

## THE ANTIQUITIES OF SOUTH JUTLAND OR SLESWICK.<sup>1</sup>

By J. J. A. WORSAAE, Hon. F.S.A., Director of the Museum of Northern Antiquities at Copenhagen. Translated, with the concurrence of the Author, by  
Ch. C. AUGUST GOSCH, Attaché to the Danish Legation.

### PART I.—THE STONE AGE, AND THE BRONZE AGE.

INTRODUCTION.—In selecting the subject of the following pages, the author has been guided by various considerations, which have led him to believe that such a treatise would be particularly appropriate at the present moment. In the first place, the ancient Danish province of South Jutland—consisting mainly of the Duchy of Sleswick—has, alas! with the exception of only a few insignificant fragments, been entirely severed from the Danish realm, to which it had belonged since the earliest dawn of history and the first formation of states in the North of Europe. And, while the whole Danish people mourns this great loss, it comes home to the Danish archæologist more forcibly perhaps than to many others, for no province was more closely interwoven with, or played a greater part in, ancient Danish history, than South Jutland, nor could any boast such imposing relics of bygone times as Sleswick possessed in the Danevirke, in the neighbourhood of which almost every inch of ground was sacred soil, calling to remembrance mighty deeds of old. Henceforth, Danish archæologists and historians cannot hope to receive from German authorities such facilities for their investigations as were hitherto accorded them by the Danish Government. They must, on the contrary, expect every difficulty to be thrown in their way; and it is but too much to be feared that many relics and monuments, which even enemies ought to respect, either already have been destroyed or will be so ere long. It seemed, therefore, high time that

<sup>1</sup> It should be observed, that the appellation South Jutland embraced the whole country between the Eider and the Kongeaae, of which the Duchy of Sleswick never comprised all, nor does it now. The former name is almost ex-

clusively used in the following paper, as this treats of the whole country, and as the Duchy of Sleswick was not created till long after the end of the antiquarian era.

some general account of the antiquities of this interesting country should be given, embodying the results of the investigations of preceding years ; and it seemed so much the more necessary to do so just now, because a not inconsiderable number of German archæologists, misled by political bias and national prejudice, altogether foreign to true scientific research, have attempted to find in the antiquities of South Jutland vestiges of an ancient *German* population, to whose supposed existence there in pre-historic times they appeal in calling Sleswick a German country, and in claiming a right to possess it as such. In order to give a colour of foundation to these unscientific attempts to press archæology into the service of political and national agitation, these authors are obliged to arrange the few—in many cases misconceived—facts at their disposal according to their preconceived theory, not *vice versa*, and the inevitable consequence is an endless confusion. The desire of clearing away this confusion was one of the considerations which led to the publication of the present treatise, in the English translation of which, however, almost all special allusions to the statements and arguments of those German authors have been omitted, as not possessing sufficient interest to English readers ; and this has been done with so much the more readiness as those statements and arguments are too often of an unpleasantly personal character.

But the author had at the same time a far more important object in view than merely to set right our knowledge of the local antiquities of a certain district, or to defend himself and others against literary attacks.

It so happens, that precisely in South Jutland some of the most important antiquarian discoveries of late years have been made, throwing a strong light on certain hitherto rather dark pages of our pre-historic era, and strongly supporting not only the theory of the three ages—the Stone, the Bronze, and the Iron age—originally proposed by northern antiquaries, especially by the late Mr. C. Thomsen, director of the Copenhagen Museum, the first museum which was arranged on that system—but supporting also certain propositions for a more detailed subdivision, advanced some years ago by the author of these notices, and more fully brought out on this occasion.

Those readers who are acquainted with the author's work

on "The Primæval Antiquities of Denmark," will perceive several novel features in the following memoir: not only are the Stone and the Bronze ages subdivided each into two periods, but within the limits of the Iron age even three distinct subdivisions are introduced, effecting a far more accurate survey. These improvements are among the principal results of modern critical investigation, and it is to be foreseen, that when the time comes for a new complete revision of our science, taking account of the progress since the publication of the above-mentioned work, many other points will also have to be treated in a different manner. The author wishes that the present little treatise should be looked upon as the forerunner of such a new manual; and as such it is hereby, in a somewhat condensed form, submitted to the English antiquary, to whom, moreover, the antiquities of South Jutland may justly be supposed to have a special interest, as that country has been hitherto so commonly believed to have been the original home of the ancient Angles.

I. THE EARLY STONE AGE.—How long the Cimbric peninsula has had its present configuration is still an open question. Naturalists conjecture that it must originally have formed a contiguous whole with the Danish islands and Skaane, on one side, and with the British isles, on the other, until the formation of the Channel between England and France, and of the Sound and the Great and Little Belt, whereby the Baltic received an outlet to the Kattegat and the North Sea. Nor are traces wanting of elevations and depressions of the soil, inundations and similar natural phenomena having modified the configuration of the peninsula in course of time. But I think it hardly safe as yet to attempt anything like an accurate calculation of the dates of these changes, by means of certain rather isolated and still insufficiently investigated discoveries of antiquities.<sup>2</sup> Even the repeated discoveries of artificial flint chips (or plain flint knives) imbedded in peat under the marshy clay and amongst branches and stems of birch trees, of which the roots are still fixed in the sea-bottom, near Husum, on the west coast of Sleswick, require ulterior confirmation by more extensive

<sup>2</sup> Thus, for instance, I hardly think the reasons sufficient which Sir Charles Lyell adduces (*Antiquity of Man*, chap. ii.) for supposing that Jutland has been

an archipelago at no very remote period, and particularly since the settlement there of its earliest inhabitants.

investigations, before we can conclude with certainty from them that a flint-using people had settled on the peninsula before this depression of the ground along the west coast of Jutland, whereby forests have been covered, in some places by the sea, in others by peat-bogs, which again have been covered by marsh clay. Only so much may be said with certainty, that both this considerable depression and other natural changes, which we have here to take into consideration, have been the effect rather of slow and gradual development than of sudden revolution.

Although, therefore, recent discoveries have made it highly probable that man has existed in several parts of Western Europe at a far earlier period than was hitherto generally accepted—so much earlier as to have been contemporary with elephants and other large animals which have become extinct there thousands of years ago,—no evidences of so early a population have as yet been discovered either in South Jutland or in any other of the ancient Danish provinces. Bones and teeth of elephants have been dug up in gravel and marl pits and elsewhere, both in South Jutland (on the Holstein frontier, when the Eider canal was constructed, and near Haderslev) and in other provinces farther to the north and east; but, as far as I am aware, hitherto not under circumstances indicating a contemporaneous population of the country. Future inquiry must decide whether the old Danish provinces have been peopled as early as other more mountainous countries to the south and west, or whether they have not rather at a somewhat later time become fit for permanent habitation even by the least civilised hunting and fishing tribes of the earliest stone period.

We do not yet possess certain information as to the existence in South Jutland of those very remarkable refuse-heaps (kitchen middings), containing fragments of shell-fish, mammalia, birds, and fishes, remains of the meals of the aborigines, rude implements of stone, bone, and burnt clay, discovered in other parts of ancient Denmark, and belonging to the earliest stage of the Stone age of which traces have hitherto been found there. Nevertheless, evidences of an early population are not wanting in South Jutland, not even in the low marshes on the western side. Entirely similar characteristically rude implements of stone and bone have

been discovered in many places, particularly along the sea-coast, and, according to a verbal communication from a local collector, on the shore of inland lakes, just as in other parts of Denmark; and not only isolated specimens have been met with, but large accumulations, indicating repeated visits or a protracted sojourn of aboriginal fishers and hunters—for instance, in a valley amongst the sand-hills near Sintlar on the island of Amrom near the west coast. Such rude instruments have formerly too often been looked upon as only half-finished or unsuccessful specimens, but it now becomes more and more evident that they have never been intended for anything more finished, but belong mostly to the earliest and most primitive period of the Stone age, when the art of manufacturing stone implements was still in its infancy, when there was hardly any beginning of agriculture, breeding of cattle, or civilisation generally, the inhabitants living exclusively on fishing and hunting—the extensive forests of the peninsula and its coasts yielding not merely the common kinds of game, but oxen (the *urus*), elks, reindeer, wild boars, beavers, wood-grouse, and geir-birds (the great alk).

There can be no doubt that such rude and very ancient implements of stone and bone may be discovered hereafter farther to the south and east, on the shores of Holstein and North Germany, which unquestionably had as ancient a population as the peninsula of Jutland and Denmark generally; archæological inquiry having, moreover, established important points of similarity in other respects between these countries and the Scandinavian North with regard to the Stone age. On the coasts of Western and Southern Europe similar implements have already been found, which seem to indicate that the earliest period of the Stone age in the north probably coincided with a contemporaneous period of transition in the western and southern coast-lands of Europe, where a still earlier stage of the Stone age, the most ancient hitherto investigated, seems to have preceded it.<sup>3</sup> And, if we turn to Egypt and other oriental countries with an equally ancient civilisation, we are carried still farther back in time; for there too we must be able to trace the very earliest

<sup>3</sup> For illustrations of those rude implements, which now also in Norway, in Mecklenburgh (by Lisch), begin to be considered as belonging to an earlier period of the Stone age, see my work on

Northern Antiquities, Nos. 47, 48, 78, 79, 82-4, 2, 3, 20, 29, 30, 62, and the Proceedings of the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences, 1861, pp. 272-283.

periods of human civilisation : a Bronze age as well as the different stages of the Stone age, which in all probability must have reigned there, ages before they existed in Western Europe,—an inquiry which I cannot but recommend to those who have the opportunity of pursuing it.

II. THE LATE STONE AGE.—The darkness, in which the earliest population of Europe as well as of other continents is shrouded, begins to lighten a little towards the close of the Stone age, particularly on the coasts of the Mediterranean and the Baltic. I think it may be assumed that by that time the peninsula of Jutland has, on the whole, already had its present extent and configuration and,—to judge from the monuments still preserved,—a permanently-settled population with a higher civilisation than that of mere fishers and hunters. It is not impossible that those pine and oak forests, of which the remains are so often brought to light in peat-bogs of South Jutland and Denmark generally, had not yet quite given way to the succeeding beech forests. But in any case the state of things was essentially the same on the whole peninsula as far as the Eider, comprising both North and South Jutland, as they were afterwards called. The fertile eastern coast, intersected by deep fjords, was then covered by immense forests, which moreover in those days stretched farther over the middle and the western coasts of the peninsula than the forest-lands do now. Nevertheless, large tracts, of sand and heather, were found on the wide-spread plain in the middle of the peninsula, and the western coast offered more open country than forest-land ; only here the soil was more fertile than in the middle part, and there were extensive meadow-lands which towards the south assumed the character of marshes. Fjords, lakes, and rivers then covered a greater area than now, and many tracts on the west coast were no doubt more thinly inhabited at that time than afterwards, on account of the great humidity of the soil. At any rate, it is certain that the large sepulchral stone chambers and well-manufactured stone implements which characterise this period, and which are so frequently met with on the east coast, are much less numerous on the plain in the interior, and almost disappear in the watery districts to the West. This is particularly striking in the marshes of South Jutland, where the stone chambers are entirely wanting, and where

even loose stone implements are very rarely found, as if they had been merely lost there on occasional visits.

There is a strict uniformity in shape and workmanship between the stone objects of this period found in South Jutland, and those found in the present kingdom of Denmark and that part of the Scandinavian peninsula which lies to the south of the great Swedish lakes; the same uniformity is observable also with regard to the tombs of the Stone age, of which, in spite of wholesale destruction by the progress of agriculture, a sufficient number is still left.

The commonest tombs are the *Circular Cromlechs*, rather low round tumuli surrounded by large boulders, and containing in the middle one or sometimes two, round, oval or rectangular stone chambers, of which the sides and tops are formed of large granite blocks, naturally flat, or, in some cases, artificially flattened, on the inner side. The interstices between the side stones are filled up with flat chips of stone, which generally also cover the floor of the chamber. A small passage, built of stones, exactly as the chamber itself, and leading to it from the east, south-east, or south, is not of unfrequent occurrence. Originally, these chambers have been either entirely covered by earth, or at any rate so far that only the top stones were visible. In many cases, however, the earth has been taken away in the course of time, and the remaining denudated stone chambers then stand forth as isolated, generally open cists, which some archaeologists still erroneously treat as a particular kind of monument.

The *Long Cromlechs* are entirely of the same kind, only larger, containing sometimes as many as five sepulchral chambers, in which the unburnt bodies have been found either prostrate or in a sitting posture, a circumstance which entirely disposes of the supposition formerly current, that these cromlechs were places of sacrifice or for public meetings, so called "*Things*." The boulders surrounding them form long and narrow ovals sometimes more than one hundred feet long; nay, on the island of Femern, one has a length of more than four hundred feet! In all other respects the construction is the same as of the circular cromlechs. The corpses in them have generally been covered with chips of flint (obtained by exposing large blocks to the fire, when they burst), stamped together with clay; and near them we find peculiar plain or ornamented vessels of clay, beads of

amber, ornaments and implements of bone, stone hammers and axes with drilled shaft-holes, and different kinds of flint implements, generally neatly cut and carefully ground. The axes and hammers are mostly of granite, and it is justly supposed that metal tools have most likely been used for finishing them off so well, especially for drilling the hole. Nevertheless, but few instances are reported of metal objects having been found in the chambers, and they need, in any case, further confirmation. Still more dubious are the reports, both from South Jutland and from other places in the Scandinavian North and elsewhere, of the occurrence of burnt bones in grave chambers of this period. Such reports are, in all probability, founded on some mistake; either the vessels of clay deposited in the chambers, probably with victuals, have been mistaken for cinerary urns, or else those pieces of charcoal and burnt flints, which are found in all stone chambers, even with unburnt skeletons, have erroneously been looked upon as evidences of cremation—nay, in some cases, urns containing ashes and burnt human bones, which at a later time have been deposited in the sides of the barrows, may erroneously have been supposed to belong to the original sepulchre in the middle of the barrow. Such cinerary urns, which in many cases demonstrate their later date by containing objects of iron, have been frequently discovered in the sides of long cromlechs, both in North and South Jutland.

Quite similar results have been obtained with regard to the third class of tombs from the Stone age, the so-called *giants' chambers*. In many cases cinerary urns containing burnt bones and small pieces of metal, mostly bronze, are found near the extremities and at the tops of this kind of barrows, whilst on their bottoms graves of the Stone age invariably occur, often in considerable number, containing unburnt corpses, accompanied by objects of burnt clay, amber, stone, or bone, but never or rarely anything of metal. These giants' chambers are not only distinguished from the other stone graves by being entirely covered with earth and generally of considerable extent, but they are besides mostly provided with long entrance-passages, of which the sides and roofs are constructed of flat stones, and which were used for sepulture as well as the chambers. These are, therefore, sometimes appropriately called "passage cham-

bers." Several of them are found in different parts of South Jutland, as far south as Missunde.

We have stated already that the graves of the Stone age in South Jutland correspond in every respect to those found in other parts of ancient Denmark and Scandinavia; but quite similar graves, containing unburnt skeletons and tools of stone and bone, occur both in Holstein—even in Dithmarschen—and all over the plain of North Germany, near the coasts and along the great rivers as far as the more mountainous tracts in the interior. I am not aware of any "giants' chambers" having been found in Germany, or indeed anywhere farther south in that part of the continent than Missunde, in the southern part of Sleswick. But even if none should be found in future south of the Eider, this would only be a local peculiarity, caused perhaps by the longer duration of the Stone age in the north, which is also indicated by the greater perfection of the stone implements found in Denmark and South Sweden. Similar and even larger "giants' chambers" are found in Ireland and Bretagne, and graves of the Stone age, generally preserving in all essential points the same outer forms and the same contents, are met with not only in the Scandinavian countries and in North Germany, but all over western Europe, Holland, the British Islands, France, Portugal, Spain, North Africa, the coasts of the Mediterranean, Crimea, and through Asia to India. They are mostly found near coasts and rivers, but reach now and then into the more remote mountainous countries—for instance, in Switzerland, where they have been discovered near the "Pfaffiker see," one of those lakes which have contained remains of lakewellings of the Stone age, and, in these, remarkable proofs that the population at that period carried on agriculture, cattle-breeding, nay, even gardening and commerce with distant countries. Corresponding discoveries of bones of domesticated animals in the graves themselves, and in other monuments from the Stone age in different parts of West and North Europe, even in the Scandinavian countries, give additional strength to the supposition, which is rendered probable by the great size of many tombs, their situation on the most fertile spots, and the abundance of excellently worked stone implements found in them, viz., that permanent settlements, possession of tame cattle, agriculture and the

rudiments of civilisation generally have, towards the close of the Stone age, not been confined to Switzerland alone, but extended, with local modifications, over all those countries where the stone graves are found, which everywhere exhibit such remarkable uniformity.

