DEATH, SOCIETY AND SOCIAL CHANGE: THE IRON AGE OF
SOUTHERN JUTLAND 200 BC - 600 AD

by

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This thesis examines the whole range of archaeological material available for the period, from burials, votive boards and settlements, to reconstruct the long-term social development of that area. The first section deals with the representativeness of the material from the three contexts to establish the biases in retrieval of information and the potential for social inferences. The second section elaborates the chronological, spatial and artefactual relationships among the depositional contexts, to provide a basis for an integrated analysis of contexts. The third section documents the long-term social changes observable in burial practices, votive deposits and settlements. It is concluded from the changing relations within and between contexts that these societies evolved in a series of social and economic cycles of growth and decline in production and consumption. This has implications for the study of pre-capitalist forms of growth and wealth accumulation and also for our understanding of the fall of the western Roman Empire and the Germanic migrations to Britain.
This thesis is based on research carried out in Denmark between May 1981 and March 1982. The bulk of that work was done in the museums of Esbjerg, Haderslev, Schleswig, Ribe, Kolding, Vejle, Varde, Horsens, Ølgod, Grindsted, Sønderborg and the National Museum in Copenhagen, and I would like to thank the curators and staff; special thanks are due to David Liversage, Paul Otto Nielsen, Mogens Ørsnes and Kirsten Linhart of the National Museum, Steen Andersen of Haderslev Museum, Michael Gebühr of Schleswig Museum and Michael Lauenborg of Esbjerg Museum.

The limitations of this research precluded any excavation or other fieldwork on my part and I am especially grateful for the use of recently excavated unpublished material by Eric Jørgensen, Fleming Rieck, Steen Hvass, Holger Laursen, Torben Dehn, Torben Egebert Hansen, Leif Christian Nielsen and Michael Lauenborg.

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As far as I know, this thesis is the first to incorporate the whole spectrum of archaeological sources from a regional perspective and covering a long timespan with the aim of reconstructing past social and economic development. It has attempted to take account of relevant published and unpublished work and, by connecting previously unrelated material, has provided an empirical basis for the development of theories of long-term social change. The necessity of condensing the enormous quantity of archaeological data into a single volume, without losing too much of the complexity of the record, has caused the word limit of 80,000 to be exceeded by the provision of figures, tables and appendices, and I am grateful for an extension of 20,000 words. While the archaeological material has
taken over two centuries and hundreds of researchers to be accumulated, and while I have sought the expertise and advice of many people, the organization and interpretation of that material is my own original work. It is not substantially the same as any work which has been or is being submitted for any other qualification.

Michael Parker Pearson.

22 August 1984
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PART ONE: INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER ONE

A CONTEXTUAL APPROACH TO THE IRON AGE ARCHAEOLOGY OF
SOUTHERN JUTLAND

1.1 THE METHODOLOGY

The initial research for this thesis examined ethnographic evidence for the treatment of the dead from different societies all over the world (Bloch, 1971, 1977; Goody, 1962; Hertz, 1960; Huntington and Metcalf, 1979; Curl, 1980; Gorer, 1965; Mitford, 1963; Morley, 1971; Uchibori, 1978; Bendann, 1930; Ahern, 1973; Newell, 1976; Polson et al., 1962; Habenstein and Lamers, 1963; Humphreys, 1980; Hjarnø, 1979). It was hoped that the range of ethnographies could be used to find common elements in all societies which would allow archaeologists to make inferences from burial evidence about societies which have long since vanished. The vast majority of archaeological studies of burial practices in the last 15 years that attempted reconstructions of social relations followed a similar methodology and produced analyses in which change through time was neglected (Brown, 1971; Binford, 1971; Goldstein, 1980; Hodson, 1977; O'Shea, 1978; Pader, 1982; Rothschild, 1979; Saxe, 1970; Shennan, 1975; van der Velde, 1979; Chapman et al., 1981). Certain studies attempted to deal with change and funerary practices (Braun, 1977; Tainter, 1975, 1977; Childe, 1945) while others attempted to combine the burial evidence with evidence from other contexts (Peebles and Kus, 1977). Certain cautions have been issued about the misunderstanding of the roles and status of the dead as inferred from their means of disposal (Pader, 1982; Chapman...
and Randsborg, 1981; Ucko, 1969); what had to be developed was a way of contextualizing burial practices with other forms of evidence and within a historical continuum. Research on burial customs in modern British society over the last century concluded that a methodology was necessary to first of all comprehend the relationship which the living formed with the dead before attempting to make social inferences about social relations and inequalities from relationships exhibited among the dead. The treatment of the dead could no longer be seen as a microcosm or reflection of society but as a single context within a larger social totality (Parker Pearson, 1982).

The prime methodological concern of this research was to select an area where a variety of archaeological contexts could be recovered in detail and where there was sufficient chronological change to observe long-term developments in which later periods could be examined in terms of earlier ones. In this way comparisons, analogies and interrelationships could be built up within the archaeological analysis rather than via ethnographic explanations devoid of any historical and contextual link. 'Context' is considered here to mean the precise archaeological interrelationships of artefacts and deposits, both in spatial and temporal terms. All archaeological contexts are social ones and different types of sites, notably settlements, cemeteries and votive deposits (Ch. 2-4), were the loci of different sets of activities although they formed part of the same social milieu (Ch. 6). These activities can be broadly designated in terms of domestic and vernacular or ritualized and spiritual and viewed in terms of the production and consumption of cultural symbols and materials. The time dimension is extremely important since it provides a perspective on changes in these activities and the rate and manner in which they changed (Ch. 5). The increasing
specialization within archaeology has inhibited the adoption of grand sweeps of the past and this research is also an attempt to break out of the periodization and specialization (in contexts such as burial studies or settlement studies) which threatens to deprive the study of the archaeological past of its historical trajectories. By combining the strands of evidence from each context and examining their interrelationships as a set of united rather than disparate forms of evidence, a more holistic evaluation can be reached of the original social totality.

The study of long-term social change must rank as the imperative for archaeological research once chronological and contextual problems are dealt with. There is now the potential for the investigation of world cultural development before the last two thousand years, not simply for intellectual curiosity but for the purpose of understanding the long-term processes which have conditioned our existence and of which we may not be fully aware.

1.2 THE REGION AND ITS CULTURAL DEFINITION

Southern Jutland is a small area of 9381 sq. km. (Trap, 1964, 1965, 1965a, 1966, 1967) consisting of six counties (fig. 1.1) in a low post-glacial landscape of moraine clay, glacial sands and outwash plains (fig. 1.2). In the late first millennium BC and early first millennium AD it was situated on the periphery of south European imperialist expansion. The peoples of northern Europe were treated by the Roman imperialists with disdain and regarded as barbarians (though with a certain amount of respect for their military prowess). Their relationship as a periphery to an expanding core area can be seen in pan-European terms (Ekholm, 1980), in a manner not dissimilar to contemporary divisions between First and Third Worlds. To encompass the scale of changes over this timespan for the whole
of Europe would require a scholarship of breadth. Not only does that goal lie well beyond the scope of this research but the emphasis here is on the in-depth analysis of the small scale region in order to observe the archaeological record in close detail.

The definition of the geographical limits of the research area was determined by several factors. The small size of the region was dictated by the large quantities and detailed recording of Iron Age material in Denmark and southern Scandinavia. Southern Jutland had the best sequence of excavated settlement remains in Denmark, as well as many of the great weaponry votive offerings in addition to graves and cemeteries. The national sites and monuments archive in the National Museum has a detailed coverage of the area (Appendix 1) from upstanding monuments (mounds, field systems, earthworks), surface scatters, chance discoveries and excavations. From a study of all the relevant museum collections this archive was expanded for the region (Appendix 1).

The limits of the research area were based on modern administrative divisions, but one of the research aims was to examine the prehistory of a socially and culturally self-defined group. The work which has been carried out on the geographical zoning of material culture styles in the Iron Age of Jutland (Jytte Ringtved, pers. comm.; Højlund-Petersen, 1979; Neumann, 1982; Becker, 1961; Lysdahl, 1970; Hedeager and Kristiansen, 1981; Brøndsted, 1960, 164-8, 198-9, 144-54, 183-90) and within northern Europe (Todd, 1975; Genrich, 1954, 1970; Bantelmann, 1978) indicates that southern Jutland was a stylistically homogenous area in terms of ceramics and burial practices, which differentiated it from the regions to the north and south (figs. 1.3, 1.4, 1.5).

Southern Jutland was part of a larger area which has often been
regarded as a corner-stone in the evolution of English and European society since Montesquieu wrote that the origins of individual property and the political system in England lay in the German forests (Macfarlane, 1978, 170). His source was Tacitus' *Germania* and our conception of Germanic society still rests precariously on this and other documentary sources (Engels, 1970, 545-57; Thompson, 1965; Anderson, 1974, 107-11; Macfarlane, 1978, 206). The tyranny of the documentary record can now be overturned through a full appreciation of the interpretive potential of the archaeological record.

These Germanic peoples have been subject to various social typologies and characterizations, in terms of the nature of individuality and property ownership (Macfarlane, 1978, 209), as a society evolving from the middle stage of barbarism to the upper stage (Engels, 1970, 554), as a primitive-communal mode of production changing into a feudal one (Anderson, 1974, 154) and as a chiefdom society evolving into an early state (J. Jensen, 1982; Randsborg, 1980). A major problem with these approaches is the establishment of the notion of fixed stages or characteristics within a historical sequence. These tend to deny the nature of social change since concepts such as 'individualism' or 'chiefdoms' are static determinations thrust onto the dynamic stream of social change and reproduction. From the point of view of the archaeologist it is pointless to attempt absolute definitions and apply them to different periods; for example, to state that land was individually owned in 100 AD is to place too much faith in the documents, and to ignore the whole process of land use and agricultural organization as it continuously changed through time. Meaning and interpretation must be attributed in relation to the historical context of what came before and after. This research tries to concentrate on the notion of permanent change in order to examine some of the long-term processes of
social evolution, without reducing the interpretation to a set of static stages or characteristics.

1.3 THE REPRESENTATIVITY OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS: GUIDES FOR A RESEARCH STRATEGY

Recent concern with the representativity of archaeological material has led to the adoption of two methodologies to infer prehistoric distributions from present day retrieval. The first is the systematic sampling of archaeological material often incorporating probability theory (Mueller, 1975; Cherry et al., 1978). The second may be called source critical analysis (Kristiansen, 1974; Hedeager, in press; Geisslinger, 1967) and deals with archaeological material which has been uncovered in the course of non-systematic activity. An understanding of the historical conditions of archaeological discovery allows an interpretation of the post-depositional processes affecting information retrieval, and for assessing the biases which may result from differential agricultural exploitation, industrial development, archaeological awareness and other factors.

These two methods of enquiry start from virtually opposite positions, one with material collected and the other with strategies for future collection, and yet ideally both should be used together in most circumstances. In archaeologically virgin territory source critical analysis has minimal value but in the European countries with a long history of archaeology it is particularly relevant. Systematic regional sampling began in Denmark in 1873 with a national survey of upstanding ancient monuments. However, there have been few systematic surveys of prehistoric settlement. Regional surveys involving fieldwalking have been carried out around Sarup on Funen and in southern Jutland smaller scale work has been carried out on settlement patterns at Hodde and Vorbasse. Systematic fieldwalking (followed by
selective excavation) has preceded pipeline and motorway construction in southern Jutland in the last two decades, but there is little more information from this source. Consequently source critical analysis is the major tool for assessing archaeological representativity in this area.

The determination of research strategies at the initial stage of critical assessment of existing material has already been noted (Kristiansen, 1974). The selection of different kinds of evidence as representative is related to the kinds of questions asked and must be explicitly recognized as such. The relation between material culture and its social context is a major facet of this question of representativity and is dealt with elsewhere (see Hodder, 1982). The problem that is dealt with here is the relationship between recovered archaeological remains and the original totality of material actions in the prehistoric landscape. This division may be schematized:

<table>
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<th>REPRESENTATIVITY</th>
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<tr>
<td>Archaeological remains</td>
<td>Total material action</td>
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It should be noted that the two 'bridges' of representativity are not wholly separate since the questions asked about recoverable human actions will affect and be affected by theories which relate actions to their social context. A consideration of that which is deemed socially relevant information will influence the selection of material remains from which actions may be reconstructed. A simple example may illustrate this point; a study investigating the relation between the living and the dead will select different actions, relationships and associations from a study of social ranking and hierarchy even though the basic data might include burial remains. The representativity of cemetery locations, for example, might be important for one study while for the other it is the degree of representativity of grave goods.
This study utilizes a wide range of archaeological contexts and the representativity of finds can be divided into a number of specific questions which form components of the general aims of this research:

1. Physical preservation. What are the factors such as soil type which may influence the preservation of archaeological sites and materials? How do they vary over a differentiated landscape? Are sites of certain periods less likely to survive than sites of other dates due to cultural differences (different depths of burial, limited use of pottery)?

2. Spatial and geographical distribution. Does the geographical extent and density of recorded sites bear a skewed or balanced relation to original prehistoric distributions of populations and activities? Are there areas where later intense activity has destroyed all vestiges of prehistoric activity without record? Are there any areas which have not been investigated extensively and whose archaeological potential remains unknown? A combination of questions 1 and 2 solves the problem of geographical representativity of settlement for different periods; if burial rituals and pottery production and discard do not appear to change significantly then the geographical distribution of burials and settlements of different periods should inform on changing patterns of prehistoric land use and colonization.

3. Site variability. What are the different forms of site which leave archaeological traces? Is there evidence of sites and activities which have left little or no direct trace?

The three types of recognizable site manifestations (settlements, cemeteries, votive deposits) have left distinctive archaeological residues. The votive deposits are the least satisfactorily researched (with the exception
of the great weapon deposits) and there is some doubt as to their homo-
genity as a group and, in certain cases, their ritual ascription. Settlements consisted of farmhouses in varying degrees of nucleation and are recognizable from field scatters and aerial photography; large-scale excavation has been particularly effective in recovering ground plans. Burials other than inurned cremations can be hard to locate due to bone decay and those with few or no grave goods are hard to locate and date.

4. Site size. Samples of varying completeness have been taken from different types of sites. The burial record is well documented; twenty-two excavated cemeteries have produced over 15 graves each (table 1.1). Cemeteries at Hjemsted (3), Stollig, Christiansdal and Vorbasse (2) have been completely excavated and many others have been substantially excavated (Tirslund, Kørensdal, Enderupskov, Hørlløk, Drengsted, Naesbjerg, Stenderup, Galsted, Farre and Sønder Vilstrup). While too few cemeteries have been delimited in excavation, the numbers of graves from each cemetery excavation should give some indication of the range in cemetery size. There are none of any major size like the Early - Late Roman cemetery at Møllegårdsmarken on Funen (approx. 2500 graves) or the large urnfields of northern Germany (though nineteenth century observations record 'hundreds' of urns from sites at Kolding and Bjerrelide on the east coast). There are over 200 farmsteads of the period now excavated in southern Jutland from over 20 sites, with some of the villages excavated in their entirety (Hodde, Vorbasse, Drengsted). Votive deposits have not received such detailed excavation and recording; the only large-scale excavations in southern Jutland are the nineteenth century recovery of the Nydam deposit and the complete excavation of two piles of weaponry from Ejsbøl in the 1950s and 1960s.
5. Assessment of an original human population. This problem is one of the most difficult to resolve and has frequently taxed archaeologists. Even with a carefully framed sampling strategy there are problems of assessing post-depositional loss. However, it is possible to gain some knowledge of relative population trends. For example, the decline in Late Roman Iron Age (LRIA) remains in Jutland is matched by an increase in LRIA material on neighbouring Funen (since no regional factors in burial rite or retrieval processes can be found to account for the difference; see below).

6. Relationship of cemeteries and votive deposits to settlement and landscape. This aspect will be dealt with in Chapter 6 but can be touched on here. Although no intensive regional fieldwalking survey has been carried out to reconstruct prehistoric cultural landscapes, a large number of cemeteries and graves have been found (fig. 1.6), along with settlements (fig. 1.7) and other sites (fig. 1.8). Findspots have been taken from a computerized archive mapped at 1:100,000 and also at 1:20,000 and have been numbered according to parish and divided into Stone, Bronze and Iron Ages. These findspots have been grouped into inferred contexts (mound, grave, settlement, stray find, earthwork), some of which are open to doubt and reallocation. While the location of each symbol denotes the precise location of each site, it does not necessarily indicate the position of a complete complex such as a whole cemetery and settlement. In certain areas a dense distribution of the same symbols of one period may represent a single site which has been detected at certain points across its area. Good examples of this can be found on the small peninsulas of land amongst the marshes of south-western Jutland such as Herredsbjerg where the natural topography has severely restricted the location of settlements to the small areas of dry ground. There are over thirty cases of cemeteries found
very close (within 500 m. generally) to contemporary settlements and it may be assumed that many settlements possessed their own cemetery (the situation is slightly more complex since new settlements might bury their dead in the cemetery of an old village until they became established communities, cf. Bloch, 1971 - see Chapter 6 for a more thorough appraisal of the dynamics of settlement and cemetery location).

1.4 IDEOLOGICAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS FOR ARCHAEOLOGICAL ACTIVITY

There are two interrelated developments which have taken place in Denmark since the eighteenth century and must be understood to reconstruct the post-depositional changes which have led to the accumulation of an archaeological record. One is the development of archaeology as a discipline and its involvement in politics, popular culture and establishment science. The second is the economic development of the Danish state from a feudal/mercantilist society into a European capitalist nation, with accompanying changes in agricultural expansion and industrial and urban growth.

1.4.1 Ideological change and the development of archaeology

Denmark is perhaps unique in Western Europe for the density and richness of archaeological remains, not only for the Early Iron Age but for many other periods in its past. This can be explained partly by cultural activities in the past which have left archaeologically recoverable residues (for example the large number of Pre-Roman Iron Age (PRIA) burials in Jutland well outnumber equivalent burials in Britain where a rite leaving no trace has been inferred to account for the discrepancy; R. Thomas, pers. comm.). Without the national and popular involvement in archaeology from the beginning of the nineteenth century there would be no impressive
collection of archaeological knowledge, however.

Archaeology has been a potent force in the forging of national identity for over two centuries and an awareness of the prehistoric past and the cultural value of archaeological remains has grown to an extent where many sites may be recognized by non-archaeologists. The development of ideologies favourable for the recognition and preservation of archaeological material has been analysed elsewhere (Klindt-Jensen, 1975; Kristiansen, 1981) and can be summarized here. Antiquarian interest started four hundred years ago and from the eighteenth century archaeology had a wide following among Scandinavian scholars, as treasure trove laws were formulated in response to the finding of exceptional objects such as the two large gold horns from Gallehus. In 1807 a commission was set up to preserve monuments, build a national museum and inform the peasantry about the value of archaeological finds (Klindt-Jensen, 1975, 48-9). When the National Museum was founded in Copenhagen nationalist feelings were being channelled into the production of a cultural history which could glorify the past for contemporary political goals. By the 1840s archaeology had attracted a following among the professional classes, particularly administrators, clergy, academics, army officers, landed nobility and the provincial bourgeoisie (Kristiansen, 1981, 23-4).

While conceptions of the human past were being transformed all over Europe with the introduction of evolutionary theory, Danish archaeologists were laying out the empirical basis for human prehistoric development. The work of men such as Thomsen and Worsaae became the model for archaeological research in many other European countries as well as achieving enormous popularity within Denmark. Many private and provincial museums were established between 1850 and 1900 (in southern Jutland Ribe in 1855, Haderslev in 1887, Åbenrå in 1887 and Kolding in 1890) and it was
especially from 1840 onwards that Iron Age finds were registered and acquired by the National Museum. Royal interest in archaeology was a further stimulus to the popularity of the discipline. The discoveries of many Germanic gold and silver hoards and Engelhardt's excavations of the large and impressive weapon deposits such as Nydam and Thorsbjerg were also made in the latter half of the nineteenth century. In particular the finds from Nydam and Thorsbjerg were involved in the political manoeuvrings between Denmark and Germany over the territory of Schleswig-Holstein with both nations claiming possession of the finds until the German occupation of Southern Jutland (Åbenrå, Sønderborg, Tønder and Haderslev) in 1864. From then on until 1920 finds from Southern Jutland were sent to the Keiler Samlung in Schleswig or kept in Haderslev Museum.

From the 1850s onwards mounds were easy targets for treasure hunters supplying collectors. In 1873 an annual government grant was allocated for the protection and inspection of monuments and the first systematic survey of monuments was carried out by delegating different areas to archaeologists accompanied by draughtsmen (Klindt-Jensen, 1975, 73-4). National Museum staff began to make regular visits to Jutland for fieldwork in the 1880s. The Single Grave project (excavation of Late Neolithic burial mounds) was implemented by the National Museum in Jutland at the turn of the century, during the course of which many secondary Roman Iron Age graves were discovered and excavated to a high standard of recording.

The present network of provincial museums was completed between 1900 and 1940 (Horsens, Sønderborg, Glud, Varde, Grindsted, Tønder, Brande, Fredericia and Esbjerg) with the exception of Ølgod in 1950. There was also a major development in popular and academic literature devoted to the cultural historical past. Amateurs were encouraged to discover new sites and professionals such as Lund, Broholm, Neergard, Thomsen and Hatt
investigated newly discovered sites often by relatively large-scale excavation and with great competence. In 1937 prehistoric mounds were scheduled for preservation though many had been destroyed in the nineteenth century and some were still being demolished. From 1960 popular interest flourished (evidenced by the success of the popular journal Skalk and the numbers of museum visitors; Kristiansen, 1981, 35). Professional posts expanded with changes in government administration and archaeology's role in the cultural development of modern Danish society has been recently recognized in legislation.

1.4.2 Agricultural change and its implications for archaeology

Denmark today has the highest percentage of land under the plough (Starcke, 1967) with 68% of its land used for agriculture and 90% of that arable land (OECD, 1974). Very little of the land is virginal since agricultural activity has been so intense and wide-ranging since the early nineteenth century. The agricultural revolution came later to Denmark than many other European nations and there was little change in the countryside from the mid fifteenth to the end of the eighteenth century. Thus there was a limited period of time when archaeological remains were likely to be found in abundance and this coincided with the rise of archaeology as a popular interest and as a methodical science. Consequently there has been a high standard of retrieval and discovery contexts (how, when, where and by whom the find was made) are very well recorded.

At the end of the eighteenth century the open field system was abandoned for an enclosed system in which common land was incorporated within individual farms (Kristiansen, in press). New areas were brought under cultivation predominantly on the moraine clays of the east coast zone. The swing plough (with a deeper furrow) was introduced at this time but was
not in widespread use until the 1840s; between 1777 and 1797 236 km. of drainage ditches were dug in Jutland; marling (digging of clay with a high lime content, found on the east Jutland coastal margin) came into general use to fertilize the eastern clay soils and to prevent soils, especially in Ribe county on the edges of the heath, from becoming exhausted (Kristiansen, in press).

The heathland areas of southern Jutland, particularly in Ribe and Vejle counties, had been deforested and podsolized after the prehistoric over-exploitation of the once lightly wooded glacial sands which form the plateau of central Jutland (see figs. 1.3 and 1.4). By 1800 there were very few trees and the heather-covered sandy soil with raised bogs was too infertile to support farming without fertilizers. On the coastal zones in the first half of the nineteenth century new land was being cultivated (1837-61 in south-west Jutland 95712 ha. and in south-east Jutland 64450 ha.; Kristiansen, in press), with more common land ploughed up, marshes drained and water meadows intensively cultivated. There was very little industrial development and while Denmark was now part of a wider cash economy, it was almost entirely agricultural produce which was supplied to the industrial centres of Europe.

While cultivation of new land beyond the long-established arable on the eastern coastal moraine clays was virtually complete by 1850, the heaths were hardly encroached upon except in small sporadic ventures. In 1866 the Danish Heath Society was formed to encourage the cultivation of the Jutland heathlands, giving a strong impetus to this work. Between 1821 and 1881 the heath was reduced by 190,000 ha. and from 1880 to 1900 by 160,000 ha. (Kristiansen, 1974, 136); in 1871 agricultural land comprised 67% of the total area of Denmark and had expanded to 74% by 1919, an increase due almost exclusively to cultivation of the Jutland heath
which had taken place by 1888 (Jensen, 1937, 232). Between 1850 and 1900 there was an expansion of arable land by 25% (Kristiansen, 1974, 135-6). The introduction of root crops by the 1890s also expanded the amount of land under cultivation.

In addition to the opening up of new areas for arable farming, new agricultural techniques appeared in the second half of the nineteenth century which would make finds of burial sites more common. Trenching for field drains was a regular feature of farm activities, in the main farms in the 1850s and in the peasant farms after the 1860s, though not so much on the sandy soils of western Jutland (Jensen, 1937, 160). Also in this period large quantities of marl were dug; by 1900 over 50% of the cropland had been limed, mostly with marl (Jensen, 1937, 161). Phosphate fertilizers were used from the 1860s but it was only by the 1890s that they were in general use (Jensen, 1937, 164). New technology which could plough and harrow deeper was also introduced at this time.

In the first half of the twentieth century there were more changes in agricultural organization which were to have archaeological implications. The rate of heath reclamation fell slightly between 1896 and 1920 (Kristiansen, in press) but there were major changes in mechanization. Until 1900 horses were almost the sole power for ploughing but by the 1930s tractors were common on the large and middle-sized farms (Jensen, 1937, 172) and universal by the 1950s. Between 1875 and 1925 the transition from hand labour to mechanization was almost complete (Jensen, 1937, 168-9) and potentially deleterious for the recognition of archaeological finds. In the inter-war depression of the 1920s and 30s public work schemes for the unemployed operated on largely unmechanized labour.

There were still regional differences in southern Jutland in the intensity of agricultural exploitation. In the early 1920s the east
coast clay zone had 40-55% of its land under cereal cultivation (65% arable), on the central and western heaths 35-39% (50-60% arable) and in the recently reinstated Danish territory of South Jutland only 35%.

Though much of the southern area is covered by fertile clays, a large percentage of the land was pasture since German legislation on agricultural protection had put a premium on beef production. Also the western coastal marshes were difficult to drain and the heavy clay was more favourable for cattle grazing.

Industry came late to Denmark in comparison with other states in western Europe and began on a small scale around 1870. Urbanization was a feature of the islands alone until at least the early twentieth century and by the 1950s was largely restricted in southern Jutland to the twelve market towns and to twelve of the railway towns. While the east coast towns of Horsens, Kolding, Vejle, Haderslev, Åbenrå and Sønderborg have grown from 1950 until the present day, the greatest urban and industrial development has taken place in the west coast port of Esbjerg (see fig. 1.9). The overall geographical expansion of industry and towns is quite small, however, and not much over 5% of the land is covered by urban and industrial development. In the period from 1950 until the present day there have been few major agricultural changes. The soil is ploughed deeper but no new areas have been brought under cultivation (Kristiansen, in press). By 1950 the differences which had existed in land improvement between the agricultural zones of east and west had almost vanished.

1.4.3 Museum coverage

There are some general developments in museum activities in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries which can be seen in figure 2.3. Before the 1920s nearly all the sites excavated by archaeologists were
mounds and single burials although a few cemeteries were excavated but not completely (Tudvad, Naesbjerg). The standards of both excavation and recording were high (particularly amongst National Museum employees). Although archaeologists played little part in the detection of sites, they would often conduct small excavations where a single burial had been found. As a result a large number of well-recorded partial or complete cemetery excavations are available for analysis, primarily in the south and west areas (see tables 1.2 and 1.3).

The historical development of regional coverage by Haderslev Museum, Schleswig Museum and the National Museum is mentioned in Chapter 2, with the former taking over the role of the others in South Jutland. A network of provincial museums with their own excavation units now provides a relatively uniform coverage. These provincial museums (particularly Ribe, Esbjerg and Haderslev) are still uncovering sites in advance of urban and industrial development. There are large collections of Iron Age materials at Sønderborg, Horsens, Kolding and Ribe museums though most of the finds were made before 1925. Small collections in Varde, Ølgod, Grindsted and Vejle museums are not large enough to make any impact on the geographical and temporal distributions of findspots. On the other hand, Esbjerg Museum has a large collection of excavation material from research in the Esbjerg area in the last twenty years. This has altered significantly the distribution of known sites on the west coast.

1.4.4 Urban and industrial growth and archaeological representativity

The essentially agricultural base of southern Jutland's economy has until recently supported a low level of urbanization with market and railway towns. Since the Second World War there have been many urban changes. The port of Esbjerg has doubled in size (fig. 1.9) and its suburban housing
estates have engulfed neighbouring villages. The east coast market towns of Horsens, Vejle, Kolding, Haderslev, Åbenrå and Sønderborg have also grown out from their old centres though at a more restricted rate. Curiously the discovery of Iron Age finds in each town has been remarkably uneven. The town of Kolding has produced sixteen Iron Age burial sites, mainly in the period before 1950, while there are only three from Haderslev. This discrepancy is all the more outstanding considering Haderslev Museum's active involvement with the townspeople and local excavation.

The number of sites discovered in and around the west coast town of Esbjerg is far greater (fig. 1.9). While there is no doubt that the sandy soil aids the recognition of prehistoric features in contrast to the eastern clays, this difference is not great enough to explain the discrepancy in finds (witness the dense distribution of sites found all over the eastern area). The majority of Esbjerg sites (especially settlements) have been found since the 1950s. The process of discovery has not followed the spatial encroachment of the growing town to the east and north, but appears to have followed the redevelopment of areas within the old town as much as new development in the suburbs. The coverage is so detailed that a number of conclusions are possible about prehistoric settlement in the area covered by the town and about the representativity of grave forms of different periods (see below).

Industrial development in southern Jutland has been relatively limited. Major roads and railways were built in the earlier nineteenth century (Askgaard, 1970, 39-47) and by the 1920s the only large industries were brewing and clay extraction (Askgaard, 1970, 65). The clay works were concentrated on the stone-free clays of the east coast and grew in number from the late nineteenth century, though few finds were made in the course of extraction. Since the 1920s there has been a gradual growth in industry
but with the exception of the motorways and the gas pipelines, most archaeological finds have been made in the course of agricultural or urban development.
Figure 1.1 The Amts (counties) of southern Jutland.
Figure 1.2 Geomorphology of southern Jutland.
Figure 1.3 Culture groups in ERIA Denmark (Todd 1975, fig.12)
Abb. 3 Siedlungszeiten und Kulturgruppen der älteren Kaiserzeit


Figure 1.4 ERIA culture groups in Denmark and northern Europe (Genrich 1970).
Keramische Formenkreise und Siedlungsräume der älteren römischen Kaiserzeit.

Figure 1.5 ERIA culture groups in Schleswig-Holstein (Haentelmann 1978).
Figure 1.6 Burial sites 200BC - 600 AD.

Small crosses 1-9 graves
Large crosses over 10 graves
Circles graves in mounds
Figure 1.7 Settlement sites 200 BC - 600 AD.
Figure 1.8 Bog deposits and stray finds 200 BC - 600 AD

◊ Weapon deposits  • Bog pottery  ▼ Wet context finds  ▼ Dry context finds
Figure 1.9 Urban growth in Esbjerg and archaeological recovery.
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Table 1.1 Cemetery sizes (over 15 graves) and continuity of use.
Table 1.2 Regional variations in grave excavations.
Table 1.3 Agro-geographical regional variations in grave excavations.
For the past two centuries there has been a category of Iron Age finds from southern Jutland consistently recognized as the material remains of rituals associated with the burial of the dead. While the composition and integrity of this group are well defined, a careful examination may serve to take account of some of our preconceptions about the nature of funerary activities. Another line of enquiry is the extent to which human interment constituted a discrete and ritualized activity which was set apart from the profane aspects of everyday life. Ethnographic observations of mortuary rites among peoples throughout the world in the last two centuries have recorded that certain cultural groups incorporate the dead in the world of the living, often placing the remains in habitation areas (see some of the cases in Huntingdon and Metcalf, 1979) or celebrating death in contexts removed in space and time from the graveyard (see Uchibori, 1978 on mortuary rituals amongst the Iban of Borneo). Sometimes these aspects of funerary ritual may be detected archaeologically and have been inferred for certain periods in later European prehistory (e.g. Mercer, 1980, 63-5; Bradley, 1982).

2.1 THE PRESERVATION AND RECOGNITION OF MORTUARY PRACTICES

The physical preservation of funerary remains from the Iron Age of southern Jutland is excellent for certain aspects and extremely weak for
others. The sandy soils generally preserve wooden artefacts such as coffins in the form of discolourations. Iron, silver and bronze items tend to survive but are often heavily corroded; a useful side-effect is the preservation of textile fragments which have survived as imprints on the corroded metal (Bender Jørgensen, 1979). Only one Iron Age burial in southern Jutland is as well preserved as some of the Bronze Age mound burials, that from Lonne Hede where all the organic artefacts have been preserved (Nordquist and Ørsnes, 1971). The immaculately preserved bog bodies do not appear to have been the recipients of the usual funerary rites (Glob, 1977) and should be viewed as a special group. However, there are few from southern Jutland and none of them have been dated to the period 200BC-AD600.

The greatest drawback is the poor preservation of unburnt human skeletal remains (including the animal bones and skeletons often placed with the dead) in the acidic sandy soil. Sometimes the teeth are preserved and occasionally long bones may be found. The orientation and approximate laying out of the corpse can often be deduced from soil discolourations. In some cases there is no trace of any human remains though the presence of a coffin, dress items and grave goods is used to infer the original presence of a corpse as well as its orientation. Since anatomical and pathological examinations are impossible, comparisons between age/gender and grave goods have to be taken from the neighbouring islands of Funen and Zeeland. Human cremated remains have survived especially well in comparison because the heavily calcined bone does not dissolve easily. The age of individuals at death has been determined for 284 Early Roman Iron Age (ERIA) cremations (from a Haderslev dentist's examination of the teeth). Bones from two small cremation cemeteries at Karensdal and Vorbasse have been examined to
determine the gender of the deceased (Dehn, unpub.; Hvass, pers. comm.).

A body of comparative anatomical observations exists from the Roman Iron Age urnfields of Sleswig and Holstein (ch. 7.1).

The poor preservation of bones has rendered it impossible to know whether human remains were a regular feature in settlements, as human skeletal remains in rubbish pits indicate for other areas of Iron Age Europe. The graves are spatially contained units and constitute closed finds in that their construction and sealing took place over a very short timespan. They are easily recognized by the complete pots and other grave goods (fibulae, weapons, imports) which are not often found on settlements. There are some graves which pose problems in their recognition. A mound at Kastrup contained a 'cremation' of just a human fingertip and the excavator interpreted the accompanying grave goods as non-funerary offerings (Neumann, 1957). Reappraisal of this find emphasises its funerary nature (Jakobsen, 1975) and the assemblage may be best interpreted as a cenotaph. Recent excavations on the course of a gas pipeline uncovered an ERIA settlement at Adelvej (Haderslev Museum, 1980). Amongst the structures were four rectangular pits which were interpreted as possible inhumations. Only one had traces of a possible coffin and the only contents were smashed sherds from incomplete pots in three of the pits. A rectangular pit at Terkelshøj produced a silver fibula but careful examination of the feature revealed no other funerary indicators such as coffin remains, a body stain or an even bottom.

Features defining mortuary activities include post structures (e.g. Farre, Enderupskov) and mounds, sometimes constructed with occupation debris (e.g. Kastrup), though no pyre remains have been found. Graves were grouped in cemeteries sometimes away from the settlements, sometimes within them and only a few may have been singled out with a solitary
location. No mortuary-associated features such as temples or religious buildings have been identified though there are links between burial ritual and activities concerning the deposition of pottery, weaponry and other items in bogs or lakes (which will be dealt with below). Likewise, the provisioning of tableware for eating and drinking with the dead implies certain relationships between food rituals and treatment of the dead.

The recognizable forms of burial include inhumation, brandplet (shallow pit containing the burnt remains of the pyre, cremated bone, sherds and grave goods), urnbrandplet (the same as brandplet but also containing an urn) and urn burial (frequently with the burnt bones carefully sorted from pyre material and placed in the urn with burnt and unburnt grave goods). Burials without grave goods are not only unlikely to be recovered but are impossible to date without stratigraphic relationships. It is not known whether a substantial number of Iron Age burials were without grave goods, though in virtually every cemetery there are a few cremations or inhumations with no associated grave goods. In the well excavated ERIA cemeteries these graves are rare though the absence of Early Germanic Iron Age (EGIA) graves in general may be partly due to this factor, supported by the many artefact-poor graves of the late Roman–Early Germanic cemetery at Hjemsted.

2.2 PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON REPRESENTATIVITY

The high quality of museum accession information (date, name and occupation of finder, how the find was made, how deep, whether there were other archaeological features) permits a detailed comparison with the social and economic conditions favouring archaeological development in the last two centuries, as outlined above. Burials of the Roman Iron Age (c. 0 BC/AD–c. 400 AD) have been studied in this way for the whole of Denmark (sub-divided
into Zeeland and islands, Funen and Jutland) in a detailed work by Hedeager (in press). Many of her conclusions are relevant here and will be summarized, but it is also possible to explore some of the smaller-scale processes of discovery in southern Jutland.

Hedeager sets out to examine the representativity of Roman Iron Age grave finds in two ways. The first is the relationship between the geographical distribution of findspots and the original prehistoric distributions (with the potential biases of differential museum coverage and economic activity), and the second is the relationship between the number of finds existing today, the original number of graves and the number of finds yet to be discovered. She considers the temporal and geographical distributions of grave finds (which she records by site and not individual grave) from the collections of the National Museum and the major provincial museums (for southern Jutland this is Haderslev Museum only), dividing the graves by circumstances of discovery (gravel digging, mound demolition) and excavation method (by laymen or professional archaeologists).

Hedeager's results are presented as time series graphs and those relevant here are the comparisons of flat burial to mound burial discoveries in Jutland (fig. 2.1a, b, c), professionally excavated to non-professionally excavated graves in Jutland (table 2.1d, e) and differential collection of finds from South Jutland by Haderslev Museum and the National Museum (table 2.1f, g, h). She notes that the majority of Jutland grave sites, whether flat or mound burials, were discovered between 1895 and 1934, the period of greatest agricultural intensification. Mound finds increased from 1845 as new areas were cleared and mound soil and stones were used for fertilizer and construction. While many of the north Jutland graves came from mounds (35%), the lowest number of mound graves was found in South Jutland (17%). Professional excavations of cemeteries began at the
end of the last century under National Museum supervision. Though Haderslev Museum was founded in 1887 it did not undertake any significant excavations until the late 1920s and 30s (when it acquired a curator and a car) but soon took over the acquisition of finds from the area. From 1965 the number of finds made by or reported to the National Museum and Haderslev Museum declined dramatically despite greater activity by the museums and no significant decline in economic activities. This reduction is part of a national pattern and Hedeager suggests three possible reasons for this:

1. That remaining graves are too deep to be found.
2. That graves are destroyed without recognition due to mechanization.
3. That the number of graves is nearly exhausted.

She selects the third, that few are left, arguing that the decline in the detection of stone-lined cist graves in Vendsyssel (North Jutland) must reflect a real decline in their numbers since they are not easily missed during ploughing. However, since the report was written two very large cemetery complexes have been found in Jutland, one of over 300 Roman and Early Germanic Iron Age graves at Sejlflod (Nielsen, 1982) and the other of over 150 graves of the same date at Hjemsted Banke in southern Jutland.

2.3 BURIALS AND THEIR CIRCUMSTANCES OF DISCOVERY

Virtually all the burial finds in the study area were recorded after 1845. It is difficult to assess the extent of destruction before this date but we may assume that most of it was confined to the period 1785-1845. Unlike hoards of metal, cremation burials are easily destroyed without recognition. Hedeager has pointed out that their shallow depth (not often more than 50 cm.) and frequent positioning in the tops of burial mounds have made them particularly vulnerable. She also notes
Thorlacius' account of 1809 which indicates that large numbers of inurned cremations were being destroyed at that time (in press). It can be added that there are several early entries in the parish site records which refer to the recognition of urn cemeteries and the subsequent destruction or loss of all or most of the finds. Excavated and retrieved cremation burials are less likely to be fully representative of variability, total numbers and geographical distribution than, for example, inhumations. Conversely, while the depth of inhumations (mainly 1-2 m. deep) may facilitate their preservation, it may also hamper their detection except under conditions of modern excavation.

The most recognizable burials are those with lavish grave goods of silver, gold and bronze. Several were found before 1845 (Barsbøl, Forbal­

lum, Gjenner and Sneumgård) and we can assume that a large number of graves with unexceptional goods were found at the same time but were never re­

covered. The geographical distribution of nineteenth century findspots (fig. 2.1) demonstrates that agricultural activities which led to their discovery were concentrated in the eastern moraine clay zone (Kampp's Region VII (1959); fig. 2.2; see figs. 2.3 and 1.2) and on the predomin­

antly clay soils between Esbjerg, Ribe, Åbenrå and Kolding (Kampp's Trans­

itional Zone III). These are the most fertile areas of southern Jutland and it appears that the recognition of archaeological finds on the newly cultivated areas outside these zones happened sometime later, towards the end of the nineteenth century. Finds from South Jutland after 1865 were generally sent to the Keiler Samlung at Schloss Gottorp in Schleswig and the distribution in this area (fig. 2.1) is underrepresented (though the total distribution of graves (fig. 1.6) shows a paucity of finds which is only now being rectified by Haderslev Museum's activities in the southern area). The distribution of mounds containing Iron Age burials is in part
a reflection of the overlap between settlement zones of each period (i.e. re-use of Bronze Age mounds where the Roman Iron Age occupation area overlaps that of the Bronze Age) rather than just a residual distribution of demolished barrows (Hedeager, in press). Mounds are concentrated in a 'spine' down the centre of the Jutland peninsula (fig. 1.6), principally on the eastern margins of the West Jutland heath as well as its south-west margin north of Esbjerg. Many mounds have been recorded on the fertile clay areas of Region III and the east coast zone indicating that even in these cultivated areas prehistoric monuments still survived until at least the late nineteenth century.

Apart from the southernmost part of Jutland, the other area with few burial finds is the sandy heath in the north of Ribe county. As Kristiansen has pointed out, this area was devastated by prehistoric over-exploitation (in press). It supported a sizeable early Pre-Roman Iron Age (c. 500-200BC) population (see fig. 2.4) though chiefly on its margins and by the Roman Iron Age settlement had moved even further off the heath. Much of this wasteland has been recently reclaimed and turned over to arable and yet few sites have been found. There are two notable exceptions, the large Late Roman Iron Age (LRIA) cemetery at Naesbjerg and the Karensdal and Hodde cemetery and settlement complex.

The geographical pattern of finds from 1900 to 1925 is not significantly different from the previous period (fig. 2.1). From 1925 Haderslev Museum's excavations and field visits made a major impact on recovery in Haderslev county. More marginal areas were also covered. From then until the present work has been conducted all over southern Jutland though the high density of sites in the Esbjerg area reflects the recent growth of urban archaeology there (see below).
The different processes of agricultural activity which have been responsible for the uncovering and retrieval of archaeological finds may be characterized as mound demolition, gravel and sand digging, marl digging, drainage ditching, forestry plantation and ploughing. Mound destruction was a common circumstance of discovery between 1850 and 1940 (tables 2.2a, 2.3a) though before that period many were probably destroyed without record. In 1937 mounds were protected by legislation but most had already gone and some were still being demolished (Hedeager, in press). Gravel and sand digging was also a frequent context of discovery between 1890 and 1950 and especially after 1920 (table 2.2a). Finds from ploughing have increased from the turn of the century (with a sharp decline in the 1970s), as have finds from construction (this includes urban and industrial development as well as agricultural buildings). However, the only process of discovery still on the increase is archaeological investigation either in advance of development or in the course of large-scale excavations for settlement research projects. A similar graph of finders responsible for informing about a site shows similar trends (table 2.2a). Workmen and farmers have handed in finds especially since the 1870s and particularly between the 1930s and 1960s. Educated individuals with some knowledge of cultural and scientific interests (teachers, doctors, engineers, priests and amateur archaeologists) show a similar trend. The number of sites found by professional archaeologists before 1960 was very small (sites would be found by others and then checked out by archaeologists). However, there has been a major increase in recent years due to professional survey and excavation work.

A comparison of finds divided into Kampp's agro-geographical regions (1959; see fig. 2.2) demonstrates that there are some small regional variations in the discovery of finds. For example, grave finds from sand
and gravel digging have been most frequent on the clay soils of Regions III and VII (table 2.5), partly because sand and gravel were more in demand in these areas. Finds made by professionals have been common in Region I (sandy soils), whereas on the longer cultivated clay soils most finds have been made by workmen and farmers (table 2.4). Thirdly, the larger excavations have been concentrated in Region II and, to a lesser extent, Regions III and VII, so we may expect a potential bias from the lack of large cemetery excavations in Region I (though this is countered by the fact that populations of the period under study appear to have been small in this area).

2.4 **AN ASSESSMENT OF PREHISTORIC DISTRIBUTIONS AND POST-DEPOSITIONAL BIASES**

The previous sections have outlined the regional and chronological variations within southern Jutland which have affected the recovery of archaeological material. This section considers the specific characterization of the burial record both within periods of the Iron Age and between them. There are two archaeologically retrievable rites in this region, inhumation and cremation. There are no obvious reasons why graves from certain periods rather than others might be well represented, and yet certain periods are severely underrepresented (PRIA Period IIIa and the EGIA), while most graves belong to the ERIA (tables 2.6, 2.7).

While graves of the earliest phase of the PRIA, Period I, are particularly common, there is a marked lack of Period II and Period IIIa burials (see Becker, 1961). Although a substantial number of IIIa settlements have been excavated (e.g. Hodde and Rolfsø) and are associated with a well characterized ceramic assemblage, there are only two IIIa burials in
southern Jutland, inurned cremations from Hostrup and Åstrup. This scarcity contrasts with the numerous IIIa weapon cremations from central and northern Jutland (Nielsen, 1975) such as Kraghede, dated by fibula associations. While there are uncertainties about the absolute dating of Period IIIa, it is unlikely that this period is a regional phenomenon confined to the north of southern Jutland. Since the most common rite before and after this period is inurned cremation, a cultural discontinuity over a short period of time (some 100-150 years) involving an unretrievable funerary rite also seems unlikely. Since there are no significant differences between the forms of IIIa and IIIb/ERIA cremations, the recovery of each group should be equally weighted and no satisfactory explanation can be suggested, except that Period IIIa cremations were located on the as yet unexcavated peripheries of Period I and II mound cemeteries (as found at Årupgård, the only completely excavated PRIA cemetery).

The earliest inhumations in the Iron Age in this region appear in Period IIIb (dated by fibulae). Only two are known; the graves are stone-lined and contain pottery and other grave goods and would be easy to recognize. Cremations of this period may consist of one or more pots, dress items and weapons, though the majority are more simply equipped. The distinction between these and early ERIA graves may be illusory (see Chapter 5). Inhumations of the ERIA generally have three or more pots, along with other grave goods, and are frequently stone-lined or stone-filled and thus easy to locate. However, inhumations were not recognized by laymen until the 1920s (except from mounds), while cremations had been recognized since at least the 1870s (table 2.3b). Furthermore, cremations were less likely to be found while ploughing or building though finds from sand and gravel digging and mound demolition probably reveal a more
accurate balance (table 2.6b).

In the LRIA the commonest grave finds are inhumations but unlike those of the ERIA they are rarely stone-lined and contain fewer than 3-4 pots and it is likely that they are more difficult to locate. It is only from a few large-scale excavations that we have so many LRIA inhumations (Naesbjerg, Stenderup, Enderupskov and Hjemsted III) but there are no sizeable cremation cemeteries of this period (in contrast to the ERIA) even though many cremation sites are registered (table 2.6c). The geographical distribution is also different from the ERIA. Whereas the ERIA graves are found over most of southern Jutland, LRIA graves are virtually absent from the eastern coastal margin. On the neighbouring island of Funen, directly to the east, a similar change in distribution has been noted with graves absent from the west coast in the LRIA (Albrechtsen, 1970; Hedeager, in press; fig. 2.5). While this might be explained as a failure to recognize LRIA graves on the clay of eastern Jutland, the distributions on the clay soils of Funen indicate that this is a very real population shift.

The EGIA of southern Jutland has until recently been mysteriously underrepresented in all forms except stray finds and hoards of gold and silver. There are very few grave sites (table 2.6) but recent excavations at Enderupskov and Hjemsted have revealed sizeable cemeteries with continuity of use from the LRIA. While Early Germanic settlements are sparse, a number have been found in the Esbjerg area (fig. 1.9) which was quite densely populated at this time with eleven areas of Early Germanic settlement, probably comprising some six villages. From this area only two EGIA graves have been recovered. The identification of Early Germanic burials is more difficult than for earlier periods with fewer, if any, grave goods. The dead have become archaeologically invisible, partly because of the
paucity of grave goods and possibly because of a rite for the majority of the population which has left no traces.

In conclusion, the type of rite has affected retrieval to a certain extent. While graves of Period IIIa and the EGIA are severely under-represented, those for the Roman Iron Age are more likely to be representative despite the large-scale destruction of urn burials more than a century ago. Graves with rich grave goods are also more likely to have been retrieved. There are few multi-period cemeteries, supporting the discontinuation in styles on pottery and other artefacts with discontinuities in cemetery use (table 1.1).
Figure 2.1 Dates of recovery of burial sites.

△ before 1900 □ 1900-1925 ■ 1926-1950 ◊ 1951-present
Figure 2:2  Agro-geographical regions in southern Jutland  
(after Kampp 1959).
Figure 2.3 Soil types of southern Jutland.
Figure 2.3a  Key to soil types.
Figure 2.4 Period I-II.PRIA sites in southern Jutland.

- Settlement
- Mound
- Grave/cemetery
- Bog pottery
- Bronze deposition
Figure 2.5 Danish Roman Iron Age grave sites (Hedeager in press).
Table 2.1 Recovery of Roman Iron Age burials in Jutland (Hedeager in press).
Registration of burial sites (200BC-AD600) by circumstances of discovery in southern Jutland.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mounds</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gravel and sand digging</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ploughing</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archaeological investigation</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1850 1900 1950

Graves found by workmen or farmers

Graves found by amateurs or educated classes

Graves found by professional archaeologists

1850 1900 1950

b. Finders of burials dated 200BC-AD600 in southern Jutland

Table 2.2 Recovery of burial sites in southern Jutland since 1840.
a. Registration of burial sites (200BC-AD600) in southern Jutland

(stippled = excavated by archaeologists, black and stippled = total excavated)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mounds</th>
<th>1850</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1950</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Single graves</th>
<th>1850</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1950</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Two graves</th>
<th>1850</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1950</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Small excavation (3-14 graves)</th>
<th>1850</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1950</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Large excavation (15 or more graves)</th>
<th>1850</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1950</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Registration of burial sites (200BC-AD600) by disposal sites in southern Jutland.

(Black = single graves.
Black and stippled = total of mounds, cemetery sites and single graves.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inhumations</th>
<th>1850</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1950</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cremations</th>
<th>1850</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1950</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Uncertain</th>
<th>1850</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1950</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.3 Recovery of burial sites in southern Jutland since 1840.
Table 2.4 Agro-geographical regional variations in circumstances of burial discoveries in southern Jutland.
Table 2.5 Agro-geographical regional variations in circumstances of burial discovery.
Table 2.6 Circumstances of burial discoveries by period in southern Jutland.
Grave finds by period according to nature of site (circle : number of sites excavated by archaeologists)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mounds</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>28</th>
<th>19</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single graves</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two graves</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small excavation (1-14 graves)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large excavation (15 or more graves)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gravel and sand digging

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>5</th>
<th>43</th>
<th>30</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gravel and sand digging</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ploughing</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archaeological investigation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.7 Recovery of burial sites in southern Jutland.

Circumstances of grave finds 200BC-AD600 in southern Jutland

a.

b.
CHAPTER THREE

CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF BOG DEPOSITS

This material is the most difficult to place in one or a number of contexts whose meaning can be clearly interpreted. Debris from abandoned settlements is relatively easy to characterize and to ascribe a social context. Likewise burials may be interpreted as a relatively homogenous set of ritualized events. In this chapter finds which belong to a category known as "depotfund" and have often been defined as 'votive' will be examined. A large number of stray finds are pottery sherds but these will not be included (unless from bogs) as they are probably surface manifestations of graves (ploughed up urns) or settlements (ploughed up pits and habitation layers).

From the Neolithic period onwards in Denmark there are finds whose context and contents have suggested a tradition of votive offering to supernatural powers in sacred places. An attempt to formulate a distinction between 'ritual' offerings and non-ritual depositions has been made by Levy for the bronze hoards of the Danish Bronze Age (1982). Her definitions of ritual significance (in wet ground, ideological items) and non-ritual significance (on dry ground, profane items) do not produce exclusive categories since there is no absolute correlation between context and hoard contents. A similar problem afflicts the archaeology of 'votive' deposits in the Danish Iron Age. While the problem is compounded by the wide variety of artefact forms, more definite conclusions can be reached on the question of ritual ascription.

A simple device for studying this group of 'votive' material (which can be simply defined as all material culture items which are spatially
discrete from settlements and cemeteries) is a division into:

1. Finds defined by context alone, i.e. artefacts which appear to have special significance when found in a certain context, e.g. bog pottery.

2. Finds defined by form alone, i.e. artefacts which comprise a stylistic or formal unity but are found in both wet and dry contexts.

3. Finds defined by context and form, i.e. deposition of stylistically and formally related items in specific watery contexts, e.g. the large weapon deposits.

3.1 FINDS DEFINED BY CONTEXT

3.1.1 Bog pottery (fig. 3.2)

Bog finds of Iron Age pottery come from Denmark, Holland and north Germany. Becker's study of the Danish finds (1971a) demonstrates that this pottery belongs to the period c. 500 BC (Period I) to 500 AD, with the vast majority dated 500 BC to 200 AD (end of ERIA) (1971, 9). In Jutland the distribution of these finds in the Pre-Roman Iron Age (Periods I-IIIa) is concentrated in the clay zones which were being colonized during this period (following a similar distribution to the PRIA bronze dress ornaments from bogs and wells; fig. 2.4). The distribution of PRIA bog pottery is similar but not so dense except in the northernmost area of Vendsyssel. In southern Jutland there are relatively few sites known (26 for PRIA, 9 for ERIA, 2 for YRIA) and it has not been possible to assess the social context of these finds in more detail. Such a task should be possible in an area like Vendsyssel with its dense concentrations of bog pottery and burials. It has been suggested that this pottery may have
constituted a 'central sanctuary' for an area the size of a parish (Ilkjaer and Lønstrup, 1982, 99) but detailed geographical and topographical analyses must be implemented to support this claim.

Becker has divided the material from Denmark into three groups:

1. Uncertain. Probably non-ritual deposition - characterized by sherd debris in pits cut into the peat, presumably for peat digging.

2. Possibly sacred or 'cultic'. Characterized by whole pots or sherds, often in large numbers associated with features such as pits and layers of felled timber. In a few cases human bones have been found in direct association (e.g. Uldum Kaer - PRIA). It has been argued that some pots are associated with the larger weapon deposits to infer direct ritual continuity at these sites (Jankuhn, 1936) but the pots have been shown to be much earlier in date and vary from votive offerings (Kragehul) to settlement rubbish (Ejsbøl), calling into question any contextual continuity other than location alone (Becker, 1971a, 30-3). Furthermore, Ilkjaer and Lønstrup have pointed out that any large-scale peat excavation in Jutland yields bog pottery and dispute any innate connection between the two groups (Ilkjaer and Lønstrup, 1982, 99).

