can be seen above. There are aspects of Roman Germanic military relations that we will always have difficulty comprehending, but the research by Werner in particular has shown close connections between the middle Elbe region and the 'Gallic Empire' that for now can only be interpreted as that of allies. Erdrich has pointed out some problems, but did not solve them himself. In this matter more focus should be put on the Roman attitude towards enemies and allies. Other questions rise from this issue. If we accept such a development and rise of wealth in the middle Elbe region on these grounds, what implications will it have on other areas at different times? One of the key graves is Leuna 1917-2. A grave from Hågerup on Funen contains grave goods mostly resembling those of Leuna 1917-2 including a ring with a Roman *gemma* and a Roman silver bowl of the type that Werner saw a parallel to in a grave at Bonn, but the Hågerup grave is dated to C1b, while Leuna 1917-2 is from C2. These two graves have been seen as an indication of inter-Germanic contacts.[582] Once again, however, like the discussion above concerning the disc *fibulae*, we have an earlier date in the North. Another example of a grave that is touched by Werner's conclusions is grave a from the Varpelev cemetery on Zealand. This grave, dated to C2, is highly similar to the graves in the middle Elbe region, with several objects of gold including a snake's head neck ring and an *aureus*, only this was minted by Probus and not one of the 'Gallic Emperor's.[583] Can this be seen as an indication of military political contacts between Zealand and the Roman Empire? These are issues that will be given closer attention later.

581) Becker 2006: 224-8.
582) Albrechtsen 1968: 123; Jørgensen *et al.* 2003: 400; Storgaard 2003: 119; Werner 1989: 123.
583) Engelhardt 1877: 350-9; Jørgensen *et al.* 2003: 396.

Part 2: Sources to Roman – Scandinavian Contacts

Roman diplomacy and the use of foreign military resources

That the Romans had diplomatic contacts with peoples outside the Empire is well known and attested in the literary sources. At the beginning of the Principate, the primary strategy concerning the northern regions was one of military advancement, at first the conquest of *Germania* between the rivers Rhine and Elbe. In AD 9, the Cheruscan prince Arminius put a halt to such plans following his defeat of Varus and his three legions. From thereon, the strategy shifted to one primarily of diplomacy. Why defeat the Germanic tribes at high cost, if they could be controlled by treaties? This strategy, of course, had been used by the Romans in the Republican period as well. For instance, Ariovistus, whom Caesar defeated at the beginning of the Gallic war, had been acknowledged as *rex atque amicus*, i.e., king and friend of the Roman Senate and people, during Caesar's consulship of 59 BC.[584] The system of client kings consisted of providing pro-Roman tribal leaders with the means to hold on to power, or to start with, to create pro-Roman chieftains. One of the most obvious examples from the early Principate was the kingdom of the *Marcomanni*. From the rule of Maroboduus, raised in Rome under Augustus, this kingdom had close links to the Empire. As described above, he came to an agreement with Tiberius, although the Roman armies had been at his doorstep, an agreement, which was upheld even though Maroboduus was driven out, soon followed by his successor, Catualda. The next king, the Quadian Vannius, was installed directly by the Romans, thereby stabilising an alliance on the Danubian frontier, which would last until Domitian was denied help against the Dacians, probably in AD 89.[585] In the critical years after Nero's death in AD 68, the Marcomannic/Quadic kingdom partly supplied Vespasian with troops, while protecting the Danube, as Vespasian had withdrawn the legions stationed there.[586] The purpose of the client king was manifold. An immediate advantage to the Romans would be that no military resources were tied down by a conquest. A strong argument for participating in such an arrangement would be the threat of Roman military involvement, an argument the

584) Caesar *De Bello Gallico* 1.35.2.
585) Cassius Dio *Ῥωμαϊκά* 67.7.1.
586) Tacitus *Historiae* 3.5.1, 3.21.2.

Roman commander Cerealis used when he negotiated peace with the *Bructeri* at the end of the Batavian revolt in AD 70.[587] The Romans would obtain a friendly neighbour, who would protect the Roman border and sometimes hinder other tribes from attacking the Empire. They might also provide resources in the form of auxiliaries or grain. The king on the other hand would receive Roman support, for instance, in financial or agricultural form. Tribes would seek support or protection against others.

These provisions given by the Romans, often referred to as subsidies or gifts, were not necessarily always given to 'client' kings, whom one could describe as the strongest type of Roman diplomatic contacts, but could also prove useful on an *ad hoc* basis.[588] Another way of creating barbarian auxiliaries was through peace treaties. One such example comes from the Marcomannic wars. In AD 174, Marcus Aurelius reached a peace agreement with the *Iazyges*/Sarmatians, with the outcome that they supplied 8.000 horsemen, of which 5.500 were sent to *Britannia*. When Commodus ended the war in AD 180, the *Quadi* had to deliver 13.000 men and the *Marcomanni* a little less as auxiliary troops.[589] Little is known of how these men were used. Practically no auxiliary units were named after Germanic tribes living outside the Empire.[590] Tacitus mentions such a unit. In the '*Agricola*', he describes how a '*cohors Usiporum per Germania conscripta et in Britanniam transmissa*' i.e., '*a Usipan cohort raised in Germania* (one presumes, among the *Usipi*, who lived near the Rhine in the area between the rivers Sieg and Lahn) *and sent to Britannia*.' They deserted and captured three Liburnian galleys. This they did after '*occiso centurione ac militibus, qui ad tradendam disciplinam immixti manipulis exemplum et rectores habebantur…*' i.e., *slaying the centurion and those legionary soldiers, who had been mixed with the maniple to serve as models and instructors to teach discipline…*'[591] The word *cohors* in this context must be the designation simply of a unit, rather than the usual tactical, six-*centuria* unit. Tacitus also uses *manipulus* for this purpose, a designation for two *centuriae* used in the Republican army. It seems these *Usipi* had gone to some sort of training camp as recruits, where they could learn the basics of being a *miles auxiliarius*, forming a unit led by one centurion with

587) Tacitus *Historiae*: 5.24.
588) Tacitus *Germania*: 42.2; Austin & Rankov 1995: 147-149; Braund 1989: 17-20; Mattern 1999: 118, 121, 179-181; Southern 2001: 192-195; Wolters 1990: 35-7; 1991: 116-121.
589) Cassius Dio *Ῥωμαϊκά*: 71.16.2, 72.2.3.
590) James 2005: 274; Spaul 2000: 10-16.
591) Tacitus *Agricola* 28.1. To the location of the tribe in *Germania*: Tacitus *Germania* 32.

legionary soldiers as instructors. Possibly they would have been dispatched from this camp to different units as reinforcements. That individuals served is attested by the epigraphic evidence mentioning, for instance, a horseman of the *Chatti* from the *ala I Pannonicorum* or one of the *Frisii* from the *ala Hispanorum Aureliana*.[592] These and other examples are listed by R. Wolters, who also mentions inscriptions with the name '*GERMANVS*'. Such a person could come from anywhere within Roman or non-Roman *Germania*.[593]

Another form of diplomatic contact occurred with the arrival of embassies from different tribes, asking for the friendship of the Roman Emperor and people. Probably the best known reference to this is the *Res Gestae* of Augustus, listing a great number of peoples, from the *Cimbri* to the Indians, who sought friendship.[594] But not all cross-frontier interactions had to go all the way to the Emperor. Yearly subsidies would be handled by the nearest financial procurator, and kings and local chieftains could establish relationships with the provincial governors. From information gained by the work of Flavius Arrianus during his time as governor of *Cappadocia* between AD 131 and 137, it appears that such a position demanded a thorough knowledge of cities, military installations and armies of the province as well as of neighbouring tribes and their attitudes towards the Empire. This source however is the only one providing details of a governor's knowledge of his province. Probably envoys from the various tribes that had dealings with the province would pay a visit when a new governor had arrived, in order to confirm treaties and other arrangements. In the early principate, at least, it seems the governor was free to venture on military expeditions, if he thought it necessary, for instance in *Britannia* or *Germania*.[595]

Roman diplomatic relations in the long run would have been the Emperor's responsibility. He would receive tribal embassies. On the other hand, the day-to-day administration of such matters would have been left to the local authorities. Most likely this would have been routine matters handled by the offices of the governor and financial procurator. But little information about the practical matters has survived until today. The contact with individual smaller chieftains or bands of warriors would have been the concern of the governor.

592) CIL III 4228; CIL VI 4342.
593) Wolters 1991: 114-115.
594) Augustus *Res Gestae* 26, 31.
595) Arrian *Periplous*; Tacitus *Agricola* 14; *Annales* 11.18-20, 13.53, 14.29; Austin & Rankov 1995: 142-147; Mattern 1999: 10-11; Millar 1982: 7-10, 15-16; Southern 2001: 194-195.

"Römischer Import"



Fig. 47 H.J. Eggers' type tables. After Eggers 1951: Pls. 1-16.

Roman objects found outside the Roman Empire have been taken under consideration by several scholars during 20th century. I will here give a brief outline of the general works that in principle cover all of non-Roman Europe, the British isles excepted, followed by a description of two regionally founded works that are important each in their own way. The first by U. Lund Hansen is the most thorough examination of Roman vessels in Scandinavia, and is therefore crucial to the present project. The other is by M. Erdrich on the northwestern parts of *Germania*, and that is important not so much because of the region examined, but because of his methodological approach, which is fundamentally different from that of Lund Hansen and other prehistorical archaeologists.

General investigations

The pioneer in this field, H.-J. Eggers, presented a fundamental work, when he published '*Der römische Import im Freien Germanien*' in 1951.[596] This was an examination primarily of Roman glass and bronze vessels found in *Barbaricum*, but also *terra sigillata*, statuettes and *militaria* were taken under consideration.[597] All in all, Eggers charted 250 different types of vessels (fig. 47).[598] The purpose of the work was twofold; to shed light on the history of the Roman – Germanic trade and to create a key to the absolute chronology.[599] Eggers identified a zone of petty border trade consisting of all kinds of objects such as pottery, especially *terra sigillata*, *fibulae* and small tools. This zone was about 100 km wide. Outside this zone was the long distance trade, which included valuable trade objects like bronze, silver and glass vessels.[600] Concerning Scandinavia, Eggers concluded that the primary route was by sea from *Fectio* (Vechten) and that Denmark had been an important centre of distribution both with regard to the Scandinavian Peninsula and the Baltic coast of Germany and Poland.[601] As a basic instrument for his chronology, he chose a number of graves, which could be considered closed finds, as *Leitfunde*. They should include at least three datable objects, whether it was *fibulae*, pottery or other

596) Eggers 1951.
597) Eggers 1951: Overviews: Maps 60-4.
598) Eggers 1951: Pls. 1-16.
599) Eggers 1951: 11.
600) Eggers 1951: 67-70.
601) Eggers 1951: 68.

Germanic or Roman objects. These objects defined the division of the chronological phases. The result was a new chronology, which is still the basis of the Iron Age chronology of Europe outside the former Roman Empire.[602] The development of this chronology was a project on its own, although Eggers used it in his work on the Roman import. The chronology was published in 1955.[603]

In 1983, the Roman bronze and glass vessels from the Early Roman Iron Age that had appeared since Eggers' publication were examined and published by J. Kunow in '*Der Römische Import in der Germania Libera bis zu den Markomannenkriegen*'.[604] Like Eggers, Kunow first and foremost saw the Roman imports as trade, although he briefly mentions other possibilities.[605] According to Kunow, this trade was based in the production sites. The trade was presumably done by Roman traders travelling through *Barbaricum*.[606] Kunow also looked at Eggers' chronology, as it had become clear that Roman vessels could not be attributed as easily to individual periods as Eggers had believed, but overlapped.[607] He showed that certain types could be manufactured over several periods, although they might only appear in *Barbaricum* in one period. '*Es gilt eben nicht, wie Eggers noch annahm daß der römische Import die germanischen Gegenstände datiert, sondern im Gegenteil: in der Regel, zumindest relativ-chronologisch, datieren die einheimischen Gegenstände den römischen Import der Germania libera!*'[608]

In 1990, a new investigation of the Roman bronze vessels in *Barbaricum* was conducted by S. Berke, this time along with an examination of the *terra sigillata*.[609] Berke's main aim was to find out, whether these find groups could provide an insight in the chronology of trade, and how an absolute dating by way of local Germanic objects could contribute. Furthermore, he wanted to solve questions about trade routes, receivers and handlers of the Roman items.[610] This material allowed Berke to create his own chronology for the bronzes, which contained four phases from 100 BC to AD 300.[611] His conclusion concerning the bronzes was that their circulation period could hardly ever be fitted into Eggers' time periods. That Kunow had already realised this in 1983,

602) Eggers 1951: 70-1.
603) Eggers 1955.
604) Kunow 1983.
605) Kunow 1983: 41.
606) Kunow 1983: 47-50, 65-8.
607) Kunow 1983: 15-7.
608) Kunow 1983: 28-9.
609) Berke 1990.
610) Berke 1990: 2.
611) Berke 1990: 10-29.

is not mentioned. Furthermore, he found out that the bronzes could not help the chronology, as too little evidence was available inside the Roman provinces to identify production times and circulation periods. Therefore, it was not possible to decide whether the circulation periods had been long or short.[612] The *terra sigillata* situation was a completely different matter, as a precise chronology had been established for this find group. Therefore, Berke believed that the presence of *terra sigillata* in a Germanic context could facilitate a more precise dating.[613] Berke also noted that some Roman vessels may have entered *Barbaricum* by way of booty, gifts and so on, but that the majority must have been trade objects.[614]

In the same and following years, R. Wolters, an ancient historian, gave his version of '*Der Waren- und Dienstleistungsaustausch*' between the Roman Empire and *Barbaricum*.[615] Wolters' aim was to challenge the results acquired by the archaeological research with the historical sources.[616] At first, he described the different archaeological find groups including coins and their part in the overall picture.[617] Curiously, Denmark was seen to have a find concentration of *terra sigillata*, something that is perhaps a slight overstatement.[618] It was also noticed that Denmark had a special position both in B2 and in the C1b.[619] Then followed a description of the political situation. [620] The literary sources testify to a variety of trade related encounters between Romans and the people of *Barbaricum*, from the time of Caesar and onwards. This included both Germanic traders inside the Empire and Roman traders in *Barbaricum*.[621] As an introduction to the part on exchange, Wolters stated the following: '*Die sogenannten unsichtbaren Einfuhren und Ausfuhren, der grenzüberschreitende Transfer von Dienstleistungen, steht zumeist in einem engen Zusammenhang mit den politischen Verbindungen Zwischen Rom und einzelnen germanischen Stämmen. Diese persönlichen und staatlichen Leistungen bilden einen wichtigen Baustein zur Betrachtung des Handelsaustausches, da sie mittelbar den Güteraustausch beeinflußten*.'[622] Here, he emphasised the

612) Berke 1990: 27-8.
613) Berke 1990: 80.
614) Berke 1990: 90.
615) Wolters 1990; 1991.
616) Wolters 1990: 18-9.
617) Wolters 1990: 20-31.
618) Wolters 1990: 22. See also below.
619) Wolters 1990: 25.
620) Wolters 1990: 31-44.
621) Wolters 1991: 79-88.
622) Wolters 1991: 106.

importance of political connections, something that had only been examined very superficially in the previously mentioned works. Quite some space was also used by Wolters on the questions of *Germani* in Roman military service and the payment by the Romans of subsidies, as well as gifts. These aspects are welcomed novelties in this overall discussion.[623] This investigation of the evidence showed Wolters that a petty border trade was visible in all sources. Furthermore, it could be seen that the areas with the closest political relations coincided with areas that had received the largest amounts of Roman goods. '*So ist es gewiß kein Zufall, wenn die römischen Importe überall dort besonders dicht vorkommen, wo auch die politischen Verbindungen besonders intensive und beständig waren.*'[624] The close concentration of Roman objects in the regions between the Baltic Sea and the Danube provinces along the Vistla River could be connected to the amber trade, which appeared to have been handled via internal Germanic trade relations.[625] The wide use of Germanic mercenaries in the Roman army from the end of the Republic could to Wolters be the reason for the many Roman coins, as well as for a great deal of the valuable vessels. The subsidies, also responsible for a great influx of Roman coinage, could widely have been used to purchase other Romans objects.[626] Little credit was given by Wolters to the presence of Roman long distance traders, gifts and Germanic booty.[627]

Ulla Lund Hansen vs. Michael Erdrich

In 1987, the '*Römischer Import im Norden*' by U. Lund Hansen appeared.[628] The purpose of this work was to identify the mechanisms of goods exchange from the Roman Empire to Scandinavia in order to enhance the knowledge of contacts and dependencies. Her basis was an updated inventory of Roman 'imports' from Scandinavia. Lund Hansen's definition of the word 'import' simply covered objects that had another origin, than the region of their discovery.[629] The primary focus was on vessels of silver, bronze, glass and *terra sigillata*. However, other find groups of Roman origin were briefly described.[630]

623) Wolters 1991: 107-124.
624) Wolters 1995: 116.
625) Wolters 1991: 126.
626) Wolters 1991: 127. Also already Lund Hansen 1987: 245.
627) Wolters 1991: 131.
628) Lund Hansen 1987.
629) Lund Hansen 1987: 13.
630) Lund Hansen 1987: 224-32.

The chronological framework to be used in this work had been started by Lund Hansen already at an earlier date, as she found the existing chronologies for Roman Iron Age Scandinavia inadequate.[631] This chronology was based on graves that were considered closed finds and that contained clearly defined local pottery or metal jewellery, of which there should be at least two different types, i.e. a chronology based on local material alone.[632] In this framework, the Roman vessels were placed.[633] The results showed that the Roman vessels in general had a short circulation period. That was indicated by the parallel dating of most vessels in Scandinavia, the continental *Barbaricum* and the Roman provinces.[634] Naturally, an important aspect of the Roman 'imports' is the questions of 'how' and 'why'. Kunow's theory that Roman tradesmen travelled through *Germania*, Lund Hansen found difficult to unite with Germanic distribution centres such as Zealand or those in the southern parts of *Barbaricum*. Instead she gave other forms of contact much more credit. These could be of a diplomatic nature such as gifts or tribute guided by the political conditions. Certainly, it was clear from the grave finds that the selected objects were not ordinary goods meant for anyone. An exchange of goods was more likely to have been controlled by the Germanic elite. The investigation of the Scandinavian material furthermore revealed that Denmark held a key position in the distribution of goods during the entire period, in which peaks were seen in B2 and C1b. In the Late Roman Iron Age the key position was held by east Zealand in particular, where an elite centre probably administered a direct link from the Rhine area.[635] A great part of the work concentrated on over-regional contacts.[636]

M. Erdrich's dissertation, '*Rom und die Barbaren*', published in 2001 was based on material gathered for the *Copus der römischen Funde im mitteleuropäischen Barbaricum* from the non-Roman part of the Netherlands and the *Bundesländer* of Niedersachsen and Schleswig-Holstein (fig. 48).[637] Erdrich's goal was to observe the development over time of the relations between the Roman Empire and the area of investigation. The tool was a refined chronology based primarily on relief ornamented *terra sigillata* and bronze vessels with maker's

631) Lund Hansen 1976.
632) Lund Hansen 1976: 116; Lund Hansen 1987: 125.
633) Lund Hansen 1987: 29-125.
634) Lund Hansen1987: 36, 161-3.
635) Lund Hansen 1987: 173, 216-24, 242-6.
636) Lund Hansen 1987: Chapter 8: Warenaustausch I, 192-215 & chapter 9: Warenaustausch II, 216-38.
637) Erdrich 2001.

marks. Along with recent analyses of Roman coins from this area, these objects improved the knowledge of the absolute chronology in the area of investigation.[638] Erdrich's chronology enabled him to divide the period from the late Republic to the end of the 'Gallic Empire' into six phases, of which the first four fall before the middle of the 2nd century AD.[639] The method to create this chronology is the core of the disagreement between Lund Hansen and Erdrich. His approach is mentioned on page 1: '*Die hier angegebenen Datierungen Römischer Funde entsprechen der zeitlichen Stellung vergleichbarer Funde innerhalb der Grenzen des Römischen Reiches. Der Zeitpunkt der Niederlegung eines römischen Objektes außerhalb der Reichsgrenzen kann anderen Gesetzmäßigkeiten unterliegen und ist somit für die Erörterung der Fragen nach der Herstellungszeit und der Umlaufzeit eines Erzeugnisses innerhalb des Reiches nur bedingt verwendbar*.'[640]

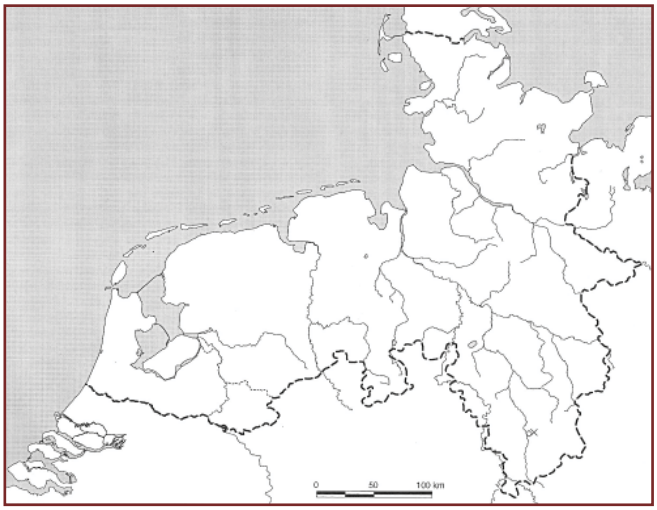


Fig. 48 M. Erdrich's working area. After Erdrich 2001.

The conclusion was that military and political agendas ruled the influx of Roman objects in the regions of investigation. This happened over six phases, in which petty trade was never an important factor.[641]

The discussion

The approach of Erdrich has led to a number of problems according to Lund Hansen. These will be discussed here. Erdrich began by critically reviewing the earlier works including that of Lund Hansen, to which Erdrich had a number of critical remarks.[642] As Lund Hansen was given the chance to retaliate in a review of *Rom und die Barbaren* in *Prähistorische Zeitschrift*, we have the opportunity to follow the exchange of opinions between the two scholars.[643] I shall here present a few of the issues.

Erdrich on Lund Hansen

Erdrich bemoaned the fact that Lund Hansen did not include Roman *militaria* in her examination, be it bog or grave finds. The

638) Erdrich 2001: 2.
639) Erdrich 2001: 71-2.
640) Erdrich 2001: 1.
641) Erdrich 2001: 139-43.
642) Erdrich 2001: 10-14.
643) Lund Hansen 2003a.

explanation that this material was under current investigation at that time apparently had no impact on Erdrich.[644] In this light, the fact that Erdrich himself omitted the description of the remains of 472 relief ornamented *terra sigillata* vessels from the Dutch province of Friesland, because they formed the basis of a dissertation by T.B. Volkers, who was to publish them within the CRFB programme, seems to me a bit inconsistent.[645]

The chronology of Lund Hansen was seen by Erdrich to be based on a combination of local *fibulae* and Roman bronzes. The dating of the two find groups were not separated, why Lund Hansen denied herself the possibility of independent datings of the find groups. Regarding the history of the bronzes, it was clear to Erdrich that Lund Hansen only valued the date of deposition. '*Ihre Ergebnisse zur Datierung der Niederlegung der römischen Funde überzeugen! Sie stellen jedoch keinen Betrag zur Klärung der wichtigen Frage nach dem Zeitraum ihres Eindringens in den germanischen Raum dar.* '[646] Obviously, Erdrich saw this as a great error. A related objection was stated by O. Harck in a review. Harck seems to have understood that Lund Hansen supported her chronology on Roman imports, why he questioned, whether Lund Hansen's chronology could at all be used on local material.[647] Erdrich's comments on Lund Hansen's chronology show that he did not grasp the essence of the method. However, Erdrich was not alone, which indicates that Lund Hansen perhaps ought to have used more space to 'chisel in stone', what she may have though self-evident, so that it was absolutely clear to the readers. To this misunderstanding by Erdrich, Lund Hansen could only stress that foreign material will *never* form any part of the basis of prehistorical chronologies. '*Was M. Erdrich augenscheinlich nicht bemerkt hat ist, daß die Chronologie, die…verwendet wird, sich auf eine große chronologische Arbeit aus dem Jahr 1977 stützt, die mit Kombinationen von Keramik und Fibeln in der Matrix arbeitet. Die Matrix in der Arbeit von 1987 drückt aus, in welchen chronologischen Phasen sich die in Skandinavien importierten römischen Bronzen und Gläser befinden.*'[648] The second lament brought by Erdrich over the lack of interest in dates of entry of Roman vessels into *Barbaricum*, is equally dismissed by Lund Hansen. She argued that the evidence is far too indecisive; as it is not possible to date settlement finds, which might

644) Erdrich 2001: 11; Lund Hansen 1987: 16; 2003: 239.
645) Erdrich 2001: 50.
646) Erdrich 2001: 11.
647) Harck 1988: 334.
648) Lund Hansen 2003a: 239.

otherwise have hinted at the circulation period, nearly as precisely as grave finds, such an endeavour would be futile.[649] One could also add that Lund Hansen actually did devote an entire chapter to this problem.[650]

Erdrich's next objection was also related to the issue of circulation periods. Lund Hansen saw a contemporary use of Roman vessels both inside and outside the Empire. This was evidence for a short chronology for the objects, a long chronology was not considered at all, although uniformity was seen in the find material, especially for the Late Roman period. To this question Erdrich believed that the Roman coins could have contributed greatly, had Lund Hansen looked at them.[651] Presumably, Erdrich believed that Lund Hansen should have analysed the coins herself, as the literature he referred to was either dealing with Sweden or published eight years after *Römischer Import*, incidentally also by Lund Hansen.[652] Lund Hansen's response to this critique much resembled those to Erdrich's other objections, as she explained how the coin finds of Scandinavia are relatively few, and therefore not particularly well suited for supporting chronological statements. Interestingly, R. Laser specifically comments on Lund Hansen's examination of coins in positive terms.[653] Concerning the question of a short or long chronology, she stated that this issue had not been discussed since the 1950s, where the idea of long chronologies was given up.[654]

Concerning the filter function of Zealand and a direct contact to the Rhine in the late Roman period, Erdrich surprisingly accepted Lund Hansen's arguments although he pointed out, firstly that there had been some critique of this issue elsewhere and secondly that unknown political interests could have created the 'leap' of Roman objects from the Empire to Zealand.[655] The critique came from Harck, who asked the question, how the picture would have looked, if parts of the north or middle German material had been included. '*Stünde Dänemark hier ebenfalls im Mittelpunkt des Geschehens, wie es in der vorliegenden Abhandlung zu sein scheint?*'[656] As Harck is asking a question that has nothing to do with the purpose of Lund Hansen's dissertation, which

649) Lund Hansen 2003a: 239.
650) Lund Hansen 1987: 152-64.
651) Erdrich 2001: 12-3.
652) Erdrich 2001: 13, n. 83; A. Kromann in Lund Hansen *et al*. 1995, 347-632.
653) Laser 1989: 241-2; Lund Hansen 1987: 229-32.
654) Lund Hansen 2003a: 239.
655) Erdrich 2001: 14.
656) Harck 1988: 335.

does not presume to be a model for all *Barbaricum*, it mostly appears, unfortunately, as a bitter rhetorical question with the inherent answer 'NO', asked by someone, who for some personal reason dislikes the idea that Denmark could have held any leading position in Roman Iron Age *Barbaricum*.

Lund Hansen on Erdrich

Clearly, the disagreement between Erdrich and Lund Hansen is concentrated on the method and chronology. This becomes even more apparent, when Lund Hansen's review is examined.
We have already been made aware of Lund Hansen's position from her replies to Erdrich's critique, and I shall not go into every detail again, but limit the discussion to crucial comments on the method and a few examples of the results thereof. Erdrich's method is more or less described by him in one sentence in the introduction to the archaeological material. '*Erstes ziel der typologischen und chronologischen Bearbeitung der außerhalb der Grenzen der Imperiums angetroffene römische Funde ist die Klärung der Frage, wann der Fundstück zu den Germanen gelangte. Dabei muß von der Produktions- und Umlaufzeit eines entsprechenden Gegenstands innerhalb der Reichsgrenzen ausgegangen werden; seine Deponierung im germanischen Milieu unterliegt möglicherweise völlig anderen Gesetzen, die von dem Zeitpunkt des »Grenzübertrittes« unabhängig sind. An dieser Stelle sei nur an die mit viel Energie und Einsatz geführte Diskussion um die kurze oder lange Umlaufzeit erinnert.*'[657] The periodisation and the placement of finds in the different periods is naturally a result of this belief. However, at the same time Erdrich stated that the Roman bronze vessels could not contribute to a detailed chronology, as maker's marks are only present on material from the 1st and the first half of the 2nd century AD.[658] Already Berke had concluded that bronzes were of little use for the chronology.[659] In Erdrich's introduction to the bronze vessels this fact is repeated. '*Nur in groben Umrissen sind in der Regel Fragen der Produktions- und Umlaufzeit sowie der Produktionsorte und der Herstellungstechnik geklärt.*' '*Insgesamt läuft der Trend in Unkenntnis der genauen Datierung der Objekte hin zur vorsichtigen, breiten Datierung.*' Here, Erdrich found cause once more to repeat his dating criteria mantra: *Roman context – good/Germanic context – bad*![660] One example

657) Erdrich 2001: 36; Lund Hansen 2003a: 239.
658) Erdrich 2001: 37.
659) Berke 1990: 106-7.
660) Erdrich 2001: 38.

given by Lund Hansen concerns Erdrich's phases 3 and 4. They more or less cover the period from Tiberius to the first half of the 2nd century AD, with a division around the middle of the 1st century AD. In phase 3, no convincing exchange took place, whereas bronzes of this phase dominated in the Germanic B2 graves according to Erdrich. Graves containing some of these types of bronze vessels have been dated to the first third of the 1st century AD by the presence of Germanic *fibulae* and other local material, i.e. the prehistorical chronology. The bronzes, however, placed these graves in a later period, Erdrich's phase 4. The local material, according to Erdrich, must therefore have been antiquities.[661] This is a grand example of the problematical approach, according to Lund Hansen, as it clearly demonstrates Erdrich's lack of respect for and acknowledgement of a long and thorough history of prehistorical chronology.[662] Erdrich did precisely, what Lund Hansen has explained cannot be done; he has dated Germanic graves solely on Roman bronze vessels, complete disregarding local material and their respective relative chronologies. This is interesting particularly with the warnings in mind about the use of Roman bronzes as sources for a refined chronology.

A second and last example from Lund Hansen concerns the Hemmoor buckets. The earliest example from Scandinavia is placed in C1b, i.e. the first half of the 3rd century AD, and it is to be found in graves all through the 3rd century AD. To Erdrich, the consequence was that it must have been produced in the 2nd century AD. As late Antonine and early Severan *terra sigillata* and *denarii* more or less followed the same distribution pattern as the Hemmoor buckets Erdrich needed a reason why the distribution of buckets did not stop in the end of the 2nd century AD, as the two other find groups. As the buckets are only represented by a few examples in the hoard finds of the 3rd century AD, Erdrich postulated an end date before the 3rd century AD. This postulation was accompanied by, not one, but two warnings on the same page, incidentally followed by his mantra (the conjuration of Germanic graves), that the production end of the Hemmoor buckets was even more difficult to determine than the start. Typologically, Erdrich believes that those with greater width than height are earlier than those with greater height than width.[663] Interestingly, the Scandinavian

661) Erdrich 2001: 90, 96; Lund Hansen 2003a: 237-8.
662) Lund Hansen 2003a: 238-9.
663) Erdrich 2001: 45-7.

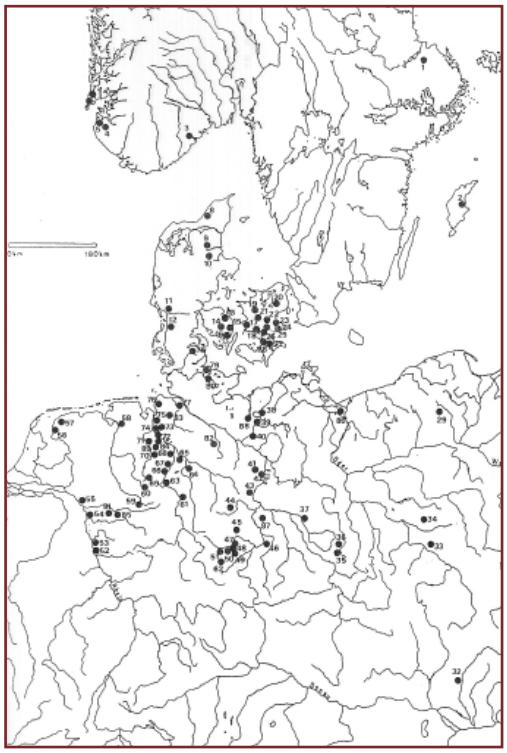


Fig. 49 Hemmoor buckets in Barbaricum. Distribution map. After Berke 1990: Karte 4.

material shows that all types appear at all times.[664] Furthermore, the distribution pattern of Hemmoor buckets shows a large concentration in Denmark, where coins and *terra sigillata* do not play the same role, as on the Continent (fig. 49).[665] To Lund Hansen, Erdrich does not deal with the problem properly, when he disregards the finds from *Barbaricum*. ' – *die Argumentation ist nicht durchgeführt worden, sondern das Problem wurde vielmehr wegerklärt*.'[666] I.e. Erdrich flashes his mantra and moves on. If we look back to one of the previously mentioned scholars, St. Berke, he stated the following concerning Hemmoor buckets. '*Wie anläßlich der Besprechung der Hemmoorer Eimer gezeigt wurde, stammen die meisten der uns bekannten Stücke aus dem Imperium aus den Hortfunden und Zerstörungsschichten des 3. Jhds. Nur wenige stammen aus Gräbern, wie der Eimer aus Vermand, oder sicher datierbaren Zusammenhängen vor dem Beginn des 3. Jhds. Innerhalb Germania libera datieren die Fibeln aus geschlossenen Grabfunden alle diese Eimer nach dem beginn des 3. Jhds. Nur in drei Fällen beginnt die Laufzeit der jüngsten Fibel im Fund noch vor dem Anfang des 3. Jhds.*'[667] Indeed, it is clear that Erdrich's datings of bronze objects are nowhere as secure, as he would like them to be.

As should be sufficiently demonstrated above, Erdrich has entered the field of prehistorical archaeology, consciously ignoring the results reached within this discipline. Another related discipline, ancient history, is also part of his work. This issue will not be pursued as thoroughly as the aspect of the chronology. However, a few comments by the ancient historian, P. Kehne, will demonstrate that this side of *Rom und die Barbaren* is equally problematic. Kehne started by criticising Erdrich's attempt to reveal *the* relationship between the Empire and *the* tribes outside the northwestern borders based on a regional study. Such an approach could only fail. Kehne saw it as a methodological error that Erdrich attempted to place his results directly in an historical interpretation without interpreting the archaeological material first.[668] '*Die bei E.s Methodik vorprogrammierte Fehlbestimmung von Zuflußphasen*

664) Lund Hansen 1987: 71.
665) Berke 1990: Karte 4.
666) Lund Hansen 2003a: 240.
667) Berke 1990: 47-8.
668) Kehne 2003: 323-5.

führt zwangsläufig zu falschen historischen Schlußfolgerungen.'[669] Kehne saw a number of assumptions and unfounded speculations in Erdrich's work, for instance, the complete disregard for trade, the problematic circulation periods of bronzes and the ignorance of the fact that a reduction of silver in the *denarii* by Septimius Severus could be the reason that *denarii* were no longer interesting to the Germanic peoples.[670]

Further issues

Some important aspects of Erdrich's work do not surface in these discussions, as far as I can see. First of all, the area of investigation is a limited part of *Barbaricum*. One half, the area of the *Frisii* and the *Chauci*, appears often in the literary sources. The *Frisii* had a close relationship to the Roman Empire, which is reflected, for instance, in the fact that there was a cohort in Britain with their name.[671] This area was never of political importance, such as, for instance, Böhmen or Mähren. This is also reflected in the archaeological material. The other part, possibly stretching into Cheruscan country, if such an area can be identified, belonged to, what has been described as '*Loch im Westen*', '*The hole in the west*', an area, which has revealed little material in the graves.[672] A glance at Erdrich's table of the amount of find locations with Roman finds per phase shows that the majorities of locations are settlements (273) and cremation graves (148). Only five locations with inhumation graves are situated in this area. This is an indication of the preservation quality of the find material. In his summary, Erdrich writes: '*Die Analyse des römischen Fundstoffs einer regional eng begrenzten Fundlandshaft bietet die Möglichkeit, Strukturen oder Prozesse sichtbar zu machen, die unter dem Eindruck des immensen Fundstoffs, mit der eine überregional ausgerichtete Studie konfrontiert wird, überlagert sein können. Hier spielen vor allem Fragen der Repräsentativität des Fundstoffs – beispielsweise Siedlungsfunde gegenüber Grabfunden – eine nicht zu unterschätzende Rolle.'*[673] Let us add another statement to this: '*Soweit überhaupt vorhanden, bietet die germanische Keramik derzeit keine Grundlage für eine feinchronologische Bestimmung. Das bedeutet, daß innerhalb des Arbeitsgebietes der vorliegenden Untersuchung keine Möglichkeit besteht, den Zeitraum der Niederlegung und damit eng verbundenen Gebrauchsdauer*

669) Kehne 2003: 326.
670) Kehne 2003: 324-7.
671) Spaul 2000: 241-2.
672) E.g. Berke 1990: 48. See also the discussion under '*Auxiliares*' of the Rhine-Weser area and the lack of *fibulae*. Also referred to by Erdrich 2001: 72.
673) Erdrich 2001: 137.

eines römischen Gegenstandes durch die Germanen mit Hilfe einheimischer Grabbeigaben relativchronologisch zu datieren.'[674] These two quotes makes Erdrich's attitude towards the material of the present study perfectly understandable, as settlement finds constitute the bulk of Erdrich's material. It seems to me that he made a virtue out of a necessity, when he created his method. However, to make this statement general for all similar studies of other parts of *Barbaricum* would definitely be presumptuous. The very fact that this is a regional study prevents the results from being instantly transferable to other regions, but obviously not from drawing lines to neighbouring regions, as is the case with the work of Lund Hansen.

One other aspect of Erdrich's work I find important. That is the far too numerous mistakes and what can probably best be described as sloppy errors. I shall not go into great detail and I have already mentioned some through the points brought up by Lund Hansen above. For instance, Erdrich refers to a review by Raddatz of Lund Hansen's work, and even emphasising one particular page, but the review is not written by Raddatz, but by O. Harck and the page emphasised only contains two lines about the translator, T. Capelle.[675]

Another matter is the lack of references to statements that are not very obvious, and which could easily just be a guess from the author. One is the statement that the anti-Roman coalition led by the *Cherusci* was '*allem Anschein nach*' joined by Elbe Germanic tribes.[676] For us to know this, we really need written sources. What we do know, is that the Elbe Germanic *Semnones* are mentioned by Augustus as friends of the Empire.[677] Furthermore, we know that the *Cherusci* themselves were split in an anti- and a pro-Roman fraction.[678]

Another example mentioned by Lund Hansen concerns the richly furnished graves of Erdrich's phase 6.[679] He wrote that the social position and political significance could only be understood on the background of intra Germanic processes. '*Grundlage ihrer Analyse ist nicht zuletzt eine solide Chronologie der germanischen Beifunde, die in ihrer heutigen Form in jüngster Zeit zunehmend kritisch beurteilt wird*'.[680] These are important statements that had definitely deserved a reference or

674) Erdrich 2001: 72.
675) Erdrich 2001: 12, n. 73, 14 n. 85.
676) Erdrich 2001: 91.
677) Augustus *Res Gestae divi Augusti* 26.2.4.
678) See the chapter on the *Clades Variana* and the end of the *Germania* campaigns.
679) Lund Hansen 2003a: 241.
680) Erdrich 2001: 129.

two. Kehne, for instance, mentioned Erdrich's erroneous description of Sido and Italicus, as nephews of the Quadian king, Vannius, and as *Langobardi*.[681] In fact, Sido was a nephew, but his brother's name was Vangio. There is no reason that they should have been *Langobardi* rather than *Quadi* like their uncle and possibly their mother. They split the kingdom of Vannius between them, as he was driven away.[682] Italicus, who supported Vespasian along with Sido, is presumed to be Vangio's son and successor, but he could as easily have been Sido's son, we do not know.[683] As a last example, I could refer to Erdrich's faulty use of R. Laser's work on the Roman coin finds in East Germany as basis for a rejection of the theory that the Haßleben-Leuna horizon reflected the '*ingentia auxilia Germanorum*' of the 'Gallic Empire'.[684] Some of the errors are important, some are trivial, but they all contribute to an overall impression of a work of a slightly untrustworthy nature, which means that any novel and interesting aspects might easily be overlooked. It is clear that in the circles of Roman provincial archaeologists particularly on the Continent, Erdrich's work has been noted and seen as a novel and interesting approach to this material. The problem is that many scholars within this discipline are not aware of the 'traps', as they are not familiar with the material and the aspects of and consequences for the prehistorical chronology. On the other hand, his approach is viewed as highly problematic among prehistorical archaeologists.[685]

The analysis of Lund Hansen versus Erdrich will be closed with a couple of notes to the work of Lund Hansen. This work is generally considered extremely thorough.[686] However, the thoroughness may have complicated the text somewhat. As mentioned above, it seems that several scholars did not understand the general aspects of Lund Hansen's chronology. Another aspect, which may be liable for possible misunderstandings, regards the short chronology. Concerning the distribution pattern of the Roman objects, Lund Hansen noted that '*so ergibt sich Zwischen der dänischen, provinzialrömischen und italischen Datierung völlige Übereinstimmung bei den Typen…*' and, '*daß der römische Import in Dänemark und im großen und ganzen gesehen auch in Norwegen und Schweden gleichzeitig in Gebrauch war wie bei den*

681) Erdrich 2001: 101; Kehne 2003: 326. See also my discussion of the problem above.
682) Tacitus *Annales* 29.1, 30.2.
683) Tacitus *Historiae* 3.5.1, 3.21.2; Hermann 1991: 492.
684) Erdrich 2001: 133-4; Laser 1982: 456-7.
685) This is the impression of the author based on the participation in congresses and seminars within both fields and through talks with a number of colleagues within these two fields of archaeology.
686) Laser 1989: especially 242.

germanischen Stämmen auf dem Kontinent. Es gibt demnach eine deutliche Übereinstimmung innerhalb der Germanischen Gebiete.'[687] However, she also stated that a number of important objects found on Zealand in the period C1b, only appear in the Haßleben-Leuna graves in C1b/C2 or early C2.[688] Also concerning the filter function towards Norway and Sweden it is seen that certain objects from C1b contexts did not appear until C2.[689] Therefore, these objects did in fact have a longer circulation period, something that is explained, but which also breaks the established pattern.

687) Lund Hansen 1987: 162.
688) Lund Hansen 1987: 205.
689) Lund Hansen 1987: 223.

Roman vessels in Scandinavia

The pattern of Roman vessels found in Scandinavia in the Roman Iron Age is only thoroughly described in U. Lund Hansen's dissertation. Therefore, I have based my description of this feature on her work. Although this *opus* has had its 20th anniversary this year, the pattern that emerged from the analyses of Lund Hansen is reflected as well in the more recent publication from 2003 by J. Jensen on the Early Iron Age in Denmark, and in an updated inventory of Roman Iron Age graves in Scandinavia by L.-G. Bergquist from 2005.[690] An indication of the quality is that it was not deemed necessary to include Scandinavia in the *Corpus der römischen Funde im mitteleuropäischen Barbaricum*, precisely because of the publication of the '*Römischer Import im Norden*'.[691]

The material available to Lund Hansen totalled 1164 vessels from Denmark (DK), Norway (N) and Sweden (S). The total number of Roman objects belonging to the Early Roman Iron Age was 280. In the Late Roman Iron Age the number was 820, while 64 objects could only be dated to the Roman Iron Age in general. In the Early Roman Iron Age, the objects are distributed as follows: DK, 187 (67%); N, 28 (10%); and S, 65 (23%). For the Late Roman Iron Age, the numbers of objects are: DK, 513 (63%); N, 175 (21%); S, 132 (16%). The last 64 objects are divided as follows: DK, 23 (36%); N, 13 (20%); S, 28 (44%). (fig. 50 A-B)[692]

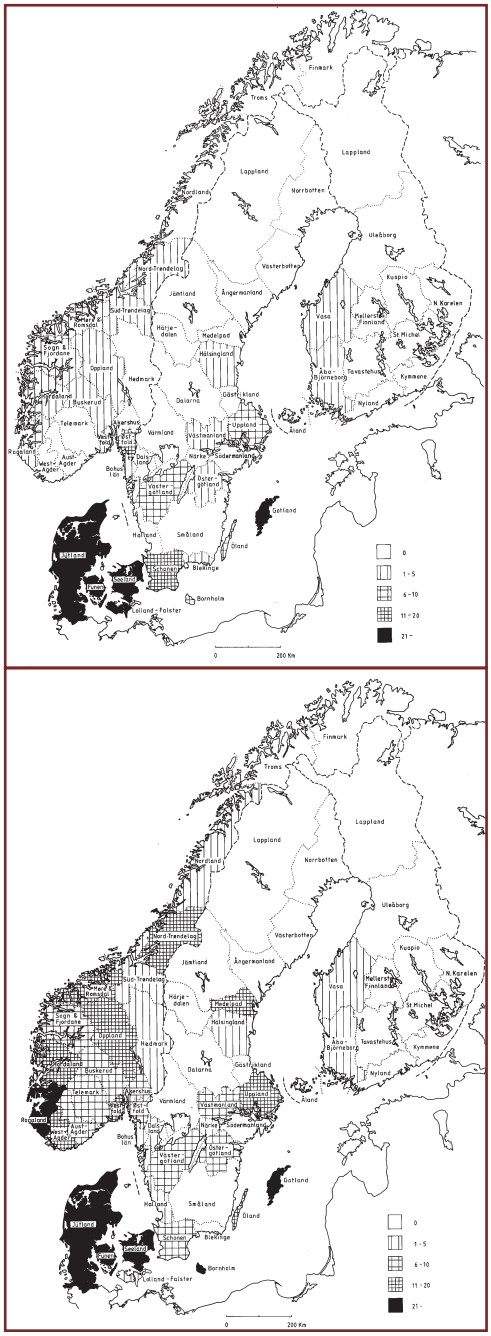


Fig. 50 Roman vessels in Scandinavia. Distribution map. A (⬆): Early Roman Iron Age. B (⬇): Late Roman Iron Age. After Lund Hansen 1987: 130-1, figs. 78-9.

