

THE PRE-ROMAN IRON AGE IN NORTH JUTLAND.

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1. Introduction:

The Gundestrup silver cauldron, the rich cemetery at Kraghede, the golden torque from Dronninglund, and the fortified settlement in Borremose are just some of the spectacular archaeological finds of the Pre-Roman Iron Age in North Jutland. From the historical point of view the area has been pointed out as the possible primeval home of the Cimbri and the Vandals, theories which have been discussed among archaeologists as well. In spite of this, we may still look in vain for a survey over the Pre-Roman Iron Age of North Jutland.

2. History of Research:

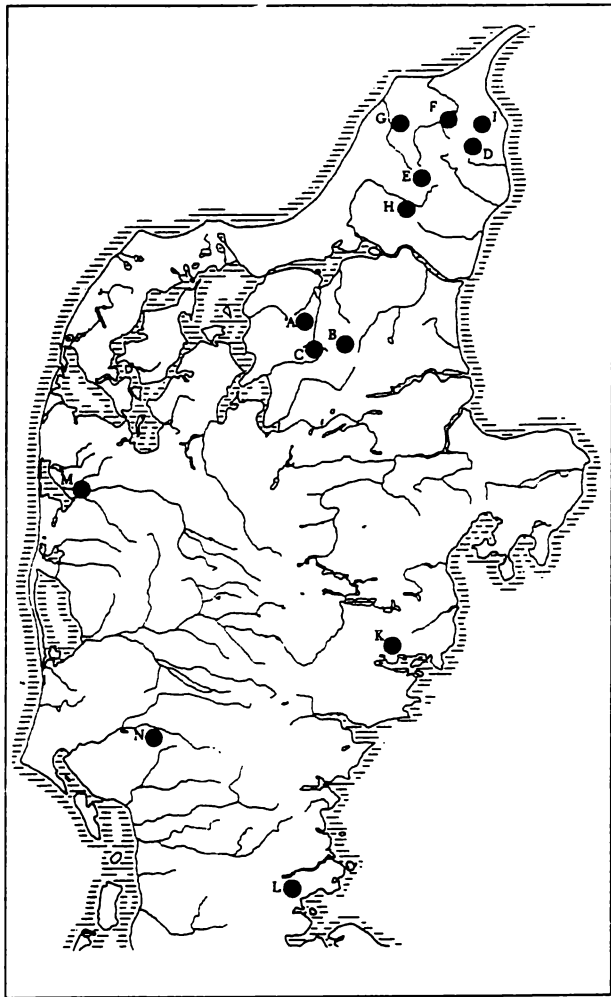
The first person to deal particularly with the area was Sophus Müller, who, besides publishing the Gundestrup cauldron (Müller 1903), the Dronninglund torque (Müller 1900a), and a group of locally casted bronze belts (Müller 1900b), was the first to mention the Kraghede find, from which he described selected material (Müller 1912, pp.125f., 1933, pp. 37ff., Martens 1988b).

During the twenties and the thirties, Gudmund Hatt carried out his famous investigations of the Early Iron Age village and field systems. Much of the basic material stemmed from Himmerland and Thy, and only parts of it are published (Hatt 1928, 1938, 1949).

During the thirties and the early forties, Johannes Brøndsted conducted a vast excavation programme in Borremose in order - so to speak - to dig up a chronology of the Pre-Roman Iron Age pottery. Apart from a few notices, the results were never published (Brøndsted 1936, 1940, 1960, Martens 1988a, c, 1991, 1994).

Inspired by the works of Müller (1933) and von Richthofen (1930), Brøndsted in 1940 suggested

to use the expression "The Kraghede-Group" as a label for the culture group of the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age of North Jutland (Brøndsted 1940, cf. Martens 1988b, 1992).



Map 1: The location of the most important finds mentioned in the text. A: Blære, B: Braulstrup, C: Borremose, D: Birkely, E: Risholm, F: Kirkemose, G: Vinstrup Bjerg, H: Kraghede, I: Vogn, K: Vær, L: Vilstrup Vestermark, M: Gørding Hede, N: Årre (Martens del.).

In his doctor's dissertation from 1949, Ole Klindt-Jensen based a chronological study on the typological difference between the pottery stem-

ming from the cemetery and that from the settlement at Kraghede. Even he published only selected material from the find, adding material from other graves of the area (Klindt-Jensen 1949). Further material was published in another context (Klindt-Jensen 1953).

Carl Johan Becker, who published a thorough study on the chronological problems of Southern and Central Jutland, originally intended to extend his study to the northern parts of the peninsula. Though in the end he refrained from this project, it is from his writings, from the fifties and the early sixties, that we get the most detailed information on the area. This is thanks to his studies of regional variations and to his publication of three central finds: the graves from Try and Dronninglund and the refuse pits from Kraghede (Becker 1957, 1959, 1961, 1980).

1992, 1993, 1994), Erik Johansen (1990) and Viggo Nielsen (1993).

Finally, the studies by Joachim Werner on the special North Jutland bronze chain belts (Werner 1952), and Janni Lindeneg Nielsen on the weapon grave burial rite of the area (J. L. Nielsen 1975), and Tine Trolle-Lassen's social studies on the Vogn cemetery (Trolle-Lassen 1984, 1987) ought to be mentioned.

As it appears from this very brief history of research, the majority of the works dealing with the Pre-Roman Iron Age of North Jutland only published selected material. Apart from a few minor finds, not one has been published in its total extent. Much more unpublished material can be added - for instance the large number of well documented excavations carried out by amateur

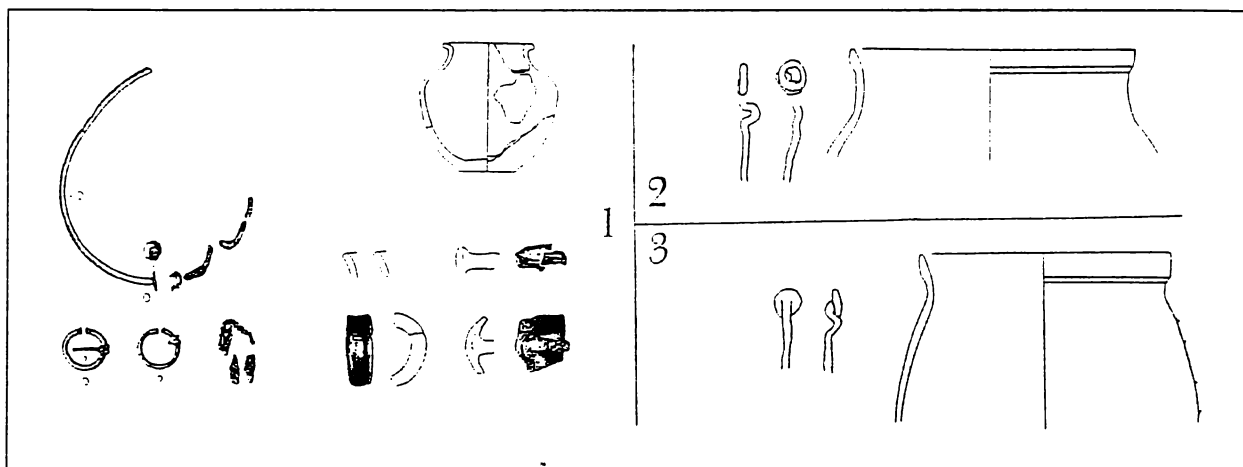


Fig. 1: The contents of three early Pre-Roman cremation pit graves from Himmerland. 1: Braulstrup grave 1, after Johansen 1990, figs. 2-3. (Cup Martens del.). Metal objects, bronze. 2: Blære grave A1, iron pin and fragments of a vessel (Martens del.), 3: Blære, grave A4, iron pin and fragments of a vessel. Scale ca. 1:4 (Martens del.). The artifacts from Blære are kept at Vesthimmerlands Museum (VMA j.nr. 79), cf. Fabech 1986.

In the seventies, Jens-Henrik Bech dealt with the chronological problems of the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age of Vendsyssel. In this connection he carried out additional excavations at the Vogn cemetery. Bech published a few but very important papers on the subject, before he got occupied by other problems (Bech 1975, 1979, 1980).

Further Pre-Roman material has been published by A. P. Madsen & C. Neergaard (1881), Neergaard (1892), Peter Riismøller (1938), Oscar Marseen (1954, 1956), Jørgen Jensen (1965), H. C. Vorting (1977), Mogens Hansen (1984), Charlotte Fabech (1986), Jes Martens (1988a, b, c,

archaeologists around Års and Hobro, and a material of a similar size secured by the Vendsyssel Historical Museum in Hjørring. The material is certainly not lacking, but the publications definitely are. We only know the top of the iceberg...

3. The Material Culture of North Jutland:

Due to the burial rite of the early Pre-Roman Iron Age, only a few graves from this period are known. Though urn graves do occur, the dominant custom is a cremation pit with no or only a

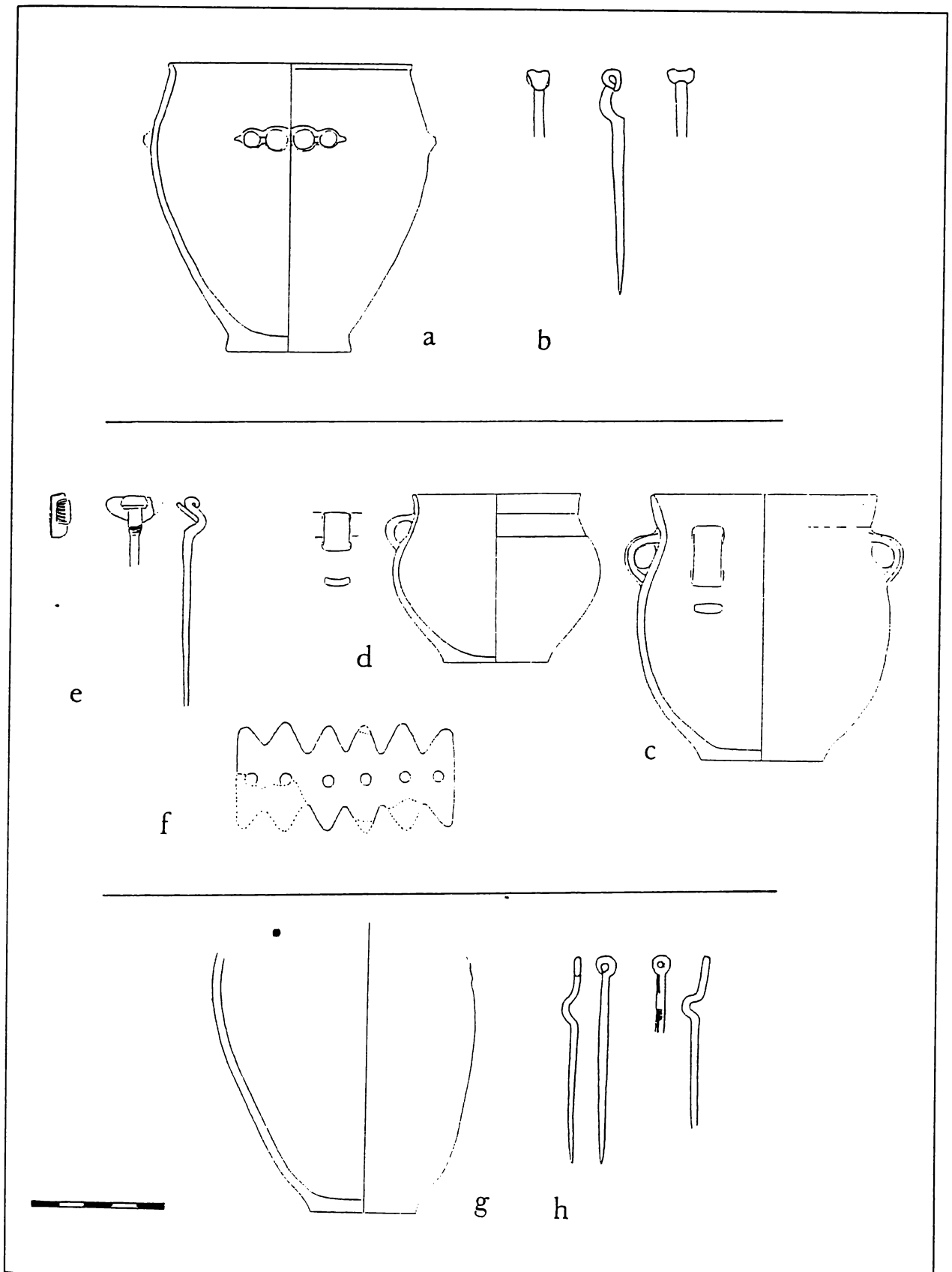
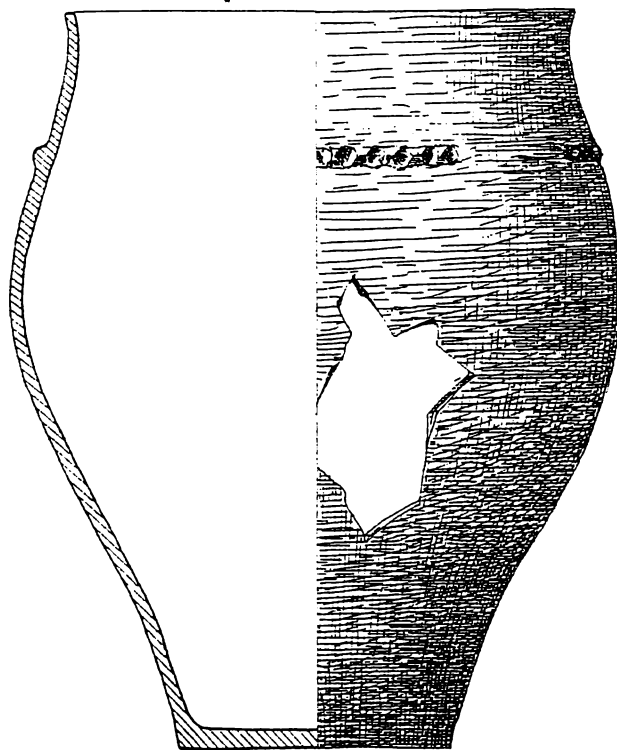
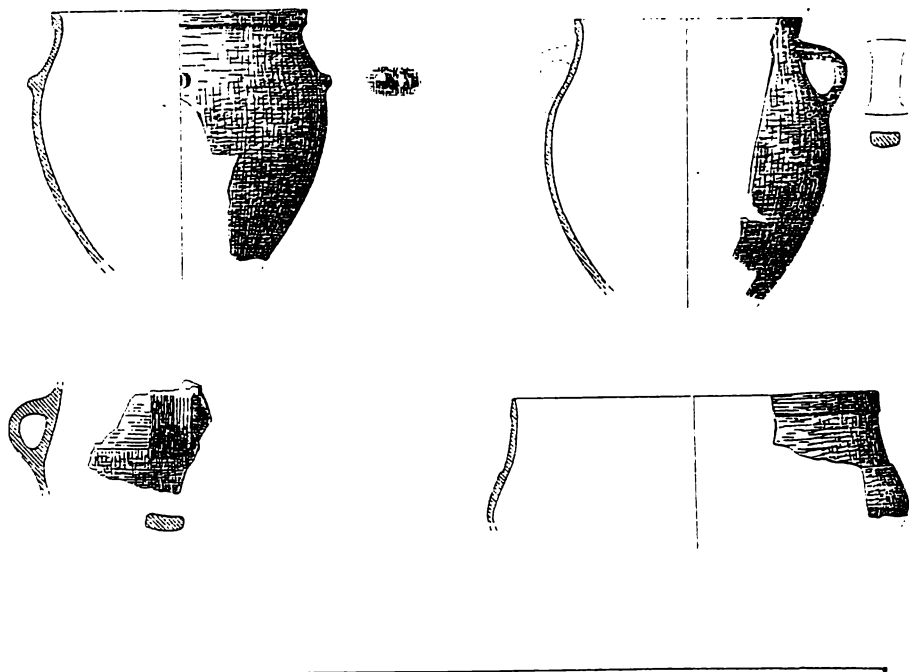