3. Ritual offerings. Characterized by the placing of whole pots in prepared features such as stone heaps or pits. The pots often contain animal bones and may be associated with wooden anthropomorphic figures. Most of these fall within the period 100 BC - AD 400 (Becker, 1971a, 51) though this category of bog pottery is found throughout the PRIA.

3.1.2 Clothing

Occasionally deposits of textiles and clothing have been found in Danish bogs (Hald, 1950). Articles of woven clothing are known from
3.1.3 Wooden artefacts

In southern Scandinavia two main types of wooden artefacts are found in bogs: wagons and their fittings (especially wheels) and ploughs. No wagons or fittings have been found in southern Jutland but wooden ploughs of the Nystrup type are known from Donneruplund, Trollerup and Nørre Smedeby in southern Jutland (Glob, 1945). Glob suggests that these were votive offerings related to fertility rituals. They have been tentatively dated to the beginning of the Iron Age and hence lie outside this study. It can be noted that they, together with the bog pottery, represent a shift from the ritual importance of bronze at the end of the Bronze Age to an emphasis on the symbolic importance of food in the earliest Iron Age.

3.1.4 Bog corpses

A number of radiocarbon dates are available for the astonishingly well preserved human corpses from peat bogs (Glob, 1977), falling between 750 BC and 150 AD (Fischer, 1979, 31) and tentatively divisible into two chronological groups, one at the Bronze Age/Iron Age transition and the other at the Pre-Roman/Roman transition. In many cases it was quite clear
that these individuals had met violent deaths before being ignominiously despatched into the bog. It is uncertain whether they should be viewed as votive offerings (e.g. captives, debt-slaves) but the context and classical sources make it likely that these were human sacrifices. The human bones from the early PRIA pottery deposit at Uldum Kaer may represent another variant of this form of human disposal.

3.2 FINDS DEFINED BY FORM

3.2.1 Roman coins (tables 3.3, 3.4)

It is certain that coin finds come from a variety of contexts. Hoards and loose finds are known from settlements such as Ginderup in northern Jutland and Dankirk. Only one has come from a grave; a Tiberian gold coin from an inhumation at Kaergård (Neumann, 1948). The large weapon hoards of the LRIA included large numbers of silver denarii (a supposed offering place at Vester Vedsted has also produced a silver denarius); the significance of silver coinage in these contexts (as opposed to other metals) is uncertain. The vast majority of coin finds have been casual surface finds and have no certain context. It is likely that many of those from dry contexts were associated with settlements.

3.2.2 Roman imports (tables 3.3, 3.4a)

The vast majority of Roman imports have been found in graves and the large weapon deposits. A few finds are known in settlement deposits; fragments of glass and terra sigillata from the LRIA settlement at Vorbasse, cauldron fragments from the ERIA occupation at Dankirke and glass from Dankirke's LRIA deposits. Attachments to bronze vessels found at Hostrup and Tolstrup Mark (Norling-Christensen, 1960), though not
accurately recorded, are almost certainly from wet contexts and are possibly small offerings or parts of larger hoards.

3.2.3 Early Germanic gold and silver (table 3.3)

While chance finds of gold solidi and copies can be dated to between 360 and 530 AD, the vast bulk of Early Germanic metalwork is not securely dated. Mackeprang's typology (1952) is based on stylistic evolution and is of relevance to the date of manufacture rather than the date of deposition. The hoard of scrap silver from Simmersted Mose has a coin series ending 393-423 AD and belongs to a group of such hoards in Ireland, Scotland and western Europe north of the Roman frontier.

A sufficiently large number of Germanic finds have their exact location recorded and can be divided into wet and dry contexts. An intermediate category can also be recognized, that of close proximity to a marsh or bog (within 100 m.). If there is any ritual significance in the deposition of wealth in water, then disposal directly overlooking or close to a bog or lake may also be significant. Alternatively, the hoards may also have been buried for reasons of safety with every intention of recovery within or close to a settlement. Even the wet contexts might be interpreted in such a way, as Randsborg has interpreted the Viking silver hoards (1980). There is one line of evidence which would suggest that at least some of the hoards in wet ground have votive significance. The sites of the large weapon offerings were reused for the deposition of Early Germanic gold and silver dress and weapon fittings at Nydam II, Ejsbol Sud and Porskaer. These have been interpreted as Pars Pro Toto military offerings maintaining continuity in votive significance (Ilkjaer and Lønstrup, 1982, 101), which seems reasonable in view of the direct continuity of location and relatively short timespan of 100-200 years between depositions. These deposits
are very similar to ones from sites like Store Darum (close to an EGIA settlement and buried in a marsh) with a gold scabbard mouthpiece as well as dress items. A votive interpretation would seem applicable to at least some of the gold and silver hoards. A further point to note is the geographical restriction of Early Germanic hoards to southern Scandinavia (Geisslinger, 1967) which coincides with the distribution of weapon deposits. This may well represent a regional tradition of the votive deposition of items of wealth and power.

The Early Germanic hoards can be divided into two groups in terms of internal composition, though the groups are not entirely distinct and are not thoroughly supported by contextual variation. One comprises 'personal' equipment such as dress items and bracteates and the other consists of single or multiple chance finds of bracteates and/or small gold bars. Bracteates were worn as pendants (though none have been found in Early Germanic graves in Denmark; they are known from graves such as Sarre in Kent) and the runic inscriptions which some of them bear indicate their value as lucky charms with some magical significance (it is also worth noting that at this time the runic inscriptions themselves probably had magical power).

3.3 FINDS DEFINED BY CONTEXT AS WELL AS FORM

3.3.1 The large weapon deposits (tables 3.2, 3.3, 3.4)

Offerings of weapons and military equipment are known from Ejssbøl, Nydam, Vingsted Sø, Vingsted Mølle, Tranebaer Mose, Maltbaek Mose and Dallerup Sø in southern Jutland. They all date to the LRIA except the EGIA deposits at Dallerup Sø. Two potential sites where Roman Iron Age weaponry has been found are Kaermsølle and Rudvad in Haderslev county.
Ever since Engelhardt's dramatic discoveries at Nydam, Thorsbjerg, Kragehul and Vimose, the interpretation of the weapon deposits has been a major focus in Scandinavian archaeology. It is beyond doubt that these deposits were made in large quantities at different times in the same place with the items deliberately destroyed and dropped or thrown into lakes (Ilkjaer and Lønstrup, 1982). While there are many deposits from the east coast of Jutland and western Funen, others are known from southern Sweden (e.g. Skedemosse) and the eastern Baltic. Earlier depositions such as Hjortspring and Krogsbølle (Period II/IIIa) in Denmark and perhaps even Llyn Cerrig Bach (late PRIA) in Wales may be interpreted as antecedents to these activities.

The historical development of the interpretation of weapon deposits has been summarized elsewhere (Ørsnes, 1969, XXI-XXVII; Hagberg, 1967, 64-9) and the two main interpretations summarized by Ilkjaer and Lønstrup (1982). Caesar, Orosius, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Tacitus, Gregory of Tours and Jordanes all refer to the sacrifice of weapons after battles among warring barbarian tribes and their deposition in lakes (Hagberg, 1967, 65-9). Ilkjaer and Lønstrup present two interpretations, one of the ritual destruction of a defeated invading army's equipment and the other the sacrifice of the weaponry of an indigenous population, and then demonstrate that the fibulae from Thorsbjerg accompanying the weapons originated in Holstein to the south of the Eider, supporting the first hypothesis (1982). There is little indication of the fate of the warriors. Human remains were found with the weapons from Vimose on Funen; at Hassle-Bösarp in Sweden a votive deposit contained a human skeleton with a spearhead in its chest, while some five kilometres from the Illerup deposit in central Jutland seventy human skulls were found in a lake (Hagberg, 1967, 57-8).
There is no doubt about the ritual nature of these deposits with their elaborate treatment of the weaponry (burnt, broken and cut and divided into different groups before deposition) which would fit the hierarchical structure of large war bands (Ørsnes, 1968, 179-81). They reveal an important aspect of the treatment of valuables in barbarian society, also commented on by Classical writers. Ørsnes drew a parallel between the systematic destruction of weaponry in ERIA graves and later in the LRIA deposits (Ørsnes, 1969, XXII) and a passage from the Ynglingesaga, thought to date to the thirteenth century, has often been quoted:

"Every man should enter Valhalla with as much wealth as he had on his pyre, and should also enjoy everything which he himself had buried in the earth." (Ellis, 1943, 32).

In conclusion, a fairly certain social context can be ascribed to the weapon deposits (and by extension to the other votive deposits) as ritualized depositions of war booty within a value system which emphasised the accumulation of wealth for its destruction. Extremely useful and prestigious items were deliberately withdrawn from circulation to underline and enhance the power of the victors. Wealth realized its value through its destruction and only in that way could prestige and respect be ascribed to the possessors of that wealth.

3.4 REPRESENTATIVITY OF FINDS

3.4.1 The historical context of bog discoveries

The ideological and economic developments in Denmark over the last two centuries have already been discussed in Chapter One. The historical conditions specifically relevant to bog finds have been discussed else-where (Kristiansen, 1974; Kristiansen, in press, Appendix) and will be
summarized here. The historical records of bog drainage and peat cutting are more sparse than those for agricultural changes but enough exist for an elucidation of the context of bog discoveries. At the beginning of the nineteenth century between 5% and 8% of southern Jutland was covered by bogs and lakes. By the 1920s and 30s this had been reduced to an area of 23292 ha. Kristiansen suggests that the cutting of peat for fuel increased as woodland decreased around 1800. While many bogs were drained in the late nineteenth century, those on the sandy soils were left as unploughed meadow.

On the clay soils between 1860 and 1880 20% of the land was drained and converted to arable. From the beginning of the twentieth century until the 1940s peat extraction grew at a rapid but even rate (in 1902 100,000 tons were dug, in 1943 5,976,000 tons). During the world wars peat was used extensively for fuel (extracted manually in the First World War and mechanically in World War Two). By the 1960s the digging of peat had declined markedly (in 1966 only 9,000 tons were dug) and peat digging is no longer archaeologically significant.

3.4.2 The representativity of bog finds

Previous work on retrieval from wet contexts has been carried out for Later Bronze Age hoards (Kristiansen, 1974) and Germanic Iron Age hoards (Geisslinger, 1967). The temporal distribution of finds circumstances is very similar to the Iron Age finds in this study (tables 3.1 and 3.2). There was a rapid rise in finds from the middle of the nineteenth century until the beginning of the twentieth century and few finds were recorded before 1840 (notable exceptions being the gold horns from Gallehus, found in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and the Early Germanic hoard from Galsted, found in 1812). Until the 1940s the rate of discovery was steady. Quite a few discoveries were made in the 1940s and
50s, notably at Ejsbøl where a major weapon deposit was excavated. Finds from known dry contexts are too few to infer a significant pattern but the even recovery from 1840 to 1950 corresponds quite closely with Kristiansen's graph (table 3.1) but not with Geisslinger's graph for Jutland which demonstrates more marked fluctuations.

A division of the finds into weapon deposits, coins, bog pottery and Early Germanic hoards (tables 3.2, 3.3, 3.4) shows significant differences. The majority of the metal finds were recovered between 1840 and 1910, with a small number found between 1910 and 1960. This differs markedly from the recovery of bog pottery which was found mainly in the twentieth century. This discrepancy can be explained by the nature of the finds; weapons and precious metals being easily recognizable to agricultural workers and pottery ignored due to an underdeveloped sense of its cultural value.

The geographical distribution of finds (fig. 1.8) demonstrates that most of them were made on the fertile clay areas, though a significant number were found on the heath margins. Before 1910 most findspots were located around the heathlands but after that date many finds came from the lowland clays of the east coast (fig. 3.1), particularly bog pottery. It seems unlikely that there are many weapon deposits and Early Germanic treasure hoards still to be found and the sample may be taken as representative (though it should be remembered that gold and silver objects might not be declared by finders). On the other hand it is probable that many bog deposits of pottery were destroyed in the nineteenth century (the small number of finds from the region in comparison to northern Jutland may also reflect the greater efforts in bog clearance in the north with its higher density of bogs).
Figure 3.1 Distribution of votive and stray finds in southern Jutland.

☐ Before 1910

▲ 1911 to present
Table 3.1 Recovery of Bronze Age hoards in Denmark (Kristiansen 1974).
a. Registration date of stray finds and finds from wet contexts (2009BC-AD600).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>1850</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1950</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bog pottery</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weapon deposits</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Germanic gold and silver finds</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coins and other metal imports</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Registration date of weapon deposits, bog pottery and imported gold, silver and bronze finds in relation to their physical contexts (2009BC-AD600).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Physical Context</th>
<th>1850</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1950</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Water, marsh or bog</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close to water, marsh or bog</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dry ground</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncertain</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.2 Recovery of stray and votive finds in southern Jutland since 1840.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Water, marsh or bog</th>
<th>Close to water, marsh or bog</th>
<th>Dry ground</th>
<th>Uncertain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bog pottery</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weapon deposits</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Germanic gold and silver</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coins and other metal imports</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3.4 Stray and votive finds by period.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dog pottery</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Weapon deposits</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coins, medallions</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Bronze and       | 2   | 2  | 2   |
| Silver silvered bronze |     |    |     |
| Gold              |     |    |     |

Note: a. Stray finds and finds from wet contexts by period (2000BC-AD600).

b. Composition of imported coins, medallions and bracteates by period (2000BC-AD600).
CHAPTER FOUR

CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF SETTLEMENTS

4.1 THE HISTORICAL CIRCUMSTANCES OF SETTLEMENT ARCHAEOLOGY

The manifestations of settlement sites have had a marked influence on the recovery of archaeological information, resulting in a very different historical development to the recognition of graves. The complete and easily recognizable finds which comprise grave assemblages are rarely features of settlements. Settlement finds are characterized by refuse (dark soil containing sherds, charcoal, burnt clay, stones and rarely bones) in pits, occupation layers, floor layers, post and fence holes and wall slots. These features are ephemeral and the artefacts often unspectacular. They are unlikely to be recognized by individuals with little or no archaeological expertise.

The history of Iron Age settlement discovery and excavation is limited almost completely to the twentieth century and has followed a process of development in which three stages are evident. Before the 1920s the only settlement features which archaeologists were generally capable of identifying and excavating were pits, occupation layers, shell middens and earthworks (such as Traelborg and Traelbanken). From the mid 1920s, chiefly under the direction of Gudmund Hatt, archaeologists learned to identify and excavate house structures. It was also at that time that Hatt recognized the true antiquity of the Iron Age field systems which had survived as upstanding earthworks on the more marginal sandy heaths. Finally, from the 1960s techniques of large-scale strip excavation have been developed to recover substantial portions of or complete plans of Iron Age settlements. This requires the recognition of ephemeral features
such as postholes for the paired roof supports, fence and wall lines and stall divisions.

This process of discovery underlines the fact that certain types of sites and features are only recoverable once the investigators know what to look for:

"For natural reasons it is somewhat difficult to find remnants of prehistoric dwellings in Denmark. Our early forefathers utilized perishable materials in their house building, such as wood and straw. They made use also of clay and sod and, to a small extent, of natural stones. However, Denmark is one of the most intensely cultivated lands of Europe. The plough has been almost everywhere; and when the ploughshare has gone through the remnants of a hut of sod and clay the site is generally spoilt for the archaeologist. As a rule, we cannot expect to find any house-site intact unless it has been covered with a layer of soil, sufficient for protection against the plough." (Hatt, 1937, 162).

Fortunately for us, Hatt was not entirely correct since large-scale excavations of ploughed land have recovered the remains of house and settlement features cut into the subsoil, though in these cases the layers of occupation such as house floors have been destroyed.

4.1.1 Surface scatters, pits and other settlement indicators

Since the end of the nineteenth century the retrieval of pottery sherds from ploughed fields has become an increasingly productive pursuit. Mathiasen's regional study of settlement distributions over an area of 1260 sq. km. in north-west Jutland (1948) incorporated such material gathered by farmers and archaeologists. It still remains today one of the most outstanding pieces of intensive regional survey in Denmark. In southern Jutland museum workers and amateurs (like Martin Gram in Haderslev Amt) have collected surface finds since at least the 1920s. During agricultural and other extraction activities, settlement refuse pits have often been found and many of them excavated by professional archaeologists.
Specific contextual information about settlement finds (finder, date, nature of finds) was not collected as it was for burials. Though that information has been tabulated for the more important excavated sites (table 4.1), the remainder have simply been divided into classes of recovery by period (table 4.2). The vast majority of these sites are known in very little detail (perhaps a pit or a handful of surface sherds) and, other than providing a dateable group of pottery and a map location, are of limited use for understanding settlement organization and social change outside the broader spheres of topographic siting and regional settlement dynamics. The distribution of known sites illustrates some of the biases in the collection of settlement data (fig. 1.7). It is not dissimilar from the distribution of burial sites except that the latter are more densely distributed (fig. 1.6). There are marked concentrations on the coastal moraine clays of eastern Jutland as well as the sandy coastal margins of the south-west coast, particularly in the Esbjerg area where archaeological investigation has accompanied the urban development of the port. Few sites are known in the very south (possibly due to lack of coverage which is only now being stepped up) and on the central heath-lands of Ribe Amt (reflecting a real change in settlement location from the Later Bronze Age/early PRIA to the later PRIA; Becker, 1961, pl. 123-7; Mathiassen, 1948; Todd, 1977, 41).

Systematic field surveys of settlement distribution have been carried out or are projected for regions in Denmark outside southern Jutland (Thrane, 1982, 48) though smaller, village-based surveys have been implemented around Hodde (fig. 4.1) and Vorbasse (fig. 4.2). As a result of urban development in Esbjerg similar small-scale reconstructions of changing village locations are possible (fig. 1.9). These can be combined with evidence from the clustered multi-period findspots of settlement
material from Galsted, Herredsjerget, Store Darum, Hjemsted, Astrup
Banke and many other sites (see Appendix 1) to provide information about
locational continuity and also physical and topographical relationships
between settlements and cemeteries.

4.1.2 House structures

Until the 1920s there were very few excavations of early Iron Age
settlement sites by professional archaeologists, let alone house struct­
ures. In 1906 Thomas Thomsen carefully excavated and recorded two burnt
longhouses (of Period IIIa date) discovered during the excavations of the
Kraghede cemetery in northern Jutland. The charred stumps of wall- and
load-bearing posts had remained in situ and the burnt clay floor and
hearth were also detected. In House II five of the original eight load­
bearing posts or postholes were found, while in House I only the four
internal posts in the western end were detected. This excavation remained
the sole example of complete house forms until Kjaer and Hatt began their
settlement excavations in northern Jutland in the 1920s. Excavations at
Lundsgård on Funen (Albrectsen, 1946) revealed a series of features which
were at that time interpreted as houses. More recent settlement studies
have illustrated the very standardized layout of Iron Age habitations and
the supposed houses from Lundsgård should be regarded with scepticism.

House forms were recognized by Hatt mainly from their ploughed re­
mains being visible on the surface. This was only possible if the houses
had burned down (e.g. Solbjerg, Trolldtoft, Fredsø) or had incorporated
dense clusters of stone paving or cobbled in their construction (e.g.
Tolstrup). A number of sites in Thy and Himmerland (including Ginderup
excavated by Kjaer (1928, 1930) from 1922) were recognized as settlement
mounds where several phases of construction had been laid on top of each
other to produce a stratigraphic sequence between one and two metres deep
(Hatt, 1937, 162). Another, and rarer, type of site was recognized at
Østerbølle where absence of ploughing had preserved the turf walls of
the houses as above ground features (Hatt, 1938).

By the 1930s the standard structure of the Jutish Iron Age longhouse
had been recognized (Hatt, 1937, 173). The farmhouse was orientated east­
west or southeast-northwest with a living area in the western half around
a hearth and generally fitted with a clay floor. This area was separated
from the eastern end by a north-south passageway or partitioned room
across the centre of the house, connecting doorways to the outside half­
way along the north and south sides of the house. The east end was recog­
nized as an animal stall, dramatically demonstrated by the discovery of
three complete carcasses of two cows and a horse in the burnt house at
Solbjerg (Hatt, 1928, 221). Recent phosphate tests on an EGIA house at
Nørre Snede have confirmed this, with a high count in the stall end,
indicative of animal excrement (fig. 4.3; Zöllitz, 1980, fig. 2). There
were still problems in recognizing the stall end of the building. In
some cases, especially in the Esbjerg area (e.g. Kjaersing and Vognsøl)
a stone cobbled surface with drainage channels to collect the urine was
found in the east end (Thorvildsen, 1949, 210-12) but other house sites
(e.g. Ginderup) had only mud floors (Hatt, 1937, 169). Furthermore, the
two inner rows of posts were not always recognized, particularly in the
area of the animal stalling (Hatt, 1930, 91; 1935, 45-57) though in one
or two cases the complete rows were located (Hatt, 1937, 168-9). During
the excavations at Nørre Fjand an area of 2200 sq. m. was cleared to a
depth of 1½-2 m. between 1938 and 1940 to reveal traces of over 55 houses.
In some of these structures, such as House XIV, removal of the burnt
occupation layer revealed subsurface features such as the stall divisions
in the animal byre (Hatt, 1957, pl. IV). In the course of his numerous excavations in Jutland, Hatt identified a number of small rectangular houses without stalling space. While he was correct in interpreting them as being dwellings without animal stalls in certain cases (Hatt, 1948), other examples are dubious (Hatt, 1930, 1935, 1937, 163). These structures without animals are best interpreted as outhouses used for storage. The small rectangular structure, House VII at Nørre Fjand, had a hearth in it but the large quantities of burnt grain highlight its use as a store before it burned down (Hatt, 1957, 101-8). A similar structure from Overbygård in Northern Jutland (a 'cellar' which is a regional variant of the small rectangular outhouse) also burned down, containing over 100 litres of grain in 60 wooden and ceramic containers (Lund, 1979, 121-4).

By 1950 the following sites in southern Jutland had produced house-plans of the period 200 BC - 600 AD: Mojbølgard (ERIA), Enderup (EGIA), Vognsbyl (ERIA), Kjaersing (ERIA), Oxbyl (EGIA) and Skødstrup (ERIA). They were small excavations, generally limited to the interior of a single structure and they consequently suffered from a lack of spatial control on stratigraphy. Until the 1970s this remained the standard format for settlement excavations in southern Jutland, although the size of settlement excavations was increased in certain cases to take in two or more structures. The National Museum policy at this time aimed to continue Hatt's settlement investigations on Bronze Age and Iron Age settlements in Jutland and supported several large projects (Thrane, 1982, 45), such as the multi-period Iron Age site at Dankirke which began in 1965 and continued for six seasons (Thorvildsen, 1972, 47). Small excavations at Myrthue and Sjaelborg by Esbjerg Museum on relatively undamaged sites revealed clusters of houses of Period IIIb/ERIA date (Thomsen, 1964). At Sandbanken a collection of EGIA 'grubenhäuser' were excavated but no
longhouses were detected. A single LRIA house was found during excavations of a cemetery at Farre (Thorvildsen, 1951). RIA settlement traces had also been found during the excavation of an ERIA cemetery at Ottersbøl in the 1920s.

4.1.3 Large-scale settlement excavations

During the 1960s there were some fundamental developments in excavation techniques. On the light sandy soils of western Jutland the top-soil could be stripped with relative ease over a large area to expose postholes and post trenches cut into the subsoil. The occupation layers had been eroded and no stratigraphy remained, permitting rapid coverage of large areas. Archaeological material which had become incorporated into the ploughsoil was not recovered. Between 1961 and 1972 sixteen hectares were stripped over a series of settlement concentrations of later Bronze Age to earlier PRIA date at Grøntoft in Ringkøping Amt (Becker, 1965, 1966, 1968, 1971, 1980). There were few finds of pottery and few rubbish pits but the subsoil features revealed a mass of detail about architectural construction, settlement layout and internal farmhouse layouts. As well as the longhouses, barns and 'four-poster' outhouses, palisades and fences were also recovered. Within the houses there were often traces of the hearth in the west end; in the east end were slots for stalls spaced on average just under one metre apart and providing space for individual animals. The number of stalls indicates the size of the winter herd (Hvass, 1982a, 159), though the animals might have been sheep, goats, pigs and horses as well as cattle. From this evidence and from the barns and outhouses (which are directly associated with farmhouses from the late PRIA onwards) it is possible to estimate the agricultural potential for production and storage within each farm, and consequently to
make inferences about the social organization of production. It has been suggested that the evidence for social structure from settlements is more informative and reliable than that from theoretical social models, for example based on inferences of ranking from mortuary practices (Becker, 1979, 94) but it should be stressed that each context of archaeological information should be understood in terms of and in relation to the others, as will be shown later.

In 1971 a 'Settlement Council' was set up by the National Research Council to fund a large national project aimed at the total excavation of a number of settlements in advance of destruction by mechanized deep ploughing. Nearly all the sites were located on the sandy soils of western and central Jutland and covered a timespan from the Bronze Age through to the Viking Period. The project has been criticized for the lack of a base of surveyed potential sites from which to select the sample, and for the high costs of excavation which might prohibit further investment into succeeding projects (Thrane, 1982, 45), but its achievements have been remarkable in terms of producing new information.

In southern Jutland excavations for the 'Settlement Council' relevant to this study were carried out at Hodde (Hvass, 1973, 1975, 1975a, 1975b), a completely excavated multi-phase Period IIIa enclosed settlement, and at Vorbasse (Hvass, 1976, 1978, 1979, 1979a), an almost completely excavated settlement complex from Period IIIb through to the Viking Period. Other large-scale excavations have been undertaken in southern Jutland but none of them produced complete plans of settlements. Urban development projects were undertaken at Lykkegardsvej in Esbjerg (Vorting, 1973), over an area of 3,000 sq. m., Hjemsted (Andersen, 1981; Jørgensen, 1982, 181), an area of 15-20,000 sq. m., Andersminde (Stømmann Hansen, 1982, 178), an area of 3,100 sq. m., Mølleparken (Haderslev Museum, 1979, 8), an area of 13,000
sq. m., and Nørre Snede (just outside the study area in Skanderborg Amt) (Egeberg Hansen, 1980, 1982, 178), an area of 32,000 sq. m. Another major archaeological project has been implemented in advance of the laying of gas pipelines. The width of excavation trenches was limited to twenty metres (at Rugsted Lund and Emmerske Skole) and thirty metres (at Galsted Nord, Adelvej, Syvsig, Kragemade and Lille Klejnbjerg), considerably limiting the scope of potential social inferences which can be made from spatial arrangements between and within farmsteads. In certain cases such as Rugsted Lund, only deep features such as pits and the inner rows of load-bearing posts were preserved. Even where fence lines, stalls and house walls could be detected, the narrow width of excavations inhibited interpretations of property relationships and storage potentials.

In summary, from 1970 a large amount of high quality settlement evidence has been recovered by large-scale machine stripping at the following sites: Hodde (Period IIIa), Vorbasse (Period IIIb-EGIA), Andersminde (Period IIIb-ERIA), Rugsted Lund (ERIA), Galsted Nord (ERIA), Adelvej (ERIA), Galsted Sud (ERIA), Gammel SoLe (ERIA), Mølleparken (LRIA), Kragemade (LRIA), Hjemsted (LRIA, Syvsig (EGIA), Emmerske Skole (EGIA), Lykkegardsvej (EGIA), Drengsted (EGIA) and Lille Klejnbjerg (EGIA).

4.2 BIASES IN THE RETRIEVAL OF SETTLEMENTS OF DIFFERENT PERIODS

An analysis of the different contexts from which settlements are known illustrates that recovery rates for settlements from surface finds and from full excavation differ markedly in relation to the date of the site (table 4.2). The contrast between the large number of late PRIA and ERIA pit finds, occupation layers and surface scatters and the lack of such features indicating LRIA and EGIA settlement might be interpreted as a drastic decline in population from c. 200 AD onwards. However, recent
excavations and fieldwork have demonstrated that there are many sites of these periods in southern Jutland. A consideration of the constructional variation and the means of establishing chronology in settlements of the LRIA and EGIA can explain this discrepancy, though the burial evidence in the region and settlement distributions on the neighbouring island of Funen (Albrectsen, 1970) suggest that population changes must also be taken into account.

4.2.1 House construction

It should be apparent from the history of settlement research that house sites are more easily recognizable if they burned down in prehistory, due to the soil discolourations on the surface. There is no obvious reason why burnt sites should be more common in one period than another. There are certain features which characterize houses of the late PRIA and ERIA which are rare or absent in houses of the LRIA and EGIA; clay floors, a large and substantial hearth, a thick occupation layer, and sometimes stone paths and stone cobbleding in the byre. The reasons for this change in construction are unknown but it is worth noting that stone cobbling in inhumation graves disappears at the same time. The absence of thick occupation layers might also indicate a changing attitude to the disposal of refuse (possibly to new patterns of manuring).

4.2.2 Ceramic chronology

The chronology of settlement sites relies almost entirely on ceramic typology although a few radiocarbon dates are available (L.C. Nielsen, 1982, 177-8; Løkkegard Poulsen, 1978, 74-5). Since most of the pottery is found in rubbish pits and other relatively deep features, there are cultural factors such as disposal of refuse off site as field manure which might
affect the potential to date sites. As mentioned above, nearly all the settlements inferred by the presence of pits date to before the LRIA; LRIA and EGIA sites seldom have any deep subsoil features other than postholes and wall trenches. The only exception is the 'grubenhaus' which appears in the fifth century.

There is no evidence that smaller quantities of pottery were being produced from the third century onwards, and wells and pits of that and later dates have produced large quantities of sherds (S. Jensen, 1982, 119). However, there are certain problems in the differentiation of early PRIA sherds from late LRIA and EGIA sherds; the vast majority of sherds from an EGIA pit at Stengården near Horsens would not have looked out of place in an early PRIA context, and only a handful were decorated with typical EGIA ornamentation (S. Jensen, 1982, 122). Thus, it is just possible that many southern Jutish sites assigned to Periods I and II of the PRIA may in fact be much later in date. In contrast, sherds of ERIA pottery are easily recognized with their heavy and standardized rimforms and regular decoration. Throughout the early Iron Age the standard of pottery manufacture and firing is homogenous enough to rule out differential survival of sherds in ploughsoil, as seems to be the case with 'invisible' Anglo-Saxon settlements in Britain.

Finally, a comparison should be made with the settlement distribution on Funen (Albrectsen, 1970, figs. 2 and 3). Although the Danish islands are grossly underrepresented in Iron Age settlement excavations, pits and surface traces have been found which, when mapped, demonstrate that there was a large LRIA population on the island. The very small number of LRIA (6) and EGIA (24) sites in relation to ERIA sites (102) in southern Jutland is certainly related to post-depositional biases but is also a measure of an actual change in population, as is borne out by the decline in burials.
known from the ERIA to the LRIA.

4.3 REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVITY IN SOUTHERN JUTLAND

As Hatt pointed out in 1937, the Jutish longhouse was a fairly consistent type despite local architectural variations (Hatt, 1937, 173). Since then large-scale excavations in other areas of north-west Europe have demonstrated that the farms of Jutland are part of a tradition found all along the North Sea coast from Holland to Norway (van Es, 1967, 1982; Haarnagel, 1979; Schmid, 1978, 1982; Zimmerman, 1978; Myhre, 1982; Reichmann, 1982).

Within Jutland the geographical dimension of the history of settlement studies requires investigation in order to determine some of the biases and contextual problems of settlement evidence before the relationship between settlement and social dynamics can be reconstructed.

4.3.1 Soil types and past land use

As late as the first quarter of the twentieth century there were large expanses of heathland which were recognized as having lain uncultivated since their desertion in the early Iron Age (Hatt, 1931, fig. 18). In southern Jutland these were concentrated down the west coast, generally between ten and twenty kilometres inland, with only one exception on the central Jutish heath at Ølgard in Randbøl parish (Vejle Amt) (fig. 4.4).

In certain cases such as Skorbaek and Østerbølle settlements could be located in relation to their fields, though in southern Jutland only two such possible sites are known at Marbaek Plantage and Mørlund. The light sandy soils of western Jutland have also aided the recognition of settlement sites in several ways; surface sherd collection, recognition of arti-
ficial features cut into the sand and aerial photography of recently cultivated fields. Even so, there are many more settlements known on the eastern moraine clays, detected by fieldwalking.

Excavations on the clay soils of the east coast have not until recently been successful in locating house plans. To the west of the ERIA cemetery at Hørløk were found traces of an ERIA settlement but no houses could be identified (fig. 4.5). Similar conditions prevailed at Christiansdal, Sønder Vilstrup (Jørgensen, 1968, 33), and Bov where settlements were all excavated in conjunction with cemeteries. The degree of agricultural erosion on these sites and possibly the difficulties of locating postholes in the clay were probably contributory factors to the failure of recovering structures. The only site on clay where longhouses and compounds have been found is Nørre Snede.

4.3.2 Museum and survey coverage

The regional distribution of known settlements (fig. 1.7) is far more clustered than that for burials (fig. 1.6). The concentration down the west coast is mainly due to intensive coverage by Esbjerg and Ribe Museums. Likewise, the three main clusters on the east coast in Sønderborg Amt, Haderslev Amt and around Vejle are explained by the activities of the museums for those counties.

Small-scale field surveys have already been mentioned. The surveying of linear strips in advance of gas pipeline construction and the coverage of areas around Hodde, Vorbasse and Esbjerg have redressed the imbalance of Period IIIb/ERIA over LR/EGIA sites in those areas. In particular the Esbjerg area was heavily populated in the LRIA and EGIA.

There have been changes in the way most of the excavated settlements
were originally discovered. While ploughing had been a major mode of discovery between the 1920s and 1950s, it was increasingly replaced by urban development and industrial activities. If finances in the near future are to be limited, then careful consideration must be given to the next stages of archaeological research. Detailed research is necessary on settlements on the eastern clays, though sites will have to be selected for their preservation potential.

4.4 SETTLEMENT TYPES AND TRAJECTORIES

4.4.1 Settlement variability

Settlement excavations in and around southern Jutland support the assumption that the nucleated village was the standard form of spatial and social organization of Iron Age society between 200 BC and 600 AD. While there are cases in the late PRIA and ERIA that solitary farms were set apart from villages (Becker, 1980a; L.C. Nielsen, 1982, 177-8), there are few instances where we can be certain that singly excavated farms such as Oxbøl were located on their own. There is no evidence from the settlements to indicate that a regional hierarchy of sites existed, though the funerary evidence suggests this was the case in the late second century AD at least (Hedeager and Kristiansen, 1981, fig. 46). At that time wealthy graves were located on the clay soils of the east coast and the Transitional Region III (Kampp, 1959) (fig. 2.2) and as yet there are no excavations of settlements associated with these burials. A further point to mention is that the east coast region has many large ERIA cemeteries which might have been associated with fairly large villages.

Possible indications of elite sites are found in the south-west in the ERIA where a number of ringworks have been located (Kossack and Harck,
One at Traelbanken is located on low ground next to a waterway. Excavations through its defences have produced ERIA pottery (Harck, 1979, 39). The ringwork at Archsumborg on the island of Sylt is of the same date and is part of a larger complex of settlement mounds (Kossack and Harck, 1973, fig. 9). Evidence for the spatial organization of a settlement hierarchy in the late LRIA/EGIA comes from Dankirke, a rich settlement with imported goods, the likes of which were entirely absent from the contemporary settlement at Enderup less than a kilometre away (Jensen, 1980).

The status of the many shell middens on the east coast, most of them of late PRIA/ERIA date, is unknown. They may have been seasonal camps or settlements occupied on a permanent basis; only detailed excavation will answer this problem (Løkkegard Poulsen, 1978, 68-75). They may represent the bottom rung of a settlement hierarchy, the inhabitants of which were close to the starvation level.

4.4.2 Settlement dynamics

As mentioned above, very little is known about the settlements on the eastern clays. The absence of LRIA settlements over most of this area is due to factors other than post-depositional retrieval biases, and complements the burial record to indicate that a sparsely inhabited 'corridor' existed up the south-east coast of Jutland and the west coast of Funen (figs. 4.6, 4.7). Some sites of late LRIA/EGIA date such as Kragemade indicate that parts of the area were resettled, though the defended EGIA hilltop site at Traelborg (Kvist, 1949) in central southern Jutland may represent a defensive boundary overlooking the eastern coastlands.

The vast majority of excavated settlements are located in the west coast region (tables 4.3, 4.4, 4.5), with the exception of Kragemade and
Mojbjerggard. Vorbasse, Rugsted Lund, Galsted, Adelvej and Syvsig are all located in the central zone on the glacial sands and their outwash plains. Of the excavated sites in the west, most are located within ten kilometres of the coast. The only sites further inland are Mølleparken and Hodde; the latter site is situated in an area which was marginal by the Iron Age (fig. 2.4; see also Hatt's evidence for the desertion of landscapes in this area after the PRIA; 1931). Thus the site may well not be representative of social changes in the region as a whole, and possibly not even for the west coastal zone. In terms of Kampp's agro-geographical classification (fig. 2.2; Kampp, 1959) Regions I, II and III are relatively well represented by excavated settlements and it is only Region VII (the eastern clay) which is underrepresented.

The problem of settlement dynamics can be analysed in three ways:

1. Sites are periodically deserted and the community might be relocated a short distance away (in the same locality) or move out of the area completely (as is the case on the sandy heaths). The dates of such movements can be discovered to understand whether such changes are synchronous throughout the region.

2. Different settlements have different trajectories of agricultural and population growth. This kind of information can only be recovered by complete excavation of multi-period sites like Vorbasse. Even here it is very difficult to know whether Vorbasse's development is typical of the northern central zone of southern Jutland.

3. Whereas the finer aspects of population dynamics can only be recovered by complete excavation of villages, the distribution of dated sites across southern Jutland provides valuable information about land colonization and desertion, once the post-depositional biases have been evaluated. For
example, the growth trajectory of the Vorbasse settlement can be shown to be different from those of settlements on the east coast which were truncated at the end of the ERIA.

1 = landsby 150 f. Kr.
2 = landsby omkr. Kr. f.-100 e. Kr.
3 = landsby 200 e. Kr.-400 e. Kr.
4 = gravplads omkr. Kr. f.

Figure 4.1 Settlement patterns in the Hodde area (L.Hvass 1980).
Figure 4.2 Settlement development at Vorbasse (Hvass 1982).
Abb. 2 Verteilung des zitronensäurelöslichen Phosphats in einem Langhaus von Närre Snede.

Figure 4.3 Phosphate concentrations in an EGIA longhouse at Närre Snede (Zöllitz 1980, fig.2).
Figure 4.4 Iron Age field systems in Jutland
(Hatt 1931).
Figure 4.5 Settlement features at Hörloð (unpublished plan - H. Neumann).
Figure 4.6 ERIA sites in southern Jutland and Funen (incorporating Albrechtsen 1970, fig. 2).
Figure 4.7 LRIA sites in southern Jutland and Funen (incorporating Albrectsen 1970, fig.3).
Large circles = Weapon Depositions.
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<td>Roager B</td>
<td>2 House Structures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Grønningenhoed</td>
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Table 4.2 Evidence for settlements in southern Jutland.
Table 4.3 Evidence for settlements in the west coast zone of southern Jutland.
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Table 4.4 Evidence for settlements in the east coast zone (northern half) of southern Jutland.
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Table 4.5 Evidence for settlements in the east coast zone (southern half) of southern Jutland.
PART THREE: INTERRELATIONSHIPS IN TIME AND SPACE

CHAPTER FIVE

ABSOLUTE CHRONOLOGY: STYLES AND SOCIAL CHANGE

The aims of this chapter are to present the chronological framework as it now stands and to examine the social implications of stylistic transitions and rates of change in artefact fashions. Any study of long-term change must take into account the methodological and theoretical implications of the chronological framework within which it is placed. This chapter examines the underlying assumptions behind the construction of absolute and relative chronologies for the Danish Iron Age. It documents the refinement of that chronology and also examines the relationship between stylistic change and social change. One problem encountered is that the artefacts, particularly closed grave finds, used in an analysis of social change have also been used to construct the temporal framework. The social dimension cannot be seen as independent of the chronology since they are derived from the same body of material. There is also a theoretical problem in attempting to divorce the social from the temporal continuum in which it is located (see Giddens, 1979, 198-233).

5.1 THE CONSTRUCTION OF A GENERAL CHRONOLOGY

Nineteenth century Scandinavian archaeology was dominated by a number of scholars who laid the foundations of a chronologically ordered past, which was to be a model for the rest of the world. It is a tribute to their abilities that the general chronology for the Danish Iron Age has not changed radically since the end of that century. While chronology
was not the sole goal of investigators like Montelius (Åberg, 1943, XL), it was the key to understanding the prehistoric sequence of events - 'the magic rod by the aid of which dead antiquities were to be endowed with speech' (Åberg, 1943, X).

The typological method which was used relied on the recognition of closed finds (artefacts in direct contextual association which had been deposited at the same moment in time). Artefacts in these groups could be incorporated in a series of cross-associations between closed find groups to establish a chronologically synchronous 'horizon'. Each horizon could then be arranged in a sequence of strata; the sequence was defined by an ordering of artefacts according to their stylistic traits to form an evolutionary sequence which presupposed a progression from functional features to vestigial recreations of those forms, in the same way as the principles of biological evolution (Klindt-Jensen, 1975, 89). While the ordering of successive artefact styles can be assumed to be correct, the determination of synchronous horizons of material as discrete archaeological periods poses several problems. This has been illustrated by Klindt-Jensen, taking two hypothetical artefact types and illustrating some of the ways in which stylistic variations of each type might be cross-associated from closed finds (1975, 89-90). In particular the rate of stylistic change between two forms, such as pottery and fibulae, might be different and impede the reconstruction of synchronous stylistic groups.

5.1.1 Problems with the method

It was assumed by early investigators such as Montelius and Müller that change through time could be represented as blocks of time (consisting of synchronous artefact groups) punctuated by watersheds in which the material culture showed marked stylistic discontinuities. The tacit
assumption underlying this scheme was that time rather than social con-
vention was the factor which separated the two assemblages. To a certain
extent, this was a reflection of their conception of historical events as
sudden cataclysmic changes like invasions and migrations.

The social significance of these watersheds has often been ignored
and they have been treated merely as chronological divisions when in fact
the two assemblages may have constituted lifestyles which were in exist-
ence at the same time but were kept separate in their social (and hence
archaeological) contexts. Studies of the modern contexts of stylistic
innovation indicate that lifestyles (with their 'package' of material
culture forms) develop in relation, and often in opposition to existing
lifestyles (Hebdige, 1979). In a situation where two lifestyles, A and
B, followed each other through time, A might be interpreted as terminat-
ing exactly as B started, perhaps with a 'transition' phase in between.
On the other hand, lifestyle B might be interpreted as emerging in relation to A, with its earliest manifestations contemporary with the end of
A, and yet the two might never be found in association. The improved
accuracy of chronological studies in recent years has revealed inconsist-
encies in the periodic divisions, particularly in the transition between
Late Roman and Early Germanic, which focus attention on the social com-
plexities of those stylistic discontinuities.

Various guidelines have been set out for the recognition and inter-
pretation of phase transitions and their relationship to culture history.
Jensen lists eight points to be considered when constructing chronologies
(1978); phases must be recognized in indigenous material (not imports),
in artefacts or traits (not art styles), which must form part of a larger
assemblage and must have a wide geographical distribution. The artefact
or trait types must be absolutely dated, defining a phase by the occurrence
of a type, and have some contextual evidence (from settlements or cemeteries) which demonstrates the sequence across the phase transition. Ideally transitions should be located at moments in time when several types appear to change simultaneously (Jensen, 1978, 160). Having set out these ground rules, Jensen examines the relationship between phase divisions and culture history. He states that transitions must be regarded as chronologically fixed points in the development of a society and not as transitions between stages of this development. It appears that he is making some distinction between stylistic change and social change, though not necessarily denying the links between the two. Kristiansen expresses a different view, noting that stylistic innovation in the Danish Bronze Age (manifested as phase transitions) occurred faster in areas undergoing economic development than in areas of economic decline where stylistic expression was conservative and 'retarded' (Kristiansen, 1978, 157). He concludes that stylistic change is dependent on the structural complexity of society, and on the place of the objects in that society (whether associated with prestigious ceremonies or with more menial production tasks, for example).

There are two aspects of stylistic innovation which will be considered below in connection with social dynamics. The continuous replacement of one style by another can be described as a process of incremental and discontinuous change. The rate of stylistic innovation is measurable against an absolute chronology and can be compared between different artefact types. Variations in the rate of change and the varying degrees of simultaneous changes between artefact types (which may include costumes, vessels for food and drink preparation etc.) can be compared with changes in other aspects of the archaeological record. For example, architecture, funerary rites, land colonization and desertion, relocation of settlements and cemeteries, agricultural production and wealth consumption can be considered together with typological changes when interpreting the social
trajectory. It is then possible to distinguish between incremental change and social and cultural discontinuity.

5.1.2 The general Iron Age chronology

While many of the nineteenth century typological breakthroughs were made in the study of the Scandinavian Bronze Age (Åberg, 1943; Klindt-Jensen, 1975, 88-94), the Iron Age chronology was established before 1900. This historical development has been documented elsewhere (Liversage, 1980, 105-7; Ørsnes, 1969, XX) but will be summarized here (table 5.1). Vedel's cemetery excavations on the island of Bornholm established a four period sequence for the Iron Age (Pre-Roman, Roman, Middle, Younger) on the basis of closed find combinations and horizontal stratigraphy (Ørsnes, 1969).

The Roman Iron Age was sub-divided into an Older (1st-2nd centuries AD) and a Younger (3rd-4th centuries AD) phase (Müller, 1874), and re-divided into Older Roman, Romano-Germanic (beginning c. 250 AD) and Migration period (Müller, 1880). The most important systematization was Montelius' period outline, dividing the Iron Age into eight periods between the end of the Bronze Age and the end of the Viking period (Montelius, 1896). In contrast to the Bronze Age chronology, Montelius was able to rely on absolute dates provided by Roman coin associations. For the timespan relevant to this research, he divided the Pre-Roman Iron Age into three (I, II and III), the Roman Iron Age into two (IV and V) and the Early Germanic or Migration period finished the sequence at c. 600 AD (VI).

In 1897 Almgren published his wide-ranging work on North European fibula forms. A seriation of the fibulae, combined with fibula associations, enabled him to establish a relative chronology which was anchored to absolute dates provided by associations with Roman imports and coins. The wide range of forms which he illustrated was great enough to include virtually all of the Late PRIA, ERIA and LRIA types found in southern
Jutland since the book’s publication; his classification was employed in the present research for the Late PRIA and the ERIA. The absolute dating of the forms, based on coin dates and import types found in the Vesuvian cities (Almgren, 1897, 114) has since needed amendment (see Albrectsen, 1956, 144 for a summary of later work and 1956, 144-56 for absolute dates used here for ERIA forms).

The absolute chronology of imported Roman material culture in Free Germany and Scandinavia was established since the 1940s (Klindt-Jensen, 1949, 1957; Norling-Christensen, 1956; Eggers, 1951, 1955, 1960, 1968). Eggers’ large corpus of Roman imports in Free Germany (north of the Roman frontier) produced a new relative chronology for Roman imports, which respected the chronological divisions used by Montelius (Phase A Late PRIA, B1 and B2 ERIA, C1, C2 and C3 LRIA, D EGIA). This scheme was later given an absolute chronology (Eggers, 1955, 1960, 1968).

A large number of detailed regional chronologies have been established in more recent years, providing detailed coverage for southern Jutland and Denmark and chronologically linked in with absolute European systems. The main works used in this research were Becker’s study of the PRIA in Jutland (1961), Albrectsen’s dating of ERIA material on Funen (1956), formalized by Liversage (1980) into four periods B1a, B1b, B2a, B2b, Lund Hansen’s reworking (1976) of Mackeprang’s fibula chronology for the LRIA (1943), Jensen’s (1979) and Brinch Madsen’s (1975) redefinitions of the LR-EGIA transition and Reichstein’s summarization of dates of EG cruciform fibulae (1975). Pottery was dated using the work of Becker (1961) for the Late PRIA, Jarl Hansen for the ERIA (1982) and Jensen (1976) and Christoffersen (1978) for the LRIA (the latter two works are concerned with Funen but are still of relevance for the LRIA ceramics of southern Jutland).
5.2 THE SPECIFIC CHRONOLOGY

5.2.1 PRIA Period III c. 200 BC - 0 BC/AD

This part of the chronology is the least securely dated on account of the absence of dateable imports. Few radiocarbon dates are available and the period is too short for close chronological control by this method. The chronology has also been hindered by the paucity of burial finds. Becker noted that in the whole of Jutland there were not even fifty burials for Periods II and IIIa (1961, 276) and over twenty years later this situation has hardly improved. Most of the Celtic or Celtic influenced imports found in Jutland are thought to date to this period (Period II to IIIb) although there is still great uncertainty about the dates of classic finds such as the Brâ and Gundestrup cauldrons and the Hjortspring boat and weapons.

Becker's study of ceramic forms used closed contexts from settlement pits and burials to recognize chronological groups (1961). He divided Period III into IIIa and IIIb, with the latter a short transition phase dated with confidence to c. 0 BC/AD (1961, 269-71). In Period IIIb graves are well represented, providing many metalwork associations (especially fibulae and weaponry) which may be dated by reference to other European systems (Jørgensen, 1968). Period IIIa is tentatively divided into older and younger ceramic elements and is thought to have lasted over a century on the evidence of the deep settlement stratigraphy at Nørre Fjand (Becker, 1961, 269). The IIIa/IIIb division is a fairly major discontinuity in material culture. While metalwork is scarce in IIIa contexts, there are some fibulae particularly from northern Jutland dated to this period which are notably different forms from those assigned to IIIb (Jørgensen, 1968; Bech, 1976). There is a comparatively clear division between the ceramic forms of IIIa and IIIb, while the divisions between the pottery
of II and IIIa (Becker, 1961, 232) and between that of IIIb and the early
ERIA are often impossible to distinguish (Becker, 1961, 241). However, it
should be noted that the IIIa-IIIb division is not an absolute ceramic dis-
continuity because there are many stylistic connections between them
(Becker, 1961, 232).

It has been suggested that Period IIIb overlaps with the earliest
phase of the ERIA and there are several contexts in Jutland, such as the
cremations at Dons and Sønder Vilstrup, which support this conclusion
(Jørgensen, 1968; Bech, 1976, 142). The division should not be viewed as
a separation on chronological grounds alone (if at all, since it would
appear to form part of the earliest assemblage of the ERIA). It has also
been noted that weapon graves dated to IIIb and ERIA are found in a dif-
ferent geographical region from graves with the earliest Roman imports in
Jutland (Hedeager and Kristiansen, 1981, 121-2), adding a further dimen-
sion to the understanding of stylistic variability in this period.

5.2.2 The ERIA c. 0 BC/AD - c. 200 AD

The chronological divisions of the ERIA in Denmark and North Europe
have been discussed by Liversage (1980, 105-20), who assesses the material
from Bohemia, Moravia, Poland and the lower Elbe, as well as Zeeland. His
four period scheme has been mentioned above (B1a = Early 1st century, B1b =
Late 1st century, B2a = Early 2nd century, B2b = Late 2nd century).

The transition between the ERIA and the LRIA was defined by Müller in
1874 on the basis of grave good styles. The transition is a very definite
discontinuity in the majority of material culture forms and few types span
the divide. For example, a seriation of lavishly furnished graves from the
Møllegårdsmarken cemetery on Funen shows only two out of twelve fibula
types which are found in both the late ERIA and earliest LRIA assemblages
(Liversage, 1980, fig. 42). Material from Polish cemeteries provides a close degree of precision for the absolute date of the end of the ERIA, placed at c. 180 AD, the end of the Marcomanni Wars (Jensen, 1980b). These changes in dress fashions worn by the dead were accompanied by the adoption of a distinctly new ceramic assemblage throughout the area of Denmark. The new pottery had a more restricted range of shapes and different ornamentation formats, although many elements can be traced to the later ERIA. Architectural styles also changed (Hvass, 1982), as did aspects of funerary ritual such as the widespread adoption of inhumation burial in southern Jutland. There is also evidence for the relocation of cemeteries and the desertion of large areas (see Chapters 7 and 8).

The earliest absolute date for a LRIA assemblage comes from a mortuary structure and cremation burial at Enderupskov which contained sherd from a very worn Samian bowl which had been manufactured in Gaul between 150 and 200 AD (Neumann, 1970). It is difficult to assess the length of time between the bowl’s manufacture and its disposal, though it could be over thirty years. The transition from ERIA to LRIA would appear to have taken place fairly quickly, at least in elite circles, since there are no Roman imports dateable to before c. 180 AD in LRIA graves (Norling-Christensen, 1956). Unfortunately the evidence for the adoption of the Late Roman 'lifestyle' amongst the majority of individuals in southern Jutland is not chronologically precise enough to perceive an overlap between the end of Early Roman styles and the widespread adoption of Late Roman ones.

5.2.3 The LRIA and EGIA c. 200 - c. 600 AD

The chronology for the LRIA is less secure than for the ERIA. Recent work on fibula and ceramic typologies (Brunch Madsen, 1975; Jensen, 1976, 1979; Lund Hansen, 1976; Christoffersen, 1978) has produced acceptable
relative chronologies which are anchored by absolute dates, principally
derived from coin associations in the frontier zone. Graves on Funen
and Zeeland can be well dated on account of the large quantities of
Roman eating and drinking equipment, but the much smaller quantity of
imports in southern Jutland reduces much chronological precision.

There are many competing chronological sequences for Northern Europe
during this period (table 5.2; Jensen, 1979, fig. 14) which indicate the
difficulty of defining discrete associational 'horizons', both within the
Late Roman and Early Germanic periods. The most satisfactory sequence
for fibulae combines the work of Lund Hansen (1976) and Jensen (1979)
(table 5.3). Certain points in time have been fixed absolutely for
various artefact forms, such as the Nydam fibula horizon dated to c. 350-
c. 400 AD. One of the most important aspects of the chronology of this
period is the illustration of temporally overlapping dress styles which
took place within a context of increasingly elaborate and sophisticated
artistic innovation. These overlaps are well illustrated in the seriations
which have been applied (tables 5.3 and 5.4; Jensen, 1979, fig. 9). It
should be noted that the dating evidence for the earliest part of the LRIA
sequence in southern Jutland is extremely sparse for burial assemblages on
account of the almost complete absence of Mackeprang I and II fibula types
(only one type II fibula is known, from a possible burial at Terkelsbøl)
when they are extremely common in graves on Funen and Zeeland.

The transition between the LRIA and the EGIA has until recently posed
several problems as to when one began and the other ended. Jensen has
identified a horizon which separates Eggers' C3 from the EGIA, known by
the presence of Haraldsted and Nydam fibulae among other forms (Jensen,
1979, fig. 9). Studies of cross-associations have synchronized the dif-
ferent northern European chronologies and provided fixed dates for this
horizon (Brinch Madsen, 1975; Jensen, 1979). The most secure dating evidence is provided by the association of Nydam fibulae with amphora-shaped strap ends (Jensen, 1979, fig. 12) which have eleven coin associations from graves in Hungary, Austria and Germany, ranging between 337-341 AD and 367-383 AD (Brinch Madsen, 1975, 45-8). The end of this phase and the beginning of the next, typified by the Germanic cruciform fibulae, have been the focus of much debate. There is only one association in northern Europe of cruciform brooches with Nydam fibula horizon material, a grave from Sønderholm in northern Jutland which contained an early cruciform type with Haraldsted and Nydam brooches (Brinch Madsen, 1975, 25). No absolute dating exists for cruciform fibulae but they are considered to be contemporary with the Sosdala art style whose first phase (Sosdala I) has been dated to the second half of the fourth century, lasting until the mid fifth (Brinch Madsen, 1975, 60-2). It is apparent that the earliest cruciforms and probably Sosdala I were contemporary with the Nydam fibula horizon. Apart from the Sønderholm grave, the two styles of dress were socially segregated, at least in the rituals connected with death and probably also in the activities surrounding the great weapon deposits. Both a Nydam fibula fragment (Jensen, 1977, 150) and a cruciform brooch (Thorvildsen, 1972, 59) were found in the settlement at Dankirke, but it is not known in what way they were associated. The social significance of this segregation is unknown; it is not thought to have been based on gender or geographical locality (Reichstein, 1975, map 2 and fig. 26).