Chronological and geographical distribution

Denmark

The chronological distribution pattern based on the datable objects shows that after the initial period B1a (c. AD 1 - 40)[693], there is a slight drop in the number of objects in the following period B1b (c. AD 40 - 70). In the next period B2 (c. AD 70 - 150/60), however, there is a veritable boom.[694] The geographical distribution pattern shows that the

690) Bergquist 2005: Catalogue with references. CD-Rom; Jensen 2003: 340-58.
691) Erdrich & Schnurbein 1992: 8.
692) Lund Hansen 1987: 126-7.
693) For chronological references see Lund Hansen 1987: 30.
694) Lund Hansen 1987: 127-128, figs. 73-4.

B1a material was found primarily in Jutland and on Lolland-Falster, with a small proportion on Funen. In the following period, Funen takes over completely, leaving a small proportion found on Zealand-Møn. At the time of the boom in B2, the material is more or less equally distributed across Jutland, Funen, Lolland-Falster and Zealand-Møn with a slight majority in Jutland.[695] If one were to include the material only datable to B1 or B, the balance would only tip slightly in favour of Zealand-Møn.[696] In B2/C1a (*c.* AD 150/60 – 200), the number of objects drops considerably again, but the distribution pattern remains as in B2 except that Bornholm has substituted Lolland-Falster. In C1a (*c.* AD 150/60 – 210/20), the number is approximately the half of B2/C1a, but as these phases are more or less contemporary the overall amounts add up to three quarters of the B2 level, which is still considerably more than B1. Vessels in a pure C1a context are only found on Bornholm, Zealand and Funen. In the following period, C1b (*c.* AD 210/20 – 250/60) another drastic increase is seen. However, whereas Jutland and Funen more or less hold status quo, Zealand is now receiving two and a half times as many vessels as the rest of the country. In C2 (*c.* AD 250/60 – 310/20), the decrease is even greater than the previous increase. While Jutland is not affected, Funen goes down one quarter, while Zealand drops to a tenth of the previous phase. This is also the case for Bornholm. Now Funen receives the most objects. This is also the case in C3 (*c.* AD 310/20 – 375/400). In this period, the general decrease continues all over the country.[697] This period, which concludes the Roman Iron Age, lies outside the scope of the present investigation. It should be noted that the distribution of Roman vessels follow that of other valuables such as gold and silver.[698]

Norway and Sweden

The chronological distribution patterns of Norway and Sweden are almost identical. In B1a there are no objects, while B1b produces few in both countries; 3-4 pieces in Norway and 3-6+ in Sweden.[699] In comparison, 45 pieces are found from B1a-b in Denmark.[700] But as in Denmark, the number of objects greatly increases in B2. After B2, the objects are not securely datable until C1b (*c.* AD 210/20 – 250/60)

695) Lund Hansen 1987: 128-129, figs. 75-6; Jensen 2003: 348-50.
696) Lund Hansen 1987: 128-9, fig. 77.
697) Lund Hansen 1987: 128-9, 132, figs. 75-6; Jensen 2003: 348-50.
698) Lund Hansen 1987: 24-5.
699) Lund Hansen 1987: 132-7, figs. 80-86.
700) Lund Hansen 1987: 129, fig. 77.

in Norway. In Sweden, the objects cannot be securely dated until C2 (c. AD 250/60 – 310/20). Geographically, the majority of objects in Norway are found in the area of Østfold on the east side of Oslo fjord. In Sweden, the majority of objects are found on Gotland, followed by Scania and Västergötland, and finally Öland, Uppland, Östergötland and Bohuslän.[701] In C2, the finds are almost doubled in Norway, but the receiving part is primarily the western part of the country. In Sweden, an increase is seen in C2 as well, particularly the middle parts, including Uppland. In C3, another boom is seen particularly in Norway, but to a lesser degree in Sweden as well. In this period, Norway is receiving more than half of the Roman vessels in Scandinavia. This is reflected in the material from the western, but also in the eastern part of Norway. In Sweden, Medelpad and Hälsingland in the northern parts of middle Sweden are now the primary recipients.[702]

Thus, the analyses show that *if* Roman objects reflect contact, then the contact was by far the greatest in Denmark, not counting Bornholm, followed closely by Gotland.[703]

But so far this is all just numbers. How can we use them to understand what contacts there might or must have been between the Romans and Scandinavia?

AD 1-40 (B1a)

What must be taken into consideration is the nature of the objects. In this period, the majority of the objects are of exceptional quality and types, i.e., they are not just everyday utensils, but vessels of value to the ruling class, mostly of bronze. Obviously these items bring status to their owners. Almost exclusively they are parts of banquet sets. The objects first and foremost are found in graves, which are often richly equipped.

In the first four decades of the 1st century AD, a pattern emerges, as the graves containing Roman objects are almost exclusively situated in the coastal areas of Denmark, following a route a Roman expeditionary fleet might have taken in AD 5, along the west coast of Jutland, possibly through the Limfjord, south along the east coast, through Little Belt between Jutland and Funen and finally east on the south side of the islands of Lolland and Falster (fig. 51).[704] At this time, the objects have

701) Lund Hansen 1987: 132-7, figs. 83, 86; Jensen 2003: 348-50.
702) Lund Hansen 1987: 132-7, figs. 83, 86; Jensen 2003: 348-50.
703) Lund Hansen 1987: 130, fig. 78.
704) Lund Hansen 1987: 146, figs. 100, 292, Karte 2; Storgaard 2003: 110-1, fig. 3.



Fig. 51 Graves from period B1a (AD 1 – 40) with Roman objects. After Storgaard 2003: 110, fig. 3.

not yet reached the Scandinavian Peninsula. A few found on Gotland and Öland are dated to the Pre-Roman Iron Age. In Denmark as well, there were earlier finds of Roman imports.[705] In two of these cases, we have at the same sites two of the most prominent graves from B1a. One is from the eastern part of Jutland, at Hedegård. Here, one grave dated to the beginning of the century contains not only a Roman bronze platter, but also a *pugio*, a Roman military dagger with a richly ornamented sheath.[706] The other grave is the Hoby grave mentioned earlier. This is by far the most spectacular find from this period, and the grave goods of Roman origin are interpreted as diplomatic gifts.[707] These two graves will be more thoroughly discussed later. We know that the Romans changed tactics after Varus' defeat; when the military campaigns were terminated, diplomacy took over. Already in AD 6, Tiberius had to settle with the *Marcomanni*, as his army was desperately needed elsewhere. It seems the Romans found a means to establish diplomatic contact by giving items related to the banquet to the Germanic elite. That these objects should have reached their destination by regular trade seems highly unlikely.

But how were the objects distributed? Are they indeed signs that Romans bought off local tribes? It is of course an intriguing thought that Romans might have circumnavigated Jutland once more in order to buy peace. However, it is more likely that the objects were distributed within the Germanic elite throughout northern Europe to create alliances and dependencies.[708] Although the Roman luxury goods were distributed by the Germanic elite themselves, I find it unlikely that the Romans would not benefit from these alliances. As these objects were always Roman and never locally copied, they had to be supplied by the Romans. Did they negotiate the distribution of goods with the initial client, thereby letting the Germanic elite create Roman allies? Did the Hoby chieftain negotiate on behalf of the Romans? These are naturally unanswerable questions. But the fact remains that throughout the Early and most of the Late Roman Iron Age, the influx of Roman objects in Scandinavia varies in a manner

705) Lund Hansen 1987: 126.
706) Madsen 1999: 74-83; Watt 2003: 185-6, fig. 6.
707) Wolters 1995: 115.
708) Hedeager 1988: 151-7; Lund Hansen 1987: 194; Jensen 2003: 345-7.

that coincided with the political situation in the western part of the Roman Empire.

AD 40-70 (B1b)

Over a period of c. 30 years, there is a decrease in the number of objects, of which a few on the other hand now reach both Norway and Sweden. At this time, Denmark begins to serve as a filter regarding Norway and Sweden, something that increases during the following periods.[709] Different areas than those in B1a seem to dominate, but is it just a coincidence that the influx is lower or is it a question of supply and demand? If this was ordinary trade, the Roman supply would definitely be able to meet any given demands, but if we are talking politics, it is an entirely different matter. In this time span, from AD 40 - 70, Roman eyes were no longer fixed on *Germania*, but on *Britannia*. In AD 43, Claudius invaded Britain, where the Romans were kept busy until AD 85, when Agricola had 'civilised' and secured Britain as best as possible and was called back to Rome. Seen from a Roman diplomatic view, the Germanic tribes could have been sufficiently pacified at this time, and as it was no longer feasible to enter *Germania* with military force, the gift diplomacy was scaled down. Could this be the reason why Roman luxury goods were no longer as frequently distributed to the Scandinavian area?

AD 70-150/60 (B2)

From AD 70 and onwards, Roman objects are suddenly booming. The nature of the items changes as well. In this period, the majority consisted of a few mass-produced types rather than the rare and exquisite types of the earlier periods.[710] Lund Hansen has emphasised three reasons for the change from B1b to B2. One major reason, as she saw it, was that the production of bronze vessels had moved from Italy to Gaul. Another reason could be that the Roman Empire settled down in this period. Lastly, she mentioned that it could not be excluded that the change came from strictly internal matters.[711] The years AD 68-70 were of tremendous importance to the future of the Roman Empire. In AD 68, Nero committed suicide and the Empire was once again thrown into civil war producing four new emperors within a year and a half.

709) Lund Hansen 1987: 198.
710) Lund Hansen 1987: 198. Jensen 2003: 353.
711) Lund Hansen 1987: 199-200.

When the last of the four, Vespasian, had established control, he was faced with two revolts, one at each end of the Empire. One was the uprising in Judea;[712] the other was the Batavian revolt.[713] In AD 69, the Batavian prince and Roman officer, Gaius Julius Civilis, was asked in secrecy by a friend of Vespasian to delay some troop movements meant for his rival Vitellius. This he did, as well as going into battle against troops who were loyal to Vitellius. At the time of Vitellius' death, it became clear for the Romans that Civilis wanted to break free of the Roman hegemony. He was joined by both Gauls, who wanted a Gallic empire and Germanic tribes from across the Rhine. At the height of the revolt, Civilis and his allies were in military control of the military districts of Upper and Lower *Germania*, as well as most of the province of *Gallia Belgica*.[714] The civil wars had left the Roman Empire devoid of defences in many areas. While the Danube garrisons had been drawn to Italy to be used in the power struggle, the Rhine area had fallen into the hands of Civilis & Co. They had destroyed most of the fortifications including the legionary camps at Xanten and Bonn, although not those at Mainz and Vindonissa.[715] After the defeat of Civilis in the autumn of AD 70, Vespasian had to reconstruct the linear defence along the Rhine and relocate the troops. One lesson learned was never to garrison auxiliary troops in their own homeland.

At this point, a situation developed that Lund Hansen has suggested as a second reason for the drastic increase in Roman objects in Scandinavia; the Roman Empire settled down and a period of peace and tranquillity for more than a hundred years began, the time of the Flavians and the adoptive Emperors, of whom only Domitian caused internal unrest. But why bring up this description of the unrest of the northwestern part of the Empire? Since this rebellion was followed by what was probably the most prosperous century in the history of the Roman Empire, perhaps too little attention has been paid to the possible effect of the actions of Civilis and the danger to Rome. Had Civilis and his allies focused on a strategy, whether to stand or advance, instead of letting everything fall apart, and had other Germanic tribes such as the *Marcomanni* and *Quadi* decided to change their pro-Roman policy and seize the opportunity to cross the Danube, much would have been different. Surely thoughts like these would have entered

712) Tacitus *Historiae* 5.1-13.
713) Tacitus *Historiae* 4.12-37, 54-79, 85-6; 5.14-26.
714) van Soesbergen 1971: 238-49, map 1.
715) Schönberger 1985: 357-8.

the minds of the Roman leaders in the days of AD 70. Is the transition from B1b to B2 in fact also a result of the Romans deciding drastically to alter the Roman foreign policy concerning the Germanic territories, thus rapidly 'up-scaling' the use of gift diplomacy with the Germanic tribes? If so, the effect is seen only in the Scandinavian material, as J. Kunow states that no real difference is traceable on the continent, although this is not the case concerning the influx of Roman coins.[716] The purpose of such political actions could have been an attempt to persuade tribes living further away to keep a check on 'the first line' of tribes to ease the tension on the frontier.

For period B2, it is still believed that the distribution was made through centres of the Germanic elite.[717] However, in a grave at Juellinge on Lolland, two blue rippled glass bowls were found.[718] A distribution map of this type of glass shows that outside the Roman Empire, they are only found at the black Sea coast and just across the Rhine near Köln and Mainz.[719] That there are no parallels in the central Germanic area could be an indication that there had been direct contact.

For the islands in the Baltic Sea, Bornholm, Öland and Gotland, there appears to be a closer connection to the Vistla delta.[720]

AD 150/60 – 210/20 (B2/C1a & C1a)

In this period, the vessels are no longer flowing into Scandinavia, like they did in the previous phase, but a filter function of Denmark is still recognised through the appearance of unique vessels. One Norwegian grave contains two vessels, while on Gotland one grave contains three and another two. Only the southern parts of the two countries receive vessels in this period. In Denmark, two sites in particular stand out, Brokær in western Jutland and Himlingøje on eastern Zealand. These two sites have a number of things in common. The graves at both sites are cremations; they are the richest of the period concerning Roman vessels and at both sites the remains of a pair of Germanic silver cups were found. Although nothing could be made out of the remains from Himlingøje, there is reason to believe that they may have been very much alike, as silver cups of the same type appear in later east Zealandic graves, and only here.[721] The beginning of this period is contemporary

716) Kunow 1983: 36. For the coins see below.
717) Jensen 2003: 353-4.
718) Jensen 2003: 356-8; Lund Hansen 1987: 194 figs. 130, 403; Müller 1911: 17-30.
719) Jensen 2003: 357.
720) Lund Hansen 1987: 198.
721) Lund Hansen 1987: 200-1; Lund Hansen *et al*. 1995: 237, 377; Rasmussen 1995: 64-70.

with the beginning of the Marcomannic wars. This unrest could be the reason for the diminishing flow of Roman vessels in Scandinavia.[722] This also counts for the continent, where the find situation resembles Scandinavia at this time. The spectre of Roman vessels in Denmark shows links to the Baltic Sea coast of Poland, as well as to the middle Danube region. The same vessel types are found in smaller amounts in the western part of *Germania*. Most of these objects were manufactured in the western provinces of the Empire. It is impossible to determine, whether the vessels have arrived by a western or an eastern route.[723]

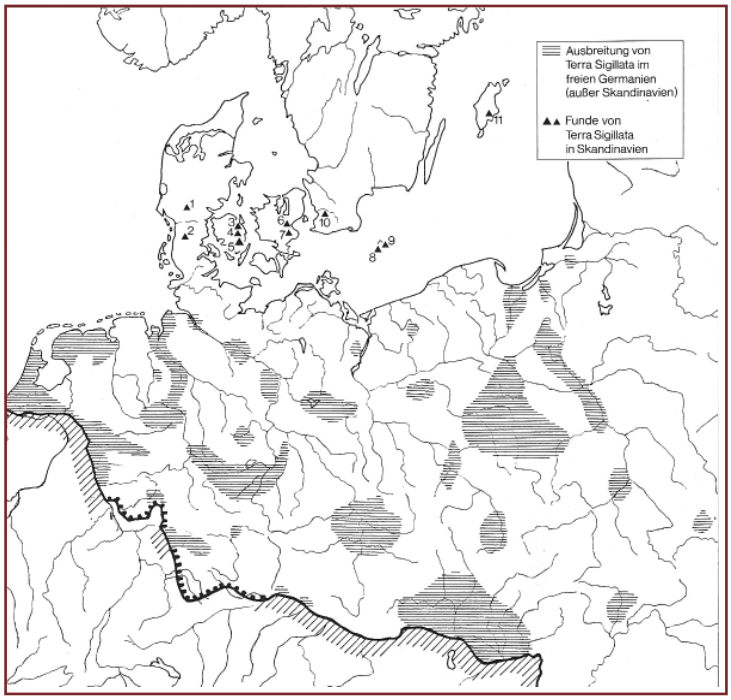


Fig. 52 Terra sigillata in Barbaricum. Distribution map. After Lund Hansen 1982: 79, fig. 2.

In this period, most of the *terra sigillata* vessels in Scandinavia, or rather Denmark, appear (Fig. 52). This type of object is only represented on the Scandinavian Peninsula by two sherds from a settlement in Scania dated to the Early Iron Age. On Gotland 39 sherds of one vessel also come from a settlement find.[724] The rest of the finds are all from Denmark. Settlement finds are only found at a few sites such as Vorbasse in Jutland and Lundsgård, Gudme and Lundeborg on Funen. The remaining finds come from 13 graves, of which seven are from the cemetery, Møllegårdsmarken on southeastern Funen right between Gudme and Lundeborg. In eight graves, a complete vessel could be accounted for, while the remaining five graves contained only one or a few sherds that had mostly been reused either as pendants or loom weights. Two of the vessels are from graves on Zealand, one vessel and one pendant are from graves on Bornholm and one vessel comes from southern Jutland.[725] Chronologically, the *terra sigillata* belongs to C1 and probably before the boom in C1b.[726] As the *terra sigillata* vessels are so few and only appear within a very short period of time, it is clear that this type of object did not hold the same sort of significance as the bronze and glass vessels. However, some of these few finds still belong to the most important of the graves, such as Himlingøje grave 1980-25 and Valløby

722) Lund Hansen 1987: 221.
723) Lund Hansen 1987: 177.
724) Lund Hansen 1982: 90, 98.
725) Lund Hansen 1982: 80-9, 95-8; 1987: 182-3; Thomsen *et al*. 1993: 76-7.
726) Lund Hansen 1982: 90, 93-5; 1987: 182-3.

on Stevns. Also in the richly furnished graves of the Haßleben-Leuna horizon such vessels are found.[727] This could indicate that these few vessels had a special significance to the persons, with whom they were deposited. The reason that southeastern Funen is the dominating find location for *terra sigillata* should be found in the fact that the site of Lundeborg is beginning to evolve as an important port of trade and production centre from the end of the 2nd century AD, which peaks in the middle of the 4th century, but lasts until the 9th century AD.[728] Gudme, which is situated 5 km inland, and Møllegårdsmarken in between are both closely related to Lundeborg. This site was probably a meeting place for traders and sailors, which would have brought about a more varied spectre of finds, such as is found, for instance, in locations closer to the Roman borders. However, this did not necessarily mean that Gudme/Lundeborg was a political centre. That is not the impression we get from the graves. Although there are some with quite a wealthy collection of goods, none are on a level with, for instance, Hågerup or Årslev.[729] Therefore, I find it the most probable that when *terra sigillata* is found in graves here, they should be related to traders or sailors, who brought the pottery back personally.

AD 210/20 – 250/60 (C1b)

In these one or two generations we see the zenith of Zealandic imports. Apart from the mere multitude of vessels, a number of important factors are seen in the distribution on Zealand in relation to the rest of Scandinavia and parts of the continent. The number of different types has risen above the level of B2. A large number of vessels on Zealand are unique, while the rest of Scandinavia mostly receives mass produced vessels. A great increase in glass imports is seen as well. Two thirds of all Roman glass vessels found in Denmark belong to this period. In several graves, sets of glasses are found, which also indicates a direct transfer (fig. 53). Contacts to the Rhine area are seen that have left no traces in the rest of *Germania*. A number of types that reach Denmark are found in hoards at the *limes*, in Slovakia and in northern Poland, but not between these last two regions. Also the northern region of continental *Germania* received objects through Denmark according to H. Schach-Dörges, who saw close links in graves from Jesendorf and Häven in Mecklenburg. These links were constituted by Roman circus

727) Lund Hansen 1982: 94; Schlüter 1970: 143.
728) Thomsen 1993: 10.
729) Lund Hansen 1987: 404, 420-6.

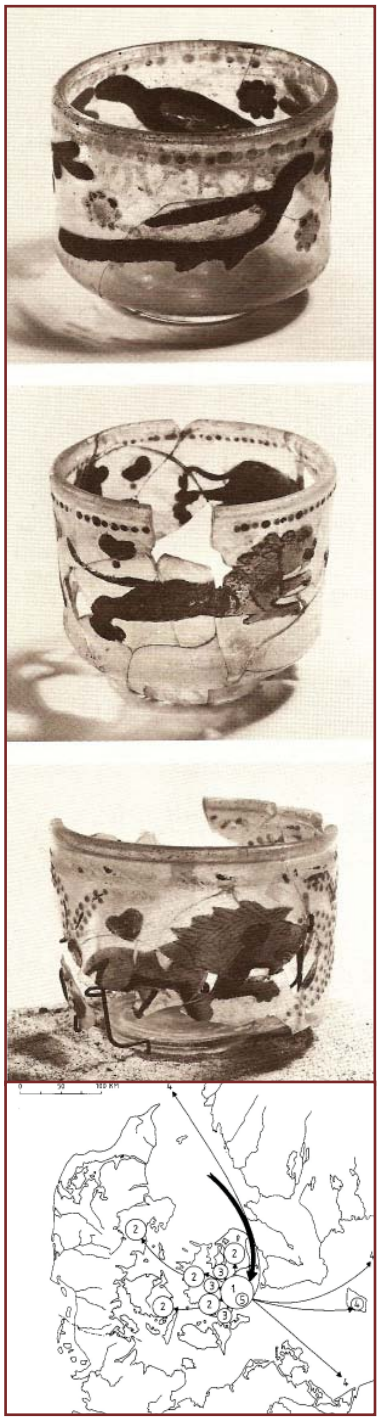


Fig. 53 ⬆ *Set of Roman glasses. Varpelev sb.6. After Lund Hansen 1987: 208, fig. 138.*

Fig. 54 ⬇ *Distribution pattern of Roman vessels from eastern Zealand. After Lund Hansen 1987: 223, Fig. 143.*

cups as well as Germanic objects such as *fibulae* and wooden buckets originating from the Danish islands, as well as grave rituals known from Zealand. These aspects of the distribution of Roman vessels in Scandinavia are taken by U. Lund Hansen to be evidence that the bottle-neck with regard to Norway and Sweden that Denmark had already been since the end of the 1st century AD took a much more solid form in eastern Zealand (Fig. 54). This region would have had a direct link to the Rhine and the northwestern provinces, where the Roman vessels were produced.[730] Whether this link had materialised via a direct sea route from the Rhine to Zealand, either through the Limfjord or north of Skagen, is not to say, but Lund Hansen finds a transport route across the root of Jutland highly unlikely. However, no matter what, it is clear that the distribution centre on eastern Zealand had a strong influence on the composition of the vessels to be transported. To Lund Hansen all these different aspects '*deuten auf einen ersten feststellbaren Fernhandel*' [731] R. Wolters on the other hand, although not directly addressing this question, but that of the amber trade from the Baltic Sea, states that, '*Einer direkten Wasserverbindung zur Ostsee stand hingegen Jütland im Weg, dessen Umschiffung noch mit einem zu großen Risiko behaftet war.*' Later he also states that, '*Keine Hinweise gibt es dagegen auf eine Nutzung des Seewegs bis zur Ostsee, was vielleicht sogar als vorsichtiges Indiz dafür gelten kann, daß der Handel eben nicht von Rom organisiert wurde.*'[732] Actually, there is no direct contradiction between the statements of the two scholars, but with the risk of accusing Wolters wrongly, it is my impression from his texts that he finds such a connection unrealistic. Lund Hansen on the contrary sees possibilities in the Germanic Seafarers and not in Roman tradesmen. The massive influx of Roman vessels in Scandinavia and the leading position of Zealand are mentioned by Wolters several times, but he has no suggestions as to the reason, but simply writes it off as inexplicable.[733] D. Ellmers is convinced that the information given by Ptolemaios in the 2nd century AD is a sailing description for Roman traders that realistically reflected the sailing routes along the northern Ocean. '*Es unterliegt nicht dem geringsten*

730) Lund Hansen 1987: 177, 204-8, 220-4, maps 25-6; Schach-Dörges 1970: 128-9.
731) Lund Hansen 1987: 221; Lund Hansen *et al*. 1995: 407-8.
732) Wolters 1991: 95, 126. Also Wolters 1995: 116.
733) Wolters 1995: 104, 110.

Zweifel, in seiner Küstenbeschreibung Germaniens hat Ptolemaeus eine Segelanweisung für römische Handelsschiffe von der Rheinmündung in die Ostsee bis zur Weichselmündung benutzt und dadurch überliefert.' (Fig. 55)[734] A naval connection from Zealand to the Rhine is also supported by L. Jørgensen and B. Storgaard.[735] In the end of this phase, the grave at Hågerup on Funen indicates that this island had gained in importance.[736] This grave shows strong links to Leuna, where grave 1917-2 contained almost identical Roman grave goods.[737] However, whereas Hågerup is dated to C1b, the Leuna grave is C2. Although we may suggest a date of Hågerup on the transition of C1b/C2, grave 1917-2 is still considerably younger, as it contained an *aureus* of the 'Gallic Emperor' Tetricus (AD 268-74). Otherwise, Hågerup contains some of the earliest examples in Germanic graves of a number of Roman objects such as a silver spoon (disregarding the Mušov grave), a silver cup (Eggers type 179) and a ring with a *sigillum*. Other Roman material found in the Zealandic C1b graves is also found in the middle Elbe region in the transition to and beginning of C2.[738]



Fig. 55 A sailing route from the Rhine to the Vistula River. After Storgaard 2003: 117: fig. 12.

AD 250/60 – 310/20 (C2)

This phase marks a great change reflected in a massive decrease in Roman vessels. However, this only affected the more ordinary objects, while the number of unique vessels found on Zealand remained stable. Although the material from the Scandinavian Peninsula increased, Lund Hansen saw a continuance of the known distribution pattern based in eastern Zealand, although other links can now be identified. To this phase belong the richest graves from Norway and Sweden, those from Avaldsnes and Tuna.[739] The decrease affects both Jutland and Funen, but not nearly as much as it affects Zealand. The importance of Funen is now growing, and the wealth on this island surpasses that of Zealand in this phase. Although a number of objects reflect contacts between the two areas, the graves on Funen also show

734) Ellmers 1997: 3.
735) Jørgensen 2001: 13-4; Storgaard 2001: 100-1.
736) Lund Hansen 1987: 244.
737) Schultz 1953: 11-6; Storgaard 2003: 119.
738) Lund Hansen 1987: 205, 244.
739) Jørgensen *et al*. 2003: 398-9; Lund Hansen 1987: 224, 246 Nylén & Schönbäck 1994; Shetelig 1912..

contacts to the middle Elbe region and south-eastern *Barbaricum*. In this period, glass from the Black Sea region and the Černjakov culture begins to appear. Objects of a Scandinavian origin, for instance rosette *fibulae* that are strongly tied to the east Zealand centre, underline this contact.[740] Lund Hansen sees the general problems at the Roman frontiers and in the provinces in the 3rd century AD as a possible reason for the decrease in C2.[741]

Conclusion

The archaeological evidence presented here gives an impression of great differences in form and intensity of the contact between the Romans and the Scandinavian peoples. The intensity diminishes greatly from the Danish area to the Scandinavian Peninsula. In the South, there are indications that diplomatic connections are the major source of the flow of Roman imports conspicuously following impacts on and interests of the Roman Empire. In the East, trade connections are made with the markets of the river areas in Poland, which constitute the northern end of the main trading route of the Roman Empire along the Vistla River. The North has little to do with the Romans to begin with, probably only having the slightest contact with the Empire.

740) Lund Hansen 1987: 178-9, 224; Lund Hansen *et al*. 1995: 392, 413-4.
741) Lund Hansen 1987: 177-8; Lund Hansen *et al* 1995: 392-3.

Roman coins

A group of Roman objects only mentioned briefly so far is coins. In Scandinavia, *c*. 11.000 Roman coins have emerged, of these 7.500 alone on the island of Gotland, 2.000 on Bornholm, 700 from Gudme/Lundeborg on Funen and 428 from Råmosen on Zealand. This number in itself is not particularly spectacular. To compare, 60.000 coins have been found in the Vistla basin in Poland.[742]

A large portion of the Scandinavian coins are found in hoards or as part of war booty sacrifices. Most of the finds are dated to the Late Roman Iron Age. One hoard from Ginderup in northern Jutland, however, was deposited already at the end of the 1st century AD. Of 31 *denarii* and one *aureus*, the youngest was from the reign of Vespasian. The constellation of the hoard resembled finds from both Pompeii and the Flavian *castellum* Ludvigshafen-Rheingönheim, which indicates that the hoard was composed early in the Flavian period.[743] Based on the chronological distribution of coins from the larger Danish deposits, it is quite clear that Flavian and especially Vespasian coins constitute an important part of the early coins, while Antonine coins are completely dominating the picture for the later coins. For instance, a hoard from Smørenge on Bornholm with an end coin of Severus Alexander contained *c*. 80 % Antonine coins. This is a pattern recognisable from Continental and Scandinavian finds alike.[744] In one hoard find from Råmosen on Zealand, 22 Vespasian coins had been made with the same set of dies.[745] As with the other Roman objects, the majority of Roman coins, Gotland aside, are found in Denmark. However, the Baltic islands constitute a special role in the overall picture.[746] In 1991, Herschend made a map showing the distribution of Roman coin types for each century based on the date of issue.[747] The idea was that higher numbers would reflect closer relations. His maps for the first two centuries AD show no change concerning Schleswig-Holstein (5), Jutland (5), Funen, Scania and Gotland (each 2) and Bornholm (1), while Zealand, with smaller islands, and Öland both go from 2 to 4 types. But the problem with these maps is that they are outdated for some regions based on the status of 1948. What would the picture be if we made maps based on periods rather than centuries? A. Kromann

742) Bursche 2002: 70; Horsnæs 2003: 340.
743) Bernhard 1990b: 456; Bjerg 2005: 125-8; Hatt 1935: 47-50; Jensen 2003: 358-9.
744) Bursche 2002: 70-71; Horsnæs 2003: 335; Kromann 1995: 351-4.
745) Kromann 1995: 351.
746) Bursche 2002: 69-74; Horsnæs 2005: 13, 18.
747) Herschend 1991: 33-46.

provides a hint to this in her 1995 investigation of coins from Zealand. A simple count indicates the following numbers: B1a (0), B1b (1), B2 (4), C1a (2), C1b (2) and C2 (4).[748] However, before we get too excited, it should be noted that the material included in the statistics contains only 19 coins that are not *denarii*. Furthermore, the devaluation and following lack of interest in the post Severan *denarii* is not reflected in this experiment, which of course makes these findings extremely tentative, if not merely curious.



Fig. 56 Himlingøje, grave 1949-2. Photo: National Museum/Kit Weiss.

An unusual and interesting single coin find in a female grave from Himlingøje, dated to C1b (AD 210/20 – 250/60), could be taken as an indication of the earlier mentioned theory of an up-grade of the diplomatic process.[749] The grave is one of the richest at Himlingøje, containing an almost complete Roman banquet set (Fig. 56). The woman was wearing precious ornaments, among others a long necklace maybe of Sarmatian inspiration. It was fastened with a large rune-ornamented rosette *fibula* and consisted of more than 80 beads of silver, glass and amber as well as a silver amulet case.[750] Approximately in the middle, a Roman silver *denarius* from the reign of Titus AD 79-81 was attached.[751] The coin itself is not in any way spectacular, e.g., it is not equipped with an eyelet, but is fastened through a hole beneath the head of Titus. What could have been the reason for the presence of this coin? It would be an intriguing though that this coin was important perhaps because it had been a part of the first official contact between the Romans and the Himlingøje family's ancestors during the reign of Titus four or five generations earlier. Of course, it might simply have had some magical function.[752]

Coins also constitute a connection between the middle Elbe graves

748) Kromann 1995: 349-50, figs. 13:3-4.
749) Lund Hansen 1987: 413; Lund Hansen *et al.* 1995: 152-8.
750) Storgaard 2003: 177; Lund Hansen *et al.* 1995: 166-167, figs. 4:45-6.
751) Lund Hansen *et al.* 1995: 155 (H1/100), 158, fig. 4:27, pl. 21 (H1 100).
752) Horsnæs 2005: 16.

and Denmark in the last third of the 3rd century AD. J. Werner has described how the custom of placing coins or similar valuables, for instance, coin shaped pieces of gold, in or near the mouth, is found in both regions. Some of the coins had served as jewellery, as they were equipped with eyelets. This custom only occurred in the richest of the graves.[753] However, whereas the custom appears in C2 on the Continent, it occurs already in C1b in Denmark.[754] Werner noted that, although this custom has been related to the Mediterranean custom of giving the deceased a coin for Charon, the ferryman, it is not possible to say, what the function in the Germanic graves was.[755] That the coins from the Danish graves should reflect the Charon's coin custom has been rejected by H. Horsnæs. Because many of the coins in graves had been changed into jewellery, they had been deposited in the grave as such, and not as coins.[756]

753) Werner 1973: 9-15.
754) Lund Hansen 1987: 178.
755) Werner 1973: 13-4.
756) Horsnæs 2005: 14.

Southern Scandinavian *foederati* and *auxiliarii*?

Over the years, various archaeological remains have led scholars to speculate on possible military connections between southern Scandinavia and the northern region of the Roman Empire. In this chapter I will attempt to clarify how this material can be interpreted as such. The evidence for this reinterpretation is admittedly not decisive, but the indications derived are believed to be comparable in strength with other views. Obviously, there are few markers that signal 'Roman military' in the material. It is the context of the examined material that is decisive. The individual objects that are crucial to a given interpretation differ greatly depending on the date and circumstances of the find. As long as confirmed knowledge of these matters is scarce, as is the case here, archaeologists and historians must attempt to challenge the traditional theories and break out of self-reaffirming approaches.
The material consists of two groups. One group, I have labelled *foederati*. It consists of a number of graves from Denmark spread out both geographically and chronologically. These are graves of individuals representing, what I believe could be diplomatic contacts, through which the Romans sought allies in the far reaches of *Germania*. Another military contact was formed by individual Germanic warriors, who were employed as *auxiliarii* in the Roman army. That is the name of the second group, which consists of finds from the *castella* at Zugmantel and Saalburg in the Taunus Mountains. These finds are indications of a Scandinavian presence on the *limes*. Here a high percentage of Germanic *fibulae* and ceramics indicate that a Germanic population was closely integrated among the occupants of the *castella* and *vici* in certain periods.

Foederati

The matter of Scandinavian tribes and warriors forming alliances with the Romans is not addressed easily. The literary sources have left us little substantial to work with, but there are some archaeological indications that such relations existed, although such is the nature of the evidence that a number of hypotheses concerning the archaeological material can be made. The following paragraphs concentrate on certain grave finds as indications of military-political connections between Germanic *nobiles* and the Romans. As cases, material from a selection

of ten graves will be presented. The Hoby and Hedegård A 4103 graves are dated to the beginning of the 1st century AD, while Juellinge grave 4 is from the turn of the 1st and 2nd centuries AD. Brokær grave 1878 and Himlingøje graves 1875-10 and 1980-25 are from the middle and/or second half of the 2nd century AD. Himlingøje graves 1828 and 1978-1 and Hågerup on Funen are from the first half of the 3rd century AD. The last grave, Varpelev grave *a*, is from the end of the 3rd or the beginning of the 4th century AD (fig. 57). These 10 graves are chosen as case studies because of their chronological and geographical diversity. They are also chosen for the diversity in the archaeological remains that function as markers of the diplomatic contacts.



Fig. 57 Map of the sites with graves. 1: Hoby, 2: Hedegård, 3: Juellinge, 4: Brokær, 5-8: Himlingøje, 9: Hågerup, 10: Varpelev.

The princely grave from Hoby on Lolland

The Hoby grave is dated to the period B1a, which is the time from the birth of Christ to AD 40. This is the beginning of the Early Roman Iron Age, when Roman items began to appear more regularly in Germanic graves. Most of the items belonged to the banquet and drinking sphere. In the Hoby grave, a *c*. 30-year-old man had been laid to rest richly furnished with gifts of gold, silver and bronze, as well as an almost intact Roman banquet set of eight pieces. Apart from the Roman objects, there were among other things a belt buckle, two drinking horn fittings, five silver *fibulae*, of which two were animal head *fibulae*, and two gold finger rings. The Roman objects consisted of five pieces of bronze: a platter, a *trulla*, a jug, a tray and a *situla*, and three cups of silver (one small and a larger pair). The two larger cups, as mentioned above, are works of the finest Augustan craftsmanship (Fig. 58). They are ornamented with scenes from the Iliad made in relief, and both have a maker's inscription, *Chirisophos epoi*, and weight specifications. On the bottom the name *Silius* is incised (Fig. 59). This name is believed to be that of the former owner.[757] It is a name that is known to us through Tacitus.[758] Caius Silius was the commander of the Upper Rhine army from AD 14-21, and as such participated in the campaigns led by Germanicus in AD 14-16.[759]

Several factors make this grave interesting, such as the inscription naming a high ranking Roman officer, the richness by far exceeding any other contemporary find, and the fact that the banquet set was almost complete. There would have been three different ways for the

757) Friis Johansen 1923: 119-165; Jensen 2003: 317; Lund Hansen 1987: 403.
758) Tacitus *Annales* 1.31.2.
759) Eck 1985: 3-6.



Fig. 58 ↑ *Hoby. Detail of silver cup. Photo: National Museum/Lennart Larsen.*

Fig. 59 ↓ *Hoby. Silius inscription. Photo: Lisbeth Imer/After Friis Johansen 1923: 130, fig. 8.*

items to reach Lolland: as trade, booty or gifts. At this early stage, trade seems the most unlikely. Two things speak against this. As regular trade objects, it seems probable that the assemblage would have been broken up. Furthermore, it is improbable that the property of a wealthy Roman, be it the one we know of or someone else, would appear as a trade object. A suggestion that this happened after the fall and suicide of Silius in AD 24 does not appear realistic.[760] The Hoby prince could have acquired the set as booty, had he fought with the *Cherusci* against the Romans. However, to have had the luck not only to get near the headquarters of the commander of four legions and auxiliaries and indeed to raid it, somehow does not seem realistic either. The last and most probable possibility is that Silius gave the banquet set as a diplomatic gift, forming an alliance with a Germanic chieftain, who could be of use to the Romans either during the campaigns or simply as an ally behind the enemy.[761]

An additional sign of contact between Hoby and the Roman Empire is an earlier grave dated to the transition from the Celtic to the Roman Iron Age, around the time of the birth of Christ.[762] Here a Roman bronze vessel constituted a cremation urn, containing remains of an imported La Téne sword scabbard, which also points to contacts with the south. Perhaps this grave belonged to the father of the Hoby prince.

The two animal head *fibulae* have been linked to a rich grave in Jutland. In 1981, K. Kristiansen and L. Hedeager, in an examination of a grave from Bendstrup in eastern Jutland, suggested that there had been a connection between Hoby and Bendstrup.[763] The Bendstrup grave contained the remains of what were interpreted to be the feet of a large wine container, a *kratér*.[764] Furthermore, two silver animal head *fibulae*, of a Norican-Panonnian origin resembling those from Hoby, were found.[765] The distribution of this *fibula* type indicates

760) Tacitus *Annales* 4.18-20; Andersson & Herschend 1997: 13-4.
761) See, e.g., Künzl 1988: 36-8; Wolters 1991: 123, who states this as a matter of fact.
762) Müller 1900: 148-53.
763) Hedeager & Kristiansen 1981: 133-8.
764) Lund Hansen 1987: 407.
765) Bemmann 1999: 154; Hedeager & Kristiansen 1981: 94-103.

two concentrations, one in the area between the Adriatic Sea and the Danube, with a few sporadic finds in Böhmen and Mähren, and one in Denmark, consisting of a total of eight graves. Whereas the southern group consists of *fibulae* of southern origin from the beginning of the 1st century AD, the Danish group originate a little later and are all made locally, except the pair from Bendstrup, which belongs to the southern group. This could be an indication of closer relations, perhaps of an exogamous kind.[766] Interestingly, L. Bender Jørgensen has described how half of the early finds of Z/S spun twills, Bender Jørgensen's Virring type, were found in graves with animal head *fibulae*. This type of cloth is widely found within the Roman Empire.[767]

Hedegård grave A 4103 from eastern Jutland

The goods in this cremation grave were by far as valuable as those of the Hoby grave were. However, apart from some pottery and bronze items, two lance heads and one Roman bronze platter, it was furnished with a highly unusual gift, a *pugio* (Fig. 60).[768] This kind of Roman military dagger was used in the first half of the 1st century AD. Based on the pattern of the ornamented sheath, this particular *pugio* belongs to the Dunaföldvar type, which was the earliest type. Only two other *pugiones* have been found outside the Roman Empire. One is from Ilischken near Kaliningrad and the other is from Ocnita in Romania, both part of what the Romans called *Scythia*.[769] Unlike, for instance, the Roman sword, which is often found in Germanic contexts, the *pugio* was closely and singularly connected to the Roman military. That the Hedegård dagger is the only one found in a Germanic context indicates that Germanic warriors could find little use for *pugiones*, coming across them, as they would have, when Roman troops were occasionally defeated. That also contradicts a scenario in which the *pugio* was a handled as a trade object. Following this line of thought, the presence of this *pugio* in a grave indicates a connection between the deceased and the Roman army. If we should dare to connect this dagger to historically known events, its owner might have served



Fig. 60 Hedegård, grave A 4103. Pugio of the Dunaföldvar type. Photo: Museum Sønderjylland – Arkæologi Haderslev /Steen Hendriksen.

766) Hedeager & Kristiansen 1981: 133-8; Jensen 2003: 293-294, 316-7.
767) Bender Jørgensen 1986: 346-7.
768) Madsen 1999: 74-83.
769) Madsen 1999: 74-83; Nowakowski 1983: 80, 106; Thiel & Zanier 1994: nr. 138; Watt 2003: 185-6, fig. 6.

under Tiberius as an *auxiliarius*. As such, he could have participated in the naval expedition in AD 5 to the Cimbrian Promontory, having knowledge of otherwise unknown territory. As at Hoby, there are earlier links to the Romans at Hedegård. Three graves from the end of the 1st century BC contained high quality Roman bronze vessels.[770]

Juellinge grave 4 on Lolland

This woman's grave belongs to a larger group of richly furnished graves from the period AD 70-150.[771] The grave gifts consisted of a large number of gold, silver, bronze, glass and bone objects. Six Roman vessels had been deposited, four of bronze and two of glass. As such, this grave is not much different from the rest of the group, if it were not for the type of glass vessels. A glance at a distribution map for this type of ribbed glass bowl shows that, outside the Roman Empire, it is found at very few places (Fig. 61). Outside the Empire, this type is found just on the other side of the Rhine opposite Cologne and on the coast of the Black Sea, apart from at Juellinge. There are several possible explanations for this. Either it is pure coincidence that other examples have not been found, something we can do very little with, or it is a result of a direct contact between the Romans and a princely family on Lolland. Another indication of direct contact is the fact that the bowls comprise a set.[772]

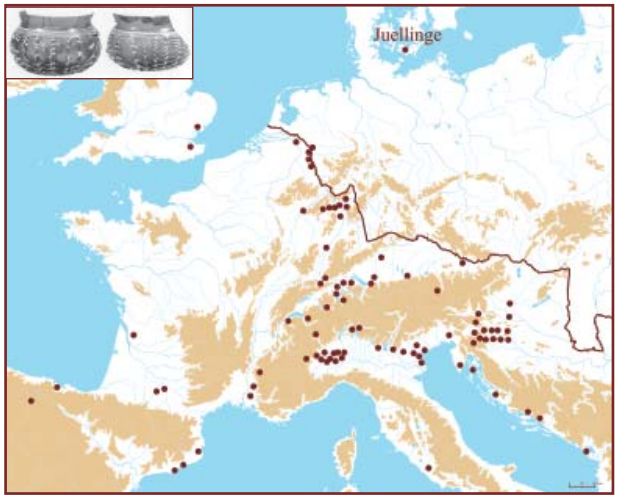


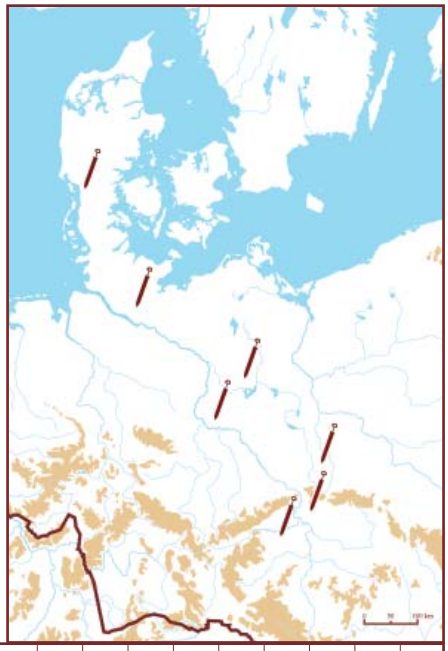
Fig. 61 Juellinge, Roman glass bowls. Distribution map. After Lund Hansen 1987: 53, fig. 19. Photo: National Museum/Lennart Larsen.