Fig. 2: The contents of the Early Pre-Roman Iron Age graves from Birkely (a-b) (VHM 22421-22), Risholm grave I (c-f) (VHM 20355A-D) and Kirkemose (g-h) (VHM 19651-53), b-e-h iron, f bronze. Scale ca. 1:4 (Martens del.).



few grave goods - typically a pot sherd, more seldom metal dress equipment.

In Himmerland, the graves often occur on minor cemeteries with less than 10 graves beneath a common, flat stone paving (like Braulstrup, cf. Johansen 1990) - a custom which has its roots in

the late Bronze Age (cf. Jensen 1966). However, they can also occur isolated - then often as secondary burials in earlier barrows (cf. Fabech 1986) or in natural mounds (fig. 1). The latter type of graves appears to be the only one in contemporary Vendsyssel (cf. Becker 1959, Vorting 1977, Martens 1992). It is obvious that such



Fig. 3: Kraghede (NM C13245): Contents of three refuse pits from the Early Pre-Roman Iron Age. This page pit 12. opposite page. upper part pit 5. lower part pit 18. Scale 1:4 (Ørnsnes del.), compare Becker 1980. fig. 2.

poorly equipped, otherwise unmarked cremation burials are not easy to discover, and this may serve as the best explanation for the very poor material preserved from the period (fig. 2).

Settlements from the Early Pre-Roman Iron Age are especially well known from Himmerland, where Malle Degnegård (Hatt 1938) and the early phase of Borremose (Martens 1988a, c, 1994. fig. 2) must be referred to the period (fig. 4). From Vendsyssel, so far only the material from the settlement pits at Kraghede has been published (fig. 3). This by no means reflects the real situation, since the museums and private collections of both Himmerland and Vendsyssel are filled with Early Pre-Roman settlement material -

mainly, however, pottery from refuse pits (cf. Becker 1961, map pl.123).

The Late Pre-Roman Iron Age is better represented in Vendsyssel. This is due to the appearance of larger cemeteries and an increase in the number and value of the grave goods. The predominant burial custom is cremation pit, but urn graves still occur. A typical grave equipment consists of a large number of broken pots, one or several knives, dress equipment or weaponry (figs. 7, 8 & 17). In rich graves one may find golden finger rings, imported bronze vessels, or even a cart. In Himmerland cemeteries are smaller or even absent. Therefore only a few graves are known from the period. Like in Vendsyssel both

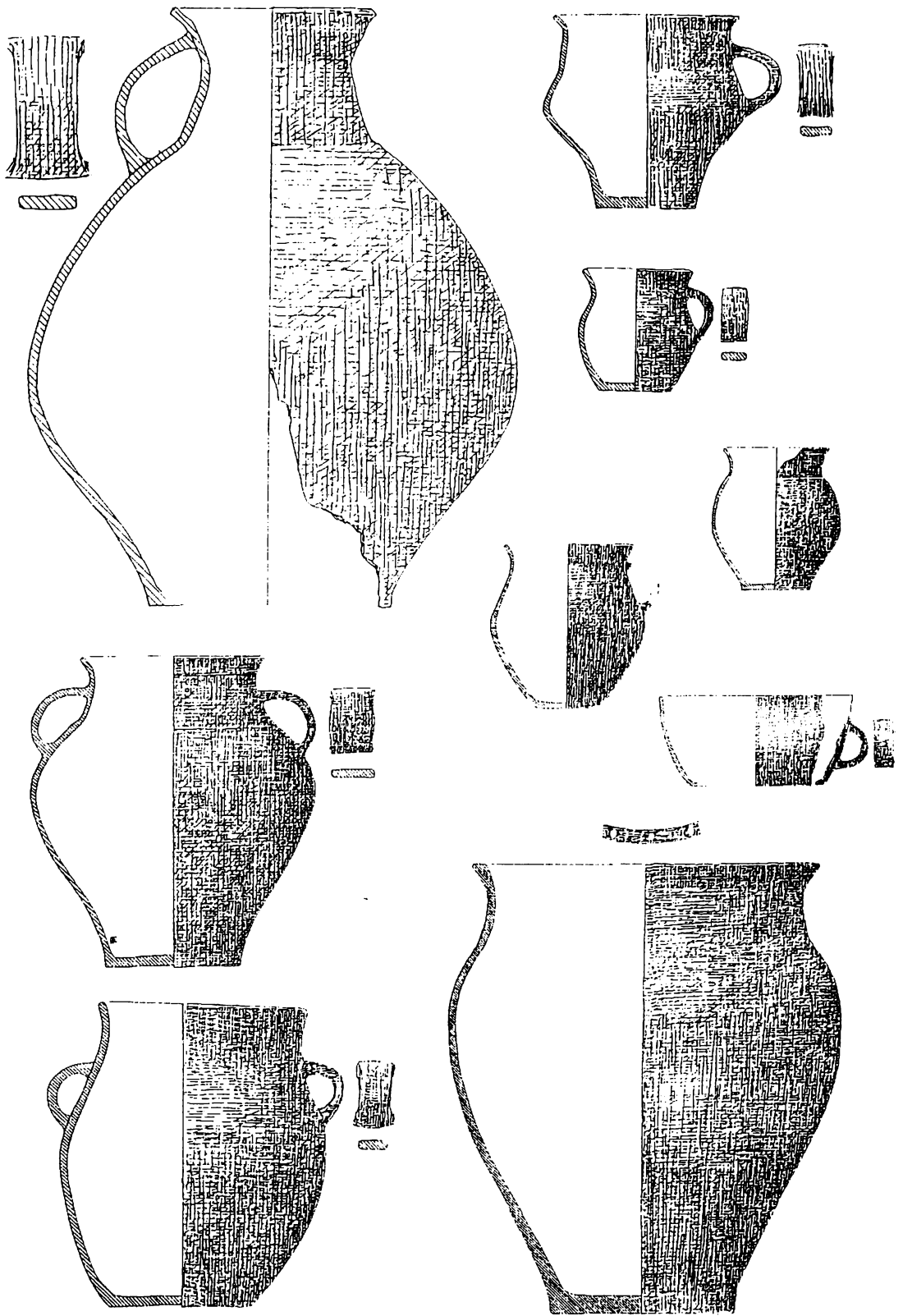


Fig. 4: Borremose (NM C25633); Pottery representing the early phase. Scale 1:5 except for the large storage in the lower right corner 1:10 (Ørsnes del.), cf. Martens 1994.

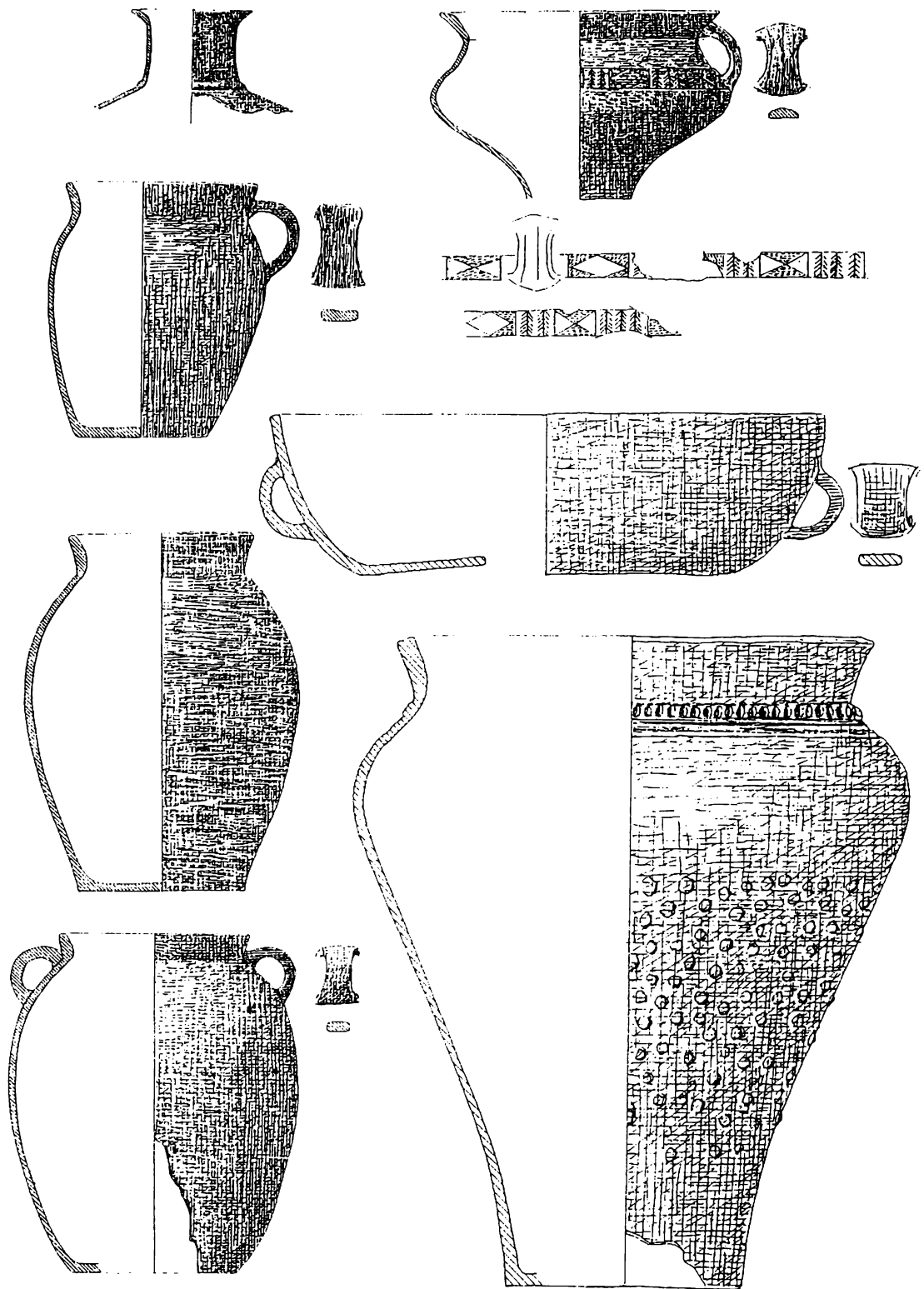


Fig. 5: Borremose (NM C25633); Pottery representing the late phase. Scale 1:5 (Ørsnes del.), cf. Martens 1994.

cremation pits and urn graves occur. The equipment is less lavish, consisting of a few vessels, dress fittings, or weaponry (Neergaard 1892, Becker 1961, 1980, Bech 1980, Bech & Lysdahl 1976, Nielsen 1975, Hansen 1984, Trolle-Lassen

A large number of settlements are known from both landscapes - best known are Kraghede (Klindt-Jensen 1949, pp. 53ff., Martens 1994b, fig. 2), the late phase at Borremose (Martens 1988a), and Skørbæk Hede (Hatt 1938, pp.