The cruciform typology has not changed in its essential details since Schetelig's study in 1906, although his absolute chronology is not to be relied upon. While the cruciform series is associated with Sosdala art styles, there has been some criticism of approaches which have used those styles to define the beginning of the EGIA (Jensen, 1978), due to
problems of characterization of the style and to the limited occurrence in archaeological contexts. The Sosdala style was replaced by the Sjørup style, dated tentatively between c. 440 and c. 500 AD (Geisslinger, 1977, 17), and is well exemplified by the hoard of silver weapon and dress fittings from Nydam II (Kjaer, 1902). This was followed by Salins Style I (500-600 AD) in which the three phases of bracteates are placed (Mackeprang, 1952). Much of the hoarded goldwork is thought to date to this period and the quality of the workmanship represents the culmination of an elaborate art style increasingly independent of Roman influence. Apart from silver hoards with early fifth century Roman coins, there is a lack of absolute dates from the end of the third century onwards which prevents a detailed analysis of the temporal context of innovation for that material.

5.3 THE RELIABILITY OF THE ABSOLUTE DATING

While a full assessment of chronologies within the Roman Empire and on its frontier is beyond the scope of this thesis, the implications from those chronologies for the Danish and north European schemes are dealt with in Klindt-Jensen (1949, 1957), Norling Christensen (1956) and Eggers (1951, 1955). Artefacts of the period 50 BC–400 AD are generally well dated by their associations with Roman imports. Between 200-50 BC little of the 'Celtic' derived or influenced metalwork can be dated absolutely, though the Late La Tène fibula and ceramic chronologies are well researched (Becker, 1961; Jørgensen, 1968). After the withdrawal of Roman involvement from northern Europe, absolute dating is extremely difficult. Finds such as the scrap silver hoards can be dated by late Roman coins with a Terminus Post Quem of 423 AD but have been dated as late as c. 500 AD (Voss, 1954). The large quantities of goldwork, including the bracteates, have no point of absolute reference though the bracteates are
5.3.1 Coinage

A recent review of dating sources in the Roman period has made the point that much of provincial Roman archaeology should be regarded as 'prehistoric' rather than 'historic', due to the paucity of dateable finds such as coins, inscriptions or pottery (Todd, 1982, 55-6). Individual coins are held to be unreliable for dating and, furthermore, dates given for closed finds of coin hoards are criticized for failing to take into account the role of coinage in exchange and circulation (Todd, 1982, 37-8). The latter problem is compounded by the operation of different exchange relationships such as gift exchange outside the Empire (Hedeager, 1978), and it is possible that coins may have had a longer 'lifespan' outside the frontiers, being moved as bullion or gifts rather than as tokens of market value.

The vast majority of coin finds in southern Jutland have been chance single finds with no ascribed associations (Balling, 1963). A few Danish burials have included coins. The Nyrup grave included two coins dated to 308-37 AD and 337-50 AD (Norling-Christensen, 1956) and can be assigned by fibula associations to the Nydam horizon dated independently to 350-400 AD (Jensen, 1979, 188-90). The Kaergård grave in southern Jutland contained a gold aureus minted 26-37 AD but the pottery is of second century date, indicating a time lag of over a century between minting and deposition. There are eight other contexts of Roman coins in Danish burials, none of which clash with other artefact chronologies (Eggers, 1955).

Groups of coins have been found in two other contexts in southern Jutland, the large weapon deposits and the scrap silver hoard from
Simmersted. From Nydam 36 silver denarii with a date range of 69-218 AD were recovered, and from Thorsbjerg in Schleswig 53 denarii, an aureus and a sestertius (54-217 AD) were recovered in the nineteenth century excavations. In the recent excavations at Ejsbøl a silver denarius dated to 175 AD was found amongst the weaponry. The Thorsbjerg material has been sorted into at least three depositional events, the first two to Eggers' phases B2 and Clb which fit with the coin date range (Ilkjaer and Lønstrup, 1982). There are three recognizable depositions at Nydam, assigned to Cl, C2/3 and the Nydam fibula horizon; the coins all predate or are contemporary with phase Cl (Ilkjaer and Lønstrup, 1977). In both cases the lack of recorded stratigraphy prevents any association with discrete events and consequently the lengths of time between minting and deposition are uncertain, though in certain cases they are over one hundred years.

The six silver coins from the Simmersted scrap silver hoard are dated between 355-63 and 395-423 AD (Munksgaard, 1955) but the hoard is dated to c. 500 AD according to the Roman silverware and the Germanic styles on buckles and fittings. It is worth mentioning that similar hoards of scrap silver with similar coin groups have been found outside the frontier in the British Isles such as Traprain and Coleraine, but they are dated to the early fifth century.

5.3.2 Terra Sigillata

Only two finds of Samian ware are known from southern Jutland. A single undated sherd was found in the LRIA settlement at Vorbasse and most of a bowl, made in Lezoux between 150 and 200 AD, was found in the cremation structure of earliest LRIA date at Enderupskov (Lund Hansen, 1981, 160).
5.3.3 Glass

While the remains of twelve glass vessels are known from the RIA and EGIA graves of southern Jutland, only three are well enough preserved to be dated (the remainder are generally melted from cremation fires). A glass from the cremation at Bodum can be dated to early Cl (which corresponds with the date of a bronze strapend in the assemblage). The Lille Dollerupgård glass, found in a mound in uncertain association with an LRIA cremation, is dated to C2/3. The Rhenish 'lion' glass from Højvang can be dated to the late third century (Neumann, 1953, 153). The Rhenish beaker found in Grave 143 at Enderupskov is of late fourth century date, confirmed by its association with a Nydam fibula (Rieck, 1980).

From settlements, only the blue glass cup from House V at Dankirke has been dated; it is imported from western Europe and dates to the EGIA (Thorvildsen, 1972, 48).

5.3.4 Time lag between production and deposition

From the coin evidence discussed above, there are certain cases where over a century passed between minting within the Empire and deposition in southern Jutland. The two main factors to be considered are circulation time between the source and the Baltic and circulation time once the product had reached southern Scandinavia. However, it is impossible to distinguish archaeologically between the two. Consequently, we are unable to know whether certain goods took a long time to reach southern Scandinavia or whether they were curated and passed down as heirlooms after their arrival in the area. Cases in point are the second to first century BC graves of Langa 1 and 2. A fourth century BC Etruscan stamnos came from Grave 1 and a late fifth century BC bronze vessel was found in Grave 2 (Klindt-Jensen, 1957, 123-4). Other possible discrepancies are
Valløby (Samian dated to 200 AD and a silver cup to 250 AD) and Juellinge 4 (mid first century AD glass and strainers of later first century date with late second century brooches). However, Norling-Christensen (1956) noted that there were very few inconsistencies in grave dates obtained by cross-associations. He illustrated this point by indicating that import types of the ER period were never found in LRIA graves. Since the vast majority of Roman imports in graves were items for eating and drinking, he emphasised their personalized nature and explained the lack of chronological inconsistencies by suggesting that these personal imports had gone into the graves of the generations that had acquired them.

Amongst more localized products there are also few chronological inconsistencies. In southern Jutland, Grave 1 at Knud contained a battered early first century AD fibula with a fibula of first to second century transition date. The large ERIA inhumation under a mound at Hvejsel (Lund Hansen, 1974) contained a first century AD iron fibula but was associated with second century AD pottery. A similar discrepancy was noted with weaponry from an ERIA cremation at Mogeltønder but the presence of two shieldbosses suggests it is a mixed find. The tradition of curating swords, exemplified in the sagas and other early writing, does not appear to have been a feature of the late PRIA and late ERIA/early LRIA (from the associations with other dated finds in graves), but since they are largely absent from graves of other periods it would seem likely that they were either passed down or recycled. In the great weapon deposits there are also few inconsistencies. At Illerup a sword of phase B2 was found in a C1 deposit (Ilkjaer and Lønstrup, 1977, 41). A repaired B1 fibula was found in what is now interpreted as a B2 deposition at Thorsbjerg (Ilkjaer and Lønstrup, 1982, 95).

A few more points can be made about deposition dates of Roman coins.
A coin hoard of 24 denarii and an aureus from the late ERIA settlement at Ginderup in northern Jutland, ranging between 124-103 BC and 74 AD, is estimated to have been deposited not later than the beginning of the second century (Hatt, 1935a, 47-50), so some of the coins had been in circulation for two centuries. This and other hoards of gold and silver coins in southern Scandinavia might best be interpreted as imported bullion, primarily of silver in the ERIA and then of gold in the LRIA and EGIA. It is reckoned that the EGIA gold hoards of jewellery and other items were originally cast from Roman gold coinage (Hvass, 1980a, 55-7). The mechanism by which this bullion reached northern Europe might have been looting, extortion, ransom for captured troops or pay for military duties on the Roman frontier (Brinch-Madsen, 1975, 49-50).

5.4 STYLISTIC INNOVATION, DISCONTINUITY AND SOCIAL DYNAMICS

5.4.1 Social theory and chronology

It has been argued above that theories of social change have been implicit in the construction of archaeological typologies for chronology. At the same time it is suggested that chronologies are not simply a yardstick along which social change is measured, but an integral component of social change. There has been a tendency in studying long-term social change to consider the archaeological record as a series of 'snapshot' frames. Reconstructions of social change often take the static image of a moment's social formation (in which hundreds of years of change might be represented as a single social phenomenon) and compare that with other static periodizations of what is essentially a space/time continuum. This approach has developed partly because prehistoric archaeology frequently lacks sufficiently fine absolute chronologies. Also conceptions of the nature of change have represented it as periods of time punctuated by
short-term transitions of rapid change. Until recently archaeological theory has not incorporated theories of social action which stress the presence of the past in the present, the effect which that has on human actions and the potential which actions have for reinterpreting and modifying that presence. This process might also be known as a duality of action and structure (see Giddens, 1979) in the continuous unfolding of events. Actions are carried out in relation to previous actions and will have consequences (foreseen or not) which may alter the situation in which further actions can be carried out.

For example, a certain dress fashion, say the wearing of a certain type of jewellery, might be viewed as outmoded if certain people adopt a new style. That new style can only be understood in terms of the old, whether it negates it (a change from precious stones and rare metals to materials which are not highly valued, for example) or embellishes it (elaborating the existing form and materials to enhance the value). There are many potential strategies (for example, simplifying the decoration but increasing the weight of precious metal) which are only meaningful in terms of previous ones. The distinction between wearers of an 'innovative' and an 'outmoded' style serves to separate the two groups with the former rejecting or transcending certain elements of the style of the latter group. The previous style might be abandoned as the new one is emulated by wearers of the old, but a socially dominant group may continue to innovate in order to preserve and increase the social distance between them and others. This process accelerates the competition and tension between groups and may promote the growth of social inequality. In this fashion, styles are not simply markers of status and distancing but are an integral part of a process of symbol generation through which differences between people are continuously mediated and marked out.
5.4.2 Methodological problems

The context of innovation generally involves material items (though there are many exceptions such as table manners or forms of greeting) and from those that remain it should be possible to recover some aspects of that social totality. However, it is necessary to evaluate the significance of certain aspects of life as socially important contexts. Food preparation might be one such aspect, expressed through the medium of ceramics, but it might be replaced by a different context, say warfare, which utilizes a different medium. Any group of forms could be studied outside any direct social context, though the configurations of artefacts and physical contexts might suggest aspects of lifestyle which can be viewed as a relatively self-contained symbolic medium which portrays the wider social context in microcosm. The remains of costumes worn by the dead provide one such symbolic system whose development and rates of innovation may be viewed within a broader social perspective.

5.4.3 The historical sequence: costume

The importance of bodily decoration has been discussed elsewhere (Pader, 1982). Both inhumation and cremation graves provide useful contexts for studying the inorganic remains of Iron Age costumes and the nature and rate of stylistic innovation in that medium.

Between c. 200-50 BC the evidence for dress fashions in southern Jutland is too scanty for analysis, but throughout the whole of Jutland certain changes can be recognized. The early PRIA styles (principally ring buckles, dress pins, belt attachments, armrings and neckrings) were replaced in Period IIIa by brooches worn on the dress of socially pre-eminent individuals such as those buried at Kraghede (Klindt-Jensen, 1949). Around c. 0 BC/AD in southern Jutland ten new fibula styles
appeared, manufactured in bronze and iron (tables 5.5 and 5.6), which were associated with both IIIb and earliest ERIA assemblages. During the late first and second centuries the rate of innovation of new styles declined. Iron forms became less common as silver forms increased in number. In the late second century the rate of innovation increased to seven new brooch styles, while necklaces of glass and amber beads, pendants of gold, silver or bronze, elaborate belt buckles and hairpins became more and more common.

Costumes of the third century were characterized by a more standardized format than those of the second century. The brooches were remarkably uniform (almost exclusively variants of Mackeprang III and IV). Glass and amber bead necklaces had become quite common, while other dress items were buckles and small hooks or fasteners. After c. 300 AD at least five new brooch forms were introduced, while by 350 AD Nydam, Haraldsted and sheet fibulae appeared, often with lavishly ornamented clothing (necklaces of amber, glass and silver beads, and silver halfmoon pendants) such as various graves from Enderupskov and Hjemsted. An interesting development at this time was the division between bronze forms (mainly Nydam fibulae) and the more elaborate silver and gold sheet brooches (Jensen, 1977, 199-200). At some time between 350 and 400 AD cruciform brooches appeared which, like the Nydam forms, were characteristically made of bronze and often accompanied modest costumes. Accompanying this development, a new style was developed for silver and particularly gold jewellery, which has been found in hoard contexts and not burials. As mentioned above, there was a proliferation of elaborate ornamentation associated with this precious jewellery.

In conclusion, the late first century BC/earliest first century AD, the late second century AD and the late fourth to sixth centuries AD are
characterized by accelerated rates of stylistic innovation in dress fashions.

5.4.4 The historical sequence: pottery

Pottery was a regular accompaniment of the ashes or bones of the dead and the many varieties from settlement contexts illustrate its role in the storage, preparation and eating of food. Since many graves, particularly in the ERIA, contained sets of tableware, it is likely that the rituals surrounding the consumption of food had major social significance.

Evidence from the IIIa settlement at Hodde (see Chapter 6) and in IIIb graves demonstrates that ceramics were markers of social distinction, with a pre-eminent group using black burnished pottery as well as the ordinary brown unburnished forms. Like the changes in dress fashions around 0 BC/AD, there were many stylistic changes from IIIa to IIIb/earliest ERIA. Between the first and second centuries AD the rate of stylistic innovation increased with more new forms appearing in the second century (table 5.7; Jarl Hansen, 1982). Ceramic designs also became more profuse and complex. By the second century the social distinctions associated with black burnished pottery had ceased to exist.

The ceramics of the early LRIA shared certain stylistic elements with ERIA forms but are easy to tell apart. A 'transitional' group can be recognized but its chronological relationship to the other assemblages is uncertain. The lack of associations between late ERIA and early LRIA pottery should not be taken to mean that they were not contemporary. A standard repertoire of seven LRIA forms appeared in the southern Jutish graves (Høy-Petersen, 1979, figs. 3-6, 8-9, 11) often with elaborate decoration. An analysis of Funen ceramics from Mølleåermarken over three phases of the LRIA demonstrates a decrease in new styles from
c. 200 to c. 400 AD (Christoffersen, 1978, 46-7). In the EGIA the ceramics had become limited to a few forms, mainly plain or coarsely ornamented. The declining provision of pottery in graves suggests that it was losing its value as a mode of social discourse from Period III onwards. However, the analysis of ceramic styles has concentrated on funerary assemblages which are not wholly representative of the full assemblage (although it appears that only the large coarse storage vessels are not represented in this context).

5.4.5 Conclusion

Pottery and dress items are the most consistent and well-represented forms of portable material culture for the period. Such analyses of rates of innovation are not possible for other classes of material such as weaponry, since its appearance in the archaeological record was not chronologically uniform. Not only are there major stylistic discontinuities at the transitions between periods (Period IIIa-IIIb, ERIA-LRIA) but also the rates of innovation and diversity of new styles accelerate in the centuries before these transition points (for dress items and pottery in the ERIA and for dress items in the LRIA and EGIA). These archaeologically recognizable processes can be directly compared with evidence from other sources such as rates of consumption and production, as well as independent evidence for social discontinuities and crises. In this way it is possible to demonstrate that the innovation, emulation and rejection of fashions are elements of a larger structural whole in which long-term processes of production and consumption play a leading role.
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Table 5.1 The formation of the Iron Age chronology (Ørsnes 1969,xx).
table 5.2 Chronological systems for the LRIA-EGIA (Jensen 1979, fig. 14).
Table 5.3  **LRIA fibula chronology** (after Lund Hansen 1977 & Jensen 1979)

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<th>Type</th>
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Fig. 9: Typernes forekomst i den kronologiske sekvens.
Occurrence of the types in the chronological sequence.

Table 5.4 Type artefacts in the LRIA chronological sequence (Jensen 1979, fig. 9).
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Time Period</th>
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<td>3</td>
<td>1st century AD</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late 2nd century AD</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>2nd century AD</td>
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Table 5.5  Rates of innovation of fibula styles in the ERIA
OLDER ROMAN IRON AGE FIBULAE

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<th>Early 1st AD</th>
<th>Late 1st AD</th>
<th>Early 2nd AD</th>
<th>2nd AD</th>
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<td>Gold &amp; Bronze</td>
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<tr>
<td>Silver</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
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</table>

Table 5.6 Numbers of ERIA fibulae in southern Jutland.
Table 5.7
Rates of innovation in ceramic forms in the ERIA
(dashed line = uncertain date)
Chapter Six

Cross-Contextual Analysis of Burials, Settlements and Votive Deposits

6.1 Topographical Relationships Between the Living and the Dead: Close Spatial Associations Between Settlements and Cemeteries

The relationship between the living and the dead has often been discussed by social anthropologists (e.g. Huntington and Metcalf, 1979) but has been generally neglected by archaeologists until recently (Parker Pearson, 1982). Any understanding of status and social relations as represented between the dead must first be viewed in terms of the role in which the dead played in the world of the living. To this end it is important to recognize whether the dead were an important force in people's lives. If so then we should expect the treatment of the corpse (the supplying of grave goods, the form of disposal and monumentalization) to be an affair in which the signification of social relationships was emphasised. If not then assumptions of rank and class from mortuary practices alone should not necessarily be made since the ideological representation of the deceased might be at variance with the actualized conditions of social existence.

An evaluation of this relationship in archaeological terms can be carried out by investigating the material aspects of the symbolic relationships which define the place of the dead in the world of the living. Of the possible relationships (Parker Pearson, 1982, 110) thought to be relevant in this case was the spatial and topographical positioning of the dead in relation to the living (not just boundaries such as rivers or fences but whether burials are under settlements or on hills overlooking them).
While prehistoric settlements and cemeteries can be recognized, it is a far more difficult task to identify the deceased with the communities which they inhabited. It is often assumed that the residents of a cemetery originally inhabited the nearest settlement, but there is some evidence from the Danish Roman Iron Age to suggest that this was not always the case. The late PRIA to LRIA cemetery at Møllegårdsmarken on the east coast of Funen contained over 2000 graves and yet the nearest contemporary settlement, some 800 m. away, would have been too small to contain such a large population (Christoffersen, pers. comm.). It should be noted that the desertion of the coastlands of western Funen and eastern Jutland around the Lille Bælt after c. 200 AD may well have contributed to a steep rise in the population of eastern Funen. Consideration should also be given to the dynamic nature of settlement-cemetery relationships, particularly with regard to the colonization of new land and abandonment of old. For example, a newly founded settlement might still choose to bury its dead in the 'ancestral homelands' from whence its inhabitants came. Conversely individuals might be buried in a newly colonized area in order to legitimate claims to available land in that area. Such questions are not easy to answer archaeologically without detailed local survey and large-scale excavation.

From southern Jutland there are over thirty locations where evidence is available to indicate a few of the direct links between settlements and their cemeteries. Large-scale excavations at Vorbaesse and Hjemsted demonstrate that cemeteries are located in close proximity to their settlements. At Vorbaesse the small Period IIIb cremation cemetery was located 600 m. from its associated settlement, a small farm. The ERIA burials are found in a series of barrows one kilometre away from the settlement. There are two small LRIA cemeteries; one of them lies close to the largest farm
compound in the village and stands out from the other cemetery with its fine costumes, weaponry and imports (Hvass, 1979, 109-10; 1979a, 376-81). This evidence of a spatial relationship between the wealthiest graves and the most productive farmstead is paralleled on Zeeland at the exclusive wealthy mound cemetery of Himlingøje (Schou Jørgensen, Lund Hansen, Balslev Jørgensen, Hatting and Nielsen, 1978), though no associated settlement is known. At Hjemsted a LRIA-EGIA cemetery was located around a small group of ERIA inhumations in an area bounded by a track on its north side and contemporary farm compounds on the other sides. The large number of graves suggests that it served the whole village, which had moved from its previous, and unknown, location to the site of the cemetery itself.

From the 1:250,000 scale map of registered sites in southern Jutland a list was made of sets of cemeteries and contemporary settlements within one kilometre of each other. Fieldwork in south-west Jutland indicates that villages were spaced approximately 3-4 kilometres apart (Jensen, 1980) and in central Jutland 5-7 kilometres apart (Hvass, 1979c, 37) and so distances of less than one kilometre should limit the chances of cemeteries being allocated with settlements adjacent to their associated settlements. A total of 33 closely spaced sets of contemporary settlements and cemeteries was found. The spatial and topographic relationship between the two was measured in terms of orientation, distance in metres and difference in absolute height. In this way it could be demonstrated whether the relationship between settlements and their cemeteries conformed to any regular arrangements (rather than being apparently random ones) and whether those arrangements changed through time.

The vast majority of Period IIIb/ERIA cemeteries were located to the north of the settlements (including the north-east and north-west) (table 6.1). While four of them were on the same height contour as their settle-
ment, fourteen were on a location raised above the settlement. In nine cases the settlement was higher than the cemetery, though the height differential averaged two metres (maximum 3 m., minimum under 1 m.). The height differential for cases with higher cemeteries averaged just under 4 m. (with a maximum of 15 m. and a minimum of 1 m.). This division by relative height was reinforced by differences in orientation. Eleven out of the fourteen higher cemeteries were found to the north of the settlement, while only three of the nine lower cemeteries were located to the north of their settlements. There were no differences in comparative richness or male/female distinctions which could be correlated with this distinction.

The LRIA cemeteries and settlements were arranged on entirely different principles to the ERIA patterns (table 6.1). Of the eight cemeteries, only one was located over 200 m. away from the settlement. There was no indication of any preferred orientation around the settlement and in all cases the cemetery was at the same height as the settlement.

The change in cemetery-settlement relationships can be summarized as follows. From c. 200 AD the dead were no longer kept at a distance from the living community (on average 300 m. away; maximum distance 1000 m., minimum 50 m.) both in terms of distance and height, but were brought into the area immediately outside or even within the community (conversely the settlements may have moved to the burial places as at Hjemsted). The physical position of the dead had changed but it is difficult to interpret that shift without reference to other factors such as changes in the nature of burial which will be investigated below. One possibility is that the link between living and dead was strengthened as the 'otherness' of the dead was denied by their presence around the domain of the living.
6.2 TOPOGRAPHICAL RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE LIVING AND THE DEAD: LOCATIONAL FACTORS OF SETTLEMENT AND CEMETERY SITING

A total of 353 sites dating from Period IIIa to the EGIA were selected from the National Site Register (including the sites in the previous section (see Appendix 2). Of these 227 were cemeteries (23 Period IIIb, 152 ERIA, 49 LRIA, 3 EGIA) and 126 were settlements (15 Period III, 86 ERIA, 13 LRIA, 12 EGIA). The following variables were recorded for each site: its position on a slope (top, middle or bottom), its topographic siting (on a valley slope; in a hollow on a valley slope; at the junction of two streams; on a spur between two valleys; on a hilltop; on a hillside; on a plateau; see figure 6.1), its distance from the nearest water source, the fertility of the underlying soil and the nature of the underlying geomorphology. A series of cross-tabulations (on SPSS - Nie et al., 1970) was carried out to discover whether there were any associations which differentiated settlements from cemeteries in their location and which might have changed through time.

6.2.1 General factors

Cemeteries tended to be placed on the top or middle of slopes while an equal preference was shown for settlement siting on top, middle or bottom (table 6.2). Settlements tended to be placed on south, west or east facing slopes rather than on those facing north; no such preference was shown for the slope orientation of cemeteries (table 6.3). In terms of topography, favourable locations for both settlements and cemeteries were valley sides, hillsides and on gently sloping plateaus (table 6.4). Only two settlements were placed on hilltops (one of them the defended EGIA site of Traelbanken), while 28 cemeteries or graves were placed on the tops of hills. There were no significant differences between cemetery
and settlement location in terms of soil fertility, but a slight trend could be discerned for the geomorphology. Cemeteries were more frequent than settlements on the less fertile outwash sands, while the percentage of settlements on moraine clay was higher than for cemeteries (table 6.5). It is more likely that retrieval biases would account for this pattern since settlements would be more visible on the lighter soils.

6.2.2 Distances from water

The distance of a site from water can be expected to co-vary with position on slope and to a lesser extent with some of the topographic variables. In the majority of cases the nearest source is freshwater (streams, lakes and bogs) but for most of the Period III and ERIA shell middens the nearest water is taken as the sea or saline water courses. Even when the coastal sites are taken into account, the distance from freshwater is different for Period III and ERIA settlements and cemeteries and for those of the LRIA and EGIA (table 6.6). The majority of Period IIIb cemeteries/graves are between 100 and 600 m. from water and the settlements between 50 and 200 m. ERIA cemeteries/graves are clustered between 50 and 500 m. from water and the settlements between 50 and 300 m. from water. For the LRIA no such pattern emerges, partly due to the small number of recorded settlements, but when EGIA settlements are added there is little difference between settlements and cemeteries, which would comply with the conclusions of the previous section, that LRIA settlements and cemeteries were located together.

6.2.3 Orientation of sites

Unless sites were located on flat ground, their orientation was taken as the direction in which they faced downslope. Since most Period IIIb
and ERIA cemeteries were located to the north of settlements and on higher
ground (see previous section), it might be expected that a preference
would be shown for cemeteries to face southwards. However, no such pattern
is observable and no preference is shown for any orientation. There are no
indications of organized directionality for LRIA cemeteries but settlements
are clustered more on south facing slopes (table 6.7).

6.2.4 Position on slope

Period III, ERIA and LRIA are evenly distributed on the bottom, middle
and top of slopes. Cemeteries of these periods are most highly concentrated
on the tops of slopes with fewer numbers in the middle and fewest on the
bottoms (table 6.8). This would not seem to agree with the distinction
observed between the ERIA and the LRIA.

6.2.5 Topographic siting

There is very little observable difference between sites of any of
the periods (except the EGIA where site numbers are too few to constitute
an adequate sample). Between Period III and the LRIA hilltops are locat-
ions for cemeteries but not settlements. In Period III both settlements
and cemeteries are chiefly located on valley slopes and plateaus; in the
ERIA valley slopes, plateaus, valley hollows and hillsides; in the LRIA
valley slopes, plateaus and hillsides.

6.2.6 Soil and geomorphology

Soil fertility is a factor which, to a certain extent, reflects
modern fertilization and land use. However, Kampp's studies (1959) of
yield and productivity do pay attention to the historical dimension and
he suggests that the present distribution of soil types has probably changed
little since prehistoric times. He uses the evidence of land rents (Tønder Hartkorn) from before the Danish agricultural revolution to support this argument. The geomorphology may be a better guide to geographical variations in the prehistoric conditions of agricultural productive potential.

Differences in terms of soil type reflect geographical and regional processes rather than locational preferences at the micro scale. As might be expected there are no significant differences in the location of settlements and cemeteries in relation to soil type and geomorphology. However, there is a regional shift after the ERIA away from the heavier clay moraines in the east coast zone, which is dealt with in Chapter 8.

6.3 CERAMIC AND FAUNAL RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN CEMETERIES, SETTLEMENTS AND VOTIVE DEPOSITS

A lot of information for this section comes from other parts of Denmark and from northern Germany, particularly to provide a reasonable sample of metal artefacts from settlement contexts. The aim of this part of the analysis is to gain some idea of the relationship between activities indicated by settlement debris and activities represented by the placing of items with the dead. In particular, discrepancies between the two are searched for in order to highlight the ritual or domestic associations of artefact types. Where certain artefacts occur commonly in graves but rarely in settlements this might be a further indication that the dead were separated from the world of the living. Settlement contexts of artefacts occurring in graves provide an assessment of symbolic meaning, value and scarcity/abundance of items from graves which could not be achieved by considering the funerary assemblages in isolation. The analysis thus offers a mode of determining the relationship between
social practices and their ideological representations in the treatment of
the dead.

6.3.1 Ceramic assemblages

The most ubiquitous form of portable material culture shared between
varying contexts is pottery. For the whole period under study a general
distinction can be made between large storage vessels and tableware. Both
occur in burial assemblages, the former particularly as containers for cre­
mated human bones. The very large storage pots are well represented from
settlement contexts (Becker, 1961; Hatt, 1957) but rarely occur with burials
(Jarl Hansen, 1982). Apart from this there are no distinctions between
domestic and funerary pottery for the late PRIA and ERIA (Becker, 1961,
247). The lack of published LRIA and EGIA domestic assemblages prevents
pronouncement on domestic/funerary differences but a cursory look at the
Vorbassee ceramics suggests there is no difference (except that flat-bottomed
shallow bowls and thin vase-shaped beakers, which copy glass forms, are
never found in burials). Published pottery from settlements at Dankirke
(Thorvildsen, 1972, 55-6), Enderup and Høgsbro (Jensen, 1980) and Sten­
gården (S. Jensen, 1982) is no different from burial forms.

It is possible to detect certain social restrictions on the avail­
ability of different wares for the late PRIA and earlier half of the ERIA.
Black burnished pottery first appears in bog depositions of Period II of
the PRIA (e.g. Ulkebøl, Gjesing Mose, Nagbøl Norremose and Skovby), as
well as burials (Årre 394 and 398; Becker, 1961) and settlements (Vilstrup
Vestermark, Roager, Grønbjerg; Becker, 1961, 68-73; 1980a). The relation­
ship between the pottery and its users is unknown until the Periods IIIa
and IIIb. The palisaded single farmstead at Grønbjerg, dated to late
Period II/early Period IIIa, contained sherds of black burnished pottery.
The farm differs from Period II farms in the neighbourhood at Grøntoft by being enclosed and possessing a smithy and a barn. A similar isolated and palisaded farm has been excavated close by at Omgård. Radiocarbon dates of 80±70 BC, 200±70 and 90±70 from oak timbers correspond with the late Period IIIa date of the pottery. As well as the farmhouse there is a small outhouse and two barns. Fine tempered black burnished pottery is also found on this site. A third palisaded and initially isolated farmhouse at Hodde, with similar large storage capacity, also contained black burnished pottery but the community of smaller farms which grew up around it did not (Hvass, 1975, 85). These exclusive ceramics are also found in settlement contexts of Period IIIb and the early ERIA at Nørre Fjand (Hatt, 1957, 263-328), Overbygård (Lund, 1979, 12) and Archsumborg (Kossack and Harck, 1973, 489).

At Nørre Fjand a stratigraphic sequence from late Period II to the late ERIA was excavated over an area estimated to include almost half the village. The excavator recognized a sequence of main farms on the basis of size and byre capacity (House XIV Period IIIa, House XVIII 1st century AD, House IX 2nd century AD; Hatt, 1957, 360-1). Although House XIV had burned down it contained few pots but four out of the six were black burnished (Hatt, 1957, 302-5; Becker, 1961, 110-21). In a structure belonging to a neighbouring farm (Ib) no such pottery was found, while in a small outhouse close to XIV, burnt in the same conflagration and possibly associated with it, four of the thirteen pots were black burnished (Hatt, 1957, 292-302). Hatt interpreted this structure as a dwelling on the basis of its hearth but the large quantities of sorted carbonized grain on its floor, its small size (5.5 by 4 m.), its construction (with four internal posts) and its siting in relation to XIV make it far more likely to be a storage outhouse associated with the main farm. Approximately contemporary
neighbouring farms contained no black burnished pottery (IVa) or one sherd only (XVIIb). During the first century AD the main farm XVIII contained several black burnished pots (the exact number is not specified), while neighbouring farms contained none (Ia) or one pot only (IVa and III2) (Hatt, 1957, 263-328). The concentration of this pottery around the main farm still holds true in the second century. House IX had seven black burnished pots and smaller neighbouring structures (Va and VII), which might have been associated outhouses (on size and location as well as pottery joins between IX and VII), also contained the ware (one pot in Va and four in VII).

At Overbygård a sunken outhouse or cellar of IIIb date, which had burned down, contained 60 pots with over 100 litres of burnt grain. The excavator does not specify the exact quantities of each ware but, of the four vessel forms (open-necked straight-sided pots, middle range storage, small pots and bowls, large storage vessels), the first (the most common form) and the third were black burnished (Lund, 1979, 121). Pots from other cellars (all unburned) in northern Jutland and at Sjaelborg (Kjaerum, 1960; Friis and Lysdall Jensen, 1966; Thomsen, 1959) are not black burnished. One problem in assigning the Overbygård cellar to a secure social context is the lack of an associated longhouse which lay outside the limits of the excavation. However, the presence of two swords in the cellar provides an important association for the pottery.

Excavations on the German island of Sylt off the south-west Danish coast have produced further evidence to substantiate the claim that certain dominant social groups were distinguished by their ceramics between the second century BC and the first century AD. Trenches through a defended circular enclosure or ringwork at Archsumborg uncovered parts of longhouses which were associated with black burnished pottery of Phase 1
(Kossack and Harck, 1973, 489) which can be dated to the first century AD. A series of contemporary settlement mounds have been identified around the site (figure 6.2), one of which has been excavated. This site, known as Melenknop, consisted of a small undefended farm and two small outhouses. It produced a first century assemblage of predominantly grey-brown ceramics with only one black burnished cup (Kossack, Harck and Reichstein, 1974, 306).

Evidence for the manufacture of this pottery is particularly lacking but it has a wide distribution in the first centuries BC and AD over southern Jutland and the lack of any concentrations in specific areas argues against distribution from a regionally centralized source (figure 6.3). Evidence from the Overbygård cellar supports the hypothesis of localized production. Approximately 90 kg. of raw clay balls were found during excavation, together with five smoothed stones interpreted as pot burnishers (Lund, 1979, 132). The fine hard fabric of the black burnished ware implies a different preparation and higher firing temperatures from ordinary pottery but no kiln sites have been located.

Finds of bog pottery in southern Jutland from the late PRIA to the end of the ERIA are enigmatic in terms of correlations with social groups. Of the 13 locations which have produced pottery now in the National Museum, only one pot, from Vejen Mose, was black burnished. Pots from five bog sites might once have been black burnished but heavy wear and deterioration in the bog made it impossible to know. The absence of animal bones from all but two of these locations is at variance with an interpretation of these sites as food sacrifices but variation in the destruction of bone material in such contexts is difficult to measure.

Black burnished pottery in graves in southern Jutland has been found in 126 contexts dating between the late first century BC and the late second century AD. Forty-five of these were inhumations (out of a total
of 88 inhumations) and 72 were cremations (out of 910 cremations), demonstrating that these ceramics were far more regularly associated with inhumation graves rather than cremations. The only two graves dated to Period IIIa (Astrup and Hostrup) do not have black burnished pottery (though it is found in the IIIa wagon and weapon cremation at Kraghede in northern Jutland). Eight of the Period IIIb graves had it. Of the two inhumations of that period, Aunevig (Neumann, 1957a) had a single black burnished pot. The other, from Jerne Ringvej, Esbjerg, had no pottery. It was associated with swords in three weapon cremations (Vestermølle 7, Vesterlindet and Sønder Vilstrup 5); of the remaining 17 IIIb weapon graves seven had ordinary pottery and ten had no pottery associated or had pottery badly damaged by the intense heat of the pyre. A further 13 weapon cremations are dated to IIIb/first century AD; two of these, Vestermølle 11 and Vesterbaek 1, contained black burnished pots, while the weapon cremation from Hjortkaer was placed in a partly black burnished urn. Of the nine dateable Period IIIb non-weapon cremations (that is, they all contained fibulae, which may also have been socially restricted articles), four were associated with black burnished pottery (Hjarup, Vorbasse XIX 15, 39 and 45). Only Vorbasse XIX 45 contained an artefact out of the ordinary, a silver fibula.

In the first century AD, 30 inhumations contained varying quantities of black burnished pottery, while only four did not contain any (table 6.9). None of the first century AD weapon cremations had either swords or black burnished pots. Of the six cremations with the ware (Døstrup, Stenderup 13, Dover, Tombølgård II, Kolstrup and Mojbøl), Døstrup and Mojbøl also had Provincial Roman fibulae, Kolstrup had a possible silver pin and Tombølgård II was associated with a Roman bronze dish, a silver fibula, a Roman ladle, three glass beads and two drinking horns (Norling-Christensen, 1960). The only other first century cremation to contain
imports was Hedensted, with a Provincial Roman fibula and a gold berlok pendant but no black burnished pottery.

While black burnished pottery was strongly associated with inhumations, swords and imports in the first centuries BC and AD, its associations in graves were more diffuse and less constrained in the second century. Thirteen inhumations contained the ware (table 6.9) and eleven did not. Twenty-one cremations of second century date had black burnished ware but only Gjesing and Dons were associated with gold or silver jewellery and only Kvistrup 17 and Vester Vedsted with weapons. Four of these cremations (Kvistrup F, Over Lerte 18, Enderupskov 9, Galsted 3) were of children or infants and had a single or no grave goods. It is also worth noting that the eight late second century well-furnished import and weapon cremations (2 from Bjergelide, 3 from Kastrup, 2 from Brokaer Mark and Gjenner) are not associated with the pottery. Thus it would appear that black burnished pottery was no longer an indicator of social distinction by the second century and a process of emulation can be postulated to account for its use among groups of varying status. Its restricted associations in burials and in settlements of the first centuries BC and AD are extremely useful in defining a socially pre-eminent group in terms other than imported wealth alone. It should not be ruled out that the domestic tableware of an elite (as found in the remains of the main farms) might have served as funerary ware for lower social groups, but the tightness of the restricted associations (with inhumations and imports) makes such a hypothesis very unlikely until the second century.

Finally, the production of different styles of pottery in both black burnished and plain ware can be registered (table 6.10). Eleven of the 26 pot forms recognized by Jarl Hansen (1982) for IIIb-ERIA did not have black burnished versions. The pottery is divided into three main groups; A: open
bowls, B: footed cups, C: rounded narrow-necked pots. These are subdivided into the 26 forms. Of the 15 forms with black burnished versions, three (A1, B1, C1) occur throughout the period, and the vast majority of C1 and B1 types are black burnished. Of the predominantly first century forms (A3, B2, C6, C7, C18), A3 and B2 were mostly black burnished, while C6 and C7 were rarely found with black burnish (C18 was too rare to be evaluated). Of the second century styles (A2, B3, C2, C5, C8, C10, C17), only C2 and C10 were regularly black burnished and then only seven of these are known. While there are more second century forms which might have black burnished versions, the total number of pots is only 25, compared with 40 in the first century. Their dwindling numbers in burial contexts may indicate their increasing unfashionability in the second century. Certain forms were almost exclusively black burnished (A3, B1, B2 and C1) and their shapes suggest that they were fine tablewares specifically connected with eating and/or drinking. Thus the fashion in black burnished wares was also a new fashion in eating and/or drinking adopted by the elite.

Two other aspects of ceramics can be considered briefly. The very fine pottery in the second century inhumations of Agersbøl 2, six Grave 1 and 1b has been identified by Klindt-Jensen as probable imports from the Elbe region (1949, 182). The graves are well-furnished with gold and silver fittings, glass beads and other imports. Klindt-Jensen also recognized a small group of painted cremation urns from the south-eastern corner of southern Jutland. Nine vessels are known from Enderupskov, Overjersdal, Tinglev, Kastrup. Kvistrup, Knud and Sønder Vilstrup and all are second century except Overjersdal 1 and 2. The undersides of the urns are painted with small white circles; the style has been compared with pottery from first century BC levels at Stradonice in Czechoslovakia (Klindt-Jensen, 1949, 175) but that pottery has painted spots on its top-
side as well as being much earlier in date so the connection should be treated with scepticism.

6.3.2 Faunal assemblages and food offerings

It is possible to make some comparisons between livestock butchered in settlements and animals sacrificed as food offerings for the deceased, though most of the evidence lies outside southern Jutland on account of the unfavourable conditions for bone preservation of the local soil. Slaughter patterns have been evaluated for the settlements at Veileby on Zeeland and Feddersen Wierde on the North Sea coast of Germany (Higham, 1967; Haarnagel, 1979). At the ERIA site at Veileby cattle, pigs and sheep occurred in equal proportions but horses and goats were rare. Cattle were killed selectively between 18 and 24/36 months and pigs between 17 and 24 months. Half the sheep were under two years old, though over a quarter reached adulthood. At Feddersen Wierde (first century to fifth century AD) the kill patterns are different with over 60% of cattle over three years old at death, over 50% of pigs killed over two years old and 60% of sheep killed over two years old. The evidence suggests that animals were reared for meat at both sites.

From southern Jutland animal bones have been identified and analysed from graves at Lejrskov (7 graves), Bredstrup Mark (2 graves), Emmerlev, Eskelund Kro (Müller, 1900) and Kastrup, all of ERIA date (there are no doubt many more cremations with animal bones but they have not been systematically investigated). With the exception of Kastrup the graves contained bones of sheep alone. The graves had few grave goods in contrast to the Kastrup graves; Kastrup 2 had sheep bones only but Kastrup 1 contained bones of sheep, horse, cow and pig. These vague indications that the wealth of grave goods is related to the types and numbers of animals sacrificed are
considerably reinforced by burial evidence elsewhere in Denmark.

Simple burials from Fraugde on Funen (Müller, 1900) and Bøgebjerg on Zeeland contained just sheep bones. In contrast, the Period IIIa wagon and import grave at Kraghede contained the whole carcasses of at least two horses, two pigs and a sheep, as well as the bones of cattle and sheep (Klindt-Jensen, 1949, 203-6), while a similarly dated cremation from Try, also in northern Jutland, contained a bronze cauldron and bones of sheep and pig (Brøndsted, 1960, 62-3). Rich ERIA graves on Zeeland at Hoby and Catrinedal contained young pig and sheep bones and pike bones respectively (Friis Johansen, 1923; Liversage, 1980). Rich early LRIA graves on Zeeland and Funen show similar sacrifice patterns with bones of sheep, pig, goose and cattle (Müller, 1897, Engelhardt, 1877; Herbst, 1861; Thrane, 1967; Petersen, 1890; Muller, 1900, 1911, Schou Jorgensen et al., 1978). Though the evidence is not as large as it could be, it would appear that the number and range of animals slaughtered bore some relation to the lavishness of the grave goods provided, demonstrating a direct link between the abilities of certain groups to raise and sacrifice livestock and to procure imported wealth. Cattle, pigs and unusual animals such as goose and pike can be seen to be restricted to pre-eminent social groups as sacrifice animals, whereas sheep were sacrificed across the spectrum. Cattle and pigs might have belonged to a restricted exchange sphere, in the same way as black burnished pottery; while the results are limited, there is great potential in this line of research, with major implications for information on the exchange and value of animals. A final note on burials can be added. Liversage has suggested that many of the poor ERIA graves on Zeeland had the corpses wrapped on cowhides, according to the thin dark stain around the bodies, but no chemical tests have been carried out.

Sheep, cattle and pig bones are also known from votive deposits and
horses are particularly common (Chapter 6.4.5). The only reasonable faunal assemblage from a votive deposit in southern Jutland was recovered at Hjortspring where bones of sheep, cow, calf, pig and two dogs, as well as an almost fully articulated horse skeleton, were associated with the Period II/early IIIa deposit of a boat and weapons (Rosenberg, 1937, 33-7). However, the votive deposits provide less information than the burials on animal sacrifice and status.

6.4 SYSTEMS OF VALUE: ARTEFACTUAL RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN CEMETERIES, SETTLEMENTS AND VOTIVE DEPOSITS

The most basic standards of value for moveable property in the Danish Iron Age are perhaps not too difficult to assess. Imported items, particularly those of gold and silver, may be safely assumed to have been given a greater and different value than items of bronze or iron, possibly with a few exceptions (discussed below). A close comparison of finds from settlements and graves can indicate more subtle differences and variations in the rarity values and exchange contexts of items which, from their burial contexts alone, might not be fully appreciated. This approach has been carried out to a limited extent for Middle to Late Woodland societies in the central mid-western United States. The wider cultural contexts of artefacts found in burials were evaluated to discover whether they were associated with socially restricted activities and whether they were rare or accessible only to certain social groups. It was expected that items functioning exclusively as symbols of office would be found only in manufacturing contexts or ritual disposal areas, and so comparisons were made between items in graves and items discarded on settlement rubbish heaps (Braun, 1977, 243).
Since the numbers of portable metal artefacts from settlement contexts in southern Jutland are very small, finds from settlements throughout Denmark and northern Germany were included. It was also necessary to have some idea of the archaeological site formation processes which led to the deposition of artefacts. For example, an important distinction should be made between artefacts which were abandoned or discarded and those which were lost and not retrieved, as in cases where the context was destroyed by fire preventing the recovery of items and providing a Pompeii-like 'frozen moment'. The situation is complicated further by the occurrence of fragments of items which in their whole form would not have been discarded so, although direct comparison is impossible, this is useful for demonstrating that certain items were in use in settlements and were used until they broke. Further problems are deciding whether small items such as coins were discarded or lost and whether hoards of precious items were deposited and never retrieved or deposited with no intentions of recovery (like the weapon deposits in lakes and other votive deposits).

Artefacts found on settlements can be divided into their chronological groups as well as various spheres of life with which they would have been associated. In the latter case these divisions should not be regarded as absolute but are useful in arranging the material (however they are derived roughly from their groupings in burials). An example of an artefact cross-cutting categories is the re-use of a spearhead as a knife from a late PRIA house at Hurup in northern Jutland (Rasmussen, 1968, 142). The divisions employed can be listed as follows: weaponry; domestic and agricultural utensils; dress items; imports (particularly those for drinking); and items for specialized activities.
6.4.1 Weaponry

From the weapon assemblages in graves of the first century BC to second century AD and the votive deposits of the third to fifth centuries AD, the standard equipment of warriors can be assessed and the ratios of different items can be compared with their occurrence in non-ritual deposits. Spurs and riding gear are the least frequent items, followed by swords, followed by spears and shields (most of which had iron bosses). Arrowheads are extremely rare in burials (known only from two burials at Agersbøl and Naesbjerg), which is strange since the weapon deposits indicate that they were an integral component of warfare.

The recovery of arrowheads from settlement deposits reinforces the notion of their scarcity from burial contexts. One has been published (though as yet undated) from Feddersen Wierde (Haarnagel, 1979, Tafel 46) and another was found in the make-up of the main mound at Kastrup. While the excavator interpreted the whole deposit as an offering place of ritual significance (Neumann, 1957), the presence of large quantities of potsherds and iron slag with an ash layer containing slag, quern fragments and whetstones indicates that the mound fill was composed of settlement rubbish.

Riding spurs have not been found in settlement contexts, emphasising their restricted availability, and metal bridle remains (as common as spurs in votive deposits but almost totally absent from burials) are known only from ERIA rubbish deposits at Veileby, although a chain of iron rings from House BA at Overbygard might have formed part of a bridle (Lund, 1975, 145). Antler cheek-pieces from bridles, as found in the Period II/IIIa weapon deposits at Hjortspring, are known from six refuse contexts dating between mid-PRIA and the ERIA (Liversage, 1980, 97).

Swords are not as common as spears or shields in burials and votive
deposits. In the Ejsbøl weapon deposit the ratio of swords to paired
spears and lances is just over 1:3 but for weapon graves in southern Jut-
land of first century BC - second century AD date there are nearly 60 sword
burials to 70 weapon burials of spears and shields but no swords. It is
likely that swords are overrepresented in the burials, in relation to other
weapons. There is no evidence that any of them were made of local iron
(Levinsen, pers. comm.), though spears are more likely to have been made
out of the bog iron. Furthermore, written sources from the early Medieval
period indicate that a sword was exchangeable for seven cows, a substantial
value indeed (Voss, 1963, 8). The settlement evidence also emphasises their
rarity and value. Only one sword, a small one-edged type, is known from a
rubbish context in the ERIA settlement at Gamløse Amager on Zeeland (Liver-
sage, 1980, 79). Sword fittings are known from two settlement contexts;
sword sheath attachments from the ERIA House C at Dalshøj on Bornholm
(Klindt-Jensen, 1957a, 185-208) and a chape from a LRIA/EGIA occupation
layer at Stavad in northern Jutland (Dehn, 1980). The burnt Period IIIb
cellar at Overbygård contained two sheathed one-edged swords which had been
hung by the doorway at the time of the fire and not recovered (Lund, 1979).
While swords were kept in settlements, they were probably handled by a
small minority, possibly just the inhabitants of the main farms. They were
far more socially restricted than might appear from the burial evidence
alone and their virtual absence from settlement contexts implies that they
were either handed on as heirlooms or ritually destroyed in burials and
votive deposits, rather than being thrown away once they were old. This
would imply that they possessed a symbolic significance greater than their
value as a weapon alone.

In relation to swords, spears are relatively common on settlements.
Twenty iron spearheads are known from settlement contexts in Denmark bet-
ween Period IIIb and the EGIA. One, re-used as a knife, comes from Hurup.
Other individual spearheads are known from ERIA contexts at Veileby (Müller, 1906), Lundsgård (Albrechtsen, 1946), Dalshøj C (Klindt-Jensen, 1957a), Dankirke (Thorvildsen, 1972) and Vibjerg (Liversage, 1980, 79). Six iron spearheads were found in an uncertain context in the defences of the late PRIA-ERIA fortification at Borrebjerg on Sejerø (Liversage, 1982, 87). Whether they were thrown away or formed a special deposit is unknown. At Dankirke one LRIA and two EGIA spearheads were found in occupation levels, while five were ploughed out of LRIA/EGIA occupation levels at Sorte Mulde on Bornholm (Klindt-Jensen, 1957a, 175-85). Strangely enough no shield bosses are known from settlement contexts. Finally, no helmets have been found in burials. Open banded metal helmets are known from the Thorsbjerg weapon deposit and from several Swedish sites, and one has been found in a 'grubenhuis' in the EGIA settlement at Drengsted (Voss, 1967).

6.4.2 Domestic and agricultural items

The most common recognizable metal artefacts from settlement contexts of all periods are straight iron knives, complimenting their frequent occurrence in graves. From Feddersen Wierde 19 small knives and two large knives (over 20 cm. long) were found in the whole excavation. The list of Danish finds is as follows: Late PRIA - one from Hodde (Hvass, 1975, 85); one from Løgten cellar G (Kjaerum, 1960, 89); ERIA - two knives from House BA, Overbygård, and one from House NH, Overbygård (Lund, 1976, 145); one from House A, Østerbølle (Hatt, 1938, 182-3); two from House II, Malle Hede (Hatt, 1938, 247); one from Myrthue; one from Køngsted; one from Lundsgård (Albrechtsen, 1946); several from Veileby; one from House C, Dalshøj (Klindt-Jensen, 1957a, 185-208); three from Gamløse Amager (Liversage, 1980, fig. 37); one from Kastrup ash layer; LRIA/EGIA - two knives from Oksbøl (Hatt, 1948, 49); four from Sandbanken; five from Faverholt; fifteen from Dalshøj
A and B; three from Sorte Mulde. Also an unspecified number of knives was found in layers of various periods.

Sickles are relatively rare grave goods, known only from seven IIIb-ERIA graves in southern Jutland. They have been found in ERIA settlements at Overbygård House NH (Lund, 1976, 145) and Nørre Lyngby (Glob, 1937, 190). An undated one comes from Feddersen Wierde (Haarnagel, 1979, Tafel 46). Their rarity in both contexts is best interpreted that they were specialized agricultural implements rather than that they were prestigious items, but their association with priestly groups from the Roman ethnographic literature must not be forgotten. Their appearance in the LRIA-EGIA weapon deposits at Illemose, Nydam and Vimose might be noted in this connection (Brøndsted, 1960, 243).

There are two types of agricultural implement which never occur in burials; axes (including adzes or hoes) and shovels. Two shovels are known from settlements in northern Jutland (Hatt, 1953, 17; Glob, 1937, 186). Axes are known from Hodde (Hvass, 1975, 85), Nørre Fjand (Hatt, 1957, 333-5) where a hoe was found in House XIX and an axe was placed, probably deliberately, blade upright under an outhouse, IIII, Overbygård where two axes (possibly hoes) were left in the burnt cellar by the door, and Østerbyølle where two axes were found in House A (Hatt, 1938, 182-3). Battle axes are known from late second/early third century cremations at Bodum and Brokaer Mark but the absence of axes, hoes and shovels from ritual contexts indicates a separation of agricultural activities associated with these tools from funerary and votive rituals.

6.4.3 Dress items

The inorganic remains of costumes in which the deceased were dressed comprised principally fibulae, glass and amber bead necklaces, dress pins,
belthangers and belt buckles. From the first century BC to the second century AD buckles and fibulae were the most usual vestiges, while necklaces made their appearance particularly in the LRIA and EGIA. The small sizes of these items would have raised their chances of being lost. Broken items, particularly fibulae, might also be expected in rubbish or occupation layers.

A very clear pattern emerges for the loss or discard of fibulae on settlements through time (table 6.11), which is at odds with the numbers recovered from graves over the same timespan (table 5.6). The gradual increase in fibulae from settlements through time suggests that their value declined steadily. The fall in numbers of fibulae in graves in southern Jutland in the LRIA and EGIA must be partly understood as a result of depopulation in the area and can be redressed when it is considered that the numbers of fibulae found on females are regularly more than two but rarely over four, in contrast to the ERIA when individuals were rarely dressed in more than two.

The pattern for amber and glass beads from settlements is similar. Only one glass and two amber beads have come from secure ERIA contexts, while very large numbers of mainly glass beads have come from LRIA and EGIA contexts. A couple of hundred glass beads have been recovered from unstratified contexts at Dankirke (Thorvildsen, 1972, 48) and are most likely LRIA/EGIA in date. Such a pattern corresponds very well with the occurrence of beads in graves over the same timespan.

Strangely enough, belt buckles along with knives are some of the most common items of grave equipment, but apart from three in EGIA levels at Dalshøj and Sorte Mulde on Bornholm, there are none from settlement contexts. It is possible that they were very personalized items unlikely to be lost due to their attachments to leather belts. Belthangers which are
common in LRIA and EGIA graves have only been found in an EGIA settlement context at Dalshøj. Dress pins, other than those of bone, are also virtually absent, matching their rareness, although a silver one was found at Dankirke.

