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Changing landscapes and persistent places

Jenny Nord

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An exploration of the Bjäre peninsula

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The list of people to thank is surely much longer. If your name is not mentioned and you feel that it should have been, remember it is not out of ingratitude – just a dispersed mind and bad memory. Now I will now switch off the computer and give my children a kiss on the forehead; it is late and they are sleeping and life just turned to another chapter.

Höganäs, 21 May 2009

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Chapter One. Introduction

My archaeological interest in the Bjäre peninsula started in 1993 as I was writing my BA essay together with Jonas Paulsson. My focus was then set on the Bronze Age mounds that constitute such an important part of the peninsula's landscape character. There are few Scandinavian areas, if any, that can show a landscape this richly furnished with Bronze Age heritage and still have escaped any proper investigation. This focus has slightly changed during the years to concern not only the Bronze Age but also to reach a better understanding of how these sites and their surrounding landscape have contributed to forming the present-day world.

This work is thus about landscape, places and archaeology. My main purpose is to explore different approaches in archaeology to landscape. One will focus on the landscape and its characteristics and only secondarily look at places. The other approach is the more traditional landscape archaeology, where the places in a landscape and their contexts are the main issue. Both approaches, however, seek to understand the specifics of places and spaces, but while the first works from the large picture to the small, the second approach does the opposite. A common goal is to show that the prehistoric and historical remains in today's landscape not should be considered as spots in a wider landscape that have lost their historical context.

Places matter Graham Fairclough at English Heritage, once observed in a discussion we were involved in. This statement has since then been lingering in my mind, partly because it goes so well with my own experiences but also because it was said with such simplicity, and at the same time the two words filled the statement with so many meanings. Of course places matter, we all know that, but why is that? What makes a place special or important? In what ways have certain places affected people through history and how have they affected us as well as the surrounding landscape? How can we achieve knowledge about prehistoric people through places in the present-day landscape? Sometimes two words in a brief discussion can make a starting point for a whole dissertation.

The two spatial perspectives *landscape* and *place* will be used throughout this work in a dialogue, even though the different chapters generally will focus on one of the two perspectives. This study will include present-day landscape perspectives in both research and management issues as well as in landscape archaeology, which puts places in focus rather than landscapes. Further, it includes natural science as well as hermeneutic and phenomenological approaches. The geographical scale includes local, regional and occasional interregional perspectives. The timescale will also include all periods, from the Neolithic until the present day. In my opinion this approach will give a better understanding of the material since it will open up for a multitude of perspectives and interpretations.

The scenery for my exploration is the Bjäre peninsula in the northwest of Skåne in southern Sweden, and mainly the westernmost parishes of this area: Hov, Torekov, Västra Karup, Grevie and Båstad. The abundance of Bronze Age heritage in this area is outstanding. It mainly consists of mounds, stone-settings and rock-carvings, which all blend in very well with the small-scale farming landscape, giving it an ancient and relict character. A closer look at the prehistoric heritage in Bjäre reveals that sites and monuments from earlier periods than the Bronze Age are not present, or at least not visible, apart from a handful of late Neolithic stone cists found beneath burial mounds from the Bronze Age. This is rather peculiar, since there are many records in the Register of the National Heritage Board of stray finds from the Neolithic period, and the regions both north of (Halland) and south of (Skåne) the peninsula have megalithic monuments in the landscape. Even Iron Age sites are not so common in Bjäre. So how did this landscape evolve? This is of course one of the main questions of this work; to try to understand the landscape of the Bjäre peninsula and the stories it may tell about the past.

The peninsula is rather remote from larger cities and a 'dead end' as regards modern communication routes, which has left it rather undisturbed from modern developments, at least until the last

century's tourist industry started. Perhaps as a result of the peninsulas remoteness from regional centres, the source material in the form of excavated material is very scarce; few burials have been investigated, and even fewer excavations have been made when it comes to settlement sites. This means that it has been necessary to make some postulates about the prehistoric sites in this work in order to find a way through the abundance of material and to make it accessible for interpretations – mainly concerning the chronological issues which will be explored in Chapter 3. From only a small percentage of investigated burials, conclusions will be applied to a large and also complex body of material. This methodology is nevertheless common and also a necessity in archaeological research; from typology-making a century ago until recent house chronology established in rescue excavations.

The Bronze Age heritage in Bjäre will be studied in this work both chronologically and spatially in order to understand landscape use through time. Since the information from the investigated burials in Bjäre suggests that mounds, stone-settings and cairns are in use simultaneously, they will not always be separated in discussions concerning mortuary practices. The mounds which are especially frequent in Bjäre were in use for a long time in the area; according to the investigations they seem to have been built from the early Bronze Age into the Iron Age. This is of course an important reason why they occur simultaneously with stone-settings that generally are a later grave type. Thus in this work the categories mound, cairn and stone-setting will be referred to together as *mortuary monuments*. Stone-settings are not so monumental in the landscape as mounds and large cairns might be, but still, they function well as memorials or landscape memories, especially since they often are connected with mounds, cairns or with other stone-settings and thus making a larger imprint in the landscape than their smaller size normally would suggest. Thus it makes sense to define even the stone-settings as mortuary monuments in the discussions.

Furthermore, I will argue that the mortuary monuments of Bjäre do not necessarily mirror a hierarchical society. There is a great variation among them and within them, and it seems more likely that there is a much more complex agenda among them than only stratification or power relations. Even so there might be some aspects of these monuments that may shed some light on these issues too. For example, the chosen locations in the landscape and the views actually seem to have some importance for the status of the burial, as may the choices of secondary (ancestral relation) or primary burials (new monument and new location). The rock-carvings will mainly be analysed as chosen locations in the landscape. Thus they will be considered first of all as *places* for prehistoric actions in the landscape and less as pictures or motifs that need to be interpreted. Sometimes, however, I will make interpretations; especially when the distribution patterns of the rock-carvings will provide possible explanations and understanding.

In connection with this study, an inventory of rock-carvings has been conducted in the Bjäre area which doubled the number of sites. The inventory did not only increase the number of rock-carvings but through checks of test areas it also proved that the distribution pattern can be considered secure to work with. Just like the mortuary monuments, the rock-carvings will be analysed chronologically and spatially. They are divided into different categories according to how many individual rock-carvings there are on a site, irrespective of the motifs. Generally the large rock-carving sites seem to keep their importance during long periods, and I will argue later that they can be seen as persistent places in the landscape; places which keep a meaning, perhaps redefined and changed through time, but nevertheless they retain their place and importance over long periods. One outcome of the work with the rock-carvings in Bjäre is that there is a great plurality among the different sites. They seem to have been used in different contexts. Some appear to have been connected with pathways and/or meeting points in the landscape, while others seem to have been closely connected to specific topics and some seem to have had a hidden agenda.

The visible mortuary monuments seem to answer to other purposes or needs, as they grow more organically in the landscape and they change preferred locations within the same period. In the discussions about why certain places once received this meaning and how this meaning was kept or changed, the issue of ancestors will often return. This mainly concerns places for burials. Mortuary monuments are often located at dominant places in the landscape and they often refer both to other monuments and to previous burials within the same construction. Therefore they maintain the ancestral idea in the landscape (see also Jennbert 1993 and Olausson 1993a). The ancestral beliefs and

practices are generally considered to have been strong in the Bronze Age, and lately anthropological studies have been used to emphasise this, mainly the work of Helms (1988 and 1998); see for example Larsson (2002), Rudebeck (2002) and Kristiansen & Larsson (2005). However, ancestors should not be the only explanation for the location of mortuary monuments; already functioning and established social order and habits will of course not be changed very easily (Bourdieu 1977, 1990; Giddens 1981). Most probably habits and practices were also at work when the original background reasons had been forgotten. For example, the habit of mound-building seems to be very long in Bjäre, and it could be suspected that this became a habit as well as a tradition. This is an aspect of gradual change; we forget why a tradition once started but still we continue with it. For example, I am not sure why I decorate the Christmas tree every year, and always on the 23rd of December. Still I do it because it is a nice tradition that I grew up with, and that I want to hand on to my children.

The later development of the cultural landscape in Bjäre seems to have a connection with the presence of prehistoric sites even into recent periods. Place and space interact through time; which is one reason why I suggest that the prehistoric sites still matter to us in the present, and that they should not entirely be considered as abandoned features from the past. My interest has thus moved from being strictly concerned with the Bronze Age to also include how people and society in later periods experienced, used and reused the heritage from this period; from questions about what constitutes a place to how these are networking in the wider landscape perspective through time; from experiencing landscape as a stale background to make it become a vivid foreground. The landscape that we see today in Bjäre, with villages, fields, pastures and roads, actually has its background in how the people in prehistory experienced and used the landscape and places within it.

This work is divided into different chapters which will focus on different aspects of the Bjäre landscape, and at the end they will be brought together in a concluding discussion.

Chapter 1 will include a presentation of the Bjäre landscape and also explore some theoretical concepts and methodological frameworks that concern *landscape* in this work.

Chapter 2 will mainly be about the present-day landscape and the concept of space. Different approaches to the present-day landscape will be used, which may be helpful for understanding the

Fig. 1. *Mounds and fields southwest of Västra Karup village. Photo by John Nygren 2008.*

development of the landscape; this will include some thoughts about the intangible landscape, vegetation studies, pollen analyses and also a *Historic Landscape Characterisation* (HLC). An HLC is an exploration of a landscape's time-depth as well as processes of change, seen through maps and aerial photographs. A detailed field study of a matrix method will also be presented. *Change* will be a keyword for this chapter, and it is not only changes seen in the present-day landscape but also past changes on a landscape scale that will be discussed.

Chapters 3 and 4 will focus on landscape and the concept of place. Through different means I will try to find and explore sites, places, structures of networking and landscape organisation at a local, regional and perhaps even trans-regional scale. The focus will be on the Bronze Age. In Chapter 3 the visible mortuary monuments, the excavated burials and the rock-carvings from the Bronze Age in Bjäre will be analysed individually. In Chapter 4 the evidence will be put together and the development of a ritual landscape in Bjäre will be discussed. I will argue that rock-carving sites make up nodules of communication in the landscape on various levels, referring to and connecting to old traditions. The mortuary monuments, on the other hand, constitute statements of a different kind, connecting people with time and space as well as referring more directly to humans and their social relations. Change can be seen as being directed by burials – both as social happenings where new orders are (re)negotiated and also through the act of erecting a lasting monument with consideration for existing ones, thus purposely changing the landscape. Sites with rock-carvings should rather be seen as places of some ritual stability around which the living world may change.

Chapter 5 will add the aspects of 'landscape as space' and discuss the long-term development of the cultural landscape which has evolved around and in dialogue with the ritual landscape: the making of an agricultural landscape. The conclusions from the earlier chapters will be used in order to arrive at further conclusions about landscapes in general and Bjäre specifically, about present-day as well as past periods. By connecting the landscape studies in Chapter 2 with the study of prehistoric sites in Chapters 3 and 4 it will be possible to produce new knowledge and gain a better understanding in both perspectives.

Chapter 6 will bring us to questions about heritage and landscape management. The Bjäre situation will be in focus, but I also wish to discuss topics such as: the implementation of the *European Landscape Convention* (ELC) and how it might affect and possibly change the heritage management as well as research topics in archaeology. One interesting question is whether it is possible to change the traditional more static view of heritage to a view that recognises changes and processes as a defining element (see Gren 2000; Fairclough & Nord Paulsson 2002; Fairclough 2002c).

Bjäre – a brief presentation of a historical landscape

The Bjäre peninsula is situated in the northwest of Skåne, the southernmost county of Sweden. The study area consists of the five parishes of Båstad, Grevie, Hov, Torekov and Västra Karup. The Väderö Island which belongs to the parish of Torekov is not included in the study area, which comprises a total of 142 square kilometres.

About 13500 BC, when the ice of the last Ice Age began melting, the area was one of the earlier parts of Scandinavia to be freed from the big ice-sheet (Berglund 1979). The enormous masses of ice had reshaped the area and these shapes have given a special appearance to the region. In the north of the peninsula the old rock survived the Ice Age and it is still rising, with heights of about 150–200 m above sea level, while the southern side is characterised by lowlands sloping towards the sea. The study area is a rather well-defined area, mainly because it is a peninsula surrounded by water. Further, the fourth side to the east is more or less demarcated by the Hallandsåsen ridge and a steep-sided valley, Sinarpsdalen, which cuts through the ridge. This valley was created as the great ice was melting and the material which was removed in this action is partly deposited in the drumlin area to the south, Grevie Backar (Andersson 1998). The valley of Drängstorp is a westerly extension of Sinarpsdalen and ends at the very centre of the peninsula, close to the village of Västra Karup, see fig. 3.

Southeast of the peninsula is the plain of Ängelholm. The Halland plain extends northeast of the peninsula and north of the ridge. From the peninsula there is a spectacular view that extends to the sandy coast of Halland to the north, the silhouette of the Kullaberg peninsula to the south, and on clear days the view from higher locations even includes Denmark on the other side of the lowlands of Kullaberg, see fig. 2. Therefore the so-called central areas of the south Scandinavian Bronze Age were really within sight and mentally not very far away.

The peninsula and the island of Hallands Väderö 5 km to the west of the mainland are the westernmost outposts of the Hallandsåsen ridge, see fig. 3. The northern and northeastern side of the peninsula shares the characteristics of the Hallandsås ridge, and this coastline is far more dramatic than the smooth southern shoreline.

The peninsula is in general hilly and the soil mainly consists of sandy till, even though its southern parts have some clayey areas, see fig. 3. The peninsula and especially its central and western parts are rich in outcrops as well as in wetlands. Thus, the central parts of Bjäre have not been very attractive for agriculture, and during historical periods it was mainly the southern slopes that were used for these activities. The lower land close to the coast in the south and southwest of the peninsula used to be common grazing land and it was enclosed for agriculture only during the early 19th

Fig. 2. *The Bjäre peninsula and its surrounding areas. Background data © Lantmäteriet Gävle 2009. Grant I 2009/0549.*

century. Today this is the most intensively used farmland on the peninsula as there are few natural obstacles (Gustafsson 2006; Reiter 2007).

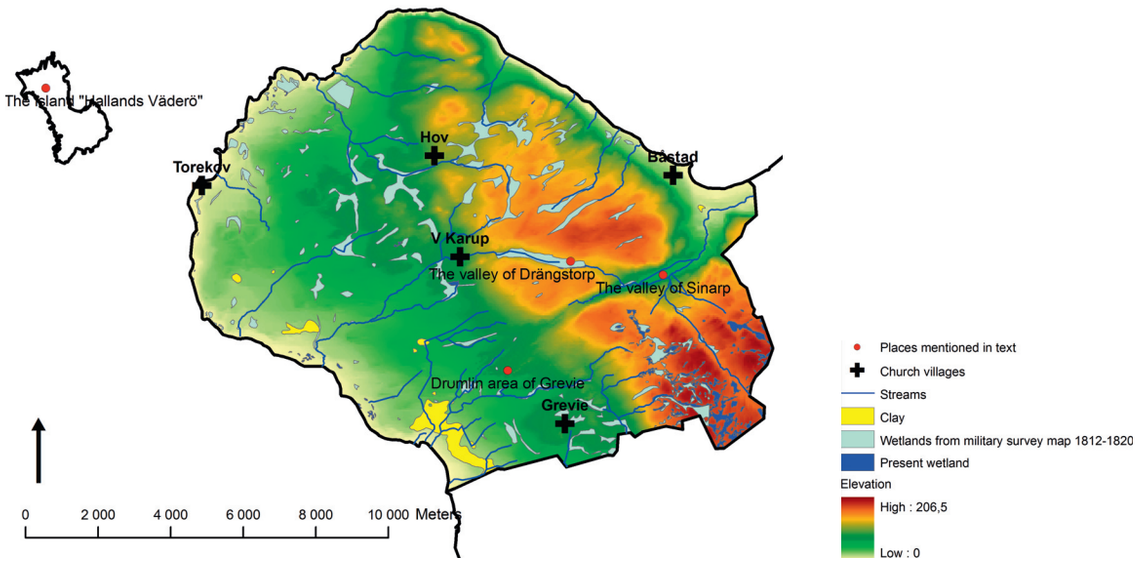


Fig. 3. *The study area. © Lantmäteriet Gävle 2009. Grant I 2009/0549 and © Sveriges geologiska undersökning.*

Today small-scale agriculture with stockbreeding predominates in the north and in the inland, while on the southern slopes and on the coastal area potatoes are an important crop and the fields are larger (Reiter 2007). In the following work I will often refer to different areas of Bjäre described here as:

- 'The ridge', meaning the higher ground often with a good view over the lower areas and the sea (eastern parts of 3a, 4 and the whole area 5 in fig. 4).
- 'The western (undulating) lower area', meaning the inland in the west which is below the ridge and is rather hilly and quite full of wetland and outcrops. A typical aspect of the inland area is the *broken view* – often places close by are hidden by hills and valleys but others situated in further away are clearly visible (3b in fig. 4).

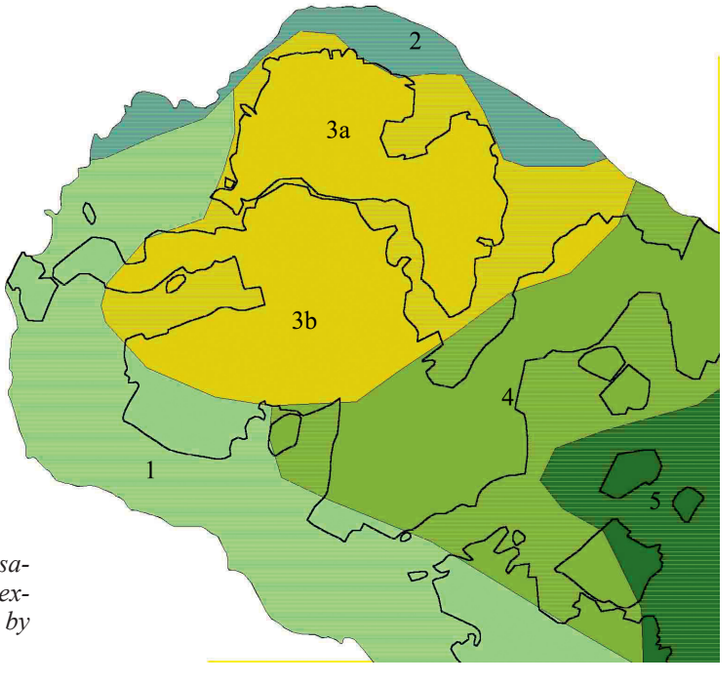


Fig. 4. *Overall landscape characterisation of Bjäre focusing on landscape experience, see text for definitions. Made by Carl-Johan Sanglert and Jenny Nord.*

- ‘The coastal area’ represents the lower area which is close to the coastline and today is intensively used for agriculture (1 in fig. 4)
- ‘The coastline’ is the area located directly by the shore.
- Number 2 in fig. 4 represents the stony and sometimes very steep coastline on the northern side of the peninsula.

Fig. 5. *The Vasalt shoreline along the southern coast. Photo Jenny Nord 2003.*

Fig. 6. *The steep-sided coast of Hovs Hallar in the north. Photo John Nygren 2009.*

The importance of the sea should not be underestimated in Bjäre as it is a peninsula. Historically it has been used for fishing, travelling and trading. The coast was also an important resource for seaweed which was used as fertiliser on the otherwise rather meagre soils (Emanuelsson et al. 2002:292). The right to harvest seaweed was strictly regulated and punishment was hard for those who broke the rules. For example, besides being heavily fined, offenders could also be forced to sit in the front row at Sunday service with a bundle of seaweed in their hands (Hernborg 2002 personal communication). As the sea provided seaweed and other treasures (mainly shipwrecks – about which there was also a set of regulations) the common land closest to the coastline was well protected through historical times. This was also the case through the agricultural reforms that mainly took place in the first half of the 19th century in Bjäre. These reforms dramatically changed the overall landowning system, moving farms out of villages and allocating them their own fields, which is the pattern that persists today in many places. But the coastal strip is still used for grazing, and it is still possible to see farmers harvest seaweed in the spring, although artificial fertilisers are more commonly used nowadays.

Another specific characteristic of the area is the historical landowning situation. The aristocracy and church have had limited influence in the area, and instead an unusually high proportion of freehold farmers seem to have introduced the parish system and also several of the parish churches. This is rather peculiar, since the areas both north and south of Bjäre have had a high amount of aristocratic impact. Even so, it seems as if the area at periods during the Middle Ages functioned as a small country on its own since no juridical connection existed with *Det Skånska Landstinget*, the County Council of Skåne (Janson 1999). Already during the Iron Age there are indications that the peninsula was a well-defined settlement area; this is mainly due to the history of Jordanes from around 550 AD, where he calls the inhabitants 'Bergio' (Skansjö 1997:44). The church had a larger impact

Fig. 7. *The local saint of Torekov and Bjäre, St Thora. The statue is located by the old church ruin in Torekov and it is made by Gunnel Frieberg. Photo Jenny Nord 2003.*

on the peninsula than the aristocracy, however. But even the church seems to have had a somewhat local character with its local saint of St Thora and the direct ownership of the island of Hallands Väderö by the parish of Torekov. The island was originally a gift to the church in Torekov from the Danish king in the early medieval times (Lannér 2003:8). The city of Båstad was founded in late 15th century and soon became an important harbour for trading, especially with Copenhagen, which in this period demanded large quantities of timber. Still today small units of freehold farmers dominate in Bjäre, although recent history shows a somewhat different development whereby old farming land is being split up from the old farms and is often reused for different purposes, and recreational activities such as golf have become an important issue for landscape change (Janson 1999; Båstad kommun 2002a; Emanuelsson et al. 2002:97ff; Gustafsson 2006:19ff; Reiter 2007).

Altogether there are five churches and five parishes in the study area, and all the churches except for the town church of Båstad originate from the 12th century (Båstad kommun 2002a). The farmhouses from the area share their distinctiveness with houses in surrounding regions, and it can be said that Bjäre is a meeting point of two different building cultures. To the north and east on the highlands and in the forested area the houses are mainly made of wood, while on the lower ground to the south-southwest the houses are mainly made with clay and are often L- or U-shaped (or even O-shaped) as in the south of Skåne (Båstad kommun 2002a). Today a lot of new houses are being built and old farmsteads are being modernised, which gives a new character to the architecture of the cultural landscape.

The prehistoric and historic heritage of the present landscape of Bjäre

The Bjäre peninsula is today a popular resort for golf, tennis and water sports. The beautiful agricultural landscape with is rather small units and the drama that is provided by the surrounding coast and the heights of the ridge in the north are among the factors that attract visitors. Another thing that attracts people is the historical depth in the landscape, which gives the area a rather interesting profile with its abundance of mounds. And perhaps this is one of the most special characteristics of the area: that there is a large number of well-preserved and visible prehistoric sites in the landscape. The richness of especially Bronze Age mounds in Bjäre has also been noticed in earlier studies, for example by Hyenstrand (1984:fig. 16) and T. B. Larsson (1993:50f), see figs. 8 and 9. Even so there has been very little work done concerning the Bjäre landscape.

Table 1. *The types of burial constructions in the parishes of the study area.*

Parish→ Type↓	Västra Karup	Hov	Grevie	Torekov mainland	Båstad	Total
Mounds	189	79	172	2	28	470
Stone-settings	161	101	34	4	3	303
Cairns	11	17	8	0	0	36
Stone circles	5	0	1	0	0	6
Ship-settings	1	0	0	0	0	1
Standing stones	4	1	5	0	2	12
Stone cists	4	1	1	0	0	6
Flat-earth burials/cemeteries	5	0	1	0	7	13
Cemeteries	12	7	11	0	1	31

There are 1151 prehistoric burial constructions, not all monumental, known in the study area, most of which can be dated to the Bronze Age (for details see tables 1 and 2). Table 1 does not include the individual graves in the cemeteries though, except for the special case of flat-earth cemeteries and the eight cairns in the cemetery Hov RAÄ 38; Gröthögarna (see fig. 177). The reason they are

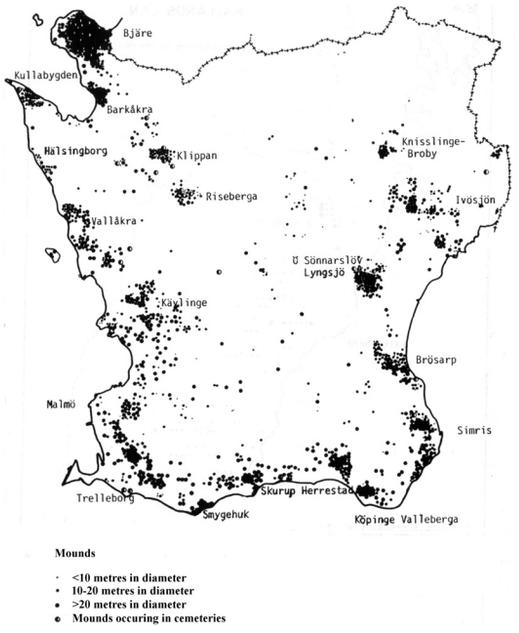


Fig. 8. *The distribution of mounds in Skåne according to Hyenstrand 1984:fig. 16. The map is based on information from the first field survey made by the National Heritage Board; in Bjäre this took place in 1967.*

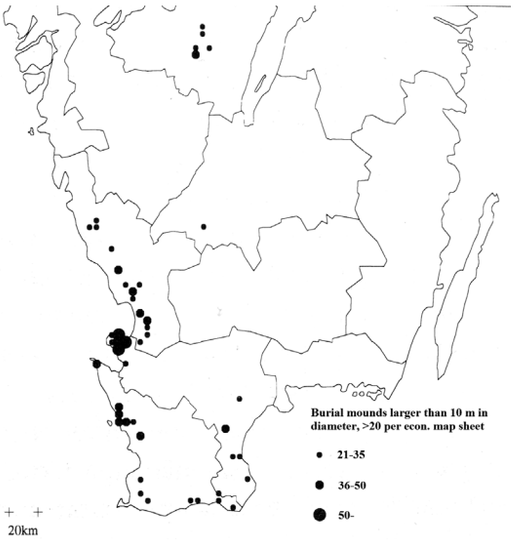


Fig. 9. *Distribution of mounds ≥ 10 m in diameter and where they occur with at least 21 mounds per sheet of the economic map (5 × 5 km). From T. B. Larsson 1993:fig. 3. The map is based on information from the revised field survey made by the National Heritage Board 1977–1991.*

included among the individual graves is that otherwise the statistics on the cairns would be too skewed. I will not include the cemeteries in the main analyses since in the Register of the National Heritage Board there is often no detailed information about the individual constructions. Table 2 shows the number of cemeteries on the peninsula, from which it is obvious that there is a high percentage of burial constructions occurring in cemeteries. However, I will discuss them briefly in Chapter 3, and in Chapter 4 they will also be included in the distribution illustrations. I have also decided not to consider stray finds from the Bronze Age, whether in bronze or stone. Instead I will focus on visible sites in the landscape. However, the few sites for offerings (1) and hoards (2) are included since these sites can be considered as specific places in the landscape even though they are not 'visible'.

The density of mortuary monuments in the Bjäre landscape is quite amazing; statistically there are 8 per square kilometre. By comparison, the area north of Landskrona, which also is a very rich area concerning Bronze Age mounds, has 1.6 mounds per square kilometre (T. B. Larsson 1993:51). The same figure for Bjäre is 4 mounds per square kilometre.

Table 2. *The amount and percentages of mortuary monuments found in cemeteries and on the peninsula in general.*

Mortuary monuments	In cemeteries	Total on peninsula	% in cemeteries
Mounds	80	550	14%
Stone-settings	165	468	35%
Standing stones	21	31	68%
Cairns	8	36	22%
Stone circles	3	9	33%
Ship-settings	1	2	50%
Other	0	55	0%
Total	278	1151	24%

A question of interest is of course why there are so many mortuary monuments in Bjäre. Is this only due to a high degree of preservation? From archive studies it is clear that many mounds have been lost through the years, although to a lesser extent in Bjäre than, for example, in the south of Skåne (Nord & Paulsson 1993:7f) where as many as 85% of the mounds have been damaged by agricultural activities in historical periods (Tesch 1983:40f; Säfvestad & Björhem 1989:63f). In previous work on Bjäre only 11% of the mounds were estimated to have been damaged, but this is probably far too low a figure, as the archive studies were not pursued as intensively in Bjäre as in the south of Skåne in connection with the revised inventory of the National Heritage Board (see Holmgren & Tronde 1990; Roos 1993 personal communication). More important, however, is that when the damaged mounds are added to the existing ones, the general distribution patterns are still similar, both in south of Skåne and in Bjäre (Säfvestad & Björhem 1989:63f; Olsson 1991:39ff; Nord & Paulsson 1993:7f).

There are several possible reasons why especially the mounds are well preserved in Bjäre. One very important reason lies in the landscape itself. There is a wealth of outcrops in Bjäre and often these seem to have been chosen for mound building (personal observation). This had the effect that they have not been 'in the way' or prevented valuable land from being ploughed in the same extent as in many other areas. Instead one might say that the land areas in a way have been expanded through the extra square metres of available grazing land on top of the mounds. The agricultural needs have thus given little reason to remove them. This of course is also due to the generally large amount of stones in them and often only a very thin topsoil layer (see Chapter 3). Furthermore, the landscape and landscape use of Bjäre has a small-scale character, the lands is rich in obstacles but also in history. The inhabitants must have learnt to deal with this situation. Perhaps the large amount of freehold farmers have led to a special care of the landscape monuments, as old inhabitants still tell stories of their parents and grandparents asking them to care for the monuments on their land.

It could also have been expected that the large number of mounds in Bjäre was destructive for the environment during the Bronze Age, as has been assumed in other areas where they have been thought to have swallowed a great amount of soil for agriculture (Thrane 1980:169, 1984:151f; Olausson 1993b:260f). Already in the previous work the opposite situation was actually found since the large central cairns in the mounds of Bjäre often swallow a high amount of stones from the fields, see fig. 11 (Nord & Paulsson 1993:22 and further in Chapter 4).

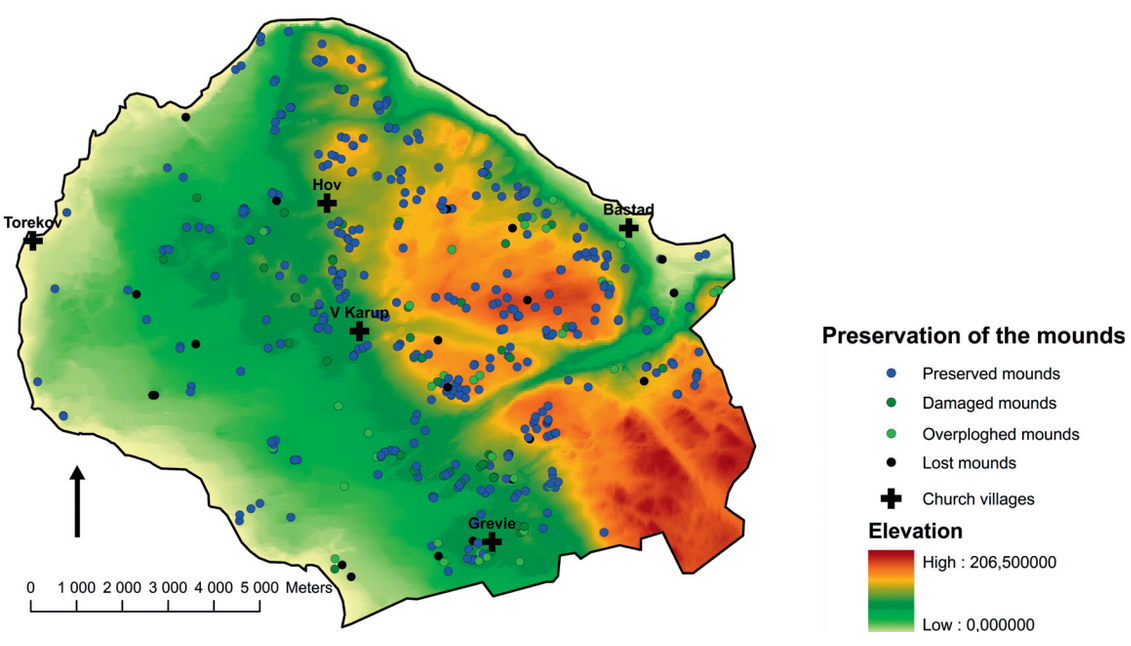


Fig. 10. *The distribution of damaged (but still existing), ploughed-out and completely lost mounds in Bjäre. Background data © Lantmäteriet Gävle 2009. Grant I 2009/0549.*

The other rich category of prehistoric sites in Bjäre is the rock-carvings. They mainly consist of cupmarks while figurative motifs are rare (see table 3). A recent inventory and documentation work have dramatically increased the number of carvings as well as the number of motifs, which will be further presented in Chapter 3. In comparison with mortuary monuments there are fewer sites with rock-carvings, 4 per square kilometre, but considering individual rock-carvings, there are 50 per square kilometre. I find it interesting to compare the density of the two categories in the landscape: 8 mortuary monuments or 4 mounds to 4 rock-carving sites or 50 engravings. If we speculate that there is an average of 6 individual burials connected to each preserved mortuary monument, that would make 1 rock-carving per buried individual. From 1800 BC to 500 BC when the Bronze Age ends, that would mean 5.5 burials and 5.5 rock-carvings each year. Since some of the grave types and perhaps also some of the rock-carvings might derive from the early Iron Age, it is perhaps fairer to include that period in the mathematics too; from 1800 BC–400 AD that would make 3 burials and rock-carvings each year. This is of course purely statistics which have little to do with the reality; however it gives some interesting numbers which perhaps refer more to the high degree of preservation than to actual numbers of burials per year.

Table 3. *The rock-carvings in the different parishes of the study area.*

	Number of sites	Cupmarks	Footprints	Ships	Axes	Circle figures	Crosses	Grooves	Others	Total carvings
Västra Karup	265	3555	56	1	0	6	3	303	23	3947
Hov	62	1145	33	2	0	1	0	36	22	1239
Grevie	199	1775	19	0	1	2	1	80	6	1884
Båstad	3	79	0	0	0	1	0	17	3	100
Total	529	6554	108	3	1	10	4	436	54	7170

Fig. 11. *The mound Västra Karup 105:1 in Drängstorp during excavation for pollensampling (see Chapter 2). Here the large central cairn is visible. Photo Jenny Nord 2002.*

The points of interest in the Bronze Age landscape of Bjäre are:

- the generally very distinctive character of the prehistoric material
- the absence of earlier monuments
- the large number of mortuary monument from the Bronze Age (Hyenstrand 1984: fig. 16)…
  …which are relatively small (T. B. Larsson 1993)
  …except for some very large examples
- the good preservation of mortuary monuments
- the large amount of rock-carvings
- the absence of dated settlement traces – which more or less is due to an absence of large scale archaeological investigations in the area

The mounds are key features in the landscape of Bjäre. They provide a very dominant landscape layer in its historical depth, around which the activities of later periods must have made active choices; to respect or not. As the number of monuments is very high, they must have been respected in most cases. The sites with rock-carvings are more hidden in their present-day appearance. We don't see them unless we walk right up to them, but still they occupy many places which dominate the landscape and provide a good view. A hypothesis in this work is that rock-carving sites should be treated as marked locations in the landscape instead of focusing only on the carvings as pictures. In this way it makes sense to treat them chorologically the same way as the mortuary monuments are treated. This perspective was attempted in an earlier work about Bjäre produced together with Jonas Paulsson (Nord & Paulsson 1993) and here a certain pattern could be distinguished through a 'closest neighbour' methodology and exposures added to this. Interestingly enough, the majority of the rock-carvings were found to be located between the different core areas suggested by the locations of the mounds. These areas were thought to mirror settlement areas or some sort of territories. The source material in the previous work, however, was rather fragmentary, especially concerning the rock-carvings which, in terms of both site numbers and contents, increased dramatically during the recent inventories. Also, the grave type stone-setting was not included. Therefore the earlier results should be tested again together with the new information and with a deeper theoretical frame (see Chapter 4).

The graves of Bjäre not only provide the landscape with past history, mystery and beauty; besides being informants for archaeological questions they also carry another kind of heritage from the past in the set of vegetation growing on them. A flora inventory has shown that the vegetation on the mounds of Bjäre is extremely well-preserved and representative of the time before artificial fertilisers were used. It is a flora typical of managed grassland. Analysis has shown that some of the vegetation may actually originate from the time when the mounds were built (Gustafsson 1998). This will be discussed more in Chapter 2, together with the results of pollen analyses from both mounds and a bog site.

There are very few traces of settlements in the Bjäre landscape; mainly some fragmentary houses or areas with hearths from excavations on the eastern side of the peninsula (Runcis 2000). I have decided to exclude them in this work since their poor general representation in the landscape might provide the analyses with an incorrect outcome. This is another side of the representativity coin; while visual remains seem to be well-preserved, the hidden remains such as settlements are very uncommon; this is of course due to the very few excavations that have been done in connection with development. However, in Chapter 5 I will briefly discuss the settlement information from the Register of the National Heritage Board, which mainly consists of concentrations of worked flint in arable fields. In other Scanian areas where settlement data do exist there seems to have been a rather dispersed settlement pattern during the early Bronze Age which in the middle/late Bronze Age, became more dense and complex and also shows more signs of social differences. Further, houses from the middle Bronze Age show signs of animal-keeping. This might signify that private ownership was becoming more important during the Bronze Age (Tesch 1993; Artursson 2005b; Björhem & Magnusson Staaf 2006:183ff).

As was mentioned above, there are very few visible remains of earlier and later periods than the Bronze Age. There are some standing stones and stone circles which are not dated and might derive from the Iron Age together with some of the smaller mounds. There are also a handful of stone cists which date to the late Neolithic. However, most of these have been found inside Bronze Age mounds. The layers of visible remains of human activity from prehistory in the landscape of Bjäre may therefore be summed up as a well-preserved ritual landscape from the Bronze Age. Around these many layers of later farming landscapes have evolved.

But why is it so? Where are all the landscape layers from the Stone Age and Iron Age? In a way the Bronze Age heritage of Bjäre seem to have filled the landscape and made later additions very difficult. The probability of megalithic tombs being hidden in any of the burials of Bjäre is very small, mainly because they are generally small and often eroded. However, Iron Age burials might to some extent be concealed in the material. For example, one of the mounds in the cemetery of Tofta Högar that was excavated by Göran Burenhult proved to be from the Roman Iron Age (see Chapter 3). But perhaps we should not forget place names in this discussion because there is a large number of pre-Christian place names on the peninsula and these also provide the landscape with memories, albeit more intangible. The names of many of the villages and settlement places of Bjäre originate in the late Iron Age, which means about 400–1050 AD. This is probably a result of a more comprehensive change in the settlement pattern at that time (Båstad kommun 2002a; Gustafsson 2006:19f). I will return to this in Chapter 5.

The wider landscape of today mainly consists of open arable fields and grazing land with few clearly visible boundaries except for stone walls, mainly constructed in connection with the agricultural reorganisation according to the land reform laws of the 19th century. In the coastal area which today is intensively used for agriculture the boundaries mainly consist of trees and shrubs, while stone walls are more common in the inland area (Reiter 2007). The stone walls are not only made from new land openings but also from old clearance cairns which were taken away when the fields

Fig. 12. *The Drumlin area of Grevie, see fig. 3 for location and fig. 20 for some of its intangible aspects. Photo John Nygren 2006.*

were enlarged during the agricultural reforms of the 19th century (Gustafsson 2006). The reforms completely changed the previous land-use patterns; the former outland which was mainly common grazing land became arable land and privately owned. The infields, which had previously been used mainly for tillage and meadows, was given a new pattern of ownership. During the laying down of the new landowning structure, the surveyors had the assistance of the monumental heritage from the Bronze Age in the area. Since the mounds often occupy prominent places they can naturally also be seen from a distance and are therefore good places to use as landmarks while working in the landscape. This has had the result that some boundaries from the agricultural reforms actually cross mounds, or head straight towards them (see for example figs. 102 and 194). In this way heritage from the Bronze Age has had an influence on how people used the land in later periods. The overall picture of today's landscape is greatly affected by the agricultural reforms, since they entailed a comprehensive redistribution of farmland. The principle behind them was that small patches of land should be put together to form larger and more efficient fields. The old common grazing land was also divided between farms and put under the plough. The reform also meant a change in the settlement pattern. Farms in many of the old villages were scattered and dispersed across the landscape, attached to their new land instead of the village. In this way the changes connected with the reform not only caused a new landscape character and more rational farming conditions, but was also accompanied by a whole new social situation for people. Among other things, individuality grew stronger, and people became more isolated with the splitting of communities (see for example Svensson 2005).

The agricultural reform is referred to in this work as a landscape change which seems to have been fairly straightforward. This is of course not true. The reforms were implemented during a period of approximately 50 years and according to different principles depending on whether they were early or. I will not go into these discussions but instead treat the agricultural reforms as one period of change with a large impact in a long-term perspective. For more detailed information about the reforms in Bjäre I refer to Mats Gustafsson's work (Gustafsson 2006).

Fig. 13. *Golf, agriculture and archaeology are the main ingredients of the present-day landscape. Photo Jenny Nord 2005.*

Some of the villages are still rather well preserved from pre-reform times, since many of the farms actually stayed in the aggregated village centres during the reform, for example the villages of Vasalt and Faritslöv (Båstad Kommun 2002a). Other pre-reform features still visible in the landscape of Bjäre include some of the roads, for example the ones leading between the church villages (Båstad kommun 2002a:25f). In the northern and northeastern part of the peninsula there are patches with woodland where old fields, used in the medieval period and perhaps also during prehistoric times, have been preserved (Sanglert & Ingwald 2003).

The great beauty and individual character of the Bjäre peninsula and its closeness to the sea have made Bjäre a popular recreation area. The tourism and part-year inhabitants have had a great impact on the landscape during the 20th century, and today this is obvious when you go there: plenty of golf courses, large areas with summer cottages, and very high prices for houses. This situation has led to a decrease in agricultural activities, and the use of the landscape is currently undergoing a major change from being a living agricultural landscape to a modern recreational one (Larsson 2005). This situation has caused a lot of anger and conflicts during the last few decades, where private persons and non-profit organisations like the *Nature Protection Society* and local archaeological societies (*Föreningen Bronstid* and *Bjäre arkeologivänner*) have collectively demonstrated against large landscape developments. These societies' involvement in the two EU projects (see below) should partly be seen in the light of the local landscape conflicts.

Background story and context

I began my archaeological work with the heritage of the Bjäre peninsula back in 1993. At that point it was connected with my BA essay which I did in cooperation with Jonas Paulsson. The starting point of our work was that the locations of mounds and rock-carvings in the landscape of Bjäre were not random but carefully thought out and could tell something about the politics behind them. We tried to gather all information about the heritage from the Bronze Age and combined it with different cartographic backgrounds, and we also performed a chorological analysis (Nord & Paulsson 1993). The result was very interesting since it suggested a specific spatial pattern among the Bronze Age heritage, which has already been discussed above. In this pattern the mounds defined core areas, and in the borderlands between these the locations of the more impressive sites with rock-carvings could be found. Still the analysis was very brief and mainly made as dots on two-dimensional maps, which does not do justice to the potential of the material. Therefore I wished to continue working in Bjäre in order to perform a more detailed landscape-archaeological analysis. The first step in this direction was taken in 2000 when Bjäre was able to join an EU-funded project with the aim of studying and creating a better understanding of different European cultural landscapes. The project *European Pathways to Cultural Landscapes* (EPCL) began in 2001 and lasted for three years. Within the project research and cross-disciplinary work have been done on the Bjäre peninsula, with some interesting results. This research has mainly had the aim of investigating the development of the local cultural landscape, and has consisted of pollen analyses, vegetation inventories and a trial HLC, see Chapter 2. In 2002, during the second year of the project I was accepted as a PhD student at the Department of Archaeology in Lund, my topic being landscape archaeology on the Bjäre peninsula, which includes the results of the research in the EU project.

European Pathways to Cultural Landscapes (EPCL)

The EPCL was a follow-up to an earlier EU-funded project, *European Cultural Pathways* (ECP), that took place during the years 1997–1999. The leading partner was the local non-profit organisation *Föreningen Bronstid* from Bjäre and five countries participated; Denmark, Norway, Germany, Estonia and Sweden. The overall aim of this earlier project was to promote the Bronze Age heritage in different areas, which was mainly done through pathways and folders. ECP was considered very successful, and at the final seminar a network was founded in order to promote future transnational cooperation projects. When the Culture 2000 programme was launched, the network applied for funding for the project. This was granted and the EPCL project was able to start in 2001. The project consisted of 12 partners from 10 different countries (see www.pcl-eu.de) and received funding for three years.

The main goal of the EPCL was to explore the cultural landscapes in different European regions, to look away from archaeology as dots on maps and instead focus on the landscape, on areas. The main three topics focused on were: research, communication and management, which were of course differently approached by the different national projects. Again, Bjäre was one of the partners in this project and was organised in cooperation between different interest organisations and departments, which was a very fruitful combination for the purpose. Partners in the Bjäre project were *Föreningen Bronstid*, Bjäre, the Department of Archaeology and Ancient History at Lund University, the Department of Plant Science at the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences in Alnarp, the Regional Museum in Kristianstad. Malmö Heritage and the local Nature Protection Society became additional partners as the project moved on. During the whole project I was the manager of the Bjäre project.

Working with an EU project was slightly different from working with many other national research projects. Considerable effort is expended on the financial reports and the bureaucracy is sometimes overwhelming. While preparing the project in 2000 we decided to let the *European Landscape Convention* (ELC) serve as a guideline. The ELC was launched in October 2000 by the Council of Europe and came into effect in March 2004; even though Sweden has not yet (April 2009) ratified it, I will further present the ELC below. The decision to use the ELC as a guideline was easy to

Fig. 14. *The EPCL logotype.*

Fig. 15. *Some of the participants in the EPCL project visiting Bjäre and the site of Drottninghall. Photo Graham Fairclough 2003.*

make since all the partners felt that it could have a future impact on management of landscapes, but also that it was in need of promotion to make it a positive force in the management of landscapes.

The EPCL project was organised in 13 different parts; 12 national projects and 1 common project. The national projects were rather independent in their outline and responded mainly to national, regional or institutional goals. Quite often they were parts of larger ongoing projects, for example the nationwide HLC work in England. This was also a situation that the ELC asked for since it advises countries to use their existing instruments and approaches to fulfil its goals (Fairclough 2002b:1).

The common project instead aimed to extract the central issues and common goals from the rather disparate national projects and to provide means for education and communication between them. The Bjäre project was connected with my PhD studies, and the results of the research that was done through the project also constitute the major part of Chapter 2.

The greatest impact the common project had for the different partners was perhaps in the communication part, which gave us great possibilities to get to know the different situations that each participating partner was confronted with. The European diversity was something that we all became well acquainted with – for better or worse. Of course, different partners had different goals for their projects; some turned out to be very touristy while others were based mainly on scientific research or on management issues.

Anna Gröhn, in her work *Positioning the Bronze Age*, has discussed the research contexts of EU-funded projects and she expresses her fear of conformity and oversimplifications in interpretations due to their political ambitions (Gröhn 2004:144ff), which might be a justified fear, although of course not only with EU funding, but with all types of funding. Moreover, the research context at the universities today is also to some extent pushing students in certain directions. This is probably due to the financial situation which requires students to flow through the system as quickly as possible. Of course this situation has both good sides and bad sides, as many other things, but this is a discussion I shall avoid in this work.

The European Landscape Convention (ELC)

A convention is an international treaty that establishes obligations between countries, in legislation, standards or policies. A convention rarely has any sanctions or penalties connected to it. The ELC is a treaty open for member states of the Council of Europe and for accession by the European Community and European non-member states.

The concept of 'landscape' is, however, somewhat problematic since no good and single definition of it exists, besides being used differently within different language groups (Scazzosi 2004; see also introduction to Chapter 2). The ELC has tried to overcome this situation by giving it the following definition (Council of Europe 2000): "an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors."

The concept of *action and interaction* here emphasises the cultural aspect of landscape and its changes in time. The words "as perceived by people" mean that landscape exists only after people have imagined it, which makes it different from, say, the concept of 'environment'. This might seem to be a modern – or post-modern – definition of landscape, but in fact a similar one was made a long time ago by Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859), who defined landscape as (Humboldt 1845 from Ermischer 2004) "the totality of all aspects of a region, as perceived by man".

The definition of 'landscape' according to the ELC works rather well for most uses of 'landscape' today. However, the 200-year-old definition that Humboldt made describes landscape as the sum of all aspects, natural, cultural, geographic, geologic, biologic, artistic, whatever one can think of, and it also stresses the human perception as a defining element of the landscape (Humboldt 1845 from Ermischer 2004). Looking at Humboldt's definition makes us aware that the notion of perception is by no means new, but with the ELC it is for the first time stressed in a regulation system.

The reasons why the ELC was thought to have an impact on landscape management lies in its emphasis on the fact that landscape exists everywhere and that its management should be democratic. As Graham Fairclough at English Heritage puts it in an article published in English Heritage's *Conservation Bulletin* (Fairclough 2002a):

> The Convention … emphasises that landscape exists everywhere, not just in special places: it can be urban as well as rural, maritime as well as terrestrial, 'degraded' as well as well-preserved, everyday as well as outstanding, typical as well as special. Landscape in all its diversity contributes to the formation of local cultures and is a basic component of cultural heritage as well as collective and personal identity. The strong theme of personal involvement in landscape, which runs through the Convention, supports the view that democratic participation is essential in landscape management.
>
> The Convention sets out both specific and general measures that countries should adopt to achieve landscape protection, management and planning. Specific measures include awareness-raising, training and education and the use of landscape character assessment to measure its social value and monitor the forces for changes. General measures include recognition in law of the idea of landscape, and the need for landscape policies to be integrated with other aspects of policy, including spatial planning, and cultural, environmental, agricultural, social and economic policies.

Landscape is of course not only of archaeological interest; it is also an arena for many disciplines to meet with different viewpoints which actually may enrich our knowledge and use of it. However, the ELC's definition brings out four main topics that in my opinion need to be considered when working with landscapes, in which archaeology and archaeologists may have some aspects to complement other landscape disciplines (see also Fairclough 2002c):

- The subjective perception of landscape; according to the above definition landscape can be seen as an *idea* that exists only when it is thought of; landscape is a mental idea, not something actually existing out there (Ermischer 2004). Archaeologists are often forced to make this imaginative journey about past people's landscapes and thus we are already used to this way of thinking.
- The democracy aspect; from the above paragraph concerning subjective perceptions of landscapes it is also clear that different people will have different views of different landscapes. The ECL states that not only experts should make decisions but local people should also have just as good opportunities to give their opinions. Since archaeologists are used to meeting different interpretations and being imaginative in their work it is also likely that archaeologists might be open-minded enough to meet other people's thoughts, values and suggestions about their own landscapes. Perhaps I am a little naïve, but theoretically at least we should be well equipped to meet this demand.
- The combination of nature and culture; A landscape is a human-made idea; it is by definition cultural. But the ingredients (plants, animals etc.) are mainly natural; even though the majority might be cultivated as crops. Still the long-term cultural activities in the landscape have created many special places for vegetation as well as for animals, both in terms of culturally dependent places or sanctuaries created deliberately or not. A landscape can never be seen as only cultural or only natural. In archaeology the dialectic relationship between nature and culture has always been considered and has even been in focus very often. It is in fact rather recently in history that people have considered landscape as nature, or nature as natural. Not long ago the world was considered to be God's creation and before that other divine forces were considered to be the creators. Nature was never really natural but instead a divine creation interpreted as such by people.
- The overall view – all areas which can be perceived are considered equally important; Archaeology deals with all aspects of humans and human behaviour and would of course acknowledge that all areas that humans deal with should be considered.

In recent years the concept of identity has also become of great interest in landscape management issues, where preservation is seen as important for maintaining a group's social identity; this aspect is clearly underlined in the ELC and may possibly be seen as a symptom of our time and politics as well as social climate, where for example rootlessness is seemingly becoming a social problem.

The ELC further states that each citizen must contribute to preserving the quality of landscape, but it is the responsibility of the public authorities to define the general framework in which this quality can be secured. The ELC thus lays down the general legal principles which are to guide the adoption of national and community landscape policies and the establishment of international cooperation in this field (Dejeant-Pons 2002).

In the ELC one can read that its purpose is to promote landscape protection, management and planning of European landscapes and to organise European co-operation on landscape issues. It is also the first international treaty to be exclusively concerned with the protection, management and enhancement of European landscape. Further, it is extremely wide in scope: the ELC applies to the entire territory and covers natural, rural, urban and peri-urban areas, which include land, inland water and marine areas – the whole landscape. Other measures may apply particular protection to especially beautiful or apparently natural or cultural areas within the landscape, but the ELC's democratic approach is concerned with so-called ordinary, 'everyday' landscape, even with landscape that may be perceived as spoiled or damaged. Any landscape has been produced by human/natural interaction through time, and if some aspects are ugly or unnatural, they are nevertheless part of the cultural landscape's rich story. In other words, it recognises the importance of all landscapes, and not just of exceptional landscapes, as having a crucial bearing on quality of life and as deserving attention in landscape policy. Many rural and peri-urban areas, in particular, are undergoing drastic change and merit greater care from the authorities. A key aspect of the ELC is the active role it assigns the public regarding perception and evaluation of landscape. Awareness-raising is therefore crucial in order to involve the public in decisions affecting the landscape in which they live.

Archaeologists should grab the moment and embrace the ELC, as we are in fact well prepared to work with it. This is because, among other things, it puts human influence and decisions at the forefront discussing landscape change in decision-making and planning situations. Archaeology would further ensure that less 'beautiful' as well as less 'natural' aspects of landscapes are taken into consideration, since it is the human actions, presence and/or perceptions that define the landscapes and not their beauties. Archaeology enables the treatment of landscape as concepts and as ideas or perceptions *in people's minds* and not as something objectively *out there.* We are in fact well used to imaginary landscapes in our work about the past, and the leap to the present and understanding the subjective landscape experience is not very far. One method that archaeologists can use in dealing with the present landscape as archaeologists is the methodology of HLC (Fairclough 2002b). The HLC might be an important joint venture or meeting point for research and management, when it comes to perceptions and combining nature and culture as well as *time*, which makes the fourth dimension of landscape. The HLC is also a way to involve all areas in the management discussions – not only outstanding ones – and then it also provides a backdrop in involving the public in important democratic issues or as a basis for discussions between scholars (Fowler 2001; Fairclough 2002c). Peter Fowler further argues that: "if you accept that a landscape can be 'read', rather like a page of music, then you can learn to read it. Your view will change; instead of seeing scenery, you will find yourself looking at landscape; instead of seeing just hedges and fields and woods, your eyes will begin to elucidate patterns" (Fowler 2001). This is really what HLC is about, and I will come back to this in Chapter 2.

In present-day legislation there is a strong move towards looking at landscape as a theme of its own, even though there still are some questions about how this really should be accomplished. However, the new ELC is pointing the direction and we have to find ways to make it happen. The Swedish National Heritage Board has been investigating the Swedish implementation of the ELC, which is a subject I will return to in Chapter 6.

Theoretical outline and methodological issues

Dealing with landscapes and places

Experiencing a landscape includes all our bodily senses, not only our sight, and may in fact be crucial considering the importance of a place, even though it is difficult to appreciate it in a scholarly work; it is part of the *aura* of a place (see below). The smell of a landscape close to the sea bringing the salty fragrance of seawater or the strong smell of seaweed after a storm – how do we know that this is not an important aspect of a place? Or even the sweet musky summer scent of honeysuckles. Another aspect is the wind; where does it normally come from (bringing what scents) how strongly, does it change with the seasons? How does the sun move during the day through shades and sunny spots? Are there any sounds, for example moving water in a stream, or from the waves hitting the shore (Goldhahn 2002)? Can you hear sounds from animals that inhabit the area? And then there are the aspects that play major part in a landscape experience: the weather and the sky. These we can never really measure. In Bjäre, being a peninsula, the sea is also one major aspect of the landscape experience, which is a factor that might be possible to consider. And not only the sea; the profile of the Kullaberg peninsula to the south and the coastline of Halland to the north as well as Hallands Väderö to the west are important parts of the landscape experience on the Bjäre peninsula.

Studies dealing with landscape archaeology rarely consider these issues. Landscape archaeology was developed during the 1990s in the post-processual era. It was mainly through the work of British archaeologists – Barrett et al. (1991), Tilley (1993, 1994), Bradley (1993), Barrett (1994) and Bender (1998) – that landscape archaeology achieved its new look and its great fascination with places, often from a phenomenological point of view. Before that, in the 1960s, 70s and 80s, landscape archaeology was mainly part of the New Archaeology and its processual school of systematic and scientific work to achieve knowledge about subsistence and ecology (for example Welinder 1974; Larsson et al. 1993). Going even further back in time, there was the historic archaeology that in many ways is more similar to the post-processual interpretative archaeology than to the New Archaeology (Trigger 1989). In this work I will look at and use both sides of landscape archaeology; both the side that has sprung out of the processual school and the more phenomenological approach that has a post-processual origin. I will try to connect those in a more holistic view that is less troubled with the underlying theories than with achieving interpretative results (see also the discussions in Gröhn 2004:90ff).

Since 2003 more than 20% of the doctoral theses published at the Department of Archaeology at the University of Lund have the word ‘landscape’ in the title, and a similar situation is obvious from a look at other recent archaeological publications. This made me consider how the concept of landscape actually is used in present-day archaeology. Looking more closely at studies which deal with archaeology and that are titled ‘landscape’ something, it seems like they are really about places in a landscape. The landscape is not so much an issue in itself, other than being the background to the sites. This is not wrong in any way; rather, it is a typical trait of post-processual landscape archaeology, but my idea is instead to look at the actual landscape and to investigate what kind of information it can provide us with, before focusing on the places within this landscape. In the following I will present an outline of some of the theoretical thoughts and methodological issues that are important in this work.

About space and place

The concept of ‘landscape’ was discussed earlier and it was also given a definition: the same definition that is presently used in the ELC and that also was used in the EU project EPCL, in which the Bjäre peninsula as a national project took part through the collaboration of various organisations (see previously in this chapter). However, when discussing landscape and landscape features, as I am going to do throughout this work, there are some other concepts that tend to be commonly used. Therefore, I will begin by contributing some basic thoughts and giving my definitions of some of the other concepts that I use frequently in connection with landscape, first of all *space* and *place*. I often use the word *space* almost synonymously with *landscape*, but focusing on slightly different aspects. I define s*pace* as a piece of land which has no clear boundaries to show where it starts and where it ends, while *landscape* in my opinion focuses on the cultural aspects of that piece of

land. I will try not to use the word *environment* since it generally lacks the cultural traits that I am focusing on. Another interesting difference between *landscape* and *environment* is that landscape can be argued to be an idea, existing only in people's minds, while environment always is out there (Council of Europe 2000; Ermischer 2004). This brings us to the question of nature and culture. We are so often concerned with using and finding dichotomies to work with, and nature and culture is one dichotomy that has often been used. For me it is not so simple and not even so necessary to think in dichotomies, and certainly not in this one, because nature in its true sense – as space not influenced by man – does not exist. Some cultural affects, good or bad, have penetrated all areas of the world as it is today. This is why environment is not to be seen as purely nature but as a tangible cultural landscape, while landscape applies more to its intangible side. Of course there are no firm boundaries between many of these concepts, and the definitions I use here should only be seen as basic ideas as to how my line of thought works throughout this study.

One concern of mine is the present-day landscape. It constitutes a material residue that is of great importance when understanding the past. Landscape can not be looked upon as an archaeological site or as a material residue according to the current Swedish regulations since an archaeological site needs to have been abandoned for at least 100 years. Landscape is rarely abandoned, and then only in fragments where most of its parts are used for agriculture, pasture, forestry, hosting settlements, roads and so on. Landscape is most often seen as the backdrop to events and the distribution of archaeological remains, but it is rarely seen on its own. However, features of the land-use organisation in the present-day landscape can be approached with archaeological methods, and in this way we may become better acquainted with the landscape as space. The use of the HLC methodology is one way of doing this which I will explore further in Chapter 2. Once *landscape* as *space* has been made familiar, the *places* within it can be successfully approached. In a way *place* and *landscape* are just different scales of space. *Places* are also in a way making *landscape* understandable; they structure the wider *space* since they have a history and a meaning. They incarnate the experiences and aspirations of people (Tuan 1974). Another way of putting it may be that space provides the context for places which possess cultural meanings, thus creating landscapes (Relph 1976).

The concept of *space* may mean a one-dimensional distance between two places; it may mean a two-dimensional surface in the same sense as a polygon in a *Geographical Information System* (GIS) system; but it may also mean a three-dimensional room (for different meanings or uses of space see Relph 1976). It is in this room most of the landscapes are set even though the third dimension is rarely spoken of in archaeology – as it involves weather, sky, scenery, sights, smells and views; the intangible parts. However, some of these aspects have been mentioned, for example, by Tim Ingold (1993, 2000). These aspects are hard to map, but many of them are discussed in phenomenological landscape approaches. Recently an analysis of visibility in connection with mounds has been published that discusses some of these aspects (Eriksson Lagerås 2005). A fourth dimension to landscape is time, as time is one of the most active creators of landscape besides the human involvement. This is also the meeting point between philosophy, physics and archaeology, where time and space closely interact. Interestingly enough, the concept of space does not only imply the quantity of an extension (the distance in the two-dimensional sense) or a three-dimensional room, but it may also be about the quantity of time; for example the amount of time that passes between two 'occasions' (http://onlinedictionary.datasegment.com/word/euclidian+space).

Place opposed to *space* is a limited piece of land with a boundary, often invisible in its character. This subjectively located boundary marks where *place* ends and *space* continues. The relation between space and place has been explained very well by Christopher Tilley: "If space allows movement, place is pause" (Tilley 1994:14). Place always refers to a human product. Allan Pred is a geographer who also tried to define the character of place, as he explains:

> Place always involves an appropriation and transformation of space and nature that is inseparable from the reproduction and transformation of society in time and space (Pred 1984:279).

Places may be of different character and have different meanings. When working with places it is important to distinguish on which scale in society they are at work, for example, on an individual basis or at society level, in private or common activities etc. Places and thus landscapes, which in

many ways are just larger scales of places, are active agents in society just as people are (see below). The agency aspect of place also distinguishes it from space, as well as from a *site* or a *location*. Both a site and a location may be places, and most often they will become so after being defined as a site or a location (for example in an archaeological survey), but initially being sites and locations they are merely passive spots in a space or a landscape without any active ties to activities or people. However, as I will return to later, even the landscape can be considered to have an agency aspect.

Places may be *persistent*, which means that they are repeatedly visited for specific, often similar, activities during long periods but with short durations. This term has mainly been used in Mesolithic research (Schlanger 1992; Barton et al. 1995) but it works well looking at places in later periods as well. Following this line of thought, a place may also be *vague* in the sense of it being in use only sporadically or just very briefly, leaving little imprint for the future. Vague places are often those which are found as sites or locations during surveys. Persistent places are often already known. Small rock-carving sites could perhaps also be seen as vague places; they have had a meaning for maybe not so many people in their active lifetime and thus they were more easily forgotten than a large central place. The geographer Allan Pred defines *place* as being a process which is historically contingent, which brings out a crucial aspect of place: time (Pred 1984). Of course, Pred's ideas about places can be applied to landscapes as well, also being fruits of historically contingent processes. This brings up the important difference between place and landscape: their scale.

According to Mircea Eliade (1959) space can be separated into profane and sacred places; where the homogeneity of profane space is intermingled by *hierophanies* (1959:20ff). A hierophany is a holy place where you can interact and communicate with the gods, and these places create a variety of holy places within the profane space. In archaeology we often think in hierophanies even though we might not define them in that way. Especially rock-carving sites and cult houses are sometimes thought to be places where we interact and communicate with the gods (Goldhahn 2007). A persistent place may be described as a hierophany.

Fig. 16. *Some of the mounds in Salomonhög from the south (see fig. 166 for location of Salomonhög). In this photograph all aspects and dimensions of landscape are present - with just a little bit of imagination. Photo John Nygren 2005.*

About agency

In retrospect it seems as if human agency in archaeology was invented with the emergence of post-processual archaeology in the late 1980s, which is apparent for example in the work of Shanks & Tilley (1987) where they give a good introduction to the theoretical approaches at the time. Before that in processual archaeology, the more functionalistic view of prehistory was strong, and adaptation to the changing environment was the main human action. In post-processual archaeology the human individual was seen and became an experiencing and reflective agent that was active in shaping its environment.

Human agency can be very difficult to grasp in archaeological material, so social theories involving agency have had an impact in post-modern archaeology. Anthony Giddens's theory of *structuration* and Pierre Bourdieu and his *habitus* have been very frequently quoted for these reasons (Bourdieu 1977, 1990; Giddens 1981). Michel Foucault has also thought about the meaning of spaces, which he believes is very closely related to power:

> A whole history remains to be written about spaces – which would at the same time be the history of powers … from the great strategies of geopolitics to the little tactics of the habitat (Foucault 1980:149).

However, Foucault is less often quoted in landscape contexts. The strength of the works of Giddens and Bourdieu is that they are able to combine structure and the individual agent, but they have also been criticised for keeping the individual imprisoned within the structures, which is one reason for the growing interest in the phenomenological view and the thinking of Martin Heidegger (1992), which teaches us that the world we are living in and also we ourselves are inseparable. Hodder argues in his work about the archaeological process that a structuralistic, dialectical and phenomenological method can focus on the possibilities of the individual, which also brings in the unexpected into the analyses, thus forcing archaeology to become more creative (Hodder 1998:70ff, 132).

It was in connection with this post-modern approach that archaeology became more of a social science in its appearance. In sociology and philosophy, human agency has always been one of the main issues and these perspectives were now brought into the theoretical archaeological debate. But it is only lately that a somewhat corresponding change has been seen in the 'mainstream' archaeology that still deals more directly with material remains. This might have to do more with economy than with theoretical reasons, since in reality priorities have become a huge issue in rescue excavations. The more positivistic older view which aimed to gather all information actually fits the regulations of the cultural heritage better (Fahlander 2001:chapter 1).

But it is not only humans that are agents in the post-modern view. The phenomenological approach, which has had a strong influence in post-modern landscape archaeology, has concentrated on *being in* rather than *looking at* the landscape (Tilley 1994; Thomas 1996). Still *being in* is not enough; it doesn't acknowledge the active role humans *and* landscapes have in the creation and negotiation of spaces (Barrett 1994). In some landscape archaeology studies, though, landscapes in themselves have been recognised as being active agents with an impact on people in their daily life, for example Barbara Bender in her work about Stonehenge:

> I have tried to move beyond the taken-for-granteds of our own experience and engagement with the land to explore utterly different prehistoric landscapes. … On the one hand, talking about 'appropriation' and 'contestation' only begins to make sense if we have some small understanding of the symbolic universe that is being appropriated. On the other, the empowering of the stones, or other elements in nature, is dependent upon the particularities of the social, economic and political relations, and is part of the process through which people are both created by, and creators of, the world in which they live (Bender 1998:66f).

This paragraph is a good description of the landscape's active role in the human world presented in most works on landscape archaeology, and it makes the notion of landscape, as well as places (see

above), an ongoing process. In theories developed within anthropology Ingold's *taskscapes* have been one way of involving agency in the thinking about landscapes. Different tasks have their own temporalities and this affects our involvement with the landscape (Ingold 1993). Furthermore, Ingold argues that how we know (of) the world is dependent on how we move in it and interact with it (Ingold 2000). The landscape has an active role in how people engage with it; it is not just an objective environment but rather a very subjective space in which the historical heritage and the physical characteristics, among other things, will affect the outcome of people's involvement.

Shanks argues that an artefact is always active, tying together material and human things, it is society made durable. The same can be said about places and landscapes; we are involved in continuous dialogues with them, not only at a personal level but also at a society level, and these dialogues may differ in different periods (Shanks 1998a, 1998b:chapter 2). To understand places and landscapes we must therefore inform ourselves well of their biography, their life histories, and not only of the period of interest (see below).

Time and change

Time is traditionally treated in a rather special way in archaeology. It is generally not seen as something that flows through history, it is instead treated like 'boxes' with no fluidity in between (Hodder 1998:130f). These boxes are put upon each other, with each signifying a period, but to understand these periods we need to take away the boxes that restrict them and put them into a wider context using other scales. Landscape can by definition not belong to only one period, and when working with landscape one's perception of the three-dimensional adjusts to a fourth dimension – time, or rather the consequences of time: change – which is incised in the landscape features (Fowler 2001). This fourth dimension may help to understand places in a landscape since these are often the landscape attributes which possess the temporal aspect. In this way landscapes and places might start to communicate and bring the other one the context needed for improved understanding.

It is important to consider what temporal aspect of a place, or an object, it is that you wish to focus on in your work. Is it the initial creation, or its latest use just before it was abandoned until the archaeologists found it, or is it maybe the time of discovery that is the main interest? Or maybe even its presence today and the sentiments that it brings to our lives? All these issues are what give

Fig. 17. *The church in Hov; a place with an interesting cultural biography. In front of the church the cemetery Hov RAÄ 15 can be seen. Photo John Nygren 2007.*

character to a place or an artefact. To be able to capture the essence it is necessary to grasp many of the different aspects of a place or artefact, and perhaps even to write its *cultural biography*. The concept of cultural biography was created by Igor Kopytoff in 1986. He argues that the typical life-cycle of an object to a great extent is a cultural life-cycle (Kopytoff 1986; see also *World Archaeology* Vol. 31, No. 2, which is devoted to the topic of cultural biography). According to Kopytoff, in order to understand an object – or a place – it is necessary to define which phase in its life-cycle you wish to understand, and to be able to do so you may have to study all the phases. In this study, even though I might not define it throughout the dissertation, I will work with cultural biographies at several different levels; there is the first level which has to do with individuals and habits. According to Bourdieu (1990:52ff) people are formed as individuals by the society they belong to and its traditions, as well as social class and personal experiences etc.; this will make up the *habitus* of a person. Thus habitus may also be referred to as one's personal cultural biography. Sometimes this is expressed through acts at places in the landscape and can be distinguished even today, for example as special burials. The second level concerns places, which is the level that Kopytoff is referring to in his work (1986). This level is intertwined with the third level, which is the landscape level; the cultural biography of the Bjäre landscape will be in focus in Chapter 5 and partly in Chapter 4.

Shanks uses the concept of *aura* when discussing the life-cycle of objects, which is just as useful for places and landscapes as for the artefacts that Shanks discusses in his work. The aura of an object – or place – is identified by the sentimental values it contains; for example, a place means something to us because it evokes memories of a common history. Artefacts and places as well as people consist of both material and social attributes, archaeological artefacts as well as places not only evoke memories but also have a life-cycle where they have been active in relation to people and society several times; from production to deposition, to re-entering the society as an artefact, a site or a place (Shanks 1998a, 1998b:chapter 2).

There is another aspect in talking about time and places in a landscape, which is the 'placeness'. Depending on what kind of material you are working with, you will find a slightly shifting placeness to it. Rock-art, for example, consists of 'pictures in place', to quote a recent book title (*The Figured Landscapes of Rock Art: Looking at Pictures in Place*, edited by Chippendale & Nash 2004), which means that rock-art is fixed in space, a situation that may compensate for the fact that they are chronologically very much unfixed. It is true that rock-art is fixed in place (unless it is mobile rock-art) but still you have to find out the reason for the initial choice of place. Mortuary monuments can be seen in a similar way; they are fixed in space, but their time of origin is easier to date. Even so many of the mortuary monuments are not very easy to restrict to one single period since they often have been used over and over again through many generations. And when they are no longer used as graves they still occupy a place in the landscape which was respected in later periods – or not. Even if they have not been taken away physically, they might have disappeared mentally, for example through being hidden in the vegetation or being made taboo. They might also have been considered as places for the supernatural, for trolls and fairies (Thäte 2007:35ff). The placeness and visible character of burials are chosen by the living even though they are connected with dead and the thoughts of afterlife (Oestigaard & Goldhahn 2006). Other places in the landscape to be considered static – or as having a strong placeness in that they have not moved much – could for example be places for offerings or depositions. Unlike rock-carvings and mounds, they have not left enduring visible features in the landscape, but they may still have an *aura* of the past activities. In temporal terms these places can be very long-lasting (see for example Bradley 2000 about water offerings) and can probably be seen as *hierophanies* (see above).

One important question concerning places in long-term perspective is how and when they were initially created, how and when a place emerged as a place from the wider landscape (Bradley 2000). Who made it emerge and why? We can see that places do emerge, and that they concern different aspects of human life and society, which in many cases tends to give them long-lasting meanings. It is surely difficult to understand the original reason why a place is chosen, but the meanings it has through different periods in its lifetime up to now might be made understandable by examining its cultural biography. Another question of interest here is whether a place was considered 'untouched' or not when it was reclaimed in a later period. Was the earlier history of a place one reason for reclaiming it, or was it just coincidence? Or was the place never really abandoned, and just had a different use or disuse which we cannot trace?

When does a place become of archaeological concern? According to the current Swedish regulations this happens when they have become artefacts, that is, when their initial use has been abandoned. The Heritage Conservation Act states that

> Ancient monuments and remains are … traces of human activity in past ages, having resulted from use in previous times and having been permanently abandoned (SFS 1988:950:chapter 2 §1).

I would argue that this is not true. Places as well as landscapes are of concern to us, because they are not abandoned, neither physically nor mentally; *they have just shifted emphasis in their life-cycle*.

The past in the past and the power of memories

To consider landscapes as palimpsests, as products with time-depth that have been developed alongside and in dialogue with man both as individuals and as societies, is also to realise that landscapes and their places have always had an impact on people. Thus, to understand a certain period in prehistory there is also a need to understand the previous stage in which its framework was formed. It is also necessary to consider the later renegotiations that have shaped and reshaped landscapes over and over again, and have finally brought us to the understanding of them we have today. Therefore it is necessary to consider the past in the past as well as the past of today (Bradley 2002:53; Bailey 2007).

Some archaeologists think that prehistoric people used the past as part of the way in which they created a sense of identity and an understanding of their world. Prehistoric people appropriated the past through ritual, in their everyday activities and by investing places in the landscape with changing meaning (Barrett 1994; Bradley 1998, 2002). But it is also important to acknowledge that different people, differently placed in society or at different times in their lives, would have thought about and used the past in different ways, which is why generalisations can often be misleading (Tilley 1994:17; Bender 1998:8).

The past in the past is closely connected to memories, both individual memories and social memories. Maurice Halbwachs is a social theorist who had worked with social memory (1925 and 1950, although this information is taken from Connerton 1989:introduction). He argues that it is through membership in a social group that individuals are able to acquire, localise and recall their own personal memories. In this way the group provides individuals with a framework for their memories. If this is true it is easy to imagine the strength of punishments such as being expelled from or rejected by the social group. Further, Halbwachs argues that no collective memory can exist without reference to a socially specific spatial framework. That is to say, to places. In this way our memories are located within the mental as well as the physical spaces of the group. The same topic has also been discussed by Lowenthal (1985).

Connerton uses Halbwachs' thoughts in his work from 1989 but he also argues that Halbwachs misses the connection between social memories and ritual performances which help to bring the social memories, defined as images of the past and recollected knowledge of the past, to the next generation. Connerton focuses on systems of communications that help social memories to be remembered (Connerton 1989:37f). As he puts it:

> To study the social formation of memory is to study those acts of transfer that make remembering in common possible (Connerton 1989:39).

Memories then need to be attached to something or someone to be remembered. Places in a landscape can be seen as 'landscape memories' which actively help people to remember their history. A mortuary monument, for example, is forever imprinted in the landscape and in this way 'death is never over' as stated by Parker Pearson (1999:194). Landscape memories work in different ways; one way is through *inscription*, which means inscribing the memory into the world for the future,

as a memorial for example. Mortuary monuments can be seen as such. Another way is through (bodily) *practice* in rituals, offerings or even by storytelling – which of course can take place in connection with a monument. These things tend not to be so long-lived, however, and they do not necessarily leave any tangible traces, even though their *aura* may be long-lived (see above). These different forms of collective social memories have been discussed with reference to archaeological material by Bradley (2002), and as social phenomena they have been studied by Connerton (1989). Connerton specifically studies periods of social change in his work and how newly established rulers tend to mark a new beginning; he argues that attempts to establish new beginnings always refer back to a pattern of social memories from before. There is also a more informal way of creating social memories according to Connerton, which is performed not by the rulers but more locally by the people: (village) gossip. What gossip does is to help individuals remember in common on a smaller scale (Connerton 1989:11ff). Thinking along these lines might help us to understand how myths happen. Through local 'gossip' the memories of a certain place or monument, or of a certain person being buried in a monument, will eventually be transformed into myths about the past. Or as Nilsson & Skoglund (2000:53) put it in their discussions of a gallery grave in Småland: bad memory and collective forgetting provide the landscape with long-lasting places.

Multi-perspectives

It is in our need and use of the landscape, as well as within the landscape itself, that our attitudes towards it are shaped. It is not strange that a hunter-gatherer living 8000 years ago had a different perception of his landscape than a farmer from the Bronze Age had, or even a modern city dweller – since their needs and ways of moving through it, as well as how it was used, are completely different. The concept of 'landscape' that we know today was not known in prehistoric times, it became common only after man 'alienated' himself from it; that is to say, since urbanisation took place (Sjöberg 1999), but the concept itself originated in the 17th century (see Chapter 2).

There is not one single landscape to explore, to understand it I think we need to use multi-vocality, multi-interpretations and multi-scales. Bender (1998) explores the landscape and the history of Stonehenge using some of these concepts. She focuses on the past in the present, also finding how it has been appropriated and contested differently through time, and still is today by different groups. Stonehenge is not merely an archaeological site; it has become an important place for different voices and different groups in society with different agendas. Bender shows how places and landscapes shape people as well as being shaped by people, and in doing so she lets different voices be heard about the place. Her landscapes are more a political arena where different forces or groups within society are trying to make themselves heard. She thinks that different people in the past – and also in the present – being differently placed in society or at different times in their lives, would have thought about and used the past in different ways. This means that there are multiple and sometimes even contested pasts, and she argues that there is a need to mesh an understanding of embodied landscape with a political landscape of unequal power relations (Bender 1998:8f, 38).

The landscape is constantly changing, it is an ongoing process, and to be able to explain and interpret the landscape we therefore need to focus on everyday perception and action rather than descriptions and analyses of frozen moments in time (Bender 1998:6ff). The landscape's character also means that it is necessary to speak about landscapes, not landscape, as our own experience of a landscape or the world is never identical to other people's. As Bender puts it: "There is never a landscape – always many landscapes. And landscape is not passive 'out there', because people create their sense of identity – whether self, group or nation – through engaging and re-engaging, appropriating and contesting the sedimented pasts that make up the landscape" (Bender 1998:25, see also Bender 1993). An important aspect to consider is that landscapes are multiple and a palimpsest that not only works in one direction but can seem contradictory, which makes the scales they are seen through important, as well as to see how they are constantly reconstituted and reappropriated (Bender 1998:34). Landscapes, when seen this way, are of course connected to the issue of democracy stated in the ELC.

The ELC stresses the individual's right to participate in defining and deciding about landscapes: the democracy aspect. This might be an outcome of the post-modern paradigm where some approaches

have focused on the interpretative and subjective in scientific work. Another important concept in post-modernism is globalism, which may be described as "processes whereby many social relations become relatively delinked from territorial geography, so that human lives are increasingly played out in the world as a single place" (Bailys & Smith 2001:14f). Globalism attempts to understand inter-connections of the modern world – and to highlight and explain patterns that underlie them. Globalism is thus the dualistic process between homogeneity and (de-)fragmentation, and it is within this process that the heritage takes on its importance (Hodder 1998:148ff). Another effect of globalism is that marginal groups and their cultural heritage, as well as regional heritage, have become important issues for World Heritage sites and theme parks (Hodder 1998:148ff). This regionalisation has opened up doors for multi-vocality, for the possibility for diversity; for different stories to be told. There is not only one true story, but many, depending on who is telling it and why, as well as when and where.