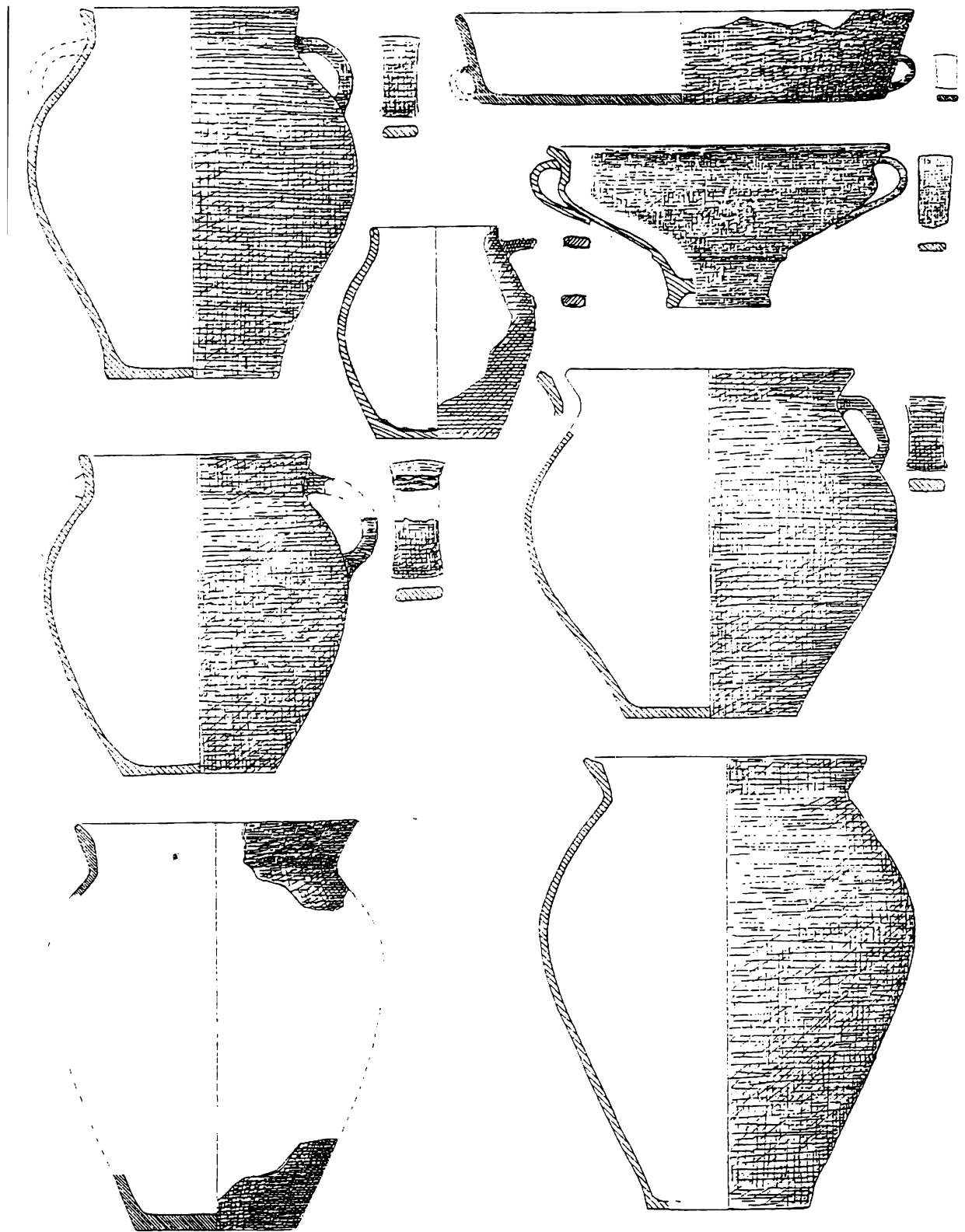


Fig. 6: Kraghede (NM C13245); Pottery found in the west end of the burnt down house 1, scale 1:4 (Ørsnes del.).



Fig. 7: Kraghede (NM C13245); contents of grave 3 (Martens del.). Sword and knife, iron. Scale 1:4.

red and excavated by the local museums (cf. Bech 1979, Hansen 1984).

Since the days of Sophus Müller, it has been believed that the late Pre-Roman Iron Age of Vendsyssel forms a distinct local group marked by richly decorated pottery (Müller 1912, 1933, Moberg 1941, Klindt-Jensen 1949, Martens 1988b, p.176, 1992), particularly early weapon graves (Jørgensen 1968, Nielsen 1975), a peculiar type of bronze belts (Müller 1900b, Werner 1952, Becker 1957), and special foreign relations (Müller 1912, Moberg 1941, Klindt-Jensen 1949,

Bech 1975, J. L. Nielsen 1975). The only one to oppose this notion, especially concerning the southeastern relations, is C. J. Becker who claimed that Vendsyssel is a part of a larger local group which also comprises Himmerland (Becker 1980, 1993). However, the special position of Vendsyssel still seems to hold true to some extent both considering southeastern relations (Martens 1988b, 1992, Martens & Kaul 1993) and the relation with Himmerland. This landscape appears in many respects closer related to Central Jutland than to its neighbour to the north (Martens 1988a, 1990).

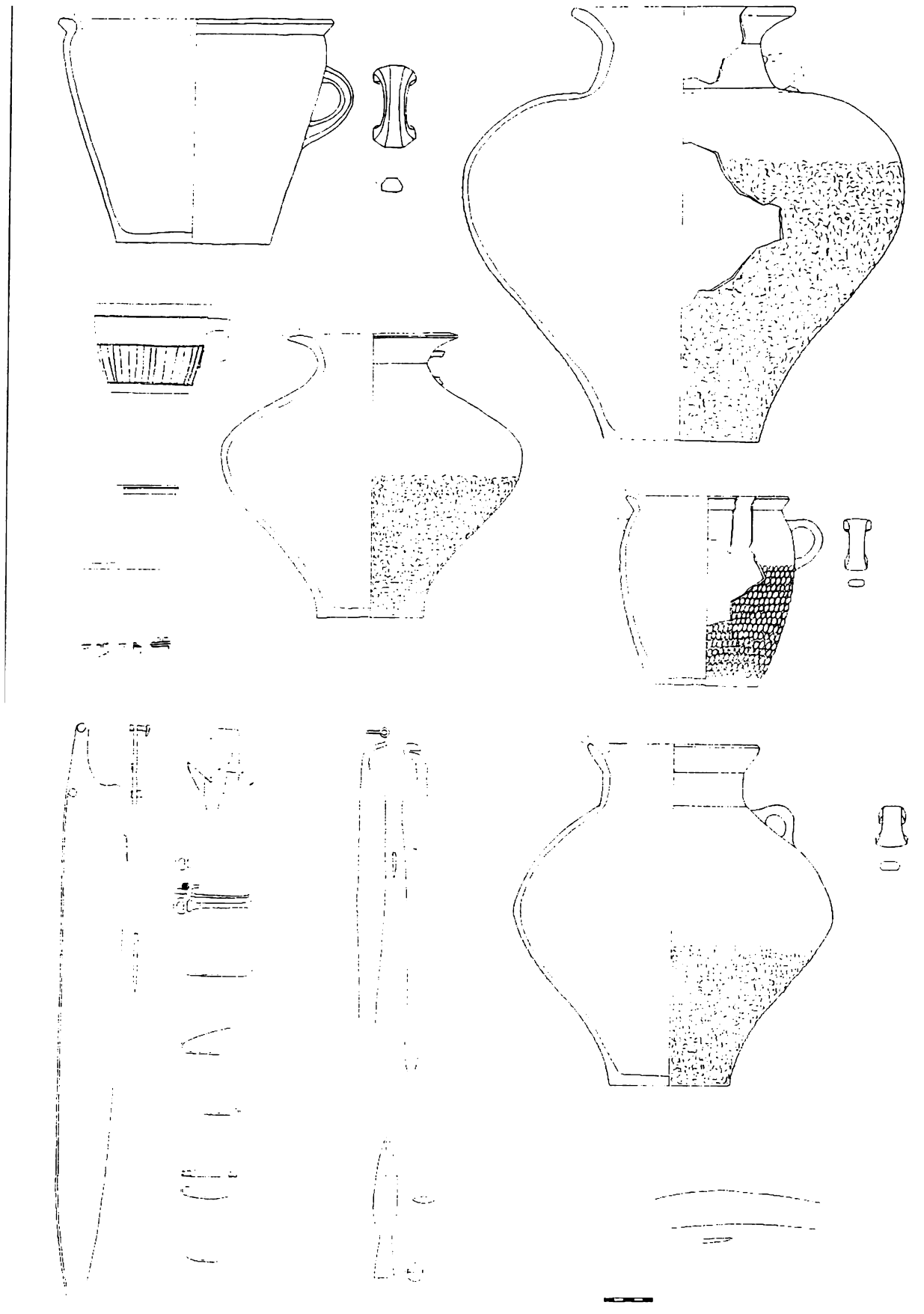


Fig. 8: Kraghede (NM C13245); contents of grave 74, scale 1:6 (Martens del.). Sword, lance head, scissors, iron.

Part II: The Chronological Problems:

4. "Stand der Vorschung":

In 1980, Becker summarized the situation like this:

"Der Vendsyssel ist sowohl in der älteren und jüngeren Eisenzeit ein Teil einer grösseren Provinz, die auch Himmerland (...) umfasst (...). In dem nordjütländischen Gebiet finden wir eine deutliche Periode I, die zweifellos in Charakter und Alter dem älteren Abschnitt der übrigen jütländischen Provinzen entspricht. Obwohl der Fundstoff spärlich ist, kennt man doch kleine Gräberfelder mit Urnen oder Brandgruben - alle ärmlich ausgestattet - und einzelne Siedlungen, bisher nur Abfallgruben mit Keramik. Unter den Metallgegenständen hat man jedoch einzelne Sonderformen bestimmt (...)." (Becker 1980, p.58f.).

About his second period, Becker wrote:

"Diese Phase ist bisher im Vendsyssel so gut wie unbekannt gewesen, was auf Zufälligkeiten beruhen muss (...). Wendet man sich dagegen dem südlicheren Teil der Provinz zu, so hat man in dem sehr reichen Fund aus Borremose in Himmerland ein sowohl variiertes als überaus umfangreiches keramisches Material, das die ganze kontinuierliche Entwicklung (...) aus der (späten) periode I über eine lokal geprägte, aber deutliche periode II bis zu einer reichen Periode IIIa deckt." (ibid. p.59f.).

To per.IIIa, Becker ascribed the Kraghede settlement (cf. fig. 6) and certain graves (grave A-1. 3 and 8, cf. fig. 7), whereas grave 74 and the Try grave were referred to per.IIIb (cf. fig. 8). Grave 69 from Kraghede was described as being "in between" the two afore mentioned groups (Becker 1961, pp. 261ff., and note 43).

On the base of the Kraghede finds and the Borremose stratigraphy, Klindt-Jensen had suggested a somewhat different chronological division (LT II and LT III), referring the Kraghede settlement and the early phase of Borremose to his LT II and the Kraghede graves to his LT III, while the late Borremose phase was put at the transition to this period (Klindt-Jensen 1949, pp. 53, 1953, pp. 44ff.). As it appears, he treated the Pre-Roman Kraghede graves as a chronological unity - a

position which was generally accepted until Becker's treatise of 1961 (cf. Becker 1951, p. 33). The phases of Klindt-Jensen are not easily synchronized with the ones of Becker, but according to the definitions of LT II it must be more or less covering what Becker in 1961 would call "late per.II and early per.IIIa" (cf. Becker 1961, p. 4 and passim).

A major difference in the two systems lies in the suggested synchronization with the Central European chronologies. Klindt-Jensen parallelized his LT II with Ripdorf, Rangs-Borchling's phase Ia, and La Tène II (Klindt-Jensen 1953, pp.43ff. and note 102, p. 93f.), while Becker synchronized his per. II with Ripdorf, and his per. IIIa with Early Seedorf and Rangs-Borchling's phase Ib (Becker, 1951, p. 33, 1961, p. 4 & p. 264ff., cf. Borchling 1951). Rangs-Borchling herself synchronized her phase Ia with a late part of Ripdorf or Id+IIa in terms of the chronology established by Hans Hingst for Holstein (Hingst 1959). Phase Ib she synchronized with Early Seedorf or Hingst IIb, and IIa and IIb with late Seedorf or Hingst IIc and IID (Rangs-Borchling 1963, pp.47ff.).

The outset of the discussion of the chronological synchronization was a reference by Klindt-Jensen to Karl Waller's Elbe Estuary group (Klindt-Jensen 1949, p. 57, Becker 1951, p. 32f.). Excavating a series of cemeteries, Waller had demonstrated that a distinct culture group had developed in this area in the middle and late Pre-Roman Iron Age (Waller 1941, 1942, 1951, 1953). The Ripdorf or Middle La Tène period was represented in a peculiar local style at Berensch-Vosberg, while more typical Ripdorf-pottery was found at the cemeteries at Galgenberg, Spangerberg and at Holszel (Waller 1941, 1942, 1953). At the cemetery at Berensch-Waterpohl he even separated three chronological groups, which he at first ascribed to the Late La Tène period (Waller 1942, p. 249 & 258). Later, however, he wrote that Waterpohl "...enthielt überwiegend Bestattungen der Mittellatènezeit neben einigen Spätlatènezeitlichen." (Waller 1953, p. 16). He synchronized the middle La Tène graves with the Ripdorf phase of Holszel.

Klindt-Jensen equated Waller's first phase with his LT II and the second with LT III (cf. Klindt-Jensen 1953, p. 46). Becker, on the other hand, held the cemetery at Berensch-Vosberg to be contemporary with his per.II, while he (apparent-

ly not knowing Waller's later redefinitions) considered the Berensch-Waterpohl cemetery equivalent with his per. IIIa. At the same time he equated the latter period (literally the Kraghede settlement) with Hornbek Ib (Becker 1951, p. 32f., 1961, p. 267, note 19).