6.4.4 Imports

This category of finds is particularly important because it offers an opportunity to monitor the consumption of wealth in graves and votive deposits with the actual availability and use of imported 'prestige' items on settlements. Fluctuations in trade and procurement can then be compared with fluctuations in the deliberate disposal of wealth. Imports can be divided into two forms as they appear on settlements; the broken fragments of items or the near-complete or complete items themselves. The latter are much rarer and the exact reasons for their deposition are likely to have been different to the depositional processes which led to the discard of broken fragments of items such as glasses, terra sigillata, and silver and gold ornaments. Amongst the whole imports may be listed gold, silver and bronze coins, fibulae and extraordinary finds such as the wagon from Fredbjerg or the drinking horn from Dankirke (table 6.12).

Glass has been found in at least three ERIA settlement contexts and six of LRIA/EGIA date in southern Scandinavia and northern Germany. Six of these are in southern Jutland, which helps to eradicate the problem of differential regional trading and availability in northern Europe. The increase in these sherd finds over the period corresponds to a certain extent with the placing of glasses in graves. However, the fall-off of vessels in LRIA and EGIA graves does not correspond to the discovery of large quantities of glass from contemporary sites such as Dankirke. In House V, an EGIA longhouse which was burned down, an unspecified number of imported glasses lay smashed on the floor (Thorvildsen, 1972, 48).
Broken glass might be reused, as demonstrated by the 'window' pot found in the EGIA settlement at Drengsted; glass fragments were set in the bottoms of ceramic drinking cups and are known all over northern Europe (Voss, 1962).

Samian ware is relatively rare and is known from only 13 burials in Denmark and Sweden, the pots or sherds all dating between 150 and 200 AD (Lund Hansen, 1981, 160). In the same area sherds of Samian are known from four settlements. The only dateable sherds are from Lundsgård which are c. 200 AD. From northern Germany Samian has been found on settlements such as Hodorf where it is late second century (Haarnagel, 1937, 66-7) and Feddersen Wierde where it is early second century (Haarnagel, 1979, 311). Thus the few available dates correspond between settlements and burials.

It is perhaps surprising that scraps of silver and gold appear in settlement contexts, presumably so small that they were easily lost. They have been found at Dankirkе at least in the LRIA-EGIA levels (Thorvildsen, 1972, 51-2, 59). A small piece of gold sheet was found in the ERIA settlement at Veileby (Müller, 1906). In this connection it is worth mentioning the stone moulds for gold bars recovered from the LRIA phase at Vorbasse and the loose find from Haderslev Amt (Wiel, 1976). Silver denarii principally of the first and second centuries AD are relatively common settlement finds, as well as occurring in the third century weapon deposits and in stray contexts at Vester Vedsted and Kirstinelyst in southern Jutland. It has been pointed out that the supply of coinage to western Europe north of the frontier, including Jutland, was fullest in the first century AD and was overshadowed in the second century by supplies to eastern Europe and the Baltic (Lund Hansen, n.d., 15-16). The hoard from Ginderup, with coins dating between 124-103 BC and 74 AD, was probably deposited at the end of the second century (Hatt, 1935a, 47-50).
Republican coins have also been found at Vester Vedsted and Dankirke, though the Dankirke coin is one of 36 silver denarii dating principally between 117 AD and 211 AD, with a later coin of 276-282 AD (Bendixen, 1972). Second century denarii have been found at Feddersen Wierde (Haarnagel, 1979, 311) and Hodorf (Haarnagel, 1937, 66-7). Two worn denarii were found in EGIA contexts at Dalshøj A and B (Klint-Jensen, 1957a, 185-208). A fragment of a LRIA/EGIA silver fibula and a whole silver fibula were found at Sorte Mulde and Dalshøj, while imported bronze Provincial Roman fibulae have been found in first century BC/AD levels at Dalshøj and in an ERIA context at Hodorf.

For the ERIA it is clear that imports of bronze, silver and glass were reaching Jutland in the first century AD, and even more were getting through in the second century. This makes an interesting comparison with the presence of similar imports in graves of the same dates (figures 6.4, 6.5). While the pattern of gradual increase is the same in both contexts, the quantities of imports in first century settlement contexts is more substantial than would be predicted from the grave goods alone. This interpretation is also supported by the discovery of wagon fragments from two locations in and around a first century AD longhouse at Fredbjerg in northern Jutland. The wagon was of the same type as those from the votive deposits at Dejbjerg and the cremations at Husby (Raddatz, 1967), Langå and Kraghede which date to the last two centuries BC (Jensen, 1980a). The elaborate fittings of these vehicles and their associations with lavish funerals (including weaponry and black burnished pottery) indicate that they were prestigious items and it is odd that one should end up in an occupation layer as much as a century later after its counterparts had been ritually dispatched. Two explanations are possible - either the ritual destruction of wagons (and other prestige goods) was unfashionable in the
first century AD or wagons of late La Tène design were themselves unfashionable by the earliest ERIA, and no longer considered suitable accompaniments to the corpse. The presence of first century AD silver coins and glass, as well as the wagon, are good evidence that the availability of imported and prestige goods was at odds with the lack of richly equipped graves.

Finally, the collections of EGIA goldwork from the Bornholm settlements of Dalshøj (a hoard of gold solidi and a gold fibula, with a gold disk and two gold spirals nearby) and Sorte Mulde (a solidus, seven gold sheets and a gold ring) fall into the category of the fifth-sixth century gold hoards discussed in Chapter 3. The contexts had been disturbed by ploughing; in the case of Dalshøj, the hoard was estimated to have been hidden in great haste outside House A (Klindt-Jensen, 1957a, 185-208). The disposal of these items would, like the Ginderup hoard, appear to be due to different formation processes than casual loss or discard. Dalshøj House A had been burned down and it is very possible that the hoard was buried in a moment of danger and never recovered. The almost complete absence of gold from EGIA graves in southern Jutland as well as from the LRIA burials is totally at odds with the recovery of gold from settlements and hoards of the EGIA, indicating that valuables were kept in circulation or disposed in votive deposits or simply hidden, rather than being placed with the dead.

6.4.5 Artefacts linked with specialized activities (table 6.13)

A group of artefacts from Scandinavian graves of the ERIA has been identified on the basis of their co-association and morphological similarities to modern equipment, as leather-working kits. Sewing needles of bronze or iron, iron awls, small S-shaped knives with convex blades and
halfmoon convex knives (generally known as 'razor knives') are the essential components of these kits (Hagberg, 1967, 115). Hagberg notes that 'razor knives' are unlikely to have been used for shaving since, although they are male-associated, they do occur in female graves on Bornholm and in Bohemia (Hagberg, 1967, 117, 119). In southern Jutland 'razor knives' are found specifically in male assemblages, while needles and S-shaped knives are specifically female associations (the only exception is Dover 9, a second century cremation with a small 'razor knife' and an S-shaped knife). These items are restricted to the late PRIA and ERIA though an S-shaped knife has been found in a late fourth century cremation, Farre 4. The female-associated set of needles and S-shaped curved knives is extremely common in simple cremations and yet these artefacts occur very rarely in settlement contexts, in contrast to straight knives. Needles are known from PRIA contexts at Dalshøj Houses G and H and ERIA contexts at Holgersdal and Gamløse Amager. A curved knife was found in Dalshøj House C and two are known from Feddersen Wierde. Awls are more common and are known from ERIA settlements at Overbygård, Hørup, Nissehøj and Dalshøj C, while 14 were recovered from Feddersen Wierde. No halfmoon 'razor knives' (which are thought to be antecedents of the saddler's knife) have been found in settlements despite their regular occurrence in graves. This discrepancy suggests that these tools are highly personalized and had a value far greater than would be estimated for the resources and labour involved in their manufacture. While they do not occur in children's or juveniles' graves, two children's graves have curved knives (Tirslund 23 and Hørløk 61) and two have needles (Grønnebaek 9 and Tirslund 14), so the latter two types were definitely not the working equipment of the deceased (Grønnebaek 9 was a newborn infant). It is not unreasonable to infer that leather-working was recognized as an important activity since it formed an important aspect of the social persona of the deceased as represented by the inclusion of tools in the grave. A number
of first century inhumations with black burnished pottery possessed curved knives or needles, while halfmoon knives also appear in inhumations and sword cremations. Thus there is no class distinction of leather workers and their appropriators as represented (and possibly misrepresented) in funerary ritual. However, these items are far rarer in inhumations and the well-equipped graves than the poorer cremations (table 6.14).

Other evidence for leather working in the Iron Age of Jutland is slender. Capes and shoes of leather have been found in 14 bog locations in Jutland (Hald, 1950, 7-78) but no bogs, which would have been suitable environments for leather processing, have produced waste or other indications of manufacture. It is possible that the bundles of animal bones, particularly of horses but also cattle and sheep, which have been found in bog deposits of the RIA, might have been by-products of leather production. These bundles consist of skulls, tails and feet or lower limb bones and would be left attached to the hide once the meat bones had been removed. They are known from ERIA-EGIA deposits at Skedemosse in Sweden (Boessneck, van der Driesch-Karpf and Gejvall, 1968, 95), fourth-fifth century deposits at Rislev (Ferdinand, 1961, 84-8) and possibly the ERAI deposits at Bukkerup (Becker, 1971a, 43-5). The Rislev context was favourable for the preservation of organic material but no hide remains were found with the bone bundles.

Further evidence that hide and leather working were socially important activities is provided by Hagberg who compares the distribution of leather working tools in graves to that of Roman imports in graves in southern Sweden and notes a close geographical correlation (Hagberg, 1967, 122, figs. 56 and 57). A comparison of the geographical distribution of import graves in southern Jutland of the first century BC (figure 6.6), first century AD (figure 6.7) and second century AD (figure 6.8) and the
distribution of leather working equipment (figure 4.9) shows a very broad correlation, with the leather working tools found mainly in the wedge of fertile moraine clays on the east coast where the second century rich graves are, and a heavy concentration down the west coast where marsh meadows have been very suitable environments for cattle rearing (Jensen, 1937, 313-4), but where there are few rich burials.

Other items which would appear to have been used in specialized activities are spindlewhorls, combs (of bone in the ERIA but also of iron in the LRIA), iron shears and tweezers (which are more likely for personal toiletries rather than production activities). Tweezers have been found at the Period IIIa settlement of Bruneborg (Jacobsen, 1979, 11) and the ERIA settlement at Hemshøjgård (Liversage, 1980). Their recovery from four graves in the south west of southern Jutland (possibly a very localized burial tradition) reflects their limited appearance on settlements. Iron shears are also rare on settlements, with only one from the ERIA site of Veileby, though they are found in the north German sites of Dithmarshen (Buchholz, 1963, 124) and Feddersen Wierde. Their limited occurrence in these contexts is matched by their appearance in 14 graves, the majority being exclusive burials such as import graves, weapon graves and inhumations. Their elite associations indicate that they had a social value much greater than their intrinsic worth as iron tools. Combs are more difficult to evaluate. Their association with female assemblages is clear in the LRIA, but whether they were used for animal fleece or human hair is unknown. ERIA bone combs are restricted to the moraine clays and thus might be related to agricultural activities in that area. Conversely, the soil there might have been favourable for their preservation though since they have been recovered from cremations, the calcination has aided their survival. It is more likely that their distribution reflects social rather than post-
distribution of leather working equipment (figure 5.9) shows a very broad
correlation, with the leather working tools found mainly in the wedge of
fertile moraine clays on the east coast where the second century rich
graves are, and a heavy concentration down the west coast where marsh
meadows have been very suitable environments for cattle rearing (Jensen,
1937, 313-4), but where there are few rich burials.

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ivities are spindlewhorls, combs (of bone in the ERIA but also of iron in
the LRIA), iron shears and tweezers (which are more likely for personal
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at the Period IIIa settlement of Bruneborg (Jacobsen, 1979, 11) and the
ERIA settlement at Hemshøjgård (Liversage, 1980). Their recovery from four
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burial tradition) reflects their limited appearance on settlements. Iron
shears are also rare on settlements, with only one from the ERIA site of
Veileby, though they are found in the north German sites of Dithmarshen
(Buchholz, 1963, 124) and Feddersen Wierde. Their limited occurrence in
these contexts is matched by their appearance in 14 graves, the majority
being exclusive burials such as import graves, weapon graves and inhumations.
Their elite associations indicate that they had a social value much greater
than their intrinsic worth as iron tools. Combs are more difficult to
evaluate. Their association with female assemblages is clear in the LRIA,
but whether they were used for animal fleece or human hair is unknown. ERIA
bone combs are restricted to the moraine clays and thus might be related to
agricultural activities in that area. Conversely, the soil there might
have been favourable for their preservation though since they have been
recovered from cremations, the calcination has aided their survival. It
is more likely that their distribution reflects social rather than post-
depositional processes. They are relatively common in settlements outside Jutland (due to suitable soil conditions) and are known from Veileby, Ganløse Amager, Hemshøjgård, Sorte Mulde, Peddersen Wierde and Hodorf. Finally, spinning whorls are virtually absent from burials (two are known, from ERIA cremations at Over Lerte) but are amongst the most common settlement finds. Thus their rarity in burial contexts does not imply any marked social worth, but simply that they were not considered as suitable grave goods.

6.5 SUMMARY

The great strength of an analysis based on cross-contextual relationships is that it disposes with arbitrary estimations and ethnocentric assumptions of value, prestige and labour cost. This chapter forms some crucial bridging arguments with implications particularly for the identification of status and ranking from burials. Comparison of black burnished pottery from settlements and cemeteries of the first centuries BC/AD permits the identification of elites even when their graves contained no other 'prestige goods'; an analysis of the burials alone might well have missed this relationship. Also the study of topographic relationships in the siting of settlements and cemeteries indicates a shift in the status of the dead around 200 AD which is supported by changes in monumentalization and grave good provision at that time (Chapter 7.3.7, 7.3.13), as well as the change to votive deposition as the major form of wealth destruction (Chapter 9.3-4). That point marked the demise of wealth destruction (or investment) with the dead and without other archaeological sources the resulting homogeneity of burials might be taken mistakenly to infer a non-hierarchical society.
The systems of value can also be reconstructed without reliance on a scale of rarity for artefact types deduced from the grave assemblages alone; comparison with items found in other contexts, particularly settlements, reveals which were actually rare though perhaps common in funerary contexts and vice versa. The symbolic importance of tools associated with leather working and other similar tasks (curved knives, razor knives and shears) was particularly emphasised in ERIA burials, suggesting that that industry was of great importance. Conclusions can also be reached about the restricted availability and high value of commodities such as horses, cattle, swords and various imports.
Figure 6.1 Typology of site locations on varying terrain.

Figure 6.2 ERIA settlements around Archsum on Sylt (Kossack & Harck 1973).
Figure 6.3 Black Burnished ware from graves in southern Jutland (filled circles = 1st century BC/AD half open " = 2nd century AD open " = ERIA ).
Votive Offerings

Grave Goods

Household Production

Figure 6.4 Byre capacity and funerary and votive consumption (Parker Pearson 1984a).
Figure 6.4a  Key to symbols.
Figure 6.5 Funerary and votive consumption in the ERIA-EGIA (Parker Pearson 1984a).
Figure 6.5a Key to symbols.
Figure 6.6 Well-equipped cremations of Period IIIb.

△ With sword, spear & shield and silver or gold

△ With sword, spear & shield

▲ With two of the three (● in a mound; ▲ with silver/gold)

▲ With one of the three (● in a mound; ▲ with silver/gold)
Figure 6.7 Well-equipped graves of the 1st century AD in southern Jutland.

◊ Grave with Roman import(s).

▲ Grave with silver or gold.

▲ Grave with weaponry.
Figure 6.8 Well-equipped 2nd century AD burials.

- Inhumation with imports
+ Cremation with imports
  + Cremation with silver or some imports
  ▲ Grave with weapons
Figure 6.9. The distribution of leather working equipment from ERIA graves.

- Razor knives
- Curved knives
- Needles
- Shears
- Awls
Table 6.1 Orientation, distance (in metres) and height of cemeteries to settlements.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bottom of slope</th>
<th>Halfway up slope</th>
<th>Top of slope</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CEMETERIES</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SETTLEMENTS</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.2 Positions of sites on slopes.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>North</th>
<th>North-East</th>
<th>East</th>
<th>South-East</th>
<th>South</th>
<th>South-West</th>
<th>West</th>
<th>North-West</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CEMETERIES</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SETTLEMENTS</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.3 Orientations of settlements and cemeteries.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Plateau</th>
<th>Valley slope</th>
<th>Hollow in valley</th>
<th>Junction of two streams</th>
<th>Spur on valley side</th>
<th>Hilltop</th>
<th>Hillside</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CEMETERIES</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SETTLEMENTS</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.4  Topographic siting of settlements and cemeteries.
Table 6.5 Geomorphology underlying settlements and cemeteries.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Glacial sand</th>
<th>Outwash sand</th>
<th>Moraine clay</th>
<th>Marsh</th>
<th>Dune</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CEMETERIES</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SETTLEMENTS</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Distance from water (in hundreds of metres):

|   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 | 27 | 28 | 29 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---- | |
| CEMETERIES |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Period III | 1 | 3 | 1 | 7 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| ERIA      | 13| 30| 20| 15| 13| 3 | 6 | 8 | 6 | 6 | 3 | 6 | 6 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| LRIA      | 3 | 10| 4 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| EGIA      | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| SETTLEMENTS |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Period III | 3 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| ERIA      | 20| 12| 11| 6 | 7 | 5 | 2 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| LRIA      | 3 | 0 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| EGIA      | 1 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

Table 6.6 Distance from water of settlements and cemeteries by period.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>North</th>
<th>North-East</th>
<th>East</th>
<th>South-East</th>
<th>South</th>
<th>South-West</th>
<th>West</th>
<th>North-West</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>CEMETERIES</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per III</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERIA</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LRIA</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EGIA</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SETTLEMENTS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per III</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERIA</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LRIA</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EGIA</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.7 Orientations of the down slope on which sites are located.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bottom of slope</th>
<th>Halfway up slope</th>
<th>Top of slope</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>CEMETERIES</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per III</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERIA</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LRIA</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EGIA</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SETTLEMENTS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per III</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERIA</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LRIA</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EGIA</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.8 Positions of sites on slopes by period.
1st century AD inhumations with black burnished pottery

| Ottersbøl Ib | Kolsnap 5 | Nørre Lerte |
| Ottersbøl II | Tornumskov 1 | Nyrthrue |
| Ottersbøl I2 | Lindved | Tirslund 7 |
| Forum | Hillerup B | Tirslund 9 |
| Byens Mark | Jerne Ringvej | Tirslund 12 |
| Brøndum | Nollund | Enderupskov 20 |
| Alslev | Hjemsted 21 | Enderupskov 19 |
| Stenderup 40 | Dover III | Enderupskov 370 |
| Stenderup 43 | Dover | Enderupskov 376 |
| Lønne Hede | Dover | Enderupskov 265 |

1st century inhumations with ordinary pottery

Aldumgård
Grønnebaek 6
Grønnebaek 13 (partly black burnished)
Tulsmark

2nd century inhumations with black burnished pottery

| Hørløk 2 | Hjemsted 1406 |
| Hørløk 40 | Agersbøl 6 |
| Hørløk 41 | Bredal |
| Saedding | Frokjaer |
| Marienlund West | Lindeballe |
| Dollerup A2 | Vilslev J |
| Hjemsted 120 | |

2nd century inhumations with ordinary pottery

| Agersbøl 1b | Kastrup 278 |
| Agersbøl 2 | |
| Hvejsel | |
| Drønderup Skov | |
| Marienlund East | |
| Dollerup A1 | |
| Dollerup E | |
| Kaergård | |
| Hørløk 1 | |
| Hørløk 3 | |

Table 6.9 ERIA associations of inhumations with black burnished pottery.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pot Type*</th>
<th>Black Burnished</th>
<th>Total*</th>
<th>Date Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Handled Cup</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1st-2nd century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1st-2nd century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1st-2nd transition to 2nd century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1st century to 1st-2nd transition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1st-2nd century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1st century BC/AD to 1st-2nd transition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1st-2nd transition or 2nd century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C1</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>1st-2nd century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2nd century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Late 1st to 2nd century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1st to 1st-2nd transition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>1st to 1st-2nd transition</td>
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<td>C8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1st-2nd transition to 2nd century</td>
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<td>C10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2nd century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C17</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2nd century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1st century BC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(* according to Jarl Hansen 1982)

Table 6.10 Proportions of black burnished pots to ordinary pots in different ERIA styles.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period IIIb</th>
<th>ERIA</th>
<th>LRIA</th>
<th>EGIA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dankirke</td>
<td>Lundsgard</td>
<td>Stavad G</td>
<td>Oksbøl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalshøj D</td>
<td>Dalshøj C (3)</td>
<td>Vejlby</td>
<td>Høgsbro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalshøj E</td>
<td>?IIIaHodorf</td>
<td>Dankirke (3)</td>
<td>Dankirke (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dalshøj A &amp; B (5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sorte Mulde (5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hodorf (5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.11 Dress items found on settlements.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period IIIb</th>
<th>ERIA</th>
<th>LRIA</th>
<th>EGIA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Myrthue III</td>
<td>Vorbasse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dankirke</td>
<td>Stavad G</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Feddersen Wierde</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Glass</td>
<td>Dankirke</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Drengsted</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Høgsbro</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sorte Mulde I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lundsgard</td>
<td>Vorbasse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Feddersen</td>
<td>Hoder</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Wierde</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Samian Ware</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dankirke (37D)</td>
<td>Dankirke (pin)</td>
<td>Dalshøj A&amp;B (2D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ginderup (25D)</td>
<td>&quot; (scraps)</td>
<td>Sorte Mulde (F)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hodorf (1D)</td>
<td>Dalshøj (F)</td>
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<td>Feddersen Wierde</td>
<td>Dalshøj (F)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(D=denarius, F=fibula)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vejlby (scrap)</td>
<td>Dankirke</td>
<td>Dalshøj A (H)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Ginderup (A)</td>
<td>Sorte Mulde (H)</td>
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<td>Gold</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dankirke (drinking horn)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Other Imports</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fredbjerg (parade wagon)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dalshøj D (Prov.Roman fibula)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hodorf (Prov.Roman fibula)</td>
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<td>Table 6.12 Imported items found on settlements.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Period III</td>
<td>ERIA</td>
<td>LRIA</td>
<td>EGIA</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Period III ERIA LRIA</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Vejlby</td>
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<td>Dithmarshen</td>
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<td>Feddersen Wierde</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dalshøj D</td>
<td>Vejlby</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalshøj G</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dalshøj G&amp;H</td>
<td>Holgersdal</td>
<td>Gamløse Amager</td>
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<td>Sorte Mulde</td>
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<td>Dalshøj C</td>
<td>Overbygard</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nissehøj</td>
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<td>(14 undated from Feddersen</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Wierde)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Dalshøj C</td>
<td>Feddersen Wierde (2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vejlby</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hemmshøjgard</td>
<td>Gamløse Amager</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(5 undated from Hodorf and</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Feddersen Wierde)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bruneborg</td>
<td>Hemmshøjgard</td>
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<td>(1 undated from Feddersen</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Wierde)</td>
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</table>

Table 6.13 Specialized tools found on settlements.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Razor Knives</th>
<th>Curved Knives (alone or with needles)</th>
<th>Needles</th>
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<td>Period IIIb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
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<td>15</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELITE*</td>
<td>ORDINARY</td>
<td>ELITE*</td>
<td>ORDINARY</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*(elite defined by association with swords, black burnished pottery or inhumations)*

Table 6.14 The relationship between leatherworking equipment and social status from burials of Period IIIb and the ERIA.
PART FOUR: LONG-TERM TRENDS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

CHAPTER SEVEN

LONG-TERM CHANGE: THE BURIAL EVIDENCE

The aims of this chapter are to chart the consumption of wealth in the provision of grave goods through time, to examine the distribution of that wealth according to some of the conclusions reached in Chapter 6, and to examine the evidence for continuity and change in funerary traditions. The data base is more wide-ranging than those used in specific studies of individual cemeteries (Christoffersen, 1978; Kunst, 1978; O'Shea, 1978; Goldstein, 1980; Brown, 1971) but more limited geographically than broad studies of specific burial types such as princely graves (Gebühr, 1974; Frankenstein and Rowlands, 1978). All burials in southern Jutland are incorporated in the analysis, which attempts first to examine individual burial variability regardless of the spatial and geographical dimensions (i.e. to concentrate on the grave and grave goods and their relationship to the age, gender and class of the deceased) and secondly to examine spatial and temporal positioning of graves in relation to each other (when and how cemeteries developed and where people were buried in relation to each other).

7.1 MALE AND FEMALE ASSEMBLAGES

7.1.1 The comparative material

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the only surviving human skeletal evidence is from cremations. The only osteological analysis of gender available in
southern Jutland is from the small Period IIIb/ERIA cemetery at Karensdal carried out by Pia Anders of the University Anthropological Laboratory in Copenhagen (table 7.1). Comparative material of male and female burials with their respective grave goods comes from the areas to the north (northern Jutland), the south (northern Germany) and the east (the Danish islands) of that region. In this way identifications from the whole surrounding region should be representative of gender ascription of artefacts in southern Jutland.

Specific analyses are available for German cremation cemeteries at Preetz (Schaefer in Brandt, 1960, 93-111; LRIA), Pritzier (Schach-Dörges, 1968, 42; LRIA) and Hornbek (Rangs-Borchling, 1963, 52-3; Period IIIa to ERIA). On the Danish islands certain cemeteries such as Simonsborg have been given full skeletal examinations and 82 determinations are available for the ERIA on Zeeland alone (Liversage, 1980, 13-14). The studies of physical traits of the Iron Age population carried out by H.A. Nielsen at the turn of the century provide age and sex determinations (1906, 1915) for some graves from ERIA cemeteries in the Århus area of central Jutland (Norling-Christensen, 1954) as well as for various burials on the islands (Müller, 1897, 214-21; Engelhardt, 1877; Herbst, 1861; Neergaard, 1892). Some recent identifications are also available (Thrane, 1967; Schou Jørgensen et al., 1978; Raddatz, 1962). The material from southern Scandinavia and northern Germany in the ERIA has been summarized by Gebühr who has provided a detailed analysis of artefact/gender relationships for the Elbe/Oder region and the Danish islands (1976, 87-92, 118-22, 125, 128).

7.1.2 Artefact associations in the ERIA

Standard female artefacts and associations are curved S-shaped knives, sewing needles, spinning whorls, three or more fibulae and S-shaped
clasps. Standard male artefacts and associations are swords, shields, spears and half-moon razor knives. Quite frequently male burials would have no gender-specific artefacts; 14 out of the 42 male identifications on Zeeland had only a pot each, while 26 of them did not have any grave goods. There are a number of artefacts which are shared by both sexes but which are more commonly associated with one sex rather than the other. Paired or two fibulae, combs, dress pins, glass and amber beads and drinking horns are more commonly female-associated, while long knives (over 16 cm.), spurs, awls and buckles are more common to males. Single fibulae, shears, small knives and Roman imports (glasses, metal cups, strainers and cauldrons) are equally distributed between the sexes.

There are two graves which do not conform to this pattern. Grave 73 from Lisbjerg, a 50-year old male (Nielsen, 1915, 336-7), contained a razor and a small curved knife, while Grave B from Grandløse with three fibulae, an ornamented belt, a silver pin, a needle, an awl and three pendants were found on a skeleton identified as a 50-60 year old male. Liversage suggests that the gender identification is spurious on account of the three fibulae (Liversage, 1980, 34) but the awl and the belt are commonly male-associated. This contradictory mixture of male and female associated artefacts may be best explained by the breakdown of sexual stereotypes and roles in the second century (see below).

7.1.3 Artefact associations in the LRIA

The osteological evidence for LRIA burials is far smaller than for the ERIA. The German cemeteries of Pritzier and Preetz provide some material, as do various odd graves on the Danish islands, particularly some of the well-equipped graves containing imports. Schach-Dörges' list of wholly female-associated artefacts (spinning whorls, keys and three
fibulae), mainly female (pins, glass beads, two fibulae and combs) and mainly male (buckles, arrowheads and shields) from Pritzier generally complements the material from Preetz. Twenty-four cremations were examined and defined as female, probably female and male/female, which led the excavator to interpret this as a wholly female cemetery. The most commonly associated artefacts with these bodies were glass beads, bone pins, shears, bone combs, sewing needles, knives, two or three fibulae and occasionally spinning whorls, buckles, armbings, single fibulae, iron dress pins and keys. The Danish graves from Nyrup, Nordrup, Himlingøje, Varpelev and Uggeløse indicate that large amber and glass bead necklaces and three or more fibulae are female-associated. However, it is not so easy to make clear gender distinctions when the skeleton has disappeared, since certain attributes (one or two fibulae, belt and knife, comb and one or a few beads) are shared between the sexes, though weaponry is still male-associated.

7.1.4 Gender associations and change through time

The ascription of certain artefacts and artefact associations to male and female spheres cannot be treated without a consideration of the time dimension and the historical process whereby the definition of gender is constantly reconstructed. Assemblages of the first centuries BC/AD are well demarcated along the lines of gender. There are no ambiguous associations of grave goods, with the exception of the first century Graves 1 and 2 from Overjersdal which contain weaponry and curved knives. By the second century ambiguous associations of male and female artefacts are far more common and ten graves are known in southern Jutland where sewing needles, curved knives and pendants occur with weapons (Hjemsted I Grave 56, Tornumskov Grave 2, Bjergelide, Gonsager, Faested, Vilslev E, Gjenner,
Grønnevej, Erritså 12 and possibly Knud 3). By the LRIA elaborate necklaces do seem to be solely female-associated but the distinction between females with little jewellery and males with beads is hard to make. The sparsity of EGIA graves makes gender differentiation for that period a difficult task.

7.2 THE EFFECT OF AGE ON BURIAL ASSEMBLAGES

The relationship between age grading and its effect on the mode of burial can be directly investigated for 284 ERIA cremations from southern Jutland whose teeth have been aged generally to within ten years. While these graves spanned two centuries, they can be combined to form a mortality chart of the average lifespan of individuals in the ERIA (table 7.2). The results are not surprisingly very similar to those of the same period in Zeeland (Liversage, 1980, 13-15) which are interpreted as typical of primitive and early societies until the end of the Medieval period, though in both cases the infant and child mortality rates are much lower than expected. According to Hachmann (1970, 328) less than half the individuals born reached adulthood and Liversage suggests that many of the babies and children were disposed of in ways other than burial in cemeteries.

7.2.1 General observations

In the ERIA on Zeeland grave goods increased with the age of the deceased. Few children were provisioned with goods and the older women were more likely to have equipment such as pots, sewing needles, awls, curved knives, spindle whorls and fibulae. No such increase with age was observed for the adult males (Liversage, 1980, 15). The cremation graves in southern Jutland demonstrate a far greater variability of artefact associations (tables 7.3, 7.4, 7.5). Amongst the children only three
had no accompaniments other than the urn their ashes were placed in, eight had a knife, three had knives and fibulae and two had dress pins.

Only four child inhumations were identified (on the basis of grave size) but many may have been unrecognized (found to be apparently empty fills) and others without grave goods cannot be dated (Rugballe, Stenderup 21, Nollund). Two of the child inhumations from Tirslund had single pots and a third had a possible dress pin. No artefacts were specific to certain ages within childhood, nor were there any regular 'kits' such as weapon sets or leather-working sets. Only three children had more than one grave good and only one had as many as three. Interestingly, out of the five aged cremations which were accompanied by black burnished pots, all but one were children.

7.2.2 Female age and artefact sets (tables 7.3, 7.4)

After childhood a regular set of associations (curved knife, sewing needle and fibula) accompanied the individual through life. Between late teens and late 30s additional accoutrements were limited to straight knives, buckles, combs and in one case a sickle and beads. From the 40s through to the 70s the range of the personal assemblage expanded further to include glass beads, pins, tweezers and an armring. The numbers of fibulae with each individual were also age-related. Between 20 and 30 no person had more than one (though a 3-6 year-old at Over Lerte 18 had two), between 30 and 40 three of the seven fibula associations were paired; between 40 and 70 three had three fibulae each and three had two each out of twelve fibula graves. This correlation of artefact sets with age is not absolute and certain of the 50-70 age group had the same assemblages as 20-30 year olds.
7.2.3 Male age and artefact sets

Two groups could be identified within the group which was interpreted as male, those with weaponry and those with long knives and buckles (table 7.5). In the latter there were no differences in assemblage according to age. The standard weapon assemblage of spear, shield and knife was found with all ages from 20-30 to 50 and over. A sword, shears and a fibula accompanied graves in the over 50s group but the small number of identifications does not make any correlation of these objects with old age possible. The only unexpected identification is Vesterbaek 1 where a spear, shield and knife had been burnt with the body of a probable child aged 8-10. Otherwise no males under the 20-30 age bracket were buried with weapons.

7.3 WEALTH CONSUMPTION AND DISTRIBUTION 100 BC - 600 AD

7.3.1 Methodology

Out of the possible 1890 burials known for the period in southern Jutland 640 graves were selected according to their integrity as closed finds (Appendix 3). The qualifications for closed contexts rested on the physical preservation of the grave and the standards of excavation employed in its recovery and recording. For example, many urn cemeteries were omitted because they had been substantially damaged by ploughing or other industrial or agricultural processes. Excavations by professional archaeologists or competent amateurs were considered sufficiently rigorous for the material to be considered suitable. Where possible the graves were divided into five chronological groups; 31 Period IIb burials, 115 early ERIA, 238 late ERIA graves, 90 early LRIA and 62 late LRIA and EGIA graves, which left 104 graves which could not be dated more closely than Period IIb-ERIA and LRIA-EGIA. The numbers for each period were fairly small and care
was exercised in the interpretation of the mathematical significance of correlations and associations. The statistics used were Chi-square tests and the Phi (ϕ) correlation coefficient (Thomas, 1976, 264-291, 419-23). More notice was taken of the Phi coefficient scores even though Chi-square tests might prove statistically significant since the Chi-square test is not independent of sample size, which was quite small in many of the correlations.

7.3.2 Period IIIb burials

Period IIIb graves could only be differentiated from early ERIA graves on their metalwork associations and so a large number of cremations with few or no grave goods must have belonged to this period but have been assigned to the early ERIA. The material consisted of 15 weapon cremations, 12 needle and/or curved knife cremations and two inhumations. The most frequent weapon associations were swords, spears and shields (swords and spears ϕ = 0.60, shields and swords ϕ = 0.75, spears and shields ϕ = 0.71). Curved knives and needles were found together in only five cases and needles were not associated with curved knives in seven contexts (a weak ϕ score of 0.45) but weaponry and leatherworking kit were never found in the same assemblage. From the evidence in section 7.1 they are interpreted as male/female divisions. From the evidence presented in section 6.3 the sword burials are those of the newly established elite, as are the other cremations with black burnished pottery and the two inhumations at Aunevig and Jerne Ringvej. Artefact associations are portrayed in table 7.6.

7.3.3 The Early ERIA graves (table 7.7)

There are 26 weapon graves dated to the first century AD, of which 21 contained both shields and spears (ϕ = 0.87). Swords were virtually absent
(in contrast to their common occurrence in Period IIIb weapon cremations) and found in only four graves, one of them an inhumation at Dover III (the only inhumation of the first centuries BC/AD to contain weaponry with the possible exception of Stenderup 43 which contained the broken blade of a large dagger or sword). Another five sword cremations may belong to this period but cannot be dated more closely than Period IIIb/early ERIA.

There were 42 graves with female assemblages. Twenty-six of these contained both curved knives and needles ($\phi = 0.67$). Long knives never occurred with curved knives in 62 contexts except in Overjersdal 1 and 2 and only with a needle in one out of 64 cases. They were regular components of weapon assemblages, being associated in 15 out of 32 occurrences.

The weapon cremations had fewer swords and no black burnished pottery and are best interpreted as a secondary class of warriors. The status of inhumations has been pointed out in Chapter 6.3. Three inhumations contained gold rings (Alslev, Tulsmark and Ottersbøl I2), and shears were found in two of them as well as in an old and unreliable excavation of an inhumation at Bjergelide and in a cremation with weapons at Byens Mark. From Chapter 6 it is clear that this association of inhumations, black burnished pottery, gold rings and shears represents the top of the community hierarchy. Spurs are associated with a number of Period IIIb/early ERIA burials; the sword cremations of Tudvad P and Hjartbro, a shield cremation at Over Lerte A (not a secure context since it had been badly damaged before excavation) and an inhumation at Byens Mark. Thus spurs can be added to the list of elite associated artefacts. The only combinations of Roman imports in graves come from two cremations, one at Tombølgård, with black burnished pottery, two drinking horns, a strainer set, a bronze dish, a silver fibula, a bead necklace and bronze armrings, and Hedensted, with a gold berlok pendant and a bronze Provincial Roman fibula.
7.3.4 Late ERIA weapon graves (table 7.8)

In the later part of the ERIA (second century), 22 graves contained spears and/or shields with 16 combining both ($\phi = 0.83$). Weaponry was still rare in inhumations (only at Agersbøl and Bredal) but unlike the previous period it was regularly associated with imports, gold and silver. While eight of the 15 spear and shield combinations were not associated with imports or swords, most of the sword burials were found with imports of one kind or another. Swords were not found with imports in three contexts but with them in 11 at Hjemsted 23 (with a silver ring), Hjemsted 56 (with spurs), Hjemsted 57 (with a silver ring and hook) and Bjergelide (with spurs and a silver disc) and in seven of the nine late second century large cremations (see below).

7.3.5 Inhumations of the second century

The inhumations of the second century were much larger than those of the first century (table 7.9). The most prominent is the double burial of Dollerup A (figure 7.1; Voss and Ørsnes-Christensen, 1949). One body was accompanied by a silver gilt fibula, two drinking horns, a gold ring and three pairs of silver discs and the other by two gold rings, two spurs, a silver fibula, two bronze buckets and two silver cups. A cauldron handle was also recovered by workmen in the sand quarry where the graves were found and may have come from another unlocated import grave. A group of five inhumations were found at Hørløk (Neumann, 1978) which contained spurs, silver dress fittings and the remains of lavish costumes. Hørløk 40 contained exactly the same ceramic set as was found in both Dollerup A1 and A2 and in all three cases the pots were placed in exactly the same locations in and around the grave. No other burials from any period in southern Jutland have identical ceramic patterning. The Hørløk grave
contained no metal imports but a small set of black and white gaming counters were placed at the feet. These are regularly associated with Roman imports in the 'princely graves' of the northern European RIA (Gebühr, 1974) and demonstrate another link between these elite inhumations at Hørløk and Dollerup.

The group of inhumations under mounds at Agersbøl have similar features. One of the graves (Mound 6 Grave 1) had been badly disturbed by the construction of a much later windmill. A pit and an oven in its west end, which contained cremated bone, were taken by the excavator as a combination of inhumation and cremation rites. In section these features cut the grave fill and are better explained as medieval or post-medieval cuts probably associated with the construction of the windmill. Despite the disturbance the contents of the grave included a gold-sheeted silver fibula, fragments of silver fittings, a razor knife and fragments of a bronze vessel. Mound 2 was built over an inhumation with a large number of imports including pottery from the Elbe region (see Chapter 6.2). These consisted of three gaming counters, a short sword, a lance and a spear, a tiny gold ring, a knife, the handle of a silver cup and seven clumps of silver fittings and fragments. Mound 1 Grave B contained some fragments of iron and bronze and pottery and had no imported artefacts except for one of the pots which was of the same type as those from Mound 2. A small grave (A) was dug into the top of the same mound and contained only pottery which was late ERIA/early LRIA in date.

The grave from Bredal was an inhumation similar in size to the large graves at Dollerup, Hørløk and Agersbøl; the body had been placed in a large wooden chamber in a grave cut 4.00 m. long by 1.50 m. wide. The grave goods included 11 black and 11 white glass gaming counters, two silver and gold inlaid spurs, a gold ring, a small silver spoon, shears,
a lance and shield, belthangers, eight silver nails, gold sheet and 12 items with gold or silver inlay.

At Kaergård an individual had been buried in a large hollowed-out tree trunk in a grave 5.00 x 2.25 m. in size. On the bottom of the grave were a spur, unidentified lumps of bronze and iron and a gold coin (26-37 AD) with two second century pots. There were no traces of the corpse and there was no indication whether the coin had been placed in the mouth, as is found in graves closer to the Roman frontier.

Two inhumations over 3 m. long from Marienlund also contained elite-restricted grave goods. In one were drinking horn fittings and shears, as well as a knife, and in the other a silver fibula, a silver ring, silver dress fittings and amber ornaments, as well as a curved knife, a straight knife and two bronze fibulae.

The last second century inhumation with imported grave goods was excavated as the primary burial under a mound at Kastrup (Grave 278). A tree trunk coffin contained pottery, a Roman casserole pan of silvered bronze, a knife, two spurs, an electrum ring, fragments of drinking horn and a broken spur (Jakobsen, 1975). The grave was of similarly large proportions as the others.

Six other inhumations of the second century over 3 m. long but without imported grave goods have been found in southern Jutland (Dollerup E, Drenderup Skov, Hjemsted 120, 1404 and 1406 and Hvejsel). Hjemsted 120 contained a gold ring and may have had further grave goods destroyed in the digging of a pipe trench through it. Hvejsel contained a first century iron fibula (Lund Hansen, 1974) but the pottery was second century in date. Three more graves of similar type under mounds at Vorbasse can be added to this list though their pottery is transitional ERIA/LRIA (Vorbasse Stone pile 2, Grave I, Mound 4 Grave II and Mound 5 Grave III). There are only
four second century inhumations which were not over 3 m. in length; Gammelby (which cannot be assigned to the second century with confidence), Tornumskov 19 (which is dated to the first/second century transition and is 2.90 m. long anyway), Agersbøl 1A (mentioned above; probably a child's grave) and Tornumskov 20-21 (which contained large quantities of burnt sherds more characteristic of a cremation burial).

7.3.6 Cremations with imports of the second century

The other major burial context for Roman imports is a series of seven cremations containing large quantities of grave goods from Kastrup (Graves 1, 2 and 10), Brokaer Mark (two graves), Bjergelide and Gjenner (an old and poorly recorded find). They are all characterized by weaponry (only Gjenner does not have a sword possibly due to retrieval problems), cauldrons, spurs and imports associated with drinking. All except Kastrup 1 and 2 and Gjenner had gold rings; all except Kastrup 10 had drinking horns; all except Kastrup 1, 2 and 10 had ladles and sieves. The burials are all late second century, dating right up to the end of the ERIA. The lack of all but a cremated finger bone at Kastrup led the excavator to interpret the whole mound sequence as an offering place (Chapter 2.1) but it is more likely to have been a cenotaph. The tendency to locate import graves as well as inhumations in the same place in the second century (Agersbøl, Dollerup, Kastrup, Brokaer, Hørløk) may be an indication of family and lineage ties determining the place of burial, though it is possible that members of the elite were buried in the same place regardless of kinship; certainly this practice had replaced the male/female separation of burials (see Chapter 7.4).
7.3.7 Mound building and monumentalization in the second century

The large inhumation graves of the second century already mentioned (table 7.9) were features of a growing monumentalization of burials of the ruling classes. The construction of mounds over graves was similarly confined to the second century, from inhumations at Agersbøl, Hvejsel, Kastrup and Vorbasse and cremations at Kastrup. Certain first century BC/AD graves such as Aunevig were buried in the tops of pre-existing mounds but none can be demonstrated as primary features. At Hjemsted III the well spaced ERIA inhumations were clearly respected by those of the LRIA and EGIA and must have had above-ground markers, possibly mounds, which have long since vanished. Grave 218 is first century in date and may well have had such a marker, though it was not so clearly respected as the second century Graves 120 and 1406. At Hørnløk at least two of the second century inhumations (2 and 40) were surrounded by circular structures which included a small ditch. The excavator interpreted these as gravehouse foundations (Neumann, 1978, 25) but they might be better interpreted as the outer ditches of small mounds since ploughed out; either way they were clearly marked on the surface by monumental structures. The Gammelby inhumation was dug into the top of an earlier mound, suggesting with its small size that it probably belongs in the first century AD. An undated ERIA inhumation from Nollund with a black burnished cup base was buried under a mound, though a secondary inhumation which cuts it was not identified as primary or secondary to the building of the mound (Thomsen, 1967). The second century graves at Kaergård and Drenderup Skov were marked on the surface by a small mound and a stone pile respectively.

There are 21 cremations and 13 unspecified graves of first century BC/AD - second century AD date recovered from mounds, though it is unknown whether these were primary or secondary burials since most of these were
found in the nineteenth century land clearances and were not rigorously excavated. Kastrup 2 is the only cremation known from a primary context in a mound. Kastrup 1 and 10 were secondary burials, as was Kastrup 270, a late second century cremation, secondary to Kastrup 278. Mound B at Baekke (figure 7.2) contained four cremations (two second century and two early LRIA) though none of them were primary; an empty 1 x 1.5 m. feature in the centre may have been the primary burial, possibly of a child without grave goods. Secondary ERIA cremations in mounds have been found at Allerup, Vonsbaek, Bindeballe 5a, Hjulland and Egholt. A probable cremation from Bindeballe, which was a secondary interment under a large stone pile in a mound, cannot be dated more closely than ERIA but contained an Østland Keddel (a cauldron possibly of Eggers type 39-40), a bridle and pieces of iron and wood which may have been furniture or even cart fittings.

7.3.8 Summary of changes in wealth consumption and distribution

C. 50 BC - 200 AD

From associations in and between settlements and cemeteries (Chapter 6.3) it has been demonstrated that a chiefly class of farmers emerged around 200 BC. While these held power at the village level, there are indications that some may have had domains of influence covering large areas. The graves from Kraghede, Husby and Langa might be those of people who belonged to such a supra-local group. None of these wagon and cauldron burials are known in southern Jutland in Periods IIIa and b but there are many graves from Period IIIb which were those of the village chiefly families. The presence of a sword and black burnished pottery set of cremations indicates the male elite burials which contain all the items of silver and gold and riding spurs found in graves at that time with the exception of a silver fibula. This comes from Vorbasse Grave XIX 45 which also contained a curved knife and black burnished pottery. Similar elite female cremations are
known from Hjarup and Vorbasse graves XIX 39 and XIX 15.

The rarity of swords in first century AD burials does not reflect their scarcity at that time (Chapter 6.4). None of the spear and shield cremations contained black burnished pottery, spurs, shears (except the 50-70 year old in Byens Mark 1), drinking imports, gold or silver; these are the graves of a secondary warrior class emulating the elite practice of destroying weaponry on the pyre in the previous couple of generations or so. The inhumations with their black burnished pottery, spurs, shears, gold rings and occasional silver or bronze imports may be taken as the top of the village hierarchy. They are not lavishly equipped burials and only one contained a sword. It is quite clear that they could have been supplied with a greater quantity and quality of grave goods (Chapter 6.4) but there must have existed some form of social control on wealth disposal which was to be gradually eroded in the next century. The only burial with an impressive import assemblage is the cremation from Tombølgård II. Its southerly location places it in the Anglian group rather than the Overjersdal group (Todd, 1975, 81), a distinction emphasised in the second century by the construction of the Olgerdige linear earthwork (Neumann, 1977, 1982). The distribution of first century inhumations (figure 7.3) also confirms the regionalization of this elite practice north of the Schleswig area. The Tombølgård cremation with its black burnished pottery is an elite grave but it may have belonged to a social and economic sphere on a different trajectory of development.

Inhumations of the second century were much larger than those of the preceding two centuries (3-5 m. long) and were further monumentalized by the construction of mounds over them. Inhumation was still a practice confined to the elite, though not completely, and the dead were buried in hollowed-out tree trunks or large plank chambers. The deceased was often
dressed in luxurious clothing; at Bredal, Agersbøl 2, Hørlevk 41, Dollerup A1 and A2 silver and gold fittings and thread adorned the clothes of the deceased, while the quality of the textiles in the graves at Dollerup and Tornumskov 19 (as well as the lavish late second century cremation at Brokaer) was much higher than any first century cremations or inhumations or second century cremations (Bender Jørgensen, 1979). Spurs, gold rings and silver and bronze imported drinking sets were common accompaniments to these spectacular burials. The basic distinctions of pottery type and disposal rite (inhumation or cremation) marking out the graves of the first century elite were broken down and the criteria of elite membership shifted to monumental graves and the explicit demonstration of wealth destruction including socially restricted items such as spurs, swords, Roman drinking equipment and items of gold and silver (see Chapter 6.4 and Chapter 9).

The distribution of these elite burials has been taken as indicating territories whose centres were spaced about 15 miles apart (Hedeager and Kristiansen, 1981, 125-6), roughly equivalent to the present day herreds (or 'hundreds'). The scale of elite power had thus shifted beyond the domain of the village since the first century BC. The distinction between these elite graves and the shield and spear graves was still the same as in the first century AD with a socially pre-eminent group of predominantly older men (Gebühr, 1975; Hedeager and Kristiansen, 1981, 125) and a secondary group of active warriors, though the acquisition of power came from inherited position as much as age grading. The poorer furnished inhumations of the second century are best interpreted as those of members of the elite who either could not obtain imports or who shunned ostentatious display (or whose successors did anyway). If the former was the case it may indicate increasing centralization of wealth not only between families but within them; Grave E at Dollerup is very similar in treatment and layout of pottery
to Dollerup A except that it has no imports.

The evidence from graves of the first and second centuries for the increasing concentration of wealth is difficult to interpret due to the small total of first century grave wealth. In first to first-second century graves only 13 had imported grave goods and, with the exception of glass and silver beads, only two (Tombølgård and Dons 1) had more than one import. Of 13 import graves dateable to the early-mid second century, only two had more than two imported items (Kastrup 278 and Styding) and these did not have more than five. By the late second century 18 graves from eight locations contained over 90% of the grave wealth (between four and 10 imports in each grave) with only five others containing any imports at all (varying between one and three imports in each grave). On their own these figures suggest that wealth was no more concentrated in the second than in the first century but simply that it was more accessible or acceptable as wealth to be buried with the dead. However, if the evidence for population expansion is taken into account (table 7.10, Chapter 7.4), then the numbers of people appear to have doubled in that time. Also, the spatial encroachment of elite power would have meant that there were fewer members of the ruling class than before, in relation to the total population. Thus it may be concluded that there was a long-term process of wealth accumulation for consumption at the graveside as it became more and more concentrated in the hands of a few.

The close spatial association of the late second century import graves in small cemeteries at Kastrup, Hørløk, Brokaer and Agerskov indicates that the wealthy were buried together. These may be family plots (see Chapter 7.4) and the presence of wealthy graves of young men elsewhere in southern Scandinavia has been taken as evidence of inherited wealth at this time (Hedeager and Kristiansen, 1981, 125).
7.3.9 LRIA graves of the third century containing imports

In the earliest stages of the LRIA there are certain graves which follow the same pattern of wealth distribution found in the late second century. It is possible that they are roughly contemporary with or just slightly later than those graves, since some of them are distinguished chronologically only by the presence of LRIA style pottery (see Chapter 5.2). As in the earlier period, the import graves had above-ground markers.

Højvang 1 was a primary inhumation under a mound. The grave contained pottery and a Rhenish glass beaker with a lion head motif of late third century date which were placed in a large wooden plank coffin (Neumann, 1953). The grave was 3.80 x 2.00 m. large, far larger than any other LRIA and EGIA burials (table 7.11), and all its features are far more in line with the late second century tradition of inhumation burial. Consequently, despite the break in material culture styles, it is best seen as representing the very end of that tradition.

Two so-called 'death houses', consisting of rectangular arrangements of wooden posts associated with cremations, have been excavated at Farre (Thorvildsen, 1951) and Enderupskov (Neumann, 1970). The 'death house' at Farre (Grave 9) was constructed of two parallel lines of stones orientated east-west and 14 m. long with a burnt post structure of eight posts at its west end. These enclosed a burnt layer of sherds and other artefacts with an urn at the centre (figure 7.4). The artefacts were severely burnt but among the 218 gm. of melted bronze, 14 gm. of melted glass and 11 gm. of melted silver were a bronze fibula fragment, at least one glass vessel and 375 glass beads.

The Enderupskov 'death house' consisted of 12 outer postholes covering a square area of 13.50 x 13.50 m. with a burnt layer in the middle. The
posts had been burned when the charcoal layer was deposited, but there is some doubt about the validity of all the postholes since later large-scale excavations in 1977 demonstrated that the area was densely covered in post features from a Period I/II settlement. However, the feature is definitely a funerary structure and the artefacts recovered included three pots, fragments of a Samian bowl made in Lezoux between 150 and 200 AD, melted glass beads, three green glass gaming counters, some silver lumps, some bronze fragments and cremated bone.

A cremation grave of similar type to those from Gjenner, Kastrup and Brokaer was found under a stone setting at Bodum. It is dated by a bronze belthanger to early Cl and belongs either in the transitional phase between ERIA and LRIA along with the second grave from Brokaer or slightly later. The assemblage included two pairs of spurs, a ladle and sieve, glass bowl fragments and a steel battleaxe. The grave was found by workmen in 1853 and is not a reliable closed find.

Similar import graves in mounds have been found in southern Jutland but all were recovered in the last century and their recording is very poor. The cremation at Oxvang was placed in a Hemmoor bucket and buried in the top of a pre-existing mound. A mound at Sneumgård contained a bronze bucket, a lance, a bronze torc, glass beads, a bronze fibula and a silver and gold fibula, but it is not known whether there was more than one burial or whether it was a primary burial. At Forballum a Hemmoor bucket and a Provincial Roman silver gilt bronze cup were found in a mound, while at Barsbøl a cauldron, a spearhead and a chainmail suit came from an unknown context.
7.3.10 LRIA graves of the third century containing weaponry

Inhumations with swords of this period are known from Petersborg, Gammelby, Lille Almsdok, Vorbasse 13 and Bevtoft. The latter was equipped with a gold ring and spurs, the insignia of elite status, while the others belonged to at least the second grade of warriors. The distinction maintained since the first century AD between weapon graves and import graves was becoming increasingly broken down, with only seven weapon graves without imports, four import graves without weapons and five with both (see table 7.12); the association of cremations with weapons also had ended by this time. Four of the 11 weapon graves were not buried in mounds; none of the weapon burials in mounds are known to have been primary graves.

7.3.11 The decline of the cremation rite

In contrast to the ERIA, the majority of LRIA graves are inhumations. There are only 49 cremations of LRIA and EGIA date. As mentioned above, there are no LRIA burials which definitely had mounds built over them (except for those import graves already mentioned) and this decline in monumentality is matched by the smaller size of LRIA grave cuts. Secondary burial in mounds is known from seven cremation contexts and eight inhumation contexts, with eight where the rite was unknown. While some of these were import or weapon graves, there was no distinction between mound burial and grave content, except that weapon graves tended to be buried in mounds.

All the LRIA cremations contained mundane and sparse grave goods with the exception of Oxvang, Bodum, Farre and Enderupskov mentioned above, which belong to the end of the rich grave cycle. All the others consist of urns containing cremated bones and few, if any, grave goods (bone combs at Vindelev, Store Darum and Lerbaek Hovedgård, which also contained a spinning whorl). The cremation from a reused mound at
Torgunsminde was not placed in an urn but was associated with three pots of types normally found in inhumations of the same period. An urned cremation was found in the same mound as a phase C2/3 glass at Tvillinghøj but the urn was buried a foot deeper than the glass and was probably an earlier deposition.

7.3.12 Standardization of LRIA inhumation graves (tables 7.13, 7.14)

The remainder of the burials are inhumations which can be divided into two assemblages with male and female sets (see Chapter 7.1). They are known from the cemeteries at Hjemsted III, Vorbasse, Stenderup, Naesbjerg and Enderupskov and from small groups of graves such as Brøns and Gammelby and from single finds of graves. As mentioned above, the LRIA inhumations are smaller than those of the ERIA (tables 7.8, 7.11). Amongst the larger graves of this period (between 2.80 and 3.50 m. long) there are no special features of the grave goods or the interment facility which correlate with the size except for Grave 143 from Enderupskov (2.85 x 1.65 m.) in which a large wooden chamber was placed, containing a spearhead, a bronze Nydam fibula (c. 350-400 AD), a knife and buckle and a Rhenish glass beaker (Rieck, 1979). There is also remarkable uniformity in orientation of graves across southern Jutland, with all graves lying east-west (except Enderupskov 846 which is late LRIA or EGIA). Where body traces can be recognized, the corpse was laid on its right side with knees flexed (there is only one lying on its left side from Hjemsted) and with the head in the west end of the grave (with six exceptions from Enderupskov and nine from Hjemsted).

