

# REFLECTIONS ON CULTURE CONNECTIONS

EXAMINING CONNECTIONS BETWEEN  
SOUTH SCANDINAVIA AND THE SÎNTANA DE MURES/CERNJACHOV CULTURE  
FROM AD 270 – 410 (PERIODS C<sub>2</sub> TO D<sub>1</sub>)

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## ABSTRACT

*This article is based on a bachelor project which examines the possible culture connections between South Scandinavian and the Sîntana de Mures/Cernjachov culture, where the latter is known in the period C<sub>2</sub> to D<sub>1</sub> (corresponding to AD 270-410).*

*It is clear that there are culture connections present between South Scandinavia and the Wielbark culture in North Poland in the Late Roman Iron Age. The migration from the Wielbark culture to the area north of the Black Sea, influencing the emergence of the Sîntana de Mures/Cernjachov cultures has also been confirmed, and both cultures can be associated with the Goths known from literary sources.*

*The archaeological material that has been examined throughout the paper, such as facet-cut glass, iron combs and rosette fibulas, also clearly show connections between the cultures.*

*The paper presents three central schools of archaeology, each illustrating their way of interpreting connections between Prehistoric cultures, and finally demonstrates the individualized interpretation method which the paper favours. However, the conclusion must be that the archaeological sources are not significant enough to make any assumption on the kind of specific connections that might have taken place.*

## INTRODUCTION

This article is based on the author's bachelor project from the Spring of 2006 carrying the title: *'An examination of the possible culture connections between South Scandinavia and the Sântana de Mures/Cernjachov culture'*. In modern Danish archaeology it is very popular to focus on connections especially in the Roman Iron Age towards the Roman Empire. However, there seem to be material from the Roman Iron Age where the origin can not be explained through this connection and therefore it is very relevant to examine connections in other directions. Therefore, this paper has chosen to focus on a south eastern connection towards the Sântana de Mures/Cernjachov culture.

To begin with, some elements of the cultures involved will be covered (Figure 1) and this continues with an overview of the material on which the models on possible connections are based. The article will also cover some of the different theories on culture connections that have been produced over the last 100 years, sorted in the three main archaeological schools of Culture History, Processualism and Post-processualism. At the end the paper will attempt some new interpretations of the material and the subject of culture connections in general.



Figure 1: Map over Europe showing the extent of the Wielbark culture (yellow) and the Sântana de Mures/Cernjachov culture (green).

This paper uses the chronology of Birger Storgaard on the Eastern Middle and South Europe (Storgaard 1997: 9) and the chronology of Ulla Lund Hansen on Scandinavia and North Europe (Hansen 1987:30) (Figure 2).

Storgaard 1997:9 Eastern Middle and South Europe		Hansen 1987:30 Scandinavia / North Europe
B1: AD 1-80 B2a: AD 80-120 B2b: AD 120-160 B2-C1/C1a: AD 160-200/30	Early Roman Iron Age	B1a: AD 1-40 B1b: AD 40-70 B2: AD 70-150/60 B2/C1a: AD 150/60-200
C1b: AD 220/30-260/70 C2: AD 260/70-300 C3a: AD 300-340/50 C3b: AD 340/50-370/80	Younger Roman Iron Age	C1a: AD 150/60-210/20 C1b: AD 210/20-250/60 C2: AD 250/60-310/20 C3: AD 310/20-400
D1: AD 370/80-400/10 D2a: AD 400/10-420/30 D2b: AD 420/30-440/50 D3: AD 440/50-480/90	Germanic Iron Age	

Figure 2: Table with Birger Storegaard's (1997:9) and Ulla Lund Hansen's (1987:30) chronologies on Scandinavia and Southeast Europe.

## CULTURES

### SOUTH SCANDINAVIA IN YOUNGER ROMAN IRON AGE

South Scandinavia has been described as a patchwork of different ethnic groups of which only some had contact to the continent (Kaliff 2001: 43ff). Aristocratic concentrations are thought to have emerged in Younger Roman Iron Age basing their power on contact with the Roman Empire from which they import goods which show their status. This was the nature of the early import and luxury goods concentration visible on Southeast Zealand (Stævns) until the second half of the third century (Jørgensen *et al.* 2003:108ff). At this point import and luxury goods became more concentrated on Southeast Funen (Gudme) and it seems that this became a new power centre based on contact with the mid German aristocracies and the Sîntana de Mures/Cernjachov culture (Hansen 1994:32ff; Jørgensen *et al.* 2003: 119ff).

There is little indication of trade with everyday goods between Scandinavia and the rest of Europe. It appears to be more likely that the trade that took place was mainly luxury goods imported from the Roman Provinces or given as gifts by the Romans to control alliances with the Germanic tribes (Näsman 1984:93ff).

### THE SÎNTANA DE MURES/CERNJACHOV CULTURE IN THE YOUNGER ROMAN IRON AGE

According to Roman sources the area of Dacien in present day Romania was annexed into the Roman Empire as a province in AD107. In AD270 the Romans had to pull their administration out in consequence of advancing Goths. The Goths occupied the area until the 380's after which they began a further movement west into the Roman Empire pushed now by the Huns advancing from the East (Diaconu 1975).

In newer archaeological literature these Goths are known as the Sîntana de Mures/Cernjachov culture. This duality with the Sîntana de Mures culture in Romania and the Cernjachov culture in Ukraine can be explained by Ukraine's annexation into the Soviet Union creating a barrier which separated what was actually one culture into two (Storgaard 1997:12).

