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Pins on the run. Traces of (Cimbri) migrations from the Jutland peninsula during the third century BC

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Abstract:

During the last fifty years, the evidence of archaeological material originating from different provinces of the Jastorf culture and Jutland found in Poland and further east and south-east has been growing rapidly. The generally accepted interpretation of this has been that it is evidence of the migration of the Bastarnae from North-western Europe to the Black Sea area. However, there is no evidence that there ever lived a people of that name in the area of the supposed origin of this culture, so it must be a name assumed on the way to the new homeland. If so, then the people who took part in the migration and eventually made up the Bastarnae, had originally belonged to other ethnic groups whose names today are unknown. While the archaeological material is growing, the possibilities to look into the different origins of this migration become better. In this paper I shall focus on one particular group of artefact finds that may shed some light on the ethnic composition of the Bastarnae, namely pins of Jutland origin. The second aim of the paper is an attempt to reconcile the historic sources with the archaeological evidence. It is argued that many of the descriptions handed over to us from classical writers, which are being disregarded by modern historians, actually match the archaeological evidence. It is therefore suggested to read the historical sources in a different way, where the Cimbri took a longer eastern route through Europe before entering into conflict with the Romans.

Keywords: Jastorf Culture; Black Sea; Baltic Sea; migration; Bastarnae; Cimbri; pins of Jutland origin.

Holstein pins of Jutland type

In his book on the prehistory of Wielkopolska, Józef Kostrzewski briefly mentioned some finds which demonstrated a more direct connection between the local Early Iron Age culture in Central Poland and the Jutland peninsula (including Holstein) (Kostrzewski 1923, 144-145, fig. 496-497). He pointed to the occurrence of crown neck-rings of whose typological origin in Jutland there could be no doubt. However, as he had already pointed out earlier in another treatise, despite the general resemblance between the rings of the two areas, there was no doubt that the rings in Eastern Central Europe followed their own independent line of development and therefore had to be local produce (Kostrzewski 1919, 73-79). He further forwarded two bronze pins as evidence of this north-western connection. The pins were so-called "Holstein pins", an artefact type mainly

known from Holstein and a part of Hannover. The specimen he chose to illustrate this connection with was a pin from Łuszczewo, powiat Konin (Kostrzewski 1923, 145, fig. 498).

The Łuszczewo-pin was, however, not a typical representative of the pins from Holstein (fig. 1). While the typical Holstein pin has a straight shank, the pin from Łuszczewo is curved. This is a trait it shares with most of the pins known from Jutland (fig. 2). Despite this, it was not until 1996 that it was pointed out as evidence of a direct connection between Central Poland and Jutland (Kaul, Martens 1995, 141, here the pin was falsely referred to as from Sobiejuche, a mistake repeated from Petersen 1929, Abb. 2).

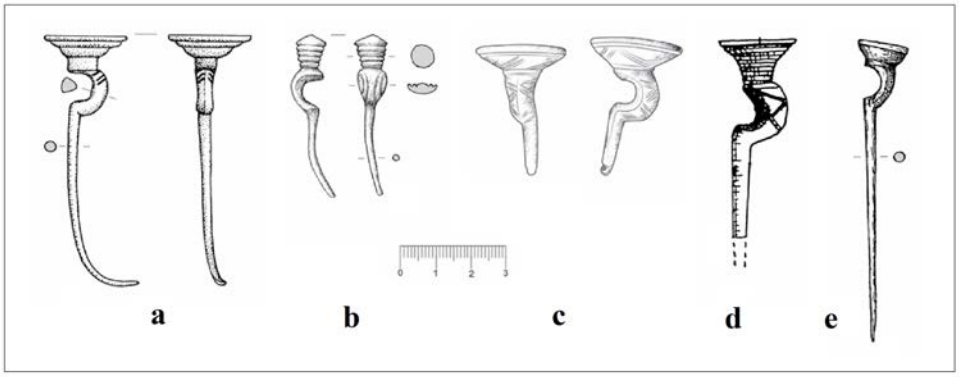

Fig. 1: Five of the so far known Holstein pins from Poland. a: Łuszczewo, b: Tomasze, c: Konin, d: Zołwin, e: Sobiejuchy (a,b, d and e after Prochowicz 2006, fig. 1, c after Ciesielski 2018 fig. 3).

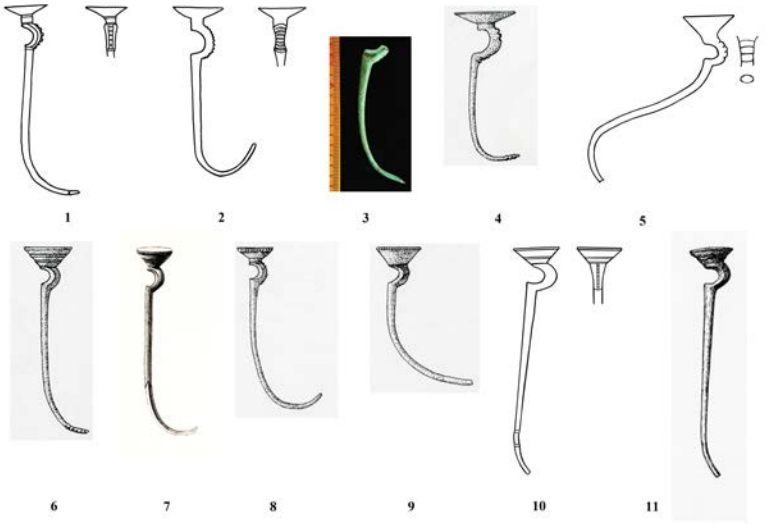

Fig. 2: Holstein pins with curved shank from Jutland. 1 "Hjørring county", 2 Hvidbak, 3 Aalborg municipality, 4 Farsø, 5 Stubberup mølle, 6 Gabesø. 7 Nørre Aldum mose, 8 Sønder-Bork, 9 Skovby mose, 10 Aabenraa, 11 Bjerndrup (Nos. 1, 2, 5, and 10 drawn from the originals by J. & V. Martens; no. 3 from www.metaldetektorfund.dk no 135961; no. 4, 6, 8, and 9 after Jensen 1997, fig. 98; no. 7 after Engelhardt 1881, fig. 10; no.11 after Becker 1961, fig. 71). For details see appendix 1

It is a problem that the Danish material is not fully published. Sophus Müller wrote that he knew of 6 specimens in "Jutland", all found in bogs (Müller 1896, 11, fig. 70). The question is whether he included Slesvig in this, since it was at that time under German rule. In his treatise on the Iron Age of Slesvig (in this connection termed "Sønderjylland" which then meant the entire landscape between the rivers Eider and Kongeåen), Carl Neergaard wrote that Holstein pins were not uncommon in this landscape, but while the pins from "Nørrejylland" (i.e. the part of Jutland to the north of the river Kongeåen) were found in bogs, this was only the case of two pins from Sønderjylland (Skovby and Oxevad), while the pins further south in the area were from graves (one pin from Nørre Smedeby by Flensborg, and an unspecified number of pins from a cemetery in Lottorf by Haddeby) (Neergaard 1916, 243). The pin from Nørre Smedeby (Norder-Schmedebyfeld) was published by Friedrich Knorr (1910, pl V.113). It has an atypical flat head and what seems to be a short straight shank (type F10 according to Hingst 1986, fig. 4).

In 1961, C.J. Becker presented a distribution map (fig. 3) with 21 finds of Holstein pins within the present territory of Denmark, 20 in Jutland, and

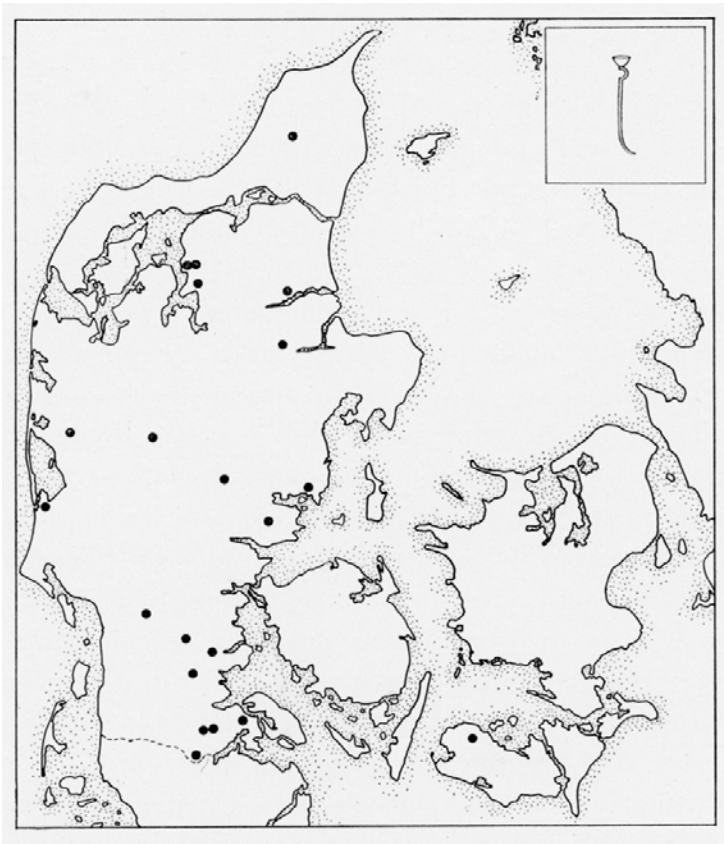

Fig. 3: Distribution map of Holstein pins published by C.J. Becker (Becker 1961, fig. 231).