Brokær grave 1878

This cremation grave, dated to the beginning of the second half of the 2nd century AD, was very poorly preserved, but enough was left to identify the grave goods in what is one of the richest graves from Iron Age Denmark. [773] It included a ring-pommel sword, a mail shirt, spurs, a gold finger ring, two ornamented silver beakers, two drinking horns and eight or nine Roman bronze vessels, of which one was of silver. The ring-pommel sword, originally a Sarmatian type of cavalry sword, was copied by the Romans and used for a similar purpose from

770) Madsen 1999: 63-74.
771) Jensen 2003: 356-8; Lund Hansen 1987: 194 fig. 130, 403; Müller 1911: 17-30.
772) Lund Hansen 1987: 222.
773) Rasmussen 1995: 58-80.

the middle of the 2nd century AD to the beginning of the 3rd century.[774] The sword from Brokær was believed by M. Biborski to be a Germanic copy, as it lacked the obligatory rivet hole.[775] However, X-ray pictures later showed otherwise.[776] Only *c.* 25 ring-pommel swords have been found outside the Roman Empire. Apart from the remains of four or five swords from the war booty sacrifice in the Vimose bog on Funen, those found in a Germanic context are mostly from graves, as either single or closed grave finds (Fig. 62).[777] The graves are all concentrated in the Elbe area, except for the example from Brokær. K. Raddatz interprets the ring-pommel swords from these graves as booty from the Marcomannic wars during the reign of Marcus Aurelius (AD 161-180).[778] But when we look at the grave contexts, significant differences are apparent between the Elbe graves and Brokær (Fig. 63). In the Elbe graves, the main feature is the weaponry, with a sword, shield and either lance or spear, if not both, indicating the warrior status of the deceased. Apart from a gold finger ring here and a *fibula* there, no other status markers are present. These are not rich graves. In Brokær 1878, on the contrary, while there is only a sword, there is in addition a mail shirt. In about half the graves, spurs indicate a horseman. The most apparent difference is the complete lack of Roman imports in the Elbe graves. Thus, the Brokær grave is unique, being the only example where the sword is combined with Roman imports. Raddatz suggests that the weaponry and imports reached the Germanic area by different means. B. Rasmussen believes that Brokær could be seen in the light of both war booty and trade. The environment of Brokær was perfect for raising cattle and it was situated at the mouth



	Hamfelde 302	Hamfelde 403	Hamfelde 665	Hohenferchensar	Malente-Krummsee 79	**Brokær 1878**	Kemnitz 455	Hamfelde 277	Kemnitz 430	Kemnitz 508
Ring-pommel sword	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Lance	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x
Spear (javelin)	x		x		x					
Shield	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	
Chain mail						x				
Spurs	x	x		x		x				
Strap fitting/buckle	x	x	x	x		x				
Scissors	x	x	?	x	x	x			x	
Knife	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x
Pottery	x	x		x			x			
Comb				x		x				
Awl					x	?				
Needle	x					x				
Whetstone				x						
Fibula			x							
Gold finger ring				x		x				
Drinking horn		x				x				
Silver beakers						x				
Roman Import						x				

Fig. 62 ⬆ *Ring pommel-swords found in graves in the western part of the northern Barbaricum. B: Brokær. After Biborski 1994 & Rasmussen 1995: 73, fig. 28.*

Fig. 63 ⬇ *Grave contents of graves with ring-pommel swords. After Rasmussen 1995: 85, fig. 39.*

774) Hundt 1955: 51-2; Rasmussen 1995: 71.
775) Biborski 1994: 90.
776) Rasmussen 1995: 72, fig. 7a.
777) Ørsnes 1970: XX-XXI; Pauli Jensen 2003: 228; Raddatz 1961: 26-44. Only five ring-pommels can be accounted for at present.
778) [29] Raddatz 1961: 41, 54-5.

of a major west-east trade route, the River Kongeåen at the north end of the Wadden Sea. It is not unthinkable that the locals traded hides or perhaps even live cattle with the Romans.[779] Only a few hundred kilometres south of Brokær, at Tolsum in the northwestern corner of the Netherlands, in the province of Friesland, a writing tablet with a trade contract was discovered. The contract concerned the sale of oxen by a local Friesian farmer to a group of Roman soldiers on the 9th of September AD 116.[780] Trading connections could also indicate relations opposite to those of the Elbe warriors. The Brokær prince could have been a Roman ally, who also prospered economically through this relation. Like Hedegård, some graves dated to the preceding period hold Roman bronze vessels.[781]

The Himlingøje Cemetery

The cemetery at Himlingøje on eastern Zealand dated from the middle of the 2nd to the end of the 3rd century AD represents the earliest of the Germanic power centres from the Late Roman Iron Age. This centre had strong connections to the Romans, as the distribution pattern of Roman tableware in Scandinavia highly indicates that it was funnelled through Himlingøje.[782]

The first generation of graves from the Himlingøje cemetery consisted of cremations. They were highly visibly marked by five huge barrows. One barrow was empty, possibly being a cenotaph, while another had been ploughed over. A C^{14} date from the cenotaph barrow places it in the period AD 140-320.[783] Two barrows contained richly furnished cremations from the second half of the 2nd century AD (Grave 1875-10 from B2/C1a and grave 1980-25 from C1a).

Grave 1875-10 (Baghøjene sb. 15)

In 1875, S. Müller excavated the first of the Himlingøje barrows. He found a cremated adult aged between 30 and 50 years old. The remains of the deceased had been deposited in a *trulla* or cooking pan along with a great number of goods mostly of bronze that had been severely damaged by fire. Some fragments had been deliberately bent (Fig. 64). Parts of three bronze knob spurs indicate that the deceased was a man. The *trulla* used as an urn had a fabrication mark, '*PICVS*' or

779) Raddatz 1961: 40-1; Rasmussen 1995: 84-5, 98.
780) Boeles 1951: 129-30, pl. XVI; Vollgraff 1917: 341-52.
781) Rasmussen 1995: 42-56.
782) Lund Hansen 1987: 200-15.
783) Lund Hansen *et al*. 1995: 110-23, 129-30, 192-4.

'*RICVS*'. Among the remains there were bronze fragments of two sets of ladles and sieves, a bucket with face attaches, a larger vessel, probably an Östland cauldron and feet from bronze vessels. Furthermore, the spiral and needle of a *fibula* and a small bronze fragment may have been part of a Germanic swastika *fibula*. Sixteen pieces of gold sheet with signs of an earlier attachment to bronze may have belonged to this *fibula* as well. There were remains of one glass vessel. Two pieces of silver presumably once were a couple of silver beakers.[784]



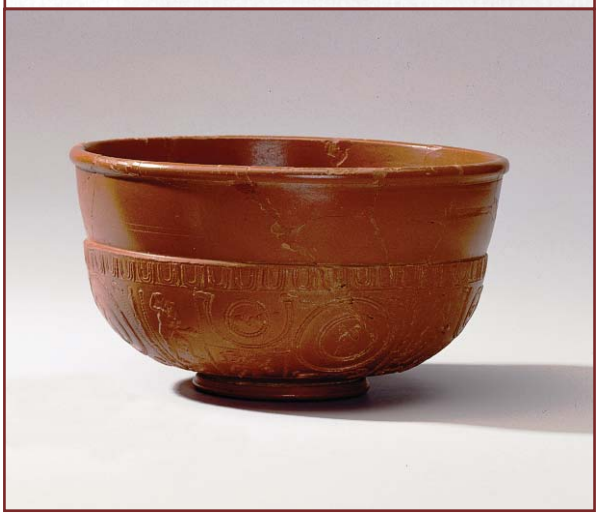


Fig. 64 ⬆ *Himlingøje, grave 1875-10. Trulla used as urn. Photo: National Museum/ Lennart Larsen.*

Fig. 65 ⬇ *Himlingøje, grave 1980-25. Terra sigillata bowl used as urn. Photo: National Museum/John Lee.*

Grave 1980-25

This grave was discovered during excavations in 1980. The urn, a *terra sigillata* bowl, had been placed in an undecorated, locally made pottery bowl (Fig. 65). The urn was filled with bones and remains of grave goods damaged by fire. From the anthropological material it was determined that the remains belonged to someone between 18 and 25 years. The gender was not possible to determine based on the bones, but the archaeological remains indicated a male, as one group of grave goods was *militaria*. A lance head and fragments of two belt fittings were of iron. The bronze findings included fragments of knob spurs, two different sizes of shield edge fittings and a disc originally ornamented with six rosettes, which has been interpreted as a baldric disc. The grave had also been richly furnished with Roman tableware. Bronze fragments remained of a ladle and sieve (probably), an unidentifiable vessel, one or more fluted vessels as well as different handles. Furthermore, there were fragments of at least three different glasses, one of which was most likely a circus cup based on the remains of colouring. The only complete Roman vessel was the urn, a *terra sigillata* bowl, Dragendorf 37. It had been produced in Lezoux and was made by Secundus in the workshop of Cinnamus. On the top of the urn lay 29 pieces of gold sheet.[785]

The two early Himlingøje graves are much alike, the last resting places of high ranking warriors. Their status is quite evident from the presence

784) Engelhardt 1877: 390-3; Lund Hansen 1987: 412; Lund Hansen *et al*. 1995: 120-3, 146-7, 250-1, pls. 8-10.
785) Lund Hansen 1987: 413; Lund Hansen *et al*. 1995: 118-9, 165-6, 251, pls. 31-33.

of gold, silver and a great number of Roman vessels. However, based on their military equipment they would only reach the class of officers, as determined by Ilkjær and Carnap-Bornheim.[786] They also are both included in the present examination because of the relevance of their graves, in particular the urns. In one case it was a large *trulla* (Eggers 142, Dm, 22 cm); in the other it was a *terra sigillata* bowl. When the vessels to be used as urns were selected, they would not just have been the nearest suitable vessels, but would have been chosen deliberately. Let us consider the *trulla* first. It was clear from the excavation that it had been stuffed with grave goods in such a way that parts of these objects had to be folded and pressed together in order to make room for everything. Size wise, the Östland cauldron or the bucket with face attaches would have been better choices, as would the latter if grandeur was the intention. Obviously neither was the case. I would postulate that the reason the *trulla* was chosen was because it could have had special meaning to the deceased. *Trullae* are found all over *Barbaricum*, and the type is not in itself spectacular.[787] This vessel was also a common tool used by the Roman army, at least in the 1st century AD according to M. Bishop and J. Coulston. What happens in the 2nd and 3rd century they do not reveal, unfortunately.[788] Considering that this is one of the tombs that constitute the beginning of an influential and wealthy family in eastern Zealand, who had connections to the Roman Empire, the use of the *trulla* could in this case signify an affiliation of the deceased not just to army life, but to Roman army life. Furthermore, it would indicate the importance to the society of his military status. In a richly furnished inhumation grave from Marwedel in Niedersachsen, a *trulla* (Eggers 142-4) was found among many other objects. In a reconstruction by F. Leux, this object had been placed over the belly of the deceased, while four other Roman bronzes had peen placed above his head.[789] Could this special position indicate that the *trulla* had held some specific meaning to the deceased here as well?

A comparable situation can be deduced from grave 1980-25. The reason a *terra sigillata* bowl was used could very well have been that this bowl had meant something personal to the deceased. It is clear from the distribution of *terra sigillata* throughout *Barbaricum* that it was not a luxury commodity. The distribution pattern shows that this

786) Carnap-Bornheim & Ilkjær 1996: 483-4.
787) Eggers 1951: pl. 42; Lund Hansen 1987: 48-9, 59.
788) Bishop & Coulston 2006: 119; Kunow 1983: 75.
789) Leux 1992: 319 fig. 3.B, 322.

pottery was connected to regular trade and use. The areas involved are mostly situated within a 200 km distance to the Roman frontier, more or less corresponding with the regions between the Rhine and the Elbe. An exception to this is the Vistla regions.[790] Obviously, this does not include Scandinavia. In Denmark, very few *terra sigillata* vessels have been found and they are not part of the status bearing vessels of Roman origin that otherwise occur in great numbers in the Germanic elite graves. Nevertheless, this young man was laid to rest in one. Therefore, I believe that this vessel could have had personal significance or symbolic value to the deceased, and the most obvious place for him to acquire it, was in Roman surroundings. Again, this is supported by the social significance of these graves.

Grave 1828

This and the following grave are dated to the first half of the 3rd century AD. When the grave complex was discovered in 1828, some of the first finds to appear were two silver beakers with gilt ornamental bands (Fig. 66).[791] Other grave gifts were Roman tableware of bronze and glass and spectacular Germanic gold arm- and finger rings. The ornaments on the bands consist of various animals as well as human figures holding ring-pommel swords. The choice of elements could indicate a hunting scene, but as the sword is not a hunting weapon that does not seem likely. Furthermore, a close look at the animals depicted rather would suggest they are domesticated and not wild. One proposal is that the scenes represent warriors at rest looking at and pondering over their worldly riches, among them perhaps chickens, a Roman innovation.[792] Like the Brokær sword, the ring-pommel sword motif on the beakers has been connected to the Marcomannic wars.[793] Given the status value of these beakers and the strong link between Himlingøje and the Romans starting at the time of these wars, the motif very well could indicate ancestral participation on the Roman side that had entered the local myth.



Fig. 66 Himlingøje, grave 1828. Silver beaker with gilt ornamented band. Photo: National Museum/Lennart Larsen.

790) Berke 1990: 102-9, Beilage 2; Erdrich & Voß 2003: 148-9.
791) Lund Hansen *et al*. 1995: 141-3.
792) Brandt 2005: 12-3.
793) Lund Hansen *et al*. 1995: 386-387; Storgaard 2001: 102-3.

Grave 1978-1 (1978-35)

Grave 1978-1 is another richly furnished grave, but in this case the gifts, of which there are plenty of gold, silver and glass, are not of particular interest. What makes this grave special is the skeletal material, both human and animal. The deceased, a male aged 18-25, had been carved up prior to inhumation. At the time of burial, an attempt to position the bones correctly in the grave had failed, as some larger bones had been placed upside down and inside out, though at the right location, while some smaller bones had just been put in the grave near the body (Fig. 67). Several bones had been deposited in a manner that showed that not all parts had been completely skeletonised, though. The only pathological trace was a fractured rib on the right side of the chest.[794] With the deceased was his dog, of which an almost complete skeleton remained. It was found outside and on top of the grave, where the find of dog excrement indicates that it was alive at the funeral. It was a large, rather old dog, probably of either the Maremma or Komondor type.[795] The Komondor, a Hungarian sheep dog, came to Europe from China sometime in the 10th century AD, while the Maremma, an Italian sheepdog, dates back to the birth of Christ.[796] With the date of the type secure, it is more likely to have been a Maremma type. Considering the status of the grave, the central grave of three in one mound, and the age of the deceased, he must have been a relation of the ruler, perhaps a son or nephew. One reason for carving him up could be to facilitate transport of the body in order to bring it home for proper burial at the family grave site, suggesting he died abroad! Considering his injury, he might have fallen from his horse and died from an inflammation. Where he had been is of course impossible to know, but not impossible to guess at. Without calculating the time for a body to decay combined with possible daily travel distances by land or sea under various seasonal influences, it should suffice to conclude that he must have been so far away that it was easier to bring him home in pieces, but not so far that

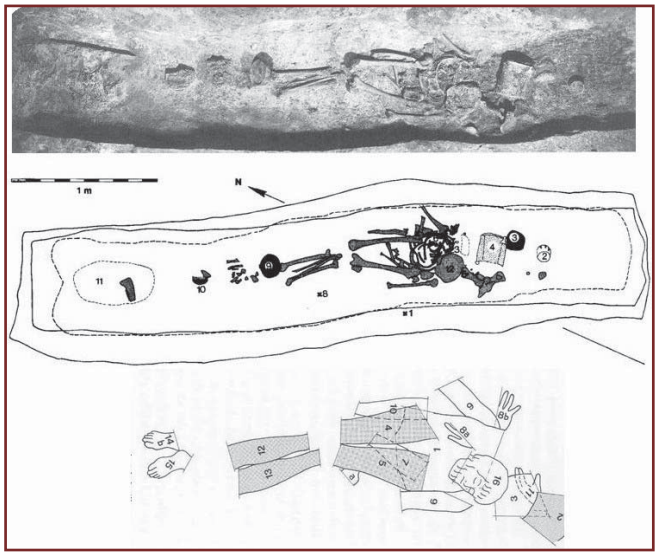


Fig. 67 Himlingøje, grave 1978-1. Position of the bones of the buried male. After Lund Hansen et al. 1995: 127, 256.

794) Lund Hansen *et al*. 1995: 126-8, 162-4, 254-6, 273-4.
795) Hatting 1978: 69-74: Jørgensen *et al*. 2003: 394; Lund Hansen *et al*. 1995: 128.
796) http://www.komondor.org/html/history.html. Checked on December the 5th 2006; http://www.maremmano.com/history.htm. Checked on December the 5th 2006.

he had time to decompose completely. One possibility is that he had been somewhere at the *limes*. Could he have been serving as a Roman officer, or was he perhaps functioning as an envoy on a trip to *Colonia Agrippinensis* for his family? Apart from the overall relations between the Himlingøje family and the Romans, the link in this particular grave is the old Italian sheepdog.[797] Perhaps it was a gift to the prince, when he was a boy.

Hågerup

In 1932, the inhumation grave of an adult male was found at Hågerup on Funen. The grave was richly equipped with Roman objects, and not only vessels, of which there were two Östland cauldrons, a ladle and sieve set, a glass cup and a silver bowl (Fig. 68). Furthermore, there were a silver spoon of the *cochlear* type and a gold finger ring with a blue gem, in which was carved the image of *Bonus Eventus*, Good Fortune (Fig. 69). In his mouth, the deceased had a *denarius* from AD 137 and a piece of gold string coiled up in a spiral. Local goods included various toiletries of silver and bone, silver belt terminals and pottery.[798]





Fig. 68 ↑ *Hågerup. Roman silver bowl. Photo: National Museum/John Lee.*

Fig. 69 ↓ *Hågerup. Roman ring with engraved gem. Photo: National Museum/ John Lee.*

Three items, the spoon, the silver bowl and the signet ring, appear in Hågerup for the first time in a Danish grave. Spoons are only found in two other graves in Scandinavia, Årslev on Funen and Tuna in middle Sweden. Both are dated to C2. Spoons are also present in a number of early C2 graves from the middle Elbe region. Lund Hansen has interpreted the spoons as evidence of contact within the Germanic elite.[799] According to S. Künzl, the spoons indicate knowledge of Roman dining customs, at least when a set is found.[800] Although two spoons were found in Tuna grave X, they are both *cochleares*, why they do not form a set.[801] On Funen, there is a set only by combining Hågerup and Årslev. Nevertheless, the question is whether the spoons reflect contact with the Romans rather than with other Germanic princely seats.

The silver bowl from Hågerup is the only Roman drinking vessel of silver from the Late Roman Iron Age in Scandinavia apart from

797) Storgaard 2001: 100.
798) Albrectsen 1968: 123; Broholm 1952: 16-24; Lund Hansen 1987: 426.
799) Lund Hansen 1987: 224-5.
800) Künzl 2002c: 355-6.
801) Nylén & Schönbäck 1994: 28-9.

the silver/glass vessel from Varpelev. However, there are two close parallels in Leuna graves 1917-2 and 1926-3.[802] Incidentally, all three graves contain remains of a glass bowl of a more or less similar shape.[803] Parallels to the silver bowls are found in the Roman provinces of *Germania Inferior* and *Gallia Belgica*. One was found in a grave from the cemetery of the villa of the Secundinii at Rheinbach-Flerzheim near Bonn. That grave was dated to the end of the 3rd century AD.[804] Another came from a 3rd century grave from Bavai.[805] Only the Hågerup bowl pre-dates C2.

The signet ring is one of only nine Roman rings out of 35 from Scandinavia that are found in a context. These include seven out of 22 rings from Denmark and two out of five rings from Norway. None of the seven Roman rings from Sweden has any context.[806] Once again the other rings are dated to C2 or later. The Hågerup ring is unique in Scandinavia, while 28 of the other rings are variations of the same type.[807] How does this ring relate to the Romans in particular? K. Andersson has suggested that they may have functioned as Roman *dona*, gifts to Germanic chieftains from Romans.[808] Gold rings in the Roman society were originally reserved for the *nobiles* and *equites Romani*, members of the senatorial and the equestrian order. During the Principate their use was widened to include all with Roman citizenship.[809] The gift of a ring from a Roman commander to a Germanic prince could be a reflection of the patron-client relationship.[810] For instance, the work of L. Allason-Jones in the Sudan has shown that rings could have been given as diplomatic gifts to the leaders of Rome's neighbours.[811] Perhaps it could even have been a token of the granting of Roman citizenship. We know of several Germanic leaders who were bestowed not only citizenship, but also a membership of the equestrian order.[812] The Byzantine emperor, Konstantinos Porphyrogenitos († AD 959) reports that the Emperor Constantine gave away gold finger rings to loyal Barbarians.[813] Although the significance of the ring might

802) Schulz 1953: 62, pls. V.1 & XXV.1.
803) Broholm 1952: 22; Schultz 1953: 61, pls. V.2 & XXV.2.
804) Baratte 1993: 22, pl. IV, fig. 7; Gechter 1986: 17; Menninger 1997: 99, figs. 18-20.
805) Baratte 1993: 21, pl. IV, fig. 6.
806) Andersson 1985: 108-11; Andersson 1987: 147; Lund Hansen 1987: 228-9.
807) Beckmann 1969: 35-6, 39, pls. 11.17b, 13.22a (the Hågerup ring).
808) Andersson 1985: 139.
809) Andersson 1985: 138; Hurschmann 2001: 1021.
810) Andersson 1985: 139.
811) L. Allason-Jones, Newcastle: Personal communication.
812) See e.g. chapter on the *Clades Variana* and the end of the *Germania* campaigns.
813) Konstantinos Porphyrogenitos 53.191.

have changed once it entered *Barbaricum*, I find it very likely that whoever gave it away, would have done so in concordance with his own belief and that the ring symbolised either a personal or official friendship. Therefore, I agree with Andersson, who states that to see the Roman rings as indications of direct contact between Romans and Scandinavians does not seem too far fetched.[814]

A few comments should be made concerning the *denarius* found in the mouth of the deceased, which was briefly touched on above. As mentioned, this feature has both been interpreted by some to reflect the Graeco-Roman *Obolus* custom and rejected as such.[815] However, the fact is that in a small number of graves, the bereaved families for some reason chose to place a coin or something similar like a piece of gold or glass in the mouth of the deceased.[816] This fact could be used as a counter argument against H. Horsnæs' rejection, which was based on the alteration of some coins into jewellery. If a simple piece of gold or glass could serve the purpose, why not a coin with an eyelet or a hole? In the case of Hågerup, the coin was a *denarius* and not an *aureus*. In addition, it was accompanied by a small piece of coiled gold string. Naturally, we could think up an endless number of reasons for this. One suggestion complies with the *Obolus* custom. It was important to the deceased that it was a coin, but he only had one of silver. As this coin was not deemed valuable enough, and as he did not wish to enter the Underworld insufficiently funded, the gold was added. From this we might get the impression that, in the belief of this particular deceased and/or his family, the presence of payment in the form of coinage was a must. Nevertheless, something more valuable had to be added, as Charon, or whoever may have been thought to be at the receiving end, would not have been satisfied with one measly *denarius*. In such a scenario, the symbolic value was not enough, contrary to those graves with pieces of glass, which had only symbolic value and no monetary value.[817] Another more practical suggestion was given by the excavator. He seriously doubted that the deceased would have had any idea whatsoever of the meaning of the *Obulus* custom. Instead he believed that this feature reflected the use in daily life of the mouth as a place to keep valuables, '*as described at several occasions in the literature*'. In other words, the mouth of the deceased was used as a purse.[818]

814) Andersson 1985: 137.
815) e.g. Dyhrfjeld-Johnsen (Forthcoming); Horsnæs 2005: 14; Lund Hansen 1987: 178.
816) Dyhrfjeld-Johnsen (Forthcoming); Lund Hansen 1995: 156.
817) Boye 2002: 208-9.
818) Broholm 1952: 18.

Which literature he is referring to is not specified, but the fact is that the use of a purse hanging from the belt was quite normal at this time, as reflected in the Illerup war booty sacrifice, for instance.[819]

Varpelev Grave a

The Varpelev cemetery was situated only a few kilometres from Himlingøje. Continuity can be seen here, as the cemetery covered most of the 3rd century AD, both C1b and C2. During the excavation by C. Engelhardt in 1876 and 1877, a number of richly furnished inhumation graves belonging to C2 were discovered. The most spectacular of these was grave *a*. The deceased, an adult male based on the anthropological remains, had been given a large amount of jewellery as well as high quality Roman vessels. Perhaps the most spectacular object was a blue glass bowl that had been blown into the openwork frame of a silver *kantharos* (Fig. 70). Near the rim, in openwork, was the Greek word '*EYTYXωC*', meaning 'for (your) happiness'. Three other high quality glasses were found and a glass siphon (Fig. 71). The only bronze vessel was a platter. Also belonging to the banquet sphere were two silver fittings from a drinking horn. By his neck lay a gold arm or neck ring with snake's head terminals and a gold pin. By the right ear was an *aureus* with an eyelet from the reign of Probus (AD 276-82). On his right hand he had two gold finger rings. Furthermore, there were three silver buckles and a strap end fitting of silver (Fig. 72). At a follow-up investigation, two silver fingerings, a square double silver plate and another silver plate were found. He also had 42 gaming pieces of bone and four bear's claws with him. All in all, these grave goods make Varpelev grave *a* the richest C2 grave in Denmark.[820]

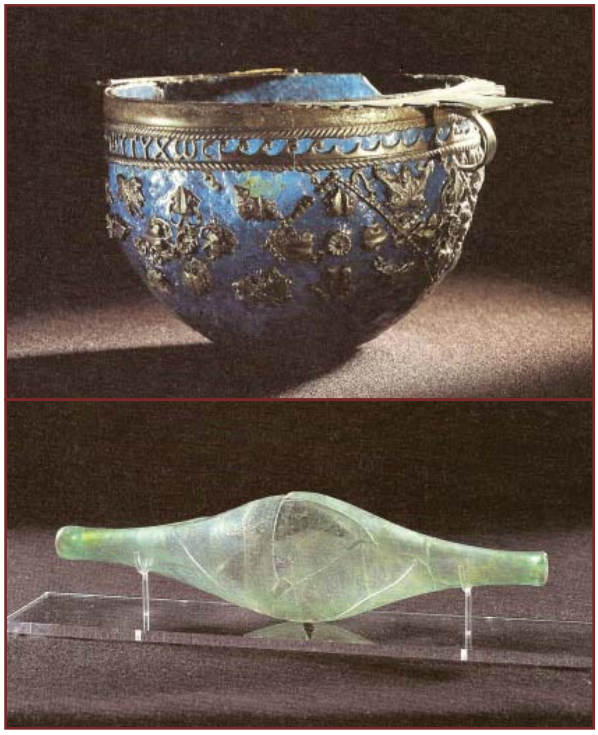


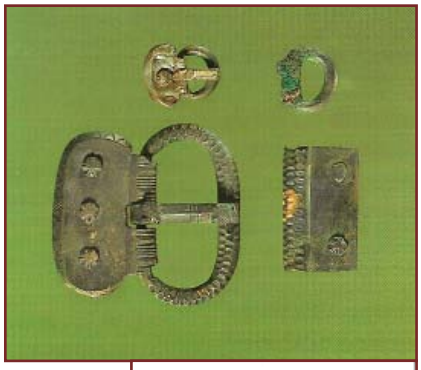
Fig. 70 ↑ *Varpelev. Roman silver/glass cup. Photo: National Museum/Lennart Larsen.*

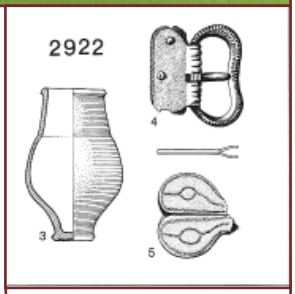
Fig. 71 ↓ *Varpelev. Roman siphon. Photo: National Museum/Lennart Larsen.*

This grave very much resembles the contemporary rich graves of the Haßleben-Leuna horizon. These graves, it is argued, reflect that Germanic Warriors from the middle Elbe region were hired by the 'Gallic Emperors' of the late 3rd century AD. One of the important

819) See the description of coins above.
820) Engelhardt 1877: 349-59; Lund Hansen 1987: 65, 122 note 13, 416; Lund Hansen 2006: 77-80.

aspects was the dominating presence of 'Gallic' *aurei* and the fact that no *aurei* were later than the last 'Gallic Emperor'.[821] In Varpelev, an *aureus* minted under Probus had been deposited in grave *a*. Furthermore, there were unique objects like the glass/silver cup and the siphon. These objects alone could indicate direct contact, and combined with the *aureus* we might have an indication that diplomatic relations were initiated between the Romans, once again ruled by a sole Emperor, and eastern Zealand. This area had firm relations with the Romans in the first half of the 3rd century AD, but had seen a decline, possibly due to the appearance on the scene of the middle Elbe warriors. It has been suggested that these warriors were sent packing, once the 'Gallic Empire' ceased to exist. The link to Varpelev could indicate an attempt to fill the gap left by the Elbe warriors and a re-establishment of earlier relations between the Romans and eastern Zealand. Two of the buckles, a large and a small, as well as a strap end fitting were found at the waist of the deceased. The last small buckle was located above his head. While the two buckles and the strap end fitting could have belonged to the personal belt and the military belt, as identified by J. Ilkjær, the third buckle is harder to explain.[822] The military belt buckle and strap end fitting highly resemble late Roman examples from the middle of the 4th century AD, although no exact matches can be found. The set is not as elaborate as is often seen in the 4th century AD, which could indicate that the Varpelev warrior may have been the owner of one of the earliest examples.[823] The closest parallels are an undecorated piece from grave 2 at Monceau-le-Neuf in northern France and one with punched decoration on the bow from grave 2922 from Krefeld-Gellep (Fig. 73).[824] One type of Late Roman belt also had a shoulder strap. For this there is evidence in a grave from Oudenburg.[825] Although the shoulder strap buckles are normally rhomboid, a small buckle was found in grave 2991 from Krefeld-Gellep (Fig. 74).[826] Both Krefeld-Gellep graves belong to the late Roman part of the cemetery, while the Monceau-le-Neuf grave contained a silver coin from the reign of Constantius II (AD 337-61).[827] Possibly a shoulder strap could explain





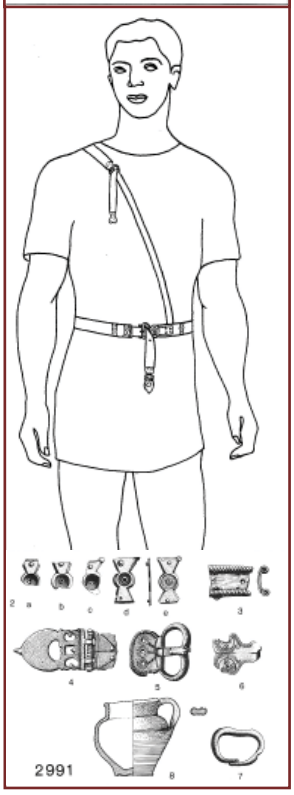


Fig. 72 ↑↑ *Varpelev. Silver buckles and terminal. Photo: National Museum/Kit Weiss.*

Fig. 73 ↑ *Gelduba, grave 2922. After Pirling 1989: Pl. 7, 2922.*

Fig. 74 ↓ *Gelduba, grave 2991 and a reconstruction of a shoulder strap. After Bullinger 1969: Fig. 49.1 & Pirling 1989: Pl. 12, 2991.*

821) See discussion above.
822) Ilkjær 1993: 373-4
823) Bullinger 1969: figs. 4.8, 11.1 & pls. I, XIX.
824) Böhme 1974: pls. 130-1, map 19.37; Pirling 1989: 49, pls. 7.3-5.
825) Bullinger 1969: 60-1, fig. 47.3, pl. LXVIII, 3.
826) Bullinger 1969: fig. 49.1; Pirling 1989: 57-8, pls. 12.2-8.
827) Pirling 1979: Beilage 1; Werner 1949: 250-1.

the extra buckle in grave *a*. If this were the case, then the Varpelev warrior might have been equipped with a Late Roman style military belt.

Auxiliarii

The second group of material concerns the possible presence of Scandinavian mercenaries at the *limes*. As a case study for a Germanic presence, the Taunus *castella* have proven useful. The excavations at Saalburg and Zugmantel have both revealed interesting material, while the outcome of excavations at the fortlets situated between the two, Feldberg and Alteburg-Hefftrich, has been minimal. In 1972, A. Böhme examined the *fibulae* from Saalburg and Zugmantel.[828] The largest group was the crossbow *fibula* with a high needle holder, Almgren VII. Of this group, she identified 49, out of which 15 examples belong to the Series 3.[829] This type of *fibula* is distributed from the Lower Elbe area and north, with a specific concentration on the Danish islands (Fig. 75). They are, for instance, represented in the prominent graves at Skovgårde and Himlingøje.[830] A few have been found in the Rhine-Weser area. From Böhme's list of Almgren VII in a provincial Roman context, it is clear that although they are not extremely rare, there are only one or two examples found at each place, with the exception of Zugmantel (42), Saalburg (7) and Butzbach (8).[831] Interestingly, Butzbach is the next larger *castellum* east of Saalburg. From this we can deduce that whoever brought the *fibulae* were more or less placed within the same area of the *limes*. The Almgren VII types are dated to the end of the 2nd and the 3rd century AD.[832] In 1995, B. Beckmann presented an overview of Germanic objects at the Taunus *limes*. Here he recapitulated Böhme's results concerning the *fibulae*, producing a map based on these results



Fig. 75 Skovgårde. Fibulae Almgren VII. After Ethelberg 2000: 45, fig. 34.

828) Böhme 1972.
829) Böhme apparently mixes up the types; in the text she refers to Kuchenbuch's series, of which Series 4a and b correspond to Almgren VII Series 3. In the illustration text, however, the group has changed to Alm. VII, Ser. 4. Unfortunately this mistake is repeated by Beckmann, who refers to Alm. VII, Ser. 4 as equal to Kuchenbuch Ser. 4a-b. Beckmann 1995: 412; Böhme 1972: 33-5.
830) Lund Hansen *et al*. 1995: 154-7; Ethelberg 2000: 44-50.
831) Böhme 1972: 33, 65, Fundliste 31. Again there is a discrepancy, as she says, 41 from Zugmantel and 8 from Saalburg, while from the catalogue numbers in the find list the numbers appear to be 42 and 7.
832) Böhme 1972: 35.

(Fig. 76).[833] The map shows the spread of the three main groups of Germanic *fibulae*, Almgren V 141, Almgren V 101 and Almgren VII, as well as Series 3, the largest group of Almgren VII. What is apparent from this map is that the areas of origin are not in the immediate vicinity of the Roman border. It is rather the Lower Elbe area and north. Beckmann also examined the research on Germanic pottery in this area.[834] In 1995, this subject had hardly been examined since R. von Uslar's work in the 1930s.[835] From his work it was possible to conclude that these *castella* had had a Germanic presence for a long and unbroken duration of time, and that the Germanic pottery resembled that of the West Germanic area, i.e., the Rhine-Weser area.[836]

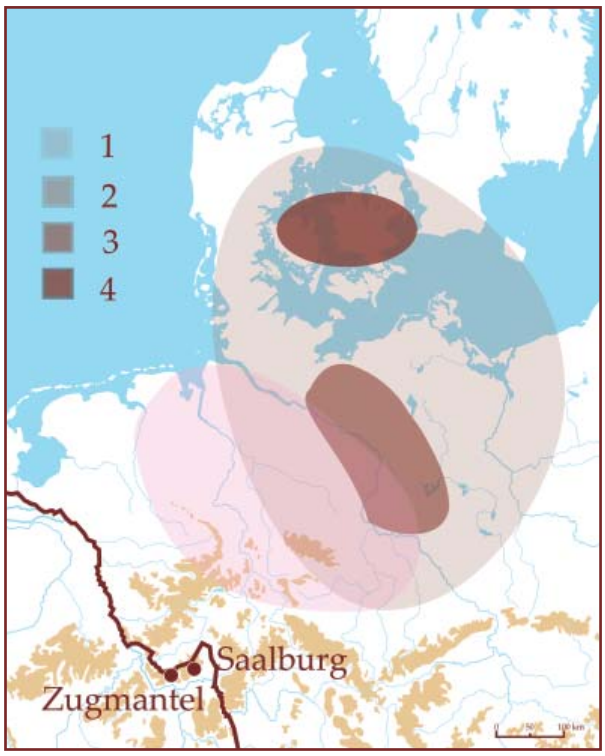


Fig. 76 Saalburg & Zugmantel. Distribution map of Germanic fibulae. 1: Almgren VII. 2: Almgren V 141. 3: Almgren V 101. 4: Almgren VII, series 3. After Beckmann 1995: 411.

In 2000, D. Walter published a dissertation on the Germanic pottery from the area between the River Main and the Taunus *limes*.[837] The definition of Germanic pottery is that it is made in a Germanic tradition, basically in the style used in the Rhine-Weser area, i.e., the pottery is generally locally made.[838] For Zugmantel, the conclusion based on the pottery is that Germanic settlers arrived during the reign of Commodus or later, most likely on the request of the Romans. Walter interpreted the settlement in relation to the keeping of livestock. This presence continued throughout the first third of the 3rd century AD.[839] With respect to Saalburg, the presence is more obscure. This could be due to the early excavation date of the site. The pottery is roughly and insecurely dated to the end of the 2nd and the 3rd century AD. The pottery possibly derived from a Romanised Germanic group coming from outside the Roman Empire.[840] In 1988, S. Sommer suggested that the *vicus* at Zugmantel had a 'Germanic quarter' based on the find location of the Germanic pottery.[841] This suggestion was rejected by Walter, who pointed out that the Germanic pottery at both Zugmantel

833) Beckmann 1995: 411-2.
834) Beckmann 1995: 410-1.
835) von Uslar 1934.
836) Beckmann 1995: 411; von Uslar 1934: 96.
837) Walter 2000.
838) Walter 2000: 14, 197.
839) Walter 2000: 66-7, 70, 151-2.
840) Walter 2000: 66, 71, 140.
841) Sommer 1988: 607-9.

and Saalburg was found among Roman pottery, thus indicating a mixed habitat rather than a sort of ghetto.[842] Furthermore, the relation between the *terra sigillata* and the Germanic pottery was 3,1:1, indicating the presence of quite a few people of Germanic origin. For Saalburg, such a comparison is not possible, as the find situation is not entirely clear. Although the amount of Germanic pottery compared to Zugmantel is considerably lower (50 compared to 1.300 fragments), Saalburg has produced more *fibulae* and coins. This is probably partly due to the excavators' concern for 'museum worthy' objects, thus neglecting the 'unspectacular and primitive' Germanic pottery.[843]

Walter also looked at other Germanic remains from this area. One group of remains was the *fibulae*. She pointed out that the percentage of Germanic *fibulae* from the late 2nd and 3rd century AD is 10% for Zugmantel and 5% for Saalburg. As stated above, most Germanic types from this period originated in the Elbe area, while only Almgren VII, Kuchenbuch Series 4 had a concentration as far north as Denmark and southern Sweden. This type, she noted, has been found at several locations in the Rhine-Weser area. As the Elbe seems to be the primary area of origin for the main body of *fibulae*, she wondered if they came from a Germanic population different from the pottery, since only a few examples have been found in the Rhine-Weser area. To answer this question, she looked for support from E. Cossack and D. Rosenstock. They explained that the general lack of *fibula* finds was due to the burial customs. As no such items are found in graves, in contrast to the Elbe area, a different pattern emerges as metal objects are often rare finds at settlements. Walter's conclusion to this problem was, therefore, that the *fibula* distribution pattern of the Rhine-Weser area would have been quite similar to that of the Elbe area, a conclusion she also found in the work of M. Kempa, who has examined the '*elbgermanischer Armbrustfibeln mit hohem Nadelhalter aus Rhein-Wesergermanischen Zusammenhängen*'.[844] Thus, Walter sees a geographical overlap of the two groups of material. Beckmann had another suggestion for the different geographical areas of origin. In his article, he described a number of interesting features. First, the Germanic evidence has shown us that movement over larger areas was done by individuals or smaller groups and not only by entire tribes. As the production of pottery was handled by women, they travelled as well. But whether the

842) Walter 2004: 127-9, 131.
843) Walter 2000: 49-50; 2004: 127.
844) Cosack 1979: 14-5; Kempa 1995: 104, n. 660; Rosenstock 1992: 196; Walter 2000: 54-6.

limitation of pottery styles to that of the Rhine-Weser area meant that the women only came from that area, which is just north of the *limes* (Beckmann mentions the *Chatti* several times) is difficult to answer.[845] Walter linked the find groups by assuming that a *fibula* pattern, which is untraceable in the present state of research, in one area, is more or less similar to the neighbouring area. That is a difficult argument to address. She also proposed the advent of a Germanic population in connection with a civil sphere, where they were invited to raise cattle for the Romans. Her reasoning was that the location of these *castella* served no other obvious purpose, such as trade or transport.[846] Others, like Beckmann and Sommer, have suggested that the newly arrived Germanic population were *auxiliarii* rather than cattle herders.[847] One way to explain the combination of Rhine-Weser women with Elbe men would be that Germanic mercenaries coming to serve the Romans found local Germanic women to marry.

But let us return to the southern Scandinavian aspect. Both Böhme and Beckmann mentioned this connection as a possibility. Walter, on the other hand, although she mentioned that Kuchenbuch 4 is also found in southern Scandinavia, stressed the fact that this type is found in the Rhine-Weser area. Another relevant point is that the material consists only of 15 examples, a very small amount upon which to build theories. But overall we know very little about mercenaries coming from *Barbaricum*. There are no complete auxiliary units composed of mercenaries from outside the Empire stationed anywhere. At Saalburg and Zugmantel, two cohorts were stationed in this period. At Saalburg, it was the *cohors II Raetorum civium Romanorum equitata* and at Zugmantel, a *numerus Treverorum* probably turning into the *cohors I Treverorum equitata* in AD 223. These units would nominally be *c*. 500 strong. In the last phase, the two units would be of equal size in theory. The size of the *castella*, however, were 3.2 and 2.1 hectares respectively for Saalburg and Zugmantel, the latter being the smallest cohort fort in *Germania Superior*.[848] Obviously, we have no way of knowing whether other units were attached as well or for instance whether a *centuria* or a few *contubernia* might have consisted of Germanic mercenaries. However, N. Austin and B. Rankov focused on two 3rd century potsherds

845) Beckmann 1995: 413.
846) Walter 2000: 66-7, 70.
847) Beckmann 1995: 413-4; Sommer 1988: 608. Sommer suggests this in relation to a new phase of Zugmantel, which he connects to Germanic pottery in the first half of the 2nd century AD, a date that Walter rejects. See Walter 2000: 152.
848) Oldenstein-Pferdehirt 1983: 338-42; Fabricius *et al*. 1937: 9, 36-41; 11, 70-5.

found in the *vicus* of Zugmantel, one with the graffito "*EXPLO*" the other just with "*EX*", which could indicate several names.[849] This, they suggested, indicates that an *exploratio* unit was stationed here at this time. The *exploratores* were special units with the task of seeking cross-border intelligence, i.e., they acted as scouts. They were initially developed in the Roman Germanic provinces by hiring locals.[850] These were small units, whose members were detached from other units. By their ethnic origin, Germanic warriors would be very well suited for the assignment of patrolling the native borderlands. Interestingly, such a unit, the *exploratio Halic(ensis) Alexandriana*, was billeted in the reign of Severus Alexander (AD 222-235) at the small *castellum* of Feldberg, one of the two situated between Zugmantel and Saalburg.[851]

The chronological setting for both pottery and *fibulae* starts after the Marcomannic wars. As stated above, a particular connection between the Roman Empire and Zealand can be followed from the time of these wars. With this in mind, one scenario could be that an arrangement was made between the Romans and a group of Germanic warriors from Zealand. Instead of returning home after the war, for which they had signed up, they stayed for a period of time at certain *castella* in the Taunus region. The reason could be that the war had created an immediate shortage of Roman soldiers in certain units. Obviously, such an arrangement could have been made with any group of foreign mercenaries. If as an experiment, we transfer the percentage of *fibulae* to the number of men, i.e., 10% for Zugmantel and 5% for Saalburg in this period, there would have been approximately 50 Germanic warriors stationed at Zugmantel and 25 at Saalburg given the nominal value of a cohort. This calculation presumes that all *fibulae* were worn by men, but in fact this type is predominantly found in female graves, for instance, at Skovgårde.[852] However, as a large part of the *fibula* finds from the war booty sacrifice at Thorsbjerg is also constituted by Almgren VII *fibulae*, we cannot conclude that they were only worn by women based on the grave finds.[853] Naturally it is impossible to come close to any absolute figures, but the fact is that there are Germanic elements in this period that have an area of origin covering most of the northwestern part of *Germania* with a concentration both in the Lower Elbe region and on the Danish islands. Thus, for now, a possible

849) Austin & Rankov 1995: 192; Jacobi 1913: 81, 16,19; pls. XVI, 16, 19.
850) Austin & Rankov 1995: 189-95; Speidel 1983: 63-78.
851) CIL XIII 7495; Austin & Rankov 1995: 192 & pl. 9.
852) Ethelberg 2000: 44-5.
853) Raddatz 1957: 108-11.

presence in these regions cannot be disregarded. As findings of a large amount of *fibulae* from the *limes castella* are still unpublished, we may get a clearer picture of this issue in the future.

Conclusion

I have in the above attempted to show how a variety of different objects constitute a marker that could indicate a status of either *auxiliarii* or *foederati*. In the group of graves, Hedegård A 4103 is somewhat different for several reasons. There is the uniqueness of the *pugio*, as well as the modesty of the grave gifts compared to the other graves. Whereas all the other graves are presumed to belong to the highest social layer, Hedegård must belong to a lower stratum, with no precious metals and only one Roman bronze vessel among the grave gifts. As mentioned, the *pugio* shows an affiliation with the Roman army in particular. Although a local prince, he might not have qualified for the position of Maroboduus or Arminius and his relatives. Maybe he and his men were attached to a Roman unit, where he might have taken on a prominent position in a special unit functioning as scouts like the later *exploratores*. The fact is that the cemetery at Hedegård contained an unusually high percentage of weapon graves from the last period of the pre-Roman Iron Age and the Early Iron Age, i.e., the transition around the birth of Christ (25% compared to an average of 7-8%). Among the finds were many La Téne swords and a chain mail of a Gallo-Roman type. Some of the swords were not locally made and the sheath of one was made in *opus interrasile*, a type that had parallels in *Pannonia*.[854] Depending on how one judges the significance of weapon graves, this phenomenon may have been caused by an awareness of the warrior identity in this area due to the Roman conquests of *Gallia* and *Germania*.[855] However, it is hard to say if the Romans would have had this kind of impact already in the last century BC. With this in mind, the question is whether Hedegård should be classified as belonging to the section on *auxiliarii* rather than the one on *foederati*.