The archaeological Sîntana de Mures/Cernjachov culture is identified in Romania, Moldavia and Ukraine from AD260/70 to AD400/10 (period C<sub>2</sub>-D<sub>1</sub>). According to the archaeological sources the culture continues up till around AD400 and did not end abruptly with the Huns sudden advance in the 380's (Heather & Mathews 1991:56). It is possible that the Goths where actually the elite who controlled and influenced the area but who only occupied the top part of the Sîntana de Mures/Cernjachov culture. In the end it was only this elite that was forced west while the local population stayed and kept up the traditions of the Sîntana de Mures/Cernjachov culture until introduced to the traditions of the Hun culture.

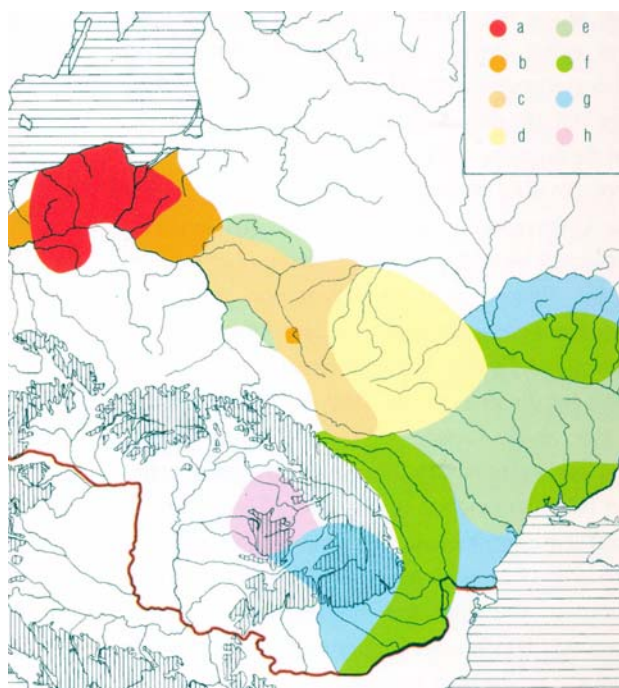


Figure 3: Overview of Andrzej Kokowski's zones showing the Goths colonisation of Southeast Europe. A: The extent of the Wielbark culture in B<sub>2</sub>, B-E: The extent of the migration in respectively B<sub>2</sub>/C<sub>1</sub>, C<sub>1a</sub>, C<sub>1b</sub> and C<sub>2a</sub>. F-G: The extent of the Sîntana de Mures/Cernjachov culture in respectively C<sub>2b</sub> and C<sub>3</sub>/D<sub>1</sub> (Kokowski 1999: Abb. 159).

## THE SÎNTANA DE MURES/CERNJACHOV CULTURE BACKGROUND IN THE WIELBARK CULTURE

It is today widely accepted that the Sîntana de Mures/Cernjachov culture originated as a synthesis of Gothic impulses from the Wielbark culture in Poland and the local Dacien culture in Southeast Europe.

Andrzej Kokowski has produced a relative chronology of the advance of the Gothic influence from North Poland to the Black Sea (Figure 3). In the Older Roman Iron Age the Wielbark culture is present in the area around Gdansk in North Poland. From the periods B<sub>2</sub>/C<sub>1</sub> – C<sub>1b</sub> (around AD160-270) it is possible to follow the characteristics of the Wielbark culture advancing Southeast through the Przeworsk culture in middle Poland and into the north western part of modern Ukraine. The Wielbark culture continues in North Poland up to D<sub>1</sub> (Germanic Iron Age). However, around C<sub>2a</sub> (circa AD270) the same culture overlaps the beginning Cernjachov culture in Northern Ukraine and Volhynia and in continuation of this more traces of this new Cernjachov culture appear around Ukraine and several Wielbark inspired objects are found in the Southern Ukraine dating to C<sub>2</sub> and C<sub>3</sub>. A later expansion towards the Southwest becomes known as the Sîntana de Mures culture. However, the only difference between the two cultures is the location and together the whole culture is known as the Sîntana de Mures/Cernjachov culture (Heather 1996:38; Kokowski 1999b).

The south eastern expansion of the Wielbark culture goes through the Przeworsk culture and is often associated with the movement of the Vandals. The expansion is practically contemporary with the Marcomann wars (AD167-180) and a connection between the two phenomenons is possible. The question is whether the southern movement of the Goths pressed the Vandals towards the Roman borders creating the turmoil of the Marcomann wars or the Goths moved into a vacuum created by the Vandals moving west.

It is quite clear that the Sîntana de Mures/Cernjachov culture is inspired by the Wielbark culture and this can be observed through the shared burial customs, handmade pottery, architecture and metalwork. Also lowered houses where common in the local Dacien culture and only with the emergence of the Sîntana de Mures/Cernjachov culture did the North European style long-houses become known around the Black Sea (Heather & Mathews 1991:58).

However, the Sîntana de Mures/Cernjachov culture is hardly an advanced form of the Wielbark culture but more likely a combination between the local Dacien and the new Wielbark cultures. This can be observed by the way new and old practices are combined, such as the tradition of wheel-made pottery, which was introduced in Dacien by the Romans while it was a province, and which continues into the Sîntana de Mures/Cernjachov culture (Näsman 1988:128; Storgaard 1997:13).

## THE GOTHS

Whether the Goths of the Roman literature are the same as the archaeological known cultures; the Wielbark culture and the Sântana de Mures/Cernjachov culture is another question. The Goths are mainly known through a survived document written by Jordanes in Constantinople in AD550 called „The Origins and Acts of the Goths“ or „Getica“. The document is based on oral Gothic sources and another document „Gothic History“ written by the Roman senator Cassiodorus in AD520 on request from the Ostrogothic king Theoderic the Great. „Getica“ produces three main ideas about the Goths:

- 1) The Goths originated in Scandinavia and migrated to North Poland and later to the Black Sea.
- 2) From the 3<sup>rd</sup> century there were two Gothic groups: the Ostrogoths and the Visigoths.
- 3) These two groups were lead by the two royal families: the Balthiarns and the Amals.