Apart from the weapon graves, the male graves are limited to knives, buckles, single fibulae, pins and fewer than 10 glass or amber beads. Naesbjerg E also contained five iron objects which were probably arrowheads, but otherwise this standard assemblage was never elaborated further.
The single fibulae in male associations were always of bronze except in two cases at Højvang 2 (a silver fibula with a knife, iron ring and pots) and Terkelsbøl (a gold inlaid silver fibula was found in a grave-sized pit which the excavator reckoned not to be a grave since the bottom was uneven and there was no trace of coffin or corpse). Since there is no information available for age gradations and their relationship to costume details, little more can be said about the male assemblage apart from its standardization.

In the graves of the females the costumes were of much greater richness than those of the males. This need not mean a shift to greater female power nor necessarily that women lost their power as they were treated more like objects to be exchanged among men (Pader, 1972, 194-5). In view of the changed relationship between living and dead (Chapter 6.1) such differences may have meant very little in terms of status or power. Female graves of the third and fourth century show greater variability than those of males on account of their greater number of costume components. Included in the dress were between two and four fibulae, generally not more than 50 glass or amber beads, a buckle and knife and clothing hooks, and the body might be accompanied by an iron comb and a bone comb (which rarely survived except as an impression on metal artefacts in the grave). Cloth remains from Store Darum A and B, Gammelby II, Naesbjerg A, G, O and X, Stenderup 64 and 68 and Tornumskov 16 indicate that the quality of the textile weaves was as high as those of the late second century elite (Bender Jørgensen, 1979). By the LRIA fine textiles were available to a much wider range of the population, as were glass and amber beads (see Chapter 6.4). These would seem as much part of a process of emulation of elite features at the beginning of the LRIA as the majority swing to the rite of inhumation.
7.3.13 Wealth distribution in burials 3rd-5th centuries AD

Amongst third and early fourth century female grave items of silver (inlaid buckles, clasps, fibulae, neckrings) do not occur in graves without bronze fibulae except in four cases. Iron combs are only found in graves with silver objects (except two graves at Naesbjerg). Beads of amber and glass regularly occur with fibulae and there are only 14 burials with beads but no fibulae. Four of these were children and three were too badly disturbed to be sure of the original assemblage. There are only three graves with two or more fibulae but no beads, two of them late (table 7.15).

Beads would seem to have been part of children's costumes but not necessarily fibulae and these fibulae had to be attained before the individual could wear silver (except in the case of Enderupskov 30, a child with two silver earrings). Finally, iron combs completed the assemblage once silver items had been attained. Due to the lack of osteological evidence it is not possible to know whether these differences were age related.

Amongst those graves with items of silver, none stand out in terms of very lavish costumes. The graves from Gammelby I, Brøns II and Hjemsted 319 have thin silver neckrings and Gammelby I also contains four tiny gold rivets whose function is unknown. The only other traces of goldwork are gold inlay on silver and bronze fibulae from five graves. While fibulae and beads are common settlement finds (Chapter 6.4), silver neckrings, iron combs and gold rivets clearly stand out as desirable items in graves such as Gammelby I. However, the general distribution of wealth in graves is both meagre and relatively even, with a hint that age is the most important differentiation.

While there are more silver ornaments in late LRIA graves, their distribution is restricted to a smaller number of burials than before
c. 350 AD. Four graves have pairs of silver fibulae. One of them, Hjemsted 303, had a gold gilt silver fibula and a very large and ornate silver bead necklace. Eight other graves contained smaller items of silver (another three also contained small silver items but are not closely dateable) (table 7.16). Necklaces from Øster Gesten Skov (Voss, 1956), Hjemsted 310 and Hjemsted 316 (the latter not yet dated) contained amber beads of 'berlok' or pendant form. These were common on the island of Bornholm but elsewhere in northern Europe were restricted to lavish graves as items of status and prestige (Jensen, 1979a). While they are not found with silver items at Øster Gesten Skov, the grave does contain an unusual bronze belt buckle.

The inclusion of exotic items other than costume fittings was extremely rare. The C2/3 Twillinghøj glass has no associations. Grave 143 from Enderupskov with its glass beaker is one of the very few late LRIA burials with imports (other than articles of clothing). A secondary EGIA cremation in a mound at Nykirke contained the remains of five bronze cruciform fibulae, a silver fibula, a bronze bucket or cauldron, beads and a melted glass vessel. The find was made a long time ago and may have been mixed. Very little is known of EGIA burials though there are now inhumation cemeteries from Enderupskov and Hjemsted III, as well as a handful of odd inhumations and cremations. Only two EGIA inhumations from Hjemsted have small items of silver, and though the hoards at this time indicate the wealth of gold and silver jewellery (Chapter 9.4), none finds its way into the graves of southern Jutland.

In conclusion, after the third century, monumentalization as found in mound construction and grave size, and the provision of exotic imported grave goods disappeared. This coincided with changes in the location of the dead in terms of the living (Chapter 6.1) to demonstrate that the dead,
and particularly those of the elite, were no longer regarded as entities to be honoured with large quantities of wealth. Since the grave was no longer the context for competitive consumption it is not surprising that there were very few differences between burials despite the inequalities which existed at that time (Chapter 8.2). Items which had been restricted to the second century elite such as beads, small silver dress fittings and fine textiles were now widely available and the old elite form of burial, inhumation, became the common rite. Into the later fourth century silver ornaments became commoner but also increasingly concentrated in the costumes of a few females. The amber 'berlok' beads also formed part of a growing differentiation in terms of dress. A few graves contained items other than costume and ceramic or wooden containers but the lack of imported drinking kits such as glasses is in contrast to their availability (Chapter 6.4) and indicates that the changed attitude to the dead did not revert to competitive consumption even though the dress of certain females became increasingly lavish. By the EGIA the costumes of the dead were simple and plain and yet there was some very fine gold and silver jewellery in circulation.

7.4 CEMETERY MORPHOLOGY AND DEVELOPMENT

7.4.1 Introduction

An analysis of spatial and temporal patterning within cemeteries can provide information which augments and is independent of knowledge about grave good sets and the deposition of wealth in graves through time. It offers a means of identifying social continuity and discontinuity from the dates at which cemeteries were abandoned and new ones founded. The placing of a grave in a new location away from the accepted burial ground may signify that the deceased was a social outcast (Goody, 1962) but if that grave becomes a focus for subsequent burials, then the growth of a cemetery on
that spot marks the establishment of a new tradition. In areas newly colonized where a community is set up some distance away from the parent communities, the first death would be likely to become the focus for later burials of that community.

A second and related process is the social dimension of spatial patterning within cemeteries. Multi-dimensional approaches to the study of orientation, body posture, grave goods and spatial location (Goldstein, 1980; Pader, 1982) have explored this dimension but have lacked the chronological control to unravel the timing and historical articulation of these moments of deposition. The representation of social relations from spatial patterning between graves can be discovered but, as shown in the last section, those relations may misrepresent the social relations apparent in the production process. The spatial separation of graves into family or gender groups is one distinction that can be recognized and is taken as a representation and not a reality. Some investigators doubt the validity of such patterns, a conclusion reached by Siemen in his analysis of two La Tène B cemeteries in southern Germany which were differently organized into family groups and into gender groups despite being contemporary (1979). However, a full consideration must be given to the time framework of such processes in order to understand them. For example, one pattern might be in the process of replacing the other or both might portray a growing differentiation between communities.

7.4.2 Cemeteries of the first century BC/AD

It has been noted that late La Tène cemeteries in Holstein and Schleswig are divided into male and female burial grounds (Capelle, 1977). A similar pattern can be observed in southern Jutland at the same date. At Vorbasse a group of 12 Period IIIb cremations with female associated arte-
facts was excavated over 100 m. north of a single cremation with male associated grave goods (figure 7.5). A weapon cremation was found earlier in this area but its exact location was not recorded. A similar differentiation has been found at Karensdal (figure 7.6) where four probable male cremations were placed apart from a single female cremation (table 7.1; Dehn, unpub.), though the cemetery had been badly damaged by ploughing. Smaller excavations have recovered small groups of either male or female cremations. Female cremation groups are known at Harres (figure 7.7) of early ERIA date and at Lykkegårdsvej in Esbjerg dating to Period IIIb. Male cremation cemeteries have been found at Lejrskov (figure 7.8) and Tudvad (figure 7.9) dating to Period IIIb and the early ERIA, Lydum dating to Period IIIb and Abterp (figure 7.10), an early ERIA urn group which may be the 'brother' cemetery to Harres.

A variation of this theme is the addition to one or a number of male founder graves of female burials. The earliest burials at Overjersdal were Period IIIb weapon cremations around which a mixed cemetery developed in the ERIA (figure 7.11; unfortunately these graves were salvaged before the cemetery was planned). The plan of the urn cemetery at Drengsted was not available for analysis but the earliest graves were six Period IIIb/early ERIA cremations associated with weapons. These were the focus for a predominantly female cemetery which lasted until the late second century. The small cemeteries at Farre (Thorvildsen, 1951; figure 7.4) and Sønder Vilstrup (Jørgensen, 1968; figure 7.12) were founded with single Period IIIb weapon graves. In all cases the founding burial was equipped with a sword and can be assigned to the elite.

These processes are further complicated by the appearance of inhumations at this time. At Tirslund (figure 7.13) an early first century AD weapon cremation (without a sword or black burnished pottery) was the
founding grave of a group of male cremations (with the exception of a child with a curved knife) surrounded by female cremations to the south and east. A few metres to the west was a group of 10 inhumations. The earliest was buried in the early first century AD and became the focus for subsequent inhumations. From the grave goods the primary grave was male but there was no spatial segregation of gender in the inhumation group.

At Hjemsted III a line of at least six ERIA inhumations were aligned end to end in two rows and orientated ESE-WNW with the earliest dating to the early first century AD (figure 7.14). A couple of later cremations were placed in this cemetery but the main cremation cemeteries, Hjemsted I and II, which date to the first century AD at the earliest, were located over 50 and 100 m. to the south (figure 7.15).

Two early first century graves at Enderupskov were the focus for a line of N-S orientated inhumations which appear to have been female. A few metres to the west an early first century cremation was the first grave in a cremation cemetery which was used at the same time (figure 7.16). None of the burials had any male-associated artefacts and would appear to be all females, in the inhumations as well, until the end of the second century.

Smaller excavations at Stenderup, Tornumskov, Ottersbøl and Grønnebaek give a few more details of the spatial and chronological relationships between cremations and inhumations. At Stenderup two first century BC/AD and early first century AD inhumations were followed by cremations of the later first and second centuries (figure 7.17). Around a probable inhumation of the first century AD found by gravel digging, a small excavation revealed a group of later cremations at Tornumskov (figure 7.18). An area of 30 x 5-9 m. was excavated at Grønnebaek (figure 7.19) to uncover two early first century AD inhumations and eight cremations which were
increasingly later in date with distance from the inhumations. Two early first century AD inhumations at Ottersbøl were also surrounded by later ERIA cremation graves.

In summary, male and female spatial segregation can be found in the first centuries BC/AD and even as late as the second century in certain cases. Sword cremations were founding burials in all the Period IIIb cemeteries of cremation urns, but where inhumations were found with cremations they were at least the earliest burials in that location. With the exception of Enderupskov the small groups of inhumations showed no spatial segregation of gender and most likely represent the graves of elite households. The elite nature of inhumation at this time, established in Chapter 6.3, is further backed up by their primary position over cremations from the early first century AD. From the evidence of founding graves, Period IIIb and the early first century AD were watersheds for the desertion of old cemeteries and the founding of new ones.

7.4.3 Cemetery development in the first and second centuries AD

Many of the trends observable in the first centuries BC/AD were no longer maintained into the second century AD. Cemeteries at Hjemsted I and II, Christiansdal (figure 7.20) and Stollig (figure 7.21) have been completely delimited and excavated. Unfortunately the urns in the latter two cemeteries were badly damaged by ploughing and the spatial analysis of grave goods is severely limited in these cases. Four of the Christiansdal graves possessed first century fibulae and yet the few remaining grave goods indicate that there was no spatial segregation of gender. Three cremations are dateable at Stollig (to the first/second and probably second centuries) and no gender segregation existed there either. No further conclusions can be drawn about the growth of the two cemeteries.
The urn cemeteries I and II at Hjemsted are located about 150 m. apart (figure 7.15). They are both contemporary and contain predominantly female assemblages, but without further investigation in the area it is not possible to explain the relationship between them. The 41 cremations at Hjemsted I demonstrate some directional growth to the east and north (figure 7.22). There are two concentrations of graves in the east and west but there are no observable distinctions in assemblage or ceramic motif which match these. Three weapon graves in the western group demonstrate that there was no segregation of gender. In Hjemsted II the 31 cremations form two lines of urns (figure 7.23). The eastern line was too badly damaged for detailed analysis but the western group could be divided into two; the seven northern urns had simple designs (three broad horizontal furrows on the neck) and their assemblages were restricted to curved knives or needles. The southern group of urns had more complex ceramic designs and their grave goods included curved knives, needles, straight knives, buckles, fibulae and beads. Since both groups were contemporary the distinction is most likely one of age grades (Chapter 7.2).

At Overjersdal two groups (one northern and one southern) of mainly second century date grew out from a first century core. Only 41 of 53 graves were planned (Tischler, 1955) and the extent of the cemetery is uncertain. At Tirslund the cremations spread gradually to the south until the late second century. At Hørløk there were at least three clusters of urns dating from the first to the late second centuries which would appear to have been family groups, though the artefacts were too sparse to assign gender. This is the only cemetery where the inhumations were later in date than the earliest cremations, but only a portion of the cemetery was excavated (figure 7.24).

At Hjemsted I, Grønnebaek, Tornumskov, Christiansdal, Stollig, Over-
Jersdal and probably Hørløk the spatial segregation of gender no longer held for the later first and second centuries (though it would still seem to be so at Enderupskov, Hjemsted II, Tirslund and Drengsted, though the latter two started off as male cemeteries). This breakdown in male/female categorization is also found in the mixing of male and female associated artefacts in assemblages of the same date (Chapter 7.1).

7.4.4 The ERIA-LRIA transition

There are very few cemeteries which demonstrate continuity from the late second to the early third century (table 1.1). The ERIA cemeteries at Tirslund, Tornumskov and Hjemsted I have single LRIA graves on their peripheries. It is unlikely that Grave 2045 at Hjemsted I was anything but a solitary burial well away from its contemporary cemetery of Hjemsted III, but Tirslund 48 and Tornumskov 16 may have been outliers of undiscovered LRIA cemeteries. The small inhumation cemetery at Dollerup (late second century) produced some stray finds from the gravel pit by it (figure 7.25) which included a LRIA pot, presumably from a burial. Since the area was comprehensively excavated one way or another, that pot must have marked the final deposition in that cemetery. A similar final grave of the ERIA/LRIA transition is the small burial in the top of Mound 1 at Agersbøl.

Some 15 m. to the south-east of the ERIA graves at Stenderup was an extensive LRIA inhumation and cremation cemetery (figure 7.26). The small size of the excavation prevents any fuller assessment of continuity between the ERIA and LRIA groups especially since only two cremations span the period from the late first to the late second century AD.

The situation at Hjemsted III is more comprehensible due to the completeness of the excavations. The ERIA cemetery was an inhumation
burial place (with the exception of three cremations, one of which is probably second century) between the early first and second centuries. Not only was there continuity into the third century and on into the EGIA but the LRIA graves clearly respected the ERIA inhumations and left a clear space of 1-3 m. radius around them (with the exception of Grave 1404) while they themselves were tightly packed and regularly overcut each other. The ERIA cremations were not respected, while the ERIA inhumations were not imposed on over a period of at least 300 years. In this case the elite inhumations of the second century were important reference points in later centuries and may have had some influence in locating the LRIA settlement in that area (see Chapter 6.1).

At Enderupskov the LRIA inhumations were placed 5-30 m. west of the ERIA inhumations. A single LRIA grave cut the edge of an ERIA inhumation but otherwise the group was respected; no such treatment was shown towards the ERIA cremations which were damaged in three cases by LRIA graves (figure 7.16). A single LRIA cremation was located to the east of the ERIA inhumations (Grave 22). Finally, the small cemetery at Farre continued into the LRIA with two early third century cremations and one of the late fourth, though there may have been a break in burial throughout the second century.

The evidence for abandoned ERIA cemeteries in the eastern area of southern Jutland (of which there are nine; table 1.1) ties in with the clearance of that area around 200 AD (Chapter 8.4). However, four cemeteries in the still occupied western and central areas were also abandoned at this time. Those cemeteries where there is evidence of ERIA-LRIA continuity are unusual in that there were very few, if any, late second century graves, with the exception of Tornumskov, Tirslund and Hjemsted I with only single LRIA graves. This gap in the second century suggests that there was a process of relocation in certain areas to inhumation
cemeteries (and in some cases cremation cemeteries) which had not been used for the last 100-50 years.

7.4.5 Cemeteries of the 3rd-6th centuries

There are five sizeable LRIA cemeteries in southern Jutland at Enderupskov, Hjemsted III, Naesbjerg, Vorbasse and Sternderup (Broholm, 1953), of which the first two continued into the EGIA. All the graves were inhumations except for seven cremations (Naesbjerg M, Enderupskov 22, Sternderup 1, 4, 17, 82 and 10). All the cemeteries except Vorbasse exhibit spatial segregation of gender on the basis of male and female associated artefacts, most clearly seen at Naesbjerg (figure 7.32). The male burials are generally located in the southern area of the cemetery with females in the northern group. At Vorbasse the small cemetery was focused around a sword burial with a Hemmoor bucket (Grave 13) and the male grave sets appear to lie primarily in the centre of the plot (figure 7.27). The male/female division is not so clear by the late LRIA and EGIA.

At Enderupskov the cemetery gradually drifts to the south-east (figure 7.28). At Sternderup it shifts first northwards and then to the southwest (figure 7.26); Hjemsted III goes through a process of filling in amongst the ERIA and LRIA graves (fig. 7.29); a trackway constrained expansion northwards but graves gradually encroached onto it and around the edges of the ERIA graves. In most cases later graves respected earlier ones implying some form of above-ground markers.

Estimations of population growth and decline from grave numbers alone must be treated with a degree of caution since it is difficult to monitor archaeologically changes in rites, some of which might leave no trace. Nevertheless, the population growth which can be seen in the larger ERIA cemeteries (table 7.10) is not found in LRIA and EGIA cemeteries (table 7.17).
7.5 GEOGRAPHICAL VARIATION IN GRAVE ASSEMBLAGES WITHIN SOUTHERN JUTLAND

One of the variables which must be taken into account when dealing with a data base of graves coming from a whole region rather than a single cemetery is the degree to which geographical variation in funerary traditions explains differences in the rites and the grave goods. Three forms of regional differentiation can be identified which relate to the amounts of imports in graves, the types and positioning of ceramic sets in graves and the distinction between inhumation and cremation rites.

7.5.1 Imports in graves

The geographical distribution of wealth in graves is most closely linked to the distribution of soil types (figures 2.2, 2.4). The larger weapon cremations with swords of Period IIIb are concentrated in the central wedge of sandy clay (Kampp's Transitional zone III; figure 2.2). Smaller weapon cremations are distributed on the southern periphery of Region I (West Jutland) and the northern periphery of Region II (South Jutland) with a small concentration in the western part of that region (figure 6.6). Some of the smaller graves in West Jutland had swords and the distinction between these burials on the sands and outwash plains and the full weapon sets on the sandy clays was not just in the possession of a sword but in the quality of the sword. The bulk of the larger La Tène types come from the more fertile sandy clays. Objects of gold and silver come from four locations in eastern central Jutland on the sandy clays of Region III and the edge of Region I.

Over half of the first century AD graves with imports, weapons and precious metals lie in Region III and its southern periphery (figure 6.7). More wealth was buried on the heavier clays of eastern Jutland (Region VII)
than in Period IIIb. There was still a small cluster of wealthy graves in the area of the Brede river in south-west Jutland.

The ten locations of the most outstandingly wealthy graves of the second century AD are all on the sandy clays of Region III and its southern periphery or the heavier clays of eastern Denmark particularly just south of Horsens (figure 6.8). By this period the geographical distribution of wealth was more concentrated than before (mirroring its concentration in social and class terms) with three-quarters of the locations of weapon and import graves in Region III and on its southern peripheries. Hedeager and Kristiansen's observation of the regular spacing of warrior and equestrian graves in eastern Jutland throughout the ERIA (1981, fig. 46) fits in with the concentration of burials in the northern part of the heavier clays.

From c. 50 BC to the later second century the ability of communities to obtain wealth and destroy it in graves increased on the sandy clays as it declined on the sandy soils. To a certain extent Region III would have been an important transhipment zone between the North Sea and the western Baltic, with several large rivers dissecting the peninsula at that point. However, the strong correlation between soil type and wealth indicates that access to trade was not as important as agricultural productivity. This regional imbalance changed dramatically in the early third century. Not only was eastern Jutland virtually emptied of settlement but the wealth in graves was located on the margins of the glacial sands of Regions I and II as much as on the sandy clay of Region III; the connection between soil type and wealth distribution was much more slight than before (figure 7.30).
7.5.2 Regional differences in grave layouts

The only other regional differentiation that was observed was not due to physical factors such as the productive potential of certain soils. In social and economic terms it was perhaps trivial since it concerned the selection of ceramic tableware as grave goods and to a certain extent its placing in the grave. This was a feature of inhumations of the first and second centuries AD and hence of the ruling classes. In western Jutland the standard assemblage often consisted of between one and three small bowls or cups, while in eastern Jutland there was a preference for two small storage pots to accompany the collection of small bowls and cups (table 7.18, figure 7.31). In the eastern area this regional distinction became more marked in the second century. The choice and layout of pottery in the three graves of Dollerup A1, A2 and Hørløk 40 was identical, even though the latter grave was nearly 25 km. further south. A storage pot was placed above the head, a storage pot and small pot by the side of the coffin and two small cups by the feet or lower limbs (figure 7.1). Incomplete versions of this pattern are known at Kastrup 278 (where the small pot by the side of the coffin is not present), at Enderupskov 285 (which has an extra small cup at the head and feet and no storage pot or small pot by the side of the coffin), and at Drenderup Skov (where the storage pot above the head is outside the coffin and there is at least one extra small pot at the feet). No other regional differences in the selection and layout of grave goods were observed for the ERIA.

While there are several LRIA inhumation cemeteries where the selection and layout of grave goods can be studied, no regional differences were observable. None of the graves had identical layouts of pottery as found in the late second century. Højl-Petersen's analysis of LRIA ceramic layout in graves demonstrated that a strong distinction was maintained between
food containers at the feet and drinking sets at the head on Zeeland (1979, 45-8), identical to the arrangement in the Leuna-Hassleben graves (Schlüter, 1970). She noticed that no such pattern could be identified in Jutland and suggested that the lack of organization in the placing of ceramics in graves might be due to their distance from the major areas of trade where imported Roman sets are found (1979, 45), though it might be due equally to a changed attitude towards the dead. Studies of regional ceramic differences in Jutland have been carried out elsewhere (Ringtved, pers. comm.) and need not be referred to here.

7.5.3 Regional differences in inhumation and cremation rites

While the distinction between inhumation and cremation in the ERIA was one of class in southern Jutland, it was also part of much larger regional differences. In northern and central Jutland the vast majority of ERIA graves were inhumations (Brøndsted, 1960, 144-50), as were the Zeeland graves (Liversage, 1980), while southern Schleswig, Holstein and northern Germany was dominated by large cemeteries of urn cremations (Todd, 1975, 59-64). The boundaries between these rites are approximately the northern and southern limits of the study area chosen as southern Jutland (figure 7.3). To the south there were no inhumation burials until the third century and elite graves were cremations (Todd, 1975, 60; Kunst, 1978), like Tombølgård. To the north people outside the elite were also inhumed but there were differences in the size of the grave and the nature of the grave goods which distinguished them from the elite (see Norling-Christensen, 1954) and the large graves of the second century are found all over Denmark and northern Europe (Liversage, 1980; Gebühr, 1974; Brøndsted, 1960, 138-56).

In the LRIA inhumation had become the most usual rite for the majority
of the people throughout Jutland (Brøndsted, 1960, 183-8; J.N. Nielsen, 1979, 1982), but the boundary still existed, on approximately the modern political boundary between Denmark and Germany, between these inhumations and the cremations to the south (Todd, 1975, 60).
Figure 7.1 Layout of the late second century AD double grave with imports at Dollerup (Voss & Ørsnes-Christensen 1948).
Figure 7.2 Mound with cremations at Baekke Mark (unpublished plan by M. Ørsnes).
Figure 7.3 Distribution of Period IIIb and ERIA inhumations. (circles=mounds).
Figure 7.4 Multi-period cremation cemetery at Farre.
Figure 7.5  Period IIIb cremation cemetery at Vorbasse (with male and female spatial division) (Hvass 1982b, fig.4).
Figure 7.6 The cremation cemetery at Karensdal (Period IIIb to ERIA) with extent of excavations (unpublished plan by T. Dehn).
Figure 7.7 The ERIA cremation cemetery at Harres (unpublished plan by O. Voss).
Figure 7.8 The ERIA cremation cemetery at Lejrskov.
Figure 7.9  Period IIIb - ERIA cremation cemetery at Tudvad (unpublished plan by G.Blom).
Figure 7.10 Abterp ERIA cremation cemetery.
(unpublished plan by O. Voss).
Figure 7.11a Overjersdal ERIA cremation cemetery.

(Tischler 1955).
Figure 7.11b 1st-2nd century cremations at Overjersdal (Tischler 1955).
Figure 7.12 ERIA cremation cemetary at Sønder Vilstrup (Jørgensen 1968 & unpublished plan by E.Jørgensen).
Figure 7.13  ERIA cemetery at Tirslund (graves dated to 1st-2nd centuries AD) (unpublished plan by C.Lund)
Figure 7.13a Tirslund ERIA cemetery.
(unpublished plan by C.Lund)
Figure 7.14 Hjemsted III ERIA graves (in black - dated to 1st or 2nd century) (unpublished plan by E.Jørgensen).
Figure 7.15 Distribution of the ERIA-EGIA cemeteries I, II & III at Hjemsted (unpublished plan by E.Jørgensen).
Figure 7.16a  ERIA-EGIA cemetery at Enderupskov

(unpublished plan by F. Rieck and also H. Neumann, E. Jørgensen, J. Holm, H. Laursen).
Figure 7.16b 1st-2nd century AD graves at Enderupskov (unpublished plan by F. Rieck with material from H. Neumann, E. Jørgensen, H. Laursen & J. Holm).
Figure 7.17  ERIA graves at Stenderup (in black)  
(unpublished plan by C. Lund & H. Broholm)
Figure 7.18 ERIA and LRIA graves at Tornumskov.
Figure 7.19 ERIA inhumation and cremation cemetery at Grønnebaek (unpublished plan by H. Neumann).
Figure 7.20  ERIA cremation cemetery at Christiansdal
(unpublished plan by F. Rieck).
Figure 7.21 ERIA cremation cemetery at Stollig
(unpublished plan by F. Rieck)
Figure 7.22 1st-2nd century AD cremation cemetery at Hjemsted I (unpublished plan by E. Jørgensen).
Figure 7.22a ERIA cremation cemetery at Hjemsted I (unpublished plan by E. Jørgensen).
Figure 7.23 1st-2nd century cremation cemetery at Hjemsted II (unpublished plan by E. Jørgensen).
Figure 7.23a  ERIA cremation cemetery at Hjemsted II
(unpublished plan by E. Jørgensen).
Figure 7.24a The Late ERIA cemetery at Hørløk.
Figure 7.24b 1st-2nd century graves at Hørløk (unpublished plan by H. Neumann).
Figure 7.25 Late ERIA inhumation cemetery at Dollerup
(unpublished plan by M.Ørsnes).
Figure 7.26 LRIA graves at Stenderup (unpublished plan by C.Lund & H.Broholm).
Figure 7.27 The LRIA inhumation cemetery at Vorbasse (unpublished plan by S.Hvass).
Figure 7.28 Dateable LRIA-EGIA graves at Enderupskov
Figure 7.29 Dateable LRIA-EGIA graves at Hjemsted III (unpublished plan by E. Jørgensen).
Figure 7.30 Well-equipped LRIA graves.

- ♦ Grave with imports
- × Votive weapon deposit
- △ Grave with imports & weapons
- ▲ Grave with weapons
- ◦ Grave with silver
Figure 7.31 Regional differences in ceramic sets in ERIA inhumations.

- Just small pots and cups in the grave.
- Two large pots along with small pots and cups.
Figure 7.32 Sexual differentiation in the LRIA cemetery at Naesbjerg.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cemetery</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Grave Goods</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Karensdal 1</td>
<td>Probably Female</td>
<td>20-55</td>
<td>2 Fibulae, Sewing Needle, Short Knife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karensdal 2</td>
<td>Male/Female</td>
<td>30-40</td>
<td>Iron Pin, Spear, Shield, Knife, Razor Knife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karensdal 3</td>
<td>Probably Male</td>
<td>Over 20</td>
<td>Shield &amp; ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karensdal 4</td>
<td>Possibly Male</td>
<td>25-40</td>
<td>Razor Knife &amp; ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karensdal 5</td>
<td>Possibly Male</td>
<td>25-40 prob.</td>
<td>Sword &amp; ?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.1 Osteological identifications from the Karensdal cremation cemetery.
Table 7.2  Age at death of the cremated ERIA population of southern Jutland.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Associated Assemblages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30-40 Years Old</td>
<td>Enderupskov 67</td>
<td>* * * &amp; ?silver fibulae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kolstrup 76</td>
<td>* *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stenderup II 7</td>
<td>* * *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tirslund 19</td>
<td>* *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mangstrup 2</td>
<td>* * 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tirslund 11</td>
<td>* *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stenderup II 7</td>
<td>* * *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Refsø 5</td>
<td>* * *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Grønnebaek 9</td>
<td>* * *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tirslund 29</td>
<td>* *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stenderup II 3</td>
<td>* * *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mjols 40</td>
<td>* *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hørløk 48</td>
<td>* *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hørløk 63</td>
<td>* *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tirslund 3</td>
<td>* *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tirslund 32</td>
<td>* *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aabenraa Vej</td>
<td>* *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kvistrup G</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tirslund 10</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-30 Years Old</td>
<td>Dover 51</td>
<td>* 2 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Astrup Banke 3</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Enderupskov 68</td>
<td>* 2</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Tirslund 1</td>
<td>* 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mangstrup 4</td>
<td>* *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vellerup 2</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juvenile</td>
<td>Stenderup II 2</td>
<td>* 2 * ? &amp; sickle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hørløk 124</td>
<td>* *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kvistrup E</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Grønnebaek 15</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child</td>
<td>Tirslund 2</td>
<td>* *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hørløk 61</td>
<td>* *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Over Lerte 18</td>
<td>* *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Grønnebaek 9</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mangstrup 2</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hørløk 136</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hørløk 57</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kvistrup 3</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tirslund 23</td>
<td>* *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Anderup 2</td>
<td>* *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tirslund 14</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Enderupskov 9</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mangstrup 5</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Galsted 3</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Over Lerte 17</td>
<td>*</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Over Lerte 23</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tirslund 11</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kvistrup F</td>
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Table 7.3 Female age groups and associated assemblages (1).
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<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Site/Location</th>
<th>Assemblages</th>
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<tr>
<td>50-70 Years Old</td>
<td>Over Lerte 19</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tirslund 39</td>
<td>* * *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Astrup Banke 1</td>
<td>* * *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tirslund 16</td>
<td>* 2 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Galsted</td>
<td>* * 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Galsted 10</td>
<td>* *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Galsted 11</td>
<td>* *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Over Lerte 10</td>
<td>* ** * * * 3 (silver fibulae)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Galsted 5</td>
<td>2 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Anderup 4</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Magstrup 1</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tirslund 4</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Overjersdal</td>
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<td>Tirslund 27</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tirslund 40</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-60 Years Old</td>
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Table 7.4 Female age groups and associated assemblages (2).
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<th>Razor Knife</th>
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Table 7.5 Male age groups and associated assemblages.
### Table 7.6 Cross-associations of grave goods from Period IIIb assemblages.

| Sword | Spear | Shield | Long knife | Arrow | Bone comb | Iron comb | Avl | Bone holder | Bone pin | Razor knife | Shears | Tool | Cauldron | Silver cup | Glass | Drinking horn | Casserole | Strainer | Goldring | Spurs | Gold disk | Gold hook | Silver ring | Silver disk | Silver hook | Fibula | Belt-hanger | Buckle | Glass beads | Amber beads |
|-------|-------|--------|------------|-------|-----------|-----------|-----|-------------|---------|-------------|--------|------|----------|-----------|-------|--------------|-----------|---------|---------|-------|----------|----------|------------|------------|-----------|--------|-----------|--------|-------------|
| 9     | 9     | 4      | 4          | 1     | 1         | 1         | 1   | 1           | 1       | 1           | 1      | 1    | 1         | 1         | 1     | 1            | 1         | 1       | 1        | 1     | 1         | 1        | 1          | 1          | 1         | 1       | 1         | 1       | 1           | 1       |

Period IIIb
Table 7.7 Cross-associations of grave goods from Early ERIA assemblages.
| Tool | Sword | Spear | Long knife | Short knife | Arrows | Sickle | Bone comb | Iron comb | Awl | Bone holder | Needle | Curved knife | Bone pin | Razor knife | Shears | Cauldron | Silver cup | Glass | Drinking horn | Casserole | Strainer | Golding | Spur | Gold disk | Gold hook | Silver ring | Silver disk | Silver hook | Silver hook | Fibula | Havelhanger | Buckle | Glass beads | Amber beads |
|------|-------|-------|------------|-------------|--------|--------|-----------|----------|-----|-------------|--------|--------------|---------|--------------|--------|-----------|--------|---------|----------|--------|-------------|----------|---------|---------|-----|----------|---------|------------|------------|
|      | 10    | 10    | 9          | 1           | 6      | 1      | 3         |          |     |             |        |              |         |              |        |          |          |        |            |         |          |          |     |          |         |            |            |
|      | 16    | 12    | 11         | 1           |        |        |           |          |     |             |        |              |         |              |        |          |          |        |            |         |          |          |     |          |         |            |            |
|      | 13    | 8     | 2          |             |        |        |           |          |     |             |        |              |         |              |        |          |          |        |            |         |          |          |     |          |         |            |            |
|      | 1     | 5     | 5          | 1           | 6      | 5      | 1         | 7        | 2   | 3           | 6      | 1             | 4      | 7            | 9      | 4         | 9        | 5      | 7          | 5       | 6         | 6        |     | 6         | 6       | 6          | 6          |
|      | 1     | 1     | 1          | 10          | 13     | 2      | 4         | 2        | 2   | 2           | 4      | 2             | 2      | 5            | 8      | 1         | 7        | 4      | 6          | 6       | 6         | 6        |     | 6         | 6       | 6          | 6          |
|      | 1     | 1     | 1          | 5           | 6      | 1      | 6          | 8        | 1   | 11          | 13     | 3             | 16     | 12           | 10     | 8         | 3        | 15     | 8          | 4       | 4         | 4        |     | 3          | 3       | 3          | 3          |
|      | 1     | 1     | 1          | 31          | 2      | 2      | 2         | 3        | 3   | 2           | 2      | 1             | 2      | 2            | 12     | 1         | 12       | 13     | 3          | 3       | 3         | 3        |     | 3          | 3       | 3          | 3          |
|      | 1     | 1     | 1          | 1           | 1      | 1      | 1         | 1        |     |             |        |              |         |              |        |            |          |        |            |         |          |          |     |            |         |            |            |
|      | 1     | 1     | 1          | 2           | 2      | 5      | 1         | 45       |     |             |        |              |         |              |        |            |          |        |            |         |          |          |     |            |         |            |            |
|      | 1     | 1     | 1          | 1           | 1      | 1      | 1         |          |     |             |        |              |         |              |        |            |          |        |            |         |          |          |     |            |         |            |            |
Table 7.9 The change in inhumation sizes from the first to second centuries AD.
Table 7.10 Population changes in ERIA cemeteries.
Table 7.11 Inhumation sizes in the LRIA and EGIA.
The 1st-3rd centuries AD.

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<td>Graves with imports</td>
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<td>Graves with both weapons and imports</td>
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<td>Graves with imports</td>
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<td>Graves with both weapons and imports</td>
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<td>Graves with weapons but no imports</td>
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</table>
Table 7.13 Cross-associations of grave goods from Early LRIA assemblages.
| Sword | Spear | Shield | Long knife | Arrows | Short knife | Sickle | Bone comb | Iron comb | Axe | Bone holder | Needle | Curved knife | Bone pin | Razor knife | Shears | Tool | Cauldron | Silver cup | Glass | Drinking horn | Casserole | Strainer | Golding | Spur | Spur | Gold disk | Gold hook | Silver ring | Silver disk | Silver hook | Fibula | Fibula | Withanper | Buckle | Glass beads | Amber beads |
|-------|-------|--------|-----------|--------|-------------|--------|-----------|-----------|-----|-------------|--------|-------------|---------|-------------|-------|-----|---------|-----------|-------|---------------|----------|---------|--------|------|-------|----------|-----------|---------|---------|---------|-------|---------|---------|
|       |       |        |           |        |             |        |           |           |     |             |        |             |         |             |       |     |         |           |       |               |          |         |        |      |       |          |           |         |         |         |       |         |         |
| Sword |       |        |           |        |             |        |           |           |     |             |        |             |         |             |       |     |         |           |       |               |          |         |        |      |       |          |           |         |         |         |       |         |         |
| Spear |       |        |           |        |             |        |           |           |     |             |        |             |         |             |       |     |         |           |       |               |          |         |        |      |       |          |           |         |         |         |       |         |         |
| Shield|       |        |           |        |             |        |           |           |     |             |        |             |         |             |       |     |         |           |       |               |          |         |        |      |       |          |           |         |         |         |       |         |         |
| Long knife | |        |           |        |             |        |           |           |     |             |        |             |         |             |       |     |         |           |       |               |          |         |        |      |       |          |           |         |         |         |       |         |         |
| Arrows |       |        |           |        |             |        |           |           |     |             |        |             |         |             |       |     |         |           |       |               |          |         |        |      |       |          |           |         |         |         |       |         |         |
| Short knife | |        |           |        |             |        |           |           |     |             |        |             |         |             |       |     |         |           |       |               |          |         |        |      |       |          |           |         |         |         |       |         |         |
| Sickle |       |        |           |        |             |        |           |           |     |             |        |             |         |             |       |     |         |           |       |               |          |         |        |      |       |          |           |         |         |         |       |         |         |
| Bone comb | |        |           |        |             |        |           |           |     |             |        |             |         |             |       |     |         |           |       |               |          |         |        |      |       |          |           |         |         |         |       |         |         |
| Iron comb | |        |           |        |             |        |           |           |     |             |        |             |         |             |       |     |         |           |       |               |          |         |        |      |       |          |           |         |         |         |       |         |         |
| Axe |       |        |           |        |             |        |           |           |     |             |        |             |         |             |       |     |         |           |       |               |          |         |        |      |       |          |           |         |         |         |       |         |         |
| Bone holder | |        |           |        |             |        |           |           |     |             |        |             |         |             |       |     |         |           |       |               |          |         |        |      |       |          |           |         |         |         |       |         |         |
| Needle |       |        |           |        |             |        |           |           |     |             |        |             |         |             |       |     |         |           |       |               |          |         |        |      |       |          |           |         |         |         |       |         |         |
| Curved knife | |        |           |        |             |        |           |           |     |             |        |             |         |             |       |     |         |           |       |               |          |         |        |      |       |          |           |         |         |         |       |         |         |
| Bone pin |       |        |           |        |             |        |           |           |     |             |        |             |         |             |       |     |         |           |       |               |          |         |        |      |       |          |           |         |         |         |       |         |         |
| Razor knife | |        |           |        |             |        |           |           |     |             |        |             |         |             |       |     |         |           |       |               |          |         |        |      |       |          |           |         |         |         |       |         |         |
| Shears |       |        |           |        |             |        |           |           |     |             |        |             |         |             |       |     |         |           |       |               |          |         |        |      |       |          |           |         |         |         |       |         |         |
| Tool |       |        |           |        |             |        |           |           |     |             |        |             |         |             |       |     |         |           |       |               |          |         |        |      |       |          |           |         |         |         |       |         |         |
| Cauldron | |        |           |        |             |        |           |           |     |             |        |             |         |             |       |     |         |           |       |               |          |         |        |      |       |          |           |         |         |         |       |         |         |
| Silver cup | |        |           |        |             |        |           |           |     |             |        |             |         |             |       |     |         |           |       |               |          |         |        |      |       |          |           |         |         |         |       |         |         |
| Glass |       |        |           |        |             |        |           |           |     |             |        |             |         |             |       |     |         |           |       |               |          |         |        |      |       |          |           |         |         |         |       |         |         |
| Drinking horn | |        |           |        |             |        |           |           |     |             |        |             |         |             |       |     |         |           |       |               |          |         |        |      |       |          |           |         |         |         |       |         |         |
| Casserole | |        |           |        |             |        |           |           |     |             |        |             |         |             |       |     |         |           |       |               |          |         |        |      |       |          |           |         |         |         |       |         |         |
| Strainer |       |        |           |        |             |        |           |           |     |             |        |             |         |             |       |     |         |           |       |               |          |         |        |      |       |          |           |         |         |         |       |         |         |
| Golding |       |        |           |        |             |        |           |           |     |             |        |             |         |             |       |     |         |           |       |               |          |         |        |      |       |          |           |         |         |         |       |         |         |
| Spur |       |        |           |        |             |        |           |           |     |             |        |             |         |             |       |     |         |           |       |               |          |         |        |      |       |          |           |         |         |         |       |         |         |
| Spur |       |        |           |        |             |        |           |           |     |             |        |             |         |             |       |     |         |           |       |               |          |         |        |      |       |          |           |         |         |         |       |         |         |
| Gold disk | |        |           |        |             |        |           |           |     |             |        |             |         |             |       |     |         |           |       |               |          |         |        |      |       |          |           |         |         |         |       |         |         |
| Gold hook | |        |           |        |             |        |           |           |     |             |        |             |         |             |       |     |         |           |       |               |          |         |        |      |       |          |           |         |         |         |       |         |         |
| Silver ring | |        |           |        |             |        |           |           |     |             |        |             |         |             |       |     |         |           |       |               |          |         |        |      |       |          |           |         |         |         |       |         |         |
| Silver disk | |        |           |        |             |        |           |           |     |             |        |             |         |             |       |     |         |           |       |               |          |         |        |      |       |          |           |         |         |         |       |         |         |
| Silver hook | |        |           |        |             |        |           |           |     |             |        |             |         |             |       |     |         |           |       |               |          |         |        |      |       |          |           |         |         |         |       |         |         |
| Fibula |       |        |           |        |             |        |           |           |     |             |        |             |         |             |       |     |         |           |       |               |          |         |        |      |       |          |           |         |         |         |       |         |         |
| Withanper | |        |           |        |             |        |           |           |     |             |        |             |         |             |       |     |         |           |       |               |          |         |        |      |       |          |           |         |         |         |       |         |         |
| Buckle |       |        |           |        |             |        |           |           |     |             |        |             |         |             |       |     |         |           |       |               |          |         |        |      |       |          |           |         |         |         |       |         |         |
| Glass beads | |        |           |        |             |        |           |           |     |             |        |             |         |             |       |     |         |           |       |               |          |         |        |      |       |          |           |         |         |         |       |         |         |
| Amber beads | |        |           |        |             |        |           |           |     |             |        |             |         |             |       |     |         |           |       |               |          |         |        |      |       |          |           |         |         |         |       |         |         |

Table 7.14 Cross-associations of grave goods from Late LRIA assemblages.
Exceptions to iron combs being found with silver objects:
- Naesbjerg G
- Naesbjerg Ai

Exceptions to silver objects being found with fibulae:
- Andrup
- Naesbjerg A
- Gammelby I
- Enderupskov 112

Bead necklaces (over 10 beads) found without fibulae in adult graves:
- Gredstedmark
- Nørre Tinnet
- Naesbjerg Ai
- Naesbjerg V
- Enderupskov 118
- Enderupskov E26
- Hjemsted 308

Paired or more fibulae found without beads:
- Stenderup E0
- Enderupskov E85
- Hjemsted 1008

Table 7.15 Exceptions to the additive structure of LRIA female grave assemblages.
Table 7.16 Silver dress items in LRIA graves.

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(S = Silvered bronze)
Table 7.17 Population changes in LRIA-EGIA cemeteries.
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Table 7.18 Different tableware sets in ERIA inhumations.
CHAPTER EIGHT

LONG-TERM CHANGE: THE SETTLEMENT EVIDENCE

In this chapter changes in settlements will be examined from the perspective of an increasing scale of analysis. It starts with the organization of the individual farm compound which is followed by an analysis of the productive and storage capacity of different farms, followed by a study of the changing layout and spatial relationships between farms. Evidence for continuity of location and for the development of these communities is analysed, followed finally by an assessment of the large-scale patterns of land use and subsistence.

8.1 ORGANIZATION OF SPACE AND PROPERTY WITHIN THE FARM COMPOUND

8.1.1 Period I-IIIA

During Periods I and II of the PRIA a series of developments occurred in the organization of farms and their composite structures which lie chronologically outside this study but are important for understanding the situation which had developed by 200 BC. Since there are no large-scale excavations of Period I and II settlements in southern Jutland, the settlement sequence from the Grøntoft area of western Jutland (Becker, 1965, 1966, 1968, 1971, 1980, 1980a; L.C. Nielsen, 1982) must be taken as representative of social developments. It must be remembered that the sandy heath of western Jutland is a marginal area which might not be particularly representative of developments elsewhere, especially on the eastern clay soils.

At Grøntoft Becker was able to divide the PRIA farmhouses into two
phases on the basis of ceramic distinctions between Period I and II. Stratigraphical relationships with overlapping postholes and wall trenches confirmed and augmented the division and it was possible to recognize an architectural transition which corresponded to the ceramic distinction (though quantities of pottery were small due to the lack of rubbish pits and the ploughing out of upper levels). The essential constructional elements of the farmhouse (paired load-bearing internal posts, an outer wall trench, two doors on the long sides linked by a central corridor, a hearth in the west end and the animal byre in the east end) remained unchanged during the PRIA (and throughout the whole of the earlier Iron Age).

The walls of Period I houses consisted of a wall trench and a series of shallow posts spaced at approximately half metre intervals on the outside. In Period II the outer posts were no longer present (except in a few cases where they were spread further apart), and the wall trenches were slightly rounded at the corners. Amongst the longhouses of both periods all but 14 (BXIX, BXIV, BXXIII, BXXII, BVIII, EXXVII, EXVII, EX, EIL, EXXXVII, EXXXVIII, 'CII, CIV, CXXII) had evidence for stalling (figures 8.1, 8.2).

The presence of hearths in CII and EXXXVIII suggests that these were farmhouses whose inhabitants possessed no cattle or sheep. Structures like EXXVII and BXXIII had no internal posts and are best interpreted as barns, but it is possible that the rest might have had animal stalls which were too shallow to survive. Phosphate testing, as carried out on an EGIA longhouse at Nørre Snede (Zöllitz, 1980), would provide such answers in future.

A number of smaller structures were found in the settlement area. These were long shallow post structures (EI, EXLII, EXLIII, EXXXVI), square buildings of c. 5 x 5 m. (BIV, BVI, BXII, BXV, EXXXII, EXXXIV and DII) and a sub-rectangular structure (EXLV). These buildings can be identified as storage structures (see Chapters 3 and 6) but very few of
them can be shown to be directly related to farmhouses. Only EXXXII, EXXIV, EXLV and BVI show any possible alignment with longhouses. The only likely connections are between BIV and longhouse BV whose doorways open onto each other and between EXLV and longhouse EXII whose doorways are set perpendicular to each other. These probable storage structures form two clusters, one in the northern and the other in the southern part of the site (figure 8.3; Parker Pearson, 1984a, fig. 1), illustrating a 'communal' spatial relationship to the farms rather than a privatized relationship where structures are directly linked to individual farmsteads.

One of the two Period II groups of farms at Grønstoft was placed inside a palisade of similar width to the house walls (figure 8.2). It could not have served successfully as a defensive feature but might have discouraged poorly organized attacks. Another enclosure of the same date is known on a small island in a bog at Borromose in northern Jutland where the ditch (nearly 6 m. across and 2 m. deep) and bank would have fulfilled a defensive function (Brøndsted, 1960, 48). While other Period II houses have been found, for example in southern Jutland at Roborg (Thomsen, 1968) and Breum Bank (Bencard, 1970), no excavations have been large enough to discover whether surrounding palisades were a regular feature of settlements at this date.

The houses inside the Borromose defences are later in date. At least 18 structures can be recognized in the Grønstoft enclosure, though it is unlikely that there were more than 10 standing at any one time. Those farms with the greatest stall space (Houses III and VI) are located in the enclosure rather than in the unenclosed group of farms to the north, and seven of the buildings in the enclosure (XVA, XVB, XVC, XIV, X, VIII and IV) had no stalls and may have been barns. The enclosure coincides with growing inequalities in animal stall space in farms and
may reflect growing competition and social inequality with the demarcation of community space into 'inside' and 'outside'. It may also signify a period of growing unrest and social insecurity.

Later developments in the next century indicate that the palisade was an important feature of social differentiation. Three farm complexes of late Period II to Period IIIa have been substantially or completely excavated at Grønbjerg (Becker, 1980a) and Omgård (L.C. Nielsen, 1982), both within a few kilometres of Grøntoft, and at Hodde in southern Jutland (Hvass, 1973, 1975, 1975a, 1975b). All consist of a single farmhouse with its own outbuildings, surrounded by a palisade trench. The Grønbjerg enclosure, dating to late Period II to early Period IIIa, contains three buildings and traces of a fourth which was not completely excavated (figure 8.4). House I was a 13 m. long farmhouse with room for 12 animals and a living area of c. 30 sq. m. Immediately north of it was a small 7 x 5 m. outhouse used as a smithy and to the east was a 14 m. long building with no hearth or stalls which was probably a barn. Four buildings were constructed in the later Period IIIa enclosure at Omgård; a 17 m. longhouse with hearth but no traces of stalls (Hus CI), a small 4 x 4 m. hut which was probably a smithy (CII) and two longhouses to the east, one 14 m. long (CIId) and one 13 m. long (CIIdb), which the excavator interpreted as probable barns (figure 8.5). It is possible that Grønbjerg and Omgård represent different phases of the same farming community since they are so closely located.

At Hodde the enclosed farm consisted of a farmhouse and two outbuildings. In the first constructional phase the small square outhouse was placed just east of the byre and later moved to a position south of the house. The other outbuilding was a small longhouse without hearth or stalls which was surrounded by its own enclosure in the first two phases.
While it may have been a barn, its solid construction suggests that it could have been a strongroom for valuable goods or even prisoners (figure 8.6). This initially solitary farm was joined by a further six farmhouses and two unstalled longhouses all enclosed within a palisade covering an area of c. 90 x 160 m. In the first phase (Hvass, 1975, Taf. 1), five of the longhouses had small square outhouses directly associated in or around their own compounds. New farms which were built with the large palisade are unlikely to have been inhabited by offspring from the main farm due to the short time interval and the growth of the settlement is probably due to an influx of newcomers from other settlements. Phase plans are available only for the first and third of four stages (Hvass, 1975). In the third stage, the heyday of the settlement, 53 structures were standing (figure 8.7), forming 27 farm compounds (composed of 22 farmhouses and five longhouses without stalls). Five compounds possessed two outhouses and 10 possessed just one (figures 8.8 and 8.9). The settlement differs from the palisaded one at Grøntoft A not only by the farm-specific siting of outhouses but also the partitioning of space into a series of compounds or yards for each farm which could be entered through narrow access points in their palisades. Two small unstalled longhouses are located in their own enclosures joined to the south-east corner of the main enclosure by two of the three openings which lead into the centre of the village (rather than to specific farmyards). The excavator suggests that they were possibly for cleaning off boots when entering the settlement (Hvass, 1975, 155) but the strong demarcation between 'outside' and 'inside' suggests that these gateway structures might have had strong symbolic significance and their interpretation as shrines or cult buildings cannot be discounted.

The evidence from excavations of other Period IIIa settlements in Jutland is relatively insubstantial. At Nørre Fjand the structures dating
to Period IIIa were arranged as farmhouses with their own outhouses (Chapter 6.3), though no palisades or internal divisions within the settlement were recognized as at Hodde. The settlement in the defences at Borremose can be dated by the pottery to Period IIIa (Brøndsted, 1960, 88). It shows no internal compound divisions and there are only two small outhouses for 18 longhouses with hearths (Brøndsted, 1960, 87).

### 8.1.2 Period IIIb-late ERIA

The same association of farmhouses with outhouses is known from Period IIIb and the ERIA at Melenknop on Sylt (figure 8.10; Kossack, Harck and Reichstein, 1974), Myrthue (figure 8.11; Thomsen, 1964), Priorsløkke (figure 8.12; Nielsen, 1983), Rugsted Lund (figure 8.13; Adamsen, 1982), Vorbasse (figure 8.14; Hvass, 1979a, fig. 4), Adelvej (figure 8.15) and Galsted Nord (figure 8.16; Haderslev Museum, 1980). Only at Vorbasse and Priorsløkke is there evidence of a palisade surrounding the settlement, while only at Melenknop were the excavations extensive enough to determine that there was no such palisade. The Priorsløkke settlement is located on a low hill which was originally a peninsula with its landward side protected by a 216 m. long palisade, with posts 20–35 cm. diameter. In the middle of the palisade was an impressive gateway 3.5 m. wide which was reached across a causeway between two external ditches 125 m. long (Kaul and Nielsen, 1981, 9-10). This ERIA site was very clearly well defended. Banked and ditched enclosures are also known from the ERIA of southern Jutland at Traelbanken (Harck, 1979) and on Sylt at Archsumborg (Kossack and Harck, 1973). The latter has been partially excavated to reveal domestic structures and these sites, of which five are known in southwest Jutland and west Schleswig (figure 8.17) are clearly defended elite settlements (see Chapter 6.3). Around Archsumborg are 27 apparently undefended ERIA settlement mounds (figure 6.2), including Melenknop, which
appear to be of lesser social status as shown by ceramic distributions. Internal partitioning of communities into discrete farm compounds is known in the ERIA phases at Vorbasse, Priorsløkke (though only in certain areas probably due to poor preservation), Adelvej and Galsted Nord (Haderslev Museum, 1980, 5). These indicate that the compound demarcation at Hodde is not localized or unique but part of a wider development in farm organization.