In his chronological survey of northern Europe in the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age, Hachmann divided the grave goods of the Elbe Estuary group into three phases, a "Middle Pre-Roman" phase represented by Berensch-Vosberg, and two "Early Late Pre-Roman" phases represented by Waller's so-called "Rättich-Gefässe". The first phase was parallelised with Hingst Id+IIa, while the two latter ones were equated with Hingst IIb (Hachmann 1960, pp. 156ff.). In this connection it is important to keep in mind that Hachmann noted that his "middle Pre-Roman phase" was present not only at Berensch-Vosberg, but at several of the Elbe Estuary cemeteries, i.e. Holszel, Waterpohl, and even Wingst. Thus, according to Hachmann, only the later but admittedly also the larger part of the material from Waterpohl is contemporary with Hornbek Ib.

The point of this discussion was whether the slightly thickened, faceted rim by which Becker defined his per. IIIa, in the Jastorf culture was found in Ripdorf or in "Early Seedorf". Klindt-Jensen claimed that it was a Ripdorf phenomenon (Klindt-Jensen 1953, pp. 46 and 93f. note 102), while Becker held the position that it first appeared in "Early Seedorf" (Becker 1961, p. 267, note 19). It is important to note that before Becker invented the expression "slightly thickened rim", such rims were usually, even by himself, described as "broad, thin rims" (cf. Becker 1948a & b). The term "thickened, faceted rims" was reserved for the typical thick rims of Seedorf and the Early Roman Iron Age. In Germany, this terminology is still in use. Consequently one might find that rims which are described as "broad, thin" are actually "slightly thickened and faceted". This I experienced on a trip to museums in northern Germany, where I also had the opportunity to discuss the classification of Becker's per. IIIa pottery within German terminology with Dr. Hans Hingst (1). According to him, the defining trait of per. IIIa, i.e. the slightly faceted rim, is a regular feature of the Ripdorf style. Furthermore he agreed with Klindt-Jensen in his judgment that the Gørding find, which Becker ascribed to "an

early stage of per. II" (Klindt-Jensen 1953, p. 93f. note 102, Becker 1961, p. and plates nos. 70-72), in German terminology would be called "Jastorf b". This actually means that Hingst rather would agree with Klindt-Jensen's chronological synchronization than with the one suggested by Becker. As demonstrated later, even the metal objects confirm this (see chaps. 7 & 8).

After this digression, we shall return to the main topic. The latest contribution to the chronological discussion was delivered by J.-H. Bech who revised the brooches of North Jutland, ascribing all the casted ball brooches and brooches of Kostrzewski's A-C type to per. IIIa, whereas K-brooches and T-shaped brooches appeared in per. IIIa and per. IIIb (Bech 1975). Bech also pointed out a special type of single handled cups as a per. IIIb type (Bech 1979 & 1980).

5. Borremose:

The fortified settlement in Borremose has already played a role in the chronological discussion - it has been referred to by Brøndsted (Brøndsted 1936, p.40, 1940, p.63ff. 1960, p.89f.), Klindt-Jensen (Klindt-Jensen 1949, p.57, 1953, p. 46), Becker (Becker 1961, p. 3 6, p.236 & p.259, 1980 p.61 and note 5, Kossack and Harck 1973, note 4), and Bech (Bech 1975). As mentioned, it was never published by the excavators, but in 1988 a preliminary report on the site appeared (Martens 1988a). In that connection a pottery chronology was sketched out, basing on the finds from three burned down houses:

The material could typologically be divided into two groups. The early group which was represented by the rich materials of house XXIII showed many traits which Becker ascribed to his per. I. However, most of the pottery found close parallels in the material from the Gørding Hede houses which Becker ascribed to an early stage of per. II. The late group at Borremose was represented by the more slender material from the two houses VIII and XVI. The pottery from these houses showed typical marks of per. IIIa, whereas traits of per. IIIb were absent. Thus a general date of Borremose was suggested, ranging from an early stage of per. II to a developed stage of per. IIIa (ibid. p.174f.).

This report was based exclusively on the documentation left over from the excavations of the thirties and the forties. Since then, the old material has been revised even closer, and a new series of excavations has been carried out at the *locus classicus*. The new results have confirmed the first impression: the so-called stratigraphical sequence of the moats has no, or only a restricted, chronological value (Martens 1991, 1994). Consequently, the only way to deal with the vast pottery material stemming from the moats is to divide it in accordance with its typological resemblance to the two groups mentioned above. This was done in a dissertation delivered at the Aarhus University (Martens 1990). The result was as follows:

The chronologically most important trait appears to be not the execution of the rim but the area just below the rim. To be exact: the point where the profile changes from concave to convex. At the early vessels, this point is placed lower than the narrowest point of the neck, whereas at the later vessels these points generally coincide. To put it otherwise - the early pots tend to have a neck, however unmarked it may be, whereas, at the later pots the rim tends to set out directly from the body. In the late material there are some types which preserve the distinct neck - especially the elegant black single handled vessels, but also large single handled jars with a conical neck and a few other types - only of the more exclusive quality. The division resembles the German division between "dreigliedrige Gefäße" and "Terzinen und Töpfe" which marks the difference between the Jastorf and the Ripdorf style (eg. Hingst 1959, p. 52 & Abb. 17b).

The pottery of the early Borremose phase (fig. 4) can be described as follows: the vessels tend to have a neck, which might or might not be marked by a ledge, the collar is generally broad and softly turned out, but on vessels of better quality it might set out in an angle. Normally the rim is thin, but in some instances it may be slightly thickened. If the latter is the case, then the thickest point is typically placed at the very top end - or the thickening might appear as a ledge on the outer surface of the collar, a little below the edge. The shape of the body tends to be almost globular, giving a stocky impression. The handles are band shaped, generally with a rectangular but in some instances with a U-shaped cross-section. On handled cups they often connect the rim with

the shoulder, whereas on two-lugged jars they are placed below the neck.

The pottery of the late Borremose phase (fig. 5) may be described as follows: necks are seen exclusively on good quality vessels of certain types - and then always distinctly marked. On other vessels the rim sets out directly from the body in a sharp angle or in a sharp curve. The rims are mostly thickened, though simple thin rims occur. The thickest point may be placed at the very top end of the rim, as in the early phase, but typical for this phase is that the thickest point is placed at the midst or just below the middle of the inside of the collar. This point may be marked by faceting. The shape of the body tends to be inverted pyriform, giving the impression of a tall, shouldered vessel. The handles are generally narrow and thick, with a square cross section, and they connect the outset of the collar with the shoulder. Broad and band shaped handles still occur. There is, however, a tendency towards x-shaping of the handles - especially on high quality ware - and in such instances the handle might even be faceted.

More traits could be added to the description of both phases, but these range among the most distinct. As it may appear, the equation of the later Borremose phase with Becker's definition of his per.IIIa is obvious. The problem arises with the early Borremose phase. It apparently mixes elements from Becker's per.Ib with his per.II. One might choose to call it "Early per.II", as Becker did with the Gørding material (Becker 1961, p. 224). But is this satisfactory? If so, then one might ask for the missing link between the early and the late phase at Borremose. Such a question seems reasonable - but it is impossible to answer for two reasons: first of all, we lack closed finds at Borremose representing the supposed intermediate phase which thus has to be isolated on a purely typological base; secondly, Becker's definition of per.II in relation with per.IIIa is so vague that an attempt at pointing out per.II-pottery within a mixed per.II-per.IIIa-material would be a very doubtful enterprise. Thus we are left with no typical per.II material in North Jutland. This poses the question - does the period exist?

6. Kraghede:

Before dealing with this essential question, a few words have to be said about the other key find of

North Jutland: the settlement and cemetery at Kraghede. Though the location is quite famous, it has never been published to its full extent. It covers four archaeological phases: a number of refuse pits have been referred to Becker's per. I, the house sites have been referred to Becker's per. IIIa, and the few scattered graves cover per. IIIa, per. IIIb, and the Early Roman Iron Age (cf. Martens 1988b).

Becker placed the material from the two burnt down houses in an early stage of his per. IIIa (Becker 1980, p. 60). As noted elsewhere it is among this material that the really "foreign" forms of Vendsyssel are found (Martens 1992, fig. 11, Martens & Kaul 1993). Some of the strange forms might, however, be due to the fact that the published sample appears to mix early and late traits, like tall necks and concave lower belly (cf. Klindt-Jensen 1949, figs. 24 and 25). Certain vessels even have unmarked necks (like Klindt-Jensen 1949, figs. 24g and 25f) recalling the forms from the early Borremose phase.

However, a closer examination of the excavation report reveals that not all the pottery which in the publications has been ascribed to the sites was actually found inside the burnt down houses. The material which with certainty can be related to house I is depicted in fig. 6. The majority of the rims are slightly thickened and faceted, but the lugs are band-shaped. The lack of x-shaped and faceted handles is interesting, since it suggests that the material typologically should be earlier than the latest part of the second phase at Borremose. The faceted rims are, on the other hand, much more numerous than at Borremose, an observation which seems to point in the opposite direction. The shape of the handles may therefore also be the expression of local style. The pottery of the two Kraghede houses may therefore be said to represent a local version of an advanced stage of the late Borremose phase. The reason why Klindt-Jensen parallelized it with the early phase at Borremose was due to the misconception of the stratigraphy at that site which was generally accepted earlier (see above and Martens 1991, 1994).

The cemetery at Kraghede has been split up by Becker into three phases of which the two first are Pre-Roman. The graves A-1, 3, 8 represent a developed stage of per. IIIa, while per. IIIb is re-

presented by grave 74, and the early Roman Iron Age by grave 4. Grave 69 is placed at the transition between per. IIIa and per. IIIb (Becker 1961, p. 261, note 43). Later, this grave was related to late per. IIIa by Erik Jørgensen (1968, p. 77).

About grave A-1, Becker wrote that this was doubtlessly a per. IIIa grave with pottery of a developed stage of the period. However, later research has demonstrated that this very important find consists of two separate samples; grave A and pit 1, and that there is little or no indication that the two objects should be contemporary. On the contrary, the pottery in the pit appears to be much later than that from the grave (Martens 1988b, pp. 116f.). Thus it is necessary to split the material into two. The brooch of Kostrzewski's type B, the weaponry, the cup with the hunting frieze, and 11 other vessels stem from a cremation pit grave, while the bronze ornamented cart and 11 further vessels stem from a pit without human bones. The pottery of grave A dates to per. IIIa while the pit must be referred to per. IIIb as demonstrated by the ornamentation of a small cup (cf. Klindt-Jensen 1949, fig. 40b).

Another grave which may cause discussion is no. 69. It appears from the report that the grave was found in two pits; one containing a bronze cauldron (Eggers' type 4), weaponry and knives, the other containing an iron brooch of Kostrzewski's K-type, a golden finger ring, a razor, and fragments of 7 vessels (cf. Martens 1988b, p. 118). The documentation does not allow us a critical examination of the relation between these two cremation pits. Several specimens among the vessels of the pit containing the brooch seem to be rather late. This especially concerns a globular vessel (Klindt-Jensen 1949, fig. 34), a rather stocky, two-lugged jar (ibid. fig. 28b), and a small cup with a broad horizontal ornamental frieze (ibid. fig. 38). Such forms are common in the local per. IIIb, but not earlier (cf. Martens 1992).

In comparison to Borremose, one may conclude that graves nos. A, 2, 3, 8, and 24 contain pottery which typologically corresponds to the later phase of the settlement (cf. fig. 7), while the contents of pit 1, and graves nos. 69 and 74 must be later (cf. fig. 8). For the evaluation of the interregional chronological position of the graves, it is important to note that grave A contained a B-brooch and grave 69 a K-brooch and a bronze cauldron

of Eggers' type 4. Furthermore, grave 3 contained a La Tène sword of Kostrzewski's type I, while graves 69 and 74 each contained a single-edged sword. No fragments of shield bosses were found, although all the Pre-Roman graves at the cemetery contained weapons.

7: Becker's Period II - a phantom period?:

In Becker's large and important work "The Pre-Roman Iron Age of Southern and Central Jutland" he published only 8 graves and 11 settlements as representatives of his per.II (Becker 1961). Thus, in comparison with per.I the material was very slender. Becker himself was the first to point out the basic problem: in his definition of per.II there were no distinct borders, neither to the preceding per.Ib nor to the following per.IIIa. Anyhow, Becker maintained that whether a particular find was to be dated early in one or late in another period was of minor importance - the relative dating within the Pre-Roman Iron Age would not be influenced! (ibid. p.224). And indeed he lived up to this parole: in a later work he changed the dating of the major part of one of his defining per.II finds - Grøntoft - to per.I.

This leaves us with 8 graves and 10 settlements. In general, they can be divided into two groups: finds in per.I-style but with a few distinct per.IIIa traits - and finds in per.IIIa-style with a few distinct per.Ib traits. As an example, the typological distance between the pottery of the Vær settlement (ibid. plate 64-67) and that of the Vilstrup settlement (ibid. plate 57-60) is so striking that one might wonder, whether it would not be better to ascribe the finds to two subsequent periods (cf. fig. 9). In spite of this, Becker chose to interpret the typological differences as a sign of a long intermediate period (ibid. p.270)! Another way to view the problem would be: As no traits can be pointed out as typical per.II, one might question whether the period exists at all.

For the discussion of the period, it is important to keep in mind that Becker always believed per.II to be parallel with the Ripdorf phase of the Jastorf chronology. For this reason he ascribed the Holstein pins to the period. In Jutland at that time only two such pins were found in graves - the Bjerndrup graves in Southern Jutland (fig. 10-1 & -2). Consequently, the pottery of these gra-

ves was dated to per.II. One could, however, admit that the pottery might as well have been dated to per.IIIa, if basing exclusively on its own typological traits. In Holstein such pins normally always occur together with pottery typical for Becker's per.IIIa (cf. Martens 1992, fig. 8) - a fact which Becker already was aware of in 1961 (Becker 1961, p. 255f.). And Erik Jørgensen has kindly told me that the two specimens found on the Årupgård cemetery are found together with developed per.IIIa pottery. This seems to imply that the Holstein pins must be dated to per.IIIa in Denmark.