Bones of domesticated animals from the Stone age have been found not only in the middle part of Germany, in France, and the British Islands, but also quite lately in Mecklenburg in several places, both in the remains of "cave habitations," and in several of those lake-dwellings which have now been found also on the shores of the Baltic, though—with the exception of a dubious locality in Sleswick—not in Denmark. These bones were found together with well-manufactured flint implements. The investigation, in 1863, of a long cromlech of great size situated on the largest and most fertile plain of West Gothland in Sweden, brought to light, besides bones of swine and horses, a certain number of spear-heads or awls, made of the bones of sheep; and, even if the first-named bones might have been dragged into the tombs at a later time by foxes and other wild animals, these last objects appeared sufficient to warrant the conclusion that the people of the Stone age lived not only by fishing and hunting, but that they practised agriculture and possessed tame cattle.

The skulls and other human remains found in the graves of this age have not yet been submitted to sufficiently careful and extensive investigations to enable archæologists to decide whether it was one and the same people, or several tribes of a different race, which inhabited so great a part of Europe, and even parts of the coasts of North Africa and of Asia, at the time of this remarkably uniform civilisation. As far as the countries north of the Eider are concerned, it has been ascertained that the people of the Stone age were of ordinary size; but their skulls do not exhibit any constant type, some being rather round and others quite oblong, from which it might be concluded that the population, even before the close of the Stone age, had already become mixed through new immigrations, which in those remote ages most probably took place in a gradual manner, rather than by sudden events.

III. THE EARLY BRONZE AGE.—When the Stone age, in its different stages of development, had reigned probably for

thousands of years in Europe, it yielded, several centuries—in some places more than a thousand years—before Christ, to a new civilisation, that of the Bronze age, heralded by the magnificent “giants’ chambers,” with their beautifully-shaped stone implements, which in some cases were possibly worked with metal tools. But just as the transition from the earlier to the later period of the Stone age was a gradual one, thus many circumstances indicate that scarcely in any country has that stage of civilisation which is characterised by the use of gold and bronze suddenly superseded the previous state of things—as was hitherto believed by many—not even where it was imported originally from abroad by colonists or conquerors.

I do not merely allude to the above-mentioned insufficiently authenticated reports of metal objects having been found in graves of the Stone age, particularly in “giants’ chambers;” but I rely on the certain fact that during the earlier period of the Bronze age the old custom, according to which the bodies of the dead were buried unburnt, was still in use, and even predominant in comparison with the new custom of cremation, the only difference being that, in most cases, merely tumuli of earth, but no stone chambers, were constructed on the burial-places. Not even this difference was, however, always observed, for in some of the tumuli from the Bronze age we find regular stone chambers, with burnt flints at the bottom; in others—and somewhat more frequently—the remains lie in a kind of stone cist, known also from the Stone age; whilst others, again, exhibit novel and local peculiarities in the form of the chamber. In many of these tombs not a few stone tools are mixed with the objects of metal. In this respect the state of things in South Jutland is particularly interesting. The cromlechs of the Bronze age are far more common in South Jutland than those of the Stone age, and are distributed over the whole of the province. Several of them have, on examination, been found to contain unburnt bodies, buried in different ways, and amongst these not a few contained in their tops and sides urns with burnt bones and ashes, whilst the remains of unburnt bodies occupied the bottom,—evidently sepultures of different periods. No instance has ever been discovered, in South Jutland or elsewhere in the North, of cromlechs containing burnt bones at the bottom and skeletons

at the top, from which it may safely be concluded that the custom of cremation was of later origin than that of burying the body whole. In the northern part of Sleswick, between the town of Aabenraa and the frontier of North Jutland, eight instances have come to light where the unburnt bodies at the bottom of the barrows were deposited in hollow and split oak trunks, under piles of stones, finally covered by earth, the tops and sides sometimes containing urns with ashes, burnt bodies, and bronze objects. These oak coffins do not exhibit marks of a saw having been used. The skeletons inside are almost entirely destroyed, but it is quite apparent that the bodies have been originally wrapped in well-woven woollen cloths, with thicker mantles, and caps of a peculiar kind of felt, and laid on ox or cow-hides, sometimes

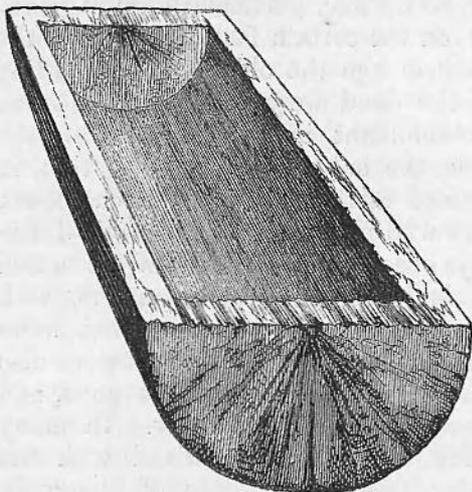


Fig. 1 *a*, Coffin of wood found in a barrow in Sleswick.

with the horns on. With the skeletons were found very fine swords, sometimes with bronze hilts; a palstave, daggers and ornaments of bronze; a double spiral bracelet of gold, turned wooden cups, sometimes with ornamental tin nails carefully hammered in; chipboxes, horn combs, &c. The accompanying illustrations represent a part of the objects found in one of these barrows called "Dragshøj," viz., the coffin (fig. 1, *a*, *b*,); a piece of the skull with hair (fig. 2), a small bronze dagger (fig. 3), a piece of woollen cloth (fig. 4), a turned wooden cup, 6 in. high, and  $12\frac{1}{2}$  in. wide at the mouth, with tin nails (a piece of tin was found near the cup), (fig. 5, *a*, *b*,); and a small chip box, lying in the wooden cup (fig. 6). In the side of the same barrow a stone cist was found, containing a bronze sword and an arrow-head of flint.

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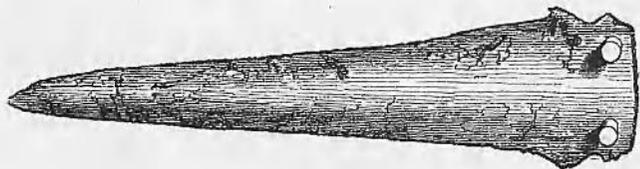


Fig. 3. Bronze dagger found in a barrow with a coffin. Length, 7 in.

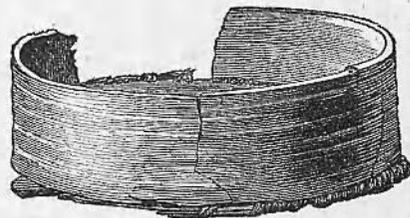


Fig. 6. Chip-box found in the wooden cup; barrow called Dragshøi. Diam. at. 4 in.

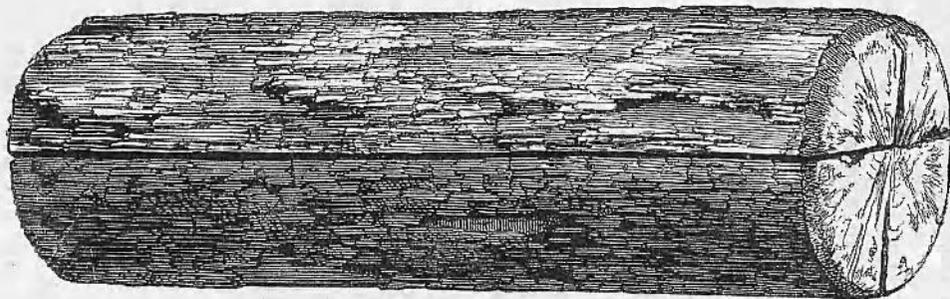


Fig. 1, b. Coffin formed of the trunk of an oak, found in a barrow called Dragshøi. Length, 9 ft.

Entirely corresponding barrows have been found in the adjoining parts of North Jutland, and even as far north as the neighbourhood of the town of Viborg; others also, dating from this period as well as from the later period of the Bronze age, are scattered over other parts of North Jutland, the islands, and Skaane, only with this difference, that in this last class the coffins are made wholly of oak planks, or the sides of stones and the tops or covers of oak planks. That in some parts of South and North Jutland the inhabitants seem to have preferred coffins made of entire trunks, is probably due to the abundance of oak timber in those localities, where, even at the present day, many houses—nay, large farms—are completely constructed of huge oak timber, though the ancient forests now are mostly gone. The best preserved and in every respect most remarkable barrows of this kind were two called “Kongehoi” and “Treenhoi,” lying close together in a field near Vamdrup in North Jutland, just north of the Kongeaa, which separates that province from South Jutland. Near their summits they contained urns with burnt bones and ashes, and at the bottom four coffins each, two of those in Kougheoi being double and consisting of split and hollowed oak trunks, one—more finished—inside the other. The antiquities were of the same kind as those found in similar cromlechs in South Jutland, and of equal merits in shape and workmanship, namely, swords and poignards with bronze hilts, or at any rate with handsome bronze knobs at the end of the hilt; elegantly carved wooden sheaths, different ornaments, amongst which we may mention a stud overlaid with amber, bronze knives, a comb of horn, chip boxes, wooden cups, one of them decorated with tin nails; a lump of tin, and, amongst the bronze objects in one of the coffins in Treenhöi, a small arrow-head of flint. There were unmistakeable remains of the unburnt bodies, which had been deposited wrapped in woollen cloths or skins, but the bodies were mostly dissolved by the water. The clothes, however, were so well preserved, particularly in one of the coffins in Treenhöi, that after having undergone restoration they are now in a state fit for use, and afford an indispensable clue to the right interpretation of the incomplete remains formerly obtained from similar oak coffins in South Jutland. To judge from the information thus gained, a warrior’s dress consisted

II.—ANTIQUITIES FOUND IN SOUTH JUTLAND.



Fig. 2. Portion of a skull.

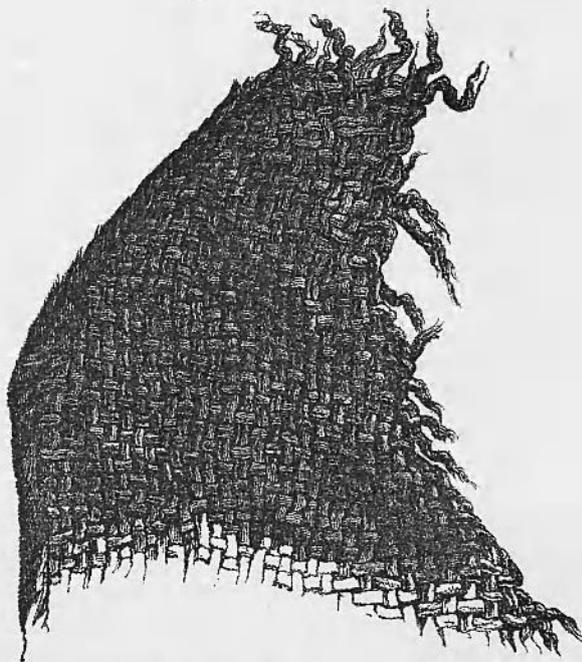


Fig. 4. Woollen cloth found in a barrow called Dragshøi.

III.—ANTIQUITIES FOUND IN SOUTH JUTLAND.

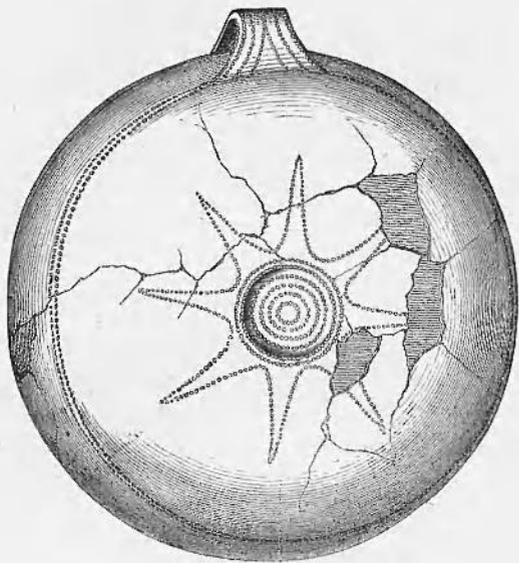


Fig. 5, b. Wooden cup, Dragshöi.

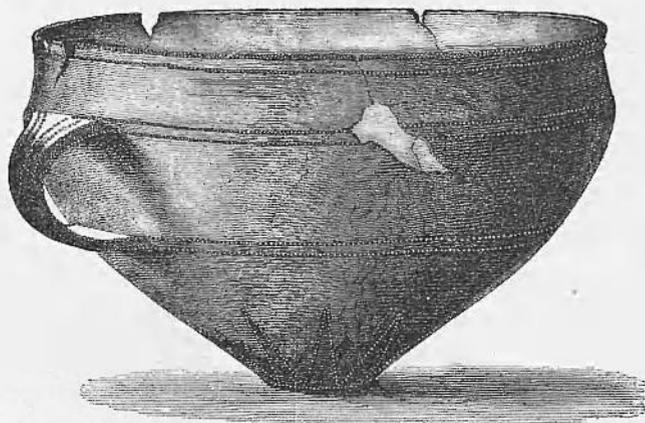


Fig. 5, a. Wooden cup, turned on the lathe, found in a barrow called Dragshoi.  
Height 6 in., width, at the mouth, 12½ in.

in those ancient days of a woollen woven skirt tied round the waist ; some pieces of finer cloth wrapped round the feet, but no trousers ; a thick woven mantle, and a cap, perhaps also a kind of plaid. But, although rich people possessed such fine woven clothes, the poorer classes may, both then and even at a far more modern period, have used garments of skins.<sup>4</sup>

Sepulchres belonging to a similar early period of the Bronze age, containing unburnt bodies, fine well-developed bronze objects, mixed with a very few stone implements, have been observed in several countries outside the North of Europe ; and coffins, of split and hollowed oak trunks, quite similar in shape and contents to those found in North and South Jutland, have been found in Ditmarschen, Mecklenburg, the island of Rügen in Bohemia, and in several places in England, in which latter country they may be stated with certainty to be of date earlier than the Teutonic or so-called Anglo-Saxon population. Besides this, coffins of split and hollowed trunks of oak-trees have been used far into the Iron age, both in England and South Germany.<sup>5</sup> Even among savages of the present day—for instance, in Madagascar—similar modes of burial are in use. It is therefore impossible to find, in the occurrence of such coffins—as some German authors have done,—a proof that some German tribe—in the strict sense of the term—inhabited South Jutland in those ancient times.

The oldest graves and antiquities of the Bronze age, both in South Jutland and in other parts of North Europe, as far as is hitherto known, agree very remarkably in this point, that they present no traces of a “Copper age,” characterised by forged copper implements, and intervening between the Stone age and the Bronze age, such as was the case in North America. Extremely few copper implements have been found in North Europe, but they are *cast*, not forged or hammered ; and the same seems to be the case with those found in greater numbers in Hungary and the North of Italy (Keller's *Pfahlbauten*, Trans. Zürich Soc. Antiqu.,

<sup>4</sup> Beautiful coloured illustrations of the objects found at Vamdrup may be seen in A. P. Madsen's illustrated work on Danish Antiquities. *Afbildninger of Danske Oldsager*, parts 5 and 6. A body of a man dressed in plain leather shoes and a mantle made of double skin, with

strings to tie it in front, was some years ago found in a bog near Flensburg.

<sup>5</sup> Lisch adduces an instance of a burial in such a coffin (*Todtenbaum*) in the year 1151 (Mecklenb. Jahrb. xxvii. 1862, p. 183).

1863). The civilisation of the Bronze age appears in the North immediately following the Stone age, and fully developed at once, characterised by cast weapons, implements, and ornaments of elegant shape and decoration ; the new stage of civilisation was attended by great progress in agriculture, husbandry, and commerce, and it soon not only occupied the large tracts inhabited already in the Stone age, but even spread further in all directions, thanks to the superiority of metal over stone and bone, nor did any very considerable time elapse before this state of civilisation, with its peculiar custom of cremation and other new rites of burial, completely gained the upper hand.