Modern archaeologists do not presume that these three ideas are the full truth. However, they are worth mentioning when discussing the Goths (Heather 1996: 9f).

Nevertheless, the Goths were known as a military power between the Donau and Dan rivers in the 4<sup>th</sup> century which is the same area where the Sântana de Mures/Cernjachov culture is known archaeologically. In North Poland we have established that the Wielbark culture emerged around the period B<sub>2</sub> and from this time Tacitus places the Goths in the same area (Heather 1996:19-21). This suggests that there is a strong correlation between the archaeological known cultures; the Wielbark and the Sântana de Mures/Cernjachov cultures and the Goths. Nonetheless, it is doubtful that Scandinavia had any part in this Gothic community, but this will be discussed later in the article.

## EARLIER CONTACT

Supposedly, the Scandinavian contacts to Southeast Europe can be documented further back than the Roman Iron Age. Already in the Late Bronze Age it has been possible to establish exchange routes from Scandinavia through Poland and towards Southeast Europe (Kaliff 2001:54ff).

In the Pre-roman Iron Age the contacts probably went even further south and especially neck rings, berlocks, and facial masks as seen on Öland and on the Gundestrup vessel demonstrate a connection to the Balkans. In Later Pre-roman Iron Age jewellery and new ornamental ideas reached Scandinavia and they were probably from the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea area (Kaliff 2001: 59) and it has been suggested that the Gundestrup Vessel was actually produced in the Balkans. Some suggest that it was the proposed south eastern migration of the Cimbrians which created a corridor to the Celtic Balkans (Kaul & Martens 1995:153f).

Andrzej Kokowski focuses on period C<sub>1b</sub> (around AD210-250) and the glass vessels of Eggers type 189 of which 23 have been found in South Scandinavia, North Poland and Ukraine. He challenges the general opinion

that these vessels were produced in workshops in Cologne and instead suggests that they came from Southeast Europe out of which they spread very rapidly. Kokowski believes that export from Southeast Europe to South Scandinavia has been known for quite a while, however export from South Scandinavia to Southeast Europe is not recognised until the supposed Gothic migration into the Black Sea area and the beginning of the Sântana de Mures/Cernjachov culture in C<sub>2b</sub> (Kokowski 2004:36ff).

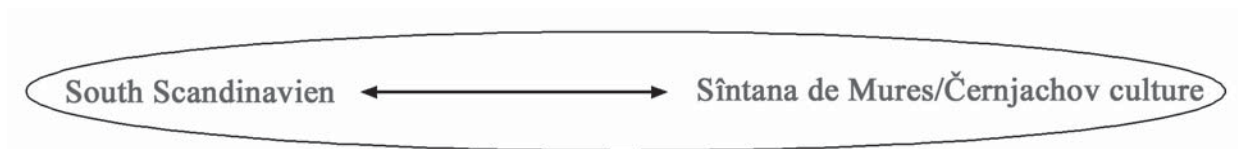
## THE MATERIAL

The use of spread-maps is a very traditional method used by culture historians to recognise ethnic groups. Nevertheless, this paper will make use of this method since it presents an easy overview of the distribution of the material.

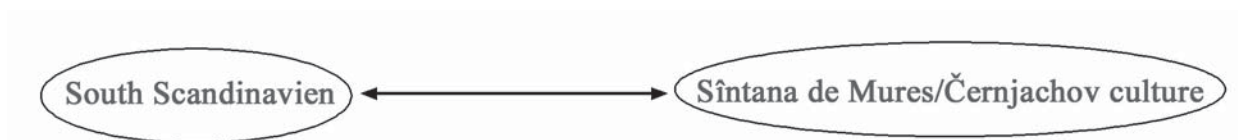
One of the main ideas behind spread-maps is that any type of object that is dated earlier in area A than in area B must have been introduced to area A first and is therefore most likely to be produced in area A.

Storegaard has defined two levels of culture contact that will be used to analyse the material:

A common level of connection where South Scandinavia and the Sântana de Mures/Cernjachov culture both are part of a larger community. On this level the distribution of material covers the whole area from South Scandinavia to the Sântana de Mures/Cernjachov culture.



A level of direct connection where the material is only found in South Scandinavia and the Sântana de Mures/Cernjachov culture without any intermediate stages (Storgaard 1997: 19).



## FACET-CUT GLASS

Facet-cut glass is probably the single most important artefact when viewing the connections between South Scandinavia and the Sântana de Mures/Cernjachov culture. At the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century bronze artefacts began to disappear from the grave equipment and glass became more popular both in South Scandinavia and on the