Closely connected with multi-vocality/interpretation is the question of scales. There is a need for multi-scales when it comes to time and place in a landscape perspective (Bender 1993). And with these we are more acquainted as archaeologists. We are quite used to working with, or thinking with, parallel time-scales as well as analogues crossing both time and space, for example using anthropology. The *Annales* School (Burke 1990) is another example where archaeologists can use both long-term continuity and sudden events together. But there is still a need to find new and better ways to let systems and structures cooperate with events and narratives in our analysis (Hodder 1998:129ff). There are so many different scales to see things through, and the scale you use will affect the result you get. Every issue has several contexts in time, space and in social worlds, which is why it is important to use multi-scales in both diachronic and synchronic perspectives (Hodder 1998:70ff). The different scales of place you are working with (landscape – place) also have a temporal relevance, since the further back in time you are in your studies the smaller is the size of place you are working with; this means that with a present-day approach it is possible to work on a landscape scale; but a Bronze Age landscape analysis has to deal with sites and places more than the vast landscape. To overcome this 'dot' methodology, a networking approach could be a possible way (see below), just like the combination of present-day approaches to landscape with prehistoric places which I will try to find ways to apply in Chapter 5.

In a thesis from 2001 Fahlander proposes not only a multi-methodological approach, but also a deep-temporal approach. He argues that the temporal depth of the discipline gives a special potential that we have not yet successfully exploited, a potential that other social sciences are lacking. Fahlander defines archaeology as belonging to the social sciences. These thoughts of his correspond quite well to the approach I am proposing in this work. The temporal depth that is characteristic of archaeology is a strength of the discipline that should be seen as a potential, and not a shortcoming or a problem (Fahlander 2001:chapters 1 & 2).

The perspective, approach or scale you choose to study your landscape will of course have an effect on the final result. Some researchers have chosen the large scale that connects the general developments in Scandinavia with those of Europe and the Middle East (see for example Kristiansen 1998; Kristiansen & Larsson 2005). This approach will of course miss out the specifics and details about actual people living, loving and striving. Another approach which does the opposite is the one that begins with a small local landscape and only later connects it with a wider context, with which it actually might have many disagreements (Skoglund 2005). It is the latter, locally oriented, approach that I wish to pursue with this work.

A call to return to a holistic culture-historical framework has recently been put forward by Kristiansen and Larsson (2005:396ff). They argue that the framework for archaeology is to be found within the culture-historical sphere and that it should not be borrowed from, for example, philosophy, sociology or psychology as was popular during especially the 1990s. I agree that there is a sometimes forgotten strength in the culture-historical methods, but I do not agree that we should not borrow from other disciplines. Humanity after all is a complex thing, and all the different aspects might be needed to achieve a better understanding.

Networking and communication aspects in a landscape

According to the phenomenological approach, a landscape, or the world, is experienced through our bodily senses. A distance is felt by moving between places (Bradley 1993; Barrett 1994; Tilley 1994, 1996; Ingold 2000; Nordström 2002). What you actually can see from a place needs to be experienced, which cannot be done only from a map. It is not only geographical aspects that may restrict the view and landscape experiences, but also vegetation, which of course might change rather quickly and can be used both to hide and to emphasise a monument or a place. To be able to consider past vegetation we need the support of other disciplines working with pollen analyses and other palaeo-ecological sources. But of course these will not provide us with place-specific answers but instead give us a more general picture.

Finding your way between places can be done with a map and as you are walking in a landscape, often in combination. But before the time of the map other means to find your way were needed. Locally this cannot have been very difficult, since local knowledge makes you relate to places and thus to find ways. Moving to a new or rarely visited place required other means. The most famous way of doing this must be the aboriginal songlines from Australia. The songlines not only tell the way and explain the landscape but also tell of the past, of how the world was once created, and they provide the singer with a sense of belonging (Tilley 1994:38ff).

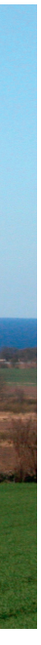
One aspect of moving in the landscape is the importance of doing it in a socially acceptable or 'right' way. This can easily be exemplified by an incident that occurred when I was walking in the landscape of Bjäre. I brought a map, a flat two-dimensional map with a lot of 'dots' (sites) that I wanted to visit. Most of them were easy to find, but some had been excluded from later communication routes in the landscape and they were placed on 'islands' in the fields or in small woods. I had to cross fields, use some small agricultural roads to be able to reach these places, and in doing that I was not moving in the landscape in a socially acceptable way. Legally it was perfectly acceptable but in everyday life this was not the way you moved around here. As a 'stranger' you have to make sure you encounter the new landscape following certain unwritten rules. There are places where you as a stranger are accepted and places where you are not. The closer you are to a through route, the more accepted it is for you to leave it and have a walk in the landscape close by. But if you are on a small local road and leave it to walk in the landscape, the rules change and you are behaving suspiciously. What happened in this case was that the farmers started to talk among themselves about me,

Fig. 18. *Photo of the Vasalt area with the profile of Kullaberg on the horizon. Here the vegetation is actually helping to define site locations. The small hill with trees to the right is the beginning of the 'Vasalt trail' of rock carvings reaching towards the sea (see Chapter 3). Photo Jenny Nord 2008*

walking around in this peculiar way on their land (not in their landscape, though, since a landscape cannot be owned). And finally, the third time I was walking in the same area, one farmer came after me on his tractor, rather agitated: What was I doing walking around there like that? And in his defence I must credit him; I was definitely out of hand, I was doing something not socially acceptable even though it was legally all right. It is very important to move the right way in a landscape. If you leave the roads, cross fields and walk on private land you will be noticed and you will be considered suspicious, *but not if you are along or close to a through route*. Of course it is partly about privacy and ownership, but since we have a long-lasting right to move on all land no matter who owns it, as long as we do not disturb or destroy – 'Allemansrätten' (the Right of Public Access, see http://www.naturvardsverket.se/en/In-English/Menu/Enjoying-nature/The-right-of-public-access/) – it is not the only truth. It also has to do with the hidden agenda within the landscape, and the same situation could have occurred during the Bronze Age as it did today.

Ingold argues that places emerge through the inhabitants' movements and that they do not posses locations but histories, and that they can be seen as nodes in a matrix of movement (Ingold 2000:219). This fits well with the definition of place that the geographer Pred makes, where places are considered as being historically contingent processes (Pred 1984). And it also fits well with the concept of networking. In some articles by Elisabeth Rudebeck (2001, 2002) the rather old argument (Müller 1904) that mounds are indicators of prehistoric roads has been revived in a very inspiring way. She argues that the connection between roads and burials in south Scandinavia probably dates from the Neolithic and most likely has continental influences, and that the prehistoric roads in themselves should be looked upon as part of the monumental landscape. She also argues that we should consider different places networking with each other instead of, as often happens, looking at them as isolated islands in the wider setting.

Networking and communication aspects in a landscape perspective make sense as a thought structure for understanding patterns, even though the traditional ways of recognising core areas, activity areas or settlement areas are also needed. Movement is a good way of controlling different resources that are not at all gathered at the same place. Grazing, farming, hunting, fishing, gathering plants and wood etc. were of course activities that made movement necessary and brought a far wider concept of settled area than we are used to in our time. We have a house; we drive to work and to the shop. Only distinguishing a settled area which includes all these places simplifies the land-use patterns and gives too static a picture of a vivid society. Even so, the Scandinavian Bronze Age is a period where distant contacts, exchange and communication aspects often are highlighted by archaeologists, which is another reason for looking in the landscape for how this could actually happen, instead of drawing some direction-arrows for assumed contact areas.



On objectivity and subjectivity

Lately it has been more and more acknowledged that archaeological sources, whether objects or sites have more than scholarly values; the emotive and reflective potentials are often considered important as well. Since these immaterial qualities are the aspects of a site which have the largest everyday impact on people, these values are of course important to consider as well as the scientific ones. What links a landscape between past and present is not only scientific and objective but also highly emotional and subjective. It could also be *tasty*, since food production is one important landscape use and the one that brings the greatest change to it today, making landscape a *tastescape* (Gren 2000; Fairclough 2002b; Burström 2004a). This more subjective and emotional trail is just as important to follow as the more 'scientific' trail if you want to find out reasons why a place is a place and not just an anonymous part of a landscape.

In Sweden the 'objective', or materialistic view of the cultural heritage has a long tradition. Surveys during the 20th century focused on man-made visible physical traces, and did not care about, for example, ancient man-shaped nature and intangible aspects such as memories and local history (Gren 2000). Questions about who should be making the definitions and decisions about the cultural heritage and preservation issues have recently been raised; should it be by experts or locals or by the public in general? The need for improved dialogue in society when it comes to these questions is emphasised – for the sake of the democracy among other things (Bender 1998; Burström 2001).

This change of attitude is not by chance, it is seen everywhere. The public's wish for a higher involvement, *experiencing* the past, for example, through role-play, and not only looking at things, is also a part of the changing attitudes to our past and to our heritage (Petersson 2003). The statements in the ELC clearly point this way (see below) as well as newly set goals within the Swedish cultural heritage sector (SOU 1995:84; *Det dynamiska kulturarvet* 2002:9; Riksantikvarieämbetet 2008). But still the National Heritage Board and other parties in the cultural sector have some difficulties making reality of this new and highly democratic agenda where the public's participation is seen as fundamental. Some attempts have been made with varying results; among them free entrance to national museums and the production of exhibitions where the visitors may participate and experience past life in role-play and in virtual reality, as well as the production of more accessible heritage information placed on the Internet (see for example websites of the National Heritage Board; www.raa.se or the Historical Museum; www.historiska.se). The post-modern subjective right to define, experience, to state might be a follow-up to the modern IT world where, for example, instant access to information and role-play in virtual worlds is commonplace for a whole generation (Holtorf 2004; Högberg 2004). As I am finishing this manuscript, the new national review of the cultural sector has just been presented, proposing large organisational changes (SOU 2009:16). The impact of this review will be interesting to follow in the next few years.

The notion of objectivity and a materialistic view dominated the treatment of the archaeological record during most of the 19th and 20th centuries. Theoretical post-modern relativists have recently argued that archaeological material is on contrary subjective and far too painted with the present to say anything about the past (for example Bolin 2004; Burström 2004b). This is a stance that shows nonchalance towards the material as well as towards the fascination with the past that most people do have. Yet I can see the relevance of taking this stance in theoretical discussions (see Rundqvist 2005 for a less accepting view of these matters). A lively discussion has also been pursued in the Swedish archaeological magazine *Meta* about the role of archaeology in society and what archaeological research really should concern (Svestad 2004; Cornell 2005; Hegardt 2005; Herschend 2005; Karlsson 2005; Kristiansen 2005; Notelid 2005; Rundqvist 2005).

Management and research – do they go together?

In retrospect, research and management organisations have in some senses lived separate existences. Even so, everybody agrees that knowledge and understanding are of crucial importance to be able to make good decisions in managing issues, and if we are to achieve good knowledge, research is of vital importance. During the last few decades there has been a great change in the situation of rescue excavations, and the development boom causing it is still going on. The large-scale excavations with topsoil stripping by excavators have gathered an enormous amount of new information. The result is that at museums and at the National Heritage Board, the organisations mainly responsible for the management of change and archaeological remains, research has been done with

Fig. 19. *A 360° panorama of Bjäragården. Photo Jenny Nord 2001.*

little dialogue with what is going on at the universities and vice versa. Another aspect is that the majority of rescue excavations have arisen from processual archaeology with its rather positivistic view of information gathering – which does not always merge automatically with the contemporary post modern academic research traditions (Hodder 1998:2f, 170). But today the awareness of this, hardly ideal, situation is growing and things have improved. Now research is being produced directly at different management organisations, but is it possible to make research at the universities about management issues acquire a better knowledge of how to handle archaeology and change? In today's western world the largest changes seem to be taking place on large scales, at the environmental and landscape scale, for example in connection with climate and pollution. So what can archaeological research at the university do or contribute on this scale?

There is a set of new regulations and conventions that restrict the use of landscape and that clearly connect landscape with archaeology. These include the ELC, the United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity and Unesco's World Heritage, as well as national environmental and cultural goals. There is a great need to see how these regulations can be used by – or use – archaeological theory and methods in both academic research and management situations in today's as well as tomorrow's society. There is still a general thinking that archaeology deals mainly with yesterday, which is really not true. We are dealing with yesterday's world, yes, but not only to understand how people in the past lived (Rundqvist 2005) but also in order to understand today's world and manage tomorrow's. In that way archaeology is closer to the social sciences than being strictly a humanistic science. Archaeology exists in a continuum between social science, humanistic scholarship and natural science, depending on the questions asked, the material used and so on, and it must be this way since we are dealing with humanity and humanity cannot not be restricted to only one scientific approach; after all, we created them all.

There is another important issue to consider, which is how different approaches and different scales might need different source materials and backgrounds. Dealing with strict management issues and landscapes you need mapping, you need polygons which might be provided, for example, by an HLC, see Chapters 2 and 6. But if you are doing landscape archaeology with a phenomenological approach, where you are dealing with sites, movements and social aspects of your surroundings, it might be more useful not to think in terms of maps but of 'sights', and for that you might get more help from a photograph than a map. A way of achieving this sight-viewing is by using *Quick Time Virtual Reality* (QTVR) which is an application that enables you to stitch together a 360 degree photograph and move around in it as you wish. In this way you may bring some of the landscape you are studying and discussing to your own computer and show it to people. Sometimes this is easier than bringing people to the site (sight) or explaining it. In a way it is a kind of phenomenological approach to the present-day landscape, and if you are good at working with Photoshop or similar programs it is of course possible to reconstruct the vegetation from past periods in it. The strength of the method is that it gives you the landscape at the height of your eyes, and in that way takes away the 'map way' of seeing things from above, even though both perspectives are necessary

when dealing with landscapes. Initially I had intended to include a DVD with this book in which panoramas from Bjäre would be available. However, that project has been abandoned. Instead I will use ordinary photographs combined with viewsheds from different sites. On the website www.bronzeage.net. the website of the local archaeological society *Bjäre arkeologivänner*, however, some panoramas are available.

Two other questions that I have been interested in and wanted to pursue are:

- How to combine 'dots' and 'polygons'? This is more a philosophical question than a technical GIS issue, however. The background is of course the traditional dot-thinking in archaeology which needs to be reshaped into a more contextual approach *in practice* and not only in theory. This will partly be explored in Chapter 5.

- How to combine nature and culture in both research and management? These two topics are not regarded as a dichotomy (see above) even if they are often treated in this manner by regulations and in our minds. Instead they should be integrated with each other, because sometimes it is nevertheless impossible to distinguish one from the other. For example, do traditional coastal grazing lands or heath lands on higher ground have a natural or a cultural value? In which sense should they be characterised? Even when it comes to traditional archaeological sites like Bronze Age mounds, the same question can be put forward. The vegetation on these often tends to be that of ancient traditional managed grassland, which even might to a certain extent originate from the time when the mounds were erected (Gustafsson 1998; Nord & Bradshaw 2003). The botanical interest at heritage sites and especially on mounds has been pointed out elsewhere, for example in Denmark where the rich and varied vegetation at these sites has been noted (Ravnsted-Larsen 1983). Another area of interest is pollen analyses, which at Bjäre has been done both with material from a bog and from samples of buried soils underneath mounds (Nord & Bradshaw 2003). I will return to this in the next chapter.

Chapter Two. Landscape as Space

The word ‘landscape’ has slightly different meanings and backgrounds in different languages and language groups. A broad distinction can be made between the ‘visual-perceptive’ approach, especially common in countries like Great Britain, the Netherlands and Spain, and the ‘natural-environmental’ approach, which is common in, for example, Germany and the Northern European countries (Scazzosi 2004). In Sweden the word has historically a political/administrative meaning since the country used to be divided into different provinces or *landskap* each with its own laws and regulations. In 1634 the counties superseded this political subdivision of the country but *landskap* is still used to define geographical areas alongside the more common sense of the word today, which derives from English. The English word ‘landscape’ became commonly used in the 17th century as a technical term in painting meaning ‘picture of scenery’. It was only later its meaning was extended to define the scenery itself and not only the picture of it (*Nationalencyklopedin* 1983). ‘Landscape’ in this sense is a rather modern Western invention and there is no reason to believe that prehistoric man had the same notion of it as we have, but we do need to use it in understanding prehistory as the glue keeping things, thoughts and humanity together. Some argue that the concept of ‘landscape’ should be seen as a method, and not a human universal concept. This is mainly due to the mixed and partly problematic background of the concept (Chippindale & Nash 2004:12). In my opinion it is a universal human concept. What I mean by this is that, since ‘perception’ is a key element in the modern use of the concept of landscape, and since this ‘perception’ is also one of the elements that distinguish it from the concepts of environment and nature, it is a universal concept. Whether or not the actual word *landscape* is used, we have a perception of our world and a need to explain it. Landscape is intentionally or unintentionally a human-made product as well as a human-experienced arena. Of course we cannot suppose that prehistoric people were aware of the concept as we use it today, but most certainly they also had a concept that worked as a glue between places of importance as well as an arena for their perceptions of the world.

In this chapter I will investigate landscape as space, and I have chosen not to see places but rather patterns and areas on a larger organisational scale. Landscape archaeology within the archaeological discipline is normally mainly concerned with places and the connection between them, where the landscape is the glue holding them together. I wish to focus on this glue. The reason for this is that the landscape and its places are closely connected with each other even in a long-term perspective. An exploration of the time-depth of the glue in between places could in my opinion actually bring some understanding of the places themselves. I don’t believe they are in all respects isolated islands without any historical context in today’s landscape. To understand the connections between today’s landscape and prehistoric sites we need to explore the landscape in different ways, and perhaps some ways that are new for us archaeologists. Thus, in this chapter I will focus on the cultural landscape of today and not on the ritual landscape in prehistory. I will look at today’s landscape from a historical viewpoint, trying to investigate its historical depth. For this purpose I have used several different methods which also include disciplines I am not really trained in, such as cultural geography and historical archaeology, but through the European Union projects that were presented in the Introduction interdisciplinary cooperation was promoted and implemented.

My central aim has been to map the present-day landscape with the Historic Landscape Characterisation methodology. The inspiration has come from the work conducted by English Heritage (Aldred & Fairclough 2002; Clark et al. 2004). For this purpose I have used aerial photo-maps on a scale of 1:10,000, and two sets of historical maps, those made in connection with the agricultural reform in the early 1800s (digitised by Marja Erikson and Carl-Johan Sanglert at Malmö Kulturmiljö) and the military survey map from 1812–20 (*Skånska rekognosceringskartan* 1985) from around the same period. Both sets of maps show the landscape organisation with roots back at least to the medieval times, the infield–outland system (see Chapter 1). The purpose has been to perform comparative studies in order to explore the time-depth of the physical structures in today’s landscape.

To achieve an understanding of landscape development in a long-term perspective, a combination of pollen and macrofossil samples has been taken both at local sites (beneath and inside mounds) and at a regional site (the centrally located Kåremosse fen). Thanks to these analyses there is a good vegetation history of the Bjäre peninsula which includes both a general long-term picture and close-up windows around the investigated mounds. The palaeobotanists Gina Hannon and Richard Bradshaw did these pollen and macrofossil investigations that were of mutual interest to us (Hannon et al. 2008). At the time of the EPCL project they were associated with the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences in Alnarp.

It was of great interest to compare the result of the Bjäre pollen analysis with those of the Ystad project in southern Skåne (Berglund 1991). In the Ystad project the pollen investigations showed that the clearing of trees from the wider landscape first took place in the latter part of the Bronze Age, after the large mounds in that area were already erected. This is rather intriguing as it is often assumed that mounds were built to be visible in the landscape. One aim of the pollen investigations in Bjäre was to shed light on this question.

Furthermore, a detailed matrix study was made in the forest of Dejarp with the help of a cultural geographer, Carl-Johan Sanglert, a medieval archaeologist, Johan Ingwald, both connected to Malmö Kulturmiljövård, Mats Gustafsson (botanist and professor of plant science at the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences in Alnarp) looking at the vegetation, and then myself. The purpose was to understand the different physical structures that were present and to find out how these fitted together chronologically.

The botanist Mats Gustafsson mapped the present-day vegetation in chosen areas and on the surface of mounds. Since vegetation responds very quickly to changes in land-use, the idea was to get another view of the time-depth in the landscape. Mats Gustafsson became involved in the first EU project ECP early on. I have also used the municipality's programmes for the natural environment (Båstad kommun 2002b) and the cultural environment (Båstad kommun 2002a).

Besides my studies in the present-day landscape and its historical time-depth I have also been interested in the intangible or mental landscape. This aspect is hard to grasp and extremely individual, but still important if you really wish to understand a landscape. Before we start this chapter with exploring some pieces of the intangible landscape, however, I will present a brief outline of *landscape* in the history of archaeology in Sweden.

Landscape and archaeology in Sweden, a historical context

The office of the Custodian of National Antiquities in Sweden was established by 1630, but the first law protecting heritage dates from 1666. This makes it one of the oldest of its kind. The law was clearly coloured by the wish of the Swedish kingdom to give the appearance of a great historic background. It was stated in the law that it was forbidden to damage castles, churches, rune stones, graves and other prehistoric sites (Ståhle 1960). Of course concepts like 'context' and 'landscape' were hardly invented at the time. The impact of the law was in reality not very large and it was heavily dependent on local individuals with strong interest and enthusiasm. The full text of the law can be read at: http://www.ukforsk.se/nya/lag1666.pdf.

In 1753 the Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities was founded, with responsibility for the management of ancient monuments, but even so, this did not improve the impact of the law very much. It is interesting to see how the situation during the 19th century in fact was a sort of collision between progress and 'regress'. The thought of progress was strong as industries emerged everywhere and all agricultural land was reorganised to be more productive, but at the same time historical romanticism became important. So, at the same time as prehistoric monuments were being destroyed to make space for more farmland, they also became important symbols for the historical romanticism issue. This became obvious in the research carried out at the universities as well as in art, where monuments emerged as motifs in paintings. Travelling also became easier during this period through the emergence of the railway and improved roads, which allowed easier access to and improved knowledge of many places with archaeological sites (Gustavsson 2003).

In the 1920s the organisation protecting and managing the cultural heritage changed and improved, and in 1938 the National Heritage Board formally took over the responsibility. From 1937, heritage sites were to be marked out on the economic map, which of course required further and improved field surveys, and as a secondary result the knowledge of heritage became more widespread. A new law about the Cultural Heritage came into force in 1942, but like the earlier one it was still focused on sites and objects. Landscape and contexts were still not an issue. Only in the 1960s were the first signs towards a broader way of thinking seen, first visible in the documentation work where whole areas were now to be recorded and not only objects. Later, towards the end of the 1960s, the first tendencies to this thinking could be seen in preservation issues as well (Stjernquist et al. 1993). In this period the first 'areas of national interest' were defined, in the environmental code, although it was not until 1987 that they became juridical instruments (see http://www.raa.se/cms/extern/en/cultural_heritage/legislation_and_responsibility/legislation_and_resposibility.html). At the moment these areas are being revised. A simultaneous and connected step in the same direction, contextualising sites, could also be seen in the revised survey of sites and monuments by the National Heritage Board. This was performed in the late 80s and early 90s aimed at considering areas and not only sites. This was partly a result of the new Heritage Conservation Act of 1988 which definitely took a step towards contexts and areas. The most obvious change in the new survey is that areas with prehistoric field systems and medieval village 'tofts' were now included (Roos 1988), but still these areas are more or less looked upon as large dots or sites; 'landscape' is still not really an issue.

In the science of cultural geography the landscape view that I am trying to apply to the archaeological research in this work was actually more or less established already in the 1960s and 1970s with the work of Torsten Hägerstrand and time geography (for example Hägerstrand 1970). The pioneer geographer Mårten Sjöbeck (1886–1976), had already had similar ideas about the landscape, inspiring many later geographers and their work (Emanuelsson 1986). In archaeological research a rather different development can be seen. At first the focus was on typological questions and cultural history, but recently in processual (modern) and post-processual (post-modern) archaeology 'landscape' has become an issue in itself. In the processual archaeology of the 60s onwards, landscape archaeology has mainly considered landscape as the environmental background in which prehistoric people lived. Long-term perspectives and the use of natural sciences are important themes. The Ystad project in southern Skåne is one of the best-known examples (Berglund 1991). Recently, however, from the 90s onwards, the post-processual approaches have given landscape a more active role, for example, in phenomenological views that have focused on the human experiences of moving in the landscape as well as in social and mental aspects of the landscape. This more social view of the landscape has become very popular, and inspiration has been found in the work of mainly English archaeologists (for example Barrett et al. 1991; Bradley 1993; Tilley 1993; 1994; Barrett 1994; Thomas 1999; Bradley 2000). Doing landscape archaeology in this sense means trying to get into the minds of previous people living in different circumstances, of which we unfortunately only have very few glimpses, using concepts they were never aware of, which is of course very challenging.

The rather strict division that has existed during the last few decades between the processual and the post-processual approaches in Swedish (landscape) archaeology has been limiting and somewhat problematic. This division has unfortunately strengthened the unspoken division of interpretations of 'profane' and 'sacred' within the landscape, where the profane 'belongs to' processual archaeology and the sacred to post-processual, but now this strict division seems to have been softened (Gröhn 2004:139ff).

Landscape as space can thus in many ways be seen as a rather new approach for archaeologists and I suspect this approach will become more common as well as more important due to the implementation of the new ELC. In some European countries different methodologies have been attempted to lead to a wider landscape approach, and one of the more useful methodologies that I have so far become acquainted with is the English methodology of the HLC. Through the European Union project EPCL I came into contact with the English approach to landscape as well as to the ELC, and I found them very useful for archaeology in general and decided to explore them further.

The intangible landscape

The ELC gives many dimensions to the present landscape, some of which are clearly intangible. In an article in *Nateuropa* 2002 Dury discusses the difference between the historic landscape and the cultural landscape. He defines the historic dimension of a landscape 'as the sum of the surviving physical impacts of people on the landscape', while the cultural dimension of a landscape is 'the sum of the intangible meanings, values, attributes and associations that people attach to its physical components, whether an individual building, a distinctive area, or even an entire continent'. The concept of 'landscape' of course includes both aspects (see Chapter 1). What is interesting with the division that Dury makes is the temporal aspect – where the historic landscape considers past landscapes that are still visible while the cultural landscape is strictly about the intangible meanings present in today's landscape (Dury 2002). In a way this makes sense since it is hard to interpret intangible values in past landscapes, but still this is what we as archaeologists often do, and what we need to do in order to understand the sites in the landscape. How else can we discuss, for example, locations of burials or sites with rock-carvings? These decisions were based on intangible meanings within the past landscape. This chapter mainly deals with the present-day landscape of Bjäre and different methods for studying landscape as space. Most of these methods consider the present-day landscape, although the pollen analyses have a different approach, telling the story of historical vegetation, but they still consider landscape as space. A landscape's intangible meanings or the mental landscape, as it can also be termed, is hard to work with but if we do not consider it we will most probably lose one of the biggest benefits it gives us: a historical sense of belonging in space.

When visiting other areas or countries, it becomes rather apparent that the landscape is a cultural product influenced by human ideas, which has given shape to the local or regional landscapes. Religious beliefs, economic wealth, social structures etc. are all reflected in architecture as well as in the traces left in the landscape. Another aspect is the technology available, which has a great influence on the way we treat the landscape, not only because it determines how we can use and change the landscape, but also because it influences the way we think and react towards our environment; for example if we drive a tractor or an ox when ploughing we will get rather different landscape perspectives (Ermischer 2004). All these are important parts of the intangible landscape but even less spoken of are the intangible aspects that we experience with the body or the mind: sounds, tastes, sights, memories etc. We should not forget aspects like the weather conditions, the sea and the sky with its views, which all embrace the physical landscape and give it atmosphere and character, however difficult. In archaeology it is mainly the phenomenological approaches that to some extent consider these values in a landscape or at special places.

In the cultural environmental programme that covers the Bjäre peninsula, drawn up by Båstad Municipality (Båstad kommun 2002a), several areas are singled out as deserving special attention because they are *undisturbed*. This means not only undisturbed by recent development but also free from disturbances by modern phenomena like sounds from cars, the presence of people and houses etc. These are intangible aspects in the present-day landscape that will grow more and more important and popular. We are too crowded. The undisturbed aspect perhaps takes on greater importance in a landscape like Bjäre where recreational activities such as golf demand a lot of space and summer guests are also making the area very busy during part of the year.

In the Bjäre landscape there are certain areas that seem to be considered 'special' as regards the intangible aspects. Somehow these are all included in the municipal programmes about the cultural and natural environment, and it is possible that there is a hidden agenda that includes the intangible aspects even if they are rarely spoken of. Which areas it is becomes obvious if you look at the activities of the local societies: the Nature Protection Society and the local amateur archaeological society (*Bjäre arkeologivänner*). Both societies perform walks in the Bjäre landscape and they often choose similar areas for walking, returning year after year for these walks. These areas include the Väderö Island, the coastal strip of Vasalt (see fig. 5), the drumlin area of Grevie, Hovs Hallar (see fig. 6), the Påarp area, the Sinarp valley (see figs. 3 and 134) and different areas on the Hallandsås ridge which provide good views. I have avoided including Hallands Väderö in this work since it is deserves a book in its own right, but it is clear that the island has a special meaning for the people

of the peninsula. The following quotation is taken from the Nature Protection Society's local magazine and gives a vivid picture of the intangible dimensions of the island:

> … arriving on the island you are far away – somewhere else. The pure existence of it today with its richness and beauty gives hope to mankind. In early summer you return home with your heart filled with a woven blanket of all the unbelievable richness of Thrift, Bulbous Buttercup, Meadow Saxifrage and birds singing, and after every visit you return home content with having had a divine service with yourself. (Sven Hernborg 1997, translated by Jenny Nord).

The coastal strip of Vasalt is a piece of former outlying land along the coastline that was not redistributed during the agricultural reforms. It is still used for common grazing and has a set of vegetation very characteristic of traditional grazing land. Besides having this botanical richness there are also mortuary monuments in the area which, together with the sea and the view of Kullaberg to the south, give a certain timeless character to it. As with the other areas mentioned earlier, they all have more or less the same features: old type of vegetation, prehistoric remains, spectacular views and being undisturbed by modern life. These aspects seem to constitute the basics of the important intangible landscapes, at least in Bjäre. A nice example can be seen in a local church painting in the church of Grevie. The church was renovated in the 1960s and then the local well-known modernist Per Siegård painted a fresco on the east wall. Being a local he had good knowledge of the landscape and its hidden agenda and so he set the biblical scenes in the drumlin area of Grevie; Jesus is situated on the top of a mound and in the background one can see the silhouette of Kullaberg on the other side of the sea (see fig. 20). The drumlin area of Grevie is today a nature reserve area due to the many plants growing there, which of course is a result of a long tradition of cultural grazing. The drumlins make the area very hilly and mounds or stone-settings can be found on several hills. The view towards the south and of Kullaberg is magnificent, and this panorama is a mental aspect of great importance in the present Bjäre landscape, and most probably was in past periods as well.

Fig. 20. *The fresco painting by Per Siegård in the church of Grevie. Photo Jenny Nord 2001.*

During the EPCL project I made a small excavation at the rock-carving site of Drottninghall (see Chapter 3 for a description of the site), which is located on the fringe of the village of Västra Karup. Patrik Nordström, archaeologist and PhD student from Stockholm University, helped me with the fieldwork. The reason for the excavation was to find out whether a wall structure located on the eastern side of the site could possibly belong to a Bronze Age cult house structure. The people in the area did not know anything about this structure, and the Register of the National Heritage Board had also missed it, but when the excavation started we were suddenly contacted by a very old lady at the old people's home in Västra Karup. She had found information in some documents from her mother saying that, on the very site of our excavation, the historical flax-drying structure belonging to the village was once located. Furthermore, she told a story of a young soldier who committed suicide in this structure in 1852 with the help of dynamite. Perhaps this is the reason why it ceased to be used and it was later forgotten. There are several stories connected with the rock-carving site of Drottninghall that refer to a certain pair of footprints framed with cupmarks (see front cover). According to one of the stories, these footprints were created as a local priest was 'reading' a ghost into the rock. The ghost was troubling people and the only way the priest could manage the ghost was to make him march like a soldier. The history of the forgotten flax-drying structure and this story have some connection, showing how a story can be shaped around a place, a prehistoric feature and a tragic happening and how the story later gets a life of its own.

In the central area of the peninsula there is an area which in historical times has been the infield area of several villages: Lillaryd, Mäsinge, Faritslöv and Påarp. During the last 50–100 years or so, as agriculture has demanded higher efficiency, the area has been less used for crops and has thus kept its old character with mosaic landscape features. One reason for this situation is that the area only allows small-scale farming, being full of various kinds of obstructions to agriculture. Instead the modern farming activities have been moved to the former outland area where there are fewer natural obstacles. In a way one can say that the former infield area has recently become more 'outland-like' while the former outland area has become more 'infield-like'. This is the case, for example, with the Påarp area which is located in the western infield area. Many small fields and stone walls, small woods and wet areas, all give this area an 'old' traditional character which is lost in most areas that are now used for modern agriculture. One important characteristic of it is the lack of roads and also the very few houses and farms. Only a very small gravel road, the old church road, passes through on the eastern edge of the area where some summer houses are found. This situation leaves the area largely undisturbed by modern sights and sounds. The villages of Lillaryd, Mäsinge, Faritslöv and Påarp are located around the fringes of the area. In this undisturbed space there are at present plans to make a large and modern golf course. This has been a source for strong feelings and a lot of disagreement among the people of Bjäre, and the area has been hotly debated since the first plans were presented in 1999. According to both the cultural environmental programme (Båstad kommun 2002a) and the natural environmental programme (Båstad kommun 2002b) drawn up by the municipality, this area has rich values, which of course are interdependent; the nature values are very much a result of the cultural history of the area. Against these values it is mainly economic arguments that are presented. As I have been doing my landscape research on Bjäre during this period, I have become familiar with the highly infected situation where friendships and families have been split and where people have also decided to move from the peninsula. The whole sad situation has made the importance of a history in a landscape clear. Even if the area is not used intensively for agriculture these days, the people of the peninsula have strong feelings of a historical connection with it. Even if it is true that people don't go there often, the sheer possibility to do so, to know that it is there, should not be underestimated. The development plans in Påarp have resulted in very strong feelings and protests, which have also included some less well-considered protests such as bomb scares and other threats. Rarely has the importance of a mental landscape been made so visible in a landscape. Read more at http://www.bastad.se/Press/Rapporter-fran-kommunfullmaktige/2008/Kommunfullmaktige-2008-03-26/.

In 2002 a leaflet was sent out to people that took a clear stance against the planned new development in the Påarp area (see fig. 21). The leaflet took the form of a parody of an already existing leaflet produced in connection with the first EU project ECP, which was a guide to easily accessible and interesting places from the Bronze Age in the Bjäre landscape. All the Bronze Age places were now changed into the different golf courses (existing and planned) on the peninsula and dated 21 years later: 2023. The golf courses were presented as archaeological sites in a very witty way and thus

made it clear that the golf course business was a short(-sighted) affair. Still today nobody knows who made this leaflet, but the example brings out the great importance of the mental landscape and the feeling of helplessness when change comes too rapidly and from too great a distance from the everyday landscape users. During 2008 the Internet site of Youtube was used for protesting (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BVGX-xC-hzE).

BJÄREHALVÖN
ETT UNIKT
GOLFÅLDERSLANDSKAP

Den fagra Bjärehalvön är en pärla att utforska, ur ständigt nya bunkrar. Bland böljande fairways och ruffar, tees och greener med vindlande flaggor, nedsänkta i vackra koppar, väntar otaliga skönhetsupplevelser.

En pärla var Bjärehalvön också för golfälderns besökare. Då, under ca 80 år (1934-2013 e Kr), var klimatet ett par grader mildare än idag. Bjäres lätta jordar och lättköpta politiker passade golfälderns utövare. Golfrestaurangerna och de ståtliga bunkrarna lade man gärna på höjder med vid utsikt, och sådana kunde Bjäres politiker erbjuda i mängd. Den långa havskusten var guld värd under en tid när långväga handel och kontakter blomstrade invid marknadsplatsen i Boarp och väg 105 var den bästa att färdas på från flygplatsen och direkt till golfbanan.

Än idag präglas Bjärelandskapet starkt av de många spår som golfäldersfolket lämnat efter sig. De stora greenerna möter oss överallt på höjderna - de är mer än sju - och den uppmärksamme vandraren finner mängder av gåtfulla tecken från golfälderns föreställningsvärld, såsom peggar och vita handskar, vattenhinder, doglegs och golfsuleristningar.

Golfäldern har kallats "Europas sista guldålder". Den sociala organisationen var stark och golfspelet var en värdig symbol för makt och rikedom. Från golfälderspalatsen i Stockholm spreds den nya livsstilen snabbt söderut till Bjäre tillsammans med föremål, ett nytt språk och ett helt nytt kulturmönster.

Det gick fram till år 2013 e Kr, sedan gjorde urbefolkningen uppror.

Du, som idag, år 2023, besöker Bjäres golfälderslandskap ska inte missa att ta en titt på statyn i centrum av Båstad. Den fåniga statyn, som stod där i början av 2000-talet, har skickats till Rom, där den hör hemma, och ersatts med en staty över några av våra kommunala politiker. Statyn har inskriptionen "Oss köpte dom aldrig" och restes 2014 e Kr av den bofasta befolkningen som ett tack till de politiker som hade civilkurage nog att stoppa den osunda exploateringen av Bjäre.

GOLFÅLDERSFYND
FRÅN BJÄREHALVÖN
1934 - 2013 e Kr

Golfpaket. S.k. helhetslösning. Arkeologerna är än idag konfunderade över hur övernattning med greenfee kunde rymmas i paketet.

Par 3 boll. Torekov.

Golfkeps. Öllöv.

Järn 8, delvis skadad, med rester av grafit vid skaftet. Påarp.

Turistbroschyren för år 2023 Redan Klar!

BJÄREHALVÖN
GOLFÅLDERN PÅ BJÄREHALVÖN
NORRA SVINGEN
GOLF AGE ON THE BJÄRE PEG INSULA
THE NORTHERN SWING
FÖRENINGEN GOLFTID, BÅSTAD

1. TOREKOVSGREENERNA
Forntida sjöfararens landmärken

Flera stigar leder genom resterna av denna bevuxna seasidebana, de s.k. strandmalarna, eller greenerna som de också kallas, arton stora ansade gräsmattor från golfäldern. Namnet kommer av det ålderdomliga engelska ordet green i betydelsen grön, men bygdens gamla menar att greenerna fått sitt namn av de många kvinnor som stått häruppe, grinat illa och spanat efter sina män, som inte återvänt i tid från Hallands Väderö för en foursome. Från sjösidan är greenerna en imponerande syn och ett landmärke för sjöfarare sedan mitten av 1920-talet.

Upphittade scorekort i området pekar på att greenerna hade sin storhetstid under åren 1924-2013 e Kr.

Obs! Här kan stövlar eller grövre skor behövas.

8. SOLSIDAN
En plats med märklig koppling

Floran i Påarp är, som på så många andra av Bjäres golfäldersgreener, mycket artrik, vilket tyder på att man haft djur såsom Albatross, Birdie och Eagle på greenerna eller slagit växtligheten utan avbrott under mycket lång tid, kanske ända sedan greenernas tillkomst.

Området är från yngre golfäldern, närmare bestämt år 2003 e Kr. Från denna tid har man vid utgrävningar hittat direkta kopplingar till en äldre trädgård Norr om Viken, daterad från år 1906 e Kr. Arkeologerna har även hittat fragment av papper på vilka det står i gammal skrift ordet "hetslösning". Detta kan vara förklaringen, menar experterna, till varför andra dokument som hittats i området, såväl ansökningar som beslut och avtal, alla har samma datum.

Sedan golfäldersgreenerna år 2013 e Kr lagts i träda går det åter att "åka hit ut och titta på en blomma."

7. ÖLLÖV
Den sista fairwayen

Öllöv var en av de fairways som hade kortast storhetstid (År 2006 e Kr till 2013 e Kr). Öllöv kallas också "vårt lönsamma odlingsdistrikt" och påminner i mycket om platsen väster därom, det vackra naturreservatet vid kusten. På en märklig långsträckt plattform har en rad stora greener anlagts. Vid utgrävningar efter banans nedläggning har kunnat fastställas att det under golfäldern i Öllöv använts inte mindre än tre olika sorters gräs; rödven, ängsgröe och rödsvingel.

I en ruff hittades år 2014 e Kr resterna av en caddie. Det visade sig att han drabbats av någon form av pest. Nästan hela kroppen var full av utslag.

2. SÖNNERTORPET
Gåtfulla spår

Här har en gång legat en viktig golfkultplats. Troligen var det under golfäldern som man åstadkom sina gåtfulla märken i marken: tiotals gropar, s.k. sandgropar eller bunkrar, avlånga fördjupningar, rännor och här och var fotsuleformade urholkningar. Dessa urholkningar är den vanligaste typen av häl-ristningar. Små uthuggna runda gropar på tee, gjorda av klackarna på golfskor, kan ha haft betydelse i samband med kulten, kanske för att främja handicapet.

Utgrävningar av nio gamla utslagsplatser har daterat området till perioden 2001-2013 e Kr och visat att banan var slopad redan innan den började utnyttjas. De omfattande fynden av mynt på tee visar tydligt att det rört sig om en pay&playanläggning.

6. ÅKASLUTTNINGEN
Skånes största golfsluttning

Det berättas att den väldiga Åkasluttningen, Skånes största golfsluttning, byggdes över en man, som stupat vid ett missat slag här. Detta är förstås en sägen, men vad vi däremot vet om sluttningen är inte mindre spännande. Den blev uppförd år 1989 e Kr och utvidgades kraftigt 5 år senare, för att 20 år senare falla i träda. Det har visat sig vid utgrävningar av golfälderns sluttningar att de ofta innehåller rikt utrustade golfbagar, och mycket tyder på att caddien haft en framträdande plats i golfälderns samhälle.

3. VATTENHÅLET
Helig mark sedan urminnes tider

Kvarlevorna av Båstads golfbana (1930-2013 e Kr) har ett sällsynt vackert läge med hela nordvästra Bjäre för sina fötter. Här har varit helig mark sedan urminnes tider. Strax intill har också Bjäres största marknadsplats med lågprislada legat.

Arkeologiska utgrävningar visar på många vattenhål för golfare och naturälskare. Området var under sin storhetsperiod det största i sitt slag på Bjärehalvön. 18 greener kan dateras från 1930 e Kr och övriga 18 från tidigt 1990-tal. Invid resterna av klubbhuset har arkeologer hittat ett mycket litet fynd från tidigt 2000-tal e Kr. Experter tror att det rör sig om det s.k. årliga intaget, som under denna period lär ha varit ytterst litet.

4. BOARP
Ett pärlband av bunkrar

Mängden bunkrar i Bjäres marker är bland de största i Norden. På Boarps golfbana (daterad till år 2005 e Kr) finns en av de mest spännande platserna. Vid en inventering här år 2015 e Kr hittades 89 bunkrar spridda över ett antal fairways. Många av dessa är osedvanligt stora, och under inventeringen mättes rent av Nordens hittills största och djupaste bunkrar upp. Troligen har bunkrarna huggits ut under golfäldern, och det ligger nära till hands att tänka sig platsen som en central scen för den tidens åkallan av högre makter.

En samling benrester och golfvagnar, som hittats invid tee 12 bedöms av experter ha tillhört kända golfspelare, som ej hann spela klart före banans nedläggning år 2013 e Kr.

5. BJÄREHÖGEN
Med utblick över tre vatten

Den ca 0,5 km långa gångstigen från väg 105 till forna Bjäre GK är en vandring bakåt i tiden. Den gamla fägatan leder till resterna av ett gammalt klubbhus, nu en mäktig golfäldershög, med vidunderlig utsikt i tre väderstreck: mot Skälderviken och Kullen, mot Hallands Väderö och mot Laholmsbukten. Här finner du också andra spår i marken, som klubbor från järnåldern, bland annat en järn nia, och ålderdomliga järn ättor.

Trots att man vid utgrävningar hittat 18 koppar har det inte varit möjligt att tidsbestämma varken fairway eller ruff. Det enda man vet är att verksamheten i området upphörde år 2013 e Kr i samband med att sista bofasta barnfamiljen hotade att lämna Bjäre för gott.

Fig. 21. *The anonymous golf course leaflet, outside and inside. The development in the Påarp area is number 8 in the middle.*

Another movement in Bjäre that similarly shows the importance of the mental landscape, but in a far more sympathetic way, is the movement in Sinarpsdalen. Sinarpsdalen is a valley that runs north–south along the eastern part of the Bjäre peninsula. In earlier times this valley was a common outland area for several villages: Drängstorp, Sinarp, Axelstorp, Stora Nötte, Lilla Nötte etc., and it was mainly used as grazing land and for moving cattle towards the coastal areas. Here the inhabitants have started a study circle where they are searching for the history and stories of their area. During the summer of 2008 this study circle group produced a guidebook together with stories and a map (Lindegren 2008), available through the tourist office in Båstad. These stories explain landscape features and tell the tale, often forgotten, of how these features came to be or were used, I have translated some of the many stories in this book with the permission of Lindegren:

How the stone wall was built along the railway:
Following the First World War there was mass unemployment in Sweden. So, in the early 1920s the government introduced relief work. Thus, many roads were built and wetlands were ditched. Stone walls were built along the railway and two working units were given the stretch through Sinarpsdalen. The unit that came from the north, from Halmstad in Halland, were said to be very thorough. Just north of the bridge in the middle of the valley this team met the one coming from Ängelholm to the south. Where the two units met can easily be seen as a straight stone wall coming from the north with stones that are well-fitted, meeting a southern wall that is slovenly built. It is said that the team from Ängelholm drank a lot of beer which caused the poor result.

About the milk farms and the local dairy in Västra Karup:
In the villages around Sinarpsdalen there used to be many farms with milk cows. In the small village of Sinarp all eight farms were delivering milk to the local dairy in Västra Karup. Several different driving tours to collect milk were made around the valley. Erik Johansson drove the tour through the villages of Sinarp and Salomonhög by horse until 1954, when tractors started to be used. The tour started at the mill of Sinarp and then passed 15 farms on its way to the dairy in Västra Karup. It was a heavy work, three tons of milk were transported daily all year around. Kurt Åkesson drove the milking tour until the modern tanker replaced him in 1981, around the same time as the dairy in Västra Karup was closed. That was a big loss according to many of the people in the area, who still miss their famous and delicious soured milk. The traditional mixed farming with both crops and animal husbandry was reduced in the name of rationalisation during the 1980s and 1990s. In 2007 only one farm – of the original 15 – was still producing milk.

Santa Claus in the flax hut of Drängstorp:
Just southeast of the village of Drängstorp there is a hut made of stone where flax once used to be prepared. It was renovated during the 1970s by the villagers. Then for many years (but not any more unfortunately) it became a custom that the children from the villages nearby came there before Christmas. In the vaults of the flax hut sat Santa Claus with a lantern and received the wish-lists of the children.

These stories give a wonderful understanding of a landscape that can never be found by looking at maps. The milking tour of Sinarp makes us understand some of the great changes this landscape has undergone in the last 100 years, and it takes just a little bit of imagination to think of how different the farming was and how different the landscape experience would have been with all those cows that belonged to each farm. Still today you often see the place where the milk was picked up, and even the large milk cans stand there with flowers or painted in nice colours, as a testimony of past times. The story of the stone wall along the railway gives a snapshot of a very difficult period not so long ago, that has caused many changes in our surrounding landscape – and how different these changes may appear due to people's performance on the day. It also includes a moral issue about using alcohol. Some traditions are very short-lived but even so, very loved, as the story from the flax hut in Drängstorp shows.

Stories tell us about our past and our present, they explain how and why things happened. They give us a sense of belonging and a history. A story packs a complex set of information and makes it more digestible and accessible. People read stories but they might not read a dry academic report like this one. Further, stories bring the landscape alive and make it relevant to us. For these reasons, during the second EU project the EPCL produced a common book about stories (Clark et al. 2003). It included stories and tales from the 12 different national projects that were part of the EPCL, and it shows how varied stories are and in how many ways they can be 'teased out' of the landscape. The EPCL book *Pathways to Europe's Landscapes* is available in digital form from www.english-heritage.org.uk, under 'online resources'. One of the stories from the Bjäre peninsula tells of how the seaweed was used by the farming communities of the area and the impact it had on the landscape. The story is fictitious but it shows the important part played by communities and their regulations in sharing the use of land and of important but scarce resources. Such sets of rules can be difficult to change, and the landscape management that they support may thus be very long-lived, lasting hundreds if not thousands of years. The story thus gives insight into the mental as well as the practical landscape of the farming communities of Bjäre where the coast was of crucial importance, even though it was a marginal area for the villages:

> Once upon a time, quite some time ago, a young man went down to the shore to get rid of all the seaweed that had been washed up by the waves in the early spring storms. The seaweed was covering his boat as well as the shore. He didn't know where to put it all at first, but then he decided to heap it up in a small field close by. The crops didn't grow very well in this field in any case, so it couldn't do any harm. When the growing season began the man went out to inspect his crops, and as he came to the little field by the shore he was amazed to find that they stood higher here than even in his good fields. This field had always produced a meagre return, and the sight he was confronted with now seemed almost magical. How had this happened he thought to himself, and suddenly he remembered the seaweed that he had put there in early springtime. Of course, the seaweed must have fertilised the earth somehow. Soon people living in the nearby farmsteads came to see the wonder as the tale of the nourishing seaweed spread all over the peninsula, and beyond.
>
> Whatever the origins of this custom, it made seaweed very valuable. Quarrels soon arose between farmsteads and villages all around the peninsula about who had the right to harvest it. In the end, rules and laws were made to regulate the use of seaweed. The rules were very strict and if you broke them punishment was hard. For example, besides being heavily fined, you could also be forced to sit in the front row at Sunday Mass with a bundle of seaweed in your hands. No wonder then, that people were quite obedient in following the regulations. These regulations about using seaweed have left quite an impact on the cultural landscape of the Bjäre coastal zone. Most farmers in the area owned their own piece of land, and in fact the aristocracy and the Crown had very little interest in the peninsula. But people also shared the village's common land for seaweed gathering as well as for summer grazing. In today's landscape, traces can be seen of these arrangements through the many small roads leading from the villages towards the sea. Many of them are surviving relicts of old cattle-roads that have stayed in use, and today they often lead to areas with summerhouses. The coastline is shared between villages, and there is a pattern on the peninsula of land associated with each village extending down to the shoreline.
>
> As the sea provided seaweed and other treasures (mainly shipwrecks – about which there is also a set of regulations) the common land along the coastline was well protected through historical times. This was even the case through the Agricultural Reforms, which dramatically changed the overall landowning system, moving farms out of villages and allocating them their own fields, which is the pattern that persists today. The villages still own much of the coastal zone, commonland-used mainly for grazing, but it is still possible to see farmers harvesting seaweed in the spring, although artificial pesticides are more commonly used. For several decades, large parts of the coastal zone of the Bjäre peninsula have been classified as a protected nature area

> because of the abundance of herbs and plants growing there. This vegetation is in fact typical for grassland managed by grazing, which makes it a cultural landscape with roots that perhaps stretch back even into the prehistoric period. In Sweden there is a law preventing development and exploitation close to all water bodies: the sea, rivers and lakes. The main reason is said to be democratic – you can't own water or a beach, and everyone has a right to use these areas. The law may even have roots in the old common-land system. However, this law has not been strictly adhered to and the coastline of the Bjäre peninsula is actually one of the longest stretches of accessible continuously protected coastlines in Sweden. We therefore have to thank the poor farmers of Bjäre and their use of seaweed for their part in the shaping and conservation of today's coastal landscape (Clark et al 2003).

From earlier periods we have very few stories, even though many place names, as well as sites in the landscape and other features, tell us that something has happened. Many mounds, standing stones and other features, natural or not, are explained as being the act of trolls or inhabited by trolls. These stories are a treasure for us today and tell so much about past people's mental landscapes. As an archaeologist, it is part of my work to try to tell some of the stories hidden in today's landscape that stretches even further back. Yet these more recent stories of later landscapes should not cease to be told, as they tell us so much of our recent history and give the historical context to our world today. They even give a historical context to what lies behind; the previous layer of prehistoric sites.

The historic landscape of Bjäre

The present-day landscape constitutes a material residue that is of vital importance in understanding the past. The landscape cannot be defined as an archaeological site or a material residue according to the present Heritage Conservation Act (SFS 1988:950) since an archaeological site needs to have been abandoned for at least 100 years. Landscape in itself is rarely abandoned and is instead characterised by *change*, which can be considered as a constantly ongoing process. The archaeological sites are only fragments of past landscapes where most of the surrounding parts are used for agriculture, pasture, settlements and roads etc., activities that, in a long-term perspective, are characterised by some kind of change. The landscape is most often seen as the backdrop to events and the spreading of archaeological remains, but it is rarely seen in its own light as a *palimpsest*. A landscape palimpsest may be defined as a 'superimposition' with traces of former superimpositions and erasures of landscape elements from multiple time periods (Lucas 2005:37; Bailey 2007:203; Bender 1998:34). However, some landscape areas are offered some protection, for example by being nature reserves or areas of national interest (Riksintresseområden).

Palaeo-ecological investigations are valuable for understanding landscape change in a long-term perspective. Cooperation was established with the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences in Alnarp within the EPCL project, and a project including pollen analyses from both a fen and buried soils from underneath Bronze Age mounds was conducted. One key issue in this work was to obtain improved dates for the construction of the mounds and relate these to the local and regional vegetation history. The initial hypothesis was that the mounds were built in a non-forested landscape and were designed for long-distance visibility. This might not be a very daring hypothesis, but since the palaeoecological investigations of the Ystad project in southern Skåne indicated that the first major phase of deforestation was around 950 BC, in the middle of the Bronze Age, even though archaeological analysis of mounds in the Ystad area mainly yielded dates from the early Bronze Age (Berglund 1991), it seemed like a good starting hypothesis to prove. With the pollen and macrofossil analyses of material from the Kåremosse fen, located centrally in the peninsula of Bjäre, we were lucky to find material that covered more or less all prehistoric periods, and it has been possible to establish an outline of the vegetation history and the human influence connected to it (Hannon et al. 2008). The combination of using pollen and macrofossils has resulted in two interdependent stories, one regional and one local. Another macrofossil analysis has been performed on a hay meadow in the eastern part of the study area, Slottet (Hannon & Gustafsson 2004; Bradshaw & Hannon 2007), although outside the EPCL project. The sum of these analyses gives a brief and local picture of the

historical use of a hay meadow in the area, which might provide some information about the historical periods landscape use. Later in this chapter the different analyses will be presented in more detail; here I will briefly give a description of the regional vegetation history as it is interpreted by the pollen analyses from the Kåremosse fen (Hannon et al. 2008).

From the Mesolithic period (7000–4000 BC) there is no clear indication of human influence on the vegetation. It is only in the Neolithic period (4000–1800 BC) that the first signs of deforestation in the area and an increase in grasses indicate a clearing of the forest for pastures. During the Bronze Age (1800–500 BC) there is a significant increase in cultural indicators in the pollen and macrofossil evidence. It is also in this period there is evidence for the first agrarian land-use in the vicinity, the evidence suggests that slash-and-burn agriculture was practised within the area. The increase in cultural indicators in both pollen and macrofossil data begins in the late Neolithic and remains at a sustained high level throughout the Bronze Age, suggesting that the opening up of the Bjäre landscape had already taken place by the early Bronze Age. The Iron Age (500 BC–1000 AD) period is initially characterised by a period of temporary forest recovery. The overall pollen data suggest that some human influence was maintained in the vicinity, but with less intensity and more variability than in the Bronze Age.

Unfortunately, the cores of the Kåremosse fen did not include the historical periods as the top layers of the fen were not preserved. Even so, the vegetation history gives a vivid picture of the past landscapes, how people from the Neolithic/late Neolithic began to clear the natural forest initially for grazing and, as it seems, only later during the Bronze Age for agriculture. Even in the historical periods we know that cattle breeding was important in Bjäre, and it still is. It is only during the last one and a half centuries since the great agricultural reforms (1830–1870) that crops have become important, and potatoes are one of the main crops today. The landscape from before the reorganisation of farmland was quite different from the landscape we can see today. Thus, the military map, surveyed during the years 1812–1820 (*Den Skånska rekognosceringskartan* 1985), shows quite another picture of the landscape than the economic map of today. The same is of course also true of the maps that were drawn in connection with the agricultural reforms. They both show a landscape

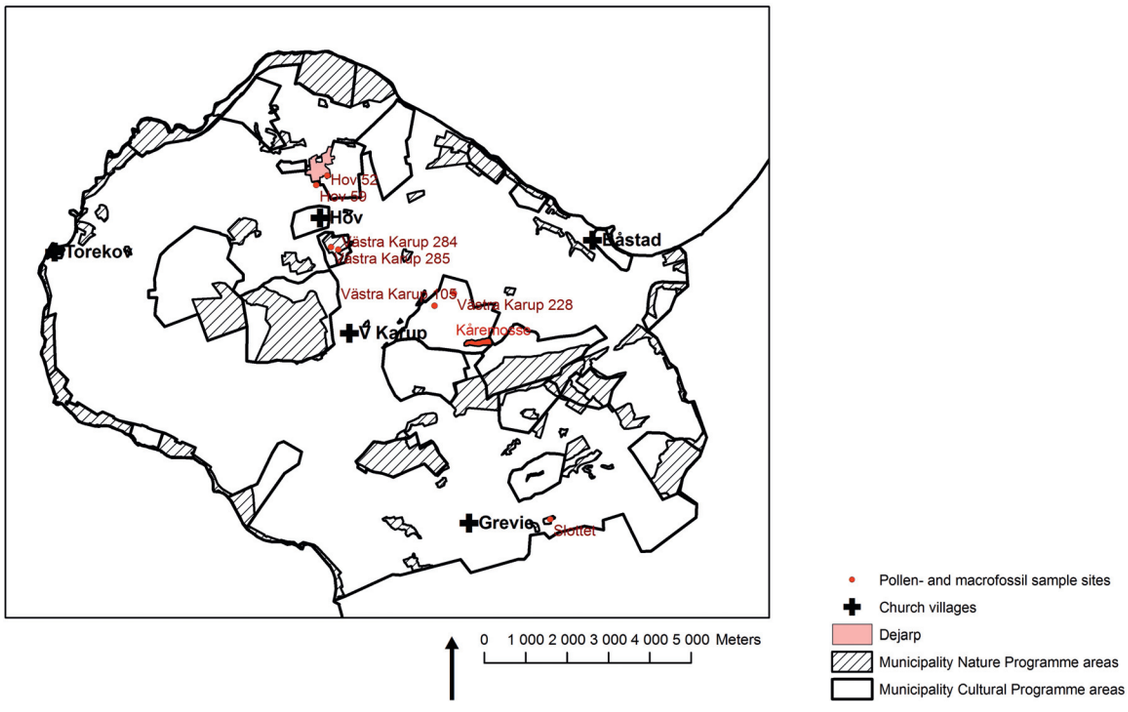


Fig. 22. *The different sample and study sites that will be discussed in connection with the pollen and macrofossil investigations and the matrix study. The municipality's nature and culture programme areas are also defined.*

which has its roots in medieval times, which is the period that follows where the pollen analyses end. However, the macrofossil analyses of the hay meadow *Slottet* (see below) provide us with some very local information from the historical periods which can be used to understand the local historical landscape use.

In the pre-reform landscape arable land consisted of small cultivated fields and meadows that were enclosed and located close to the villages. The main crops were barley, rye and oats. The meadows were used to produce hay as fodder for the cattle during the winter when they were stabled indoors. The cattle were not allowed to graze the meadows until the hay had been harvested. The villages had common outlying land mainly used for grazing during spring and summer. In general, the vegetation of the outlands was composed of treeless heath or grassland, but with bushes like juniper, dog rose and blackberry. The largest area belonging to a village was occupied by outland mainly used for grazing, which reflects that feeding of livestock was an important income for the peasants of the peninsula. The livestock produced milk, meat, and hides and among poor people oxen were often used in farming as draught animals. The manure was used to fertilise the fields. As a result, the meadows covered larger areas than the cultivated fields (Gustafsson 2006).

The main period of landscape change during historical times in the northwestern parts of Skåne took place 1830–1870 through the agricultural reforms (Gustafsson 2006). During that period the reorganisation of farmland was implemented, villages were split up, commercial fertiliser was introduced, farming started to be mechanised and drainage of wetland took place. Looking at the *present-day* landscape and landscape change, it might be very useful to consider different aspects in the landscape that have different rates of change. For example roads (visible) borders and villages belong to the larger organisational units of the landscape whose rate of change is rather small compared to fields and field systems that change in order to meet practicalities connected with, for example, new techniques or new ownership. The landscape cover, the vegetation, for example, is known to respond very quickly to changes.

When Mats Gustafsson, professor of plant science at the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences in Alnarp, was working with the botanical inventory of the peninsula (Gustafsson 1996) he noticed that many of the Bronze Age mounds had different vegetation from their surroundings. The question then arose whether the vegetation on the mounds could be a result of continuous management with roots maybe even back to the Bronze Age. If so, they would be a valuable link between present and past landscapes in Bjäre. Working with the European projects, we concluded that vegetation studies of the present-day landscape would be a valuable complement to the more traditional pollen analyses in understanding changes both in today's landscape and in past landscapes. In the ECP project a study of the vegetation of mounds was conducted (Gustafsson 1998). During the later EPCL project this study was expanded to landscape areas which were thought to be representative of the peninsula as a whole (Gustafsson 2003). In the following I will give a brief description of the vegetation studies performed by Mats Gustafsson and the pilot study of chronological landscape matrix in the forest of Dejarp. After that I will present the more detailed results of the pollen and macrofossil analysis. Finally I will present a first trial version of an HLC of the Bjäre peninsula and draw some archaeological conclusions from the different landscape approaches presented in this chapter.

Vegetation studies

For the full report of the vegetation studies and their methodology I refer to the written reports produced in connection with the projects (Gustafsson 1998, 2003).

Meadows and pastures are a product of past and present land-use – changes in land-use always lead to changes in plant cover. Changes can either involve an expansion or a regression of species composing the vegetation. Species have varying competitive abilities and they differ in their ability to endure environmental disturbances. Species that are weak competitors but tolerant of disturbances, for example, benefit when the growing site is mowed or grazed, but will decline when the site is allowed to return to forest, swamp wood or reed. 'Old types' of vegetation from meadows and pastures are considered to be typical traits of the landscape before the reorganisation of farmland, and

therefore it is of great interest to see where and how much this type of vegetation has survived into the present landscape

Before 1820 botanical inventories and/or information about the vegetation on the Bjäre peninsula are rare and limited to a few short comments in official documents. However, a botanical inventory of the peninsula has shown that sites with an 'old type' of flora still exist (Gustafsson 2003). The available information has been used for the preliminary location of sites for plants, which may act as indicator species for well-preserved pastures and meadows.

Inventory of old types of pastures and meadows in 2000 and 2001

The inventory has focused on the present status of the vegetation in various types of grassland, and most of the attention has been paid to those species which have their optimal occurrence in meadows and pastures and their proportion in relation to the total number of species observed. Meadows and pastures in this context may be defined as different kinds of ancient grassland, which have been uncultivated and not exposed to artificial fertiliser. The habitat meadows are used for old types of land that are mowed to produce hay and thereafter used for livestock grazing. Pastures are defined as various old types of grazing land.

Unfortunately, arable fields for crops cannot be used for this kind of analyses about time-depth since they have been given artificial fertilisers for long periods. All the weeds that could have given information about the landscape history have been efficiently killed during recent times. However, various map studies – the matrix study and the HLC – might provide some information on this topic, the time-depth of agricultural fields.

Table 4. *Distribution of 'old types' of vegetation in the most important habitats of the Bjäre peninsula. From Gustafsson 2003.*

Vegetation type	Status
Forest, woods	Only small parts are still well-preserved
Pastures and meadows	Some parts are preserved
Bogs	Well-preserved except for peat cutting
Fens	Many have been drained
Sea shore meadows	Some heavily overgrown, others still grazed
Arable land	Almost nothing left from past land-use

Fig. 23. *Examples of grassland species which are favoured by grazing and haymaking. From left to right: Bitter vetch (Lathyrus linifolius), Hop trefoil (Trifolium campestre), Mountain everlasting (Antennaria dioica) and Viper's grass (Scorzonera humilis). From Gustafsson 2003.*

The landscape of the Bjäre peninsula is composed of a mosaic of biotopes, from meadows, heath and woods to peat bogs and fens. The time-depth of the different elements of the landscape varies considerably. A typical example is shown in fig. 24, the landscape around the village of Salomonhög. The mortuary monuments in the area originate from the Bronze and/or Iron Age, the greatest part of the woods and the grazed grassland around the two mounds Salomonhög (RAÄ 66) existed in the map from 1812–1820, the arable land and the majority of the grazed grassland originate from the time span between 1836 and 1950, i.e. after the reorganisation of the farm land, and the golf course is founded after 1950. Together these different biotopes make up the typical vegetation history in today's landscape, where the most modern ones are created by recreational activities; then the intensive agricultural activities that followed the agricultural reform down to the present day are the next layer, followed by grazing land and meadows with a longer history of use, and finally the mounds proudly overlook the whole landscape.

While Gustafsson's inventories have chosen certain areas according to other topics of interest such as prehistoric remains in the landscape, the municipal programme for the natural environment shows a more general picture of well-preserved meadows and grazing land (etc.) from the period before the agricultural reforms. In this programme it is strikingly clear how closely nature and culture go together in the landscape. No chosen area in this programme exists for other reasons than having been shaped by human influence (Båstad kommun 2002b).

Vegetation on mounds

The mounds were preliminarily built of stone and turf, which suggests that they were made from the products of an open, as well as perhaps an opening phase of the landscape. They were not allowed to become overgrown with shrubs or trees, at least in their early lifetime. Many of the mounds seem to have remained important places even into the Iron Age, when additional burials sometimes were made at the older monuments. These sites were most probably still managed open land by then; otherwise it would not make sense to use them for further burials with a monumental aspect. Quite a few mounds are still being cared for today by grazing or by other means. Recently the farmers have also been given support to do this. Thus, the vegetation growing on the mounds may have

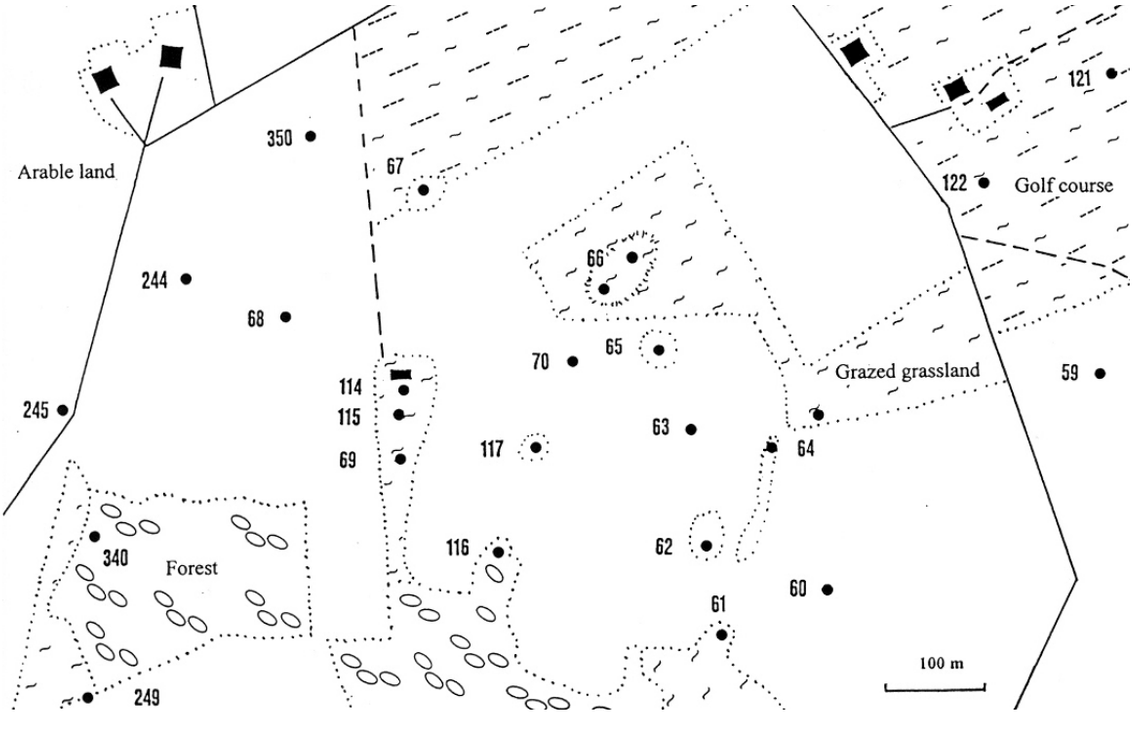


Fig. 24. *The landscape south of the village of Salomonhög. The numbers shown are the RAÄ numbers for ancient monuments in the parish of Grevie. From Gustafsson 2003.*

a very long and different history compared with that found in the fields nearby. This vegetation may be the result of older land-uses that have not survived anywhere else in an area that has otherwise been used intensively for agriculture. The vegetation inventory (see above) and the natural environment programme (Båstad kommun 2002b) have shown that only fragments of 'old types' of vegetation have survived in meadows and pastures. The vegetation of the Bronze Age mounds on the Bjäre peninsula therefore contains testimonies about this landscape stretching back perhaps several thousands of years. The mounds are considered to be cultural places, which constitute links between past and present just by their long-term existence in a landscape that has been far more flexible and changeable by human activities. Most probably these places have been managed and preserved during considerable periods of time and consequently more or less kept the vegetation typical of managed grassland.

The status of the vegetation on mounds on the Bjäre peninsula was tested in the period 1998–2000 during the first EU project ECP in an extensive inventory of the mounds in the northwest of Skåne, and not only in the parishes that have been examined through this work (Gustafsson 1998). Special attention was focused on the presence or absence of various indicator species, ceasing management, overgrowing and threats. A conclusion of the inventory is that one third of the mounds have a vegetation where the number of indicator species is low due to ceased management or because the mounds have been heavily influenced by recent human activities, for instance by the use of fertiliser in surrounding fields. On the other hand, about 25% of the mounds have a high frequency of indicator species (41% or higher), indicating that these mounds have a vegetation which fulfils the criteria for being pastures.

The number of species is dependent upon the size of the investigated area. On a small-sized mound with a genuine type of vegetation it is reasonable to find 25 species. In this respect, species which, from a historical perspective, have had their optimal occurrence in old grasslands, such as mead-

Fig. 25. *The three mounds Grevie RAÄ 92:1, 92:2 and 92:3 which have never been farmed with modern methods or been subject to pesticides as their immediate surroundings have been. The distribution of the yellow dandelions shows the modern land-use. Photo Jenny Nord 2005.*

ows and pastures, are of great interest. The higher the frequency of species which are favoured by grazing and/or haymaking is, the higher is the probability that the biotope is characterised by long and continuous management. The same is also true for those species which rapidly disappear when management ceases.

An ancient type of vegetation is found on 18 mounds in the study area, three of which are situated in the parish of Hov, seven in Västra Karup, and eight in Grevie. They all have a high biodiversity, a high frequency of species favoured by long and continuous management, a high frequency of species which are sensitive to ceasing management and a low frequency of nitrophilous species. Most of the mounds, however, are overgrown due to ceasing management or have grassland vegetation with a high proportion of nitrophilous species indicating heavy fertilisation.

Summary and archaeological implications

Vegetation studies of present landscapes and archaeology do not often go together, but in this work where the present-day landscape is in focus both in itself and as a context for archaeological sites, it is rather natural to look at the vegetation cover as well. It should also be said that the vegetation is one of the most obvious and visible parts of the landscape experience and therefore should also be considered when working with landscape archaeology. For natural reasons it is the historical vegetation development that is of special interest for understanding the present situation. It has been known for quite some time that mounds have a well-preserved and species-rich vegetation cover. The first inventory was made on mounds in Denmark in 1926 (Raunkiær 1926), and since then a number of investigations of the vegetation of mounds have been conducted, mainly for botanical reasons (Ravnsted-Larsen 1983; Reuterskiöld 1996; Gustafsson 2000), which is also true for the Bjäre investigations (Gustafsson 1998). However, from these I will draw some conclusions that may have some archaeological implications.

I have previously argued that I do not believe that the mounds in all respects are like islands with no context in the present-day landscape. However, when it comes to the vegetation the mounds can in fact be seen as islands of past landscapes in the present-day landscape, islands with a completely different character from their surroundings. It is not only that they differ in their shape and appearance as they were built to stand out from the surrounding landscape, and that they bring with them

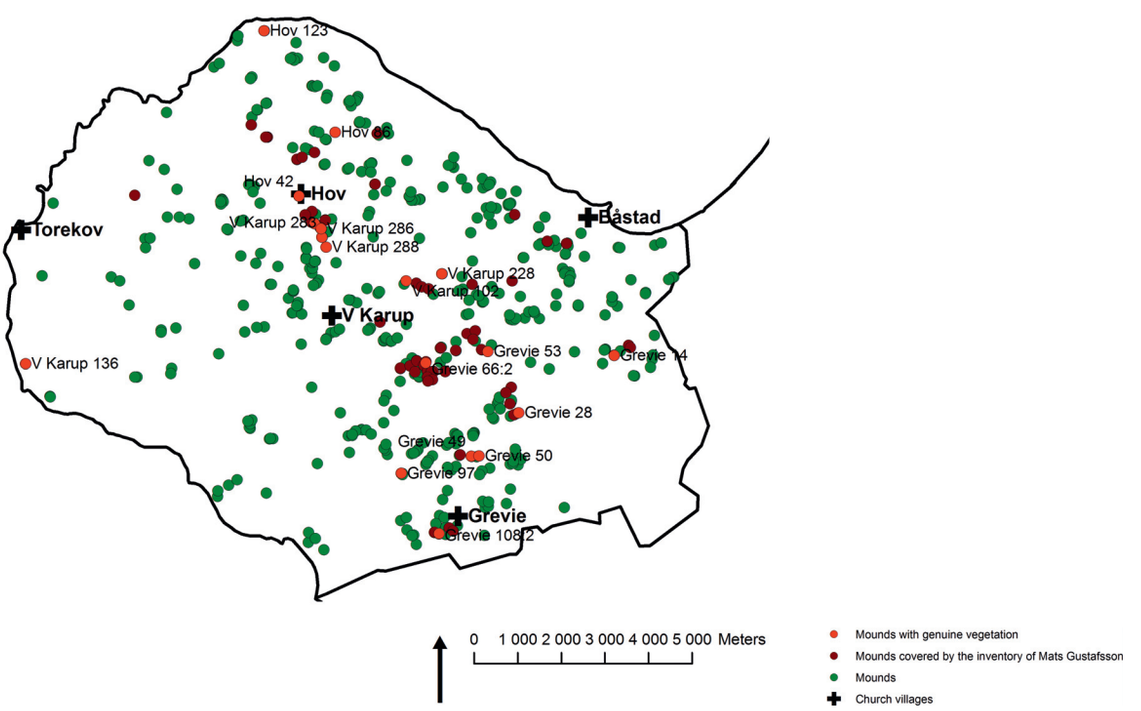


Fig. 26. *The distribution of the mounds with genuine vegetation.*

the timeless feeling that places for burials often do. They may also, as we could see above, present a distinct vegetation which differs considerably from the surroundings (which are often used as arable fields or meadows). Further, their vegetation often has a long historical and possibly even prehistoric tradition of continuous management. The vegetation studies of the mounds of Bjäre showed that 25% of the mounds have an old type of grassland vegetation. However, the average number of species is lower in Bjäre than in some of the other studies mentioned above. The reason for this can probably be found in historical factors or in factors such as the type of bedrock and soil and the way they have been managed. For example, species that are dependent on grazing are more frequent in Bjäre than in the Malmö area, but not only that; species that are extremely sensitive to ceased management are far more frequent in Bjäre than in Malmö (Gustafsson 2000:23). A conclusion that might be drawn is that grazing traditionally has been an important way to manage grassland not only on the mounds of Bjäre, but also in their surroundings, while grazing perhaps was of less importance in the Malmö region, which is also a fact we know to be correct (Emanuelsson et al. 2002:109ff). The vegetation of the mounds consists of remnants from a wider landscape and its management. From the set of species it can also be concluded that this management has been both long and continuous.

The inventory of pastures and meadows shows that they have the same sort of history as the mounds with similar vegetation cover. The study also shows the general time-depth of the landscape of Bjäre consisting of the following layers:

- Prehistoric graves
- Pastures and meadows from before 1820
- Arable land from after 1820
- Recreational areas from the 20th century

The pastures and meadows are most probably older than just before 1820, but map studies were able to fix them to that date. The arable land was structured on the whole peninsula in the period after 1820 and should therefore be of a later date, even though arable land did exist earlier. The infield areas that have been used for grazing, meadows and tillage for a considerable time most probably have arable areas with a longer time-depth. But since the land-use before the agricultural reform was shifting in the landscape, this is hard to follow. The peninsula has many golf courses which belong to the modern landscape layer of the 20th century. The oldest golf course is the one from 1924 in Torekov. In this palimpsest of landscape features and different vegetation biotopes the prehistoric mortuary monuments and old type of grasslands are still making important elements. The mounds are especially efficient in creating both time-depth and character as they can be seen as both botanical memories of the wider past landscape use and as monuments of archaeological relevance. In addition, their mental aspect of bringing history and a story into the landscape is of course immense. In a way they are islands of the past vegetation but they do bring a historical context into today's landscape.

A chronological matrix

In the search for new ways to combine nature and culture and to find complementary methodologies for the HLC, an experimental landscape documentation and interpretation exercise was tried out in a small area with a matrix methodology. The HLC, which will be discussed further later, gives a highly generalised picture of the landscape which in some contexts is a very useful tool, but sometimes you need a more detailed notion of the processes within the landscape. And so, in the forest of Dejarp (see fig. 22), where an extensive area with ancient field systems can be found (Hov RAÄ 246), a joint strategy for landscape interpretation was developed together with a cultural geographer, Carl-Johan Sanglert; a medieval archaeologist used to working with matrix methodology, Johan Ingwald; a professor of plant science, Mats Gustafsson; and myself, the prehistoric archaeologist. The study area was chosen for several reasons; one reason was of course to obtain a clearer picture of the ancient fields. On the peninsula there are quite a few bits and pieces of ancient fields, most of them located in beech forests on the northern side of the peninsula, but there is no knowledge of their history. In Dejarp these field systems cover a large area, more than 2 km^2, and they also

coexist with boundaries of different ages and with prehistoric mortuary monuments, which is why we thought a detailed study here could possibly provide some information about these fields.

Field survey and documentation were done with contextual methodology; a chronological matrix was developed in order to place the different features in the right chronological order of appearance. The matrix methodology is mainly used in excavations with vertical layers, but here we tried to use it with more horizontal spatial material: the cultural landscape, including the different sources of information that can be found in the landscape such as vegetation, structures, land-use patterns as well as written sources connected with the reforms during the 19th century.

It soon became clear to us that what makes landscape interpretation complicated is the fact that the cultural landscape comprises, among other things, two very different sets of information, namely, structures that are directly man-made (terraces, stone walls etc.), and evidence from vegetation or micro fauna. One difficulty lies in combining these two sets of information (features and contents). The matrix methodology – so far – does not even consider the mental aspects of the landscape, which is also true for the HLC, but this aspect is just as important for landscape understanding and landscape experience. This is a recognition that has recently arisen in Swedish archaeology (see for example Burström 2001, 2004a) and that will definitely become important in landscape issues through the ELC (see above).