IV. THE LATE BRONZE AGE.—Some cromlechs in South Jutland have been found to contain vestiges of a nearly contemporaneous use of the older custom of burying the body whole, and of the later custom of cremation, indicating a period of transition between the two. The most remarkable of them was a barrow near Sønder Brarup in Angel, in the interior of which a circle of moderately-sized stones was discovered, placed on the ground, and inside this circle, close to the stones forming it, a whole skeleton was found, whilst the very centre of the circle was occupied by a small stone cist, containing burnt human bones and a bronze pin. Outside this circle three large stones had been erected, of which one more than 8 ft. high seems to have been intended for a kind of monument. All this was covered with earth, so that nothing was to be seen outside the barrow, which was 170 ft. in circumference, and 10 ft. high, and in the side of which an urn with burnt bones and ashes was discovered. No doubt can exist that this urn had been deposited in the barrow at a later time than the original sepulchre at the bottom.

The graves in South Jutland belonging to the later division of the Bronze age, and, containing burnt bodies only, are otherwise quite similar to those of the corresponding period in the northern as well as in the western and parts of the middle of Europe. In some cases the burnt bones, with arms, implements, and ornaments, were deposited, as in the preceding period, in wooden coffins or stone cists, sometimes wrapped in skin or in woven woollen garments ; in other cases the arms alone were hidden in cists or under layers of stone, whilst the burnt bones were collected in urns

and placed in another part of the cromlech ; in a third class of burials the remains of the bones, together with arms and ornaments, have been left on the spot where the body was burnt, over which then a heap of stone has been placed, and afterwards a barrow formed ; finally, and probably in the majority of cases, the bones were put into urns of clay, which were then placed in barrows, and protected by quite small square cists or boxes. Some barrows of this last description, which have served as family sepulchres or common cemeteries, contained an extraordinary number of urns. Similar general cemeteries, where the urns have been deposited in the field without erection of barrows, have been found in several places in South Jutland as also in other parts of the north, particularly in elevated situations.

The antiquities derived from these tombs correspond in like manner with those discovered in other countries of the North of Europe, particularly near the Baltic. In all these localities the difference between the antiquities of the earlier and those of the later period of the Bronze period seems only to consist in a decline in point of beauty of form and purity of style, observable in some at least of the objects belonging to the end of the Bronze age, and indicating a decline of the ancient civilisation which characterised that period. Even in the last stage of the Bronze age, silver, and to some extent glass, was unknown in the North of Europe, nor have any vestiges of an alphabet been discovered. Pure copper and pure tin were but rarely used—arms, implements, and ornaments being still in this period generally cast of bronze, composed of copper and tin. Gold, however, was sometimes used for ornaments. In all parts of Denmark and Sweden we have discovered moulds, jets of metal sawed off the finished work, pieces of metal for melting, half-finished and unsuccessfully-cast bronze objects—in short, so many vestiges remain of the stores and business of the metal-workers, that there can be no doubt that the bronze objects must, at least very often, have been manufactured in the northern countries themselves, retaining, apart from the small differences just mentioned, the same traditional general forms. At the same time I wish to observe, without detracting from the importance of the many true and undoubted remains of the manufacture of metal implements in the Bronze age, that in my opinion a con-

siderable number of deposits from the Bronze age have been erroneously described as ancient metal-workers' stores. A large proportion of our Bronze deposits have curiously enough been found in peat-bogs ; and, looking at the condition of the objects deposited, I am convinced that many of them are analogous to the moss-finds of the early Iron age (see hereafter).

Careful comparisons show that, in spite of the general uniformity of civilisation obtaining throughout Europe at the time of the Bronze age, a peculiar group was nevertheless formed, from the earliest beginning of that period, by the then inhabited parts of Sweden, Denmark, North Germany, and parts of the middle of Germany, which, with regard to the excellency of their manufacture of metal objects, occupied a position equal and even superior to most other countries, especially to the western parts of Europe. In the British islands the elegant shapes and ornaments which we so frequently meet with in bronze objects from the North of Europe are more rare ; the patterns are evidently peculiar, and even the composition of the metal seems to be slightly different. A similar remarkable simplicity, coupled with certain particularities in shape, is also observable in France. But, in the South of Europe, in Italy, Switzerland, South Germany, parts of Hungary, and in Greece, we find again bronze objects, which, for variety of form and elegance of execution, are equal to those from the Baltic countries, though of course the actual patterns of swords, daggers, palstaves, celts, axes, etc., are different from those of the north. Still greater differences are to be observed if we turn to those relics of the Bronze age which have been found in other parts of the world ; for instance, in Africa, in ancient Egyptian graves, in Asia, near the Euphrates and Tigris (not to mention the remarkable arms of copper discovered in India), and both in North and South America.

But although that stage of civilisation which we describe as the Bronze age, forming the intervening link between the primitive culture of the Stone age and the higher one of the Iron age in almost all parts of the world, is characterised by a remarkable general uniformity amidst manifold local modifications, it has nevertheless reigned at very different periods in different countries—a fact of which we

possess distinct historic testimony. Especially in the North of Europe it retained undoubtedly its position for centuries, while the more southern nations had already attained to the knowledge and general use of iron, silver, glass, and of an alphabet. Implements for casting and other objects connected with the manufacture have, moreover, been discovered everywhere, proving that the bronze objects have been made in the countries themselves, and, in each of these, local peculiarities of shape, etc., seem to have existed from the earliest time. The bronze objects found in the different countries of Europe cannot, therefore, from the beginning have been distributed over so large tracts by direct commerce or colonies from one single nation, whether Etruscans, Romans, Greeks or Phœnicians. Any such nation would of course have imported implements and arms of the same forms and the same metallic composition to all other countries with which it traded, and would not have continued for so many centuries to manufacture bronze objects merely for the sake of exporting them, when they themselves already possessed infinitely better arms and implements of iron. With special regard to the hypothesis recently advocated with much emphasis by Professor Nilsson (*Skandinaviens Urindvaanere*, 2nd edition, 1862—1864, Stockholm), according to which the bronze objects of the North of Europe were derived from the Phœnicians, we must observe, that history does not furnish any testimony in favour of it, nor has any well-authenticated find of bronze objects been made in any of the ancient settlements of that nation. If any such should be brought to light, we can hardly doubt but that they will prove very different from the bronze objects of the North of Europe, as is the case with all those which have hitherto been found on the shores of the Mediterranean. It is more probable that future investigations of remains from the Bronze age in the East of Europe,—for instance in Finland, where very fine bronze arms have been found, in Russia, in the northern and middle tracts of Asia,—will prove that the cradle of European civilisation in the Bronze age was in the interior of Asia, where copper, tin, and gold abound. Several different tribes living in those parts may, at a very remote period, have become acquainted with the use of these metals, and developed separate styles of manufacture, which then—possibly by the migrations of such tribes—

may have been transplanted to different parts of Europe preserving their original peculiarities. Careful analysis had shown that the chemical constitution of the gold and bronze found in the graves of the Bronze age, on the shores of the Baltic, in many cases distinctly points to the Ural mountains as the source whence those metals were obtained (see Fellenberg in the Mecklenburgische Jahrbücher, xxix. 1864, p. 157) ; and it is well known that implements of copper and bronze have been found in ancient copper mines in the Ural, proving that these were worked in the Bronze age. At the same time it cannot be doubted that the inhabitants of several parts of Europe, at a very early period, obtained their supply of these metals from native sources.

*(To be continued.)*

## THE ANTIQUITIES OF SOUTH JUTLAND OR SLESWICK.<sup>1</sup>

By J. J. A. WORSAAE, Hon. F.S.A., Director of the Museum of Northern Antiquities at Copenhagen. Translated, with the concurrence of the Author, by  
Ch. C. AUGUST GÖSCH, Attaché to the Danish Legation.

### PART II.—THE IRON AGE.

V. THE EARLY IRON AGE (from about 200 A.D.—400 A.D.).  
—The date of the commencement of the Bronze age is everywhere shrouded in mystery, and it is only in the north of Europe that its conclusion coincides with the dawn of history. Well-known nations appear as bearers of the new civilisation, which characterises the Iron age. In the western, middle, and northern parts of Europe, we thus observe Celtic, Teutonic (German, Frisian and Scandinavian), Slavonic and Finnic (Lapponic) peoples succeeding one another. But neither the scanty written information nor the antiquities enable us as yet to determine whether all these nations lived there already in the Bronze age, or only arrived about the commencement of the Iron age. It is, however, scarcely probable that the Iron age, any more than the Bronze age, was ushered in by a complete extermination or expulsion of the mass of the population in the several countries, although in some places individual foreign tribes may have obtained dominion over the former inhabitants by their knowledge of iron and superior culture. In any case, it is beyond all dispute that up to the beginning of the Iron age not the slightest indication has been discovered of a peculiar German population of South Jutland or Sleswick. The monuments and antiquities, which still constitute our only certain source of knowledge, certainly prove that South Jutland shared the fate of the neighbouring parts of what we now describe as North and Middle Germany; but they demonstrate, at the same time, an equally complete uniformity with the other ancient Danish and Scandinavian countries—all the countries round the Baltic forming, as we

<sup>1</sup> Continued from p. 46, *supra*.

have said before, but one and the same well-defined group during the Bronze age.

Iron was known and used for more than a thousand years before our era in Egypt and Western Asia, from whence the Greeks and Romans seem to have derived their knowledge of it. From these nations it may have spread to the west and north of Europe, and the inhabitants of Spain, the south of France, and South Germany were, no doubt, acquainted with this metal several centuries before Christ. But it seems, strangely enough, to have taken a couple of centuries more before the knowledge and use of iron penetrated as far as Britain, North Germany, and the Scandinavian countries, where it was not in use till shortly before the beginning of our era. It was, at any rate, as far as we can judge at present, only by the great Roman conquests in Germany, Gaul, and Britain, at the beginning of the Christian era, that the victory of the civilisation of the Iron age was quite confirmed in the north. It is not probable that Denmark should have formed an exception in this respect, although we are as yet unable with certainty to carry back the Iron age farther than about to the year 200 A.C. The transition from the Bronze age to the Iron age appears at present far more abrupt than that from the Stone to the Bronze age, and constitutes upon the whole one of the most obscure points in northern archæology.

Numerous discoveries of Roman antiquities and coins in the eastern parts of Scandinavia (Bornholm Öland, Gothland), together with corresponding discoveries in the north-east of Germany, in Posen, Poland, and Hungary, have led to the belief that the communication between the Romans and the North was principally carried on by an eastern route, starting from the Roman possessions in Pannonia. Recent discoveries, however, have proved that this communication was maintained as actively by a southern and western route through Germany, Gaul, and Britain, where numerous large Roman colonies were found, and that the peninsula of Jutland, and particularly its southern part, was, as indeed might naturally be expected, influenced by the powerfully advancing Roman and New-European civilisation, at an earlier date and more strongly than most other parts of the North.

It is therefore, perhaps, not altogether accidental that

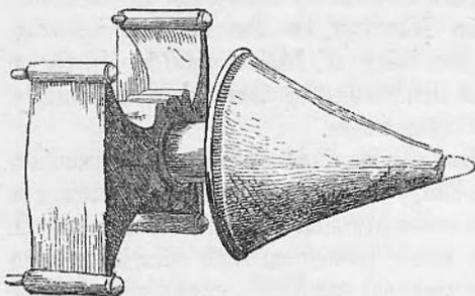
discoveries of antiquities, indicating a transition from the Bronze age to the Iron age, and exhibiting a mixture of objects belonging to these two periods, have been made not unfrequently in South Jutland, while in other parts of the North they have been very rare. In a sandy field near Smeaebj, between the towns of Flensborg and Sleswick, a great quantity of urns have been dug up from time to time, differing unmistakably in form and substance from the ordinary urns of the Bronze age, but containing, as these do, burnt human bones and occasionally bronze objects of the kind peculiar to that period, or objects of iron worked in the style and taste of the Bronze age. Generally, however, these urns contain objects which directly point to the early Iron age—viz., iron knives and shears, buckles, tweezers, mountings of different kinds, either of iron or of the kind of bronze peculiar to the Iron age, which consists of copper and zinc instead of tin. Similar cemeteries, with burnt human bones in urns, are not unfrequently met with in South Jutland, in the flat fields or in natural hills, amongst which we may mention the beautiful Skjersbjerg, in the parish of Kværn in Angel, where bent and half-burnt iron swords, fragments of bronze mountings for scabbards, spear-heads, knives and shears of iron, gold pendants, beads of gold and glass, silver brooches, have repeatedly been found amongst the burnt bones in the urns; once a bridle-bit, and, on another occasion, a flint knife was found. Entirely corresponding swords and axes of iron, knives, Roman and semi-Roman *fibulæ*, and other objects of bronze, silver ornaments, glass beads, &c., in some cases burnt with human bones and deposited in urns, have also very frequently been brought to light from artificial barrows in different parts of South Jutland. It follows that the same burial customs have been in use here in the early Iron age as in the next preceding late Bronze age, the only difference being, that in the Iron age the objects buried with the bodies were more frequently put on the funeral pile than formerly.

Similar graves and common cemeteries with burnt remains are met with in the ancient Vendic parts of North Germany (where they are often referred to a much later time under the name of Wendenkirchhöfe) and in England, where they seem to date from the Roman-British period (C. Roach Smith, *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, pp. xvi.-xvii). In North Jutland no

cemeteries of this kind have hitherto been discovered ; but urns containing burnt bones with broken iron swords and other arms, as in South Jutland and in the ancient Vendic parts of North Germany, are not rarely met with in barrows, both in North Jutland, in Norway, in the Danish islands, and in Sweden as far as the lake of Malar, and in all these places (as well as in South Jutland), the urns are occasionally Roman or semi-Roman bronze vases.

It appears, therefore, that the ancient custom of cremation was continued during the early Iron age, or at least during a great part of the same, in considerable districts of the north of Europe ; at the same time, however, both single graves and general cemeteries in natural sandhills, containing whole skeletons, have been met with in several of these districts—viz., in North Jutland, in Skaane, and, most frequently, on the islands of Sealand and Fyen. In these cases the bodies have been buried in the ground a few feet deep, together with Roman and semi-Roman vases, saucepans and strainers, cups and drinking-horns (sometimes of glass), wooden buckets with metal handles and hoops, ornaments and coins of Roman emperors both of silver and gold, from the first Christian centuries, and occasionally, though not very frequently, swords and other objects of iron. Graves of this kind, indicating a return to the ancient custom of burying the dead whole (caused, perhaps, by the same new foreign influence which is expressed in the character of the objects found in the graves) have not been discovered hitherto, either in Sweden proper (though met with in Skaane), or in Norway, or in South Jutland, or in North Germany ; but, in all these countries, both where cremation seems to have been the universal practice and where the dead were more or less frequently buried unburnt, purely Roman antiquities have been found in considerable number, both in the remains of destroyed—but not properly investigated—graves, and loose in the ground, as if accidentally lost. These antiquities are quite similar to those found in the cemeteries just mentioned, and a number have been found in South Jutland, as, for instance, a small bust of Jupiter in bronze, fragments of vases, cups, saucepans and strainers, brooches, spurs, coin from the two first centuries, etc. They are often found with other objects which can scarcely be considered Roman or even Romanised, and such a mixture of Roman and non-

Roman objects has been observed in a great number of finds outside the graves—which have been made in North Germany, and in all parts of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.



Roman Spur, with iron spike, from Bodum.  
Orig. size.



Roman Bronze cup, overlaid with silver from Forballum.  $\frac{2}{3}$  orig. size.

The Roman objects, however, some of which are inscribed with the trade-mark of the manufacturer, become rarer as we advance towards the North.

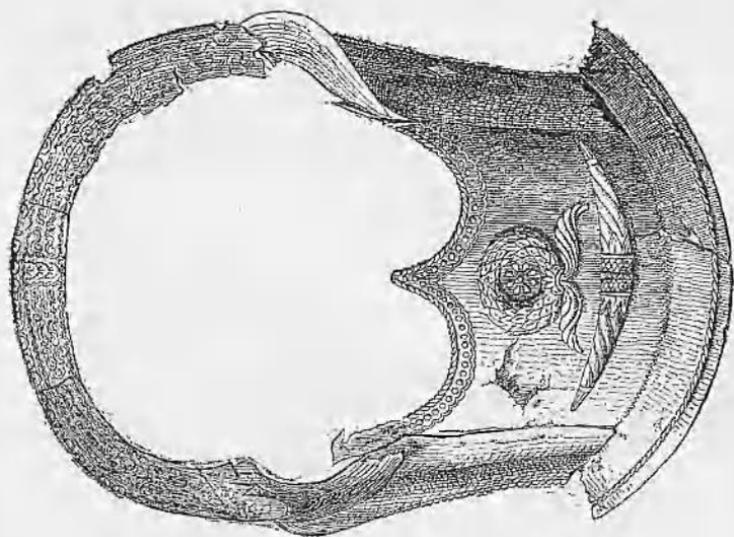
A further and very striking proof of an active communication between South Jutland and the Romans themselves, or nations nearly connected with the Romans, as early as the second or third century of our era, is afforded by the remarkable discoveries in the mosses of Nydam in Sundeved and Thorsbjerg in Angel. Careful investigations have shown that the great quantity of objects which were brought to light in both these localities, and which belong mostly to warlike equipment, had been originally deposited with intention and care in the mosses (which then, probably, were lakes), and that they must have been in an entirely useless condition when deposited, not only mutilated by use in battle, but purposely destroyed or spoiled, bent, cut, burnt, and half melted by fire, &c. With regard to the details of these finds, we may refer to Mr. Engelhardt's illustrated works, of which an English edition has just appeared,<sup>2</sup> and confine ourselves here to the general features of each deposit.