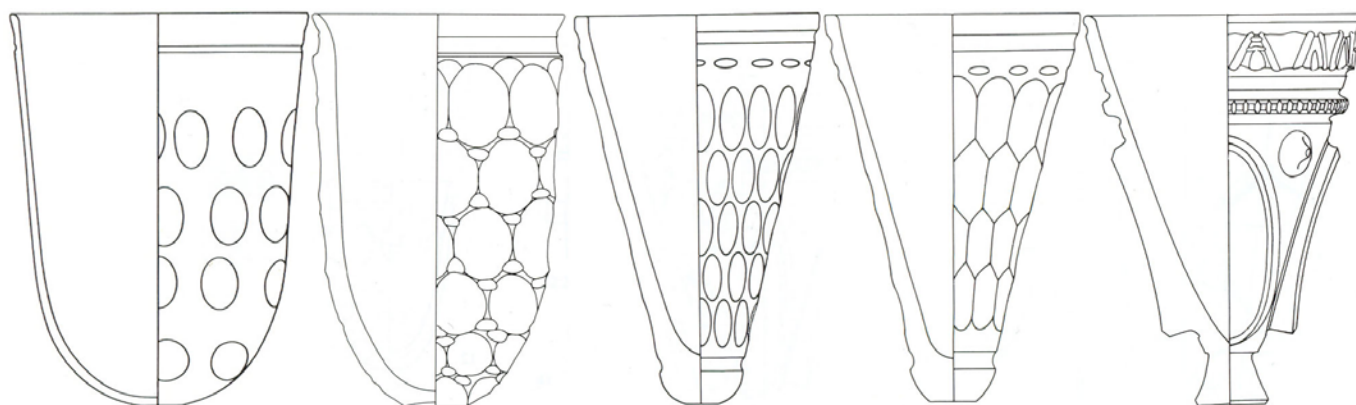
continent (Storgaard 1990:50). Some of the glass of this period is known as facet-cut glass, which are quite thick, cylindrical or conical containers with facets (Näsman 1984:49-50; Rau 1972:124).

Presently it is widely agreed that facet-cut glass is produced in the Sîntana de Mures/Cernjachov culture based on several sites found in the area with glass workshops and ovens. On the Crimean Peninsula the site of Zavetnoe presents a glass oven and fragments of facet-cut glass and on the site of Kerè (a) glass workshop was found. Between the rivers of Prút and Dnestr glass working tools have been found on two sites (Komarov and Okno) and the Okno site has a glass workshop from the 3<sup>rd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> century. The East Ukrainian site of Tanaïs from c. AD300 also has a glass workshop and many facet-cut glass bowls representing the technique. On the sites of Komarov and Kerè facet-cut glass has also been found connecting the glass production with the facet-cut technique (Figure 6) (Rau 1972:181-182).



*Figure 6: Overview of the five settlements which are known to have traces of facet-cut glass production in Southeast Europe.*

There are several different ways of dividing the facet-cut glasses and the original bachelor project divided them into types A-D to illustrate the connections between South Scandinavia and the Sîntana de Mures/Cernjachov culture (Figure 7). This present article will only cover them shortly since they have much the same distribution and dating.



*Figure 7: Glass of type A, type B, two glasses of type C and glass of type D (Straume 1987).*



Type A was the earliest type dated from 3<sup>rd</sup> up to the early 5<sup>th</sup> century (C<sub>2</sub> to D<sub>1</sub>) and was like the other types distributed in South Scandinavia, the Sîntana de Mures/Cernjachov culture and the area in between. A couple of glasses are also found in Western Europe (Figure 8). Type B and D have been dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> and early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries while type C has a later dating into the 5<sup>th</sup> century (D<sub>2</sub>), leading to the conclusion that the production and export of facet-cut glass from the North Black Sea area did not end with the invasion of the Huns (Näsman 1984:50, 53, 57, 59; Straume 1987:30, 33, 38).



Figure 8: Distribution of glass type A:

Romania: 1: Spanşov, 2: Alexandru Odobescu, 3: Mogoşani, 5: Lunca, 7: Seitin, 10: Bîrlad-Valea Seacă, 13: Iaşi-Nicolina.  
 Ukraine: 4: Kerè, 11: Nikolajevka, 20: Vily Jarugskie, 21: Kompanijcy, 22: Kosanova, 23: Zovnin, 24: Zurovka, 26: Leski, 27: Gnatki, 28: Perejaslav-Chmel'nickij, 29-30: Cernjachov, 32: Ripnev, 33: Èernovij Jar. Moldavia: 9: Komrat, 12: Delakău, 14: Bude'ty, 15: Popenki, 17: Ryzevka, 18-19: Komarov. Hungary: 6: Pécs, 16: Eger, 8: Hodmezövásárhely.  
 Czech Republic: 25: Kostelec Na Hané. Poland: 34: Zabieniec, 35: Lepesovka, 36: Opatów, 38: Kleszewo, 39: Kozłówoko, 40: Iglíce, 41: Bornice, 42: Kowalki, 43: Wielbark, 44: Borkonice, 45: Swolowo, 46: Witkowo. France: 31: Étapes.  
 Germany: 37: Krefeld-Gellep. Denmark: 47: Toftelys mark, 48: Hillested, 49: Mollegårdsmakren, 50: Lundeborg, 51: Dankirke, 52-53: Højrup, 54: Varpelev a, 55: Stroby, 56: Himlingøje, 58: Ørslev Underskov, 59: Merløsegård mark, 61: Hvornum, 62: Sejflod. Sweden: 57: Borrby, 60: Forestad. (Produced over data from Näsman 1984:49; Rau 1972: 171ff; Straume 1987: 28).

## IRON COMBS

The distribution of Iron Combs shows, that they were very popular in South Scandinavia, Northern Germany and in the Northern Black Sea area in the periods C<sub>1</sub> and C<sub>2</sub> (around AD150-310), reflecting a direct connection (Figure 9). The South Scandinavian and North German combs (Figure 10) have the oldest dates to period C<sub>1b</sub> while the Southern combs tend to be dated to period C<sub>2</sub>. This implies that the iron combs have originated in South Scandinavia and North Germany. (Ilkjær 1993: 279).

These Iron combs are often found in close proximity to combs made from antlers which would have been ample functioning as items of personal hygiene. Therefore, it has been suggested that the iron combs would have been used for wool production instead (Diaconu 1986:181ff; Ilkjær 1993:278f; Ravn 2003: 59).