Before going into the implications of this observation we shall turn to the other metal type artifact of per.II - the penannular brooch. Becker dated it to per.IIIa on the base of several grave finds. Two finds implied an earlier date. In a grave from Vester Vamdrup such a brooch is found together with a typical per.I urn (fig. 10-3). The second grave find, stemming from Sandager Torup on Funen, combines two penannular brooches with a two-lugged jar and a small cup (Albrectsen 1954, plate 3a-c and fig.13.17). The cup is atypical and is rather difficult to date, and even the jar cannot be more precisely dated on the base of the publication (fig. 10-5). Interesting traits are the neck of the cup and the lack of a neck on the jar. Both vessels have a short, sharply turned-out rim, and the lugs on the jar are placed on the shoulder a little bit below the rim. These traits appear to be contradictory, and that is why it is difficult to give this find an independent date. In spite of this, Becker used these two finds as an argument for a dating of penannular brooches to per.II (Becker 1961, p. 255).

Principally, a find combining a type from one period with a type from another does not imply an intermediate period - *but rather an immediate chronological contact between the two periods*. A similar explanation could easily be adapted to the rest of Becker's per.II finds, as contact finds between two subsequent periods - that is, per.Ib and per.IIIa. A similar conclusion might be reached from a find recently excavated by Svend-Erik Albrechtsen at an Early Pre-Roman cemetery in Kroglund. One of the graves combined a penannular brooch and a ring headed kropf pin - the latter unquestionably a per.I type (fig. 10-4). This must mean that the penannular brooch reaches back into per. Ib.

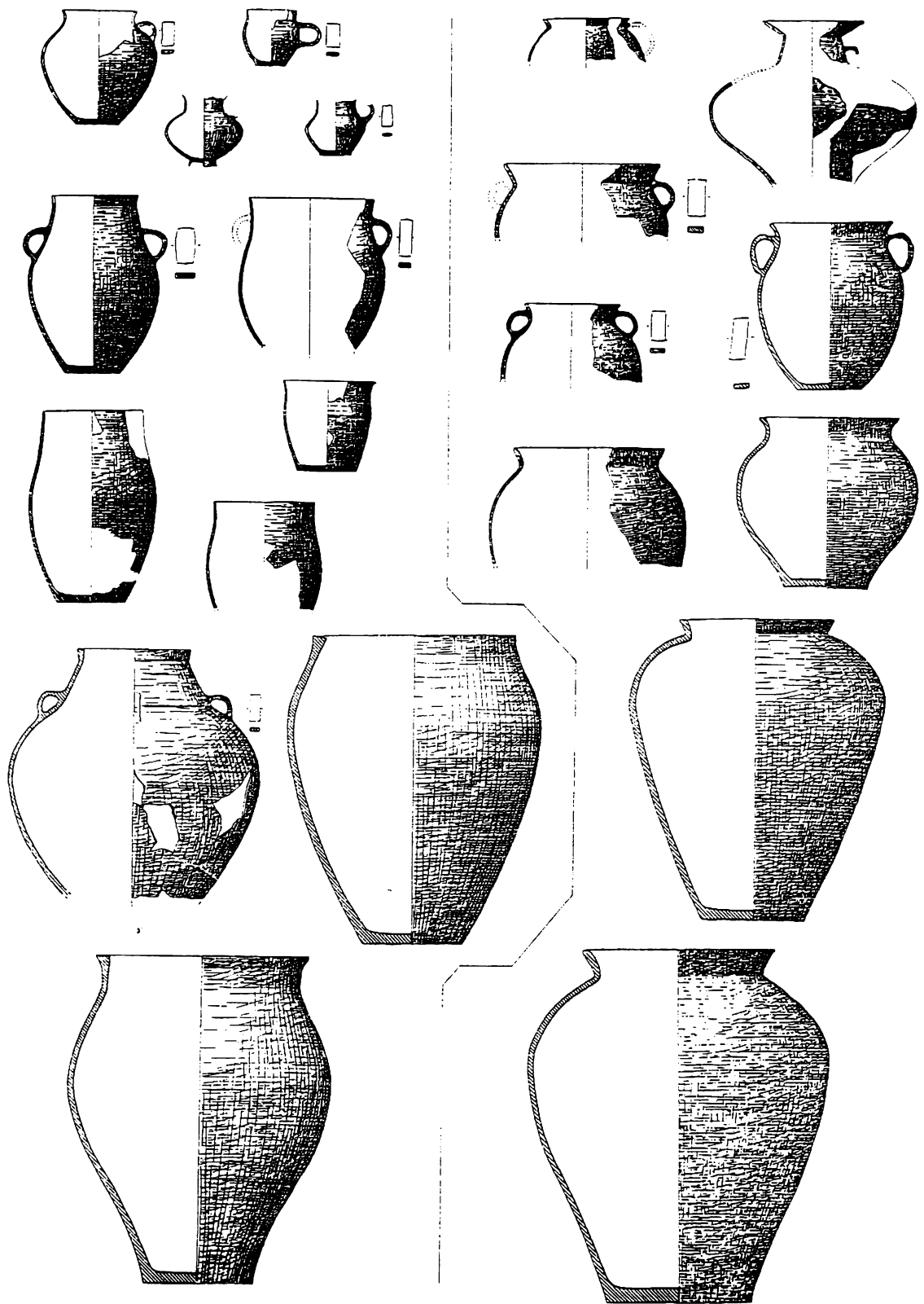


Fig. 9: Left: Pottery from the settlement at Vær, presented by C.J. Becker as typical to his per.II in Central Jutland (Becker 1961, pls. 64-67).

Right: Pottery from the settlement at Vilstrup Vestermark presented by C.J. Becker as typical to his per.II in Southern Jutland (Becker 1961, pls. 57-59).

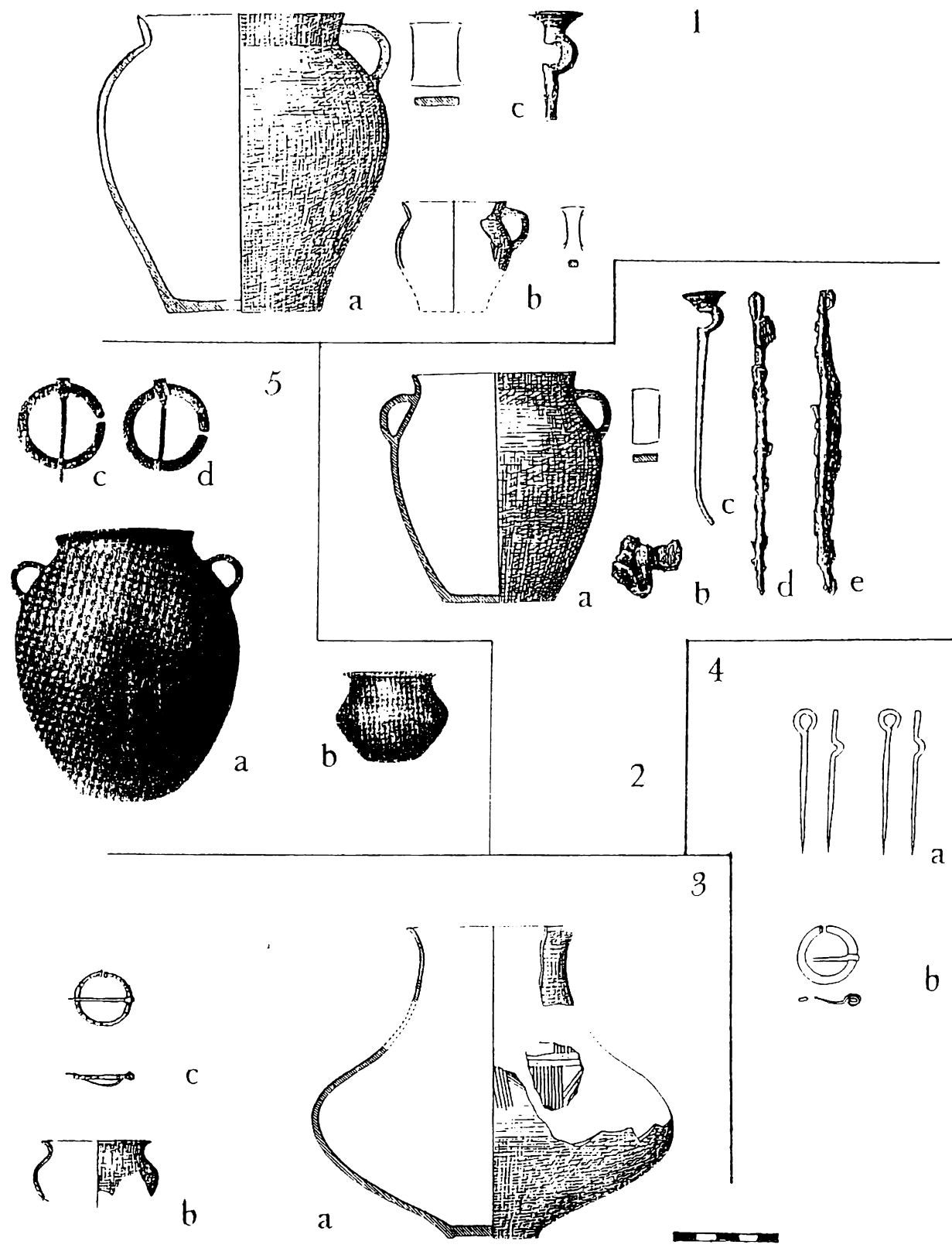


Fig. 10: Graves with metal artifacts from Becker's per. II.

10-1: Contents of Bjerndrup grave I, c bronze (Becker 1961, fig. 70).

10-2: Contents of Bjerndrup grave II, c bronze, b+d +e iron (Becker 1961, fig. 71).

10-3: Contents of Vester Vamdrup grave, c bronze (Becker 1961, fig. 72).

10-4: Contents of Kroglund grave A169, only the lower part of the urn preserved (not illustrated, Haderslev Museum 1549x392-394), a iron, b bronze (Martens del.).

10-5: Contents of grave at Sandager Torup, c-d bronze (after Albrechtsen 1954, pl. 3a-c).

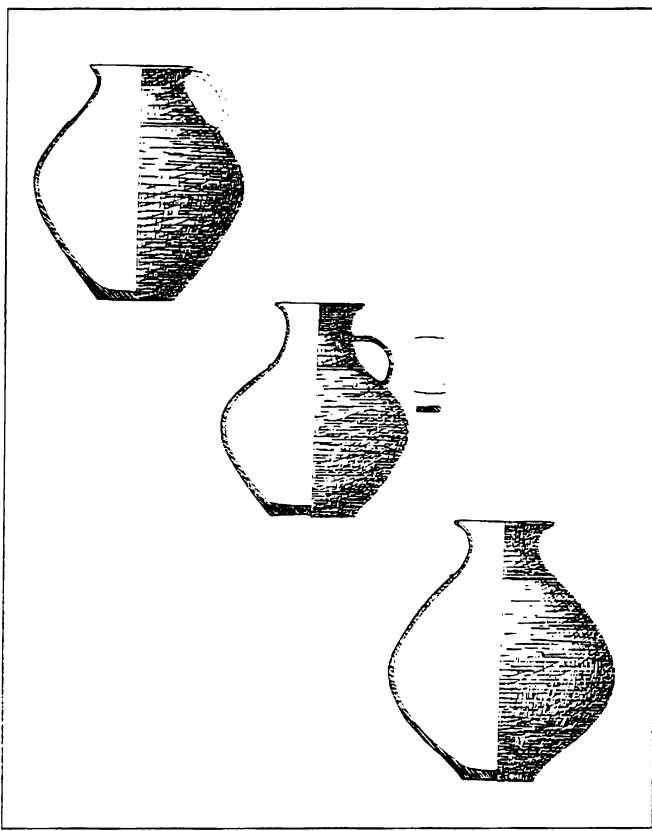


Fig. 11: *Arre*: pottery ascribed by Becker to his per. II (graves nos. 382, 394, 398) (after Becker 1961, pl. 106).

Becker had a final argument for his per. II. He demonstrated that the graves at the *Årre* cemetery could be seriated according to location, i.e. that there existed a so-called "horizontal stratigraphy". In this way he divided the material into three phases; the first he ascribed to per. Ia, the second to per. Ib, and the third to per. II. The latter group only consisted of three graves, but since they all were located at the very northern edge of the cemetery, and since their cinerary urns were of a very distinct and superior style. Becker thought them fit to define a third and final stage at the cemetery (ibid. fig. 67, 68, & pl. 106). The typological argumentation was never explicitly formulated, and one might wonder whether Becker would have maintained this division, if he had tried to do that. From a typological point of view there is no big difference between the shaping of these three vessels and those ascribed to per. Ib (cf. ibid. fig. 66). The problem simply is; Becker never defined the pottery style of his per. Ib either.

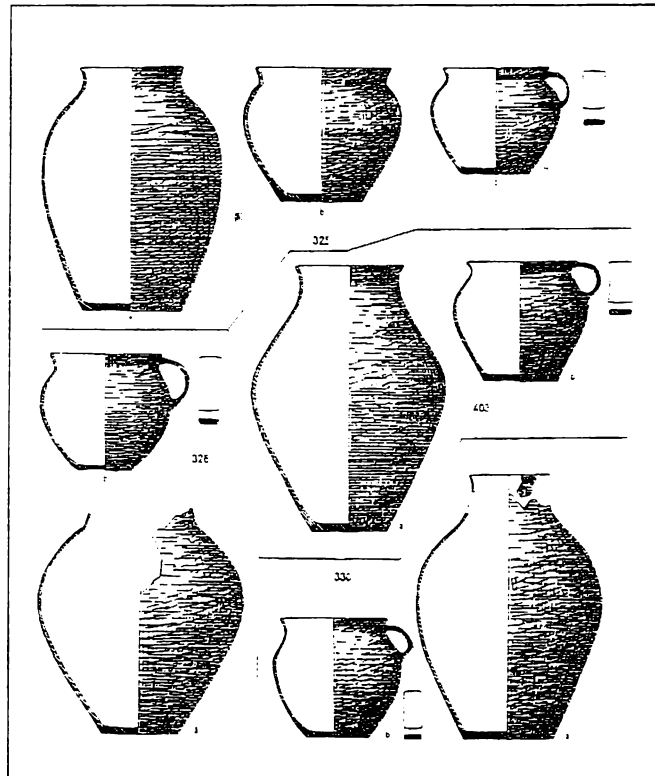


Fig. 12: *Arre*: pottery from the third phase according to Martens 1993 (after Becker 1961, pls. 100+105).