one on the island Lolland (Becker 1961, 231). However, he did not include an accompanying list of the finds, which is unfortunate since some of the specimens he mapped probably are parts of private collections that he got to know through his thorough material registrations during the 1930'ies-1940'ies. Two of the dots on his map represent two pins he published from the Bjerndrup graves (Becker 1961, 193-194, figs. 70-71). The remaining 19 dots probably represent finds from bogs or finds without further information. Of these, seven are in the collections of the National Museum of Denmark. They are all included in Jørgen Jensen's list of deposits of metal object from the Pre-Roman Iron Age in his treatise on the transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age in Denmark. Jensen's list, however, only includes these pins (nos. 148, 149, 153, 212, 228, 237, 250), of which five were illustrated (Jensen 1997, 298-310, fig. 98). One of these, the specimen from Ullits, Himmerland, has a straight shank, the others are curved (fig. 2:4,6,8, and 9). In the collections of the National Museum of Denmark there are two further specimens, both with a straight shank. Unfortunately, they are without inventory number and find information, so they could in fact originate from Holstein which was under Danish rule until 1864. However, this means that we can only identify 12 of the 21 pins mapped by Becker (appendix 1 nos. 1, and 3-11, appendix 2 nos. 1-2, plus the incomplete pin from Bjerndrup grave 1). To these can added a further specimen from Hvidbak mose, Hjørring county belonging to the collections of Vendsyssel historiske museum (fig. 2:2).

After C.J. Becker's publication, two further pins have been found at the large cemetery at Aarupgaard, Southwest Jutland (Jørgensen 1975, Christensen 2023). Of these, one is nearly complete, while of the other only the head and the upper shank is preserved. The shank of the nearly complete specimen appears to be straight (fig. 4). Apart from the two pins from Bjerndrup close to the present Danish-German border, these are the only specimens known to have been found

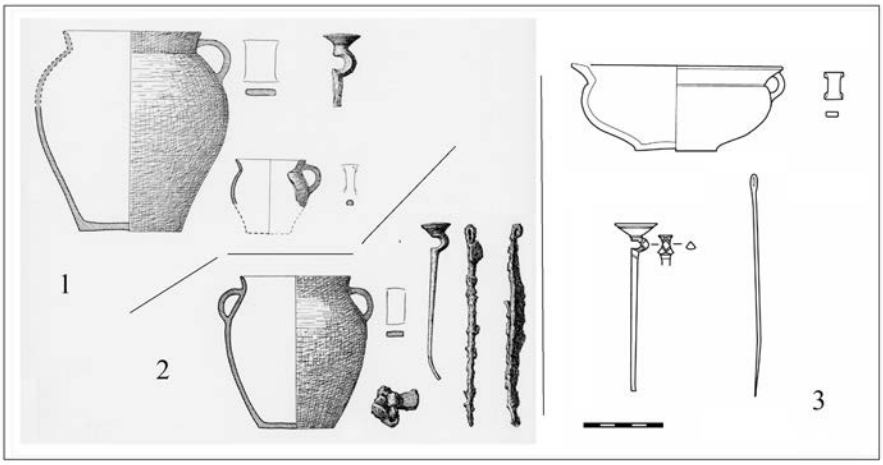

Fig. 4: Three graves combining pottery from phase IIA with Holstein pins. 1: Bjerndrup grave I, 2: Bjerndrup grave II (after Becker 1961, figs. 70-71), 3: Aarupgaard grave 2593 (Drawing J. Martens). NB the pottery from Bjerndrup is reduced 50% in relation to the the other artefacts.

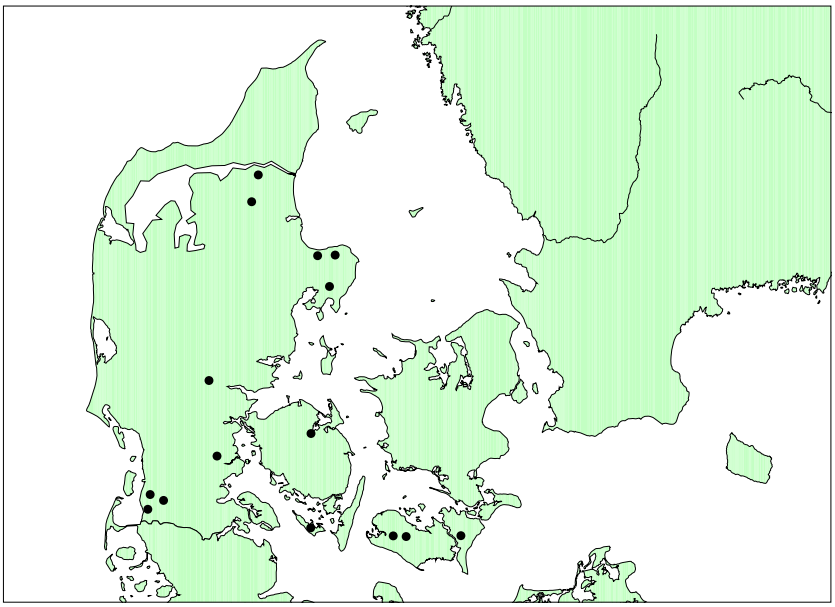

Fig. 5: Distribution map of Holstein pins found by metal detector since 1984 (appendix 3). Graphics by J. Martens.

in graves in the territory of present-day Denmark. Interestingly, all the pins found in graves are found within Becker's "zone a" which can be counted as the northernmost province of the Jastorf culture (Martens 2014).

Due to the Holstein pin's massive head it ought to be an easy target for a metal detector, and in fact such pins are often found as stray finds. A search in the recently launched public database DIME (see Martens 2022) adds 15 new pins to the list (appendix 3 and fig. 5). However, since the finds are made in the plough zone it is most often only the head and the uppermost part of the shank that is found, making it impossible to determine whether the shank is curved or not. It is therefore difficult to know whether all these newly found pins have had a curved shank. In only one instance, a pin from the municipality of Aalborg, is it possible to determine the shape of the shank, but unfortunately, in this case the head is missing (fig. 2:3). In comparison to the distribution pattern known from Becker, it is worth noting that the detecting activity has added an additional five pins from the Danish islands, three from Lolland-Falster, one from Fyn and one from Ærø. To these "outliers" a rather atypical pinhead found in grave 110 at the Gårdlösa cemetery in Scania must be added (Stjernquist 1993, 41, fig. 18).

In 1995, the number of Holstein pins known from Poland had reached three (Wołągiewicz 1979, fig. 14, list 11). In the new millennium, the number of Holstein pins from Poland has doubled (Prochowicz 2006, fig. 1a; Ciesielski 2018, fig. 3; Grygiel 2018, 172-174, zest. 47. 10, 15, 22, 27, 33; plus a so far unpublished specimen from Warkocz mentioned by Dulęba, Markiewicz 2021,

538). It is interesting to note that not one of the Polish specimens are found within the territory of the Jastorf culture of Western Pomorze (Wołągiewicz 1997). Unfortunately, just like in Jutland, the problem with the new finds is that it is most often only the upper part of the pin that is found, leaving it impossible to determine whether they are ordinary Holstein pins or of Jutland type. However, the specimen from Tomasze is well enough preserved to conclude that it has a curved shank, while the pin from Sobiejuche certifies that also the type with straight shank is present in Poland (though Michał Grygiel suggests that the shank has been straightened out in modern times, Grygiel 2018, 538).

Based on the curvature of the shank (fig. 1) it seems that the closest parallel to the Łuszczewo pin is a pin from Vendsyssel (fig. 2:1), while the pins from Farsø and Stubberub Mølle, Himmerland, and Gabesø, East Jutland are relatively close (figs. 2,4-6). On the bow-shaped part of the shank the pin from Łuszczewo is ornamented with three parallel grooves. The closest parallel to this is seen on the bow of the pin from Skovby, Southern Jutland (fig. 9), and on the two pins from Aarupgaard (fig. 4), while the bows of most of the Danish specimens are ribbed. Above the bow-shaped top of the shank the pin from Łuszczewo has a cylindric "neck" on which the up-side-down cone-shaped head is mounted. The same feature is seen on several Danish pins like the two pins from Vendsyssel, the two pins from Himmerland, and the pin from Sønder-Bork, West-Jutland (figs. 2:1,2, 4, 5, and 8), while the pins from East- and South-Jutland lack this feature. Judging from the photos uploaded to DIME it seems to hold true even for the pins found by metal-detecting. The head of the pin from Łuszczewo is itself ribbed. A somewhat similar feature is seen on the specimens from Gabesø, and Nørre Aldum, in East Jutland and Bjerndrup grave 2 in Southern Jutland (figs. 2, 6, 7. 11). Among the detector finds a similar feature is seen on specimens from East Jutland (Norddjurs (216761), Syddjurs (183086), Vejle (116811)), Southern Jutland (Tønder (153260), Tønder (238253)), but also the southeastern Danish island (Lolland (43777), Guldborgsund (176269)) (fig. 6, 1-2). Basing on this analysis it is hard to conclude which region is the most likely place of origin of the Łuszczewo-pin, though it is evident that all its features are shared by pins from Jutland.