Thorsbjerg Moss occupies a small valley surrounded by hills, without any connection with the sea, from which it is about two English miles distant. It contained proportionally few objects of iron, much corroded and mutilated, mostly fragments of swords, spear-heads, &c., of good workman-

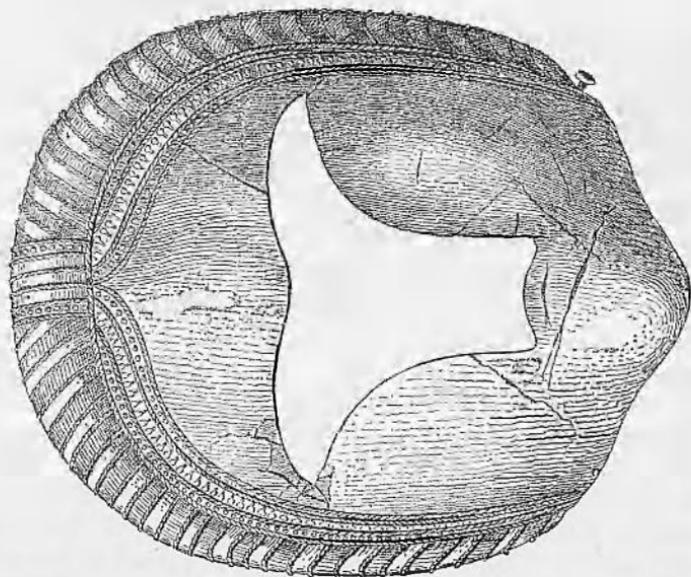
<sup>2</sup> C. Engelhardt: Denmark in the early Iron age. Williams and Norgate. 1866. London. 4to.

IV.—ANTIQUITIES OF SOUTH JUTLAND

(Early Iron Age.)

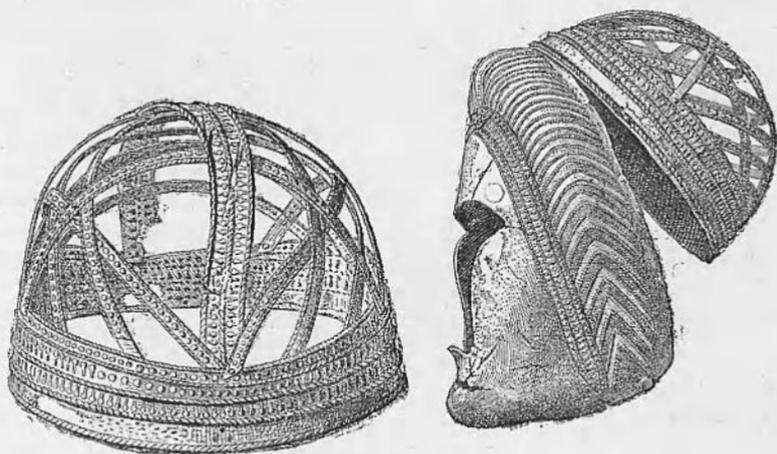


Roman helmet of bronze, found in the Thorsbjerg Moss.



Silver helmet, found in the Thorsbjerg Moss, front view.

ship, but a great many antiquities of bronze (copper and zinc), as well as of gold and silver, of which the costly and splendid objects used for the equipment of distinguished warriors attract our special attention. Complete dresses, with buckles, made of woollen material woven in elegant patterns, shoes or sandals with silver nails, were discovered here, as well as helmets of bronze and of silver overlaid with



Crown of a Silver Helmet, found at Thorsbjerg. g

Silver Helmet, found at Thorsbjerg.

gold; chain mail, with shoulder and chest-buckles decorated with gold and silver; remains of sword-hilts, scabbards, belts, and shields, similarly ornamented; wooden bows and spear-shafts, several feet long; besides remarkable metal mountings, occasionally decorated with precious metals, for harness, riding and driving reins, &c.: fragments of gold rings, ornaments, a die, draughtsmen, coins, but particularly numerous objects of leather, burnt clay, and wood, different kinds of vessels, baskets, tools, fragments of cart-wheels, rakes, tent-poles, &c., were discovered in this locality.

The Nydam moss, in Sundedeved, opposite the island of Als, is distinguished from that of Thorsbjerg in the important feature of having originally been connected with the Als-sound, and it contained remains of three vessels, of which the largest is built for twenty-eight oars, and which appear originally to have contained at least the greater part of the objects found in the moss, the boats—or at any rate, the largest—having apparently been intentionally sunk by holes

cut in the bottom. The Nydam deposit was, besides, characterised in comparison with that of Thorsbjerg by its great abundance in elegantly manufactured iron objects, as, for instance, beautifully damascened swords, the hilts decorated with silver, spear-heads, arrow-heads, and axes. But although beautifully ornamented brooches, metal mountings, ornaments, and harness were not wanting in Nydam, this moss did not equal that of Thorsbjerg in the splendour of its contents of this class. For the rest, both finds are evidently quite similar and parallel in essential points; they must even have been very nearly contemporary, as the coins found in both places belong to the same period, the latest coin from Thorsbjerg being of the year 190 A.D., whilst the latest coin from Nydam is from 218 A.D. Most probably the objects were deposited a little before, or perhaps a little after, the year 300 A.D. Besides those on the coins, inscriptions on different objects were discovered, partly in Roman letters (some being Roman names, as "Ælius Ælianus," but others not Roman, perhaps Gotho-Germanic, as "Umorca," "Riccim,") partly also in those Runes, that were formerly erroneously described as Anglo-Saxon, but which now appear to have been in use at a much earlier period than was hitherto supposed, namely, more than a century before the Anglo-Saxon conquest of England. Both mosses contained several decidedly Roman objects, but still more semi-Roman, almost barbarian, which clearly prove themselves to have been manufactured by people which have been compelled to yield to the overwhelming power of Roman civilisation, and therefore tried to imitate Roman models, without, however, entirely relinquishing their own taste or old traditions.

The reason why so numerous and in part costly objects—many, too, of foreign origin—have been deposited with so great care in these two mosses in South Jutland at that remote period, is still shrouded in mystery. If, however, these two deposits were unique in their kind, or if such discoveries had been made only in South Jutland, it might always be considered an acceptable explanation that these objects were possibly derived from warlike expeditions of the natives to foreign countries, or, perhaps, rather from successful combats against invading armies or foreign tribes attempting to effect a settlement in the country. It might,

for instance, be conjectured that the victorious natives collected the arms left on the battle-field, and hid them for safety in neighbouring lakes.

But entirely corresponding hoards of antiquities, hidden or deposited in mosses in the self-same manner and apparently very nearly at the same time,—at any rate in the course of the early Iron Age,—have been discovered in several parts of North Jutland and the Danish Islands (including Bornholm), particularly on Fyen, where not less than three such anti-quarian mosses are known, of which two,—Vimose and Kragehul, both without access from the sea,—are remarkable for the extraordinary quantity of antiquities found in them, and their surprising similarity in essential points to those found in Nydam and Thorsbjerg moss. The similarity often extends to the smallest details in the treatment, to which the objects had been subjected, and the manner in which they had been deposited; and the mosses in Fyen contain, besides, coins from the two first Christian centuries,<sup>3</sup> and inscriptions in the oldest hitherto-known Runic alphabet, similar to those found in the mosses of South Jutland. It is evident that these finds are much too numerous, too uniform in their character, distributed over too large an area, to have originated in merely accidental circumstances. Continued investigations of the peat-bogs, which are in progress, will no doubt assist us in solving this problem. But even in the present state of our knowledge, it seems worth considering whether this careful deposition of articles of warlike equipment in the mosses may not have taken place in obedience to some religious custom, by which the victors were bound after the battle to sacrifice to the gods a part of the captured animals and of the other spoils, by sinking them in sacred lakes, which have now become transformed into peat-bogs. This hypothesis would explain, that in Nydam and other

<sup>3</sup> All the Roman coins known to have been found in Denmark and properly examined—more than 800 pieces—date, with very few exceptions, from the time before 219, and have been found in very different places, sometimes in very large hoards,—once as many as 400 together,—but never in company with any other antiquities than those which I ascribe to the early Iron age. This class of antiquities and coins from the first two or three centuries invariably accompany each other, just as Byzantine coin always is

found together with antiquities characteristic of the first division of the late Iron age, and just as Arabic or Cufic coin is a constant element of deposits from the Viking period, or the conclusion of the late Iron age. Late West-Roman coin has very rarely been found in Denmark, the so-called “*minimi*” never, and the quantity of the coin discovered adds great force to the argument derived from their date (A. D. 1—219), as to the date of the “*Early Iron Age*” antiquities.

mosses, remains of animals have been found,—not whole skeletons, but certain parts, particularly horses' heads, sometimes with bits between their jaws; that several of the antiquities from the moss-finds have not only suffered injury in battle, but have evidently been afterwards bent and half-melted by (the sacrificial) fire; that they have been deposited with so great and evident care; and that they have been left untouched in so many places, although the fact of their immersion must necessarily have been known by many. This hypothesis would also receive support from the existence of reliable historical information to the effect that such a custom prevailed in the first Christian centuries amongst the inhabitants of Gaul, with whom the inhabitants of South Jutland, as of the other northern countries, may have had intercourse in different ways, and with whom they may have had in some respects common customs and habits, even if they were of a different race. Cæsar states, in his work, "*De Bello Gallico*" (Lib. vi., cap. 16, 17), after having mentioned the piety of the Gauls and their inclination for sacrifices, that "when they go into battle they usually promise to offer the spoils to the god of war. After the victory they sacrifice the captured animals, and the rest of the spoils is collected in some particular place. In many states large accumulations of such objects may be seen in sacred places, and it is rare that anybody so disregards religion that he should dare either to hide away any part of the spoil for his own benefit, or to possess himself of any part of the collected spoils, a crime, moreover, for which the hardest and most painful punishment is awarded." Besides this, a somewhat later author, the geographer, Strabo, states expressly that the Gauls used to sink treasures of gold and silver in sacred lakes. His account is as follows: "The report of Posidonios is more trustworthy. He says that the treasures found at Tolosa (Toulouse) amounted to 15,000 talents, which were hidden partly in safe closets and partly in sacred lakes, and this was unmanufactured gold and silver. The country being rich in gold and inhabited by a superstitious people, leading a parsimonious life, treasures had been collected in many places, and that these were left untouched was due in a great measure to the circumstance that the treasures of gold and silver were deposited in lakes. When the Romans had made themselves masters of these countries, they sold

the lakes for the benefit of the state, and many of those who bought them found welded lumps of silver in them. The temple of Tolosa was highly honoured by the neighbouring peoples, and was therefore filled with riches which many had dedicated, but which no one dared touch" (Lib. iv., cap. 1, §. 13). Diodorus Siculus also testifies (Lib. v., cap. 27) of the superstitious fear of the Gauls, which restrained them from touching the great treasures dedicated to the gods, in spite of their usual cupidity and love of display. Even as late as the sixth century annual sacrifices of clothing, linen garments, sheep-skins, cheese, bread, and wax cakes, were brought to a sacred lake in France (Dept. Lozère), and the sacrificial feast lasted three days, according to the testimony of the contemporaneous writer, Gregory of Tours (*De Gloria Confess.* cap. 2, in *Maxima Bibl. Patrum*, xi., p. 872). With regard to the Scandinavian North, we have ancient accounts to the effect that offerings to the gods took place near certain wells and waterfalls, into which the objects offered were thrown.<sup>4</sup> It is true that these accounts belong to the conclusion of the heathen period; but, combined with the moss-finds of which we are treating, they may be looked upon as indicating that offerings to the gods in the north, as well as in other countries, were sometimes connected with sacred wells, springs, and lakes.<sup>5</sup>

In order to arrive at a true decision of the still open question of the real origin of the moss-deposits, and a proper estimation of the state of civilisation prevailing during the first centuries of the Christian era in the Cimbrian peninsula and in the north generally, it is of the greatest importance to ascertain whether the antiquities found in the mosses are all of foreign origin and imported,<sup>6</sup> or whether a part of them

<sup>4</sup> See the Scholiast to Adam of Bremen *de situ Daniæ*, cp. 26, *Kjalnesinga Saga* 2, and *Landnæma*, iii. 17.

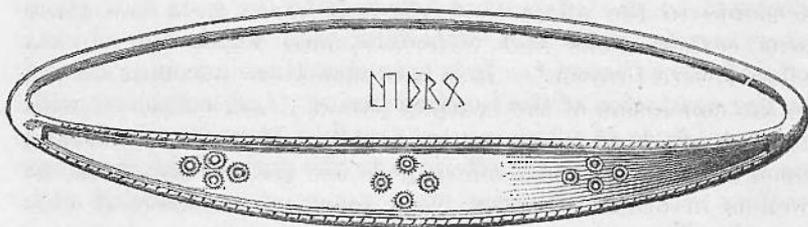
<sup>5</sup> If it should be confirmed that these moss-finds are traceable to ancient sacrifices, the same explanation may perhaps apply to some of the large stores—dating mostly from the Bronze age—of bronze and gold objects, which are constantly discovered in our peat-bogs in such remarkable numbers. For it is not very likely that they should all have been lost or simply hidden there. At any rate, it seems to deserve attention that of the two antiquarian mosses in

Fyen, Vimose and Villestofte moss are very close to Odense (Odinsey, that is, Odin's island, or Odinsve, the principal place of sacrifice of Odin in Fyen). In Kragehul a piece of wood with runes, an angular piece of bone with runes, and some delicately made brass balances and weights have been found about 120 years ago. Might they not be the "Blotspaan" and balances for prophesying so often mentioned in the Sagas?

<sup>6</sup> The mutilated state of the antiquities, and the circumstance that they have been found in so many places, which have no communication with the

may be supposed to have been manufactured by the inhabitants of the country itself.

It is then, first of all, to be observed that antiquities of exactly the same kind and of the same date as those from the mosses of South Jutland, including Roman as well as non-Roman objects, have been discovered, not only—as we have already stated—in other Danish mosses, but also in graves and loose in the earth in numerous localities all over the Cimbric peninsula, the Danish Islands, Norway, and Sweden; and the same is the case with the inscriptions in the oldest Runic alphabet. The inscriptions of this kind hitherto discovered in South Jutland, as well as in the other ancient Danish provinces, are engraved on loose objects, as, for instance, the remarkable golden horns found near Møgeltonder, a large golden ring from the neighbourhood of



Golden Hair-ring, from Straarup. Two-thirds orig. size.

Haderslev, and on some of the gold bracteates; and traces of the oldest Runic alphabet are perceptible in some of the inscriptions on monuments belonging to a later time, a kind of transition period. But numerous inscriptions on monu-

sea, are sufficiently strong arguments to refute entirely a theory started in Germany, and founded solely on the preliminary accounts of the Nydam deposit, viz., that they had been imported by way of sea, and the ships sunk in the harbour. The author of this theory has, however, the excuse that, at the time he proposed it, Mr. Engelhardt's full description had not yet been published. But it is entirely unpardonable when German archaeologists, in spite of all the information published on the subject, still write in such a strain, as, for instance: Fr. Maurer, who in a recent paper (*Ausland*, 1865, p. 154), accuses the Danish archaeologists of having kept secret these discoveries, and adds, "The

discoveries made were of that description that they effected an enormous breach in the system invented by the Danes establishing three sharply distinguished periods of civilisation—those of Stone, Bronze, and Iron, and these therefore desired to gain time in order to regulate the discoveries." It is evident that the latter, on the contrary, served eminently to strengthen and further illustrate that system, and this unworthy accusation is of course utterly unfounded; but it would be useless to attempt a scientific discussion with authors who are so blinded by national fanaticism that they do not hesitate to put forth such statements.

mental stones, entirely written in the earliest Runic alphabet, occur in the Scandinavian peninsula as far south as Bleking, and as far north as the Lake of Mælar and the interior of Norway. The deposits in the mosses of South Jutland exhibit, therefore, nothing peculiar to that province, or even to that kind of locality.