However, after many discussions with considerations from our different study areas, Carl-Johan Sanglert and Johan Ingwald, both from Malmö Kulturmiljö, set out to make a field study where the vegetation inventory results (Gustafsson 2003) were considered alongside the prehistoric (graves) and historic (mainly agrarian) remains. In addition, historical maps from the agricultural reforms were considered. Some interesting interpretations were made through this detailed study about the land-use of different periods in this area. These interpretations can help us to understand why the present landscape looks as it does today and in what order some of the changes in this landscape occurred, even though exactly when still is uncertain. Among the most important observations are (from Sanglert & Ingwald 2003):

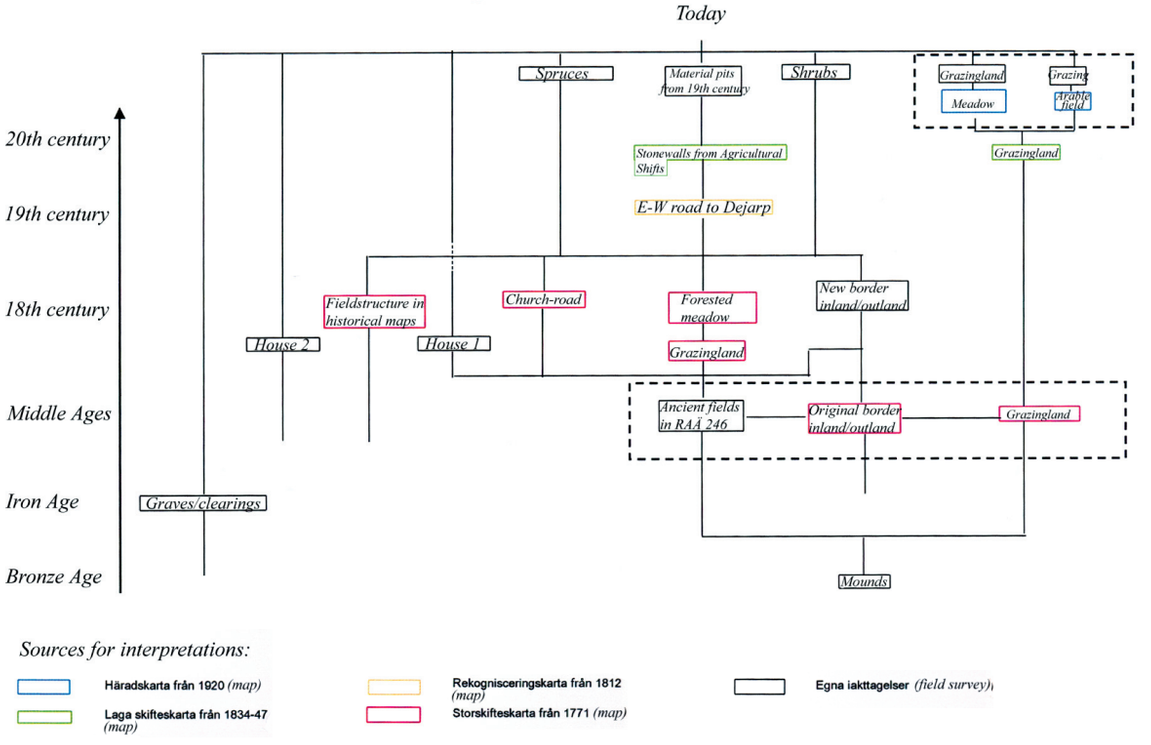


Fig. 27. *A trial chronological matrix, from Ingwald & Sanglert 2003.*

- The administrative borders overlap the terraces of the ancient field system, implying that the fields are older.
- All roads cut through or overlap the terraces of the ancient field system, implying that the fields are older.
- There is no clear stratigraphic evidence concerning the graves and the ancient field system; however some of the graves are located in such a way that it seems probable that they were used as landmarks in the laying out of the fields. This would make them older than the fields.
- On the southern side of the area the terraces were adjusted to the old infield-outland border while on the northern side this border overlaps the terraces. This could mean that the infield-outland border in this area was moved after the terraces were formed.
- There are no fragments of terraces outside the old infield-outland border, which suggests that the terraces actually are connected with this border, at least in the southern area.

In the maps from 1771 made in connection with the agricultural reforms, the whole area with terraces (Hov RAÄ 246) was described as meadow and grazing land, which means that the terraces were not in use any more at this time. On the other hand, the same maps show field systems that were in use just west of Hov RAÄ 246 which have similar structure, size and orientation as the ancient fields still preserved in the forest (see fig. 28). This means that before 1771 the fields in the forest were changed to meadows and grazing land. Shrubs began to grow and today a managed beech

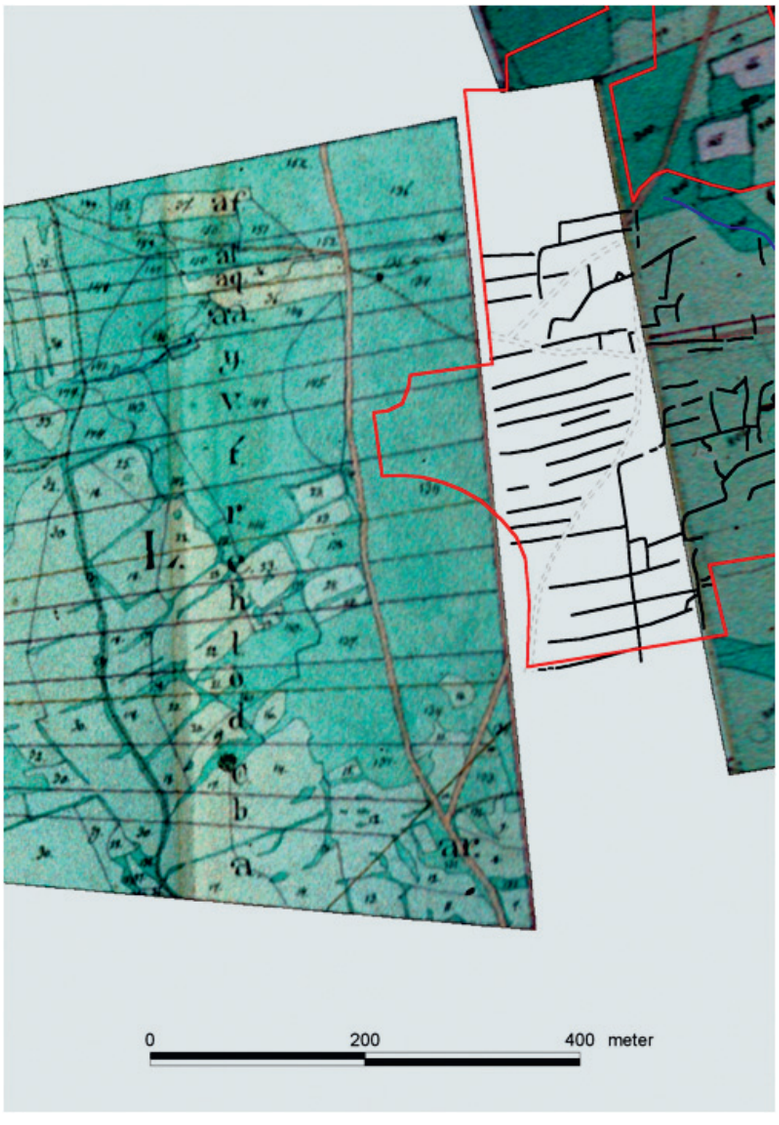


Fig. 28. *The documented field systems (black) inside the Dejarp forest (red). The background maps were made in the agricultural reforms and show the pre-reform field systems in the adjacent villages. Note the similar size and orientation of the fields. The field systems today present in the Dejarp forest were not defined as agricultural fields during the reform. The fields that were defined in the reform have today been expanded into much larger fields and do not longer exist. Illustration made by Carl Johan Sanglert.*

forest covers the whole area. This development should most probably be connected with the change in the late medieval period when the market for agricultural products grew. The town of Båstad was being built and from its harbour agricultural products were shipped out to other areas further south. The fact that Bjäre was suitable for animal husbandry more than growing crops directed the landscape change that took place in this period when old farmland was changed to meadows and grazing land. However, there are no clues to the age of the field systems, that is, when they started to be used. Some of the terraces are in fact 2 metres high, which suggests that they were in use for some time before they were abandoned (Båstad kommun 2002a; Sanglert & Ingwald 2003).

Thus it seems to be plausible that the same development can be seen in other small woods, especially on the northern side of the peninsula where we can find ancient fields, which means that the matrix can be extended in the landscape. It would be of great interest to achieve knowledge about when the ancient fields actually date from. We shall later see that mortuary monuments and arable fields seem to have a spatial connection from approximately the middle Bronze Age into the early Iron Age (see Chapters 4 and 5).

In Dejarp some of the prehistoric mortuary monuments were used for structuring the fields; the same thing can be observed in the new land division that was made in connection with the agricultural reform. In my opinion, to include mortuary monuments in the field structure in this very direct way, almost as building blocks, suggests that their ancestral meaning ceased to be important at the time. Therefore the knowledge of when the fields emerged in the landscape would be helpful in understanding the life history of these graves.

Comparing the results with the vegetation inventory (above) there is one issue that should be mentioned. That vegetation inventory mainly concerns traditional meadows and pastures that have never been used for farming activities. However, this study suggests that large parts of the infield areas in fact had a very flexible landscape use that easily could change with new needs. It therefore seems obvious that we need to combine different methods to achieve an understanding of the landscape history. The landscape-matrix way of thinking may be useful and is currently being developed further by Sanglert (Sanglert 2008).

Pollen and macrofossil investigations

For the full report of the pollen and macrofossil analyses and the methodology I refer to the written reports and articles made in connection with them, mainly Hannon et al. 2008, but also Nord & Bradshaw 2003, Hannon & Gustafsson 2004, Nord 2006c, Bradshaw & Hannon 2007).

Pollen sample sites and methodology

In 1999 a first trial investigation was made on the Rishög (Västra Karup RAÄ 285) mound. A small trench (3 × 0.5 m) was opened on the very edge of the mound, which is rather large and very dominantly situated in the landscape. The trench revealed a typical Bronze Age mound with a kerb and earth filling but no turf lines were visible. The object of this investigation was to take pollen samples from the former ground level and analyse these to see if any connections could be found between the present local cultural landscape and the past vegetation. Unfortunately, it was not possible to date any of the samples from this investigation (Paulsson 2002). However, this first pollen investigation showed that at the time the mound was built, the local landscape was open and intensively used for grazing (Svensson 2001). The species identified by the pollen analysis were similar to those growing on the mound today, which gives us a wonderful possibility to experience the vegetation as it might have been in the area during the Bronze Age. The result of the Rishög investigation was interesting. It revealed a vivid picture of the local cultural landscape before construction of the mound, and it was decided to extend the programme.

During September 2002, as part of the EPCL project (see Chapter 1), five further pollen investigations in mounds were carried out (see fig. 22). The five mounds were chosen taking several points of

view into account and in cooperation with all the disciplines involved (archaeology, palaeobotany and botany). They were considered to represent some of the core settlement areas on the peninsula, which had been defined in an earlier archaeological study (Nord & Paulsson 1993). Their vegetation cover had also been surveyed previously (Gustafsson 1998). The mounds were investigated two by two in order to check the accuracy of the results. This meant that two mounds were selected close to each other in two new locations and another one was selected close to the previously investigated mound Rishög. From the archaeological point of view it was also interesting to investigate mounds that varied in size, building materials, types, dominance in the landscape, etc. The idea was that the differences in size as well as dominance in the landscape could apply to different ages; the larger and more dominantly located were possibly the older ones, while the others were expected to be of younger date (see further in Chapter 3 about the archaeological results of these investigations).

To simplify the work we decided to extend the sizes of the trenches to 3 × 0.75 m. Soil samples were collected for pollen analysis from the excavated sections in the mounds. The sampling focused on rich organic layers which were exposed in the sections, in visible undisturbed areas as well as under the setting stones, and in the infill used to build the structure. Additional samples were collected from the modern surface for comparison with the fossil material. The reason we thought it preferable to open small trenches instead of using a drill to get the samples was simply a matter of certainty. The mounds have been dug through by badgers and rabbits for centuries, and pollen has of course followed in their tracks. Similar investigations that have collected the pollen samples through drilling showed very poor results (Engelmark et al. 2000). But following the good results of the trial excavations in 1999, the earlier decision to use open trenches for sampling was kept. We wanted to find as secure places as possible for taking samples, as well as having a better chance of actually finding the former ground level, which is not always an easy task. However, using pollen as a source of information should be done with a great deal of caution. Some species of pollen degrade more quickly than others, and a certain amount of downwash of modern pollen can be expected as well. The sample spots in the trenches were chosen not only with great care to avoid downwash and

Fig. 29. *Sampling by Richard Bradshaw in the infill of Hov RAÄ 52. Photo Jenny Nord 2002.*

traces of later activities, but also with the aim of finding sufficient concentrations of pollen to make interpretation possible. I shall not go into detail with these kinds of issues, which instead can be pursued in Hannon et al. 2008. The pollen samples were too small for radiocarbon dating, which meant that charcoal samples had to be used instead. In all cases except one (Hov RAÄ 52), the charcoal came from clearly visible structures and layers within the mounds, which contained large amounts of charcoal. Thus they were considered as being reliable samples, although the variety of wood and the growing age were never defined on these samples, which of course is a shortcoming. In Chapter 3 the archaeological excavations and radiocarbon datings will be described more fully.

The fen Kåremosse is located in a depression on the slopes of the Hallandsås ridge, the Drängstorp valley (see fig. 22). The fen basin is located 130 m a.s.l. and is approximately 600 m long by 20 m wide, with a maximum depth of 150 cm. The deposit consisted of 60 cm of peat overlying a marl sequence. In the autumn of 2003 a series of probes were made across the basin in order to find the greatest thickness of sediment. Once found, one-metre cores were extracted using a 10 cm diameter Russian corer, beginning at the surface, with a duplicate taken to cover the overlap. The cores were then used for conventional pollen and plant macrofossil analyses. Pollen samples were taken at 5 cm intervals. Plant macrofossil and charcoal analyses were carried out at 2 cm intervals. The purpose was to get material which could tell us about the long-term regional vegetation history of the Bjäre peninsula (for more details see Hannon et al. 2008).

Before the above-mentioned Kåremosse investigation a macrofossil analysis was performed on the forest meadow Slottet on the Hallandsåsen ridge in the eastern part of the study area (see fig. 22). The analysis was supported by the National Rail Administration (Banverket) thanks to the efforts of Sven Hernborg and the local Nature Protection Society, and the aim was to find out the history and age of the forest meadow. In December 2000 a one-metre long sediment core was collected for analysis of plant macrofossils and charcoal to investigate the chronology and development of the meadow. The sediment had accumulated close to a stream in the meadow, where the permanently waterlogged conditions had preserved plant remains. Plant macrofossils are plant remains visible to the naked eye. They are not so abundantly preserved as pollen but travel less far from their point of production and can usually yield a greater taxonomic resolution.

The sampling on site and all the pollen and macrofossil analyses have been done by Gina Hannon (at the time of the project connected to the Southern Swedish Forest Research Centre, SLU, Alnarp, but at present to the Department of Geography at Liverpool University) and Richard Bradshaw (at the time of the project connected to the Geological Survey of Greenland and Denmark, GEUS, Copenhagen, but at present he is professor at the department of geography at the University of Liverpool). Patrik Nordström, archaeologist and PhD student at Stockholm University and Mats Gustafsson (see above) were very helpful with the excavation work as well as in some of the sampling. The investigations have been published elsewhere (Nord & Bradshaw 2003; Hannon & Gustafsson 2004; Nord 2006c; Bradshaw & Hannon 2007; Hannon et al. 2008) where further details concerning sampling, analysis, references and source-critical issues are available.

The results of the mound investigations of 2002

Seventeen pollen samples were analysed from the five different mounds. Three of the mounds yielded basal samples with preserved pollen that was contemporary with the mound construction (Västra Karup RAÄ 284, Hov RAÄ 52 and Västra Karup RAÄ 105). Two of the mounds were situated in farmland, the third in a forested area (Hov RAÄ 52). The results of the topsoil samples of the mounds corresponded well with the present surrounding landscape, thus confirming the accuracy of the methodology. However, the pollen records from the former ground levels showed a far more diverse picture of the cultural landscape, which also included species from wet areas that do not always exist in the present-day landscape. These samples had been protected from inwash of younger pollen by large stones, and none of these samples contained spruce pollen (*Picea*), which is a late immigrant to this part of Sweden, and only the sample from the youngest mound (Hov RAÄ 52) contained beech pollen (*Fagus*), which only became common in the region during the Iron Age, even though the earliest traces come from around 500 BC (see Kåremosse below).

The pollen assemblages from the mound's filling material are the hardest to interpret as there is continual downwash of more recent pollen into the mounds. One can therefore expect a mixing of pollen with different ages. Further, the pollen assemblages of the filling are more similar to the surface samples than to the basal samples, which also suggests that this downwash of recent pollen is an important factor. Some herbaceous taxa occur both in the basal samples and in the more modern samples, mainly heather (*Calluna*), plantains (*Plantago lanceolata*) and a subdivision of the sunflower family (*Liguliflorae*). These indicate a continuity of open conditions on the mounds that is a contributory factor to their current richness in species. However, all the basal samples that were collected from under large stones appeared to be protected from inwash, which is why the analyses have focused on these samples (see figs. 31 and 32).

The non-arboreal pollen in the three basal samples contains grasses (*Poaceae*), heath (*Ericaceae*) including heather*,* ferns (*Polypodiaceae*)*,* ribwort plantain (*Plantago lanceolata*), sorrels (*Rumex*) and a subdivision of the sunflower family (*Liguliflorae*). Some cereal pollen was also recorded. The assemblages indicate extreme cultural influence with an emphasis on grazing animals which corresponded well with the result of the trial investigation of 1999 (see above). The values of the non-arboreal pollen are about 75%, indicating that the local neighbourhoods were about 90% deforested.

The characteristic taxa in the basal samples include alder (*Alnus*), birch (*Betula*) and hazel (*Corylus*). Birch and hazel suggest disturbed, open forests. The tree pollen comprises about 20% of the total pollen assemblages, which indicates a managed landscape where the original tree composition has been affected by man. Oak and lime are absent, even though these are major forest constituents in Bronze Age forests from less populated regions of southern Scandinavia. The alder and the fens indicate the existence of wetland systems in the landscape. Thus the overall impression suggests that at the time when the mounds were erected the landscape was managed and largely deforested, with extensive wetland areas. This means that the opening of the landscape happened before the building of the mounds, most probably already in the late Neolithic. The increasing importance of heather pollen in later samples probably reflects the longer-term effects of grazing and leaching of nutrients. The proportions of tree pollen are more variable in the surface samples than in the basal samples. This suggests that the present landscape structure is more of a patchwork than in the Bronze Age, when shrubs, possibly coppiced, were more evenly distributed across the landscape.

For more details of these investigations see Nord & Bradshaw 2003; Nord 2006c; Hannon et al. 2008.

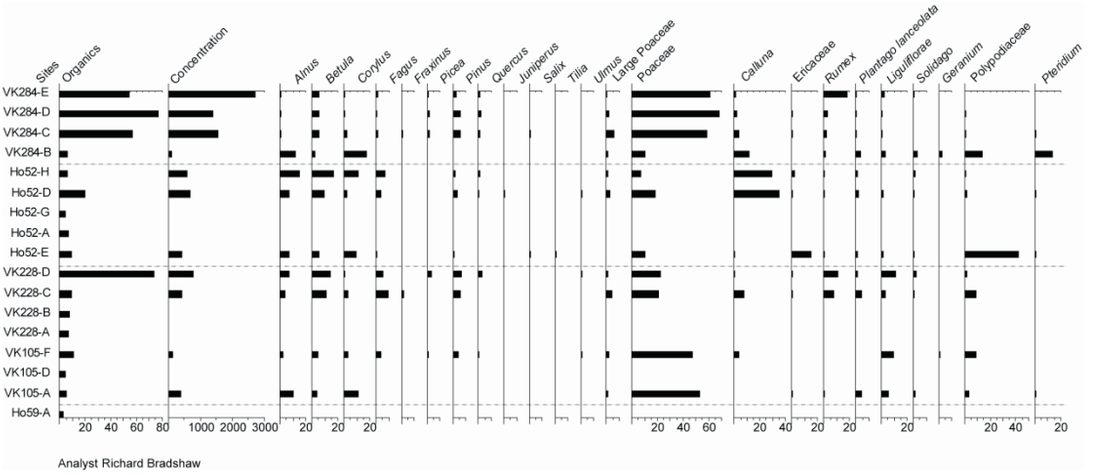


Fig. 30. *Percentage of pollen of selected taxa from five Bronze Age mounds together with total pollen concentration and percentage of organic matter in each of the pollen samples. Samples are arranged in stratigraphic order with the deepest samples at the base of each site cluster. VK = Västra Karup RAÄ and HO = Hov RAÄ (from Hannon et al. 2008).*

Kåremosse

The pollen record of the Kåremosse site is likely to represent the regional land-use history of the Bjäre peninsula, although some pollen and spore types originate from local plant communities that would have grown on the fen itself, such as alder, willows (*Salix*), birch, sedges (*Cyperaceae*) and fens. Plant macrofossils are usually preserved close to where they once were growing and are a useful complement to pollen analysis as they indicate which plants are locally present. The pollen and macrofossil diagrams are divided into four different phases, which correlate loosely with archaeological time units. The time boundaries are based on the calibrated radiocarbon dates (see fig. 33). Earlier in this chapter a short description of the vegetation history was given; below is a description which includes further details derived from both the pollen and macrofossil analyses from Kåremosse (for more details see Hannon et al. 2008).

Table 5. The species mentioned in the text from the pollen and macrofossil analyses.

Latin names	English names
Alnus	Alder
Antennaria dioica	Cat's foot, Mountain everlasting. Mountain cudweed
Betula	Birch
Calluna	Ling, Heather
Cerealia	Cereals (undefined)
Corylus	Hazel
Cyperaceae	Sedges
Ericaceae	Heather, Heath
Erica (tetralis L.)	Cross-leaved heath
Erica spp	Heather
Fagus	Beech
Fraxinus	Ash
Juniperus	Juniper
Lathyrus linifolius	Bitter vetch
Liguliflorae	Dandelions etc.
Mentha	Mint
Menyanthes trifoliata	Bogbean
Picea	Spruce
Pinus	Pine
Plantago lanceolata	Ribwort Plantain
Plantago	Plantains
Poaceae	Grass
Polypodiaceae	Polypod ferns
Potentilla	Tormentil etc.
Potentilla palustris	Marsh Cinquefoil
Potamogeton	Pondwead (natar)
Ranunculus flammula	Lesser Spearwort
Rosaceae	Rose family
Rumex	Sorrels
Salix	Willows
Scorzonera humilis	Viper's grass
Secale	Rye
Tilia	Lime
Trifolium campestre	Hop trefoil
Ulmus	Elms
Quercus	Oaks

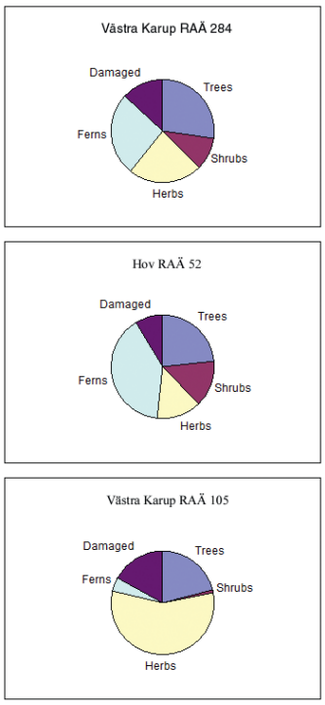


Fig. 31. *Different categories of pollen recovered from basal samples of three Bronze Age mounds. Diagrams made by Richard Bradshaw.*

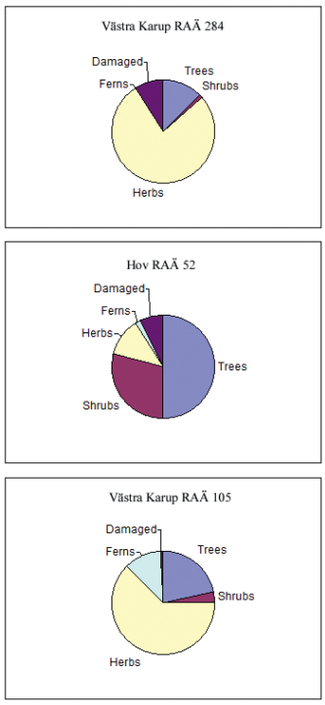


Fig. 32. *Different categories of pollen recovered from surface samples of three Bronze Age mounds, thus representing the pollen rain in the present landscape. Diagrams made by Richard Bradshaw.*

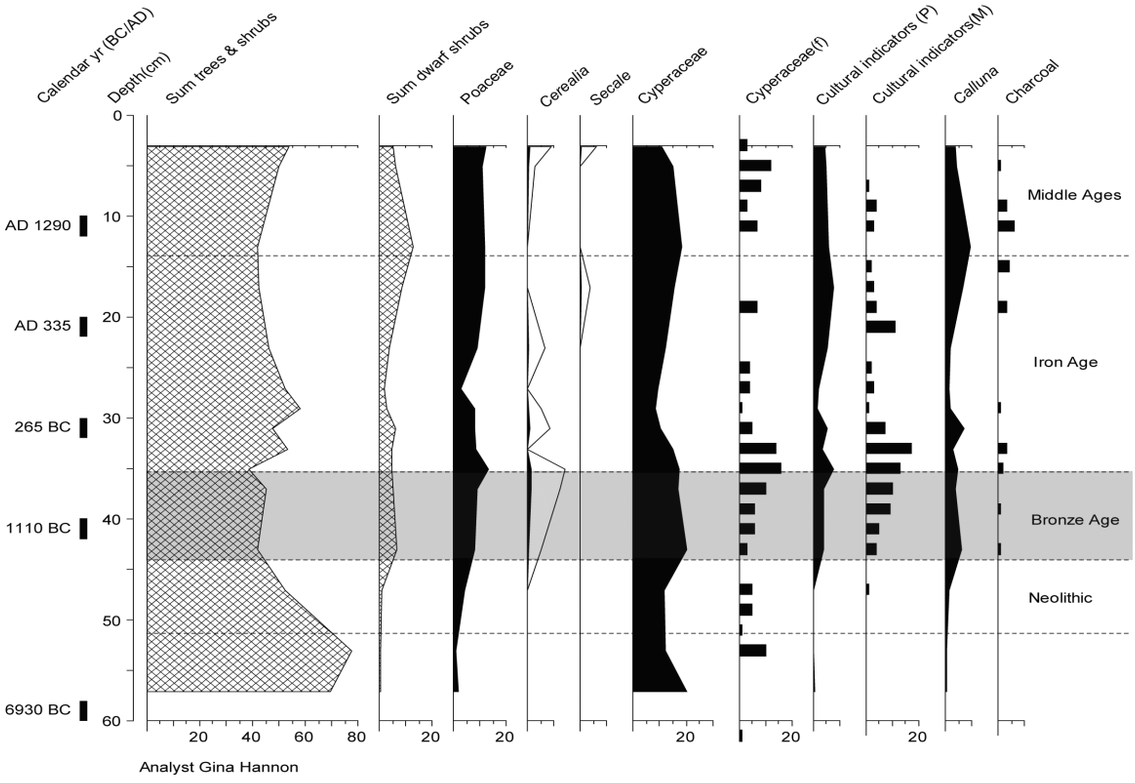


Fig. 33. *Combined plant macrofossil and pollen diagram of selected taxa. Histograms represent macrofossil concentration per 50 ml sediment. Silhouettes represent pollen percentages. Hollow silhouettes indicate a scale exaggeration of 10 for Secale and Cerealia. Abbreviations: f, fruit; P, pollen; M, macrofossil. Calibrated radiocarbon dates are shown on the left hand side of the diagram. The shaded area represents the time period from which dated mounds are studied (from Hannon et al. 2008).*

Mesolithic c.7000 to 4000 BC (58e52 cm)
From the Mesolithic period there is no clear indication of human influence on the vegetation. The results of the pollen analysis are interpreted as representing a regional natural forest dominated with pine and birch as the dominant trees, with lesser amounts of oak, elm and lime. Shrubs are represented by hazel and dwarf shrubs by heath. Pine and birch are possibly growing on the drier land while hazel and oak dominate on damper soils. Sedges, grasses, fens and heather may have grown as a minor component of the surrounding vegetation or on the pond margins.

Neolithic c. 4000 to 1800 BC (52e45 cm)
During this period the first signs of deforestation can be seen in the area, which are a clear decline in the sum of trees and shrub pollen and an increase in grasses indicating a clearing of the forest for pastures. Other non-arboreal pollen recorded include Rose family (*Rosaceae*) and *Potentilla.* An increase in alder and willow pollen percentages is likely to reflect a transition of parts of the water body into fen peat. Plant macrofossils of pine, alder and birch are recovered along with remains of sedges, marsh cinquefoil, mint (*Mentha*) and Lesser Spearwort (*Ranunculus flammula*), possibly growing on the margins of the fen. However, there is still some open water present at the sites as seen by the records of the water plants bog bean (*Menyanthes trifoliata*) and pondweed (*Potamogeton*).

Bronze Age c. 1800 to 500 BC (45e34 cm)
The Bronze Age is characterised by many indications of human activity in both the pollen and the plant macrofossil diagrams, with a significant increase in the representation of cultural indicators. At the same time, sediment accumulation increases, which is a likely consequence of deforestation. The occurrence of cereal pollen together with the almost continuous record of ribwort plantain (*Plantago lanceolata*) is interpreted as evidence for the first agrarian land-use in the vicinity. Macroscopic charcoal fragments are recorded for the first time in the sediments. The combination of large charcoal fragments and cereal pollen indicates that slash and burn agriculture was practised within the area, as natural fires have been very rare in this part of Sweden (Lindbladh et al. 2000). The arboreal pollen data indicate that the upland vegetation was primarily disturbed temperate forest dominated by birch, alder, oak and lime. Alder and lime fruits are recorded, indicating local presence. The first ash (*Fraxinus*) and beech (*Fagus*) pollen is recorded, with a slight expansion towards the top of the phase. The establishment of beech is often associated with disturbance in southern Sweden (Björkman & Bradshaw 1996). Juniper (*Juniperus*), cross-leaved heath (*Erica*) and heather (*Calluna*) pollen show an increase in frequency during this period, favoured by tree clearance. They may have grown on dry pastures in upland areas and possibly within glades in the disturbed woodland areas.

The increase in cultural indicators for both pollen and macrofossil data begins in the late Neolithic and remains at a sustained high level throughout the Bronze Age, suggesting that the opening up of the Bjäre landscape had taken place by at least the early Bronze Age. The Bronze Age non-arboreal pollen percentages of around 50% indicate a likely openness of 60 to 80% in the local vicinity of the site, which can be compared to the estimated 90% openness close to the mounds. This suggests that the burials are located in the very heart of the opened cultural landscape.

Iron Age c. BC 500 to 1000 AD (34e15 cm)
This period is initially characterised by a temporary increase in pollen from trees and shrubs and a decrease in dwarf shrubs like Heather and Juniper, which indicates a period of temporary forest recovery. The Bronze to Iron Age transition is a period of rapid environmental and social change (van Geel et al. 1998) and the variable input of both pollen and macrofossils in the early Iron Age is more likely to reflect inwash of soils and degraded pollen resulting from severe storm events, for example, followed by a slight reforestation resulting from a local population collapse and temporary cultural abandonment. The overall impression suggests that some human influence is maintained in the vicinity but with less intensity and more variability than in the Bronze Age.

Slottet

The meadow belonging to a farm called Slottet, situated on the southern slopes of the Hallandsåsen ridge, was recently restored with the help of the local Nature Protection Society. It comprises about 2 ha of species-rich open grassland that is occasionally flooded by a small stream. The meadow was first mentioned in historical archives in 1596 (Hannon & Gustafsson 2004), and around 1670 we know that it was totally deforested (Gillberg 1767). A map from 1841, drawn in connection of the agricultural reforms, shows the present meadow to be part of a larger complex of meadows and arable fields surrounded by outlying land (Hannon & Gustafsson 2004). By 1928, according to the first economic map of the area, *Häradskartan*, some woods were reclaiming open areas, and the restored meadow is today surrounded by alder stands with groves of deciduous trees. Towards the end of the 1950s the area ceased to be managed and it was abandoned and overgrown (Andersson 1995).

The history of the meadow, as it is described by the macrofossil analyses, is very interesting and illustrates the later historical periods that are missing in the previously described analysis from Kåremosse. The Slottet core covered the period from about 200 BC until the present. The earliest recorded vegetation is interpreted of being wet deciduous woodland. The earliest macrofossils collected were acorns of oak which were dated to just before AD 0. Large fragments of charcoal began to appear around AD 350 and persisted in varying quantities until the 13th century. The charcoal is likely evidence for human impact in the form of tree clearance, slash-and-burn agriculture, coppicing and forest grazing. During this period (AD 350 until the 13th century) the site was an open forest according to the analysis. The first appearance of Beech (*Fagus sylvatica*) during the 6th century AD occurs in association with both fire and cultural activity which is characteristic of its history in southern Scandinavia (Bradshaw & Lindbladh 2005; Hannon 2008 personal communication).

The abundance of charcoal is reduced after AD 1000–1100 and there is a corresponding increase in the diversity of meadow and fen plants. Burning was now replaced by haymaking and coppice as the main cultural activities and a true meadow was created. At another site further northeast in Råshult, Småland, famous for being Linnaeus's place of birth, a similar investigation has been made. This showed a roughly synchronous creation of a forest meadow, indicating the importance of the early medieval period in the development of meadows in the south Swedish cultural landscape (Bradshaw & Hannon 2007).

Summary and archaeological implications

Pollen and plant macrofossil data are two independent lines of evidence that both indicate an increase of cultural impact on the landscape of the Bjäre peninsula during the Neolithic–Bronze Age transition. The first evidence for burning dates from the early Bronze Age, and charcoal fragments were recovered from most of the mounds investigated. Estimates of landscape openness suggest that by the onset of the Bronze Age, forest only covered 20 to 40% of the landscape, and in the immediate neighbourhood of the mounds only 10%. This suggests that the overall landscape, at the time when the mounds were built, was rather open, and particularly so around the mounds. This is an important result which indicates that the mounds were constructed in the very core of the cultural landscape at the time. The remaining forest was dominated by wetland species (alder) and shrubby, successional species (birch and hazel). This further indicates a transformed cultural landscape around the wetlands, for example with coppiced trees. Thus, the original hypothesis that the mounds were erected in a landscape that was already open was upheld through the analyses. Furthermore, the increasing importance of heather pollen in later samples from the mounds probably reflects the longer-term effects of grazing. This suggests a continued open and managed landscape around the mounds for a considerable time – in some cases until the present day; this may also be confirmed by the vegetation inventories from some of the local mounds which show that some of these mounds are still being managed in a traditional way (see above).

The results of the pollen analyses of the basal samples in the mounds show distinctive pollen assemblages that are rather similar to comparable assemblages recorded from Danish sites during the Bronze Age (Andersen 1997), although deforestation and vegetation modification have also been

documented from earlier Neolithic mounds (Andersen 1992). Neolithic impact is also known from the Bjäre peninsula according to the many stray finds from this period, but monuments are lacking (Gustavsson 1987). As the palaeoecological analyses indicate that the landscape in Bjäre was already open as the Bronze Age began, this process must have started earlier in the Neolithic period, even though there are no monuments known from this period. Reconstructions of the vegetation history in the Ystad area of southern Sweden showed that the major phase of deforestation was during the late Bronze Age, which is significantly later than in the Bjäre peninsula (Berglund 1991). However, the Ystad pollen sites were larger and situated further inland in southern Sweden, and as such are likely to represent this region of southern Sweden as a whole, while the mounds and Kåremosse are located centrally in Bjäre, in an area with a high density of mounds. In Ystad pollen from mounds was not investigated, so the small local windows on the cultural landscape are missing in that investigation. The results indicate that this coastal strip location of Bjäre, where most Bronze Age mounds are located in this part of Sweden, was affected by human activity to a greater extent and at an earlier date than sites just a few kilometres inland (Hannon et al. 2008).

In one of the mounds, Hov RAÄ 52, pollen from beech was found in the basal sample. The sample was taken from under a probable kerbstone in a layer interpreted as a former ground level. Charcoal from nearby was dated to the very late Bronze Age andeither date a late enlargement of the mound or – less probably – date the mound to a very late period the Bronze Age. It is less likely that the mound derives only from this late date because of its huge size and the dominant location as well (see the later discussion about chronology in Chapter 3 and 4). However, this means that the beech

Fig. 34. *Recently coppiced tree at Hallands Väderö. Photo Jenny Nord 2004.*

pollen found in this basal sample should be of a similar date, the late Bronze Age. Beech pollen of similar date also occurs in the Kåremosse pollen analysis. I find this very interesting since beech generally became common only later in the Iron Age, and also because its introduction often seems to have a connection with fire disturbances; it often follows as deciduous forest is cleared by fire (Hannon 2008 personal communication). This is another indication of the early cleared and managed landscape of the Bjäre peninsula. The radiocarbon dates of the three mounds were different, from early to late Bronze Age, but their pollen assemblages in the basal samples are very similar and can be ascribed to similar landscapes.

The pollen and macrofossil analyses from the Kåremosse fen also record a temporary decline in cultural indicators and an absence of charcoal for approximately 500 years from 200 BC to AD 300. A reduction in agricultural activity and regeneration of forest is reported from other areas of Europe during the early Iron Age (200 BC to AD 300, see Lomas-Clarke & Barber 2004) and burning was reduced during this period in southern Sweden, indicating wetter, cooler conditions (Bradshaw et al. 1997). Following this period of reduction in cultural activity there is evidence of the first opening of a forest meadow, Slottet, located on the southern slopes of Hallandsåsen ridge in the eastern part of the peninsula. We can estimate from the macrofossil analysis made in the meadow that the deciduous forest was not opened before the middle Iron Age. This suggests that the opening of the landscape that we have seen in the central part of the Bjäre peninsula did not stretch to the higher ground on the Hallandsåsen ridge until this period. During the early medieval times, the site management changed from successive burning activities for tree clearance, slash-and-burn agriculture, coppicing and forest grazing to that of a true meadow (Bradshaw & Hannon 2007). A similar situation has been found in pollen and macrofossils analyses on hollows on the northern side of the Hallandsåsen ridge (Bradshaw & Hannon 2004). This can possibly be seen in relation to the results of the matrix survey (see earlier) where a probable development could be seen where the areas for grazing land and meadows were increased at the expense of arable land during the Middle Ages, possibly as a result of an increased demand for animal products in other areas (Emanuelsson at al. 2002:109ff). The result also indicates very high flexibility in the land-use of the infield areas, which must be considered as a local strength during difficult times.

The pollen analysis in Bjäre shows that the peninsula has been largely deforested for four millennia, which is significantly longer than was previously thought for southern Swedish landscapes. However, sites further inland on the Hallandsåsen ridge, and even the nearby Kullaberg promontory probably sustained extensive forest cover until 1000 to 2000 years later (Berglund 1991; Björkman 2001). Thus the late Neolithic and Bronze Age deforestation and agricultural activity in southern Scandinavia were probably focused on the coastal strip in areas with favourable soils and microclimate such as the Bjäre peninsula. This extensive work on the Bjäre peninsula has shown that the combination of pollen, charcoal and plant macrofossil studies from sediments and buried soils has proved to be a powerful tool for documenting the timing, location and scale of human impact on the landscape and linking small archaeological monuments to their surrounding landscapes.

Historic Landscape Characterisation (HLC)

Background

Since 1994, English Heritage (the national agency for protecting and promoting the historic environment) has been carrying out a programme of *Historic Landscape Characterisations* (HLC) throughout England, in partnership with the County Councils. HLC is a GIS map-based technique designed to produce a generalised understanding of the historic dimension of the present-day landscape. It serves a variety of uses, such as education, research, land management, spatial planning and environmental impact assessment. The main objectives of the English HLC cover the following areas (see Fairclough et al. 1999; Fairclough & Nord Paulsson 2002; Clark et al. 2004):

- *Understanding*: summarising current knowledge about the historic dimension of the present-day landscape.
- *Public awareness*: new ways of involving the public.
- *Archaeology*: helping to direct future research.
- *Land-use planning*: providing information for controlling developments and managing landscape change
- *Agricultural and land management*: providing advice on priorities for conservation and archaeological expenditure to achieve sustainable land-use.

An HLC project for Lancashire was completed by Lancashire County Council in 2000, and the central theme of the English EPCL project (see Chapter 1) was to *test and extend* the methodology of the HLC (Clark et al. 2004). Thus the HLC work was presented and discussed within the EPCL project and soon became an inspiration for many of the participants. As the EPCL project took shape the European Council's work with the European Landscape Convention (ELC) was in full progress (see earlier) which of course coloured and inspired the EPCL project. The common philosophy of the EPCL project clearly shows a close connection with both the ELC and the English HLC (Fairclough & Nord Paulsson 2002 and www.pcl-eu.de):

- A focus on present-day and not past landscape (as opposed to other types of landscape-based archaeological work where the focus is the former landscape).
- An emphasis on time rather than space as the principal attribute of cultural landscape, and on ways of capturing this within spatial computer systems.
- Reflecting the dynamic rather than static character of the landscape: the 'living landscape' concept, a recognition and acceptance (or even celebration) of change.
- Interest in pattern and process more than merely sites or monuments.
- Recording perception (leaning on the Convention's phrase 'as perceived by people') and recognising that interpretation not record, ideas not facts comprise landscape, which is seen as an idea not a thing.
- Treating the work as a process, with provisional rather than definitive results, provoking as many questions as answers: all historic landscape characterisation is provisional.

The work with HLC of course varied a lot amongst the different national partners in the EPCL project, and in reality it became a way of thinking more than producing actual results. In Sweden the concept of Historic Landscape Characterisation is still rather new, therefore the English methodology of *understanding* was initially tried out in the Bjäre context, which quite soon showed that the method needed to be adapted to the local circumstances.

The Bjäre HLC

The HLC work undertaken within the Bjäre project thus came to be mainly a methodological search for a method of performing characterisation in Swedish circumstances. Since this view starts with today's landscape as opposed to other types of landscape-based archaeological work, it really was a new way of thinking. The County Council in Skåne in cooperation with, among others, the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences in Alnarp, has already produced a report concerning a Landscape Characterisation Assessment of today's landscape characters in Skåne, although this is on a large scale which only sees Bjäre as one single character (Reiter 2007). This is of course useful in large-scale contexts but for the local landscape development in Bjäre this is of less importance.

My goal has been to create HLC maps within a GIS system that would take into account landscape change, time of change, type of change, and of course a characterisation of the present-day land-use. Further, these maps were to cover all of the landscapes and not only certain selected areas as the municipal's culture and nature environmental programmes, for example, do and which is one of their biggest shortcomings. This is also one reason why these programmes will not answer to the demands of the ELC. However, this does not mean that the information provided by these programmes is not valuable to use, and below I will add it to the work with the HLC.

When doing an HLC it is important to let go of all point data, that is, to overlook more or less entirely all the archaeological sites in the landscape and instead focus on the present-day landscape itself. The prehistoric sites are normally our most important tools to see connections with in a landscape, which is why it may seem hard to let go of this data, but perhaps this is necessary if we are to find a new way to study landscape. On the other hand, the belief we tend to have that we as archaeologists are studying past features and landscapes is perhaps not completely true. In fact we are mainly studying what is here today in the present-day landscape. What has disappeared cannot easily be mapped.

To characterise a present-day landscape is in itself nothing new or strange. Most mapmaking is in one way or another about characterising the landscape. Fig. 4 earlier in this work shows an example of how a more subjective characterisation of a landscape can be done very easily but still give a vivid picture that a normal map would not give. This focuses on the landscape experience and on how it appears visually rather than on defining features within it. It is very broad and has only a few characters: the villages (grey), the intensively used arable land along the southwestern coast (yellow), the rather open higher ground (striped green), the more hilly and varying higher ground (light green), the ridge with mainly woods (dark green), the stony and steep northern coast (greyish blue) and the Väderö Island (turquoise). This map was produced as a result of a discussion between Carl-Johan Sanglert, the cultural geographer connected to the Bjäre work in the EPCL project, and myself. It describes today's landscapes and perhaps landscape use, but it doesn't say much about the history and the processes that have created it, which is what the HLC aims to do.

The English HLC methodology was developed in a landscape with different characters and a different history than the Swedish landscape, which initially created difficulties in applying the methodology (see Nord 2006d). In England it is possible to use features and forms of enclosures to divide the landscape and determine phases of activity. In Sweden, at least in the southern parts, the agricultural reform of the early 19th century more or less completely reorganised the villages and the farming land and often erased earlier enclosures, if they existed. For large parts of the landscape it was really the first time it was properly enclosed at all. In Bjäre for example the largest area belonging to the villages was the outlying land used for grazing, which reflects the importance of cattle as

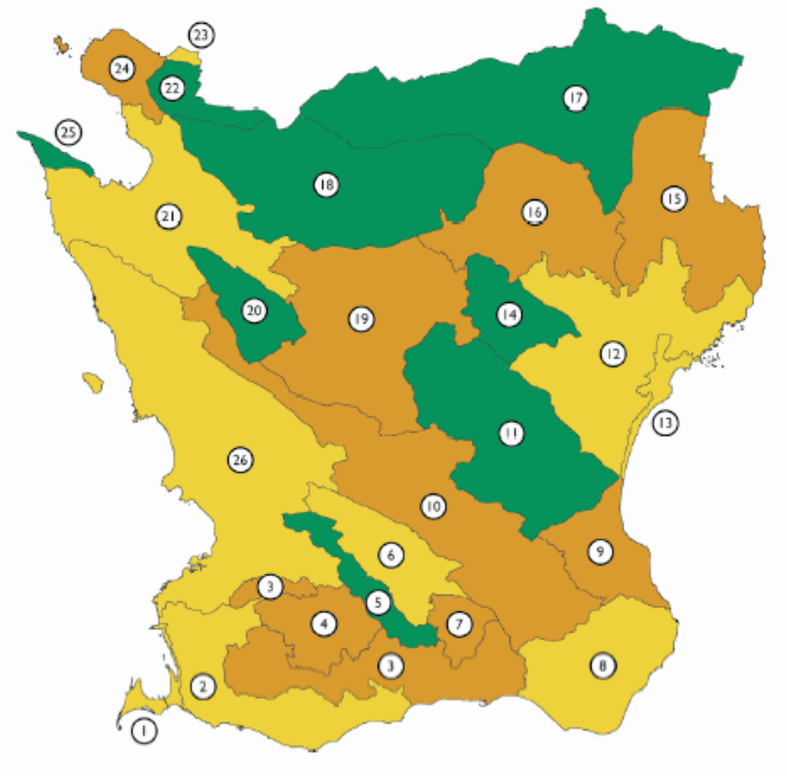


Fig. 35. *The landscape characters of Skåne (from Reiter 2007). Yellow=low-lying landscape, orange=hilly landscapes, green=high-lying landscapes.*

an income for the peasants of the peninsula. The outlying land was not enclosed at all. Before 1820 it was only the arable land, consisting of small cultivated fields and meadows close to the villages within the infield area that was enclosed (Gustafsson 2003). Therefore the somewhat morphologically based English HLC methodology that uses shapes and forms of enclosures in today's landscape initially tended to be rather limited here. The first problem I ran into was really myself and my own difficulties in letting go of archaeology and the thought of 'the older the better'. To characterise the Bjäre landscape as a 19th- and 20th-century creation was repugnant in a way. Involuntarily, or rather unconsciously, the wish to find really *old* landscape characters made it unnecessarily difficult for me to conduct an HLC and to find a methodology that would work. Only slowly and after a long time did I realise that my goal was not to define old characters, but to define characters in the present-day landscape – no matter what their age. My task was not to value the different characters but just to find a way to define them.

On the other hand, thanks to these initial difficulties, other approaches and methodologies were tried out some of which have proved to be valuable. For example the matrix study was conducted and vegetation studies were introduced as a way of defining age (see earlier). Vegetation responds quickly to changes in land-use, which is a fact that can be used in this case. The aim has been to distinguish areas with land-use that predates the shifts. These surveys have been made by Professor Mats Gustafsson at SLU, Alnarp (Gustafsson 2003, see also above). The implication for the Bjäre HLC has been that land-use (function) in some cases has been introduced as a defining element alongside shape (form). The English HLC methodology is originally only about the visual landscape and especially about features that can be distinguished through studies of maps and aerial photographs. However, map studies have been the main methodology even in Bjäre. The historical maps and their descriptions from the 18th and 19th centuries drawn up in connection with the agricultural reforms have been very useful. Within the EPCL project the cultural geographer Carl-Johan Sanglert has interpreted these and produced a digital version. I have also used information from the military survey map made in early 19th century (*Skånska rekognosceringskartan* 1985). These maps were then mirrored with maps and aerial photographs of the present-day landscape. In this way it has been determined whether features and structures in the landscape were made before or after the agricultural reforms or if they are modern. In this work the agricultural reforms have been treated as one single procedure but in fact these reforms are far more complicated than that. They were conducted in three major phases over several decades, and each phase had a different impact on the landscape (see Gustafsson 2006 for more information about the agricultural reform in Bjäre). In a future version of the HLC of Bjäre it would be interesting to distinguish also between the different redistributions that took place.

Another important point is the emphasis of the methodology on generalisations. Details are not as important as a more general picture. For example, if an arable field has a corner used for something else like growing Christmas trees, this detail will not overrule the general perception and make this field partly a wood. Besides, even Christmas trees are a form of crop. However, the methodology does not only define the character of a piece of land, the most important thing it does is to define *how long* it has had this character, and what it was before. This is what gives the HLC its unique possibility to show historical processes of a landscape. And just as the landscape keeps on changing, so does the HLC. Therefore what I will present here is just a version that will be out of date quite soon, or already is. It needs to be updated as the landscape changes. It is a tool that should be cared for by the municipalities or the County Councils in order to keep it fresh and use it in the best ways. This would mean keeping it updated with additional changes and using it in planning situations. However, it may also be used in research, and later in Chapter 5 I will use it in connection with prehistoric sites for this reason.

The Bjäre HLC presented here can only be considered as a preliminary trial version since I am sure it has many beginner's mistakes but I am also sure it is good enough to use as an example of how this mapping may be used, besides being a colourful map of change and time-depth.
In order to escape from some of my own mistakes I have in one version also added the information from the municipality's programmes concerning natural and cultural values in the landscape. These programmes were also discussed above, where I argued that they were good in content but still merely point data which have been expanded in size. As the defined areas of the programmes are even more general than my own I will present both versions. In fig. 36 the HLC uses my defini-

tions of the characters of the landscape which have been defined through an archaeological method, looking at form and pattern in maps. In fig. 37 the areas of municipality's programmes are added while my definitions fill the gaps in between these areas. These areas are defined through content as well as form, structure and patterns. In my own version I have defined three general major change-characters in today's landscape and an additional one for the areas from the municipality's programmes since these hade richer information on content than my own studies have. The characters are of course subjective and could have been defined differently by someone else. Furthermore, I have used somewhat different defining rules on the former infields and the outlying land, following the character given by the former land-use. The Bjäre HLC presented here can only be considered as a preliminary trial version since I am sure it has many beginner's mistakes but I am also sure it is good enough to use as an example of how this mapping may be used, besides being a colourful map of change and time-depth. A shortcoming though is that some areas in the eastern part of the study area not have been defined yet.

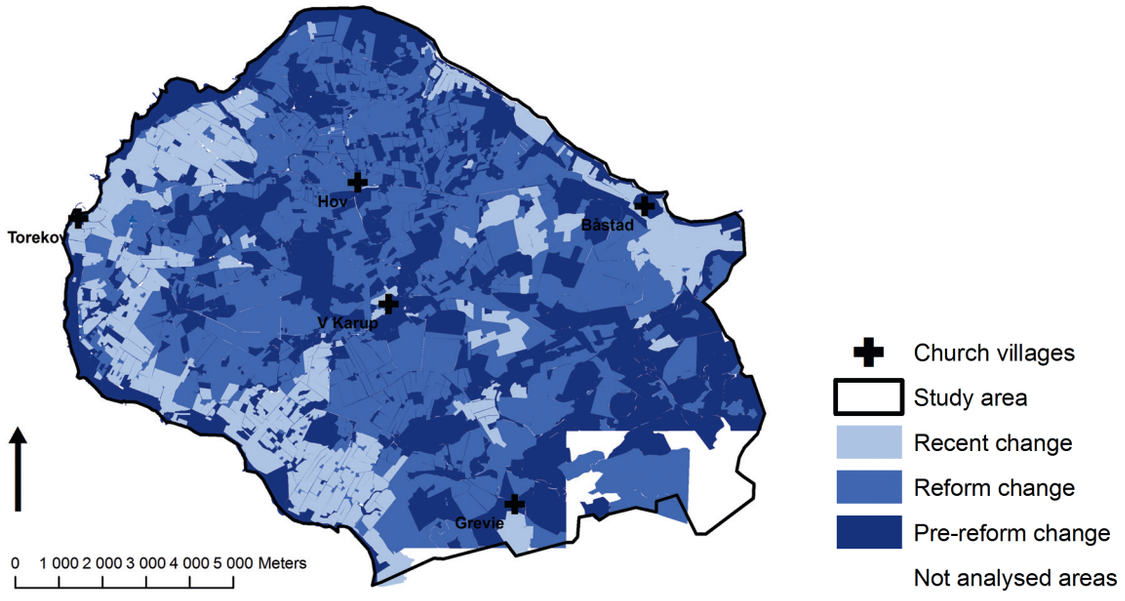


Fig. 36. *The HLC in Bjäre using only my definitions and interpretations of the present landscape characters and their historical depth.*

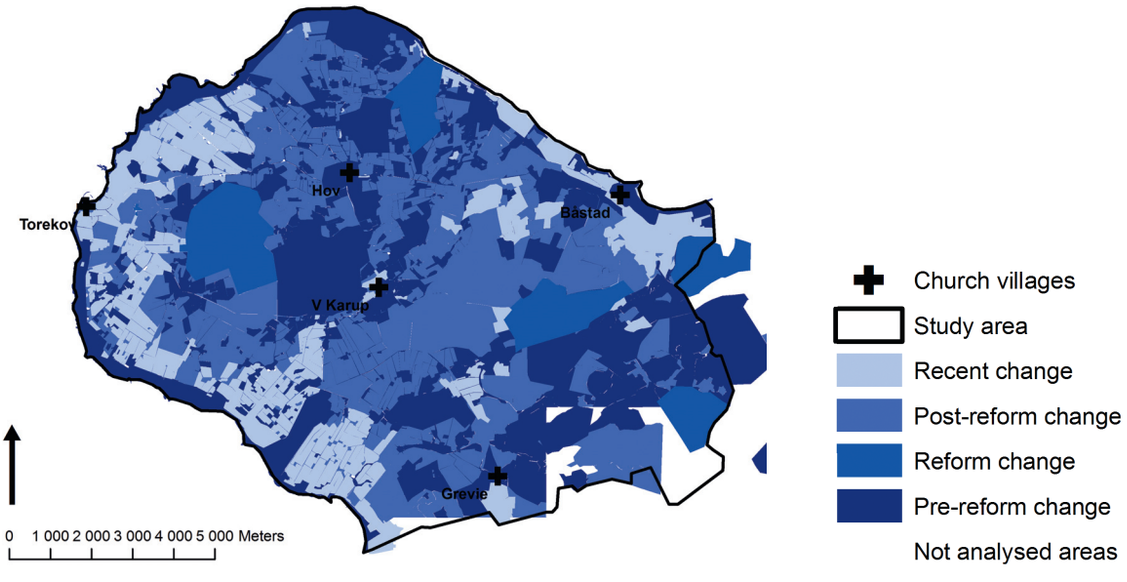


Fig. 37. *The HLC in Bjäre with the information from the municipality's programmes added (Båstad kommun 2002a and b).*

Outlying land: If the land-use is similar to what it was before the agricultural reform (mainly grazing or wood) – dark blue colour. Often these areas have been defined according to their land-use, which is still the same as before the agricultural reforms, in most cases grazing land that never has been enclosed. If there are enclosures that seem to be from the agricultural reform that has not been profoundly changed later in modern times, the colour is blue. But if the fields are large, with straight borders, have modern settlements or recreation activities then the colour is light blue, describing the largest landscape change.

Infield: A dark blue colour has been used where the landscape features from pre-reform maps still are recognisable, often as a mosaic landscape where different land-uses connect with each other and where no clear or straight borders can be seen as they follow the landscape's own features more softly. These areas are defined as unchanged. If the forms and structures have been changed even if the land-use (arable land/meadow) is still more or less the same, the colour of change will instead be blue. If a more profound change has been made to the land-use of the area it will instead be light blue on the map. This gives the following change-characters on the map of landscape change (see figs. 36 and 37):

Not (profoundly) changed during the agricultural reforms – dark blue colour: areas that more or less still have their pre-reform shape and function.
Changed in connection with the agricultural reform – blue colour: areas that more or less have the same function but, when it comes to the former infield areas, they have changed form. As regards the former outland areas this colour is used when they more or less have kept the form and function they had in connection with the reforms. A dark blue shade in between these two categories is used for those areas that the municipality's programmes have defined as being more strictly from the days of the reform or mixed with earlier periods.
Profoundly changed or modern change – light blue colour: areas that have been recently changed and/or are profoundly changed due to intensive agricultural activities which have thoroughly changed in both function and form.

The database made in connection with the Bjäre HLC allows other outputs than *change*; as I mentioned above, it also maps what the areas were before they were changed and defines each one of them with a character according to their present form and function. This makes it possible to see where, for example, the mosaic landscapes have survived in the present-day landscape (see fig. 38). This information is valuable in planning situations and in combination with other planning tools and sets of information. And of course, the more detailed information you put into the database, the

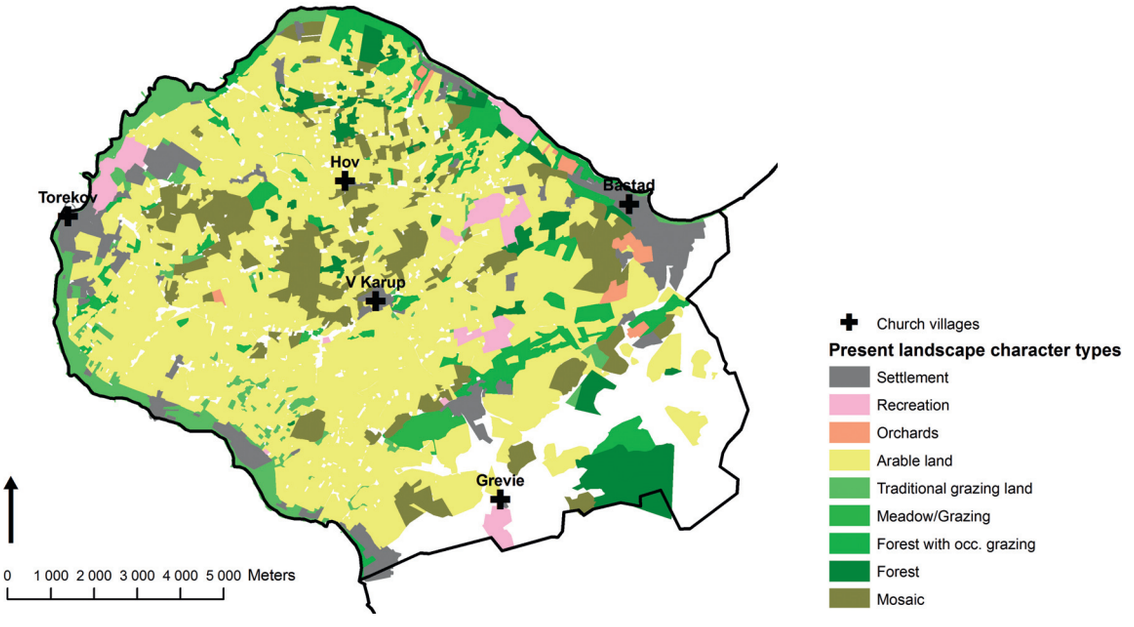


Fig. 38. *A generalisation of the present-day land-use and landscape characters.*

more detailed outputs you may get. For example, more detailed information on former land-use, such as from which type of land-use it was enclosed during the agricultural reform; wetland, grazing land, forest etc. would give you a nice map on previous land-use which today is completely missing. However, in this initial trial HLC exploration these data have not been mapped.

Personally I have found that exploring and mapping the different landscapes in the HLC is a useful way to get to know the Bjäre landscape and the processes that have shaped it. It brings an understanding which in my opinion is valuable for my further archaeological task. It could act as a meeting point for discussing and implementing the ELC as well as planning issues between different interest groups (see also Chapter 6).

Summary

In this chapter I have discussed different approaches to landscape *as space* that might be helpful in understanding the present-day landscape which is the actual background to the prehistoric heritage. Thus I have not been interested so much in individual sites and places in the landscape as in the wider space it represents. In a way this approach helps us to write the cultural biography of the landscape we are dealing with which, will provide us with a better understanding of it and thus also of the sites located in it (see Chapter 1).

I find the definition of landscape in the ELC interesting and challenging for future management as it invites (requires) all people to join and it finds the landscape to be a subjective mental idea rather than a strict physical environment: 'Landscape' means an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors' (Council of Europe 2000; 2002). The definition strongly connects with the landscape as a cultural product. This cultural product 'landscape' is also closely connected to the aspect of *change* which runs like a red thread through its history, present-day situation and future. This is also one of the reasons why archaeologists are well qualified to answer to the new legislation since we are used to working with the aspect of change, besides which we are also well acquainted with landscape issues and the cultural aspects within it.

Landscape can actually be studied as an archaeological item looking typologically at patterns and structures in order to understand landscape changes, their chronology and causes. The County Council, in cooperation with other organisations such as the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, has already produced a regional Landscape Character Assessment in agreement with the demands of the ELC. I have instead proposed the English methodology of the HLC for more detailed and small-scale purposes.

The ELC also requires the mental aspects of landscape to be considered. This is challenging for different reasons; this is a very subjective matter, it is not measurable as a scientific issue and there is no evidence proving right or wrong. The matter calls for rich descriptions and discussions giving pluralistic solutions with no valuing. It sounds very difficult but really it is only a matter of giving space and place to all the senses we are equipped with. The difficult thing is to find efficient ways to map it. Perhaps we need to explore better ways to report our material than the traditional scholarly books, databases and maps. I have chosen to tell some of the many stories with roots in the Bjäre landscape, and I find them interesting as they give information about intangible values, but they also let us know how important history is in a landscape, it is the glue that gives meaning to what we can see and perceive. Further, they may also bring a historical context to the prehistoric layers in a landscape. In a way they explain the world.

However, features, patterns and mental aspects are not all there is to a landscape. It also has its vegetation cover, which gives us maybe the largest and most important impression and issue to work with. The vegetation layer of a landscape changes very easily as cultural impact takes place in various ways, consciously or not. This is why it is fundamental when understanding a landscape in a historical long-term perspective to carry out pollen analyses. Even so, pollen analyses are full of source-critical issues, for example concerning pollen preservation and the size of area that the

sample site corresponds to. In order to overcome these issues and to achieve a more detailed picture of the vegetation history, several different approaches have been tried at Bjäre. Pollen analyses from soils buried beneath mounds gave local insights into the Bronze Age open cultural landscape at the heart of settled areas. More traditional pollen and macrofossils analyses from a centrally located fen gave a wider regional picture of a more varied landscape and of the overall vegetation history of Bjäre. A local macro-analysis from a hay meadow gave another story of land-use in a meadow on the higher ground of the ridge from middle Iron Age and the historical periods. Altogether a vivid picture of long continuous landscape use from the Neolithic onwards has been provided by these investigations, with some local details that lend further reliability to the overall interpretations.

Not only the historical landscape's vegetation has been considered, but also the present-day vegetation has been examined, especially that growing on the Bronze Age mounds and on traditional meadows and grazing land. The idea was that vegetation studies of the present-day landscape could be a valuable complement to the more traditional pollen analyses in understanding changes both in today's landscape and in past landscapes. Comparing vegetation cover with the evidence from the pollen analyses of the mounds, it could be suggested that – at least in some cases – they have been managed throughout their history. It is also interesting that the set of vegetation growing on the mounds of Bjäre today suggests a land-use history where cattle breeding and grazing are far more important than in, for example, the Malmö area where similar vegetation studies have been made (Gustafsson 2003). The set of vegetation has much information that may be used for understanding both the present-day landscape and past landscapes. The speed with which plants respond to changes is valuable in our search for past landscapes and in understanding changes that have taken place. Looking at the present-day vegetation may give us hints as to how to interpret the information given in the pollen and macrofossil analyses of the same area.

Using these different information sources while conducting a matrix investigation of a horizontal landscape area archaeologically, but without excavations, will then – in the best of worlds – combine the best from all of these methodologies. Features and patterns from the HLC, intangible values taken into consideration, landscape history according to pollen and macrofossils, the information given by the present vegetation, and added to these: the historical maps. The trial matrix investigation in the forest of Dejarp included several of these aspects and resulted in a much better understanding of the local landscape's historical land-use. Further, it is possible to expand the result in space and interpret similar features in other areas of the Bjäre peninsula using the same matrix (Sanglert & Ingwald 2003).

The quite disparate investigations of landscape as space in Bjäre have thus in the end provided a rather comprehensive understanding of a landscape and its history. Let us now turn to the individual sites that were becoming parts of this landscape in its early phase of being a cultural landscape: the Bronze Age sites.

Chapter Three. Landscape and Places

As I have been working with archaeological material, and especially on a landscape basis, I have found myself dependent on maps. Maps are interpretations of our world that *seem* to be very exact and objective. Through the work with the HLC (see Chapter 2) it soon became quite apparent that the mapped product is a temporal interpretation and that change is one of the basic characteristics of a landscape. It is a common and often also a necessary archaeological method to put dots on maps and to look for patterns, to measure distances and to compare material with different geographical aspects. While dealing with prehistory, we rarely stop to think that the landscape never appeared to people in the past as it does for us on two-dimensional maps created with the aid of aerial photographs. But I am sure that prehistoric people also had their mental maps of their landscape, of how to get to different places and how these were connected in space with each other. In hilly landscapes like that of Bjäre these mental maps could of course have been partially formed by views from higher locations, but mainly I believe they were formed by a practical sense of orientation and distances as well as a mental map of nodal points in the landscape.

Distance on a two-dimensional map is very different from distance in real life. In a landscape that is not flat but undulating and hilly this becomes even more obvious, and if you include different types of vegetation and wetlands it is clear that distance from A to B can be very different from what it might appear to us looking at a map. Also, the difficulties and even the dangers in a certain area – mentally or physically – are rarely visible on a map. In the alpine region distances between places on hiking trails today are still usually measured in terms of how long it takes to walk the distance at a brisk pace, and not in kilometres. In this kind of landscape the map is useless in estimating distances since it does not respect its three-dimensional character. Instead the road signs will tell you the amount of time needed to walk between places and the level of difficulty. A similar system was probably at work during the prehistoric period. There existed knowledge about distance and the amount of time needed to travel between important places, or nodal points, in the landscape. Perhaps some of this knowledge was even esoteric; people were initiated in how to move and travel. It is not always the shortest way that is the best; dangers, taboo and other difficulties, for example wetlands, might have required other routes to be taken. The fourth dimension in a landscape, time,

Fig. 39. *Road signs from the Italian Dolomites. The numbers after the place names correspond to how long in hours the walk will take, not kilometres. Photo Jenny Nord 2005.*

is provided by all places with inscribed memories (see Chapter 1) and was most probably incorporated and intermingled in the same esoteric knowledge and provided historical depth into the paths and into the landscape.

How we move in the landscape has changed dramatically since prehistory. The last 100–200 years alone have meant a huge change in moving and experiencing our world. In a way we have alienated ourselves from the travel issue; we may wake up in the morning in one country (or even continent) and go to bed in another. Moving between places is done behind screens, whether it is in the car, the bus, the train or even in a plane. We may look at the changing landscapes but we do not interact with it, we don't feel the wind, the smells, we don't feel the obstacles of hills in our legs, and so on. We might in fact not even look at it at all, but instead spend the travelling time working behind a computer as on any other working day. Travelling is mainly transportation. It is mainly in our leisure time that travelling still includes the interaction with the landscape, and often highlighting it. The 'old-fashioned way' of travelling and experiencing the landscape is in fact coming back as vacation activities with high profile today, walking, cycling, riding, climbing etc., which all require active interaction with the landscape. In the past travelling or any movement in the landscape was done in close interaction with the landscape itself and therefore these two concepts, landscape and movement, should perhaps be more closely connected with each other in prehistoric landscape analyses (see for example discussions in Tilley 1993; Ingold 2000, Nordström 2002; Rudebeck 2002).

Chapters 3 and 4 will focus on sites and places within the landscape and how they network. The Bronze Age is the main period that is considered, even though other periods will also be discussed, especially in Chapter 5 where later periods when people related to the earlier Bronze Age landscape features will be discussed. Every place that has been used over long periods of time can generally be seen in two different ways: either as being the result of many different single projects related to each other, or as one long continuous project. However, I find it less probable that a place should continue to retain its original meaning in a long-term perspective; instead I find the first approach more fruitful to work with. John Barrett discusses and promotes this approach, exemplifying it with places like Avebury and Stonehenge in England (Barrett 1994). Of course the same approach can be applied in other areas and with other, perhaps more 'humble' types of sites and places, but which have affected both people and the landscape for long periods. Thinking of sites, places and monuments in this sense, it is also important to consider the aspect of memory. These places were repeatedly used over long periods to keep memories of the ancestors as well as the cosmological tales that kept the present world together. This 'social memory' in a society can be created in two ways (Connerton 1989; Bradley 2002:12f):

- Through the building of monuments intended to perpetuate a particular view of the world (*inscription*). This could apply not only to the building of large mounds, but also to cult houses and perhaps also the making of rock-carvings.
- Through bodily practice – participation in rituals (*behaviour*), especially in connection with the creation of monuments but also through the regular rituals that took place at certain places in the landscape, for example at rock-carving sites, at offering sites or even at settlements, which might be hard to grasp.

These two different ways to create memories resulted in different outcomes for the participants and their society:

- *Inscription* was done in durable material culture and left tangible results such as monuments, rock-carvings and/or other structures – or even objects.
- *Behaviour* and/or participation in rituals may leave both tangible/visible and intangible/invisible remains behind. The figurative world of the rock-carvings may be visible for us but still intangible since their meaning are long lost. Sometimes we can find physical traces in connection with offerings, for example food pots and bronzes in bogs etc. The rituals were orally remembered and repeated as stories in which memories of people, happenings and the cosmology were kept alive (Connerton 1989).

There is also the aspect of 'remembering by forgetting' as well as 'forced forgetting'. In some societies it has been noticed in anthropological studies that following a death there is a deliberate

‘erasing’ of the deceased person’s actions in the landscape; one example from a Melanesian society is how the trees that once were planted by the deceased are cut down as part of the funeral ritual (Küchler 1993). Another example, more ‘visible’ in archaeology, is when items are removed from everyday life, for example through offerings; they are still remembered and the story of the event may be told and thus remembered (Bradley 2002:13). We can of course choose to forget and to change the stories and create new ones. This process might be forced more or less violently. One of my favourite authors, Milan Kundera, has described the process of forced forgetting;

> The first step in liquidating a people is to erase its memory. Destroy its books, its culture, its history. Then you have somebody write new books, manufacture a new culture, invent a new history. Before long the nation will begin to forget what it is and what it was. (Kundera 1980).

In the landscape these actions can be seen, for example, as abandoned sites, destroyed sites or hidden sites. A mound can be overgrown and forgotten, a rock-carving site can be forgotten and lost in the wider landscape. It can be covered. But we should not forget that the places were not just put in the landscape by chance – they attracted people and had a meaning to them, which was given to them by their history. People went there and did something there; they remembered, they performed, had rituals or watched others doing the same. These places were not easy to forget unless there was a wish for it or unless new traditions and rituals were introduced. It was far easier to change the meaning of a site than to try to erase it.

Perhaps it is possible to explore the different strategies in Bjäre, looking at monuments and sites as social memories and offerings as hidden memories. Rock-carvings are somewhere in between: being on natural places – not being monuments but still inscribed.

Fig. 40. *Hov RAÄ 52, a very large mound which was excavated for pollen samples (see Chapter 2 and later in this chapter). Even though this mound has a very dominant landscape position it was rendered completely invisible by vegetation. However, the landowners decided to clear some of the trees from the mound, and today you can see it from some distance (see fig. 56). Photo Jenny Nord 2002.*

To begin with I wish to give a brief presentation of the current Scandinavian Bronze Age research that has had an impact on my views and my work. Later this chapter will separately describe and discuss individual burials, mortuary monuments as well as the rock-carvings from the Bronze Age in Bjäre. In Chapter 4 the evidence will be put together and the development of a ritual landscape in Bjäre will be discussed. Chapter 5 will add the aspects of 'landscape as space' and discuss the long-term development of the cultural landscape which has evolved around and in dialogue with the ritual landscape.

Present images of Bronze Age society in Scandinavia

Bronze Age Scandinavia has long been a topic for many discussions about religion, power relations, chiefdom societies and distant communications, among other things. Images of a society have emerged through the research that shows a vibrant society with many links to Europe and European traditions, both material and immaterial. The use of the Bronze Age as 'the first Golden Age of Europe' in contemporary European political strategies has been rather obvious and has been thoroughly discussed by Anna Gröhn in her thesis (Gröhn 2004). There is general high agreement on many issues in Bronze Age research but naturally there are also topics which are more disputed, for example interpretations of the chiefdom society, interpretations of rock-carvings and their meanings, as well as how to distinguish and interpret ritual and profane contexts in the material culture (see for example Bradley 2005; Goldhahn 2005).

Here I will give a brief description of some of the present views of the Bronze Age period that dominate research contexts in Scandinavia. Traditionally Bronze Age research has been based on interpretations of bronzes from burials and hoards (Randsborg 1974; Kristiansen 1978; Vandkilde 1996:259f) which is a material culture that has been deposited in specific contexts where their life circle seemingly ended. I say 'seemingly' because there is a question mark to that. Some hoards might in fact not have been intended as ending points for the material, and even if they were, the material might still be vivid and meaningful in the minds of the people as it was transferred to another world (see the discussion above about memories). From this rather limited material, gravesgoods and hoards, images of a hierarchically structured Bronze Age society have been drawn. With the help of studies in anthropology this society has been defined as a chiefdom society (Randsborg 1974; Welinder 1977; Thrane 1983; Kristiansen 1986; Larsson 1986; Kristiansen 1991; Kristiansen & Larsson 2005). It is only lately and mainly within gender-archaeology that the interpretations of the chiefdom society have been seriously questioned (see below under *Social structure*).

The burial customs of the Bronze Age and the transition to a cremation rite in the midst of it have been used as a source for understanding the ritual life and the religious beliefs of Bronze Age people (Kaliff 1992, 1997). Further, the symbols on both bronzes and on rock-carvings have been used together with analogues with distant Mediterranean and Indo-European cultures to draw a picture of a Bronze Age cosmology (Kaul 1998; Kristiansen & Larsson 2005).

Using the figures in rock-carvings has been one of the paths to Mediterranean cultures; especially that of ancient Greece; another path has been through the material culture that sometimes has roots, connections or at least counterparts in the ancient Greek world. The work of Homer has been commonly used to find explanations for some of the Scandinavian material and in the search for common Indo-European myths and traditions even the Indian *Rig-Veda* has been invoked (Kristiansen 1999a; Larsson 1999b, 2002; Kaliff 2005; Kristiansen & Larsson 2005; Svanberg 2005; Kaliff 2007). Interestingly enough, central and eastern Europe have often been seen as minor contact areas or just as transition areas between the more 'important' Mediterranean or Middle Eastern culture and Scandinavia.

Phenomenological approaches and landscape archaeology have been popular in many recent archaeological works about the Scandinavian Bronze Age, mainly because of the nature of the main source material: mortuary monument, depositions, fire-cracked stone heaps and rock-carvings, most of them with obvious landscape settings in today's world (Bradley 1993; Barrett 1994; Bradley 1997; Bender 1998; Bradley 1997, 2000; Sahlquist 2000; Coles 2002; Bengtsson 2004; Gröhn

2004; König 2005; Skoglund 2005; Widholm 2006; Goldhahn 2007 etc.). Also roads and communication routes have been added to the list (Ruis-Gálvez 1989; Samuelsson 2001; Erikson 2001; Larsson 2001; Rudebeck 2001, 2002; Johansen et al. 2004; Nord 2006a, 2006b). In these contexts Bronze Age research has thus moved away from material items to landscape settings.

Another situation that has recently increased the body of knowledge on the prehistoric periods in the south of Sweden is the large excavations that have been made in connection with major infrastructure projects (The Öresund Fixed Link by Malmö Kulturmiljö, the West Coast Railway by the National Heritage Board, etc.). During these projects the methods for large-scale excavations in connection with developments have changed and improved. Topsoil has been stripped off on larger and larger areas and new material has been found, for example traces of settlements, which to a large extent were unknown before the 1980s (Björhem & Sävfestad 1993). This has provided material that has been interpreted by field archaeologists in big rescue excavation projects rather than by researchers at universities (Goldhahn 2005). This dualistic situation in information-gathering and analysis has not always been very good, as communication channels seem to have been lacking between excavating organisations and universities. Fortunately, a great effort has been made lately to improve this situation (Goldhahn 2005). Another aspect of the larger-scale excavations has been the more standard use of palaeo-ecological sources to tell the story of the local and regional land-uses of prehistoric times.

In the following I will focus on some aspects of recent Bronze Age research that I find of special interest for my work on the Bjäre peninsula.

Chronology

When does the Bronze Age begin and when does it end? Of course this depends on the questions asked and how you wish to define the period. Several discussions and papers from the 9th Bronze Age meeting in Göteborg argue for an earlier beginning of the period, which should include the late Neolithic as well. The reasons for this can be seen in recent analyses of settlement traces that show stratification and hierarchy which has previously been thought of as typical of Bronze Age society (Vandkilde 1996:285f; Artursson 2005a:46ff, 2005c; Goldhahn 2005). Also analyses of stone tools – hammer axes and flint daggers – have arrived at similar results and also argue for an earlier start of the Bronze Age due to an earlier origin for chiefdom society (Apel 2005; Lekberg 2005). In my opinion it could be a mistake to redefine the Bronze Age in time because of new reinterpretations of *some* of its elements. The periods of Montelius (I–VI) that traditionally define the Scandinavian Bronze Age use the bronzes as they appear in Scandinavian contexts for this purpose. If we wish to change defining elements to social structure or settlement pattern we also need to create a whole new period system for the prehistoric era. This might not be worth the effort; it might be better to content ourselves with the fact that signs of a hierarchical society and redistribution systems can be noticed during earlier periods than the Bronze Age.

This work will not consider or define the prehistoric periods. The main focus will be on the monuments and other landscape features and their life histories as well as their impact on their surroundings and vice versa. In the study area these monuments mainly derive from the Bronze Age, and the surrounding landscape is defined by its historical and present use. This is discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 5, where I will return to how the prehistoric features and landscape history have affected one another in Bjäre.

More interesting than exact dating in this case is perhaps the application of *palimpsests* (Bender 1998; Bailey 2007). The material I am working with is visible landscape features that have been added to one another and were reused over long periods. The chronology of adding and reusing is important. Landscape studies in general require a long temporal perspective, while only studying certain features set in the landscape might require a shorter timescale; of course, the two timescales may intervene and connect with each other. This approach has a rather long history and is most famous in the *Annales* School which dates to the 1920s in France (Burke 1990). Perhaps my approach can be seen similarly, with the landscape representing the longer timescale, while changes in landscape character of different kinds will be seen as events belonging to a shorter timescale.

However, the main prehistoric features that I am studying, Bronze Age mortuary monuments and rock-carvings, are places with a long period of use, not only in their initial creation and secondary use, but also as later landscape memories from the past. Therefore it is wise not to get caught in detailed chronologies, but instead to focus on the more general chronology of changes: palimpsests. It is also important to define what phase or aspect of a monument is of interest, for example, is it the initial creation of rock-carvings at a place (which might have been chosen a long time before that and been previously used in other ways), or is it the return to a rock-carving site – and thus the remaking and/or adding to it? Or is it the action of watching/performing around already existing rock-carvings, and not adding to them?

The space for the Scandinavian Bronze Age culture has also been discussed; Hans Bolin, for example, argues that the Scandinavian Bronze Age culture as we define it can only be applied to the material of south Scandinavia while the northern area would still belong to the Neolithic tradition, while southern Europe was already making tools of iron (Bolin 2005). This discussion can also be linked to discussions about how local traits are maintained and how new ideas are introduced (Weiler 1994; Skoglund 2005).