The second pin with curved shank from Poland, the pin from Tomasze (Prochowicz 2006, fig. 1a), has an atypical head which is placed directly on top of the wide, flat bow-shaped top of the shank. The head is shaped like a steep sided cone turned upside-down with a flat cone-shaped top. Its sides are ribbed. In this way it does not conform with the typical Jutland pin. However, a recent metal detector find from Odense municipality on Fyn (DIME 7203) seems to be sharing almost identical features (fig. 6, 4). Unfortunately, the shank is broken off below the bow-shaped part. So far, the pin is unique in the Danish material, but there is no doubt that the pin is related to the pin from Tomasze. While the pin from Tomasze seems completely foreign in its Polish setting, then the specimen from Fyn is not completely without "relatives" in Denmark (see for instance Uldal,

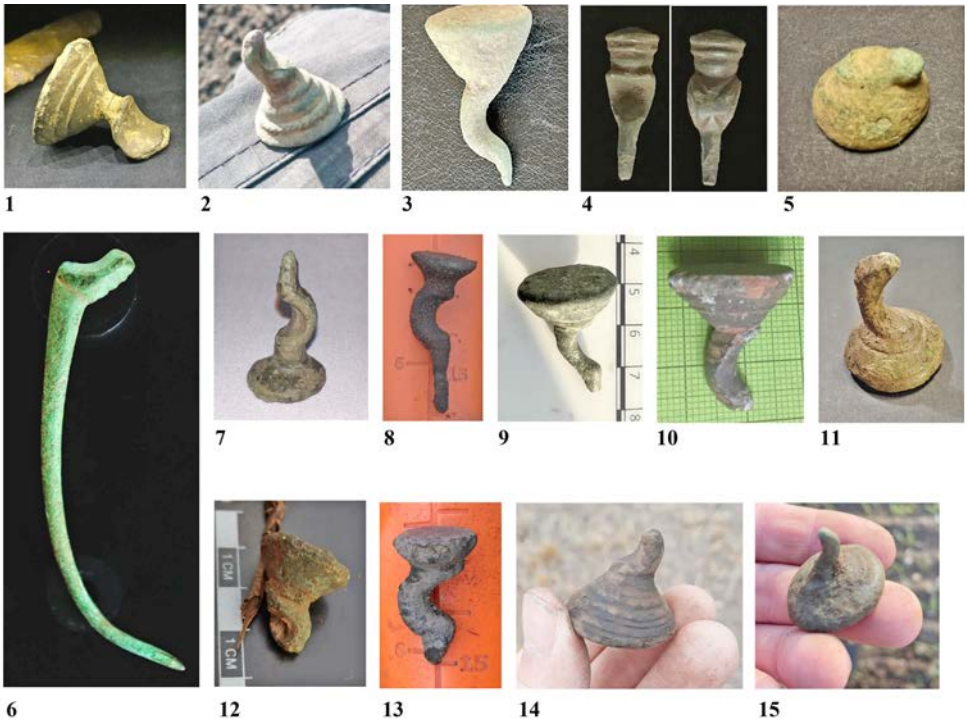

Fig. 6: Holstein pins found by metal detecting. See appendix 3 for further information.

grave 30-31, Becker 1961, pl. 108, 30-31.c). It is therefore reasonable to conclude that the Polish item is originating from Denmark, not vice-versa.

Winged pins of Jutland type

Another pin type originating from Jutland is the winged pin, where the "wings" consist of cones, the tip of which is connected to the pin's head while their wide base is jutting out from it (fig. 7). The first to point to this artefact type was Andrzej Maciałowicz who brought up an already published but in this connection so far unnoticed find from Rowina Dolna grave 94 (Gaerte 1938, 113-114; Maciałowicz 2009, figs. 1. 3. 6) (fig. 7). So-called winged pins were already known from Poland (Kosztrzewski 1919, 79-82) but they were typologically related to the pins known from the Jastorf area. Maciałowicz could present a further so far unpublished specimen of the Jutland type, found in a cultural deposit at a multi-phased settlement in Szynych, powiat Grudziądzk (Maciałowicz 2009, fig. 11) (fig. 8, 6). Beside the diagnostic head, both pins have the for Jutland characteristic curved shank. A third specimen was found a few years after this publication in Gąski, powiat Inowrocław (Grygiel 2018, note 108, zest. 47, 5) bringing the total number of this type in Poland up to three.

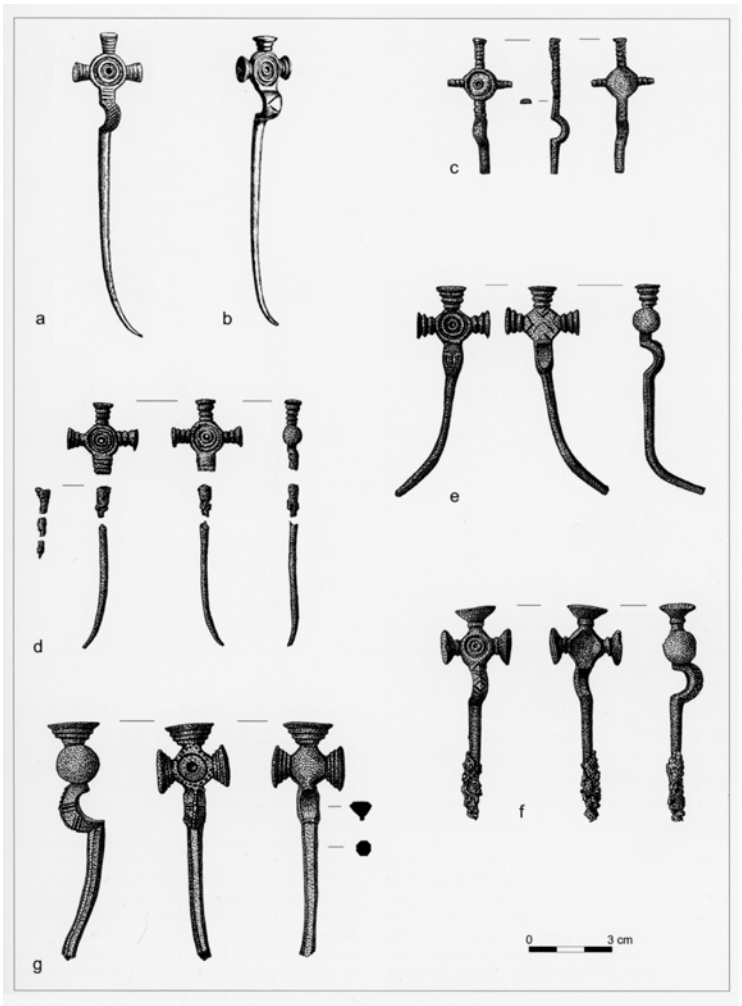

Fig. 7: Winged pins of Jutland type found in Denmark. a: Erritsø, b: Nørrebrarup/Norder-Brarup, c: Aarupgaard gr. 833, d: Aarupgaard gr. 884, e: Aarupgaard gr. 867, f: Aarupgaard gr. 1018, g: Aarupgaard gr. 2498, h: "Fyn", not illutrated. For further information see appendix 4. After Maciałowicz 2009, fig. 9.

Another area outside Jutland where this pin type occurs is to the south of the Elbe estuary (Wendowski-Schünemann 2000). Again, some of the finds have been published earlier (Rautenberg 1886, taf. 4.55), but without noting their origin. Now, Andreas Wendowski-Schünemann could present five specimens found within a relatively small distance from each other in the so-called Elbe-Estuary-group (fig. 8, 1-5). They all strictly conform to the Jutland type, even when it comes to the curved shank (when that part is preserved).