In the second place, I would observe that such a mixture of Roman and non-Roman antiquities is not confined to the north of Europe. The Iron age commenced in the western and middle parts of Europe several centuries before it began in the Baltic and Scandinavian countries, and we have sufficient proof to show that even in such places—outside Italy and Greece—where Roman or Greek civilisation for a time entirely got the upper hand, a national or native industry was still preserved, of which numerous productions, as arms and ornaments, have come down to us, which most strikingly remind us of the objects found in the Danish mosses, but which, at the same time, in most cases are distinguished by some local or national peculiarities.<sup>7</sup> I think we are justified in saying that the antiquities of this class discovered in Denmark to some extent do present such a peculiar character, and I believe that an examination of the illustrations of Danish antiquities of this period in Mr. Engelhardt's work and in my own work on Northern Antiquities, which is largely quoted by Mr. Engelhardt (pp. 8-22), will be found to confirm this view.

In the third place, I wish particularly to urge that neither the inscriptions in the most ancient Runes, nor the semi-Roman representations found on some of them, can, as some have thought, be fairly adduced in favour of a foreign origin. It is true that some very few inscriptions in similar

<sup>7</sup> Compare Bruzelius's *Svenska Fornlemningar*, ii. 65-79; Troyon, *Habitations Lacustres*: Lausanne, 1860, pp. 179-212; Desor, *L'Age du Fer dans les Constructions du Lac de Neufchâtel*; *Musee Neufchâtelois*, Sept., 1864; J. de Boussetten, *Notice sur des Armes etc. découvertes à Tiefenau près de Berne en 1851*; Morlot, *Études Géologico-Archéologiques* Lausanne, 1860; Lindenschmidt, *Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, i. tab. 1, ii. tab 5; C. Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, iii. pp. 67-72, tab. xvi.; pp. 152-155, tab. xxxiii-iv.; iv. 28, tab. xii (from France); Lord Talbot de Malahide,

*Antiquities found at Lagore*, *Archaeol. Journal* vi. 101-109; *Proceedings of the Arch. Inst. Meeting at York*: London, 1848; *Catalogue of Ant.* pp. 10, 11, illustrations, pp. 36, 39. Several similar finds are preserved in the British Museum; for instance, from Polden Hill, Somerset, and Stanwick, Yorkshire; the latter was discovered "deposited together in a pit" (perhaps not without analogy to our moss-deposits). A number of interesting objects are preserved in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy at Dublin, particularly from a bog near Dunshaughlin,

characters have been found in Wallachia, in the Rhenish provinces, and in North Germany ; but, as yet, the number of these instances is altogether insignificant in comparison with the number of those found in the Scandinavian countries, which, probably, even outnumber the English, or so-called Anglo-Saxon inscriptions of this kind. These latter seem, besides, to belong to a somewhat later period. The name of "Gothic" or "German Runes," which is sometimes applied to these Runes, is utterly arbitrary, and we are, as yet, completely in the dark as to their true home. But even if they have not been invented in the Scandinavian countries, so much is certain, as proved both by the most ancient Runestones in Norway and Sweden and by those from the transition period in Denmark, that these characters have been most extensively used all over the north of Europe, in the early Iron age and even after its conclusion, by the people who then inhabited those countries, and who may perhaps have invented them whilst living in other more southerly homes. A great step towards the solution of this question will have been gained when all the known inscriptions of this kind have been properly interpreted, which, as yet, is the case only with a very small number ; for we shall then learn in what languages those found in different countries are written. But in this respect so much uncertainty still prevails, that not even the inscription on one of the large golden horns from Møgeltonder, which seems to be written in an ancient Gothic dialect, is interpreted by all in the same manner. The second point, whether the occurrence of ornamental semi-Roman representations can be said to prove a foreign origin of the objects on which we find them, has been recently mooted with particular regard to these very golden horns, a learned author having advanced the opinion that these horns must have been of foreign origin, not only because the inscription in his opinion is foreign, but also because there are representations of centaurs on them—a figure which he thinks could not be supposed to have been known in these northern countries at so early a time. It is, however, an established fact, that not only more southerly nations, neighbours of the classic nations, but also the inhabitants of ancient Denmark, received in those days, by trade and commerce, a very great quantity of Roman vases, vessels, ornaments, and other objects with classic ornaments ;

and when we remember what great skill in metal work these northern people exhibited in their home manufacture, in which they were scarcely surpassed by those more southerly "barbarous" nations, there is no reason to doubt but that they have been both willing and able to imitate to a certain extent these objects of foreign manufacture and their ornaments. There is no reason why a native goldsmith might not have made these horns, and on them imitated figures of centaurs which he had seen on imported Roman objects, even if these particular imitations of centaurs should prove to be the only ones left from so old a time; and the same of course holds good with regard to other antiquities, with semi-Roman ornaments, both those from the mosses, in South Jutland and elsewhere, and those found in graves or loose in the earth. This argument is further strengthened by the circumstance that of the so-called gold bracteates,—which, though of a somewhat later date, are evidently of the same class as the relics just mentioned,—those found in the different parts of Scandinavia exhibit very appreciable peculiarities in each locality, which prove them to be of home manufacture.

If now we weigh these various facts and considerations, I think we must conclude that there is no reason why a great part, if not all, of the non-Roman objects from the early Iron age found in mosses, in graves, and loose in the earth, should not have been manufactured in Denmark in spite of their evident traces of a more southerly and higher civilisation. Nay, there is, on the contrary, every probability of their being of native make; and as no other country has as yet been pointed out, which could with any degree of certainty be assumed to be their original home, we are not even justified in ascribing to them a foreign origin. But whether a greater or a smaller proportion of the antiquities of the early Iron age in South Jutland ultimately will turn out foreign or native, so much is at any rate certain, that no general result can be gained in this respect concerning South Jutland, which does not apply with equal force to the whole Peninsula—nay, to all three Scandinavian kingdoms, with which South Jutland, in point of antiquities, has everything—including the Runic inscriptions—in common, in this period as well as in that preceding it. Although, therefore, these Runic inscriptions may prove what they very probably will

prove, that the Scandinavian countries already in the first centuries of our era were inhabited by a Gotho-Germanic race, including Danes, Swedes, Goths (in the most restricted sense of the word), and Norwegians; and related to the Germans in Germany, these inscriptions afford, nevertheless, no proof whatever of the existence at that time of a peculiarly "German" population in South Jutland. Not even of the Frisian settlements on the western coast of South Jutland do we find any characteristic vestiges in the early Iron period. Nor have we, as far as this period is concerned, anything besides the antiquities to guide us, for it is only from its conclusion, about the time of the downfall of the West Roman Empire in the fifth century, that we possess written information, which, though scanty, yet suffices in connection with the antiquities to throw a somewhat clearer light on the population of Northern Europe.

#### VI. THE LATE IRON PERIOD (from A.D. 450 to A.D. 1000).

DURING the remarkably splendid early Iron age, which in the western and north-western parts of Europe must have comprised about five centuries, but to which we are as yet unable to assign so long a duration in Denmark and the other Scandinavian countries, the influence of Roman civilisation was very strongly predominant. But in proportion as the Romans, the teachers of the "Barbarians," degenerated, the latter advanced in strength and civilisation. At the downfall of the Western Empire, barbarous—mostly Gotho-Germanic—nations assumed dominion over the remnants of the Romans and of the far more numerous older—mostly Celtic—Romanised populations; and on the victorious Barbarians devolved the task of founding and developing a new state of things on the ruins of the Roman Empire. As, however, they met with an almost completely Roman civilisation in those provinces of that Empire where they settled, they necessarily yielded to its influence in certain respects, and separated themselves from the kindred tribes which had remained in their old habitations, or at least not penetrated beyond the frontiers of the Empire. This was so much the more inevitable, as the foreign settlers in the Roman provinces within two centuries from their arrival all assumed the Christian faith, which only for a time was

checked in its progress by the destruction of the Roman Empire, whilst the ancient heathenism still survived for centuries in the more remote parts of Europe, as in Scandinavia and North Germany. From this again resulted an important difference in character between the early Iron age and the late Iron age, in so far that, whilst the former was characterised by a remarkable uniformity in the greater part of the middle, the west, and the north of Europe, the late Iron period, on the contrary (of which the conclusion is generally fixed at the time of the introduction of Christianity there), exhibits great differences in extent and character in different countries.

In Scandinavia, where Christianity did not gain the upper-hand till the eleventh century, and where the late Iron period therefore extended over nearly six centuries, we can distinguish at least two very marked subdivisions, of which *the earlier* is characterised by a remarkable and considerable Byzantine influence, which made itself felt at the side of the predominating semi-Roman or "new-European" current of civilisation; whilst, in *the later* of these periods, heathenism, supplanted by Christianity in the south and west, still retained its dominion in the north and north-east of Europe, particularly in the Scandinavian countries, whereby the old northern genius obtained a favourable opportunity of expressing itself in a peculiar taste in forms and ornaments, and even in a new Runic alphabet which is confined to the homes of the Scandinavian peoples and their colonies in other countries.

#### VIA. THE FIRST DIVISION OF THE LATE IRON AGE (from about A.D. 450 to A.D. 700).

It has until lately been universally believed, on the faith of certain written authorities, that the peninsula of Jutland, and particularly its southern division, played a great part in history about the time of the downfall of the Roman Empire, and the transition from the early to the late Iron age, inasmuch as it was supposed that Angles and Jutes in the middle of the fifth century emigrated from these parts in connection with their neighbours the Saxons, in order to found a new Anglo-Saxon Commonwealth in Britain, which now received the name of England from the Angles, whilst their

supposed original home, the district of Angel, in South Jutland, for a long time remained waste. Several, mostly Danish, authors have, moreover, supposed that not only the Jutes, but also the Angles, said to have emigrated from the ancient Danish Angel in South Jutland, must have been a Danish tribe, or at any rate a people forming a connecting link between Danes and Germans. Other historians, mostly Norwegian and German, have striven to prove that the Angles who settled in England, to judge from their language, local names, and other monuments, were a German, not a Scandinavian people; and, supposing that the Angles and Jutes came from the peninsula of Jutland, these authors have concluded that this peninsula must at that time have had a German population. Norwegian authors have finally added to this series of assumptions and conclusions a theory of their own, namely, that Jutland, which they suppose must have been to a great extent deprived of its inhabitants after the emigration to England, only after that event received its present Danish population through settlers from Norway; an hypothesis, which in all essential points has been indorsed by German writers, who have availed themselves of it as a welcome argument in support of their favourite theory, that the whole peninsula of Jutland, including Sleswick, originally belonged to the German nationality. In favour of this theory they appeal, besides, to the fact that the Danish dialect of the peasantry in some districts of Jutland differs from that of the neighbouring districts and the Danish provinces generally in placing the definite article before the noun, instead of affixing it to the end of the noun as is usually the case in Danish.

But all these theories of the emigration of Angles from South Jutland, and the supposed subsequent conquest of the peninsula of Jutland by the Danes, rest on a foundation which is not only unreliable, but entirely erroneous. It is in the first place extremely improbable that a district proportionally so small as the so-called Angel, between the Flensborgfjord and the Slie (about 300 square miles English), could have sent forth those numerous hosts of Angles who peopled such large tracts of the northern and eastern parts of England, and from whom even the whole country was named England (Anglia), rather than from the powerful Saxons, who occupied the south of the country. In the

second place, we are actually without any reliable and contemporary historical testimony to the effect, that the Angles who settled in England had come from Angel in South Jutland.

It was not till a couple of centuries after the Anglo-Saxon conquest of England, that Venerable Bede committed to writing loose traditions on the subject, stating no doubt that the Angles had come from Angel, "between the realms of the Jutes and the Saxons," but without any express indication of this Angel being situated in South Jutland. This may of course have been his meaning, but even in that case it does not follow that he or his informant were not misled by an accidental similarity of name, for the name "Angel," which originally meant a corner, was by no means uncommon. We know more especially that a people called Angles lived during the first centuries of the Christian era, and even at a later date, in certain districts bordering on the Elbe, near the home of the ancient Saxons in North Germany, a locality to which we may apply Bede's words "between the countries of the Jutes and the Saxons," with just as much probability as to Angel in South Jutland, particularly if we remember how very limited Bede's geographical knowledge probably was, and how unreliable his account of the Anglo-Saxon conquest is, in far more important points. For he describes it as a sudden event effected in a very short time, whereas in reality it had been prepared through centuries, by immigrations of Saxon tribes, and was accomplished only by degrees, a circumstance which altogether forbids us to attach any great weight to his statements on such minor subjects as the one we are now discussing. His allegation that, on account of the emigration to England, "Angel was said to be lying waste until this day," would, if true, at any rate be inapplicable to Angel in South Jutland, because it would imply that the Danes had not yet settled so far south as the Slie and the Danevirke at the time of Bede, that is, in the eighth century, an assumption which would be altogether incredible. I therefore think that those Angles who lived near the Elbe were far more probably the ancestors of the English Angles, than the "Angelboer" of South Jutland.

In the third place, we cannot doubt that the English Angles were really a German, not a Danish or Scandina-

vian tribe ; but in Angel in South Jutland we find not the slightest vestige of any German population in those remote times. With regard to the nationality of the English Angles. I might appeal to Bede's expressions to the effect that the Angles were one people with the Saxons (*Anglorum sive Saxonum gens*), and that Jutes, Angles, and Saxons were three of the most powerful nations of Germany, if I did not reject as untrustworthy both his account and those allusions in later written sources (the laws of Edward the Confessor and others), which have been appealed to in different ways by some authors, and which very probably may be founded on Bede's account. But I rely on the fact, that the Anglo-Saxon language, as indeed has been acknowledged long ago by Rask, is essentially a Low German language, with but very few unimportant Danish elements—a result which would be unaccountable if the Angles had been a Danish tribe ; and besides, that all the old Anglian names of persons and places, which are older than the ninth century, are in every respect like those occurring in the Saxon parts of England. It is true that Danish local names abound in the eastern and northern parts of England ; but they are, in my opinion, not so numerous there that they may not very well be ascribed to the settlements of Danish Vikings since the beginning of the ninth century ; and if the Angles, in whose land the Danes principally settled, had been Danes themselves, the difference in dialect, in the proportion of Danish and Saxon local names, &c., between the old Anglian and the Saxon counties, would, I think, have been very much greater than it actually is. Not even those Jutes, who are said to have accompanied the Angles and Saxons, were, in my opinion, Danes ; it is, at any rate, a fact, that in the districts where they are said to have settled—in Kent and the Isle of Wight—there are no certain Danish remains at all. If these so-called Jutes came from the peninsula of Jutland, I suppose them to have been emigrants from the Frisian districts on the west coast of the peninsula, who may have been misnamed Jutes. Some Frisians no doubt settled in England, but they were too few to leave any other traces behind them than a few local names. If then the English Angles were a German tribe, they cannot be supposed to have lived at any time in Angel in South Jutland ; for if so, they would assuredly have left some vestige behind.

But neither in Angel nor in South Jutland generally (excepting the ancient Frisian settlements on the west coast) do we find the slightest vestige of ancient Low German local names. All the local names in Angel have, on the contrary, as far as historic tradition reaches, always been, what they still are this day, as completely and originally Danish as those met with in any other part of Denmark—closely allied to the later Danish local names in the north and east of England, dating from the Viking period. As for the peculiarity of the dialect spoken in Angel and other parts of Jutland, viz., that the definite article is placed before the noun, of which the Germans have made so much ado, that the celebrated philologist, Jacob Grimm, on the strength of that, and of that alone, in the Frankfort Parliament in 1858, declared that Germany had a lawful claim to the possession of the whole of Jutland, this isolated peculiarity can neither be proved at any time to have prevailed in the whole of Jutland, nor has it indeed come into use till a comparatively modern period.