8.1.3 LRIA-EGIA

The structure of farmsteads changed dramatically in the late second and third centuries AD (Kossack, Harck and Reichstein, 1974, fig. 17; Hvass, 1982, 135) but was to remain approximately the same until the end of the EGIA. The farmhouses were now much longer, between 20 and 45 m. long generally, and were divided into several rooms by partition walls. The paired load-bearing posts and central doorways were retained but many of the longhouses were now divided into five rooms; two in the west end (the larger one with the hearth), the entrance room with access to the living rooms and byre, the animal byre itself, and a further room east of the byre which sometimes had an open gable end (Hvass, 1982). The function of this end room is unknown but the absence of a hearth, with the exception of the late LRIA farm at Mølleparken (Haderslev Museum, 1979, 7), and the open gable end suggest that it was a workshop or storeroom for vehicles or agricultural equipment. Outhouses were still features of farm compounds with as many as four associated with a single farm. By the fifth century 'Grubenhäuser' were associated with farmhouses at Vorbasse and Drengsted. From settlements at Vorbasse (figure 8.18; Hvass, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1979a), Hjemsted (figure 8.19); Mølleparken (figure 8.20), Kragemade (figure 8.21), Nørre Snede (figure 8.22; Egeberg Hansen, 1980, 1982) and
Lykkegårdsvej (figure 8.23; Vorting, 1973) it can be seen that the enclosures themselves had changed; farms were no longer sited within a collective palisade but each was located within its own rectangular palisaded compound. These compounds were far larger than they had been, averaging between 35 x 50 m. and 65 x 75 m. In most cases adjacent compounds would share the same palisade. This change from collective enclosures to individualized 'semi-detached' compounds indicates that territory demarcation was no longer planned for the whole community (and possibly by a central agency such as the main farm at Hodde), with individual compounds being carved out of the main enclosure. Social space was now defined primarily at the level of the individual farmstead which would secondarily form part of a loosely articulated collectivity.

Only one truly defended site is known from this period, an EGIA ditched and banked oval enclosure on a hilltop known as Traelborg at Veerst (Kvist, 1949). The bank is 4 m. wide and 40 cm. high and the ditch 4 m. wide. The enclosed area of c. 43 x 30 m. has been partially excavated. A small 11 x 6 m. longhouse of EGIA date had been burnt down. It is peculiar in that it appeared to be solely living quarters around a hearth and it also had curved walls like the Trelleborg type longhouses which are known from Viking forts (Brøndsted, 1960, 283-4). These features would suggest that the site may have been a militarily-occupied fort.

8.2 PRODUCTIVE AND STORAGE CAPACITY WITHIN FARMS

8.2.1 Periods I-II

Changes in farm capacity have been mentioned elsewhere (Parker Pearson, 1984, 1984a) and can be summarized here. At Grønstoft the living areas in the west ends of the farms range between 8 and 30 sq. m. and have
no more than two pairs of posts, while those houses with remains of stall partitions could hold a minimum of six and a maximum of 16 animals in Period I, increasing to six and 22 in Period II (table 8.1). In Period II Houses XVII, III and VI in the enclosed Grønattoft A settlement had space for 18-22 animals, indicating that some farms were able to keep more animals over the winter whilst their living areas remained the same size as most of the other farms. Thus some farmers were doing better than others though the process of accumulating a large herd took a long time, probably over a generation or more.

8.2.2 Period IIIa and b

In Period IIIa the situation changed with the appearance of the single palisaded farmsteads. The Period II/early Period IIIa farm at Grønbjerg does not stand out in terms of animal capacity, with room for only 14 animals and a living area of c. 30 sq. m., though there are at least two outhouses (one probably a barn) associated with it. However, the later Period IIIa farm at Omgårds was much larger. Though no stall partitions were preserved, the byre end could have held about 18 animals. The living area was 35 sq. m., larger than in earlier farms, with three pairs of load-bearing posts in the living area and a hearth between the two eastern pairs. The main farm at Hodde contained stalling for approximately 26 animals and its living area was far larger than other farms (figures 8.6 and 8.7) with the same three pairs of internal posts and hearth between the eastern pairs. All three of these farms were distinguished by the limited distribution of black burnished pottery in their compounds (see Chapter 6.3), while the Hodde farm is distinguishable from other farms in the settlement by the deep wall trenches of its buildings.

In Phase 3 at Hodde (Hvass, 1975, Taf. 2) there is one farm in the
north-east corner of the enclosure with the same animal capacity of the main farm but intriguingly it is the only one with the living area in the east end and the byre in the west end. Its living area is the same size as the other smaller farms but its exact status is difficult to understand since its reversed orientation may have signified some unknown social distinction. It would not appear to be a chiefly residence since it lacks black burnished pottery and an individualized palisade enclosure. However, it does indicate that certain farms other than the main one could accumulate large herds.

Similar large farms are known from Nørre Fjand XIV and, slightly later, at Myrthue IV (Period IIIb/ERIA) and Dankirke (figure 8.24; ERIA). These all had the same large living space with three pairs of internal posts; the first two had space for 22 and 24 large animals respectively, though no stalls were found in Dankirke VII (though it could have held c. 24 animals). One of the problems of interpreting individual farmhouse productivity by animal number and outhouses at this time is the size of the living area in these large farms. Though they have only a single hearth in the east end of the living area, it should not be ruled out that they may have contained more human occupants and that the larger numbers of animals and greater outhouse space reflected the greater number of people to be fed rather than the power and prestige of the inhabitants. One way of examining this problem would be to compare the assemblages of pottery and other portable artefacts from these and other buildings to see if they vary in quantity to suggest more activities and hence more people in the large farms. Information was available only from Nørre Fjand and Myrthue where the occupation floors had been preserved. Though Nørre Fjand XIV had burned down it had very little pottery and no artefacts such as querns, whetstones or mortars (Hatt, 1957, 302-4). Myrthue IV had a mortar in its south-west
corner but no other stone artefacts, while Houses II and III had four pounding stones, a whetstone fragment, a quern fragment and a whetstone or quern fragment with a quernstone in House II and a quern and polishing stone in House III. These two structures are located close to House IV and might well be outhouses. Thus the evidence is inconclusive but the associations with black burnished pottery and also imports at Dankirke and a piece of glass at Myrthue make it almost certain that the extra living space was a mark of social status.

8.2.3 ERIA

The number of ERIA settlements partially excavated in southern Jutland has increased markedly in the last five years with sites at Rugsted Lund (Adamsen, 1982), Gammel Sole (Hvass, 1983), Priorsløkke (just north of the Vejle county boundary), Adelvej and Galsted Nord. No analysis of the pottery or stratigraphy is available yet to permit phasing and dating of these sites. The narrow width of the excavations prevents any analysis more detailed than a comparison of longhouse sizes within and between sites. At Galsted Nord one house was over 20 m. long, while at Adelvej there were two about 15 m. long, one with stalling for over 10 animals. At Gammel Sole there were houses 19 m. long, 12 m. long and four 9 m. long in one area and 18 m. long (four phases), three 9 m. long and two 13-14 m. long in another area. At Rugsted Lund only the deeper postholes of the internal posts and some of the wall trenches were preserved. The dimensions of 21 of these (12 of which were phases of the same four farms) could be measured and none could be identified as having three post pairs in the living end. They were all quite small, ranging from 9 to 16 m. long with most of them between 11 and 13 m. in length. If animals had been stalled in them then the average numbers per farm would have been 12-14 and even the largest could have held
less than 20 animals. At Priorsløkke 10 longhouses with central doorways have been excavated. None have any cattle byres remaining due to the destruction of upper layers, but their sizes can be estimated. Seven houses could have held 8-12 animals, one had room for 16, one for 18 and the largest could have held 26 animals. The lack of preserved palisade trenches prevents any assessment of differences between compounds, though there were two four-post structures and 11 six-post structures which might be interpreted as outhouses but which cannot be assigned to individual farmhouses. Perhaps as much as a half of the village has been excavated so it is unknown whether this sample represents the full range of storage variation. Despite the frequent absence of stalls, the house sizes may be interpreted as variations in the numbers of animals held; the marked differences between different farms are at least as great as those observed in Period IIIa at Hodde and signify the continuance of social inequalities in the production process.

The only evidence so far available for a structural sequence during the ERIA in the region comes from Archsum-Melenknop on the island of Sylt. If the site is representative of the settlement mounds in the immediate environs, then it would have been one of about 20 farms loosely clustered around the Archsumborg ringwork. Its earliest phase in the first century AD was a farmhouse with two four-poster outhouses and a byre for 16-20 animals. In the second century the farm was replaced by a very large longhouse measuring 48 x 8-9 m. Its first phase (B2 Older 1) had space for 40 animals (Kossack, Harck and Reichstein, 1974, 325) and was associated with two granaries and a small house with a hearth but no byre. In the longhouse three hearths were spaced evenly through the living quarters and there was an extra doorway on the south side, suggesting that the farmhouse was occupied by a much larger group than the usual household. In the
second phase (B2 Older 2) the byre was extended another five metres and an extra dwelling with hearth and a byre for about 18 animals was added. At this point there was only a single hearth in the main longhouse. In the third phase (B2 Younger 1) the granaries went out of use and there were now four dwellings around the longhouse, two without byres and two with room for six and 20 animals respectively. There were two hearths in use in the main house. In the fourth phase (B2 Younger 2) the four smaller dwellings all lost their byres and the longhouse had three hearths and three extra doorways. Either the main building was occupied by a single household with vast agricultural resources and a growing number of 'tenants', which would indicate an increasing productive inequality by the second century, or the hearths indicate the number of households occupying the complex. Their number grows from four to three to six to seven during the second century as the number of animals changed from approximately 40 to 70 to 76 to 50, with the four small houses dispossessed of all animals by the last phase. Both interpretations reach similar conclusions about the increasing concentration of productive wealth and the dispossession of the majority of farmers.

8.2.4 Reconstructing LRIA and EGIA byre sizes

A major problem with the many excavated plans of LRIA and EGIA longhouses is the post-depositional loss of stall partitions which is complicated by the addition of an extra room on the east end. There is a further problem that many published site plans do not provide detailed plans of the postholes, trenches and other features which remain of individual longhouses. In order to estimate the numbers of stall spaces in these farmhouses those cases with well-preserved partitions are examined to determine the exact part of the house where animals were stalled and to discover
whether the length of the house, the length of the eastern half and the number of stalls are significantly correlated. It is then possible to estimate the likelihood of a reliable assessment of animal numbers in farms where only the major dimensions can be measured. There were probably longhouses with east ends which did not house animals. However, these are likely to have been few in number and should not affect general economic trends.

At Vorbasse there are eight farmsteads of third to fifth century date where the stall area can be recognized and the number of animals calculated (figure 8.25), and three where the stalls are preserved in part. In the farms of the third and fourth centuries there is a good correlation. In all cases but one (the southern farm in the second phase of the middle farm complex; Hvass, 1978, fig. 20) the byre is in the eastern end, leaving a small room without stalls at the very east end of the house. In six cases there is a door on the south or north sides to gain entry to this room. Though the farms are larger than most Period III and ERIA buildings, the animal numbers are generally no larger and the maximum number of animals would have been 30. The only fifth century house with evidence of stall partitions, XXVI, has a very long eastern end of nearly 23 m. but the stall area itself is only 11 m. long with room for 22 animals. Thus there is the possibility that some farms, such as XXVI and LXXXIb, had byres half the size of the eastern end, while at the other end of the scale house XVIII had 10 m. of byre in a 15 m. long eastern end. The typical location of the byre, in houses where it had not survived, could be postulated by locating the area between the central north and south doorways and the easternmost room, often demarcated by a wall post or an eastern entrance to one of the long sides. The area of byre was taken as the space from the first set of internal post pairs to the east
of the main entrance way to either the easternmost doorway or the easternmost pair of internal posts, whichever was closer. From these specifications 28 longhouses from Vorbasse produced reliable estimates of animal capacity (table 8.2).

A simple linear regression of byre capacity by length of the eastern end and by total longhouse length was calculated. The regression coefficient for byre and east end length was 0.88605, for byre and total house length 0.92708 and for east end by total length 0.88646. Thus there is a strong correlation of byre capacity to the east end length and especially to the total length of the longhouse. This permits inferences of animal capacity from settlement plans where just the longhouse length is given (Hjemsted, figure 8.26; Vorbasse, figure 8.27), where the positions of the doorways are given (Nørre Snede, figure 8.22) or where the complete excavation plan is published (Mølleparken, figure 8.20; Dankirke, figure 8.28; Oksbøl, figure 8.29; Lykkegårdsvæj, figure 8.23; Høgsbro, figure 8.30). The results are tabulated in table 8.3.

8.2.5 LRIA-EGIA change at Vorbasse

Vorbasse provides a developmental sequence from the third to the fifth century AD (figure 8.18). The third century settlement consisted of at least 10 farms (Hvass, 1979a, fig. 4); the total length of seven of these could be measured and ranged between 28 and 35 m. No main farm was recognizable but there were differences in storage capacity between farms. One farm had two outhouses and a four-post structure, two farms each had two outhouses and four were not associated with any ancillary structures.

The fourth century village consisted of at least 19 farms and the structures are not as obscured by the perimeters of the excavation. One
farm, located close to a cemetery of well-equipped graves of the third century, stands out as the main farm by the size of its compound (350 sq. m.). The farmhouse was one of two over 40 m. long and it possessed four outhouses. The other 44 m. long farmhouse was located in the second largest compound and was associated with two outhouses and a complex of iron-smelting furnaces. Three other farms also had two outhouses each and eight farms had just a single outhouse (one of these was also associated with iron smelting). There was no covariation of number of outhouses with longhouse lengths with the exception of the two largest farms but the longhouses can be divided into three lengths; the two largest (43-44 m.), 10 between 30 and 40 m. and four between 20 and 26 m. The variation in length was much greater than in the previous century, suggesting a growing differentiation and concentration of agricultural wealth between households, even though the majority of the longhouses had increased their length by another 5 m.

The fifth century farms at Vorbasse were sited immediately next to their fourth century antecedents, presenting a very detailed trajectory of development, although fewer compound fences have survived. In the open corridor which had existed in the fourth century settlement and where the rotary querns had been located between the west and east groups of farms, some 19 'grubenhausern' were constructed. Their spatial distributions indicate that they belonged to different farms. The exact functions of these structures could not be inferred from their contents. One had clay for pottery making, another had iron slag in its secondary fill and odd loomweights were found in the secondary fill of others (Hvass, 1978, 82-3) and they appear to have been cleared out before their abandonment. 'Grubenhausern' from the EGIA settlement at Drengsted contained spindle whorls, loomweights, whetstones, polishing stones, querns and pottery in their primary layers (Voss, 1976, 69) and similar activities concerned with spinning, weaving,
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grain processing and tool maintenance can be inferred for the Vorbasse huts. The main farm was the same size as it had been in the fourth century but it now had only two outhouses, though a nearby group of four or more 'grubenhäusern' may have been associated with it. Another four farmhouses were about the same size as they had been and four were smaller; only one is larger than the building it replaced but there is uncertainty whether that building was a farmhouse or an outhouse. In general the farmhouses were substantially smaller than in the previous century, by as much as 10 m. in length (table 8.3). This decline in animal numbers is also matched by a decline in storage space as represented by the numbers of outhouses attached to each farm. Apart from the main farm, no other farm had more than one outhouse (except one in the very south with a granary). There were 10 of these with one outhouse and between none and three 'grubenhäusern'. At least four farms had no outhouse. This picture of economic decline demonstrates that while the wealthiest maintained the same or a slightly lower level of productivity, differences in production between farms became even more marked as the less well off continued to become poorer.

8.2.6 Evidence from other LRIA and EGIA farms

The 4th-5th century AD settlement at Hjemsted presents a similar picture of differential production capacities, but without the chronological dimension as at Vorbasse (table 8.3). An area of 10,000 m.² was cleared around the ERIA-EGIA inhumation cemetery though it was apparent that more of the settlement lay to the west of the excavated area. At least six farm compounds were recognized, with traces of others to the east (figure 8.19). Three of them (A, B, C) were in the same area and appear to be rebuildings of the same farm; stratigraphy suggests that C predates B which predates A. If this was a single farm then it had the largest
compound, but unfortunately modern road construction destroyed a large part of that area (traces of at least two large farmhouses were recovered but their dimensions could not be measured). Compounds A, B and C were the same size as the larger ones at Vorbasse (200-250 sq. m.) but not as large as the main one, and also the farmstead could not have been longer than 35 m. It is unlikely to have been a main farm despite its direct spatial association with the cemetery and the location of three out of four 'grubenhäusern' in its compounds. Many of the smaller buildings (table 8.3, figure 8.26) were probably outhouses but two of the longhouses show a variation in size of over 10 m.

At least five probable farmsteads were excavated on the late fourth century settlement at Mølleparken. One farm, 32 m. long with a byre capacity of about 20 animals and sheds and outhouses all round the compound (figure 8.20), was far larger than the others (between 26 and 17 m. long) though no dwelling hearths were found in them. If they were farms then this site also exhibits major inequalities in production.

The best evidence for EGIA household production comes from the large excavations at Nørre Snede where 57 farms, including rebuilds in the same location, have been recognized (figure 8.22; Egeberg Hansen, 1980, 1982). The settlement dates mainly to the fifth and sixth centuries but there are also fourth century farms; no chronological phasing is available yet. The differences in house length, which should indicate animal numbers (table 8.3) fall into three groups. The four or five largest farms could have held 18-26 animals; the middle group, between 20 and 30 m. long, could have held between 14 and 20 animals and the farms around 17 m. long six to 12. Most farms were in the middle group which is similar to the majority of late LRIA farm sizes.

No plans are yet available for the EGIA settlement at Drengsted where
26 longhouses, 11 'grubenhäusern', four wells and 100 slag pits were found over an area of 14,000 sq. m. The dimensions of the houses were between 15 and 20 m. in most cases and the longest was 30 m. long (Voss, 1976, 68-9). These dimensions are not dissimilar from those in the late LRIG settlements at Hjemsted and Mølleparken, though the Drengsted houses are generally smaller, corroborating with the evidence from Nørre Snede that herd numbers continued to fall in the EGIA.

Smaller excavations mainly of single EGIA farmsteads offer a few more insights into agricultural production. Two large farms are known at Oksbøl and at Lykkegårdsvej. Despite their length the Oksbøl house (34 m. long) could have held only 20 animals and the Lykkegårdsvej house (40 m. long) only 14. Smaller longhouses are known from the Ribe area at Dankirke, Enderup and Høgsbro. Høgsbro II and Enderup had potential byre space for 18 animals each, while Dankirke V was smaller and had room for only 14 animals. In some ways this contradicts the artefactual evidence from the houses. Dankirke V contained large quantities of imported glass and the EGIA settlement in general was rich in glass, jewellery, weaponry, coinage and precious metals, indicating the wealth and power of its inhabitants. Enderup, less than one km. away, contained no imports and the only finds of this type at Høgsbro were a glass bowl fragment, a glass bead and a bronze fibula fragment (Jensen, 1980, 28). The other EGIA house at Dankirke, House I, was also small (under 25 m.) and the most likely explanation for this discrepancy between cattle numbers and imports is that the economic specialization at Dankirke had moved from agricultural production towards long-distance trading due to its position as a transhipment point between the mouth of the Rhine and Scandinavia.
8.2.7 Summary

In conclusion, the evidence from smaller excavations conforms to the settlement history at Vorbasse which demonstrates that not only were there inequalities in production from the third century onwards, but also that as productivity fell in the fifth century so agricultural wealth became increasingly centralized and social inequalities even greater. The LRIA/EGIA economy showed certain signs of diversifying and developing regional specializations (Jensen, 1980, 31-4). Iron working was carried out on a much larger scale than before. The ironworking at Vorbasse has been mentioned; at Dankirke 100 slag pits radiocarbon dated to early third-early fifth century contained more than 10 tons of slag from which at least two tons of iron could have been made (Voss, 1976, 69). The fifth century 'grubenhausem' in central and western Jutland may indicate a growing specialization in textile production. From the end of the ERIA the simple saddle quern was replaced by the more efficient rotary quern over the whole area (Brøndsted, 1960, 241-2). Evidence for regional specialization, apart from the growth of ironworking on the heathlands rich in bog ore, can be found in agricultural activities. A comparison between the settlement plans of Vorbasse on sandy soil and Nørre Snede on the clay reveals that there were many more four-posters, far fewer 'grubenhausern' and shorter byre sections at Nørre Snede than Vorbasse (figure 8.18, figure 8.22, table 8.3), suggesting that the former placed a heavy emphasis on arable agriculture while animal products were an important feature of the latter's economy. Researchers have suggested that there was a change from extensive to intensive agriculture between the ERIA and the LRIA which made possible the production of a surplus (Schou Jorgensen et al., 1978, 74, 78) but they cite no evidence for this. Some of the evidence discussed above might be interpreted in this fashion but otherwise it is difficult to support such
conclusions. Furthermore, the production of a surplus was something which had existed since the late PRIA, as indicated by the class inequalities which had developed by that time.

8.3 VILLAGE CONTINUITY: THE EVIDENCE FOR TERRITORY AS PROPERTY

8.3.1 Field systems

While animal stalls and storehouses within individual farmhouses can be interpreted as increasingly privatized ownership of agricultural resources from the beginning of the PRIA (Stummann Hansen, 1981), the interpretation of evidence for the growth of private landed property is not as straightforward. It is not possible to pinpoint exact stages in the evolution of private landed property from the archaeological evidence (though documentary evidence indicates that the Romans considered the Germans to have developed the concept by the first century AD; Thompson, 1965, 25-8), but a trajectory of development can be recognized from the material. Field systems in Jutland with permanent field boundaries were constructed as early as Period II and many date to the late PRIA and ERIA (Stummann Hansen, 1981; Hatt, 1931). This growing enclosure of previously open arable land coincided with the enclosure of settlements and the permanent occupation of a village location (B. Jensen, 1975; S. Jensen, 1980; Hvass, 1982b). Different patterns of land use and settlement continuity can be recognized in three areas of southern Jutland: the west coast zone, the central glacial sands and the east coast moraine clay.

8.3.2 Continuity on the west coast

On the west coast there are dense concentrations of settlements of all periods which demonstrate continuity of location from the late PRIA
until the EGIA and later. From urban excavations in the Esbjerg area at least four settlement concentrations can be recognised around Saedding, Gammelby, Vognsbøl and Brøndum (figure 1.9) demonstrating continuity from at least Period III and in certain cases from Periods I and II through to the EGIA. Similar concentrations are known around Dankirke, Vester Vested and Øster Vedsted in the Ribe area (figures 8.31 and 8.32; Jensen, 1980, figures 6 and 7). In between Ribe and Esbjerg in this zone between the sands and the coastal marsh continuous settlement occupation has also been found at Store Darum, Vilslev, Herredsbjerg and Sneum. Further to the south the Hjemsted cemetery complex and associated settlement demonstrates continuity from the earliest phase of the ERIA until the EGIA. The average spacing between settlements in this narrow coastal zone was between 1 km. and 3 km.

8.3.3 Continuity on the central plateau

The central zone was far more sparsely settled but continuity of settlement location can be demonstrated in at least nine localities despite the poor quality of the soil and the fewer physical constraints on siting (west coast sites such as Herredsbjerg were constrained to sand islands in the marsh and so locational continuity would be expected). At Hodde the excavated Period IIIa settlement was succeeded by Period IIIb/ERIA and LRIA settlements recognized by surface artefact scatters some four to six hundred metres from the previous site (figure 4.1). The entire village sequence from Period III to the Viking period has been identified and largely excavated at Vorbasse (figure 4.2). At Drengsted settlements of the PRIA, ERIA, probably LRIA and EGIA have been located within a radius of 500 m. (Voss, 1976, 69). Similar continuity is also demonstrable for the settlement complex of Adelvej, Lille Kleinbjerg and Syvsig (Haderslev
Museum, 1980), while the LRIA-EGIA settlement excavated at Nørre Snede was preceded by an ERIA settlement (Egeberg Hansen, 1980, 310). Cemetery evidence in this zone demonstrates the same pattern at Farre (first century BC to late fourth century AD), Enderupskov (first century to fifth century AD) and Mogeltønder (ERIA to LRIA). The settlements of Vorbasse, Almsdok, Baekke and Donslund indicate that the spacing of settlements on these sandy soils was 5-7 km. apart (Hvass, 1979b, 36-7).

8.3.4 Discontinuity on the east coast

The east coast zone was particularly densely inhabited in the late PRIA and ERIA with settlements spaced between 1 and 3 km. apart. The history of settlement in this area, however, was completely different from that of the other areas due to its depopulation at the end of the ERIA (see next section). The general picture from central and western Jutland of village continuity would suggest that each village was the centre of a farmed territory whose boundaries would have remained relatively permanent. If land was allocated to villages it is difficult to know whether it was held as the private property of families or individuals or the communal property of the village, though the growth of boundaries demarcating specific fields of arable land would seem to indicate the former.

8.4 TRENDS IN LARGE-SCALE LAND COLONIZATION AND LAND USE

The larger-scale changes in land use and productivity can be considered from three independent lines of evidence; settlement distributions, pollen diagrams and food residues. While the study of these aspects has usually been associated with an emphasis on the ecological and environmental conditions of social organization (Clark, 1975; Higgs, 1975), they can be shown to be of great value in a study which attempts to integrate the full
8.4.1 The desertion of the heaths and exploitation of the clays in the PRIA

In Chapters 2 and 4 the representativity of settlements and burials was assessed in relation to soil types and recent agricultural activity. The geographical distribution of artefacts and sites of certain periods was shown to reflect real past distributions of settlement. The first major population movement was a long-term abandonment of the western and central Jutland heaths and a corresponding colonization of the eastern moraine clays from the end of the Bronze Age until the late PRIA (figures 1.2, 2.3, 2.7, 1.6, 1.7). This change in land use has been noted further north in western Jutland (Hvass, 1980, 16 after Mathiassen, 1947, figures XV-XVII; Kristiansen, 1980) and mentioned more generally for Jutland (Becker, 1961, Pl. 123-7) and north-west Europe (Todd, 1977, 41). The soil and pollen evidence reinforces this picture of land desertion on the soils of central and western Jutland. Iversen documents an increasing pod-solization of these soils from the Bronze Age onwards. Areas previously lightly wooded were cleared in the Early Iron Age as arable land and grass pasture spread over wide areas and alder swamps were taken in as hay meadows in the PRIA. On the sands the slow natural deterioration of the soil was greatly accelerated by these clearances for pasture and arable (Iversen, 1973, 110, 115-6). This process has been closely documented in west Jutland (Jonassen, 1958; Andersen, Aaby and Odgaard, 1983, 193-5) where much of the area had been reduced to podsolized heather-covered heath by the Iron Age. While Jonassen postulated that one of the main causes was the abandonment of fields which became taken over by heath (1950), more recent pollen analysis has shown that the growth of heath was actively

range of archaeological evidence to understand the development of past societies.
encouraged by regular burning since the Neolithic, presumably to provide extensive tracts of grazing and fodder for cattle and sheep (Andersen, Aaby and Odgaard, 1983, 193-5). By c. 400 BC an ecological transformation had been effected in which the previously lightly wooded glacial sands had been turned into heathland plagued by windblown sands (Jonassen, 1958, 500) as demonstrated by blown sand layers in bogs (Jonassen, 1958, 510; Bahnson, 1972) and in settlements at Alrun, Nørre Fjand and Sønder Bork (Jonassen, 1958, 510-5; Hatt, 1957, 4).

Further evidence for this developing agricultural catastrophe on the heaths comes from the carbonized food remains found in late PRIA and ERIA settlements on the margins of the encroaching heathland. A food cup from a Period II house at Gørding Hede contained one third weed seeds and the rest barley, showing that diet was supplemented by non-domesticated foods. The last meals of Tollund Man (c. 200 BC) and Grauballe Man (c. 75 BC) can be seen in this light to have been standard fare rather than special pre-sacrifice or prisoners' food (Helbaek, 1950, 1951, 1958). At Period III and ERIA settlements, wild seeds were being collected and sorted at Alrum (a litre of pure Polygonum lapathifolium), Nørre Fjand (one and a half litres of Chenopodium), Ginderup (Camelina and Spergulum) and Østerbølle (large quantities of Camelina) (Helbaek, 1954, 254-5). This diet supplementation is something which was known until recently when wild seeds such as Bromus were collected as famine food on occasions when the usual harvest failed (Jones, 1981, 109).

The opening up of the claylands to the east was also accompanied by the supplementation of the usual diet, particularly in the Late PRIA and ERIA as that area became densely populated. Down the east coast of Jutland as far south as Schleswig large numbers of Iron Age shell middens have been found (Løkkegaard Poulsen, 1978; Harck, 1973). Twenty-nine are known on the
eastern coast of southern Jutland and have been dated by pottery or radiocarbon samples retrieved from small test excavations. All but four (which are Period I) are Period III and/or ERIA. The exact reasons for the adoption of a shellfish gathering strategy, last adopted in the late Mesolithic, may only become clear after large-scale excavations have been carried out on some of these sites. Shellfish can have been anything but an ideal food resource (Rowley-Conwy, 1980, 209-12) and their collection as a supplement to the staple domesticated crops and animals in the first centuries BC/AD and possibly second century AD must be interpreted as evidence for an economic crisis.

8.4.2 The desertion of the clay lands around the Lille Bælt c. 200 AD

The archaeological evidence for settlement distributions shows a rapid and dramatic depopulation of the lands of southern Jutland and western Funen around the Lille Bælt (Albrechtsen, 1970, figs. 2 and 3) around 200 AD (figures 8.33, 8.34, 4.6, 4.7). These fertile soils had supported dense populations and signs of growing social tensions in the area are apparent from the construction of a 12 km. long palisade, bank and ditch known as the Olgerdige which helped to cut off southern Jutland from Schleswig. The linear fortification was built facing north and three lines of palisades were dated to 123 AD, 140 AD and 201 AD with 15 radiocarbon dates (Neumann, 1977, 1982). The deserted area was the scene of military conflicts over the next few centuries. Underwater defences were constructed around 300 AD to block off Haderslev Fjord from the Lille Bælt (Crumlin-Pedersen, 1975) and there are 11 LRIA and EGIA battle deposits in the area.

The botanic evidence confirms that this area was completely deserted, though it has until now been misinterpreted. The lack of absolute dating for the relevant pollen diagrams was partly solved by establishing that the
complete regeneration of woodland in this previously heavily cultivated open landscape had to date to not long after the beginning of the ERIA due to the occurrence of rye pollen just before the regeneration phase. Two pollen diagrams were taken from bogs in southern Jutland at Tinglev some 40 km. from the east coast and Bundsø on the island of Als in the Lille Bælt (Andersen, 1954). The Tinglev diagram showed a gradual increase in open ground into the Iron Age, while in contrast the Bundsø diagram demonstrated intense agricultural activity from the later Neolithic into the PRIA when the island was dominated by pasture, fields and meadows. These indicators of farming at Bundsø disappeared dramatically with a concurrent rapid regeneration of beech which leaves no doubt that the whole area was deserted (Iversen, 1973, 113-5). Iversen's explanation for this event hinged on his dating of it to the fourth century AD due to the lack of knowledge of RIA population dynamics at that time. He assumed that it had to relate to the emigrations to England (though it is now known that a substantial number of people remained in Jutland in the 4th-6th centuries; see Chapter 10). He surmised that soil exhaustion was the cause of this depopulation but was unable to explain the contradiction that the most fertile eastern area was deserted while the more marginal sandy soils of southern Jutland remained populated:

"...an excessive exploitation of the soil led to a crisis resulting in emigration, first in the poor areas of Jutland and later perhaps in the more fertile areas too. It is presumably the emigration to England that we find registered in the South Jutland pollen diagram." (Iversen, 1973, 115).

"This crisis must necessarily have occurred in the closely populated poor sandy areas of Jutland, and if emigration occurred into more fertile areas it would only cause overpopulation there too. An evaluation of the course of the pollen curves can lead to no other result: a crisis and an emigration were inevitable." (Iversen, 1973, 114).

The reforestation event in eastern Jutland can be dated by the archaeological evidence for desertion to around 200 AD and the transition from the ERIA to
the LRIA; it is not the result of the Jutish migrations. Though the area was densely populated and the shell middens may indicate a food crisis for some, the real reason is most unlikely to have been soil exhaustion but the outbreak of continuous warfare along the Lille Bælt from the early third century onwards, when the area became the focus for warring factions presumably plundering the prosperous settlements of the area.
Figure 8.2a  The Period I settlement at Grøntoft B (Becker 1968).
Figure 8.2b The Period II settlement at Grøntoft A (Becker 1966).
Figure 8.3 Building types at Grøntoft A, B, C & E in Periods I & II (after Becker 1980).
Figure 8.4 Late Period II / early Period IIIa enclosure at Grønbjerg (Becker 1980a).
Fig. 8. Plan of the single farmstead of the late pre-Roman Iron Age at Omgård, West Jutland (no. 40).

**Figure 8.5** The Period IIIa enclosure at Omgård (L.C. Nielsen 1982).
Figure 8.6 The Period IIIa settlement at Hodde, Phase 1 (Hvass 1975)
Figure 8.7. The Period IIIa settlement at Flokke, Phase 3 (trench 1975)
Figure 8.8 Building types at Hodde (after Hvass 1975).
Figure 8.9 Farm compounds at Hodde (after Hvass 1975).
Figure 8.10 1st century AD farm compound at Melenknop, Sylt (Kossack, Harck & Reichstein 1974).
Figure 8.11 The large ERIA farm at Myrthue (Thomsen 1964).
Figure 8.12 ERIA settlement at Priorsløkke, near Horsens (P.O. Nielsen 1983).
Figure 8.13 ERIA settlement at Rugsted Lund (Adamsen 1982).
Figure 8.14 1st century AD farms at Vorbasse and Period IIIb cremation cemetery (Hvass 1982b, fig.4).
Figure 8.15  The ERIA settlement at Adelvej (Haderslev Museum 1980).
Figure 8.16 The ERIA settlement and urn cemetery at Galsted Nord (Haderslev Museum 1980).
Figure 8.17 The distribution of circular defended enclosures in the south west of the region (Kossack & Harck 1973).
Figure 8.18 3rd-5th century settlement phases at Vorbasse (Hvass 1982b, fig.4).
Figure 8.19 Hjemsted III 4th-5th century farm compounds (unpublished plan by E. Jørgensen).
Figure 8.20 4th-5th century settlement at Mølleparken (Haderslev Museum 1979).
Figure 8.21 4th-5th century settlement at Kragemåde
(unpublished plan by F. Rieck).
Fig. 9. Plan of the 4th.–5th. century settlement at Nørre Snede, Central Jutland (no. 52).

Figure 8.22 The LRIA-EGIA settlement at Nørre Snede (Egebert Hansen 1982).
Figure 8.23  EGIA settlement at Lykkegårdsvej, Esbjerg
Fig. 3. Plan over det udgravede område på Dankirke-marken. Højdekurverne markerer oldtidens markoverslade, som var mere kuperet end den nutidige, der er jævnet af århundreders plojning. Kurve-tallene er dybden under målesystemets nulplan, derfor angiver de højeste tal den største dybde. Der er 20 cm's højdeforskell mellem kurverne.

Figure 8.24 ERIA houses III & VII (shaded) at Dankirke (Thorvildsen 1972).
Figure 8.25 3rd-5th century farmhouses at Vorbasse
(Hvass 1978, figs. 3 & 4).
Figure 8.26 Hjemsted III 4th-5th century houses (unpublished plan by E.Jørgensen).
Figure 8.27 House plans used in the analysis of byre size at Vorbasse (Hvass 1978).
Fig. 3. Plan over det udgravede område på Dankirke-marken. Højdekurverne markerer oldtidsens markoverflade, som var mere kuperet end den nutidige, der er jævnet af århundreders plojning. Kurve-tallene er dybden under møllesystemets nulplan, derfor angiver de højeste tal den største dybde. Der er 20 cm's højdeforskell mellem kurverne.

Figure 8.28 EGIA houses I & V (shaded) at Dankirke (Thorvildsen 1972).
Figure 8.29 The EGIA farm at Oksbøl (Hatt 1958).
Figure 8.30 EGIA longhouses at Høgsbro (Jensen 1980, fig. 3).
Figure 8.31 Settlement in the Ribe area
(Jensen 1980).
Figure 8.32 Settlement on the south west coast
(Jensen 1980)
Figure 8.33 ERIA sites in southern Jutland.

- Settlement
- Cemetery/grave
- Burial mound
- Bog pottery
Figure 8.33 ERIA sites in southern Jutland.

- Settlement
- Cemetery/grave
- Burial mound
- Bog pottery
Figure 8.34 LRIA sites in southern Jutland.

- Settlement
- Burial mound
- Inhumation
- Cremation
- Grave of unknown type
- Votive Weapon Deposit
- Votive or stray find
Table 8.1 Relationship of animal capacity to living space throughout the PRIA (Parker Pearson 1984a).
Table 8.2 Relationships between byre size and lengths of longhouses and their east ends at Vorbasse.
Table 8.3 LRIA and EGIA longhouse lengths.
The deposition of objects in bogs or lakes with no intention of their retrieval (as gifts to supernatural forces) is not always easy to demonstrate (see Chapter 3). However, most of the 'wet' deposits of the earlier Iron Age in southern Jutland have been shown to have been such ritualized events directed towards spiritual forces with no intention of retrieval, with the possible exception of the EGIA gold hoards, which will be examined in more detail below. Thus it is legitimate to compare and contrast these offerings with the practice of burying grave goods with the dead and the time trajectories of wealth consumption which they followed.

9.1 OFFERINGS OF PERIODS I AND II OF THE PRIA

9.1.1 Bog pottery

While there are 25 PRIA bog pottery findspots in southern Jutland in contrast to only nine ERIA sites, the practice of placing pottery in wet places did not fall off until the LRIA (from when only two depositions are known) if the different time lengths of each period are allowed for. A 'religious' motivation for their deposition is generally assumed and at least some of them contained bones and food remains (Becker, 1971a). With the possible exception of the ERIA black burnished pot from Vejen Mose, none of the offerings could be described as involving prestigious goods and they would not seem to represent rituals of conspicuous consumption except possibly feasting or food offerings, and even then none of the southern Jutland sites have produced many food remains like sites such as
the LRIA-EGIA deposits at Skedemosse and Rislev (see Chapter 6.4.2). The Period I and II deposits are located mainly in the east coast zone (Becker, 1971a, fig. 1; see figure 2.3) and may well have been associated with the opening up of new territories, possibly as ritual components of territorial claims.

9.1.2 Metal artefact depositions

There are many bronze neck-, arm- and hairrings and buckles of Periods I and II found in peat bogs or even wells in Jutland (Müller, 1890; Vebaek, 1945), often in large quantities. In southern Jutland they are found mainly in the eastern area and may also be connected with the establishment of rights to land (figure 2.4). In a society where silver and gold were virtually unknown, these objects may have had great value, especially the large neckrings which are not found in graves. The most impressive find which probably dates to Period II (Klindt-Jensen, 1953) is the bronze cauldron from Brå which was found with an axehead in a pit on a hillside overlooking a bog. It was far larger than any later cauldrons found in burials and was doubtless a prized object connected with feasting.

9.1.3 Human sacrifices

While it has been known that the bog corpses were of Iron Age date (Glob, 1977), only recently have radiocarbon dates been produced from nine corpses to give dates between 840 BC and 95 AD (Fischer, 1979). Over 126 of these bog corpses and skeletons are known from Denmark but only eight have been found in southern Jutland and none of these have been dated. The accepted motive for their ritual murder, that they were social outcasts such as traitors, deserters, cowards, sodomites, shirkers and adulterers as reported by Tacitus (Handford, 1970, 111, 117), is confirmed by
discovery that the man from Grauballe was suffering from ergotism, a
disease from infected rye which causes convulsive disorders (Renfrew,
1973, 85-6). The observation that he had not taken part in the manual
work of farming (Vogelius Andersen, 1958) may be best interpreted with
respect to his disabilities. It is not certain that all the corpses would
have been those of social outcasts; Fischer (1980) has pointed out the care
with which some of them were laid to rest in the bog after a violent death
and suggests that they were sacrifices to the gods. He also notes their
distribution in eastern Jutland and the Danish islands and their absence
from eastern Jutland despite the many bogs in that area (Fischer, 1980,
26), conforming to the geographical distribution of PRIA offerings in
general. The radiocarbon dates are too few and the standard deviations
too large to ascertain any significant temporal distributions but there are
two possible groups, the first spanning the Later Bronze Age/Period I trans­
iton (840-475 BC) and the second the late PRIA/ERIA transition (220 BC-
95 AD).

9.1.4 Weapon deposits

Two weapon offerings are known from Hjortspring on the island of Als
in southern Jutland and Krogsbølle in western Funen. The Hjortspring find
consisted of eight swords (and three fragments), 138 iron spearheads (with
31 bone- or wood-tipped spears) and 150 wooden spears associated with a
light longboat which could have held 24 individuals (Rosenberg, 1937). The
find is not securely dated but is thought to belong to Period II or the
earliest phase of Period IIIa (Becker, 1948). The Krogsbølle deposit has
produced seven swords, 25 iron spearheads and over 19 bone ones (Kjaer,
1901). The weapons are stylistically later than those from Hjortspring
and the deposit is estimated to date from early Period IIIa (Becker, 1948).
Since the bulk of the Hjortspring deposit was excavated, the ratios of weapons may cast some light on ratios between those who owned swords and those who did not. This ratio of 1:12 or 14 may reflect the structure of war bands (though the assemblage may have been sorted before deposition as at Illerup for the LRIA-EGIA deposits there; Ilkjaer, pers. comm.) which is in total disagreement with the ratio of sword to spear burials of Period IIIb in southern Jutland of 1:1.3, but fits within the range of elite to ordinary farmsteads at Hodde. Since the LRIA and EGIA weapon deposits were offerings after battles (Chapter 3 and below) these PRIA deposits are almost certainly the precursors of these rituals. The area which they are found in is also the same as the later deposits, the fertile clays around the Lille Baelt which were being colonized at that time. Like the ring deposits, the pottery and the corpses, these deposits may have been the results of more violent legitimation of territorial claims.

9.1.5 Wooden ploughs

Ten ploughs from bogs in Jutland are considered to date to the later first millennium BC (Glob, 1945). In southern Jutland three ploughs of Døstrup type were votive deposits at Donnerupland, Trollerup and Nørre Smedeby, dated to the beginning of the Sub-Atlantic period (early PRIA) (Jessen, 1934, 200-2). The arrow-shaped share could have coped with the heavier clay soils and the plough offerings are predominantly in eastern Jutland, as with other offerings.

In conclusion, the lack of securely dateable contexts for these deposits makes any imputation of directionality of consumption through time difficult, though the larger items and deposits such as the weapon depositions and the Brå cauldron indicate that consumption was increasing.
The types of deposits form a very odd mixture of items and it is also
difficult to detect a coherent relationship other than their contexts in
or around bogs. Feasting, food and fertility might have been features of
many of the offerings, as well as warfare and death.

9.2 OFFERINGS OF PERIOD III OF THE PRIA

In Period III the most spectacular depositions were made in bogs,
except from the weapon deposits, but none have come from southern Jutland.
These are the two parade wagons from Dejbjerg, the gold torc from Dron-
ninglund and the gold-inlaid silver cauldron from Gundestrup (Brøndsted,
1960). Apart from the bog pottery there are no votive depositions from
the first two centuries AD and so the first century BC is a very definite
transition in the context of wealth destruction from bogs to graves. This
change from 'gifts to gods' to 'gifts to the dead' represents an ideo-
logical shift which breaks temporarily with a tradition going back as far
as the Neolithic. From the combined settlement and cemetery evidence
this change corresponds to changes in the privatization of agricultural
resources and the evolution of distinct social classes. The ERIA bog
pottery would appear to have belonged to the poorer section of society
and only one pot, from Vejen Mose, is black burnished (unfortunately it
is not closely dateable to the first or second centuries). The distribu-
tion of these finds was limited to central Jutland (fig. 8.33) in
contrast to the eastern distribution of PRIA bog pottery.

9.3 THE WEAPON DEPOSITS OF THE LRIA AND EGIA

9.3.1 Booty from battles

There are 19 known weapon deposits of the LRIA and eight of the EGIA
in Denmark and Schleswig (Brøndsted, 1960, 287-9). Eleven of the LRIA and five EGIA deposits, including the five largest (Thorsbjerg, Vimose, Nydam, Ejsbøl and Illerup), are from eastern Jutland or western Funen in or around the periphery of the area deserted after 200 AD (figure 9.1). At Nydam, Ejsbøl, Porskaer, Illerup and Thorsbjerg successive depositions were made in the same location (Ilkjaer and Lønstrup, 1977, 1982; Ørsnes, 1963) indicating that these spots were revered for periods beyond a human lifetime and up to 200 years. The documentary evidence mentioned in Chapter 3 (Ørsnes, 1963, 232; 1969, XXIII; Hagberg, 1967, 65 ff), the evidence that the phase Clb fibulae from Thorsbjerg came from south of the Eider (Ilkjaer and Lønstrup, 1982, 97-7) and the large-scale depopulation in the area where most of the deposits were found are definite evidence that these were sacrifices of the war booty of defeated armies or war bands by the victors. The deposits do not directly reflect central places of settlement populations nor sanctuaries for the regular and annual accumulation of prestigious items.

9.3.2 The structure of assemblages

In southern Jutland there are four known LRIA deposits at Ejsbøl, Nydam, Tranebaer Mose and Vingsted Mølle and another three potential sites at Maltbaek Mose (where two LRIA bridles and remains of a third, and a LRIA bronze bown were found), Kaermølle (a RIA sword) and Rudvad (a RIA spearhead and possibly two). EGIA deposits are known at Ejsbøl, Nydam and Dallerup Sø. The best excavated of these is from Ejsbøl near Haderslev. Two concentrations of artefacts were located on the edge of an Iron Age lake, now covered in peat, some 20 m. apart (figure 9.2). The northern group (Ejsbøl Nord) consisted of over 1100 artefacts; there were nine horse harnesses and saddle sets, 8-9 sets of spurs, 60 swords (with some of their
in Denmark and Schleswig (Brøndsted, 1960, 287-9). Eleven of the LRIA and five EGIA deposits, including the five largest (Thorsbjerg, Vimose, Nydam, Ejsbøl and Illerup), are from eastern Jutland or western Funen in or around the periphery of the area deserted after 200 AD (figure 9.1). At Nydam, Ejsbøl, Forskaer, Illerup and Thorsbjerg successive depositions were made in the same location (Ilkjaer and Lønstrup, 1977, 1982; Ørsnes, 1963) indicating that these spots were revered for periods beyond a human lifetime and up to 200 years. The documentary evidence mentioned in Chapter 3 (Ørsnes, 1963, 232; 1969, XXIII; Hagberg, 1967, 65 ff), the evidence that the phase Clb fibulae from Thorsbjerg came from south of the Eider (Ilkjaer and Lønstrup, 1982, 97-7) and the large-scale depopulation in the area where most of the deposits were found are definite evidence that these were sacrifices of the war booty of defeated armies or war bands by the victors. The deposits do not directly reflect central places of settlement populations nor sanctuaries for the regular and annual accumulation of prestigious items.

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pommels, hilts and chapes made of sheet silver), 60 buckles, 62 knives, 123 shield bosses (and 52 fragments), 191 spears and 203 lances and a single silver denarius. The regular composition of this group has been commented on by the excavator (Ørsnes, 1963, 346-7; 1968, 179-81), and estimated to have belonged to about 200 warriors who were arranged in a hierarchy of at least three stages; foot soldiers at the bottom armed with spear, lance and shield; foot soldiers with a sword, a belt and a knife as well as spear, lance and shield; and at the top a small group of horsemen with the same equipment as those in the intermediate group. This produces a ratio of 21:6:1 which can be compared with ratios of 10-20:14:1 and 6-13:7:1 at the less well excavated sites at Nydam and Víimose (Engelhardt, 1866, 27-8). The Ejsbøl Nord group was a single deposition made in phase C2/3, while the southern concentration (Ejsbøl Sud) consisted of an unspecified quantity of buckles and scabbard mountings and 150 ship rivets, dating to the EGIA. In between the two groups were found three swords with bronze and silver pommels, three silver buckles and three sets of silver scabbard mountings, all fifth century and contemporary with the southern group. The artistic quality of the silverwork highlights the exclusiveness of these three swords in comparison with the bronze buckles and scabbard mountings, and since these weapons were personalized items they most likely represent an increasing gulf between warriors and a warrior elite, to parallel the changes in the costumes of the dead and the agricultural productivity of farms.

9.3.3 The hoards from Nydam, Tranebaer Mose, Vingsted Mølle and Dallerup Sø

Three phases of deposition have been identified from the chronology of the artefacts recovered from Nydam. The first group of weapons could
be dated to Cl (third century), the second to C2/3 (fourth century), and the third to the earlier part of the EGIA (fifth century), though it is difficult to distinguish between the first two (Ilkjaer and Lønstrup, 1977, 126). Twenty-four of the 107 swords were dateable and have been divided equally into Periods Cl and C2/3. The deposit contained three boats, the first all but destroyed, the second of oak complete and with space for 28 rowers, and the third of fir whose remains indicate it was about the same size. The oak boat contained swords, axes, arrows and shieldboards as well as nine bronze Nydam fibulae dated 350-400 AD. These fibulae are known from Jutland (such as the warrior grave 143 at Enderupskov) but they are strongly concentrated further south between the Elbe and Als, indicating the probable origin of the waterborne warriors as somewhere in northern Germany. There was a large quantity of domestic items (a scythe, 86 knives, 12 pyrites, three bone combs and 11 awls) and dress items (including two silver clasps, glass beads or buttons, three bronze and silver bucket pendants, a silver 'ointment' box, bronze and silver tweezers and earpicks). Many of the sword chapes were plated or inlaid with silver and two sword blades had gold wire inlaid, possibly as runes. The bulk of the precious metal was the 36 silver denarii probably dumped in the first or second sacrifice. The final deposition at Nydam was found after Engelhardt's excavations and is known as Nydam II with about 100 items nearly all of silver and weighing 940 grams (Kjaer, 1902, 182). This silver hoard consisted of an armring, a fingerring, two fragments of sword strap, a strap buckle, 11 chapes and 11 scabbard mouths and 43 pieces of rim fittings. There were no swords despite the 11 scabbard fittings, a pattern found in the contemporary deposit at Ejsbøl Sud. These have been interpreted as pars pro toto offerings (Ørsnes, 1968, 186; Ilkjaer and Lønstrup, 1982, 101) and end the sequences of deposition at the sites.
At Tranebaer Mose the remains of at least one wooden wagon was found with 'many' wooden spear shafts, 'a great many' shieldboards, a bronze horsebit, a sword pommel and an early LRIA pot. Iron evidently did not survive in the bog and the finds are probably part of a larger deposit possibly dating to the third century, although the pot may not be associated with the weaponry. From Vingsted Mølle another small collection was recovered consisting of 49 spearheads and fragments, an axehead, two shield bosses, 52 fittings, buckles and belt attachments (eight of silver and six of silver gilt bronze), a knife and two small gold bars. The spearheads are similar to those from Ejsbøl Nord and can be dated to the fourth century. A PRIA pin was also recovered; the most likely explanation is that it was sacrificed at least half a millennium before in the same way as PRIA and ERIA bog pottery which has been found with LRIA and EGIA weapon deposits at Thorsbjerg and Illerup (Ilkjaer and Lønstrup, 1982, 95).

The Dallerup Sø deposit contained 21 swords, seven spears and a horsebit. While the poor conditions of excavation prevent any confidence in the adequacy of the sample, it does correspond with the other EGIA depositions which are dominated by swords or sword fittings and it is possible that the sword had become available to all grades of warrior by the EGIA.

9.3.4 Weapon deposits and wealth consumption

While the quantities of weaponry from deposits in southern Jutland probably reached a maximum in C2/3, the quantities of gold and silver sacrificed continued to rise into the fifth century. It is particularly interesting that the sacrifice of precious commodities continued to increase while at the same time agricultural production was declining and social inequalities were growing. The pars pro toto deposits of the EGIA are an
interesting feature with only the sword fittings and scabbards sacrificed and the swords themselves presumably retained. One deposit at Porskaer near Horsens contained 70 sword shapes but no swords. A remarkable aspect of this practice is that swords would be omitted from the sacrifice even though the fittings were of silver as at Nydam II. By the fifth century swords were being curated presumably because their practical use value for fighting and possibly their scarcity outweighed their symbolic value as sacrifices to the gods.

9.4 EARLY GERMANIC GOLD HOARDS

9.4.1 Metal value and context

With the exception of the gold bars from Tranebaer Mose and some ring currency from Thorsbjerg and Porskaer, the precious metal associated with the weapon hoards was silver. Denarii were frequently thrown away with the weapons and silver was used for items of dress as well as weapon decoration (though a few weapons were gilded, plated or inlaid with tiny quantities of gold). This is also true of the dress items found in burials of these periods. In contrast, the hoards of the EGIA which did not contain weaponry and weapon fittings were almost entirely of gold, with the exception of the scrap silver hoards such as Simmersted.

Roman gold coinage entered Scandinavia in two waves, the first into the western area from c. 400 AD into the fifth century and the second into the eastern area (principally Öland, Gotland, Bornholm and southern Sweden) from c. 500 AD into the sixth century (Geisslinger, 1967). In southern Jutland five stray finds of gold coins belong to the first wave and three to the second. The large quantities of EGIA goldwork in southern Scandinavia confirm the documentary evidence that gold was being taken out of the Roman
Empire from c. 400 AD onwards as extortion money, ransoms and military payments (Hvass, 1980a, 55). Gold had replaced silver as the prime metal of value in the north and was often hoarded as scrap (Munksgaard, 1955, 65-6).

9.4.2 Votive offerings and hoards of EGIA gold

Many of the hoards or single finds of gold in southern Jutland cannot be dated more closely than the Germanic Iron Age because of the lack of chronologically recognizable traits. Mackeprang's catalogue of gold bracteates (1952) remains virtually up to date for southern Jutland with the exception of the Bevtoft bracteate (Neumann, 1968). A gold neckring from Gelstoft (Neumann, 1960, 3-4), a gold bead and gold bar from Gram (Geisslinger, 1967) and two large gold horns from Gallehus (Hortner, 1969) can also be added to the list. The context of goldwork (see Chapter 3.2) can be further elucidated when a division is made between hoards which contain jewellery (glass beads and fibulae) and hoards which contain bullion or scrap (bars, ringgold, coins and 'currency' gold). The hoard from the EGIA settlement at Dalshøj on Bornholm contained 17 gold solidi, two rings, a ring fragment the same weight as a solidus, a piece of currency gold and a gold gilt fibula (Klindt-Jensen, 1957a, 185-208). It can be characterized as a bullion hoard on all its contents except the fibula and was reckoned to have been buried hurriedly, just before the house which it was under burned down. The seven gold sheets and a gold ring from around the nearby EGIA farm at Sorte Mulde (Klindt-Jensen, 1957a, 175-185) can also be defined as a bullion hoard hidden in a time of trouble. Single finds of bronze or silver fibulae of the late LRIA and EGIA were buried in bogs or lakes (16 out of 19 finds in Jutland; Geisslinger, 1967, Karte 21) and three are known from bogs in southern Jutland at Båstrup (late fourth century), Kjaergård Mose and Laeborg (both sixth century).
For the whole of Jutland a comparison of the content of EGIA gold hoards and their exact context (where recorded) indicates that only one out of five bullion boards was deposited in a bog rather than dry ground (No. 73, Mackeprang 1952). Nine jewellery hoards were found in bogs while six were found on dry ground. Only one hoard from Jutland contained both jewellery and bullion (No. 77). While this distinction of bullion on dry ground (on or near settlements?) and jewellery in bogs is not absolute, it is supported by the Bornholm evidence and the bog finds of fibulae. It supports the theory that gold 'in the raw' was regarded as a medium to be saved, accumulated and exchanged, while jewellery was ritually offered to the supernatural through the medium of the bogs. This latter process might well have been associated with funerary rites since personalized gold jewellery is absent from graves. Bracteates occur in both votive contexts and hoard types and appear to have belonged to two spheres of exchange and consumption, one for raw bullion and the other for finished gold jewellery.