Until these discoveries, this pin type had a rather restricted distribution, confined as it was to the region of South Denmark. The largest number is known

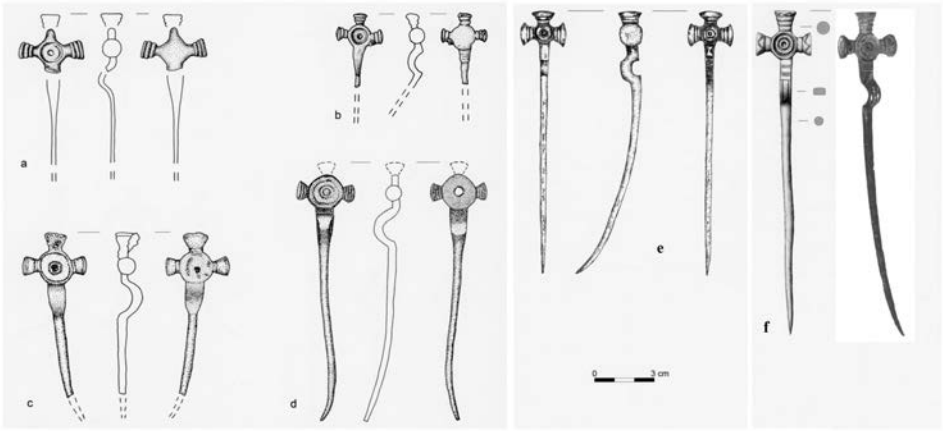

Fig. 8: Winged pins of Jutland type found outside Denmark. a: Berensch-Vossberg, b: Gudendorf-Heidhügel. c: Sahlenburg-Galgenberg, d: Holter Höhe 1, (Holter Höhe 2 not illustrated), e: Szynych, f: Rownina Dolna. (a-d after Maciałowicz 2009, fig. 10; e after Maciałowicz 2009, fig. 11, f after Maciałowicz 2009, figs. 6 and 3).

from the so far unpublished cemetery at Aarupgaard (Jørgensen 1975, 4-5; Christensen 2023, fig. 2). At this burial ground five graves were furnished with such pins, of which four are of the robust and therefore probably late type that has been found abroad (fig. 7, 4-7). The other pins known so far are old finds with very little information; one was found deposited in a bog on Damsgaarden, Erritsø, Vejle county (Neergaard 1892, 233, fig. 22), another in Norderbrarup, kreis Schleswig-Flensburg (Neergaard 1916, 242-243, fig. 7), and finally there is a specimen of which we only know that it was found on Fyn. According to Sophus Müller, all three are bog-finds (Müller 1896, 11, fig. 71), and Müller is actually referring to Rautenberg what seems to suggest that he knew of the parallel Rautenberg had published from the Elbe estuary, but unfortunately Müller did not state it directly.

The significance of the run-away pins.

Pins like the above treated ones belong to the personal dress accessories, and as such they are often part of an emblematic code that signalizes who the person who wears them is, and to which group this person belongs. Therefore, such items are rarely made for "export" but rather tend to follow their owner wherever he or she may go. Thus the distribution of these two pin types suggests a connection of a very personal character between Jutland on one hand and the Elbe-Estuary and Central and Eastern Poland on the other (fig. 9). Furthermore, they add to the growing body of evidence indicating a movement of people from north-western central Europe across Poland to the east and southeast in the direction of the Black Sea in the third century BC (fig. 10) (Hachmann 1957; Dąbrowska 1988; Kaul & Martens 1995; Machajewski 2004; Maciałowicz 2009; Wozniak et al. 2016:

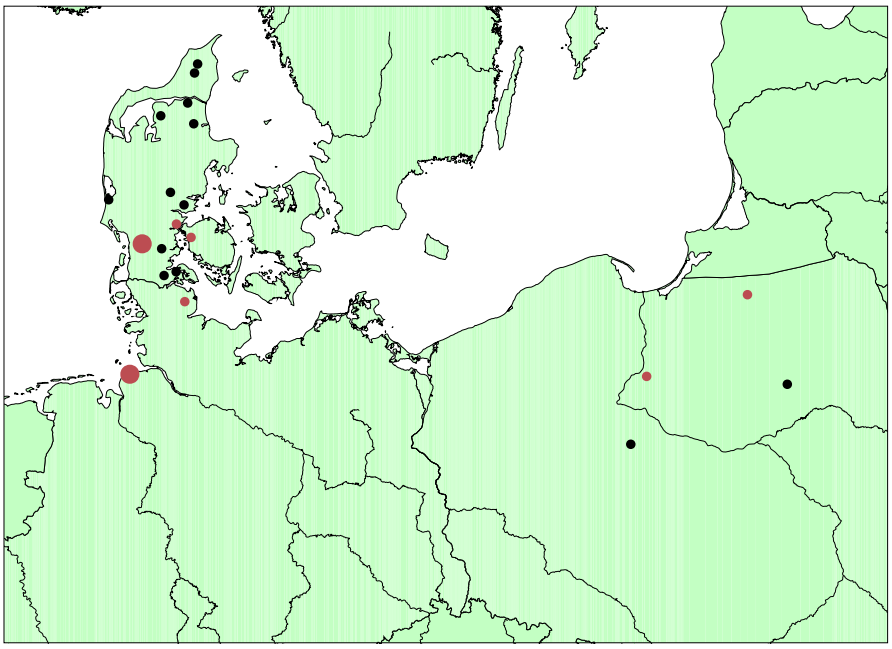

Fig. 9: The distribution of pins of Jutland type in Central Europe. Black dots: Holstein pins with curved shank. Red dots: Winged pins of Jutland type. The large dots mark 5 pins. Graphics by J. Martens.

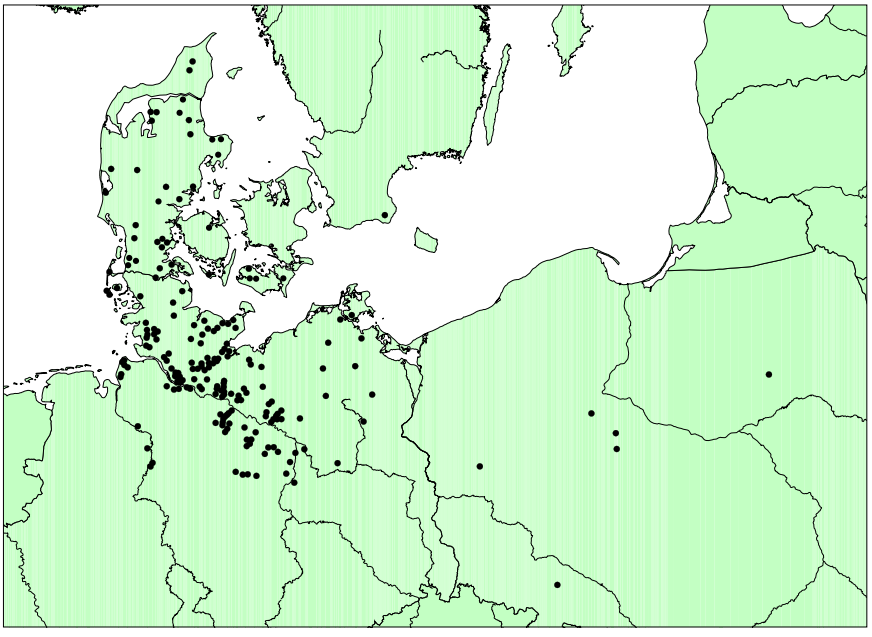

Fig. 10: The distribution of Holstein pins in Central Europe. Each dot mark a site with one or more pins. After Hingst 1986, Karte 14; and Keiling 2014, 17, with additions according to appendix 1-3. Graphics by J. Martens.

Grygiel 2018, Ciesielski 2018; Dulęba, Markiewicz 2021). While some of the markers of this supposed migration, like the crown neck-rings (Kostrzewski 1919, 73-79) (fig. 11) and the pottery (Łuczkiewicz this volume), are indisputably local produce and show signs of an independent development of forms originating in the north-west making it difficult to pin-point place of origin or even to consider them "imports", this is not the case with these pins. Since they are part of the personal equipment and of an emblemic nature, they must indicate that people from Jutland actually went to Poland and the Elbe estuary. This is of course not to say that all the Jastorf-associated material from Poland and eastwards is of Jutland origin. There is clear evidence that people from other areas of the Jastorf culture also took part in this migration (Bockius 1990; Babes 1993; Iarmulschi 2023).