However, from various papers the following definition may be extracted: The rim is distinct and turned in an angle, it is usually thin - the outer thickening seems to be a per. Ia trait (ibid. p. 214). The neck is tall and conical in opposition to the curved profile of per. Ia. The base is narrow and may have a foot ring (Becker 1956, p. 62). The band shaped handles are usually connecting the neck with the upper shoulder - thus placed higher on the body than on per. Ia vessels (Becker 1961, p.175). Ornaments are rare in per. Ib, in opposition to per. Ia, where semicircles are typical (ibid., p.218). The three "per. II" vessels at *Årre* fit well within this definition (fig.11).

There are, however, other vessels at the *Årre* cemetery which typologically differ much more from the per. Ib graves (cf. graves no. 325, 328, 330 and 403). The general trait of these pots is the total absence of a separate neck; the rim protrudes directly from the body (fig. 12). This is a much more distinct typological difference and therefore a much better dividing line between a second and a third phase at the cemetery. Unfortunately, these graves lack metal equipment, so the relation to the metal chronology established at the place is not possible to demonstrate, but their location at the north-

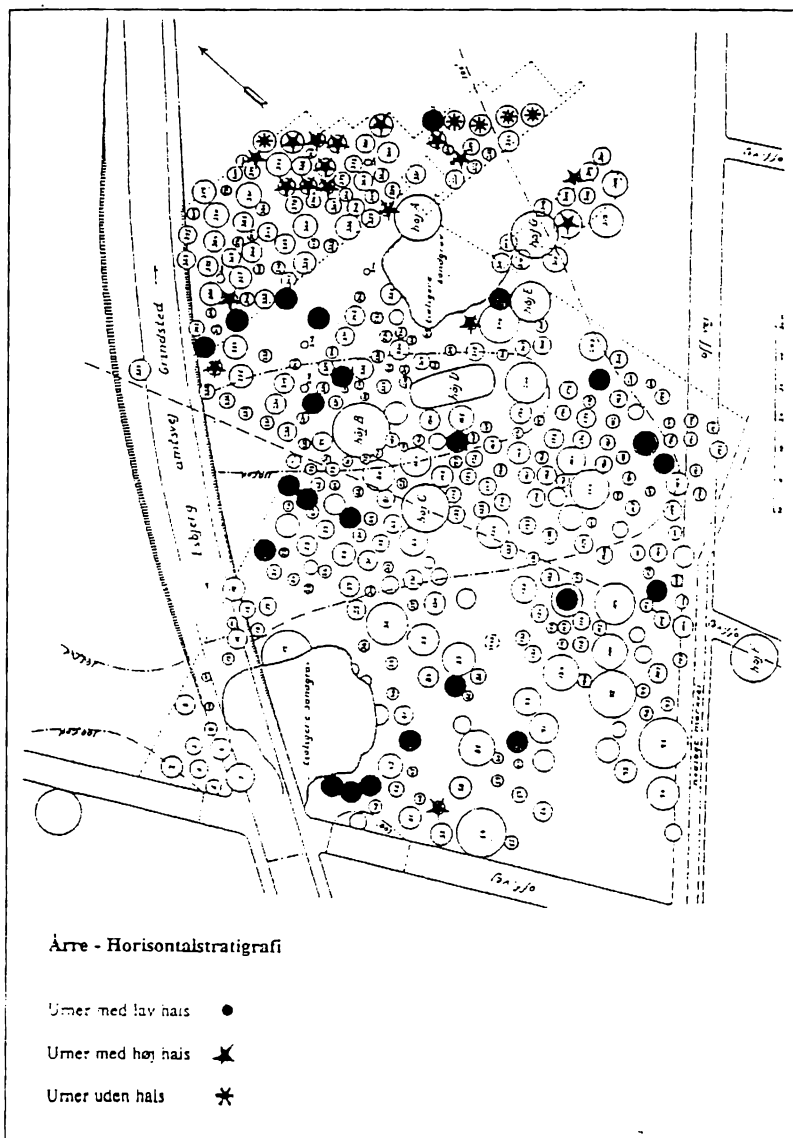


Fig. 13: Årre: distribution of three types of pottery at the cemetery. Dot: pottery with low neck ($< 2\frac{1}{2}$ cm). Star: pottery with a tall neck (< 4 cm). Sun: pottery without a neck (Martens del.), cf. Martens 1993.

eastern edge fits well with the direction of the expansion of the burial ground (fig. 13). A further argument in this connection is, that these graves all contained more than one pot - a phenomenon which is not known in the earlier phases. Finally, the obvious similarity between the pottery of the above mentioned graves and that from the graves at Ullemølle and Bjerndrup, which Becker also ascribed to per. II (fig. 10-1 ÷ -2) (ibid. figs. 71 & 72), confirms the late position of these four graves (2).

At the large unpublished cemetery at Årupgård, a similar horizontal stratigraphy and chronological development seems to be at hand (cf. Jørgensen

1971, 1975). In a short paper, Claus K. Jensen has demonstrated that the cemetery can be divided into three ceramical phases (Jensen 1992). Penannular brooches appear both in the second and the third phase. Triangular belt hooks and ring headed kropf pins date his second phase to Becker's per.Ib. The pottery of this phase is characterized by tall, slightly curved necks, while the pottery of the third phase has no neck but a sharply turned out rim setting out from the body. Though Jensen puts the major dividing line between his first and his second phase, it is obvious from what he has published that the dividing line - from a purely typological point of view - no doubt should be put between his second and his third phase: between "drei-gliedrige Gefässe" and "Terrinen und Töpfe" (using the terminology of Hingst). Thus, also from the ceramical point of view, his second phase corresponds with the second phase at Årre, and his third phase with the third phase at Årre.

How do the settlements ascribed to per. II fit in with this? As mentioned above, the material from these sites is typologically far from homogenous. In his treatment of per.

I, Becker had proved that his research area could be divided into more zones. This is important to keep in mind while revising the per. II material.

From zone A, Becker presented four samples: The Vilstrup Vestermark find (fig. 9, right) which stems from a refuse pit (Becker 1961, plates 57-59) could generally be ascribed to the third phase at Årre, though, admittedly, a few vessels (ibid. pl. 57c. e. pl. 58f.) could be earlier. There are, on the other hand, even profiles which are typical of the second Borremose phase (ibid. pl. 58. d. e & j). The same goes for the inverted pyri-form body of the large storage jars (ibid. pl. 57d & 58j). The material from the six refuse pits at Rogager (ibid. pl. 59-61) is rather homogeneous

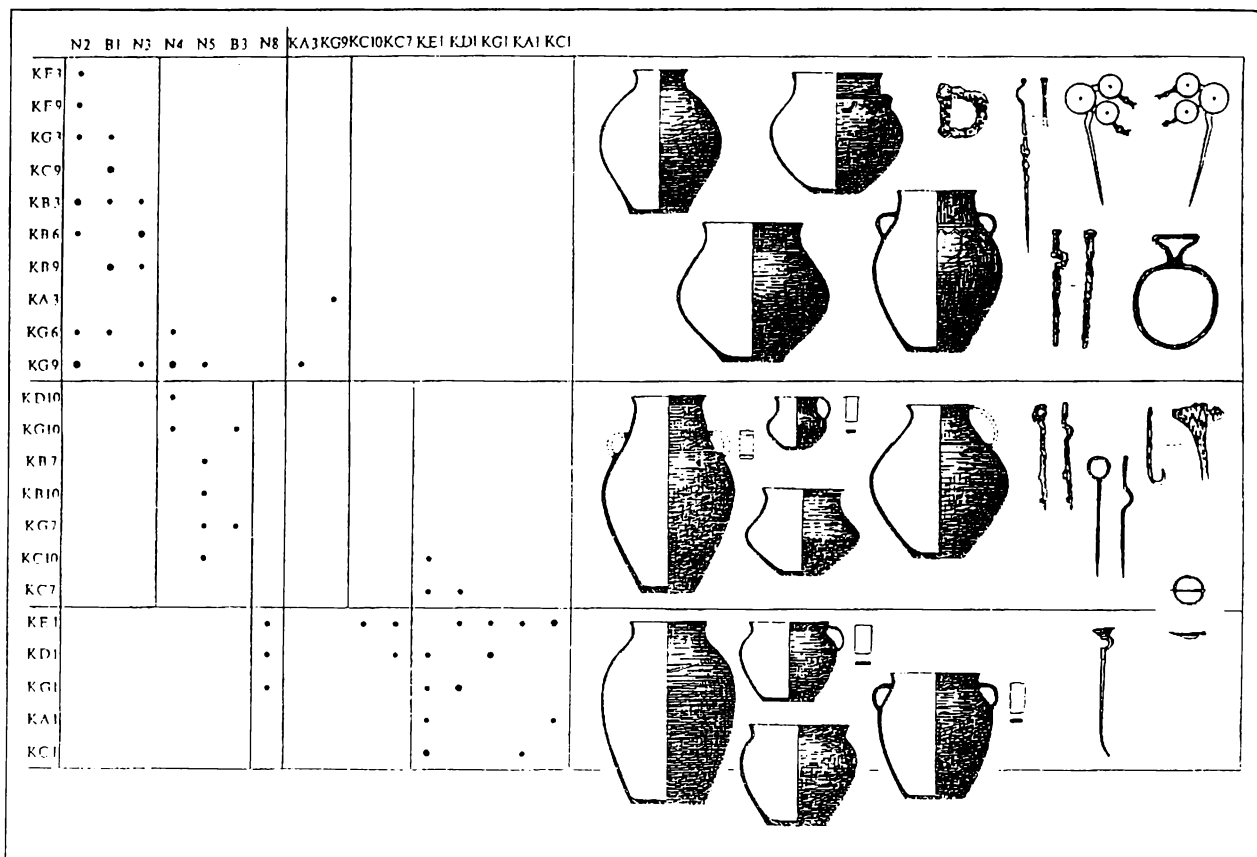


Fig. 14: Combination diagram between the three types of urns mapped in fig. 13 and selected metal objects in the graves from Årre, Bjerndrup, Ullemølle and Vester Vamdrup. N2-3 kropf pins with curled-up head, N4-5 kropf pins with ring head, N8 Holstein pins. B1 belt buckles with an eye, B3 triangular belt hooks, KA-C vessels without handles, KD-F vessels with one lug, KG two-lugged jars - 3, 6, 9 necks of medium height, 4, 7, 10 tall necks, 1 necks absent. (Martens del.) cf. Martens 1993.

and fits well with the third Årre phase, a few profiles even being slightly thickened (i.e. op.cit. pl. 60, j, p. & r). Also here the body of the storage jars is inverted pyriform (ibid. pl. 60 p, 61m). The material from Darum II is not excavated professionally and does not stem from a refuse pit (ibid. pl. 62). One must admit that it is typologically uniform, but at the same time it differs from the rest of the material presented in Becker's book. However, according to its formal typological traits it should be ascribed to the third phase at Årre. A very similar profile to the wide, two-lugged jars of Darum II is found in the last find from Becker's zone A (ibid. pl. 63). The material of this find, a burnt down house at Gjesing, is, however, so slender that it is difficult to base anything on it - especially since only four of the presented vessel fragments can be surely ascribed to the house site (ibid. p. 74 & pl. 63d, e, g & j). Thus the material of zone A all could be ascribed to Årre's third phase.

From zone B, three samples were presented. The material from Vær (fig. 9, left) stems from two refuse pits (ibid. pp. 75ff. & pls. 64-66). The material is rather homogenous and has a lot in common with the second phase at Årre and with the settlement material which Becker ascribed to his per. I. This he also admitted, but comparing the two-lugged jars to the ones from Darum II he concluded that it had to be per. II. This is a very strange conclusion since two-lugged jars of a much more similar shape are found in well dated per. I contexts at the cemeteries which he presented in the same book (compare pls. 66h with 99.304, 102.344. and 66l with 199.3). A minor sample stems from a refuse pit from Svejstrup (ibid. pp. 78f. & pl. 67). The vessels lack a distinct neck, and the lugs are all slightly x-shaped. This qualifies them to Årre's third phase and even Becker's own per. IIIa. The final find from zone B stems from two refuse pits at Vorrevangen in Northern Århus (ibid. pp. 79ff. & pls. 68-69).

From pit I five vessels have been depicted. Of these, two are quite easily classified as belonging to the third phase at Årre (ibid. pl. c & d), while one must admit that the three other ones typologically do appear to be somewhat earlier. They lack a distinct rim, and their shoulders are much more narrow than usually at this stage. A more important observation is that they also lack the typical tall neck of the earlier stage. Therefore this pit must be ascribed to the third phase at Årre. The material from the second pit (ibid. pl. 69) is rather poor, but seems to be of a similar dating.