9.4.3 EGIA gold and silver consumption

The dating of bracteates is problematic due to their infrequent associations with items other than goldwork (Munksgaard, 1978, 341), though Mackeprang established a chronology based on stylistic changes in which he identified three periods: 1 (c. 400-450 AD), 2 (c. 450-500 AD) and 3 (500-550 AD). The four classes of bracteates, A-D, have certain chronological determinants; A and C bracteates cover all three periods, B bracteates are restricted to periods 2 and 3, while D bracteates are associated with period 3 only. Until there is a new method of dating the deposition of these finds (instead of dating them stylistically and hence their date of manufacture), then their estimated dates of deposition must be treated tentatively. In southern Jutland the number of bracteates
increase by period (period 1 : 1, period 2 : 8, period 3 : 22) which follows the same pattern as the whole of Jutland (period 1 : 2, period 2 : 28, period 3 : 84). The Gelstoft neckring is estimated to date around 500 AD and the Gram and Gallehus hoards are thought to be sixth century. The latter weighed 7.5 kg. and would have involved 1650 solidi in their manufacture (Hvass, 1980a, 55).

The deposition of EGIA goldwork shows an incremental growth from the early fifth century into the sixth to match the increase in the destruction of valuables in weapon deposits between the third and fifth centuries. Two different processes were operating; votive deposition and hoarding for safety, the first indicating the growing competition for prestige and power and the second an increase in insecurity and warfare. An interesting adjunct to this point is a comparison of the bullion hoards with the many silver coin hoards deposited in Jutland during the ravages of the Thirty Years War and the Swedish War in the seventeenth century (Skovmand, 1943, 654-5).

While silver had been replaced by gold as the most important exchange medium north of the Roman frontier, it was still imported in bulk as is known from the nine hoards of scrap silver found outside the northern frontier. While scrap silver was used as currency within the Empire, its main use in northern Europe was for ornamentation, though it would have had a value in scrap form as bullion if not currency. The scrap silver hoards were presumably buried for safety rather than as votive offerings though one of the three from Denmark was found in wet ground (Munksgaard, 1955; Voss, 1954). The Simmersted hoard weighed 980 g. and is dated to c. 500 AD. It contained ingots, rings, coins, wire, sheets, vessel fragments and dress items and was deposited in a river bank.
9.5 **SUMMARY**

With the exception of the EGIA bullion hoards, the bog deposits may be interpreted as votive offerings or 'gifts to gods'. The depositions of the PRIA included a wide range of 'gifts' from human sacrifices from ploughs to precious items. Those items which can be dated show an incremental rise in their deposition which stops abruptly in the first century BC. Pottery was the only commodity which continued to be deposited in the ERIA when burials became the context for wealth deposition. In the third century wealth deposition shifted back to votive sacrifices of battle spoils and later gold jewellery hoards. The bullion hoards of the EGIA complement the settlement evidence to indicate that there was a major social and economic crisis at that time.
Figure 9.1 LRIA weapon deposits and their relationship to settlement areas (from burial remains) (incorporating Brøndsted 1960 & Hedeager in press).
Figure 9.2. The LRIA-EGIA weapon deposit at Ejsbøl
(Ørsnes 1963).
CHAPTER TEN
SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGE AMONGST THE 'BARBARIANS' OF SOUTHERN JUTLAND: SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

10.1 SUMMARY OF LONG-TERM CHANGE 200 BC - 600 AD

10.1.1 The recognition of social and economic crises

This survey of the archaeological material from southern Jutland has dealt with sources from burials, settlements and bog deposits and their interrelationships in order to reconstruct the long-term social and economic developments between 200 BC and 600 AD. There has been no explicit attempt to formulate a theory into which the facts could be fitted, though it should be obvious that there is a degree of selectivity of material considered relevant to a social and economic interpretation of the record and that the enterprise is a holistic one which attempts to link together as many disparate and, often at first sight, unrelated strands of evidence.

The main thrust of the analysis has been to compare the production of agricultural wealth with the consumption of the commodities which could be exchanged for it. Where possible the links between the two have been explored and it can be concluded that they were intimately connected. From the documentary sources it is apparent that imported wealth, cattle and slaves (Thompson, 1960) were acquired by raiding and 'protection' gifts and payments. The accumulated wealth was then consumed in ritualized sacrifices both as grave goods and as votive deposits in bogs and lakes. This prestige cycle had an innately cumulative and concentrative tendency; increasing quantities of wealth were accumulated and consumed as the gulf between the
elite and the rest of society increased. This coincided with declining rates of production and at certain points in the process, which lasted several hundred years, a crisis was reached where the social inequalities and economic deprivation could no longer be sustained. These crises were marked by the large-scale reorganization of social values (such as the role and status of the dead), material culture styles, production technology and social organization which happened in a relatively short space of time. They were also accompanied by warfare and population movements. The new cycle initiated after a crisis took a similar form to the previous one except that its historical context fixed new constraints on its development. This was not a series of cycles endlessly repeating themselves but a spiral of development in which the preliminary stages of later cycles were qualitatively different from earlier ones. The small scale egalitarian nature of early PRIA society was never returned in the first and third centuries AD even though inequalities in the periods immediately preceding them had been much greater.

The first cycle lasted from the beginning of Period I of the PRIA until the end of Period IIIa. The second was initiated in Period IIIb and lasted until the end of the ERIA around 200 AD. The third cycle started at the beginning of the LRIA and terminated at the end of the EGIA. Throughout this time Germanic society evolved into a more hierarchical and class-based formation of increasing complexity and political organization. The crisis of the fifth and sixth centuries was the greatest since at least the end of the Bronze Age and was part of a pan-European development which had dramatic consequences for the course of world history, with the collapse of the western Roman Empire and the formation of early states in northern Europe.
10.1.2 The first cycle c. 500 BC - 50 BC

The second half of the first millenium BC was characterized by a population expansion onto the clay soils of eastern Jutland and off the margins of the sandy heathland of central and western Jutland. The votive weapon deposits at Hjortspring and Krogsbølle are evidence of hostilities in the last two centuries BC, connected with territorial acquisition. The predominantly eastern distribution of votive offerings of pottery and bronze ornaments (including the Brâ cauldron) may be a further indication of territoriality on the newly colonized lands.

Agriculture was organized at the level of household groups living in wooden longhouses of which the west end was the living area and the east end held cattle and possibly sheep as well. From Grønstoft a complete village sequence over Periods I and II illustrates the layout and changes in this organization. Animal capacity in Period I ranged between six and 16 beasts, while by Period II four farms had room for 22 animals. These larger farms were grouped, together with other smaller farms, within a palisade fence. In Period IIIa there are three farms from Grønbjerg, Omgård and Hodde which exhibit new characteristics. They were surrounded by their own palisades and possessed their own storehouses and barns, which had not been placed in any direct association with farms of Periods I and II at Grønstoft. While the numbers of cattle stalled at Grønbjerg and Omgård could not have been more than 14 or 16, the extra space in the barns and storehouses could have held large quantities of agricultural produce. The Hodde main farm not only had a barn and storehouse but space for 26-28 cattle. Agricultural productive capacity had increased throughout the PRIA amongst a certain section of the population who had privatized access to their grain supplies (cattle had been private property since the beginning of the Iron Age). This small section differentiated themselves from the
rest of society by engaging in the exchange of a restricted set of items. The most prolific of these was black burnished pottery, which has been found in the compounds of these elite farms as well as in certain contemporary rich graves such as those from Kraghede. In these burials the pottery was associated with a wagon, gold rings, swords, a cauldron and two sacrificed horses. These items are known from other Period IIIa burials in southern Scandinavia at Husby and Langå. These burial associations and, in the case of swords, the burnt storehouse at Overbygård define a restricted sphere of exchange and ownership which marks out an emergent elite class of certain farming households.

The use of bogs and open water to make sacrifices carried on into the Iron Age. In the earlier part of the PRIA these sacrifices consisted of wooden ploughs (Donnerupland, Nørre Smedby), pottery sometimes containing food, and bronze ornaments (dress pins, bracelets, armrings, hairrings and neckrings). Human sacrifices including those branded as social outcasts were also made in the PRIA. In Jutland the quality of the votive deposits increased towards the end of the PRIA. The Hjortspring deposit and the Brå cauldron probably date to Period IIIa, followed by the two elaborate decorated wagons from Dejbjerg, the gold inlaid silver cauldron from Gundestrup and the gold torc from Dronninglund. The absence of associated pottery with these items makes their date of deposition hard to establish but they would appear to date towards the end of Period IIIa or in Period IIIb.

These deposits marked the end of the tradition of votive deposition (with the exception of pots) for the next two and a half centuries. The focus for wealth consumption shifted to funerals which had been relatively low-key and homogenous until Period IIIa. In Periods I and II the corpse was cremated and the ashes and dress artefacts were collected and buried
in a ceramic urn in large cemeteries such as Årre and Årupgård. Until Period IIIa the dress items were of iron or bronze and no additional equipment such as weaponry was destroyed with the deceased. The lavish Period IIIa burials mentioned above indicate that elites were using the context of death for the conspicuous display of wealth destruction. It would appear that the spirits of the dead were being honoured and appealed to in order to legitimate the claims to power of the living.

Between Periods IIIa and IIIb there were discontinuities in the stylistic elements of ceramics and dress items. Also cemeteries were placed in new locations and settlements in southern Jutland show a spatial discontinuity between their Period IIIa and IIIb phases. Subsistence evidence indicates that certain weeds were widely cultivated and gathered at this time and the appearance of large numbers of shell middens on the East Jutland coast in Periods IIIa and IIIb demonstrates a reliance on ancillary food reserves, suggesting a crisis for many who were unable to rely solely on domestic foodstuffs.

10.1.3 The second cycle c. 50 BC - 200 AD

During Period III and the ERIA the east coast claylands filled up to support a dense population. Evidence for growing unrest comes from the linear earthwork of Olgersdige constructed in the later second century which, together with the Gammelå river, formed a barrier keeping out the people of southern Jutland from Schleswig and dividing the groups on either side. In the south-west the elite fortifications of banked and ditched ringforts such as Archsumborg were another indication of social tensions. An ERIA defended site is also known at Priorsløkke; many longhouse structures have been excavated inside its defences, and there is the possibility that some of these might be granaries rather than farmhouses (Van Es, pers.
implying fortified storage facilities.

Although there are many ERIA settlement excavations, their scale has been too small to evaluate the chronological development of production on these sites. The only sequence is from Melenknop on Sylt where a single farmhouse grew considerably in production and storage facilities. Despite the problems with this material it is evident that there were still major productive inequalities between farms and black burnished pottery was still restricted to the elite in the first century but not in the second.

During the first and second centuries AD the quantities of imported prestige items in circulation increased, as revealed by their presence on settlements. While these were also placed in graves in increasing numbers over the same timespan, even in the first century there were more valuables in circulation than were taken out in funerary consumption. From Period IIIb and the earliest phase of the ERIA cemeteries were founded in new locations around a single elite burial. Elite burials took two forms; cremations with swords (which lasted until c. 0 BC/AD) and inhumations with few grave goods which included black burnished pottery and perhaps a gold ring, spurs or a pair of shears. The inhumation rite, which started in Period IIIb, was restricted to the elite into the second century. They were not spectacles of wealth consumption and the modest grave goods never included weapons until the second century. Very few of the early first century graves contained any gold or silver artefacts or Roman imports and only five cremations (four with black burnished pottery) contained such items. The inhumation graves, along with their distinctive pottery, were a symbolic means of differentiating socially ranked classes at that time as an alternative to competitive wealth consumption. During the second century inhumation burials took on a monumental and conspicuous form, with some of the grave cuts as long as 5 m., containing large hollowed out tree trunks or
large plank chambers. They also had mounds built over the top of many of them. The quantities of imported grave goods of gold, silver and bronze, as well as the quality of fabrics, rose steadily until the end of the second century, culminating in a series of eight lavishly equipped inhumations and four equally outstanding cremations. These cremations indicate that cremation had become equally respectable as an elite burial practice. While the quantities of imports in graves rose, so they became increasingly concentrated in the graves of fewer people.

The emulation of ruling class fashions in pottery and funerary rituals is also true of dress ornaments in the ERIA. Along with the elite adoption of gold and silver threaded high quality textiles, gold and silver fasteners and brooches and amber and glass bead necklaces, the numbers of stylistic forms of brooches also increased and would appear to have gone in and out of fashion at a steadily accelerating rate. The same is true of ceramic motifs and shapes which increased in variety and complexity into the second century. As the symbolic distinctions between elite and commoner were replaced by conspicuous shows of wealth, so the distinctions maintained in death between males and females were eroded (from being segregated by spatial arrangement and artefact types to being placed in the same cemetery localities and with increasingly mixed assemblages). This disintegration of social categorizations accompanied the onset of a social and economic crisis, inherent in the growing rate of wealth consumption and concentration.

10.1.4 The third cycle c. 200–600 AD

Around 200 AD there was a major change in ceramic styles, dress fashions, weaponry fashions, architecture, production and technology. While these new styles are rarely associated with ERIA styles, it is
probable that they were elements of a new social movement which overlapped chronologically with the old order. At the same time a large tract of good quality land in eastern Jutland and western Funen was depopulated, after having supported one of the densest populations in the western Baltic. The defences across the Haderslev fjord and the great votive weapon deposits in the deserted area indicate that warfare, fuelled by social tensions built up in the second century, was the main reason for this transformation. Conflicts continued in this area between local groups and people from the Elbe region and elsewhere into the EGIA, but by the late LRIA population was at least beginning to resettle the regenerated forest landscape of the deserted zone. The population of eastern Funen increased dramatically but the number of people living in Jutland fell as they retreated onto the less fertile and more easily exhausted sandy soils of central and western Jutland.

Despite this disaster the agricultural production of farms grew from the third to the fourth centuries. The third century farms at Vorbasse could have held around 20 animals, while those of the fourth century had room for 20-30. The size of compounds was much larger and these were arranged individually rather than as part of a larger compound as is known from previous settlements. The numbers of outhouses increased in each compound and from the third century onwards an extra room was added to the east end of the byre. Technological advances in grain processing (rotary querns) and iron production (large and numerous smelting furnaces) accompanied these increases in agricultural productivity at the beginning of the third century. Social inequalities in production still existed since a main farm can be identified in the fourth century phase at Vorbasse. These inequalities were to become even more marked as farms all over southern Jutland declined in productivity in the fifth and sixth centuries with the average number of stalled animals down to around 14 or less. Main
farms remained the same size or slightly smaller than they had been in
the previous centuries, with room for 20-30 animals, as is shown at
Vorbasse and Mølleparken.

The treatment of the dead changed dramatically from the ERIA to the
LRIA. Cemeteries tended to be placed in or around the settlements (rather
than some distance away as in the ERIA) and the second century practices
of constructing large inhumation graves and burial mounds, as well as pro­
visioning the elite dead with large quantities of grave goods, were no
longer employed after the early third century. The dead ancestors of the
elite had lost their role as powerful elements who should be honoured by
the consumption of labour and wealth and who had been geographically separ­
ated from the world of the living. In the earlier third century a small
number of burials carried on the tradition of lavish consumption and burial
with weapons. Apart from these graves, the most evident social different­
iation was between males and females. During the later third and fourth
centuries male inhumations were remarkably uniform and modestly equipped.
The female dead often wore elaborate costumes of silver brooches and
glass and amber bead necklaces but the distinctions in the richness of
assemblages cannot be understood in terms of class inequalities, since
competition for conspicuous consumption was no longer a feature of funerary
rites. Males and females were once again spatially segregated in cemeter­
ies. In the later fourth century a small group of graves such as Enderups­
kov 143 and Hjemsted 303 indicate that the differences in clothing and equip­
ment were becoming more strongly marked. However, the small number of ERIA
graves indicates that the burial rite for many changed to a form not archaeo­
logically recoverable and so it is difficult to take these differences
further.

While many LRIA graves contained small items of silver, the quantities
of gold disposed of in this way were tiny. In contrast, the many hoards and stray finds of LRIA and EGIA date contained large quantities of locally and Roman worked gold. The votive weapon deposits demonstrate not only a near continuous state of war for three centuries but also a reversion to the practice of wealth consumption in lakes and bogs, replacing the use of burials for such purposes. The appearance of certain gold and silver decorated weaponry at the end of the LRIA and in the EGIA, in contrast to the vast majority of bronze decorated weapons, implies growing social inequalities as recognized in the settlement and burial evidence. Furthermore, the deposition of *pars pro toto* weapon hoards in the EGIA suggests that swords had become too valuable or useful to be thrown away in sacrifice. The quantities of gold in hoards, including the wagon deposits, appear to have grown through time (though the dates which can be given are those of manufacture rather than deposition). These gold hoards can be divided into jewellery and bullion or scrap hoards, the former tending to be found in bogs and the latter on dry ground. This would imply that gold jewellery was ritually disposed of, not in graves, but in wet places, while bullion hoards were hidden in times of unrest with the intention of future retrieval.

The evidence from particular settlements and hoards indicates that a crisis occurred in the fifth century which extended into the sixth, whilst warfare had been endemic since at least the third century. While there is no direct evidence on this side of the North Sea for the emigrations to Britain, there is plenty of evidence for the worsening of social conditions which would have provoked a migration. Despite the problems of warfare, falling production and increased wealth consumption, southern Jutland remained well populated on its west coast in the EGIA (figure 10.1).
10.2 THE RELIABILITY OF ROMAN DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

10.2.1 Ethnography

A line of evidence which has not so far been included is the written record left by Roman observers at different points throughout the period 200 BC - 600 AD. There are contrasting views about the reliability of such texts; Wallace-Hadrill states that Tacitus' *Germania* affords no solid ground for generalization about Germanic society (1971, 2), while Thompson accepts the *Germania* as a reliable ethnography of the early Germans (1965). Until now the documentary sources have been judged mainly on their internal consistencies and their social and political biases and aims. For example, Caesar's texts have been placed in the context of his desire to impress political elements in Rome about his military prowess (Handford, 1951, 23-6), while Tacitus was highlighting the morality of the Germans in contrast to what he saw as the decline in moral standards in first century AD Rome (Mattingly, 1970, 24-6). In both cases the ideological biases in the texts are thought to leave intact the general ethnographic value of the documentation (Handford, 1951, 24-6; Mattingly, 1971, 26-8).

The archaeological evidence has been utilized in a haphazard and un-systematic fashion to reinforce the interpretation of the texts (Thompson, 1965; Mattingly, 1970, 27-8; Hachmann, 1971). Individual finds have been taken to back up statements in the narratives; the bog corpses and Tacitus' account of capital punishments, the clothing recovered from bogs and his description of Germanic dress, silver drinking sets from graves such as Hoby and the accounts of gift giving to chieftains and ambassadors, the fighting equipment placed in graves and its description in the texts, and the votive deposits of wagons in bogs and the story of the washing of the goddess and her chariot in a sacred grove. Interpretations of this early period of Germanic history have taken the archaeological evidence as
subsidiary to and supportive of the textual evidence. It has never been
treated in a holistic and systematic sense, which allows an evaluation of
the documents from purely archaeological knowledge.

There are two ways in which the documents may be assessed by the arch­
aeology. The first is a checklist approach in which specific and particular
details noted by classical authors may be confirmed or refuted by comparison
with archaeological material. The details of Tacitus' ethnography can be
directly compared with the archaeology of first century AD southern Jutland,
an area which had just been discovered when he wrote in 98 AD (Tacitus, 1971,
Ch. 1), and added to the list cited above.

1. 'It is the mere number of them (cattle) that the Germans take pride in;
   for these are the only form of wealth they have, and are much prized.'
   (Tacitus, Ch. 5).

   The evidence for longhouse stalling shows a correlation between social sta­
tus and numbers of animals (Chapter 8). Also cattle bones were the most
common at Veileby and Feddersen Wierde (Chapter 6). The sacrifice of animals
at funerals shows a class distinction in the provision of cattle (Chapter
6.3). Finally, the symbolic and economic importance of hide and leather
working is also demonstrated from ERIA graves (Chapter 6.4).

2. 'Only a few of them use swords or large lances...' (Tacitus, Ch. 6).

   Sword associations in graves, settlements and votive deposits indicate that
at that time they were the possessions of the elite only (Chapter 6.4) and
that they formed part of a restricted elite exchange sphere which included
horses, black burnished pottery and Roman drinking sets.

3. '...one can see in their houses silver vessels, which have been pre­
sented to chieftains or to ambassadors travelling abroad, put to the
same everyday uses as earthenware.' (Tacitus, Ch. 5).
From the layout of ceramic and silver cups in graves it is clear that Roman drinking equipment was substituted for ordinary pots and that both commodities were used for the same activities (Chapter 7.3).

4. 'These (a shield and a spear), among the Germans, are the equivalent of the man's toga with us - the first distinction publicly conferred upon a youth, who now ceases to rank merely as a member of a household and becomes a citizen.' (Tacitus, Ch. 13).

Out of 22 aged weapon cremations of Period IIIb/ERIA date in southern Jutland only one appears to have been that of an under 20-year old. However, the ascription is uncertain; probably a child of 8-10 years old.

5. 'It is a well-known fact that the peoples of Germany never live in cities and will not even have their houses adjoin one another. They dwell apart, dotted about here and there, wherever a spring, plain, or grove takes their fancy. Their villages are not laid out in the Roman style, with buildings adjacent and connected. Every man leaves an open space round his house, perhaps as a precaution against the risk of fire, perhaps because they are inexpert builders. They do not even make use of stones or wall-tiles; for all purposes they employ rough-hewn timber, ugly and unattractive looking... They also have the habit of hollowing out underground caves, which they cover with masses of manure and use both as refuges from the winter and as storehouses for produce.' (Tacitus, Ch. 16).

Village excavations confirm that each farm was spaced apart in its own compound and that buildings were not connected. The structures were of wood, and stones were only used to floor the byre. Underground or sunken cellars are known from northern Jutland; the one from Overbygård had been a storehouse before its destruction (Chapters 4, 6 and 8).
6. 'There is no ostentation about their funerals. The only special observance is that the bodies of famous men are burned with particular kinds of wood. When they have heaped up the pyre they do not throw garments or spices onto it; only the dead man's arms, and sometimes his horse too, are cast into the flames. The tomb is a raised mound of turf.' (Tacitus, Ch. 27).

Burials of the first century AD in southern Jutland are marked for their lack of wealth and estentatious display. Though Tacitus is probably talking of the area further south, there is still a symbolic difference between the graves of the 'famous'/elite and others in the contrast between inhumations and cremations; no evidence has yet been gathered on pyre charcoals. Weaponry was certainly placed on the pyre and horses also, though they are rare; it is interesting that many fibulae had not been burned on the pyre but had been placed afterwards with the ashes (i.e. they had not melted and in some cases had fabric impressions adhering to them). Mound building was not generally known in southern Jutland until the second century but many burials were cremations in earlier mounds (Chapter 7).

The second way of assessing the documents is to examine the social changes which had occurred between writers' ethnographies at different points in time. Tacitus' comments on such issues as sexual morality and funerary ostentation are direct moral reproofs to his Roman audience, but generally his ethnographic facts are in agreement with archaeological knowledge of the people living as far north as southern Scandinavia. Caesar's texts are harder to evaluate and were almost certainly written in ignorance of the north, though certain aspects may be relevant to southern Scandinavia. The differences in the narratives written by Caesar (in 52 BC) and by Tacitus (in 98 AD) have been interpreted as due to changes in Germanic social organization (Thompson, 1965). This provides a dynamic, historical
sequence which can be compared with the chronologically tighter and geographically specific archaeological sequence. Thompson correctly recognized that Germanic society was moving towards a crisis in 98 AD but the lack of relevant texts between the second and early fourth centuries prevented the documentation of the later stages and final outcome of the crisis (Thompson, 1965, 150). The changes which Thompson emphasised have been recognized or at least inferred from the archaeological record.

Arable land had become privatized by the time of Tacitus though cattle and slaves had been privately owned since Caesar's time (Thompson, 1965, 25-8). In Caesar's time the differences in wealth between and among freemen and nobility were slight but by 98 AD there were growing social and economic inequalities with wealth and power accumulated in one central authority (Thompson, 1965, 9-10). 'Kingly' lineages emerged, having not been present in the first century BC (Thompson, 1965, 34).

Most importantly, Thompson identified a mechanism of change which has also been identified from the archaeological evidence, though different aspects are emphasised from each context. Wealth could be accumulated and transformed into power, which was increasingly concentrated in central authorities. These authorities kept and armed their own retinues of warriors which could be used to extort 'gifts' from their own and neighbouring peoples and to collect booty from raiding (Thompson, 1965, 53-4). In this way these leaders could collect not only prestige but also cattle, slaves and treasure. This information complements and augments the archaeological identification of a series of spirals of prestige and power accumulation. It completely omits the important role of the consumption of wealth in graves and votive deposits for transforming material wealth into prestige, but it provides the other half of the accumulative cycle, the 'protection' payments and looting, which are not directly observable from the archaeology.
10.2.2 Migrations and warfare

Roman documentary sources provide evidence of barbarian incursions across the northern frontier, which can be considered in connection with the archaeological evidence for social and economic growth and crisis. To a certain extent this evidence is indirect since the tribes of southern Jutland were peripheral to the main barbarian thrusts from the Marcomanni, Quadi, Frisians, Chatti, Chauci, Franks and Saxons, though the degree to which pressure on the frontier was linked to crises further north has not been elucidated.

The first relevant migration was that of the Cimbri who crossed the northern frontier in 113 BC and were finally massacred on the river Po in 101 BC. Contemporary and later Roman writers were uncertain where they had come from except that it was well to the north of known people (Hachmann, 1971, 31-4). Their homeland was reckoned to be what is now Jutland (Tacitus, Ch. 37), and supposedly a period of great storms and floods, which altered the coastline of Jutland and North-west Germany between 120 and 114 BC, set off their migration (Lamb, 1977, 420, 425). It should be noted that their exodus coincided with the emergence of greater inequality with the appearance of an elite class of farmers, increased wealth consumption in votive sacrifices and burials, the end of a phase of land colonization and its attendant pressures of territoriality witnessed by the weapon deposits and increasingly bounded nature of settlements and field systems.

After Roman military expeditions in the first centuries BC/AD, including the crushing defeat of Varus' three legions in 9 AD, there was little trouble from the barbarians until the later second century. Under the Flavian emperors of the late first/early second century the construction of the Limes was begun, providing a continuous barrier between the barbarians and the 'civilized' world (Luttwak, 1976, 61). In 166 AD the Quadi,
Marcomanni and Iazyges breached the frontier across a wide area and were finally driven back in 179 AD (Luttwak, 1976, 145-6). While these conflicts were a long way from southern Jutland and could not have directly affected or been affected by events there, warfare also broke out in that area at the end of the second century. The Olgerdige was built to keep out the people of Jutland, the fertile coastlands around the Lille Baelt were abandoned and became the battlegrounds of warring factions. This concurrence of large-scale crises in southern Scandinavia and central Europe at the end of the second century may have had a common, as yet unrecognized, feature or they may have been due to entirely independent factors.

In the later third century the Roman Empire faced its greatest threat from the north with the attacks on the *Limes* beyond the Rhine and Danube by the Alamanni before 260 AD, the breaching of the *Limes* of the lower Rhine by the Franks in 275 AD and the sea raids on the channel coasts of Britain and Gaul by the Saxons, supposedly between 268 and 282 AD (Luttwak, 1976, 146-7). These incursions were thought to have been set in motion by the exodus of the Goths and East German tribes around the Baltic (Jones, 1964, 1028), while the archaeological evidence indicates continuing military conflicts in the western Baltic from the third to the fifth centuries.

Barbarian pressure on the Rhine and Danube remained heavy in the fourth century and towards its end the Huns appeared, forcing other groups before them (Jones, 1964, 1028-9). In 407 AD the Rhine frontier was completely overrun. Rome was sacked in 410 AD and the western Roman Empire had completely disintegrated by the late fifth century (Dixon, 1976, 16-21). Of direct relevance to social developments in southern Jutland is Bede's reference to the emigration of Angles, Saxons and Jutes in the fifth century (Colgrave and Mynors, 1969, 51). Though the literary sources are of
varying quality and completeness, there is general agreement among historians that the invaders arrived during the first half of the fifth century (Myres, 1951; Musset, 1975) and continued to arrive after 500 AD. The archaeological evidence from southern Jutland to a certain extent complements these direct literary references and also provides some of the reasons for the emigrations. By the fifth century agricultural productivity was declining, especially on the sandy soils where the population had moved as a result of the disturbances starting around 200 AD. Social inequalities in the production, exchange and consumption of agricultural and non-perishable wealth had also risen cumulatively. In particular, the sacrifice of gold and silver jewellery and weapons in votive depositions increased, while large quantities of gold bullion were hoarded at the time, presumably for safety. Southern Jutland remained populated into the sixth century and there were many large settlements on the west coast of Jutland at that time, so there was no complete exodus on the scale of the one in 200 AD. It is not yet possible to estimate changes in population from settlements and burials between 200 and 600 AD, so there is no evidence yet for a population decrease in the fifth century.

10.3 IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH: PRACTICAL STEPS

There are various gaps in our knowledge of the Iron Age archaeology of southern Jutland which can be filled in by further field research.

10.3.1 Site excavation

There are certain types of sites which have not been detected but should exist in large numbers. The many Period IIIa settlements should have an equal number of cremation cemeteries to go with them, but very few Period IIIa graves have been found. It is possible that they were often
located on the peripheries of Period I and II cemeteries as at Årupgård (Jørgensen, 1971, 1972, 1975). Likewise, the recent discoveries of EGIA settlements highlight the low representativity of EGIA graves and cemeteries, though Jørgensen's excavations at Hjemsted have filled in the gap to a certain extent, as have the Enderupskov cemetery excavations.

Secondly, there are sites which are known in large numbers but which have no single large-scale and detailed excavation of their layout and sequence. The east coast shell middens pose many problems: were they the product of a famine diet or did they augment a sufficient diet? Were they seasonal sites or occupied all year round? Were they small components of larger-scale agricultural settlements or the subsistence focus for whole communities? What is their exact dating sequence; do they last the whole 400 years through Period III and the ERIA or are they confined to specific points in time? The question of seasonality is currently under research but no results are available yet (Margaret Deith, pers. comm.). The large-scale excavations at Ejsbøl and Illerup have added important details to our understanding of the large votive weapon hoards, but there are many bog sites whose character is not fully understood and which would benefit from systematic excavation. Bog pottery sites need more detailed examination to pursue certain questions: what is their geographical situation in relation to settlements and cemeteries? To what extent are they locations for the sacrifice of food? Are there associated activities such as leather-working carried out in these contexts? To what extent have peat bogs grown in size since the Iron Age to engulf sites and preserve them to a high degree? Is any of the bog pottery better interpreted as domestic material which has been incorporated in the bog? While Becker's survey (1971a) has highlighted some of these questions, large-scale excavations of such sites are still needed.
Thirdly, from site types which are known in some detail, there is still the need for large-scale excavations of entire complexes and sequences. The excavations at Hjemsted and Vorbasse are two excellent approaches to tackling the relationship between settlements and cemeteries by large-scale excavation. More comparative material is needed of the settlements associated with different kinds of graves such as the richest elite graves, in order to examine production and consumption at the village level. The information from total excavations of village sequences and cemetery sequences is extremely valuable for the assessment of long-term changes in economic, social and demographic organization. Limited excavations such as those in advance of motorways and gas pipelines have not provided an adequate coverage of the underlying sites, and future policy in relation to such threats might be to concentrate on the total excavation of sites which have only part of their area threatened. General trends in rescue archaeology show an increasing priority for settlement excavations, particularly of Iron Age date (Kristiansen, 1983, 201-3), though the expense of such projects limits the number of them.

10.3.2 Regional survey and evaluation

It has been shown that very different social processes were operating in the various geographical zones of southern Jutland, both in terms of colonization and subsistence strategies and productivity. This research has attempted to evaluate and interpret a sequence of settlement, cemetery and votive deposit excavations taken from diverse geographical locations in southern Jutland, which is problematical since regional differences must be more closely understood. What is needed at the moment is a series of detailed and systematic field surveys to establish the changing settlement patterns, individual settlement size and growth trajectory, and the intensity
and density of habitation and land use. Comparison between the different agro-geographical zones by small area surveys would provide this essential material. Excavations would also be necessary to compare the density and size of surface remains with the settlement remains below the ploughsoil.

Secondly, an awareness of the full regional context of each site under excavation should be strongly encouraged. An understanding of the overall settlement structure and social organization of a region is a necessary prerequisite for the formulation of specific research priorities at the level of site excavation.

Thirdly, the physical conditions of sites and the threats against them have to be evaluated in relation to the potential for archaeological information. While this topic has not been the concern of this research, these criteria are employed at present (Kristiansen, 1983, 200-1). The archaeological relevance of sites in terms of their information potential has been discussed here but no attempt has been made to assess their degree of preservation or the response to future rescue threats.

10.3.3 Analysis of fauna, flora and soil

1. Fauna. The acidic quality of the soil has poorly preserved human and animal bone. Cremated human bones are an under-investigated source, not only for ageing, sexing and pathology but also for tracing evidence of nutrition and starvation. Faunal assemblages should be preserved in the shell midden sites but cannot be expected from ordinary settlements. While settlements outside the area have evidence of species ratios and kill patterns, there is a great need to discover whether those ratios, for example between sheep and cattle, change through time.

2. Flora. The analysis of carbonized seed remains from Iron Age settlements has not advanced a great deal since Helbaek's analysis of the material from
Hatt's excavations. Indications of changing reliance on wild and domestic crops have been used to support other evidence for economic crises but much more work must be done to elucidate the chronological and regional settings of such subsistence shifts.

The analysis of pollen spectra, especially in conjunction with radiocarbon dated sequences, has made great advances in recent years. It is now possible to evaluate regional trends in the intensity and extent of human occupation and land use over areas as large as 300 sq. km. from lake or bog sequences (Andersen, Aaby and Odgaard, 1983, 185). This research has great potential for providing evidence independent of archaeological material to inform on economic and agricultural developments throughout the Iron Age.

3. Soils. Another avenue of great research potential is the study of prehistoric soils from beneath mounds and settlements; samples from these locations can be used to estimate yield and the nature of agricultural exploitation (Dalsgaard and Nornberg, 1980). Preliminary investigations suggest that grain yields from the Neolithic through to the Middle Ages were too low to produce a surplus beyond the level of direct household consumption (Nielsen, 1980), confirming the proposition that livestock were central to the production of a surplus in the Iron Age. Detailed regional studies could build up a matrix of reference points with information about changing soil utilization and productivity, both geographical and chronological.

10.3.4 Geographical scales of analysis

A criticism which can be made of this research is that it is too geographically restricted in its interpretation and explanation of the observed social processes. While the aim was to document the long-term history of a small region, there has been little attempt to explain changes in pan-European terms which would be a task of great magnitude. Overviews of
south Scandinavian (Klindt-Jensen, 1949; Hedeager, 1978, 1978a; Hedeager and Kristiansen, 1981) and north European Iron Age society (Eggers, 1955; Todd, 1975) have summarized events and processes which could not be detected in a small regional study. There are currently many detailed studies of Iron Age societies on the periphery of the Roman world, particularly on the North Sea coast (Brandt and Slofstra, 1983; Haarnagel, 1979; Cunliffe and Rowley, 1977), and a large-scale study of barbarian development combining all these regional studies would seem a logical extension for research. A greater understanding is needed of the directionality of trade in northern Europe, as well as the local and regional trajectories of growth and decline.

10.4 IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH: THEORETICAL PROBLEMS

10.4.1 Explaining cyclical change

One factor which has not been mentioned is the effect of climatic change. The evidence for temperature and precipitation changes comes from six peat bogs in Jutland (Aaby, 1978) where stratified series of recurrence surfaces (where strongly humified peat changes to lighter, less decomposed peat) have been radiocarbon dated. These surfaces are caused by lower temperatures and higher precipitation, though the interaction of the two is impossible to measure except when simultaneously precipitation is high and temperatures low (Aaby, 1978, 18-9). Reservations have been expressed about the mistaken interpretation of changes as macro-climatic when they might be due to the micro-climatic effects of terrain, soil, land use and vegetation (Taylor, 1975, 6-8). However, these would appear not to interfere with the Danish data since the altitude range is slight, the bogs from which the samples were taken are too large to have been affected by land use or vegetation and the bogs are spread over a large geographical area (Bent Aaby, pers. comm.).
These changes in peat bogs may be taken as providing information on prehistoric meteorology. They have been charted from 3500 BC to 1600 AD and follow a regular cyclical pattern with a periodicity of about 260 years (Aaby, 1974, 1978). During the Iron Age there were climatic lapses around 300 BC (two dates from two bogs), 50 BC (a single date), 200 AD (four dates from three bogs between 175 and 300 AD) and 475 AD (seven dates from five bogs between c. 400 and c. 575 AD). These dates coincide with the ends of each social and economic cycle (except the 300 BC dates). The evidence of the long-term build-ups to each crisis indicates that the mechanisms of change are related to the growth of inequality and the imbalance of production and consumption rather than variations in climate. While the climatic changes are thought to have been slight (Bent Aaby, pers. comm.), they may have been just enough to reduce productivity at times when they would have had a catalytic effect on a worsening economic situation. Thus climatic change may have influenced the timing of the crises but it can in no way be held as a causative factor.

It is possible that the process of cyclical change is a post-contact phenomenon resulting from the intrusion of societies from the south, initially Celtic and then Roman. The practice of burying the elite with lavish grave goods, especially imports, is one which can be traced back to the Hallstatt D period in central Europe and which gradually moved north in advance of the imperialist expansion of the Mediterranean states. Southern Jutland was certainly a peripheral area which became involved in the larger-scale economic transactions organized within the Roman Empire. While the Baltic was receiving prestige goods and drinking sets, it was exporting amber (Charlesworth, 1970, 175-6) and slaves (Thompson, 1960). Both these commodities are inferred from documentary sources alone. It is assumed that slaves were accumulated by warfare and that they were taken to the
Roman frontier since there was no mechanism for keeping them in the north (Thompson, 1960, 19-23). The archaeological evidence for leather-working suggests that finished leather goods might have been produced for the Roman troops on the northern frontier (Hagberg, 1967). This trading relationship may have initiated a growing but unstable growth spiral with a series of worsening crises in an area which was agriculturally marginal to the rest of Europe.

Studies of earlier prehistoric societies in Jutland from the end of the Mesolithic to the end of the Bronze Age have identified similar cyclical trajectories of long-term growth and decline. Similar crisis points were reached at the end of the Mesolithic and the end of the Middle Neolithic in eastern Jutland (Madsen, 1982, 229-31), in the middle of the Bronze Age and right at the end of the Bronze Age in southern Jutland (Kristiansen, 1978a, 176-82). Models of pre-capitalist development have been employed to explain these fluctuations (Kristiansen, 1978; Parker Pearson, 1984, 1984a) which are based on anthropological and economic theories such as Friedman's analysis of the Kachin of Highland Burma (1979). However, these prehistoric societies in Jutland were peripheral to the main course of European development and are not pristine pre-capitalist examples, so it is difficult to unravel the two ideas.

In conclusion, the difference between capitalist and pre-capitalist societies may not be as great as has been assumed. Not only can the prehistoric past be characterized by a succession of cycles of economic expansion and crisis, but the mechanisms behind those trajectories hinged on the process of wealth accumulation in which power was concentrated in the hands of fewer people and productive potential was outstripped by consumption demands. The prehistoric precursor of capitalist profit-making was one in which power was accumulated by investing gifts as votive offerings to the supernatural world,
thereby ensuring their destruction. The more wealth that could be mobilized for this consumption, the greater the prestige for the donors and the greater their ability to raise or extort more wealth.

Finally, it can be noted that the rate of cyclical change in Jutland's prehistory steadily increased. A full cycle in the Neolithic lasted 700 years but by the Iron Age it was completed in 200-400 years. If this 'tele-scoping' of rates of change is representative for world prehistory as a whole, then it may have fundamental consequences for the course of modern history when viewed from a long-term perspective of human development.
Figure 10.1 EGIA sites in southern Jutland.

- Settlement
+ Grave/s
\[\times\] Weapon deposit
\[\times\] Hoard or votive deposit
APPENDIX 1  SITE DIRECTORY

KEY
+ Burial
o Mound
# Settlement
x Bog deposit or loose find

NM National Museum  SM Sønderborg Museum
GM Glud Museum     ASR Ribe Museum
HM Horsens Museum   KM Kolding Museum
ESM Esbjerg Museum  VM Varde Museum
VKM Vejle Museum    ØM Ølgod Museum
HAM Haderslev Museum

Numbers preceded by 'C' refer to National Museum. Df refers to Danafae (treasure trove).
Numbers refer to National Monument Register within each Sogn or parish (when preceded by 'H' they are HAM records). Parishes are grouped in Herreds which are grouped in Amts (counties). Computerized maps of site locations are available from the National Agency for the Protection of Nature, Monuments and Sites, Copenhagen.

VEJLE AMT
BJERRE HERRED
17.01.01 AS
x 4 As Kjaer, Birkemose-PerI/II bog pot.
# 12 Holgersdal-ERIA settlement C28761.
x 9 As Kjaer, Birkemose-PerI/II bog pottery.
+ Kirkholm-ERIA urn
x Holgersdal Mose-PerI/II bog pottery.
x As Kjaer Overby-PerI/II bog pot.

17.01.02 BARRIT
+ 42 Barrithede-ERIA urn cemetery C24398-9.
# 45 RIA pit.
x Barritskov-2 PerIIIb/ER fibulae NM25512-3.

17.01.03 Bjerre
+ 9 Purhøjgaardsmark-ERIA cremation GM.
o 4 Bjergelide-ERIA cemetery.

17.01.04 GLUD
+ 8 Marienlund-2 ERIA inhumations C18544-618.
+ Jensgaard-ERIA burials GM.
x Glud-prob.PerIII sherd C25621.

17.01.06 HORNUM
+ 2 Borchsminde-ERIA urns.
o Hornum-PerIIIb urn.

17.01.08 NEBSAGER
# 8 Nebsager-PRIA sherds.
# 9 Nebsager-4th to 5th century AD settlement.
# 10 Nebsager-PRIA pit.
+ Jørgenskovlykke-ERIA pot KM.
+ Kolding Nørremark-Per III/ERIA urns KM 569.
+ " " -Silver denarius 75-9 AD.
+ Kolding Markjord-ERIA urns KM 1297-1300,1089.
+ Kolding Havn-ERIA pottery KM 2371.
+ Kolding area-ERIA pottery KM 1417.
+ Kolding Mark-ERIA urn KM 4743.
+ Søndervang-ERIA urn KM 1136,1189.
+ Mosevej-ERIA pot KM 3422.
+ Domhusgade-ERIA urn KM 765.
+ Vandvaerskevej-ERIA urn KM.
+ Brandkaergaard-ERIA urns.
+ Kolding (S. of town)-large ERIA cemetry Cl560-6.
+ Alpedalen-Per IIIb/ERIA urns KM & C23729.

17.02.06 NØRRE BJERT
# 10 ERIA shell midden KM & C9167.
# 19 Drejns-Per I & ERIA settlement layer.
# 53 ERIA shell midden.

17.02.07 BRAMDRUP
# 32 Bramdrup-ERIA rubbish layer.
+ Madiklints Mark-ERIA urn KM 2907-8.
+ Bramdrup-Per I/II bog pottery.

17.02.08 SØNDER VILSTRUP
+ 14 Sønder Vilstrup-Per IIIb-ERIA urns NM.
+ " " -ERIA urn KM 3121-5.

17.02.09 VESTER NEBEL
x 11 V.Nebel-EGIA gold bracteates & glass beads Cl0015.

17.02.10 VIUF
x 46 Kirstinellyst-Bronze dupondius 71 AD.

ELBO HERRED
17.03.01 BREDSTRUP
+ 8 Bredstrup-ERIA urns C9136-45.
+ 14 Kongsted-RIA settlement.
+ 38 Ødstedgaard-Late PRIA/ERIA votive pots.

17.03.02 ERRITSØ
+ 53 Erritsø-ERIA urn cemetery FM & C27796-8.
+ 55 " -PRIA cremation.
# 56 " -LBA/PRIA settlement.
# 57 " -Per IIIa pit.
# 59 Erritsøgaard-Per III pit.
+ Damsgaard Mose-Per I/II bronze dressring.

17.03.03 FREDERICIA
# 23 Havrekolonien Prangvej-Late PRIA pits.

17.03.04 TAULOV
+ 2 Taulov-ERIA urn Cl6926-31.
+ 73 Søholmgaard-ERIA urns Cl6932-8.
# 80 Skarbaek-Late PRIA/ERIA shell midden.

17.03.05 TRINITATIS LANDSOGN
x Egum Mose-PRIA bog pottery.

17.03.06 VEJLBY
# 3 Lornholt-PRIA settlement?
# 4 Bjerggaard-ERIA settlement.

HATTING HERRED
17.04.01 DAUGAARD
# 43 Williamsborg-ERIA settlement?
# 44 "-ERIA settlement.

17.04.02 ENGUM
+ 34 Frydenlund-Late PRIA pots VKM.
# 37 Bredal-ERIA layer.

17.04.03 HATTING
x 119 Ussing Sønderskov-ERIA sherds.
o 117 Eriknaur Skov-ERIA urn NM 18338-9,16630.
+ Ussinggaard Ammerskov-ERIA sherds.
o Hatting-ERIA urn C3813-5.
x Hatting Mark-Per I/II bronze armling.
+ Hatting sogn-ERIA inhumations (3) HM.

17.04.04 HEDENSTED
+ 38 Hulhøj-ERIA urn C6664-7.
+ Hedensted-ERIA cremation.

17.04.06 LØSNING
+ 25 Skindbjerg-Per I cemetery.
+ 58 Sebberup Mølle-ERIA burial KM & C20335-6.
x Stobberup-Per I/II bronze neckring.
x Løsning-LRIA pot HM.
+ Løsnng-ERIA burial HM.
+ Saebberup-ERIA urn C21957-62, Df 15/29.

17.04.07 STENDERUP
+ 17 Aldumgaard-ERIA inhumation C763-72.
x 44 Braa-Per II bronze cauldron.

17.04.10 TYRSTED
x 30 Dallerup Sø-EGIA votive weapon deposit NM 10947-65.
x 31 "-EGIA scabbard mouthpiece Df 3/59.

17.04.11 URLEV
+ 1a/b Urlev-ERIA urn C3361.
x Urlev Bakke-ERIA pot.

17.04.12 ØLSTED
o 1 PRIA cremation & 2 RIA inhumations.
x Topkjaer-Per III votive pot.
17.05.01 GAVERSLUND
x 36 Marientenhøj-ERIA sherd's VKM.
# 39 ERIA shell midden.

17.05.02 GAARSLEV
+ 24 Rand Mark-ERIA urn NM.
# 33 Liengaard-Per I & ERIA shell midden C29069.
# 35 Gaarslev-PRIA pits.
# 38 Rands-PRIA settlement.
# 39 Højbjerggaard-PRIA settlement.

17.05.05 SKAERUP
x 283 Tranebaer Mose-LRIA votive weapon deposit.
+ 10 Skaerup-ERIA urn C9156-7.
# 11 Skaerup Teglvaerks-ERIA pit.

17.05.06 SMIDSTRUP
# 12 Lille Velling-ERIA pit poss. cremation C29232-8.
# 13 Frifelt-ERIA votive well VKM.

17.05.07 & 03 VINDING & MØLHOLM
+ 1 Vinding Overgaard-Per IIIb urn C20545-9.
# 2 PRIA cremation.
# 4 Vindinglund-Per I & ERIA shell midden C16233.
+ 10 Vinding-PRIA urn.

17.06.01 EGTVED
# 300 Egtved skole-ERIA pits/house C27735-41.
# 304 Højdalgaard-ERIA settlement.
# 296 Per II pits.

17.06.02 HØJEN
# 8 ERIA settlement.
+ 9 Stubberup-LRIA urns C20499-501.

17.06.03 JERLEV
+ 22 Horbjerg-LRIA urn C13263.
+ 28 Jerlev Engmark-PRIA urn.

17.06.04 ØDSTED
+ 98 Tuvad-Per IIIb to ERIA cemetery C9649-62.
+ 100 Østed Kirke-Per I/II urn.
x 102 Vingsted Sø-LRIA votive weapon deposit NM 15631-5,16227-67,16361-2.
# 103 Firehuse-Per I pits.
# Rugsted Lund-ERIA settlement.
+ Østed-ERIA cremation.
+ Østed Mark-Per I/II urn.

17.07.01 DALBY
x 36 Højgaard-EGIA gold bracteate Df 2/41.
17.07.02 HEJLS
+  65 Per I/II urn.

17.07.03 SØNDER BJERT
#  22 Skartved-ERIA settlement KM.
#  28 RIA sherds.
  x  Enghavegaard-ERIA pot KM 3418.
+  Binderup-ERIA urn.

17.07.04 SØNDER STENDERUP
x  Sjonderskovgaard-ERIA pot KM 3006.
  x  Seljumshave-gold solidus 307-12 AD.

17.07.05 TAPS
x  3 Aasdorp-ERIA sherds Cl4938-9.
  x  Braenore Mose-?ERIA bog pottery.
  x  Rasdrup-ERIA bronze fibula NM 22237.
  x  Svalevej-LRIA pot.

17.07.06 VEJSTRUP
+  29 Skamlingsbanken-PerI/II urns.
+  11 PRIA urns.
#  36 Skamlingsbanken-PerI/II pit.
  x  H35 Grønninghoved-?ERIA sherds.
  x  H40 Vejstrup-RIA sherds HAM 19445-7.
+  H41 Søndergaard-PerIIIb/ERIA urn.
+  Skamlingsbanken-ERIA cremations KM 2590-3.
+  Grønninghoved-ERIA urns KM 2396,3350.
o  Sjolund-ERIA sherds.
  o  Skamlingsbanken-ERIA urn Cl1712.

17.07.07 VONSILD
+  1 Paulinesminde-ERIA urn Cl4073-8.
+  3 Vonsild-ERIA urn C6241-7.
+  Christiansminde-ERIA pots KM 3453.
  x  Svanemosen-PerI bog pot.
  x  Svanemosen-PRIA bog pot.

17.07.08 ØDIS
x  23 Svanemosen-PerI/II bronze neckring.
+  27 Drenderup Skov-ERIA inhumation C27842-51.
+  16 PRIA & ERIA cemetery.
+  Ødis Bramdrup-ERIA urn KM 3059.
  x  Svanemosen (E. area)-LRIA bog pot.
  x  Svanemosen-ERIA bog pot.

17.08.12 & 01 & 03 SØNDER OMME & BLAAHØJ & FILSKOV
+  51a Sønder Omme-LRIA inhumation Cl9569-77.

17.08.02 BRANDE
o  63 Petersborg-LRIA inhumation Cl0004-9.
o  87 Brandholm-PerI/II pottery.
o  130 Grarup-PerI pot.
  x  254 Kidmose-PerI/II bronze neckring.
x 259 Karstoft Aa-PRIA wooden ard.
+ Pilkmose-PRIA bog pottery.
+ Brandlund-PerI/II urn.
o Dorslund-ERIA sherds C15320.

17.08.04 GIVE
+ 84 Farre-PerIIIb to LRIA urn cemetery C26175-237.
x 293 Donnerupland-PRIA wooden plough C25113.
# 298 Give-PerI/II settlement.
# Give Teglvaerk-ERIA sherds C13522.
+ Give Teglvaerk-PerI urn.
+ Give-ERIA urn.
o Højgaard, Trombjerg-ERIA sherds.

17.08.05 GIVSKUD
o 200 PerI/II urns.
x 277 Ris-PerI fibula.
x Leragermark-LRIA pot.

17.08.07 HORNSTRUP
# 9 PerIIIa & ERIA shell midden C27625-31.
+ 10 Bredballe-ERIA burial NM 17124, 17207, C12500.
x 12 Bredballe-PRIA pots.
# 13 PRIA settlement.
# 15 PerI/II pits.

17.08.08 HVEJSEL
o 3 Hvejsel-ERIA inhumation C28925-49.
# 51 PerI/II pits.
# 52 PRIA pits.
# 55 Jeremiaslund-PerIII settlement C29046-8.
o Bjerlev-ERIA urn NM 12153.

17.08.09 LANGSKOV
x 15 Hvo1gaard-PerI/II bog pottery.

17.08.10 RINGGIVE
o 201 ERIA pots C11724-5.
# 214 Vindbjerg-ERIA settlement.
o Uhe-ERIA sherds C11726.
+ Uhe-ERIA urn C11722-3.
o Gammelby-ERIA inhumation.

17.08.11 SINDBJERG
x 45 Vestergaard-RIA sherds.
+ 50 Lindved-ERIA inhumation.
# 47 Salemsgaard-ERIA pits.

17.08.13 THYREGOD
o 127 Thyregod 11-LRIA cremation C11673-701.
o 128 Thyregod 10-LRIA cremation C11665-72.
+ Aalbaek-PerI/II urn.
o Storehøj, Thyregodlund 3-ERIA inhumation.
17.08.14 ULDUM
x 6 Uldum Kaer-PerI/II bog pottery.
x 7 Uldum Kaer-PerI/II bog pottery.

17.08.15 VEJLE
+ 3 Sønderskoven-ERIA urn C27463-5.
+ Sofiesminde-PerI/II urn.
x Stampesvej/Agersnapsvej, Vejle-bronze dupondius 148-9 AD.

17.08.16 VESTER
# 100 Rørbaek-PerIII/ERIA pits C26709-12.
+ Vesterlund-PerI/II urn.
+ Lindet-PerI/II urn.
x Vester sogn-bronze coin 134-8 AD.

17.08.17 VINDELEV
o 3 Vindelev-LRIA cremations NM 25603-5.
# Vindelev-ERIA settlement.
x Vindelev Feldmose-PerI/II bronze hair ring.

17.08.18 ØSTER NYKIRKE
# 278 Tinnet-RIA sherds & rotary quern.
+ Ørnsholt-ERIA urn.
x Kollemorten Mark-2 bronze coins 330-3 & 326-30 AD.
o Sønder Tinnet-ERIA sherds C8798.
o Ørnsholt-ERIA sherds C8797.
o Norre Tinnet-ERIA sherds C8788.
o Nykirke-EGIA burial.
o Norre Tinnet-LRIA/EGIA inhumation NM.

17.08.19 ØSTER SNEDE
o 4 Agersbøl-ERIA inhumation C20296-319.
o 5 Agersbøl-ERIA inhumation C20253-5.
o 5a Agersbøl-ERIA inhumation C20261-95.
+ 28 Enggaarden-RIA grave.
# 29 Enggaarden-ERIA settlement.
# Gammel Sole-Late PRIA/ERIA settlement.
x Gammel Sole-PerI/II bronze neckring.
x Baastrup-Late LRIA silver sheet fibula C8477.

TØRRILD HERRED
17.09.01 BREDESTEN
# 57 Balle Mark-PerI/II pits.
# 62 Bredstenlund-ERIA pits.
# 70 Ravning Mark-ERIA pit.
# 72 " " -PerIIIa pit.
# 73 " " -PRIA pit.
# 75 " " -PerI pit.
# 77 " " -PerII pits.
o Søskov-LRIA burial.
+ Ravning Mark-ERIA burial NM 1431.

17.09.02 GADBJERG
+ 96 Tykliget-RIA urn.
# 99 Smidstrup-ERIA house VKM.
17.09.03 HOVER
+ Lerbaek Hovedgaard Mark-LRIA cremation.

17.09.04 JELLING
# 100 Rugballe-PerI/II pit & undated inhumation.
# 101 PerI/II pit.
# 105 Jelling-YR?EGIA quern fragment.
o Tempehøj,Jelling-LRIA burial.