The dating of the two pin types is clearly indicated at their location on the Aarupgaard cemetery. As demonstrated by the excavator Erik Jørgensen, the cemetery expanded from north to south taking the outset in a Bronze Age barrow. A special feature is that the burial ground consists of two parts, a larger western

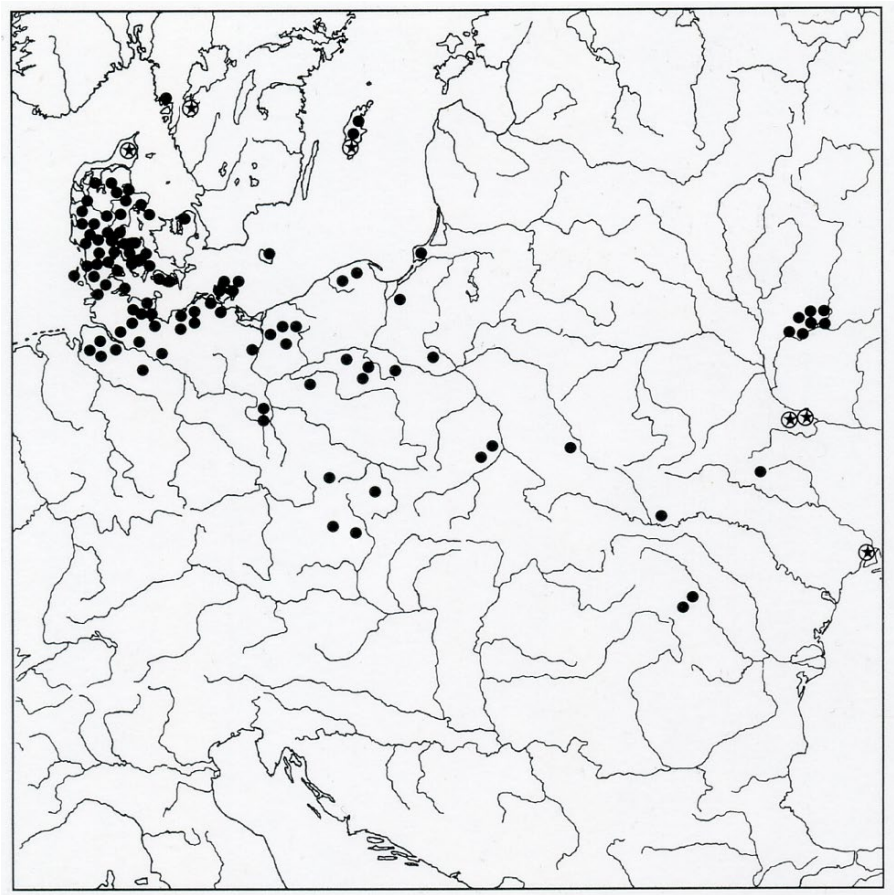

Fig. 11: The distribution of crown neck-rings. Filled dots: crown neck-rings, stars: Dronninglund type rings (after Kaul & Martens 1995, fig. 21).

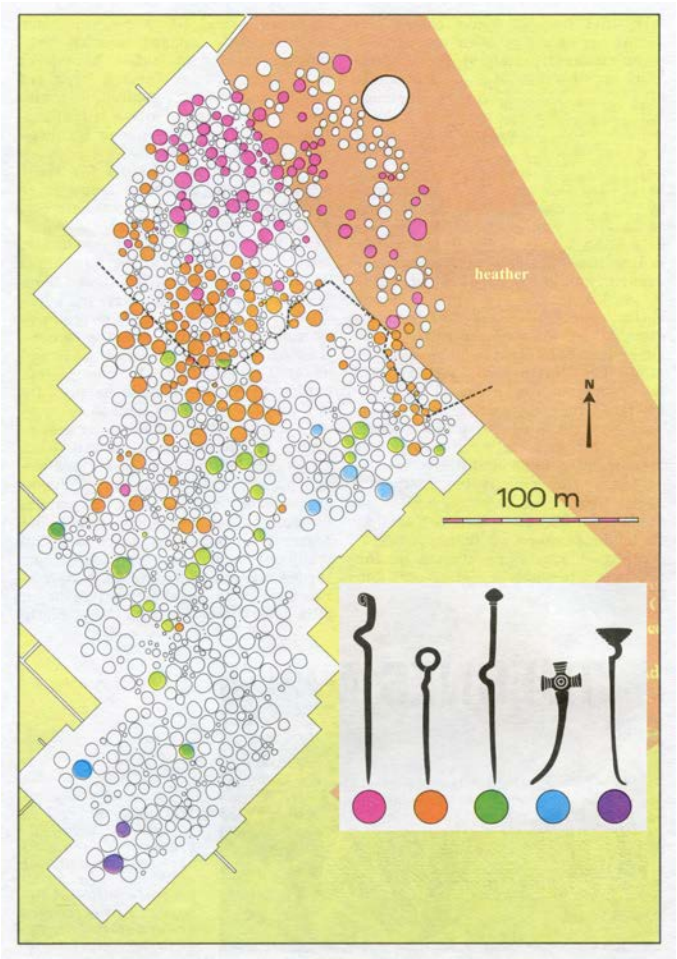

Fig. 12: The Aarupgaard cemetery. The distribution of the mapped pin types show that it expanded in a southerly direction. After Jørgensen 1975, 4-5.

and a smaller eastern part with parallel development (fig. 12). In both cemeteries it is possible, basing on pins, to single out four phases, of which the latest is represented by "our" pins (Jørgensen 1975, 4-5). While the cemetery at large was in use during the early Pre-Roman Iron Age (phases IA-B acc. to Martens 1996), these graves are associated with pottery from the early part of the late Pre-Roman Iron Age (Phase IIA) (fig. 13), a date which is also confirmed by the pottery in the graves from Bjerndrup (fig. 4.1-2).

The heads of the Danish Holstein pins are mostly similar to Hingst's types B-D and certain subtypes of his F-series. Hingst associated these types with his phase IIa, though the Holstein pin as such may occur in earlier (types A and B) or later contexts (type E and certain subtypes of F). The pottery of Hingst phase IIa shares typological features with the pottery of phase IIA in Jutland, like a wide, sharply outturned rim, sometimes slightly thickened, sometimes even with wide

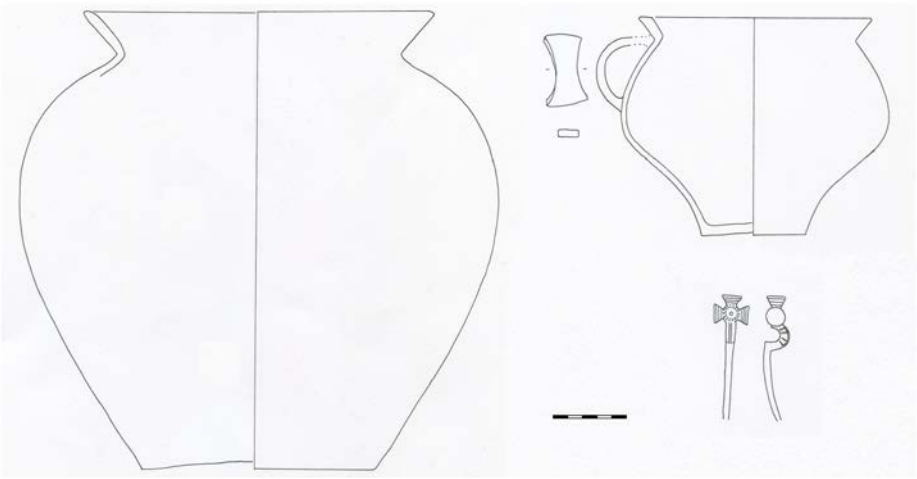

Fig. 13: The furnishing of Aarupgaard, grave 2498 with pottery from phase IIA including a "Retti-ch-gefässe" (upper right) (drawings J. & V. Martens).

facets on its inside (Martens 1996, 233-234, fig. 12). Hingst suggested that his phase IIa is parallel to LaTene C1 (Hingst 1986, 2-35).

This means that the use of the burial ground breaks off at the start of the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age. It is interesting to note that this is also the case at another large cemetery of the region, Årre (Martens 1996, 223-226). A further large but so far unpublished cemetery in South Jutland, Uldal, even appears to break off before the end of the Early Pre-Roman Iron Age (Christensen 2023, fig. 3).

It is interesting that Hingst noted a similar discontinuity in the cemeteries of West Holstein. He wrote: "mit der Beginn der jüngeren vorrömischen Eisenzeit sowohl in den Ballungszentren als auch in den locker besetzten Siedlungsbezirken der Geestinseln [tritt] eine Fundabnahme von Katastrophenartiges Ausmaß [ein]". And further: "Das plötzliche Abklingen der Belegungsdichte auf den Urnenfriedhöfe Westholsteins kann nur durch ein ungewöhnlich schnelles und starkes Absinken der Bevölkerungsdichte erklärt werden" (Hingst 1983, 70, 71). Also in West Holstein, the Holstein pin is the last type in the seriation. Based on this, Hingst suggested that the phenomenon could be connected to the exodus of the Cimbri (Hingst 1983, note 149).

Signs of disruption in South Jutland and Holstein

Migration is of course not the only plausible explanation for the termination of the large urnfield cemeteries and the decline in number of graves. The turn to the late pre-Roman Iron Age marks a dramatic change in burial customs all over northern Central Europe, and in certain areas this leads to a decline in numbers because the graves from the later period are harder to detect (Martens 2014, 255-260; 2017, 31-34). There are several reasons for this, one is the lack of markers on top of the graves, another is that they are scattered in smaller groups or are

isolated. When graves are isolated or lack markers on the surface, it is highly likely that they may be overlooked and destroyed by agriculture. In a recent study on ball brooches found by metal detecting, I have suggested that the relatively large number of brooches found in this way originate from such ploughed-up graves. Their distribution may therefore indicate lost burials and burial grounds (Martens 2022, 105-107, fig. 4). However, even this study seems to confirm a decline in burial numbers in South West Jutland during the early part of the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age.