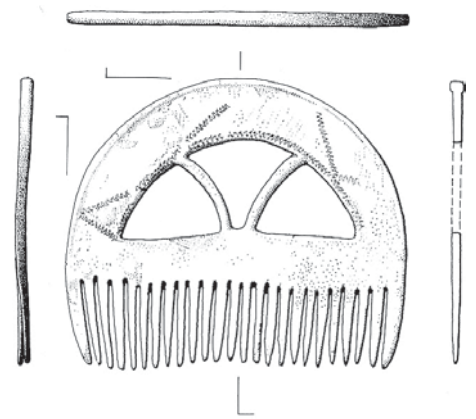


Figure 10: Iron Comb of Diaconus type I, from Illerup, LEM (Ilkjær 1993:Abb. 111)



Figure 9: Map over the distribution of iron combs. The highest concentration is illustrated by the darkest green: Jutland: 21, Funen: 63, Bornholm: 16, Total in Denmark: 100, Germany: 14, Norway: 10, Ukraine: 9, Romania: 5, Moldavia: 2, Sweden: 2, Poland: 1, Slovakia: 1, Estonia: 1 (Produced on data from Ilkjær 1993: s. 27, List 29).

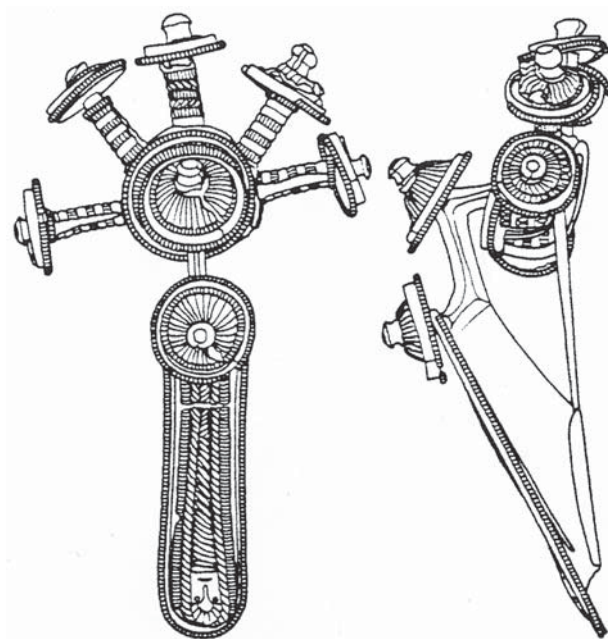
## ROSETTE FIBULAS

Joachim Werner uses the expression „silver monstrous fibulas with high needle clip“ which he has divided into a simple type from the period C<sub>1</sub> (around AD150-250) and a hybrid belonging to the period C<sub>2</sub> (around AD250-310) (Werner 1988:247ff). Per Ethelberg divides the hybrid into three types:

- 1) The Zealand type
- 2) The Southwest Jutlandic type
- 3) The Baltic type (Figure 11)

The Baltic type is interesting in connection with the culture connections with Sântana de Mures/Cernjachov culture.

The characteristics of this type are a spiral covered with a semicircular head piece with ramifications on the ends of which small rosettes are placed. This rosette fibula is known in Southwest Jutland, Funen, Northeast Germany, Poland, Bornholm, Gothland and the area around the Black Sea. From the distribution of the earliest rosette fibulas Ethelberg has concluded that they must have emerged on Sealand and then spread to the other areas while changing their appearance (Ethelberg 2000: 180).



*Figure 11: Rosette Fibula of Per Ethelberg's type III, Slusegård, grave 600 (Ethelberg 2000:52).*

## THE ÅRSLEV GRAVE

The Årslev grave with its two skeletons was discovered in 1820 by a local farmer and the local priest reported the find and sent one of the skeletons to a Dr. Helweg in Odense. This skeleton is supposed to be the only one with any jewellery and was described as a female by Dr. Helweg while the other skeleton is often described as a male. Unfortunately both skeletons have been discarded. The grave was supposed to contain some bronze vessels, rings and coins and in addition to this some unique objects:

- ❖ Seven gold pieces with a circular chased lion face onto which two chains connect another gold piece with garnets/carnelians set into it. These are produced in the 4<sup>th</sup> century probably in or inspired by the Southeast European cultures.
- ❖ The top of a needle made out of a hollow gold tube with a garnet on top with three rings surrounding it. From each ring hangs a chain on which a pelta-shaped pendant is fastened. It can not be dated but is parallel one from the Varpelev finds from C<sub>2</sub> (around AD250-310) and the Nyrup grave from the 4<sup>th</sup> century (C<sub>3</sub>). It is probably a local Scandinavian product.
- ❖ A gold fibula with eight set garnets/carnelians which is regarded a North European product dating to the 4<sup>th</sup> century (C<sub>3</sub>).
- ❖ A silver fibula with a semicircular head piece, gilding, inlaid niello and sheet gold. It belongs to a group of fibulas called the Sakrau fibulas which are very similar to the kind of fibulas characterising the Sântana de Mures/Cernjachov culture in the 4<sup>th</sup> century.
- ❖ A ball made of clear quartz with Greek capitals engraved and with an arrow pointing downwards. This type of ball is known in all of Europe and they were first seen in Southeast and East Europe. The engraved letters tie the ball to religious-philosophical Gnosticism which is known in the Eastern Mediterranean area in this period. Therefore, it is very likely that the ball originates from Southeast Europe where they are dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries (C<sub>3</sub>-D) (Figure 12).