Social structure

Traditionally Bronze Age society is interpreted as a chiefdom society. This is often argued with reference to richly furnished burials, which are thought to represent burials of a selected group, chiefs in a chiefdom society (Randsborg 1974; Welinder 1977; Kristiansen 1981, 1991, 1998; Larsson 1999a). An early critical – but not so often cited – voice was that of Berta Stjernquist, who argued for more complete source material and more caution when using the anthropologists' evolutionary schemes in interpretations (Stjernquist 1983). Similar to the chiefdom interpretation above is the

Fig. 41. *A mound in Bjäre with an interesting life history and which is still in active use – albeit very differently. Photo Jenny Nord 2005.*

belief that the mounds to some extent also are graves of ritual specialists or divine rulers (Jennbert 1992; Randsborg 1993; Bolin 1999; Kristiansen 1999a; Larsson 1999b; Larsson 2001). Others argue differently, that the burials mirror other identities which have to do with different roles, genders and identities during different persons' life-courses and might not reflect a chiefdom society at all (Sørensen 1992a; Hjørungdal 1994:146; Sørensen 1997; Hauptman Wahlgren 2002:241; Thedéen 2005). However, at present the most popular interpretation of the Bronze Age mounds is that they reflect kinship and ancestral beliefs; they are viewed as symbols that connect the family or the kin with both time (ancestors) and space (territory). The inner structure, the rituals performed, as well as the outer structure and landscape location connect the same family or kin with religion and cosmology. The present view is holistic and takes into account not only functionalistic aspects but also religious and symbolic ones and does not necessarily focus on the chiefdom aspect (Jennbert 1993; Olausson 1993a; Artelius 1994, 1996; Andersson 1999; Harding 2000; Sahlqvist 2000; Oestigaard & Goldhahn 2006).

Even so, the emerging hierarchical structure and the chiefdom society are often seen as the defining elements of the Bronze Age. Kristiansen has dated the emergence of a chiefdom society to around 1500 BC (Kristiansen 1991:27f), period II of the Bronze Age. This is done with reference to the richly furnished mounds of this time, which seem to show both aristocratic (male) affiliations and seemingly long spatial contacts. However, as we saw earlier in *Chronology,* several researchers have recently argued that the emergence of a hierarchical society came earlier, in the middle Neolithic or at the latest in the late Neolithic period. Some have also argued that it arrived later, possibly in the middle Bronze Age, at least in Skåne (Thedeen 2005) and some have also questioned the relevance of the concept of chiefs and chiefdoms in connection with Scandinavian Bronze Age society (Thrane 2008).

However, if late Neolithic society can be argued to have had a non-egalitarian structure it would in some ways make sense. It is in the 'living sphere' – among people's everyday life in settlements – that the social differences become apparent first. The persons who have achieved higher status by different means would have been buried according to the current traditions. Whether this status is connected to being a chief I will leave unsaid, however; differences can be of many other kinds. During the early Bronze Age when the burial traditions changed and became monumental statements in the landscape, the sites of the earlier late Neolithic burials were at least sometimes reused. Apparently there was a wish to connect with these ancestors in both time and space. Perhaps the emergence of monumental burials should be seen in connection with some crises or internal disputes, for example, over inheritance, in which ancestors became important. The very idea of building monumental mounds as well as the idea of a stratified society might have arrived from the central European cultures with which the Scandinavian region was in contact (Kristiansen & Larsson 2005). Yet it is within the local community and its social environment that the new ideas were introduced. It was here and now that the places for burials were chosen, and these locations were chosen for local historical reasons. In this way the local ancestral rights were played out together with the new traditions that the long-distance connections might have brought (Skoglund 2005).

An interesting aspect to add to this discussion is the chronology of the status markers, house and burial. The large long-houses were most probably status markers during the late Neolithic, representing the 'living sphere', followed by the mortuary monument as status markers during the early Bronze Age, possibly representing the emerging importance of ancestors (Bradley 2002, 2005). From house to mortuary monument is a sequence that has been discussed before, but in other European areas, for example in central and western Europe concerning the early Neolithic long-houses and the later long mounds, as well as the late Bronze Age round house in Britain that was followed by the round mound (Bradley 2002, 2005:62). In Scandinavia there are several examples of houses predating mounds from the Early Bronze Age, for example Trappendal in Denmark (Boysen & Wulff Andersson 1983) and Vallhalla in Barkåkra parish just south of Bjäre (Rausing 1949; Victor 2002:96ff). These examples have concerned houses predating mortuary monument *on the spot*; but it seems like the very idea of using the house as a status symbol predates the idea of using an individual burial for the same. Likewise the idea of the community as being a status symbol in the early Neolithic predates the individual being a status symbol in the late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age (see Bradley 2002, 2005 and discussions in Thäte 2007:chapter 5).

Thus, again, it seems as if changes in general need to be settled within the living society before they can enter the society of the dead and the ancestors. This goes well with the interpretation of the house as one of the most important components in the structure of the Neolithic. Only later, during the Bronze Age, does it seem as if the settlements became less important structures for expressing status, while the mortuary monument took on greater importance. Since these are places where communication with the dead and the ancestors could take place, it can also be argued that the status symbols were moved from the living sphere to the dead sphere, to the ancestors. Barrett has taken a similar idea a little further, arguing that monuments not only predated, but also through their fulfilment *created* a social situation which enabled the emergence of social differences. As these huge projects were in progress, the particular vision of the final result, the need for specialisation and labour planning were some of the reasons for the new situation that emerged (Barrett 1994). This would mean that social differences were already a factor when the Bronze Age society of Scandinavia began as a result of the introduction of megalithic monuments during the Neolithic, just as has been recently argued by some scholars (see above in Chronology).

The Bjäre peninsula is a region that did not have any monuments before the Bronze Age. It was only during the early Bronze Age that the people of Bjäre for the first time were changing the landscape and the sightlines deliberately with large burial structures. Whether or not the social structure of the people of Bjäre was already hierarchal we do not know for sure. However, 'Bronze Age society', just like 'Neolithic society', cannot be generalised as being the same everywhere, which is why the local society of Bjäre should be interpreted by looking at the Bjäre evidence. So far this evidence does not show any signs of stratification before the Bronze Age, and to what extent there is stratification even within the Bronze Age remains to be found out.

Religion and cosmology

Just as mounds have often been used for discussing social structure in the Bronze Age, the rock art has frequently been used for discussing religion and cosmology. Since the work of Kaul, where he analysed he pictures engraved on bronze items (Kaul 1998), the cosmology of the Bronze Age has been looked upon as a sun cult where horses and ships in all contexts are interpreted in a cosmological system where they guide the sun across the sky and protect it during the night journey in the underworld. However, the thought of a sun cult in Bronze Age Scandinavia is nothing new; it is for example a major theme in the work of Oscar Almgren (1927) and it has been more or less assumed ever since.

Rock-carvings are considered to express at least parts of a cosmological universe. Research concerning rock-carvings has traditionally been focused on the images themselves; what they represent, their age and what they might tell us about Bronze Age society. Only lately the landscape has become an important aspect of the rock-art (Bradley 1997; Díaz-Andreu 2003; Chippindale & Nash 2004). Rock-carvings are increasingly seen as an activity that should be understood in combination with other pieces of information found in the landscape, such as settlements and burials (for example Hauptman Wahlgren 2002; Bengtsson 2004; Goldhahn 2007; König 2008). Yet a great deal of effort is put into understanding the symbols, what they mean. However, tempting this is, it should not be forgotten that they provide other information as well. First of all, they constitute important places in the past landscape use. Whatever the engravings mean, the places were used for similar social activities and for certain rituals.

Recently Joakim Goldhahn (2007) has explored the presence and the activities of 'smiths' in Scandinavian Bronze Age society. He argues for the presence of an 'institution' of smiths who were ritual specialists with esoteric cosmological knowledge. Goldhahn calls them smiths, but this definition also includes those who made rock-carvings and performed burial rituals (cremations) etc. These 'smiths' served as cosmological transformative forces that were present at different places on the cosmological scene. Several of these scenes are set in the landscape and still visible today, for example mortuary monuments, rock-carvings and cult houses, all which are relevant in the Bjäre landscape. Goldhahn's exploration is interesting since it combines different sets of information which are normally kept apart.

Landscape use, settlements and economy

A close spatial connection between settlements and mounds is generally assumed in Bronze Age research, but the question whether the mounds were located in the centre of the territory or in the periphery has never really been clearly resolved (Welinder 1977; Strömberg 1980; Björhem & Säfvestad 1993, Carlsson 1983; Sørensen 1992b; Säfvestad 1993; Olausson 1993a; Nord & Paulsson 1993). It seems obvious, though, that the settlements were not, at least not in a long-term perspective, located centrally in the territory since the settlements were rather short-lived and might have moved approximately every few generations. The mounds were not randomly placed in the landscape; their locations were carefully thought out with reference to the past history as well as the present situation. This was also the starting point of a previous work by Jonas Paulsson and myself where we studied locations of mounds and rock-carvings in the landscape of Bjäre. In this study we estimated that the mounds were connected with settlement areas (or territories as we called them), even if they were not necessarily located close to the actual settlement. Thus the distribution of mounds in the landscape was analysed in different ways and the results of these analyses was used to define settlement core areas which I here will call *burial-defined areas* (Nord & Paulsson 1993; see also Chapter 1 and later in Chapter 4). The rather empty spaces in between them were seen as boundaries, similar to what had been reckoned in analyses from the south of Skåne (Säfvestad 1993). A feature shared by the burial-defined areas was that the mounds were concentrated on the edges while many mid-areas are often 'empty'. This situation suggests several things: that the larger mounds are directed outwards from the territory towards border zones where many of the large rock-carving sites can also be found; and that the settlements were situated within this outer 'ring' of mounds.

This also brings up the question of private and public ownership as well as the question whether the terms 'centre' and 'periphery' can be used to describe the land-use of this period. Possibly the settlement areas were defined according to a more extensive and joint land-use (Gerritsen 1999; Berggren 1999; Björhem 2003, Nord & Rosberg 2005) and private ownership was less established. The locations of the mounds then answered to a common strategy where the group as a whole made decisions. I suppose the situation could be similar with the settlements within the larger territory. If every settlement needed to move for practical reasons and re-establish, presumably every couple of generations (Björhem & Magnusson Staaf 2006:151f, see also below), it would be more practical to have a common land-strategy than private ownership as we know it today. However, this com-

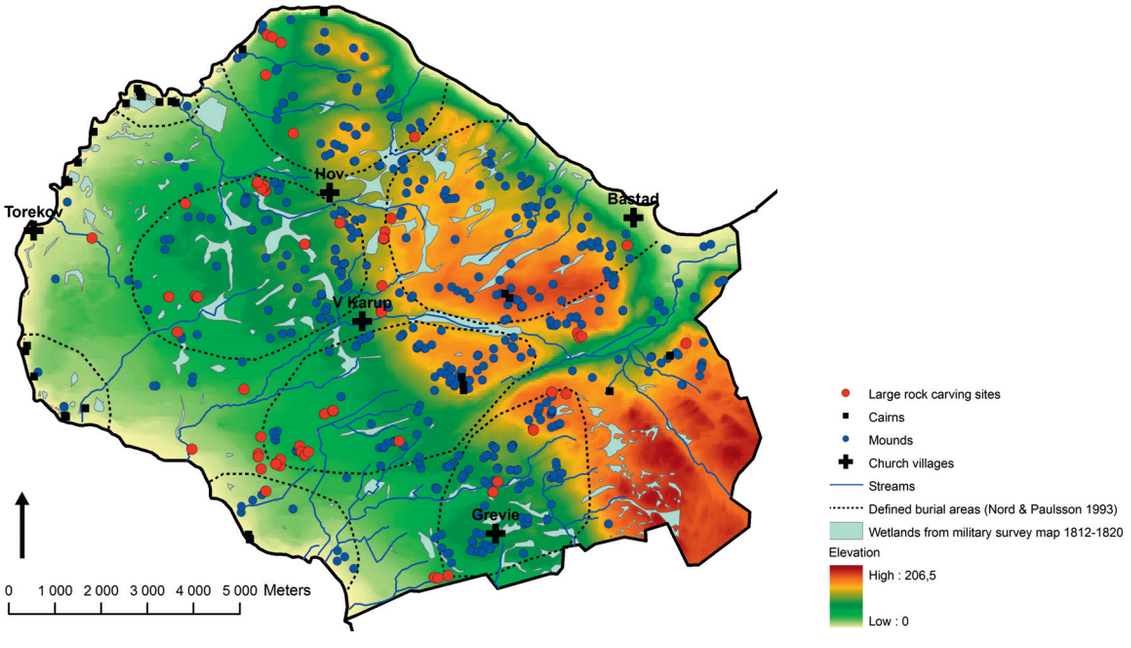


Fig. 42. *The previously defined burial areas together with the distribution of large rock-carving sites, mounds and cairns. Background data © Lantmäteriet Gävle 2009. Grant I 2009/0549.*

mon land-strategy does not necessarily mean that stratification was not developed. How decisions were made and whom they benefited we do not know. But if these assumptions are right, we have to believe that the mounds were situated in locations within the territories that made sense with extensive and, at least partly, joint land-use. They would preferably also been located, one can presume, where they could be seen by people, the inhabitants themselves and others, as well as on places with a history and/or the special character appropriate for this kind of monumental statement. The mounds would constitute stories, narratives in the landscape about ancestors and previous periods; they would embody common memories (Connerton 1989). In the beginning these stories might have reflected real history but quite soon the ancestors would become part of a mythical past which could be 'read' in the landscape through the monuments.

In landscape archaeology a great effort is usually put into the symbolic and communicative use of the landscape, the locations of burials and other sites and how these were seen from a distance, relating to each other and to physical geographical aspects (see for example Tilley 1993 and 1994). The landscape's main use as a provider of food and the daily activities of the people working for subsistence are rarely spoken of. When it is a topic, usually in larger projects, the main information about landscape use and economy are pollen and macrofossil analyses (The Ystad project, Berglund 1991; The Öresund Fixed Link, Björhem & Magnusson Staaf 2006; The West Coast Line project, Strömberg 2005:174; The Thy project, Andersen 1992–93; the Bjäre project, Hannon et al. 2008). These studies all imply that there agriculture was very important, and especially animal husbandry during the Bronze Age (see also Chapter 2).

Settlements during this period, according to recent results in the Malmö area, were not as short-lived as we often presume they were. Here the results suggest that several generations may have lived on the same farmsteads (Björhem & Magnusson Staaf 2006:151f). This work also emphasised the status of shepherds and the importance of their movements (Björhem & Magnusson Staaf 2006:143ff). Probably the movement aspect and the extensive concept of settlement area were rather natural ideas in the mental landscape of people at that time, in which the burials most probably were central nodes, being fixed in both space and time and thus providing access to the land. Studying the Bronze Age of Bjäre also means studying movements of people who were for the first time 'domesticating' the landscape by organising it and physically actually reshaping it with monuments as well as giving meaning – or emphasising meaning – by making engravings on rocks. According to the pollen analyses it was also the first prehistoric period in which the landscape could be called a truly cultural managed landscape (Hannon et al. 2008, see Chapter 2).

Back to Bjäre and its Bronze Age heritage

The role of bronze as a means of showing status, power and prestige became important throughout Europe at the beginning of the Bronze Age, and it also had a great impact in Scandinavia. The effects of the exchange (both material and immaterial), control and monopoly of bronze have been considered huge (Vandkilde 1996:314ff; Kaul 1998:110ff; Kristiansen 1998; Kristiansen & Larsson 2005). In this power struggle the sea as a channel for contacts and communication acquired great importance, which of course affected the Bjäre peninsula being surrounded by the sea in its location between the south of Skåne, Denmark and the west coast of Sweden; which all are considered to have been important areas in the Scandinavian Bronze Age. Below I will study the evidence that has survived in the landscape of Bjäre from this period: mortuary monuments and rock-carvings. Through this study I hope to understand the local character of Bjäre and its connections with the wider world during this period.

Burials and mortuary monuments in Bjäre

Coinciding with the introduction of Bronze in Scandinavia there are a number of visible changes on the Bjäre peninsula which created long-lasting markers in the landscape. Some of these are strongly connected with the sea and with seafaring, such as the coastal monument of Dagshög, the largest

mound in Skåne, and Gröthögarna, perhaps the most spectacular group of coastal cairns in the south of Sweden. But it is not only the coastal zone that is in focus for these activities. Also in the inland of the peninsula the horizon lines were radically changed, mainly due to mound building. Through the mortuary monuments the memory of the dead became vivid in the landscape, and the ancestors' former existence was marked for generations ahead, while at the same time proving the descendants' right of ownership of land (Jennbert 1993; Olausson 1993a).

Mounds and cairns serve well as memorials. Stone-settings are not so apparent and monumental in the landscape, but they still function well as memorials, especially since they are often connected with larger mounds or with other stone-settings and thus make a larger imprint in the landscape than their smaller size would suggest. Thus it makes sense to define the stone-settings as mortuary monuments too. But besides being places for remembering persons no longer alive, the mortuary monuments surely had other meanings in the society in which they were once created. Through the construction of a mound and the rituals around the deceased a new identity in death for the deceased was created. Normally we do not have any tangible traces left from the funeral rituals, and thus the mounds are only the final statements of presumably much longer and richer rituals (Oestigaard & Goldhahn 2006). But as monuments this might just have been the first event in a much longer sequence. As monuments the mounds can tell something about the society in which they were created. The rather traditional view argues that they represent burials of a selected group: chiefs in a chiefdom society or maybe ritual specialists in a more theocratic society (see above). When it comes to Bjäre with its abundance of mounds which are comparably small-sized (see Chapter 1), it can be argued differently, though: perhaps these reflect a society with less ranking; 'many chiefs but no king' (Thrane 1983; Hyenstrand 1984:128; Harding 2000; Thrane 2008). Even so, there are a few mounds or cairns that are extremely large and prominent, like for example 'Dagshög' which measures 44 metres in diameter. The smallest registered mound measures only 4 metres in diameter. The question is whether the sizes of these monuments are due to the buried persons, or if they can be explained – indirectly or directly – by other factors, such as chronological differences or the nature of the places they are located in. Harbours would be one such place since some of the very large mortuary monuments can be found along the coastline. It could also be due to the nature of the (re)negotiation of new relations among the living and their landscape that followed the death of a certain person (Oestigaard & Goldhahn 2006, see also Barrett 1994:60ff). The funeral as an arena for (re)negotiations of social order is quite plausible.

During 1986 the Bjäre peninsula was the subject of the second field survey made by the National Heritage Board, the first one being made during 1967. Both surveys showed that Bjäre has a very rich and dense prehistoric heritage, especially from the Bronze Age. When it comes to the mounds it is the densest area in Skåne (Hyenstrand 1984: fig. 16; Roos 1988:250f). Cairns are more sparsely found in Bjäre; in fact, when moving south along the west coast of Sweden the area can be seen as the last one with cairns. On the other hand, many of the mounds in Bjäre have large central cairns. The present work considers all burials in the National Heritage Board Register; the area can be considered well covered in field surveys, even though there might be burials that have been missed. The second field survey of 1986 put some effort into searching historical maps for burials that have been lost today (Holmgren & Tronde 1990:128f); these are also considered, but since they often lack some details about size they are not always considered in the analyses which focus on this aspect. The same is true for the cemeteries. The Register often lacks detailed information about the individual burials in these, and thus I have decided not to use them in this analyse but instead add them later in the general discussions in Chapter 4.

Investigated burials

In order to achieve some understanding of the burials of Bjäre I have looked at the data from the excavated Bronze Age burials, or in some cases what is known from damaged burials, to find some general patterns. The material is rather limited, however; 3% of the grave constructions have been fully investigated, most of them during the 1920s and 1930s. Unfortunately some reports are lost, others lack detail and altogether this old excavated material is not very good source material. It nevertheless provides some basic information that is very useful. Below is a presentation of the excavated burials of Bjäre which is followed by a summary and a discussion. The numbers refer to their identity in the

Register of the National Heritage Board, and in brackets their definition of the burial. Altogether 62 grave constructions provide information, but only 35 of these have been fully investigated. Ten of them are flat-earth burials from the late Bronze Age, 20 consist of mounds or stone-settings and 5 have been defined as cairns. Only 8 investigations have been made after 1960, and 5 of these lack a full report. Some of the burials that provide information are not included in the Register of the National Heritage Board; they are only known through old records in museums or in other archives.

The parish of Båstad

In Båstad there are several finds in the National Museum (SHM) and its catalogues which lack exact provenance and have no RAÄ number. There is also some information in the Register of the National Heritage Board with no references to finds or reports, and these finds and information are probably connected.

RAÄ 7: (Mound). Close to this mound there is information of another burial that was removed in 1913 in connection with building activities. Cremated bones and pieces of pottery were found in a layer with charcoal belonging to a flat-earth cemetery (Mårtensson 1913, report to ATA 8961/2/1913).

RAÄ 11:1 (Mound). The mound is 20 metres in diameter and 2 metres high. Its surface is partially destroyed, and according to Folke Hansen a ceramic vessel was found in the south side of the mound (Hansen 1926, ATA 1511/1926).

RAÄ 12:1 (Mound). According to the former landowner there used to be another mound close to no. 12. It was removed some 25 years ago and today the area is used as a field. There were a lot of stones in the mound (Hansen 1926, ATA 1511/1926).

Båstad: At some unknown point an amateur archaeologist investigated a mound which had approximately the same height as a normal man and was 13 metres in diameter. A fragmentary dagger

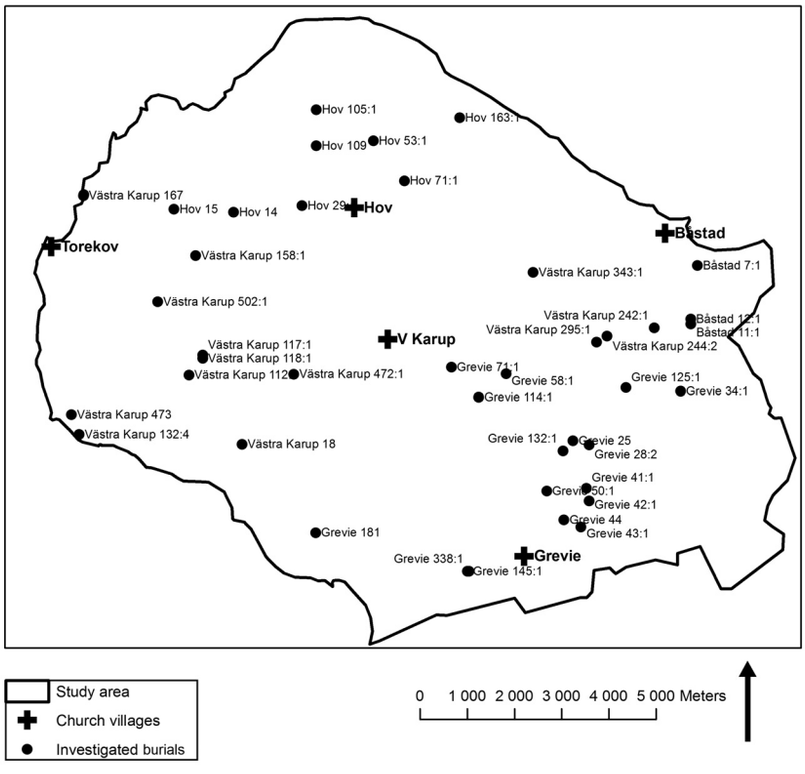


Fig. 43. *The distribution of investigated burials.*

was found in the bottom of the mound together with cremated bones. The dagger has been dated to period III (SHM 10012, Håkansson 1985:24).

Båstad: On the eastern fringe of a mound, 20 metres in diameter, some pieces of pottery, cremated bones and a fragmentary razor or a saw have been found (SHM 12646).

Båstad: Burials from a flat-earth cemetery NNE of the station house in Båstad.
Number 1: Three broken ceramic vessels, one of which is said to have been found inside a small stone cist, the other two underneath and beside the stone cist. A needle of bronze, 5 cm long, was also found beside the cist.
No. 2: A ceramic vessel of similar type with cremated bones was found 3 metres from no. one (SHM 15744).

Båstad: a ceramic vessel presumably close to the above (SHM 15744). No finds (SHM 15888).

Båstad: In a damaged burial, pieces of a ceramic vessel were found with cremated bones, charcoal and slag (SHM 17656).

Båstad: A cremation burial was investigated in 1925 by T. J. Arne. He found pieces of flint, charcoal and cremated bones (SHM 18042).

The parish of Grevie

RAÄ 25:1 (Cemetery with 1 mound and 5 stone-settings). Folke Hansen investigated 3 small mounds in 1925. Mound no. 1 was 8 m in diameter and 0.9 m high. It was covered by a thin layer of soil. In the lower parts of the mound he found some cremated human bones that were spread around. Mound no. 2 was of the same type, 8 m in diameter and 0.65 m high. Here he also found cremated human bones in the lower parts. Mound no. 3 was badly damaged, it measured 7 m in diameter and 0.5 m in height. In the centre of the construction a small amount of bones were found. In neither of the mounds were any grave-goods found. Hansen dated them to the latest part of the Bronze Age (Hansen 1938:104f and his report to ATA 3894/1925).

RAÄ 28:2 (Mound). In 1925 Hansen investigated a small mound close to several other mounds. Its size was 5 m in diameter and 0.5 m in height. He found pieces of bones and ceramics spread in between the stones. The burial was dated to the late Bronze Age (Hansen 1938:104 and his report to ATA 3893/1925).

RAÄ 34:1 (Former site of a mound). The place was investigated by the vicar Victor Ewald in 1928. He found a burial from the Bronze Age, but no visible markings above ground level. The finds were of flint and pottery, mainly of a late Bronze Age character, but also a recent piece of pottery was found (Ewald 1928, report to ATA 3865/1928).

RAÄ 41:1 (Mound). In 1925 Hansen excavated a mound with a diameter of 15–20 m and a height of 1.5 m. The primarily burial was a late Neolithic stone cist with finds deriving from only the late Neolithic period. Later a central burial in an additional enlargement was constructed. In this Hansen found 1 short sword, 1 bracelet, 1 button from Bronze Age period III (LUHM 23116, Hansen 1925, reports to ATA 1281, 1422 and 1435/1925; Oldeberg 1974–1976: no. 212; Håkansson 1985:28).

RAÄ 42:1 (Mound). In 1930 Hansen made a partial investigation of this mound, 15 m in diameter and 2 m high. When clearing up the damaged stones from the central cairn he discovered a central burial. No bones could be seen but a short sword from Bronze Age period II or III was found (LUHM 23115; Hansen 1938:100ff and his report to ATA 3836d/1925; Oldeberg 1974–1976: no. 215; Håkansson 1985:28).

RAÄ 43:1 (Mound). In 1926 Hansen investigated a damaged cairn with a thin outer layer of earth. Its diameter was 13 m and it was 1.5 m high. Two burials were found:

The central grave was a stone cist measuring 0.4 × 0.6 m. Its contents were cremated bones and a fragment of bronze, possibly tweezers. A secondary grave with cremated bones was also found (SHM 18139; Oldeberg 1974–1976: no. 214; Håkansson 1985:28f).

RAÄ 44:1 (Cemetery with five mounds and cupmarks). In 1925 Hansen investigated two cairns here, both of which he dated to Bronze Age period II, while Håkansson (1985) puts them in period III and II–III).
Cairn 1 was badly damaged by stone removal, It was 10 m in diameter and 0.5 m high. At the bottom of the cairn two tutuli were found; one was complete and was decorated with a cast of a star.
Cairn 2 was found very close to the other and was 15 m in diameter and 3 m high. Centrally in the cairn some pieces of a sword from period II were found (Hansen 1938:102ff and report to ATA 3895a/1925; Oldeberg 1974–1976: no. 218; Håkansson 1985:29*)*.

RAÄ 50:1 (Mound). In 1925 Hansen investigated a stone cist that had emerged as a mound had been taken away. The cist had already been searched through and no new finds were encountered. Outside, however, he found several items: 2 bronze daggers, 1 slate pendant, 1 flint dagger, 1 bronze knife, 1 ceramic vessel, 1 bronze button and some bronze thread. No information of chronological relevance is given, but according to the description the burial dates from the late Neolithic to the early Bronze Age (Hansen 1925, report to ATA 3896/1925).

RAÄ 58:2 (Mound). In one of the so-called 'twin mounds' a ceramic vessel was reported to the Historical Museum in 1910. Inside was a dagger of bronze 23 cm long (SHM 14182:2–3; Oldeberg 1974–1976: no. 216).

RAÄ 71:1 (Mound). This mound was partly excavated and reconstructed by Hansen in 1925. The mound was 15 m in diameter and almost 2 m high. The central cairn was large and the earth cover measured only 0.5 m. Underneath the central cairn he found a dagger of bronze, 28.3 cm long with 4 rivets of bronze. No information of any burial construction is given. The burial is dated to the early Bronze Age (Hansen 1938:100ff and his report to ATA 3897/1925).

RAÄ 114:1 (Mound). The mound had been partly damaged and was investigated by Hansen in 1926. It was 13 m in diameter and 1.5 m high. Centrally in the mound a stone cist was found measuring 60 × 40 × 30 cm. The 'floor' was paved with cobbled stones. Bones from one grown individual were found, one piece of bronze was found in the southeast corner of the cist. The cairn was almost free from soil and had only a very thin surface layer of earth. No kerbstones were found. A couple of metres south of the central grave a secondary grave was found consisting of cremated bones spread in an area of approximately 0.5 m^2 (SHM 18139; Hansen 1926, report to ATA 2198a/1926).

RAÄ 125:1 (Removed burial). As a foundation was constructed a ceramic vessel was found which could be dated to the late Bronze Age. Inside were cremated bones and a 10 cm long knife, probably a razor (SHM 25000; Kärulfsgård 1953,report to ATA 3351/1953).

RAÄ 132:1 (Mound). In 1971 a cairn was investigated by the National Heritage Board (UV-Syd). The cairn was 15 m in diameter and 1.2 m high. There was no visible burial construction but cremated bones and pieces of ceramic were spread in the southern part of the cairn. The cairn was covered by an earth layer that was 0.5 m thick. This layer had a recent character and covered not only the cairn but also a large stone with rock-carvings. Judging by the recent character of the filling material, the rock-carvings actually could have been visible in earlier periods. Altogether 65 cupmarks and 3 oblong features were found on the stone. In the recent rock-carving inventory (see later) these numbers were changed to 74 cupmarks

Fig. 44. *The pommel found in Grevie RAÄ 132:1. LUHM 31658. Photo Jenny Nord 2008.*

and 4 grooves. Other finds in the burial were a pommel from period III of the Bronze Age, some pieces of pottery and cremated bones. No inner construction could be distinguished (Nagy 1975a, Oldeberg 1974–1976: no. 211a).

RAÄ 145:1 (Stone-setting) and 338 (former site of a mound). RAÄ 145 was investigated by Mats Petersson (Mats P. Malmer) in 1948. The analyses of the cremated bones were made by N.-G. Gejvall. In the report no measurements are given concerning the stone-setting itself. The turf layer was 10–20 cm thick and underneath it a cairn, and in the cairn seven standing stones were placed, they were about 1 m long each but they did not seem to be in any special order. Besides the central burial another six intact secondary burials were investigated and parts of at least a further four consisting of pieces of ceramics and cremated bones.

Central burial: a stone cist with two separate assemblages of cremated bones, although from the same individual: a young woman. In one of the bone heaps a button and a simple knife of bronze were found.

Fig. 45. *Reconstructed ceramic vessels found in Grevie RAÄ 145:1. LUHM 28788. Photo Jenny Nord 2008.*

Fig. 46. *The razor found in secondary burial B in Grevie RAÄ 145:1. LUHM 28788. Photo Jenny Nord 2008.*

Secondary grave A: cremated bones were found in a decorated ceramic vessel covered with a ceramic lid. The bones came from a woman who had passed middle age.
Secondary grave B: a small stone cist with a heap of bones from a middle-aged man. A razor, some resin and a bronze fragment were found.
Secondary grave C: soil mixed with fragments of charcoal and a small amount of bones belonging to an elderly individual.
Secondary grave D: an undecorated ceramic vessel filled with cremated bones covered with a stone. The bones belonged to one adult individual and a child. Fragments of a sickle were found.
Secondary grave E: a little hollow with soil and charcoal mixed, at the bottom a flat stone. On this a ceramic vessel covered with a stone was located. It was filled with bones and material from the funeral pyre. The bones came from a youth.
Secondary grave F: consisted of a small gathering of cremated bones and resin. The bones belonged to an elderly woman (LUHM 28788; Petersson 1948:260ff and the report to ATA 584/1949; Oldeberg 1974–1976: no. 223; Baudou 1960: no. 310, 461).

RAÄ 338 is a burial that had previously been removed without any investigation in connection with the construction of a house. In a stone cist, possibly a secondary burial, a ceramic vessel was found with a collar of Lüneburg type (LUHM 28908; Petersson 1950 and report to ATA 584/1949; Oldeberg 1974–1976: no. 221).

RAÄ 181:1 (Flat-earth cemetery). In a gravel pit close to a mound (RAÄ 315) several ceramic vessels with cremated bones were found. One of these was investigated in 1949. The vessel was standing on a flat stone 20 cm below ground level and it was surrounded by stones around 10 cm large and charcoal. No dating and no finds were reported (SHM 24282; Strömberg 1950, report to ATA 931/1950).

The list above refers to finds that are recorded in the Register of the National Heritage Board, but there are further finds from the area according to the National Museum (SHM) and its catalogues which have no exact provenance and no RAÄ number. These nevertheless give some information about the character of the Bjäre burials and I will list them below.

- Grevie (Grevie parish): A razor (with a back-bent neck), a needle, a tutulus and piece of a bracelet found in a mound in Grevie (SHM 8232:b; Oldeberg 1974–1976: no. 208).

- Ängelsbäck (Grevie parish): A ceramic vessel was found in a small cairn approximately 200 m from the sea in Engelsbäck. Inside were ashes and cremated bones and a short sword 26 cm long and 4 cm wide. There was also the blade from a smaller damaged knife 6.7 cm long (SHM 11259; Oldeberg 1974–1976: no. 220).

The parish of Hov

RAÄ 14 :1 (Stone cist). A stone cist approximately 2 × 1 m in size, that most probably was previously covered with a cairn or a mound, was reported damaged in 1926. It was investigated but no finds were made. According the Register of the National Heritage Board the stone cist was removed in the 1950s (ATA 4144/1926).

RAÄ 15:1 (Cemetery). According the Register of the National Heritage Board a ceramic vessel with cremated bones has been found in a stone-setting. No other finds. According to other information the ceramic vessel came from a stone cist and there is uncertainty as to whether it was covered by a mound or not. The local teacher Emil Söderman investigated the grave after it was damaged in 1934. The ceramic vessel was decorated with vertical lines close to the rim and was polished on the lower part (SHM 20654; Söderman 1934, reports to ATA 1558/1934 and 1824/1934).

RAÄ 29:1 (Mound). In 1987 Göran Burenhult and the society Fornvännerna from Halmstad investigated and removed a burial that had been damaged in 1974 by a building site, and it was partly excavated as a seminar excavation the same year which was led by Burenhult. However, it was never fully excavated at this time and a quarter of it was left in a sorry-looking state. In 1987 the

society Fornvännerna and Burenhult received permission to finish the work and to fully excavate the burial and then to remove it. The grave construction was located in the southeast corner of a cemetery (RAÄ 24). It consisted of a cairn which had a kerb of stones and a central stone cist. In the southeast part of the kerb there was an 'opening' marked by two standing stones and close to them a cremation burial which was covered by two flat stones. Beneath the standing stones five postholes were found. In the top layer flint and a firestone with an Iron Age character were found. Cremated bones, flint items and a piece of pottery were found (Lindblad 1988).

RAÄ 53:1 (Mound). The mound which is called 'Rödhög' was investigated in 1988 and 1989, and restored in 1990 by the society Bjäre arkeologivänner with the guidance of Ingela Klasson. The mound measures 20 m in diameter and is 2.1 m high. Unfortunately no report has been finished yet, but through the preliminary report on the first year's work and through different documentation material as well as personal communication with Klasson and members of the society Bjäre arkeologivänner we can get a good picture of the information yielded by the mound. The mound had a large central cairn with a 30 cm thick surface layer of earth. Several interesting construction details were noted: for example, that the turfs in the covering earth layer were placed with the grass downwards, and that the central cairn was nicely and orderly laid. There was no clear burial construction in connection with the central grave, but a large stone was put there. The finds consist of one short sword, one dagger of bronze and pieces of a bronze needle. The sword today measures 28.3 cm, it has a rhombic pommel decorated with spirals (see figs. 47a and 47b). It can probably be dated to period II of the Bronze Age. Only parts of an unburnt jaw were found from the buried person. A secondary grave was found in the eastern part of the mound. It was a ceramic vessel with cremated bones and a razor. According to Klasson, the osteologist Gejavall has analysed the bones and interpreted them as coming from a woman about 50 years old (Klasson 1988, 1993 personal communication; Andersson & Assarsson 2000 personal communication).

Fig. 47a. *Close-up of the pommel from the sword found in the central grave in Hov RAÄ 53:1. Photo Jenny Nord 2009.*

RAÄ 71:1 (Mound). This was partly investigated and restored in 1925 by Hansen. The mound was 15 m in diameter and almost 2 m high. Under a layer of soil that was at most half a metre thick a large central cairn was found. Underneath the cairn he found a dagger of bronze 28.3 cm long and

Fig. 47b. *The sword from Hov RAÄ 53:1. Photo Jenny Nord 2009.*

with four rivets of bronze. He dates the grave to the early Bronze Age. No mortuary monument is mentioned in the report (Hansen 1938:100ff and his report to ATA 3897/1925).

RAÄ 105 (2 mounds and 1 stone-setting). The local vicar Ewald investigated three mounds at this location out of at least nine then existing. These were most probably located just to the east of the mortuary monuments existing today, and thus indicating that there used to be a cemetery on this site. A house stands nowadays where the investigated mounds were once located. According to Ewald's report the results can be summarised as follows (his identity numbers are used here);
Mound II: A cairn mixed with soil; the stones were in general flat. It was 10 m in diameter and 0.7 m high and covered with a 10 cm earth layer. Inside one central grave and seven secondary graves was found. The central grave consisted of a stone cist with some pieces of ceramics, no bones. In all of the secondary graves he found pieces of ceramics and most often also cremated bones. In two of the secondary burials he found pieces of bronze; in no. 5 he found a needle that was connected with a ring, and in no. 7 he found a pair of tweezers and a razor with the neck bent backwards.
Mound IV: A cairn mixed with soil; the stones were in general flat. It measured only 5 m in diameter and was 0.6 m high. The central grave was a square stone cist with a ceramic vessel with bones and three bronze items on top: a pair of tweezers, an awl and a knife. There were four secondary graves with pottery and cremated bones. The secondary graves 1–3 all consisted of small stone cists 25 × 25 cm in size, located close to the southern fringe of the cairn, and all three cists lacked a southern wall. In grave 1 he found a razor with the neck bent backwards, in grave 3 a bronze button with concentric circles. A fourth secondary burial was found just underneath the earth cover and consisted of a rounded area filled with black burnt bones, lots of small pieces of pottery and an item of iron.
Mound IX was partly covered by a modern clearance cairn. This construction was square with sides 5 m long. Inside a grave was found that was covered by a triangular stone and consisted of cremated bones. The excavated material gives a picture of a cemetery used from at least the middle Bronze Age until the early Iron Age (SHM 18527; Ewald 1927, report to ATA 4080/1927).

RAÄ 109 (Cemetery and settlement site). The site Tofta Högar is well-known especially for its cult house constructions (Burenhult 1974: 1975: 1991:170ff), but the site also has 4 mounds, 11 stone-settings, 1 ship-setting and 2 boulders with rock-carvings. In 1974 and 1975 Burenhult made investigations on this site, being primarily interested in the place as a ritual site. He made sections through the walls of the cult house, but he also investigated three grave constructions in the cemetery.

From the preliminary report the following information is given (Burehult 1976, report to ATA 958/1976):

Burial 6: A low and oval cairn in the southern part of the cemetery. As the construction was investigated it became clear that the oval form did not have anything to do with recent damage. Instead a round cairn made of small stones, 5 m in diameter, was found in the southern part. The cairn covered a cremation burial that was radiocarbon-dated to late Iron Age 1180±50 BP (694–977 AD with 94% certainty according to Oxcal 4.0). As the Viking Age burial was being constructed some of the kerbstones from the older underlying construction were removed. They were found a couple of metres away. Soon it became clear that the older construction was a stone-setting which had the shape of a ship, 11 × 3.4 m, oriented northwest–southeast. In its eastern part just outside the rail the grave was found consisting of a severely damaged polygonal stone cist 35–40 cm in size. From the layers it could be seen that the grave had been constructed after the stone-setting had been laid out. Inside the cist a ceramic vessel was found with a shape and surface treatment that suggested a dating to Bronze Age period V. This was filled with cremated bones from one individual, sex and age unknown (the osteological analysis was performed by Ove Persson). The area inside the rail was laid with closely fitted floor-like stone paving. According to this first preliminary report the whole construction was made directly on the former ground level and it was considered unlikely that a mound had covered it (Burenhult 1976, report to ATA 958/1976). However, in a later publication Burenhult writes that it was covered by a mound (Burenhult 1981:396ff).

Burial 5: When an oak was being removed in order to facilitate the work in connection with burial 6, a round stone-setting was discovered just northeast of it. It had not been visible earlier. It meas-

ured 6.3 m in diameter. No signs of a central grave could be found but in its southern end two smaller stone cists were discovered with cremated bones. They were located on the fringe of the construction and appeared to be secondary graves.
Secondary grave 1: A polygonal stone cist 55 × 60 cm in size, its lower part was filled with cremated bones in rather big pieces. A flat stone was used as a floor. No finds.
Secondary grave 2: A rectangular stone cist 110 × 65 cm situated 40 cm from grave 1. Its inner dimensions were 70 × 30 cm. The floor was cobbled with 5 cm stones. The cist was filled with cremated bones. According to the report the graves were dated to Bronze Age period III–IV (Burenhult 1976, report to ATA 958/1976).

Burial 4: This consisted of a low cairn slightly oval. Towards the eastern part the cairn is connected to a wall which is also linked to Burial 3. Traces of a kerb were visible but the cairn was rather damaged in parts. In the central part of the cairn flat stones from a stone cist were visible. Originally the burial construction had been round but a later enlargement had changed the shape. The round construction was 6 m in diameter and the later enlargement which had a kerb was 2 × 5 m. It was built directly on the former ground level. Towards the eastern part of the construction, approximately 80 cm from the outer kerb, a layer rich in charcoal was found directly on the former ground level. It was 10 cm thick and 60–80 cm in diameter. There were no bones or finds. The roof of the central grave was built of four massive flat stones and measured 235 × 110 cm. The roof was supported by nine posts, approximately 25 cm high, seven of which were found on the northern side and 2 on the southern (these were larger). The grave measuring 2005 × 50 cm was oriented east–west and was dug down into the sterile ground. No bones were preserved but in the western corner a small ceramic vessel was found which can be dated to the early Roman Iron Age. Just north of burial 4 a hearth-like construction was found measuring 70 × 100 cm and 5 cm in thickness (Burenhult 1976, report to ATA 958/1976).

RAÄ 163 (Stone-setting). Hansen investigated a mound here in 1936. It was 5–6 m in diameter, height unknown. The reason for the investigation was that a ring of bronze had been found when a secondary burial had been damaged by ploughing. During excavation pieces of pottery and cremated bones were found, 30 cm below ground level spread on the ground in an area of 1 m^2. He

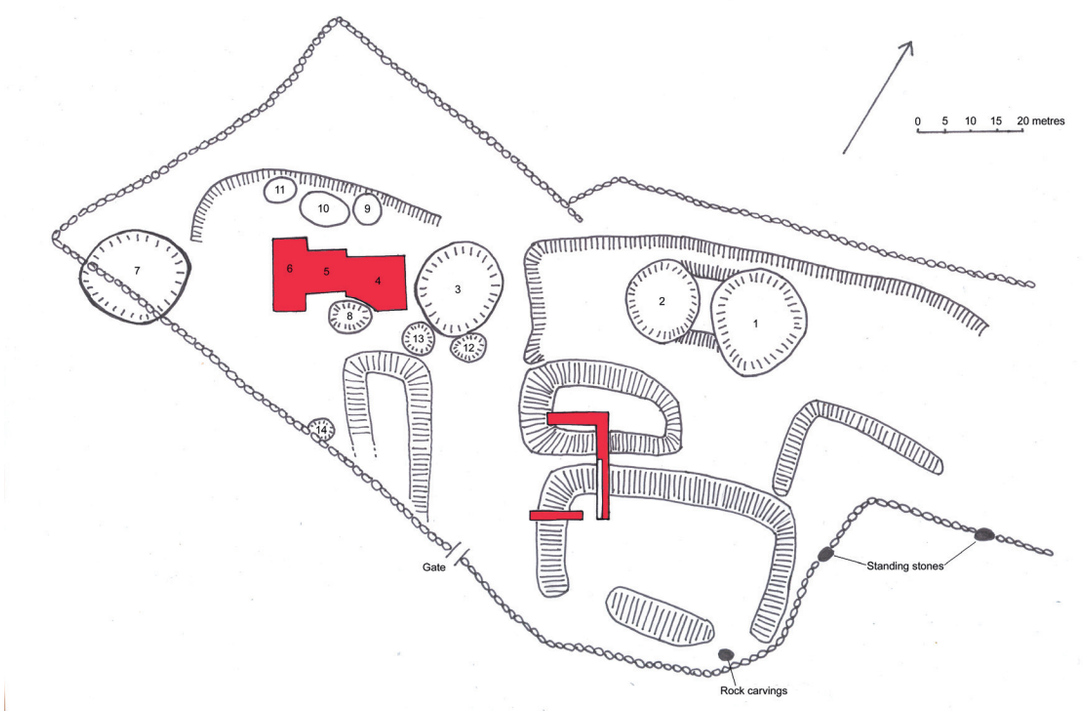


Fig. 48. *Plan of the cemetery and cult-house complex of Tofta Högar. Redrawn from Burenhult report to ATA 958/1976. Red areas correspond to the areas that were investigated during 1974–75. Numbers correspond to burials.*

made another inspection of the place in 1937 and found traces of further damaged burials. He dated the grave to late Bronze Age/early Iron Age (SHM 21730; Hansen 1936, report to ATA 4589/1936, Hansen 1937, report to ATA 1759/1937).

The parish of Västra Karup

RAÄ 18:1 (Cemetery) Today this cemetery is completely covered with vegetation and cannot be accessed. According to the inventory made by Folke Hansen in 1922 there are 5 cairns in a row. Before the inventory a ceramic vessel had been found in the easternmost cairn (Hansen 1926, ATA 1511/1926: burials no. 81–85). The Register of the National Heritage Board speaks of 5 mounds and 3 stone-settings.

RAÄ 112:1 (Stone-setting?). In 1977 it was investigated and removed by the National Heritage Board (UV-Syd). It was interpreted as the remnants of a damaged cairn. No finds (Nagmér report to ATA 3139/1977).

RAÄ 117:1 (Mound). This mound is situated very close to a ship-setting (RAÄ 118, see below). The mound is damaged and a small chicken house has been built on it. According to a report from a local informant the mound was destroyed in connection with the building of the new church in Torekov in 1862. Needles of bronze are said to have been found inside the mound (Nilsson1961, report to ATA 7430/1961, Nilsson 1967, report to ATA 19/1967).

RAÄ 118:1 (Ship-setting). The stone-setting is situated directly by the side of the road to Torekov. When the road was being enlarged in 1960 the stone-setting was investigated by Märta Strömberg. The ship-setting measures 11 m long and 4 m wide, oriented west-northwest–east-southeast. Directly underneath the stones a cremation burial was found, 14 cm thick at the thickest part. Within this human bones were found and also some bones of horse, dog and sheep. In the western part nine heart-shaped arrowheads of flint were found, all affected by fire.

The burial was located above a cultural layer from the Bronze Age, 40 cm thick. The burial is dated to the late Bronze Age, period V or VI. According to Strömberg it is not certain whether the

Fig. 49. *RAÄ 118:1. The ship-setting in Slättaröd, looking towards the south and Kullaberg. Photo Jenny Nord 2008.*

stone-setting had been covered by a mound or not. However, according to an inspection report by K.-A. Gustafsson at the National Heritage Board from 1931, a local informant, Dagmar Bruce, claims that it was covered. The cover is said to have been taken away in connection with the building of the church, see above RAÄ 117. There are possibilities for confusion here, or perhaps both burials were in fact damaged by the construction of the church. According to Strömberg's initial report to the National Heritage Board the burial was covered with vegetation and therefore not visible before the excavation, but nothing is said about it being covered by any soil, stones or earth (Gustavsson 1931, ATA 2901/1931; Strömberg1962, report to ATA 4391/1962; Strömberg 1962).

Fig. 50. *Some of the more complete fire-damaged arrowheads found in Västra Karup RAÄ 118. Photo Jenny Nord 2009.*

RAÄ 132: 4 (Stone-setting). Close to the coastline several cairns and stone-settings are found. They are made of Cambrian sandstone, just like the cairns of Gröthögarna further north (see Chapter 4). This stone-setting was investigated in 1958 by Gustav Ekelund. The burial was 8 m in diameter and 0.4 m high. In the middle there was a hollow and it had been searched through. Flat stones from a stone cist were visible, 20–30 cm wide. Sixty-nine pieces of ceramics and cremated bones were found in the stone cist. The burial was reconstructed (SHM 25919; Ekelund 1958, report to ATA 7056/1958).

RAÄ 158:1 (Stone-setting). According to the inventory by Hansen in 1925 (no. 90) it is a mound 13 m in diameter and 1.5 m high; today in the Register of the National Heritage Board it is said to be 18 m in diameter and only 1 m high and is defined as a stone-setting, although mound-like. Hansen reported that it was damaged in the southwest side of the mound, and a stone cist measuring 40 × 30 cm was visible. He assumed it was a secondary burial. Cremated bones were still present in the cist. No further investigation was made (Hansen 1926, ATA 1511/1926).

RAÄ 167:1–2 (Cairns). The cairns were damaged by stone-quarrying activities, so one of them (no. 1) was investigated by Hansen in 1932. The cairn was 14.5 m in diameter and 1.7 m high. He found that the bottom part of the cairn was made with rounded stones and gravel; no grave was found. The upper part of the cairn was made of flat stones of Cambrian sandstone, the first layer with large slabs (Hansen 1933, report to ATA 0177/1933).

RAÄ 242 (Mounds and stone-setting). The mound was probably excavated in the 19th century by an unknown amateur archaeologist. Which of the monuments was excavated is hard to tell today, but it is interesting to note that one of them has a boulder with cupmarks on the northeastern side. In the bottom of the mound a disc-shaped bronze belt plate decorated with concentric circles and spirals, two bracelets and a bronze knife were found. The knife can be dated to Bronze Age period III (SHM 6815; Montelius 1917: no. 954, 966, 1019; Strömberg 1959; Håkansson 1985).

RAÄ 244:2 (Mound). According to the inventory by Hansen a mound 10 m in diameter and 2 m high (today 12 and 1.5 m) had been dug into (no. 10 in the inventory of Hansen). A stone cist 2–3 m long was found in the bottom of the mound. This would most probably date the mound to the late Neolithic – early Bronze Age (Hansen 1926, ATA 1511/1926).

RAÄ 295:1 (Mound). The mound was damaged in 1917 by ploughing. It mainly consisted of a cairn that originally was 10 m in diameter (probably the central cairn). A kerb was partially distinguished in the investigation in 1932 by Erik Salvén. He also found cremated bones, a flint chisel and approximately 30 pieces of pottery. Five sherds were decorated with parallel stripes (Salvén 1932, report to ATA 0742/1932).

Fig. 51a. *Bracelets from Västra Karup RAÄ 242:1. Inv.nr. 6815:a-b © Christer Åhlin/Statens historiska museum.*

Fig. 51b. *Knife from Västra Karup RAÄ 242:1. Inv.nr. 6815:c © Christer Åhlin/Statens historiska museum.*

Fig. 51c. *Disc-shaped bronze belt plate from Västra Karup RAÄ 242:1. Inv.nr. 6815:d © Christer Åhlin/Statens historiska museum.*

RAÄ 343:1 (Flat-earth grave cemetery). When the golf course in Boarp was being made in 1929 two small stone cists were found under the ground, 1.3 m from each other.
Grave 1: Pieces from a small decorated ceramic vessel were found together with cremated human bones.
Grave 2: Pieces of bark were discovered together with cremated human bones. They were both dated to the late Bronze Age (SHM 19133; Ewald 1929, report to ATA 2676/1929).

RAÄ 472:1 (Removed burial). A ceramic vessel with cremated bones was found in a crevice in connection with roadworks. It was dated to the late Bronze Age. Close by the crevice there is a field which is called Guldhögsåker (Gold-mound field); the closest mound is today situated 100 m away (Nilsson 1931, report to ATA 3787/1931).

RAÄ 473:1 (Flat-earth cemetery). In the Register of the National Heritage Board this burial is defined as a flat-earth grave cemetery, but according the investigation made by Gustawsson in 1931 there used to be a mound on the site, which according to the landowner was removed around 1850. The burial was investigated because a ceramic vessel had been found when the area was being ploughed. The vessel contained ashes, cremated bones, a bronze awl, a bronze button and a fragment of a bronze knife. The ceramic vessel stood on the west-northwest side of a stone cist 75 cm long and 35 cm wide, made of slabs. There was no roof. Furthermore, pieces of ceramics from other vessels were also noticed (Gustawsson 1931, report to ATA 1551/1931; Baudou 1960:no. 466).

RAÄ 502:1 (Mound). A small mound, 7 m in diameter and 0.5 m high, situated on a solid rock. The landowner thought it was made of clearance stones and wanted to remove them. Instead he found a ceramic vessel. During the investigation in 1938 by Hansen further two ceramic vessels were found: one decorated biconical urn with cremated bones and an arrowhead made of bronze, the other vessel is similar to Montelius 1431, dated to the Bronze Age period V, and contained cremated bones and pieces of a sickle made of bronze (Montelius 1917: no. 1431). The mound was restored by Hansen (SHM 22331; Hansen 1939, reports to ATA 2500/1939, 2559/1939).

The list above refers to finds that are recorded in the Register of the National Heritage Board, but there are further finds from the area in the National Museum (SHM) and its catalogues which have no exact provenance and no RAÄ number references.

- Slättaröd (the coast): A mound was destroyed by stone mining along the coast close to Slättaröd. A dagger of bronze was found which was sold (Nilsson 1932, report to SHM).

- Slättaröd (farm no. 13): In a stone cist pieces of a ceramic vessel and cremated bones were found. The stone cist was covered with slabs. The vessel was decorated and similar to the decorated urn that was found in RAÄ 502, see above (SHM 22332; Hansen report to ATA 2560/1939).

- Påarp, Brennesbacken: The exact location and circumstances of this find are not well known, unfortunately. It consists of vessels and straining vessels of bronze that are dated to the Roman Iron Age (SHM 5025). According to Ahlenius & Kempe it was found in a small mound, and should therefore be seen as a burial find. This is also suggested by Björk (Ahlenius & Kempe 1908; Björk 2005:200).

- Cairn close to the coast: Flint tools (a sickle, an axe and an oval item) found in a cairn along the coastline (SHM 10869).

Summary

Looking at the excavated material, there seems to be a connection between the late Neolithic and the early Bronze Age in the locations of burials, since some of the early Bronze Age mounds are superimposed on burials from the late Neolithic. There seems to have been a wish to connect with predecessors, with ancestors, perhaps ancestors who had then become mythical. This situation changed in the middle Bronze Age as cremations became more frequent; the mounds from

this period are not clearly connected with earlier burials 'on the spot' as before, reusing the same initial structure, even though they may be located close to earlier burials. Many of the mounds with a central grave dated to period III–IV have several secondary graves and greater variation in the way they are built. The mounds from the very late Bronze Age are often quite small and cover only one single central grave; few secondary burials have been noted in these mounds. They are often situated in small cemeteries, and often found close to earlier mounds. They are very similar to the stone-settings which generally date to the same period. The burial RAÄ 315 in Grevie parish, mentioned above as being close to the ceramic vessels found in a gravel pit, is only a small burial 9 m in diameter and half a metre high. Presumably the mound is from the late Bronze Age and the ceramic vessels that have been found nearby should be seen as secondary burials. The habit of making secondary burials in existing monuments was strong during the late Bronze Age and perhaps also the early Iron Age.

Grevie RAÄ 145, which dates from mid and late Bronze Age, is a good example when trying to understand the secondary use(s) of a mortuary monument. First, it is interesting to note that the number of standing stones is the same as the number of complete burials found in the burial. I do not think this is a coincidence. Another very interesting fact is the composition of the individuals in the burial, which consists of women and men, elderly persons and youths as well as one child. This gives an impression of a family, and because several of the deaths occurred at an early age, it gives an idea of how vulnerable life could be at this time. The burials are not very wealthy judging by the items; it suggests that it could belong to an average farming family of the Bjäre peninsula during the middle Bronze Age. Exactly how a family was constituted during this period we cannot be sure of, but it was most probably not so different from the farming family that we know of from the historical periods. Grevie RAÄ 145 is located close to mounds of a presumably older age and not far away from a large rock-carving site (see fig. 52). It is thus very closely connected with other sites in the landscape that provide it both with historical and contextual understanding.

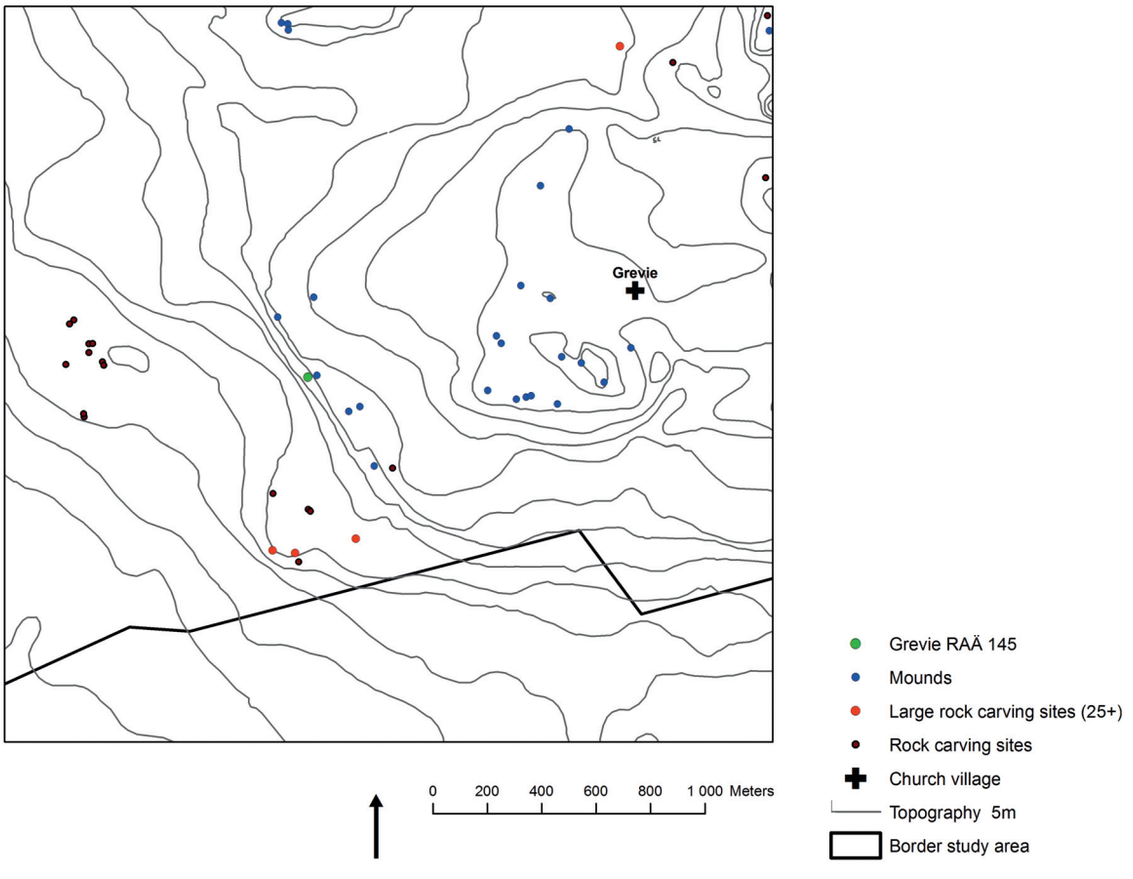


Fig. 52. *The location of Grevie RAÄ 145 and its context. Background data © Lantmäteriet Gävle 2009. Grant I 2009/0549.*

Two other burial monuments which have central graves from the middle Bronze Age (period III) have completely different characters though. Grevie RAÄ 132:1 comprises a large boulder with rock-carvings and only one central burial with a pommel as a burial gift. Västra Karup RAÄ 242 also shows rather specialised attributes. The burial gifts consist of a disc-shaped bronze belt plate, two bracelets and a knife. Possibly these attributes have a religious undertone which might say something about the buried person (see for example Kristiansen & Larsson 2005:298ff). There are no secondary graves known from this mound, but since the records from the investigation are very sparse this is somewhat uncertain. This burial too is closely connected with cupmarks.

Thus it seems as if from the same period, broadly, we have one mound which can be connected presumably with an average farming family, and we also have burials which can be connected with single persons with rather special attributes. Another example of a rather special burial which is younger, however, is Västra Karup RAÄ 118 which is dated to the late Bronze Age, possibly to period V. It is a stone-setting in the shape of a ship with flint arrowheads and bones from horse, dog and sheep as grave-goods. The burial was made directly on top of the funeral pyre which in turn was put above a cultural layer.

From this rather limited data a rather general interpretation can be made concerning the burials on the Bjäre peninsula. It seems that in the early Bronze Age there was a strong connection with the past expressed on an individual basis in the burials; that is to say, with individual ancestors from the late Neolithic who were incorporated in later mortuary monuments, erected in the period II or possibly period III. There is a lack of burials from Bronze Age period I. When the habit of cremation was introduced, the former connection with the late Neolithic was less obvious as a large number of new mounds were built in new places but often spatially closely related to older mounds or to other sites of importance, such as cult sites and small cemeteries. Perhaps the memory of the ancestor had become a ‘mythological past’ with an important place in the landscape to connect to – but necessarily not through the use of the same mortuary monument. Mounds continued to create new places in the landscape, but with spatial consideration for existing burials. The old mortuary monuments from the early Bronze Age, however, were still being used for secondary burials.

There is a great variety of mortuary monuments, which can make it hard to make generalisations about them. There seems to have been a wealth of possibilities that people could choose from. The mortuary monuments were not necessarily used as means to show social difference. However, the secondary burials might be considered as signs of social stratification since the choice that could be made was either to be placed in an existing mound or to get a new one. However, which of these choices brought the highest status level can be discussed (see also Olausson 1993a). In one case the dead person was connected directly with the ancestor by being placed in the same mound, in the other the dead person was excluded from this direct connection but possibly achieved this ancestor status himself. The difficult issue is really to understand why a particular choice was made, and perhaps we have to be content with the fact that there were multiple possible choices which we cannot understand.

In the following I will look more closely at the excavated burials, their structures and grave-goods as well as their landscape settings in order to draw further conclusions.

Chronological assumptions

My first task must be to examine the excavated burials to find out whether there are any chronological patterns that can shed light on the large amount of mortuary monuments in Bjäre. Among all the visible mortuary monuments in Bjäre only 3% have been fully excavated. Furthermore, they have rarely been properly reported, which does not make them the ideal source material. This is a common problem with archaeological sources, and it has to be overcome by using the available information in an individual and creative way. It has been argued earlier (Nord & Paulsson 1993) that the level of preservation of the mounds in Bjäre is high. This situation may explain why there is a large amount of smaller-sized burials. Three per cent is thus a figure that refers to a more complete source material than in, for example, the south of Skåne where the same number would refer to mainly large burial mounds from the early periods of the Bronze Age.

The first implication that I ran into was the inconsistent use of the different classifications of the burial types. The main burial types in Bjäre have the following definitions according to the National Heritage Boards Register (see http://www.fmis.raa.se/help/WebHelp/FMISFornsok.htm):

- Mound: A prehistoric grave construction with a clearly domed profile and grassy surface mainly built of earth or sand. *(Förhistorisk gravanläggning med markerat välvd profil och övertorvad yta som till större delen är uppbyggd av sand eller jord)*.
- Cairn: A prehistoric grave construction with a clearly domed profile that is built of stones without any visible mixture of sand or earth. *(Förhistorisk gravanläggning med markerat välvd profil, uppbyggd av stenar utan synlig inblandning av sand eller jord)*.
- Stone-setting: A prehistoric grave construction with flat or only slightly domed profile. *(Förhistorisk gravanläggning med flack eller svagt välvd profil)*.

Sometimes the different types are difficult to distinguish from each other (see figs. 53 and 54). The excavations of the Bjäre burials have shown that there is not necessarily a chronological difference between them either, even if the stone-settings generally speaking are younger than the mounds. But even the large and early mounds were in active use for secondary burials at the same time as stone-settings were being built. According to the definitions in the national register the difference between a mound and a stone-setting is that the former should have a clearly rounded profile while the latter only has a slightly rounded profile or can even be flat. Both can be made of stones covered with earth and vegetation. The shape of the profile can be seen as a continuum from flat to well rounded, which makes the just slightly rounded ones very hard to define; sometimes they are thought of as stone-settings and sometimes as mounds. A similar difficulty with definitions occurs between cairns and mounds/stone-settings and therefore they will also be included in the more general grave-concept applied here. We know that the stone-setting as a burial type was established already during the early Bronze Age (Artelius 1998) and therefore existed alongside both cairns and mounds and also later in the Iron Age. The problem with defining burial types has been noticed also in northeastern Skåne (Coles 2002:219f) but as a problem I do not believe it should be overestimated. Initially I decided to treat them all similarly and thus they will not necessarily be distinguished from each other. Only when I find it necessary or of interest will I distinguish between them; for example, when it comes to cairns and mounds it might be interesting to look at them partly separately since their distribution patterns on a larger scale are different and they might have different backgrounds (see Chapter 4). Most mounds in Bjäre have large central cairns, and it is interesting that some have been covered by earth and some not. It is also interesting to look at the different locations the different types of burials (stone-settings, mounds and cairns) have in the landscape and their connection with other sites (see more in Chapter 4).

While examining the information from the excavations it became obvious that the period of mound building in Bjäre is very long, just as has been noted in other areas in northwest Skåne and Halland (Artelius 1998; Andersson 1999). It stretches all over the Bronze Age period and possibly even into the Iron Age. In fact, we also know of one mound that can be securely dated to the Roman Iron Age, this concerns one of the mounds that Burenhult excavated in Tofta Högar (Hov RAÄ 109), and it is also possible that the Roman drinking vessels found in Brennesbacken, Påarp (see above), come from a mound. However, the excavated material in general suggests that the mounds, cairns and stone-settings can be dated to the Bronze Age, with some exceptions. It is also possible to distinguish a certain grouping among the graves according to size and shape (no matter which definition the National heritage Register has given them):

Table 6. *Chronological grouping of the Bronze Age burial constructions at Bjäre.*

Group	Diameter	Height	Other	Main period(s)
1	5–10 m	Less than 1 m		Middle & Late BA & Iron Age
2	10–20 m	1–2 m		(Early &) Middle BA
3	More than 15 m	More than 2 m		Early (& Middle) BA
4			No visible marking	Late BA & Iron Age
5			Uncertain type	Mixed
6			Stone ship	Late BA

Judging by the investigated material the burials from early Bronze Age belong mainly to groups 2 and 3 (see table 6). The middle Bronze Age burials belong to groups 1, 2 and 3, which means to all groups with visible graves. Burials from the late Bronze Age in Bjäre are mainly found in smaller-sized mortuary monuments, primarily from group 1 but also from burials without visible markers, group 4. The ship-settings also belong to this period. The chronological tools that may be used for the visible constructions are thus *both* diameter and height. A mortuary monument less than 10 m in diameter is often dated to the late Bronze Age (or to the Iron Age), but not if it is higher than 1 metre, then it is most probably from the middle Bronze Age. The correlation between diameter and height seems to be more important to consider than the building material. The classifications (cairn, mound and stone-setting) seem to be of less importance as a detailed chronological tool, even if it is a general rule that most stone-settings originate from the later periods and most mounds originate from the earlier periods. Three general chronological groups

Fig. 53. *The mound (?) Västra Karup RAÄ 72:1 located close to the rock-carving site of Drottninghall. Photo Jenny Nord 2005.*

Fig. 54. *The mound (?) Hov RAÄ 170:1, located on the very top of the ridge. Photo Jenny Nord 2004.*

can be distinguished. In these there are of course 'overlappers' but as a general chronological tool it will be sufficient.

Early Bronze Age (period I–II/III): Mortuary monuments more than 2 metres high and more than 10 metres in diameter. In several cases there is site continuity from the late Neolithic since a late Neolithic burial have been found at the bottom of the monument, but ongoing continuity into the late Bronze Age seems less common. These early monuments appear to have smaller central cairns than the later ones; in fig. 29 the thick infill of a presumed early dated mound can be seen.

Middle Bronze Age (period III–IV): Mortuary monuments larger than 10 metres in diameter and 1–2 metres high. There are also a number of very large graves, more than 20 metres in diameter and more than 2 metres high, that can be dated to this period; characteristic for them is that they usually have a brim or a 'topping'. The graves from middle Bronze Age generally do not show continuity from the late Neolithic. The central grave is usually a stone-cist with a cremation burial. Quite a few of these mounds include a large number of secondary burials, but some of them have only a central grave. Two mounds which probably originate from this period have been covered by fire-cracked stones (Nord & Bradshaw 2003; see also later in this chapter).

Late Bronze Age (period V–VI): Less than 1 metre high and less than 10 metres in diameter. From the Late Bronze Age burials are not only known to be covered by stone and/or earthen constructions, but they also occur without any visible constructions at all; they are known as flat-earth graves. In some cases rocky shelters were used. The ship-settings were also built in this period; there is some uncertainty as to whether they were covered with mounds or not. The cremated bones from this period are sometimes put in urns or in stone-cists, or even in both – or without either. Sometimes they are just spread in a layer with charcoal. The burials from this period can also be placed as secondary graves in an existing mound. Thus there is a great variety of possibilities in this period.

This chronological model, of course, has some source-critical problems, especially since it is based on only 3% of the material. However, since it seems to be the best way to view the large burial material I have decided to use it. The middle Bronze Age, according to this model, is the most active mound-building period in this region, followed by the late Bronze Age (see table 7). The smallest amount of mortuary monuments seems to be dated to the early Bronze Age, but these are generally also the largest ones. Period 1 of the Bronze Age is completely lacking in the material; most probably this material is hard to distinguish from the late Neolithic burials. The middle and late Bronze Age burials are those which show the greatest diversity in their appearances, while the mortuary monuments from the early Bronze Age are more homogeneous.

Table 7. *The amount of graves dated to the different periods. All graves are included here, secondary as well as primary.*

Period	Mounds	Cairns	Stone-settings	Total
Early Bronze Age (I–II/III)	34.5%	41%	–	21%
Middle Bronze Age (III–IV)	50.5%	24%	35%	43%
Late Bronze Age – Early Iron Age	15%	35%	65%	36%

Looking at the chronology of *only* the primary graves in the excavated mortuary monuments, we see a similar picture where the middle and late Bronze Age are the most active periods for building mortuary monuments:

- Late Neolithic – 4 graves
- Early Bronze Age – 4 graves
- Middle Bronze Age (III–IV) – 13 graves
- Late Bronze Age – 11 graves

Why did the tradition of building mortuary monuments remain in use for so long in Bjäre? The monuments from the late Bronze Age are generally smaller in size than before, but they still account for 36% of the total. Some of these may of course belong to the Iron Age as we have seen a few examples that could be dated to the Roman Iron Age (see above). What initially appeared as a huge amount of rather homogeneous and rather small Bronze Age mounds thus dates from a longer period of time than one would expect. Furthermore, they also show great variation in constructions and content and cannot be seen as homogeneous at all. However, in most research about Bronze Age burials they have usually been treated and presented more or less as being contemporary mass material, dated mainly to the early Bronze Age, which does not do any justice to the material and its potential (for example Hyenstrand 1984; T. B. Larsson 1993; see fig. 8 and 9 in chapter 1).

A possible and interesting answer to the above question is that the Bjäre situation in fact is normal. I have argued earlier (see Chapter 1) that the preservation of prehistoric sites on the peninsula is very good. In other Scanian and Danish areas where there are fewer but larger monuments as well as a different agricultural situation, we might in fact be looking at only a fraction of the original material, the one which is normally dated to the early Bronze Age (see Olsson 1991). If this is correct the Bjäre situation could possibly be seen as 'normative' and the conclusions from this material should thus mirror the Bronze Age society of southern Scandinavia in general more closely than the areas which are normally viewed as the central focus of this period. But even if this is the case it would not explain the complete number of mortuary monuments on Bjäre, it just brings fourth the idea of what might be missing. The abundance of monuments on Bjäre must first of all be seen as a local trait.The region must be seen in its own light and the regional characteristics of the area should first of all be understood on the local and regional level.

It has been argued elsewhere that mound building during the late Bronze Age is something that mainly took place in newly settled areas by newly established elites, and in some very special cases very large monuments were built, like Lusehøj in Denmark (Kristiansen 1986:149; Thrane 1993). Bjäre had obviously been settled for quite some time in the late Bronze Age; the reason for the continued mound building must be found elsewhere, even though a newly established elite cannot be excluded. Another aspect which might be of interest here is the fact that Bjäre is a peninsula; this means that there is limited space for expansion. This could have resulted in tensions among groups and/or the development of good forms of cooperation. Furthermore, if you look very functionalistically at all the mounds in Bjäre, they are in fact a good way to expand the grazing land by a few square metres. Whether this is reason enough to keep on building monuments I find very doubtful, but I think it is important to mention the fact that they cannot be considered as being destructive for land-use in Bjäre, rather the opposite, since they are mainly made of stones taken from the fields (Nord & Paulsson 1993:22). I will return to this issue later.

Grave-goods

Looking at the grave-goods from the excavations, some general patterns can be seen (see table 8). I will briefly point out three things that are important. First, the clothing accessories, jewellery and tools increase in the middle Bronze Age; second, items connected with the hygiene and personal equipment as well as tools increase in the late Bronze Age. The third thing is that weapons still occur in burials from the late Bronze Age, even if they are few. Some of the categories are very hard to define and to keep apart from each other. For example, should a knife be seen as a tool or a weapon? How can we distinguish between clothing accessories like a disc-shaped bronze belt plate and jewellery? However, difficult, some categorisations must be made to discuss the differences over time.

Table 8. *The grave-goods from the different periods: early, middle and late Bronze Age. All datable items are considered. The percentages are based on the individual bronze items found within the same period.*

Period	Weapons		Tools		Clothing accessories		Jewellery		Hygiene		Other		Pottery	Nothing
LN–Early BA	6	67%	0	0%	1	11%	0	0%	1	11%	1	11%	0	0
Middle BA	4	19%	3	14%	5	24%	3	14%	4	19%	2	10%	1	2
Late BA–IA	2	10%	7	33%	1	5%	3	14%	8	38%	0	0%	13	8

To clarify the bronze categories:

- Weapons = sword, pommel, dagger, arrowhead
- Tools = knife, awl, sickle
- Clothing accessories = disc-shaped bronze belt plate, buttons and tutuli
- Jewellery = rings, bracelets, collars
- Hygiene = razors, tweezers, needles
- Other = bronze thread, bronze-pieces
- Pottery = only sherds, not complete vessels.
- Nothing – empty except for ashes and cremated bones

Altogether 11 ceramic vessels have been found as containers in secondary burials in mounds or in stone-settings, and 10 vessels and a bark container have been found as containers in flat-earth cemeteries. Flint items have been found either in burials from the late Bronze Age or in burials presumed to be from the late Neolithic. In one burial, a ship-setting from the late Bronze Age (Västra Karup RAÄ 118), as many as 9 arrowheads of flint were found (see fig. 50). Some pieces of resin and slate have been recovered as well. No golden objects are known, however. Large stone items are found in two graves dated to the middle Bronze Age. One burial contained a stone with 74 cupmarks and 4 grooves (Grevie RAÄ 132, Nagy 1975a, see above) and in the other as many as 7 standing stones, in no special order, about 1 metre high each; these were found beneath the earth cover of a round stone-setting with the same amount of preserved secondary burials (Grevie RAÄ 145; Petersson 1948).

Grave-goods have often been thought of as reflecting social competition, and in the studies from the 1970s and 1980s different aspects have been used to measure wealth found in graves, where variation and number of items have been the main tools (Randsborg 1974; Kristiansen 1978). In 1985 Inger Håkansson published her work on Early Bronze Age graves in Skåne and the use of grave-goods as a source for studying social structure. In this work she continued in the same tradition and found that weapons, especially swords, seemed to correspond to high social status while clothing accessories seemed to imply high economic status – which in itself did not necessarily correspond with high social status. For example swords are only found in central burials while clothing accessories also can be found in secondary burials (Håkansson 1985:126ff). Another point that she makes is that a large amount of weapons seems to suggest poverty, or perhaps instability. According to her analysis Bjäre has a large amount of weapons and is supposedly a poor and unstable region. During the middle Bronze Age the increasing amount of clothing accessories and jewellery could imply some sort of change (Håkansson 1985:126, 151f). The high amount of personal hygiene articles as well as tools that dominate the grave-goods during the late Bronze Age most probably has to do with new imported ideals (Kristiansen 1999b:181) and possibly also the development of craftsmanship (Goldhahn 2007).

One aspect to consider is the occurrence of weapons in late Bronze Age graves. During this period female items usually dominate the grave-goods as well as the hoards (Kristiansen 1986; Randsborg 1995:51f), which is one of the reasons for interpreting the late Bronze Age as a period with less conflict than the early Bronze Age. On the other hand, one can argue the opposite, since weapons might only have been allowed to be buried in periods with no conflicts. There are several possible interpretations. In the burials from the late Bronze Age in Bjäre weapons do still exist. Since many adjacent regions seem to have fewer or no weapons during this period, according to Håkansson this

might reflect ongoing internal fighting and less trans-regional tension (see discussion in Håkansson 1985:152f and Andersson 1999), or the opposite situation as it has been described above. In order to gain some understanding of this contradictory situation we need to look at a wider context: the landscape, the seascape and other types of sites. This will be pursued further in Chapter 4.