Another problem is, that graves and settlement do not necessarily coincide neither geographically nor in intensity. It is for example remarkable how few graves we know from the Pre-Roman Iron Age on Zealand and in Scania, in comparison to the ever growing number of settlements from the same period (147-148; Martens 2022, fig. 6). This means that a theory of exodus should be founded not only on burial material but also on a study of settlements, land use, and ideally also on climate.

In South Jutland we are so lucky that Per Ole Rindel has carried out a detailed study on the changes in settlement during the Pre-Roman Iron Age and Early Roman Period (Rindel 1997). He divided the material into five phases of which the first three encompass the Pre-Roman Iron Age. While the settlement during the Early Pre-Roman Iron Age was almost evenly distributed over the region but with a preference for low lying areas along rivers and streams, he noted a dramatic change at the turn to the late Pre-Roman Iron Age, especially in the western part of the region where the low-lying grounds were abandoned (fig. 14). In the east, on the young moraine there was no noticeable change, however. Rindel's observations thus seem to work hand in glove with the indications from the burial grounds. It would have been ideal, as mentioned above, if this could have been supported by environmental data, but unfortunately those which are available in the area do not have a sufficiently fine chronological resolution for this purpose. It is, however, interesting to compare with the settlement development in Northern Jutland. In that region, particularly in Thy and around Aalborg, there are several settlements with unbroken use from the Late Bronze Age to well into the Roman Iron Age (Nielsen 2015). The phenomenon seems therefore limited to the low-lying grounds in South West Jutland and West Holstein.

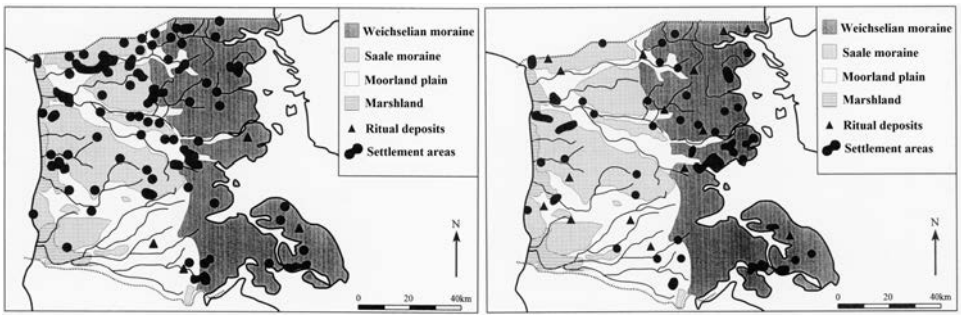

Fig. 14: The settlement of the Early (left) and early part of the Late (right) Pre-Roman Iron Age in Southern Jutland. After Rindel 1997, figs. 10 and 11.

Who were the displaced people?

If we accept an exodus from the west coast of South-Jutland and Holstein, and see the pin types treated here as markers of their route, then who could these people be? It is in general hard if not impossible to identify individuals and tribes named in classical sources in the prehistoric archaeological material, since the knowledge that these sources represent is very limited and ambiguous. Among other things, one may question if they do mention "all" the "tribes" known to them at a certain time, and one may question whether all the names listed represent entities of the same level. Another point is, why are these tribes so interesting that they deserve mentioning? Are there other "tribes" which are unknown to the writers or known but considered irrelevant? And what do the writers mean when using the word "tribe" in these contexts and does it reflect the reality of the described party?

Many of the names of "tribes" or "peoples" in the Barbaric north mentioned by ancient authors are only mentioned once. In other instances, they "disappear" temporarily only to turn up in later sources under a slightly different name. The latter may be because the original sources were oral, or due to transcription problems, but it could also be due to other more subtle circumstances. If a "tribal" name covers an organization of several "units" of a lower organisational level, it could be omitted by some authors but listed by other and vice versa. If one takes the Cimbri as an example, then during their migration they are called "Cimbri" (Livius Per. 63), "Cimbri and Teutones" (Caesar B.G. 7.77.12-14; Velleius Paterculus 2.8.3, 2.12.2) , "Cimbri and Ambrones" (Cassius Dio Roman History 50.24.3), "Cimbri, Teutones, Ambrones and Turingi" (Eutropius Brevarium ab urbe condita 5.1.1), "Teutones" (Hieronymus Epistulae 123.7.3), "Celts/Gauls" (C. Salustius Crispus lug. 114) and some authors even suggested that they were identical with the Cimmerians (Diodorus 5.32.4; Strabon Geo. 7.2.2). All these names are to some extent true, but the one that really stuck was the "Cimbri", which probably means that the Cimbri (at least initially) spearheaded the migration, which gradually attracted more groups on its way to its final fate. Therefore, it is no surprise that during the conquest of Gaul, Caesar met a people who claimed to be descendants of the Cimbri migration but called themselves Atuatuki (Caesar B.G. 2.29.4).

This means that the name "Cimbri" was used at least at two different levels by the antique authors; both as a tribal name and as a name for a confederation of tribes. This may also be the case in their assumed homeland. When the Romans finally reached the shores of the Northern Ocean, they met with people who claimed they were "Cimbri". The information that has been handed down to us from this episode is rather confusing, because on one hand it seems clear that they must have met the Cimbri in the Elbe-estuary area (Strabon Geo. 7.2.4), on the other the geographer Ptolemaios clearly placed them in Northern Jutland (Ptol. Geo. 2.7), below three islands (the Alocian islands) which probably are identic with Mors, Thy, and Vendsyssel (Ptol. Geo. 7.16). Thereby, Ptolemaios most likely

meant to place them in Himmerland. To the south of the Cimbri, Ptolemaios listed a number of otherwise unknown "tribes" also living on the Cimbrian peninsula. It is quite likely that these "tribes" were of a different order than the Cimbri of the 2nd and 1st century BC, and that the name Cimbri therefore at least periodically could refer to not only the inhabitants of Himmerland but also other parts of the Cimbrian peninsula.

The reason for the exodus

Assuming that this was the case would allow us to include the Wadden Sea area of Jutland and Holstein in the "Cimbrian territory". If the people living in this area really were called Cimbri, this would give a good explanation to the antique theory that their exodus was caused by a flood (Waller 1961; Compatangelo-Soussignan 2018). Himmerland is far too protected by the surrounding lands to experience anything as serious as that, but this is not the case in the Wadden Sea region where floods of catastrophic nature happen from time to time (Nielsen 1901). It all depends on the wind direction, and the timing with the moon phases and the tide. When the right conditions coincide, sea water will be pressed into the area between the outer islands and the main coastline and up the rivers and streams reaching several metres above average daily sea level. In 1634, the water in the city of Ribe reached more than six metres above average daily sea level, and the water stood 1.7 meter above the floor in the cathedral (fig. 15). An estimate is that between 8.-15.000 people drowned during this flood alone, and one can imagine that a lot of husbandry suffered a similar fate.

Fig. 15: The "Flood-pillar" in Ribe upon which the maximum levels of historically known floods are marked by copper bands (photo Hjart, source: https://da.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fil:StormflodsøjlenRibe.jpg)

Fig. 16: Map of South-Jutland. The light blue areas are lying below six metres above sea-level and would be submerged under sea-water if unprotected during a flood like the one which happened i 1634. Graphic J. Martens, data from www.dingeo.dk/kort/searise.

If this is what happened to Southwest Jutland and Holstein in the start of phase IIA/Hingst IIa, it would only be logical that it would cause a general exodus from the area, and an abandonment of at least the lower lying meadows (fig. 16). However, even if it had caused a total abandonment of the area, it could never have produced such a huge number of people as the antique sources want us to believe were on the way to Rome (Martens in print). Besides, Rindel's study shows that parts of the population did stay in the area. But even if the displaced people only numbered a few thousand, they would still present a problem to any of the nearer neighbourhoods they might turn up in. Since they had lost their stores, they would be a heavy burden for any other community and soon empty their stores too, if they did not move on. This was probably what started the migration, what caused it to grow in size on its way, and what determined the choice of route. They had to move through areas where they could find provisions to uphold the people and the livestock they brought with them.

The migration route

A lot of what the antique authors have handed down to us about the Cimbri migration has for different reasons been more or less disregarded. This, despite the fact that much of what Strabon wrote about the Cimbrian wars was quotation of an older author, Poseidonius, who was a contemporary of the Cimbrian war. Another important contemporary source was Sulla who took part in the battle at Vercellae

on the Roman side and who wrote about it in his memoirs. Unfortunately, both works are lost, but Strabon, Plutarch and others clearly based at least parts of their description of the Cimbrian wars on them.