A feature common to the earlier rich graves from Hoby and Brokær is that they are both the richest graves in the Danish area of their time. This in itself makes them interesting. However, their primary features concerning military-political relations with the Romans are the 'Silius'-inscription and the ring-pommel sword, rather than their wealth.

854) Madsen 1999: 62-3, 83-6; Watt 2003: 186.
855) Wells 1999: 119-21, 238-9.

The weakest link is the Juellinge grave. The suggestion that this grave represents a relation is solely based on the presence of two unique glass bowls. Of course it is impossible to say whether they do have such significance or not. Nevertheless, this is a suggestion that direct contact in this area would most likely indicate a diplomatic and hence a military-political relation rather than a mere trade relation. This, of course, touches on the question of the nature of contacts, at least in the first centuries AD. Traditionally, contact is explained in three ways: booty, trade or diplomacy. The vaguest of these is booty. Firm evidence is seen for instance in the southern Scandinavian war booty sacrifices or in the hoard finds in the Upper Rhine from the 3rd century AD.[856] Otherwise, it often has a sort of joker position, something that can almost always be mentioned as an alternative. The last two explanations are mostly seen as alternatives to each other, but probably one was often followed by the other. This could have been a result of peace negotiations, e.g., during the Marcomannic wars.[857] The special trade conditions for the *Hermunduri*, which allowed them access even to the provincial capital *Augusta Vindelicum* (Augsburg), mentioned by Tacitus might also be seen in this light.[858] Another possibility is that they developed along side each other.

At Himlingøje, the chronological coincidence of the founding graves and the Marcomannic wars and the monopoly that this family appears to hold on Roman goods for the next many years, support the hypothesis that such relations existed at the beginning of the 3rd century AD.[859] This is the equivalent period for which the same geographical area is related to the *limes*. Though the *fibulae* cannot be linked directly to a military sphere, or to males alone for that matter, the possibility of a southern Scandinavian presence is there. An interesting fact is that the garrison shift at Zugmantel in AD 223 from a *numerus* unit to a *cohors* coincides with the approximate time when the Germanic pottery disappears again.[860] Could this be an indication that the aforementioned (possibly partly Germanic) *exploratores* had become obsolete?

The later graves of Hågerup and Varpelev are special, because they both appear to have more markers than do the previous graves. It is particularly intriguing that Hågerup so resembles graves from the

856) Jørgensen *et al*. 2003; e.g., Künzl 1993.
857) Cassius Dio: 71.15.
858) Tacitus *Germania* 41.
859) Beckmann 1995: 412; Jørgensen 2001: 13; Lund Hansen *et al*. 1995: 385-7; Storgaard 2001: 102-3, 106.
860) Baatz 1989d: 502.

later Haßleben-Leuna horizon. A few considerations concern one of the markers in Hågerup, the Roman gold finger ring. As explained, this particular object had a certain meaning inside the Roman Empire as either indicating Roman citizenship or as the token of a personal or official friendship. From the literary sources we could highlight a couple of examples where a gold ring could have played a part, although it is not mentioned. Some time during the reign of Nero (AD 54-68), the *Frisii* began to occupy vacated land reserved for army use. This was instigated by Verritus and Malorix, who ruled the *Frisii*, '*in quantum Germani regnantur*', '*in as much as Germani could be ruled*', as Tacitus put it. While threatening to remove the *Frisii* with force, the governor, L. Duvius Avitus, suggested they ask Nero for more land. Therefore, they went to Rome to meet the Emperor. They were sent home again with brand new Roman citizenships, but without any promise of land.[861] Cassius Dio relates that in the beginning of the AD 90s, Masyos, king of the *Semnones*, and Ganna, the prophetess Veleda's successor, visited the Emperor Domitian in Rome. After an honourable reception they went home.[862] These brief notes on the diplomatic encounters of the Emperor tell us little, but the visitors would have been received routinely according to proper protocol, which is all implicit in the word '*τιμῆς*', '*with honours*'. In fact, Tacitus does convey that a visit to the magnificent theatre of Pompeius was among the things '*quae barbaris ostentantur*', '*which were shown to barbarians*'. All of these representatives, with the possible exception of Ganna, a woman, may have received a ring as a token of the Emperor's patronship. However, not only the Hågerup grave contained a ring. Both Hoby and Brokær contained a plain gold finger ring of what C. Beckmann calls the wedding ring type.[863] This type is used both in Roman and Germanic circles.[864] This type, when found in a Germanic context, would be considered of Germanic origin, and I shall not postulate otherwise here, but some could in fact have been Roman. There was no gold ring in Varpelev grave *a*. In Varpelev grave *α* (alfa), on the other hand, one of Beckmann type 17b was found. This ring had a blue gem, although it was not engraved. Grave *α* is contemporary with grave *a*, and contained a female and a large amount of gold jewellery among other things. In this part of the cemetery only these two graves had

861) Tacitus *Annales* 13.14.
862) Cassius Dio 67.5.3.
863) Beckmann 1969: 26-30, pls. 7-8.
864) Beckmann 1969: 29-30; Henkel 1913: 1, pl. 1.

been so richly furnished.[865] Although one should be cautious with such suggestions, I will risk proposing a scenario in which we interpret the two deceased as husband and wife. This type of ring probably has an origin in the Pannonian region, as determined by K. Andersson.[866] If it was a gift from a Roman, it is my impression that it would have been given to a man as a token of friendship from one head of a household to another, whether this household was a family or a tribe. However, once the Roman objects entered *Barbaricum* their meaning or symbolic value may have changed. Therefore, the husband could have given it to his wife later. Another possibility is that she got it after his death. Considering the grave goods of Roman origin from grave *a*, and the combined value of the two graves including local 'insignia' such as a snake's head neck and finger ring, a gilt swastika *fibula* with an amber 'rosette', as well as three other finger rings of gold and two of silver, two gold pins, an *aureus*, and a belt with silver buckles, I believe that this scenario need not be considered a complete fantasy.

865) Engelhardt 1877: 349-51, 366-7; Lund Hansen 2006: 78.
866) Andersson 1985: 135-6.

The literary sources

The literary sources at our disposal concerning Scandinavia are few but complicated. They range in time mainly from the birth of Christ to the middle of the 2nd century AD. After this period, there is a lapse in geographical and ethnographical literature on the North. Only a couple of sources from the 3rd-5th century AD have been preserved in larger excerpts, based largely on Plinius the Elder and Ptolemaios.[867] In the 6th century AD, new information appears that is extremely problematic in itself. It concerns the *History of the Goths* by Jordanes, based on the work of Cassiodorus. Recently, however, A. Søby Christensen has shown how this story basically was invented by Cassiodorus.[868] As the information concerning the first two centuries AD has been thus compromised, I will refrain from further addressing that problem.

Already in the last quarter of the 4th century BC, Pytheas from Massalia visited the North. Although Pytheas' works have not survived, many a piece of information deriving from Pytheas has found its way into the works of later authors. Many others after Pytheas saw it as their task to describe the sailing routes of the known waters. They constitute one group of sources, the so-called *περίπλοι* or '*Sailing round in a ship*'.[869] Such a *periplous* is a description of the coastline, listing relevant geographical landmarks on the route, like river mouths, bays, points and mountains and the distances between them, as well as climatic elements like winds and currents and so forth.[870] Another source is the information gathered by travelling merchants, such as the Roman equestrian, described by Plinius the Elder, who was sent into *Germania* in order to buy amber for the Emperor Nero. He reached the coast of Poland, probably at the Vistla-delta.[871] However, the descriptions provided by these merchants could also be problematic or untrustworthy according to several ancient writers.[872] Such land travellers would use road descriptions, the so-called *itineraria*. Like the *periploi*, they described landmarks and provided distances between towns or markets as well as other relevant information, such as road

867) Caius Iulius Solinus based on Plinius; Sallmann 2001; Markianos based on Ptolemaios; Gärtner 1999.
868) Søby Christensen 2002: 250-77.
869) Burian 2000: 586-7.
870) Olshausen 1991: 81-7.
871) Plinius the Elder *Naturalis Historia* 37: 43-5.
872) e.g., Strabo *Γεωγραφία* 1.1.8; Mattern 1999: 35-7.

taxes and the location of road stations with *mansiones* or inns.[873] The last group of sources includes descriptions of wars.[874] These are most prominent in the first decades, starting as early as the descriptions of firstly the *Cimbri* and *Teutoni* and later the *Suebi* in Caesar's *De Bello Gallico*. This type of source also describes the first encounters with the North.

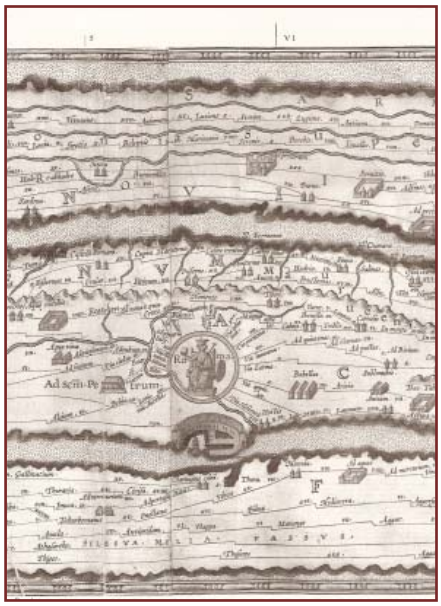


Fig. 77 The Peutinger map, detail. After Stuart 1999.

One aspect to be aware of is the way geography was perceived by the Romans. Maps, or ideas of maps, had been known since the 5th century BC, but the tools for getting to the right place were the *itineraria* and *periploi*. These were one dimensional route descriptions in text not unlike the first generation GPS systems giving verbal instructions: '*after 200 metres turn left.*' Even an *itinerarium pictum*, a drawn road description, would not come near to a realistic presentation, the most famous example being the Peutinger map (Fig. 77). This map covers the Roman Empire, but it is twenty times longer than it is wide and the Mediterranean Sea is but a narrow stream. It shows how to get around the Empire and the distances between the towns and is as such a logistical tool. The shape of the map makes it probable that it had been drawn on papyrus.[875] Thus, it is not strange that some information derived from these sources is hard to fit into the modern geographical mind.

The Augustan naval expedition

The first real contact the Romans had with Scandinavia was during the Augustan campaigns. From several sources we learn that naval expeditions explored the North Sea regions.

At his mausoleum in Rome, the Emperor Augustus had placed two bronze plaques, on which his deeds, *Res gestae divi Augusti*, were set out in 35 chapters. In chapter 26, he comments on the extension of the borders of the empire. About the North he claims:

My fleet has sailed over the Ocean from the mouth of the Rhine eastward all the way to the land of the Cimbri, where no Roman before that time had reached, either by land or by sea, and the Cimbri, Charydes and Semnones and other Germanic peoples in the same area asked for my friendship and that of the Roman people through envoys.[876]

873) Olshausen 1991: 87-90.
874) Mattern 1999: 26-7.
875) Mattern 1999: 29, 37-66; Nicolet 1991: 69-74.
876) Augustus *Res gestae* 26.2.4. The quotations in this section are English translations of

From Strabo, the Greek geographer, we learn little. Interestingly, he claims that:

…the areas beyond the Elbe along the Ocean are completely unknown to us.[877]

The next source is Velleius Paterculus. He is particularly interesting, since he served as an officer under Tiberius in the campaigns in *Germania*. As such, he describes the progress made by the army and fleet as they move forward. He mentions that the Roman army and fleet unite at the river Elbe, the fleet having circumnavigated the bays of the Ocean and hitherto unknown waters.[878]
But the most precise description is to be found in the works of Plinius the Elder. In his *Naturalis Historia*, which was finished shortly before his death in AD 79, Plinius touches on the expedition under Tiberius.

The northern Ocean has for the greater part been navigated, when a fleet, under the auspices of the divine Augustus, sailed around Germania to the promontory of the Cimbri and from there saw or heard about through rumours an enormous sea that stretched to the shores of Scythia and to immensely damp regions.[879]

The Latin text of this paragraph is open to another translation, in which the fleet sailed all the way to the shores of *Scythia*.[880] This, however, would spoil the idea of an enormous sea east of the tip of Jutland. Naturally, it makes a difference concerning the Roman knowledge of the area, but the identification of the *Cimbrorum Promunturium*, which is the first geographical place name mentioned in this context, as the northernmost point of Jutland seems to be clear.[881]
This naval expedition probably took place in AD 5, though some argue that it occurred in 12-10 BC on the initiative of Drusus.[882] In a description of amber, the 4th century writer Caius Iulius Solinus, who uses Plinius the Elder extensively, mentions that Germanicus Caesar explored all coastal areas of *Germania*.[883] That comment supports a date for Drusus, who was bestowed the name *Germanicus*. But the comment by Velleius

translated texts by Lund (1993), Hermann (1988, 1991) and Grane (2003),. The Plinius quotes are translated by the author, see Appendix 3.
877) Strabo *Γεωγραφία* 7.2.4.
878) Velleius Paterculus *Historia Romana* 2.106.3.
879) Plinius the Elder *Naturalis Historia* 2.167.
880) Lennartz 1969: 67; Hermann 1988: 561.
881) Lennartz 1969: 67, 239, note 23.
882) Alonso-Núñez 1988: 48; Hermann 1988: 531, 561; Lennartz 1969: 67; Nicolet 1991: 87 and note 17; Timpe 1989: 367; Ørsted 1999: 111.
883) Solinus *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium* 20.9.

Paterculus that the fleet explored unknown waters is an argument for a later date. However, with regard to the possible knowledge derived from this expedition the date is of no real importance.

The first descriptions of the 'Northern Ocean'

Pomponius Mela

The first concrete information available on the 'Northern Ocean' comes from the Roman geographer Pomponius Mela. His work *De Chorographia*, meaning regional geography, was written shortly before the invasion of *Britannia* in AD 43. Mela mentions that above the Elbe lays the Codan Bay, which is full of large and small islands (Fig. 78). Therefore, the sea resembles a river that runs between the islands and sometimes floods over them. Between the coast and the islands, the sea forms a kind of belt that winds and stretches in a long curve, which is where the *Cimbri* and *Teutoni* live.[884] This is a description of the Wadden Sea, the shallow coastal waters in the North Sea along the Dutch, German and Danish coasts. Later, Mela mentions a group of islands in this Codan Bay. These are the seven *Haemodae*. One text version indicates that they are in the Codan Bay, and that the largest and most fertile of them is the island of *Codanovia*, which is inhabited by the *Teutoni*.[885] Another text version says in one sentence that the *Haemodae* are opposite *Germania* and in the next sentence that in the Codan Bay it is first and foremost the island of *Scadinavia* that should be singled out. This island is inhabited by the *Teutoni* and exceeds the other islands in both size and fertility.[886] *Codanovia* and *Scadinavia* are thus the same island. This island is usually believed to be modern Scania. Mela is difficult to understand, however, as he describes both sides of the Codan Bay more or less identically. This can not be if we expect one side to be the Baltic area, as the description is that of the Wadden Sea. Possibly the



Fig. 78 Europe according to Pomponius Mela. After Sulimirski 1964.

884) Pomponius Mela *De Chorographia* 3.31-2.
885) Pomponius Mela *De Chorographia* 3.54; Lund 1993: 220-1.
886) Pomponius Mela *De Chorographia* 3.54; Hermann 1988: 300-1, 548.

reason for this is that Mela has confused different sources. This makes a logical interpretation difficult.[887]

Plinius the Elder

Some 35 years later, Plinius the Elder wrote his *Naturalis Historia*, in which he provided new knowledge of Scandinavia. Having served as an officer in Roman *Germania* in the late AD 40s, he might have had the opportunity to acquaint himself with parts of *Germania* first hand. He even wrote a work, *Bella Germania*, on the Germanic wars, which is unfortunately lost today. Plinius tells us that the peoples of northern *Germania* are the *Inguaeones*, who consist of the *Cimbri*, *Teutoni* and *Chauci*. Of these tribes, it is certain that the *Chauci* inhabited the part of the North Sea coast approximately where the rivers Ems and Weser flow into the North Sea. The *Cimbri* presumably lived in Jutland. Where the *Teutoni* lived we can only guess, but based on the first information concerning the *Teutoni* gained from Mela, one possibility would be in Schleswig, i.e., the region stretching on both sides of the present Danish-German border. Regarding the geography of the North, Plinius writes:



Fig. 79 Scandinavia according to Plinius the Elder. The traditional view.

There the Saevo Mountain, which is immense and no smaller than the Ripaean mountains, forms an enormous bay, which is called Codanus, going all the way to the Cimbrian promontory; a bay full of islands, of which the most famous is Scatinavia, of unknown size. As large a part of the island, as is known, is inhabited in 500 pagi by the line of the Hilleviones: therefore the island is called another world. No smaller is Aeningia according to belief.[888]

It has been generally accepted that the *Saevo* Mountain should be the south coast of Norway, although some have placed it on the west coast (Fig. 79).[889] J.V. Svensson placed it in the Baltic region.[890] The Codan Bay, as was evident from Mela's account, must be the stretch at least

887) Lennartz 1969: 65; Hermann 1988: 548-9.
888) Plinius the Elder *Naturalis Historia* 4.96.
889) Lennartz 1969: 71-2; Hermann 1988: 566; Svennung 1974: 44; Timpe 1989: 367; for an alternative location: Alonso-Núñez 1988: 51-2.
890) Svensson 1921: 63.

from Skagerrak down to the Baltic Sea. The Cimbrian promontory is Jutland. *Scatinavia* is apparently Scania again, while some believe *Aeningia*, which is not described further, is Finland.[891] Strangely, the *Hilleviones* are mentioned only here and are not mentioned in Plinius' list of peoples, where they would have fitted in among the *Inguaeones*. Later Plinius mentions some other bays: the *Cylipenus* Bay, in which the island of *Latris* lies, and the *Lagnus* Bay stretching to the Cimbrian regions and the Cimbrian Promontory, which extends far out into the sea and forms the peninsula called *Tastris*. These place names are very difficult to identify, which is evident from the numerous suggestions concerning their locations. For example, it has been suggested that *Cylipenus* Bay is the Kattegat or the Baltic, *Latris* is Zealand or Lolland, *Lagnus* Bay is the water along the east coast of Jutland, all the way from Little Belt between Jutland and Funen, and *Tastris* is Skagen.[892] Another suggestion is that these places are on the western part of the German Baltic coast.[893] Through the Roman army, Plinius knows of 23 islands, of which the most important is *Burcana*, also called *Fabaria* or the Bean Island, because of the many wild beans growing there. Because of the large deposits of amber, the Roman soldiers, however, call the island *Glaesaria* after *glesum*, the Germanic word for amber, whereas the *Germani* refer to it as *Austeravia* or *Actania*. Plinius also uses the names in plural form.[894] Prior to these descriptions of the North, Plinius moves his narrative from the Black Sea across the Ripaean Mountains to the shores of the northern Ocean, from where he moves to the west until he reaches *Gades* (Cádiz).

Several islands without names are reported at this location. One of these, lying off Scythia, is called Baunonia, one day's voyage away according to Timaeus, where amber is washed up by the waves when it is the right season. The remaining coasts are vaguely known. Of established report is the northern Ocean. From the River Parapanisus, which washes the coast of Scythia, Hecataeus calls it the Amalchian Sea, which means 'frozen' in the language of the natives. According to Philemon it is called Morimarusa by the Cimbri (that is 'Dead Sea') from that point and all the way to the Rusbean promontory, and then on the other side it is called the Cronian Sea. Xenophon of Lampsacus reports that the island Balcia of immense size lies three days' sail from the coast of the Scythians; Pytheas names this island Basilia.[895]

891) Lennartz 1969: 73-4; Svennung 1974: 67-70; Alonso-Núñez 1988: 52.
892) Svennung 1974: 70-7; Alonso-Núñez 1988: 53; Hermann 1988: 567-8.
893) Lennartz 1969: 74-6.
894) Plinius the Elder *Naturalis Historia* 4.97, 4.103, 18.121, 37.36-7.
895) Plinius the Elder *Naturalis Historia* 4.94-5.

This information derives from Greek sources. One of these sources mentions a sea that has a name of Cimbrian origin. Although these locations have been placed variously,[896] some of the information and the order in which it comes indicate that it might be the north-eastern part of the Baltic Sea that is being described. This is supported by the fact that Plinius continues directly with descriptions of strange peoples living on eggs alone or with horses' feet and so on.[897] Lennartz, however, states that Pytheas never reached the Baltic Sea, thus Pytheas refers to the North Sea; in fact, he believes that *Baunonia* and *Balcia* are both the same amber island in the North Sea mentioned above.[898] The fact that a Cimbrian name, *Morimarusa*, is mentioned has led to the belief that this particular sea must be located near the homeland of the *Cimbri*. However, as noted earlier, the natives called it the 'Amalchian Sea'. Thus, the information received by Philemon initially must have come from a Cimbrian traveller, who actually experienced a frozen sea himself, far from home, and therefore used a Cimbrian expression. Accordingly, this suggests an entirely different scenario. The unnamed islands could be those in the Gulf of Riga; however, any one of them would only be a day's voyage or so away if one started at the southern edge of the Gulf. Bornholm is the only island to be reached from the Scythian coast in one day.[899] The River *Parapanisus* is the River Daugava, ending in the Gulf of Riga. On Ptolemaios' map of *Sarmatia Europaea*, this river is possibly called *Chesinus*.[900] Beyond lies the Gulf of Finland, which actually freezes over yearly. Cape *Rusbae* must be a tip of the Finnish Peninsula,[901] followed by the Sea of Bothnia as the Cronian Sea. A three days' sail away from the Scythian coast, *Balcia* could very well be Uppland or Södermanland in central Sweden.

Lennartz so obviously states that, as the basis of Plinius' information derives from both a sea route (*Flottenvorstoß der Römer*) and land routes (*Handelsstraßen, Bernsteinstraße*), then '*erscheint das Bild über Nord- und Ostsee auf den ersten Blick recht verworren*.'[902] But perhaps this is not the case, which can be seen if one approaches Plinius' entire text logically from start to finish, briefly and without regards to the whereabouts

896) Lennartz 1969: 68-71; Alonso-Núñez 1988: 50-2; Hermann 1988: 565-6; Timpe 1989: 366-7.
897) Plinius the Elder *Naturalis Historia* 4.95.
898) Lennartz 1969: 69.
899) Andersen *et al.* 1991: 237-238, fig. 135.
900) Timpe 1989: 385, fig. 83.
901) Actually, such a 'tip' could prove difficult to locate, as the area is scattered with reefs and tiny islands.
902) Lennartz 1969: 67.

of Pytheas.[903] His account really starts with leaving the Black Sea, as mentioned above, followed by the descriptions of *Baunonia*, *Parapanisus* and so forth. Then there are strange tales of mysterious creatures. '*Incipit deinde clarior aperiri fama ab gente Inguaeonum, quae est prima in Germania.*', '*From there on the account is revealed more clearly from the line of the Inguaeones, who are the first in Germania.*' Only now are we getting near *Germania*, and here we reach the subjects of the first quote of this section, because *there* we find the *Saevo* Mountain, the one extremity of the Codan Bay, the Cimbrian Promontory being the other, as the text says, but we are nowhere close to it as yet. Now follows the description of *Scatinavia*, which is still difficult to place, although the Baltic islands are close. Plinius lets us know that some of his sources have the *Sarmati*, *Venedi*, *Sciri* and *Hirri* living in these areas as far west presumably as the Vistla River. There are two bays following each other, the *Cylipenus* with the island of *Latris* and the *Lagnus*, which reaches the *Cimbri*. Then we have the Cimbrian promontory with the peninsula of *Tastris* on top followed by the 23 islands known from the Roman army. It is clear that scholars like Lennartz and Svennung have problems connecting anything with the east Baltic region, apart from *Aeningia*. And once they have placed, for instance, the island of *Balcia* in the North Sea, no time is used searching for an enormous island, because they already know that such an island does not exist.[904] One great problem with this straightforward interpretation is the *Saevo* Mountain, as nothing in the east really qualifies as such. Svensson suggests that it is the Baltic Lake Plains, a ridge that stretches along the Baltic Sea. He argues that Plinius was not referring to an incredibly high mountain, but one that stretched far. He even has an etymological explanation, as the word '*Saevo*' has been compared to the Gothic word '*saiws*' meaning 'lake'. Whereas the name 'Lake Mountain' has been deemed unfit as a descriptor for the Norwegian mountains, it fits perfectly with Svensson's theory.[905] All modern scholars, however, in the end reach the conclusion that it must be the southern part of Norway. As Timpe points out, this narrative is in the form of a *periplous*, and in contradiction to what Lennartz stated, it does not really present information derived from the land side. Thus, Timpe sees the description begin at the entrance to the Codan Bay between the *Saevo* Mountain and the Cimbrian promontory going east along the north side and back along the south

903) For the full text see Appendix 3.
904) Lennartz 1969: 69; Svennung 1974: 34-8.
905) Svensson 1921: 61-4.

side, and not as it must have been meant, from east to west.[906] Whereas Plinius simply states that the enormous bay called *Codanus* reaches from the *Saevo* Mountain to the Cimbrian Promontory, scholars have found it necessary to locate this mountain somewhere close to the tip of Jutland. This causes great confusion as the different islands and seas that are mentioned in the text before *mons Saevo* cannot be situated then in the bay. The solution for these scholars is to break down the text and examine each element individually regardless of its place in the text. For instance, although Plinius mentions the *Cylipenus* Bay in the same sentence as tribes living east of the River Vistla they are often placed far apart.[907] Their conclusion is that the different sources must have given different names for the same features.[908] Thus, a perfectly coherent narrative is cut to pieces.

Solinus

Although Caius Iulius Solinus wrote in the 4th century AD, it seems prudent to mention his work in connection with Plinius the Elder, as Plinius' work forms the bulk of Solinus' sources.[909] He wrote a geographical summary, including, for example, history, origins, native customs and curiosities, called *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*. I shall only highlight a few pieces of information that relate to the knowledge we get from Plinius' work. Solinus begins his description of *Germania* with the *Saevo* Mountain.

The Saevo Mountain, large itself and not smaller than the Riphaean Hills, constitutes the beginning of Germania. It is inhabited by the Inguaeones, from whom first, after the Scythians, the Germanic name arises.[910]

Here we learn that the *Saevo* Mountain, which Plinius places on the far side of the Codan Bay, is right next to *Scythia*. Moreover, Solinus writes that the island of *Balcia*, which previously was described as enormous, is almost like a continent.[911] In Solinus' text, the island of *Scatinavia* has transformed into *Gangavia*. It represents nothing out of the ordinary, other than that it is the largest of the germanic islands.[912]

906) Timpe 1989: 368.
907) Plinius the Elder *Naturalis Historia* 4.97.
908) Lennartz 1969: 68-75; Svennung 1974: 24-38; Alonso-Núñez 1988: 50-3, 61; Timpe 1989: 366-9.
909) Hermann 1991: 364-9, 632-4; Sallmann 2001: 701-2. Some also place him in the beginning of the 3rd century AD; see Alonso-Núñez 1988: 59-60; Warmington 1970 [2003]: 786.
910) Solinus *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium* 20.1.
911) Solinus *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium* 19.6.
912) Solinus *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium* 20: 7-8.

Comprehensive ethnographical and geographic studies

Tacitus

The work *De origine et situ Germanorum Liber* or simply *Germania* by Publius Cornelius Tacitus is the most important source that has survived concerning the Germanic tribes and their society. One of Tacitus' main sources very well might have been the lost *Bella Germania* by Plinius the Elder. *Germania*, which was written in AD 98, is first and foremost an ethnographic rather than a geographic work. This means that although Tacitus presents ample new information on the North, he does not provide many place names with which to work. What he does give is a thorough description of various tribes and what makes them exceptional. He mentions the former might of the *Cimbri*, who live by the Ocean.[913] A group of tribes are mentioned together. They are united because they live protected by forests and rivers and they all worship the Goddess Nerthus. Her sanctuary is a sacred grove on a small island out in the Ocean.[914] For that reason, and because they are mentioned after the *Langobardi*, said to live in the area around the lower Elbe, these 'Nerthus peoples' have been placed in Schleswig-Holstein, Jutland and the Danish isles.[915] The most elaborate description of a northern people is that of the *Suiones*. Tacitus proceeds to introducing the *Suiones* after describing peoples living along the coast of *Germania*, i.e., the Baltic coast of Germany and Poland.

Next come the communities of the Suiones, situated in the Ocean itself; and beside their strength in men and arms, they are very powerful at sea. The form of their vessels varies thus far from ours, that they have prows at each end, so as to be always ready to row ashore without turning; nor are they moved by sails, nor do they have banks of oars on their sides, but the rowers work here and there and in all parts of the ship, as is done in some rivers, and change their oars from place to place, just as they shift their course hither and thither. To wealth also, amongst them, great veneration is paid, and thence a single ruler governs them, without any restriction of power, and he exacts unlimited obedience. Nor are weapons, as amongst other Germani, used indifferently by all, but are locked up under guard by a particular keeper, who is in fact always a slave: since the Ocean protects them from all sudden invasions and attacks; besides the fact that armed bands, when they are not employed, easily grow debauched and tumultuous. The truth is it is not in the interest of an arbitrary prince to trust the care and power of arms to either a nobleman or a freeman, or indeed to any man above the status of a slave.[916]

913) Tacitus *Germania* 37.1.
914) Tacitus *Germania* 40: 2-4.
915) Lennartz 1969: 83; Perl 1990: 238-9.
916) Tacitus: *Germania* 44.2-3.

It has generally been agreed that this place in the ocean itself is some part of Sweden, perhaps even the southern central region of Svealand or Uppland. Tacitus is presumed to have obtained this information by way of the trade route from the Danube via the Vistla to the Baltic Sea.[917] On the other side of the *Suiones* there is another sea, which encompasses the world.[918] Hereafter he returns to the coast of the Baltic Sea, which he refers to as the Suebic Sea. On the right shore, i.e., east, live the Aestian tribes, who gather amber.[919] Finally he mentions the *Sithones*, living next to the *Suiones*. They are just like the *Suiones* except that they are ruled by a woman.[920]

Ptolemaios

Whereas Tacitus concentrated on ethnography, Klaudios Ptolemaios from Alexandria solely concentrated on geography. He lived from c. AD 85 – 165, and wrote works on astronomy, astrology, epistemology and geography. His *Guide to Geography* or *Γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις*, in eight books, describes how to make regional and world maps based on latitude and longitude; this *Guide* had a crucial influence on the cartography of later times. Although his chapter on *Germania* shows an enormous increase in knowledge of the rivers and places of this area, he provides little new information on the North (Fig. 80).[921] On the contrary, a place like the *Saevo* Mountain seems to have vanished. He gives the coordinates of the Cimbrian Peninsula, which is Jutland with Schleswig-Holstein, as well as centre coordinates for three groups of islands, the Saxon, the Alocian and the Skandian, respectively west, north and east of Jutland. East of the Skandian islands lies the larger island of *Skandia*,



Fig. 80 Germania according to Ptolemaios. After Grane 2003: 140, fig. 12a.

917) Lennartz 1969: 87; Svennung 1974: 97-101; Alonso-Núñez 1988: 55-6, Perl 1990: 250.
918) Tacitus *Germania* 45.1.
919) Tacitus *Germania* 45.2.
920) Tacitus *Germania* 45.6.
921) Ptolemaios *Γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις* 2.11; Timpe 1989: 386.

which is given four coordinates.[922] This island supposedly lies more or less above the mouth of the River Vistla. Furthermore, he gives the names of seven tribes living on the Cimbrian Peninsula, of which the northernmost is the *Cimbri*.[923] On *Skandia* there are seven tribes as well:

In the west the island is inhabited by the Chaideinoi, in the east by the Phauonai and the Phiraisoi, in the north by the Phinnoi, in the south by the Goutai and the Daukiones, in the middle by the Leuonoi.[924]

Following Ptolemaios' guidelines, Jutland erroneously 'leans' *c*. 45 degrees to the east. In addition, some think that the island of Funen was included with Jutland, because coming from the north, travellers might easily be led to think that Funen was a part of Jutland.[925] As was the case with *Scatinavia*, *Skandia* has been identified with Scania and the Swedish peninsula, except that the island has been placed a little too far to the east.[926] The 'smaller' Skandian islands therefore have been identified as Zealand, Langeland and Lolland,[927] or as Zealand, Lolland and Falster,[928] Zealand, Funen and Lolland,[929] or more cautiously simply as the Danish islands.[930] The Saxon islands are thought to be the North Friesian Wadden Sea islands, while the Alocian islands are said either to be the deep southern Norwegian fjords and fells, which give the impression of being islands,[931] or even the islands of Helgeland off the coast of northern Norway.[932] As for the tribes living on the Cimbrian Peninsula, most of them can be explained against the background of the information from Tacitus.[933] Attempts have also been made to explain the tribes inhabiting *Skandia*. The *Phinnoi* are thought to have settled in northern Sweden and to be identical with the Lapps or Finns, while the *Goutai* are said to be from Götaland in central Sweden.[934] While some scholars do not think a reasonable interpretation can be given to

922) Ptolemaios *Γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις* 2.11.2, 16.
923) Ptolemaios *Γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις* 2.11.7.
924) Ptolemaios: *Γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις* 2.11.16.
925) Lennartz 1969: 117-8; Goetz & Welwei 1995a: 190.
926) Lennartz 1969: 118-9; Svennung 1974: 198-9; Hermann 1991: 585; Goetz & Welwei 1995a: 190.
927) Svennung 1974: 198.
928) Lennartz 1969: 118.
929) Alonso-Núñez 1988: 57.
930) Hermann 1991: 585; Goetz & Welwei 1995a: 190.
931) Lennartz 1969: 118; Hermann 1991: 585.
932) Alonso-Núñez 1988: 57.
933) Lennartz 1969: 122-4.
934) Lennartz 1969: 128; Svennung 1974: 198, 208, 212-7; Alonso-Núñez 1988: 58-9; Hermann 1991: 585; Goetz & Welwei 1995a: 190.

identify the remaining tribes,[935] others do not hesitate to try. Thus, the *Chaideinoi* are identified with the southern Norwegian tribe Hei(ð)nir, from the area Hedemarken north of Oslo.[936] *Leuonoi* is thought to be another misspelling of *Suiones*, who are said to be the origin of the *Svear* and Swedes.[937] The *Daukiones* could be the Danes, while the *Phauonai* and *Phiraisoi* must certainly have inhabited Finland.[938] Thus *Skandia* ends up not only as Scania or the Swedish peninsula, but also as the entire Scandinavian Peninsula, including Finland and Norway.

Markianos

Little is known about Markianos, an author who lived sometime between the 3rd and the beginning of the 5th century AD. He wrote three works, of which one was called *Περίπλους της έξω θαλάσσης* or *Circumnavigation of the Outer Ocean*.[939] Markianos' work is mainly based on Ptolemaios, but also on the geographer, Protagoras from c. AD 200. He follows the coast of *Germania* in the same fashion as Ptolemaios, but instead of using coordinates, he provides distances from one point to the other, in the form of a minimum and a maximum distance, an approach he borrows from Protagoras.[940] Concerning the Cimbrian Promontory, there is a small difference compared to Ptolemaios, as the easternmost point is second after the northernmost point, while it is the first after according to Ptolemaios.[941] About the Sarmatian coast he tells us that the Vendian Bay begins at the mouth of the Vistla and stretches a long way and that the next two rivers flow into this bay.[942]

Conclusion

How do all these sources fit together? There are certainly some aspects that require more discussion than do the others. I will concentrate here on only a few. The largest issue is the nature of *Scatinavia* and its inhabitants. But also the matters of *Aeningia*, *mons Saevo* and the Baltic coast deserve some examination.

935) Lennartz 1969: 128; Goetz & Welwei 1995a: 190.
936) Svennung 1974: 208; Alonso-Núñez 1988: 58-9; Hermann 1991: 585.
937) Svennung 1974: 57-61, 208-12; Alonso-Núñez 1988: 58-9.
938) Svennung 1974: 217-30; Alonso-Núñez 1988: 58-9.
939) Hermann 1992: 506; Gärtner 1999: 916.
940) Markianos *Περίπλους* 2.31-7; Hermann 1992: 506-7.
941) Markianos *Περίπλους* 2.33; Ptolemaios *Γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις* 2.11; Hermann 1992: 507.
942) Markianos *Περίπλους* 2.39.

Aeningia

Most cryptic is Plinius' mention of *Aeningia*, '*nec minor est opinione Aeningia*', '*The opinion is that Aeningia is no smaller*.' This remark comes immediately after his description of the *Hilleviones*. Therefore, *Aeningia* is thought to be an island. Furthermore, the apparent comparison with *Scatinavia* as well as the fact that *Aeningia* is believed to be a corruption of *Fenningia* should indicate that this island is Finland.[943] This suggestion is rejected as early as 1887 by K. Müllenhoff, although without any arguments.[944] Detlefsen suggests that two misspellings have found their way into this short sentence and that it refers to *alter orbis*, i.e., '*nec minor est opinio de Ogygia*', '*no less is the opinion of Ogygia*' (that it is another world), Ogygia being an island far, far away, which Odysseus comes across on his journey home from Troy.[945] Posterity fails to support this assumption.

Mons Saevo

No scholars pay any real attention to Solinus, perhaps because he is only seen as a copy of Plinius. Nevertheless, he states considerably more clearly that the *Saevo* Mountain borders on *Scythia*. Normally the River Vistla and the Sarmatian Mountains are seen as the border between *Germania* and *Scythia*.[946] Neither does Markianos create much interest. Through his work, it appears that additional effort developed that of Ptolemaios, which again indicates that it had been possible to gather additional information on the Germanic coastal area after Ptolemaios, unless he had access to this information, but chose to disregard it, preferring his coordinates. In fact, the information derived from the two later works helps clarify the information presented by our most detailed source, namely Plinius. Here we must return to the problem of orientation, which was discussed in the section on Plinius' work. The difficulties of placing all the bays, islands and seas according to a current map of Scandinavia and the Baltic regions, as shown above, have been numerous. Solinus' comment that the *Saevo* Mountain borders on *Scythia*, which corresponds to the direction in Plinius' narrative, makes it difficult to see Norway as the right location for this mountain. The lack of large mountain ridges in the eastern Baltic region has made such a location equally difficult to pinpoint,

943) Lennartz 1969: 73-4; Svennung 1974: 67-70; Alonso-Núñez 1988: 52.
944) Müllenhoff 1887: 51, note **.
945) Detlefsen 1904: 33.
946) Ptolemaios *Γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις* 3.5.1.

unless Svensson's explanation is accepted. In Ptolemaios' work, mention of any mountain vanishes regarding *Germania*, but east of the Vistla in *Sarmatia Europaea* he mentions a mountain ridge called the Venedian Mountains.[947] Plinius mentions tribes that might be Scythian or Sarmatian, who apparently live in a region between the *Saevo* Mountain and the Vistla. One of these tribes is the *Venedi*. This fits with the information derived from Ptolemaios and Markianos that a bay in the Sarmatian Ocean called the Venedian stretches from the Vistla and that two other rivers flow into it. This corresponds perfectly with the Gulf of Gdansk and the bay outside the Kurskiy Zaliv near Kaliningrad, the two other rivers being the Pregolya and the Nemunas. As this area is west of the *Saevo* Mountain as Plinius describes it, apparently the eastern boundaries of *Germania* were not completely fixed until Ptolemaios. This is also reflected in Tacitus' account of the *Veneti* and other tribes, which he is unsure whether to count as Germanic or Sarmatian.[948] From this we can deduce that in the minds of the Romans the eastern boundary of *Germania* moved towards the west over a period of about a hundred years. In the narratives of Plinius and partly of Tacitus, the most easterly located Germanic tribes lived on the east side of the River Vistla, whereas this river clearly marks the boundary between *Germania* and *Sarmatia Europaea* in the work of Ptolemaios.

Scatinavia/Skandia

That *Scatinavia* should be equal to the southern or central part of Sweden seems to have been established as certain already in the 1880s, as referred to by D. Detlefsen.[949] Especially in Sweden this established 'truth' has not been questioned, although opportunities have presented themselves recently. In a collection of articles edited by K. Andersson from 1998, the title itself is a quote from Tacitus: '*Suionum Hinc Civitate. Recent investigations into the Early Iron Age in the northern Mälardalen*'. Whereas some might have expected this statement to be discussed, if only superficially, it appeared that the quote is only mentioned in the preface as being the oldest description of the *Svear*, which means it served as an eye catcher.[950] In his dissertation from 2005, L.-G. Bergquist states that nobody today dares question that the

947) Ptolemaios *Γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις* 3.5.6.
948) Tacitus *Germania* 46.1-2.
949) Detlefsen 1904: 31.
950) Andersson (ed.) 1998: Preface.

Suiones of Tacitus are the Svear. As support he, on the other hand, refers to a discussion in the catalogue of the exhibition, '*Spoils of Victory*', but ignoring the actual discussion, he only refers to the presentation of the traditional view.[951] Had he read the discussion, he would have discovered that the traditional view is definitely challenged, although not as firmly as it will be here.[952] The connection between *Scatinavia* and Sweden is presumably reflected in the present name of the southern part of the country, Skåne. Furthermore, it is stated as obvious that it is thought of as an island: '*Dass auch Scatinavia, d. i. Südschweden zu diesen Inseln mitgerechnet wird, kann nicht auffallen, da noch Tacitus, der zwar diesen Namen nicht kennt, die Staaten der Suiones, d. i. der Schweden, als in oceano, also auf einer Insel liegend, bezeichnet (Germ. 44)*'.[953] From then on, it is a generally accepted fact needing no arguments that the Romans erroneously thought of *Scatinavia*/Sweden as an island, e.g., Lennartz: '*…und die riesige Insel Scatinavia, ohne Zweifel Südschweden...*'[954]

But what other argument is there except that it must be? Mela's statement that *Scatinavia* is larger and more fertile is hardly supportive, though J.M. Alonso-Núñez comments that it should be remembered that Scania, the southern part of Sweden, is very fertile, but so is Zealand.[955] Plinius tells us that on only a part of the island do the habitants live in 500 districts (*pagi*), and he calls it 'another world'.[956] J. Svennung and both J. Hermann and D. Timpe suggest that the number of communities or villages must be exaggerated, since that would mean too densely a populated area.[957] Svennung believes the number to be a Roman misunderstanding of an old Swedish word, *femf hunda land(a?)*, which means a land of five territories each governed by 100 men, rather than 500 lands (*pagi* = districts). Svennung derives this term from medieval Swedish.[958] The fact that the island is of unknown size and that it is called '*alter orbis*' both indicate considerable size. Or do they? There might not have been much more to discover or the informant might not have thought additional information to be of any relevance. The possibilities are many, but they are of course only speculations of little real value. The expression *alter orbis* is used by the classical authors to describe worlds foreign to their own. Svennung

951) Bergquist 2005: 55 and note 45 = Grane 2003: 135ff, fig. 7.
952) Grane 2003: 142-3.
953) Detlefsen 1904:, 31.
954) Lennartz 1969: 73, 87, 118; Alonso-Núñez 1988: 50; Timpe 1989: 368-70.
955) Pomponius Mela *De Chorographia* 3.54; Alonso-Núñez 1988: 50.
956) Plinius the Elder *Naturalis Historia* 4.96.
957) Svennung 1974: 61-5; Hermann 1988: 567; Timpe 1989: 369.
958) Svennung 1974: 62.

gives a thorough description of the expression.[959] For instance, Plinius tells us how *Taprobane* (Sri Lanka) was described as "another world', until Alexander the Great discovered that it was a relatively small island.[960] *Alter orbis* has also been used concerning Britain. '*Quasi hic Romanis orbis non sufficeret, alterum cogitavit: classe igitur in Britanniam transit*.''*As if the Roman world did not suffice, he* (Caesar) *thought of another* (world)*: thus, the fleet sailed to Britain*.'[961] In reality, this description defines only what the Greeks or Romans thought of a place unknown and foreign to them, rather than defining the size and character of the land, although Plinius does mention this along with the size. Tacitus never mentions *Scatinavia* or anything resembling it, but he describes an island-based Germanic society in the Ocean, which by modern scholars has been identified as the inhabitants of *Scatinavia*. As Timpe points out, there is no other-worldly atmosphere or strange lands left in the work of Tacitus.[962] Here the Baltic Sea is no longer the Ocean, but *mare Suebicum*, the Suebian Sea.[963] Ptolemaios mentions *Skandia*, which should be the same as *Scatinavia*. Several arguments support the fact that *Skandia* should be Sweden. Again, the resemblance of the name *Skandia* to present day Skåne is obvious.[964] As mentioned above, the various peoples can be placed all over the Scandinavian Peninsula. Furthermore, it is supposed to be opposite the mouth of the river Vistla. Here Sweden qualifies… if we turn the map clockwise a little. Otherwise, the island of Gotland is right on the mark. But *Skandia* is given four coordinates. Is Ptolemaios just guessing, as he would be if it was in fact Sweden, or is he not? Has he actually received information that allows him to give the island a north-coordinate as well? In fact, Markianos informs us that the Σκανδίας περίπλους, the circumnavigation of *Skandia*, is somewhere between 2000 and 2500 *stadia* or 392 to 490 km.[965] Comparing the Cimbrian Peninsula with *Skandia*, we roughly have the equivalent of Jutland and Zealand. Incidentally, two of the track distances for the boat race 'Sjælland Rundt', i.e., 'Around Zealand', in 2006 were 207 and 226 nautical miles or 383.36 km and 418.55 km.[966] However, where is the Scandinavian

959) Svennung 1974: 66-7.
960) Plinius the Elder *Naturalis Historia* 6.81.
961) Florus 1.45.16 (3.10.16).
962) Timpe 1989: 369-70.
963) Tacitus *Germania* 45.2; Timpe 1989: 372.
964) Lennartz 1969: 118-9.
965) Markianos *Περίπλους* 2.34.
966) http://www.has-sejlklub.dk/admin/result/Resultatliste2006.pdf. Checked on December 5th 2006.