Cemeteries

Table 9. *The cemeteries in the study area. The chronology is based on the previously presented chronology model of the Bjäre burials.*

RAÄ number	Content	Chronology
Båstad 19	13 mounds	Early to late Bronze Age/Iron Age
Grevie 9	15 (8 mounds and 7 stone-settings)	Middle to late Bronze Age/Iron Age
Grevie 25	6 (1 mound and 5 stone-settings)	Middle to late Bronze Age/Iron Age
Grevie 27	5 mounds	Middle to late Bronze Age/Iron Age
Grevie 44	5 mounds	Early/middle Bronze Age to late Bronze Age/Iron Age
Grevie 54	6 (1 stone-setting with central cairn and brim, 4 stone-settings and 1 oval stone-setting.	Middle to late Bronze/Iron Age
Grevie 87	7 (2 mounds and 5 stone-settings)	Early to late Bronze Age/Iron Age
Grevie 91	10 (1 mound and 9 stone-settings)	Middle/late Bronze Age/Iron Age
Grevie 137	5 stone-settings	Middle/late Bronze Age/Iron Age
Grevie 138	5 stone-settings	Late Bronze Age/Iron Age
Grevie 354	5 mounds	Ploughed-out and gone
Grevie 360	21 (19 stone-settings and 2 standing stones)	Late Bronze Age/Iron Age
Hov 15	5 (1 mound, 3 stone-settings, 1 long stone-setting)	Middle to late Bronze /Iron Age
Hov 24	6 (2 mounds and 4 stone-settings)	Early/middle to late Bronze Age/ Iron Age
Hov 38	10 (8 cairns and 2 stone-settings)	Early to late Bronze Age/Iron Age
Hov 42	12 (3 mounds, 7 stone-settings, 2 standing stones)	Early to late Bronze Age/Iron Age
Hov 107	10 (2 mounds and 8 stone-settings)	Middle to late Bronze Age/Iron Age
Hov 109	>20 (4 mounds, 11 stone-settings, 1 ship-setting, 2 standing stones as well as rock-carvings and a cult-house complex	Early Bronze Age to Late Iron Age
Hov 111	6 stone-settings	Middle to late Bronze Age/Iron Age
V Karup 18	8 (5 mounds and 3 stone-settings)	Middle to late Bronze Age/Iron Age
V Karup 63	5 stone-settings	Late Bronze Age/Iron Age
V Karup 101	4 mounds and 1 stone-setting	Middle to late Bronze Age/Iron Age
V Karup 102	5 (1 mound and 4 stone-settings).	Middle to late Bronze Age/Iron Age
V Karup 121	6 (1 mound and 5 stone-settings)	Middle to late Bronze Age/Iron Age
V Karup 124	6 stone-settings	Middle to late Bronze Age/Iron Age
V Karup 181	8 (2 mounds and 6 stone-settings)	Middle to late Bronze Age/Iron Age
V Karup 218	6 (2 mounds and 4 stone-settings)	Middle to late Bronze Age/Iron Age
V Karup 279	45 (5 mounds, 21 stone-settings, 1 oval stone-setting, 3 stone circles and 15 standing stones)	Early to late Bronze /Iron Age
V Karup 288	5 (2 mounds and 3 stone-settings)	Middle to late Bronze Age/Iron Age
V Karup 300	5 (1 stone-setting with stone cist and 4 mounds)	Early to late Bronze Age/Iron Age
V Karup 315	5 (2 mounds and 3 stone-settings)	Early to late Bronze Age/Iron Age

So far in this work the cemeteries have been avoided in the analyses, even though some have been discussed in connection with excavated burials. This is mainly due to the different approach that the National Heritage Board Register has to cemeteries, where they generally are presented as areas with no detailed information on the individual burials. However, they can be given general dates according to the chronological tool developed above. There are a few issues concerning the cemeteries in Bjäre that deserve comments. It is interesting that most of them show long continuity, only very few are restricted to only one part of the Bronze Age, and when it happens it is to the late Bronze Age. Thus it seems as if the cemeteries had an organic growth around earlier mounds, as if a connection on site was desired. This might of course mirror stable settlement units or strong family ties, but the connection may also lie in ancestral beliefs which I will return to later.

In the cemetery Hov RAÄ 15 there is a long stone-setting, 22 m long, 5–6 m wide and 0.4 m high. In Scandinavia long stone-settings are known in the area of central Sweden and the Baltic countries, the so-called tarand graves. In central Sweden they date to late Bronze Age and early Iron Age, but they seem to be slightly younger in the Baltic countries (Bennet 1975; Feldt 2002). The long stone-setting in Bjäre stretches along a natural feature and in profile it is rounded, almost like a wide wall, and it is in fact rather mound-like and not very similar to the tarand graves. There is at least one other example in the parish of Lyngby further south in Skåne of a long barrow dated to the middle Iron Age (Nagy 1975b). The feature in the cemetery Hov RAÄ 15 might rather be connected with this.

Table 10. *The amount and percentages of burials and burial types found in cemeteries.*

Burial types	In cemeteries	Total on peninsula	% in cemeteries
Mounds	80	545	14%
Stone-settings	165	468	35%
Standing stones	19	31	61%
Cairns	8	36	22%
Stone circles	3	9	33%
Ship-settings	1	2	50%
Other	0	55	0%
Total	276	1146	24%

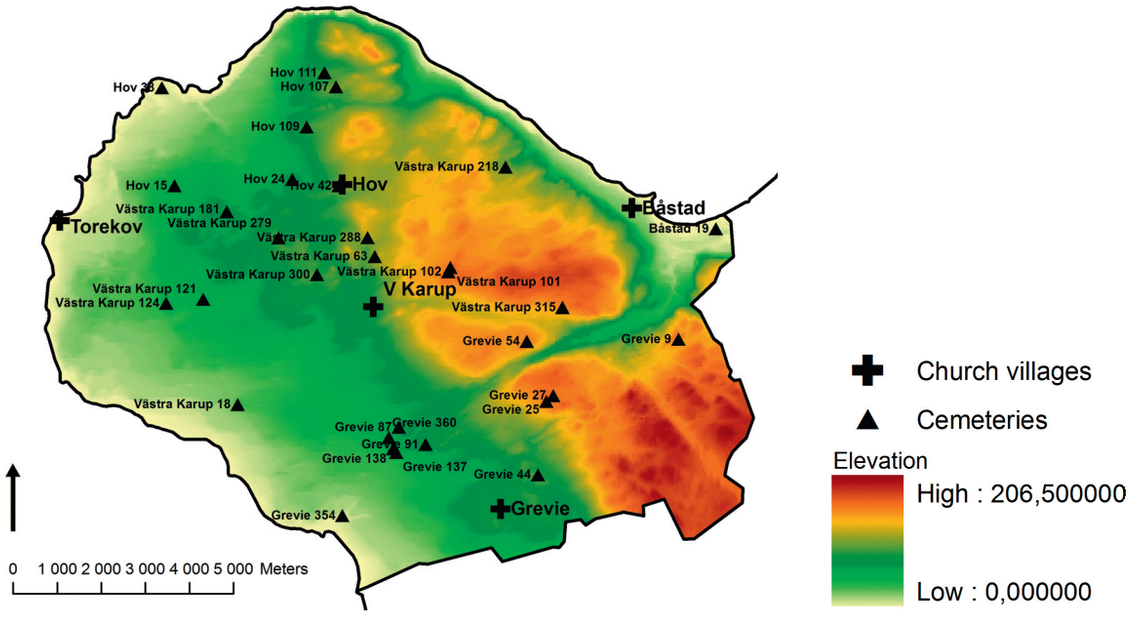


Fig. 55. *The distribution of cemeteries in Bjäre. Background data © Lantmäteriet Gävle 2009. Grant I 2009/0549.*

Table 10 shows the percentage of different burial types that occurs in cemeteries. It can be concluded that there is an especially high number of stone-settings, standing stones and stone circles in cemeteries. These types are considered to belong to the late Bronze Age and also to the Iron Age, so we may suggest that the use of cemeteries became more common as the Bronze Age evolved in Bjäre. Most often, however, they grow around a mound from the early or middle Bronze Age. From fig. 55 it is also clear that the cemeteries are more common on lower ground, where the younger mortuary monuments are also generally more common.

The evidence from the pollen investigations

During the second European Union project (EPCL) which focused on the present cultural landscape, a series of investigations was made in order to retrieve information about past and present vegetation. These included a general pollen analysis from a bog site as well as pollen sampling from buried soil horizons found underneath mounds (see Chapter 2). As these investigations were carried out they provided information not only about pollen and vegetation history, but also told us something about the mounds. Here I will briefly present the archaeological results of these investigations. In five mounds small trenches were excavated in order to find the buried soil horizon. The trenches were 3 × 0.75 m and were dug to find the very outer limit of the mound construction towards its centre. In a few cases where there was a brim the trench was situated from the brim inwards. The choices of the mounds for these investigations were made from several perspectives which were presented in Chapter 2. From the trenches not only pollen samples were gathered but also charcoal was sampled for radiocarbon dating. However, the lack of analyses of tree species and the age of these samples is a shortcoming.

In the forest of Dejarp, we chose to investigate a very large Bronze Age mound (Hov RAÄ 52). The mound is situated in a dominant location and it used to have extensive views in all directions before bushes and trees were allowed to overgrow it (see fig. 40). Map studies show that the forest developed in historical times and today the mound is very effectively hidden among the trees (Sanglert & Ingwald 2003; Sanglert 2003 personal communication). Vegetation is in fact a very good way of *erasing* monuments and *forgetting* them (Küchler 1993). It may be of interest here to note that this mound, even though it is one of the most landscape-dominating and largest mounds on the peninsula, does not have a name. This suggests that it has been effectively forgotten, at least in historical times, by being overgrown.

Table 11. *The radiocarbon dates from Hov RAÄ 52. Calibrated with Oxcal 4.0.*

RAÄ no.	Material	BP	1σ	2σ	Ua number
Hov 52	Charcoal	2495±40 BP	766–542 BC	788–417 BC	Ua-20566
Hov 52	Charcoal	2605±45 BP	821–766 BC	894–551 BC	Ua-22284

The mound measures 29 metres in diameter and is 4.8 metres high. The trench revealed a rather unstructured kerb. In the profile the turfs from the filling were visible. The mound was situated partly on bedrock covered by a thin layer of former topsoil. In the soil from a badger's sett in the mound some pieces of cremated bones were found together with an arrowhead of bronze. Charcoal found in association with the larger kerbstones has been dated to the end of the Bronze Age. This charcoal sample is a stray find in the filling and its origin is uncertain. The appearance of the mound would suggest that it derives from the early Bronze Age. The dating could probably be from late activity on the site, possibly an enlargement in connection with a secondary burial. A duplicate dating was processed with a similar result, although slightly older; this suggests that the result is reliable.

Just outside the same forest, on a southwestern slope, another mound, *Aspeshög*, was investigated (Hov RAÄ 59). Its location is not as prominent as the one above but still it has a dominant exposure towards the sea to the southwest and Hallands Väderö. The mound, which sits on moraine, measures 25 metres in diameter and is 2.8 metres high. No obvious kerb could be seen but there was a

2.5–3 metre wide brim (which is included in the diameter of 25 metres). Underneath a very thin layer of earth, a layer of stone which consisted partly of fire-cracked stones appeared and below this layer the mound consisted of a mixture of earth and stones that were not affected by fire. Some traces of the former ground level were found beneath a large stone, interpreted as belonging to the construction of the mound. It was also in this area that large amounts of charcoal were found in a layer just above the former ground level, one piece of which was sent for radiocarbon dating with the result: Bronze Age period III(–IV).

Table 12. *The radiocarbon date from Hov RAÄ 59. Calibrated with Oxcal 4.0.*

RAÄ no.	Material	BP	1σ	2σ	Ua number
Hov 59	Charcoal	2960±40BP	1261–1125 BC	1368–1042 BC	Ua-20567

Kringelhög is situated in the central area of the peninsula (Västra Karup RAÄ 105). It is very dominantly located, allowing a view of the sea in three directions, and the view also includes Denmark on a clear day. The mound is mainly made of stones with only a very thin and partly eroded earth cover. Its size is 33 metres in diameter – which includes a brim about 4 metres wide – and the height is altogether almost 5 metres.

Underneath the topsoil a layer of stones was found which were not affected by fire. Below this, closer to ground level, the construction changed to a stone and earth mix. At this level large amounts of charcoal were found, directly associated with the stones in the construction, but the stones did not appear to have been affected by fire. One piece of charcoal was sent for radiocarbon dating with the result: Bronze Age period III(–IV). Judging by the size and the dominant location of the mound, this seems to be a late date.

Table 13. *The radiocarbon date from Västra Karup RAÄ 105. Calibrated with Oxcal 4.0.*

RAÄ no.	Material	BP	1σ	2σ	Ua number
Västra Karup 105	Charcoal	2925±45 BP	1211–1050 BC	1292–999 BC	Ua-20568

Fig. 56. *Hov RAÄ 52 and 59 seen from Bjäragården. Here the large mound Hov RAÄ 52 has been partly cleared of trees and can be seen from a distance. A good example of how to erase a monument and thus the past. Photo Jenny Nord 2008.*

Fig. 57. *The stone layer with fire-cracked stones in Hov RAÄ 59. Photo Jenny Nord 2002.*

Fig. 58. *A photomontage of the section in Västra Karup RAÄ 284 where the two building phases can be seen. Photo Jenny Nord 2002.*

Fig. 59. *The mound Västra Karup RAÄ 284 is in the middle of the photo and the mound with the flat top on the right. Further, away and to the left among the trees is Västra Karup RAÄ 285, which was excavated in 1999. Photo Jenny Nord 2002.*

The next mound, Västra Karup RAÄ 228, is found only a few hundred metres from Kringelhög. It is situated in a location with a more local exposure mainly from within a valley. It is 16 metres in diameter and 2 metres high. Underneath the turf a stone layer was found which was made of rather small stones, about 10 cm in size; the nearby Kringelhög, as well as the other investigated mounds, had stone layers that were made of stones approximately 20 cm large. The stones in this mound were not affected by fire. Under the stone layer the filling was made of a mixture of larger stones and earth. In the inner part of the trench was a slab-like stone around which a lot of charcoal was found. This was dated and the result was quite surprising, since it took the mound back to the early Bronze Age, period I–II. Because of the rather small size of the mound it was expected to be younger than, for example, Kringelhög close by (Västra Karup RAÄ 105), which was both larger and extremely dominantly situated. Instead it turned out to be the opposite. A duplicate dating was made which confirmed the result and even put it slightly further back in time.

Table 14. *The radiocarbon dates from Västra Karup RAÄ 228. Calibrated with Oxcal 4.0.*

RAÄ no.	Material	BP	1σ	2σ	Ua number
Västra Karup 228	Charcoal	3245±45 BP	1605–1451 BC	1622–1429 BC	Ua-20569
Västra Karup 228	Charcoal	3345±45 BP	1689–1536 BC	1741–1521 BC	Ua-22285

Close to Rishög, where the first trial investigation was made in 1999 (see Chapter 2), another mound was chosen which was 21 metres in diameter and 2.2 metres high (Västra Karup RAÄ 284). Below a very thin earth layer a stone layer made of fire-cracked stones appeared, just as in RAÄ 59, Hov parish. At least two different building phases that had used different types of soil could be distinguished in the profile of the trench. The kerb was made as a double stone wall filled with smaller stones. Unfortunately no material for radiocarbon dating could be found, but the similarity to Hov RAÄ 59 with the cover of fire-cracked stones, as well as the size and form, suggest that they could be from the same period.

The two building phases that could be seen in the profile suggested that the mound initially had a flatter top and later was given the more characteristic ‘topping’ it has today (see figs. 58 and 59). Interestingly enough, just about 100 metres from this mound there is another of the same size, but with one big difference – it has a flat top. In the national register it is recorded as damaged, but there are no clear signs of this, except for the flat and partly hollow top. Possibly this mound has its original shape and was never given a secondary ‘topping’ feature.

As in previous discussions in this chapter about the burials of Bjäre and the information they provide about Bronze Age society, these investigations also clearly indicated some aspects that often are recurrent topics: chronology, structure, size, location and variation. In the summary below these topics will be discussed further.

The local landscape and mortuary monuments

So far this work has mainly concentrated on the excavated burials and the information that they have provided, but this evidence have not yet been applied on a landscape level. The chronological division of the visible mortuary monuments that the evidence supports should of course be chorologically investigated. The general chronological division can be summarised as follows:

- *Early Bronze Age (period I–II/III)*: Mounds and cairns more than 2 metres high and more than 10 metres in diameter.
- *Middle Bronze Age (period III–IV)*: Mounds and cairns larger than 10 metres in diameter and 1–2 metres high.
- *Late Bronze Age (period V–VI)*: Less than 1 metre high and less than 10 metres in diameter and stone-settings.

However, as we noticed previously, the radiocarbon dates of the mounds that were investigated in connection with the pollen analyses do not always agree with the general information on the investigated burials. I have decided to keep the chronology from the investigated mortuary monuments as these reflect knowledge of burials that have been fully investigated and not only in a small section. The dating disagreement may possibly mirror the great variation that exists concerning the burial monuments in Bjäre, while the chronology probably reflects the general idea.

The monuments from the early Bronze Age are the first visible changes in the Bjäre landscape. They are clearly focused on the higher ground. Some of them are also located on the southwestern slopes and along the coastline. The main feature of the inland mortuary monuments from the early Bronze Age is that they seem to be related to the edges of the hillsides. This means that we can suggest how they were oriented, from where they were supposed to be seen. This also means that there must have been someone there to see them, and one interesting question is of course who, locals or others. Another aspect to consider is that many mortuary monuments have a double exposure (see fig. 61). They are often located on the fringes of the hills and occur mainly above 60 m a.s.l. (most of them actually above 100 m a.s.l.), which makes them visible over a large area on one side and the other side face a small valley or flatter area. This exposure has a local character and could be directed to the settlements, while the other has a regional character and is probably directed to others (see Nord Paulsson 2002a).

Adding the mortuary monuments from the middle Bronze Age we can see that they follow the same pattern; they are concentrated at the edges of the higher ground of the ridge and fill up space in between the earlier mortuary monuments. They also expand towards the lower areas in the southwest and some are located along the coast, here too generally close to earlier mortuary monuments. The same pattern is seen among the late Bronze Age and/or early Iron Age mortuary monuments on the ridge, but they are also expanding in large numbers to the southwestern areas. Some areas are left empty, and these areas are interesting because they represent a different land-use that was not suitable for mortuary monuments. These areas are of two kinds: some seem to be surrounded by mortuary monuments while others seem to make up corridors in the landscape which are also lacking mortuary monuments. A similar situation was found on the Danish island of Als where areas with a high density of Bronze Age heritage were separated by rather narrow empty corridors (Sørensen 1992b). I find this interesting since the space for expansion in Bjäre is limited and it is more or less

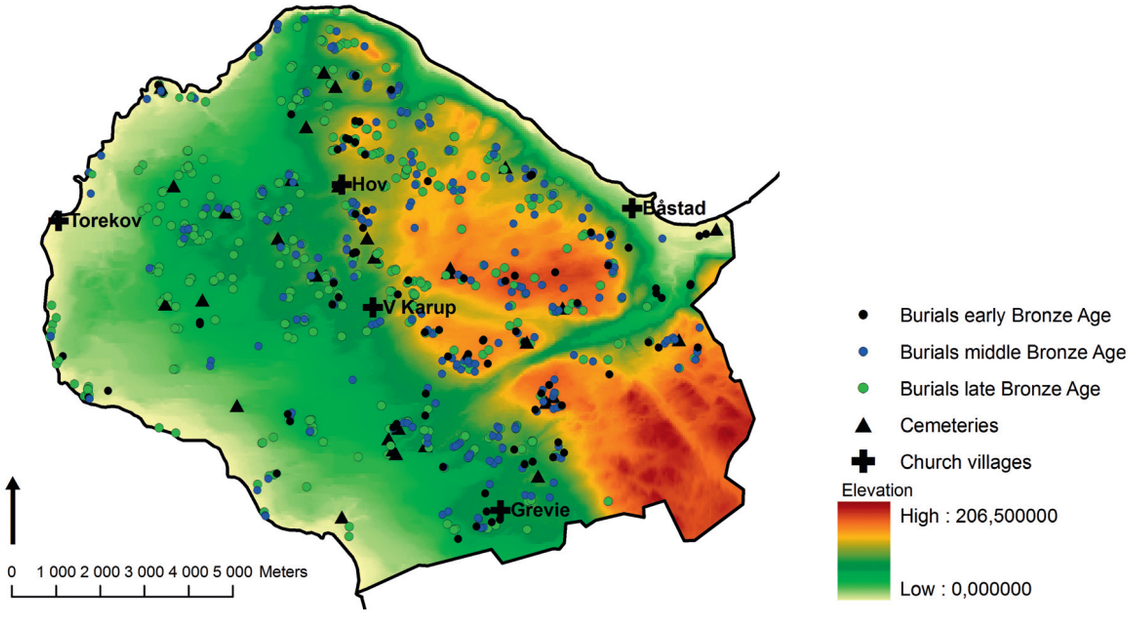


Fig. 60. *The chronological division of the mortuary monuments of Bjäre. Background data © Lantmäteriet Gävle 2009. Grant I 2009/0549.*

the same areas that are filled or empty during the whole of the Bronze Age period. Even if there are natural reasons that can explain this situation, such as wet areas and valleys, it also suggests some sort of landscape organisation. The burials from the early Bronze Age which generally are located on higher ground are not related to water or wet areas; however, as the locations of the burials move downwards in the landscape during the middle and late Bronze Age this relation seems to increase. This is of course due to natural reasons since this is where most wet areas occur, but still the choices for locations had to take this fact into consideration, just as they had to respect the earlier mortuary monuments and other landscape features that have not been preserved; settlements, fields and so on. I will look more closely at this in Chapter 4 where I also will add further information to the picture.

Concluding discussion: Bronze Age burials

The mortuary monuments mounds, cairns and stone-settings are the most characteristic prehistoric sites of Bjäre. On almost every ridge or hill there seems to be a mortuary monument. The mounds are generally of Bronze Age character, which means that they are located on higher ground with a good view. The locations of cairns differ, however; they are often located along the coastline or at the highest points on the peninsula, never in middle positions. In the intermediate positions many of the stone-settings are found, although these also occupy both the coastline and the higher ground. Thus it seems as if the different kinds of burial constructions occupy different parts of the landscape: mounds, cairns and some stone-settings on the highest ground, mounds and stone-settings on the lower ground and stone-settings and cairns (and some mounds) along the coastline. The reasons behind this different use of the landscape for different kinds of burials seem to be partly of chronological origin. It is more difficult to distinguish the background reasons; is it only the burials that were moved into new landscape positions, or did settlements or activities change place and with them the burials?

It has been noted that the locations of mortuary monuments are connected with the development of fields. The use of building material such as turfs and stones to build the monuments was of course facilitated by being close to the fields. The changing locations of the field systems in accordance with their productive lifetime would then be accompanied by changing locations for burials as well (Rasmussen 1993:180; Skoglund 2005:102f). This is a rather functional view of landscape use and locations for mortuary monuments within it; a more territorial and symbolic view would argue that

Fig. 61. *Some of the mortuary monuments that have a double exposure, one locally and one over a large area, The mortuary monuments that are exposed towards the large valley of Drängstorp (towards the other direction) are marked with an exclamation mark. Photo: Jenny Nord 2008.*

the close location to the fields instead displayed ancestral ownership of them. No matter which view we choose, it means that there was an expansion during the late Bronze Age towards the lower areas of the peninsula for agricultural activities, and perhaps also for settlements. I will return to this in Chapter 4.

An important aspect to consider is the fact that there is no earlier history of monuments in Bjäre. There are no megalithic tombs known in Bjäre, and only very few late Neolithic burials have been found, most of them incorporated in later mounds. It cannot be ruled out that some mounds actually conceal megalithic tombs, but it seems unlikely. Thus, the early Bronze Age is the first period when monuments were built here, the first period in which the landscape as a monument was tampered with, that sightlines were changed and horizons remade. The mounds are landscape markers that have dominated the views here ever since, and thus they have of course also had an important role in structuring later landscapes in various ways (see for example Bradley 2002) and they have thereby directed change at a landscape level. This is a topic I will return to later in Chapter 5.

In the Bjäre region the tradition of constructing new mounds for funerals continued into the late Bronze Age, which is an unusually long period of actual mound construction activity (Nord & Paulsson 1993:12ff; Nord Paulsson 2002a, see above). This situation has been discussed by Andersson, who argues that an unstable social situation during the late Bronze Age in this area may be one reason for the prolonged period of mound building. This instability has caused a need for the elite to continue to construct mounds and through these burial rituals maintain economic as well as religious power and status (Andersson 1999). If this is correct, there seems to be a long tradition in this area of using *the landscape* in order to mark earthly positions with the dead. Otherwise it seems to be more common to use *the already altered landscape* for this purpose during the later course of the Bronze Age; using the existing mounds for secondary burials. However, it should also be emphasised that the custom of secondary burials in existing mounds is also strong in Bjäre, alongside the ongoing construction of mounds. Maybe the strategic position of the peninsula within the Scandinavian Bronze Age cultural area caused an unstable and competitive situation. The surrounding sea limited the possibilities of internal settlement expansion, which can also be seen as a cause of local competition, whereby markers in the landscape could be one way of showing off. I will discuss this further in Chapter 4.

Earlier I mentioned the possibility that every mound expanded the grazing land by a few square metres. I do not believe that this was a reason for building mounds even though Bjäre has a limited area, but it shows that the large number of mounds that exist here did not decrease the possible land-use or destroy it, as has been discussed in other areas (Thrane 1980:169, 1984:151f; Olausson 1993b:260f), rather the opposite.

The evidence that has emerged through the excavated material and especially the small trenches in connection with pollen sampling (see above) deserves a discussion of its own. The most striking feature that became evident was the great variation among the mounds, as regards internal structure, location in the landscape and age. Our pre-understanding of Bronze Age mounds and burials is still to some extent based on assumptions made at the beginning of the 20th century and in research from the 1970s and 1980s (Randsborg 1974; Kristiansen 1978, 1986). However, based on some of the information retrieved at these excavations some general ideas about mounds might need to be reconsidered:

- Regional variation: the mounds in Bjäre differ from the ones in southern Skåne and Denmark in structure (building material), appearance and age. It is not possible to talk about the south Scandinavian Bronze Age and assume that all areas should be included in the same breath. Even so, as I have commented earlier, it may be that Bjäre in some ways is more ‘normative’ for the Bronze Age than many surrounding areas, even though the abundance of monuments must be seen as an important regional characteristic.
- Internal variation: even within Bjäre there is great variation in the structure as well as chronology of the burials which needs to be confronted. This question of course also addresses the need to consider and obtain a better understanding of other aspects of Bronze Age society.

Several interesting features were also uncovered or became evident in connection with the pollen analyses and deserve some discussion. These features also emphasise the great variety that existed in the mound-building tradition of Bjäre.

- The covering of fire-cracked stones in two graves. One of them could be dated to the middle of the Bronze Age, and the other is *presumed* to be of the same age, partly by analogy with the stone layer of fire-cracked stones. At this time in southern Scandinavia cremation burials had been fully introduced and one would expect fire to be an important part of the rituals concerning the burial, and therefore it is interesting to note the existence of fire-cracked stones in burial contexts. In other Swedish areas, for example in the eastern part, heaps of fire-cracked stones are found mainly from the middle and late Bronze Age, and sometimes they are associated with burial constructions (Rundkvist 1994; Goldhahn 2007; Kaliff 2007). The stone-covering of the mounds seems to be a feature that occurs in other periods as well in Bjäre – but then they are not fire-cracked, as for example in Västra Karup RAÄ 228). Fire involved in the construction or on the site for the construction is a feature that has been noticed in several cases, most often in connection with the former soil horizon (see Västra Karup RAÄ 105, 118 and 228); it might have something to do with preparing the place for the burial or maybe remnants of former settlement activities.
- Another interesting feature that we came across was at Västra Karup RAÄ 284, where it became apparent that some of the mounds were built in stages and where the initial phase actually left the top rather flat.
- Vegetation as a means of *erasing* monuments and possibly *forgetting* them. One of the largest monuments, RAÄ 52 in the parish of Hov, was actually made completely invisible as it was overgrown and its close surroundings were overgrown with bushes and trees. This suggests that even in the past times a mound could easily be visibly and mentally erased through the use of vegetation. This could have been one means of controlling memories as well as changed ownership.

In Bjäre the mounds often have large central cairns, and the line between the definitions of cairn, mound and stone-setting is sometimes difficult to draw. They all have the same main ingredient as building material: stones, which is one important reason for the difficulties in defining them (Hansen 1938:99f). The area is very stony and the stones for building the mortuary monuments were most probably mainly taken from the ground. They occur in several sizes and the investigations several times point out a certain structuring of the stones within the mortuary monuments. This was clearly seen, for example, in the investigations in connection with the pollen analyses. Thus the mortuary monuments, at least in the inland area, can be seen as ‘clearance cairns’ as well as burials (Nord & Paulsson 1993:22). A similar situation has also been noted for some inland areas of Småland (Skoglund 2005:98ff). The coastal cairns are made of stones from the stony beaches, but they also seem to be structured according to size and shape, judging by some of the descriptions from the investigations (see earlier).

However, even if the inland mortuary monuments were practical as well as functional, this does not exclude the symbolic and religious aspects of their locations and constructions as well. There is never only one answer. The mounds are multi-purpose markers in the landscape showing territorial ownership, ancestral history, origins as well as future claims to the territory; in short, they refer to a group’s identity with all their cultural traits (see Jennbert 1993; Olausson 1993a). The original reasons behind the choices are long since forgotten, perhaps already during the Bronze Age, but most probably it had to do with several factors: the deceased, the living, the cosmology and the landscape itself.

Some of the mortuary monuments on the ridge area also show that there was a mental proximity to the so-called central Bronze Age area of Denmark. The view from several high locations and mounds includes the view of Zealand, which can be seen as a second horizon above the horizon of Kullaberg towards the south. This clearly indicates that this area was not considered to be far away, and thus Bjäre should not be considered to be a remote region. It is interesting to think of the symbolism of the coastline of Zealand or even Kullaberg as an aspect of the burial. What did it mean for the deceased or for the living when the monument was constructed? Maybe it is here that we find an expression of social differences among the burials of Bjäre.

The dead person was perhaps not always the main issue in a burial ritual; the person created in death through the rituals as well as the monumental memorial inscribed in the landscape could have been just as important. It might not only have been the social identity of the person, the role or gender during the life course of the person that mattered; it might also have been the present situation and needs of the social group that required a landscape marker with its symbolism of the past, the present and the future. As has been argued elsewhere, it may also be the need to (re)establish relations among the network alliances that demanded a monumental expression (Kristiansen 1986:149; Oestigaard & Goldhahn 2006). One trigger could have been increased interaction (Andersson 1999), even though there may be many other explanations as well. Further, the mounds and their burials do not necessarily mirror a hierarchical chiefdom society; instead they should be interpreted with some care when it comes to these aspects (Stjernquist 1983; Thedéen 2005; Thrane 2008). The results of the investigated burials of Bjäre suggest that the mortuary monuments in themselves were not used to display individual status in Bjäre, at least not in general. The investigations show that mortuary monuments were simultaneously used as 'family' burials and burials for 'special' persons. Perhaps the status aspect was visible through other aspects that are long lost for us today and that required some local knowledge in the local context; for example, a central burial in a newly established mound, or a secondary burial in an already existing mound could have different values as regards status and traditions, among other things. Perhaps the chosen locations in the landscape of the mortuary monument had a meaning: dominantly, alone or close to other burials which of course gave a sense of continuity as well as a context. It might also be that the building material and the structure of the mounds – the use of stone layers, fire, and earth and the rituals performed during the burial ceremonies – were what made a difference. All this is of course very hard for us to understand today since it requires local knowledge of a people, their traditions and their history and landscape use. Perhaps it is enough to state that the mounds of Bjäre are not burials of only chiefs and ritual specialists; they seem to contain ordinary people as well, In short, there seems to be great variation and complexity in burial customs in Bjäre, which is not only due to social differences.

In summary it can be concluded from the evidence of the mounds of Bjäre that they show a far more complex picture than we are normally presented with. They occur in the landscape as the first monumental burials during early Bronze Age, and thus they initially had no need to respect earlier landscape features, at least not man-made ones. During the course of the Bronze Age the mounds seem to increase both in numbers and in appearance. The monuments from the middle Bronze Age show the largest complexity and variation. In the late Bronze Age the mounds become more uniform again, secondary burials in existing mounds are common and burials with no visible markings as well. In this period there is great need for the burial builders to respect earlier monuments in the landscape, and there is a clearly visible expansion towards the western lowlands. From the Iron Age very few mounds are known and those we know of are found in cemeteries.

Now let us turn to the other dominant Bronze Age feature of Bjäre, the rock-carvings, and see what kind of information they may provide us with about the Bronze Age in Bjäre.

Rock-carvings

In connection with my work on the Bjäre peninsula a rather ambitious programme of inventories and documentations of rock-carvings in Bjäre has been conducted with the help of Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam, well-known in Sweden for their skills with rock-carving inventories. The aim of these was twofold; to get a better idea of the contents of already known sites and to look for new sites to make the general distribution pattern more accurate and thus give better source material to work with. Interestingly, most rock-carving sites in Bjäre are located on intrusive rock, on amphibolite which often has large crystals of garnets. Very few rock-carvings occur on the old indigenous rock (gneiss-granite). Some of the newly found figurative rock-carvings, however, have been found on more fine-grained amphibolite. The recent inventory work has partly focused on checking the occurrences of available amphibolite which do not have any known rock-carvings to find out whether the distribution of rock-carvings merely follows the distribution of suitable rock. But this proved not to be the case. The distribution pattern of the rock-carvings follows a man-made pattern and not only a geological one. Both outcrops and boulders are used for rock-carvings; and

especially on the higher ground in the eastern part of the peninsula, where there are fewer outcrops, boulders are common.

Table 15. *The number of sites and carvings before and after the recent inventory and documentation work. Cupmarks are singled out in brackets.*

	Before the inventories		After the inventories		Increase	
	Sites	Rock-carvings	Sites	Rock-carvings	Sites	Rock-carvings
Båstad	3	47 (45)	3	100 (79)	0%	113% (76%)
Grevie	86	913 (870)	199	1886 (1775)	131%	103% (104%)
Hov	38	587 (546)	62	1243 (1145)	63%	112% (110%)
Västra Karup	144	1836 (1670)	265	3951 (3555)	84%	115% (113%)
Total	271	3383 (3131)	529	7080 (6554)	95%	109% (109%)

Before the documentation and inventory programme which started in 1999 there were 271 sites known within the parishes of Båstad, Grevie, Hov and Västra Karup, with 3383 individual carvings altogether (Nord & Paulsson 1993:46). The small parish of Torekov lacks rock-carving sites. The previously known types mainly consisted of abstract rock-carvings: cupmarks, elongated figures, and cross figures, circles and footprints as the only figurative motifs. During the initial documentation work that took place within the two EU projects in Bjäre – ECP and EPCL (see Chapter 1; Broström & Ihrestam 1999, 2002, 2003) – some new figurative motifs were found in the form of hooks and hoof-like figures. These first documentation projects covered three individual sites: Västra Karup RAÄ 69 and 70 (Drottninghall), Västra Karup RAÄ 14, 15, 16, 17, 358 (Flatakull) and Västra Karup RAÄ 66 (Holmen). These were already well-known sites and the purpose was partly to make these sites more accessible for the public. The sites of Drottninghall and Holmen also have a history of being investigated; these investigations were conducted as seminar excavation by the Department of Archaeology in Lund in 1966 and were led by Holger Arbman (1966).

The results of the inventory work from 1999 to 2003 almost doubled the amount of rock-carvings on the sites and also revealed new motifs (see below). This showed that even at well-known sites new engravings can still be found. This situation really did put the finger on the need for a more comprehensive inventory in Bjäre, where many of the sites were rather unknown and overgrown and still could have many unknown features. That is why the recent inventory and documentation work was introduced. The result is impressive and will be presented in more detail later in this chapter. First I will say some general words and discuss some source-critical issues.

The inventory work focused on sites with more than 25 individual rock-carvings. In the previous study a dividing line was statistically noticed around 50 individual carvings (Nord & Paulsson 1993:58). However, since the initial documentation work at Holmen, Drottninghall and Flatakull showed that the number of carvings increased a great deal even at these well-known sites, it was decided to focus on sites with at least 25 carvings. The idea was that this would yield all the large sites and also define the smaller ones. All the large sites have been thoroughly documented and field-walking has been done in the vicinity to find new sites. Already known smaller sites in the vicinity were also checked; often they were also re-documented as it was common for new carvings to be found on them. Some previously unknown large sites have also been found this way. The complete area that has been field-walked can be seen in fig. 63.

As a result of the inventory work, the whole picture of rock-carvings in Bjäre is more complete and thus also a better source material to work with. The work has been partly focused on already known large sites and their close surroundings in order to give a more even level of knowledge about these. The three sites Drottninghall, Holmen and Flatakull were previously given disproportionately heavy weight and other large sites were living in anonymity as dots on map with rather unknown content. The inventory work has given them both names and content. As the majority of the rock-carvings in Bjäre are located on amphibolite which appears as intrusive boulders and outcrops in the landscape, the inventory work has also focused on areas with amphibolite but with few or no known rock-carvings (see fig. 63). The result, however, was very poor; hardly any new

findings were made in these areas. This means that the current distribution of rock-carvings in Bjäre should be rather source-critically safe to work with, even though a few more source-critical field-surveys would be optimal. Of course there are still areas which would need further field-walking but the general picture is that the new finds have mainly strengthened the old distribution maps from before the inventory. This means that the overall picture was already known but details were indeed lacking as well as the actual densities.

In the following I will use the terms large site and small site quite often. A large site is not necessarily large in a physical sense; it is not the rock or the space that is defined as large but instead

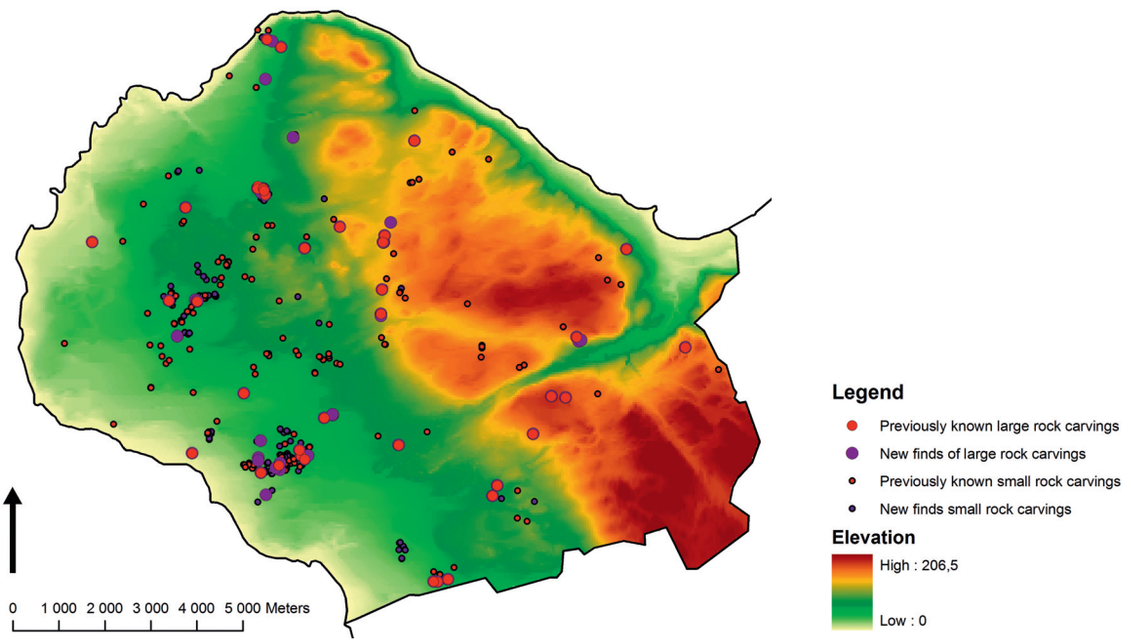


Fig. 62. *The new additions of rock-carvings in the landscape of Bjäre due to the recent inventory and documentation work. New panels on already known sites are not visible in this map. Background data © Lantmäteriet Gävle 2009. Grant I 2009/0549.*

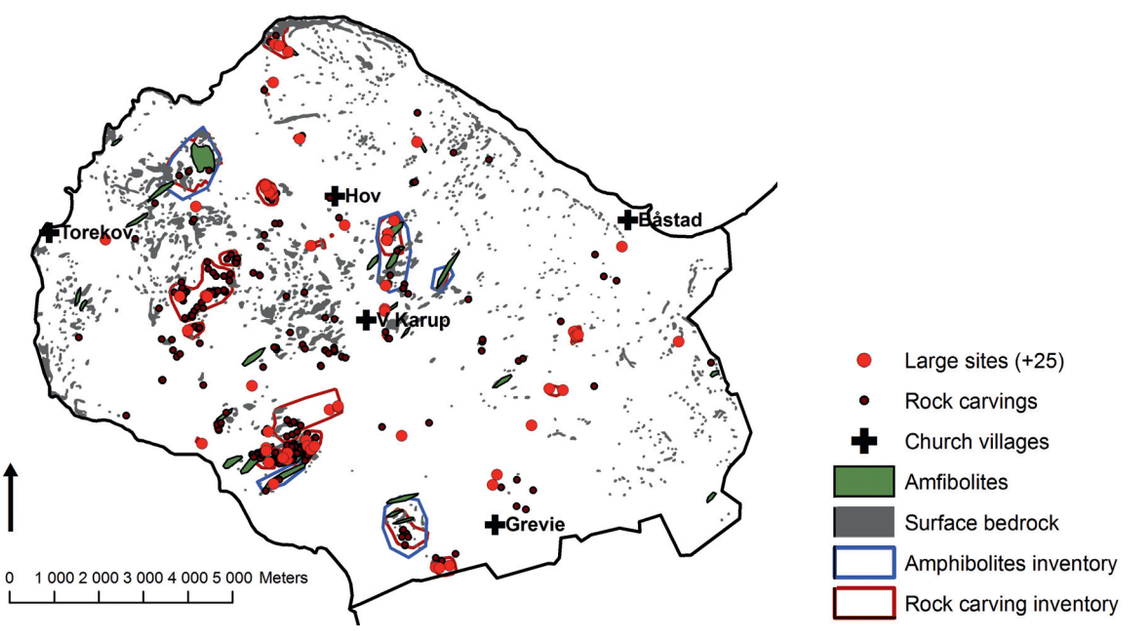


Fig. 63. *The areas that have been field-walked in the recent inventory and documentation work. Background data © Lantmäteriet Gävle 2009. Grant I 2009/0549 and © Sveriges geologiska undersökning.*

the contents; if a site has 25 or more individual carvings following the focus of the documentation work, it is considered as a large site. Large also implies the idea that the site is more frequently visited by more people than a small site with fewer motifs and carvings, which can instead be assumed to be a more private site. However, these are interpretations made in the present in order to try to understand these sites better and to find ways to establish order among them. It might not have anything to do with the past interpretations and the previous uses of these places – even though I find this thought somewhat unlikely. Further, the terms 'small site' and 'large site' are not optimal to use since they are rather vague, but I find this vagueness rather proper for the rock-carvings, which are so hard to interpret and vague for us in any case.

The engraved landscape

The rock-carvings in Bjäre are often found at clearly visible and prominent places in the landscape. Some locations differ as they are more hidden in the landscape and also remote from other sites. The direct meaning of the rather abstract figures and the action of carving them are unfortunately long lost for us. However, their individual landscape setting together with the patterns they form, both on a larger landscape scale and on a smaller site scale, are the main means we must use in trying to understand them (see Bradley 1997 and König 2005 for similar approaches). Thanks to the recent inventory work some figurative motifs have also been uncovered in Bjäre. In some cases I will interpret motifs, but my general approach will look at the sites in a landscape context. I don't think it is possible to gain an understanding of individual motifs on a site unless you look at the wider landscape context and address the question: Why this rock? Why here?

The majority of the rock-carving sites are made on bedrock or boulders of amphibolite, which are remnants from underground geological activities in the indigenous old rock (gneiss-granite) which otherwise dominates in the area. The majority of the boulders used for carvings are also of amphibolite. Even so, looking at a map of available rocks (of amphibolite) and rock-carvings makes it clear that they do not coincide; some areas and some locations were deliberately chosen or preferred above others. This situation was further checked in the inventory work of 2006–2007 and was validated (see above). There are a few exceptions to this rule, where cupmarks are found on granite, but they are very few. The preference for a certain type of rock can be seen in other areas as well, for example in the southeast of Skåne where quartzite is preferred (Goldhahn 2007:178ff). Most likely there is a meaning inscribed in the chosen type of rock but it is lost for us today. I do not believe erosion is part of the answer since the granite in fact is a harder rock than the coarse amphibolite.

There could be several reasons for choosing amphibolite. The amphibolite in Bjäre is often rather coarse with large grains. A tendency is that, with a coarser structure in the amphibolite the cupmarks are larger and vice versa. This implies that the nature of the local rock could have had an impact on the *character* of the chosen figures, even if the location in the landscape and the type of rock were deliberately chosen for other reasons. Another typical feature is that the rock-carvings are often situated on slopes and not on the absolute top locations in the landscape. However, this does not mean that the sites not are dominant, just not always from 360 degrees; instead they have a focus area to which they are exposed. The same is also true of the mounds of Bjäre (see above and Nord & Paulsson 1993 and Nord Paulsson 2002a). I will return to this issue in Chapter 4.

Looking at the landscape at a whole, it seems as if the rock-carvings come in clusters according to principles hard to understand today, even though a closer look might reveal some interesting features and patterns. The rock-carvings in Bjäre are situated both on outcrops and on boulders. Both types of locations have the same motifs, but the sites on outcrops seem to occupy larger spaces, being more widespread on several rocks near each other. If they are made on boulders these are usually well-used not having many empty spots left. Boulders nearby, if any, often lack carvings. The boulder sites are in this sense smaller and more concentrated, even if they have the same amount of individual figures as a bedrock site which is more spread on several rocks close to each other. There are also some general patterns obvious from the overall distribution of rock-carvings, as the large sites, either alone or in clusters, are rather evenly spread on the peninsula with more empty areas in between them. The small sites are, interestingly enough, concentrated in the southern and western

area of the peninsula. Looking at the distribution above sea level (see figs. 64 and 65) also reveals that the small sites are more focused on lower areas.

Forty-seven per cent of the carvings occur on small sites with only 1–3 carvings, altogether 292 sites. Generally in this work, however, I will define all rock-carvings 1–24 in number as small sites. When it comes to the large sites they have different appearances; some are concentrated on a single rock/boulder or two, while others are more widely spread on several adjacent rocks. Some clusters of rock-carvings mainly consist of cupmarks while others are combined with other types of carvings. Many of them appear to have their own special and local character when it comes to the carvings themselves. Another type of rock-carving is the one closely connected with burials, mainly with burials from the middle to late Bronze Age. I have allowed a 50-metre distance between burial and rock-carving for them to be considered as connected. Using this rather short distance will, in my opinion, help to define places where a contextual connection existed and where this connection most probably had a purpose in the funeral and/or later memorial rituals, thus the chosen distance will probably also exclude most sites where proximity might have been more circumstantial. Closely connected are those sites which are found right beside a burial, for example as a part of the construction or as features belonging to the same cemetery. Most of these sites consist of cupmarks on boulders. They will be discussed further later in this chapter.

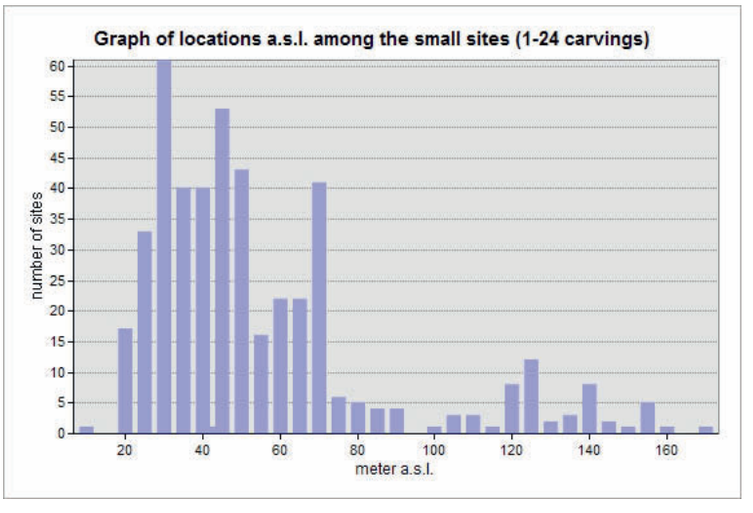


Fig. 64. *The distribution of small sites above sea level.*

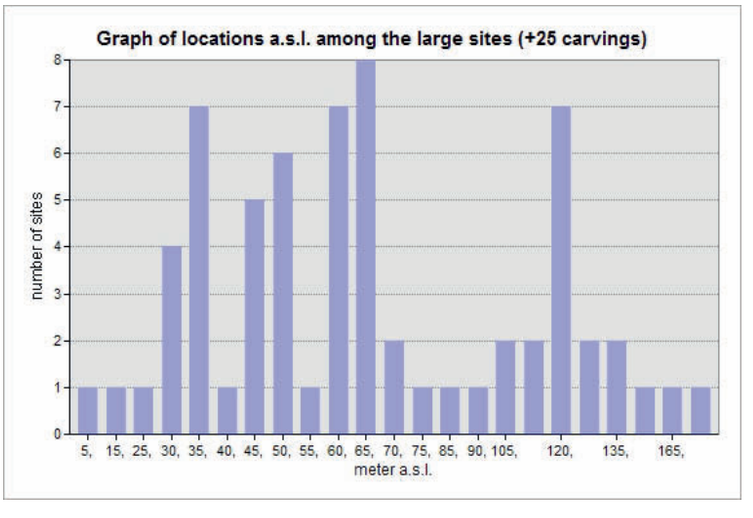


Fig. 65. *The distribution of large sites above sea level.*

Table 16. *Small, medium and large rock-carving sites in Bjäre, figures both in numbers and percentages. A very observant reader will notice that there are two sites in the total for Västra Karup that have not been defined according to their sizes. This is due to lack of information.*

Parish	1–3 rock-carvings (on boulders in brackets)		4–24 rock-carvings (on boulders in brackets)		25 or more rock-carvings (on boulders in brackets)		Total number of sites (on boulders in brackets)	
	Number of sites	%	Number of sites	%	Number of sites	%	Number of sites	%
V Karup	147 (18)	*55 (44)*	87 (15)	*33 (36.5)*	29 (8)	*11 (19.5)*	265 (41)	*100 (100)*
Grevie	119 (14)	*60 (38)*	61 (15)	*31 (40)*	19 (8)	*9 (22)*	199 (37)	*100 (100)*
Hov	28 (15)	*45 (54)*	16 (7)	*26 (25)*	18 (6)	*29 (21)*	62 (28)	*100 (100)*
Båstad	0 (0)	*0 (0)*	2 (2)	*67 (67)*	1 (1)	*33 (33)*	3 (3)	*100 (100)*
Total	294 (47)	*56 (43)*	166 (39)	*31 (36)*	67 (23)	*13 (21)*	529 (109)	*100 (100)*

It is also interesting to make a comparison of the average amount of carvings per site in the different parishes. In Hov the number is 20, in Båstad 33, but in Grevie and Västra Karup the number is 9 and 15 respectively. Both Hov and Båstad have fewer sites and are generally located on higher ground. Most small sites are located in the lower western areas, which are found in the parishes of Grevie and Västra Karup. This strongly indicates that the landscape character has influenced the appearances of individual sites and/or that a chronological change is seen in the distribution pattern.

The figurative and abstract world of Bjäre

The majority of the rock-carvings in Bjäre consist of cupmarks. As this is an abstract figure which is found in many different contexts, it is hard to date them, even if the majority are considered to belong to the Bronze Age. In Scandinavia the cupmark is known to have been in use from the Stone Age until recent historical periods when existing cupmarks have been both made and reused in folkloristic beliefs (Ullén 1997; Bengtsson 2004:78ff). It is important, however, to distinguish between the making of rock-carvings and the reuse of existing ones. When the habit of making cupmarks stopped is not clear; it was most probably during the Iron Age at some point, although some occasions are known when they have been carved in recent historical periods (Bengtsson 2004:78ff). Some traditions have become habits that are seemingly very hard to change. This is true not only for the long period of mound-building in Bjäre, but also concerning the use of cup-

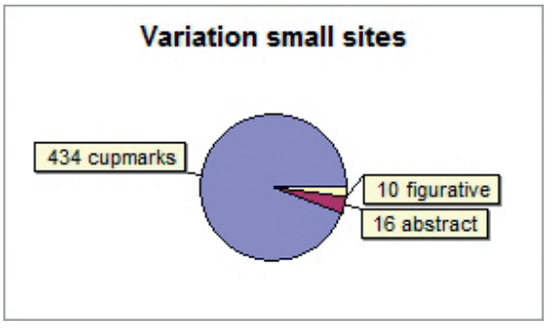


Fig. 66. *The numbers of different types of rock-carvings among small rock-carving sites in Bjäre. Figurative rock-carvings = footprints, circles, axes and undefined figures. Abstract rock-carvings = grooves, hollows and shallow surfaces. Cupmarks refers to sites with only cupmarks.*

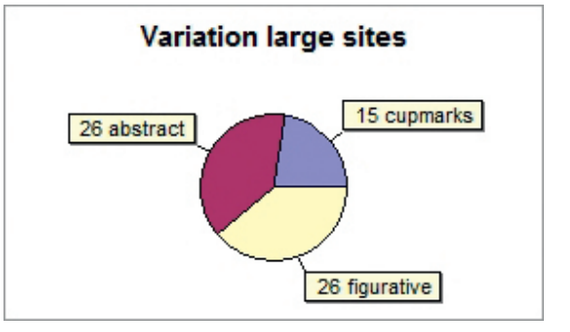


Fig. 67. *The numbers of different types of rock-carvings among large rock-carving sites in Bjäre. Figurative rock-carvings = footprints, circles, wheel-crosses, crosses, horse-hoofs, hooks, ships and undefined figures. Abstract rock-carvings = grooves, hollows and shallow surfaces. Cupmarks refers to sites with only cupmarks.*

marks; even today in Bjäre one can find 'cupmarks' made on the wooden structures of doorframes on old farms (see fig. 68). They have the shape of a five on a dice and are said to protect the house from evil spirits and trolls (Hernborg 2008 personal communication). Whether or not these have any connection to the prehistoric traditions of cupmarks is hard to tell though.

Cupmarks have generally been interpreted as being connected with fertility and ancestor cult. Almgren, for example, interprets them as symbolising the fertilisation of Mother Earth (Almgren 1927:225), and recently Bengtsson has proposed the same interpretation (Bengtsson 2004:65). There is also a whole range of other suggested interpretations, which I will not dwell on here. Instead I refer to Nord & Paulsson 1993 and Hauptman Wahlgren 2002 for a closer presentation of these. I will not try to give a definitive interpretation of the cupmark, since in my opinion it is a universal symbol which might contain almost any meaning. Therefore the context is very important if one wants to discuss the possible meaning or meanings that were given to the cupmarks on a specific site. As described above, their meaning/s might also have changed during their lifetime – several times. I will later discuss their chronology as well as their possible changed meaning with reference to recent work (Ullén 1997; Hauptman Wahlgren 2002; Bengtsson 2004).

What can be said in general about the cupmarks in Bjäre is that they frequently occur in the landscape, they come in both very large examples, with maximum width 28 cm, and very small, only 2 cm. Interestingly enough, the same thing is also true when it comes to the mounds of Bjäre, which both show very large examples, 44 m in diameter, and also very small, only 4 m. The cupmarks often seem to occur in certain patterns, both within the sites and in the landscape setting. Sometimes they are parts of other figures such as wheel-crosses, and it is difficult to know whether they should be considered to be cupmarks or not. At many of the larger sites the cupmarks exist together with other figures, but if they are closely connected with burials they are usually the only type of carved figure. There seems to be a specific Bjäre trait as regards cupmarks; they are often large and deep, although shallow ones also occur. Especially on larger sites situated on the coarser-grained amphibolite, large and deep cupmarks are common. Whether this has to do with chronology, the characteristic of the rock, the places themselves or the special activities that took place there is hard to tell. It cannot be excluded that some weathering has occurred and thus that some shallow figures have been lost over time, but I do not believe this is a major problem since weathering affects both the untouched

Fig. 68. *Protective wooden 'cupmark' signs by an entrance in Mäsinge, Bjäre. Photo Jenny Nord 2008.*

rock surface and the carved figures and thus makes the figures less distinct but will not erase them completely, at least not very easily (Broström & Ihrestam 2008 personal communication).

In Bjäre mainly abstract figures occur, but there are also some figurative motifs, mainly footprints but also some ship figures and an axe. Below I will briefly introduce the figurative and abstract motifs found at the rock-carving sites of Bjäre. It is beyond the scope of this work to interpret the individual motifs since the main interest really is focused on the rock-carvings as places in the landscape. Sometimes, however, interpretations will be discussed, especially when the landscape settings suggest a particular interpretation. For more detailed interpretations of individual motifs I refer to the work of Hauptman Wahlgren (2002).

Ships – On two sites rock-carving ships have been found, altogether three of them. They are all very different in character. One is found on a boulder site and is seemingly filled with cupmarks and connecting grooves (Bröddarp, Västra Karup RAÄ 152). This ship can most probably be dated to period III–IV according to Kaul's chronology (Kaul 1998:88). The same dating can be given to a small ship which is found on an outcrop site in connection with a bog (Lingården, Hov RAÄ 175). On this site another ship of a later character was also found (Broström, Ihrestam & Bengtsson 2008 personal communication).

Circle figures and wheel-crosses – Circles exist on both large and small sites and most often in combination with cupmarks as a concentric circle. But the cupmark can also be part of the circle itself. The wheel-cross figure was first found during the inventory of 2006–2007. All of them are situated close to the coast in the southwest (Vasalt and Glimminge/Mäsinge). On one occasion a wheel-cross looks unfinished; the overall pattern seems planned but the figure is not completed (RAÄ Västra Karup 387, see fig. 75).

Cross figures – These mainly occur in the southwest coast area of Vasalt and Glimminge/Mäsinge. They consist of grooves which are formed as a cross, sometimes uneven and with both four and five arms.

Grooves – These are very common motifs and exist in many combinations and with different characteristics. Sometimes the grooves can be long and snakelike (as for example at Stora Nötte) but most often they are short and attached to cupmarks. There are cases where they make patterns and frames which seem to mean something special, but unfortunately they are very hard to interpret (Drottninghall and Holmen for example). The grooves seem to have been used to make sense among the rock-carvings; they connect certain figures and perhaps once they explained how to interpret some of the abstract motifs. Sometimes they appear as if they were meant to carry a fluid, for example in Svenstad where a number of small furrows are connected to a large bowl as if leading into it. In Holmen there are many parallel grooves that are meant to make sense themselves since they do not connect other features, except that they link the top panel with the ground level.

Foot prints – These occur rather frequently together with cupmarks, often in pairs but sometimes alone. Only in very few cases do they seem to be 'walking'. The footprints are made as whole soles generally without either sandal marks or visible toes. However, there are exceptions – one footprint in Drottninghall has three toes and one footprint in Troentorp has a sandal mark. Sometimes the heels are made of cupmarks or there is a cupmark between the feet. In other cases the whole area between the feet is made as a shallow, hollow surface.

Axe – In the spring of 2007 a lone axe carving, executed rather coarsely, was found in the area of Vasalt.

'Hollows' – Deep hollows and shallow surfaces exists at many places and in different forms. Sometimes the shallow surfaces connect figures and sometimes they are on they own, in this case often making a rectangle or square.

Other figures – On some sites there are figures which cannot be put into any specific categories, as for example some of the figures at Svenstad (Västra Karup RAÄ 536) and Vasalt (Grevie RAÄ 207). Some figures are fragmentary. At Holmen there are horse-hoofs and fishing hooks, which I will comment on further when discussing that site.

Table 17. *The motifs from Bjäre.*

Motifs	Number
Cupmarks	6547
Grooves	436
Footprints	108
Oblongs	21
Shallow surfaces	17
Ring figures	9
Ring-crosses	2
Cross figures	4
Ships	3
Horse-hoofs (prints)	3
(Fishing) hooks	2
Axe	1
Unknown figures	6
Fragments	6
Total	**7165**

Interpreting the rock-carvings in the landscape

Is it possible to treat and to interpret the figurative rock-carvings that dominate in some areas (for example along the west coast of Sweden, in central Sweden and in southeast Skåne) and the cupmarks that dominate in others (for example in Bjäre) similarly? The question whether they have the same origin and chronology has been touched upon earlier (Lidén 1938:136; Burenhult 1980:89f; Ullén 1997; Hauptman Wahlgren 2002:48ff; Bengtsson 2004). Most of these works suggest that there are some differences, either in time or in their use. I will initially treat them similarly as places in the landscape and later return to the question.

Rock-carving sites are often looked upon as places where the spirits and people could *meet* and communicate (Helskog 2004), so-called hierophanies (Eliade 1959). Meetings require pathways and movements of people, and in many ways looking at movements or networking in a landscape makes more sense as a thought structure for understanding patterns than just recognising activity or settlement areas. Movement is a good way of controlling different resources that are not all gathered in the same place. Especially in a pastoral economy, as was likely the case at Bjäre judging by the pollen analysis described in Chapter 2, things like transhumance, grazing areas as well as farming, hunting, fishing, gathering plants and collecting wood etc. were activities that made movement necessary and brought a far wider concept of settled area than we are used to in our time. An interesting feature of rock-carvings that has been noted in Spain and in some areas of Britain is that rock-carvings seem to be connected with routes of transhumance and a more mobile movement pattern than that of a traditional agricultural population (Ruis-Gálvez 1989; Bradley 1993; Díaz-Andreu 2003). Ruis-Gálvez mainly discusses stelae and decorated menhirs, but these belong to the same period and both constitute carved rocks at specific landscape locations and could be comparable in this respect. Bradley suggests a contextual approach, meaning that an interpretation needs to be made with consideration for local topography and the characteristics of the site (Bradley et al. 1994; Bradley 1997). Another interesting discussion about interpreting rock-carving sites is found in König, concerning a rock-carving from Blekinge in the southeast of Sweden (König 2005) where a similar approach is used and gives the rock-carving site a context-bound interpretation with the focus on the appearance of the sun.

Kaul has proposed that larger prominently situated rock-carving sites on Bornholm, besides being places for ritual activities, actually can be seen as solar observatories in the landscape, connecting the sun's movement throughout the year with the surrounding local landscape (Kaul 2005a:97). I find this idea very interesting as it connects the local specifics with a wider cosmological understanding. This is an idea that also goes well with Barrett's discussions (Barrett 1994:28f), as he

argues for the importance of understanding the characteristics of the sites in themselves in order to understand the rituals that were performed there. He also argues that we should look at archaeological sites as physical remnants of a number of abandoned projects rather than as single planned sites (Barrett 1994:13). This might be an important idea for dealing with sites that seem to have been used over very long periods, as seems to be the case with many of the large rock-carving sites. Widholm has also worked with long time-perspectives concerning sacred sites, mainly with burials and shrines, ranging from the Bronze Age until the Iron Age. He discusses the reuse of burial forms (circular, ship and square) and has found long-term associations among them (Widholm 2006).

A somewhat different view is given by Goldhahn in his recent work about the smiths of the Bronze Age, where he argues that it was the smiths (of different kinds) that were in charge of cosmological knowledge. This esoteric knowledge was conveyed to apprentices through 'rites de passage' at remote sites where the rock-carvings were a medium of passing on the knowledge. Goldhahn calls the smiths of the Bronze Age masters of rituals and cosmological transformers (Goldhahn 2007:156). If this is the case, there is certainly a long-term perspective on rock-carving sites as places for 'rites de passage', and they might have been used for this purpose during most of the Bronze Age. However, I find it questionable that the only people that were subject to 'rites de passage' at these sites were the smiths. There are certainly many aspects to the use of these places, and the possible interpretation Goldhahn gives could be just one of them. One interpretation does not necessarily exclude others; there is room for many. Shepherds have also been proposed as persons in Bronze Age society with special social status. They use the landscape and move over large areas (Björhem & Magnusson Staaf 2006:143f), and in some cases rock-carvings have been connected with transhumance (see above). Skoglund gives another interpretation in his work, viewing rock-carving sites as places for more general introduction into the cosmological world, and he suggests that the small size of the footprints implies that children or youngsters were initiated (Skoglund 2006:21f). A common approach in present research about rock-carvings is the focus on the actual figures and engravings at a particular site or sites, and with the interpretation of religious aspects and symbolic metaphors for the wider cosmological world (Hauptman Wahlgren 2002:23), the sites as *places* in the landscape are often not of great concern. However, a common consensus is that the rock-carvings are important places in the landscape for some kinds of activities that probably had a ritual or ceremonial tone.

The sun myth is fundamental for the Bronze Age and it is given many expressions, or at least there are many expressions that we today wish to interpret as symbolising the sun myth. Kaul has giving the myth some structure (Kaul 1998), but it has been discussed since the early days of archaeology (for example Almgren 1927). The circle figure was probably a metaphor for many other things than just the rebirth and death of the sun every day; it was a metaphor for the circular nature of life, whereby all things returned in a similar way with the seasons of the year.

Since Kaul's work on engravings on bronzes (1998) his cosmological interpretation of the sun being moved by a ship, bird or a horse along the sky in the day and back through the sea at night has been widely accepted. The myth also includes other animals – fishes, birds and snakes that act as helping animals – especially at the twilight zones between day and night and night and day. Bradley has tried to apply and rework the model on a landscape basis (Bradley 2006), finding possible connections between Kaul's interpretations of bronzes, Randsborg's interpretations of the engravings from the burials of Kivik and Sagaholm, and a landscape perspective. While the engraved bronzes that Kaul looked at seem to depict the sun's passage through the day (sky) and night (below in the sea); the rock-carvings, according to Bradley, focus around the point where the sky meets the water (Bradley 2006:387). An important point Bradley makes is that the different interpretations that have been made of Scandinavian figurative art are not necessarily conflicting, but instead can be seen as complementary since they work on different themes and source material. A similar idea is given by Helskog, who studies the northernmost Scandinavian rock-carvings; he also found that their locations in the landscape connect the cosmological spheres of sky (upper), earth (middle) and water (under the ground/water) (Helskog 1999). Coles studies rock-carvings in the eastern part of Skåne and Bohuslän and distinguishes between land-locked carvings and those directed towards the sea and to the same meeting point that Bradley implies (Coles 1999:184).

From the above cosmological discussions the following landscape spheres with different meanings can be distinguished:

The upper sphere, the sky, the dominating symbol is that of the sun, which is supposedly seen as variations of the circle motif and cupmarks. At landscape level this would mean that higher up in the landscape – towards the sky – these forms should dominate the rock-carvings. At site level it would instead mean that the higher up on the rock, the more these motifs should dominate (Bradley 2006). Coles notes in his study area of northeastern Skåne that cupmarks are always situated on the flat upper side of the rocks, as if they were meant to be seen from above, perhaps by the gods (Coles 2002:224).

In the mid sphere, or on the land, between and maybe connecting the sky and the sea are footprints, carriages, people etc. (Bradley 2006:382). Coles talks about 'land-locked' rock-carvings which either look out over land or consist of figures connected to land-based activities – or both (Coles 1999:184).

The lower sphere, the sea, could possibly have to do with death (see Bradley 2006), with ships, for example, having another role than carrying the sun. Coles distinguishes sea-oriented rock-carvings in his work but does not connect them with a cosmological zone (Coles 1999:184).

A similar cosmological division has been suggested by Randsborg concerning rock-carvings in burial contexts (Randsborg 1993:199f). Helskog specifically discusses seashores and suggests that the rock-carving sites connected with these represent appropriate places for rituals that connected people with the worlds of the spirits; thus he sees these places as a meeting place between all three zones (Helskog 1999).

In the landscape of Bjäre many of the large sites occupy high and dominant landscape positions and would, according to the above interpretations, deal with the upper sphere. But there are also other sites and other types of locations that are directly connected with burials (the dead) and with other landscape positions. Very few, if any, rock-carvings are directly associated with the sea, although the sea can be seen from most of them.

Skoglund discusses regional perspectives and adaptations of the Bronze Age culture of south Scandinavia, which is often thought of as one big monoculture (Skoglund 2005). He also pursues the same line of thought about rock-carvings in his more recently published interpretative catalogue of the rock-carvings in Kronoberg County, Småland, some hundred kilometres inland northeast of the Bjäre peninsula (Skoglund 2006:20). Comparing the rock-carvings in his study area with other regions, he concludes that the western part in his research area has strong parallels with the rock-carvings in northwestern Skåne and Denmark. Of special interest is his interpretation of footprints and circular motifs. He suggests that footprints in fact are footprints, representing real people who participated in the ritual, and that the circular motifs are abstractions of the sun myth. When the circle and footprints exist at the same place, Skoglund suggests that this represents someone who

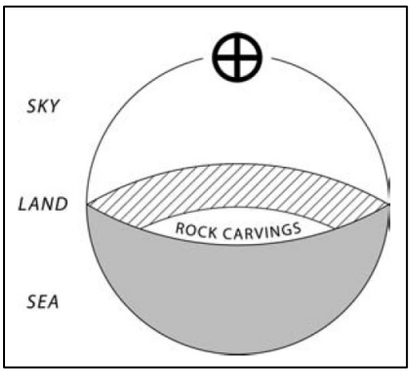


Fig. 69. *The cosmological zones. From Bradley 2006:fig. 11.*

was initiated and made part of this myth (Skoglund 2005:219ff, 2006:20, 29). Further, Skoglund distinguishes between the footprint that is wholly carved out and the one that has only the contour engraved suggesting that the wholly carved footprints, which generally are smaller in size, represent young people while the others are more schematic (Skoglund 2005:171ff, 2006:22). Coles, on the other hand, does not distinguish types but instead concludes that the footprints seem to represent both grown-ups and children (Coles 1999:175).

Goldhahn (2007) argues that the bronze-smith and the stone-smith belonged to the same 'institution' in Bronze Age society, controlling the cosmological transformations and also being responsible for the symbols carved into rocks as well as into bronze items (and possibly other materials as well). Goldhahn further believes that the rock-carvings might be a part of the esoteric knowledge of the smiths, used in 'rites de passage' and hence they were also – at least partly – not available for 'common people'. Whether it is the meaning of the symbols or the actual places that are unavailable is somewhat unclear, however. In my opinion, symbols possess many parallel meanings, of which some might belong to the esoteric world of the carver while others might be more common knowledge. Some sites are more unavailable than others and might have had different audiences and uses, and of course, some sites might also have played different roles at different times. Goldhahn focuses on finding the presence of the stone smith, as well as the bronze smith, in the material. He suggests that they are the spiritual leaders, the ones who have the esoteric spiritual and cosmological knowledge as well as the knowledge of controlling fire, a knowledge that is transferred through initiation rituals, possibly located at (sometimes remote) sites with rock-carvings. This perspective brings us closer to the activity of carving and moves us away from the interpretation of the figurative world, which otherwise is the more common research perspective on rock-carving. It also explains the presence of fire-cracked stones, for example, at rock-carving sites. Goldhahn's perspective brings in a wider landscape view.

Looking at the rock-carvings in the landscape of Bjäre with a similar cosmological and relational perspective to the ones presented above might give more clues to the meaning of these sites and to understanding their chosen locations than a mere chorological investigation would do. Another important question is of course that of chronology. The rock-carvings in Bjäre mainly consist of cupmarks which are hard to date. In the Tanum area Bengtsson has done some research on this topic and has reached some interesting results. In his research area there exist one of the richest figurative rock-carvings in Sweden, but there are also sites with only cupmarks as well as cupmarks on the sites with figurative rock-carvings and also megalithic tombs with cupmarks. In his study he tried to see if there were any differences among the cupmarks of these sites. He found that there is a difference in the size of the cupmarks located on megalithic tombs; they were larger and deeper than the cupmarks located on other rocks and boulders in the landscape that are connected with figurative rock-carvings. He argues that this indicates that the cupmarks on the megalithic tombs actually are Neolithic and not made in later periods. Further, he suggests that the meaning of the cupmarks expanded or changed as their position in the landscape changed through time. Initially they were probably connected with ancestors and fertility, but later, during the Bronze Age, as they were being spread into the wider landscape, their meaning was changed towards being protective, in the sense of protecting the grazing animals (Bengtsson 2004:64ff). Similar to Bengtsson, Ullén believes the cupmark to be a tradition that has its roots in the Neolithic, but she suggests that during the Bronze Age they mirror ritual activities connected with everyday life and settlements, while the figurative rock-carvings are instead connected to the emerging aristocracy and their cosmological control (Ullén 1997). When it comes to the Norrköping area in mid-Sweden, Hauptman Wahlgren has found that sites with only cupmarks that are spread in the landscape are of a later date than the figurative rock-carvings. Hauptman Wahlgren dates them to late Bronze Age – early Iron Age (Hauptman Wahlgren 2002:238ff).

The cosmological interpretations of rock-carvings at individual level, site level or landscape level are very interesting, but sometimes it seems as if it gets too overwhelming and that a more down-to-earth approach is needed as well. Therefore it was a relief to read Skoglund's work in which he still uses the sun myth in the interpretations but does not try too hard to fit everything into it; instead he pays attention to the individual and regional contexts (Skoglund 2005:170ff). Goldhahn's recent perspective is likewise inspirational as it tries to bring man forward as an active agent. The landscape perspective is fruitful to work with but it is necessary to find a balance as regards much detail

you can force into the general interpretations; different landscape contexts and locations need to be singled out and analysed individually before such generalisations can be made.

The sun is very important in the interpretations of Scandinavian Bronze Age cosmology and religion. There are many ways to use the sun in the interpretation of rock-carvings. One approach which might be fruitful in a landscape perspective is to look at the obvious alignments that are pointed out by certain compositions or figures and compare these with the directions of the sun's rising and setting. The direction of sunrise and sunset, however, changes through the year; for example the summer sunrise is more or less in the northeast while the sunset is in the northwest, while the winter sunrise is in the southeast and the sunset in the southwest (see Larsson 2000:31; Bradley unpublished manuscript). If we believe that the sun's rising and setting has some meaning in the rituals that took place, this might be visible looking at alignments. One rather obvious direction to study is the footprints which clearly point one way or another.

The result of the inventory and documentation work of 1999–2008

Below I will present all the larger sites on the peninsula and their surrounding areas that were the subject of the recent rock-carving inventories made together with Broström and Ihrestam during the years 1999–2008. I will further discuss their motifs and their landscape contexts. Fig. 70 shows all areas and more details are presented in connection with the descriptions. Later I will discuss certain themes that have arisen in this work.

The Vasalt area

Landscape context

This area is the most exceptional one when it comes to the amount of sites, many of which show a very distinct set of figures. For more details I refer to the reports (Broström & Ihrestam 2007d,

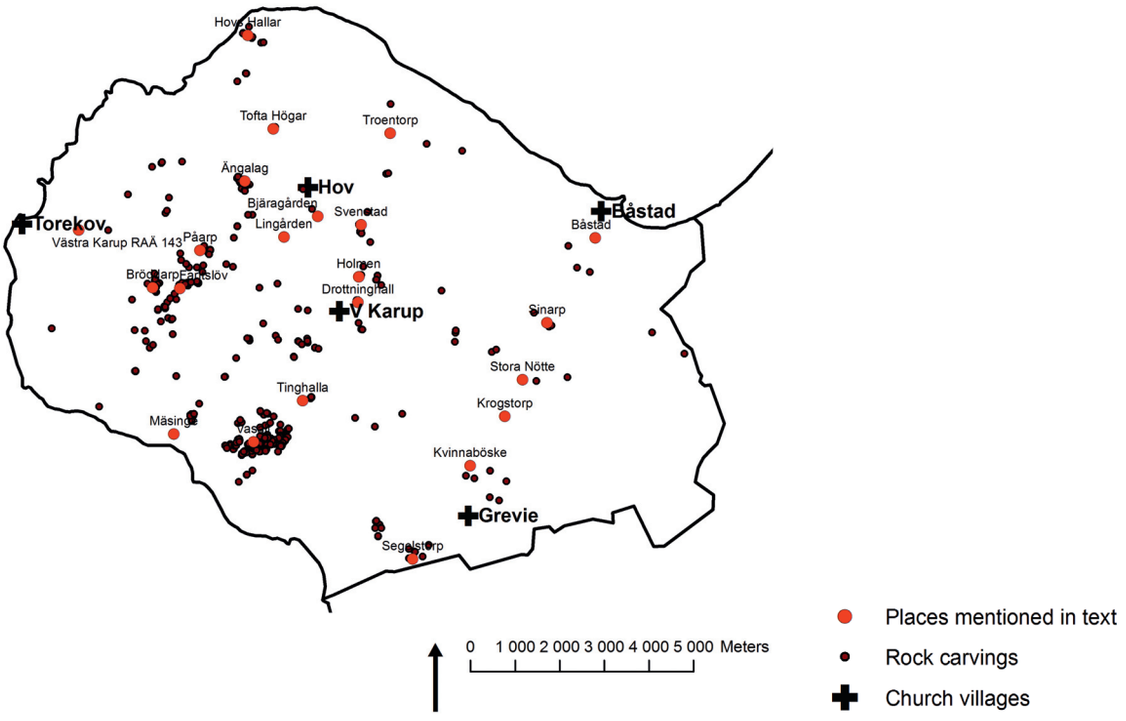


Fig. 70. *The rock-carving sites/areas mentioned in the text.*

2008a, 2008b, 2008c, 2008d, 2008f). In the following I will refer to the Vasalt/Glimminge/Mäsinge area only as the Vasalt area and I will not discuss all the individual sites, only a selection that are relevant for the interpretations of the area. In fig. 71 the Vasalt area is defined and the sites mentioned in the text are marked. In the north the area is limited by the stream Möllebäcken along which a few sites are rather evenly distributed. This stream is one of the larger ones in Bjäre but it is still rather small, most probably too small to carry boats even in the past. The stream runs through the centre of the peninsula, close to the rock-carving site of Drottninghall by the village of Västra Karup and begins further east in one of the larger bogs, Kåremosse in the valley of Drängstorp (see fig. 3). In the south the Vasalt area is limited by the boundary of the ridge of amphibolite. In the east the area is more or less limited by the larger road.

Table 18. *The increase of rock-carvings in the Vasalt area due to the recent inventory and documentation.*

The Vasalt area	Sites	Rock-carvings (cupmarks in brackets)
Previously known sites	83	768 (751)
After the inventories 1998–2008	237	1937 (1828)
Increase	185%	152% (238%)

Many of the sites in Vasalt seem to follow a trail leading from (or to) the sea through the village of Vasalt. The altitude of the sites a.s.l. varies from 20 to 50 m. The medieval village is still rather intact and the old road leading to the outland by the sea is still in use (Båstads kommun 2002a). The road and the trail-like sites of rock-carvings share the same path along a small ridge of amphibolite. The ridge is generally not very dominant in the landscape; it is mainly visible as a series of outcrops

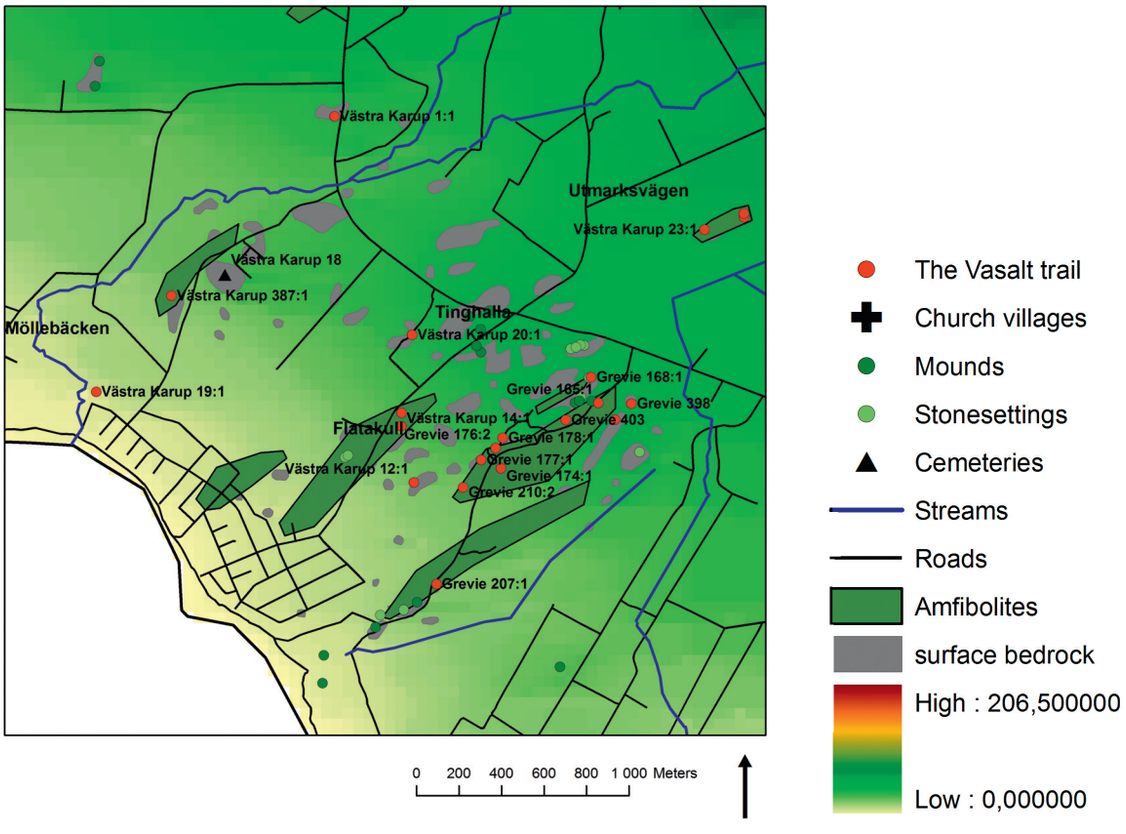


Fig. 71. *The sites in the Vasalt area. Background data © Lantmäteriet Gävle 2009. Grant I 2009/0549 and © Sveriges geologiska undersökning.*

stretching northeast–southwest. Sometimes the ridge is visible as elongated high rocks along the side of the road; in these cases there are often cupmarks on top of them. Most probably there are connections between the similar course of the road and the rock-carvings. The ridge zone is suitable for both activities but the fact that the ridge has an old narrative history inscribed through the rock-carvings was most probably also a factor that attracted the road; it is not there purely for practical reasons. Interestingly enough, the parish border between Grevie and Västra Karup is also located along the same course, although a little north of it. The area of Vasalt, and especially on the southern side of the parish border (in the parish of Grevie), is also the area in Bjäre with the highest density of rock-carvings. The number of sites was more than doubled during the fieldwork (see table 18); and there are surely more rock-carvings still to be found. We did not manage to cover all the ground during the recent inventory work.