The grave itself is dated to C<sub>3</sub> (around AD310-400) since the oldest objects are from C<sub>1b</sub> /C<sub>2</sub> and the youngest from C<sub>3</sub>. The objects from the Årslev grave have probably been collected and inherited through two centuries before being buried with the proposed female of the grave. Some of the objects are of a possible Southeast European origin and therefore this assemblage is often interpreted as the grave of a Southeast European woman (Jørgensen *et al.* 2003:426f; Storgaard 1990; Storgaard 1994).

Figure 12: One of the seven gold pieces, the silver fibula and the quartz ball from the Årslev grave. (Jørgensen *et al.* 2003)



## LETGANI GRAVE 36

This grave was found near the town of Jassy in Northeast Romania. The grave assemblage consisted of a sheet silver fibula, a carved bone comb, a pearl necklace, a knife, four ceramic vessels, some pendants and two spindle whorls of which one was engraved with runes (Figure 13). Based on the grave assemblage the grave has been interpreted as a female grave dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century (C<sub>3</sub>). At a settlement close by an iron comb of the Scandinavian type mentioned earlier was found. In the area covered by the Sântana de Mures/Cernjachov culture there has also been finds of pottery with engraved runes on (Ilkjær 1993: list 29; Heather & Mathews 1991:85f, 94; Werner 1988:250ff, Abb. 7).

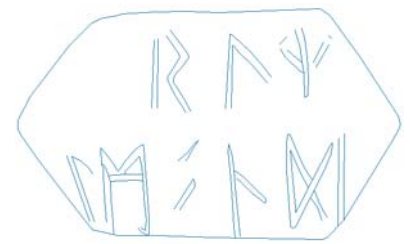


Figure 13: Drawing of a spindle whorl with runes from the Letcani grave 38 (Werner 1988: Abb. 7).

## INTERPRETATION OF THE MATERIAL

Out of the material chosen to explain the cultural connections, the spread of the facet-cut glass type A seems to suggest a common level of connection. However, iron combs and rosette fibulas are only known in Scandinavia and the Sântana de Mures/Cernjachov culture and therefore reflect a more direct connection.

The facet-cut glass has been produced in the Sântana de Mures/Cernjachov culture and must have been exported to the rest of Europe. Both the iron combs and the rosette fibulas are most likely products of Scandinavia and exported directly to the Sântana de Mures/Cernjachov culture. Some of the objects from the Årslev and the Letcani grave 36 suggest a direct connection between the two discussed cultures.

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL SCHOOLS AND CULTURE CONNECTION

### CULTURE HISTORY AND CULTURE CONNECTIONS

From the 1890s up till the 1960s European archaeology was dominated by the archaeological school of Culture History, which thought that the distribution of objects could help define cultures. This meant a rise for distribution maps where a concentration of certain materials were supposed to reflect mental templates and different ethnic communities.

Resemblance in material culture  $\Rightarrow$  Mental templates  $\Rightarrow$  Ethnic communities

These ideas involved a very static view of cultures where most changes could be explained through an invasion of a higher culture into the area of a lower culture. This particular view is very likely inspired by a colonistic view where certain cultures were considered more significant than others (Olsen 1997: chap. 2).

However, it is possible to separate the traditional view of invasion theory with the more moderate version; migration/diffusion theory. The later is also essentially culture historical but is more used in modern archaeology and agrees with invasion theory that external circumstances causes a change in a society, but not necessarily that this change is an improvement. With the migration theory the new culture is not necessarily an evolved version of the old culture and migration can happen in smaller groups over longer periods or through diffusion. This theory is probably influenced by the movements of refugees after the second world war and their return in the last 20 years could be based on the many new refugees we see all over the world (Kaliff 2001: 7ff).

### **Invasion models**

The myth of the origin of the Goths in Jordanes 'Getica' has hugely inspired the theory of the Scandinavian invasion of North Poland. Jordanes mentions the Goths from 'Scandza' (interpreted as Scandinavia) invading 'Gothiscandza' (interpreted as North Poland). His reason for giving the Goths this origin might have been to give the Gothic kings of his time a more powerful history. However, other scientists argue that this story might also be based on older oral traditions and might therefore carry some elements of the truth (Kaliff 2001:13ff; Schchukin 1989:292).

The German archaeologist Gustav Kossinna also argues for a Scandinavian origin of the Goths to support his attempts to trace the Germanic culture back to Scandinavia (Schchukin 1989:293).

In 1962 J. Kmicinskis used the Culture History approach to disprove that the Goths had their origin in Scandinavia. He showed that stone circles and steles, which were both known in South Scandinavia and North Poland, actually did not come to North Poland until B<sub>2</sub> when the Wielbark culture had been known since B<sub>1b</sub>. This suggests that the Wielbark culture actually emerged independent of South Scandinavian influences.

Later Hachmann presents the theory that the Goths emerged in Poland and from there undertook an invasion towards the North into South Scandinavia. However, this never became a popular idea among German or Polish scientists and even up till today some still believe that the origin of the Wielbark culture must be found in Scandinavia (Kokowski 1999a:25; Schchukin 1989: Kap. VI).

### **Migration models**

In 2001 the Swedish archaeologist Anders Kaliff created a scenario over long existing contacts between elites in North Poland and South Scandinavia. He proposes that small resourceful groups of immigrants from South

Scandinavia migrated to Poland in the Roman Iron Age to a culture that was known to them beforehand (Kaliff 2001:42ff). This migration of smaller groups which was not related to the origin of the Goths or the Wielbark culture could be the reason for ongoing contacts between North Poland and South Scandinavia and these contacts are very likely to have continued as the Goths moved southeast.