Peninsula, then? That *Scatinavia/Skandia* should be a part of Sweden or the Scandinavian Peninsula is mainly based on the likeness of names, i.e., the palaeographical evidence as provided primarily by Svennung and the assumption that this place should be quite large. This land mass will reappear shortly!

Then, who lived there? Mela mentions that the *Teutoni* inhabit *Scadinavia*, but he also mentions that the *Teutoni* live near the *Cimbri*. For that reason, Hermann and Alonso-Núñez believe that Mela mixed up his sources as he had done elsewhere.[967] Lennartz on the other hand places the *Teutoni* in southern Sweden.[968] Plinius places the *Teutoni* in a group with the *Cimbri* and the *Chauci*, while he places the otherwise unknown *Hilleviones* on the island of *Scatinavia* in 500 *pagi*.[969] Tacitus has the tribal federation the *Suiones* living on an island that is possibly *Scatinavia*.[970] The island of *Skandia*, in Ptolemaios' work, has no less than 7 peoples: *Chaideinoi*, *Phauonai*, *Phiraisoi*, *Phinnoi*, *Goutai*, *Daukiones* and *Leuonoi*.[971] Most discussions seem to centre on the *Suiones*. Already in 1898, G. Schütte suggests that Plinius' *Hillevionum gente* was a misspelling of *illa Suionum gente*, meaning *the famous Suionic people*.[972] In 1921, this is rejected by Svensson, as he fails to see why an otherwise completely unknown tribe should be called 'famous'. Furthermore, he argues that based on the order of appearance of the *Hilleviones* in Plinius' text, they ought to be found in the area of Zealand and Scania.[973] Svensson's arguments are criticised by Svennung, who calls his arguments faulty, as Plinius refers to the island as the most famous and to its size as: 1) unknown; 2) habitation in 500 *pagi*; and 3) 'Another world'. Then, Svennung gives a thorough palaeographical analysis of the change from *Hillevionum gente* to *illa Suionum gente*.[974] Svennung's arguments are more or less accepted by both Alonso-Núñez and Timpe, while Hermann merely lists the various suggestions.[975] Detlefsen only refers to C. Müller, who believes that the *Hilleviones* are the same as the *Leuonoi* from Ptolemaios.[976] Svennung, on the other hand, wants the *Leuonoi* to be the *Suiones*, as that is the tribe he champions. His arguments are based both on a palaeographical analysis as well as on

967) Alonso-Núñez 1988: 49; Hermann 1988: 549.
968) Lennartz 1969: 65, map 5.
969) Plinius the Elder *Naturalis Historia* 4.96, 99.
970) Tacitus *Germania* 44.2-3.
971) Ptolemaios *Γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις* 2.11.2, 16.
972) Schütte 1898: 931.
973) Svensson 1921: 88-9.
974) Svennung 1974: 57-9, 81-91.
975) Alonso-Núñez 1988: 52; Hermann 1988: 566-7; Timpe 1989: 369.
976) Detlefsen 1904: 31.

the geographical information given by Ptolemaios. That he sees the *Suiones* in the central place of the *Leuonoi* is based on the fact that he places the *Phinnoi* in northern Sweden and the *Goutai* in Väster- and Östergötland in the southern part of central Sweden.[977] The *Suiones* are supposed to be the later Svear, a tribe living in the central Swedish region of Uppland.[978] In my opinion, the question put forward by Svensson, i.e., why this people should be famous, cannot be brushed aside as easily as Svennung wants to. Furthermore, his attention on the order of appearance is noteworthy, although he was mistaken and had moved to far west already in this particular case. As Plinius is the first to mention this tribe, whether it is the one or the other name that is correct, it would have only just entered the Roman sphere. Had it been a misspelling of *illa Teutonorum gente* it would have made sense, also in the light of Mela's information. The *Teutoni* could definitely be regarded as famous in the eyes of the Romans, as the Germanic invasions at the turn of the first century BC certainly gave them a profound scare. However, there is no reason to think that the Romans thought of the *Suiones* or *Leuonoi* as famous. That the island is called an *alter orbis* could just as likely qualify the tribe as being different rather than famous. Furthermore, as Timpe points out, in Tacitus' text what makes the *Suiones* interesting is their way of government, not their size or that of the island.[979] On the contrary, they occupied an easily defendable island, which by way of reason could not be too large.

That the *Suiones* should be the preferred choice might very well have to do with the fact that a tribe of a resembling name, the Svear, rise in central Sweden to give name to the Swedes and present day Sweden. If *Hillevionum gente* is in fact a misspelling, we might as well be left with *illa Levionum gente*, i.e., the *Leviones*. The Latin form of *Λευωνοι* would be *Leuoni* and Svennung gives us plenty of examples of switched and misplaced vowels.[980] Thus, to a layman, it would seem that the complicated palaeographical calculations might just as easily lead to the *Leuoni*, only it is not that obvious that they have anything to do with the Svear. Had it not been for the likenesses of the names, *Suiones* and *Svear*, this region would probably never have entered Svennung's discussion in this way.

It appears to me that a number of important factors have been ignored

977) Svennung 1974: 208-9.
978) Svennung 1974: 81-91.
979) Timpe 1989: 369-70.
980) Svennung 1974: 208-9.

when the different arguments have been presented by the various scholars above.

The geographical factor: When the *Suiones* are connected to the later *Svear* of middle Sweden and *Scatinavia/Skandia* to Skåne, it should be remembered that Skåne is both geographically and culturally much closer to Zealand, as only the narrow waters of Øresund separate them, while Skåne and Uppland are separated by waste areas of woodland, that by no means facilitated contact. This is reflected historically in the fact that Skåne was never Swedish until 1658. This means that even if *Scatinavia/Skandia* should be related to the Swedish peninsula, there would be a huge difference between Scania and Uppland. Only in the last case could there be any affiliation with the later *Svear*. I have already mentioned the problem that the *Suiones* lived on an island, so I shall not enter that here. Scholars use as argument for Sweden that Plinius says that a part of *Scatinavia* is unknown, but nobody is interested in the fact that the island of *Balcia* is considered the size of a continent. Lastly, there is the possibility that the island occupied by the *Suiones* was not even *Scatinavia*.

The chronological factor: Svennung does not use only palaeographical sources. He actually incorporates archaeological sources as well. From the 'prehistory' of the *Suiones* he mentions the 'Håga Empire' from the Bronze Age.[981] He continues with a description of '*Ein grosses Swionenreich*', which arose around the birth of Christ, and which most likely came into contact with Roman merchants.[982] This realm even continued into the medieval period in the form of the *Svear*. Considering the changes that occur in the Scandinavian Iron Age societies over the centuries, it would be very impressing that a tribal name and region could be constant for more than a thousand years. Few tribes could boast with such a history. It is not even as if Uppland and Mälardalen were all dominating on the Swedish peninsula in the Roman Iron Age, such as one might get the impression. The evidence from one source group relevant here, namely the Roman 'imports', shows that for the entire period, Gotland receives by far the most. In period B, Scania comes in second, while Uppland shares third place with Öland, Västergötland and Blekinge. In period C, Uppland shares second place with Öland and Medelpad.[983]

I believe that a close analysis of the literary sources makes it difficult

981) Svennung 1974: 91-4.
982) Svennung 1974: 95-104.
983) Lund Hansen 1987: 130-1, figs. 78-9.

to support the traditional belief that *Scatinavia/Skandia* and the tribal federation of the *Suiones* should be placed in central Sweden.
If we are to look for an island, Gotland is shown to have extensive contacts. The size of this island suggests that the *Suiones* could easily defend their island; however, it contradicts the fact that it should be the home of numerous *pagi* and a tribal federation. However, it is closest to the east from where the narrative takes off. In this case, Öland might be a suitable candidate for *Aeningia*, incidentally. Zealand as well is shown to have extensive contacts. This island could have housed a large number of villages, as the population density was high in the Roman Iron Age. Furthermore, the size of Zealand corresponds very well with what the literary sources report. A minor but interesting fact in support of Zealand is the absence of weapon graves throughout the Early Roman Iron Age, a feature otherwise widespread.[984] Tacitus mentions that in the Suionic society, weapons were locked up. This could be reflected in the absence of weapons in the graves.[985] Interestingly, Tacitus' description of the sea behind the *Suiones* very much resembles Plinius' description of the sea beyond the Cimbrian Peninsula.[986] But is Zealand too small as well? It could be a problem finding space for the seven different peoples mentioned by Ptolemaios, but they may not have lived only on one island. In the following table I have tried to present the *pro et contra*.

	Sweden/Skåne	Zealand	Gotland
Scatinavia of unknown size, 500 pagi, alter orbis	X		
Location of Scatinavia in the narrative			X
The Suiones an island based society		X	X
An easily defendable island			X
A lack of weapon graves as indication of a central arsenal		X	
The circumference of Skandia		X	
The location in relation to the Vistla	/		X
The likeness of Scatinavia/Skandia to Skåne	X		

The arguments as presented here visualise, what I find evident; that there is no real support for Sweden, as the supporting arguments are very dubious as explained above. Naturally, there will always be information that is inexplicable no matter which solution we choose to believe. For instance, Plinius' description of an island of unknown

984) Watt 2003: 186.
985) Tacitus *Germania* 44.3.
986) Plinius the Elder *Naturalis Historia* 2.167; Tacitus *Germania* 45.1.

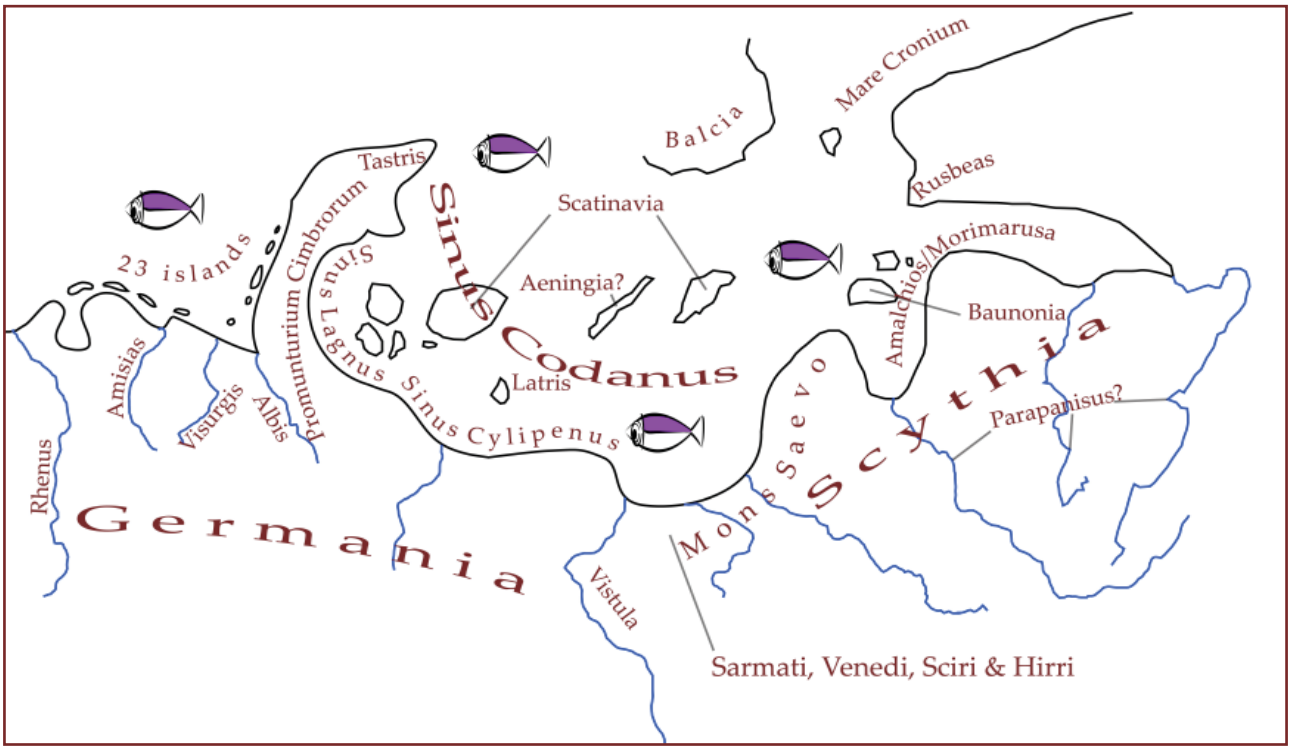


Fig. 81 Scandinavia according to Plinius. A new view.

size does not fit with the two other candidates, but Plinius may accidentally have transferred information about *Balcia* to *Scatinavia*. Misunderstandings will be our only possible explanation. For Zealand and Gotland there are better arguments, but all in all Gotland appears to be the most probable island. …but what of the Scandinavian Peninsula? Oh, yes! Central Sweden is an excellent candidate for *Balcia*.

It appears to me that in the Graeco/Roman mind the northern part of Europe had twisted a few degrees clockwise compared to reality. This is reflected by Ptolemaic Jutland and the flow of the Rhine. As Plinius mentions the *Saevo* Mountain as one side of the 'entrance' to the Codan Bay, he must believe it is situated in *Scythia*. Probably it is identical with Ptolemaios' Venedian Mountains (Fig. 81). I am convinced that the knowledge we see reflected in the literary sources constitutes the exploration of the Germanic coast most likely from the Gulf of Riga to the Rhine, a thought that is really only apparent in the examination of Svensson among the modern scholars. This possibly happened sometime during the Augustan campaigns, but surely before the death of our most comprehensive source, Plinius the Elder. It is likely that he received additional information from participants in the Roman amber expedition to the Baltic coast, especially information concerning the 'Scythian' or 'Sarmatian' coastal area in the eastern Baltic Sea. This knowledge, although not so much expanded, was confirmed during the 2nd century AD as reflected in the works of Ptolemaios and, through

Markianos, Protagoras.

The travellers that had provided the information, whether military or civilian, learned of a great number of islands in the ocean. This means that the authors were ignorant of the real size and nature of the Baltic Sea and it appears for some reason that we cannot know that they had no conception of the Scandinavian Peninsula. In view of the linear thought that was the basis of Roman travels, i.e., to get from one point to the next, a sea voyage would have followed the coast line and not attempted to cross open sea.

The above review and discussion of the literary sources to the Roman knowledge concerning the North should have demonstrated amply the inconsistencies between the descriptions of the various writers as well as the multitude of scholarly solutions to the puzzle.

Part 3 – The southern Scandinavian features

The war booty sacrifices

The enemy, who had seized both camps and a huge amount of war booty, destroyed all that had fallen into their hands in an unheard-of and hitherto unknown maledictory ritual; clothing was torn apart and thrown away, gold and silver were thrown in the river, the men's armour was cut to pieces, the breastplates of the horses were destroyed, the horses themselves were sunk in the waters, the people were hanged from the trees with a rope around their necks, such that there was neither any booty for the visitors, nor mercy for the vanquished.

Orosius *Historiae Adversum Paganos* 5.16.5-6



Fig. 82 Conrad Engelhardt in Rome in 1846. Painting by Elisabeth Jerichau Baumann (1819-81). Photo: National Museum/John Lee.

The above quotation refers to the defeat of the Roman army by the *Cimbri* at the battle of *Arausio* (Orange) on the 6th of October 105 BC. This and other passages from Greek and Roman writers like Caesar, Strabo and Tacitus cover similar religious or battle related rituals of Celtic or Germanic origin.[987] One and a half century ago these passages were to be connected to what is today known as the war booty sacrifices. When the first great excavations of the bogs of southern Jutland and Funen were made by Conrad Engelhardt (1825-1881) (Fig. 82) in the 1850s and '60s a new perspective of the Iron Age in Denmark was beginning to evolve.

Conrad Engelhardt

Engelhardt, who was a former employee of C.J. Thomsen (1788-1865), Director of *Oldnordisk Museum* (Royal Museum of Nordic Antiquities) in Copenhagen, was teaching in Flensborg as well as supervising *Den Slesvigske Samling af Nordiske Oldsager* (The Schleswig Collection of Nordic Antiquities) situated at the school, when the first exceptional bog finds appeared in 1856.[988] These initial finds were, like so many later, made during peat-cutting, in this case in a bog near Sønderbrarup later known as Thorsberg Bog. Here, Engelhardt

987) Grane 2003: 145-6.
988) Wiell 2003: 67-70.

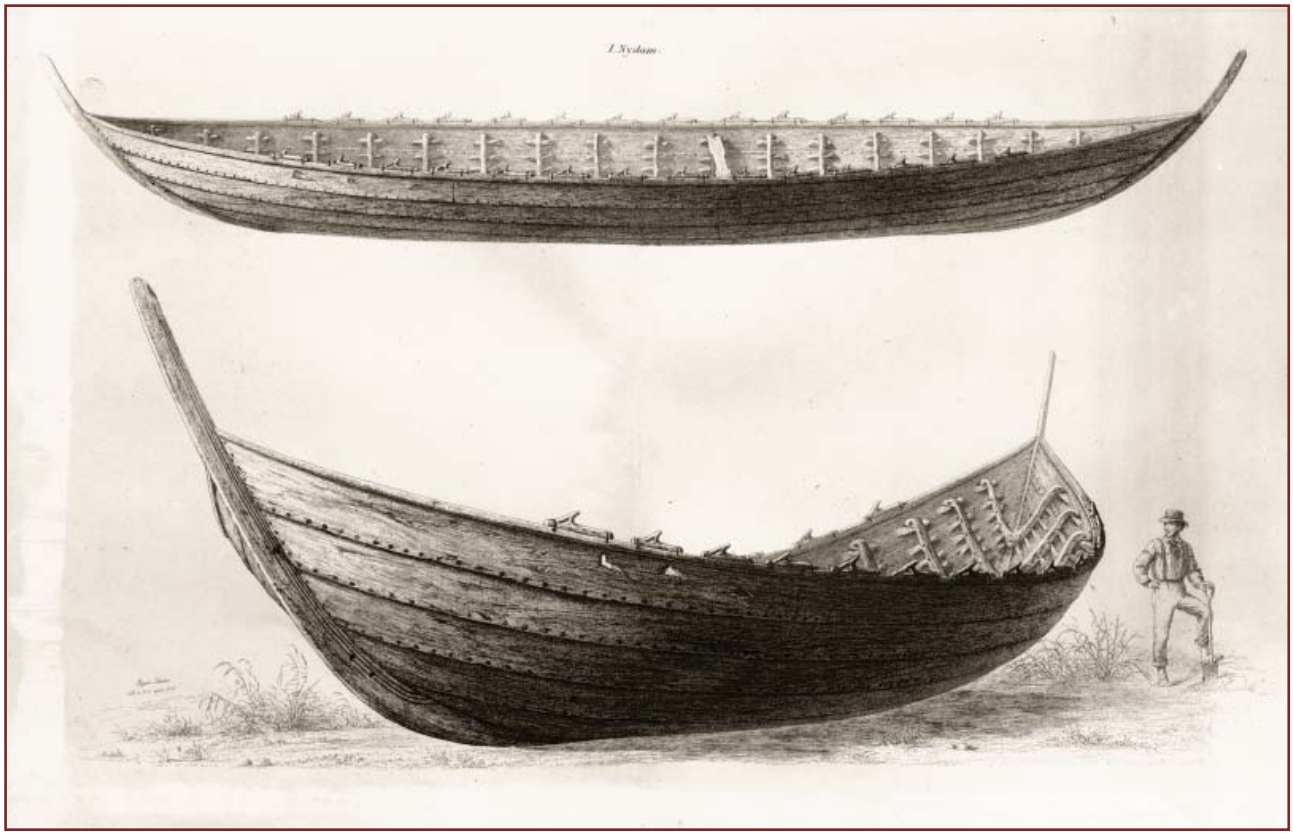


Fig. 83 The Nydam ship. Drawing by Magnus Petersen. National Museum.

excavated in 1858 and 1860. The majority of the excavated material consisted of weaponry. In the intervening year, he began excavations at Nydam Bog on Sundeved recovering the same sort of material. These excavations continued in 1862/3 revealing in addition the remains of two boats, one of which (The Nydam Boat) was complete excavated and restored (Fig. 83), while the other was saved for later, only to be destroyed in the following year during the war with Prussia and Austria.[989] In 1863, the excavations at Thorsberg Bog were published, while those of Nydam came in 1865.[990] Although fascinating, it is not the purpose to dwell on the details of the excavations and further history of the finds, only should be added that Engelhardt naturally had to seek other surroundings, as the southern part of Jutland would be under Prussian rule for the next 56 years.

In 1865, Engelhardt was instead excavating in Kragehul Bog on Funen. This, like the previous excavations in Thorsberg and Nydam, produced a material consisting mainly of weaponry, although this time in a rather limited amount. The same year he continued the excavations in Allesø bog, also on Funen. C.F. Herbst, who had not wanted to continue excavations there, had already excavated in Allesø bog in

989) Wiell 2003: 70-5.
990) Engelhardt 1863 & 1865.

1859. In 1865, Engelhardt took over in corporation with Herbst.[991] The Kragehul excavation was published in 1867 and the Allesø excavation in 1869 under the name of Vimose.[992]

In 1865, J.J.A. Worsaae as the first suggested that the remains represented ritual depositions of a defeated army's weaponry after a battle. For this theory he found support in the literary sources mentioned above.[993] These ideas also formed the basis of theories in J. Brøndsted's '*Danmarks Oldtid*' from 1940 and 1960, although the picture was somewhat more nuanced at this time.[994]

Modern research

In the 1950s and 1960s, new excavations were carried out with modern excavation methods. At Ejsbøl in southern Jutland, near Haderslev the first series of campaigns lasted from 1955 to 1964 and later from 1997 to 1999. Illerup Ådal in central Jutland near Skanderborg was also examined through two series of excavations, one from 1950 to 1956 and then again from 1975 to 1985, at which time the main excavators were J. Ilkjær and J. Lønstrup.[995] Later, new excavations were carried out in Nydam as well.[996]

In 1969, the old publications of Engelhardt were reprinted. Each of the four bog finds was issued a foreword by M. Ørsnes, one of the excavators from Ejsbøl, in which he gave an up-to-date analysis of the interpretations and chronological settings of each find.[997]

The results and experiences of particularly Ørsnes and Ilkjær, the modern pioneers of war booty research, derived from these new excavations led to a much more profound understanding of the nature of war booty sacrifices. It was now possible to identify different depositions, to reconstruct the manner, in which the booty had been deposited and to place the finds in a broader context. Furthermore, Ilkjær could establish a typology of spear- and javelinheads, based on the finds particularly of Illerup Ådal compared to material from the northern Germanic weapon graves. This progress also allowed for an interpretation of the structure of the Germanic army and its development from the Pre-Roman Iron Age to the Migration

991) Pauli Jensen 2003: 225; Wiell 2003: 78-9.
992) Engelhardt 1867 & 1869.
993) Worsaae 1865: 57-9.
994) Brøndsted 1940 & 1960.
995) Ilkjær 2003a: 48, 52.
996) Jørgensen & Vang Petersen 2003.
997) Ørsnes 1969.

Period.[998]

A contribution to the Iron Age weapons research is the work by X. Pauli Jensen on arrowheads.[999] This compliments Ilkjær's work and has helped clarify, when archers became a part of the Germanic army. The latest initiative undertaken by *Moesgård Museum* and the *National Museum of Denmark* is the project '*The Iron Age of Northern Europe 400 BC to AD 600*', in which one of the aims is to publish all the major war booty sacrifices in the same manner as the Illerup Ådal publication. This project, running from 2006 to 2011, also cooperates with the *Archäologisches Landesmuseum Schleswig* and their project '*Zwischen Thorsberg und Bornstein*'. Under the auspices of these projects, the most important of the war booty sacrifices, such as the old excavations of Vimose, Thorsberg, Kragehul and Porskjær and the recent excavations of Nydam and Ejsbøl are presently undergoing a thorough and up-to-date examination.



Fig. 84 In situ situation from Illerup Ådal. Photo: Jørgen Dehlholm.

The find material

The nature of the find material was basically that of an army. In a résumé of the state of research made in 1993, Ilkjær and Ørsnes have given the following definition of the war booty sacrifices. They see: '*war-booty offerings' as containing several categories of weapon-types or other classes of military gear in contemporary use, with the objects showing signs of ritual destruction, and having been thrown or dropped into inaccessible places in lakes or bogs.*'[1000] All kinds of weaponry are represented. For long range fighting the javelin was the most common. From the late 2nd – early 3rd century AD, bows and arrows were amply represented as well. The main close combat weapon was the spear, although that too could be thrown if necessary. According to Tacitus, this was the normal weapon of the Germanic fighter.[1001] Other close combat weapons

998) Ilkjær 1990; Ilkjær 2003b: 87-90; Jørgensen 2001; Pauli Jensen *et al*. 2003; Ørsnes 1988: 20-6.
999) Pauli Jensen 2002.
1000) Ilkjær & Ørsnes 1993: 217.
1001) Tacitus *Germania* 6.1; The word 'fighter' is used in a neutral sense as words like 'warrior' or 'soldier' are used specifically. See Jørgensen 2001.



Fig. 85 Objects from Vimose. Photo: National Museum/John Lee.

include single-edged swords and double-edged swords of both the *gladius* and the *spatha* type. Related to the swords are a great variety of scabbards, baldrics, belts and different kinds of fittings (Figs. 84-5). For the fighter's protection only shields have been found in abundances. Few remains of chain mail including one almost complete and of parade helmets are the only other remains of this kind. Apart from objects directly connected to the fighting, a number of other groups have been identified. One includes horses' equipment like bridles and harnesses; another is that of the personal belongings. Whole sets are found consisting of belt, knife, tinderbox with striking steel and firestone, comb, honing stone, tweezers and ear spoon. Tools of all kinds were present for blacksmiths or carpenters or those of the field surgeon. Wooden bowls and gaming boards, pieces and dice were found. Another important find group belongs to the naval sphere. All kinds of objects coming from boats from rivets and oars to the almost complete boat from Nydam have been preserved. Of course the objects were not equally represented in all depositions. Some were only present in a few.[1002] The spoils had been treated variously sometime between the battle and the sacrificial deposition. Most often the objects had been deliberately damaged by blows or cuts. Swords and javelin- and spearheads were bent or broken as were other items. E.g. at Illerup Ådal and Ejsbøl bog these fragments have been assembled from all over the deposition site (Fig. 86).[1003] Sometimes the spoils had been burned prior to the sacrifice. Based on the find spots it is often possible to determine how the objects had been deposited e.g. whether they had been thrown out from the shore or from a boat. It has also been possible to recognize that some objects were bundled in



Fig. 86 Illerup. Deliberately broken and cut up objects discovered far apart in the bog. Photo: Preben Dehlholm.

1002) E.g. Jørgensen *et al*. 2003: Cat.: 5.1-11, 6.2-10.
1003) Ilkjær 2003a: 48-9 figs. 4-5; Ørsnes 1988: 20-1, pl. 43.

some kind of cloth, although the cloth is now gone.[1004] At times some depositions have been identified as so-called *pars-pro-toto* depositions, in which only a certain group of objects, for instance, scabbard fittings of precious metals were found. As more finds attributable to the same depositions occasionally appear at later excavations, the use of this description is now seen as questionable, as it may give a wrong impression of the find.

How the material has been preserved in the different bogs is dependent on the chemical environment of the bogs, as an alcaline environment preserves metal and wood, but not faunal remains. An acidic environment, on the other hand, preserves almost no metal. Another important matter is whether the finds are lying above or below ground water level as the increased oxygen above ground water level slowly destroys the finds.[1005]

The sites

In southern Scandinavia, almost 50 war booty sacrifices have been located at more than 20 sites ranging from the 4th century BC to the 5th century AD (Fig. 87). A few of these are situated in Sweden, while one is in Schleswig. The remaining are from Denmark, with the majority placed in the east part of Jutland and Funen.[1006] Of these sites a number stand out, as they contain multiple depositions. At the same time these depositions are often the richest in material and therefore the most important for the interpretations. However, the very earliest war booty sacrifices already took place in the 4th century BC, most notably at Hjortspring on the island of Als.[1007] Due to the chronological distance of these finds, they will not be considered further, although their existence should be noted.

Thorsberg

Thorsberg bog in the German part of Schleswig was the first to be excavated by Engelhardt in 1858 and 1860 and published in 1863. The finds covered an area of 780 m^2. Few excavations were attempted since then.[1008] In 1957 and again in 1987 the material was

1004) Ilkjær 2003a: 50; Jensen 2003: 513.
1005) Christensen 2003: 347, 351, 354.
1006) Fabech 1996: 137 fig. A; Ilkjær 2003a: Figs. 1-2.
1007) Kaul 2003.
1008) Engelhardt 1963; Ørsnes 1969: Thorsberg XXVII-XXXV.



Fig. 87 Bogs and lakes in southern Scandinavia with war booty sacrifices.

taken under examination by K. Raddatz.[1009] In 1978, Engelhardt's note book and excavation maps were discovered at the National Museum. These helped reconstruct the excavation situation. Analyses have so far shown that three depositions of war booty had been made.[1010] However, current examinations of the find are providing indications of an additional deposition.[1011]

Nydam

As mentioned above, the first excavations at Nydam bog on Sundeved were executed by Engelhardt in the early 1860s, but excavations were carried out from time to time until the 1990s.[1012] Engelhardt excavated 982 m^2, which revealed around 2.000 finds, among these, two practically complete boats of pine and oak and fragments of a second oak boat that had been demolished. Of the two complete boats only the oak boat (the Nydam boat) was saved. Along with these, huge amounts of *militaria* and personal equipment were

1009) Raddatz 1957, 1987a & 1987b.
1010) Lønstrup 1984: 91-2.
1011) R. Blankenfeldt, Schleswig: Personal communication.
1012) Bemmann & Bemmann 1998: 27-111; Engelhardt 1865. Jørgensen & Vang Petersen 2003: 258-85.

recovered. In 1888, peat-cutting revealed an isolated find known as Nydam II consisting of *c*. 100 objects, mainly gilded and niello-inlaid scabbard fittings of silver. This was believed to be a so-called *pars pro toto* deposition. The next larger finds were made in 1984 and '89. These finds, known as Nydam III and IV, were found stuck into the mud of the bog. Nydam III consisted of *c*. 1.500 finds, mostly fragments of weaponry. Nydam IV consisted of more than 1.000 finds concentrated on an area of 4 m^2. Again in the late 1990s excavations were carried out in Nydam. This time the excavated area covered Engelhardt's old trenches. Once again numerous finds of both metals and wood were made, including magnificent gold- and silver ornamented belts and scabbards, as well as one of Engelhardt's shovels. Stratigraphy and dendrochronological datings along with stylistic features have helped to date the various depositions. For Engelhardt's and the most recent excavations the material has been divided into I a-d, while the three finds II, III and IV stand alone, although Id and II might in fact belong to the same deposition. [1013]

Kragehul

Engelhardt excavated in Kragehul bog in 1865, but as early as 1761, finds were described.[1014] Also in the 19th century prior to the formal excavations, objects were found during the usual peat-cutting. Engelhardt excavated an area of 1.500 m^2 of the total of 10.000 m^2. The find amounted to 250 objects, and was most likely only a part of the depositions.[1015]

Vimose

The first find from Vimose was made in 1512, when a ship's anchor came to light. Unfortunately, the iron was used for the doors of Næsbyhoved church.[1016] Vimose, today a small lake, is situated northwest of Odense on Funen. Once again peat-cutting was the main reason that the bog was excavated. When the first campaign started in 1859, around 1.400 objects had already been gathered. Also after the second campaign in 1865, objects were found during the ongoing peat-cutting. Most finds ended in Copenhagen or Odense, from where

1013) Engelhardt 1865; Ilkjær 2003a: 55-56; Jørgensen & Vang Petersen 2003: 258-85; Rieck 2003:298; Vang Petersen 1988: 241-65.
1014) Engelhardt 1867, 26-7.
1015) Engelhardt 1867: Ilkjær 2003a: 56-7; Wiell 2003: 78.
1016) Engelhardt 1869: 25-26.

at least 4.000 objects are known today. Of the 50.000 m² bog, only 1.000 m² were excavated. Whether anything is left in the bog is not known.[1017]

Illerup Ådal

The Site at Illerup Ådal (river valley), a now overgrown Iron Age lake, in eastern Jutland near Skanderborg is one of the most comprehensive and best excavated (Fig. 88). It was not until 1950, when parts of the valley were drained that antiquities were discovered. No objects had been found here previously. This led to the first modern excavations of a war booty sacrifice, or sacrifices rather, as four different depositions could be identified. The excavations covered an 18 year long period and were done in to series of campaigns, 1950-1956 and 1975- 1985. A total of 40.000 m² was excavated, which is almost half of the lake area.[1018] What material is preserved in a bog is very much determined by the environment. In the case of Illerup Ådal it was calcareous, thus preserving metals, wood, bones, antler and plant fibres, but not leather and wool.[1019] The more than 15.000 objects found during the excavations are being published in 13 volumes.[1020]

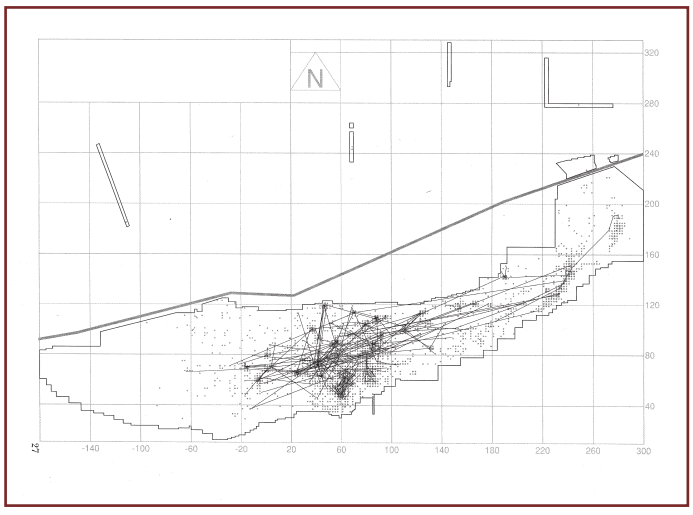


Fig. 88 Illerup. Map of the excavation. After Ilkjær 1990: 27, fig. 15.

The date of the finds range approximately from AD 200 to AD 500, and based on the assembly of more than 1.000 fragments from the entire excavation area, it has been possible to identify four different depositions (A-D). Of these, deposition A was the largest covering the entire site, while the remaining three were limited to spots along the southern and eastern shore of the lake. Deposition C had been burned.[1021]

Ejsbøl

Ejsbøl bog of 300.000 m² is situated near Haderslev in South Jutland. This Iron Age lake slowly grew over during the centuries

1017) Engelhardt 1869; Ilkjær 1975: 143-51; Ilkjær 1990: 334-9; Ilkjær 2001b: 201; Pauli Jensen 2003: 225-233.
1018) Ilkjær 2003a: 47-8.
1019) Ilkjær 2003a: 48.
1020) Carnap-Bornheim & Ilkjær 1996; Ilkjær 1990, 1993, 2001a; 2003b: 26.
1021) Ilkjær 2003a: 50; 2003b: 26 fig. 19.

only to be transformed once again into a lake in the late 1990,s. The first discoveries were made during drainage work in 1955. This led to excavations going on until 1964, at which time the site was presumed to have been fully excavated. In 1988 though, the knowledge derived so far, caused the excavator, M. Ørsnes to suggest that there might still be finds to be made in the bog.[1022] These excavations covered an area of 1.700 m^2 and revealed 1.400 objects. Two depositions were identified, Ejsbøl North and Ejsbøl South. Ejsbøl North, which was the largest, was believed to be a complete deposition i.e. it contained all aspects of an army's equipment. Some boat parts including 132 rivets belonged to this deposition as well. Furthermore, Ejsbøl North had been burned prior to the deposition. Ejsbøl South was seen as a so-called *pars pro toto* deposition, by which it was assumed that only a part of the war booty had been sacrificed, as only exclusive swords and scabbard fittings were discovered. [1023]

In 1992, permission was given to dig a lake in the bog area. New investigations in 1997 established that the digging of the lake had gone right through a deposition area. Soon after, new excavations started.[1024] As after the earlier excavations, an area of 1.700 m^2 had produced 1.400 finds. Of these 700 were boat rivets. Six find complexes were established, called Ejsbølgård A-F.[1025]

Skedemosse

In 1901, *militaria* from the Early Iron Age were found in a bog area on the Swedish island of Öland in the Baltic Sea. This bog area, now known as Skedemosse produced several finds during the years, but not until 1959 were large scale excavations carried out. The bog was approximately 280.000 m^2 large. Of these, 3.500 m^2 were excavated in the period from 1959 to 1964. The excavator, U.E. Hagberg, originally believed the finds to come from frequent depositions over a long period.[1026]

1022) Andersen 2003: 246; Ilkjær 2003a: 52; Ørsnes 1988: 13.
1023) Ilkjær 2003a: 52; Ørsnes 1988: 21, 23-6, 153.
1024) Ilkjær 2003a. 52.
1025) Andersen 2003: 248-56; Carnap-Bornheim 2003: 242; Horsnæs 2003: 337; Ilkjær 2003a: 52.
1026) Hagberg 1967: I, 14-22; II, 7.

Hassle Bösarp

Like so many other bog sites, the one at Hassle Bösarp was discovered during peat cutting. In 1962, a trial excavation was carried out in seven trenches covering 45 of the 9000 m^2. The find material showed signs of several types of deposits among these also war booty offerings.[1027] The excavator, B. Stjernquist concluded that two horizons could be identified, one from the Late Roman Iron Age and one from the Migration Age.[1028] Ilkjær, however, divides the first of the horizons in two, placing them at each end of the period C2, respectively in the middle and the end of the 3rd century AD, i.e. in the middle of the Late Roman Iron Age.[1029]

Finnestorp

At Finnestorp in Västergötland, in a brook near the river Lidan, remains of war booty sacrifices were found in the beginning of the 20th century. In 1904, the site was investigated with little result. In 1980, trial trenches were made, the result of which, though promising, are not yet published. The *c*. 150 objects found consist mostly of weapons and parts from horses' harnesses. The objects were severely damaged.[1030]

Smaller Sacrifices

Fourteen other bogs from all parts of Denmark have produced smaller finds (Fig. 87). Most of them were discovered during peat-cutting. Many were excavated already by Engelhardt in the 19th century. The amount of material produced from these small bogs range from just two objects from Grønbækgård to about 50 from Trinnemose and Illemose, with the single exception of Hedelisker, where more than 100 objects were found. The finds range from the 2nd to the 5th century, and at several sites there were even multiple depositions.[1031]

1027) Hagberg 1984: 81; Stjernquist 1973: 19-62.
1028) Stjernquist 1973: 51-2.
1029) Ilkjær 1990: 332, 336.
1030) Bemmann & Bemmann 1998: 323; Hagberg 1967: 74; 1984: 81-2; Viking 1988.
1031) Engelhardt 1881: 128-34, 176-7; Ilkjær 2003a: 45-7, 51, 57, 59-60; 2003b: 59-69, 84-7; Kjær 1901; Müller 1907; Schovsbo 1981: 134-40; Stenbak 1994.

Context and chronology

The main tool to create a chronology has been Ilkjær's extensive typology based on the more than 1.400 spear- and javelinheads from the Illerup depositions. This enormous work has been an invaluable help in placing all war booty sacrifices chronologically.[1032] Ornamental styles have also contributed. An example is the so-called Sösdala style (Fig. 89). This and other styles appear with the transition to the Migration Period in the 5th century AD.[1033] Dendrochronological data has been provided for a few finds. Roman coins also provide absolute *post quem* dates.



Fig. 89 Chape from Nydam. An example of the Sösdala style. Photo: National Museum/John Lee.

Also concerning the question of the origin of the defeated armies we owe much to Ilkjær's work. For the chronology, the javelin and spearheads were the main basis, but these weapons were popular and widespread. Therefore, they would not contribute much to the question of the origin of the material.[1034] For this purpose other find groups proved to be of use. The belts and personal items showed useful regional differences. Certain types of personal items were particularly helpful, such as the combs and tinderboxes (Fig. 90). From these discoveries various horizons were created (Fig. 91). The horizons represent certain areas that have been attacked from a certain direction at a certain time.[1035] I.e. Ilkjær sees three 'waves' of attacks coming at first from the continent at first in the 1st and 2nd century AD, then shifting to the western part of the Scandinavian Peninsula around AD 200 and finally coming from the middle part of Sweden around AD 300.[1036] For each of the three chronological horizons from the Roman Iron Age, it has been possible to identify a general area of origin.[1037]



Fig. 90 Tinderboxes. A (↼): Scandinavian. B (⇀): Continental. Photo: Preben Dehlholm.

1032) Bemmann & Hahne 1994; Ilkjær 1990: For conclusions see chap. 8, 327-39; Ilkjær 2000: 67-73; Ilkjær 2003a: 61-3; Ilkjær 2003b: 40-3.
1033) See for instance Vang Petersen 2003.
1034) Ilkjær 1990: 337-9.
1035) E.g. Ilkjær 1993: 374-86 figs. 152-7.
1036) Ilkjær 1990: 332 fig. 201; 2000: 68; 2003a: 46.
1037) Ilkjær 1993: 374-86; Ilkjær 2000: 69-73.

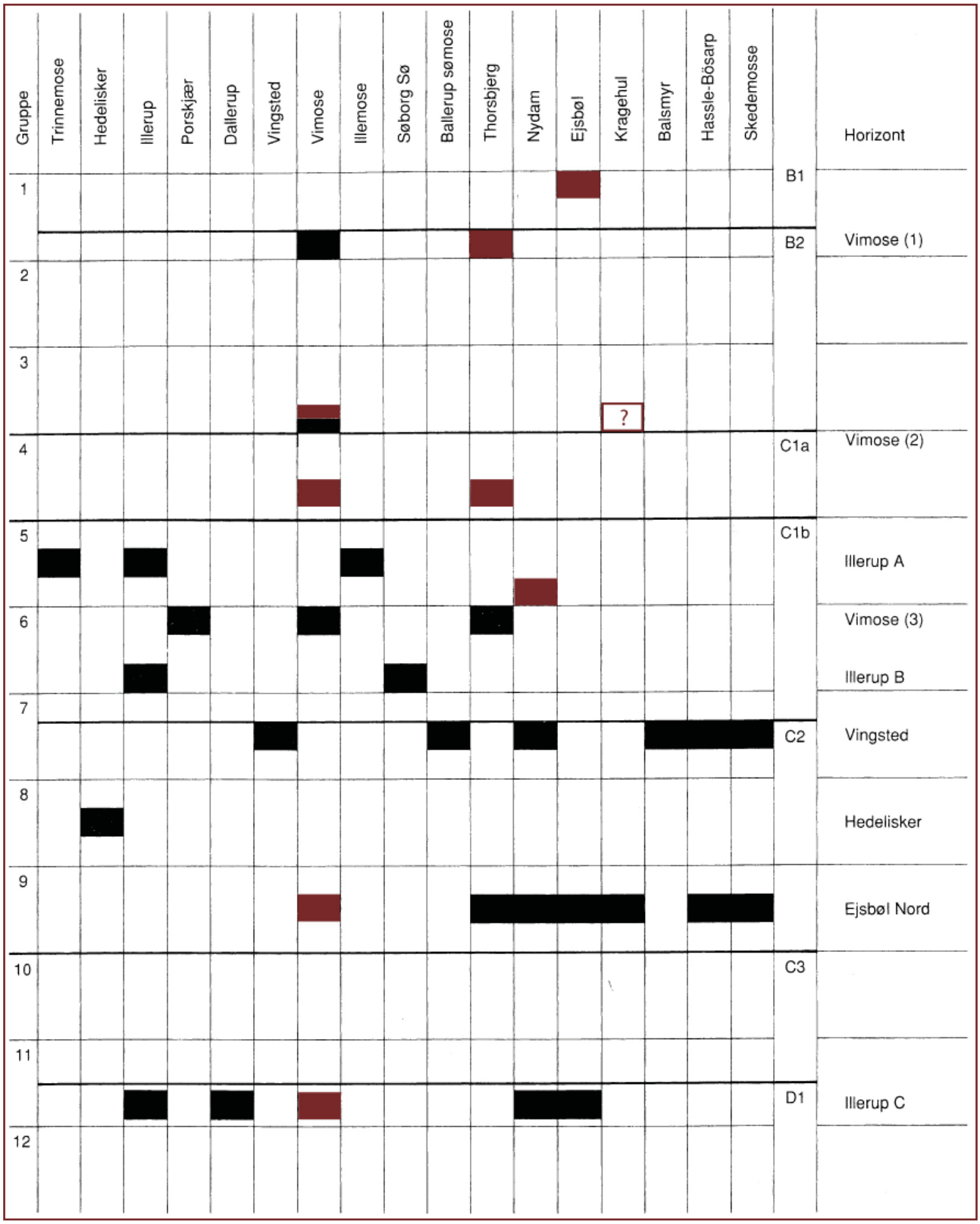


Fig. 91 Chronological distribution of the war booty sacrifices. After Ilkjær 1990: 332, fig. 201. Updated with recent interpretations.