One thing that is startling is that historians in general tend to overlook or disregard Strabon's claim that the Cimbri was a wandering people, who had been under way for a long time and over vast areas of Europe plundering their way forward even as far as to the Sea of Azov (Strabon Geo. 7.2.2). Instead, there is a generally accepted consensus that they moved directly from their outset and in a straight line to the first historically known battlefield in which they were defeated by the Boii (fig. 17). The time estimated to travel from the Cimbrian peninsula to Bohemia is usually set to 5-6 years, giving a starting date of about 120 BC. While this does not agree with the description by Strabon/Poseidonius, it also poses a chronological problem concerning the archaeological material that can be connected with an exodus from the above-mentioned territories. If Hingst's correlation of his phase IIa with LT C1 is correct, then this would mean that the exodus in modern absolute chronology would not have taken place around 120 BC but at least 100 years earlier (Miron 1986; Schönfelder 2021). Would that bring the archaeological evidence in contradiction with the historical (Bochnak, Kasinski 2023)? Rather on the contrary: The fact is, that this would fit much

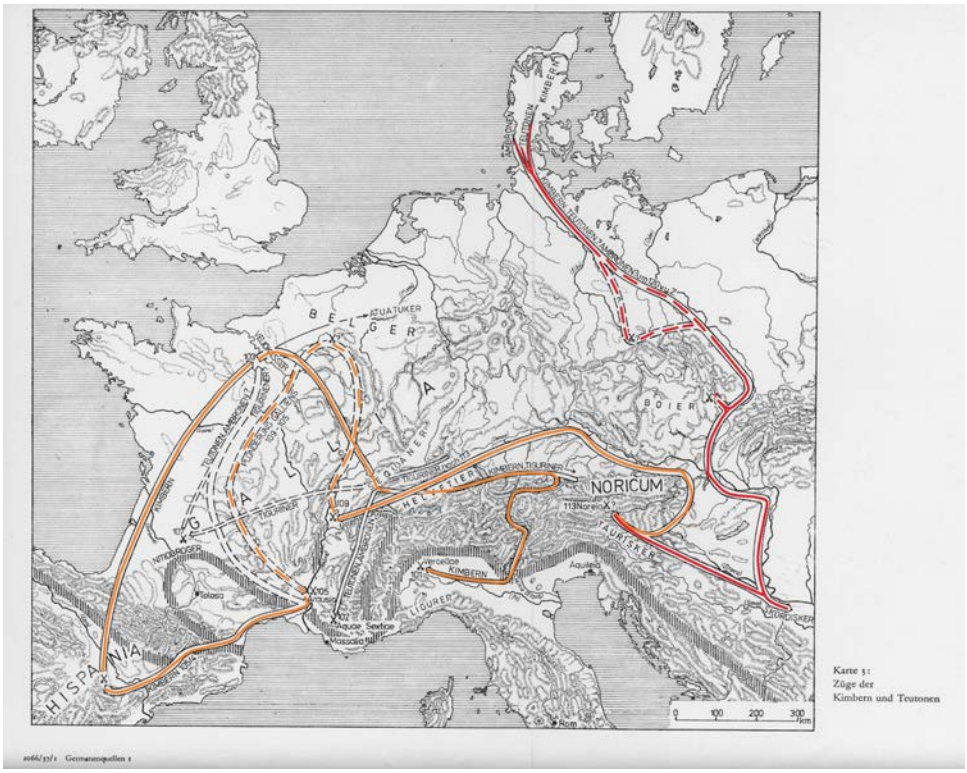

Fig. 17: Map showing the route of the Cimbri migration most often presented in the literature (After Hermarnn 1988, Band I, Karte 3).

better with the information in the antique sources than the short chronology so far accepted.

If one accepts the "long chronology" of the Cimbri migration suggested by the remarks of Strabon/Poseidonius, one gets an abundance of archaeological evidence of people migrating from the north-western part of Central Europe to the southeast known as the "Jastorf expansion". This phenomenon is usually interpreted as the migration of the Bastarnae to the Black Sea region, since parts of it is directed towards Moldova where the Poienești-Lucașeuca is formed during the last decades of the third century BC (Iarmulschi 2016). The Poienești- Lucașeuca culture is today recognized by most researchers to be the archaeological evidence of the Bastarnae (Babes 1993, 168-180). Since, however, the archaeological material connected with their migration derives from so many different places, including the North Sea coast of the Cimbrian peninsula; it would not be surprising if the Cimbri were a part of this archaeologically visible multiethnic migration. Furthermore, the archaeological evidence even seems to confirm Strabon's remarks about how far the migration went to the east as witnessed by the occurrence of several crown neck-rings (Kaul, Martens 1995, fig. 21) and a Holstein belt in the Zarubintsy culture (Maksimov, Rusanova 1993, 31, tabl. XI, 28).

This suggests that the Cimbri marched with the Bastarnae to the Black Sea area – they could even have been the cause of that migration. Even though the Poienești- Lucașeuca culture is today interpreted to be the archaeological evidence of the Bastarnae (Babes 1993, 168-180), there is nothing to contradict that part of this culture could have been Cimbrian, since it was multiethnic in its origin.

However, the first stop of the Cimbri seems to have been the Elbe-estuary. This is indicated not only by the cluster of winged pins of Jutland type found in this area (Wendowski-Schünemann 2000), but Karl Waller noted that there appeared to be a Jutland influence even in the ceramic style of the area at that time (Waller's so-called Rettich-Gefässe (radish-shaped vessels like fig. 13, upper right), Waller 1942, 257-259; Waller 1961, 68, figs. 1-2). It is in this area that Strabon locates the Cimbri around the birth of Christ, so it seems that some stayed behind while the rest went eastwards. It is notable that artefacts from the areas to which the migration later went are found in this area. Thus, three Zarubintsy brooches found there and further west indicate that there was been some kind of reverse communication along the migration route (Kaul, Martens 1995, 139-140, fig. 24).

According to Strabon/Poseidonius the Cimbri, after they were defeated by the Boii went to the territory of the Scordisci. Here they joined the Scordisci in a raid on Macedonia (Appian Hist. Rome, Celt. 4.8-11), before they started out again on their westwards migration only to meet the Romans by Noreia. If the Cimbri had approached the territory of the Boii from the north this would have made no sense. It would be unlikely that the Boii, after defeating the Cimbri would let them pass through their territory with the risk of plundering and devastation which would almost certainly follow when a large group of displaced and hungry migrants living from plunder would pass through their territory. It would make more sense if the Cimbri had been approaching from the Balkans in an attempt

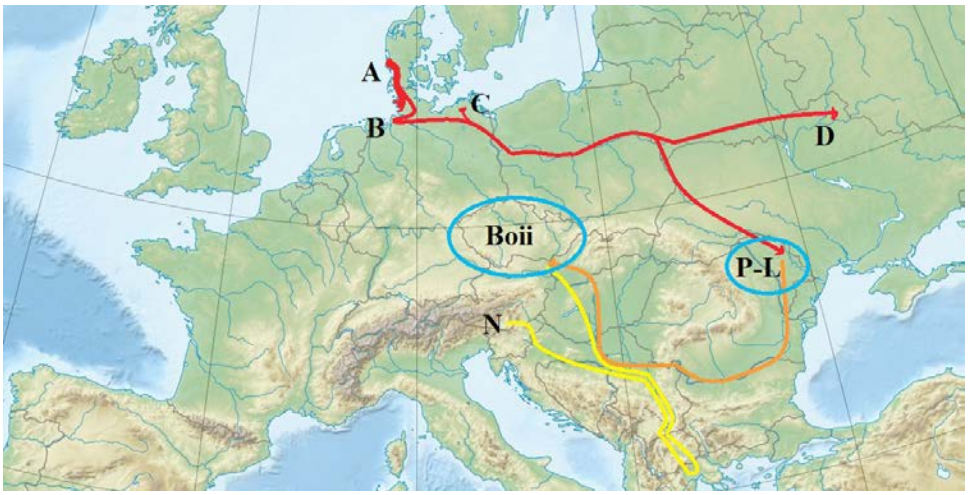

Fig. 18: Map showing the suggested revised migration route of the Cimbri until the battle at Noreia based on both archaeological and historical sources. A: the outset area, B: the Elbe estuary group, C: Mecklenburg, D: Jastorf finds in the Zarubintsy culture, P-L: the Poienesti-Lucaseuca culture, N: Noreia. Red line – the migration route towards the Black Sea region. Orange line – a possible route from Moldova to the Boian territory via the Scordiscan territory. Yellow line – the route which the Cimbri had to take after being defeated by the Boii. First they plundered Macedonia together with the Scordisci, then they moved westwards to Noriea, where they defeated a Roman force for the first time (graphics J. Martens).

to pass through (and plunder) the lands of the Boii, and after being rejected entrance returned to the place they came from, where they in order to secure their sustenance joined forces with their allies the Scordisci in an attack on Macedonia (fig. 18).

Such a scenario would be possible for the following reason; In their new homeland to the North-West of the Black Sea, the Bastarnae (including the Cimbri) started building up political relations with their neighbours and soon became an important political factor in the area as shown by their role in the historically known conflicts in the Balkan area. So, when the Cimbri broke up again from their new homeland in the Poienești-Lucașeuca culture they could count on a system of alliances which could protect them in case of reverses like when the Boii denied them the right to pass through their territory.