## PROCESSUALISM AND CULTURE CONNECTIONS

Processualism emerged in two components where the first was Logical Positivism arguing the need to be objective in archaeology. Through measuring and analysing the material and using scientific methods it was thought that the final and objective truth about the past could be found. The other component was that all new ideas came to a community through economical or ecological changes also known as internal changes and this part of Processualism is called Functionalism. According to this assumption the movement of people could be caused by growth in the population, economical push and pull factors or ecological necessity (Olsen 1997: Chap. 2).

### **Economical connections**

Processualists might argue that the connections between the Sântana de Mures/Cernjachov culture and South Scandinavia were caused by trade based on ongoing contacts between the areas. The distribution of facet-cut glass from the Sântana de Mures/Cernjachov culture displays a common connection where the glass most likely was distributed from area to area in a north western direction and ordinary trade could explain this distribution. Linguistic studies can also be used to explain the connection between South Scandinavia and the Gothic areas. The word „Goth/Gut/Gaut/Göt“ means „to pour out liquid“ or „the outflow of the rivers“. The Goths could therefore be interpreted as ‘the collection of people who live by the river outlets’, probably around the Baltic Sea. The connections could have emerged through trade between these people around the Baltic Sea who called themselves the Goths (Kaliff 2001: 62f).

### **Push/pull factors**

Another explanation for the contacts could be population growth or disturbances around the Roman border causing a push factor out of the Sântana de Mures/Cernjachov culture or South Scandinavian cultures inviting craftsmen North promising prosperity, causing a pull factor.

Already in the Pre-roman Iron Age it has been suggested that craftsmen came from the Black Sea up to South Scandinavia to work and therefore it is quite likely that this continued (Kaliff 2001:60).

## POST-PROCESSUALISM AND CULTURAL CONNECTIONS

Post-processualism emerged as an opposition to Processualism and is actually an umbrella covering several different movements with some features in common, one of which is viewing material culture as active symbols reflecting gender, ethnic groupings, status or age depending on the context in which it is found. Another Post-processualistic argument is that there is no objectivity or absolute truths in archaeology. Some have misused this view to interpret Prehistory to suit their own cause arguing that since there is no truth their interpretation is as valid as any other. Nonetheless, Post-processualists argue that being aware of ones own subjectivity and taking it into consideration is not the same as manipulating the material to suit ones own cause. The last common feature of Post-processualism is the idea that all changes in societies happen internally through power struggles and social relations sometime over long distances through exogamy or mercenaries (Olsen 1997: Chap. 2).

### **Exogamy**

Exogamy is defined as the act of getting married/cohabiting with someone outside ones own family/ group. Exogamy is connected to the idea of direct contact between two areas or close contacts between two families/ groups by sending a daughter or sister to another area where they create a family relationship. This relationship can be the backbone of several other relationships and exchanges of gifts which the iron combs could be an example of. The act of exogamy can be the reason that we find very unfamiliar objects in graves like the Årslev grave on Funen.

Storgaard is a proponent of a close relationship between Funen and the Sîntana de Mures/Cernjachov culture based on the fact that the Årslev grave is the only grave in South Scandinavia that shows signs of exogamy and most of the Scandinavian facet-cut glass and iron combs are found here. He also thinks that the few discoveries of iron combs, runes and rosette fibulas in the Sîntana de Mures/Cernjachov culture can be interpreted as exogamic relationships to South Scandinavia and probably Funen (Storgaard, 1997:94ff).

### **Mercenaries**

Jesper Hansen (note 1) has used Roman sources to understand how vast amounts of Roman import could have been brought up to a centre like Stævns in South Scandinavia. He does not think that it could have been through trade since Scandinavia in his view does not have much to trade with. Iron is only produced in smaller amounts for local use, amber is mostly found on the West coast of Jutland and the Southern Baltic coasts so how could

Note 1: Cand. Mag. Jesper Hansen held a seminar at the University of Aarhus on the 17.11.2004. The use of some of his ideas originate from this authors own notes from this event.



Støvns have used it for trade. The price of slaves was too low and after AD300 the farmers in the Roman Empire were tied to the estates for life so the need for slaves fell drastically. The trade of skin, textiles and wool can not have given the sharp rise in imported goods for the area. Therefore, Jesper Hansen proposes that it was instead brought directly by mercenaries that had been down to fight in the Roman Empire. They were probably paid in Roman coins but since these were not used as currency in Scandinavia it is possible that they brought other valuables home instead.

This interpretation can also be used about possible mercenaries placed at the Black Sea coast later in Younger Roman Iron Age from where they could have brought home valuable items like glass. Some of these mercenaries could have created special relationships with people in the Sântana de Mures/Cernjachov culture through which Funen's sudden rise in import could be explained.

## REFLECTIONS

### THE SUBJECTIVE DILEMMA

This Paper is primarily influenced by the Post-processualistic approach and agrees that an archaeologist can not be objective in her or his way of thinking. Nevertheless, it is neither of the opinion that since archaeologists can not be objective we can justify interpreting archaeology to suit any cause.

It is very important that archaeologists are aware of their subjectivity and count it in as a part of their research. Any theory will always be a product of the time and culture in which it emerged and these aspects should always be an active part of the theory.

As an example Anders Kaliff points out that the interest in ethnicity in archaeology was quite big during the Second World War, but disappeared from Scandinavian archaeology just after the war and has returned during the last 20 years (Kaliff 2001 :7).

John Chapman assumes that there is a connection between the countries that were not invaded during the Second World War (USA, UK and parts of Scandinavia) and their reluctance to use ethnicity and cultural theories after the war. (Chapman 1998:311).

During long periods of time ethnicity and nationalism has been viewed as questions of the past in European archaeology but in the last 20 years we seem to have forgotten this reluctance, and probably influenced by greater crowds of refugees and ethnic conflicts in the last 20 years these questions have come into European archaeology again (Chapman 1998:311; Kaliff 2001:8).