If, finally, we turn to the antiquities, and compare those of Angel in South Jutland with those of the ancient Anglian parts of England, we find that they are so far from confirming that the (Low German) Angles of England should have been of one race with the (ancient Danish) Angelboer of South Jutland, that, on the contrary, their testimony tends in the directly opposite direction. Numerous investigations in all parts of England have proved that the Anglo-Saxon tombs of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, which generally form large cemeteries, mostly contain unburnt skeletons (in opposition to the Roman-British graves with burnt remains), buried in coffins rather deep in the ground, sometimes covered by small round tumuli, and that they present a marked uniformity all over the country, both in form and in contents, whether the districts in which they are situated were inhabited by Saxons or by Angles, or, as is supposed in some cases, by Jutes. English authors therefore frequently comprise them all under the common appellation of "Saxon graves." Some small variations with regard to the ornaments and other objects deposited in the graves have indeed been observed in different localities. Thus, for instance, the beautiful brooches with inlaid work, found in Kent, are peculiar to that county and denote at

any rate that there must have been greater wealth there than elsewhere. But these differences are too insignificant to be looked upon as indications of ancient differences of races, or indeed of anything more than local peculiarities of taste, caused perhaps in some cases by the different conditions of life of the population in different parts, nor do they render the uniformity prevailing in all essential points less striking. If now we compare these English tombs with those of the same period found in other countries, we find on the one hand that in France, in Switzerland, and in Germany (particularly in the Rhine countries and in South Germany), a great number of the tombs of the Franks, Burgundi, Alemanni, Saxons, and other German tribes allied to the Angles and Saxons have been discovered, which in all essential points connected with the form of the graves, the deposition of the corpses, the character of the accompanying arms, ornaments, and implements, present the most striking resemblance to the English tombs of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, we find that these English graves differ most pointedly from the contemporaneous remains in the peninsula of Jutland, and in those parts of North Germany which were then inhabited by Vendic tribes. For, whilst cremation was so rare in the settlements of Angles and so-called Jutes in Kent, that Mr. Charles Roach Smith deduces the following result from the investigations of the Rev. Bryan Faussett, "that the Kentish cemeteries . . . do not present one single instance of an original deposit containing an urn with burnt bones in or about the graves," this custom was, on the contrary, all but universal both in the old Vendic parts of North Germany (including Holstein), and in the southern part of the peninsula of Jutland, at least that part which lies between the Eider and the town of Veile, comprising the supposed home of the Angles, and in which not one cemetery, nay, not one

<sup>8</sup> Compare Th. Wright, *Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries*, Liverpool, 1854; Ch. Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua and Inventorium Sepulchrale*, Introduction; Baudot, *Memoire sur les sepultures des barbares de l'époque Merovingienne*, Dijon, 1860; Lindenschmidt, *Alterthümer, uns. heidnischen Vorzeit*, and particularly Count Wilhelm of Würtemberg's *Graphisch Archæologische Vergleichenungen III.*, which con-

tains a map showing the extent to which this class of tombs occur in Europe. Holland, the whole North, East, and great districts of the middle part of Germany, as well as the Scandinavian countries, are here left outside the boundary of these tombs, which towards the east is drawn from the river Ems to the sources of the Inn and the Isar, whilst towards the south it is formed by the Alps, and in France by the river Loire.

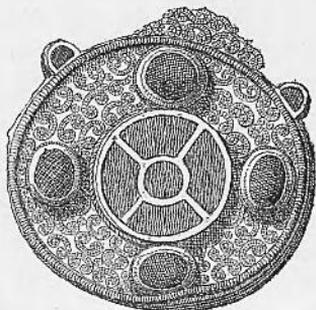
single grave like the Anglo-Saxon, Frankish, and other ancient German tombs of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, has ever been discovered. It is true that single tombs and burial-places containing unburnt skeletons, bronze vessels, wooden buckets with metal mountings, glass cups, &c., and resembling so far the foreign graves just mentioned, are met with in some parts of Denmark, particularly in Sealand and in Fyen, rarely in North Jutland; but they belong to the preceding period, the early Iron Age, or at the utmost to the very beginning of the first division of the late Iron Age, and differ from those foreign graves by not forming such extensive cemeteries, and by an older or more Roman style of antiquities, as well as by a remarkable scarcity of iron weapons. But in Angel or in South Jutland generally, not a single instance of such a tomb has been met with,—a circumstance which in my opinion strongly militates against the theory of the English Angles ever having lived there.

Even apart from the mode of burial, a careful consideration of the antiquities, such as ornaments and implements, leads to the same result. The antiquities of South Jutland, as of the Scandinavian North in general, certainly exhibit a general resemblance in all essential points to those found in England, as well as in the countries then inhabited by Franks, Saxons, and other German tribes,—in fact, the greater part of Europe, north of the Alps,—and it is thereby evident that South Jutland and the other Scandinavian countries participated in the new semi-barbarous civilisation which developed itself on the ruins of Rome. But at the same time they present remarkable peculiarities. Of course, each of these many tribes imitated their Roman models in their own peculiar manner, and in this way the differences of race and country found an expression in their ornaments arms, and implements. We may thus, for instance, observe that the ornaments with inlaid work which have been found in Frankish tombs certainly possess a striking resemblance to those from Kent; but they differ, at the same time, by their much less refined workmanship, proving that they have not proceeded from the same manufacture. The same also holds good with regard to the ornaments from South Germany, though these are perhaps still more like the English. Even within the limits of one

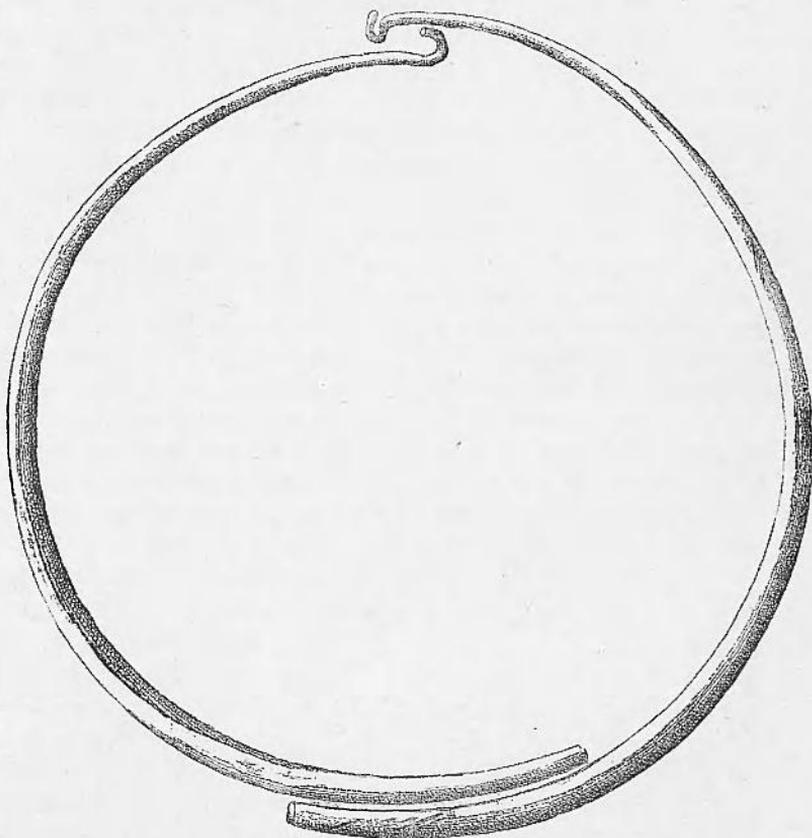
and the same country such differences occur, and we have mentioned an instance in speaking of the Kentish brooches of this period, which are so remarkably different from those found in other counties. Similar differences are observable in Denmark, with regard to this very class of ornaments, which in different parts exhibit local variations, proving that they are of home manufacture; and they have, besides, a peculiar interest to us, because they throw additional light on the question whether the English Angles came from Angel in South Jutland. The fact is, that, although these brooches are by no means unfrequent in other parts of ancient Denmark, only a very few have been met with in South Jutland,—partly of gold, ornamented with paste and filigree work, partly of silver, with ornaments of niello and fantastic representations of human and animal heads,—and even these few have mostly been found near the frontier of North Jutland, not one having as yet been discovered in Angel. Certain types of brooches, which are peculiar to the ancient Anglian districts, in the northern and middle part of England, are hitherto entirely unrepresented in the collections not only from Angel but from Denmark generally, whilst strange to say, they re-appear in the west and north of Norway, indicating that the intercourse between Norway and England in those days was more active than between Denmark and England. Nor is this the only fact which proves that during the first division of the later Iron age, as well as during the early Iron age, the intercourse of the ancient Danish provinces with Gaul, Germany, and Pannonia, was more active than with Britain, though this was so much nearer. It is a remarkable fact, that, whilst Roman coin of the two centuries of the Empire, as late as 230 A.D., is rather frequently met with in Denmark and the Baltic provinces, the finds of West-Roman coin of the two following centuries have been extremely few and far between. Now, it so happens, that, precisely about the year 230 the Romans began to withdraw from Germany and Pannonia, which countries therefore seem until then to have afforded the principal channel of communication between the Romans and the inhabitants of the North. And still more striking is the fact, that no Anglo-Saxon coins from the first three or four centuries of the Anglo-Saxon rule in England have been found in the North. Surely

V.—ANTIQUITIES OF SOUTH JUTLAND.

(Late Iron Age: First Division.)



Gold brooch (imperfect), set with colored glass and garnets, found at Skravo.  
Original size.



Fragments of rings of electrum, found at Ullerup and Fohl.  
Scale, half original size.

VI.—ANTIQUITIES OF SOUTH JUTLAND.

(Late Iron Age: First Division.)



Gold brooch, from Kolluna.

Original size.



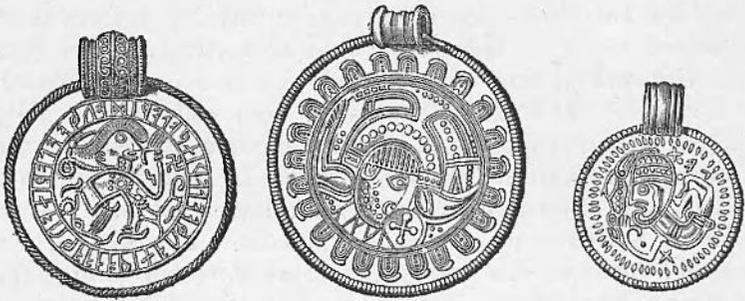
Fragment of a gilt silver brooch, from Galsted.

Original size.

if the Angles had come to England from Angel in South Jutland, we must assume that there would have been an active intercourse between Denmark, or at least that province, and England, both before and after that great event, and we should certainly in that case expect to find both Roman coin brought from England, where the Romans ruled for two centuries after having withdrawn from their advanced posts in Germany; and also Anglo-Saxon coin from the earliest time of the newly founded commonwealth in England. The absence of such coin tells very heavily against the supposition that such intercourse existed. Arms of this period have hitherto only rarely been found in South Jutland, or elsewhere in Denmark; but what we possess points to the same conclusion as the coin. The hilts of the Danish swords of this period, for instance, resemble in shape to some extent those of the same age discovered in other parts of Europe, but we have, as yet, neither in South Jutland nor in other parts of Denmark, found a single spear-head of that peculiar kind of which the socket is not quite closed, and which is so well known from Anglo-Saxon, Frankish, and ancient German tombs.

Nevertheless, traces of foreign influence are by no means wanting, and many objects, such as glass cups, were no doubt imported from abroad. A peculiarity which must be explained in this way, is the occurrence of a curious kind of pottery in the extreme southern districts of South Jutland, between Angel and the Eider, particularly in tombs with burnt bones. These vessels have not as yet been found farther north, but are strikingly like those found in contemporaneous Vendic and Low German tombs. It is still uncertain whether this kind of pottery is originally Vendic, or originally Saxon, or rather an imitation of some perhaps Roman model, foreign to both these people. But, at any rate, its occurrence in South Jutland, near the southern frontier, is easily accounted for when we remember that the neighbouring Holstein was then inhabited both by Vendic and by Saxon tribes. Traces of a Vendic influence are even discernible on the south coasts of Laaland and Falster, in local names, although the Baltic intervenes between these islands and the ancient seats of the Vends in North Germany. The principal foreign influence at this time, however, was doubtless Byzantine. We trace this, not only in

the numerous Byzantine gold coins, mostly from the fifth and sixth centuries, found in the countries surrounding the Baltic, of which several being provided with eyes or loops have been used as ornaments. But it is also perceptible in the so-called bracteates of this period, which no doubt were



From Ullerup.

From Skodborg.

From Galsted.

Gold Bracteates, orig. size.

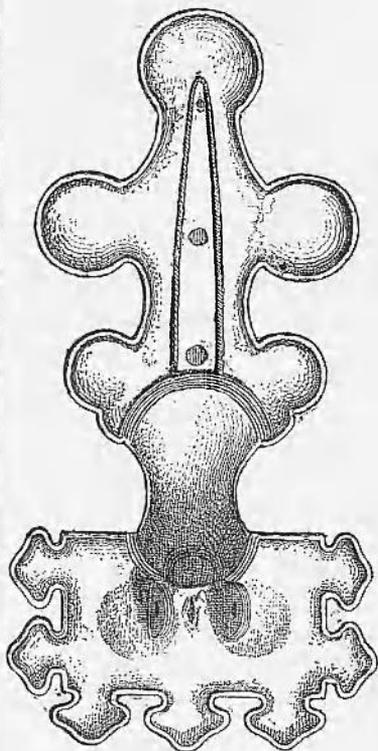
manufactured in the northern countries themselves, in order to serve as ornaments, and which mostly are imitations, sometimes only on second or third hands, of Byzantine coins. Such bracteates, of which a great number have been found in Denmark—not a few in South Jutland—have certainly also been met with in Anglo-Saxon, Frankish, and ancient German tombs of this period; but those found in the north are mostly distinguished by their being imitations of Byzantine coin, and bearing inscriptions in the most ancient Runes, which is otherwise the case only with a few discovered in North Germany. These finds of bracteates, and particularly of Byzantine coin, often accompanied by splendid ornaments and rings of gold or electrum, are amongst the costliest that have occurred. They have been most frequent on the Danish islands, and been met with as far west as Hanover; but, although France and the British Islands have been influenced by Byzantine civilisation, it reached them through another route.

Of course, this Byzantine influence contributed to mark still more the distinction between the Scandinavian countries, including South Jutland, and the more westerly and southerly countries of Europe. And although that influence subsided, at least for a time, in the seventh and eighth centuries, this distinction did not on that account become obliterated. It

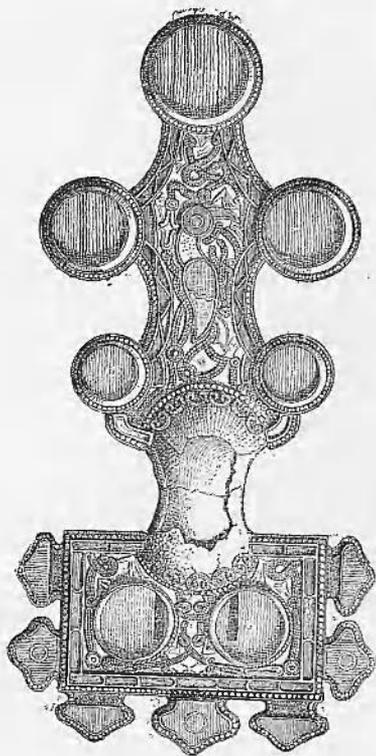
VII—ANTIQUITIES OF SOUTH JUTLAND.

(Late Iron Age: First Division.)

Back.



Front.



Gold brooch, from Skodborg, inlaid with glass.  
Original size.

became, on the contrary, stronger by degrees, as the west and middle of Europe was more Christianised, whilst heathenism still survived in the north, and from the beginning of the eighth century the Scandinavian countries, as far as the Eider, separate themselves with great distinction from the neighbouring Vendic, Low-Saxon, and Frisian countries, which, in the course of the following century were Christianised, whilst the north preserved its heathen faith for a couple of centuries more.

*(To be continued.)*

## THE ANTIQUITIES OF SOUTH JUTLAND OR SLESWICK.

By J. J. A. WORSAAE, Hon. F.S.A., Director of the Museum of Northern Antiquities at Copenhagen. Translated, with the concurrence of the Author, by  
Ch. C. AUGUST GOSCH, Attaché to the Danish Legation.

VI B. THE SECOND DIVISION OF THE LATE IRON AGE (FROM ABOUT 700 TO 1000 A.D.).—The conclusion of the Iron age and of heathenism, which coincides with the earliest reliable written information on the history of the North, is the heroic age of the North, particularly of Norway and Denmark. Through different stages of progress in civilisation, by contact with other nations, by trade, shipping, and development of the country's own resources, which had early brought them great wealth and splendour without weakening their strength, the inhabitants of the North had been trained for great undertakings. Internal discord in foreign countries opened a way for conquests and the planting of great colonies, whereby they infused new blood in the degenerated races, at the same time, in spite of the strong influence of the Christian civilisation by which they were there surrounded, preserving for a long while their national characteristics and abilities (for instance, their remarkable skill in ship-building), their habits and customs, and even their own fashion with regard to dress and arms, and their Runic alphabet, which was peculiar to the North, where it had supplanted the earliest Runes at the beginning of the period of which we speak.