Zone C is represented by four sites. Of these the two burnt down houses at Gørding Hede are by far the most important (ibid. pls. 70-73). Becker admitted that the pottery of this find shows a clear affinity to his per. I, but certain traits made him prefer a somewhat later date. This goes for a very broad rim on a handle cup from house II (ibid. pl. 70b) and a narrow thick lug on a handle cup from house III (ibid. pl. 72c). While the first argument easily can be rejected by referring to the per. Ib vessel in Årre grave 352 (ibid. pl. 103), then the second argument is more striking. Taken as a whole, there is no doubt that the material from house II is typologically uniform and can be referred to Årre's second phase. The same can be said about the majority of the vessels of house III, except for the above mentioned handle cup. Though Becker treats the houses as contemporary, there is no explicit argument for such an assumption. The second site might therefore be slightly later, but such an assumption does not change the impression that a sample clearly representing the second Årre phase is mixed with a few later traits. How late the traits are is marked by the narrow handle which actually is faceted, a trait which is common in Becker's per. IIIa, but not before. Gørding house III must therefore be placed just before or at the transition to Årre's third phase.

The second site of zone C is Øster Lem, from which Becker published a very slender material (ibid. pp. 91ff. & pl. 74). It stems from three different archaeological features, the major part being from house III and a refuse pit. Since pot sherds from the same vessel have been found in the pit and in the house it is claimed that the two features were contemporary. Becker also claimed that the material was typologically uniform. That is a very subjective statement, since the material

from the house, except for one cup, only consists of minor fragments, and the cup is clearly different from the cups from the pit (compare Hatt 1949, fig. 70 & 73). Actually, the general typological outlook of the pottery from the pit gives a younger impression than the pottery from the house. The argument for contemporaneity is not that certain either, since the pit was excavated eight years before the house site, apparently without recognizing the latter. Due to the very near proximity (the pit was found 1m west of the west gable of house III) one could expect one of two things to have happened; 1) while excavating the pit, the excavator might have mixed the soil from the pit with soil from the adjacent but not yet recognized house site; 2) if the pit was dug at a time when the settlement was already deserted, then it would be highly probable that pot sherds from the earlier settlement could have been mixed with the waste of the people who dug the pit. That there was a later activity at the spot is documented by the celtic fields covering the house site. The conclusion of these considerations is that this find is not particularly well fit as an outset for a chronological discussion.

The third per. II site in Zone C is Grøntoft (Becker 1961, pp. 93ff. & pls. 75-76.). Already in 1961, Becker dated parts of the material to per. I (pit C, ibid. p. 97). Later, in 1968, further material was redated (House A, ibid. pl. 76d-j, cf. Becker 1968, p. 244). What is left from this site is not enough to be the base of a chronological discussion (Becker 1961, pl. 75).

The last site which Becker used in his definition of per. II is the multi-phased village at Nørre Fjand (ibid. p. 110ff, pl. 91b, r-u). Four of the houses were ascribed to per. II (XXI, XIXb, XIXa, and XVIIe). Pottery has only been preserved from house XVIIe, and only in a smaller quantity. The most important piece is a handle cup, quite similar to those from the third phase of Årre (ibid. pl. 91s). The general trait of the few other published fragments is the lack of a neck, and in one instance the rim is slightly thickened and faceted.

While in zone A all the per. II settlements appeared to be "late per. II", even Becker noted that an important part of his more northerly "per. II sites" had a strikingly early appearance (ibid. p. 97). The most notable of these early sites are Vær and Gørding Hede. From the study of the pottery

chronology at Årre, it appears that Becker mistook a local settlement version of per. Ib pottery for his missing per. II in the areas north of zone A. This has implications for the dating of the first phase at Borremose, since it has already been demonstrated that it should be contemporary to the Gørding site (Martens 1988a, p. 175). If this is accepted, then the start of the second Borremose phase must be marked by the third phase at Årre. This phase may be of some length, since Jensen's third phase at Årupgård apparently is lacking typical thickened and faceted rims. This should, however, not cause too much disturbance, since such rims generally are rare in this phase.

8: Chronological Consequences:

The result is that a per. Ib-like phase is followed without intermission by a per. IIIa-like phase. Does this fit with the continental chronologies of today?

The modern German scholars have left the three period system at large. Instead, they deal with two major periods: one characterized by kropf necked iron pins and pots with marked necks (drei-gliedrige Gefässe) - and a second period characterized by brooches and more stocky pots, mainly without necks (Terrinen und Töpfe). This is of course a very rough generalization. What used to be termed "Ripdorf" is now more or less equivalent with Id-IIa in Holstein (Hingst 1959 and later), IIa in Mecklenburg (Keiling 1969), IIa-b in Northeastern Niedersachsen (Harck 1970), and IIa in Brandenburg (Seyer 1982).

The Holstein pins are placed in the beginning of the second period (Hingst Id/IIa) together with typical per. IIIa pottery. Typologically late Holstein pins might even be found together with per. IIIb-like pottery (cf. Martens 1992, fig. 8). K-brooches are typical for the next stage of the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age, associated with pottery of per. IIIb profile (Hingst IIb-IIc, Keiling IIb, Harck IIc, and Seyer IIb1). Finally sway-backed brooches (geschweifte Fibeln) mark the end phase (Hingst IIc, Keiling IIc, Harck IIc, Seyer IIb2). In my opinion, this can only be interpreted in one way: per. IIIa is contemporary with the Ripdorf phase of the Jastorf culture, while per. IIIb covers what used to be termed Seedorf.

The synchronization of the former Ripdorf phase (Id-IIa in terms of Hingst) with the Central European chronology may be arrived at in two ways: an analysis of La Tène imports in local contexts, or a synchronization with a strongly latènized region. Hingst did the first, and concluded that his Id-IIa more or less covered LT B2-C, IIb maybe even starting before the end of LT C2 (Hingst 1986, pp. 29ff.). The second method can be employed by synchronizing the local chronology of Northeastern Turingia (Müller 1985, pp. 36ff.) with the Brandenburg area (Seyer 1982, pp. 16ff.). This confirms the results of Hingst.

Becker synchronized his per. IIIa and IIIb with the whole of the Pre-Roman phase of the Eastern European Przeworsk culture (Becker 1980, fig. 1). Today this phase can be subdivided into three subphases: A1-A3. The first of these has proved to be a middle La Tène period which is generally synchronized with Ripdorf (cf. Dabrowska 1988, pp. 50ff. Wolagiewicz 1979, fig. 1). If Becker's suggested synchronization holds true, then it also implies a synchronization - at least partly - of per. IIIa with Ripdorf. This fits with the fact that the per. IIIa graves at Kraghede contained artifacts typical of Dabrowska's A1 (a long brooch of Kostrzewski's type B, and a two-edged sword of Kostrzewski's type I), while the per. IIIb graves contained types from Dabrowska's A2 (a cauldron of Eggers' type 4, brooches of Kostrzewski's type K). A bronze pan of Egger's type 67 was found in a grave in Try, Vendsyssel, together with a so-called late derivative of Kostrzewski's type K-brooch, dated by Becker to per. IIIb (Becker 1957). This early Roman import is dated within the stages Hingst IIc-IId or Dabrowska's late A2 and A3 (Dabrowska 1988, p. 210). From the interregional point of view there is simply no room for Becker's per. II!

This leads us to the point where we have to decide whether we want to continue using the old, well-established terminology defined by Becker, but now lacking the middle period, or we should redefine the chronology as such. I believe the latter is the only way out. I would suggest a general two-phased division, cutting between pottery with a neck and pottery without a neck - following the suggestions by Hingst, Harck, Keiling, Seyer, and others basing on the northern German material.

The naming of the phases in such a division may, however, cause some troubles. Using Roman numerals may lead to confusing with Becker's system, and using letters may lead to confusing the system with the one by Eggers covering the subsequent period. Roman numerals, on the other hand, are used by the modern German systems, "I" denoting the early and "II" denoting the late Pre-Roman Iron Age. Therefore it seems reasonable to apply a similar terminology to a similar chronology. I would consequently suggest a general division of the Pre-Roman Iron Age in Southern Scandinavia in an early "phase I", and a late "phase II". Further subdivisions ought to follow along the same lines, ie. IA, IB, IIA, IIB, and IA1, IA2, IB1, IB2 etc., since some finds may be easily placed within narrow frames, others only according to more general traits.

(Jensen 1992, fig. 16) at the cemetery at Årupgård gives a hint of a possible subdivision of IB too: the area of the cemetery covered by Jensens second phase (which is equivalent to phase IB sketched out here) can be divided into a northern (earlier) part with pins with ring head and a southern (later) part with pins with ball head.

Though Hachmann boldly has spoken of 4 phases of the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age in Jutland (Hachmann 1960, p.182ff), and Becker cautiously used the terms "Early" and "Developed" per.IIIa (Becker 1961, p.261), it has so far not been possible with certainty to demonstrate a further subdivision of the period than the a-b-division already established by Becker in 1951. The special chronological problems of the Pre-Roman Iron Age of Jutland are due to the fact

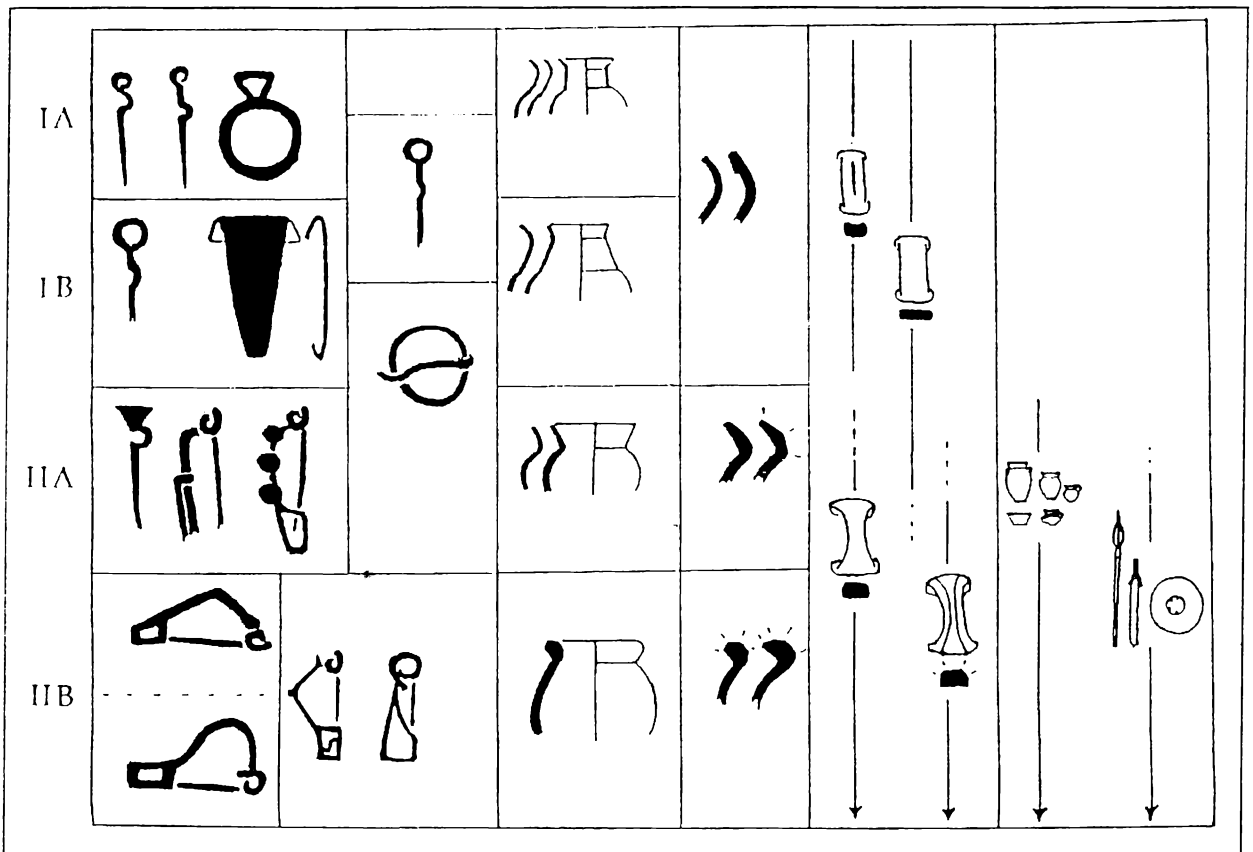


Fig. 15: Suggested chronology scheme of the Pre-Roman Iron Age of Jutland (Martens del.), cf. Martens 1993.

As sketched out elsewhere (Martens 1993), the early Pre-Roman Iron Age can be divided into IA and IB, corresponding to the two first phases at Årre (fig. 14 & 15). Becker's mapping of the two types of "kropf-" pins with curled up head suggests that IA may be subdivided (Becker 1961, fig. 59), and a comparison of the distribution of pins (Jørgensen 1975, p. 5) and pottery types

that metal objects are rare, especially in the later part of the period, and that they are often of local types. It was for this reason that Becker insisted on defining the chronology on the basis of pottery rather than metal types. Initially, he suggested that the casted bronze brooches were earlier than the typical La Tène forms, and consequently he placed them in per.II, together with the Holstein

pins and other casted bronze ornaments (Becker 1948a, pp. 156ff.). Anyhow, when redefining his chronological system in 1951, Becker pushed some of the casted brooches up into the newly defined per.IIIa (Becker 1951, p. 34 and especially pp. 40ff.). Later revisions of the relation between the casted brooches and the pottery development has demonstrated that they all must be referred to per.IIIa (Bech 1975, Laursen 1984). Thus per.II was only left with two metal types - the penannular brooch, which is seen in per.IIIa as well, and the Holstein pin (Becker 1961, pp. 255ff.). As mentioned above, even these types are unfit for a definition of an independent per. II.