Another indication of a more permanent presence of the Cimbri in the Black Sea area is the remark by Pompeius Trogus about how king Mithridates VI prepared for his first war against the Romans (Pompeius Trogus, Hist. Philippicae, epit. 38.3.6). The war was fought between 88 and 84 BC, so the preparations must have been made shortly before this. Among other things Mithridates is reported to have send delegates to the Gallo-Graeci, the Sarmatians, the Bastarnae, and the Scythians to secure alliances against the Romans in the coming war. The Cimbri were also included in this list. It was, however, only about a decade after the final defeat of the Cimbri migration, so the question is why he chose

to contact these people, since according to most sources the migration had been wiped out at Vercellae. Since all the other people mentioned on Mithridates' list of invitations were living in the Black Sea area, it is most likely that the Cimbri which he approached did so likewise. This would only be logical if the Cimbri had taken the migration route suggested above to Moldova, and that a part of them stayed behind in their new home within the Poienești-Lucașeuca culture when the migration moved on to meet its fate in Roman territory.

One last remark:

A final question to answer is the most obvious one: why has no certain and unambiguous find of Jutland origin been made within the territory of the Poienești-Lucașeuca area? It is always dangerous to argue from the outset of absence of evidence, since such an argument may be disproved by just a single find in the future. As the history of research of the pins which have been discussed in this paper shows, they were earlier overlooked though many of them have been published a long time ago. Besides, new finds seem to rapidly increase the evidence of a presence of people from Jutland in areas remote from their place of origin. It may therefore simply be a question of time before the first specimen of one of these pin types will be found in within the territories of the Poienești-Lucașeuca and the Zarubintsy cultures. Thus, the argument here is that the runaway pins have disclosed hitherto unknown travel routes and alliances, that archaeologically confirm the historical sources, but in a different way than hitherto accepted and with a different chronology.

Appendix 1:

Holstein pins with curved shank (fig. 2):

1: Hjørring County, unknown origin –Vendsyssel Historiske Museum, VHM 4697 (drawing J. & V. Martens).
2: Hvidbak mose, Hjelmsted, Serritslev parish, Hjørring County – Vendsyssel Historiske Museum, VHM 1941/94 (drawing J. & V. Martens).
3: Aalborg municipality, Aalborg county, DIME 135961, www.metaldetektorfund.dk
4: Farsø, Aalborg County – Nationalmuseet, NM B3073 (after Jensen 1997, fig. 98.3).
5: Stubberup mølle, Oue parish, Aalborg County – Nationalmuseet, NM C10018 (drawing J. Martens).
6: Gabesø Mose, Klovborg parish, Skanderborg County – Nationalmuseet, NM C7640 (after Jensen 1997, fig. 98.5).
7: Nørre Aldum mose, Stenderup, Vejle amt, in private collection (after Engelhardt 1881, fig. 10).
8: Sønder-Bork parish, Ringkøbing County, Nationalmuseet, NM C12856 (after Jensen 1997, fig. 98.1).
9: Skovby Mose, Vedsted parish, Haderslev County, Nationalmuseet, NM C3600 (after Jensen 1997, fig. 98.2).
10: Aabenraa County, unknown origin - Åbenrå museum 857 (drawing J. & V. Martens)
11: Bjerndrup, grav 2, Kliplev parish, Aabenraa county (Becker 1961, fig. 71)

12: Luszczewo, pow. Konin, Woj. wielkopolskie (after Grygiel 2018, fig. 75.4)
13: Tomaszów, pow. Ostrolecki, Woj. mazowieczkie (Prochowicz 2006, fig. 1a)

Appendix 2:
Holstein pins with preserved, straight shank from Jutland:
1: Ullits, (Jensen 1997, fig. 98.4)
2: Ringkøbing egnen, Ringkøbing amt (Jensen 1997, 309, no. 228 not illustrated)
3: Årupgård grav 2593, Gram, Tønder amt (fig. 4)

Appendix 3:
Holstein pins found by metaldetecting in Denmark according to Arkæologiske Udgravninger i Danmark (vols. 1985-2001) and DIME Digitale metaldetektorfund 2019-2024.
1: DIME 176269 Guldborgsund municipality, Maribo county, pinhead and bow preserved
2: DIME 43777 Lolland municipality, Maribo county, pinhead and bow preserved
3: DIME 157691 Lolland municipality, Maribo county, pinhead and bow preserved
4: DIME 7203 Odense municipality, atypical, pinhead and bow preserved
5: DIME 246211 Ærø municipality, Svendborg county, pinhead and bow preserved
6: DIME 135961 Aalborg municipality, Aalborg county, shank and bow preserved
7: DIME 60324 Rebild municipality, Aalborg county, pinhead and bow preserved
8: DIME 146231 Norddjurs municipality, Randers county, pinhead and bow preserved
9: DIME 216761 Norddjurs municipality, Randers amt, pinhead and bow preserved
10: DIME 183086 Syddjurs municipality, Randers amt, pinhead and bow preserved
11: DIME 116811 Vejle municipality, Vejle county, pinhead and bow preserved
12: DIME 37747 Kolding municipality, Vejle county, pinhead and bow preserved
13: DIME 94804 Tønder municipality, Tønder county, pinhead and bow preserved
14: DIME 153260 Tønder municipality, Tønder county, pinhead and bow preserved
15: DIME 238253 Tønder municipality, Tønder county, pinhead and bow preserved

Appendix 4:
Wing-head pins of Jutland type
1: Fyn, no information of find location (not illustrated)
2: Damsgård mose, Erritsø s, Vejle amt, (Jensen 1997, 216)
3: Nørrebrarup, Sydslesvig, (Neergaard 1916, 242-243, fig. 7)
4: Aarupgaard gr 833 (Maciałowicz 2009, fig. 9c)
5: Aarupgaard gr. 884 (Maciałowicz 2009, fig. 9d)
6: Aarupgaard gr. 867 (Maciałowicz 2009, fig. 9e)
7: Aarupgaard gr. 1018 (Maciałowicz 2009, fig. 9f)
8: Aarupgaard gr. 2498 (Maciałowicz 2009, fig. 9g)
9: Sahlenburg-Galgenberg, Stadt Cuxhaven (Wendowski-Schünemann 2000, figs. 2:3 and 3:1)
10: Holter Höhe, Grabhügel 1, Stadt Cuxhaven, Helmsmuseum Hamburg inv Mfv 1885 (Wendowski-Schünemann 2000, fig. 2:4 and 3:2)

11: Holter Höhe, Stadt Cuxhaven, Landesmuseum Hannover inv. 10317, (Wendowski-Schünemann 2000, 576, nachtrag)
12: Berensch-Vosberg, Stadt Cuxhaven (Wendowski-Schünemann 2000, fig. 2:1)
13: Gudendorf-Heidhügel, Stadt Cuxhaven (Wendowski-Schünemann 2000, fig. 2:1)
14: Równina Dolna, pow. Kętrzynski, woj. Warminsko-mazurskie (Maciałowicz 2009, figs. 1-6)
15: Szynych, pow. grudziądzki, woj. Kujawsko-pomorskie (Maciałowicz 2009, fig. 11)

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Acele pe fugă.
Urme ale migrațiilor (Cimbrilor) din peninsula Jutland pe parcursul secolului III a. Chr.

Rezumat:

În ultimii cincizeci de ani, dovezile vestigiilor arheologice provenite din diferite provincii ale culturii Jastorf și Jutland găsite în Polonia, dar și mai departe în est și sud-est au crescut rapid. Interpretarea general acceptată a fost că acestea reprezintă dovezi ale migrației Bastarnilor din nord-vestul Europei către zona Mării Negre. Cu toate acestea, nu există nicio dovadă că ar fi trăit vreodată un popor cu acest nume în presupusa zonă de origini a acestei culturi, așa că trebuie să fi fost un nume preluat pe drumul către

noua patrie. Dacă este așa, atunci oamenii care au luat parte la migrație și au format în cele din urmă pe cei ce au fost desemnați cu termenul de Bastarni, au aparținut inițial altor grupuri etnice ale căror nume nu sunt cunoscute astăzi. În timp ce materialul arheologic crește, posibilitățile de a cerceta diferitele origini ale acestei migrații devin mai bune. În această lucrare mă voi concentra asupra unui anumit grup de artefacte care ar putea arunca o lumină asupra compoziției etnice a Bastarnilor, și anume – asupra acelor cu originea din Jutland. Al doilea obiectiv al lucrării este o încercare de a reconcilia sursele istorice cu dovezile arheologice. Se susține că multe dintre descrierile care ne-au fost transmise de scriitorii clasici, care sunt ignorate de istoricii moderni, corespund de fapt dovezilor arheologice. Prin urmare, se sugerează citirea surselor istorice într-un mod diferit, în care Cimbrii au urmat un traseu estic mai lung prin Europa înainte de a intra în conflict cu romanii.

Cuvinte-cheie: Cultura Jastorf; Marea Neagră; Marea Baltică; migrațiune; Bastarni; Cimbrii; ace originare din Jutland.

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