Investigations of graves both in the northern countries themselves and in the colonies planted by their inhabitants in other countries, prove that different modes of burial still obtained, at any rate at the beginning of this period. In some places the bodies were burnt according to ancient custom, and the remains deposited either in low tumuli of earth or stones, or in small stone cists, but rarely in regular barrows; in other places they were buried whole, and in that case they were deposited in large barrows, with arms, ornaments, some-

times even with whole ships or horses, with riding and driving harness, in order that the buried warrior might, as one of the Sagas says, "do as he liked, and either ride or drive to Valhal." The Islandic historian, Snorro Sturleson, states that cremation ceased in Denmark earlier than in Norway and Sweden; and the experience of archæologists confirm his assertion. Nor is it improbable that this circumstance may be connected with the influence of Christianity and Christian mode of burial, which made themselves felt in Denmark earlier than farther north. There are also some noticeable differences between the northern kingdoms with regard to the objects deposited in the graves. Remains of ships, for instance, have several times been met with in Norway and Sweden, but not hitherto in ancient Danish districts, excepting perhaps Skaane; whilst bones of horses and remains of harness are much oftener found in graves in Denmark. The graves from the last time of heathendom are, besides, far more frequent and of more varied appearance in Norway and Sweden, and contain proportionally a greater quantity of iron arms, as well as of the ornaments, draughtsmen, dies, and other objects characteristic of this period,—facts which are



Brooch found in the Dannevirke.  
Scale, half orig. size.



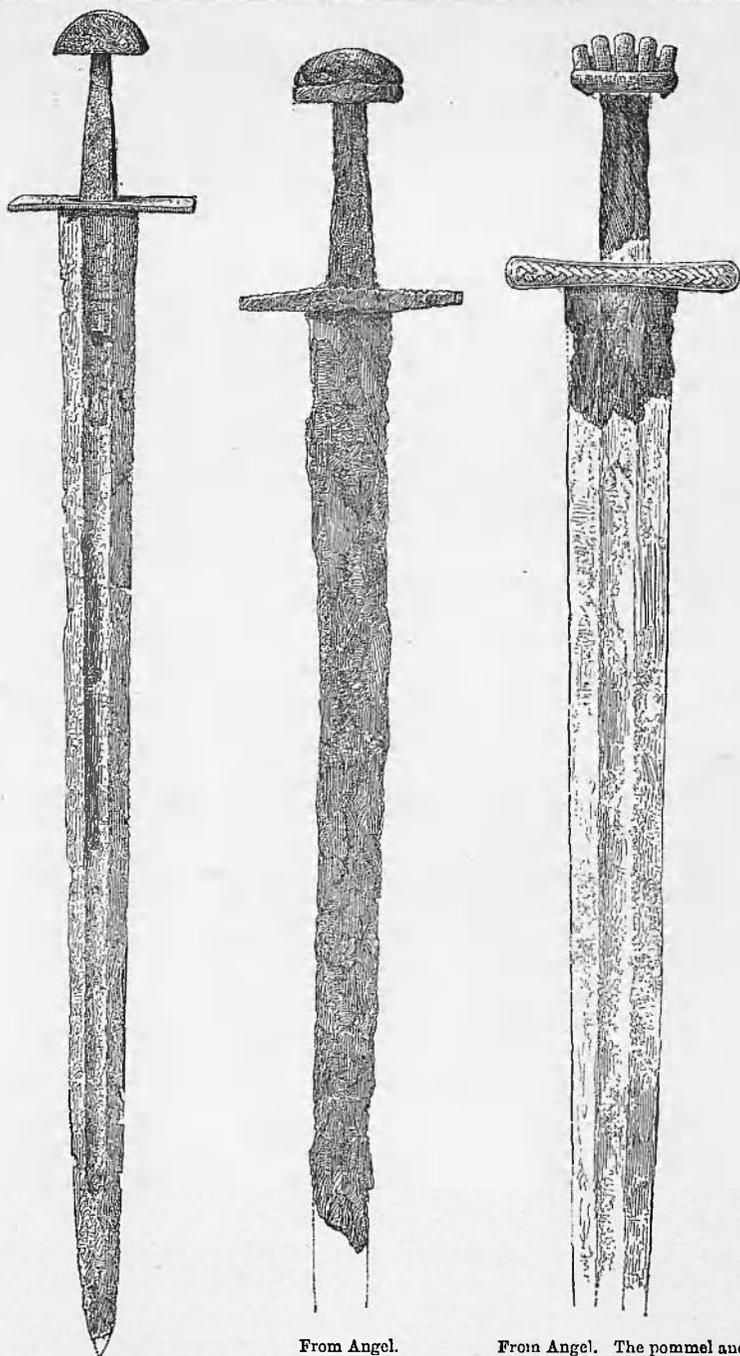
Pendant ornament of a belt, overlaid with silver,  
found in the Dannevirke. Scale,  
two-thirds orig. size.



only in part to be explained by the longer continuance of heathenism on the Scandinavian peninsula, particularly in

VIII.—ANTIQUITIES OF SOUTH JUTLAND.

(Late Iron Age : Second Division.)



From Eckernförde.

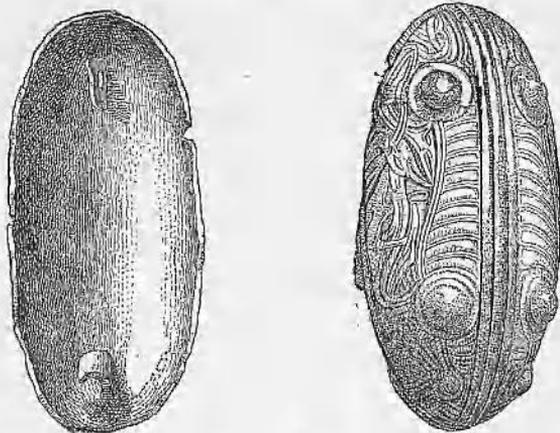
From Angel.

From Angel. The pommel and cross piece of cast bronze.

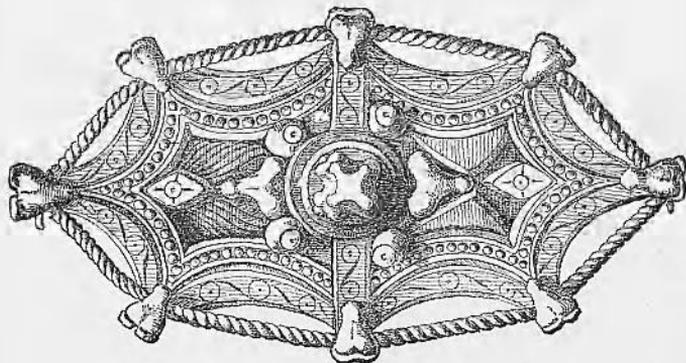
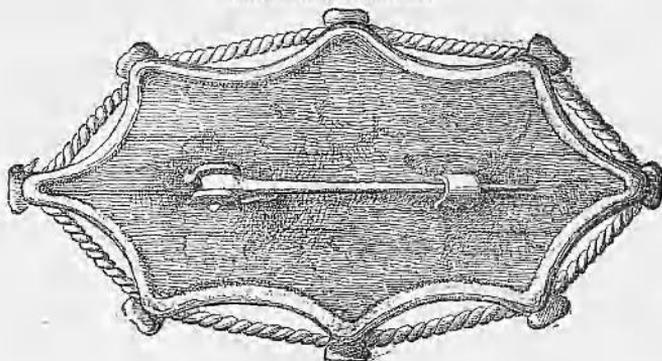
Viking swords, of iron.  
Scale, one-fifth original size.

X.—ANTIQUITIES OF SOUTH JUTLAND

(Late Iron Age: Second Division.)



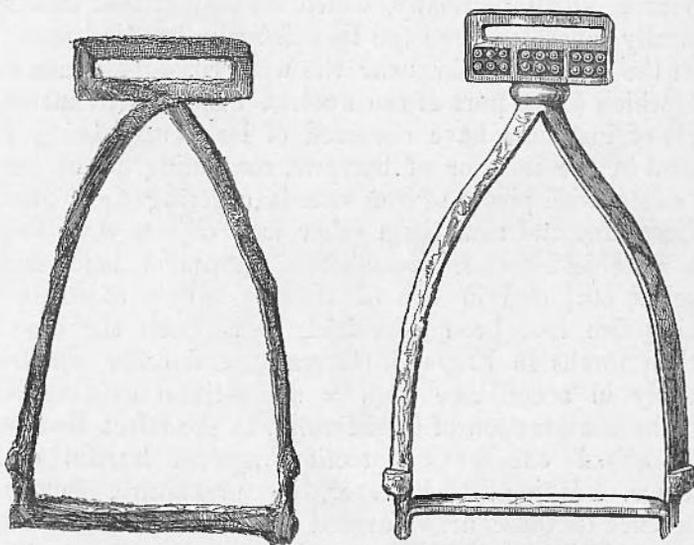
Brooch, of gilt bronze, from Frøslev, near Flensborg.  
Scale, two-thirds original size.



Silver brooch, from a peat bog near Oxenvad.  
Original size.

Sweden. In the antiquities themselves, however, the greatest uniformity is observable. The swords exhibit the same peculiar hilts, often with a triangular pommel, a distinct cross-piece below the grip, and often ornamented with precious metals; the horse-ornaments are likewise of the same shape, and the buckles exhibit the same peculiar trefoil or cup-shape, with fantastic interlaced ornaments representing an ulterior semi-barbarous development of the fashion and style of the preceding period.

Antiquities of all these peculiar kinds have been met with in South Jutland. Specimens of "Viking swords" have been found near Eckernforde, in Angel, and in Fohr (fig. 1-3); and of the characteristic cup-formed brooches several have come to light, both in tombs and elsewhere. One of those represented in the annexed figures was found in the ancient rampart of the Dannevirke, close to the south side of the town of Sleswick, together with fittings for a belt (fig. 4-5, *a*, *b*); another (fig. 6, *a*, *b*) which, as the first-named, was of bronze-gilt, was found near Flensburg in a barrow; the remarkable and



Found at Angel.

Found at Stolk, overlaid with silver.

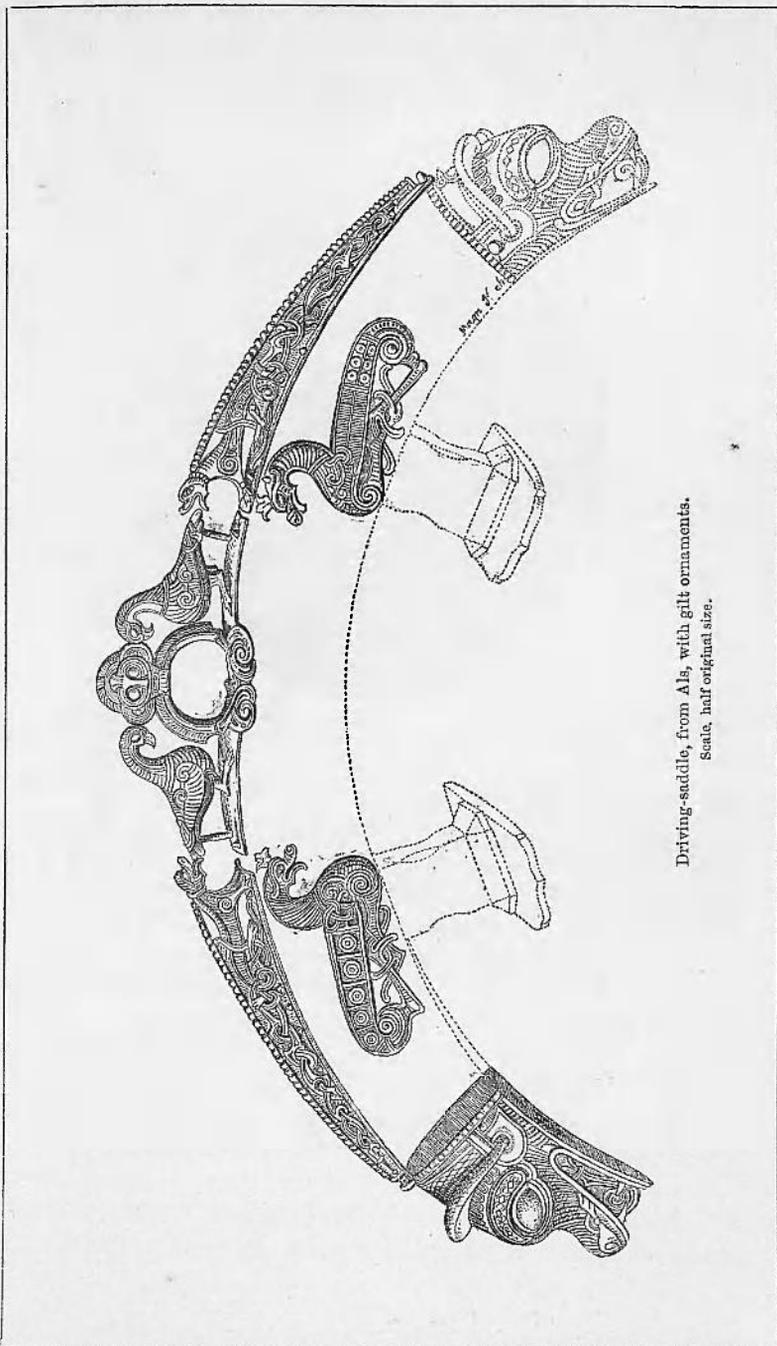
Stirrups found in South Jutland. Scale, one-third orig. size.

unique silver brooch (fig. 7, *a*, *b*) was found in a peat-bog in the northern part of the province. Remains of harness and horse-ornaments, often silver-plated, such as bits, iron bridles,

and stirrups, have been found in several barrows ; and in one barrow gilt-metal fittings and ornaments were discovered belonging to a splendid driving-harness, still showing marks of wear by the reins, and strikingly like those found in other parts of Denmark and the North (fig. 8). It is probable, though not ascertained, that these remains of harness were deposited near unburnt skeletons, as was the case in similar barrows in North Jutland. History informs us that the Danes, at the time of the Vikings and their great conquests, were distinguished not only by their naval skill, but also by their horsemanship, and that their cavalry often gained them the victory ; the Jutlanders being more particularly famous for their horses—as is still the case. It is, therefore, not at all surprising that antiquities bearing witness of their predilection for horses should turn up in considerable number both in North and South Jutland. But it is equally significant that neither so-called Viking swords, nor the above-mentioned cup-formed brooches, nor remains of harness, have ever been discovered, in tombs or elsewhere, south of the Eider, in Holstein and North Germany, which already at that time was politically separated from the Danish realm by the Eider.

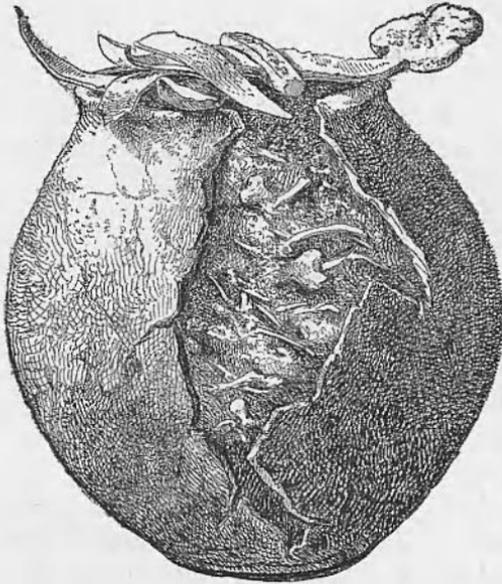
On the island of Föhr, near the west coast of South Jutland, which forms part of the ancient Frisian settlements, a couple of instances have occurred of large urns being discovered in the interior of barrows, containing burnt bones and ashes, with pieces of iron swords covering their mouth. In these urns and near them other iron objects were found, such as shield-bosses, spear-heads, chapes of lance-shafts, brooches, etc., and in one of them a couple of steels for striking fire had been deposited, as is often the case in heathen tombs in England, Germany, and other countries, probably in accordance with a superstition existing long after the introduction of Christianity, to the effect that such steels afford excellent protection against hurtful magic influence. It would, however, be premature, from the occurrence of these urns covered with swords, to infer that the mode of burial there was another than in other parts of South Jutland, as it has not been decided yet whether they do not belong to an earlier period, when such urns were used to a not inconsiderable extent all over the peninsula (see p. x.). At any rate, distinct proofs of Scandinavian influence on these western islands are afforded by the dis-

XI.—ANTIQUITIES OF SOUTH JUTLAND.  
(Late Iron Age: Second Division.)