The 1st and 2nd century AD

In the first couple of centuries AD, only a few depositions were made.[1038] The earliest war booty of relevance to the present study was placed in Ejsbøl bog sometime around the transition from the Pre-Roman to the Roman Iron Age. Ejsbølgård A consisted of six spearheads, some with rests of the wooden shaft and two knives complete with handles. They were dated to the 1st century BC. A little later, from the early 1st century AD, are two shield bosses and a spearhead (Ejsbølgård B).[1039] In the beginning of the period B2, in the end of the 1st century, the first significant deposition, Vimose 1, was made.[1040] From Thorsberg a deposition may belong to this time.[1041] Traditionally, the next deposition, Vimose 2, followed in the middle of the 2nd century AD.[1042] However, the new analyses by X. Pauli Jensen of this deposition have now resulted in a subdivision into 2a and 2b, dated to late B2 and C1a, i.e. the middle and the second half of the 2nd century AD, although some material will not be possible to define any closer than to Vimose 2.[1043] Contemporary with Vimose 2a are a couple of smaller depositions from Kragehul and Sørup.[1044] As a note to Kragehul, it should be mentioned that a mix up of finds from Vimose may have occurred, why it has been suggested that there are no deposition at Kragehul at all, at this time.[1045] Interestingly, there are indications of a C1a deposition also in Thorsberg, which could be contemporary with Vimose 2b.[1046]



Fig. 92 The 2nd century horizon. After Ilkjær 1993: 377, fig. 152. Updated.

For the horizon covering the 2nd century AD, the objects defining the origin come from an area roughly covering the southern part of Denmark and the Weser-Elbe-Oder area in North Germany (Fig. 92). Characteristic finds from these depositions are the two-layered combs, belt-end fittings, type Raddatz J II 2 and belt buckles with a

1038) Ilkjær 1990:332, 335-6.
1039) Andersen 2003: 249-50; Ilkjær 2003a: 52.
1040) Pauli Jensen 2003: 227-8.
1041) Lønstrup 1984: 92.
1042) Ilkjær 2003b: 83.
1043) Pauli Jensen 2003: 238, n. 8; X. Pauli Jensen, Copenhagen: Personal communication.
1044) Ilkjær 2000: 69-70; Ilkjær 2003a: 61.
1045) X. Pauli Jensen, Copenhagen: Personal communication.
1046) R. Blankenfeldt, Schleswig: Personal communication.

double thorn.[1047] However, from the new analyses of the Vimose find, a more nuanced distribution is seen, which covers the Baltic Sea coast all the way to Kaliningrad.[1048]

The first half of the 3rd century AD

The second group falls in the period C1b covering the first half of the 3rd century AD. In the beginning of this period we have the Illerup horizon named after the first deposition that was made in Illerup Ådal. Ilkjær's weapon typology, Roman coins and dendrochronological data combined with iconographical comparisons to the triumphal arch of Septimius Severus (AD 193-211) places deposition A in the years just after AD 200, in the beginning of the period C1b.[1049] At this time smaller depositions were made in Trinnemose and Illemose. Around AD 230, war booty was sacrificed in Vimose (3) once more. This is the largest of the Vimose depositions.[1050] Thorsberg, deposition 2, and Porskjær have also revealed finds from this time. At Thorsberg, the majority of the finds belongs to this deposition. Some time between the depositions of Illerup A and Vimose 3, we may have the earliest deposition from Nydam (Ia). The destroyed oak boat from Engelhardt's excavation was dendrochronologically dated to AD 190, and given a maximum time span of 30-40 years for the use, places it in the early 3rd century AD.[1051] Finally, in the end of C1b, in the middle of the 3rd century AD, depositions were made in Illerup (B) and in Søborg Lake.[1052]

In Thorsberg, the deposition chronologically connected to the Illerup horizon differs from the other depositions, as the presence of *fibulae* coming from the Elbe and Rhine area show an affinity to the origin of the 2nd century group. Roman material constituted a high percentage of the deposited booty in Thorsberg 2 and Vimose 3 and to a lesser degree Vimose 2, compared to the rest of the depositions. For the remaining depositions, all in the vicinity of Kattegat, the tinderboxes and combs were of importance. Two types of tinderboxes were found, one of which, was only represented by a few examples. The dominating type consisted of a needle shaped iron with a wooden handle and a tinder stone of quartzite. This type was used in Scandinavia. The

1047) Carnap-Bornheim 2004: 22; Ilkjær 1993: 375-6, fig. 152.
1048) X. Pauli Jensen, Copenhagen: Personal communication.
1049) Ilkjær 2003a: 50; 2003b: 29-31.
1050) Ilkjær 2003a: 61; Pauli Jensen 2003: 229-33.
1051) Jørgensen & Vang Petersen 2003: 263; Rieck 2003: 298-9..
1052) Ilkjær 2000: 70-2; Ilkjær 2003a: 61; Lønstrup 1984: 92.

other type consisted of an iron bar and a piece of flint or pyrites, a continental type. Of the latter type, five sets were found in Illerup, indicating a few continental participants. In the deposition from Thorsberg, little iron was found, but pieces of pyrites show a connection to the continental tinderbox. Details of the combs could narrow down the area of origin to the western part of the Scandinavian Peninsula. One type, a specific joined one-layered comb, of which there were two in Illerup, has only one parallel, which was found in a grave in Tryti in western Norway (Fig. 93).[1053]



Fig. 93 The Illerup horizon. After Ilkjær 1993: 379, fig. 153.

The second half of the 3rd century AD

A fourth group of depositions not included by Ilkjær in this setup is placed between the Illerup and Ejsbøl horizons in the beginning of period C2 in the middle of the 3rd century AD. That is named after Vingsted and includes depositions at Vingsted, Ballerup, Balsmyr, Hassle-Bösarp, Skedemosse and Nydam Ia, although this first period at Nydam is placed in the beginning of the 3rd century AD by the excavators.[1054]

Ejsbølgård C contained silver and gold fittings from a magnificent sword belt and parts of a personal belt. Furthermore, there was a pierced *aureus* with the print '*Diva Augusta Faustina*', the deified wife of Antoninus Pius. She died around AD140/1. The coin was minted shortly after. Lastly, 14 pieces of at least four gold neck-rings were found. Through the comparison with an almost similar belt from Neudorf-Bornstein in Holstein coming from a Late Roman Iron Age grave, the find was dated to the last half of the 3rd century AD, i.e. the period C2. At the end of this period, more sacrifices were made at Ejsbøl giving name to the Ejsbøl horizon. The main sacrifice was that of Ejsbøl North, but Ejsbølgård D and E are two concentrations of larger sacrifices with roughly the same type of find material as Ejsbøl North. Three groups of around 200 boat rivets were found, two in complex D and

1053) Ilkjær 1993: 376-85; Ilkjær 2000: 69-72.
1054) Ilkjær 1990: 332 fig. 201, 336; 1993: 385; 2003: 55, 63; Jørgensen & Vang Petersen 2003: 263 (see above).



Fig. 94 The Ejsbøl horizon. After Ilkjær 1993: 384, fig. 157.

one in complex E. As the rivets were practically intact the boats must have been burned. As the two rivet groups from D generally are of two different sizes, it seems reasonable to think that they belonged to two different boats. That these contemporary depositions are belonging to one and the same war booty seems likely according to the excavator.[1055] Contemporary with Ejsbøl North is the latest deposition from Thorsberg.[1056] At Nydam, deposition Ib, including the pine boat, highly resembles the Ejsbøl North deposition, as does a deposition from Kragehul.[1057] Pauli Jensen has also found evidence of a late 3rd century deposition in Vimose.[1058] The Swedish bogs at Hassle Bösarp, Skedemosse and Gudingsåkrarne also have depositions from this period.[1059]

The Vingsted horizon contains depositions orientated towards the Baltic Sea, which indicates an origin east or northeast of southern Scandinavia, but little material can directly indicate an area.

Also the depositions of the Ejsbøl horizon are all found near the Baltic Sea. Also here the Scandinavian type of tinderbox is found, but apart from that, a certain type of shield handle found in both Ejsbøl and Thorsberg, seems to have parallels in east Swedish and Finnish graves. This points to a probable origin in the middle of the Scandinavian Peninsula in general and eastern Sweden and Uppland, the future home of the Svear, in particular (Fig. 94).[1060]

The 4th and 5th century AD

From C3, roughly the 4th century AD, and the Migration Period starting in the end of the 4th century AD, there are quite a few depositions. Around AD 350 the Nydam boat (Ic) was deposited.[1061] At

1055) Andersen 2003: 246, 250-5; Carnap-Bornheim 2003: 242; Horsnæs 2003: 337; Ilkjær 2003a: 52; Ørsnes 1988: 24-5.
1056) Lønstrup 1984: 91-2.
1057) Engelhardt 1865; Ilkjær 2003a: 55-6; Jørgensen & Vang Petersen 2003: 263-72; Rieck 2003: 299-304.
1058) X. Pauli Jensen, Copenhagen: Personal communication.
1059) Hagberg 1984: 78-80; Ilkjær 1984: 88-90; 1990: 332, 336; 2000: 72-3; 2003a: 62; Lønstrup 1984: 100
1060) Ilkjær 1993: 384-5; 2000: 72-3.
1061) Jørgensen & Vang Petersen 2003: 263, 269-272; Rieck 2003: 304-9.

least one horizon has been constructed by Ilkjær, that of Illerup C. It is from the beginning of D1 in the 2nd half of the 4th century AD, and also covers Nydam Ic, Ejsbøl South and Dallerup.[1062] However, this horizon should perhaps also cover Kragehul and Sørup, as well as Nydam Id/II that seems to be contemporary with Ejsbøl South.[1063] In the 5th century AD there are depositions at Illerup (D) and Nydam (III and IV), which are contemporary with two depositions from Finnestorp.[1064] Also at Vimose a 5th century deposition has been identified.[1065]
Otherwise, the placement of the later Migration Period depositions still needs examination. Little can be determined from the material from the Migration Period, except that tinderboxes are of a Scandinavian type.[1066]

The Roman material

A notable feature of several of the war booty sacrifices is the Roman element. I will concentrate on a few of the depositions only, namely those with a substantial amount of Roman objects, which are found in Thorsberg, Vimose and Illerup Ådal. Most of this material belongs to depositions from the late 2nd and early 3rd century AD, i.e. the periods C1a and C1b. An important aspect of Roman *militaria* has been discussed by C. von Carnap-Bornheim and J. Ilkjær, namely whether they constitute status bearing objects. They reach the conclusion that this is only the case, when Roman sword blades are equipped with Germanic hilts. I.e. the visible Roman features were not important, when Germanic warlords were sporting their status by way of their magnificent *militaria*.[1067]

Thorsberg

The deposition 2 from Thorsberg does not contain the largest amount of Roman material, but it is the most varied. However, due to an acidic environment in the bog, almost all iron objects have vanished. That means, for instance, that no sword blades are found, nor any iron fittings like certain types of Roman scabbard-slides. What

1062) Ilkjær 1990: 327-38.
1063) Engelhardt 1867; Ilkjær 2003a: 55-57, 59; Wiell 2003: 78.
1064) Bemmann & Bemmann 1998: 323; Engelhardt 1865; 1867; Hagberg 1967: 74; 1984: 78-2; Ilkjær 1984: 88-90; 1990: 336; 2003a: 55-7; Jørgensen & Vang Petersen 2003: 258-85; Lønstrup 1984: 100; Rieck 2003: 298; Vang Petersen 1988: 241-65. Viking 1988; Wiell 2003: 78.
1065) X. Pauli Jensen, Copenhagen: Personal communication.
1066) Ilkjær 1993: 385-6; 2000: 73; 2003a 62-3.
1067) Carnap-Bornheim & Ilkjær 1996: 357-8, 485-6.



Fig. 95 Thorsberg. Baldric terminal, inv. no. FS 5800 Rad. 172. Photo: Archäologisches Landesmuseum Schleswig.

are left of the swords are a few hilts, one without hand guard, and a few pommels. Most are made of wood and some are decorated with bronze rivets. Each had a bronze pommel rivet. A number of bronze pommel rivets were found as well. However, whether any of these are in fact Germanic and not Roman is hard to say. One pommel was made of bronze with silver sheet and a vertical gilt band. The scabbard fittings were represented by 14 slides and 22 chapes of bronze. Two leather baldrics, one almost complete, have been recovered and about half a dozen discs. The baldrics each had two slits, presumably for adjustment, but whether the spare slit was filled by a disc too, we have no way of knowing. Some of these discs were made in openwork design. One baldric terminal was elaborately executed in openwork, too. It has a heart shaped pendant, which has close parallels at the *limes* of *Germania Superior* and *Dacia* (Fig. 95).[1068]

A part of the Roman *militaria* from the war booty sacrifices that is only widely covered in Thorsberg, is the defensive equipment, i.e. shields, body armour and helmets. One of the more spectacular Roman finds was a bronze shield boss with an owner's inscription, *AEL AELIANVS*, i.e. *Aelius Aelianus*. Despite the acidic environment of the bog, some iron remains have survived. These are parts of chain mail and shoulder closings. One closing had remains of silver sheet and a couple of other closings were made of bronze.[1069] A complete cavalry helmet with various decorations had also found its way to Thorsberg (Fig. 96). The helmet has a close parallel in an example from Heddernheim, which is the type Niederbieber, variant III. The decoration consists of a band of hair curls across the forehead, which is connected by a narrow band to a plate on the neck guard by way of a plate with a rosette on the top centre of the helmet. On the neck guard plate there is a wreath and a thunderbolt. From the top centre of this plate two snakes crawl along the sides up to the top of the helmet. A few decorated bronze edge fittings and a plate resembling in shape the previously mentioned rosette plate may belong to other Roman helmets.[1070] Several garments including *camisia* (coat or tunic), *bracae* (trousers) and *sagum* (cloak) were made of a high quality cloth. The cloth, made in diamond (Z/S spun) twill, L. Bender Jørgensen's Virring type, has mainly been found in military environments such as forts from Hadrian's Wall over the



Fig. 96 Thorsberg. Roman cavalry helmet, type Niederbieber III, inv. no. FS 2500 Rad 400. Reconstruction. Photo: Archäologisches Landesmuseum Schleswig.

1068) Carnap-Bornheim 2004: 18-9; Carnap-Bornheim & Erdrich 2004: 84-91, pls. 25-7, 35-7; Oldenstein 1976: 130-1, pl. 32, 230.
1069) Carnap-Bornheim & Erdrich 2004: 92-3, 5-6.
1070) Carnap-Bornheim & Erdrich 2004: 93-4; Junkelmann 1992: 194, pics. 144, 171-2; Waurick 1988: 338-41.

continental frontier to *Mons Claudianus* in Egypt as well as in graves in *Barbaricum*. Therefore, L. Bender Jørgensen has seen strong connections between the Virring type and the outfit of the soldiers of the *auxilia*. These garments represent the classic Gallic outfit, which could appear to be applicable to the *Germani* as well. Whereas the material could be of Roman origin, the cut and design show Germanic influences. The question of the origin of this kind of cloth is still under discussion, however.[1071] Most prominent are a complete pair of trousers with feet, a coat, and two magnificent cloaks. The coat had been dyed red. I. Hägg has suggested that the coat was a *tunica rossa*, a coat given as an official recognition to a high ranking foreigner in Roman service.[1072] The trousers must have belonged to a horseman, as the stitching was placed under the feet. [1073] A number of other smaller Roman objects were found, such as glass beads and pendants, a razor and a knife grip.[1074]

Some of the more spectacular items show a mix of Roman and Germanic craftsmanship. The famous silver face mask, traditionally believed to be a Roman parade helmet, was clearly re-fashioned by Germanic craftsmen, who gave it a band of stylised hair with a small band along the front decorated with rows of bird's or snake's heads. The centre of the mask had been cut out, leaving space for eyes, nose and mouth.[1075] At a seminar at Schloß Gottorf, Schleswig, in June 2006, T. Fischer has recently suggested that the mask was in fact the remains of a Gallic statue of silver. Otherwise, this example would be the only one out of all known parade helmets that was made of solid silver, something that was usual for the Gallic statues, however.[1076] Two *phalerae* and an ornamented band, which was believed to be a shoulder plate for a mail cuirass, also show Roman influences. All three objects were decorated with gilt silver sheet and had zoo- and anthropomorphic elements (Fig. 97-8).[1077] Although especially the *phalerae* were thought to be Roman works originally, with possible Germanic post work, closer



Fig. 97 Thorsberg. Phalerae, inv. nos. FS 6242 Rad 423 & FS 3673 Rad 407. Photo: Archäologisches Landesmuseum Schleswig.

1071) L. Bender Jørgensen, Bergen: Personal communication; Bender jørgensen 1986: 147-51, 346-51; 1992: 62, 133-6; Carnap-Bornheim 2004: 18; Hägg 2000: 28-9.
1072) Hägg 2000: 28-9.
1073) Carnap-Bornheim & Erdrich 2004: 99-100.
1074) Carnap-Bornheim & Erdrich 2004: 97-101.
1075) Carnap-Bornheim 2004: 19-20; Carnap-Bornheim & Erdrich 2004: 94-5.
1076) T. Fischer, Köln: Personal communication.
1077) Carnap-Bornheim 2004: 19-20; Carnap-Bornheim & Erdrich 2004: 95-7.



Fig. 98 Thorsberg. 'Schulterklappe', inv. no. FS 5864 Rad 406. Photo: Archäologisches Landesmuseum Schleswig.

examination by C. von Carnap-Bornheim showed that they were more likely a Germanic product from the beginning. However, it is only possible to conclude that the craftsman had knowledge of Roman techniques.[1078] The presumed semi circular shoulder plate has recently been interpreted as part of some sort of head gear, not unlike those worn on the facemasks decorating the plate itself.[1079] In fact, such a head band also resembles the ornamental hair band on the Roman cavalry helmet.

A *fibula* of the onion knob type from the Thorsberg find has now vanished. This type of *fibula* was used a rank marker in the Roman army. According to K. Raddatz, the Thorsberg example represents an early type, which must belong to the period C2, i.e. the last half of the 3rd century AD.[1080] As this *fibula* was a rank marker used to fasten the officer's cloak, it would not seem far out to connect it with one of the two magnificent cloaks and the coat and trousers representing an officer's uniform.

Last, but not least a number of Roman coins were excavated from Thorsberg. 37 *denarii* with an end coin from AD 194/5 from the reign of Septimius Severus are securely connected to Engelhardt's campaigns, while 24 *denarii*, one *sestertius* and one *aureus*, of which the latest coin show the face of Geta, son of Septimius Severus, dated to AD 200/2, have a more uncertain find history.[1081]

Vimose

One of the largest groups of Roman military equipment comes from the Vimose depositions 2 and particularly 3. The majority was related to swords, i.e. blades, hilts, baldric fittings, scabbard-slides and chapes, but other types such as *fibulae* or gaming pieces were found as well.[1082] Of a total of 84 double-edged blades, most belong to Vimose 3. Some of these have manufacturer's marks and some are pattern welded. However, concerning amounts of objects

1078) Carnap-Bornheim 1997: 94-9.
1079) R. Blankenfeldt, Schleswig: Personal communication.
1080) Carnap-Bornheim & Erdrich 2004: 83-4; Raddatz 1957: 115-7; Werner 1989: 129.
1081) Carnap-Bornheim & Erdrich 2004: 99.
1082) Carnap-Bornheim & Ilkjær 1996: 346-7; Pauli Jensen 2003: 232, 234; Pauli Jensen (Forthcoming).

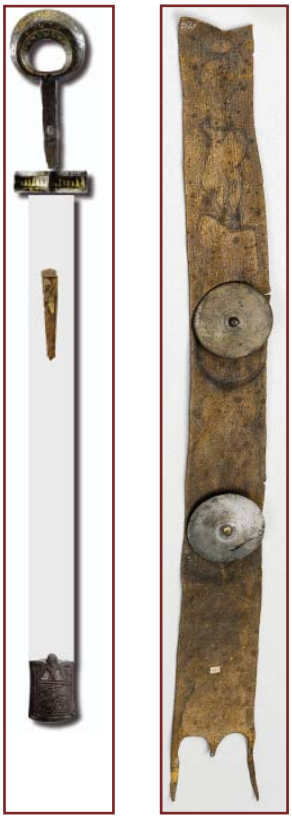
the most impressive Roman feature is the over 200 scabbard-slides and chapes of bronze and ivory (Fig. 99). More than 75 bronze chapes are of the so-called *Novaesium* type, a type that is found in great numbers along the Elbe. The large numbers of practically identical scabbard fittings must be the product of mass production.[1083] It will be interesting to see, if the present examination of this find will reveal, whether all fittings had been used, which would mean that a number of swords have not been recovered, or if the fittings belonged to the blacksmith's spare parts supply. However, there are other interesting features among the Roman sword parts. From Vimose we have both the largest collection of ivory parts, constituted by hilts and chapes, as well as the largest collection of ring-pommels, a total of four and one hand guard and some chapes related to ring-pommel swords (Fig. 100).[1084] Two different types of Roman baldrics have been identified by the closing of the strap. One with a closing consisting of double knobs next to the slide and one, which was closed with a circular disc located higher up on the baldric. About 100 cast knobs for the double knob type have been found, as well as *c.* 50 circular discs. A couple of leather baldrics also survived in the bog (Fig. 101).[1085] Most of the discs are simple standard issue types, but a few are markedly different. One example must once have belonged to a *beneficiarius*. This particular disc is not circular, but resembles a decorated spearhead (Fig. 102 A). An example from Buch and a fragment from Pfünz, both *castella* in *Raetia*, are very close parallels.[1086] Others were expertly decorated in openwork design (Fig. 102 B), one of which used to have some sort of medallion, of what we can only guess, unfortunately. The most spectacular of the circular baldric discs are four more or less identical examples that have a gilt medallion in the centre (Fig. 102 C). A possible fifth example is identical, only the medallion has gone. The motive is the Roman eagle with its wings spread, a victory wreath in the beak and standing on Jupiter's thunderbolt. It is flanked by two Roman standards and below the eagle the letters I O M are found on at least



Fig. 99 ↑ *Vimose. Examples of Roman chapes and hilts of ivory and bronze. Photo: National Museum/John Lee.*

Fig. 100 ↓← *Vimose. Roman ring-pommel sword Photo: National Museum/ John Lee/Pia Brejnholt.*

Fig. 101 ↓→ *Vimose. Roman baldric with discs. Photo: National Museum/ John Lee.*



1083) Carnap-Bornheim 1991: 62; Kaczanowski 1994b: 219; Pauli Jensen 2003: 229; Pauli Jensen (Forthcoming).
1084) Pauli Jensen 2003: 229; Pauli Jensen (Forthcoming).
1085) Engelhardt 1869: 19, pl. 11.1-2; Pauli Jensen 2003: 230; X. Pauli Jensen, Copenhagen: Personal communication.
1086) Engelhardt 1869: pl. 11. 3; Oldenstein 1976: 153, 155, pl. 40, 385-6.



Fig. 102 Vimose. Examples of Roman baldric discs. A (⬑): Shaped as the spear-head of a beneficiarius. B (➦): Heart shaped open-work design. C (➦➦): With gilt medallion with eagle and standards Photo: National Museum/Pia Brejnholt.



Fig. 103 ⬆ Vimose. Detail of medallion on baldric disc C with the letters I [●] O M. Photo: National Museum/ Pia Brejnholt.

Fig.104 ⬇ Vimose. Gryphon's head. Photo: National Museum/John Lee.

three of the four medallions, i.e. *Iupiter Optimus Maximus*, i.e. *Jupiter, Best, and Greatest* (Fig. 103).[1087] Spectacular baldric discs in openwork or with gilt medallions would not have been standard issue.

The most spectacular single object from the entire Vimose find would be a griffon's head of gilt bronze (Fig. 104). It has also proved to be somewhat of an enigma. The style is of an eastern, Persian inspiration and it has brazing marks on the back. The traditional belief has been that it originally belonged to a parade helmet, but possibly it belongs to a peace of furniture or a wagon. According to information deriving from the finders in 1849, but delivered by the vicar's wife, who handed in the find, it had been attached to a pole with a blue and red ribbon, which unfortunately dissolved when touched. As there seem no reasons to mistrust this information, a secondary use as a standard is possible.[1088]



Fig. 105 ➦Vimose. Mail shirt (Lorica hamata). Photo: National Museum/John Lee.

Another spectacular piece of equipment is an almost complete *lorica hamata*, a mail shirt (Fig. 105). As to whether this item is Roman or Germanic there are different opinions. In his review of late Roman infantry equipment, I.P. Stephenson briefly mentions that he finds it most likely that the Vimose mail shirt is of Roman fabrication.[1089] Also M. Bishop and J. Coulston see this item as a Roman product.[1090] J. Engström on the other

1087) Pauli Jensen 2003: 230; Stjernquist 1954: 62.
1088) Pauli Jensen 2003: 235-7; Pauli Jensen (Forthcoming).
1089) Stephenson 1999: 33.
1090) Bishop & Coulston 2006: 170.

hand has seen it as different from the Roman type, but compared it with an earlier type.[1091]

Two Roman *fibulae* have surfaced among the Vimose objects. One is an enamelled disc *fibula*, Almgren type 222. This type is dated to the 2nd century AD, but was still in use in the early 3rd century. It was manufactured in a Gallic workshop and is found occasionally in *Barbaricum*.[1092] The other is a so-called soldier's *fibula*, Almgren 247 and Böhme 19, which is found in military contexts only, and mainly in *Noricum* and *Pannonia*. This type is dated to the last half of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd century AD. Except for Mähren, where a Roman military presence in the second half of the 2nd century AD is attested, the Vimose example is the only one from *Barbaricum*.[1093] According to X. Pauli Jensen, this soldier's *fibula* supports an East-Roman connection to the deposition 2b in Vimose. The distribution pattern even indicates a direct link to the middle Danube *limes* area.[1094]

A recent wood classification of a plane for arrow shafts has identified it as boxwood, a tree sort only growing naturally in the Mediterranean in the Iron Age, why it too is connected to the Roman Empire.[1095]

Four wooden gaming boards, six dice and 80 gaming pieces of glass, amber and burned clay may also indicate knowledge of the *ludus latrunculorum* or soldiers' game played in the Roman army. The glass gaming pieces at least are believed to be of Roman origin.[1096]



Fig. 106 Illerup. Roman sword with inlay figure of Mars. Photo: The author.

Illerup Ådal

The most uniform group comes from Illerup, deposition A. Here, a large number of Roman sword blades appeared, as well as baldrics and scabbard-slides (Figs. 106-7). The largest group, however, was Roman coinage, as around 200 *denarii* were discovered at 25 locations, mostly in connection with the personal equipment, which indicated that they had been carried in purses hanging from the belts. The youngest coin was dated to AD 187/8 under the reign of the Emperor Commodus (AD 180 – 193).[1097] As this was a modern excavation, it has been possible for the excavators to identify entire sword belt sets. Of 60 complete sword belt sets 16 were of the Roman kind. The fittings for

1091) Engström 1992: 29-30.
1092) Böhme-Schönberger 1998: 363; Pauli Jensen (Forthcoming); Thomas 1966: 149-50.
1093) Böhme 1972: 19-20; Böhme-Schönberger 1998: 362; Pauli Jensen (Forthcoming).
1094) Pauli Jensen (Forthcoming).
1095) X. Pauli Jensen Copenhagen: Personal communication.
1096) Pauli Jensen 2003: 234-5.
1097) Carnap-Bornheim & Ilkjær 1996: 383-4; Ilkjær 2003b: 43-4; Horsnæs 2003: 334.



Fig. 107 ↑ *Illerup. Roman chape, scabbard-slide and baldric fittings of the double knob type. Photo: Preben Dehlholm.*

Fig. 108 ↗ *Illerup. Roman openwork baldric disc with eagle and the letters: OPTIME MAXIME CON. Photo: Preben Dehlholm.*



Fig. 109 ↓ *Zugmantel. Roman openwork baldric fitting set consisting of disc, terminal and pendant with the text: OPTIME MAXIME CON[serva]/NVMERVM OMNIVM/MILITANTIVM, Best and Greatest protect all those fighting. After Oldenstein 1976: Pl. 83. 1092, 1099 & 1101.*

these were made of bronze, whereas silver was also used for the Germanic sets. Contrary to the Germanic baldric, which had a fixed size, the Roman baldrics could be adjusted in length. Both Roman types were recognised. Of the baldric disc type only two were found. This has been seen as an indication that the double knob type (Fig. 107) was the earlier, dated to the beginning of period C1b, while the second type was more dominant in the later part of C1b, as indicated also by the finds from Vimose 3. However, Ilkjær himself has recently described a baldric disc from the Mušov grave, which is from the middle of the 2nd century AD.[1098] Interestingly, one of the two baldric discs, both in openwork design, is identical to a number of discs found at Roman forts in Britain and Germany. The motif is an eagle in the centre encircled by the letters OPTIME MAXIME CON (Fig. 108). This piece would originally have belonged to a set of baldric fittings including a disc and a terminal with a more or less heart-shaped hinged pendant. All parts had a piece of text, which would not make sense without the other parts. The full text consisted of: OPTIME MAXIME CON [SERVA] (disc), NVMERVM OMNIVM (terminal), MILITANTIVM (pendant), i.e. *Best and Greatest protect all those fighting* (Fig. 109). The only securely dated example comes from a building in the *vicus* of the *castellum* Zugmantel in the Taunus Mountains. It was found together with a Severan *denarius* from AD 194. The building was dated to the first half of the 3rd century AD.[1099]

The Roman sets have been interpreted by Carnap-Bornheim and Ilkjær as either brought north by warriors, who acquired them in the south, or that the sets were brought into *Germania* as trade. Another matter are the Roman sword blades, of which there are many more. Approximately 100 blades have been attributed to deposition A, of which the majority is believed to be Roman; i.e. many were equipped with a Germanic hilt. The fact that the Roman baldrics were adjustable is an indication to Carnap-Bornheim and Ilkjær that they may have been a part of the arsenal to be handed out to the elite warriors,

1098) Ilkjær 2002.
1099) Allason-Jones 1986: 68-9; Bishop & Coulston 2006: 162; Carnap-Bornheim & Ilkjær 1996: 49, 53; Oldenstein 1976: 223-6, 280-1, pl. 83.

whereas the fixed Germanic baldrics must have been the personal property of individuals. Apart from the blades, there were also many Roman scabbard slides and chapes. From the Illerup evidence, Carnap-Bornheim and Ilkjær deduced that Roman objects were not top status, but would have belonged to the elite warriors. Furthermore, they saw the Roman sword as a necessity, if large scale warfare were to be ventured on.[1100]

Interpretations

As mentioned in the beginning, Worsaae was the first to suggest that the depositions were sacrifices of war booty. This theory was pursued during the years by various leading archaeologists like S. Müller in 1897 and J. Brøndsted in 1940 and 1960. Slowly, it became clear that the finds were not necessarily contemporary and that they often represented several depositions and not just one.[1101] In 1936, H. Jankuhn questioned this theory, suggesting that the large quantities of *militaria* had been deposited on a yearly basis.[1102] After the discovery of the sites at Illerup Ådal and Ejsbøl bog the discussions once again became relevant. In the preface of the reprint from 1969 of C. Engelhardt's publications, M. Ørsnes discussed the theory brought forward by Jankuhn, who based it on Thorsberg. Ørsnes pointed out that the three other sacrifices, Nydam, Kragehul and Vimose followed Worsaae's and Brøndsted's theory, while it seemed that the Thorsberg find followed Jankuhn's. However, after this statement he pondered that it might not be so after all. According to Engelhardt some of the finds were bundled in a way that suggested it had all been deposited at the same time, why the Jankuhn theory could in fact only be applied partly to Thorsberg. Therefore, it seemed likely that both theories were applicable.[1103] In 1977, Jankuhn again stated that Thorsberg had been a central sanctuary in the Region, a sanctuary that was subject to small sacrifices. Concerning the weapons he believed that it was not possible to tell, whether they had been deposited in larger or smaller amounts.[1104] The results of the modern excavations of Ejsbøl, Illerup

1100) Carnap-Bornheim & Ilkjær 1996: 323-8, 486. The sword blades are not yet published, why theories concerning these are only preliminary.
1101) Brøndsted 1960: 228-30; Lund Hansen 2003b: 86; Müller 1897: 559.
1102) Jankuhn 1936: 202.
1103) Ørsnes 1969: Thorsberg XXVII, XXXI-XXXIII.
1104) Jankuhn 1977: 231-2.

Ådal and Nydam have clearly shown what must have been war booty sacrifices.

In 1999, a new theory appeared as A. Andrén followed by L. Jørgensen suggested that the war booty might have been brought home for sacrifice from victories abroad, perhaps copying the Roman Triumph.[1105] This view was also reflected in the exhibition '*The Spoils of Victory*' at the National Museum in Copenhagen in 2003.[1106] Interestingly this idea was already put forward by Worsaae in 1865, only to be dismissed by himself in the next sentence.[1107] The reaction to Andrén's and Jørgensen's theory has been one of caution and scepticism. J. Lønstrup had briefly touched on such a possibility already in 1988. He stated that if the war booty sacrifices should be results of raids it would be psychologically bizarre to risk 'life, honour and property' by waging war abroad, only to sacrifice the booty upon return to their home. On the contrary, it would be psychologically probable to sacrifice the booty of a defeated invader, as the purpose of going into battle would have been fulfilled, namely to expel the enemy.[1108] Ilkjær has also referred to Lønstrup's explanation. Furthermore, concerning Illerup site A, he has stated that it seems doubtful, as the find was not burnt that people would have brought these highly diverse objects home. Illerup site C on the other hand was burnt prior to sacrifice. Therefore, it would have been easy to transport over longer distances. Though no clear answer exists, Ilkjær would expect offensive campaigns to leave traces, why he finds the traditional theory the most likely, at least for the unburnt material.[1109]

Another theory has been presented in recent years by U. Lund Hansen, latest in 2003. She suggests the possibility that the sacrifices represent warriors returning from battles around the *limes*, where they might have fought on either side. Seeking land as they returned, they engaged in war with the local tribes of Jutland.[1110]

The most recent theory, so new it is not even on paper yet, has been put forward by M. Erdrich. He connects the war booty sacrifices with the finds from the richly furnished Iron Age graves. He believes the two groups of finds to have been acquired after one and the same incident, namely a battle between two Germanic parts, after which the victor takes over the treasury of the defeated along with any military

1105) Jørgensen 2001: 15-6.
1106) Jørgensen *et al*. 2003.
1107) Worsaae 1865: 56.
1108) Lønstrup 1988: 93.
1109) Ilkjær 2003a: 60-1; 2003b: 88-9.
1110) Lund Hansen 2003b: 89.

equipment such as is represented in the war booty sacrifices. Later the weapons are deposited in the lakes or bogs, while the treasury follows the deceased in their graves. Thus, Erdrich believes that the weaponry along with the banquet equipment travelled from one Germanic tribe to the next after defeat.[1111]

Attacking or defending armies?

This is not an issue easily solved. What has been confirmed is that we have a number of depositions, which can be chronologically grouped and regionally connected in a way, which makes it possible to determine that interaction has taken place between two areas within a certain timeframe. As to whether one or the other area is the aggressor, there are a number of points, which are arguments for or against either choice. The traditional theory that the depositions represent foreign invaders is favoured by Ilkjær, although he does not completely reject other possibilities. His and Lønstrup's objections against the theory that the war booty has been brought home from victories abroad has been presented above, i.e. the difficulty and reasons for bringing back such diverse material, and the psychological reasons. While the arguments of Ilkjær are reasonable, Lønstrup seems to impose a psychological profile on the Iron Age warrior, which I find difficult. The implication of the statement is that raids for booty would be the only reason for waging war abroad. That seems highly unlikely. Ilkjær states that: '*…the events involved must have been wars rather than just raids. The bog finds must indicate conflicts between regions, strategic planning and overall control*.'[1112] This statement in fact makes Lønstrup's psychological profile redundant as we are not talking about raids here. Ilkjær's statement does not, however, only work one way. Based on this a counter argument could be that the armies fighting abroad would rather need to bring back booty to show the homeland their achievements and to thank their local gods. Ilkjær has pointed out that burned depositions such as Illerup C would be easier to transport home, than, for instance, the large Illerup A deposition. This is naturally true. The question is, if this aspect would have had any significance to the 3rd century warlord. One of the big Unknowns in prehistoric societies is the reasons for the materialisation of power. Which effect would burned spoils have on the leader's home community compared

1111) M. Erdrich, Nijmegen: Personal communication.
1112) Ilkjær 2003a: 63.

to the effect of unburned spoils? The burning of the spoils could easily have been part of the sacrifice rituals at the given time of deposition. As the argumentation has thus quietly changed, let us continue with more arguments against a defender's victory. The obvious question in any case is why the depositions are so geographically concentrated? Can we really believe that foreign armies kept coming back to be defeated? How much faith could the central Swedish armies have in themselves, when they had been defeated time and again, once they reached southern Jutland? These questions are unanswerable based on the facts at hand, and perhaps also not quite fair as long as we cannot pin-point attacker and defender more precisely.

But one thing is to argue against one theory; another is to argue for another. Apart from the idea that the depositions might resemble the Roman triumph, what supports this theory? First of all, the different horizons show which regions were under attack. For instance, the Ejsbøl horizon shows that the combined forces from at least the southern parts of Denmark and Sweden attacked Uppland and the central part of the Scandinavian Peninsula. The depositions would then reflect the booty of each contingency. A desirable piece of evidence would be two fragments of one item deposited at two different sites. Such a discovery we still have to wait for, although we do have the occurrence of runic inscriptions with a name, Wagnijo, on spearheads from both Illerup and Vimose. This name may be a fabrication mark like the Roman stamps. One of the inscriptions from Illerup was stamped, which is taken as an indication that mass production of arms took place in Germanic circles as well. An obvious thought is that whoever instigated this, modelled it on the Romans. Both X. Pauli Jensen and J. Ilkjær relate the name to the blacksmith, but Ilkjær goes even further by suggesting that Wagnijo may have been the leader and owner of an arsenal.[1113] The fact that Wagnijo had his name stamped on spearheads obviously indicates that he was literate. However, I do not think that literacy should necessarily lead to the assumption that he was at the top of his society.[1114] The blacksmith may have been involved in arms productions in the Roman provinces, where he would have acquired the necessary knowledge. Such a scenario creates further implications, as there would be no reason that he could not also produce 'Roman' swords. On the other hand, a Germanic warlord could have had

1113) Ilkjær 2003b: 30-1; Pauli Jensen 2003: 229; Stoklund 2003: 175.
1114) To the subject of literacy e.g. Lund Hansen 1998.

dealings with the Romans, and from this he may have gotten the idea to put his own name on the spears, for which production he was responsible. These hypotheses, impossible to verify as they are, lead us to an equally difficult question, to which I shall refrain from giving any solutions. Was the Germanic weapons production of the Late Roman Iron Age a private enterprise, or was it controlled by the local chieftains? If we return to the question of attacking or defending armies, what could it signify that the same name appears in two different depositions? Either an attacking northern army had split up to attack two different areas, or an army coming from two (or more) different areas had each deposited their part of the spoils from a joint attack in the North. Such a suggestion naturally challenges the chronology of the depositions, as Vimose 3 is supposed to be later than Illerup A. The question, whether certain artefacts from different depositions might in fact belong together, and therefore to the same campaign is paramount to any interpretations of the overall nature of the war booty sacrifices. That some objects were conspicuously alike, did not escape even Engelhardt's attention. In his description of certain chain mail fittings from Vimose, he noticed the likeness of the decoration to details of the two magnificent *phalerae* from Thorsberg.[1115] The fitting consists of a large rosette with four small rosettes attached (Fig. 110). The central rosette is built up of a central dot surrounded by five rings, a ring of 16 small rosettes and two additional rings. The central rosettes on the two *phalerae* are similarly decorated, except that there are seven rings inside the rosette ring, which consists of 25 small rosettes (Fig. 97). In the outer decoration zone of the complete *phalera*, there are four almost similar rosettes. They are smaller than the central rosette, consisting of six rings inside the rosette ring, which has 17 small rosettes (Fig. 111). They are encircled by one ring, a small space without decoration and then two more rings. The decoration is so much alike that an assumption that they belonged together is quite natural. Hopefully, such aspects will be studied as well in the ongoing



Fig. 110 ↑ *Vimose. Fitting, possibly for chain mail. Photo: Author.*

Fig. 111 ↑ *Thorsberg. Phalera, detail. inv. no. FS 6242 Rad 423. Photo: Archäologisches Landesmuseum Schleswig.*

1115) Engelhardt 1863: pls. 6, 1 & 7, 1; 1869: 12, pl. 4, 3.

examinations!

With a thought of the treatment of horses in the description of Orosius, we might expect that they would have been left behind. Although horse remains are present in some depositions, it is not at this time possible to say how we should interpret these finds. At Nydam, remains of three horses were found, of which probably only one was old enough to be a war horse. But this horse was in a state that eliminated such a possibility.[1116] Based on this, Lønstrup suggests that a sea-borne army used whatever horses they could get their hands on upon arrival, but he also informs us that a war horse needed 3-4 years training, a fact that makes his theory extremely unlikely. [1117] Jørgensen also mentions the horses, which he suggests were left behind or consumed along the way.[1118] The skeletons of the three horses from Nydam were not complete. Moreover the bones had cuts, which indicate that there had been no flesh left.[1119] Following Jørgensen's theory these horses might have been used to carry home the war booty, and had then been consumed on the way. Some of their bones would then have been cut and thrown in the bog along with the booty. A problem with this specific example is that one horse had been hit by an arrow and probably a javelin. If this happened in battle, it could not have been used as draught animal afterwards. J. Steenstrup, examining the faunal remains for Engelhardt, believed that the arrowhead and javelinhead were still in the bones when they were deposited, as rust remained in the holes.[1120] A completely unscientific guess could be that the horse was used for shooting practice when killed, i.e. if it should fit with the above theory. Perhaps they were simply a symbol representing the horses of the defeated at the actual sacrifice ritual.

The inference by Andrén and Jørgensen that the leaders of an attacking army transferred the general idea of the Roman triumph to their own situation is in my opinion definitely a possibility. However, I also believe that every argument in favour of the theory that a military leader had a need to demonstrate his success by showing his people the spoils of his campaign and by sacrificing in front of his people to his own gods in his own homeland, are perfectly valid even without an inspiration from the Roman triumph.

1116) Engelhardt 1865: 36-42.
1117) Lønstrup 1988: 98, note 3.
1118) Jørgensen 2001: 15.
1119) Engelhardt 1965: 39-42.
1120) Engelhardt 1965: 42.

Roman ex-auxiliaries?

The theory of U. Lund Hansen that warriors returning from the *limes* area could have been involved is very interesting. She suggests that this could be the reason for the high incidence of Roman weapons in some of the depositions. The question of the presence of Roman equipment represents problems on its own. Had it been former Roman auxiliaries, one should expect at least a few Roman shields, javelinheads, chain mails or helmets. However, that would not be expected if a certain force was hired by the Romans for an *ad hoc* job. By far the largest group of the Roman material is related to swords, i.e. blades, hilts, various scabbard fittings and baldrics. If we construct a scenario, in which a Germanic group of warriors were employed by the Romans for one particular campaign, then a part of the treaty might have been an upgrade of the Germanic armoury. The implication would be that a certain part of the Germanic warriors already armed with javelin and spear received a Roman standard issue sword. Possibly the chieftain received a number of crates containing mass produced blades and fittings. Although we should always be extremely careful to apply present-day analogies, one might see one in the fact that countries, particularly of the 'third world', or 'warrior-bands' supported by the former Soviet Union, now Russia, are issued Kalashnikov rifles, while those supported by the USA use the M-16 assault rifle. However, in order to apply such a scenario to the war booty sacrifices, we need a much more detailed knowledge of the individual depositions, knowledge that we will hopefully have acquired once the project '*The Iron Age of Northern Europe 400 BC to AD 600*' is concluded. However, I think that such a transaction would hardly have included the spectacular baldric discs. They could have been awards, *dona militaria* of some sort. The eagle disc from Illerup is in fact a rather common type considering the many finds of parts of this set. The text of the disc, terminal and pendant combined expressed the hope that Jupiter would protect the unit. I wonder if this set could have belonged to a soldier with a particular function within the unit, for instance the *tesserarius*, who was responsible for guard duty. Perhaps it was also possible for soldiers to boost their equipment, so to speak, by acquiring fancy apparel including openwork baldric discs on their own. The presence of the four or five identical *phalerae* with gilt medallions, on the other hand, indicates a unit award.

From Thorsberg the Roman objects are not many, but quite varied.

There are remains of both defensive and offensive equipment. There are no spear- or javelinheads in the depositions because of the bog environment, which caused almost no iron to last. Therefore, there would be no remains of *pila* either. The origin of most of the Thorsberg material has been identified quite broadly as the Weser-Elbe-Oder regions. Although other possibilities exist such as booty, we could have the remains of a few auxiliary horsemen, who had joined their tribe(s) in a battle, in which they were defeated by an army from Schleswig, whether it was at home or away.

When we look at the material from Vimose and Illerup, we see another picture. Whereas the large deposition Illerup A belongs to the early part of the Illerup horizon, the Vimose material should be divided between the 2nd century horizon coming from the south and the Illerup horizon coming from the north. For these depositions the main Roman object is the sword, with everything that goes along with that. Carnap-Bornheim and Ilkjær have suggested that the Roman sword was necessary for the Germanic armies. Therefore, they propose that Germanic chieftains were dependant on regular import, if an amount of swords consistent with the finds should have been acquired.[1121] Naturally the quality of the equipment is important, but I find that Ilkjær and Carnap-Bornheim are perhaps putting too much weight on the significance of the Roman produced sword. Surely the strategic and tactical abilities of the commander and the quality of his warriors would have been more important than the quality of the sword. However, since the 3rd century depositions in Illerup and Vimose appear to originate in Norway, the northern chieftains must have had some access to these resources.