There are few mortuary monuments that are directly connected with the trail of rock-carvings as it runs through the Vasalt village, but they are found at each end of the trail. Thus, there are burials marking both the end and the beginning of the so-called trail of rock-carvings. However, on the site of Flatakull there is a stone-setting which have a peculiar acoustic attribute (see below). There is also a cemetery further north close to a site with a gong rock (see below). Just northwest of Flatakull there is an area with six surviving mounds but probably there used to be more (see fig. 71). This area is called Tinghalla, which suggests that it was a pre-Christian assembly place (see the Register of the National Heritage Board; V Karup RAÄ 3). Three other sites of the judicial assembly (*thing*) are known on the peninsula, one at the church of Hov and one at the church of Grevie and another one on the ridge (see Chapter 5). The two assembly places by the churches are both well known (Janson 1999), and have a later history with medieval markets and locations for churches, while Tinghalla and the site on the ridge must have been abandoned as places for the *thing* much earlier.

The majority of the rock-carvings in the Vasalt area are made on rather coarse amphibolite rich in garnets, and many of the carved figures are coarse. The cupmarks are in general large; in fact, on the site of Flatakull the largest cupmarks in Scandinavia are found, with diameters up to 28 cm (Västra Karup RAÄ 14:1). However, the variation in size is great and some rocks which are made of finer amphibolite have smaller cupmarks, down to just 2 cm in diameter. The larger sites in the Vasalt area, with more than 25 engravings, often have some figurative rock-carvings as well; footprints, wheel-crosses and cross figures. However, there are a few sites that are not considered large in terms of the amount of rock-carvings, but even so they contain figures which are unique for the area, such as the axe figure (Grevie RAÄ 210:2), an unknown figure (Grevie RAÄ 207:1) and the site with several footprints and a wheel-cross (Grevie RAÄ 403). Below I will present some of the sites that I find especially interesting and helpful for understanding this area.

The rock-carvings

In the southwest some 870 metres from today's seashore there is a single engraving of an unknown figure (Grevie RAÄ 207:1, see fig. 72). It is very hard to interpret this figure but there are certain traits that make it cart-like. The figure has very shallow lines and is difficult to see in daylight; evening light and the help of a torch were necessary for distinguishing the complete figure. The rock is made of fine-grained amphibolite; it is located at ground level and is flat, which also makes it different from the majority of the rock-carvings in Bjäre. In general they are carved on top of large rocks or boulders and thus are clearly visible in the landscape. It is tempting to think of the possibility that these different types of locations mirror different uses or meanings that the rock-carvings could have had in the local Bronze Age society, which I will return to later in this chapter. Just a few metres west of Grevie RAÄ 207:1 there is another similar rock with eight cupmarks (Grevie RAÄ 207:2). They are evenly distributed on a line along the ridge of this rock, almost as if indicating a direction. The direction would be to follow the ridge towards the village of Vasalt and the inland. The site of Grevie RAÄ 207 is a lonely outpost around 500 metres further inland (north and northeast) the big mass of rock-carvings in the Vasalt area begins. They follow the natural course of amphibolite but there are also many rocks and outcrops where there are no carvings at all. This makes it clear that the locations were deliberately chosen and do not only coincide with the amphibolite; there were other reasons behind the locations as well.

The next site with rock-carvings towards the northeast is found on an outcrop in a field (Grevie RAÄ 210:2). They are large and coarse as they often are in this area. One of the figures represents a single axe of ceremonial type with a wide blade and knob on the butt (see fig. 73). It lacks the slender form and long blade such axes often have in other areas, for example in the area of Norrköping (Hauptman Wahlgren 2002:80ff) and Simris in southeastern Skåne (Skoglund 2005:110ff), which are generally dated to the early Bronze Age (Kristiansen & Larsson 2005:194). Instead it is rather thick and has a widely curved blade and a knob, which suggests that it may be of later date, possibly from the middle to late Bronze Age (Kristiansen & Larsson 2005:194).

Skoglund pursues an interesting discussion about the occurrences of axes in the eastern part of Skåne. He argues that the axes can be seen as local Neolithic traits that were incorporated in the new traditions that marked the start of the Bronze Age and thus created a cultural meeting not only between here and there but also between present and past (Skoglund 2005:113f). It is very doubtful, however, whether the isolated and coarsely made Vasalt axe should be seen in this light. What is clear, though, is that the axe is a recognisable figure which makes it different from most rock-carvings in Bjäre.

North of the so-called trail through the village of Vasalt and also on the other side of the parish border, and thus in Västra Karup parish, is the site of Flatakull (including Västra Karup RAÄ 14, 15, 16, 17, 358). Flatakull means 'flat hill' and that is exactly what it is: a flat rather large but low hill where the rock is exposed in several places. Most carvings at Flatakull consist of cupmarks, mainly large and deep ones; altogether there are 336 of them. The largest one is 28 cm and 6.5 cm deep. In the very northeastern corner of the Flatakull site there is a boulder with cupmarks and a circle embracing one cupmark. Together with four grooves these are the only features besides the 331 cupmarks that are spread along the rocks of the hill (Broström & Ihrestam 1999). Coles has suggested that large and deep engravings indicated that the site was used over a long time span, as the depth of the carvings suggests several recarvings (Coles 2002:234). However, I am not convinced by this interpretation, or rather I think it is too limited, as the actual making of the cupmarks corresponds to only one period of use in their lifetime – even if it happened on several occasions. There are most probably more periods of use, both earlier and later, when the actual making of cupmarks may not have been the main issue (Bradley 2000 and earlier discussion of 'places' in Chapter 1).

On the top of Flatakull there is a circular feature, 9 metres in diameter and 0.2–0.3 metres high, defined as a stone-setting in the Register of the National Heritage Board (Västra Karup RAÄ 14:2). A peculiar quality of this stone-setting is the hollow sound it creates when stamped on. Not all available rocks on Flatakull have rock-carvings; the majority can be found along the northeastern

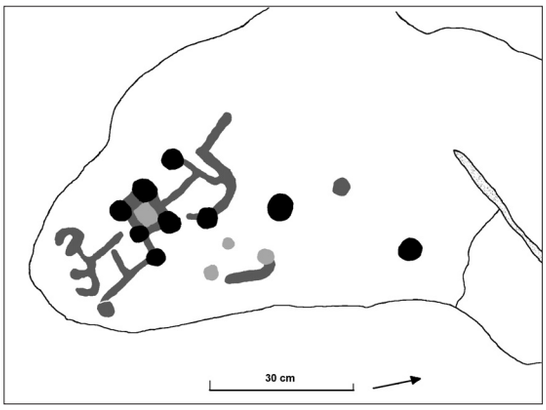


Fig. 72. *Grevie RAÄ 207:1.Drawing by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam.*

Fig. 73. *Grevie RAÄ 210:2. Drawing by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam.*

edge of the hill until the hill opens up for a natural passage towards the centre of the hill. The stone-setting is located on the very top. On the northern part of Flatakull there is a boggy area, or a little pool, which most probably also is important; a similar pool was found in connection with the rock-carving site of Järrestad (Coles 1999:172). Some internal aspects of this site are almost explained by themselves, that is, how to move and where to go (see fig. 74). The stone-setting on the top of the hill with its hollow sound might in fact have been used as a stage. Stages, or altars, in connection with ceremonial places and rock-carving sites have been discussed before (Bengtsson 2004:116ff; Kaul 2005b). The importance of sound in ritual performances has only lately been discussed (Nordström 1999; Goldhahn 2002; Victor 2002:169ff, 175f; Hultman 2007). These discussions deal with the sounds created when making cupmarks and sounds from gong rocks. The feature on Flatakull is another possibility of distinguishing a soundscape as well as a performative attribute of a complex rock-carving site.

The more commonly discussed way of creating soundscape in rock-carving environments is the use of gong rocks, mentioned above. One of these is found 1250 metres northwest of Flatakull (Västra Karup RAÄ 387:1) on the northern fringe of the Vasalt area. This site differs in many respects from the others in Bjäre. The carvings are made on a small boulder placed on top of an outcrop and consist of one complete wheel-cross and cupmarks and grooves forming a fragmentary wheel-cross (see fig. 75). This boulder further seems to be a gong rock which creates a ringing sound when hit with another stone. Another interesting aspect of this rock-carving is that it does not seem to be finished. One wheel-cross is finished, but beside it there is a feature that seems to derive from an unfinished wheel-cross of similar type. Here it looks as if the overall plan of the figure was thought out in advance, but for some reason it was never finished. Being a boulder, it also implies that the place in the landscape where it has been located is deliberately chosen, since it could easily have been moved if another location had been preferred.

According to experiments performed by Hultman on gong rocks on Öland, the sound of a gong rock can only be heard at a distance of around 350 metres. This means that the sound was made for local activities and that it was not used as a bell for summoning people; the human voice would have been more efficient (Hultgren 2007:50). The only prehistoric site within this distance, besides some small sites with cupmarks, is a cemetery at a distance of 230–320 metres (Västra Karup RAÄ 18). The cemetery consists of 5 mounds and 3 round stone-settings according to the Register of the National Heritage Board. When Hansen made an inventory in the area in 1925 he noted that one pot had been found in the easternmost cairn (Hansen ATA 1511/1926). In Hultman's work on Öland the gong rocks were often spaciously connected with cemeteries and/or round stone-settings, although she emphasised their proximity to communication routes and waterways (Hultman 2007).

Västra Karup RAÄ 387:1 should most probably be seen in connection with the cemetery and with the idea proposed by Nordström concerning cupmarks: that the sound created when knapping them actually had a ritual use in communicating with the spirits and the ancestors. Similar aspects of rock-carvings have been discussed by others (Hauptman Wahlgren 1998:94; Nordström 1999:134; Victor 2002:175). There is also a stream close to the site, Möllebäcken.

Along Möllebäcken there are other rock-carving sites as well, which occur regularly and are large, except for the small finds of cupmarks in connection with the gong rock. Close to the sea where the stream curves sharply there is a boulder rich in rock-carvings (Västra Karup RAÄ 19). The boulder is located on a slope slanting towards the sea and the stream and cannot be seen from inland. The boulder is of coarse-grained amphibolite rich in garnets and it is also very rich in rock-carvings, 135 of them altogether (see fig. 76). Besides cupmarks there are shallow surfaces and grooves and a ring figure.

Further, northeast on the other side of the place with the gong rock, and also along the course of the same stream, there is another large site (Västra Karup RAÄ 1), with altogether 95 figures, of which three are grooves (see fig. 77). This site is interesting for several reasons; not only is it a large site that is connected with the stream on its way towards – or from – the central site of Drottninghall (see later). It is also directly connected with a small pool of spring water, just like the Flatakull site (see above).

Going back to the Vasalt trail through the village of Vasalt, one passes two more sites with wheel-crosses; one is a new find made by the landowners children when we were there documenting. This site differs from most sites in that it contains mainly footprints and only a few cupmarks (Grevie RAÄ 403). Interestingly enough, the majority of these footprints are facing eastwards; possibly indicating the direction of the path inland or perhaps also showing the direction of the sunrise (see fig. 78).

The Vasalt trail consists of many small sites and among these are a few large ones rather evenly distributed, but not yet discussed, in the middle of the trail: Västra Karup 12:1, Grevie 174:1, Grevie 177:4 (see fig. 79), 176:2 and Grevie 178:1. Västra Karup 12:1 is located in between Flatakull and Vasalt on a large outcrop and contains 113 cupmarks and 5 grooves. The other sites are located along the old village road in Vasalt. Grevie 174:1 contains 32 cupmarks. On the site Grevie 177:4 which is in grazing land rich in outcrops and obstructions to agriculture, there are 83 cupmarks, one wheel-cross, one cross figure and 3 grooves (see fig. 79). Grevie 176:2 is in a garden and contains 64 cupmarks, 2 footprints facing southwest and 5 grooves. Grevie 178:1 is located in a grazing land and consists of 44 cupmarks, one shallow surface and 5 grooves. Fig. 80 marks all the sites along the Vasalt trail, clearly showing the density of sites in the area.

In the very eastern part of the Vasalt area, as the trail ends there is a large rock-carving site close to a stone-setting on top of a hill (Grevie RAÄ 168). A single footprint on this site also faces the east. On the opposite side of the village road there are another 3 large sites; Grevie RAÄ 165:1 which contains 40 cupmarks on a very steep-sided cliff-like outcrop; Grevie RAÄ 169:1 which is a boulder with 26 cupmarks found inside an area that is badly overgrown and inaccessible; Grevie RAÄ 398 which is a new find with 28 cupmarks, 1 shallow surface and 1 groove found on an outcrop in a field.

Further west, on the other side of the *Tinghalla* area, is a large rock-carving site: Västra Karup RAÄ 20. The Västra Karup RAÄ 20 site consists of a large number of cupmarks, but also other figures; a total of 174 figures were distinguished on this outcrop, which was rather eroded. Besides 13 cupmarks there were also 16 grooves, two footprints and three cross figures. The two footprints are peculiarly connected with cupmarks (see fig. 81). They are not parallel but seemingly walking towards the north-northeast, towards the inland area of the peninsula.

Above I have described and interpreted some of the many sites in the Vasalt – Mäsinge area which I find of special interest. It is impossible to give a detailed presentation of them all in this work. But

Fig. 74. *A 360° panorama of the Flatakull site. Photo Brian Larkman 2001.*

there are quite a few local aspects to highlight, some of which I will return to later in the discussions about the rock-carving sites of Bjäre:

- The sometimes extreme size of the cupmarks
- The roughness with which some figures were made
- The trail-like pattern the sites make in the landscape around the village of Vasalt
- The directions (inland and/or east) in which some figures, mainly footprints, are facing.
- The local intra-site contexts that make some sites special; for example, the stage-like setting at Flatakull and the pools, etc.
- The soundscape attribute of some of the sites.
- How they interact with other sites, for example burials, and landscape features such as waterways and the ridge.
- How the sites differ in appearance in the northern area along the stream and in the southern area following the small ridges.
- A few recognisable figures among the wealth of abstract figures.

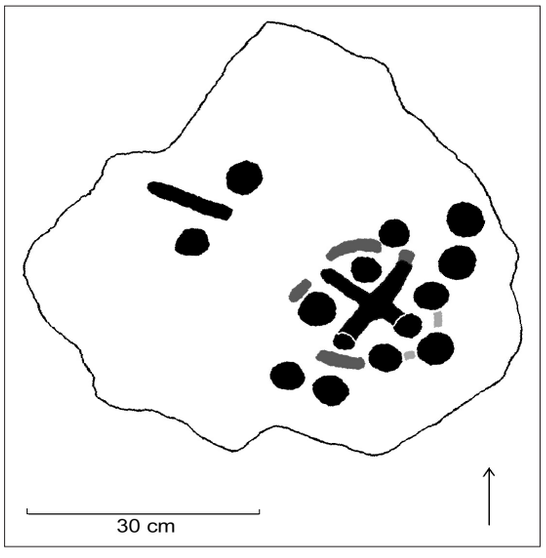


Fig. 75. *Västra Karup RAÄ 387:1. Drawing by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam.*

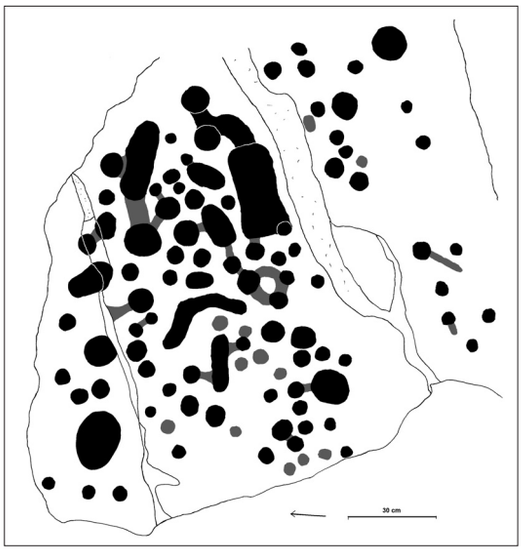


Fig. 76. *Västra Karup RAÄ 19:1. Drawing by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam.*

Fig. 77. *Photo of Västra Karup RAÄ 1. Photo Sven-Gunnar Broström 2007.*

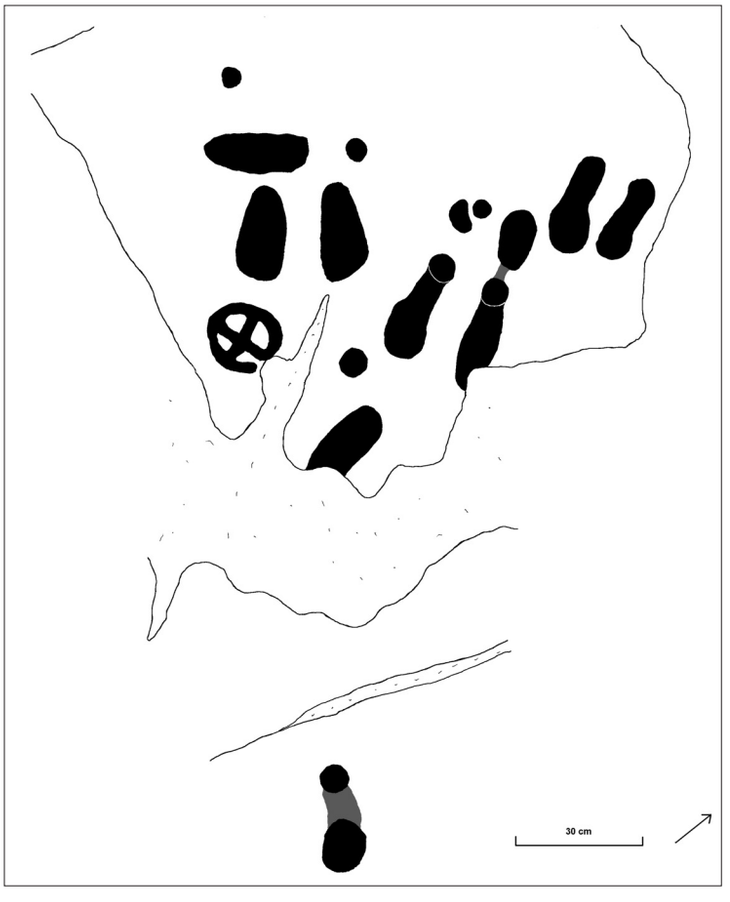


Fig. 78. *Grevie RAÄ 403. Drawing by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam.*

Fig. 79. *RAÄ 177:4 towards the south. Photo Sven-Gunnar Broström 2007.*

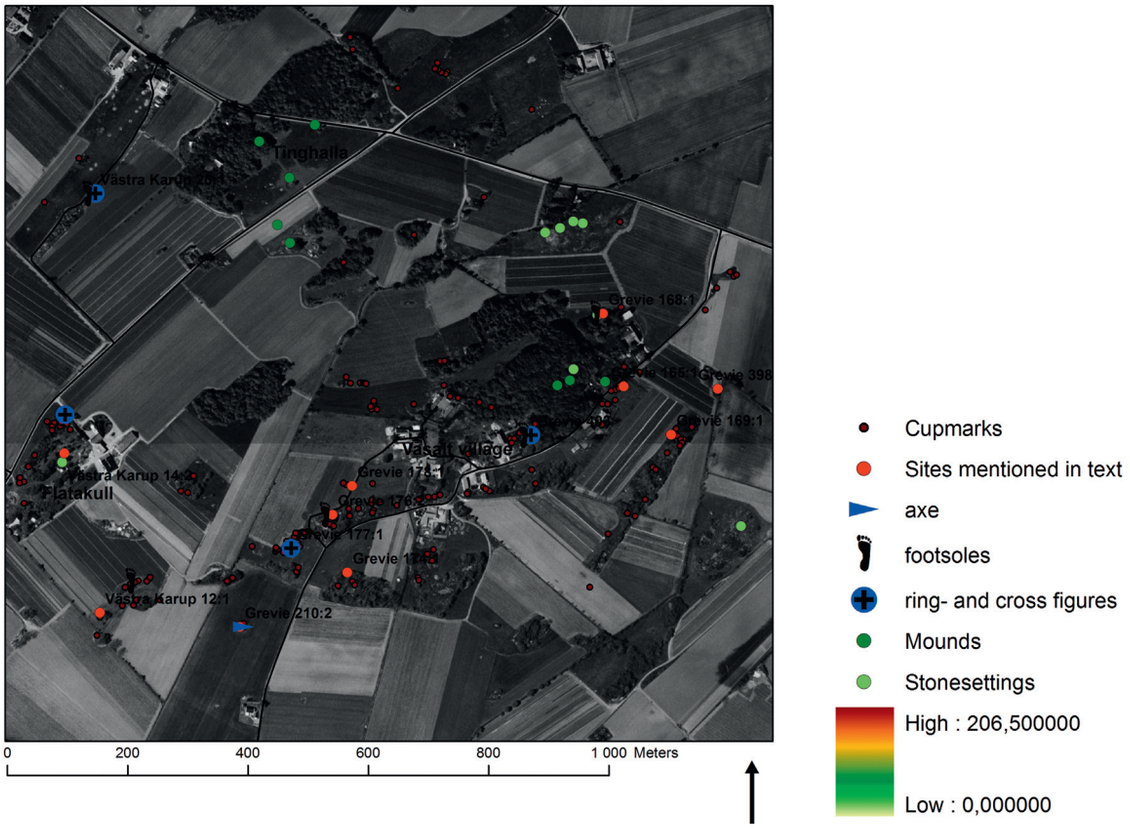


Fig. 80. *The Vasalt trail with all sites on an aerial photo-map.*

Fig. 81. *Västra Karup RAÄ 20:1. Drawing by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam.*

Utmarksvägen

Västra Karup RAÄ 23 (50 m a.s.l.) is located on the western lowland in small wooded obstructions to agriculture on a remote location in today's landscape. The view towards the southwest and to the Vasalt area is however good, and the site can possibly be seen as an outpost of the Vasalt area (see fig. 71), or as part of another local context further inland.

Fig. 82. *A new rock-carving panel at Utmarksvägen, Västra Karup RAÄ 24. Drawing by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam.*

The site contains mainly cupmarks, but also some connecting grooves and one footprint. Before the documentation 25 cupmarks and one oval form were known on this site and close to it another site with only 4 cupmarks and one large hollow were known. However, the large hollow could not be found, but new panels on the outcrop area were found with cupmarks. Some of the cupmarks are very large, up to 15 cm wide and with a depth of 3.5 cm. What is interesting is that these seem to form patterns together with surrounding small cupmarks (Broström & Ihrestam 2008e). This situation can be compared with the figure found at Svenstad (Västra Karup RAÄ 536), where a large cupmark is surrounded and connected with grooves to smaller cupmarks.

Table 19. The increase of rock-carvings in the area of Utmarksvägen due to the recent inventory and documentation.

Utmarksvägen	Sites	Rock-carvings (cupmarks in brackets)
Previously known sites	5	33 (31)
After the inventories 2007	26	208 (198)
Increase	150%	530% (539%)

The central peninsula with the sites Drottninghall, Holmen, Svenstad

The three sites Drottninghall, Holmen, Svenstad are individually very different but rather alike in their central landscape setting following the same north–south height along the centre of the peninsula, where the lowland is located to the west and the higher ground to the north and northwest. Drottninghall (105 m a.s.l.) and Holmen (120 m a.s.l.) are located 525 metres apart, close to Västra Karup village, separated by a small valley and a stream. From Drottninghall and Holmen the view

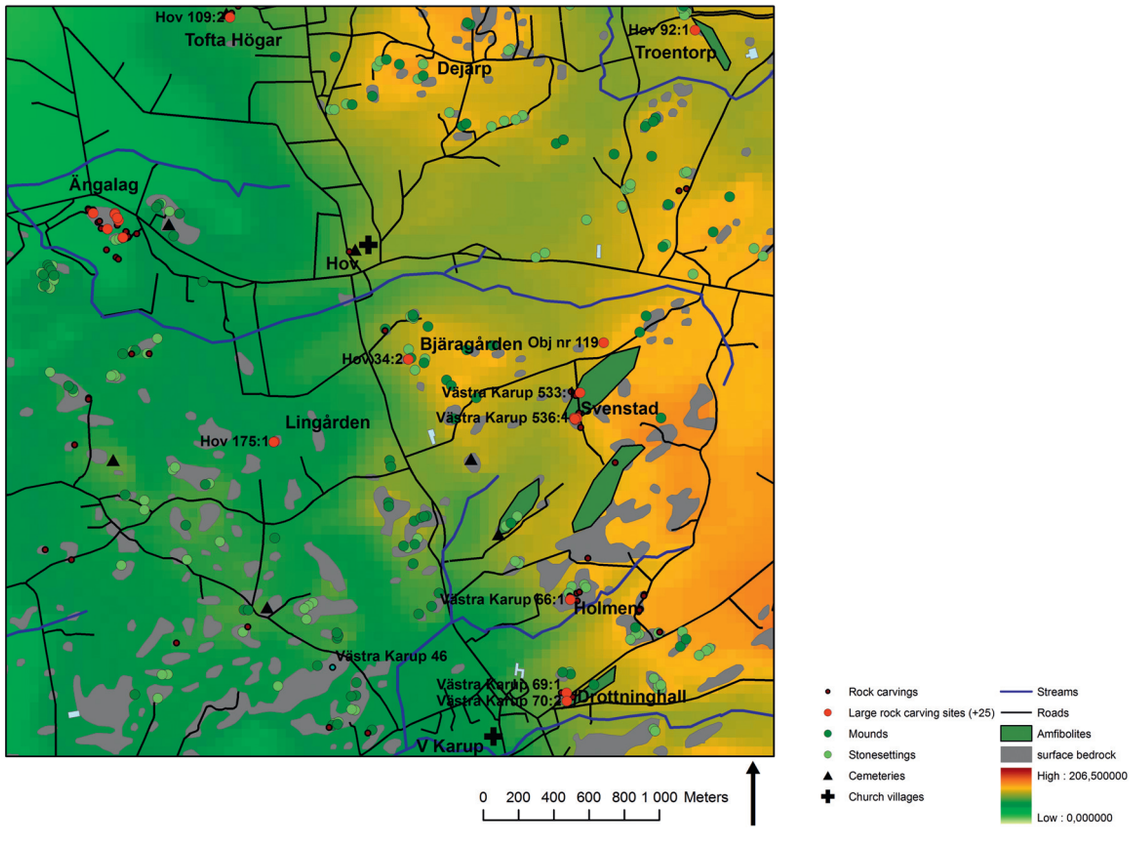


Fig. 83. *The centrally located large rock-carving sites in Bjäre. Background data © Lantmäteriet Gävle 2009. Grant I 2009/0549 and © Sveriges geologiska undersökning.*

over the sea and the lowlands to the south-southwest is splendid. The area of Vasalt, for example, can easily be distinguished. However, to the east- northeast the Hallandsåsen ridge is still rising and there is no landscape view. The Svenstad site (120 m a.s.l.) is located closer to the village of Hov a further 1000 metres north of Holmen. The view from Svenstad is focused on the north.

Drottninghall: myths and landscape context

Drottninghall is a highly elevated site with a good view towards the south and southwest. The setting is just above and north of the village of Västra Karup and the view includes the coastal lowlands and Kullaberg. North and northwest of the site, at a slightly higher location, there are some mounds (Västra Karup RAÄ 71 and 72). Drottninghall occupies a larger outcrop where different rocks and panels have different motifs. One of the more important landscape features of Drottninghall might be its location at an old crossroads in Västra Karup village at the very centre of the peninsula (see fig. 83).

Perhaps, if it is permissible to say so, the most beautiful carving in Bjäre is found here, consisting of two parallel footprints framed by cupmarks (see cover). This composition has enticed people's imagination through time and created myths about it which also have given the name to the site. Drottninghall means 'the Queen's rock', but -hall may also mean 'hall', so there might be a double meaning in the name: both rock and hall. One myth is about when Margareta, the queen of Denmark, Norway and Sweden in the 14th century, was passing through the Bjäre peninsula. She made a pause at Drottninghall to admire the view, and where she stood a pair of footprints appeared in the rock. However, since the footprints actually is turned away from the sea-view and instead are directed towards one of the mounds (Västra Karup RAÄ 72) this myth may be questioned. There is another local myth which says that this pair of footprints derives from when a priest was 'reading' a ghost into the rock. This myth might actually be connected to a sad story described in Chapter 2 (The intangible landscape) about an unhappy soldier who committed suicide on this site.

The footprints and the rock-carvings are however a lot older than these myths, but partly as a result of these the place has been kept alive among people through the centuries. The central location at

Fig. 84. *The arrowhead of flint found by the excavation in 1966 (LUHM 28238:5). Photo Jenny Nord 2008.*

crossroads in the village of Västra Karup has of course helped this situation as well. Or perhaps it is the opposite; the crossroad is there as a result of the location of the rock-carving site and the gathering function it might have had (Rudebeck 2001; Nord 2006a, 2006b). The composition with the framed footprints is located on the western side of the road that passes through the site and belongs to V Karup RAÄ 69 (see cover and fig. 15), while the rock-carvings on the eastern side of the road are identified as V Karup RAÄ 70. Among the rock-carvings on the eastern side of the road there is also a stone-setting registered. The road was enlarged in the early 19th century and it is probable that some rock-carvings have disappeared in connection with the roadworks.

During a seminar excavation led by Arbman in 1966 nine surfaces with rock-carvings were uncovered on the site: altogether 274 cupmarks, 21 footprints, 7 grooves and a number of irregular figures. Two small trenches were made, one just north of the outcrop area and another in between two rocks within the outcrop area. In the northern trench a hearth was found just 10 cm from the rock, and in the same trench ceramics, flint tools and a heart-shaped arrowhead of flint were also uncovered. In the other trench worked flint was found. The hearth was radiocarbon dated to the Migration Period (AD 400–550), the arrowhead probably belongs to the early Bronze Age, the ceramic both to the early Bronze Age and the early Iron Age. Arbman suggests that the earlier finds are connected with the cultic activities on the site and that the later finds derive from more sporadic visits (Arbman 1966).

Drottninghall: the rock-carvings

Besides the framed pair that is often the focus in the discussions of this site there are several other footprints on the site, altogether 22, 8 of them are in pairs. The only footprint with toes in Bjäre can be found at Drottninghall, although it has only three toes (see fig. 85). The site is restricted to a large amphibolite outcrop and it has, just as Arbman discovered, nine main panels with rock-carvings and 17 additional smaller occurrences mainly with cupmarks. A total of 520 carved figures were documented on the site during the recent documentation, 468 cupmarks, 22 footprints, 60 furrows and 2 shallow surfaces (Broström & Ihrestam 2002).

Fig. 85. *Drottninghall, Västra Karup RAÄ 70:13. Drawing by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam.*

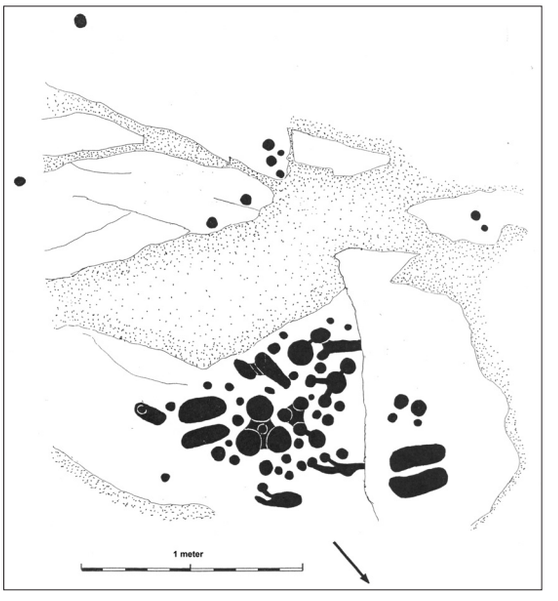


Fig. 86. *Drottninghall, Västra Karup RAÄ 70:2. Drawing by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam.*

Table 20. *The increase of rock-carvings in Drottninghall due to the recent inventory and documentation.*

Drottninghall	Sites	Rock-carvings (cupmarks in brackets)
Previously known sites	2	270 (235)
After the inventory 2001	2	520 (468)
Increase	0%	93% (99%)

On the site of Drottninghall there are several compositions made with grooves and cupmarks as well as shallow surfaces. Interestingly, different panels seem to have different themes, although they are all abstract, except for the footprints. The most famous panel is the already mentioned framed footprints on the northern side of the road (see cover). The other panels are found on the southern side of the road and include, for example, one panel with triangular motifs (see fig. 86). These motifs somewhat resemble the triquetra and the triangular form of stone-setting which is generally dated to the latter part of the Iron Age. There are no stone-settings of this type at all in Bjäre, and most probably this rock-carving motif should be seen in a Bronze Age perspective. However, the investigation conducted by Arbman show that there are some attributes of the Drottninghall site that connect it with the Iron Age. Whether the actual creation of rock-carvings can be dated to the Iron Age is questionable, but it is possible that the existence of this motif made the site attractive well into the Iron Age.

It is interesting that many of the panels have different characteristics, which is a situation that recurs at several of the central sites. Coles noted the same situation in Simris and Järrestad in eastern Skåne. He interpreted the panels as deriving from different groups, being their individual panels at the large gathering place that they shared (Coles 1999). It is just as probable, however, that the different panels were used for different types of ritual activities, perhaps during different times of the year or during life.

The framed footprints mentioned earlier have shoe size 36 (UK size 3½–4). This is either a size for a child or for a woman with very small feet. I have asked several people with this size to stand on the footprints (like all other footprints on the peninsula they are wholly carved out) and they all say the same thing; they are very comfortable to stand in, as if they were ergonomically shaped. I have

Fig. 87. *Drottninghall; Västra Karup RAÄ 70:8. Photo from the northeast by Jenny Nord 2003.*

not had the opportunity to investigate the other paired footprints on the peninsula yet, but whether or not it is a trait only for this pair it suggests that the footprints are not only something to look at or just a form to shape. Instead they may have played an active part in the ritual and some effort was made to make them comfortable. Standing in these footprints was most probably and act of importance. This is reminiscent of to a discussion in Skoglund's thesis where he argues that footprints were real prints of young people (because of the small size) being initiated into the cosmological myths (Skoglund 2006:20).

The Drottninghall framed feet are facing towards the northeast where on the very top of the same hill there is a large mound. Standing in the feet you will have all the splendid view of the southern Bjäre peninsula behind you and will face the hillside with the mound against the skyline and the direction of the rising summer sun (Coles 1999:186; Larsson 2000:31; König 2005). Standing in the footprints of Drottninghall it would be interesting to see how the outline of the mound and the rising sun connect with each other. Interestingly, the other paired footprints on the site do not share this direction. They are instead facing the southeast, which is where the winter sun rises.

Holmen: the landscape context

The site of Holmen (Västra Karup RAÄ 66) bears the name of the farm it belongs to. It is located on an outcrop on a southwestern slope some 500 metres northwest of Drottninghall (see fig. 83). Both sites share the same altitude and splendid view overlooking the southwestern lowland of the peninsula and the sea with Kullaberg in the distance. In between the two sites there is small valley and a stream. Probably there is also inter-visibility between them, but a large number of trees make this impossible at present. Only 38 metres to the north is a stone-setting. Approximately 1000 metres further north is the site of Svenstad, but there is no inter-visibility between them. The rock-carvings of Holmen are concentrated on one single boulder-like outcrop on a slope which is filled with carvings. Arbman investigated the site in 1966 as part of the same seminar excavations that also investigated Drottninghall (see above). During the excavation a heap of fire-cracked stones was found which shared the limits of the eastern side of the rock (see fig. 89). Among the stones in the heap some pieces of pottery, flint and charcoal were found. Most finds could not be dated besides two pieces of pottery belonging to the same vessel, a pot from the late Bronze Age. One of the pieces has a decoration which shows similarities with a house-urn (Arbman 1966, Welinder 1974:268, see figs. 90 and 149). Underneath the heap some rock-carvings were found, panel Ö according to the report (see fig. 150). In the report from the seminar held by Arbman and his students

Fig. 88. *Panorama from Holmen, Västra Karup RAÄ 66. Photo Jenny Nord 2001.*

it seems as if all the rock-carvings in panel Ö were covered by the heap, but in some literature it says that only one cupmark was covered (Welinder 1974; Goldhahn 2007). The heap with its finds dates the covered rock-carvings at the latest to the late Bronze Age. The majority of the carvings, however, were located on the western part of the rock which was not covered by the cairn (Arbman 1966). Among the finds from the excavation there are some other interesting items, for example, two smaller stones (one is slab-like 25 × 28 × 3 cm in size and seemingly fire-damaged (LUHM 29237:19), while the other is smaller in size (LUHM 29237:18); both have cupmarks. The slab-like stone was buried 30 cm deep just west of the site (towards the sea). Another flat stone approx 30 cm in diameter and deliberately round-shaped was found just below the turf where the long grooves (see below) reach the ground (LUHM 29237:20).

Holmen is located at a rather remote place in the landscape. Besides the few stone-settings in the vicinity the place is quite lonely, at least in today's landscape and also looking at the historical land-use. According to historical maps the area around Holmen was outlying land mainly used as pasture and for moving cattle between the larger pasture areas (*Skånska rekognosceringskartan* 1985).

Holmen: the rock-carvings

The boulder-like outcrop which embraces all the rock-carvings of Holmen measures 5 × 4 metres, but only 5 × 2.5 metres is filled with rock-carvings. During the recent inventory work the number of carvings on the site increased to 407 cupmarks, 20 footprints (16 in pairs), 65 grooves, 3 rings and 8 other figures (Broström & Ihrestam 2003).

Table 21. *The increase of rock-carvings in Holmen due to the recent inventory and documentation.*

Holmen	Sites	Rock-carvings (cupmarks in brackets)
Previously known sites	1	380 (300)
After the inventory 2003	1	503 (407)
Increase	0%	32% (36%)

Fig. 89. *The small heap of fire-cracked stones that covered Västra Karup RAÄ 66. Photo from the archives of the Historical Museum in Lund (LUHM).*

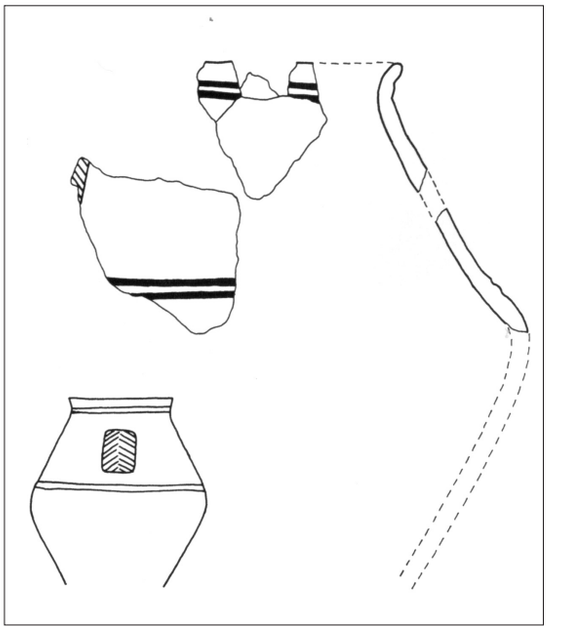


Fig. 90. *Reconstruction of the pot found in the heap of fire-cracked stones. From Welinder 1974:fig. 6.*

The rock has four main panels, the top panel being the largest one and also the richest in rock-carvings. The slanting side with the grooves makes up one panel and beside it, also slanting and directed westwards, is another panel with only a few carvings. The rock-carvings that were once covered by a heap of fire-cracked stones are located on the northeastern part of the top and make up the forth panel.

The panel with the grooves gives a special character to the site. Nine, or possibly ten, parallel grooves, around 60 cm long, are carved into the slanting side of the rock. The composition faces the sea towards the west-northwest. The other slanting side of the rock that faces more westwards has engravings of a different character than otherwise on the rock; three 'horse-hoofs' and two 'fishing hooks'; there are also some grooves and cupmarks that are connected. One groove is horizontal the others are vertical. Some cupmarks seem to make up part of the horse-hoofs and hooks.

The top panel of the rock is full of carvings, mainly cupmarks, footprints, smaller grooves connecting cupmarks and footprints, and one circular motif. Some of the grooves give a snakelike impression. On this panel the majority of the cupmarks and all the footprints are found. On the northeastern part of the top side, which was once covered with the burnt mound, there is a panel consisting of cupmarks, two of which have concentric circles, and there is also a long groove connecting several cupmarks.

There is one pair of footprints on the top panel pointed in the same direction as the framed footprints at Drottninghall: towards the northeast and the summer sunrise (Larsson 2000:31). This pair has a cupmark in between the feet and is also connected with a groove to other motifs. Opposite, as if facing each other, there is another pair of footprints. This is actually the most common direction the paired footprints have on this site. Perhaps they are meant to face the pair with the cupmark in between the feet, as if to depict an active ritual on site, or maybe they are meant to face something else, for example the winter sunset? There is also, just as at Drottninghall, a pair of footprints that faces the winter sunrise. It is tempting to interpret the directions of the footprints of the top panel as showing different rituals on different occasions during the year.

In the burnt heap there were finds of both flint and pottery. Some potsherds were dated to the late Bronze Age. These sherds probably belong to a biconical pot, possibly a house-urn decorated with a door (see fig. 90, a reconstruction from Welinder 1974, and fig. 149, a photo of one of the sherds).

Fig. 91. *Holmen, Västra Karup RAÄ 66:1. Drawing by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam.*

This means that the rock-carvings in this panel were covered in the late Bronze Age, thus giving them a *terminus post quem* dating. In the report from the excavation it is suggested that the site and the rock-carvings lost their meaning when this happened (Arbman 1966), but it might also be that the cairn and the finds within it should be seen as a part of the rituals that took place on this site.

The burnt heap covered some of the rock-carvings and was perhaps thereby making a closure of the site (see also the discussion in Bengtsson 2004:49). But this cover was only hiding one panel, not all of them. Further, the cover also followed the outline of the rock itself, and this could mean that this area of the rock in fact was very important even though there were no – or just a few – rock-carvings there. It might have been the actual place for other parts of the ritual which now was being closed. Kaliff has suggested that the burnt heaps could be remains of altars that were used for fire-sacrifices (Kaliff 1998, 2007:106ff). It is also interesting to think that the fire-cracked stones actually could have been created as part of the cremation rites of the buried persons in the stone-settings close by (Kaliff 1999, 2007:122f). The pieces of a house-urn that were found in the burnt heap are from an item generally connected with burials as a container for ashes. Thus it is not too implausible to think that the rituals or at least some of the rituals on Holmen had to do with death.

The presence of the burnt heap does not necessarily mean that the site was abandoned from this time, even if it actually looks like that. Comparing the evidence from Holmen with the evidence from Drottninghall not far away, this can be further illustrated. Drottninghall is still surrounded by living myths, which in a way shows that the site is still in use. There are also finds and hearths which can be dated to both early and late Iron Age, alongside the finds from the Bronze Age (Arbman 1966). This makes sense in a landscape context, since Drottninghall is located in a place which has been continuously used until the present day (see Chapter 5), but the site of Holmen is more remote and there are no other features or finds from later periods in its vicinity.

The motifs of fishing hooks and horse-hoofs are also interesting. Neither of these are found anywhere else in Bjäre. Berntsson has argued that during the Bronze Age deep-sea fishing with hooks developed as a fishing method and that it was performed by the same persons that went on long sea journeys. The argument is that the same maritime skills were demanded for both activities (Berntsson 2005:113ff). The horse-hoofs occur on the same panel as the fishing hooks. This seems to be a peculiar combination, but a look at the interpretations of these motifs shows that they actually share the same basic meaning, which might be interpreted as 'male status' or possibly just 'skill status' (Bengts-

Fig. 92. *The panoramic view from Svenstad, ranging from the southwest to the north (thus not including the view of Kullaberg). Locations of major sites are marked. Photo Jenny Nord 2006.*

son 2004:92ff; Berntsson 2005:113ff). Deep-sea fishing with hooks required skill and courage, which also is true for handling horses, whether they were used for religious or more mundane activities.

The panel with the parallel long grooves is interesting and deserves a comment. It is possible that the outer grooves actually frame the others. The lower frame could be mistaken for a simple picture of a ship; initially during the fieldwork it was interpreted as a simple ship (see figs. 91 and 152), but later it was reinterpreted as a groove belonging to the composition. The upper frame of the panel is partly made as a row of cupmarks. The possibility of using the grooves for transmitting fluids along the side of the rock within a ceremony seems questionable, since the lower frame would make an obstacle, at least a mental one, unless, of course, the fluid was meant to end up at this height which also corresponds to the ground level. The grooves are located on a slanting side of the rock which slopes down to the northwest. Perhaps it has some connection with the setting summer sun which also disappears in this direction. The flat and rounded stone that was found during the excavation in 1966 under the turf in front of the grooves should also be seen in connection with them (LUHM 29237:20).

The different panels of Holmen can be interpreted as being the results of different occasions or for different purposes; either during the year or during life. The fact that the site was buried under fire-cracked stones with pieces of a possible house-urn gives among them some indications of a special devotion to death.

Svenstad: the landscape context

The site of Svenstad is found one kilometre north of Holmen along the same ridge (see fig. 83). This site was largely unknown before the recent inventory and documentation work (Broström & Ihrestam 2006c). During the inventory of the National Heritage Board in 1986 the landowner reported two sites with rock-carvings on his land. They were located in two wooded obstructions to agriculture; the northern rock-carving (Västra Karup RAÄ 533) is on an outcrop of amphibolite; the southern rock-carving (Västra Karup RAÄ 536) is on a large boulder located in a small wooded area. As we did the recent documentation the landowner reported yet another site (Västra Karup RAÄ 637) located in a stone wall 300 metres to the north-northwest.

It was, however, the small wooded area around Västra Karup RAÄ 536 that still had a lot of secrets to reveal. It contained a great many boulders and clearance cairns that had been collected from fields nearby. However, we soon noted that the solid rock was exposed at several places in the glade and even outside it in the fields. On these low-lying flat rocks of a fine-grained, rather unusual amphibolite there were rock-carvings of a different type from the more 'normal' Bjäre type consisting mainly of cupmarks, grooves and footprints. Three panels could be distinguished since they were partly visible, but there might still be further panels on the site hidden by a thin earth layer and/or stones. Whether the panels on the site were deliberately covered or not is uncertain, but the thin layer of soil that we removed during the documentation seemed to be of late origin, possibly produced as the cows that are grazing there move around.

Close to Svenstad, around 600–1000 metres to the northwest and within sight, are the large mounds and the rock-carvings of Bjäragården (Hov RAÄ 34:2). The rock-carving site of Svenstad is however not directly connected with any mortuary monuments or any other sites; instead it appears to be a rather remote site on the slope of the ridge. According the military survey map from the early 19th century there was a wetland located west of the site which today is used as agricultural fields (*Skånska rekognosceringskartan* 1985). In the northern obstruction to agriculture (RAÄ 533) an uneven structure which is overgrown could possibly be a destroyed burial – although this is very uncertain. The view towards the sea and Kullaberg is clear, but the lower ground in between is mainly invisible, although the forest of Dejarp can be seen to the north (see fig. 92).

Svenstad: the rock-carvings

The two previously known large rock-carving sites in Svenstad mainly consist of cupmarks. The northern site (Västra Karup RAÄ 533), besides 72 cupmarks, also has 1 footprint and 11 grooves. Several of the grooves connect cupmarks and one is curved and slightly snakelike. The footprint is found on the slanting side of the rock facing northeast.

In the other wooded obstruction to agriculture 150 metres to the south-southwest the already registered site is located on a boulder (Västra Karup RAÄ 536:6). There are 29 cupmarks and six

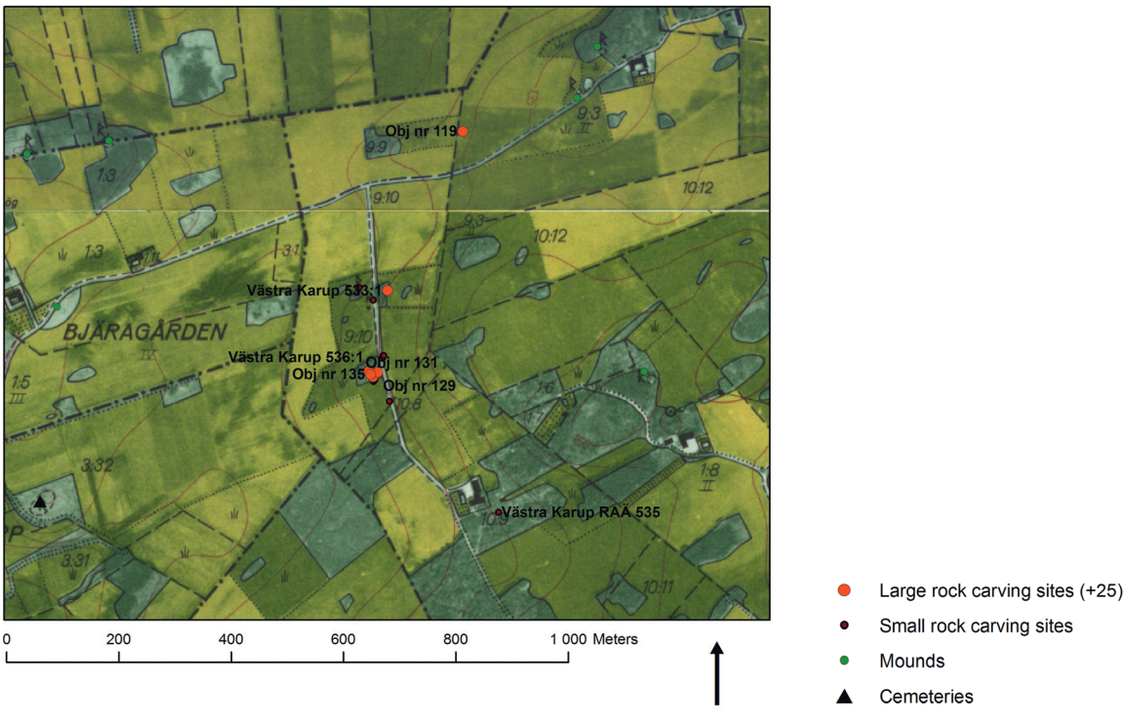


Fig. 93. *A close-up of the area of Svenstad and the sites discussed in the text. The background is the economic map from 1970.*

Fig. 94. *Kenneth Ihrestam and Sven-Gunnar Broström documenting the rock-carving site of Västra Karup RAÄ 533. Note the silhouette of Kullaberg on the horizon. Photo Jenny Nord 2006.*

Fig. 95. *Västra Karup RAÄ 533. Photo Jenny Nord 2006.*

grooves, five of which connect six cupmarks in a duck-like composition. Besides these two large sites a number of smaller sites were known in the vicinity, with only a handful of cupmarks each. However, the new documentation increased both the number of sites and the amount of figures in this area, and some very interesting features and compositions were found (Broström & Ihrestam 2006c).

Table 22. *The increase of rock-carvings in the Svenstad area due to the recent inventory and documentation.*

Svenstad	Sites	Rock-carvings (cupmarks in brackets)
Previously known sites	11	108 (101)
After the inventory 2006	23	364 (318)
Increase	109%	237% (215%)

The new finds were concentrated in three panels that were found as the solid rock was coming through the ground in some places that were not covered with clearance stones. Most rock-carvings in Bjäre are found on rather prominently located outcrops and boulders that can easily be seen from a distance. In this way these new panels differ since they are flat and low, like Grevie RAÄ 210 in Vasalt (see above). Not only the rock differs but also the carvings made on two of them are special for Bjäre, showing unique motifs.

Panel one contained 26 cupmarks and one connecting groove (Västra Karup RAÄ 536:7). The rock had an undulating surface. Eight metres southeast of this panel the second panel was found, more or less covered with a thin earth layer; only the higher places on the rock and a few cupmarks were visible (Västra Karup RAÄ 536:3). After clearing of the thin soil layer which was mixed with manure, an interesting composition was revealed (see fig. 97). The northern part of the panel has a rectangular figure oriented east–west, and around it along its southern end there is a semicircle of cupmarks. On the northwestern corner side of the house there is a circle figure with a centrally positioned cupmark. Inside the circle there is also a bent groove. The southern part of the panel is

Fig. 96. *Västra Karup RAÄ 536. Photo Jenny Nord 2006.*

slightly different, with 10 cupmarks, one oval, one groove and one more or less S-shaped figure (Broström & Ihrestam 2006c).

The third panel, just like the second, was more or less covered with soil and manure (Västra Karup RAÄ 536:1). But as a few cupmarks were found on a visible part of the rock it was cleaned and another very interesting composition was found (see figs. 98 and 99). Altogether 60 cupmarks and 15 grooves were found. One of the cupmarks was extremely large and deep, 23 cm in diameter and 11 cm deep, and it is connected with 10 cupmarks through a system of grooves (Broström & Ihrestam 2006c).

The two new panels with figurative motifs are very interesting; as so often in Bjäre they are abstract but still it is obvious they have something to say. The 'bowl' on panel 3 is so far the deepest cupmark found on the peninsula which is famous already for its large cupmarks on the site of Flatakull. The depth suggests that the bowl actually was used as a container. The grooves and cupmarks connected with it were surely a part of the rituals in which it was included. Similar motifs,

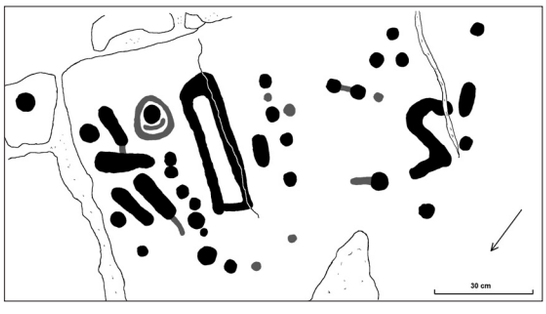


Fig. 97. *Västra Karup RAÄ 536:3. Drawing by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam.*

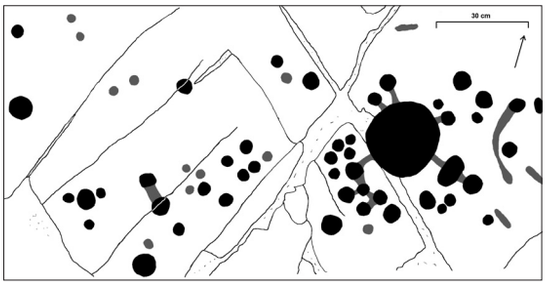


Fig. 98. *Västra Karup RAÄ 536:1. Drawing by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam.*

Fig. 99. *Västra Karup RAÄ 536:1. Photo Sven-Gunnar Broström 2006.*

but flat, can be found, for example, in the Tanum area, where a circle is connected with hand-like symbols (Fredell 2002:254, 2003:236f). Perhaps this composition is a local variant on the same theme.

The composition on Västra Karup RAÄ 536:3 shows a rectangular figure which has similar dimensions to a cult house, although smaller (see fig. 97). The rectangular figure is oriented west-northwest–east-southeast on the rock. According to Victor this is not the typical orientation of a cult house, but is instead the orientation of a normal house. However, Victor also notes that they often seem to be located along landscape features to be as prominent as possible (Victor 2002:150). The figure on the rock follows a natural crack along the rock's surface, perhaps for the same reason. Along the southern short side of the figure and around its southern end there is a semicircle of cupmarks. Northwest of the figure is a cupmark with a concentric circle. Inside the circle is a curved groove. On the left side of this composition, most probably making up part of it, are four footprints.

The rectangular feature is interesting; it is a recurrent shape on sites which are interpreted as having ritual importance. In Bjäre this is found at Tofta Högar, three kilometres to the northwest. A little closer, 1800 metres to the southwest, there is another feature that also might derive from a cult house (belonging to Västra Karup 46:1). The combination of these two forms, as well as the ship-form, has also been noticed in other areas, and there too gave their locations special ritual importance (Widholm 2001, 2006).

Panels 2 and 3 are carved on low-lying flat rocks. It is unusual to find carvings on rocks like this in Bjäre. This situation is most probably a part of the meaning and of the use of the site. The clearly visible boulders and rocks with cupmarks that also exist on the site were most probably well-known, while the low rocks were perhaps for special occasions and/or for special persons. In this way it seems as if the site was used in two ways: one more general use and one that might have been specialised. Again, someone with the knowledge of these panels and what they meant had control over the rituals. Their existence might not have been common knowledge. Of course there is also the possibility that there is a chronological difference between them.

The area in between and around the two large sites contains several small sites with cupmarks, many of which were found during the recent inventory. Västra Karup RAÄ 637 further north, the new site found by the landowner, contained 40 cupmarks and one oval. Next to it two cupmarks

Fig. 100. *Västra Karup RAÄ 637 and 634. Photo Sven-Gunnar Broström 2006.*

were found on a small stone (Västra Karup RAÄ 634). Most probably the boulder is in situ; it is large and firmly set in the ground. The smaller stone was probably put there by coincidence. The stone wall and the village border that it represents was most probably attracted to the stone with the carving and not the other way around.

Bjäragården, Lingården and Ängalag

Bjäragården is located a kilometre west-northwest of Svenstad on a hillside overlooking the valley of Hov and the site of Lingården 900 metres further southwest. Ängalag is located 1800 metres northwest of Bjäragården. The same wetland and stream connect the two sites of Lingården and Ängalag.

Bjäragården: the landscape context

Bjäragården is located on a rather prominent hill and the name derives from the farmstead which is still present in its medieval location. Traces of former land-use, for example cattle roads, are well preserved and there are mounds, stone-settings and a stone circle from both Bronze and Iron Age. In Chapter 2 I described and discussed pollen analyses made on mounds in Bjäre. Two of these mounds are located in Bjäragården. Bjäragården also contains a large rock-carving site which is closely associated with one of the mounds on the site. There is a view in all directions, thus it is one of the more dominant places of Bjäre from a landscape perspective.

The rock-carvings of Bjäragården (Hov RAÄ 34:2) are located on one outcrop with several natural cracks and panels just below and west of the mound of Hov RAÄ 34:1, located at 115 m a. s. l. The mound measures 11 metres in diameter and is 1.4 metres high. According to the tentative chronology of the mounds made earlier in this chapter, this mound can be dated to the middle

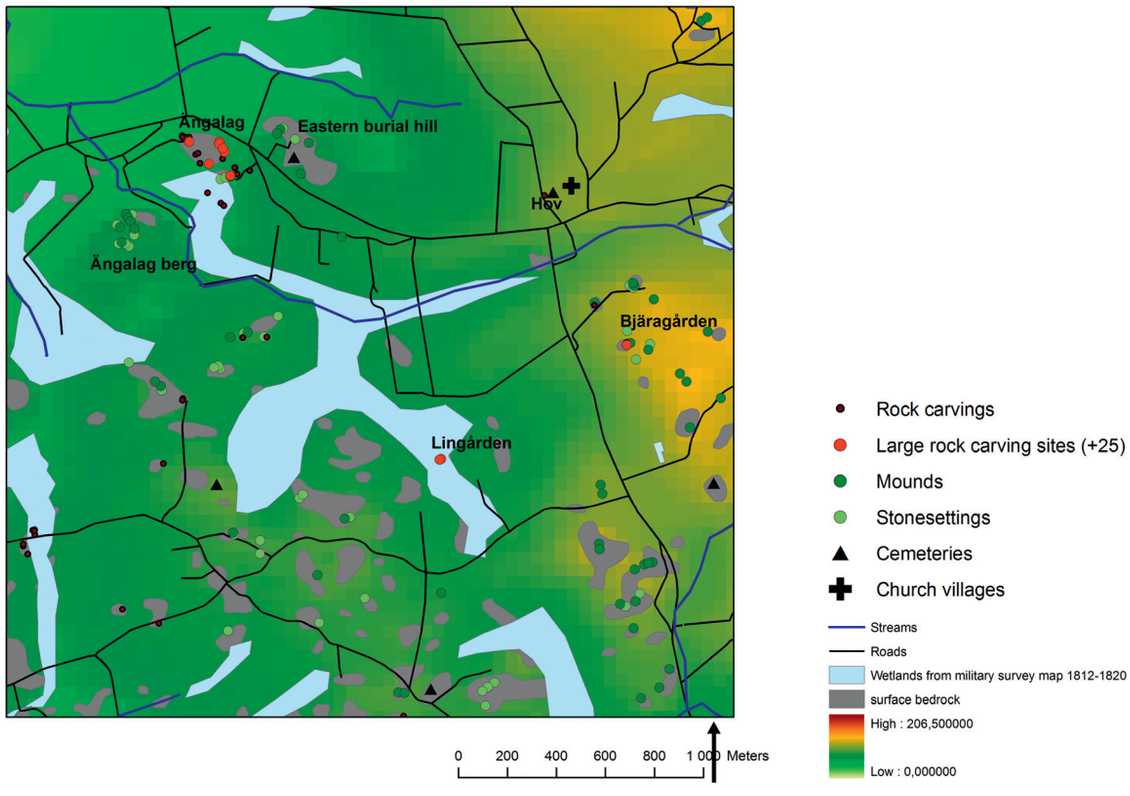


Fig. 101. *The landscape contexts of the sites discussed in the text, see also fig. 83. The stream that runs close by Lingården is for some reason not drawn. Background data © Lantmäteriet Gävle 2009. Grant I 2009/0549.*

Bronze Age which is not very precise. Whether the rock-carvings are earlier, contemporary or later is hard to tell, but according to the cupmark chronology suggested by Bengtsson for the west coast (Bengtsson 2004), some of the cupmarks on this site could in fact derive from the Neolithic period (see earlier). Several of the mounds in Bjäragården are very large and could possibly be dated to the early Bronze Age. However, there is also a stone circle which might be of later origin (Västra Karup RAÄ 285:4). One of the mounds (Västra Karup RAÄ 284:1) investigated in connection with the pollen analyses was radiocarbon-dated to the middle Bronze Age (see earlier in Chapter 3). The view from the rock-carving site is towards the west, towards a wetland where another large rock-carving site, Lingården, is found (see below). The mound connected with the

Fig. 102. *View west-south-west towards Hov RAÄ 34:1 along the parish border between Västra Karup and Hov. Note the valley behind where the Lingården site is located. The rock-carving site Hov RAÄ 34:2 is just on the other side of the mound. Photo Jenny Nord 2003.*

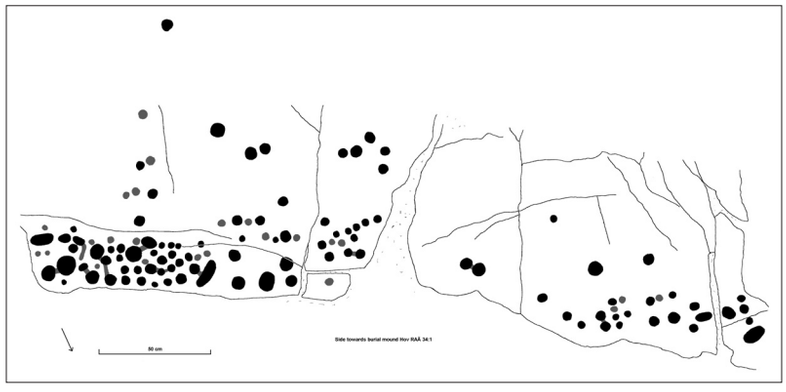


Fig. 103. *Hov RAÄ 34:2. Drawing by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam.*

rock carvings (Hov RAÄ 34:1) has been used later for land divisions, as the parish border between Västra Karup and Hov is drawn between this and the mound of 'Karna Mårten' close by (Hov RAÄ 37:1), see figs. 102 and 194.

Bjäragården: the rock-carvings

The rock with rock-carvings are a long narrow outcrop stretching north–south. Eighty-three cupmarks and 10 connecting grooves are located on the very top of the rock, while another 42 cupmarks are located on its western sloping side. There are no figurative motifs (Broström & Ihrestam 2008h). The top side of the rock is filled with cupmarks in long rows and in pattern-like designs, and the rock curves in such a way that not all of them can be seen at the same time. Only half of the panel can be seen at a time as one end slopes north and one south.

Table 23. *The increase of rock-carvings in Bjäragården due to the recent inventory and documentation.*

Bjäragården	Sites	Rock-carvings (cupmarks in brackets)
Previously known sites	1	82 (82)
After the inventory 2008	1	144 (131)
Increase	0%	76% (60%)

Lingården: the landscape context

In the middle of a wetland at 70 m a. s. l. is a large rock-carving site consisting of Hov RAÄ 175:1, 175:2, 316, 317, 319, 320. The wetland is one of the largest in Bjäre according to the military survey map from early 19th century (*Skånska rekognosceringskartan* 1985). There are no other prehistoric remains known close by. The distance to Bjäragården in the northeast is 900 metres and the closest burial (a stone-setting) is found in the other direction southwest, 440

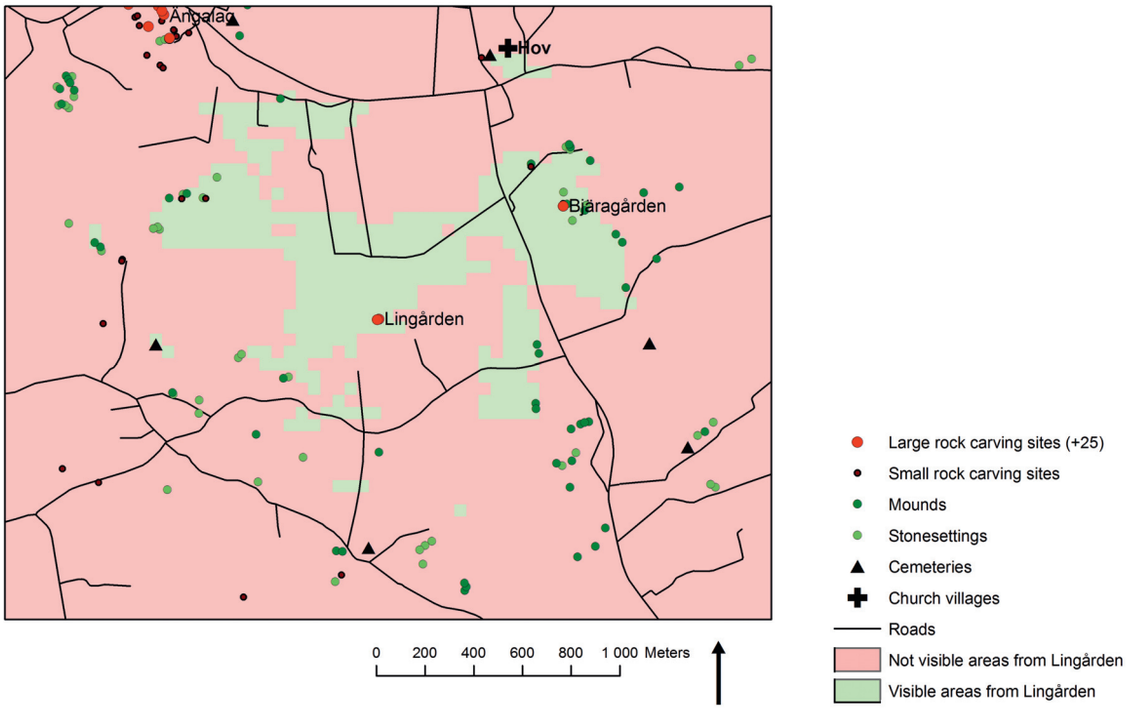


Fig. 104. *Viewshed of Lingården.*

metres away. Thus by Bjäre standards Lingården is a very remote place. Furthermore, it is low in the landscape, which is unusual for the rock-carving sites of Bjäre. It looks up towards the surrounding landscape rather than overlooking it as large rock-carving sites in Bjäre normally do (see fig. 104). The site itself is located on a small outcrop hill within the wetland. For a person standing on the outcrop area the site overlooks the wetland, but from the surrounding area the site is almost hidden as the wetland embraces it. All rock-carvings on the site are exposed towards the northwest where the wetland is closest to the site and also has its wettest part. On the fourth side towards the east the outcrop rises even higher into a steep-sided little mountain. This topographical feature is most probably part of the importance of the site and perhaps also part of the use of the rock-carving site. During the inventory work we found no rock-carvings or other remains on this side of the hill. However, there are traces of field terraces on the top of the hill (Västra Karup RAÄ 461). Crossing the hill east–west, and passing just a few metres from the rock-carving site is the parish boarder between Västra Karup and Hov.

Lingården: the rock-carvings

The rock-carvings are found on several panels on the same outcrop; altogether three panels that are located close to each other framed by cupmarks on the edge of the outcrop. Several other outcrops exist in the near vicinity but these have no rock-carvings. The main panel is located on the top of the outcrop and the rock-carvings are well spread on the panel, which is around 2 × 2.5 metres in size. Besides 106 cupmarks, 4 grooves, 2 fragments and 1 footprint the documentation found 2 ships (Broström & Ihrestam 2008g). One of them can probably be dated to the period III–IV according to Kaul's chronology (Kaul 1998:88). It seems to be sailing towards the southwest. The second resembles a late ship, perhaps even from the early Iron Age, and it seems to be heading towards the west-southwest (Broström, Ihrestam & Bengtsson 2008 personal communication).

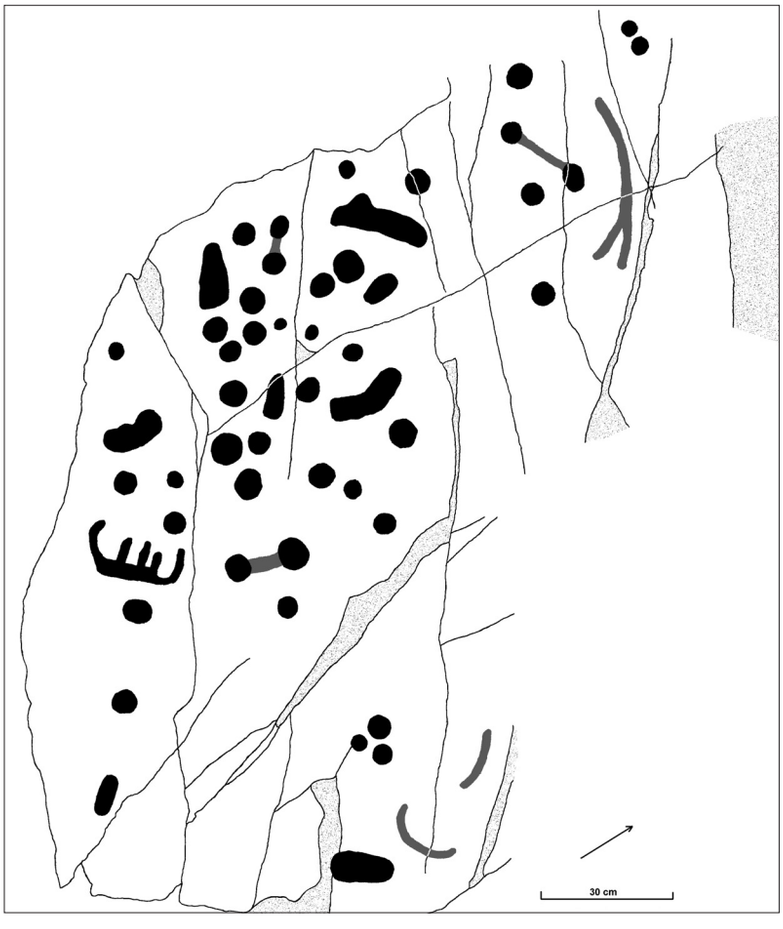


Fig. 105. *Hov RAÄ 175:1. Drawing by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam.*

Fig. 106. *Hov RAÄ 319. The new panel with fire-damaged cupmarks. Photo Jenny Nord.*

Fig. 107. *View westwards over 175:1 and 175:2 towards the wetland area. Kenneth Ihrestam and Sven-Gunnar Broström are defining and painting the carvings in 175:2. Note how the right side of the outcrop seems to have had slabs removed from it. Photo Jenny Nord 2008.*

Table 24. *The increase of rock-carvings in Lingården due to the recent inventory and documentation.*

Lingården	panels	Rock-carvings (cupmarks in brackets)
Previously known	2	38 (36)
After the inventory 2008	3	115 (106)
Increase	50%	203% (194%)

If the chronology of the ships is correct, this means that the place had a long period of use, longer than the amount of carvings on it would suggest. However, the site is much larger than just the outcrop with rock-carvings; the wetland and the steep-sided height to the east should be seen in connection with it. One panel, Hov RAÄ 319, was found just southeast of the main panel, located below it and more or less hidden by leaves and a thin layer of soil. It had been protected thanks to the humus cover through the years and the cupmarks found on it appeared as fresh as new. This panel was in parts severely damaged by fire; in fact, all around the site traces of charcoal and fire damage was found, but the age of this is uncertain. But it does seem that the two elements of fire and water are very important for understanding this remote site; these two aspects of rock-carving sites have been discussed earlier in connection with rock-carvings in Bohuslän (Bengtsson 2004) and they are also put forward as important ritual elements by Kaliff (2007).

Another very interesting feature of this site is that it appears as if it could have been used as a quarry for slabs. Some slabs were found of a size that would have been suitable for a middle–late Bronze Age stone cist for a burial, and there are traces of more being removed from the rock. Due to this site's special character and remoteness I find it plausible that it had a regional function and that it was not only a local place of assembly.

In the autumn of 2008 a pollen core was taken from the bog site in a pilot project initiated by Richard Bradley and Alex Brown from Reading University, England. The purpose is to find out whether any traces of the fire activities can be found in the core sample and thus be dated. The results of this analysis will not be ready in time for the deadline for this work, but these results will be published later elsewhere.

Ängalag: the landscape context

In the village of *Ängalag* there is a distinct outcrop hill 60–70 m a. s. l. which contains many rock-carving sites. The outcrop is made of amphibolite. Close to this hill, only 200 metres to the south-west, there is an even higher hill which is called 'Ängalag Berg' which means 'Ängalag Mountain'. To reach it from the hill with rock-carvings you have to cross a stream; the same that runs along the site of Lingården (see above). Ängalag Berg is today covered with a wood. On its northern side and on its top there are 6 mounds and 5 stone-settings located. These mounds would have shown their profiles towards the closely situated hill with rock-carvings. Looking to the other direction from the hill with rock-carvings, towards the east, one sees another small wooded hill also around 200 metres away. Here there are also 6 mounds and 5 stone-settings, of which 2 mounds and 4 stone-settings are located in a small cemetery. I do not believe that the location of the rock-carving hill in between these two large burial areas is a coincidence. Further, there is a narrow valley that seems to connect the two hills spatially with each other. Both sides of the valley, but especially the north side, have small sites with rock-carvings that are exposed towards it. This situation is perhaps overemphasised in today's landscape as the valley is used for growing crops while the outcrop hill is used as a wood.

It is very interesting that these three hills – almost attached to each other – are simultaneously used so differently. The landscape is clearly divided into different spheres, and probably these are connected (or disconnected perhaps?).

There are two stone-settings in the southern part of the rock-carving area. One of them (Hov RAÄ 11:3) had a boulder with cupmarks on its side (Hov RAÄ 11:4, see fig. 109). This boulder is one of the very few rock-carving rocks that are made of granite instead of amphibolite. Unfortunately, it has been moved some 10–20 metres closer to a house belonging to the open-air museum of Hov, where two boulders moved from Hovs Hallar (see later) are also on display (Hov RAÄ 11:1 and 2, see figs. 118 and 119).

To the south and southwest of Ängalag the landscape is hilly, and most of the hills have some mortuary monuments and sometimes also rock-carvings on them. To the east the ridge of Hallandsåsen slowly rises and to the north-northwest the plain of Hov is found. There are few prehistoric sites on the plain but the stream runs through it and connects with the sea close to Gröthögarna, a large cairn cemetery by the sea (see Chapter 4).

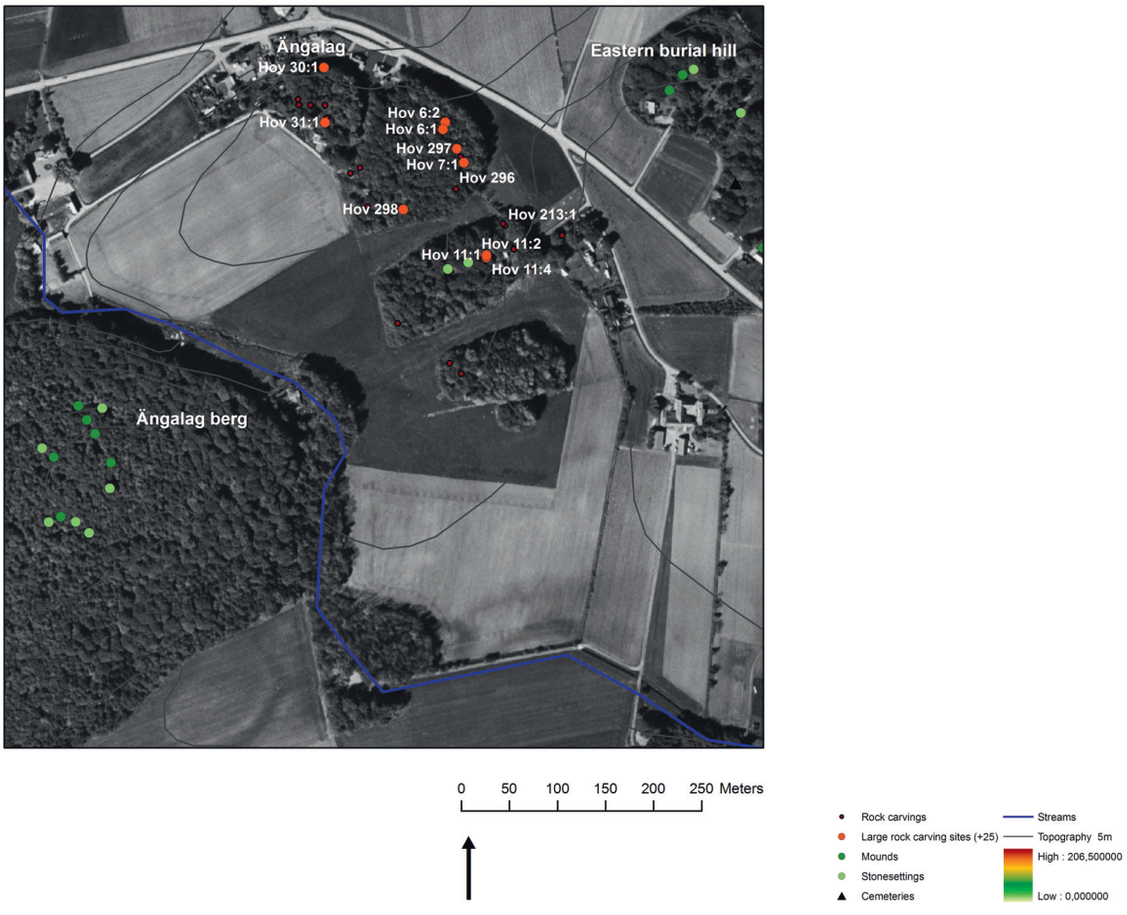


Fig. 108. *Close-up of Ängalag on an aerial photo-map.*

Fig. 109. *Hov RAÄ 11:4. Photo Jenny Nord 2006.*

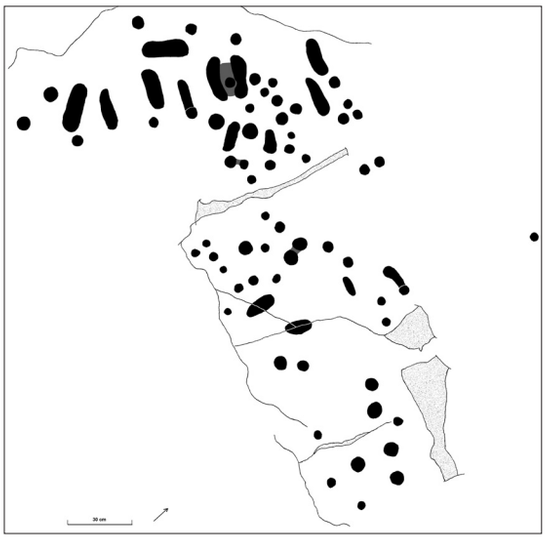


Fig. 110. *Hov RAÄ 7:1. Drawing by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam.*

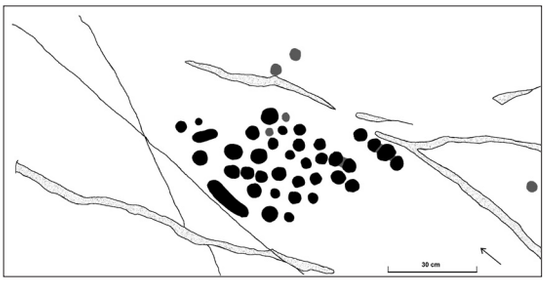


Fig. 111. *Hov RAÄ 6:1. Drawing by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam.*

Fig. 112. *Part of Hov RAÄ 297. The steep cliff area framed with cupmarks. Photo Sven-Gunnar Broström 2006.*

Ängalag: the rock-carvings

In Ängalag, on the rock-carving hill and the area around the open-air museum a total of 596 cupmarks, 13 grooves, 4 oblong figures, 2 shallow surfaces and 15 footprints have been documented (Broström & Ihrestam 2007b).