Driving-saddle, from Als, with gilt ornaments.  
Scale, half original size.

covery of Viking swords on Föhr, and of certain remarkable stone monuments on the island of Amrom, which strongly recall similar monuments found on the island of Bornholm,



Clay urn with burnt bones, and a broken iron sword, from Föhr.

in the Baltic, and in different parts of Norway and Sweden, for instance in Skaane and in Bleking, provinces which now belong to Sweden, but which, originally, were parts of Denmark. In a valley called Skalnadal, on the island of Amrom, a barrow,<sup>9</sup> with a ring of stones at its foot, appeared some time ago, when violent gales had blown away the quicksand which formerly had covered it. This barrow was found to contain urns with burnt bones and ashes, an iron knife, glass beads and bronze buckles, and near it monuments constructed of small stones arranged in circles, squares, and triangles. As several such monuments are still said to be hidden under the quicksand, it is not improbable that this valley may contain also some of the so-called "Danebrogships," monuments of a similar description, but larger, forming oblongs, representing, as it were, the shape

<sup>9</sup> It is a curious fact, that in Amrom, where stones are rare, several barrows are formed of shells.

of a ship's deck. Such ship-monuments existed formerly—twenty in number—near Gjenner Bay, on the east coast of South Jutland, but have now quite disappeared in that place; and it is not till we come farther north that we still find vestiges of some, viz., on Hjarnø, a small island in Horsensfjord in North Jutland. They are more frequent in Sweden and Norway. The annexed illustrations represent the monuments in the Skalnasdal, and some strikingly similar discovered in Bleking, on a place called Hjortehammer. In Holstein, or other parts of North Germany, such monuments are entirely unknown.

Finally, we must revert to the inscriptions in the later Runic alphabet, which came into use about 700 A.C., and is peculiar to Scandinavia and Scandinavian settlements in other countries, but they have never been found south of the Eider. Several are known from South Jutland; one on a piece of wood found at Froslev, and five on monumental stones, of which three were found near the Danevirke, and according to the inscriptions, were placed there in memory of warriors, fallen no doubt in defence of the Danevirke and the frontier of the Danish realm. One was erected by King Sven (A.D. 985-1014), the father of Kanut the Great, and another (of which the accompanying illustrations represent the front and back) probably by one of Sven's chieftains. The inscription reads thus,—“Thurlf, Svens 'himthige' (mod. Danish 'huskarld') erected this stone after Erik his fellow, who died when the warriors sat round Hedeby, but he was a commander, a very brave warrior.”

The peculiar Danish local names ending in “by,” “lund,” “skov,” “kjær,” “holm,” “næs,” “øe,” and other endings, reach as far as the river Eider, though they are scarce in its immediate neighbourhood; and the southern boundary line of the Danish historical monuments in South Jutland, therefore, coincides very nearly with the ancient Danish frontier-ramparts—“Östervolden,” or “Gammelvolden” (from Vindeby Noer by Eckernforde to the Slie), and the “Kurgrav” and the “Danevirke” (from Selk and Hadeby-noer to Redea and the river Trene)—that, according to indisputable historical evidence, from the beginning of the ninth century—and perhaps already at a more ancient period—served as lines of defence for the Danish Jutes, who, even according to German, Anglo-Saxon, and other foreign chronicles, at

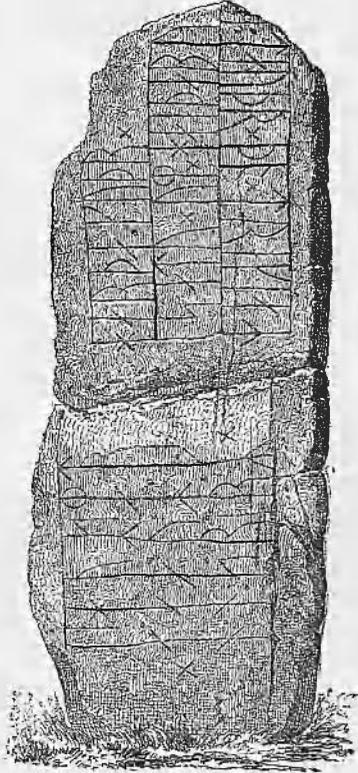
IX.—ANTIQUITIES OF SOUTH JUTLAND.

(Late Iron Age : Second Division.)

Front view.



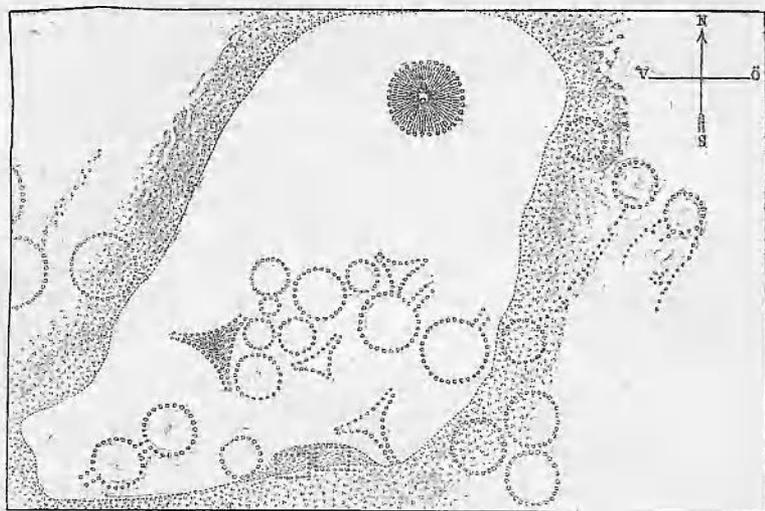
Back view.



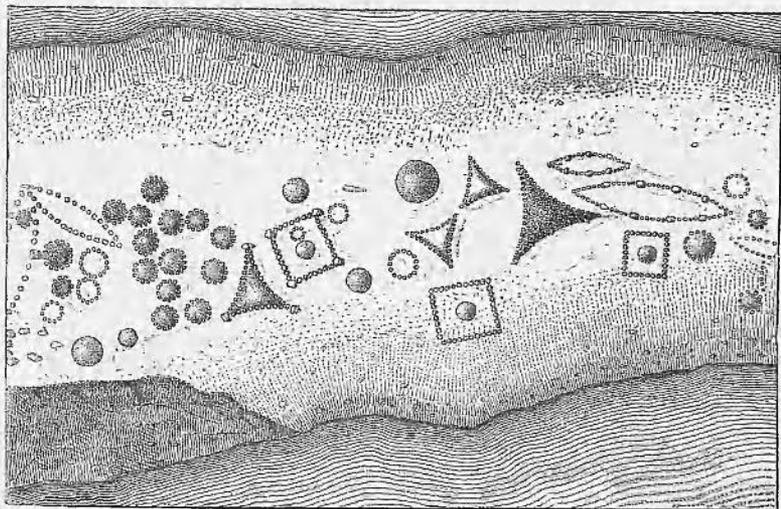
Runic Monument at Vedelspang, near the Danevirke.  
Erected by Thurlf, huskari of king Sven, father of Knut the Great.

XI.—ANTIQUITIES OF SOUTH JUTLAND.

(Late Iron Age ; second division.)



Stone monuments, Skalnadal, Island of Amrou.



Stone monuments, Hjortehammar in Blekinge.

that time inhabited the country as far as the Slie.<sup>1</sup> A few Danish local names occur, as already stated, south of this line, as well as barrows with Runic monumental stones—relics from ancient fights in defence of the Danevirke,—but all authorities agree that upon the whole, the territory between the Eider and the Danevirke was, even as late as the year 1200, a vast solitude—an uninhabited tract—to the east overgrown with dense forests—Danischwold—in the middle an open heath, towards the west a low-lying, watery, marshy plain,—all of which was left uninhabited on purpose, in order that an enemy on crossing the Eider and approaching the Danevirke should not find food and shelter there.

Although the Danes succeeded in maintaining their independence and preserving their ancient frontier, even from the ancient period of which we speak, till the melancholy year of 1864, Germanism, following the wake of Christianity, nevertheless made its way in a peaceable manner through the Danevirke. It was from Germany that Denmark was first Christianised, and the first Danish church was built on the so-called “Holm,” in the important frontier city Hedeby or Sleswick, just inside the Danevirke, where the Danish kings often resided, and where many native and foreign merchants were collected for the sake of the commerce which was carried on with the whole of Scandinavia and many foreign nations, particularly Saxons, Vendes, Russians, and Arabs.<sup>2</sup> German bishops, priests, and monks continued to pour into Jutland and thence to the islands, to Sweden and to Viken in Norway, and for a long time they had it all their own way as missionaries and preachers, until at length a considerable religious influence made itself felt proceeding from the British islands, and particularly from the northern part of England, where the Danish element was very strong, whereby a bar was erected against the German influence. Nevertheless, this continued very powerful in Jutland, particularly in the southern part. When South Jutland, a

<sup>1</sup> Thus Engelhard (at the beginning of the ninth century) states that in crossing the river *Ægidora* you come into the country of the Northmen. Otta states in this report of his journeys to Alfred the Great that the town of Hedeby belongs to the Danes; and Adam of Bremen says expressly that the river Eider, since 811, formed the frontier be-

tween Nordalbingia and Denmark, in virtue of the peace between Charlemagne and King Heming.

<sup>2</sup> The connection of the Scandinavian countries with the East was very active; and in many places also in South Jutland great quantities of Arab coin, silver in bars, plaited gold and silver rings, &c., have been found.

couple of centuries later, was erected into a separate duchy by the Danish kings, in order to facilitate the defence of the Danevirke, this measure unfortunately entailed unforeseen consequences, destructive in the highest degree to the Danish nationality of the duchy, and favoured its partial Germanisation, which commenced by the colonisation of the hitherto uncultivated tract between the Danevirke and the Eider by German settlers in the fourteenth century.

If, in conclusion, we once more fix our attention principally on the last period of the pre-historic time of Denmark, this at least is beyond all controversy, that the occurrence of Danish antiquities—as the Viking swords, the peculiar ornaments (brooches), the remains of horse equipments, the peculiar stone monuments, the Runic inscriptions, as well as Danish local names,—ceases abruptly north of the Eider; and the moment we cross that river, everything indicates that we set foot on the soil of entirely different nationalities. And even if we extend our view through three or four centuries more, we find that, apart from the ancient Frisian settlements on the west coast, and the colonisation of the waste frontier tracts that took place principally in the fourteenth century, there is no vestige whatever of any ancient German population in South Jutland. Antiquities, linguistic monuments, and chronicles, all completely agree that from the most ancient times, until the first centuries after the introduction of Christianity into Denmark, the present South Jutland or Sleswick, as far as the Eider, has (perhaps not even with exception of the ancient Frisian population) in all and every respect shared the same development in civilisation as the other parts of ancient Denmark; and that, without any doubt whatsoever, any and every German element which may now be found in Sleswick (apart from the Frisians), has only been introduced during the last four or five centuries.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE ON THE ANTIQUITIES OF SLESWICK.

By MR. WORSAAE.

SINCE my remarks were written (see page 189, *ante*), a very remarkable testimony in favor of my explanation of the so-called Moss-finds in Denmark has been found in the writings of Orosius (a historian living in the fifth century), and brought out by M. E. Beauvois in a review of Mr. Engelhardt's work on Nydam in the French newspaper "L'illustration," for 1866, (p. 264, No. 1236.)

After having stated (*Historia Adversus Paganos*, lib. v. ch. xvi. ed. Colonia, 1561, p. cci.) that the defeat sustained by the Romans, in the year 111, B.C. in the battle against the Cimbri and other nations near Arausio (now Orange), in the South of France, was so decisive that only a few escaped with their lives, Orosius gives the following striking account of the manner in which the victors treated the spoils: "Hostes binis castris atque ingenti præda potiti, nova quadam atque insolita *exsecratione* cuncta quæ ceperant pessum dederunt; *vestis discissa et projecta est, aurum argentumque in flumen abjectum, lorica virorum concisa, phaleræ equorum disperditæ, equi ipsi gurgitibus immersi*, homines laqueis collo inditis ex arboribus suspensi sunt, ita ut nihil prædæ victor, nihil misericordiæ victus, agnosceret. Maximus tunc Romæ non solum luctus, verum etiam metus fuit, ne confectim Cimbri Alpes transgrederentur Italiamque delerent."

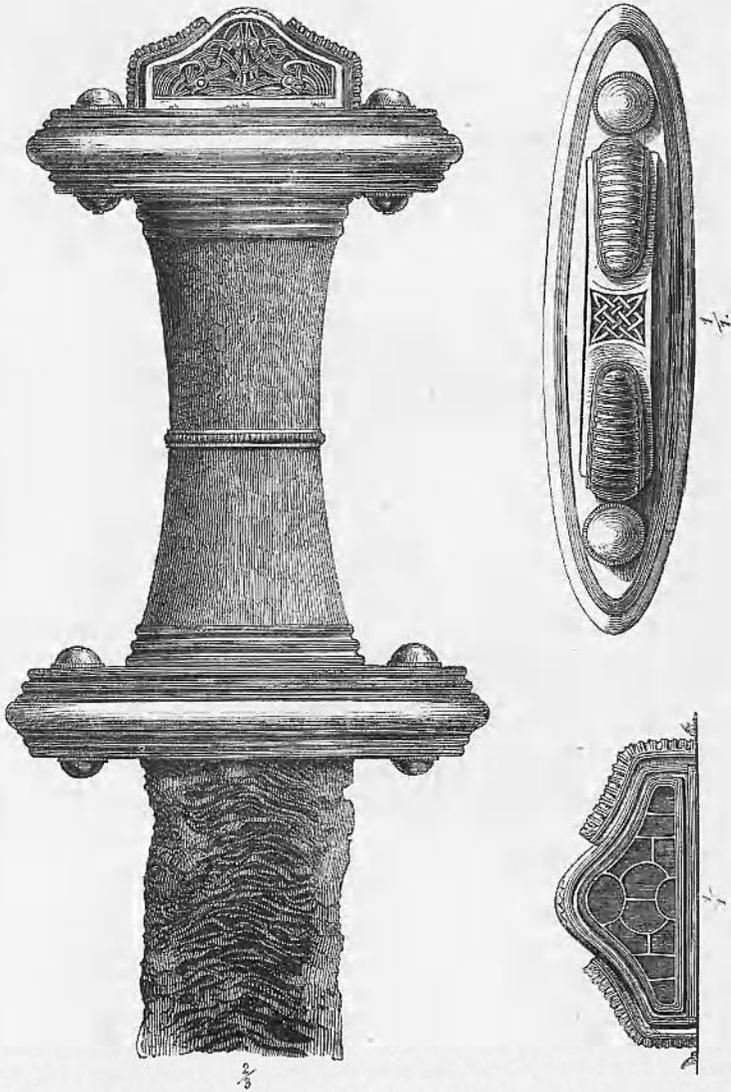
Remembering how systematically the objects discovered in our mosses in such large hoards have been destroyed, cut and torn asunder, before being deposited, and also to what degree warlike accoutrements predominate in the moss-finds—in some places (as in Vimose), largely interspersed with remains of horsetrappings and of the horses themselves—it seems impossible to look upon this passage otherwise than as containing a description of the very process to which these remarkable moss deposits owe their existence. It

cannot be supposed that the treatment to which the spoils from the Roman camp and the battlefield in this case were subjected, formed an exception to the rule, something peculiar to that occasion. What the "Barbarians" did was no doubt done in obedience to a custom of theirs, which bade them sacrifice the spoils of war by rendering them useless (*exsecratione nova*, etc.), and then immersing them in water, either in sacred lakes, rivers or outlets from the sea, or in the nearest suitable localities; and the testimony of Orosius, adduced by M. Beauvois, therefore appears to afford so strong a support to the explanation I have suggested and advocated in the text above, that this theory now seems almost to have acquired scientific certainty. It is so much the more striking, though I do not wish to lay undue stress on the circumstance, as the account of Orosius expressly refers to the Cimbri after whom the ancients gave the name of the Cimbrian peninsula to the peninsula of Jutland, in which these remarkable moss deposits were first discovered.<sup>1</sup>

The sword represented by the cuts opposite has not been found in South Jutland, but may serve to illustrate the style of its time—the first division of the late Iron age—when compared with those of the early Iron age figured in Engelhardt's work and those of the conclusion of the Iron age figured above (p. 182). Almost all the objects of that period show similar serpent ornaments.

<sup>1</sup> With regard to the statement, that the men were suspended by the neck from the trees, Mr. Engelhardt observes that this was precisely the mode in which victims sacrificed to Odin were

killed; whence perhaps his surname, "The Lord of those that are hung." (Kragehul Mosefund, p. 18). Translator's note.



Sword found at Bildsömose in Fyen. (Late Iron Age.)

Scale, of the sword handle, two-thirds original size details, same size as the original.