17.09.06 LINDEBALLE
+ 34 Lindeballe Skov-ERIA inhumation VKM.
# 35 Lindeballe Skov-PRIA pit VKM.
# 37 Aast-PRIA pit VKM.

17.09.07 NØRUP
# 69a Engelsholm-PerI/II settlement.
# 86 Ny Nørup-PRIA pits.
+ Nørup-PerI/II urn.
x Nørup,S. of Engelholm Sø-ERIA bog pot.
x Trollerup-PRIA plough.

17.09.08 RANDBØL
o 143 Torgunsminde-LRIA cremation NM.
o 186 Mariesminde-LRIA sherds C29182-92.
+ 289 Bindeballe-ERIA urn C8004.
x 306 PerI/II sherds.
+ Hoffmansfeld-LRIA inhumation KM 2423-6.
+ Bindeballe-PerI/II urn.
x Frederikshab-gold medallion 307-12 AD.
+ Bindeballe-ERIA urn C8003.
o Bindeballe-ERIA cauldron & bridle burial.

17.09.09 SKIBET
# 21 Bue-PRIA pit.
+ Østengaaard-ERIA inhumation.
o Lyshøj,Haraldskjaer-LRIA cremation.

RIBE AMT
ANST HERRED
19.01.01 ANST
x 18 Anst-EGIA gold bracteate C1858.
# 68 Mariesminde-PRIA pits.
+ Gejsing Mark (Lunderskov-Baekke road)-LRIA pots KM 890.
+ Kongshøj-PerI/II urn.
x Roved Mose-PerI/II bronze neckring.
+ Gamst-ERIA urn C22009-11.

19.01.02 BAEKKE
o 20 Baekke Mark-ERIA & LRIA urns C28205-12.
o 129 Asbo-PerI urn.
x 145 Søndervang-ERIA sherds.
# 150 Baekke By-PRIA settlement & pits.
o Hogshøj,Skjøldeggaard-PerI/II urn.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19.01.03 Gesten</td>
<td>#</td>
<td>PerI/II pit.</td>
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<td>#</td>
<td>PerI/II pit.</td>
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<td>#</td>
<td>PerI/II pit.</td>
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<td>+</td>
<td>Ravnholt-PerIIIb cremation C19888-97.</td>
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<td>#</td>
<td>Ravnholt-PerI/II pits.</td>
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<td>#</td>
<td>Stavshede-PRIA sherds.</td>
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<td>#</td>
<td>Ravnholt-PerI/II sherds.</td>
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<td>#</td>
<td>Ravnholt-RIA pits C27148-51.</td>
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<td>#</td>
<td>Stavshede-PerI burnt area.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>#</td>
<td>Revising-PerI pit.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Øster Gesten Skov-LRIA inhumations C21991-8,C26940-60, C27293-4.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>o</td>
<td>Revising Høj l-PerI urn.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>x</td>
<td>Ravnholt Mose-ERIA bog pots.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.01.04 Hjarup</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Hjarup-PerIIIb urn C12257.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.01.05 Jodrup</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Jordrup Skov-2 gold solidi 453-66 &amp; 474 AD.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.01.06 Lejrskov</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Lejrskov-ERIA urn cemetery C9226-50.</td>
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<td>o</td>
<td>Egholt-ERIA urn C12492-7.</td>
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<td>+</td>
<td>Tanggaard-ERIA urns C25502-7.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>+</td>
<td>Lejrskov-PerI/II urn cemetery.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>+</td>
<td>Lejrskov-ERIA urn KM.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>o</td>
<td>Kusbøl-LRIA inhumation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.01.07 Seest</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Seest-ERIA urn C24158-9.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>x</td>
<td>Grønholtgaards Mark-7ERIA pot KM.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>+</td>
<td>Seest Brickworks-ERIA urn KM.</td>
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<td>+</td>
<td>Vranderup-ERIA urn.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>x</td>
<td>Højrup-LRIA pots.</td>
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<tr>
<td>19.01.08 Skanderup</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>Tvinghøj-LRIA cremation C3810-2.</td>
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<td>+</td>
<td>Dollerup-ERIA inhumation cemetery &amp; LRIA pot C23861-923.</td>
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<td>x</td>
<td>Nagbøl Nørremose-PerI/II bog pot &amp; wagon hull.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Dollerupgaard-LRIA cremation &amp; glass C1567.</td>
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<td>+</td>
<td>Petersminde,Nagbøl-ERIA urn cemetery.</td>
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<td>+</td>
<td>Nagbøl Søndermose-PerI/II settlement.</td>
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<td>+</td>
<td>Lille Dollerupgaard-ERIA pot.</td>
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<tr>
<td>19.01.09 Vamdrup</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Vamdrup-EGIA gold bracteate Df 4/55.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>#</td>
<td>Østerby-PRIA pits.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>+</td>
<td>Bastrup-ERIA urn grave.</td>
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<td>#</td>
<td>Nyhave Gaard-PRIA pits.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>+</td>
<td>Bastrup-2 ERIA urns.</td>
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<td>+</td>
<td>Nyskov-ERIA urns.</td>
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<td>o</td>
<td>Vamdrup-LRIA pot NM 6710.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Bastrup Mark–?LRIA bead & quern KM.

- Bøstrup–?ERIA settlement KM.
- Guldhøj, Vester Vamdrup–PerII urn.

19.01.10 VERST
- 2 Traelborg–EGIA defended hilltop settlement.
- 49 Vester Thorsted–PRIA pits.
- 50 Vester Thorsted–ERIA urn C28216.
- 52 Skibsdraget–PerI bog pottery.
+ Vester Thorsted–PerI/II urn.

GØRDING HERRED
19.02.01 BRAMMINGE
+ 35 ERIA urn.
+ Bramminge–EGIA cremation Moesgaard Museum.

19.02.02 DARUM
x 1 Store Darum–EGIA gold bracteate & jewellery hoard C5227-33.
+ 22 Sneum Aadal–ERIA urns ASR.
# 23 Breum Bank–PerII house ASR C1052–83.
# 24 Darum Nørreby–?EGIA settlement.
# 26 Darum Nørreby–LRIA/EGIA pit.
# 27 Darum–ERIA settlement.
x Store Darum–PerI/II bronze neckring.
+ Bavnhøj, Darum–LRIA grave & ERIA pot C7120.
+ Darum, by Sneum Aadal–LRIA grave.

19.02.03 GØRDING
# 44a Varho–EGIA pit.
+ 45 Sønder Laarup–ERIA urns NM 1387.
+ 158 Kashede, Lourup–ERIA urn ESM.

19.02.04 HUNDERUP
x 46 Kragelund–?LRIA gaming counter.
x Kjaergaard Mose–EGIA bronze fibula C4097.

19.02.05 JERNVED
- 43 Plougstrup Møllegaard–PerI urn cemetery.
- 44 " " " " " "
+ 70 Gredsted–ERIA urns ASR.
+ 71 Gredstedbro–PerI & ERIA urns ASR.
+ Plougstrup–PerI/II urn.
x Jernved–PerI/II bronze neckring.
+ Jernved–ERIA urn.
+ Gredstedmark–LRIA burial.

19.02.06 VEJRUP
- Grisbaek–LRIA pots.
x Vejrup–ERIA bog pots.

19.02.07 VILSLEV
# 3/8 Herredsbjerg–EGIA settlement.
+ 9 Bjerget Øst-ERIA urn.
+ 10 Vilslev-ERIA urns ASR 7,C51-84.
+ 11 Vilslev-ERIA urns ASR A-J.
+ 7 Bramlinghøj-ERIA urns ASR.
# 13 Sandbanken-EGIA settlement & LRIA inhumation ASR.
# 14 Herredsbjerg-EGIA settlement C30165 now in ASR.
X Vilslev-LRIA pot from ?burial.
# Vilslev Bjerg-ERIA & LRIA settlement.
+ Herredsbjergerget-ERIA urns ASR C790-3.

19.02.08 AASTRUP
X 125 Aastrup Kirkegaard-LRIA/EGIA pot C27875.

MALT HERRED
19.03.01 BRØRUP
O 36 PerI pot.
+ 103 Eskelund Kro-ERIA urn C6187.
# 148 Tirslund-PerIII/ERIA settlement C28183-8.
O 151 Tislund-ERIA urn.

19.03.02 FOLDING
O 15 PerI/II urn.
O 25 Skovlyst-PerIIIb urn C3224-7.
# 92 Harebjerg Grusgrav-ERIA settlement C26023.
X Nørdbølling-ERIA bog pottery.
+ Foldingbro-ERIA urn KM.

19.03.03 FØVLING
+ 106 Baekbølling-ERIA urn cemetery C9278,C23367-87.
+ 110 Føvling Kirke-ERIA urns ASR.
# 112 Aabølling III-ERIA settlement.
# 113 Gørding Bjerg-PerI pits.
+ Aatte-PerI/II urns.
+ Between Sønderager & Stenderup-PerIIIb/ERIA urn KM.

19.03.04 HOLSTED
# 62 Holsted-PRIA pits.
# 67 Overmarken-PerI/II pit.
+ Holsted-ERIA urn KM 3451.

19.03.05 LINDKNUD
O 154 Vittrup-ERIA sherds NM 7446-7.
O 193 Vittrup-PerI/II urn.
+ 218 Vittrup-ERIA urn C27229.
# 224 Lindknud-LRIA hearthstone.

19.03.06 LAEBORG
X Laeborg-EGIA bronze fibula in bog ASR 1800.
+ Drostrup Mark-ERIA urn KM 2578-80.

19.03.07 MALT
+ 9 Askov-ERIA urn C8984-5.
# 167 ERIA pits C27689-700.
+ 168 ?PerI/II urn.
X Maltbaek Mose-LRIA bronze bowl & horsebits NM.
x Malt-PerIIIb bronze fibula NM 5478.
x Malt sogn-?PerI/II pot.

19.03.08 VEJEN
x 98 Vejen Mose-ERIA bog pottery C26778-9.
+ Vejen-PerI/II urn.
x Vestergaards Mose,Bindeballe-LRIA bog pots.

RIBE HERRED
19.04.01 FARUP
# 2 Hillerup-ERIA settlement C16299.
+ 3 Stormhus,Meilby-PerI/II,ERIA & LRIA cemetery C14509-15.
+ 10 Hillerup-ERIA cemetery C26622-3 now ASR.
+ 11 Hillerup-ERIA urns C26614-21.
x Between Farup and Smedeby-EGIA pot.

19.04.02 HJORTLUND
+ 10 Brokaer Mark-ERIA cremations & culture layer C2773-813, C3189-98.
+ 21 RIA cemetery C3255-92.

19.04.03 KALVSLUND

19.04.05 OBBEKAER
# 7a ERIA fireplace C22069-70.
x 15 Obbekaer-PRIA stonerow.

19.04.07 RIBE DOMKIRKE LANDSOGN
# 1 RIA ?house.
+ 2 RIA urn.
# 3 ERIA settlement C16303.
x 9 Øster Vedsted-ERIA gold fingerring ASR Df 4/75.
# 10 Klaabjgaard-RIA settlement.

19.04.08 RIBE DOMKIRKE
+ 2 Ribe Mørremark-PRIA graves.
+ 7 Jernkaer Mark-PerIII pots ASR.

19.04.09 RIBE SKT.CATHARINA
+ 15 Tved-PRIA urn.

19.04.10 SEEM
+ 44 Hørnlund-ERIA cemetery.
+ 58 Snepgade-PerI/II urn.
+ 61 Seem-ERIA urn C23333-4.
x Gramvej-ERIA pots poss. urns.
# Seem-PerIIIb settlement.
x Over Seemgaard-LRIA settlement/urns.

19.04.11 VESTER VEDSTED
o 2 Sønder Farup-ERIA urn C27804-5.
o 7 Enhøj-PerI urn.
x 12 Dankirke-ERIA sherds.
# 13 Dankirke-large PRIA,ERIA,LRIA & EGIA settlement and
cemetery C12902-9.
+ 16 Vester Vedsted-ERIA settlement & cemetery C15299-305.
+ 17 Vester Vedsted-ERIA settlement & cemetery C16189-203.
+ 19 Dankirke-RIA sherds.
+ 21 Vester Vedsted-LRIA urns ASR 6,C42-50.
+ 25 Sønder Farup-prob.RIA settlement.
+ 28 RIA settlement ASR.
+ 33 Egebakken-PRIA settlement.
+ 34 Vester Vedsted-prob. RIA settlement.
+ Dankirke-silver denarius 161-2 AD in supposed offering place.
+ Ulhøj,Vester Vedsted-silver denarius 137-4 BC.

SKAST HERRED
19.05.01 ALSLEV
+ 4 Alslev-PerI/II urn.
+ 86 Alslev-ERIA inhumation C22001-8.
+ 88 Tulsmark-ERIA inhumation.
+ Visselbjerg-ERIA urn VM.
+ Torupgaard-PerI/II urn.

19.05.02 BRØNDUM
o 29 Forum-ERIA inhumation C16776-80.
o 54,190,191,156 Forum & Brøndum PerI/II urns.
o 107 Brøndum-LRIA grave C16121.
+ 324 Late PRIA settlement.
+ 320 PRIA pits.
+ 327 Kjaersing II-LRIA graves & settlement.
+ 317 Kjaersing Ia (Solbakkegaard)-ERIA settlement C22620.
+ 323 Gjesing Nord-ERIA urn ESM.
+ 319 Gjesing Mose-prob. PRIA pots.
+ 325 Gjesing Plantage-PRIA house.
+ 277 ERIA inhumation.
+ 312 PRIA urn cemetery.
+ 316 Spangsbjerg Mølle-PerIIB urns ESM.
+ Bryndum Skole,Tarp-ERIA settlement.
+ Gjesing By-gold solidus 450-527 AD.
+ Forum Skole-ERIA urn.
+ Astrup-PerIIIA urn.
+ Brøndum sogn-PerI/II urn.

19.05.03 ESBJERG
# 8a ERIA house C27045,C28782,C28228-38.
# 231 Dorthesvej-PRIA pits.
o 53 Boldesager-ERIA urn C24046-7.
# 247 Langelandsvej-ERIA settlement.
# 222 Rørkjaer-PerI/II urn.
# 224 Rørkjaer-PerIII pits.
x 246 Baggensens Alle 32-prob. ERIA bog pottery.
+ 137a ERIA-EGIA cemetery.
# 249 Tinghøjalle-EGIA settlement.
x 238 Skolebakken-LRIA pot & stonesetting.
+ 237 Syrenparken-PerIIIB urns.
+ 240 Jerne Ringvej-PerIIIb & ERIA inhumations ESM.
# 234 Randersvej-EGIA settlement.
# 235 Lykkegaardsvej-EGIA settlement.
# 244 Lykkegaardsvej/Skanderborgvej-LRIA/EGIA settlement.
# 245 Darumvej-PRIA/ERIA settlement.
# 243 Uglvig-ERIA settlement.
o 46 PerI/II urn.
# 232 Esbjerg Højskole-PerIIIa & ERIA settlement.
+ 218 PerIII urn cemetery.
+ 217 Lykkegaardsvej-ERIA urn ESM 1215-8.
o 39 Esbjerg-LRIA inhumation NM.
+ 80 Kvaglund/Raunevej-PerIIIb urns.
+ 244 Lykkegaardsvej-PerIIIb urns.
# 234 Randersvej-EGIA settlement.
# 248 Gjesing Nord-ERIA & LRIA settlement.
+ Strandskoven/Stormgade-PerIIIb/ERIA urns.
+ Vognsbøl Stadion-PerIIIb/ERIA urns.
+ Graadybet-ERIA urn.
+ Freyaparken-ERIA urn.
+ Horsensvej/Gammelby-ERIA urn.
+ Spangsbjerg Mølle-ERIA urn.
+ Vognsbøl Cyclebanen-PerI/II urn.
+ Gammelby I-III-LRIA inhumations.
# Spangsbjerg Kirkevej-EGIA settlement.
# Syrenparken-EGIA settlement.
# Skolebakken-EGIA settlement.
# Langelandsvej/Store Kirkevej-ERIA settlement.
# Spangsbjerg-ERIA settlement.
# Skifergsalle-ERIA settlement.
# Vognsbøl-ERIA settlement & urn.
# Dyreparken-ERIA settlement.
# Baggensens Alle/Eskildstunavej-ERIA settlement.
# Gjesing-ERIA settlement.
# Gammelby Strandvej/Baggensens Alle-ERIA settlement.
x Darumvej-ERIA & ?LRIA sherds.
x Hjertingvej 27-ERIA sherds.
x Carit Ellers Alle 16-LRIA sherds.
x Boldesager-ERIA pot.
+ Langelandsvej-?ERIA grave.
+ Skovkasten 21-ERIA grave.
+ Ny Kirkegaard/Stormgade-PerIIIb/ERIA pot.
x Ingemans Alle-LRIA settlement/grave.
+ Frederiksbjerg Plantage-ERIA urn.
+ Esbjerg Gaard-PerI/II urn.
+ Jerne-PerI/II urn.

19.05.05 GRIMSTRUP
x 52a ERIA sherds C25319a-22a.
x 77 Grimstrup-LRIA pot.
o 93 Hjortkaer-PerIIIb urn C12682-8.
x Rovsthøj Mose-EGIA gold bracteates Df 7-8/34.

19.05.06 GULDAGER
# 261 Ravnsbjerg-ERIA settlement ESM.
# 268 Ravnsbjerg-Late PRIA settlement & pits.
+ 250 Saedding-ERIA inhumation C27429-36.
# 260 Saedding-PerIIIA house & pits.
# 259 Mosevangen, Saedding-PerIII & ERIA pits.
# 256 Saedding-PerII pits.
# 257 Saedding-PRIA pits.
+ 253 Ronnevej 28, Fourfeld-EGIA grave ESM.
+ 241 Fourfeld-LRIA grave C17206.
\* Skt. Hans Alle-EGIA loose find.
# Grønnevej, Saedding-EGIA settlement.
# Saedding Øst/Fourfeld-ERIA settlement.
\* Hjerting-silvered follis 565-78 AD.
\o Fourfeld-LRIA grave NM.
\o Dammark Høj 6-ERIA urn C16314.
\o Frokjaer Høj 1-ERIA inhumation.
+ Mosevangen-ERIA/LRIA urn.
+ Saedding-ERIA urn.

19.05.07 HOSTRUP
# 11 PerI settlement.
# 103 Sjaelborg-ERIA settlement ESM.
# 104 Marbaek Plantage-ERIA settlement & field system.
# 105 Myrthue-ERIA houses & settlement ESM.
+ 106 Myrthue-ERIA inhumation NM.
+ 107 Hostrup-LRIA settlement & cemetery.
\o Kokspang Mark-PerIIIb/ERIA cremation NM 5196-9.

19.05.09 NAESBJERG
+ 105 Naesbjerg-LRIA cemetery NM.
+ Naesbjerg-PerI/II urn.

19.05.10 NØRRE SKAST
\o 61 Tude-EGIA grave C16839, C10207-13.
\o 92 PRIA mound cemetery.
# 105 PerII pit.
\o 155 PRIA mound cemetery.
# 202 Andrup-PerI pits.
# 204 Vesterlufthavnsvej-PRIA settlement.
# 205 Briksbøl-PRIA settlement.
# 207 Nørremarks Gaard-PRIA settlement.
+ 208 Sølbjerg-PerIII urn.
\o 119 Anderup III-LRIA inhumations ESM.
+ Skads-PerI urn cemetery.
+ Andrup-LRIA inhumation NM.
\o Oxvang-LRIA cremation NM.
+ Andrup-LRIA/EGIA urn ESM 1114.

19.05.11 SNEUM
# 18 Allerup-ERIA settlement C18985-7.
+ 19 Allerup-PerI/II urn.
# 60 Sneum Koksvang-ERIA settlement.
# Aalbaek-PRIA/ERIA settlement.
+ Allerup-ERIA cemetery ESM 147,390,953.
\* Sneumgaard-bronze sestertius 71 AD.
\o Sneumgaard-LRIA cremation cemetery NM 1438-55.
+ Sneum-PerIIIb urn ESM.
+ Allerup-PerIIIb & ERIA urns ESM.

19.05.13 TJAEREBORG
+ 62 Tjæreborg-doubtful LRIA grave ESM.
# 64 Hulvej-PRIA settlement.
# Røborg-PerIIIa settlement.

19.05.14 VESTER NEBEL
o 31 ?LRIA bead C2306.

19.05.15 VESTER NYKIRKE
x Ravnsø Mose-ERIA bog pottery.

19.05.18 AARRE
o 9 PerI cemetery.
o 78 LRIA/EGIA pots.
o 92 PerI urn.
o 95a Aarre-PerI & II cemetery.

SLAVS HERRED
19.06.01 GRENE
# 71 Løvlund-RIA settlement ESM 211.

19.06.02 GRINDSTED
o 60 Nollund-ERIA inhumations ESM.
ox 107 Grindsted-LRIA pots C16330-2.
oux 108 Grindsted-ERIA pot C16560.
+ 109 Plogborg-ERIA urns C18828-30.
+ 110 Sønderby-LRIA inhumation.

19.06.03 HEJNSVIG
# 269 Søgaard,Donslund-EGIA settlement.
o Hejnsvig-?ERIA knife KM 1497.
+ Gilbjerg-PerI/II urn KM.

19.06.04 VORBASSE
o 71-3 Lille Almsdok-ERIA & LRIA graves KM.
+ 283 Store Bavn-ERIA grave.
o 285 ERIA inhumation C23819-22.
o 286 Mound 4-ERIA inhumation C23823.
o 287 Mound 5-ERIA inhumation C23824-6.
# 295 Vorbasse-PerIII to EGIA settlement,PerIIIb & LRIA cemeteries.
# 299 Lille Almsdok-ERIA settlement.
+ Slavgaaard-PerI/II urn.
x Lille Almsdok-LRIA pot.
x Skjødsbjerggaard-ERIA votive pots.

19.07.01 BILLUM
# 25 Kjelst-PerIII/ERIA settlement.
+ Billum Tarp-LRIA grave.

19.07.02 HENNE
+ Blaabjerg Plantage-PerI urns.
Blabjerg Plantage-ERIA pot poss. urn.

19.07.04 JANDERUP
x 124 Janderup-ERIA votive pottery.
# 140 Kedbo-Early PRIA sherds.
+ Janderup-LRIA cremation.

19.07.05 KVONG
o Hallum-ERIA inhumation.

19.07.06 LUNDE
# 57a Nørlund-ERIA pots in field system VM 256-7,281.
+ 114 Lunde-RI A inhumation.
+ 115 Høllet-PerI/II urns.
# 116 Nørtarp-RI A settlement.
+ 119 Lundtang Praestegaard-PerI/II urn.
# 122 Lundager-RI A settlement.
x Øster Kastkjaer-PerI/II sherds.
# Tarp-ERIA settlement.
+ Lansiggaarde-RI A urns.
x Lunde Praestegaard Mark-gold solidus 364-7 AD.
o Langsig, Søndertorp-ERIA urns NM 22113.
+ Langsig-ERIA urn NM 22185.
+ Søndertorp-ERIA grave.

19.07.07 LYDUM
+ 57 Lydum sportsfield-PerIIIb cremations C25121-36.
x 58 Sønder Lydum-EGIA gold neckring Df 16/37.
+ Frisgaard,Lydum Hede-PerI urn.
+ Lydum Hede-PerI/II urn.
+ Lydum-PerI/II urns.

19.07.08 LØNNE
+ 1 Lønne Hede-ERIA inhumation NM.
x Nymindegab-silvered follis 543-4 AD.

19.07.09 NØRRE NEBEL
x 13 Saedding-EGIA gold bracteate Df 3/42.
x 15 PRIA antler axe.
+ Nørre Nebel Kirke-PRIA urn.
+ Nørre Nebel-ERIA urn C15761.

19.07.11 OUTRUP
x 146 Revsgaard-EGIA gold bracteate Df 4/46.
+ 147 Rottarp-ERIA urn.
+ 149 Outrup-PerIII/ERIA urn C27187.
# 150 Kløverbakken-PRIA settlement.
# 151 Rolfsø, Dejrup-PerIIIa settlement.

19.07.12 VARDE
+ 65 Varde-PerIII urn VM.
# 66 Roustvej,Søndermarken-PerI/II pits.

19.07.13 VARDE LANDSOGN
x 119 EGIA gold bracteates C302-8.
o 159 Orton-PRIA urns.
+ W. of Gellerupholm-PerIII urns.
x Mejls-ERIA sherds.

19.07.14 AAL
x 79 Skjodstrup,Gedbjerg-ERIA sherds C13309.
# 84 Oksbøll-EGIA house C23534.
# 86 Oksbøll-ERIA settlement.
# 92 Vrogum-LRIA/EGIA house.
# 93 Borre-PerI house.
# 95 Oksbøll-ERIA settlement.
# 97 Vrogum Skole-EGIA settlement C28986-29018.
x Vrogum-LRIA pot.

ØSTER HORNE HERRED
19.08.01 ANSAGER
x Skovlund Mose-RIIA sherds & amber necklace ØM.

19.08.02 HODDE
+ 2 Hulvig-PerI/II urns.
# 85 Hodde-PerIIIa settlement.
+ 86 Karensdal-PerIIb & ERIA urn cemetery.
# 115 Hesselagergaard-PerIIb to ERIA settlement.
# 116 Hessel-LRIA settlement.

19.08.03 HORNE
o 31 PerI urn.
o 82-4 PRIA urns.
+ 197 Malle-PerI/II urn.
+ Bjerremose-ERIA urn.
 o Hindsig Høj-PerI urn.

19.08.04 TISTRUP
x 42 Snorup-EGIA gold bracteate NM 8800.

19.08.05 TORSTRUP
x 39 Ovenbøll-PerIII bog pots.

19.08.06 ØLGOD
# 151 Ølgod By-PRIA pits.
+ Hjulland-ERIA urn ØM.

HADERSLEV AMT
FRØS HERRED
20.01.02 HJERTING
+ Øst Hjerting Mark-PerI urn.

20.01.03 LINTRUP
o 1 Dover-ERIA & LRIA pots HAM 4061-72,4513-23.
+ 202 Marienlyst,Dover-ERIA urns.
+ H3 Dover-ERIA urn.
o Dover-ERIA urn HAM 539,541.
+ Dover III-ERIA inhumation Schleswig Museum.
20.01.04 RØDDING
o Rødding-ERIA pot HAM 3848.

20.01.05 SKODBORG
+ 42 Skudstrup-ERIA urn HAM 7735-8.
# 43 Højvang-PRIA pits.
o 44 Højvang-ERIA inhumations HAM.
# 45 Højvang-ERIA sherds HAM 9742-54,10301-4,10363-4.
# H15 Skodborg-ERIA sherds HAM 10383-4.
# H49 Højvang-ERIA sherds HAM 11845-6.
x Skodborghus-EGIA gold bracteates & jewellery.
x Skodborg sogn-?LRIA necklace KM 854-6.
+ Skodborg sogn-PerIIIb urn KM 3121.

20.01.06 SKRAVE
# 64 PRIA pits.
# H66 Langetved-ERIA sherds HAM 10631-2.
# H67 Langetved-ERIA sherds HAM 11313-32.
x Københoved-LRIA find.

20.01.07 SØNDER HYGUM
+ 108 RIA cemetery.
o 142 PRIA urn.
+ 174 Brodstrupgaard-ERIA urns.
+ 175 Brodstrupgaard-ERIA urns.
+ 181 RIA urns.
# 213 Harreby Mose-ERIA sherds & hearth HAM 7552-81.
# Harreby-ERIA sherds HAM 7047-8.
o Faested-LRIA pot.
+ Faested-PerIII urn HAM 6858-65.
x Hygum-PerIIIb bronze fibula C8149.
+ Faested Toft-ERIA urn.
+ Faested-ERIA urns.

20.01.08 ØSTER LINDET
# 42 Nygaard-PerII pit.
o 43 Mojbøl-PRIA urns.
o 44 Mojbøl-ERIA inhumation.
+ 51 Stenderup-ERIA urn cemetery.
o? H23 Mojbøl-ERIA urn.
# Øster Lindet-ERIA settlement HAM 6217-8.

GRAM HERRED
20.02.01 GRAM
+ 60 Aarupgaard-PerI to PerIIIa urn cemetery.
o 47 Kastrup-ERIA cremations.
o 48 Kastrup-ERIA inhumation.
# 103 Vester Lindet-ERIA settlement.
+ 106 Enderupskov-ERIA to EGIA cemetery.
+ 107 Enderupskov-LRIA deathhouse & cemetery.
o 108 Gram Slotspark-ERIA sherds.
# 142 ERIA settlement.
+ H1/2 Vester Lindet-ERIA cremation.
+ H2 Vester Lindet-PerIIIb cremation.
x H6 Gram Storskov-ERIA sherds.
# H109 Vester Lindet-RIA pit.
# H111 Laasted-RIA settlement HAM 8106-16.
# H112 Aarupgaard-RIA settlement HAM 7625.
x H130 Tisset-RIA sherds.
+ H136 Vester Lindet-ERIA urn.
x H142 Nybøl Hus-RIA sherds HAM 19421-3.
x Gram-EGIA gold bead & bar C704.

20.02.02 HAMMENLEV
+ 5 Stydingskov-ERIA urn.
+ 13 Tarninggaard-ERIA urns HAM 4450-1.
o 37 Ladegaard II-LRIA inhumation HAM 4287-8.
# 70 ERIA pit.
x 74 ERIA bog pottery HAM 10331-2.
x 75 Skovgaard-PRIA sherds.
x 77 Ladegaard-RIA sherds HAM 7088-92.
# 80 Christiansdal-ERIA settlement & cemetery.
+ Styding-ERIA urns C23205-9.
+ Stydingskov-ERIA urn.

20.02.03 JEGERUP
x Jegerup-RIA sherds HAM 7659-60.

20.02.04 JELS
o 93 Grønnebaek-ERIA ?inhumation HAM 4312-22.
# 96 Jels-RIA pits.
+ 114 Grønnebaek-ERIA inhumation & urn cemetery.
# 119 Jelskov-RIA settlement HAM 13168-93,12074,8002-3.
+ Barsbøl-LRIA burial.

20.02.05 MAGSTRUP
# 36 Magstrupskov-RIA pits HAM 6151-70,6208-9.
+ 37 Magstrupskov-ERIA urn cemetery.
x 38 Simmersted Mose-EGIA scrap silver hoard.
# H53 Magstrup-RIA sherds HAM 10095-102,10389.
x H85 Simmersted-ERIA & LRIA sherds HAM 5270-3.
x Ringtved-RIA sherds HAM 7781.
x Nørrekrog-?LRIA sherds HAM 6709.

20.02.06 NUSTRUP
+ 28 PRIA urn cemetery.
+ 33 Kolsnap-ERIA urns NM Df 12/48 HAM 4535-6,4565-73.
o H34 Kolsnap-RIA burial HAM 7479-80.
+ 37 Kolsnap-prob. same as 33.
+ 215 Kaergaard-ERIA inhumation.
x 218 ERIA sherds & stones.
# 222 Gabøl-ERIA settlement.
# 225 Lundsbaek-ERIA pits.
# 228 ERIA sherds.
x 230 Lundsbaek-ERIA sherds HAM 7760-4.
x 233 Gabøl-RIA sherds HAM 6569-70.
+ 237 PRIA urn.
+ 239 Gabøl-ERIA urns.
Lundsbaek-ERIA sherds.
H85 ERIA ?inhumation.
H246 Adelvej-ERIA settlement & inhumations.
H247 Liile Kleiberg-EGIA settlement & inhumation.
Syvsig-LRIA to EGIA settlement.
Lundsbaek-RIA sherds.
Nstrup Baek-PerI urn.
Lille Nstrup-RIA urn sherds HAM 6795.

20.02.07 OKSENVAD
+ 112 Mølby-ERIA urns HAM 7933.
H99 Havrebjerggaard-ERIA settlement.
H165 Ørsted-RIA sherds HAM 7933.

20.02.08 SKRYDSTRUP
+ 80 Uldal-PerI cemetery.
+ 98 Hørløk-ERIA cemetery HAM.
+ 102 Uldal-RIA sherd HAM 10423 in Viking settlement.
+ RIA urn (W. of Sb.42) HAM 550.
+ Skrydstrup-EGIA gold bracteate NM 8676.
+ Skrydstrup (between church & vicarage)-bronze sestertius 238 AD.

20.02.09 SOMMERSTED
+ 28 Refsø Statskov-RIA urns.
+ 33 Nørre Lerte-ERIA cemetery.
+ 35 Sommersted Skole-PRIA urns.
+ 46 Refsø Grusgrav-RIA urn HAM 5586.
+ 49 Refsøgaard-ERIA urn cemetery HAM.
+ 58 Refsø-RIA sherds HAM 6199-200.
+ H72 Refsø-RIA urns HAM 8213-7.
+ H65 Sommersted-RIA sherds HAM 11654-71.
+ H63 Lerte-RIA sherds HAM 11403-653.
+ Refsø-ERIA sherds HAM.

20.02.10 VEDSTED
o 3/4 Overjersdal-ERIA urn HAM.
o 7 Overjersdal-ERIA urn HAM.
o 11 Overjersdal-ERIA urn HAM.
+ 22 Overjersdal-ERIA urn cemetery Schleswig Museum.
o 163 RIA grave Schleswig Museum.
+ 250 ?LRIA urns.
+ 262 Tondermose-PRIA votive pot in well.
+ 279 Skovby-PRIA pits.
+ 280 Skovby-RIA sherds HAM 9722-36.
+ 281 Vedsted-PRIA layer.
+ H227 Vedbøl-RIA urns HAM 10105-7,6548.
+ H281 Overjersdal-RIA urn HAM 9741.
+ Arnitzlund-RIA sherds HAM 8330.
x Vejbøl-?RIA spearhead HAM.
x Vejdsted-ERIA inhumation.
x Svinepold-PerI/II urn.
+ Abkaer-PerI urn.
x Vedbølmose-PerI/II bronze neckring.
x Skovby-PerII bronze pin.
+ Skovby-ERIA urns C23937 & HAM.
+ Svinepold-ERIA urn.

20.02.11 VOJENS
o H30 Vojensgaard-RIA sherds HAM 7105.

HADERSLEV HERRED
20.02.01/02/04 HADERSLEV
+ 9 Byens Mark-ERIA cemetry HAM.
+ 10 PRIA cemetry.
x 12 Bogely-ERIA bog pots HAM 7731-3.
x 15 ERIA sherds.
# 16 PRIA pit.
# 17 PRIA pit.
# 18 PRIA pit.
x 19 Ejsbøl Mose-LRIA to EGIA votive weapon deposit.
# H19 Damende-RIA pit HAM 10208-21.
x H22 Ejsbøl Mose-RIA sherds & human skull HAM 9194-5.

20.03.03 GRARUP
+ 22 RIA cemetry.

20.03.05 HALK
+ 213 Hejsager-RIA pots HAM 6219-23,6216.
x 215 PRIA sherds.
+ 216 Ultag-RIA cemetry.
x H156 Hejsager-RIA sherds HAM 6798-9.
# H228 Rensmark-RIA settlement HAM 18462.
x Hejsager/Fugelsø-PerII sherds.

20.03.06 HOPTRUP
# 186 Djernaes-RIA sherds & slag HAM 7238-9.
+ 285 Kestrup-PRIA urns.
# 295 Slibsø-ERIA shell midden.
# 273 Sønderballe Strand-ERIA shell midden.
# H284 Sønderballe-RIA settlement HAM 10406-10.
x H210 N. of Overgaard-RIA sherds HAM 7450.
x Djernaes-RIA sherds HAM 7237.
+ H291 Venbjerg-RIA ?urn HAM 7192.
x Hoptrup-RIA spear.
+ Djernaes-ERIA urn Schleswig Museum 12009,11929.
+ Venbjerg-ERIA urn C20334.
+ H289 Mastrup-ERIA inhumation & cremation cemetery HAM 6097-111.
x H326 Mastrup-RIA sherds HAM 21216-29.
+ Hoptrup-PerIIIa urn HAM.

20.03.07 MOLTRUP
# H5 Bramdrup-RIA pit HAM 7111-8.
x Rudvad-RIA spear HAM 1974,1640.

20.03.08 SØNDER STARUP
x H40 Vandling-RIA sherds HAM 7934-5.
# H43 Knøv-RIA pit HAM 15893-4.
x H47 Starup-RIA sherds HAM 19399-400.

20.03.09 VILSTRUP
# 143 Vilstrup Vestermark-RIA pit HAM 7189.
# 147 RIA settlement.
# 148 ERIA settlement HAM 4752-4.
# 32 Slibsøen-PerIII & ERIA shell midden.
# 150 Slibsøen-PerIII & ERIA shell midden.
x H171 Hovst-RIA pot HAM 10205.
x Sønder Vilstrup-bronze coin.
x Nørre Vilstrup-RIA sherds HAM 8126.
# Vilstrup Vestermark-PerI/II settlement.

20.03.10 VONSBAEK
+ 3 Feldum-ERIA urn C3634-5,C7493.
+ H9 Vonsbaek-ERIA urn.
+ H9 Vonsbaek-RIA sherds HAM 10575.
+ H10 Kraglund-RIA urns HAM 7508-29.
+ Vonsbaek-ERIA grave HAM 3568-9.

20.03.11 ØSBY
+ 107 Kvistrup-ERIA cemetery.
# 168 ERIA pit.
+ 181 Buskenhøj,Kvistrup-ERIA cemetery.
# 189 Tamdrup-ERIA pit HAM 7383-95.
# 207 Brod-ERIA sherds.
+ H50 Haistrup-ERIA urn.

20.03.12 AASTRUP
# 23 Østerskov-RIA settlement HAM 6171-6.
+ 24 Over Aastrup-ERIA urn HAM 6553.
# 25 S. of Krigshobbel-PRIA pits.
# 26 Langstrengvej-ERIA pits HAM 7292-301.
# 27 ERIA settlement layer.
x H28 Juhlsminde-RIA sherd HAM 11874.
+ Nygaard-ERIA urn HAM 5119-23.
o Aastrup-LRIA pottery HAM 613-4.

20.04.01 AGERSKOV
+ 122 Galsted-ERIA urn cemetery.
o 129 PRIA urn.
+ 131 Vellerup-ERIA urns HAM 6687-9.
+ 132 Branderup Mølle-LRIA grave HAM 4127-8.
+ 133 Galsted-RIA grave HAM 8140.
o 134 RIA urn.
# 141 LRIA settlement.
# 142 Galsted Nord-ERIA settlement & cemetery.
x H81 Rangstrup-ERIA & LRIA pots HAM.
x H154 Bovlund-RIA sherds HAM 19401-9.
+ Geestrup-ERIA cremation.
x Galsted-EGIA gold bracteate & silver jewellery hoard.
+ Jaegerlund-ERIA cremation.
20.04.02 BEVTOFT
# 153 Well with RIA pottery.
x 209 E gia gold bracteate.
o H47 Bevtoft-LRIA inhumation.
x Strandelbjorn-EGIA bronze fibula C3636.
x Strandelbjorn-RIA sherds HAM 8121-3.
+ Hjartbro-PerIIIb/ERIA cremation.

20.04.04 TISLUND
+ 13 Stampemøllen-ERIA urn C20372-6.
+ 40 Tirslund-ERIA urn & inhumation cemetery HAM.

20.04.04 TOFTLUND
+ 2 Orderup-RIA grave HAM 6797.
+ 19 Allerup-ERIA urns.
+ 28 PRIA urn cemetery.
+ 59 Stenderup-ERIA & LRIA urn & inhumation cemetery NM & HAM.
o H72 Allerup-ERIA cremation.

SØNDER RANGSTRUP HERRED
20.05.01 ALLER
# 1 RIA settlement.
+ 4 Stubbum-PerI/II urns.
+ 6 PRIA urns.
# 7 PRIA settlement.
+ 11 PRIA urn.
# 13 PRIA pits.
# 14 Stubbum-ERIA pits HAM 6600-1.
+ 16 ERIA urn.
+ H19 Slusebakken-ERIA urns.
x H24 Kaermølle-RIA sword HAM 18466.
+ H30 Skovhuse-ERIA urn HAM 18469-70.

20.05.02 BJERNING
# 5 Vesterskov en-ERIA settlement.
+ Bjerningrød-ERIA urn Schleswig Museum 9640.

20.05.04 FJELSTRUP
+ 5 ERIA urn.
+ 39 Knud-RIA sherds HAM 6558.
+ 42 RIA urns.
+ 67 Ansl et-RIA urns.
+ 84 RIA urns.
# 85 PRIA pits.
# 86 PRIA pits.
# 87 PRIA pits.
x 93 RIA sherds.
# 94 Gammelby-PRIA pits.
+ 95 Ansl et-ERIA urns HAM 7530.
x 96 PRIA bog pottery.
# 97 PRIA pits.
+ 98 Knud-ERIA urn cemetery HAM 6606-35.
# 102 Hange-ERIA pits.
o H40 Aun evig-PerIIIb inhumation HAM.
x H99 Knud-RIA sherds HAM 6717.
# H106 Anset Forsamlingskov-RIA pit HAM 6603-4.
+ H119 Store Anslet-ERIA urn.

20.05.05 FRØRUP
+ 1 Frørup-RIA urns.
+ 2 Frørup-RIA urns.
+ 11 Frørupråd-ERIA urns HAM 2640-5, 2675.
+ H12 Frørup-RIA sherds HAM 8250.
+ Frørup-LRIA pots HAM 13594, 14024.

20.05.06 HJERNDRUP
+ 1 Juhlsminde-RIA sherd HAM 6267.

20.05.07 STEPPING
+ 1/H5 Over Lerte-PerIIIb to ERIA urn cemetery HAM.
+ 4 PRIA urns.
+ 5 RIA urns.
# 27 Stepping-ERIA house.
+ H22 Anderup-ERIA urns.
+ H26 Kolstrup-RIA sherds HAM 7421.
+ H29 Kolstrupgaard-RIA bog pottery HAM 11254-80.
+ H30 Kolstrup-RIA urn HAM 11743.
+ H33 Over Lerte-RIA urns HAM 9491-2.
+ H34 Skovdallund-RIA urns HAM 18747-8.
+ Stepping-gold solidus 493-518 AD.
+ Kolstrup-ERIA urns.
+ Stepping-ERIA urns.

20.05.08 & 03 TYRSTRUP & CHRISTIANSFELD
+ 1 Faveraa-ERIA cremation.
+ 2 Faveraa-ERIA cremation.
+ 4 PRIA urn.
# 8 Taarning Mølleskov-RIA sherds HAM 13599-623.
+ 13 Skovrup-ERIA bog pottery C25427.
# 16 Tyrstrup Nord-ERIA pits.
# 17 Tørning-RIA pit HAM 7109.
+ H15 Hvinderup-RIA sherds & silver pin HAM 6969-76.
# H16 Tyrstrupgaard-RIA pit HAM 6967.
+ H26 Faveraa-RIA sherds.
+ H36 Tyrstrup-ERIA pits HAM 7282-3.
+ H40 Hokkelbjerg-ERIA urns HAM 18440-6.
# Seggelundgaard-RIA pit HAM 7456-7.
# N. of Seggelundgaard-ERIA pit HAM 7397-8.

TØNDER AMT
HVIDING HERRED
21.01.02 BRØNS
+ 1 Astrup Banke-ERIA urn cemetery HAM 6804-34.
+ 11 Brøns-LRIA inhumations C26048-62 HAM 7448.
# 24 Astrup Banke-ERIA settlement C24219.
# 25 " " -ERIA wells 11 & 12.
# 26 " " -ERIA well 12 & settlement.
+ 29 RIA urn HAM 8247.
+ 30 Holme-ERIA settlement.
o SE of Brøns By-LRIA/EG1A pots HAM 818-20.

21.01.03 HVIDING
+ 6 Hvidding Kirkegaard-ER1A cemetery C19882-4, HAM, ASR.
+ 8 Enderup-ER1A urn C9865-6.
# 29 Enderup-LRIA/EG1A house C22617.
# 30 Hvidding Kirke-ER1A urns.
# 32 Høgsbro-EG1A settlement.
# H33 Enderup-ER1A settlement HAM 19617-20.
+ Øster Vedsted-ER1A urn ASR.

21.01.04 HØJRP
x 81 Gelstoft-EG1A gold neckring Df 1/59.

21.01.06 ROAGER
# 10 LRIA/EG1A sherds.
# 14 Roager-ER1A settlement C21820.
+ 25 Vesterbaek-ER1A urn cemetery C22854-69.
+ 28 Roager-ER1A urns C23649-58.
+ H14 Roager-ER1A urns HAM 5672-84.
+ H19 Roager-PerII cemetery.
+ H29 Roager-ER1A urns HAM 5511 now ASR.

21.01.07 SKAERBAEK
# 1 Hjemsted Kilde-ER1A pottery HAM 6843.
# 2/3 " -ER1A sherds HAM 618-9 & ER1A urn HAM 6843.
+ 5 Kagebøl-LRIA sherds HAM 6712.
+ 80 Hjemsted I-ER1A urn cemetery.
+ 81 Hjemsted II-ER1A urn cemetery.
# 82 Hjemsted III-LRIA/EG1A settlement & ER1A to EG1A cemetery.
o H11 Shaerbaek-ER1A pot HAM 5344.
o Astrup-RII urn.

21.01.08 SPANDET
+ 87 Spandet-ER1A urns ASR.
+ Fjersted-ER1A urn.

21.01.09 VODDER
o 9-40 PRIA mound cemetery.
# H68-Vodder-RII sherds HAM 10388.
+ Birkelev-PerI urn.

HØJER HERRED
21.02.02 EMMERLEV
+ 37 Emmerlev-ER1A urn C8793.
# 45 Traelbanken-ER1A defended settlement.

21.02.03 HJERPSTED
+ 89 Hjerpested-ER1A inhumation.
x H32 Hjerpested-LRIA pot.

21.02.04 HØJER
x Højjer-silver coin 276-7 AD.
21.02.06 SØNDER SKAST  
× Skast Enge-PerI/II bronze hairring in bog.

LØ HERRED  
21.03.01 BALLUM  
# 18 PerI/II settlement.
# 25 Rejsby-PRIA pot.  
# H28 Ballum Enge-RIA sherds HAM 19081-4.  
× Forballum-LRIA burial.

21.03.02 BREDE  
+ 21 Abterp-ERIA urn cemetery C29926-45.  
+ 24 Harres-ERIA urn cemetery C29951-70.  
× H25 Borg-RIA sherds HAM 11914-27.

21.03.03 DOSTRUP  
+ 55 Drensted-ERIA urn cemetery.  
# 57-9 Drensted-ERIA to EGIA settlement.  
+ 61 Drensted Øst-ERIA urns A-D.  
+ Laurup-PerI urn.  
+ Dostrup-ERIA urn CL968-72.

21.03.04 & 05 LØGUMKLOSTER  
+ 1a Vestermølle-PerIIB to ERIA urn cemetery C20218-47.  
# 21 Ellum Skole-PerI pit.  
# 63 Mølleparken-LRIA/EGIA settlement.

21.03.06 MJOLDEN  
+ 3 Ottersbøl-ERIA cemetery CL3578-9,CL8003-23,CL9369-98.  
+ 15 Mjolden-PerIIB urn C29474-81 & ERIA settlement.  
# Mjolden-PerIIB settlement.  
× Mjolden-PerIIB/ERIA pot.

21.03.07 NØRRE LØGUM  
× 24 Vester Terp-LRIA grave.  
× Bjerndrup-ERIA urn.

SLOGS HERRED  
21.04.01 BURKAL  
# H15 Rensmark-RIA sherds & slag HAM 19511-664.

21.04.03 HOSTRUP  
+ 2 Jejsing-ERIA urn Schleswig Museum 3662.  
× Hostrup sogn-LRIA bronze bust of Jupiter.

21.04.05 RAVSTED  
× 21 Half a PerI/II bronze neckring.

21.04.06 TINGLEV  
+ 37 ERIA urn cemetery.  
+ 67 Tinglev sportsfield-ERIA urn HAM 9737.  
+ 82 Tinglev sportsfield-ERIA urns Tønder Museum.  
+ Tinglev-ERIA urn KM 2565.  
+ Tinglev-ERIA urns Schleswig Museum 12874,13057.  
+ Terkelsbøl-LRIA ?inhumation & settlement.
TØNDER HERRED
21.05.01 ABILD
+ 14 Sølsted-ERIA cemetery HAM.

21.05.02 MØGELTØNDER
+ 18 LRIA pots.
+ 25 Møgeltonder-ERIA & LRIA pots.
+ 26 Møgeltonder-PerIIIb cremation C25600-4.
+ 29 EGIA pot.
+ Gallehus-EGIA gold horns.

21.05.03 TØNDER
+ 2 Tønder Nye Kirkegaard-RIA grave.
+ Between Tved & Tønder-EGIA gold bracteate Schleswig Museum 12192.
+ Tved-ERIA urn Schleswig Museum 6475.
+ Løgumgaard-ERIA urn B22124-5.

AABENRAA AMT
LUNDTOFT HERRED
22.01.01 ADSBØL
+ Fiskebaek-ERIA cremation.

22.01.02 BOV
+ 108 Svanekaer-PerI/II pits in bog.
+ 109 Oldemorstoft-ERIA settlement HAM 17991.
+ 154 Gammeltoft-LRIA urn cemetery.
+ H160 Bov-LRIA grave.
+ Nørre Smedeby-PRIA plough.

22.01.06 HOLBØL
+ 9 Fladbjerg-PerI urns.
+ 106 RIA sherds & wood in bog.
+ 119-21,80 PerI/II mounds.
+ H123 Volsballe-RIA sherds HAM 19442-4.

22.01.07 KLIPLEV
+ 40 Bjerndrup Mark-PerI/II urn.
+ 52 Søgaardalepen-ERIA urn.
+ H49 Visgarde-LRIA inhumation.
+ Kliplev-silvered coin 259-67 AD.

22.01.08 KVAERS
+ Kvaers-bronze coins 253-68,306-12,323-61 AD.

22.01.09 RINKNAES
+ 17 Rinknaes-ERIA urn.
+ Rinknaes Skov-ERIA settlement.
+ Rinknaes Statskov-ERIA pot.

22.01.10 UGE
+ 36 Olmersdiget-ERIA pallisaded linear defensive earthwork HAM 19438-9.
+ Olmersvold-RIA urn HAM 9721.
RISE HERRRED
22.02.01 BJOLDERUP
+ 71 RIA urn cemetery.
+ 75 Gaaskaer-PRIA antler axe.
+ 80 Urnehoved-RIA sherds HAM 11849-61.
+ 86 Gaaskaer-PerI/II bronze neckring.
+ H82 Raved-RIA sherds HAM 11897-906.
+ Todsbøl-ERIA urn cemetery Schleswig Museum.

22.02.02 HJORTKAER
+ H84 Nybøl Mark-RIA sherds.
+ H86 Nybøl Mark-RIA sherds HAM 18428-33.
+ Aarslev-ERIA cremation KM 2542-51.
+ Hjortkaer-ERIA cremation.

LØJT
+ 30 Skovby-PRIA urns.
+ 105 Blaahøj-PerI/II urn.
+ 161 Stollig-ERIA urn cemetery.
+ Løjt kirkeby-ERIA sherds.

RISE
+ 143 Rødekro-RIA urn Aabenraa Museum.
+ 144 Rødekro-Roman mosaic bead C27781.
+ Bodum Mark-LRIA cremation NM.

22.02.05 AABENRAA
+ Aabenraa-ERIA urn Schleswig Museum 4991.

SØNDER RANGSTRUP HERRRED
22.03.01 BEDSTED
# 18 Bedstedbjerg-PRIA sherds.

22.03.02 EGVAD
+ 44 Øbening-ERIA urns C17998-9.
+ 57 PerI/II cremation.
+ 69 Horsbyg-ERIA urns.
+ H71 Mjøls-ERIA urn.

HELELEVAD
+ 44 Svejlund-LRIA urns Schleswig Museum.
+ 49 Hinderup-PerI urn cemetery.

22.03.04 ØSTER LØGUM
+ 150 Hesselbjerg-PerI/II urns.
+ 154-5 Hovslund-PerIII cremation.
+ 170 Gjenner-ERIA cremation.
+ 231 Hjarup Mose-PerIII bog pottery.
+ H231 Vesterkaer-RIA sherds HAM 9255-7.
+ Hjarup-ERIA urn Schleswig Museum 8842.
+ Øster Løgum-ERIA cremation Schleswig Museum 4993.
+ Knivsbjerg-ERIA cremation C22652-5.
+ Gjenner Nørreskov-ERIA urn.
SØNDERBORG AMT
ALS NØRRE HERRED
23.01.01 EGEN
x 55 Ribbesmose-ERIA votive pottery C25103-4.
o Als Nørreskov-LRIA/EGIA cremations.

23.01.02 HAVNBJERG
+ Brondhøj,Lavensby-ERIA cremation.
# Lavensby-ERIA settlement.

23.01.05 SVENSTRUP
x 10 Hjortspring-PerII/early PerIIIa boat & weapon deposit.

ALS SØNDER HERRED
23.02.01 ASSERBALLE
# Asserballe-PerIII/ERIA settlement.
# Tovrup-ERIA settlement.

23.02.02 AUGUSTENBORG
# Vollerup-PerIII/ERIA settlement.

23.02.03 HØRUP
# 106 Mojbølgaard-ERIA houses C23363-6,C23505.
x Paradisegaard-PerIIIB/ERIA sherds.
+ Tjørne-ERIA urn.
x Between Tandslet & Skaartoft-ERIA sherds.
+ Tjørne Mosegaard-ERIA grave.

23.02.05 KETTING
# Ketting-ERIA settlement.

23.02.06 LYSABILD
# Mømmark-PerIII/ERIA settlement.
# Sarup-ERIA settlement.

23.02.07 NOTMARK
x Notmark-PerIIIB bronze fibula.
+ Sobjerg Almsted-ERIA cremation.
o Rumohrsgaard-ERIA cremation.

23.02.08 SØNDERBORG
x Sønderborg-PerI/II bronze neckring.

23.02.09 TANDSLET
# SE of Tandslet Kirke-PerIII/ERIA settlement.
# Tandslet-PerIIIB/ERIA settlement.

23.02.10 ULKEBØL
+ Raevenhøj,Ulkebøl-LRIA cremation.
+ Tombølgaard-ERIA urn cemetery.
x Ulkebøl-PerI/II votive pot.

NYBØL HERRED
23.03.01 BROAGER
# 116 Broager-ERIA settlement.
# Kragemade-LRIA/EGIA settlement.
# Skelde-ERIA settlement.
+ Skelde-PerII urn.

23.03.02 DYBBØL
# N of Dybbøl Mølle-ERIA settlement.
+ Grønnevej-ERIA cremations.
+ Dybbøl Mølle-ERIA urn.

23.03.03 NYBØL
+ Between Nybøl & Boffedkobbel-ERIA urn.

23.03.04 SOTTRUP
x 30 Nydam-LRIA to EGIA weapon deposit-NM 25200-484,C297-8,
   C3803,C6121,C7309,C9252,C10021,C24042.
   x Sottrup-Ullerup-ERIA sherds.
# E of Sottrup Kirke-PerIIIb/ERIA settlement.

23.03.05 ULLERUP
x 10 Ullerup-EGIA gold bars & bracteates NM 13336,15807.
# Avnbøl-ERIA settlement.
+ N of Avnbøl-ERIA cremation.
### APPENDIX 2  
**SITE TOPOGRAPHY**

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APPENDIX 3  GRAVE ASSEMBLAGES

This list contains all the burials from southern Jutland which have secure contexts.

Graves listed by site and specific number

Grave goods are recorded as present or absent.

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Columns 62-63 Museum NM=National Museum HM=Haderslev Museum
EM=Esbjerg Museum KS=Schleswig Museum
SM=Sonderborg Museum

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