Table 25. *The increase of rock-carvings in Ängalag due to the recent inventory and documentation.*

Ängalag	Sites	Rock-carvings (cupmarks in brackets)
Previously known sites	16	273 (253)
After the inventory 2006	46	630 (596)
Increase	187%	131% (125%)

There are some overall patterns in the distribution of rock-carvings on the hill of Ängalag which are interesting to note. On the higher locations of it there are mainly cupmarks but on the lower locations there are some sites which also have footprints. This can be compared with the different spheres that were previously discussion (see fig. 69). The sites with footprints are all located along the eastern edge of the hill, which in turn is exposed towards the eastern hill with burials. The footprints in themselves face the northeast and thus the summer sunrise (Larsson 2000:31), which is

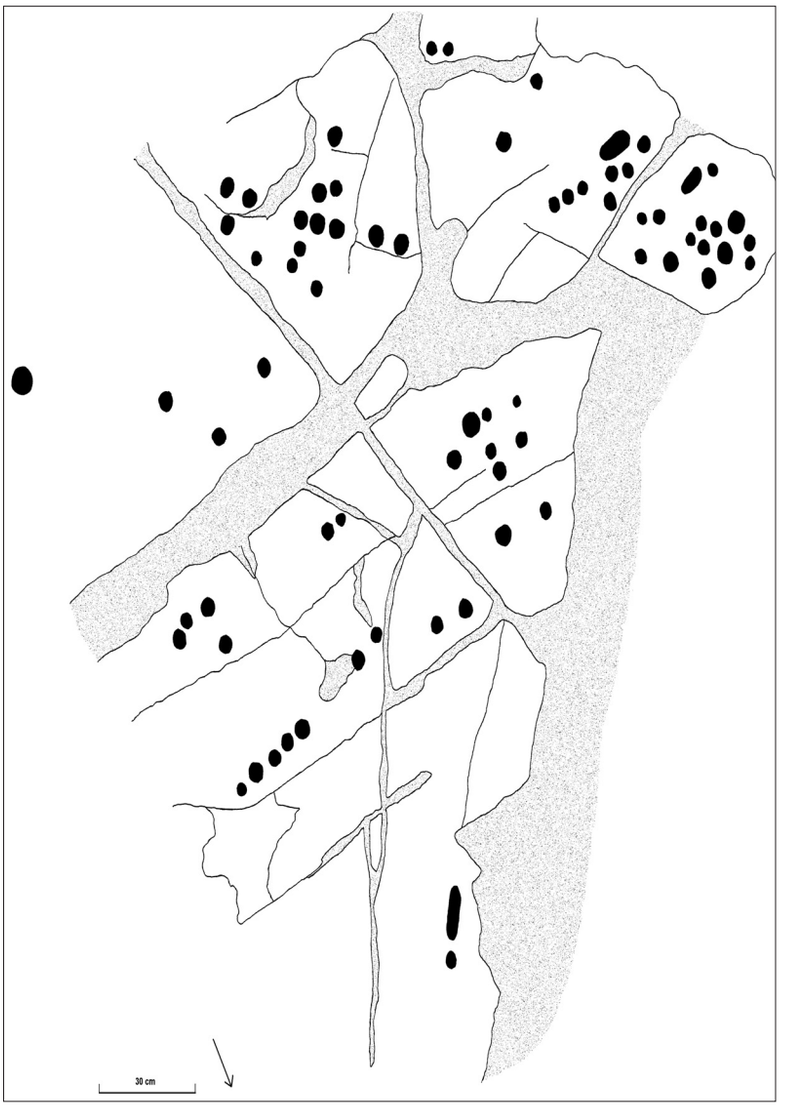


Fig. 113. *Hov RAÄ 31:1. Drawing by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam.*

also the direction of the connected stream going to Gröthögarna. There are three exceptions, one of which is facing north (Hov RAÄ 6:1, see fig. 111) and the others northeast towards the burials on the eastern hill. All three are single footprints. The largest site, which also has the greatest variety of rock-carvings, is Hov RAÄ 7:1, here there are 64 cupmarks, 12 footprints, two connecting grooves and a hollow surface around the only pair of footprints (see fig. 110). This site faces the eastern burial hill. The RAÄ 296 site is located by the entrance to the narrow valley-like passage between the two burial hills. On the other side there is a small site (Hov RAÄ 213), with four cupmarks at a corresponding location and all along the valley's northern side there are small rock-carving sites (see fig. 108).

As one moves northwest and uphill from Hov RAÄ 7, there is a rather steep-sided cliff area which is marked with cupmarks all along the side (see fig. 112). In the upper area there are two large sites with rock-carvings (Hov RAÄ 6:1 and 6:2). They mainly consist of cupmarks, but one of the three isolated footprints discussed above is located at Hov RAÄ 6:1. The cupmarks on this site are ordered in one of several natural panels on the outcrop and are embraced by the footprint at one end and a set of connected cupmarks at the other (see fig. 111). Altogether there are 43 cupmarks. RAÄ Hov 6:2, which is located 4 metres to the southwest, has 35 cupmarks, but not in any such order. Between this area and the even higher ground of the hill further northwest, where Hov RAÄ 30:1 and 31:1 are located, there is a lower area with no rock-carvings, but rich in boulders. This area separates the two main areas of the place into one which faces the eastern burial hill and one which seems more spatially connected with the western Ängalag Berg. Possibly the area could also have been used as some sort of passage, like the one discussed above.

Hov RAÄ 31:1 is located on the very top of the hill and consists of 72 cupmarks ordered in lines and groups (see fig. 113). The northern side of the hill has a very steep-sided edge. Just on top of this and just by the edge there are some large sites with rock-carvings. Two rather small and natural panels are filled with cupmarks, some of which are connected with grooves (Hov RAÄ 30:1, see fig. 114). Around these panels along the steep edge of the hill cupmarks occur sparsely. According to the people living in Ängalag today there used to be a quarry on the site which might have created the steep-sided hill, which is not necessarily a natural trait.

Fig. 114. *Hov RAÄ 30:1. View north-northwest. Photo Sven-Gunnar Broström 2006.*

Hovs Hallar

The landscape context

In the north, close to *Hovs Hallar,* there is an area with outcrops made of a rather coarse amphibolite rich in garnets, and on these rocks there are abundant rock-carvings. The Hovs Hallar sites are found along a line northwest–southeast where they begin (or end) close to the coast, they occur between 25 and 45 m a. s. l. This part of the coast is accessible, even if it is a bit rough, but further north the steep coast of Hovs Hallar starts (see fig. 6). The sites then stretch towards the inland where the two largest sites are found, Hov RAÄ 128 and 130. The line of sites also corresponds with the available occurrence of amphibolite. The dramatic and less accessible northern coast of Hovs Hallar is situated some 700 metres north. There is a nice view towards the southwest from some of the sites over one of the more spectacular Bronze Age sites of the peninsula: the coastal cairns of Gröthögarna. However, since they are located almost 3 km away the view is not very clear. Gröthögarna is not very easy to reach from land, it takes a long walk along the coast, and in fact the cairns are not visible from many inland places, which is why I mention it. They are best seen from the sea. In today's landscape there are no other clearly visible burial constructions close to the rock-carving sites of Hovs Hallar even though there are some smaller mounds and stone-settings in the coastal area to the west.

The rock-carvings

Cupmarks are as usual the most common feature in this area (157), but 12 footprints, 9 grooves, 2 shallow surfaces, 9 oblong features and a circle figure have also been found (Broström & Ihrestam 2006a). Looking at the rock-carvings from the west to the east, the following can be noted. Along the coastal area there are two sites with cupmarks in the Register of the National Heritage Board, although we could only confirm one which had a single cupmark (Hov RAÄ 220. The other site (Hov RAÄ 133) already had a question mark in the Register and we could not find any at all on the site.

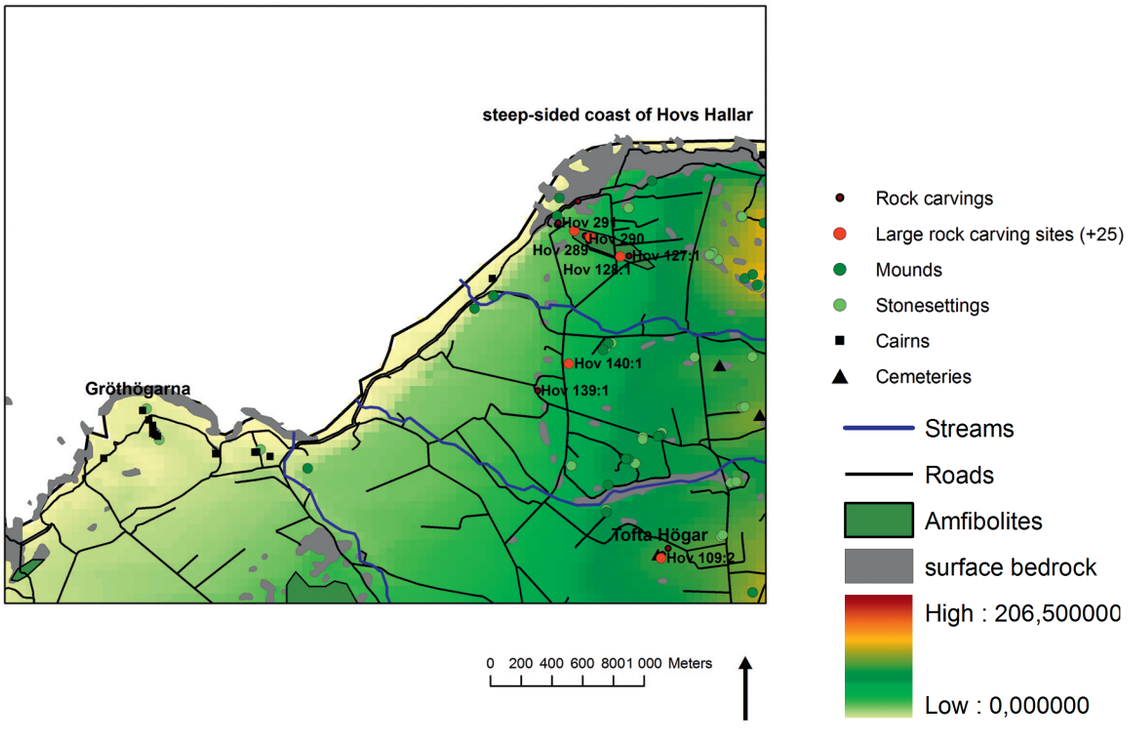


Fig. 115. *The rock carving area of Hovs Hallar. Background data © Lantmäteriet Gävle 2009. Grant I 2009/0549 and © Sveriges geologiska undersökning.*

Table 26. *The increase of rock-carvings the area of Hovs Hallar due to the recent inventory and documentation.*

Hovs Hallar	Sites	Rock-carvings (cupmarks in brackets)
Previously known sites	9	86 (57)
After the inventory 2006	18	193 (157)
Increase	100%	124% (175%)

At a distance of 180 metres from the coast a new site on a boulder was found on which a circular figure was combined with cupmarks (Hov RAÄ 291). There is one cupmark included in the ring itself, as a deeper and rounded part of it. Besides this figure there are four other cupmarks on the boulder. Around 100 metres to the east on an outcrop in the middle of a field, the largest site of the rock-carving area Hovs Hallar is found, Hov RAÄ 130. The site is characterised by many large grooves and also a sort of triangular figure. I really did not think of it as anything special until we reached the site of Ängalag (see above) where we found two boulders at the open air museum which had been removed from this site and put in the museum garden (Hov RAÄ 11:1 and 11:2). On one

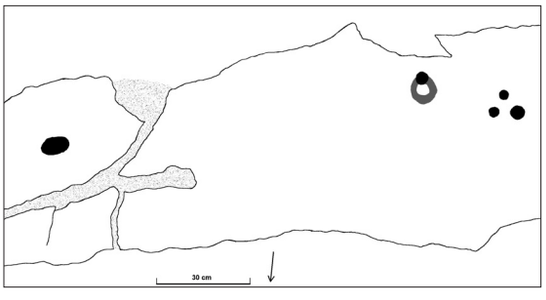


Fig. 116. *Hov RAÄ 291. Drawing by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam.*

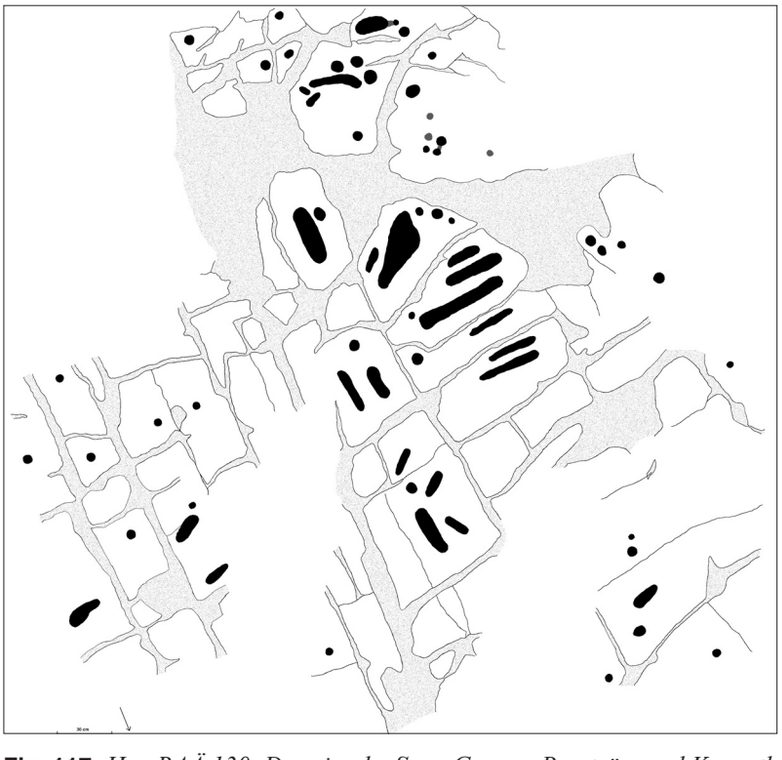
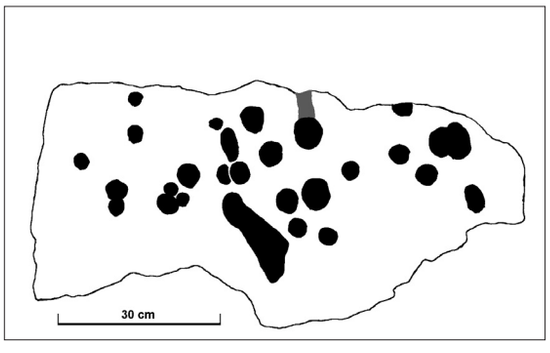


Fig. 117. *Hov RAÄ 130. Drawing by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam.*

of these rocks there was a similar triangular feature. I think that the triangular groove-like figure has a local purpose and means something.

On Hov RAÄ 130 there are 6 footprints, 8 large grooves, 1 hollow surface and 50 cupmarks, of which 3 are connected with small grooves. Six of the large grooves are parallel and aligned northwest–southeast (summer sunset – winter sunrise) and most of the footprints are directed eastwards (general sunrise). One footprint in the southwestern corner of the outcrop is directed southeast (winter sunrise) and some of the large grooves as well as one footprint are aligned towards the southwest (winter sunset). It seems as if there are many directions hinted at on this site, although they are gathered into two main alignments in different areas of the outcrop. The western side which is closest to the sea and slanting towards it has cupmarks all around the edge, as well as some small grooves and a footprint. Higher up on the outcrop which is nicely eroded into small natural panels occurring in lines, the vast majority of the large grooves are located. They are all aligned northwest–southeast. The triangular figure is also located here. On the very top of the outcrop, east of the grooves, there is another stretch of natural panels which have footprints and grooves, directed southwest and some eastwards. The eastern part of the rock has very few carvings, another pattern emerges which shows one cupmark or footprint on each natural panel – more or less. In between the eastern more empty part of the outcrop and the western part which is rich in engravings there is a natural large crack in which several pieces of burnt flint were found. The site shows a very distinct choice of figures and directions on the different natural panels, which is very interesting and possibly an important aspect of the site, just like the clear exposure towards the sea. Parallel grooves are also found on the site of Holmen (see above) however they differ in character. These are shorter and thicker and not kept



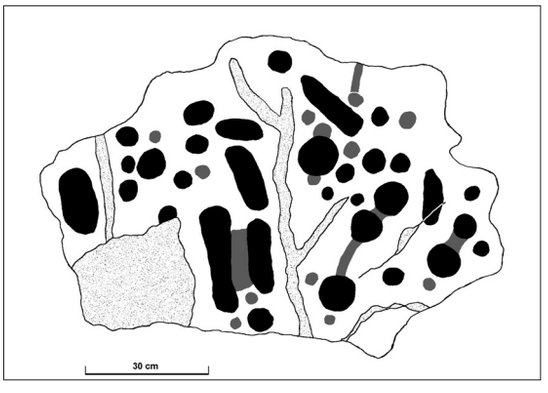


Fig. 118 and 119. *The two boulders that have been removed from the site to the open-air museum in Ängalag, 11:1 and 11:2. Drawings by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam.*

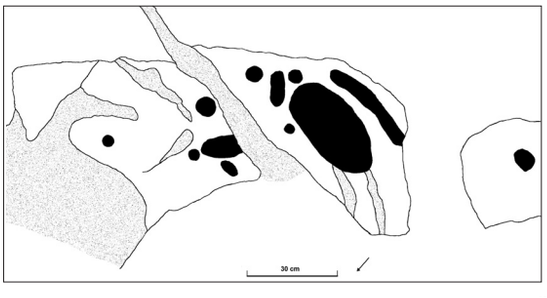


Fig. 120. *The large vessel-like hollow at Hov RAÄ 289. Drawing by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam.*

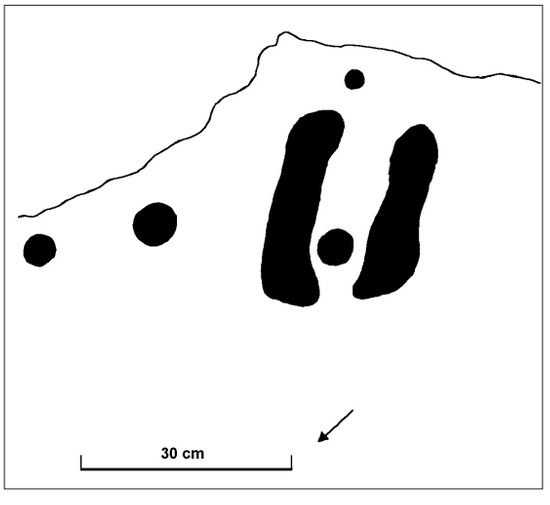


Fig. 121. *Hov RAÄ 139:1. Drawing by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam.*

together in the same manner. Still there might be a connection in meaning. The grooves at Holmen are also aligned northwest–southeast, towards the summer sunset and the sea.

Further east inland there is today a summer cottage which is located on the fringe of a larger outcrop system of the same amphibolite. Here a number of sites were found (Hov RAÄ 289; a rock-carving area). On one rather small but high and distinct outcrop rock a large vessel-like hollow or cupmark has been cut out. It measures 35 × 17 cm and is 8 cm deep. From the vessel there is a natural crack in the boulder that connects with the steep vertical western side of the rock. The south side of the vessel is accompanied by a groove, the same length and curving to follow the shape of the vessel. On two other rocks belonging to this outcrop area there is also a single groove of similar size, both of which are accompanied by a single cupmark. Further, on the one of them (Hov RAÄ 290) the groove curves in a snakelike way. On the very eastern side of the rock-carving area there is a single footprint pointing east together with a single cupmark (Hov RAÄ 127). This pattern of single figures together with a single cupmark should be seen as another local trait.

Close to Hov RAÄ 127 there is another large site (Hov RAÄ 128). It is located on a steep sided small boulder-like rock and has 3 footprints, 1 large groove, 1 hollow surface and 33 cupmarks of which 5 are connected with a small groove. The main direction is northwest–southeast, following the uppermost stretch, not only of the rock, but also the occurrences of rock-carvings in this area.

Segeltorp/Hovs Hallar

Table 27. *The increase of rock-carvings in Segeltorp/Hovs Hallar due to the recent inventory and documentation.*

Segeltorp/Hovs Hallar	Sites	Rock-carvings (cupmarks in brackets)
Previously known sites	2	23 (23)
After the inventory 2008	2	44 (46)
Increase	0%	90% (100%)

Approximately 800 metres to the southwest in Segeltorp two known sites Hov RAÄ 139:1 (35 m a. s. l.) and 140:1 (40 m a. s. l.) were also checked and documented. The reason for the inspection was that

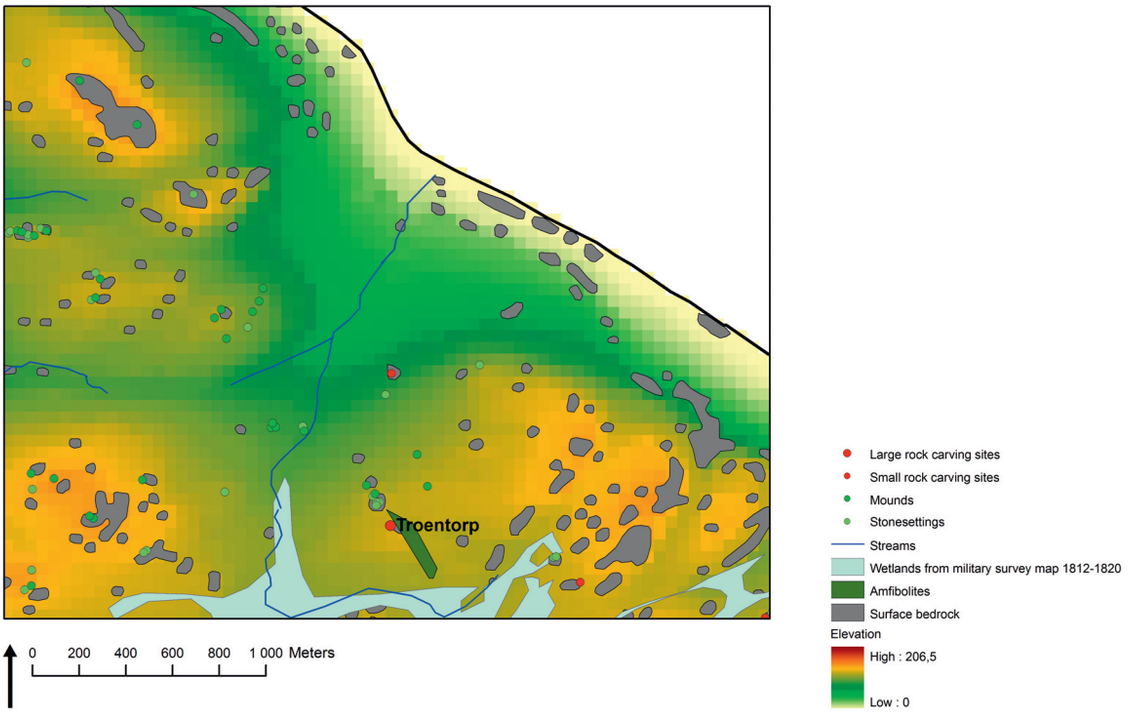


Fig. 122. *The area of Troentorp. Background data © Lantmäteriet Gävle 2009. Grant I 2009/0549 and © Sveriges geologiska undersökning.*

Hov RAÄ 140 had as many as 20 cupmarks and since there are few other rock-carving sites in this area, a site with 20 cupmarks appears rather large. Hov RAÄ 139:1, which was the only other site close by previously had 3 cupmarks, but as it was checked a pair of footprints and more cupmarks were found (see fig. 121). The footprints point northwest and have a cupmark located in between the feet. Hov RAÄ 140 grew into a large site, with an increase from 20 to 40 cupmarks (Broström & Ihrestam 2008g).

Troentorp

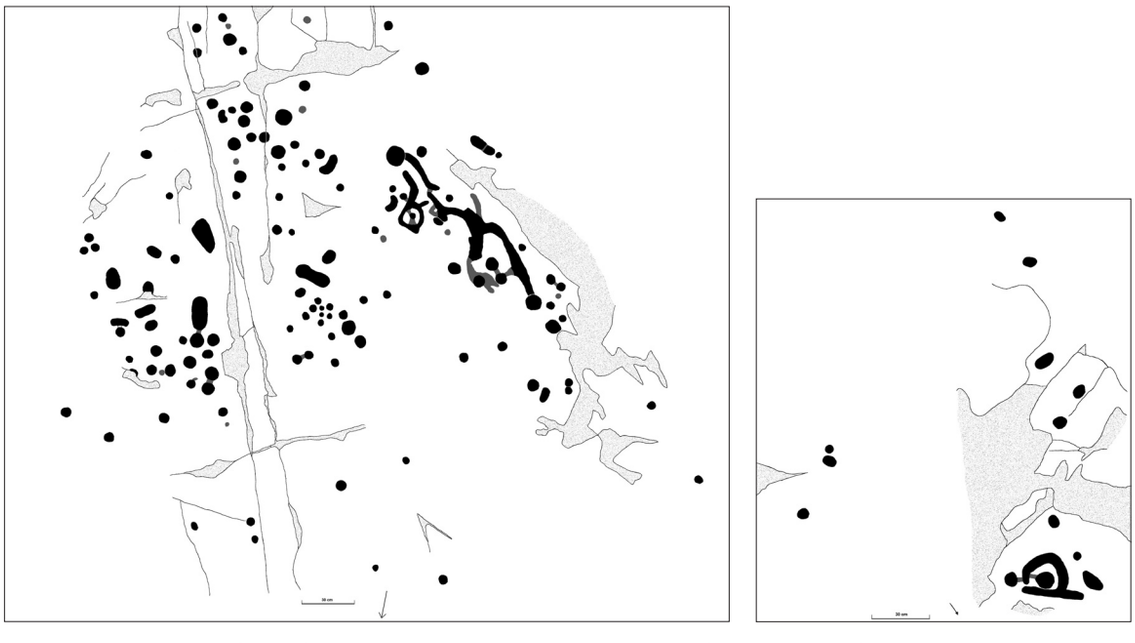
On the northwestern side of a dominant hill 120 m a. s. l. on the southern side of the Kattvik valley a large site with rock-carvings occurs (Hov RAÄ 92). It provides the best views towards the north and northwest which includes the sea as well as several mortuary monuments on a lower hilltop, altogether six of them, of which four are stone-settings and two are mounds. This close relationship between a hill with rock-carvings and a hill with burials is similar to the situation in Ängalag (see above). But apart from these there are few prehistoric sites in the vicinity. This is also one of few (see also Båstad) rock-carvings which are clearly directed to the north, and it seems to 'belong' to a local settlement area in this area of the peninsula.

Table 28. *The increase of rock-carvings in Troentorp due to the recent inventory and documentation.*

Troentorp	Sites	Rock-carvings (cupmarks in brackets)
Previously known sites	1	41 (40)
After the inventory 2008	2	164 (148)
Increase	100%	300% (270%)

The *Troentorp* rock-carvings contain some peculiar forms. There is one semicircular figure embracing a cupmark and connected to a groove. There is also a complex groove figure stretched along the surface. Altogether 3 footprints, 3 unknown figures, 10 grooves and 148 cupmarks were found on the site (Broström & Ihrestam 2008g).

Other abstract groove-figures have also been found at some other sites; for example in Drottninghall and Sinarp; they seem to be a special trait of the Bjäre rock-carvings.



Figs. 123 and 124. *The rock-carvings at Troentorp, Hov 92:1 and 2. Drawings by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam.*

Slättaröd – Påarp – Bröddarp – Faritslöv

Slättaröd

In Slättaröd a large rock with cupmarks (Västra Karup RAÄ 116) is located in the rather flat western area 45 m a. s. l. and only 200 metres from, and within sight of, a ship-setting which was investigated in 1960 (Västra Karup RAÄ 118, see earlier). This site is one of very few where the carvings were made on the old bedrock, the reddish gneiss-granite, and not on the intrusive amphibolite. In this case it seems obvious that the place was more important than the choice of rock. The available rock on the site was also preferred to a possible moved amphibolite rock. Nearby there are some large mounds close to the ship-setting and some other smaller sites with cupmarks.

The rock-carvings on this site consist of 36 cupmarks, of which only 20 were known before the documentation (Broström & Ihrestam 2008h). They are rather small and located on the top of the rather dominant and high rock easily seen from a distance (see fig. 126). The small size of the cupmarks may possibly be due to the hardness of the indigenous rock.

Påarp

In the western, partly hilly, inland area a number of sites are found close to each other. The cupmarks on the larger sites are located with a southern exposure. This is interesting since there is a wetland surrounding the site in all directions except on its southern side. The distance to this wetland is 150–200 metres, which perhaps might be too long a distance to be considered as a close connection. However, this very wetland has concealed the only known votive find from the peninsula, a bronze lure (Västra Karup RAÄ 188, SHM 10775) dating from period III or IV (Oldeberg 1974–1976:no. 911) and a comb (Oldeberg 1974–1976:no. 912). However, it has been redated by the Museum of National Antiquities (SHM) to period V. I have nevertheless used the earlier dating in this work.

Most of the rocks carving sites in this area are rather small. The largest site is located at 70 m a. s. l. and has 32 cupmarks, of which 2 are elongated (Västra Karup RAÄ 269:1 and 269:2, note that the sites individually are defined as small sites). See fig. 127 for RAÄ 269:1. Yet another site in the vi-

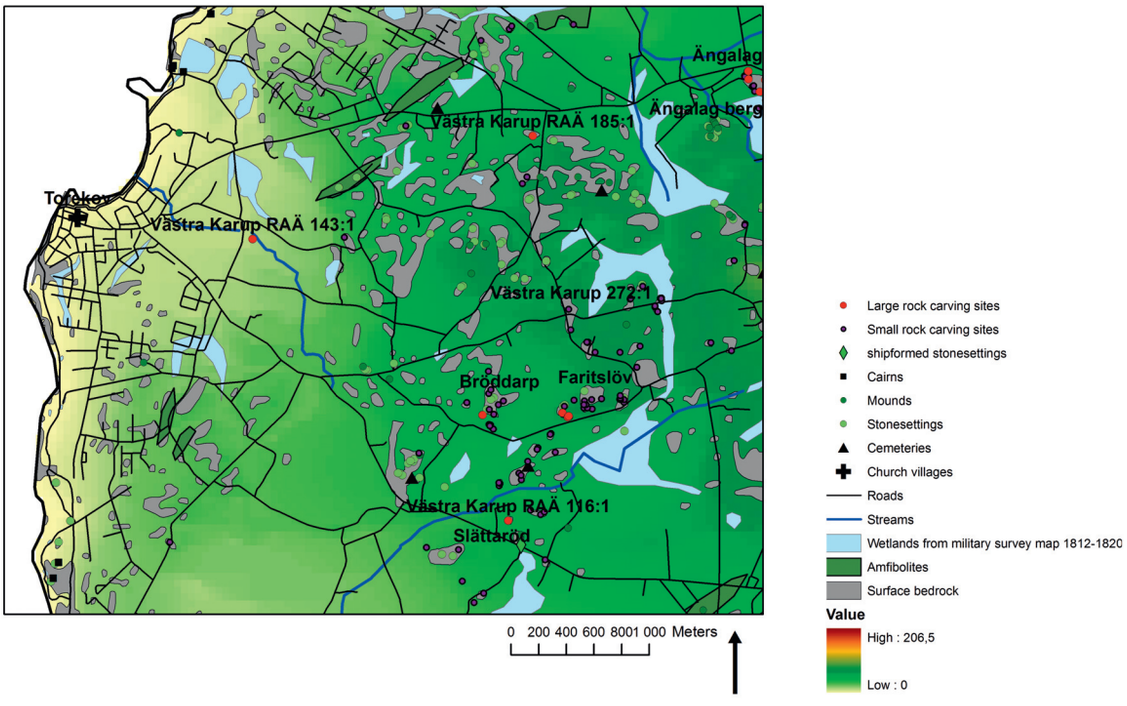


Fig. 125. *The area of Slättaröd – Påarp – Bröddarp – Faritslöv.*

cinity has 14 cupmarks and a connecting groove (Västra Karup RAÄ 272:1) but most of them only have one or a few cupmarks. However, one of the single cupmarks is very large, 19 cm in diameter and 3 cm deep. No figurative motifs are known (Broström & Ihrestam 2008h).

Table 29. *The increase of rock-carvings in the Påarp area due to the recent inventory and documentation.*

Påarp	Sites	Rock-carvings (cupmarks in brackets)
Previously known sites	7	30 (30)
After the inventory 2008	15	41 (40)
Increase	114%	37% (33%)

Fig. 126. *Västra Karup RAÄ 116 towards southwest. The silhouette of Kullaberg can be seen on the horizon. Photo Sven-Gunnar Broström 2008.*

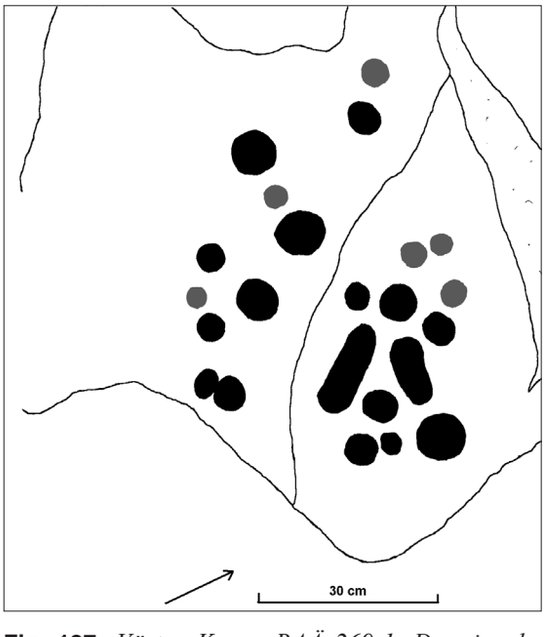


Fig. 127. *Västra Karup RAÄ 269:1. Drawing by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam.*

Bröddarp – Faritslöv

Around the two villages of Bröddarp and Faritslöv at 55–65 m a. s. l. a large number of sites with rock-carvings have been found (see fig. 125). Most of them are small sites with only a few cupmarks, but among these there are also some large sites. The view to the south-southwest is long and includes the sea, while the other directions are obstructed by a hilly and undulating landscape. Many of these hills harbour prehistoric sites, mainly of Bronze Age origin, but also some cemeteries which might be of a later Iron Age date, consisting of stone-settings.

On a large boulder close to the village of Bröddarp, a rock-carving of a ship was distinguished during the documentation work of 2006 (Västra Karup RAÄ 152). The boulder had been moved from its original location which was 150 metres towards the southeast, close to the village mill, so we cannot tell in which direction the ship was sailing. Today it is upside down. In fig. 125 the site is marked in its original location. Only 50 metres to the northeast of this site there is a hill with a stone-setting, and another 75 metres further away in the same direction there is another hill with three stone-settings. These hills are surrounded by small sites with cupmarks. An interesting aspect is that the stone-settings are located on hilltops while the rock-carvings are located below these in lower areas. This is somehow different from most of the other larger rock-carving sites in Bjäre, which often are located in prominent places clearly visible in the landscape.

In the area around the village of Faritslöv, some 500 metres to the east of Bröddarp, the same pattern can be spotted. There are a couple of large sites and around these smaller sites are spread, and on hilltops there are some stone-settings. This is actually one of the few places in Bjäre where burials and rock-carvings show this close spatial relationship. Often they are more separated in the landscape. Thus the two villages of Bröddarp and Faritslöv have a rather similar set of prehistoric sites, but the area in between is empty. This could indicate that both sets of sites in fact represent two neighbouring groups.

The site with the carved ship (Västra Karup RAÄ 152:1) is one of the more interesting rock-carvings of this area. It is carved on a boulder and altogether 1 ship, 47 cupmarks and 11 connecting grooves are found on it (Broström & Ihrestam 2007c). There are several interesting aspects of this site. One includes the rock it is carved on. Most rocks on the peninsula with rock-carvings are made on amphibolite, but this boulder is from the border zone between the intrusion and the old indigenous rock, the granite, and thus show both kinds of material. However, most of the rock-carvings on the

Fig. 128. *Västra Karup RAÄ 152:1. Photo Jenny Nord 2006.*

boulder are located on the part made of amphibolite. This indicates that it is a deliberate choice to use amphibolite for rock-carvings and that this should be seen as an important aspect of them.

The ship's prow has an animal head, presumably a horse, but lacks a human crew. It can most probably be dated to Bronze Age period III or possibly IV according to Kaul's chronology (Kaul 1998:88, Bengtsson 2008 personal communication). The ship itself appears to be physically loaded with cupmarks and grooves that fill the area inside the curved shape of the ship (see fig. 128). Above the ship there is another area with cupmarks and some are also scattered around it. Probably the composition with rock-carvings filling the inside of the ship gives a certain meaning to it. The ship carrying a cargo could refer to a real cargo of items, as well as a human crew or travellers, or to a symbolic cargo. One of these interpretations need not rule out the others, though; different possible interpretations can simultaneously be used according to the user/audience and the specific situation etc.

Table 30. *The increase of rock-carvings in the Bröddarp-Faritslöf area due to the recent inventory and documentation.*

Bröddarp-Faritslöv	Sites	Rock-carvings (cupmarks in brackets)
Previously known sites	24	154 (140)
After the inventory 2006	55	331 (311)
Increase	129%	115% (122%)

In Faritslöv there are three large sites with cupmarks, grooves and footprints: Västra Karup 147:1 (29 cupmarks, 1 furrow and 1 shallow surface), 193:1 (42 cupmarks and 5 furrows) and 193:2 (25 cupmarks, 1 furrow 1 oblong feature and 5 footprints, see fig. 129). The alignment of the footprints varies between northwest–southeast and east–west. In the surrounding area there are many small sites with only a few cupmarks, in one case also a curved groove. The area between the rock-carvings in Bröddarp and the large rock-carvings in Faritslöv, however, is empty of rock-carvings (Broström & Ihrestam 2007c).

Varegården by Torekov (Västra Karup RAÄ 143:1)

In a farmyard in Varegården (10 metres a. s. l.) there is a boulder with 27 cupmarks and 3 connecting grooves, see fig. 130. Before the documentation and inventory work, 25 cupmarks were known on the site. There is a stream running close to it.

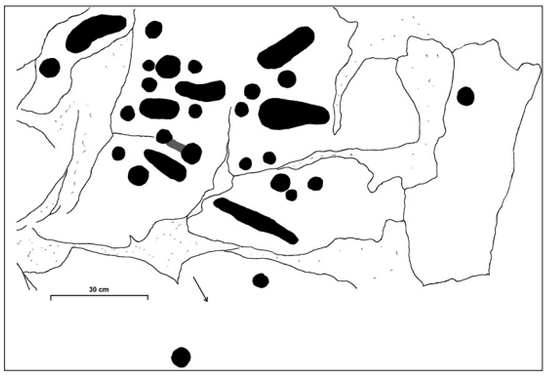


Fig. 129. *Västra Karup RAÄ 193:2. Drawing by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam.*

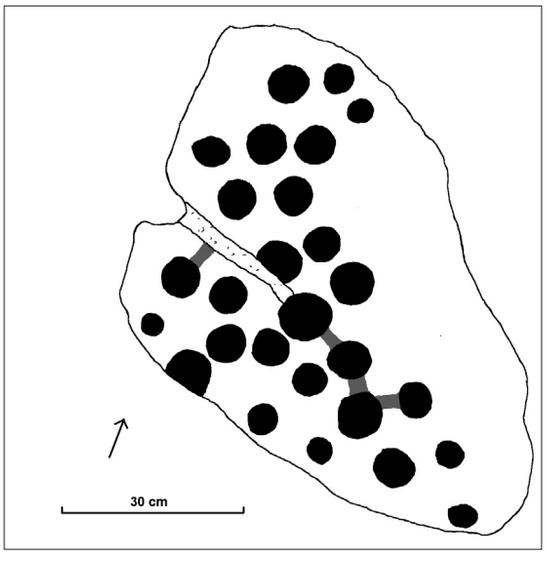


Fig. 130. *Västra Karup RAÄ 143:1. Drawing by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam.*

Västra Karup 185:1

The site Västra Karup 185:1 is also marked in fig. 125, but this site could not be documented since it was completely covered with large stones and boulders. During the survey in 1967 by the National Heritage Board 41 cupmarks were registered on this site, 60 metres a.s.l., on surface bedrock.

Crossing the ridge

Along the old road crossing the ridge of Hallandsåsen in more or less northwest–southeast direction between the church village of Grevie and Båstad there are several large rock-carving sites. These

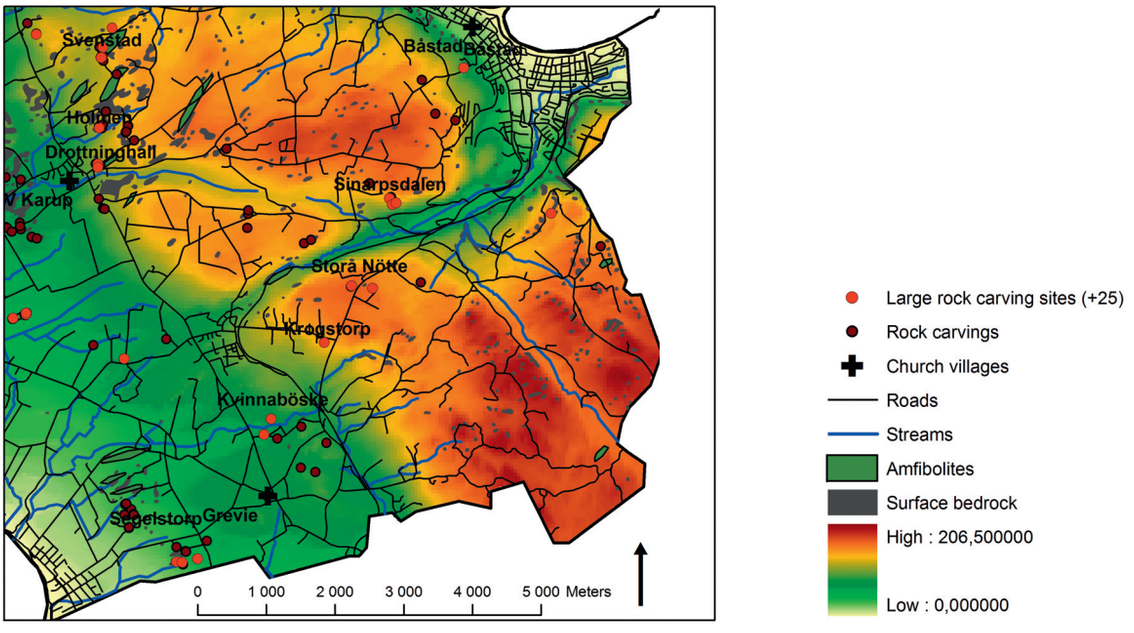


Fig. 131. *The sites that cross the ridge.*

Fig. 132. *Båstad RAÄ 5:1, the view towards the northeast. Photo Jenny Nord 2008.*

are located rather evenly along the stretch and often occupy dominant locations. However, the road also crosses the steep-sided valley of Sinarp (Sinarpsdalen) and two of the sites (Stora Nötte and Sinarpsdalen) actually seem to be located opposing each other with the valley bottom in between (see figs. 3 and 166 for locations). Several of the large sites along the ridge occur as double locations at 200–300 metres' distance. They mainly occur on boulders and not on outcrops, which of course has natural causes since outcrops are not so common in this part of the peninsula. It also mirrors active choices of the prehistoric people. Besides, and this is of course very important, using boulders also provides the possibility of actually moving and thus placing the site according to certain wishes, if needed. This has also meant that some rock-carvings have been removed in later history.

Båstad

As the ridge slopes north (85 m a. s. l. towards the northern coastline and the town of Båstad) this boulder is found along a small road (Båstad RAÄ 5). It makes up part of a stone wall but it seems to be firmly set in the ground and is taller the stone wall, and it is likely that the boulder is in situ. All the carvings are on the steep northeastern side of the boulder, but since there are also cupmarks on the top edge of the boulder together with a groove leading to its other side, this direction of the boulder seems to be original.

Table 31. *The increase of rock-carvings at Båstad RAÄ 5:1 due to the recent inventory and documentation.*

Båstad	Sites	Rock-carvings (cupmarks in brackets)
Previously known sites	1	47 (45)
After the inventory 2008	1	80 (61)
Increase	0%	70% (35%)

The carvings on the boulder consist of 1 circle figure whose inner area is all engraved as a hollow surface, 17 connecting grooves and 61 cupmarks (Broström & Ihrestam 2008g). Some of the cupmarks are oval and very similar to footprints. The most interesting feature of this boulder is the composition which is made by the connecting grooves and the circle figure. It gives a path-like pattern around the circle, which again might have something to do with interpreting the surrounding landscape and perhaps also how to interact with, or move, in it.

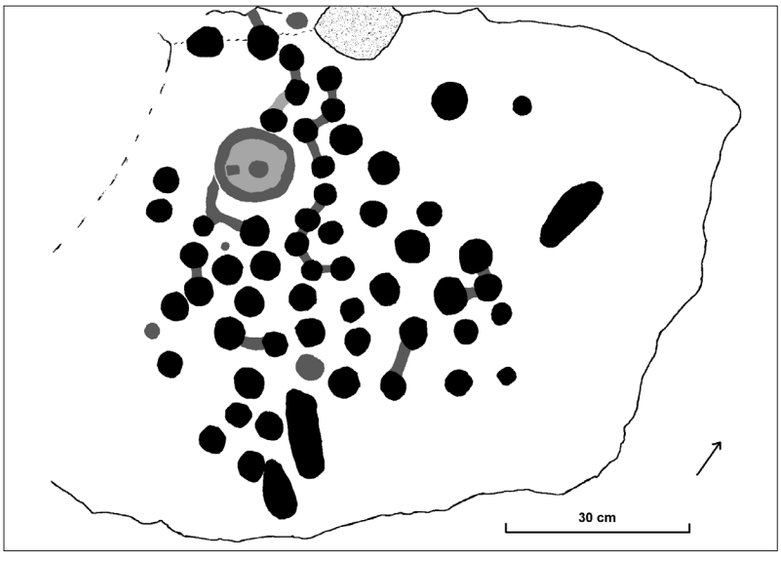


Fig. 133. *Båstad RAÄ 5:1. Drawing by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam.*

Sinarpsdalen

Just where the valley of Sinarp (Sinarsdalen) and the valley of Drängstorp meet there are three large rock-carving sites located close to each other. Sinarpsdalen is the rather steep valley that cuts through the Hallandsåsen ridge, while the valley of Drängstorp leads westwards and actually ends at the sites of Drottninghall and Holmen. Applying a communication perspective, it seems rather intriguing and not accidental that the only large rock-carving sites in this part of the Bjäre peninsula either follow an old path crossing the ridge or marks the entrances to a large valley leading through the peninsula. Before the inventory and documentation work was done in the spring of 2008 only one site (Grevie RAÄ 241) was known in this area but another two boulders with rock-carvings were discovered, still without RAÄ numbers. These are situated closer to the valley bottom and to the present-day road leading through the valley. The previously known RAÄ 241 is located high up on the steep sides of the valley at 140 m a. s. l. and provides a good view towards the south (see fig. 134). Today the area is wooded and there are traces of both clearance cairns and terraces. The sites all seem to be related to the terraces as they are located along their borders, but which feature came first is hard to tell, most probably the rock-carvings.

The Grevie RAÄ 241 site is a large boulder which to some extent seems to have been sculptured as it was filled with cupmarks, grooves, surfaces and other features (see fig. 135). Altogether 153 cupmarks, 1 unknown figure, 4 shallow hollows and 44 grooves were documented on the boulder (Broström & Ihrestam 2008h). The unknown figure resembles the 'ambivalent footprint circle' figure that Hauptman Wahlgren discusses in her thesis as having the possibility of being both paired footprints and a wheel-cross. This is a combination that she and others stress a strong connection between (Hauptman Wahlgren 2002:75f; Skoglund 2005:220f).

Table 32. *The increase of rock-carvings in Sinarpsdalen due to the recent inventory and documentation.*

Sinarpsdalen	Sites	Rock-carvings (cupmarks in brackets)
Previously known sites	1	74 (70)
After the inventory 2001	3	328 (273)
Increase	200%	343% (290%)

The two new boulders with cupmarks close to Västra Karup RAÄ 241 have, interestingly enough, rather different characters. One has 89 cupmarks, some of them are forming a long line (Västra Karup RAÄ 657, see fig. 136). The other boulder has 31 cupmarks and 6 connecting grooves (Västra Karup RAÄ 655) (Broström & Ihrestam 2008h).

Fig. 134. *The view from Västra Karup RAÄ 241 towards the rock-carving sites of Stora Nötte which hide below the sightline. Photo Jenny Nord 2008.*

Stora Nötte

The Grevie RAÄ 129 site is located on the very top of the ridge. Another large site is found on the northeastern slopes at the same height, only 300 metres to the east and on the other side of the present road (Grevie RAÄ 230). A viewshed analysis of Grevie RAÄ 129 shows that even though it is very dominantly situated, the views from the site are rather restricted (see fig. 137). It is mainly exposed towards an area in the southeast, another area in the northeast and towards the west. It is interesting that the views include areas that are rich in mounds and stretch almost all the way to Drottninghall as well as another large rock-carving site to the northwest, Grevie RAÄ 8. This site

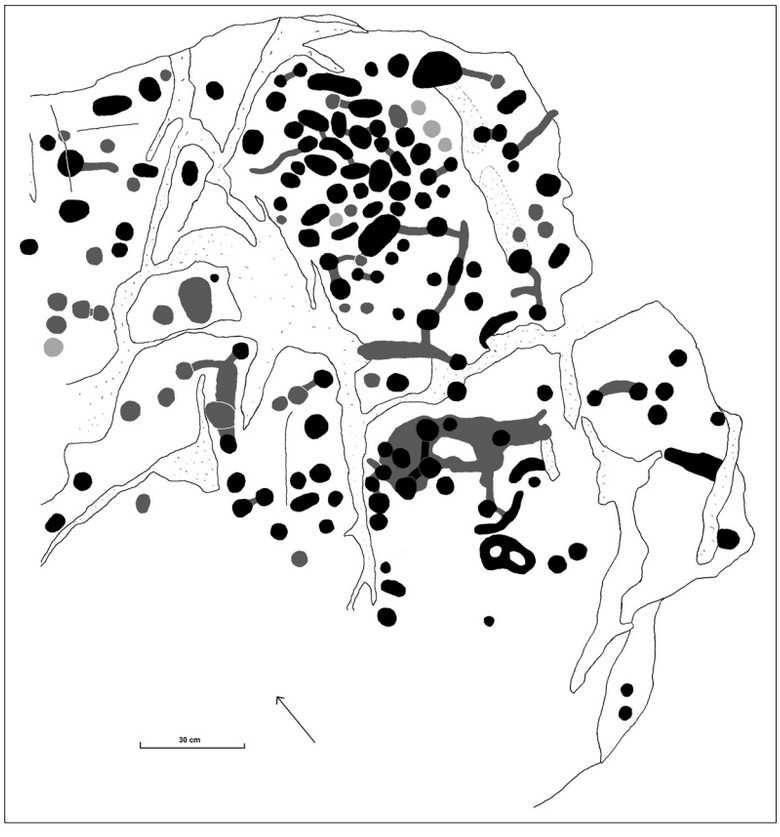


Fig. 135. *Västra Karup RAÄ 241. Drawing by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam.*

Fig. 136. *Västra Karup RAÄ 657. Photo Jenny Nord 2008.*

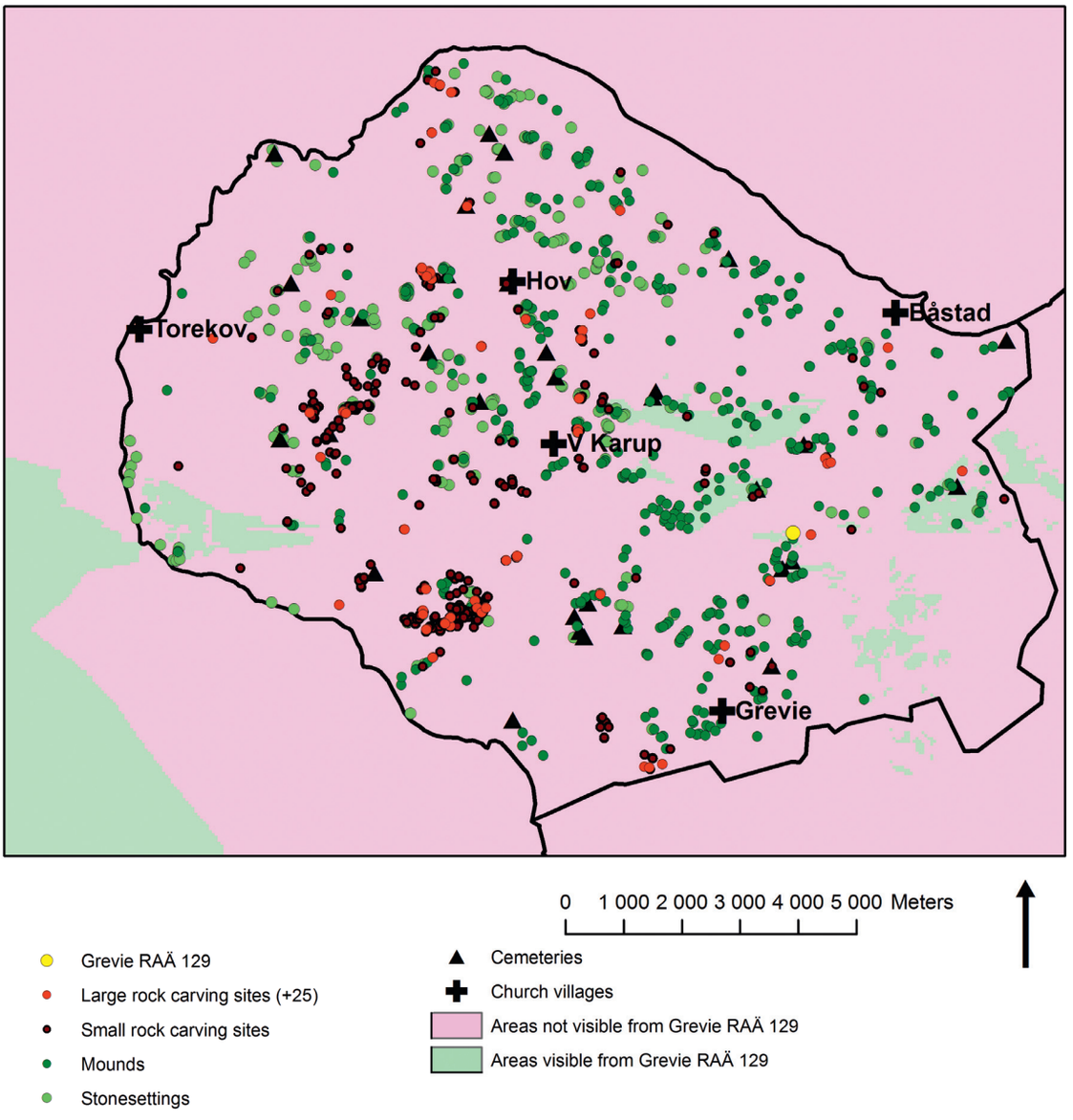


Fig. 137. *Viewshed analysis from Grevie RAÄ 129.The view from the site is locally rather restricted even though it is situated on a very high location. The view is directed to the sea in the south-southwest.*

Fig. 138. *Grevie RAÄ 129. Drawing by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam.*

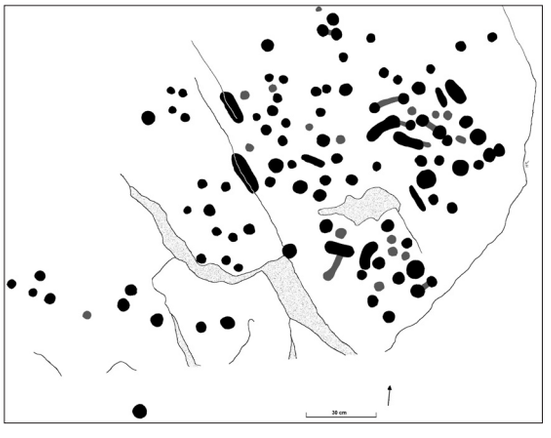


Fig. 139. *Grevie RAÄ 230. Drawing by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam.*

has not been documented in this work mainly due to lack of time. According to the viewshed analysis, the view from Stora Nötte even includes the coastal area around Dagshög in the very southwest of the peninsula, and one may wonder whether this is a coincidence. The main view, however, is over the southern sea and Kullaberg as well as Denmark on a clear day.

Grevie RAÄ 129 consists of a large boulder-like outcrop with 104 cupmarks, 4 footprints and 7 grooves, see fig. 138. The grooves are connected with cupmarks and create a long stretched composition more or less dividing the panel into two parts. The footprints have different alignments. The cupmarks are seemingly incorporated in lines or patterns. Grevie RAÄ 230 is located on a boulder and consists of 111 cupmarks, 2 footprints and 8 small connecting grooves, see fig. 139 (Broström & Ihrestam 2007a). This site faces the lower area to the northeast and does not have the same dominance in the landscape as RAÄ 129. However, it is interesting to note that the two footprints are located in natural cracks in the boulder that run in a northwest–southeast direction, as if they were walking. It is rare in Bjäre to find footprints that appear to show movement; more often they are parallel or solitary as if they were standing still.

Table 33. *The increase of rock-carvings in Stora Nötte due to the recent inventory and documentation.*

Stora Nötte	Sites	Rock-carvings (cupmarks in brackets)
Previously known sites	2	146 (132)
After the inventory 2007	3	237 (216)
Increase	50%	62% (64%)

It is very tempting to suggest that the composition with the long grooves (Grevie RAÄ 129) somehow describes the world and how to follow the path which is located beside it. The movement aspect that is visible through the footprints on the other site, Grevie RAÄ 230, is heading towards the northwest and the setting sun, or towards where the prehistoric path meets the Drängstorp valley entrance and the Sinarpsdalen rock-carvings (see below), and also towards where the view is exposed to.

Krogstorp

Today this boulder is found in a garden where it is used as a decorative stone. The site is in fact not protected by law any more and has no RAÄ number. However, it belongs (or rather belonged) to Grevie RAÄ 132, a stone-setting that was excavated by the National Heritage Board in 1971 (Nagy 1975a). The boulder with rock-carvings was found centrally inside the burial construction which was dated by finds to the Bronze Age period III. The boulder with the rock-carvings was in fact found under a thin layer of earth of recent character, which provides the possibility that the rock-carvings actually could have been visible and perhaps in use even after the burial construction had been finished. The place has an extended view to the south as it is located on the southern slopes of the Hallandsåsen ridge.

The boulder has 74 cupmarks, some of them oval, and 4 connecting grooves. Its location in a garden covered with planted bushes prevented proper documentation.

Kvinnaböske

On the southwestern slopes of the ridge with a great view over the coastal plains, these carvings, Grevie RAÄ 343, are on a boulder. According to the Register of the National Heritage Board there has been another site of a similar size located 250 metres to the south-southwest on the other side of a small stream (Grevie RAÄ 180:1). Unfortunately, this site cannot be found today. According to the Register of the National Heritage Board both entries could belong to the same rock-carving, although I find this doubtful.

Before the documentation of Grevie RAÄ 343, 55 cupmarks and 4 oblong figures were known. This number has increased to 68 cupmarks and 20 connecting grooves. The grooves and cupmarks create patterns which seem to be deliberate compositions (see fig. 140).

Segelstorp

Approximately 1500 metres south of the church of Grevie towards the coastal plain there is a wooded area with outcrops and boulders. This area contains several large sites and is located halfway between the site of the church and the coast, with a good view of the coastline. The place is called Segelstorp (not to be confused with Segeltorp at Hovs Hallar).

Table 34. *The increase of rock-carvings in the area of Segelstorp due to the recent inventory and documentation.*

Segelstorp	Sites	Rock-carvings (cupmarks in brackets)
Previously known sites	9	156 (147)
After the inventory 2007	11	234 (222)
Increase	22%	50% (51%)

There are three main sites in Segelstorp (Grevie RAÄ 279, 280, 287) which all contain mainly cupmarks, but still the three sites appear to have slightly different characteristics. Grevie RAÄ 279 is located on the top of a large outcrop and contains 94 cupmarks, 6 grooves, 1 shallow surface and 1

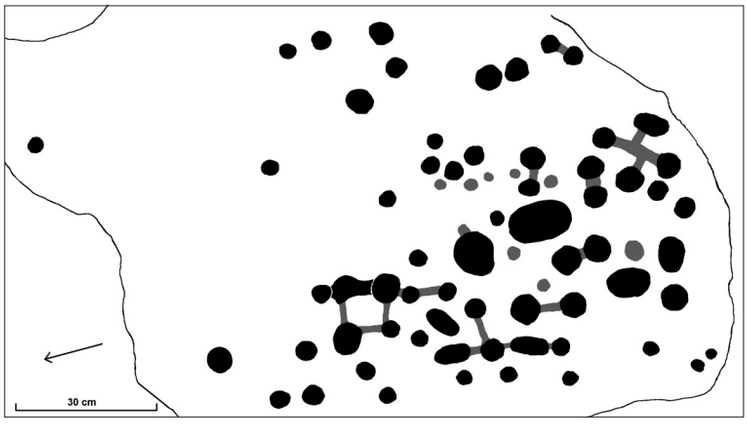


Fig. 140. *Grevie RAÄ 343. Drawing by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam.*

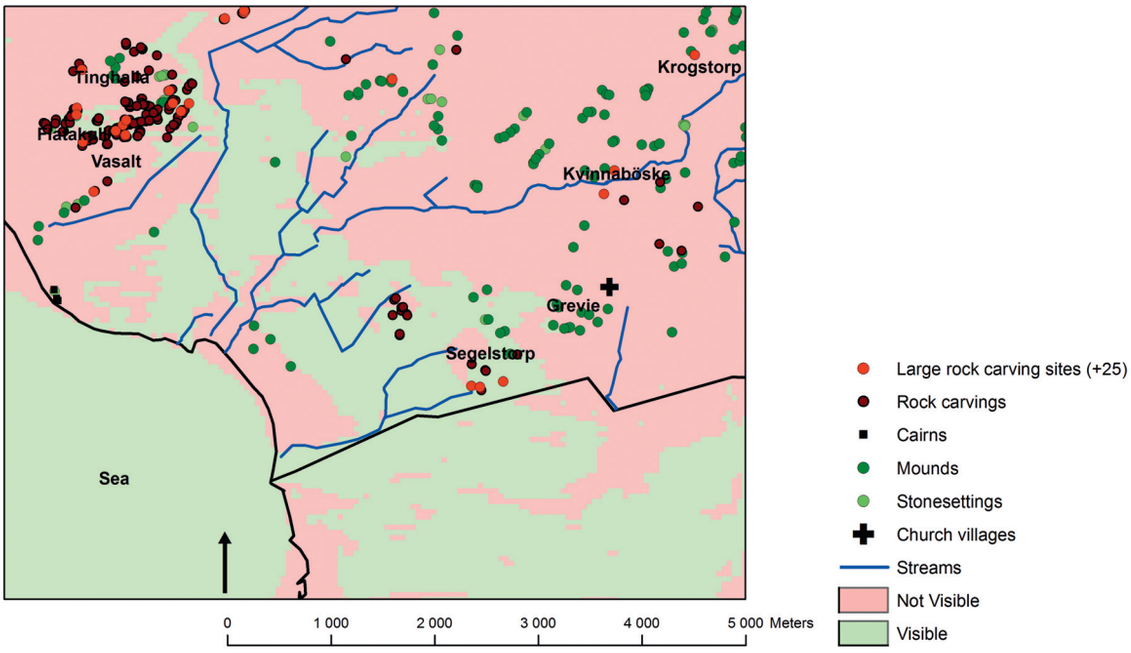


Fig. 141. *Viewshed from the Segelstorp site. Note how the site is focused towards the sea.*

footprint pointing northwest. The site has several panels with groups of cupmarks. The largest panel is located on the western edge of the outcrop and this is also where the grooves and the footprint are found. One of the grooves is curved and forms a U-like figure. The site Grevie RAÄ 280 is located 85 metres to the west on a small outcrop. Here 51 cupmarks, 1 shallow surface and 3 grooves are found. The three grooves are connected with one cupmark each and one of them is curved like a hook. The shallow surface has a rectangular form. The third site is located 230 metres east-northeast of Grevie RAÄ 279 on a steep-sided outcrop and consists of 48 cupmarks and 7 more on a panel one metre to the east (Broström & Ihrestam 2006b).

Tofta Högar

The last site to be presented is the site at the cemetery and cult-house complex of Tofta Högar, Hov RAÄ 109:2 (see fig. 48). Just next to a large enclosure belonging to this complex this boulder with 72 cupmarks is located (see fig. 144). Most of the cupmarks are found on the rather flat top side of the boulder. Further, they seem to cluster into a pattern which perhaps has some meaning to it. The site was been used from the early Bronze Age until the late Iron Age. The spatial connection between the enclosure and the rock-carving site could suggest a connection in their use.

Discussion topics

The variation in cupmarks

As has already been noted several times, there is great variation among the cupmarks in Bjäre, a fact that deserves some discussion. The cupmarks occur in all sorts of locations, on all sides of the rocks, both vertical and horizontal, although horizontal locations are more usual. Coles has argued that they were directed upwards on flat surfaces towards the gods, but this is not – at least not in all cases – the situation in Bjäre (Coles 2002:224). Further, they occur alone, together with and also connected to other motifs. Sometimes they even make up parts of motifs. They are found on small stones

Fig. 142. *Grevie RAÄ 279. Drawing by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam.*

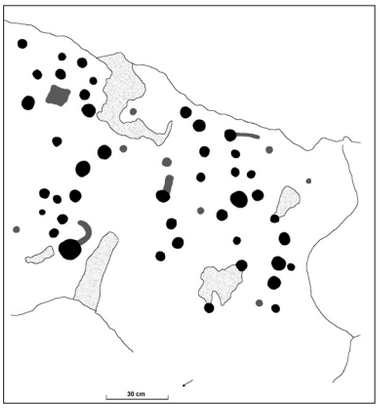


Fig. 143. *Grevie RAÄ 280. Drawing by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam.*

and on large outcrops, in both dominant and invisible locations. In addition, they are found close to graves and wetlands and to dominant outcrop hills. The larger sites are however more common on landscape-dominating sites. Their sizes vary too. Bjäre has some of the largest cupmarks in Scandinavia, and most of them are found at one single site: Flatakull in the Vasalt area (Västra Karup RAÄ 14). Here the cupmarks are up to 27 cm in diameter and 6 cm deep, which makes them bowls rather than cups. On other sites too, very large cupmarks are found, for example at Svenstad (Västra Karup RAÄ 536) where a very large cupmark (22 cm wide and 8 cm deep) is connected with smaller cupmarks through a system of grooves (see figs. 98 and 99). There are also some very small cupmarks in Bjäre, just 1–2 cm in diameter and less than 0.5 cm deep. Often these are found in between larger ones as if they had just been hammered on one occasion and then for some reason never returned to. This situation suggests that the cupmarks could on some occasions actually be an ongoing project (Coles 2002:234). Sometimes the cupmarks seem to be defining or emphasising certain meanings, as in some cases when they occur with footprints (see above). They have a multitude of interpretations which seem to be dependent on the context, both the landscape and the rock itself, for example the motifs it occurs together with. The multitude of interpretations or uses of cupmarks have been addressed earlier in different discussions concerning other motifs or the different sites and places in the landscape. The cupmarks are both very difficult and very interesting to work with. A more detailed and contextual study of them might in fact be highly fruitful for our understanding of them. This is not possible to conduct within the limitations of this work, however. Different aspects of the Bjäre rock-carvings will be discussed below and the cupmarks will have a central part.

Chronological assumptions

A rock-carving needs a rock, their distribution are dependent on (but not corresponding to) the distribution of suitable rocks for carving. This is not entirely true, however, since some of the carvings actually were made on boulders that might have been put deliberately at certain points in the landscape. The overall picture in Bjäre show that the locations of rock-carvings and mortuary monuments do not coincide. It seems as if their distributions are dependent on different strategies (see Chapter 4).

Fig. 144. *Hov RAÄ 109:2 towards the southwest. Photo Sven-Gunnar Broström 2008.*

However, it should not be forgotten that the distribution patterns that exist today are the result of many generations adding to the landscape. To understand these patterns some chronological division among them would indeed be helpful. When it comes to the mortuary monuments, it has been possible to make some chronological assumptions for them thanks to the investigations that have been made of some of them (see earlier). But the rock-carvings represent a more difficult and complex matter. They are rarely investigated; however, a few of the Bjäre carvings have in fact been investigated, which is helpful (see Drottninghall and Holmen). Furthermore, the rock-carvings are located in 'natural' places for which we do not know the reason they were chosen or whether they were important as places before the rock-carvings were actually made (Bradley 2000). Of course, the same can be said about the mortuary monuments, which are sometimes located, for example, on sites which had been used for burials earlier, during the late Neolithic. And we do not know when these places in the landscape ceased to be used, when the narratives of the ancestors in the mounds lost their importance or when the large rock-carving sites stopped attracting people for meetings or ceremonies.

The chronology of the use of rock-carvings sites is a question of just as great importance as the dating of the actual carvings upon them. Why the places initially were chosen we do not know. However, we do know that during the Bronze Age the use of these places required that rock-carvings were made there. Later these could be reinterpreted with other means, for example with fire, both during the Bronze Age (see Holmen) and during the Iron Age as in the case with Drottninghall and Tofta Högar. Furthermore, we have no knowledge about the actual processing of rock-carvings and cupmarks, that is, whether they were made in one go and then returned to, or only on certain special occasions; we do not even know if one single cupmark was made on one occasion or is the fruit from many sessions. However, the great size that many of the cupmarks show in Bjäre might suggest that they in fact were reused several times (Coles 2002:234). At least one of the rock-carving sites in Bjäre, Västra Karup RAÄ 387:1 (see fig. 75), is unfinished which indicates that these places most probably were returned to several times to finish a carving project. This means that, just as in the case with the mortuary monuments, the distribution pattern we can see today is a result of many additions and/or related projects in the landscape.

Fig. 145. *Some of the cupmarks in Flatakull. Photo Sven-Gunnar Broström 1999.*

Bengtsson has proposed an interpretation of a chronological sequence of rock-carvings and their landscape use that might be of interest for the Bjäre landscape (Bengtsson 2004). He suggested that the cupmarks from the Bronze Age were more widely spread in the landscape than the earlier ones that were presumably made during the megalithic era. Further, the cupmarks of the Bronze Age, according to Bengtsson, had acquired a protective meaning while the earlier ones were mainly connected with ancestors. Bengtsson used the attributes of size and depth to distinguish the cupmarks of the Stone Age, which are larger, from the Bronze Age ones, which are smaller. This division was made looking at the cupmarks located on megalithic tombs versus the ones found on sites adjacent to figurative rock-carvings. He also found that many large figurative rock-carving sites actually were used initially during the megalithic period, while the sites with only smaller cupmarks that are more spread in the landscape were made during the Bronze Age (Bengtsson 2004:62ff). This would mean that many central places were already in use during the Neolithic while smaller sites with only cupmarks are a Bronze Age additions to the landscape. Similarly, Ullén suggests that cupmarks have their roots in the Neolithic, mainly in burial contexts. During the Bronze Age she thinks that they mirror ritual activities that are more connected with everyday life and settlements, while the figurative rock-carvings are instead connected to

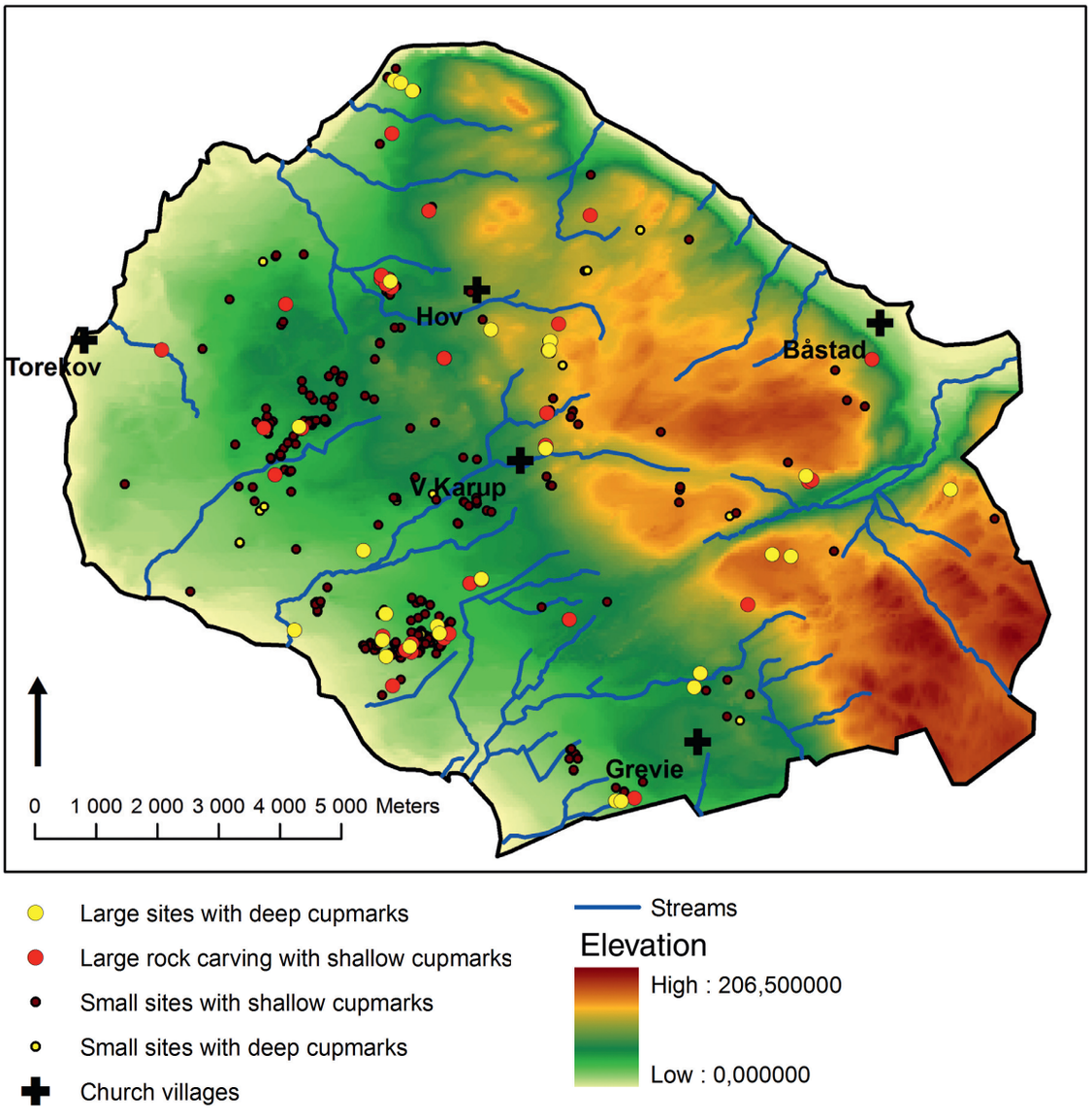


Fig. 146. *Distribution of sites with deep/shallow cupmarks (possibly of Neolithic/Bronze Age origin). Background data © Lantmäteriet Gävle 2009. Grant I 2009/0549.*

the emerging aristocracy (Ullén 1997). Like Ullén, Hauptman Wahlgren discusses the eastern part of Sweden and suggests that the type of rock-carvings that are especially abundant in Bjäre and that mainly consist of cupmarks belong to the late Bronze Age – early Iron Age (Hauptman Wahlgren 2002:238).

These different approaches to cupmarks and rock-carvings are interesting. All three distinguish the cupmarks and rock-carvings as belonging to partly different contexts. Furthermore, all three make chronological divisions which are interesting for Bjäre. Bengtsson (2004) and Ullén (1997) bring cupmarks back to the Neolithic, at least in burial contexts, while Hauptman Wahlgren (2002) instead brings them forward in time to the late Bronze Age or even the early Iron Age. I see no real contradiction here; the tradition most probably has its roots in the Neolithic. In Bjäre the larger and most dominantly located rock-carving sites were most probably taken into use during the Neolithic. There are also indications of how the rock-carvings and the cupmarks-only sites were used differently in the landscape. Some of these differences are certainly of chronological origin. For example, many of the rock-carvings connected to burials seem to be from the later part of the Bronze Age.

In the research area of Ullén (1997), Hauptman Wahlgren (2002) and Bengtsson (2004) there is a rich figurative rock-carving world to contrast the cupmark sites with, but this is not the case in Bjäre. The only figures that can be dated here are the three ship carvings. These are found at two large rock-carving locations, Bröddarp (V Karup RAÄ 152) and Lingården (Hov RAÄ 175). Two of them, according to the chronology of Kaul (1998:88), probably derive from the Bronze Age period III or IV. The third looks like a later addition, possibly from the late Bronze Age – early Iron Age (Broström, Ihrestam & Bengtsson 2008 personal communication). These ships together with the former buried circular figures at Holmen (Västra Karup RAÄ 66) and the buried cupmarks in Grevie (Grevie RAÄ 132) suggest that the rock-carving sites of Bjäre were in active use at least during the middle and late Bronze Age (period III–VI). However, this does not mean that these sites were not in use before or after this period.

Bjäre is rich in large cupmarks, and some sites like Flatakull (see earlier) are almost exclusively filled with large and deep cupmarks. In Bjäre the megalithic period of the Stone Age did not produce any megalithic tombs. But a look at the finds of flint and stone tools among the farms and the local open-air museum shows that this period was not absent on the peninsula, and of course it is not impossible that some sites with cupmarks actually were already taken into use at this time, just as Bengtsson suggested in his study area (Bengtsson 2004). Looking more closely at the size of the cupmarks on the different sites in the landscape of Bjäre it seems as if Bengtsson's hypothesis is valid to some extent. Most of the large rock-carving sites which also have figurative rock-carvings do have large cupmarks, and most sites with only cupmarks that are more generally spread in the landscape have smaller cupmarks (see figs. 146 and 147). In Bengtsson's study area the average size of cupmarks on megalithic tombs was 5.6 cm in diameter and 0.8 cm deep, which for Bjäre would still be a small cupmark (Bengtsson 2004:65). However, the idea of using size as a chronological tool could still be valid. In order to distinguish between large (perhaps Neolithic) and small cupmarks (from the Bronze Age) in the Bjäre material I have used the limit of 3 cm in depth (see fig. 146); it is necessary to redefine methods to suit one's own local material if one wants informative answers.