The thesaurus theory

A new and quite different theory is presented by Erdrich. He wants to connect the war booty and the Roman banquet service. He believes that the grave goods are booty that belonged to another tribe's treasury. After a battle between two tribes, the defeated tribe would loose its treasury to the victor, who would at some point have deposited it as grave goods.[1122] For this model to work it helps to follow Erdrich's own model for the distribution of drinking service in *Barbaricum*, which is based on a long chronology of the Roman objects

1121) Carnap-Bornheim 2004: 21-2; Carnap-Bornheim & Ilkjær 1996: 486.
1122) M. Erdrich, Nijmegen: Personal communication.

in *Barbaricum*. This model is highly controversial, as it disregards prehistorical chronology.[1123] However, let us ignore that for the moment. As a model it is interesting, but when we apply it to the circumstances of the depositions, I fear it requires quite a bit of explaining. First of all, one of the puzzles is that the sacrificial lakes or bogs are not situated near that many known rich graves. That is also a concern regarding the traditional theory. As the defeated armies come from the Scandinavian Peninsula from AD 200 and onwards, the implication would be that the grave goods also came from that region. In which graves did it all end, and how did it get to the Scandinavian Peninsula in the first place? The nearest village and grave site at Vorbasse is contemporary with the Illerup horizon. However, among the grave goods there are only a few Roman objects, a glass here, a Hemmoor bucket there, and a swastika *fibula* from the Roman provinces.[1124] This is the general picture for all of Jutland at this time.[1125] Although Carnap-Bornheim and Ilkjær assume a regular sword blade import, I fail to believe that there were strong connections in any form between the Scandinavian Peninsula and the Roman Empire at this time, why this model is difficult to accept, when applied in practice. Roman vessels in Norway and Sweden are still only represented by a few examples.[1126]

The theory of Erdrich, new as it is, may in time find a supporter in F. Herschend. In a debate paper, he has reviewed the background for the exhibition, *The Spoils of Victory*.[1127] He argues that the depositions are not at all the spoils of a victory, as claimed by authors of the exhibition catalogue. In a sarcastic and *quasi* popular tone he points out that the deposited material only represents the 'war' and asks where all the other material, which he assumes has been taken, is. He argues that like the Roman officers, the Germanic leaders would have been accompanied by their women, just like Arminius had his Tusnelda.[1128] Apparently, Herschend did not think it necessary to check his references here, as he would have realised that Tusnelda was not staying with Arminius, but with her father, Segestes.[1129] Had she stayed with Arminius, she would probably not have been caught by the Romans. However, his comments give the impression that he is more interested in those

1123) See discussion above.
1124) Hvass 1980; U. Lund Hansen, Copenhagen: Personal communication. She is currently preparing the publication of the Vorbasse grave finds.
1125) Lund Hansen 1987: 127-9.
1126) Carnap-Bornheim & Ilkjær 1996: 486; Lund Hansen 1987: 137-8.
1127) Herschend 2003.
1128) Herschend 2003: 312-3.
1129) Tacitus *Annales* 1.57.3-5.

objects that have not been found in the depositions, unlike those scholars working with the bog finds, who have naturally concentrated their research on the material actually found in the bogs. Therefore, he is producing a theoretical and high flying sing-song, which completely misses the mark. It is not, that some of Herschend's questions are not relevant, one only wishes that he had read the definition of war booty sacrifices by Ørsnes and Ilkjær quoted above, and perhaps the introduction by L. Jørgensen to the catalogue he claims to criticise, even though some of his considerations do seem to originate in said introduction.[1130] Then, Herschend could have spared us his slightly incoherent and anachronistic thoughts and instead elaborated on the interesting questions.

I have here attempted to present and challenge the various theories. And while some may be more appealing than others, what seems to stand clear is, as mentioned above, that at different times during the Roman Iron Age and Early Migration Age interaction has taken place within a certain timeframe between two more or less identified regions each representing more than a local force. It is important to point out that the evidence is yet too inconclusive. Therefore, no theory should at this time be left out, as several might prove to be applicable.

1130) Jørgensen 2003.

Regional defence structures

The regional defence structures of southern Scandinavia basically consisted of two different features, one land-based and one water-based. The land-based feature consisted of a wall or sometimes a wall and ditch or even multiple palisades.[1131] In one case we see a village turned into a fortification.[1132] The water-based feature was the so-called stake or log barrage, a construction of logs or tree trunks creating a wall in the sea at strategic points (Fig. 113).[1133]

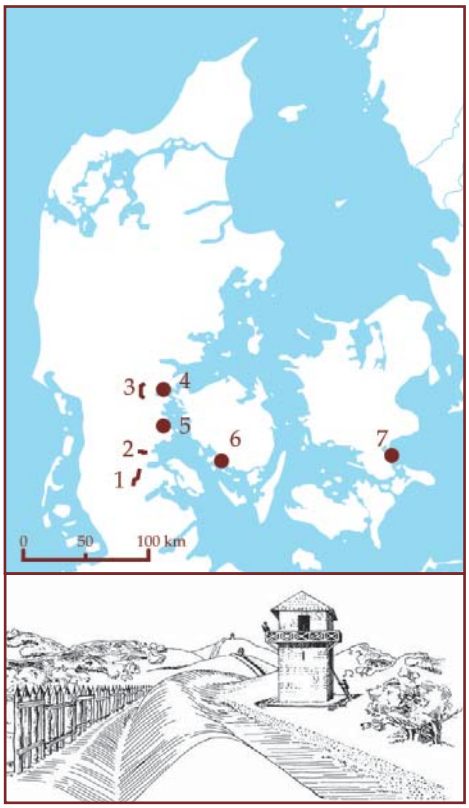


Fig. 112 ⬇ Ramparts: 1: Olgerdiget, 2: Æ Vold, 3: Trældiget. Sea barrages: 4. Gudsø Vig, 5: Æ' lei & Margrethes Bro, 6: Nakkebølle Fjord, 7: Jungshoved Nor.

Fig. 113 ⬆ The 'limes'. After Nørgård Jørgensen 2003: 205, fig. 16a.

Ramparts

The reasons for a large rampart to exist can vary from one to the other or there can be several uses for such a structure. In Roman Western Europe, the most prominent example is the one crossing from the Rhine to the Danube, in southern Germany often just known as '*The Limes*'. This project was undertaken during the last years of the 1st century and repeatedly altered during the next 50 or so years (Fig. 112).[1134] The purpose of that rampart was to mark the border between the Roman Empire and *Barbaricum*. At the same time it hindered free movement of robber bands and such. As the Roman idea of defence was one of attack so to speak, it was not a border built to keep out a larger enemy. Such an enemy would, if the Roman system worked, never get that far. Another Roman example is Hadrian's Wall in Britain. This wall was from the beginning a more impressive work of construction, which was supposed to keep out the Scottish barbarians. But one thing at least that the two structures had in common was that they could control traffic passing by.

In southern Scandinavia, similar features are known, although much smaller these ramparts are still of a considerable size. In the Danish area around 80 so-called long ramparts have been identified, most of which were probably dykes and field boundaries. Furthermore, as most have not yet been thoroughly investigated, only three are

1131) Nørgård Jørgensen 2003: 203.
1132) Kaul 1997.
1133) Nørgård Jørgensen 2003: 195.
1134) Schallmayer 2000.

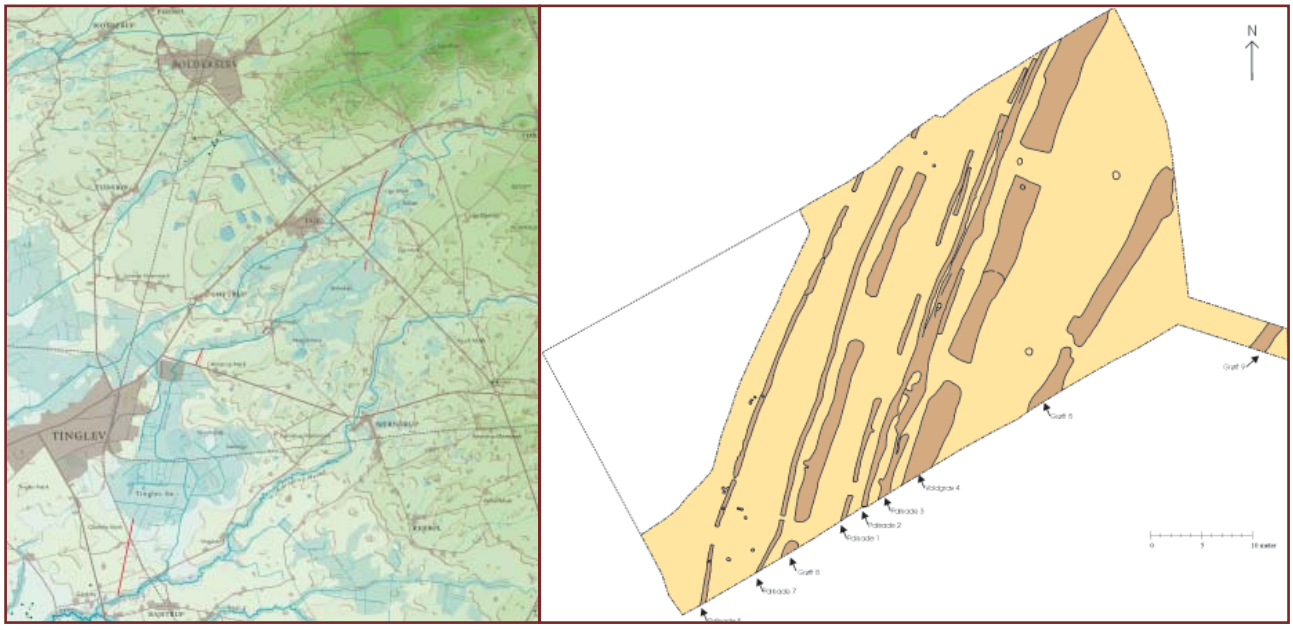
thought to belong to the Roman Iron Age.[1135] Interestingly, all three are situated in the southern part of Jutland. The three are Olgerdiget, Æ Vold and Trældiget. The last rampart from Priorsløkke is a unique find, as it turned out that the village at Priorsløkke had been demolished in order to build the rampart.

Olgerdiget

Olgerdiget is the largest structure of the three. The meaning of the name is somewhat obscure. Perhaps Olger's Dike is meant. It is later connected to Holger Danske, presumably a Danish knight at the court of Charlemagne. Although this cannot be, as Olgerdiget is by far the oldest, this idea may still have preserved the name.[1136] The identified parts of the rampart run from Urnehoved southwest of Aabenraa to Gårdby south of Tinglev (Fig. 114). The stretch is 12 km long as the crow flies in a NE-SW direction. The first description of parts of the rampart was made in 1848 and in 1928 the entire stretch from Urnehoved to Gårdby was described along with the first examinations made by the National Museum. In 1957, an examination was carried out of the first part of the rampart followed by systematic excavations from 1963 to 1972.[1137] A total of six parts were examined.[1138] Occasional excavations have been carried out since then.[1139] In 2003, excavations were once again carried out.[1140] The excavators found three to five palisades (of

Fig. 114 ➥ Olgerdiget. Drawing: Museum Sønderjylland – Arkæologi Haderslev/Jørgen Andersen.

Fig. 115 ➥ Olgerdiget. Drawing of excavations at Ligård. Drawing: Haderslev Museum Sønderjylland – Arkæologi Haderslev /Lisbeth Christensen/H.P. Jørgensen.



1135) Nørgård Jørgensen 2003: 203; Schou Jørgensen 1988: 107.
1136) Neumann 1982: 8.
1137) Neumann 1982: 12-5.
1138) Neumann 1982: 15-30.
1139) Nørgård Jørgensen 2003: 204.
1140) Christensen 2006: 5-10.

which two were double at times) covering 7,5 of the 12 km (Fig. 115). The palisades were made of oak logs with a diameter ranging from *c.* 10-45 cm, either sawn off horizontally or cut with two diagonal cuts. Furthermore, on the eastern side of the palisades a wall and ditch was found along approximately 2 km, as it was only documented on the higher-lying stretches. The ditch was 4 m wide and 1,6 m deep.[1141]

Æ Vold

Æ Vold (The rampart) was situated only 15 km north of Olgerdiget. The structure is going east-west and can be followed for a couple of kilometres. In 1988, the structure was investigated. The excavator assumes that the rampart was part of a blockade system crossing the entire peninsula by way of wetlands, waterways and ramparts. Æ Vold consists of a ditch up to 4,5 m wide and 1,4 m deep. 3-6 m north of the ditch the palisade was placed.[1142]

Trældiget

Trældiget (Thrall's Dike) is situated 50 km further north going NNE-SSW. The first recordings of this rampart were as early as 1766. Surveys in 1897 and again in 1932 established that Trældiget could be followed for 12 km from the lake, Dollerup Sø to the north of Jordrup. In 1981, the site was archaeologically examined. It consisted of a V-shaped ditch 2,5 m wide and 1 m deep. *c.* 4 m east of the ditch the palisade had been. Of this palisade only a foundation trench was left, 60 cm wide and 70 cm deep. Postholes showed that the posts had a diameter of 30 cm.[1143]

Priorsløkke

A rampart of a somewhat different kind was found at Priorsløkke. This Early Roman Iron Age village just off the tip of Horsens Fjord on the eastern coast of Jutland was excavated in the early 1980s. The village was in use from the middle of the 1st century AD to around AD 200. At that time a ditch and palisade were constructed re-using timber from the eight or nine farms inside the village. In 1988, a reconstruction made at the *Historical-Archaeological Experimental Centre* at Lejre based on the excavation showed that the amount of timber

1141) Neumann 1982: 19, 23, 29 fig. 15, 64; Nørgård Jørgensen 2003: 203-4.
1142) Andersen 1993: 9-13; Neumann 1982: 50 no. 20; Nørgård Jørgensen 2003: 204-5.
1143) Hvass 1987: 376-378; Nørgård Jørgensen 2003: 205.

needed for the rampart almost exactly matched the amount of timber used for the houses in the village. That means that for some reason the village was dismantled and turned into a fort. No repairs were made later, and the village did not reappear again. The position of this fort and the village before that was very strategic, at the best crossing of the Hansted River ending in the fjord. Hereby, the fort controlled both the east-west going river passage and valley as well as the north-south going road.[1144]

Chronology

The date of Olgerdiget was found by way of C^{14} as well as dendrochronological dating. From the campaigns 15 C^{14} datings were taken, of which 12 with certainty belonged to the palisades. The calibrated dates for the 12 samples range from AD 7 to 310. An average of the palisade 1 (the westernmost) samples gave a date of AD 201, while an average of palisade 2 and 3 gave a date of AD 123 and AD 140.[1145] The conclusion was that palisade 1 was the youngest, something the excavations had already shown at one point, where palisade 1 had run through palisade 2. Based on this, an initial date of Olgerdiget somewhere around AD 150 seemed reasonable.[1146] Eight samples were tested dendrochronologically, but none overlapped. The only conclusion that could be made from this was that the ramparts had been constructed and repaired over many years.[1147] Finally, after the new excavations in 2003, it was possible to secure dendrochronological dates from Olgerdiget. Two samples gave datings from AD 60 and AD 80, which probably means that Olgerdiget could be 90 years older than previously assumed. The latest date was AD 278, after which time it was no longer maintained. Therefore, it is assumed that it lost its purpose around AD 300.[1148]

From Æ Vold it was possible to get a valid dendrochronological dating, which placed the felling in AD 278, interestingly, the same date as the last repair of Olgerdiget.[1149]

It has not been possible to date Trældiget. The reason for placing it in the Roman Iron Age is its likeness to Olgerdiget and Æ Vold.[1150]

1144) Kaul 1997: 137-40.
1145) Neumann 1982: 58-60.
1146) Neumann 1982: 60.
1147) Neumann 1982: 60.
1148) L. Christensen, Haderslev: Personal communication. Christensen 2006: 9.
1149) Nørgård Jørgensen 2003: 205; Andersen 1993: 11.
1150) Nørgård Jørgensen 2003: 205.

The pottery evidence from Priorsløkke has shown two village phases, which covered the first two centuries AD.[1151]

Interpretations

Concerning the purpose of these long ramparts, the most obvious is to control the traffic passing through from one side to the other. On this, most scholars agree.[1152] Another explanation would be that they are results of defensive measures.[1153] Of course the answer could be a combination of both. One thing is considered a must; the contractor would have had more than local power. The structures are of such measures that whole regions will have benefited from them, regions that must have been under one central power.[1154] Like the Roman rampart in Germany, these ramparts cannot have been built to exclude an attacking enemy, but they would still have been able to hinder the passing of anything but a man on foot. Ordinary traffic would have been directed to the gates of the rampart. In this connection, it is interesting that both Olgerdiget and Æ Vold are blocking a main N-S going artery of Jutland in prehistoric times, 'Hærvejen' (the Army Road). At Olgerdiget, it is documented that in the Middle Ages this road is diverted east of the rampart.[1155]

Another question that has created difficulties is which way the ramparts are orientated. Trældiget, which only consists of a ditch and palisade, is fairly clear, as a defender must have been behind the palisade i.e. the east side. The difficulty arises when the ditch is placed between a palisade and a wall. Olgerdiget is compared to the *limes* rampart, which apparently consisted of a wall, ditch and palisade in this order.[1156] As there is no doubt as to who built this structure, namely the Romans, it is clear that it was directed towards north. Therefore the palisade was the outermost part. As the palisades of Olgerdiget are placed northwest of the ditch and wall, the excavator concludes: *that at Olgerdiget it is the tribe, which lived southeast of the dike that built it as a road blockage for traffic to and from the area to the northwest and north*.[1157] It is believed that the wall and ditch are later than the palisades as is the case at the *limes*.

1151) Kaul 1985: 176-7; 1997: 137.
1152) Neumann 1982: 62-63; Nørgård Jørgensen 2003: 205.
1153) Andersen 1993: 12-13; Hvass 1987: 377.
1154) Andersen 1993: 13; Christensen 2006: 10; Hvass 1987: 377; Neumann 1982: 64; Nørgård Jørgensen 2003: 205.
1155) Neumann 1982: 34-40.
1156) Neumann 1982: 63.
1157) Neumann 1982: 63.

The fact that the wall at the *limes* structure did not have a palisade is taken as an indication that it was a non-military demarcation line.[1158] At Æ Vold, the same features are present, with, from north to south, a palisade, ditch and wall. In this case the 'defender' should live on the south side. However, when the surrounding landscape is taken into consideration it is not so obvious, since at some places there are hills on the north side and wetland areas occasionally reaching the wall on the south side.[1159] It is now established that, contrary to belief, the palisade at the *limes* did in fact not remain in use after the construction of the wall and ditch.[1160] If this is correct, this construction can not have been the model for Olgerdiget and Æ Vold. H. Neumann writes that the obvious place for a defender to be would be on the northwest side behind the palisades. But like at Æ Vold, the surroundings would rather suggest the opposite.[1161] Interestingly, he does not mention the wall, which seems to have been of quite a moderate size, and at certain points, non-existent.[1162] In fact it seems doubtful that there was a wall in this sense at all. This leaves the palisades and the ditch on the southeast side.

As for the inspiration, it should be noted that the first building phase of the *limes* only consisted of watch towers, while the palisade was not added until the reign of Hadrian, probably in AD 121/2.[1163] Therefore, the palisade from Olgerdiget is definitely older than the *limes* palisade. Furthermore, the new early date of the rampart must be cause for a re-evaluation of the forces that changed the society in transition from the Early to the Late Roman Iron Age. One of the important changes is that over-regional control appears. However, as the construction of Olgerdiget is considered a project of an over-regional power, this change must have occurred in this area already in the end of the 1st century AD and not in the second half of the 2nd century AD, such as the consensus is at the present.

The Priorsløkke fortification is naturally something quite different from the long rampart structures. As the fortification constitutes the end of the settlement, it has been inferred that an immediate threat to the community brought about this dramatic change. The experiment made at Lejre showed that it would take 40 men a week to build the

1158) Neumann 1982: 63.
1159) Andersen 1993: 11 fig. 1, 13.
1160) K. Amrhein, Saalburg: Personal communication.
1161) Neumann 1982: 62.
1162) Neumann 1982: 16, 18.
1163) Schallmayer 2000: 72.

palisade.[1164]

The need to build a fortification means that someone or something needed to be protected. F. Kaul has drawn a picture in which the area was attacked by an enemy fleet and combines it with the Illerup find. He pointed out that the easiest route to Illerup from the sea would be past Priorsløkke. Due to the relatively short distance to Illerup Ådal only 15-20 km north of Priorsløkke, a possible connection to the Illerup A deposition is seen. However, the only war-related object found during excavations was one javelinhead found in the rampart trench.[1165] The relation to Illerup Ådal is problematic, however, as the first deposition is dated at least a decade later than the end of Priorsløkke. If the village had been abandoned for some reason, datable material would naturally seize to materialise, but the question is, how long a ghost village like that would still stand. If the fortification had been under attack, more signs of struggle would be expected, as the site was left alone afterwards. The fact, that only one piece of military equipment was found, indicates that the place was left in an orderly fashion. Of course it is possible that the attackers never reached the fortification. On the other hand it might have had an entirely different function. If we imagine that the construction was not provoked by an attack, but instead was a part of the preparations for one, this could be a place of disembarkation. The logistics of a sea-going army could have required a place to prepare or store necessary equipment, for instance, an arsenal. Considering the importance of such a venture, it would not be surprising that stores were under guard. Once the fleet had left, they would have brought everything along, leaving the place empty, except for the javelin that someone had accidentally dropped in the trench during the construction of the palisade. Naturally, the construction of these very different scenarios only reveals our ignorance of the history of the site.

Sea barrages

From the Roman Iron Age, six finds from the Danish area have been identified as barrages, four in South Jutland and one each on Funen and Zealand (Fig. 112). Already in 1948, two barrages were discovered in Haderslev fjord, Margrethes Bro and Æ Lei. In 1985, the remains of one were found in Gudsø Vig near Kolding. Finally in

1164) Kaul 1997: 139.
1165) Kaul 1997: 141-2.

the late 1990s another one was found in Gudsø Vig as well as one in Nakkebølle Fjord near Faaborg on Funen and in Jungshoved Nor on South Zealand. The relatively late find date of this kind of sites (half of the sites examined in the late 1990s) is due to the use of modern technology, in this case the *development of seismic methods of location of prehistoric and historic structures covered by seabed sediment*.[1166] Apart from these, other finds from this period are of uncertain use and can not decidedly be identified as barrages. One find from Stege on the island of Møn is possibly a barrage, while the other finds are most likely a harbour complex and a crossing.[1167]

Gudsø Vig

Only the barrages at Gudsø Vig have been dated within the relevant timeframe. The earliest, Gudsø Vig IV was discovered in 1985 after investigations by *Skibshistorisk Laboratorium* (The Ship Historic Laboratory). The barrage consists of upright stakes alone, made of a variety of wood sorts. Although the most likely, it is not absolutely certain that this is in fact a barrage, as it has not been found in its entirety.[1168]

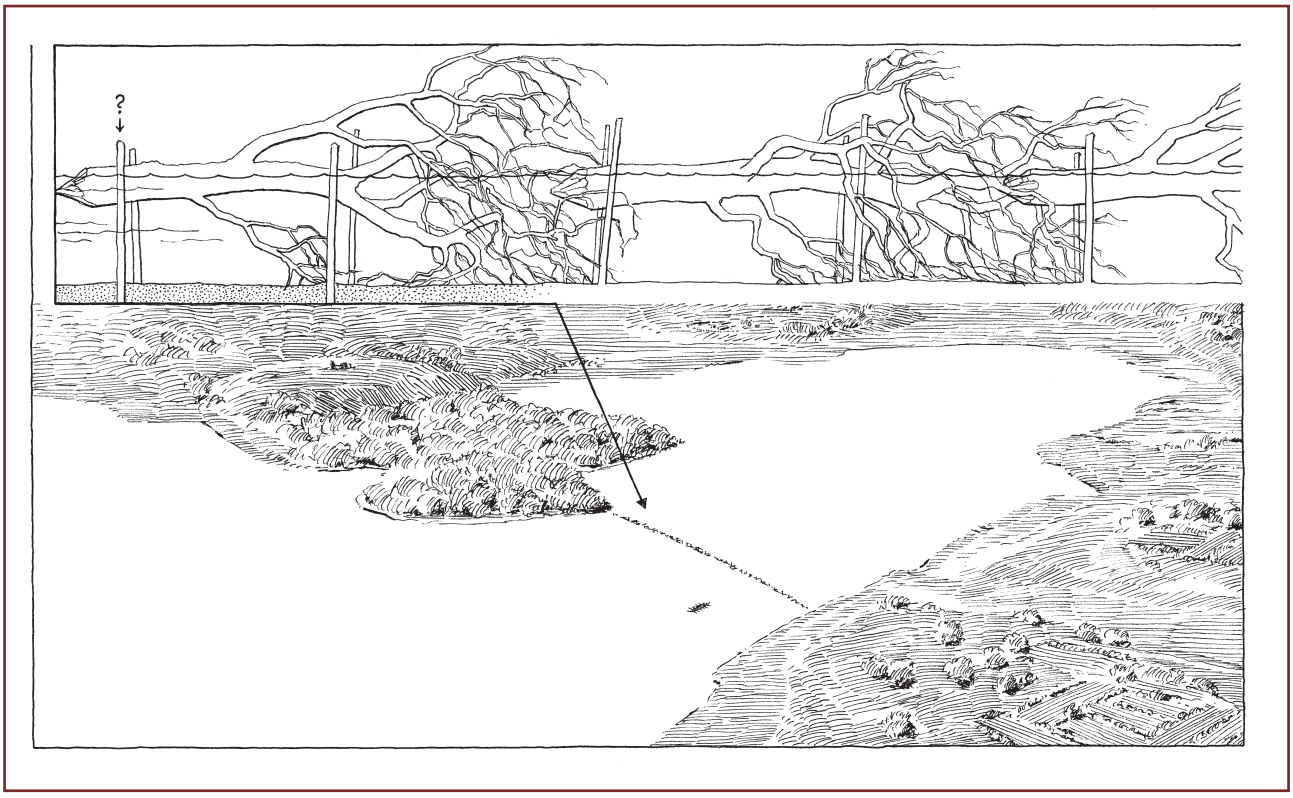


Fig. 116 Gudsø Vig. Sea barrage D1 consisting of large oaks with crowns. After Nørgård Jørgensen 2003: 196, fig. 3a.

1166) Nørgård Jørgensen 2001: 68.
1167) Nørgård Jørgensen 2003: 197, 199.
1168) Nørgård Jørgensen 2002: 146; 2003: 200. For further descriptions see Hvass 1987: 376-378; Catalogue – Nørgård Jørgensen 2002: 145-8.

The second barrage, Gudsø Vig D1 was found in 1996 during investigations of the area. This barrage was found under 0,5 m of mud. It was 400 m long and consisted of one row of complete oak trees, with only the roots removed. The oaks were placed crown-to-root (Fig. 116). Possibly this barrage floated and was constructed for one purpose as the result of a sudden crisis. Probably 50 oaks with a root diameter of 40-80 cm were used.[1169]

The oldest barrage, Gudsø Vig IV is C^{14} dated to 170 BC-AD 50. Hereafter there is a considerable gap as the next barrage, Gudsø Vig D1, is C^{14} dated to AD 236 (AD 132-317) and AD 256-317 (AD 236-338). The C^{14} dates of the two Gudsø Vig barrages must be verified through dendrochronological examination for us to be absolutely sure of them belonging to the Roman Iron Age.[1170] For instance, Jungshoved Nor, now dendrochronologically dated to AD 340, had previously been C^{14} dated to around AD 80.[1171]

The 4th century AD

The data for the 4th century AD, to which the remaining four barrages belong, is more secure. In 1963, the barrage at Jungshoved Nor was sighted for the first time, although thorough investigation were not made until the 1990s is dendrochronologically dated to *c.* AD 340. It consisted of a 200 m long and 8 to 10 m wide belt of trunks.[1172]

The presence of the Nakkebølle Fjord barrage was reported in 1965 by a local teacher, who could tell that a certain boat builder had already gathered 120 oak trunks and used them for furniture, carving work, garage doors, fence-posts etc. He had kept his find a secret and later immigrated to Canada. Thorough investigations were not conducted until 1996. This barrage has been dendrochronologically dated to *c.* AD 370. The barrage was 20 by 250-300 m.[1173]

The two barrages from Haderslev Fjord, Margrethes Bro (Margrethe's Bridge) and Æ Lei (The Gate) were both discovered in the 19th century, although the nature of the finds was not realised until 1948. Margrethes Bro, 24-35 m wide and 425 m long, was situated near the mouth of the fjord with Æ Lei, between 15 and 50 m wide and 600m long, *c.*

1169) Nørgård Jørgensen 2002: 146; 2003: 198-9. Catalogue – Nørgård Jørgensen 2002: 145-8.
1170) Nørgård Jørgensen 2003: 197-8; Daly 2001: 85; 2002: 156.
1171) Nørgård Jørgensen 2001: 73.
1172) Nørgård Jørgensen 2001: 73, 80; 2003: 199. Catalogue – Nørgård Jørgensen 2001: 79-81; Daly 2001: 84-5.
1173) Nørgård Jørgensen 2001: 71, 79; 2003: 199. Catalogue – Nørgård Jørgensen 2001: 79; Daly 2001: 84-5.

one kilometre further down. Investigations were carried out from the 1960s to the 1990s. Dendrochronological dates for both barrages are *c.* AD 370-418.[1174]

Interpretations

The prevailing theory is that the purpose of these barrages was to hinder or completely block access from the sea to the fjords or coves or inlets. This way the hinterland would be protected by sudden attacks from the sea. The massive size of the barrages is a clear indication that they had a military purpose.[1175] The barrages are often put into relations with the war booty sacrifices, and at three of the four sites there are sacrifices within a relatively short distance. Only concerning Jungshoved Nor, there are no sacrifices.[1176] Although most of the barrages are in effect in the last 50 or so years of the Roman Iron Age, they are clear signs of an unrest involving not only the southern and eastern parts of Jutland and Funen, where the large war booty sacrifices are found, but also involving Zealand. The major sacrifices of war booty had already been deposited at this time, as the peak was in the 3rd century AD.[1177]

1174) Nørgård Jørgensen 2001: 69, 75-7; 2003: 197-8. For further descriptions see Crumlin-Pedersen 1975: 9-25; Rieck 1991: 88-89; Catalogue – Nørgård Jørgensen 2001: 76-9; Daly 2001: 83-5.
1175) Nørgård Jørgensen 2001: 68-9; 2003: 200-1.
1176) Nørgård Jørgensen 2001: 70-4; 2003: 199-201.
1177) Nørgård Jørgensen 2003: 200; See the chapter on the war booty sacrifices.

Part 4: Conclusions

In part one, I have examined four episodes from the first three centuries AD that I believe had a major impact on Roman-Germanic relations. For each of these episodes I have demonstrated the nature of the relations, relayed the current research and pointed out a number of problems either relating to the present understanding of these incidences, or to questions that have hitherto been ignored. The result of this re-evaluation is a new and clearer interpretation of how scholars in the past have understood these episodes and a better overall insight in the problems of these particular episodes. With this examination I have created a solid basis, from which it will be possible to get a better view of Roman-Germanic relations in the period under investigation that go further than the *Vorfeld* of the *limes*.

In part two, I have presented different sources, which I believe are indications of contacts between the Romans and southern Scandinavia. This examination has equally revealed a number of questions, which have not been asked before, as well as new solutions and reinterpretations.

In part three, I have presented a number of south Scandinavian features, which are of an over-regional significance, and discussed different theories concerning the possible backgrounds for the appearance of these features.

When we look at these different investigations combined the picture emerges that relations between the Roman Empire and southern Scandinavia were present throughout the investigated period from the time of Augustus to the death of Probus. However, these relations were not of the same nature in the entire period. The areas that had the closest contacts changed over time and the nature of contact also varied. To illustrate this explicitly, I shall review the obtained results chronologically.

Chronological analysis

From Augustus to Vespasian

Germania – A province under construction

During the Augustan campaigns the Romans operated on the basis of what appeared to be loyal allies within the newly

conquered regions. These allies would have been important for the Roman government of the regions, and the archaeological and literary evidence support a supposition that so far only the areas reaching the Weser had been submitted to Roman administration.

The archaeological discoveries of the last decades east of the Rhine have provided strong indications that the civilising process of *Germania* was well under way, when the *clades Variana* put everything to a halt. At the River Lahn, at Waldgirmes, a town, where *Germani* and Romans lived side by side, had been established. It was probably a centre of administration. Military installations at Marktbreit, 140 km east of Mainz and Hedemünden at the junction of the Rivers Werra and Fulda into Weser, I believe, should be placed in this setting as well. Such camps would function as a reminder to the locals of the power of the Roman army, apart from facilitating the Romans. This evidence contradicts the assumption that the Romans had only achieved little, when disaster hit in AD 9.[1178]

Diplomacy

Outside their military reach, the Romans resorted to diplomacy. The literary sources report how tribes east of the Elbe received the friendship of the Romans, and that the Romans themselves explored the coasts of *Germania*, but the physical evidence from early 1st century graves also testify to this. Grave A 4103 from Hedegård contained a Roman *pugio*. This piece of Roman military equipment is extremely rare in a non-Roman context. Its presence in Jutland should be taken as a strong indication that the deceased had been in contact with the Roman military. One possibility is that he and his village had served the Romans as local scouts, for instance, in connection with the Augustan naval expedition. A diplomatic contact on another level is reflected in the Hoby grave on Lolland. The wealth of Roman vessels including the two silver cups of Silius, as well as of local objects indicates that this was a tribal leader of the highest social status. In the first century AD, we know that Roman silver cups were used as diplomatic gifts to Germanic leaders. In my opinion, the Hildesheim hoard could very well contain silver vessels brought along for precisely this purpose. The fact is that the most prominent graves of northern *Germania*, of which several contain pairs of Roman silver cups, are almost all situated in coastal areas of what must have been known to

1178) See pp. 20-1, 30-1.

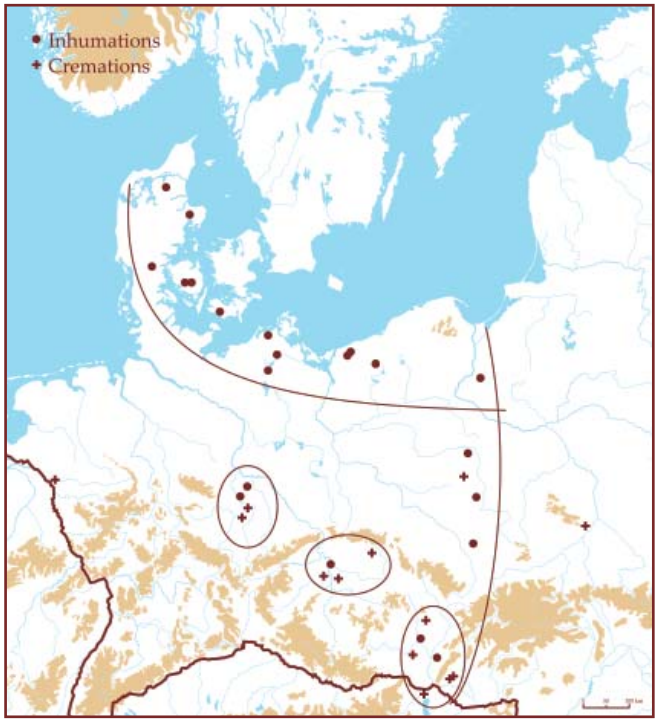


Fig. 117 Elite graves from the Early Roman Iron Age period B1. After Peška 2002: 54-5, 64-6, figs. 30a-c, 35a-d.

the Romans as the *Sinus Codanus*, stretching from the east coast of Jutland to the Vistla River. If we look at a map of the wealthiest graves from the period B1 (AD 1 – 70) three things in particular become apparent, the above mentioned concentration of graves in the coastal areas, a row of graves along the route from *Carnuntum* to the Baltic Sea and a concentration of graves in the upper and middle Elbe area (Fig. 117).[1179] This means that the wealthiest of the graves with Roman luxury objects may reflect more direct diplomatic connections to the Romans. The leaders at these locations then re-distributed the Roman vessels to their own local contacts, as could be the case of Hoby and Bendstrup.[1180]

The clades Variana

In AD 9, the Romans were ambushed by their allies the *Cherusci* led by Arminius, who was one of their leaders. The obvious motive for this treason was to avoid submission of the tribe to the Romans. As to Arminius' reasons for this, we can only guess. We know that he had great ambitions for himself, and the failed conquest of the Marcomannic kingdom may have been an inspiration to him. Most likely, he participated in the preparations for this campaign as a Roman officer, but returned home after its abandonment. Had he joined Tiberius in *Pannonia* to quench the revolt that rose in that area in AD 6, I doubt he would have had time to get back home to get close to the Roman legate. I seriously doubt that any warnings from as prominent a Cheruscan *nobilis* as Segestes did reach Varus prior to the ambush, but Segestes' explanation may have saved him, when he needed help from the Romans.

That the location of the battle should be Kalkriese has been challenged by a number of sceptical scholars. However, their alternative that it should be the site of the battle of Caecina in AD 15, I find even less convincing. The archaeological evidence, especially the bone pits and

1179) Lund Hansen 1987: 195-7; Peška 2002: 54 fig. 30a-c, 64 fig. 35a-c.
1180) See pp. 33-4, 168-71.

the high ratio of high valued coins speaks for Kalkriese as the site of the *clades Variana*.

Varus' defeat put a halt to the civilising of the *Germani* and an abandonment of probably the first town in *Germania* at Waldgirmes and military structures such as the double legionary camp at Marktbreit that was never even finished.[1181]

Response

A new offensive led at first by Tiberius and later Germanicus was unsuccessful in restoring the former situation. The result was a change of tactics. From now on diplomacy was the main tool regarding all of *Barbaricum*. This is reflected in the relations to the *Marcomanni* and *Quadi*, who became the most important Roman allies, but also in the above mentioned wealthiest graves from *Barbaricum*. The most interesting of the graves is the Hoby grave, which is connected to the legate of the upper Rhine army, C. Silius, by the incisions on the bottom of the silver cups. The literary sources indicate that information on the coastal areas from the Rhine to Vistla was gathered precisely in this period. However, if it was a result of the naval expedition in AD 5 or happened later as part of the new policy, we have no way of knowing.

It is interesting that the closer regions of *Germania*, which were engaged in the rebellion against Rome, are not included. That gives the impression that the Romans wanted to expand their circle of allies, which at that time included the *Marcomanni*, who had remained loyal, to incorporate tribes from the Germanic hinterland. It is not surprising that the Romans distrusted their immediate neighbours.

From the middle of this period, around AD 40, the influx of Roman objects in Scandinavia diminished. I believe, this may be an indication that the Romans shifted their focus from *Germania* to *Britannia*. Shortly after, the line of fortifications along the Rhine is constructed, which also lends support to this suggestion.[1182]

From Vespasian to Marcus Aurelius

Precisely 100 years after the end of the civil wars of the 1st century BC by Octavian at the battle of *Actium* in 31 BC, civil war broke out again. Once again the close relations with the *Suebi* at the Danube

1181) See pp. 22-7, 31, 154-6.
1182) See pp. 27-32.

proved valuable, as they kept the Danube frontier secure, after it had been emptied of Roman troops by Vespasian. Some of the *Suebi* even fought for Vespasian against Vitellius. At this time most of Rome's other Germanic neighbours seized the opportunity to join the Batavian revolt and attack the Empire.[1183]

New Germania policies

Although the revolt was suppressed quite easily, I think, it forced the Romans to rethink their foreign policy. In the southern part of the west, this resulted in the beginning of the conquest of the *Agri Decumates* and the eventual construction of a frontier connecting the Rhine and the Danube across land. In the northern part of the west, it resulted in a boost in diplomatic initiatives, which is reflected in the huge rise in Roman luxury goods that reached Scandinavia. The location of the wealthiest graves in period B2 (AD 70 – 150/60) suggest that some relations continued, while new were made particularly in southern Scandinavia, the lower Elbe area and along the 'amber route' (Fig. 118).[1184] In Denmark, this is reflected by the presence in several graves of sets of Roman glass vessels, in the case of Juellinge, a type of glasses that are otherwise not found in *Barbaricum*. Another reflection of this policy is the apparent influx of *denarii*. At Ginderup in northern Jutland, a hoard dug into the floor of a house had a Flavian end coin and a composition that made it probable that it had also been gathered during the reign of the Flavians. In the hoard from Råmosen on Zealand ending with an Antonine coin, the Emperor represented by the most *denarii* was Vespasian. Among these, there were 22 identical coins, i.e. made from the same set of dies. I believe that can be taken as an indication that entire batches of coinage were used as subsidies to south Scandinavian chieftains.[1185]



Fig. 118 Elite graves from the Early Roman Iron Age period B2. After Peška 2002: 54-5, 64-6, figs. 30d-f, 35e-g.

1183) See pp. 35-42.
1184) Lund Hansen 1987: 198-200; Peška 2002: 54 fig. 30d-f, 64 fig. 35d-g.
1185) See pp. 39, 42-4, 156-8, 164, 171.

The dawn of over-regional powers in southern Scandinavia

In this period we see the first over-regional features in southern Scandinavia. They belong to the end of the 1st century AD, which is very interesting, as the change from local lords to over-regional powers are normally related to the Late Roman Iron Age beginning in the second half of the 2nd century AD. Nevertheless, new evidence shows that Olgerdiget in southern Jutland was originally built around the turn of the periods B1/B2. This demarcation line more or less separates northern and southern Schleswig. The two areas show differences already at this time, although Olgerdiget has not been related to this, as it was believed to have been built at a later stage. Only in the region north of Olgerdiget, the Over Jerstal group, there are graves with Roman luxury goods.[1186] In the northern end of this region we find Brokær, which I will return to shortly. This means that at the same time, as we see a greatly increased use of diplomacy by the Romans, we have a massive construction separating two areas, of which northern Schleswig shows contacts to the Romans, while the southern Schleswig does not.

In the end of the 1st century AD, we have the first of the more substantial war booty sacrifices in Vimose on Funen. Detailed knowledge of the war booty sacrifices is not yet available, but they do provide us with a general outline of chronology and origin. For this particular deposition, however, a probable origin is very hard to determine, which means that it could reflect the result of a local dispute. In the middle of the 2nd century AD, the second deposition was made in Vimose. This time the defeated army probably originated from the northern parts of continental *Germania*. This deposition constitutes archaeological evidence that, in my opinion, could reflect the troubles that set the *superiores barbari* in motion, pushing south resulting in the Marcomannic wars.[1187]

From Marcus Aurelius to Gallienus

In the reign of Marcus Aurelius the long lasting alliance with the *Suebi* in Mähren and the south-western part of Slovakia finally came to an end. The pressure of various tribes, the *superiores barbari*, allegedly forced the Roman neighbours to ask for land inside the Roman Empire. Not waiting for a response, the *Langobardi* decided

1186) Ethelberg 2003: 196-7, 222-4.
1187) See pp. 54-5, 228-9, 251-5.

to get it themselves, thereby starting 13 years of war. From AD 167 to AD 180, the Romans had to fight practically all neighbouring tribes in *Barbaricum* from the North Sea to the Black Sea. During these wars, the main adversaries were the *Marcomanni*, *Quadi* and *Iazyges*. A great number of peace negotiations, however, could indicate that an interest in preserving the peace was present.[1188]

Mušov and the conquest of the Marcomannic Kingdom

The main focus of the Romans has been identified archaeologically in Mähren and the surroundings of Mušov. Here we see a concentration of the Roman war effort, which has been interpreted as the preparations for a new province in the area. As the idea that Marcus Aurelius wanted to create two new provinces called *Marcomannia* and *Sarmatia* comes from the dubious *Historia Augusta*, it has long ago been rejected by many scholars. However, such a plan, if successfully carried out, would have had the advantage that the Romans would secure the tribes in their own homeland, rather than granting them land inside the Empire. Marcus Aurelius did that early on, but regretted it, as some of the settlers created trouble, for instance, on the Italian Peninsula. Furthermore, the only real parallel to the aggressive actions of Marcus Aurelius is in fact the temporary Augustan occupation of the area between the Rhine and Weser, which aimed at raising a new province.

Mušov was, as far as the sources should be interpreted, located in the territory of the *Marcomanni* and not the *Quadi*, as they are believed to have been separated by the mountain ridge of the Lesser Carpathians. Therefore, the deceased in the tremendously wealthy grave at Mušov must have belonged to this tribe. The position of the person or persons buried here has naturally been a subject of discussion, but the time of burial is also disputed. The two main versions both operate under the assumption that we are dealing with one man, who is the 'King'. The 'official' version by J. Tejral and J. Peška favours a Roman ally, who died during the wars and was buried under Roman auspices. The version by C. von Carnap-Bornheim, which was practically conceived as a challenge, suggests a King, who was preparing in secrecy an offensive against the Romans. What would the king have had to gain from such a venture? Possibly, the political atmosphere in Rome in the early years of the reign of Marcus Aurelius made a Marcomannic conquest seem

1188) See pp. 54-62.

probable. Undoubtedly, the king would have had ambassadors (spies) in Rome, and based on their reports he may have read in the cards that the fate of *Dacia* would soon be his. Carnap-Bornheim believes that he was buried before the war, and that the grave was disturbed by Roman soldiers, when they later desecrated the grave, accidentally losing a *pteryx*. However, if the grave had been disturbed by people of an anti-Roman persuasion, it may have belonged to a Roman military belt that was removed from the grave. Carnap-Bornheim's version might find support in the fact that the *Suebi* showed themselves to be the main adversaries. Both Tejral & Peška and Carnap-Bornheim saw Mušov as a military-political and cultural centre, which also meant an over-regional power with a great number of connections. Therefore, it was the main target of the Romans. I believe that it is very probable that Marcus Aurelius found that they had grown far too powerful to be allowed to exist after the peace in AD 171. I think it is fair to say that the functions of the two Germanic leaders, the King and the commander, were both represented in this grave. However, it is difficult to say whether they were constituted by one or two men. Nevertheless, I think the Mušov grave displays features that all fit conspicuously well on the Marcomannic king Ballomarius, who was asked to lead the first peace negotiations on behalf of the involved tribes. The great variety of grave goods from all over *Barbaricum* is taken as indications of the wide reach and influence of the king. Although I generally agree with this view, I find it concerning that booty is never considered, when it comes to intra-Germanic interaction. I believe that there can be no doubt that the king had been subsidised by the Roman Emperor, and therefore he would have had certain responsibilities such as preventing the *superiores barbari* from bothering the Romans. This could have led to war with other tribes, as well as diplomatic relations, by which the king would probably have relayed the considerations of the Romans. Obviously, they failed to do so, when the pressure became too strong. On the other hand, we could read the connections regarding the Przeworsk-culture, as related to the amber trade, which would obviously include a number of other trade goods. The Elbe regions were inhabited by other *Suebi* and Tejral has given a plausible reason for the presence of *Langobardi* already prior to the wars, hence the connections to those regions. As such it is clear that Mähren in particular had been a natural centre of long distance contacts with strings to the North Sea, the Baltic Sea and the Roman Empire. That one of the strings from the Mušov

grave might even have reached southern Scandinavia, is indicated by the two gold pendants and the double (triple) chamber grave, which practically only has parallels in Denmark.[1189]

The northwestern provinces

The Marcomannic wars dominated the reign of Marcus Aurelius, but nothing suggests that the *Agri Decumates* and the western provinces were affected by these wars. They had their own troublemakers in the *Chatti* and *Chauci*. The attack on *Gallia Belgica* by the *Chauci* is believed only to have been a minor incident, but the sole source is the *Historia Augusta*, and it only refers to the actions of Didius Julianus. That is, in my opinion, definitely not enough to conclude that *Germania Inferior* was *not* affected too. Destructions in the Dutch river area from this time may very well have been a result of these raids.[1190]

A renewal of northern contacts

After the wars, the Roman Empire was in much the same situation, as after the Batavian revolt, only now they had been at war with all tribes along the frontier towards *Barbaricum*, and not only those on the Rhine. Interestingly, the spectre of Roman coins shows that Antonine coins are overwhelmingly dominating in *Barbaricum*, although some could have arrived before the wars. In the hoard from Smørenge on Bornholm 80 % were Antonine. Naturally, I am aware that most of these coins belong to hoards with much later end dates, and that they may therefore be subject to other conditions.