The afore treated types are most often found as bog deposits or as stray finds. In opposition to this, brooches of Kostrzewski's K type are just as often and the sway-backed brooches exclusively found as grave goods. Already this could be an indication of a chronological difference. In the literature, this type of brooch is often divided into an early and a late type (Hachmann 1960, p.178. Jørgensen 1968, p. 77. etc.). The early brooches have been placed in a "late stage of per.IIIa", whereas the late derivatives have been referred to per.IIIb. While several of the so-called late derivatives have been published in their full context, so far not a single specimen of the early group has been treated in a similar manner. In 1975 J.-H. Bech listed a total of five K-brooches with a supposedly early date (Bech 1975, p. 86, group VII). Among these, only three can be dated by the associated pottery. The most typical "early" brooch is found in the Kraghede grave 69, which Becker, however, dated to the transition from per.IIIa to per.IIIb (Becker 1961, p. 261, and note 43). It must be admitted that the forms like the globular vase (Klindt-Jensen 1949, fig. 34) and the broad, horizontal frieze on the straight-sided cup (*ibid.* figs. 38, and 41c) more resemble per.IIIb than per.IIIa. Since a find complex cannot be earlier than its latest element, this implies that grave 69 is "early per.IIIb". The Vogn grave 21 is surely a mixed inventory of a grave with typical per.IIIb pottery and another with mixed per. IIIa and per.IIIb types. Whether the brooch belongs to one or the other of these graves is not possible to determine (Martens 1993, fig.10). The only possible per.IIIa-grave left is the Vogn grave 1953-c - but the brooch in this grave is definitely far from the elegant long iron brooches of the continent (Jørgensen 1968,

fig. 17.2). Besides the brooch, the grave furnishing comprised three pots and a miniature cup (Martens 1993, fig. 11). Though the pottery formally can be ascribed to per. IIIa, especially the jug appears closely related to the design of the following phase at the same site. Consequently, a closer analysis of the total Vogn cemetery is needed before it will be possible to establish whether this particular grave should be referred to a late part of per. IIIa or an early part of per. IIIb.

Summing up the present state of affairs (fig. 15), the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age of Denmark can be divided into two major phases: an early which is characterized by developed Holstein pins, casted ball brooches and long brooches of B-type, and a late characterized by D/E-, K-, M-, N- and O-brooches and Hannoverian brooches (Jørgensen 1968, 1989, Martens 1992, 1993). The early phase appears to embrace material which in terms of Becker would be ascribed both to his periods II and IIIa, while the late phase embraces material which has been referred to Becker's per.IIIa as well as his per.IIIb. It has been suggested elsewhere to term the early phase IIA and the late phase IIB (Martens 1993).

Also these periods may prove to be possible to subdivide. Thus the rather late occurrence of slightly thickened, faceted rims at Årupgård (*cf.* Jensen 1992, fig. 18) hints that this is a late trait within IIA. This suggestion is supported by the typological difference between the pottery of the Kraghede settlement and the earliest graves at the same location.

IIB appears to be a very long phase. In a recent study on the Nørre Sandegård cemetery at Bornholm, Becker has suggested a local 3-phased chronology in which he distinguishes between an early phase 1 characterized by local ball brooches, a phase 2 characterized by brooches of Kostrzewski's C and K-types, a phase 3 characterized by brooches of Kostrzewski's M-O-types (Becker 1990, pp. 80ff.). This suggests that IIB in Jutland actually can be divided into subphases, but as long as the defining metal types are so rare, it seems necessary to maintain the period undivided (3).

Becker considered the phase to be only a short transitional stage due to the fact that he was unable to distinguish the pottery from this phase

	C.Europe	Poland	Holsten	Jutland	Bornholm	Gotland
500BC	HaD3/ LTA	Pomme-	Ib	IA	Early Pre-	äA
	LTB1	ranian-	Ic	IB	Roman Iron	äB
	LTB2	Culture	Id		Age	
250BC	LTC1	A1	Ila	IIA	Phase 1	yA
	LTC2					
130BC	LTD1a	A2	Iib	IIB	Phase 2	yB
	LTD1b	A2/A3	Iic		Phase 2	yC
50BC	LTD2	A3	Iid		Phase 3	yD
10-20AD						

Fig. 16: Suggested synchronization between the chronologies of Jutland (cf. fig. 15) and selected Central and Northern European chronologies. La Tène chronology cf. Krämer 1962, Miron 1986; Polish chronology cf. Wolagiewicz 1979, Wozniak 1979, Dabrowska 1988; Jastorf chronology cf. Hingst 1959; Jutland cf. Martens 1993; Gotland cf. Nylén 1955, 1962; absolute datings cf. Haffner 1979, Miron 1986, Rieckhoff 1992, Dabrowska 1988, pp. 53ff. (cf. Martens 1992, 1993).

from the pottery of the Early Roman Iron Age (B). The argument ran that since it was impossible to single out "independent" per. IIIb types it meant that the period was so short that there was no time to develop an independent style. Becker estimated that this would mean 50 years or less (Becker 1961, pp. 262f. & 271). From a logical point of view the argument does not hold true: the transition from per. IIIa to per. IIIb is the most clear in Becker's chronology. This means that per. IIIb most certainly appears with an independent pottery style. If the pottery of the Early Roman Iron Age cannot be distinguished from it, this tells more about this period than per. IIIb which is its base. As Sophus Müller wrote in his initial description of the Kraghede pottery: first "with Kraghede does the Roman Iron Age (...) get a comprehensive background" (Müller 1912, pp. 126). Actually the Early Roman Iron Age may be considered a sort of baroque based on the per. IIIb style. Apart from these considerations of a more formal logical character one may add that since Becker forwarded his notion several researchers have been dealt with the

problem and have come to the conclusion that it is possible to isolate certain traits special for per. IIIb (Jørgensen 1968, Bech 1979, Hvass 1985, pp. 83ff.). Even more important is the recent discovery (Per Ole Rindel, this volume) that the pottery of the Early Roman Iron Age may be divided into an Early B1-style connected to per. IIIb and a later B2 style, a situation which is known from other areas of northern Europe as well (Jacek Andrzejowski, pers. comm.). The consequence is that the ceramical phase IIB/B1 becomes about 150-200 years - a length which is much more acceptable.

Considering metal types and pottery, there seems to be no doubt about synchronizing IIA with the phases Id-IIa in Hans Hingst's Holstein chronology (Hingst 1959). Likewise, IIB appears to correspond to Hingst's phases Iib-c-d. However, the Vogn grave 1953-c suggests that IIA perhaps might end a little after the beginning of Hingst Iib. Hingst's chronology system has by Ryszard Wolagiewicz (1979, ryc.1) and Teresa Dabrow-

ska (1988, p. 193) been synchronized with the Polish chronology system in the following way: A1=IIa-b, A2=IIc, A3=IIId (see also Martens 1989). The suggestion seems somewhat strange, as Hingst IIB is characterized by ball brooches and K-brooches (Hingst 1959, p.115 & fig. 17a). It seems more likely to equate Hingst IIB with A2, IIc = A2/3, and IIId with A3. From this it follows that our phase IIA should be contemporary with the Polish A1, while IIB should be equated with A2 and A3. This fits with the newly suggested 3-phase chronology of Bornholm (Becker 1990), where phase 1 can be equated with A1, phase 2 with A2 and phase 3 with A3.

From this it follows that IIA should be (partly) corresponding to LT C1-C2, perhaps with a short contact to LT D1, whereas IIB more or less should cover LT D1-D2 (following Krämer 1962, Polenz 1971, Miron 1986). In absolute years it means that the transition from IB to IIA should be dated to around 250 BC, whereas the transition from IIA-IIB should be dated to 130BC or shortly thereafter (Miron 1986, pp. 151ff., Rieckhoff 1992, p. 116f.).

From the above emerges the following scheme of synchronization (fig. 16) - the absolute datings established on dendrochronology and greek amphora stamps.

9: Conclusion:

What from the outset appeared to be a local problem caused by a poorly represented Pre-Roman Iron Age of North Jutland, proved to be a general problem of the Pre-Roman Iron Age chronology of Jutland. I would have liked to present more North Jutland material, but without defining the chronological framework it would have had no interest. I would simply have had to confirm the traditional point of view that: In North Jutland per.I and per.IIIa and -b are well represented, but per.II is lacking. I could even have suggested that

the latter period was hiding in the vast materials from the moats of Borremose. Instead, the re-examination of the pottery development at the Årre cemetery has demonstrated that Becker's per. II is a phantom period which owes its existence to his avoiding precise morphological definitions. Thus the early Borremose phase represents the local per. Ib style (i.e. phase IB), which is followed immediately by a per. IIIa-like phase (i.e. phase IIA). In this way it is possible to bridge the gap between the early and the late Pre-Roman Iron Age of North Jutland.

While these observations are applicable to all of Jutland, there are other features of a more geographically limited character. Thus even with the revision of the chronology, weapon graves do appear to be earlier in North Jutland than elsewhere on the peninsula (eg. the IIA graves at Kraghede) (Nielsen 1975). Apparently, this rite is closely connected with the custom to furnish the grave with an abundance of (broken) pottery and even tools and lumps of meat. The same goes for the rich IIB pottery decoration style which is confined to Vendsyssel (cf. fig. 17 and Martens 1992, fig. 12). These features demonstrate the specific cultural position of Vendsyssel: in IIA connected with the Przeworsk culture, in IIB with Holstein and the lower Elbe region (cf. Martens 1992).

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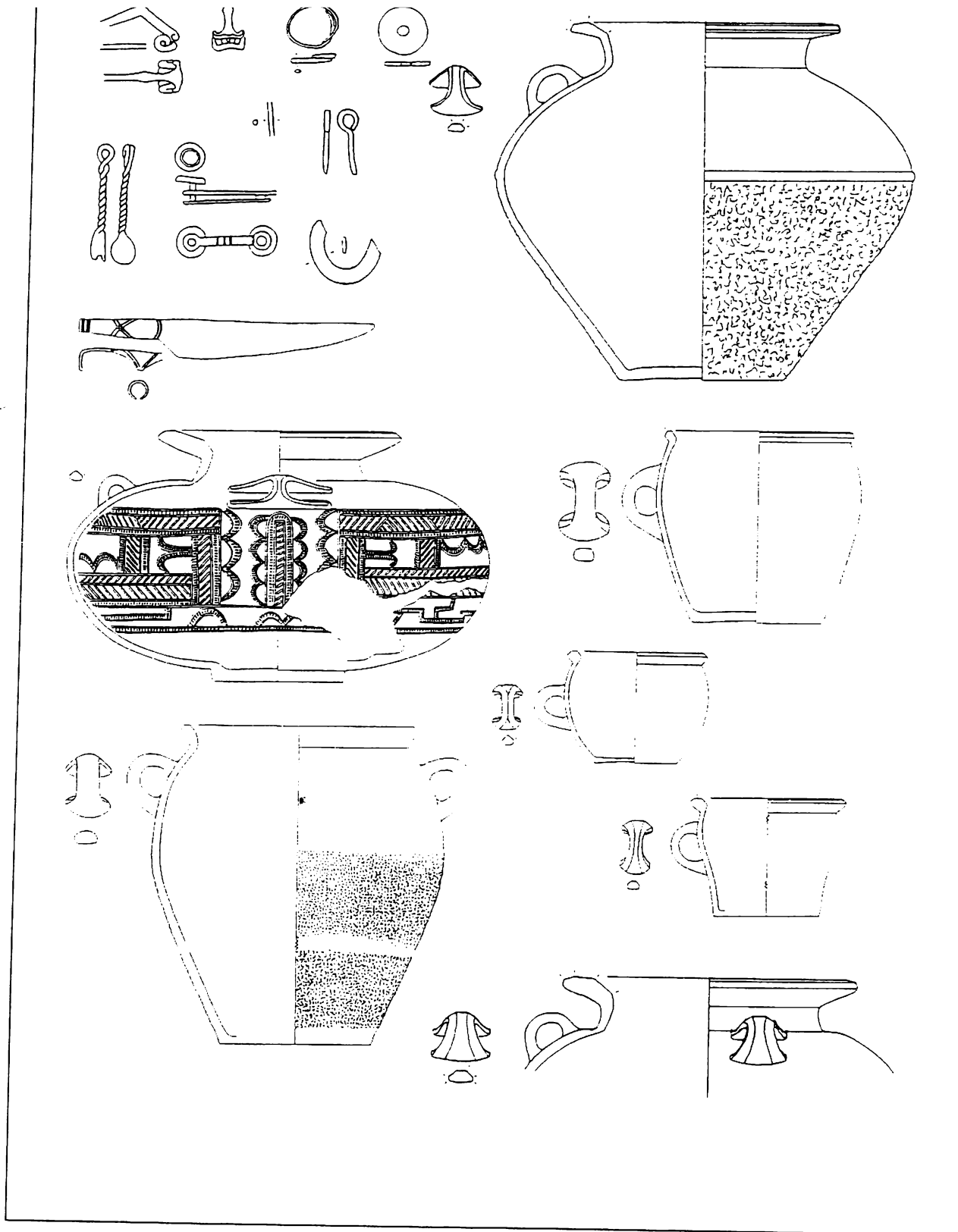


Fig. 17: Vogn: contents of grave f. nr. 54 (VHM 1975:9-30). Metal objects iron, except finger ring bronze (Martens del.).

Abbreviations:

NM: National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen.

VHM: Vendsyssel Historiske Museum, Hjørring.

VMÅ: Vesthimmerlands Museum, Års.

Notes:

- 1: The trip which was made possible by DAAD gave me the opportunity to see the archaeological collections of the museums in Slesvig, Hamburg, Stade, Cuxhaven, Bederkesa, and Wilhelmshaven during the months of February and March 1993.
- 2: Becker was aware of the late position of at least some of the vessels of these Årre Graves. Thus, he placed the handle-cup from grave 403 in per. I but "close to the border to per. II" (Becker 1961, p. 215).
- 3: For a more detailed discussion of the relation between the chronologies of Jutland and Bornholm see Martens 1993.

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