## GLOBAL ARCHAEOLOGY

The return of ethnicity into archaeology could also be caused by the greater contact between Eastern and Western Europe recently. Without this modern day contact it can be hard for archaeologists to imagine a contact in the past. But today when trade with East Europe is flourishing and we have more personal contacts, it is easier to imagine that this could also have been the case in Prehistory. At the same time this is an opportunity for archaeologists in the East and West to compare material, and through this exercise to examine the Prehistoric contacts.

Ethnicity has become a part of the daily discourse again and foreigners are moving to Denmark bringing their own identities. Some foreigners become less foreign through integrating into the Danish society while others use symbolic objects to show that they are of another nationality. Simultaneously, some Danes adopt these new traditions and objects from these foreigners while other Danes do their best to keep up Danish traditions. Ethnicity and ethnical symbolism is amplified through the meeting of strangers and while some people like to take in new things others are more reluctant.

It is very likely that because of the Global world we live in more archaeologists are using globalisation and ethnical theories on their Prehistoric material.

## THE INDIVIDUAL PERSPECTIVE

This paper suggests a more individual approach to culture connections in general, obviously reflecting the social circumstances of the present author who believes that society is primarily influenced by individual actions and identities.

The main interpretation of the possible female burial in the Årslev grave is that she originated from Southeast Europe and might have been exogamated by her family to generate contacts. However, this is an interpretation based on social relations between family groups. Here other more individualised interpretations of the Årslev grave phenomena will be presented.

This person and maybe her travelling companion (it was a double grave) could have decided to come to Funen on their own accord. She could also have had her own personal connection to Funen or she could have met a mercenary in Southeast Europe who brought her home with him. Alternatively, she could have been captured by a mercenary and brought forcefully home. Maybe she was an important person in the Sîntana de Mures/Cernjachov culture who travelled to South Scandinavia in order to create connections or she could have been a merchant. Based on the quartz ball which was found in her grave she could also have been some sort of missionary. These theories show that there are many possible explanations and it is not even certain that she herself is from Southeast Europe. She could also have been a South Scandinavian woman who travelled to Southeast Europe

and brought back the objects in her funeral assemblage or she could have received them from other travellers. The funeral assemblage cover quite a time span so they could also have been inherited, reflecting generations of home brought material. She could also have been a very important woman on Funen buried with inherited material and objects from the different cultures that the Funen society had contact to.

These reflections are also valid for the possible Letcani grave 36 woman. She could also have been an exogamated woman from Scandinavia but then again she could have been so many other things. The point of presenting so many interpretations on one phenomenon is to show that not one of them is truer than any other. Whichever one chooses to believe it is important to keep in mind that it is a personal choice based on ones own background. Some might say that this view will make archaeology uninteresting; however I think that it is exciting to be able to come up with multiple interpretations based on the assumption that the Årslev and Letcani graves reflect a contact, without pretending to know the truth.

## CONCLUSION

Through the written sources and the archaeological material it can be concluded that a group of people migrated from North Poland to Southeast Europe. They brought the cultural characteristics of the Wielbark culture with them and ended up being at least the inspiration for the Sântana de Mures/Cernjachov culture. It is very possible that this was the same group of people that were known in the written sources as the Goths. It is also deemed very likely that South Scandinavia had some kind of contact to the Wielbark culture during Younger Roman Iron Age.

The Sântana de Mures/Cernjachov culture is acknowledged from the period C<sub>2</sub> to D<sub>1</sub> (around AD270-410) in Romania, Moldavia and Ukraine and from this period the paper has examined some material which illustrates the connection between the Sântana de Mures/Cernjachov culture and South Scandinavia. Before the emergence of the Sântana de Mures/Cernjachov culture, Southeast European material was known in South Scandinavia but South Scandinavian material was not known in Southeast Europe. The paper has examined iron combs and rosette fibulas which are probable South Scandinavian objects exported directly to the Sântana de Mures/Cernjachov culture and must conclude that it is not until the emergence of the Sântana de Mures/Cernjachov culture that an actual culture connection is known going from South Scandinavia to Southeast Europe.

The export of glass probably produced in Southeast Europe began in C<sub>1b</sub> before the Sântana de Mures/Cernjachov culture emerged. However, facet-cut glass which is surely produced in Southeast Europe is not known until C<sub>2</sub> where the Sântana de Mures/Cernjachov culture emerged. This type of glass seems to be distributed on the route of the proposed migration of the Goths continuing up to South Scandinavia. The glass distribution displays a culture connection not just between South Scandinavia and the Sântana de Mures/Cernjachov culture but also involving the eastern and northern non-Roman part of Europe and therefore represent a common level of connection between the cultures.

Through the last 100 years archaeology has been engaged in the movements of Prehistoric people beginning with the Cultural Historians and their invasion and migration models. After the Second World War these models disappeared together with ethnicity theories in general and the Processualistic discipline, which emerged in the 1960's, instead focused on economical and ecological models to explain these same movements. In the 1980's the new school of Post-processualism began to look at internal power struggles and personal relationships in order to explain movement and culture connections in Prehistory, while at the same time focusing on the need to realise the subjectivity of archaeology and the way the present influenced archaeological theories. The return of ethnicity theories reflects modern day globalisation, ethnic crises and the huge masses of refugees that have come to Europe in the last 20 years. Consequently, the paper proposes a more individualised way of viewing culture connections which is obviously based on the present world view of the author, and which evolves into a series of different individual interpretations of the material examined. According to this view the obvious connections between South Scandinavia and the Sântana de Mures/Cernjachov culture can not be viewed through one interpretation. Only a collection of interpretations can bring us closer to the real reasons for this culture connection.

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