In southern Scandinavia, three important graves are dated to the time of or just after the Marcomannic wars. One is Brokær 1878, which is the richest of the period; the other two are of the founder graves from Himlingøje. These graves have different things in common, apart from the many Roman vessels. They are all cremations and all contain spurs, while two have other military equipment, most prominently, Brokær with a Roman ring-pommel sword and a *lorica hamata*. They are also related by two pairs of Germanic silver beakers of a type that is believed to have been produced on Zealand. That is based on five similar beakers found in eastern Zealandic graves from C1b.[1191] These beakers indicate a relation between Brokær and

1189) See pp. 62-80.
1190) See pp. 51-4..
1191) One from Nordrup grave J and two pairs from Himlingøje grave 1828 and Valløby: Lund Hansen 411-3.

Himlingøje. Both sites have been related to the Marcomannic wars, as they may have participated on one or the other side. No matter what, the outcome appears to have been some sort of agreement with the Romans, as indicated by the numerous Roman vessels. The Roman ring-pommel swords have all traditionally been related to the Marcomannic wars, but as some must be older, this view should be revised. However, this type of sword is definitely related to the Romans in the 2nd century AD. Furthermore, the urns from the Himlingøje graves indicate that the deceased could have been in personal contact with the Romans. If so, they were possibly commanding their own warriors as part of an agreement with the Romans, as would the Brokær prince. A fact is that these warrior graves mark the beginning of a centre on eastern Zealand, which was unique in *Barbaricum* in the first half of the 3rd century AD. Once again a glance at a map of the wealthiest graves from the Late Roman Iron Age in *Barbaricum* will show that in period C1b (AD 210/20 – 250/60) with a few exceptions these graves are concentrated on the Danish islands (Fig. 119). The distribution pattern of the Roman vessels has shown that a direct contact between the Rhine and eastern Zealand is by far the most probable. In the initial phase, Brokær on the west coast of Jutland may have played a role as an ally of Himlingøje, who could provide the ships with safety along a certain stretch of the west coast of Jutland. The power of the Himlingøje dynasty and its contacts to the Roman Empire is also reflected in the second generation of graves. Apart from the obvious wealth, elements such as the gilt relief with ring-pommel swords on one pair of silver beakers and the old Italian (Roman) sheepdog support that image, although I acknowledge that the young prince that came home in



Fig. 119 Elite graves from the Late Roman Iron Age in Barbaricum. A (⬆): C1b (AD 220/30 – 250/60), B (⬇): C2-3 (AD 250/60 – end of the 4th century) After Peška 2002: 66, fig.36.



Fig. 120 ➥ Himlingøje, grave 1894-1. Photo: National Museum/Lennart Larsen.

Fig. 121 ➥ Kolben armlet from grave 1894-1. Photo: National Museum/John Lee.

pieces may just as well have died in Norway supervising deliveries.[1192]

The nature of the contacts

The Roman vessels that went through Himlingøje were not everyday trade objects. I believe that they are the physical evidence of some sort of diplomatic relationship between the Romans and the aristocracy of eastern Zealand. I would never postulate that every grave in *Barbaricum*, which contained a Roman vessel also constituted a contact to the Romans. On the contrary most graves must reflect contacts to Germanic centres, which controlled the influx of the Roman goods and took care of re-distribution. This kind of trade cannot be compared with, for instance, the petty trade that existed along the Roman frontier. For his services, whatever they may have been, the Himlingøje 'king' required a certain type of goods, which he could use in the process of creating and maintaining his own contacts and dependencies. Perhaps, this was something he learned from observing the Marcomannic kingdom? However, I would speculate that the Romans did not blindly pump luxury goods into *Barbaricum* without getting something in return. What that was, is as always an enigma, although some military-political function must be expected. I do not find it acceptable simply to write off this connection as inexplicable, such as is done by R. Wolters, especially as he concludes that: '*So ist es gewiß kein Zufall, wenn die römischen Importe überall dort besonders dicht vorkommen, wo auch die politischen Verbindungen besonders intensive und beständig waren*.'[1193] Although the graves on eastern Zealand hardly

1192) See pp. 171-8.
1193) Wolters 1995: 116.

contained weapons, there are several military symbols among the grave goods. In Himlingøje graves 1828 and 1894-1 from C1b there were kolben armlets of solid gold and in 1894-1 there were also two bone arrowheads and a monstrous *fibula* (Fig. 120).[1194] The arrowheads were made for war and were functional, unlike those, for instance, from Berching-Pollanten or Leuna 1917-2, which appear to have been made for the funeral.[1195] The symbolism of the Himlingøje arrowheads, I think, were the same as believed for those from Mušov. I.e. they represented the ability of the deceased to supply archers. The *fibula* is considered a rank marker by U. Lund Hansen.[1196] The two kolben armlets, of which the one from grave 1828 has disappeared, have been interpreted as the signs of royal birth and that of military commanders (Fig. 121). These two are the earliest examples in a Germanic context.[1197] As such, the Himlingøje rulers would have the means, like the Mušov king, not only to lead, but to dispatch units when required. Precisely a unit requisition may be reflected in the Germanic remains at the Taunus *castella* in the first third of the 3rd century AD, where a concentration of Almgren VII.3 *fibulae* indicates an origin of some *Germani* on the Danish islands. The Almgren VII *fibulae* are widely distributed and not many have been published, but certain regional differences of the various types should be able to lead to a more secure answer once they have been examined. For now, we must conclude that a relation between southern Scandinavia and the Taunus *castella* is possible. These *Germani* may have belonged to the *exploratores*.[1198]

The war booty sacrifices

In this period, a major part of the war booty sacrifices were deposited. During the last half of the 2nd century AD, there were probably depositions both at Thorsberg (1) and Vimose (2b) as well as at a few minor sites. Like the deposition from the middle of the century, an origin of the booty is to be found along the Baltic Sea and the Weser-Elbe-Oder regions. This changed for most of the depositions in the first half of the 3rd century AD; only for the second Thorsberg deposition did the origin stay the same. For the rest of the C1b depositions, of which the most important from the beginning to the end of C1b was Illerup

1194) Lund Hansen *et al*. 1995: 141, 149-51.
1195) Fischer 1988: 98; Schultz 1953: 14, 49-50; Pauli Jensen 2002: 65-7;
1196) U. Lund Hansen, Copenhagen: Personal communication.
1197) Carnap-Bornheim 1999b: 57-9; Lund Hansen *et al*. 1995: 203-5; Werner 1980: 22-3.
1198) See pp. 158-62, 164-6, 183-8.

A, Nydam Ia, Vimose 3 and Illerup B, the origin of the depositions was the western part of the Scandinavian Peninsula. As magnificent as these finds are, they are still somewhat of a mystery. That the war booty sacrifices are the results of intra-Germanic wars is certain, but whether we are dealing with attacking or defending armies is not possible to discern at the moment. At Illerup, two kolben armlets contemporary with the ones from Himlingøje have been found. Although these are gilt bronze and not solid gold as those from eastern Zealand, following the line of though of J. Ilkjær, they would be seen as evidence that this status marker had also reached Norway.[1199] I will suggest an alternative to that interpretation. As the armlets are not solid gold, it could mean that they were not true rank markers. If so, they could have been produced by the victors for the sacrifice ceremony. The reason would be to provide the defeated commanders with a symbol of supreme command that was known to those witnessing the ceremony. As such, they did not need to be of solid gold, but should only appear that way.

Some of the depositions contained quite a large amount of Roman *militaria*. What role these objects have played is equally enigmatic, but participation of Roman soldiers can be ruled out. That does not mean that some of the defeated warriors had not served in the Roman army, or that Roman *militaria* could not have been used by Germanic warriors, who had retrieved the weapons as booty. In Thorsberg, the finds include remains of Roman shields, helmets and body armour. These categories of *militaria* are hardly ever found in other depositions, let alone other Germanic contexts. To understand this problem an investigation of the different aspects is required. Hopefully, we will have some of the answers to questions concerning this matter, as well as many others, once the present research programmes are concluded, which is expected in 2011. We also have the first confirmed sea barrage in Gudsø Vig some time in the two last thirds of the 3rd century AD.

There is no evidence indicating a direct relation between the war booty sacrifices and the Romans, yet if one were to speculate, a scenario concerning the 2nd century depositions, in which an attack was directed from north to south, could only be to the Romans advantage, as this would mean a relief of pressure from the north. Of course, an attack directed towards the north would mean that potential enemies

1199) Carnap-Bornheim 1999b: 58; Carnap-Bornheim & Ilkjær 1996: 239-40, 360-5, figs. 182-5, pl. 246.

were drawn away from the Roman frontier. If I should propose *any* possible Roman involvement based on the material presented here, it would be that theoretically the Romans could have paid a tribe to wage war on another, such as we know they did elsewhere, resulting in these depositions. This theory, which could never be verified, unless we should accidentally stumble on a contract on a bronze tablet or something to that effect, would be even less probable concerning the Illerup horizon.[1200]

From Gallienus to Probus

The loss of the Agri Decumates

During the reign of Valerian and Gallienus the Roman Empire suffered a temporary collapse after the capture of the father in AD 260 by the Persians. In the western provinces, a 'Gallic Empire' was created by Postumus, Gallienus' military commander at the Rhine. This division eventually led to the abandonment of the *Agri Decumates*. How this came about has been discussed thoroughly through the last 20 years. Even so, it has become clear from my examination of the different opinions that a consensus has not been reached. Furthermore, a number of important observations have failed to materialise in recent discussions, which therefore appear too simplified. The three main arguments for the abandonment are Germanic raids, civil war and an ecological crisis. Also the time of the loss is disputed, at times even based on what appears to be the same material. The timeframe moves from the entire second third of the 3rd century AD to the time of Aurelian. After the discovery of the Augsburg victory altar it has become clear that parts of the *Agri Decumates* proved to be central in the civil war, as these parts were the only recovered by Gallienus in his one attempt to defeat Postumus. The archaeological evidence shows that a weakening of the frontier had taken place already before AD 260, but that does not necessarily mean that the perimeter had become perforated, as patrols could have substituted permanent stations. Inside the *Agri Decumates* some farmsteads had already been vacated by AD 260 and very possibly some *Germani* had already settled. My examination of this problem has led me to the standpoint that the region was severely weakened by civil war and Germanic raids in the time of Gallienus, as well as the withdrawal of troops over the

1200) 228-30, 257-8.

previous thirty years. Ecological problems such as flooding and erosion would not have helped the situation, but I doubt it would have had any decisive impact. The *Agri Decumates* may *de facto* have been given up administratively under Gallienus, but a logical time for an official abandonment would have been, when Aurelian had reassembled the Empire in AD 274. Not until then, could such a decision be made officially. When Aurelian abandoned *Dacia*, he probably abandoned *Agri Decumates* too.[1201]

The Alamanni

That the area was still perceived as Roman hereafter is very likely in my opinion. At this time it is possible that certain Germanic groups as a defensive measure were invited by the Romans to settle in the area. Whether these groups were known as *Alamanni*, because that was the Germanic name for 'war band' or for some other reason, we cannot confirm, but eventually, the former *Agri Decumates* became known as *Alamannia*. Here, a number of settlers with different origins grew together to form a unity, but this was not seriously manifested until the 4th century AD. In the last quarter of the 3rd century AD, they were few and limited to certain areas. The *Iuthungi*, on the other hand, had made themselves known already in AD 260. They had settled north of the Danube outside the *Agri Decumates*, which was still functioning at that time and therefore they were not a part of the *Alamanni* until much later.[1202]

The Dutch limes

In the lower Rhine area, there were also problems, but unlike the *Agri Decumates*, Germanic raids probably played no dominant role in the deteriorating situation, and by no means was the entire Dutch stretch of the frontier wiped out all in one stroke, as some might still believe. Here, the ecological problems of a rising ocean drove people away. The frontier line along the Rhine was preserved, probably for the same reason that it was placed there in the first place, to secure river transports, of which grain supplies now played an important role, if we read the 4th century layouts of the *castella* of Brittenburg and Valkenburg Z.H. correctly.[1203]

1201) See pp. 82-104.
1202) See pp. 112-8.
1203) See pp. 108-10.

Germanic friends and foes

I think the pattern that we can detect by the Germanic raids shows that, for this period at least, the diplomatic contact to the Germanic chieftains constituted a personal contract between chieftains and the Emperor. Therefore, each new ruler had to deal with renewed attacks on the Empire, as the Germanic chieftains were not obligated to honour a treaty made with an Emperor that was now dead.

The most visible diplomatic contacts at this time are reflected in the Haßleben-Leuna horizon. A clear connection is seen to the 'Gallic Empire' via *aurei* and certain Roman vessels. This horizon is limited to period C2 (AD 250/60 – 310/20) and there are presently no valid counter arguments to this theory. The materialisation of this horizon appears to happen at the expense of another Germanic horizon, that of Himlingøje. The flow of Roman vessels to Scandinavia diminishes drastically at the rise of Haßleben and Leuna. I will postulate that these two incidents could very well be connected, as Postumus could get what he needed from the middle Elbe region. Quite possibly this treaty could have been made as part of a peace agreement between the two sides. By this treaty other alliances would have been made redundant and considered too expensive to uphold. Following this scenario, I believe that it is possible to interpret Varpelev grave *a* as a brief reinstatement of an old alliance, which was once more useful to the Romans, as the Emperor may not have trusted the diplomatic alliances of the 'Gallic Empire'. Such an alliance would have been personal, and they could have remained loyal to the last 'Gallic Emperors', Tetricus I and II, as they were not killed by Aurelian, but reinstated in Roman society. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that no 'Gallic' coins are found in Scandinavia, except one from Postumus from a hoard find, whereas six *aurei* from Probus exist, of which five are hoard finds and the last is from Varpelev.[1204] That Probus did make use of Germanic *foederati* is attested by the literary sources, but naturally we cannot deduce from where they originated.[1205]

1204) Werner 1973: 21.
1205) See pp. 125-31, 162, 181-3.

The war booty sacrifices

Vingsted bog names a war booty horizon from the transition from C1b to C2, which probably falls in the reign of Gallienus. However, the material cannot decisively indicate an area of origin, although the general indication is the Scandinavian Peninsula.

In the end of this period around AD 300, a new wave of war booty sacrifices occurs. This time the origin is believed to be the eastern central part of the Scandinavian Peninsula. At this time, the long ramparts of southern Jutland appear to seize to function. Although it is understandable that scholars have pondered over the fact that these incidents occur at the same time as the loss of the *Agri Decumates* and the massive Germanic raids in the Roman Empire, I am afraid that we need much more information before we can chart any connections, direct or indirect. An obvious approach would be to include an investigation of the changes that happen in *Barbaricum* in the last half of the 3rd and first half of the 4th century AD, but that would lie beyond the scope of the present work. I must therefore admit that I have not found any indications so far that could cast light on this issue.[1206]

Perspectives

In the chronological analysis, I have presented a scenario that is based on my interpretation of the various sources. Through my investigation I have only scratched the surface of an issue, which I believe will reveal much more information in the future. A more thorough examination of each of the elements used here, with the objective of charting strings of Roman diplomacy in *Barbaricum* will contribute greatly to the understanding of the nature of contacts to the Roman Empire and the opportunities that this world represented to the Germanic societies. I should underline that this was also based on a matter of choice on behalf of the Germanic tribes, who would seek out those relations, from which they would benefit the most. However, in the first three centuries AD, the western Empire represented a strong attraction. From the 4th century AD, the west began slowly to loose its appeal, which can be seen in the growing contacts in Scandinavia to southeastern Europe. This link had already existed for centuries along with the contacts to the Romans, but that is another story.

In my investigation, I have reached a number of both specific and more

1206) 230-1.

general considerations not appearing in my chronological analysis, which will be presented here.

The role of the Scandinavian material

Auxiliarii and foederati

The grave material from southern Scandinavia in the Roman Iron Age clearly represents a possibility of multiple interpretations. Concerning the idea of Southern Scandinavian *foederati*, I have listed a few, which are each based on one or two artefacts. The ten cases of my investigation are graves that each contains a special link to the Roman world. The context of the individual graves is very important. The links that I have suggested concern the particular objects and cannot be transferred to the general presence of this type of object in other graves. I am convinced that a full study with this objective would contribute greatly to the understanding of diplomacy in the Germanic world. Naturally, the results should be correlated with other aspects in order to create a fuller and more nuanced picture. That way, it may be possible also to link Scandinavia and Continental *Barbaricum* more closely in the archaeological research.

One aspect that could need some more investigation is the nature of the use of Germanic military resources by the Romans. Different descriptions are used indiscriminately. We read about *auxiliarii*, irregular auxiliaries and *foederati* or allies. These categories are definitely not all the same, and they are not reflected in the archaeological material in the same way. An example is the discussions of the Mušov king, which circled around the possibility that he had been the commander of an auxiliary unit, for instance, of *sagittarii*. Someone of his status would be above that of someone commanding 500 men. Another mistaken impression would be that a Germanic warrior returning from many years of service in the Roman army could acquire a position of power in his old tribe based on the wealth of his savings. The *auxiliarius* was the most poorly paid soldier, and the most attractive part of the job must have been the award of the Roman citizenship, which would increase his benefits in the Roman society. A good example of the difference in the grave material is seen in the graves from Hedegård and Hoby. One represents what could perhaps be described as irregular auxiliaries, a group of warriors hired for a specific military purpose. The deceased in grave A 4301 maybe commanded the warriors of his

village. The Hoby grave rather represents a tribal leader, who would have held a position comparable to those establishing diplomatic contacts mentioned by Augustus. An investigation of this question with the objective of defining the different categories will be much appreciated.

Continental one-sidedness

One important discovery that I have made from this study concerning Roman objects in *Barbaricum* is the general ignorance in Continental research of the significance of the Scandinavian material. Although no scholars working with the Roman Iron Age in *Barbaricum* are unaware of the huge amount of material especially from Denmark, it is practically never taken into account. In general, it is the Continental part of Barbarian Europe that is discussed, and often it appears as if Scandinavia is not even considered a part of the Germanic world and therefore, does not need to be included in the considerations. A good example is the work of R. Wolters already mentioned a couple of times. Although he also examines the work of U. Lund Hansen, he never uses it for any conclusions, but simply gives up on the material. However, when the Continent is the issue, there is little doubt in his mind, as is seen from the quote above. A similar attitude is apparent in the work of M. Erdrich, who actually concurs with Lund Hansen's theory of a direct route.[1207] The outcome is that the evidence of the archaeological material is acknowledged, but the consequences are not accepted. Once again, I will refer to the presentation of graves in the Mušov publication, since an examination of elite graves from the Roman Iron Age was not part of my investigation. As I am merely pointing out a general indication, I believe this to be a valid approach. It should be stressed that these maps show that only Denmark is represented by the wealthiest layer of elite graves in all periods of the Roman Iron Age (Figs. 117-9).[1208] It is indeed strange that this has not received the attention of scholars also outside the borders of Denmark. In addition, not only the grave material, but also an exclusive find group, such as the war booty sacrifices, is concentrated in this region. This is even more peculiar, seeing that the greater part of the relevant Scandinavian

1207) Erdrich 2001; 14; 2002: 8.
1208) Peška 2002: 52-6 & fig. 30, 62-8 & figs. 35-6. Although J. Peška does not state his selection criteria, we must assume that the graves selected should in some way relate to the position of the Mušov grave. Otherwise, they would have no place in that publication.

material has in fact been accessible for two decades and in the German language, even. If any notice is taken of the Scandinavian material, it concerns the Roman imports, which would be significant to other studies of a similar nature. The publication of the Himlingøje cemetery and the implication of the conclusions drawn from that material, on the other hand, are rarely referred to even though this site represents the earliest Germanic power centre of the Late Roman Iron Age.

Contacts – a naïve fantasy or a lack of imagination

Almost the opposite view is represented by a few northern scholars. The only serious attempt to elaborate on these results has been made by B. Storgaard in his articles from 2001 and 2003.[1209] He posed the question whether Himlingøje represented a North Germanic Empire formation or a Roman implantation. What should have been a provocative question, in retrospect appeared to be a mistake, as those responding to this idea apparently got so winded up that they never reached Storgaard's own answer in favour of the first.[1210] Both F. Herschend and U. Näsman revealed their profound lack of imagination regarding the reach of diplomatic relations in the Roman Iron Age, as they even degraded themselves by making personal attacks on the author in their total rejection of the hypothesis. Both authors accuse Storgaard of simplifying matters in a naïve belief that the Scandinavian material could reflect a contact to the Romans. Näsman refers to the unverifiable truth that we cannot know, if the people of areas with rich graves were richer than areas without and therefore must not conclude so. That it does not apply to real life is obvious from the archaeological literature, for instance, on the position of the Mušov king, because most scholars prefer to deal with archaeological material and not the lack of same. Näsman also refers to the complete lack of literary sources to these diplomatic contacts. That is a dangerous statement, which is as good as saying: 'we can't read about them, ergo they didn't exist!' Completely disregarding the evidence provided by the material, he concludes that the Roman material must be explained by hostile or peaceful inter-Germanic relations. On the other hand, Näsman demonstrates an impressive insight into the thoughts of the Roman senators and generals concerning Zealand and diplomatic connections to the north, when he states that they couldn't have cared less about the Zealandic

1209) Storgaard 2001; 2003.
1210) Herschend 2003: 314-5; Näsman 2002: 355-6.

elite. Näsman backs his statement by a reference to P. Ørsted that the material cannot be explained as trade in a 'Mediterranean' sense, but this is not in conflict with a diplomatic contact, which is also stated by Ørsted.[1211] In short, Näsman's main objection seems to be that he found the idea absurd. These are examples of Scandinavian scholars, who refuse to see the potential in the Scandinavian material.

Chronology problems

Associated with the view on the Scandinavian material, are several problems related to the chronology. The most alerting of these, is the critical mistake that the prehistorical chronology should be based on Roman objects. That is by no means the case. Some scholars may have been put off by the fact that Roman coins and a highly developed relative chronology of *terra sigillata* have been proven successfully to facilitate correlation with the chronology of prehistorical material. For such a mistake there is no excuse, when we are dealing with Scandinavia, where these two Roman find groups are so very limited, as is the case.

Another problem is dealt with in my discussion of the Skovgårde disc *fibula* enigma. I clarified that Continental scholars have completely ignored the fact that certain objects, in this case a disc *fibula*, appear in an earlier context in Denmark, than they do on the Continent. Apart from the disc *fibula*, I could mention the Roman objects from the Hågerup grave, or different types of objects from the Himlingøje cemetery, both Roman vessels and as important a status marker as the kolben armlet. Such an issue deserves much closer scrutiny. This observation also underlines the necessity of a thorough integration of Continental and Scandinavian results and theories.[1212]

C1b – What happened?

One of the most interesting periods of southern Scandinavia is C1b. It appears that everything happens in the first 50 or 60 years of the 3rd century AD. The power centre of Himlingøje has been established and is consolidating its contacts, both Roman and Germanic. A large part and some of the most important war booty sacrifices are deposited in this period. At Gudme/Lundeborg, one of the most important 4th and 5th century central places is forming as a

1211) Näsman 2002: 355-6; Ørsted 1999: 150-2.
1212) See pp. 118-25.

port of trade and production site. On top of this, the outline of a centre in Vorbasse is forming in the ongoing examination by U. Lund Hansen of the grave material from this site.[1213] What is happening in southern Scandinavia? This very complex question is not, fortunately, one that I intended to answer in this thesis, but it is hard to imagine that all these important elements are not connected in some way or other. I am convinced that even a fragmented suggestion could contribute with answers regarding my objective.

The southern Scandinavian features

Concerning the part that the over-regional features of southern Scandinavia should take, my examination has led to the result that they are only partly usable in my overall investigation. Some parts provide inadequate evidence, while other parts are outside the scope of the investigation.

The war booty sacrifices are still highly enigmatic, but the earlier depositions from the 1st and 2nd centuries AD could fit in a scenario, which also involved the Romans. The 3rd century depositions may seem more remote. This also includes the depositions that are contemporary with the troubles in the AD 260s, to which also the coin and material hoards in the western Roman provinces testify. That means that the chronological coincidence between the two occurrences remains unexplained for now.

More results must be available before these parts of the material can be included. The presence of large amounts of Roman material shows an indirect connection. That may prove to be very important also concerning intra-Germanic relations at this time. So far, I have only scratched the surface of this issue.

The over-regional structures of ramparts and sea barrages also only partly provided further insight. Particularly important is Olgerdiget and its new chronological setting, which can be related to the overall events in the end of the 1st century AD.

A large part of the war booty sacrifices and most of the sea barrages belong to the 4th century AD, which is alas not included in this work.

The position of the majority of these find groups will be much clearer in the future, once the project on the Iron Age in northern Europe is concluded, at which time I am positive that these features will provide a useful addition.

1213) U. Lund Hansen, Copenhagen: Personal communication.

The literary sources

Concerning the literary sources, I believe that I have established that there is more than probable cause to reject the long established picture of the north. I have demonstrated how linguistic considerations have been completely overshadowing important factors such as the narrative itself and both the geographical and archaeological evidence. This particularly concerns the interpretation of Plinius the Elder, whom I believe is describing the Baltic Sea coast and not any parts of the Scandinavian Peninsula, except perhaps regarding the island of *Balcia*. One advantage of my interpretation is that the logic of the narrative is actually preserved.

Final summation

To sum up my results, I can conclude that regarding the formation of a theory that military political relations may have existed between the Roman Empire and southern Scandinavia in the first three centuries AD, this survey has provided sufficient indications to allow further investigations. I stress that we are dealing with indications that I do not construe as concrete evidence, but I do believe that they are numerous enough to support the validity of the theory. I trust that through the results achieved in this thesis, I have also demonstrated that an inter-disciplinary approach can lead to new and different views of a material that has previously been studied primarily by one particular discipline, i.e. views that would not otherwise have appeared. It is clear that my own background has guided my line of questioning, as has the overall objective, which has not been pursued directly from any angle before. My approach has also made it possible for me to discard the self-constructed grid that we use to sort out our study material. On this basis, I have aimed as best possible to produce a scenario, which is affected equally by the material of all involved fields of study.

Appendices

1. Roman Emperors

Augustus	31 BC – AD 14
Tiberius	AD 14 – 37
Caligula	AD 37 – 41
Claudius	AD 41 – 54
Nero	AD 54 – 68
Galba	AD 68 – 69
Otho	AD 69
Vitellius	AD 69
Vespasian	AD 69 – 79
Titus	AD 79 – 81
Domitian	AD 81 – 96
Nerva	AD 96 – 98
Trajan	AD 98 – 117
Hadrian	AD 117 – 138
Antoninus Pius	AD 138 – 161
Marcus Aurelius	AD 161 – 180
Lucius Verus	AD 161 – 169
Commodus	AD 177 – 192
Pertinax	AD 192 – 193
Didius Julianus	AD 193
Septimius Severus	AD 193 – 211
Geta	AD 209 – 211
Caracalla	AD 198 – 217
Macrinus	AD 217 – 218
Elagabalus	AD 218 – 222
Alexander Severus	AD 222 – 235
Maximinus Thrax	AD 235 – 238
Gordian I	AD 238
Gordian II	AD 238
Balbinus & Pupienus	AD 238
Gordian III	AD 238 – 244
Philippus Arabs	AD 244 – 249
Decius	AD 249 – 251
Trebonius Gallus	AD 251 – 253
Aemilianus	AD 253
Valerian	AD 253 – 260
Gallienus	AD 253 – 268
Claudius II Gothicus	AD 268 – 270
Quintillus	AD 270
Aurelian	AD 270 - 275
Tacitus	AD 275 – 276
Probus	AD 276 – 282

'Gallic Emperors'

Postumus	AD 260 – 269
Laelianus (usurper)	AD 269
Marius	AD 269
Victorinus	AD 269 - 271
Tetricus I	AD 271 - 274
Tetricus II	AD 273 – 274

2. Chronology key

B1a	=	AD 1 – 40
B1b	=	AD 40 – 70
B2	=	AD 70 – 150/60
B2/C1a	=	AD 150/60 – 200
C1a	=	AD 150/60 – 220/30
C1b	=	AD 220/30 – 250/60
C2	=	AD 250/60 – 310/20

3. Latin descriptions

A

aedes Sanctuary of the fortification.

ala Cavalry squadron consisting of 16 *turmae*.

antoninianus Silver coin twice the worth of a *denarius*.

auxiliarius Auxiliary soldier.

B

beneficiarius Soldier performing certain duties, e.g. intelligence gathering.

burgus Small late Roman fortlet.

C

castellum A Roman fort.

centuria A company of foot-soldiers consisting of ten *contubernia*.

centurio Centurion. Commanding officer of a *centuria*.

cingulum militare Military belt

Civitas Administrative unit related to the indigenous tribes of the provinces.

cochlear Spoon for eating shellfish.

cohors A battalion of foot-soldiers consisting of six *centuriae*.

contubernium Eight soldiers sharing a tent or room.

D

decurio 1. Commanding officer of a *turma*. 2. A member of the administrative body of a provincial town.

E

equitata A suffix for an auxiliary cohort, which included horsemen.

F

foederatus Ally

G

granarium Grain storage facility.

I

insula 1. An island. 2. A town block.

K

kantharos Drinking cup.

L

legionarius Legionary soldier.

ligula Spoon.

lorica hamata Chain mail shirt.

lorica squamata Scale armour.

M

manipulus Republican unit of two *centuriae*.

miles Foot soldier.

miliaria A cohort suffix indicating double size.

N

numerus A smaller unit consisting of non-Roman troops fighting in their own fashion.

O

opus interrasile A kind of openwork design.

P

phalera A military decoration.

porta praetoria The main gate of a Roman fortification.

praetorium The commander's quarters of a Roman fortification.

primipilaris A *centurio* that has reached the level of centurion of the 1st *centuria* of the 1st cohort of a legion.

principia The headquarters of a Roman fortification.

S

sagittarii Archers.

sigillum A seal.

signum A military standard.

situla A bucket.

T

titulum A wall-and-ditch in front of a camp gate.

trulla A cooking pan.

trulleum A ladle.

tumulus A barrow.

turma Tactical unit of 32 horsemen.

U

umbo A shield boss.

V

valetudinarium The infirmary.

vexillatio A detachment.

vicus 1. A village. 2. The civilian settlement outside a fort.

4. Plinius the Elder *Naturalis Historia* 4.94-7.

94. Exeundum deinde est, ut extere Europae dicantur, transgressisque Ripaeos montes litus oceani septentrionalis in laeva, donec perveniatur Gadis, legendum. insulae complures sine nominibus eo situ traduntur, ex quibus ante Scythiam, quae appellatur Baunonia, unam abesse diei cursu, in quam veris tempore fluctibus electrum eiciatur, Timaeus prodidit. reliqua litora incerta. signata fama septentrionalis oceani. Amalchium eum Hecataeus appellat a Parapaniso amne, qua Scythiam adluit, quod nomen eius gentis lingua significat congelatum.

94. Next, we shall move on to the coast of the northern Ocean which is said to be the outermost part of Europe, after crossing over the Ripaean Mountains, following it to the left until *Gadis* (Cádiz) is reached. Several islands without names are reported at this location. One of these, lying off *Scythia*, is called *Baunonia*, one day's voyage away according to Timaeus, where amber is washed up by the waves when it is the right season. The remaining coasts are vaguely known. Of established report is the northern Ocean. From the River *Parapanisus*, which washes the coast of *Scythia*, Hecataeus calls it the Amalchian Sea, which means 'frozen' in the language of the natives.

95. Philemon Morimarusam a Cimbris vocari, hoc est mortuum mare, inde usque ad promunturium Rusbeas, ultra deinde Cronium. Xenophon Lampsacenus a litore Scytharum tridui navigatione insulam esse immensae magnitudinis Balciam tradit, eandem Pytheas Basiliam nominat. feruntur et Oeonae, in quibus ovis avium et avenis incolae vivant, aliae, in quibus equinis pedibus homines nascuntur, Hippopodes appellati, Phanesiorum aliae, in quibus nuda alioqui corpora praegrandes ipsorum aures tota contegant.

95. According to Philemon it is called *Morimarusa* by the *Cimbri* (that is 'Dead Sea') from that point and all the way to the Rusbean promontory and then on the other side it is called the Cronian Sea. Xenophon of *Lampsacus* reports that the island *Balcia* of immense size lies three days' sail from the coast of the Scythians; Pytheas names this island *Basilia*.
It is said that there are islands called the *Oeonae*, on which inhabitants live in the wilderness of eggs and wild oats, others, on which the humans are born with horses' feet called *Hippopodes*, others of the *Phanesii*, where their own huge ears cover their entire otherwise nude bodies.

96. Incipit deinde clarior aperiri fama ab gente Inguaeonum, quae est prima in Germania. mons Saevo ibi, immensus nec Ripaeis iugis minor, immanem ad Cimbrorum usque promunturium efficit sinum, qui Codanus vocatur, refertus insulis, quarum clarissima est Scatinavia, incopertae magnitudinis, portionem tantum eius, quod notum sit, Hillevionum gente quingentis incolente pagis: quare alterum orbem terrarum eam appellant. nec minor est opinione Aeningia.

96. From there on the account is revealed more clearly from the line of the *Inguaeones*, who are the first in *Germania*. There the *Saevo* Mountain, which is immense and no smaller than the Ripaean mountains, forms an enormous bay, which is called *Codanus*, going all the way to the Cimbrian promontory; a bay full of islands, of which the most famous is *Scatinavia*, of unknown size. As large a part of the island, as is known is inhabited in 500 *pagi* by the line of the *Hilleviones*: therefore the island is called another world. No smaller is *Aeningia* according to belief.

97. Quidam haec habitari ad Vistlam usque fluvium a Sarmatis, Venedis, Sciris, Hirris tradunt, sinum Cylipenum vocari et in ostio eius insulam Latrim, mox alterum sinum Lagnum, conterminum Cimbris. promunturium imbrorum excurrens in maria longe paeninsulam efficit, quae Tastris appellatur. XXIII inde insulae Romanis armis cognitae. Earum nobilissimae Burcana, Fabaria nostris dicta a frugis multitudine sponte provenientis, item Glaesaria a sucino militiae appellata, [a] barbaris Austeravia, praeterque Actania.

97. Once, it has been reported that this part all the way to the River *Vistula* is inhabited by the *Sarmati*, *Venedi*, Sciri and *Hirri*, the bay is called *Cylipenus* and in its mouth is the island *Latris*. Another bay follows, the *Lagnus*, bordering upon the *Cimbri*. The Cimbrian Promontory, projecting far into the sea, makes out a peninsula, which is called *Tastris*. After that 23 islands are known by Roman armies. Of these islands the most famous is *Burcana*, called *Fabaria* by us because of the multitude of fruits growing wild. It is also called *Glaesaria* by the military because of the amber. It is called *Austeravia* by the Barbarians and besides *Actania*.

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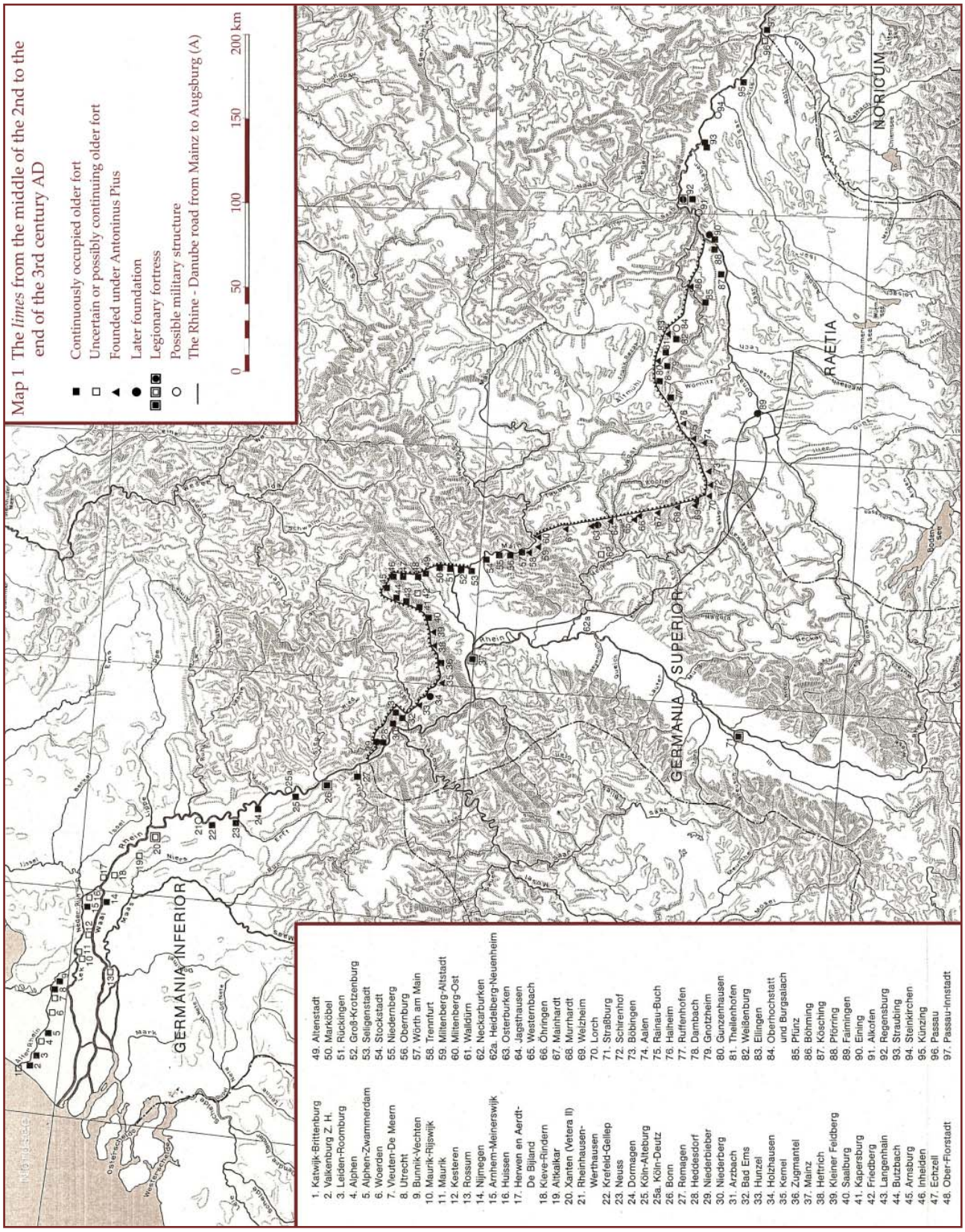
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Maps



Map 1. The limes from the North Sea to the River Inn from the 2nd to the end of the 3rd century AD. After Schönberger 1985: Karte E.



Map 2. The Roman provinces of the western part of the Roman Empire in the first three centuries AD.

Summary

In this dissertation, I have examined the possible military-political relations between the Roman Empire and southern Scandinavia in the first three centuries AD. This is done through a re-evaluation of four major Roman-Germanic events (part 1), which are correlated with indications of Roman-Scandinavian contacts (part 2) and southern Scandinavian over-regional features (part 3).

Part 1
The starting point is an investigation of the north-western *limes*. Focus is on four episodes from the first three centuries AD, which are important for the understanding of Roman-Germanic relations. Each of these episodes was dominated by large scale war between Romans and *Germani*. This had a great impact on the subsequent behaviour of the Romans towards *Barbaricum*. The first episode is the defeat of Varus, and the end of the Augustan *Germania* campaigns. The second episode is the Batavian revolt following in the wake of the civil war in AD 69 – 70. The third episode concerns the reign of Marcus Aurelius, in which an external pressure apparently forced Rome's long term friends, the *Marcomanni*, to attacks on the Roman provinces. The fourth episode is constituted by the troubles in the second half of the 3rd century AD that led to the loss of the *Agri Decumates* and the rise of new Germanic 'federations'.

Part 2
Part two is dealing with what could be construed as reflections of Roman-Scandinavian contacts. It begins with a brief outline of Roman diplomacy and the use of foreign military resources. Hereafter comes an investigation of, what is commonly known as 'Roman imports', which is initiated by a discussion of methods exemplified by the works of U. Lund Hansen and M. Erdrich. A feature that has not been subjected to much examination is the possibility of Roman *auxiliarii* or *foederati*. As a case study, ten graves from Denmark are examined. Among the grave goods of these graves certain objects may be interpreted as indications of a direct contact and diplomatic connections. This section is concluded by an examination of certain Germanic finds from the *limes*, which may relate to southern Scandinavia. The last investigation of part two concerns the literary sources to the North. Here, the traditional interpretations, which are mainly based on linguistic considerations, are challenged.

Part 3
Several features of Scandinavian origin are investigated. The most important group of evidence of unrest in this period is that of the war booty sacrifices. What is most problematic about these finds is that it is not at all clear how they came to be there. Are the depositions a result of battle in the vicinity of the location or has the material been brought from another place? What is of the utmost importance is the chronology and how it fits with the chronology of Western Europe. Again speculations are made whether there might be a connection to the contemporary unrest in Central and Western Europe. Closely connected with the above are defensive measures of regional importance found in southern Scandinavia. This part includes sea barrages, of which several are dated to the Iron Age, and larger wall structures, which are mainly found in southern Jutland. Like the war booty sacrifices, these can contribute to the understanding of regional conflicts.

Part 4
Finally, the results of the investigations are correlated in a chronological analysis, which provides an appropriate overview of indications of military-political relations between the Romans and southern Scandinavia in the first three centuries AD. A number of other considerations and further perspectives are subsequently discussed.

Resumé

I denne afhandling har jeg undersøgt mulige militærpolitiske forbindelser mellem Romerriget og Sydskandinavien igennem de første tre århundrede e. Kr. En revaluering af fire større romersk-germanske hændelser (part 1) korreleres med indikationer på romersk-skandinaviske kontakter (part 2) og sydskandinaviske overregionale fund (part 3).

Part 1
Udgangspunktet er en undersøgelse af den nordvestlige del af limes. Der fokuseres på fire hændelser fra de første tre århundreder e. Kr., som er vigtige for forståelsen af romersk-germanske relationer. Hver af disse hændelser var domineret af større krige mellem romere og germanere. Det havde en stor indflydelse på romernes efterfølgende holdning til Barbaricum. Den første hændelse er Varus' nederlag og afslutningen på Augustus' Germanienkampagner. Den anden hændelse er det bataviske oprør efter borgerkrigen i år 69 og 70 e. Kr. Den tredje hændelse finder sted under Marcus Aurelius' styre. På dette tidspunkt tvinges Markomannerne, som havde været Roms allierede gennem længere perioder, af et ydre pres til at angribe Romerriget. Den fjerde hændelse er problemerne i anden halvdel af det 3. århundrede e. Kr., som ledte til tabet af Agri Decumates og opkomsten af nye germanske 'føderationer'.

Part 2
Part 2 omhandler dét, som kunne opfattes som afspejlinger af romersk-skandinaviske kontakter. Først bringes et kort overblik over det romerske diplomati og udnyttelsen af fremmede militare ressourcer. Herefter kommer en undersøgelse af det, som normalt kaldes 'romers import'. Det indledes af en diskussion af metoder eksemplificeret ved afhandlinger af U. Lund Hansen og M. Erdrich. Et emne, som endnu ikke er synderligt udforsket er muligheden af romerske hjælpetropper og allierede. Som et 'case study' undersøges ti grave fra Danmark. Blandt gravgaverne kan nogle genstande fortolkes som indikationer på direkte kontakt og diplomatiske forbindelser. Endvidere undersøges fund af en række germanske genstande ved limes, som kunne relateres til Sydskandinavien. Den sidste undersøgelse omhandler de litterære kilder til Norden. Her udfordres de traditionelle fortolkninger, som hovedsagelig er baseret på lingvistiske overvejelser.

Part 3
Adskillige hændelser fra Skandinavien er udforsket. Det vigtigste bevis for uro i denne periode er krigsbytteofringerne. Højst problematisk er det, at det ikke er helt klart, hvad baggrunden for dem er. Er det nedlægninger efter kampe nær nedlægningsstedet, eller er genstandene blevet transporteret fra et andet sted. Hvad der er af stor vigtighed er kronologien og, hvordan den passer sammen med resten af Vesteuropa. Tæt forbundet med dette er forskellige forsvarstiltag af overregional betydning i Sydskandinavien. Denne del inkluderer søspærringer, af hvilke flere er dateret til romersk jernalder, og større voldanlæg, som fortrinsvist findes i Sønderjylland.

Part 4
Til sidst er resultaterne af de forskellige undersøgelser korreleret i en kronologisk analyse, som giver et passende overblik over indikationer på militærpolitiske relationer mellem romerne og Sydskandinavien i de første tre århundreder e. Kr. En række andre overvejelser og yderligere perspektiver diskuteres efterfølgende.