Bengtsson further suggested, as mentioned above, that during the megalithic period the cupmarks were connected with ancestor rites and fertility, which explains why they were connected with megalithic tombs, but they are also found on other sites in the landscape (Bengtsson 2004:65). This implies that these sites were associated with social gatherings, probably at community level, and it seems that many of them kept this central use – even if the rituals might have changed – into the Bronze Age and possibly even later. The sites that lack the Neolithic trait were probably initiated during the Bronze Age. Bengtsson suggests a purpose of protecting the grazing cattle in the Bronze Age and later into the Iron Age protecting the crops as agriculture became more important (Bengtsson 2004:83f).

It thus seems as if the evidence from the rock-carvings of Bjäre, however different in their character, to some extent may support the chronology suggested in other areas of Sweden. The chronology

of cupmarks proposed by Bengtsson based on west coast material might be valid in Bjäre, which means that some of the large sites with likewise large cupmarks are early traits in the rock-carving landscape. During the middle and late Bronze Age some changes can be seen in the use of rock-carving sites and now new sites emerge in the landscape with only cupmarks and only a few figurative motifs; these cupmarks are generally smaller in size.

Of course there are other possible explanations for the differences in size than a chronological explanation. As I have already suggested, it is a local trait which is typical of Bjäre, whether it is due to the characteristics of the rock or the ideas of people at the time. For example, looking at the large bowl at Svenstad (see figs. 98 and 99), it seems as if the depth of the large cupmark is actually part of the planned motif and not a result of long-term use or later additions. However, Coles in his work emphasises the importance of looking at the depth of the engravings as he suggests that deep ones may reflect a longer time of use of the site (Coles 2002:234). This would also suggest that sites with deep engravings are older since they were in use longer, but it would also suggest that the individual rock-carvings were recut during the rituals on site. Hauptman Wahlgren has also suggested the same thing, but emphasising that they were remade to let them stand out clearly, brought out of the darkness (Hauptman Wahlgren 2002:182ff). This is of course an important issue to think of; whether figures and cupmarks were remade or freshly made for rituals. Many of the sites in Bjäre have around 100 figures or less. The site of Lingården, for example, has 112 individual figures and among them two ship carvings; one can be dated to the middle Bronze Age according to the chronology of Kaul (1998:88) while the other seems to belong to the late Bronze Age several centuries later (Broström, Ihrestam & Bengtsson 2008 personal communication). We do not know when the site started to be used but most probably before the middle Bronze Age, perhaps already in the Neolithic period judging by the size of some of the cupmarks. This means that the activity of making or remaking rock-carvings was most probably not the only issue during this long period; the very fact that the carvings were there was important as well, and gave power to the place for other types of rituals. And on some of these occasions new figures and cupmarks were also added (see also the discussions in Hauptman Wahlgren 2002:273ff). The presence of other rituals on rock-carving sites is especially apparent when it comes to Lingården, where there is a lot of fire damage, and the site also seems to have been used as a quarry for small slabs, perhaps for burial cists (see figs. 106 and 107). However, the ship carvings on the site are very subtly made and almost hidden in the natural surface of the rock (fig. 105). It is not probable that they were used and recut many times. On the contrary, they seem almost like accidental motifs or possibly extremely secret ones.

Small sites versus large sites

In this chapter most of the larger sites of the Bjäre peninsula that were recently documented have been presented and discussed. A large site is defined as a site with more than 25 engravings. However, many sites in Bjäre (47%) have only 1–3 cupmarks; these mainly occur in the lower southern and western area. At higher locations and along the ridge they are rare, although large sites still exist here. More or less the same pattern is valid for the medium-sized sites (4–24 cupmarks). What does this distribution pattern mean? Should the smaller sites be seen as belonging to activities on the lower plains? Should they be seen as a local cultural trait of these areas? Is there a chronological difference, as was discussed previously, with these sites being added to the landscape during the Bronze Age after the large sites were already well established? I have presumed that the large sites are places for social gatherings and common ceremonies of different kinds. Likewise, I have presumed that the smaller sites that mainly consist of cupmarks belong to more private sort of activities. The distribution map, however, makes this interpretation slightly problematic since it implies that private activities only took place on the southern and western lower areas and often close to large sites.

Looking more closely at the distribution of the small sites, we see some patterns that can be distinguished. First of all the small sites mainly occur below 75 m a.s.l., which more or less corresponds to the southwestern lower area of the peninsula (see fig. 64). Very few are located on the ridge area. Also, most of them – but not all – are located in the proximity of the large sites in this area. Further, they are rarely far away from a stream or a wet area, although they are not necessarily directly con-

nected with those. Higher up in the landscape where the high density of small sites ends, mounds are instead more common and large sites also occur (see fig. 65 and Chapter 4 for further discussions).

What kind of traits are there about the western lower land that possibly can explain this wealth of small sites? There is, for example, the similar low altitude, as well as the two streams and the characteristic landscape: the slightly undulating terrain where – very importantly – there is also a dense distribution of outcrops. This is one of the richest areas with outcrops, but this cannot be the sole answer since the whole peninsula, and especially the adjacent areas, is also rich in outcrops as well as streams. I have previously discussed the choice of amphibolite which is most often the preferred

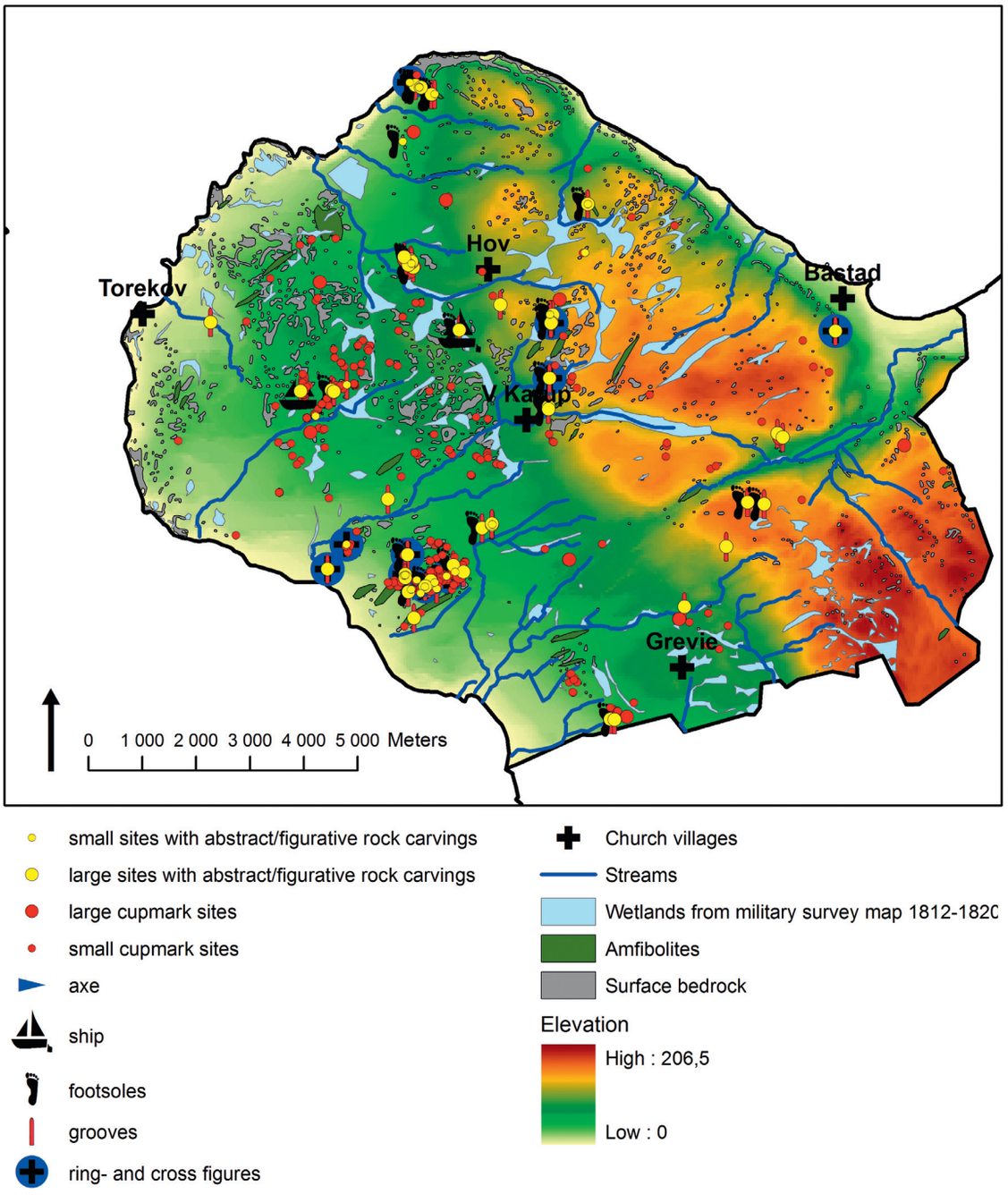


Fig. 147. *Distribution of small and large sites with or without figurative/abstract rock-carvings. Background data © Lantmäteriet Gävle 2009. Grant I 2009/0549.*

rock for carvings. However, the distribution of rock-carvings does not follow the distribution of amphibolite (see fig. 63) and this explanation was also ruled out. There must be a human choice as well to create this pattern.

One important aspect to consider is that the small sites with rock-carvings cannot be seen from a distance. You actually have to walk right up to them to see them. You have to know where they are – which goes well with a private place, or at least a locally well-known place. A general pattern is that the large sites can be seen from a distance since they are most often found on large outcrops or boulders at prominent places in the landscape. Maybe through this landscape pattern we can understand the everyday movements or activity areas of the local inhabitants that are not apparent from looking at mounds or just central places. What kind of activities could possibly have taken place here? One possibility is movements of herding and animal husbandry. Bengtsson, as we have seen, has suggested for the Tanum area that the cupmarks of the Bronze Age period gave protection to the livestock and the grazing land (Bengtsson 2004:83f). The pollen analyses from Bjäre have suggested that grazing also had a great impact on the landscape during the Bronze Age (see Chapter 2). However, this impact not only applied to the western lowland, although this might in fact have been a highly suitable area for grazing. The same thing concerns the suggestion by Ullén (1997) that the cupmarks are connected with settlements. Settlements must have been more widespread. Some other explanation for the distribution pattern is needed, at least in part. I will return to this issue in Chapter 4.

As I mentioned above, many of the large sites occur at rather even distances in the landscape, while the smaller ones are located more densely, and mainly in the lower western land. It is tempting to regard the large sites as being local assembly sites following a different set of rules from the smaller sites. Further, the large sites seem to have very different characteristics at different places, which might in fact mean that they, or at least some of them, were used by a larger part of the population on specific occasions. One should not forget that the peninsula is not very large. On the eastern inland side of the peninsula there is a formation of large sites which are striking when viewed on a map. It consist of five sites forming a row; Segelstorp, Kvinnaböske, Stora Nötte, Sinarp and Båstad. Also the rock-carving that was found inside a burial (Krogstorp, Grevie RAÄ 132) fits in the same row. Whether or not this is a coincidence; the locations of several of these sites connect well with the old road that crosses the ridge (Båstad kommun 2002a). This was noted and discussed already in the initial work about Bjäre in 1993 (Nord & Paulsson 1993). In several archaeological works the connection between roads and prehistoric sites has been discussed, most often concerning mounds (Rudebeck 2001, 2002; Johansen et al. 2006) but rock-carvings have also been discussed (Fredell 2003:270; Nord 2006a, 2006b). However, it should be mentioned here that viewshed analyses conducted with the help of GIS have shown that there is poor intervisibilty between the ridge sites.

The rock-carvings of the dead

During the Bronze Age rock-carvings are sometimes found inside burials, either in connection with the cists as is the case in Kivik (see for example Randsborg 1993), on a buried rock surface as in Hjortekrog (Widholm 1998:71ff), overlooking the dead, or associated with the kerb facing the cist as in the case of Sagaholm (Goldhahn 1999). In these situations the carvings were most probably visible during the burial rituals, but were then enclosed by the mound and made invisible as the rituals ended. However, this does not mean that they had ceased to give an intangible character to the place together with the memory of the deceased. In the above-mentioned cases the carvings include several figures which might have acted like helpful charms for the dead to reach the afterlife, for example the boat which guides the sun (the life-giver) through the dark waters of night (Bradley 2006).

In Bjäre there is only one burial from the Bronze Age which is known to have included a rock-carving: Grevie RAÄ 132. In this case it was a burial from the middle Bronze Age in which a boulder approximately 1 × 0.5 × 0.5 m in size with 74 cupmarks and 4 grooves was found in the construction (Nagy 1975a, see earlier). According to the information in the report, the layer of

soil that covered the mound was so thin that the boulder with cupmarks might have been visible – or at times made visible – even after the burial construction was finished.

When there is a connection between burials or mortuary monuments and rock-carvings in Bjäre, these connections most often concern cupmarks on boulders. Very few figurative rock-carvings are found in close spatial association with burials; however, the central sites of Holmen and Drottninghall are important exceptions. Several clusters of mortuary monuments and cemeteries are adjacent to sites with cupmarks. By close in this case I mean closer than 50 metres (see table 35). These rock-carving sites connect to mortuary monuments of all ages, although there is a higher frequency connecting to the middle and late Bronze Age and possibly also into the early Iron Age as well. From the spatial distribution it is also clear that they coincide rather well with the lower areas where mortuary monuments from the late Bronze age are more common (see fig. 148). This agrees nicely with Hauptman Wahlgren's suggestion that the cupmarks belong to the late Bronze Age – early Iron Age (Hauptman Wahlgren 2002:52f, 238).

Anders Kaliff has investigated funeral practices from an Indo-European perspective, making analo-

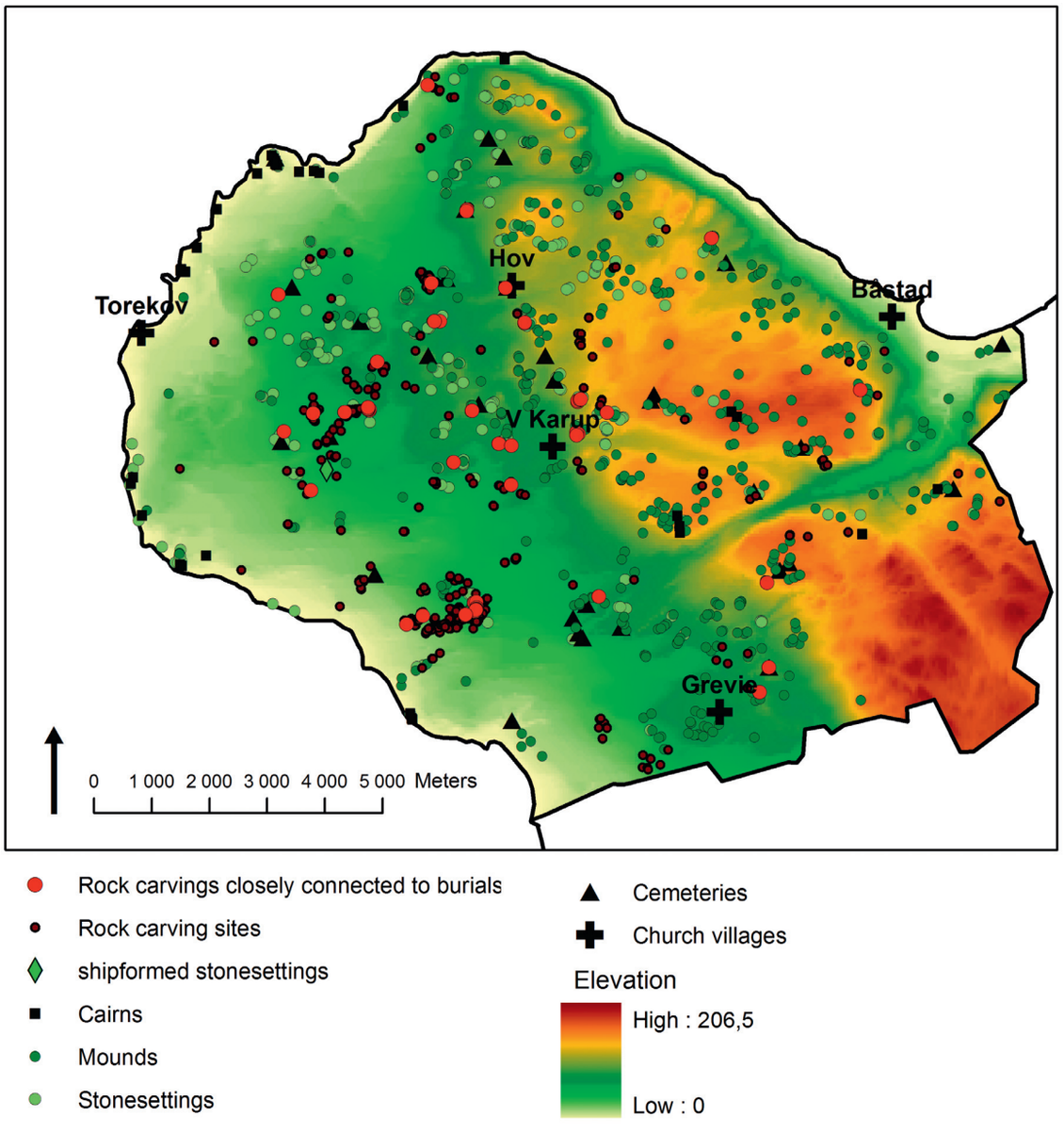


Fig. 148. *The distribution of rock-carvings located closer than 50 metres to a burial, and thus presumed to be connected with each other. Background data © Lantmäteriet Gävle 2009. Grant I 2009/0549.*

gies both with present-day India and Nepal and with written sources from Iron Age and medieval Scandinavia (Kaliff 2007). However distant these analogies may seem, there is some basic relevance in his work which can be applied to certain sites and phenomena, for example the heaps of fire-cracked stones, or burnt mounds. In Bjäre only one such site is known which was excavated at the rock-carving site of Holmen (see earlier, fig. 89). Holmen is also connected with a grave; it is only 38 metres to the nearest stone-setting. Parts of the rock-carving site of Holmen were covered with a burnt mound and the rock-carvings could thus be dated to the late Bronze Age through finds from the heap (see fig. 150). It was especially the pieces of a presumed house-urn that made it possible to date the heap (see figs. 90 and 149). Normally house-urns are connected with burials where they are used as a container for cremated bones, and even as such they are not very common. In Sweden they mainly occur in Skåne and on Gotland (Sabatini 2007). In Sabatini's work about house-urns the pot from Holmen is not included, probably since the sherds were not found in a burial context. Whether or not the two pieces derive from a house-urn is hard to tell, but the decoration on the sherds suggests that they might do. Thus the site of Holmen has a close connection with the dead and funeral activities.

The variations among the rock-carvings in Bjäre have been discussed several times already, and the site of Holmen also suggests that it might have been used in more than one way. Its use could have included both profane and highly sacred activities – as we define them today, and we need to be open-minded in our interpretations. Holmen was, at least on certain occasions, a highly specialised site clearly connected with the sphere of the dead. To what extent the figurative rock-carvings and the compositions on the rock should be seen as connected with the sphere of the dead is uncertain. Perhaps they were made earlier, before the place acquired this relation with death; perhaps it is only the buried motifs that have this relation. What can be said about the Holmen site is that during the late Bronze Age it took on a clear connection with death, and perhaps this was also the death of the site as regards its active use in the landscape of Bjäre. After this possible closure of the site, no further activities are known there.

Generally, as was mentioned earlier, it is stone-settings and small mounds that are more closely connected with rock-carvings than larger mounds and cairns. This could possibly imply a late Bronze Age date or even an early Iron Age date for the use of rock-carvings in the context of the dead. However, there are some examples that differ slightly; for example, the cemetery and cult-house complex of Tofta Högar (Hov RAÄ 109) where both large mounds, presumably from the early Bronze Age, and later burial constructions and two cupmark boulders are found in the same context. Also on the site of Bjäragården, which has several types of burial constructions with presumed continuity from the early Bronze Age until the Iron Age, there is a cupmark site (Hov RAÄ 34:2). Both these sites share the characteristic of a long period of use. In Tofta Högar burials from the

Fig. 149. *One of the two pieces of ceramics from Holmen, Västra Karup RAÄ 66, discussed in the text. Note the decoration not only around the belly but also the vertical decoration that has been interpreted as a doorframe. Photo Jenny Nord 2008.*

middle Bronze Age until the Roman Iron Age have been excavated (Burenhult 1974, 1975), and besides these there are several large mounds. At Bjäregården no detailed excavations have been made but the different burial constructions show a long-term use corresponding to that of Tofta Högar: large mounds, small mounds, low stone-settings and a stone circle. The rock-carvings on both sites mainly consist of cupmarks, as they often do in connection with burials. However, at Bjäragården

Fig. 150. *Holmen, Västra Karup RAÄ 66. The buried motifs are surrounded with a black line. They correspond to the carving area Ö in the report (Arbman 1966). Photo Sven-Gunnar Broström 2003.*

13 connecting grooves also occur. Furthermore, both sites have large cupmarks, larger than 7 cm and more than 3 cm deep, which with reference to the work of Bengtsson (see earlier and Bengtsson 2004:62ff) would date them to the Neolithic. This means that the rock-carvings were an early feature of these places, although they might have been added to during the Bronze Age. At Tofta Högar there are also cult houses (see fig. 48) which indicate a ritual specialisation on the site during the middle to late Bronze Age. In this connection the rectangular figure found at Svenstad should not be forgotten (fig. 97), which gives similar associations.

In Bjäre there are thus three different levels of relationship between mortuary monuments and rock-carvings. The first level is when a single monument or a cemetery and a rock-carving site are related to each other, that is, within 50 metres. This was the case discussed above and most probably the situation that Goldhahn refers to in his work (see above). The second level of relationship is at a wider landscape level, where places with rock-carvings and clusters of graves seem to relate to each other, as for example in Ängalag where rock-carvings and graves are strictly located on different but adjacent hills. This is often the case when it comes to larger rock-carving sites. The third level is that there is no obvious relationship at all. Beyond these three levels there is also the specific relationship found at several of the larger sites: Holmen, Bjäragården, Svenstad, Lingården and Tofta Högar, where the overall context suggests that the sites were specialised for death rituals. At Holmen these rituals coincided with the possible closure of the site during the late Bronze Age. At Bjäragården one mound from the middle Bronze Age is located on the same outcrop as the rock-carvings. At Tofta Högar the rituals seem to have been highly official and specialised, as cult houses, enclosures and terraces made a big audience possible. At Svenstad this ceremony might have been referred to in an engraving but maybe not performed. At Lingården there is a close connection with fire, and possibly the site was also used as a quarry for slabs for stone cists in the burials. Examples where slabs from rock-carving sites have been reused as cist slabs in burials are known from Britain (Deakin 2007). From Norway and West Sweden there are a number of examples where soapstone or quartz has been extracted at rock-carving sites, but these quarries are possibly connected with bronze metallurgy and not death (Goldhahn 2007:134ff).

Table 35. *The rock-carvings that have a spatial connection with burials.*

Identity	Number of cupmarks/carvings	Boulder/Outcrop	Burial connection	Other information
Hov 11:4	25 and 1 groove	Boulder	On stone-setting from late Bronze Age/early Iron Age	Later removed
Hov 21:2	3	Boulder	12 m to stone-setting from late Bronze Age/ early Iron Age	Same hill as 22:3
Hov 22:3	5	Outcrop	18–50 m to 3 burials from middle to late Bronze Age/early Iron Age	Same hill as 21:2
Hov 109:2	72	Boulder	On cemetery and cult-house complex from Early Bronze Age to Iron Age	Tofta Högar
Hov 109:3	1	Boulder	On cemetery and cult-house complex from Early Bronze Age to Iron Age	Tofta Högar
Hov 291:1	5 and 1 circle figure	Boulder	50 m to mound from middle Bronze Age	Close to NW coastline
Hov 34:1	131 and 13 grooves	Outcrop	5 m to mound from middle Bronze Age	Bjäragården, central area
V Karup 9:3	2	Outcrop	15–30 m to stone-settings from late Bronze Age/ early Iron Age	Vasalt, SW area
V Karup 14:1	192 and 2 grooves	Outcrop	15 m to stone-setting from late Bronze Age/ early Iron Age	Vasalt, SW area

V Karup 31:2	1	Outcrop	13 m to small mound from late Bronze Age/ early Iron Age	SW area
V Karup 42:2	6	Outcrop	30 m to small mound from late Bronze Age/ early Iron Age	SW area
V Karup 43:5	1	Outcrop	22–50 m to three burials from early Bronze Age to late Bronze Age/early Iron Age	SW area
V Karup 53:2	2	Boulder	38 m to stone-setting from late Bronze Age/ early Iron Age	SW area
V Karup 66:1	407 and 76 other figures	Outcrop	38 m to stone-setting from late Bronze Age/ early Iron Age	Holmen, central area
V Karup 69:1	58 and 5 footprints	Outcrop	48 m to stone-setting from late Bronze Age/ early Iron Age	Drottninghall, central area
V Karup 70:2	388 and 79 other figures	Outcrop	5 m to stone-settings from late Bronze Age/ early Iron Age	Drottninghall, central area
V Karup 78:2	7	Outcrop	7 m to stone-setting from late Bronze Age/early Iron Age	Central area
V Karup 80:2	1	Outcrop	15 to small mound from late Bronze Age/early Iron Age	SW area
V Karup 171:2	1	Boulder	19–36 m to several stone-settings from late Bronze Age/early Iron Age	SW area
V Karup 238:4	2	Boulder	16–26 m to three mounds from Early to middle Bronze Age	Ridge area
V Karup 270:2	2	Outcrop	11 m to stone-setting from late Bronze Age/ early Iron Age	SW area
V Karup 541:1	1	Boulder	35 m to stone-setting from late Bronze Age/ early Iron Age	Ridge area
Grevie 44:2	4	Boulder	On cemetery from early Bronze Age to late Bronze Age/early Iron Age	Ridge area
Grevie 132:1	74 and 4 grooves	Boulder	Inside mound from middle Bronze Age	Ridge area
Grevie 136:4	41	Boulder	7–27 m to three burials middle to late Bronze Age/early Iron Age	SW area
Grevie 156:1	18	Boulder	22 m to mound from middle Bronze Age	Ridge area
Grevie 165:1–5	72 and a groove	Outcrop	18–36 m to small mound from late Bronze Age/ early Iron Age	Vasalt, SW area
Grevie 168:1	84 and 5 figurative motifs	Outcrop	10 m to stone-setting from late Bronze Age/ early Iron Age	Vasalt, SW area

Rock-carvings and the sun

During the above survey of the large rock-carving sites of Bjäre that have recently been documented I have repeatedly used the movements of the sun in the interpretations. This is also a frequently used analogy in rock-carving interpretations and has been presented earlier in this chapter. But the rock-carvings can be connected with several other aspects as well, which of course is one reason to why they are so difficult to understand. But maybe this is just the thing that we need to understand; the rock-carvings are symbols with multiple possible interpretations and uses that might have been dependent on, for example, occasions in people's lives, the annual cycle and special occasions that occurred unplanned. Above I focused on the connection with death that has been noted on some of the rock-carving sites. Here I will instead focus on the sun: the life-giving aspect. How come these two contradictory aspects can share the same symbols and sites? Possibly because there are no contradictions at all between them, they just represent different aspects of life. In this way the Bronze Age cult should perhaps be defined as a life-cult and not a sun-cult, as this name actually seem to be limiting in describing the cosmology and religion of this period. The cupmark, for example, is one of the most commonly carved signs in the world and yet the meaning(s) have not been revealed to us. Perhaps their round shape is associated with the life-giving aspects of the sun.

Earlier in this chapter some recent research was presented in which the presence of the sun in connection with rock-carvings was described in different ways. Some focused on a landscape model where the different media of the sun's movements (sky – sea) were connected with rock-carvings located at different places in the landscape (Coles 1999; Bradley 2006). Others saw the possibility of rock-carving sites as solar observation places (Kaul 2005a), and others as places for celebrating the sun rising (König 2005). The devotion to the sun is clear, and it can take many different possible shapes. In Bjäre I have also found several possible connections with the sun.

At a landscape level there are several interesting connections. Ängalag might provide the clearest example of what was similarly proposed by Bradley and Coles (Coles 1999; Bradley 2006). Ängalag is rich in rock-carvings and they also have a clear connection with death as they are located next to two large grave complexes (see the description of the site above). On the very top of the rock-carving hill of Ängalag there is a rounded panel with only cupmarks (Hov RAÄ 31:1, see fig. 113). This is the highest location and also closest to the sun. Not only is this panel connected with the cosmological upper sphere (see fig. 69), being at the very top of the hill, but it could also in this sense be seen as a solar observation place (Kaul 2005a). In this connection it is also interesting to think of the Nebra disc, which was found at Mittelberg in Germany in 1999. The disc has been dated to 1600 BC, to the early Bronze Age, and is interpreted as describing the solstices during the year. Of course this is different at different locations, but it seems like the Nebra disc shows the angles of the solstices that corresponds to that of the area in which it was found (Meller 2004). It has recently been argued, however, that the Nebra disc cannot have been used as an astrological tool but instead should be seen purely as a cosmological expression that was probably made by Scandinavian smiths (Roslund & Pásztor 2007). In both circumstances it indicates that the sun was important during the Bronze Age. Now, my point is not to interpret the rock-carvings of Bjäre as solar discs, but we should be aware that the sun was used to keep track of time, and that expressions of the cosmological world also included the starry sky and the sun and the moon as well as their movements (see Kaul 2005a). It is also interesting to note that the abstract composition of the Nebra disc in many ways does not differ much from many of the abstract compositions that can be seen among the Bjäre rock-carvings. The similarity of the Nebra disc to cupmark compositions was also noted by Roslund and Pásztor (2007).

While described the rock-carvings of Bjäre above, I noted the alignments of the footprints. Feet normally belong to a person, and they show in which direction this person was standing or moving. We cannot know whether the footprints on the rock-carvings represent real persons or gods, or if they are just pictures, but in any case they were directed somewhere. I have suggested two different possibilities for the alignments of the footprints: one which connects them with the sunrise or the sunset (see König 2005; Bradley unpublished article), and one that has to do with the local landscape and possible movements within it.

Footprints

Footprints are the most common figurative motif on the Bjäre peninsula, and they deserve a discussion of their own. In the landscape of Bjäre they occur most frequently at the central locations on the ridge: Drottninghall and Holmen, but also Ängalag, Vasalt and Hov have some sites which contain several footprints (see earlier descriptions). Otherwise they occur more sporadically, at both large and small sites, although large sites dominates, and often as a single footprint together with cupmarks (see fig. 151, one example from Ängalag). Multiple pairs of footprints occur at the large and central sites of Drottninghall, three pairs, and Holmen, eight pairs. The long ridge of Vasalt, which is the richest rock-carving area of Bjäre, contains one site with three pairs (see fig. 78) and another with one pair. At Ängalag one single pair is found (see fig. 110) and a small site in Hov contains another pair (see fig. 121). Four of the pairs – one on each site at Drottninghall, Holmen, Hovs Hallar/Segeltorp (Hov RAÄ 139:1) and Ängalag – have a cupmark between the feet. The cupmark at Drottninghall is slightly 'misplaced', at least from the gender point of view, and connected with the frame of cupmarks (see front cover). I have previously argued that this cupmark-position does not necessarily define the gender (female) of the bearer of the feet as is often assumed, but that it might instead define a special character of the person, or the god, that it represents. This character or attribute might change content in different rituals but could, for example, define the person conveying – or obtaining – knowledge. This is especially visible at the Holmen site, which has several footprints that face the pair with the cupmark, as if they were in dialogue.

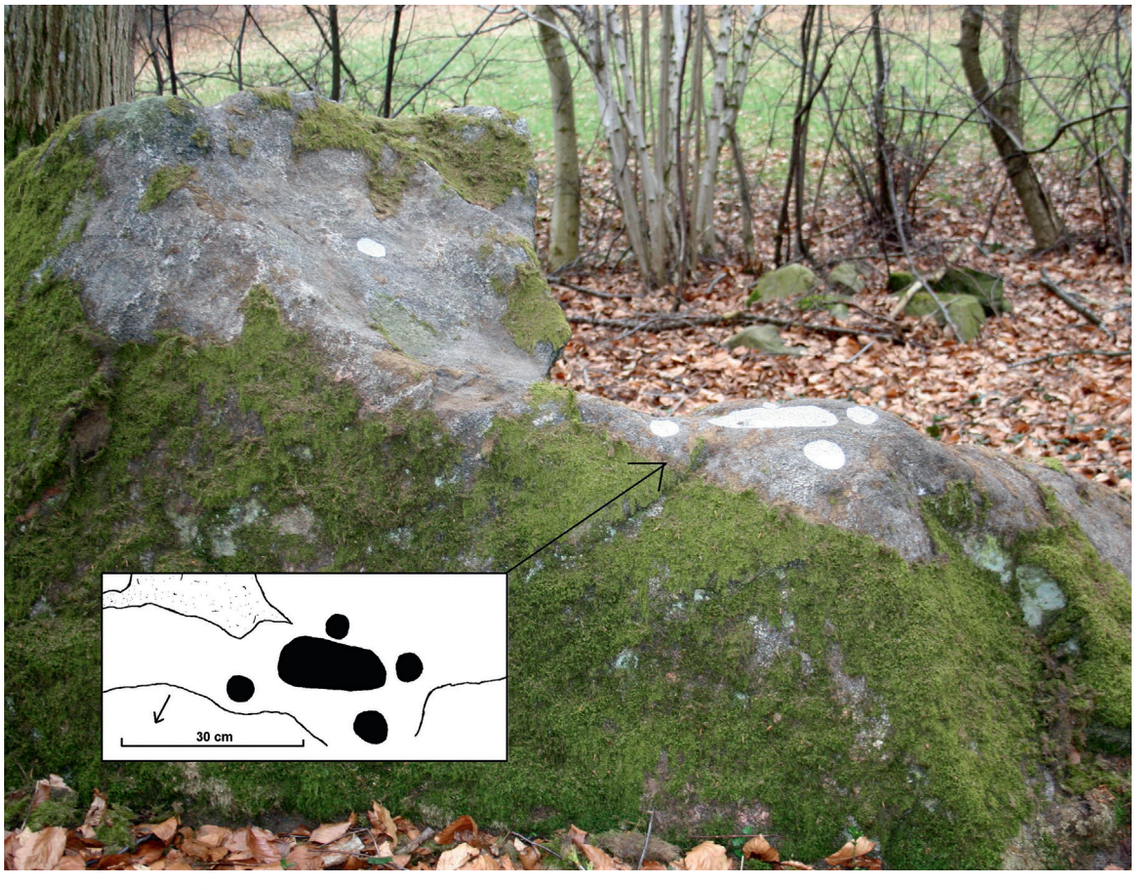


Fig. 151. Hov RAÄ 293 from Ängalag. A single footprint surrounded by cupmarks. Photo Jenny Nord 2006, drawing by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam.

Table 36. *Details of the footprints in Bjäre.*

Area	Number	Description	European sizes	UK sizes
Drottninghall	22 (3 pairs)	14–32 cm long, 6–10 cm wide, 1 sole has 3 toes. One pair is framed and marked with a cupmark.	Pairs from 35–39, the rest from 26–48!	Pairs from 2.5–6, the rest from toddler size 8 –adult size 12.5
Holmen	20 (7 pairs)	15–26 cm long, 5–10 cm wide, one pair has a cupmark in between the feet and is connected with a groove.	Pairs from 34–41, the rest from 26.5–41.	Pairs vary from 2–7.5, the rest from toddler size 8.5–adult size 7.5.
Hovs Hallar **and Hovs Hallar/ Segeltorp**	14 (1 pair)	The pair is 26–29 cm long and 7–8 cm wide with a cupmark in between the feet. The rest are 14–28 cm long, 5–10 cm wide.	The pair is 41–45, the rest from 26–44.	The pairs is 7.5–10.5, the rest from toddler size 8 – adult size 9.5
Ängalag	15 (1 pair)	11 – 23 cm long, 5 – 9 cm wide. The pair has both a cupmark and a shallow surface in between the feet.	The pair has size 32, the rest from 19–38.	The pair have toddler size 13.5. The rest from toddler size 3 to adult size 5.
Faritslöv	5	15 – 21 cm long, 5 – 9 cm wide. One has a cupmark in the heel.	26.5–34	Toddler size 9 to adult size 1.5–2.
Svenstad	5	14 – 18 cm long, 5 – 7 cm wide.	26–30	Toddler size 8–11.5
Vasalt	13 (4 pairs)	20 – 27 cm long, 7 – 11 cm wide. Four feet have cupmarks in the heel and one also in the toe.	Two pairs have size 35, the other 38 and 41. The rest from 32–42.5.	Two pairs have size 2.5, the other 5 and 7.5. The rest from toddler size 13.5 to adult size 8.5
Stora Nötte	6	14 – 19 cm long, 5 – 9 cm wide. Two of them appear to be walking	26–31	Toddler size 8–12.5
Lingården	1	15 × 7 cm	26.5	Toddler size 8
Troentorp	3	15 – 20 cm long, 6 – 11 cm wide. One has a cross-strap.	26.5–32	Toddler size 8–13.5
Mäsinge	2	21 × 7–8 cm, connected with cupmarks through grooves and appear to be walking	34	1.5–2
Utmarksvägen	1	21 × 6 cm	34	1.5–2
Segelstorp	1	13 × 5 cm	24	Toddler size 7

Footprints differ in character in different parts of Sweden; in some places they look more like shoe-prints than footprints, for example in the Norrköping area (Hauptman Wahlgren 2002:73ff), in other areas they look more like wet footprints, with or without toes, and sometimes these two forms occur together, as at Järrestad (Coles 1999). Skoglund argues that the two types of footprints had slightly different meanings and uses (Skoglund 2006:22). All the footprints in Bjäre are fully hammered-out images which appear to be naked and they are rather naturalistically made. Some of them have a cupmark in the heel. One footprint has a cross-strap which is left like a more shallow line between the heel and the upper area of the foot (*Troentorp*, Hov RAÄ 92, see fig. 123). Even though all other footprints appear to represent naked feet, there is only one that has toes, and then only three toes (*Drottninghall*, Västra Karup RAÄ 69–70, see fig. 85). The rest look more like wet feet in socks.

There are altogether 108 known footprints, 32 of which occur in pairs standing still (16 pairs), which means that 30% of the footprints are in pairs while the others are alone. However, there are two sites where two footprints are connected with each other in such a way that they seem to belong together even though they are not paired. Instead they are possibly walking (Grevie RAÄ 230 and Västra Karup RAÄ 20, see figs. 81 and 139). Both are connected with other attributes which might have defined this movement; the footprints at Västra Karup are connected with cupmarks with small grooves in an identical way (see also below), while the footprints at Grevie are standing in one natural crack each. The remaining 67 footprints occur in a way that seems to represent a single foot. Their sizes vary from only 11 cm, which is shoe-size 19 (UK infant size of 3.5) that would fit a one-year-old child, to the huge foot of 32 cm which would represent shoe-size 48 (UK size 12.5). However, the smallest and largest sizes are all from single footprints which might represent symbolic feet where the sizes perhaps were not important. In contrast, all paired footprints have sizes which vary from 32 to 42 (UK toddler size 13 to adult size 8), there is one exception in which one of the feet has size 45 (UK size 10.5) and the other 41 (UK size 7.5). It has been remarked that the sizes of footprints mainly correspond to young people and/or women (Hauptman Wahlgren 2002:73; Skoglund 2005:219f). This is not completely true for the Bjäre material, where several pairs are larger than 41 and thus might also represent male feet.

Skoglund has argued that the footprints actually represent young people who have been introduced or initiated to a myth or a ritual and thus represent a real person that was once standing on the very rock (Skoglund 2005:211ff, 2006:20). I agree with this interpretation that the footprints represent real people's participations in rituals. However, the varied sizes in the Bjäre material suggest that not only young people or women were part of the rituals that took place in connection with the footprints, but adults and men might have been present too.

There is at least one pair of footprints in Bjäre that has a special trait in being ergonomically made; they are not only naturalistically carved but also comfortable to stand in – if you are the right size of course. This trait concerns the framed feet in Drottninghall (Västra Karup RAÄ 69, see book cover). There are probably more examples of this but I have not been able yet to try them on people with the right size.

In the research there seem to be four main interpretations of the footprints:

- That they show the presence of a god (Almgren 1962)
- That they are symbols of fertility or protection (Althin 1945; Marstrander 1963:223ff) or personal presence and identification (Kjellén & Hyenstrand 1977:70).
- That they are symbolic prints showing directions, for example like helpful charms for the dead to find their way in the afterlife (Bradley 1999) or the direction of the sunrise (König 2005).
- That they are prints representing real people (Malmer 1989:24; Coles 1999:186, Hauptman Wahlgren 2002:223ff; Skoglund 2005:211ff, 2006:20).

In my opinion the footprints can comprise several meanings; they can represent real people in a ritual, but many individuals can of course share the same footprints on different occasions. As these rituals will create a social memory (Connerton 1989; Bradley 2002:12f) the footprints will automatically also become symbolic prints of people and of these occasions. Most certainly, and probably in their first initial use, they are symbols of the presence of a higher being. The one who was standing in the feet could for a moment become this 'god' whom the feet represent, or could retrieve some

divine attributes (knowledge, for example). I find it very plausible that people really were standing in these footprints as they even are made to fit the feet and are comfortable to stand in. The latter aspect is true at least when it comes to the framed pair at Drottninghall, according to those who are the right size and have stood in them. Since the sizes vary from children's sizes to adult male sizes, these rituals seem to have been performed through the whole life-course and may comprise many different rituals (cf. Hauptman Wahlgren 2002:223ff and Skoglund 2005:211ff, 2006:20). Coles points out that they come in many sizes and thus represent the presence of both children and adults in the rituals (Coles 1999:175).

I think it is necessary to distinguish between footprints in pairs and single footprints since they must have represented different meanings and uses. The Bjäre footprints that comes in pairs have sizes between 32 and 42 (UK toddler size 13 to adult size 8); the large pair which has different sizes on the right and left foot is not included (see above). Some of the pairs have a cupmark in between the feet which further might signal a special role in the rituals (see above), and interestingly enough these only occur in one example on the sites where they are represented. The single footprints have a wider range of size, and they are generally not so naturalistic in their appearance and might possibly represent a more symbolic idea of the footprint rather than having been used actively in a ritual. These footprints may be symbolic signs of a presence or protection. Of course, as Hauptman suggested, standing on one leg in a ritual might have been possible but I find it less plausible (Hauptman Wahlgren 2002:226).

There have been many ideas about the directions of footprints; on many occasions it has been noticed that they face downhill (Bradley 1999; Coles 1999), Bradley suggests that, at least in the cases where they seem to be walking, they represent footprints of the dead, or rather that they were guiding the dead the right way from the burial to the afterlife. Others point out that they run opposite other figures on the panels (often ships), crossing their pattern of movement (Bradley 1999; Hauptman Wahlgren 2002:223ff). Both Hauptman Wahlgren and Skoglund connect them with the circle figure and thereby also with the sun-myth symbolism (Hauptman Wahlgren 2002:223ff; Skoglund 2005:220f). König has suggested that they are directed towards the sunrise (König 2005). In this work I have noted the directions of the footprints in connection with the sun's movements and with the local landscape. There seem to be some connections but it is also very fuzzy and I will not go into the details of it. However, there are some tendencies in the material which can be presented; the single footprints seem to have a greater freedom in the directions they can face than the pairs, which show less variation. Furthermore, the directions, at least to some extent, seem to vary with the local landscape as well as with added attributes such as cupmarks. For example, at Hovs Hallar the preferred direction is eastwards. Another example concerns the paired footprints where those with a cupmark in between the feet, as well as the two 'walking' pairs (see below), are directed northwest or northeast. Most of the footprints, both pairs and single ones, however point southeast. On the sites where there is a pair of footprints with a cupmark in between and this is combined with other footprints (Ängalag, Hov RAÄ 7, Holmen, Västra Karup RAÄ 66 and Drottninghall, Västra Karup RAÄ 69, 70), these others are often pointing in other directions.

On two occasions the footprints appear to be walking, otherwise they seem to be still. In both cases the footprints are connected with similar features and they thus resemble each other strongly and their internal connection seems clear, even though they are not clearly paired. One site is found in the area of Vasalt-Mäsinge (Västra Karup RAÄ 20). The footprints here are connected through grooves with cupmarks and they are moving north-northwest. This direction leads inland; actually they point to the direction of the central site of Lingården. The footprints are moving down from the rock; furthermore there is a cluster of graves just west of the site and following the argument of Bradley (1999) the footprints would lead to the sea in order to help the dead on their way to the afterlife. But these footprints are moving in the landscape with the sea on one side and the graves on the other, and thus they cannot fit into this interpretation. The other site with moving footprints is found at the very top of the peninsula on the Hallandsåsen ridge at Stora Nötte (Grevie RAÄ 230). Here the footprints are standing in two natural cracks of the rock facing northeast and thus the other side of the valley of Sinarp. The footprints are walking down the rock towards the steep-sided valley, but again there are no graves which they lead from or to, although there is a cluster of mounds southwest of the site. Perhaps these walking footprints are actually showing people how to move in the landscape, like a road sign?

Hauptman Wahlgren has suggested a dating to the late Bronze Age for the footprints, since they seem to cross earlier figures and because they rarely are connected with figurative motifs that have an early dating (Hauptman Wahlgren 2002:240). When it comes to the Bjäre footprints, which are also of a different type from the more shoe-like contour-engraved footprints that she has mainly worked with, I cannot see anything to suggest that they have a late dating. They occur on the central sites which are thought to have a long period of use, they occur as central figures on these panels and they do not seem to cross any compositions or figures. Further, they are especially abundant on the site of Holmen, which was partly covered and probably abandoned during the late Bronze Age.

Connecting grooves

Grooves are not often thoroughly discussed in studies of rock-carvings. Most often these works focus instead on other figures that are considered 'real' or more important, and the grooves sometimes connecting them have not attracted any special interest. The grooves help to provide meaning to the compositions and therefore should be considered as important features of the rock-carvings.

There are different types of grooves in Bjäre. Some are large, deep and wide and create patterns together with other grooves, and these do not connect other figures. This is especially apparent on the sites of Holmen (Västra Karup RAÄ 66, see figs. 91 and 152), Drottninghall (Västra Karup RAÄ 69, 70, see fig. 85) Troentorp, Hov RAÄ 92 (see fig. 123) and Hovs Hallar (Hov RAÄ 130, see fig. 117), where individual panels are filled with grooves arranged in patterns. Holmen has a very special composition made up of an arrangement of grooves; these are however rather thin and not so deep. On most of the larger sites and also on many smaller ones the groove is a common figure connecting other features and seemingly making order among them, possibly helping to understand the composition and how it should be 'read'. One example is the Båstad rock-carving (Båstad RAÄ 5), which is a boulder filled with cupmarks, grooves and a circle embracing one cupmark. If we imagine the composition without the grooves (see fig. 153) it would have a completely different appearance than with them. It seems as if the grooves establish order among the cupmarks and thus create a meaning in the abstract composition. The same can be seen at Svenstad, where a large deep cupmark is connected with smaller cupmarks through grooves (see figs. 98 and 99). The composition that the grooves help to create is understandable since it suggests an active use and do not only create a picture. If filled with, for example, water the smaller cupmarks will feed the larger ones, and in this way the large one will be the sum of all the small ones: the whole. Without the connecting grooves this figure and its very special symbolism would not exist. Another good example is one site from Kvinnaböske in the parish of Grevie (Grevie RAÄ 343, see fig. 154) which is also given its character thanks to the connecting grooves that create patterns among the cupmarks, which certainly carried meaning when they were in use.

On other occasions the grooves seem to emphasise a certain trait of an individual carving. This is seen, for example, at Västra Karup RAÄ 20, where two footprints are similarly connected with cupmarks with the aid of short grooves. Close to this composition there are four cupmarks in a row which also are connected with grooves. These two footprints are the only pair in Bjäre that seem to be moving along the surface of the rock. The connected cupmarks might say something about this movement. On the site of Holmen (Västra Karup RAÄ 66, see fig. 91) one pair of footprints are connected with each other through a groove. This pair also has a cupmark between the feet.

Grooves thus seem to be an active ingredient of the rock-carvings; they bring movement, life and meaning to stiff compositions when they are combined and connected with other figures. Exactly what they want to tell us is hard to grasp, but their presence changes the picture and also changes or emphasises their meanings. It is impossible to say whether the compositions initially were planned with the grooves, or if perhaps they were added later to emphasise or change a particular meaning. On several sites cupmarks are connected with one another through grooves, most often making pairs, but sometimes making longer rows. There is however a peculiar composition which can be seen on a few sites where grooves connect cupmarks in such a way that they more or less create an 'M'-shaped figure. In one case (Västra Karup RAÄ 143, see fig. 130) the figure ends in a natural crack, but in the other two cases the composition forms the full 'M' (Svenstad, Västra Karup RAÄ

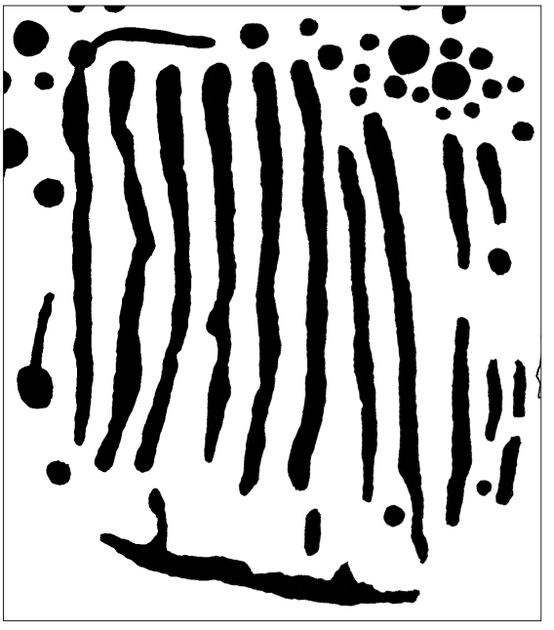


Fig. 152. *Detail of Holmen, Västra Karup RAÄ 66. Drawing by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam.*

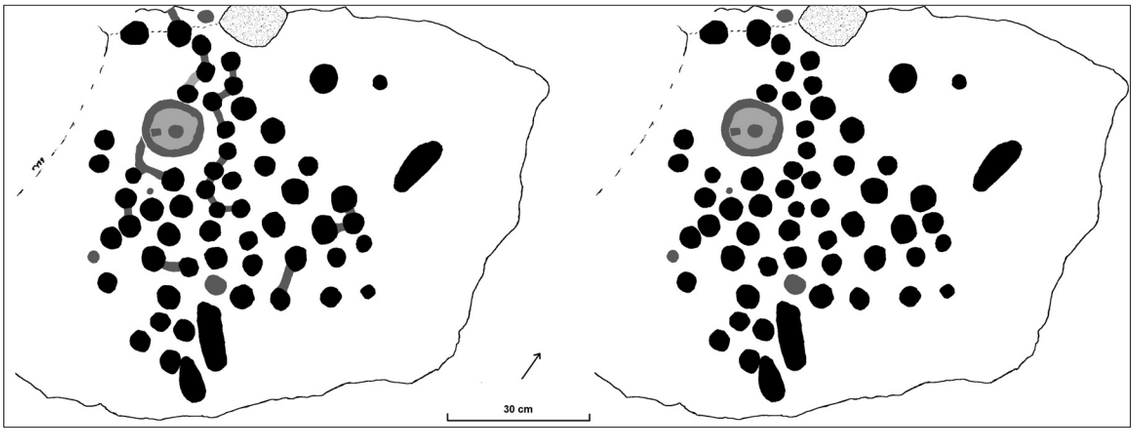


Fig. 153. *Båstad RAÄ 5 with and without grooves. Drawing by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam.*

Fig. 154 *Grevie RAÄ 343 with and without grooves. Drawing by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam.*

536, see fig. 96 and Faritslöv, Västra Karup RAÄ 193:1, see fig. 155). Most cupmarks that are connected with grooves paired two by two, but this 'M' composition give a different impression and seems to carry an active meaning in the ritual. There are also two cases where grooves connect four cupmarks in a square, forming a four-wheeled wagon-like feature (Vasalt, Grevie RAÄ 207 and Kvinnaböske, Grevie RAÄ 343). It thus seems as if grooves are an important way to give life and meaning to otherwise abstract motifs. For us they are hard to understand, but in the past uses they might have been helpful in the rituals and for interpreting the symbols. Therefore they should not be underestimated in research on rock-carvings.

Other motifs

One feature that recurs on some of the Bjäre sites is the triangular form. Most often it is made of three cupmarks forming a triangle, but in the case of Drottninghall it is emphasised by a hollow surface which forms a triangle resembling a triquetra symbol (see fig. 86). On two other occasions a triangular cupmark composition accompanies other features (see Lingården, Hov RAÄ 175, see fig. 105) where it comes together with a footprint and nicely curved grooves, or at Hovs Hallar (Hovs Hallar, Hov 291, see fig. 156) where it lies next to a circle figure. Perhaps these symbols have to do with the tripartite cosmological order that has been suggested to have existed during this period (Fredell 2003:277).

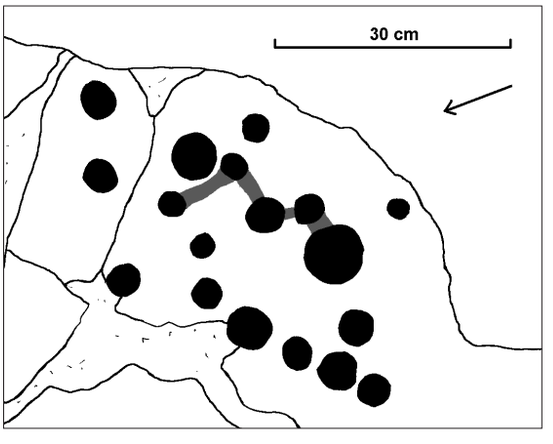


Fig. 155. *Faritslöv, Västra Karup RAÄ 193:1. Drawing by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam.*

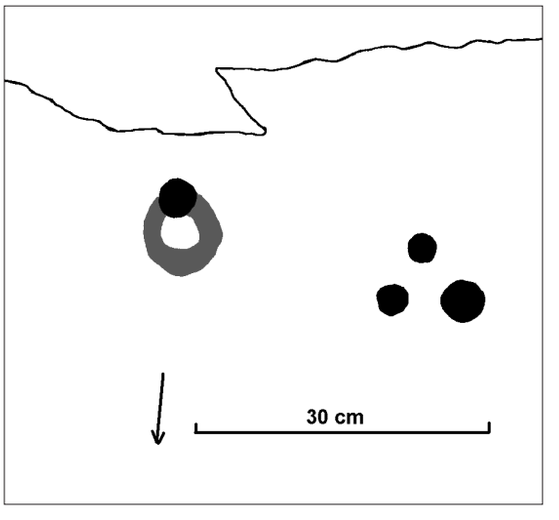


Fig. 156. *Detail of Hov RAÄ 291. Drawing by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam.*

Fig. 157. *Detail of Västra Karup RAÄ 241 (see fig. 135). Drawing by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam.*

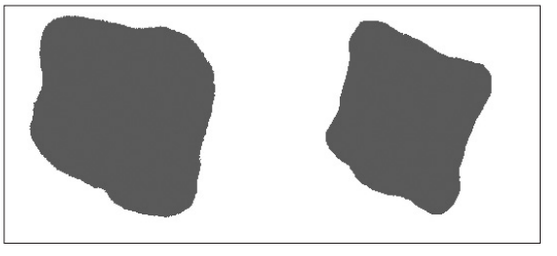


Fig. 158. *Two very similar shallow surfaces from Vasalt, Grevie RAÄ 398 and Segelstorp, Grevie RAÄ 280. Drawing by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam.*

On the site of Västra Karup RAÄ 241 in Sinarp there is a carved figure which does not have any counterpart in the rest of the Bjäre material (see fig. 157). However, it resembles the 'ambivalent footprint-circle' figure discussed by Hauptman Wahlgren (2002:75f).

Shallow surfaces have been mentioned now and then in this work. They occur rather frequently and often they form a square or rectangle (see for example Segelstorp, Grevie RAÄ 280 and Vasalt, Grevie RAÄ 398). In other cases they connect figures such as cupmarks or paired footprints (see Ängalag, Hov RAÄ 7 and Drottninghall, Västra Karup RAÄ 70).

Another feature that is recurs rather often is the two long figures that make up a row, mainly a combination of oval cupmarks, footprints or grooves. They are situated after each other and make a long 'line' on the surface of the rock. They can occur both alone on small rocks or on larger sites together with other figures, and they always occupy an edge-like high position of the rock (see Drottninghall, Västra Karup RAÄ 70, Flatakull, Västra Karup RAÄ 13 (see fig. 159), Hovs Hallar, Hov RAÄ 128, Ängalag, Hov RAÄ 298).

At several places, often isolated or small sites, there are disc-shaped, large but rather shallow cupmarks, similar to shallow surfaces but always round, 13–20 cm in diameter and 2–3 cm deep. I believe these are cupmarks but they focus on one of the many aspects that the cupmark symbol was charged with, perhaps the sun and life symbolism.

These motifs, along with the other motifs that have been singled out and discussed above, all seem to carry a special meaning that most certainly was well known and used in the past rituals on these sites. They might have helped to explain or emphasise the abstract compositions that dominate on the Bjäre peninsula. Of course, cupmarks dominate among the motifs in Bjäre and they also show great variation; they are not just uniform small cups on the rocks.

Cupmarks versus figurative rock-carvings

The larger and perhaps more 'ceremonial' sites in Bjäre on which this work has focused are, interestingly enough, very different in character from place to place. The results of the recent fieldwork have shown that figurative rock-carvings are more common than was previously expected, although they are still scarce in comparison with the number of cupmarks. The figurative motifs consist of ships, footprints, circle figures, horse-hoofs, fishing hooks, wheel-crosses and cross figures, as well as unknown figures. They always occur together with cupmarks and often seem to belong to the same composition suggesting that they are of the same age, or at least they belong to the same *project* (see Barrett 1994:13). The large sites, where most of the figurative motifs are found, are located at rather even distances in the landscape and often occupy high locations, while smaller

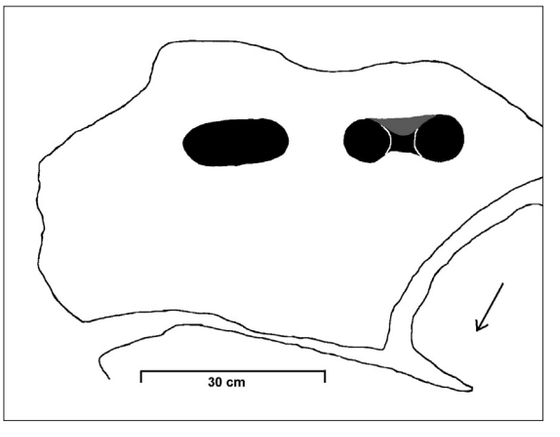


Fig. 159. *Two long figures from Flatakull, Västra Karup RAÄ 13:1. Drawing by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam.*

sites with only cupmarks are more densely spread and occur most frequently in the southwestern lowland. Similar patterns between figurative rock-carvings and cupmarks have been noted in other areas (Hauptman Wahlgren 2002; Bengtsson 2004) and thus the significance of both sites must be valid on their own. Furthermore, sites with only cupmarks occur in areas where figurative rock-carvings are lacking (Bengtsson 2004:61). Often cupmarks co-exist with occasional footprints and circle motifs (Skoglund 2005:220). When cupmarks appear on their own the carvers were often not so 'picky' but could choose different sort of rocks and sites, while the figurative rock-carvings need slanting, flat rock surfaces to a greater extent (Hauptman Wahlgren 2002:50). This means that figurative rock-carvings and cupmarks (with occasional footprints) are not necessarily dependent on each other in order to be understood, although the both types of rock-carvings surely share some basic ideas. The cupmarks are sometimes seen as symbols that were used for everyday purposes close to people's everyday activities, which might be one reason why they have different landscape locations from the more 'ceremonial' figurative rock-carving sites (see for example Selinge 1985:100, 116; Ullén 1997:458; Hauptman Wahlgren 2002:51).

I previously raised the question whether it is possible to treat the figurative rock-carvings and the cupmarks similarly. In my work I have decided to do so and to primarily focus on them as chosen places in the landscape. However, there are some characteristics that cupmark sites and figurative rock-carving sites do have in common and others that differ between them (see table 37), which I will discuss further.

Table 37. *A general comparison between the rock-carvings of Bjäre and the more figurative rock-carving traditions in other areas, mainly the west coast.*

Issue	Bjäre	Figurative rock-carvings
Cupmarks	Deep, carvers not so picky about the choice of rocks	Shallow, occurs on nicely often slanting rock sides as well as on less picky sites
Footprints	Fully carved	Fully carved and outlined
Circle motifs	Occur	Occur
Hand motifs (Denmark)	Lacking	Occur (connection with Denmark)
Ships	Boulders and outcrops (connection with both Denmark and west coast)	Rocks
Water connection	Sometimes	Common
Exposure	Landscape-dominating locations	Slanting positions
View	Top view; viewers often look down on them	Side view; viewers are often at eye-level with them
The locations of the carvings on the rock	Top position mainly	Slanting positions mainly
Display	Abstract – theatre plays	Figurative – storytelling

Figurative rock-carvings and cupmarks do occur together, but these cupmarks often seem to be slightly smaller and shallower, being made in the same way as the rock-carvings (see above under 'Chronological assumptions' and Bengtsson 2004:62ff). Sometimes they seem to be marked circles rather than cups, indicating a form rather than an action, being a picture rather than a practical vessel. In both cases they can be parts of compositions, for example between footprints or constitute details of figures, occur in lines, construct frames etc.

On sites with figurative rock-carvings it has been noted that the footprints are walking across the surface, and this has been interpreted, for example, as a means to show the deceased the right way to the afterworld (Bradley 1999). However, footprints in pairs also occur. In the Norrköping area in central Sweden it has likewise been noticed that feet often seem to indicate movement across the rock (Hauptman Wahlgren 2002:73; Fredell 2003:97). In Bjäre very few walking footprints can

be seen; often they stand in pairs on the very top of the rock, sometimes they are isolated and only in two cases are they positioned as if they were showing movement (see earlier). It could be that the footprints in figurative rock-carving contexts to a higher extent indicate movement. However, besides the obvious fact that they are symbols of feet, they might also be indicating a direction, possibly in connection with the sun's movements. It should not be ruled out, though, that the direction can be intended for people's everyday movements in the landscape as well.

The figurative rock-carving tradition seems at least partly to be about storytelling through illustrations or pictures (Fredell 2002, 2003:255, 262). The figurative rock-carvings show pictures of ships, people, animals, objects and also more complex scenes. Sometimes it looks like storytelling, perhaps cosmological stories or stories from real life, maybe both. In the more abstract tradition in Bjäre this is more or less absent; even most of the figurative motifs that exist are rather abstract; perhaps they mark important places where the stories took on a different form – as 'plays' or stories being told.

Another aspect that might point in the same direction is the fact that the figurative rock-carvings generally are found on slanting rocks formed by the ice sheets of the Ice Age and are often associated with water, either crossing the surface or close to the former seashore – or both (Bolin 1999:145ff; Goldhahn 2002; Ling 2008). Some sites are located in a way that one can easily imagine an audience, possibly in boats, as the carvings are easily visible from the side, because of the slanting rocks. Sometimes it seems as if one is led around different panels (see Fredell's case studies for examples; Fredell 2003:chapter 4) which may be parts of the same stories, or fragments that can be combined into different stories depending on the route around them that one follows. The rock-carving sites in Bjäre can sometimes have similar aspects, as different panels or compositions can be filled with different types of carvings, which perhaps should be understood from different perspectives, but the scale is much smaller (see also Skoglund 2005:213f).

A typical trait of the larger rock-carving sites of Bjäre is that they are like 'altars' situated on the top of large rocks or boulders with a view; this could allow a large audience to join the rituals or other events that took place here. *But* the audience (if large) would *not* be able to see the carvings themselves, as they to a higher extent would on the west coast, only the rituals performed (both the making of the engravings and other rituals connected with them). A parallel to this could be found on Bornholm where recent excavations have suggested the existence of stages in connection with rock-carvings where performances could have been staged (Kaul 2005b). Both bronze figures and some of the figurative rock-carvings show acrobatic performances which could also have been a part of these (and/or other) rituals that took place on these sites.

Looking at these two different rock-carving traditions in this way may suggest the following: that the figurative rock-carvings in other areas and the more abstract rock-carvings of Bjäre were created for slightly different needs and purposes – or possibly through their fulfilment they helped to create slightly different needs and purposes, but within the same cultural and cosmological context. So while the figurative rock-carving tradition created pictures with a storytelling function, the more 'simple' but abstract rock-carving tradition of Bjäre staged a more performative kind of storytelling. And while the landscape context of the figurative rock-carvings seems to be 'magical' meeting points between different cosmological landscape zones – land, water and the 'other side' (Coles 1999; Bradley 2006 and earlier) – most of the larger rock-carving sites of Bjäre are more like the contemporary mortuary monuments, being prominently situated in the landscape. This location gives them a different cosmological meeting point with the focus on the sky and the land. Following this argument it may also be argued that the rock-carving sites of Bjäre constitute places with stillness, while the rock-carvings of the west coast enshrine movements both in the way they tell the stories and with their close connection with the sea (Nord 2006a).

So how should we understand these two different contexts? Maybe the figurative rock-carvings have to do with movements, with passages, maybe with the 'rites de passage' that occur through life and death. These are ritually told and retold through the pictures and the way the pictures can be put in different compositions depending on the path you follow. Maybe the rock-carving sites of Bjäre have to do with the same ceremonies but functioned more as places for communication between the worlds (hierophanies). Perhaps the stories in these cases were told and retold as acts on the sites,

rather than through different pictured compositions that one passed in a ritual. In this way both the figurative rock-carvings and the rock-carving sites of Bjäre are parts of the same cosmological world but they play different roles in the rituals. The carvings of Bjäre, being more abstract, to a greater extent needed to be interpreted for the audience by someone with the knowledge. They did not speak so much for themselves.

Rock-carvings versus water and fire

Figurative rock-carvings are often connected with the running water that flows over the surface of the rock for a period after it has rained (Bengtsson 2004:35f). Recently, however, a more general connection between wetland and rock-carvings has been noted as well (Hauptman Wahlgren 2002:41ff; Bengtsson 2004:51ff). The connection concerns mainly proximity to freshwater: bogs and wet areas, but also springs and pools (Coles 1999:172). In Bjäre, where many of the rock-carving sites occur at dominant places in the landscape, there is no general proximity to wetlands, but there are some places where the wetland connection is very clear. Some of the central rock-carving sites – Lingården, Svenstad and Ängalag – are closely connected to wetlands. This is especially clear at Lingården, where the site is actually in the middle of a large wetland. Svenstad, which is in a rather dominant location, used to overlook a wetland. These sites also represent two of those with the greatest variation in figures.

At Ängalag most rock-carvings are located on a hill, some on the fringes of the hill which is partly surrounded by a stream and a wetland, the same one that surrounds Lingården not so far away. Another rock-carving site, Västra Karup RAÄ 269, located some 2000 metres to west-southwest of Lingården in the Påarp area, is also surrounded by a wetland on three sides, but it is more than 100–150 metres to the wetland from the site, which is not very close. The distance at Lingården is only around 30 metres. The wetland connection, whatever the distance, is nevertheless interesting for two reasons: the site is really surrounded in a similar way to the Lingården site, and this is also the very bog, *Barna Mosse*, where a single bronze lure was found in the early 1920s (Västra Karup RAÄ 188, SHM 10775), which makes the place rather interesting. The lure dates from period III or IV (Oldeberg 1974-1976:no. 911) and it can thus date the 'ritual' use of this area to this period, although it was surely used in this sense both before and after. The lure has been redated by the Museum of National Antiquities (SHM) to period V but I have used the earlier dating in this work. Most probably the exact date of the lure is not very important for the use of this site since flint tools have also been found according to the RAÄ Register and thus suggest a long term ritual use of the bog.

A few places in Bjäre are located just by a pool, probably formed by a natural spring (Flatakull, Västra Karup RAÄ 14, 15, 16, 17 and 358, and Mäsinge, Västra Karup RAÄ 1, see fig. 77). Both these sites are located on the western lowland rather close to the sea. These pools are just a few metres across but are located right by the site in a way similar to what Coles noted in Järrestad (Coles 1999:172). There are also some sites which seem connected with streams, for example Västra Karup RAÄ 19, which is located just where the stream curves towards the sea, and Västra Karup RAÄ 143, although this might have been moved from its original place. In one case there are two large sites located rather close to each other but on one side each of a stream (Kvinnaböske, Grevie RAÄ 343 and 180). The two large sites of Drottninghall (Västra Karup 69 and 70) and Holmen (Västra Karup RAÄ 66) are also located rather close to running water, although this does not seem to be the main reason for the location, which is attributed to the landscape dominance and the view. However, both aspects surely contributed to the original choice of the sites. The Segelstorp sites (Grevie RAÄ 279, 280 and 287) are also located close to the source of a stream.

Rock-carvings are not found close to the sea in Bjäre. Further, the pollen analyses from Bjäre led to the conclusion that one of the peculiar things about Bjäre is that it is a coastal area which has inland characteristics (see Chapter 2). Perhaps this should be considered as we think of the few representations of ships in this area. Of course there might be other reasons which have to do with deliberate choices and cosmological control as well, but the landscape itself might also have something to say. The lack of a direct connection with the sea for the Bjäre rock-carvings is offset by the fact that, just

as with the mortuary monuments, many of the chosen locations for rock-carvings are on dominant spots with a view of the sea. However, this is not the case at Lingården (Hov RAÄ 175), where two of the three Bjäre ships are found (see viewshed fig. 104) which is indeed peculiar. Along the southern coastline some rock-carving sites are spatially more closely associated with the actual seashore

Fig. 160. *The lure from Barna Mosse, inv.nr. 10775 © Statens historiska museum.*

Fig. 161. *Detail from the lure, inv.nr. 10775 © Statens historiska museum.*

(Vasalt, Grevie RAÄ 207 and Mäsinge, Västra Karup RAÄ 19). The latter is also located directly by a bending river (see above). Some of the Hovs Hallar sites are also closely connected with the sea and perhaps also the sites in Segelstorp where the viewshed clearly points to the sea (see fig. 141).

Above I have mainly been concerned with the larger sites, but there are also some connections with water and small sites. Just as with the large sites, only a small percentage of them can be said to have a truly close connection. Generally, but not only, it seems as if the issue of the view was of greater importance for locations. However, for the sites that do show a close connection with wetlands or with water, the view was not important, as in the case of Lingården.

Fire is another issue which has recently been thoroughly discussed in connection with rock-carvings (Hauptman Wahlgren 2002:144ff; Bengtsson 2004; Goldhahn 2007). One topic has concerned whether fire damage to the rock surface is a part of the original use of the sites or if it is of later origin. Bengtsson argues in his work that the fire damage belongs to the Bronze Age use of these places (Bengtsson 2004:41). There are cases when it has been possible to date the fire damage to the Bronze Age; one of these places is Hjortekrog in eastern Småland. Here a cairn was excavated and dated to period IV of the Bronze Age (Widholm 1998:71ff). The cairn, however, covered a rock surface with 18 carved ships which according to Kaul's chronology, can be dated to period III (Kaul 1998:88). In Bjäre fire damage has been noticed at only a few places. The central site of Lingården, which also is surrounded by wetland, is rather severely damaged by fire (see fig. 106). Very interesting in this case is whether this fire activity might have something to do with extracting slabs from the rock. Several small slabs that obviously have been part of the outcrop were found on the site and parts of the rock's surface show traces of being quarried for slabs (see fig. 107). The site is remote, lying rather low in the landscape in a sort of hollow where it looks up to the surrounding areas where several mounds are visible along the horizon, although today's vegetation cover obstructs most sightlines (see fig. 104); most large rock-carving sites in Bjäre, in contrast, seem to overlook areas. Further, it has a composition which includes ships, a symbol that is often connected with the dead. Therefore it is interesting to think that this site, having a strong cosmological power, was used for making slabs for burial cists.

On a few sites burnt flint was found during the documentation work, but in these cases no fire-damage to the rock surface could be seen (Hovs Hallar, Hov RAÄ 130, Svenstad, Västra Karup RAÄ 536). This nevertheless hints at fire activities on the site, just like the heap of fire-cracked stones at the site of Holmen. In the find material from both Holmen and Drottninghall there are also pieces of burnt flint.

Concluding discussion: the rock-carvings

The rock-carving designs of Bjäre are often difficult to interpret; even the figurative rock-carvings are rather abstract. Even so, many of them seem to tell stories, stories that are dependent both on the landscape context and on an interpreter to be understood. The landscape has been used wisely to give extra communicative aspects of many sites, and this is of course also true when it comes to the burials.

Looking at the topography of Bjäre, the rock-carving sites can be divided accordingly;

- the rock-carvings on the lower coastal plain (Segelstorp, Vasalt, Mäsinge, Hovs Hallar)
- the rock-carvings on the western lower and undulating area (Utflyttarvägen, Bröddarp, Faritslöv, Påarp, Ängalag, Lingården, Tofta Högar)
- the rock-carvings on the ridge (Kvinnaböske, St Nötte, Sinarp, Båstad, Drottninghall, Holmen, Svenstad, Troentorp)

This division is of course very coarse but it might be connected with the different cosmological spheres that were discussed earlier in this chapter: the upper sphere (the sky/sun), the middle sphere (the land) and the lower sphere (the water /death). But looking at the sites and their motifs, it is not so easy to make them understandable according to this division. Instead a recurring experience from trying to interpret the sites has been that every single site needs to be understood in terms of

its special context and content. I have discussed them above according to a number of themes that have emerged as I have studied them, for example, their size, connection with death, cosmological issues, fire activities, water connection and the meaning of certain motifs.

The central motif in the Bjäre material is the cupmark. But the cupmarks in Bjäre come in many different forms and can be understood in many different ways as well. They are combined in compositions, with different sizes and shapes and connected with grooves, as if showing how to interpret them. Sometimes there are figurative motifs among the cupmarks which most often give the impression of being a local interpretation of a motif, for example the coarsely made axe in Vasalt (Grevie RAÄ 210), or a cosmological idea, like the large cupmark composition in Svenstad or even a ritual scene like the cult-house scenario that was also found at Svenstad (Västra Karup RAÄ 536). There are however examples of motifs that do have connections in other areas, and this is true for the ship carvings that are connected with both the west coast area of Tanum and Danish material (Lingården, Hov RAÄ 175 and Bröddarp, Västra Karup RAÄ 152). There are also the footprints which occur in a similar way in many other rock-carving areas. However, the rock-carvings of Bjäre are abstract even when they show figurative traits and I have proposed that they needed to be interpreted, perhaps as a play, during the ceremonies. They differ from many figurative rock-carvings in that they are not easy to see for a big audience and they are generally not so widespread on large side panels as, for example, in the Tanum area. In Bjäre the message would be more efficiently conveyed if someone told or showed it. This situation has in fact become very obvious when giving guided tours in the Bjäre area.

The dating of the rock-carvings is a complex matter. Certain motifs can be dated, such as the ships. These are dated to period III–IV and one is later, possibly even from the Iron Age. In two cases, *Holmen* (Västra Karup RAÄ 66) and *Krogstorp* (Grevie RAÄ 132), rock-carvings were covered already during the Bronze Age and can thus be dated. The boulder in *Krogstorp* which was filled with cupmarks was covered in period III by a burial and *Holmen* was covered partly by a burnt mound from the late Bronze Age. This means that the rock-carving sites in Bjäre were actively in use at least in the middle Bronze Age and most probably before that – as well as later. And this seems to be true for both the cupmarks and the figurative motifs, although there is a possibility that the smaller cupmark sites on the western lowland actually are later and have slightly different purposes, similar to what has been noticed in other areas (Hauptman Wahlgren 2002; Bengtsson 2004). I will discuss this further in the next chapter.

One big outcome of the vast work with the rock-carvings in Bjäre is that it has become clear that there is a great plurality among the different sites on the peninsula. They seem to have been used for partly different purposes. Some appear to have been connected with pathways and/or meeting points in the landscape, such as the large landscape dominant sites crossing the ridge and perhaps the Vasalt trail as well as Drottninghall. Others seem to have been closely connected with certain rituals, for example with death, as at Holmen, Tofta Högar and Lingården. Some appear to have been places for gathering many people for ceremonies, like Flatakull, while others seem to have been used for more private matters and perhaps for passing on esoteric knowledge, as at Holmen and perhaps Lingården. There is not one single general interpretation for the rock-carvings of Bjäre; instead the evidence suggests contextual uses differing between sites and also between occasions, for example during different times of the year or different occasions in a lifetime. Some sites bear traces that can be connected with traditions that are more typical in other areas, like the site of Lingården which seems to have attributes that connect it with the west coast of Sweden: an outcrop site with engraved ships surrounded by a wetland. The other ship carving in Bröddarp, however, is more connected with the Danish material, being on a large boulder filled with cupmarks and grooves. Other sites show characteristics which seem to be purely local Bjäre traits, such as Svenstad with its interesting compositions, Holmen with its parallel grooves, Flatakull with its huge cupmarks etc.

There is an interesting pattern in the difference between small and large sites, as the small sites are densely distributed in the lower and partly undulating western land while the larger sites are more spread over the whole peninsula but at rather even distances, suggesting that they may have belonged to different groups in the peninsula. However, I have suggested that this might not be the case; it might be that the large sites which have different characteristics instead were used for

individual purposes. The peninsula is not so very large and it would have been possible for most people to go to several other sites than just the closest one for a special occasion. This is especially true when it comes to the large central sites that occur along the edge of the ridge: Drottninghall, Holmen, Svenstad and Lingården.

Concluding remarks

This chapter has focused on landscape and the concept of place. The first part was concerned with Bronze Age burials and the second part with rock-carvings. Thus the two different types of heritage have been discussed and summarised separately.

In the next chapter I will combine the information of the different Bronze Age heritage of graves and rock-carvings that has been separately analysed in this chapter. This information will be combined with landscape studies. The aim will of course be to see whether it is possible to gain further understanding of Bronze Age society in Bjäre using a landscape perspective and looking at the complete picture of visible landscape memories from this period. Only later in Chapter 5 will the present-day landscape be introduced as constituting an important part of the prehistoric remains, which will provide them as well as the landscape with further information.

Chapter Four. The shaping of a Bronze Age landscape

In Chapter 3 I discussed and presented the two main prehistoric features on the Bjäre peninsula; mortuary monuments and rock-carvings, which both can be dated to the Bronze Age. They were treated and discussed as *places* in the landscape and some general patterns were distinguished. The cemeteries were not included in the statistical analyses in Chapter 3 since the information given in Register of the National Heritage Board is incomplete for the individual burials. In this chapter they will be added to the general picture of burials and rock-carvings together with the hoards, offerings and cult houses. Previously I have touched upon the subject of local traits that can be seen in the material, especially concerning the rock-carvings. This discussion will now continue and expand.

Following the chronological assumptions made in Chapter 3, a hypothetical chronological division of the mortuary monuments and rock-carvings can be made. This division suggests how the Bronze Age heritage grew upon the landscape with new additions, and eventually they were present on most areas. *Adding* to a landscape also means *referring* to or *associating* to already existing features and stories in the landscape (Bradley 1993; Barrett 1994). This means that we should be aware that the later constructions, for example mortuary monuments, were not only places for dead people; they also became new reference points in the landscape that were made with consideration for existing ones (or rather for the ancestors dwelling there), whether to relate to them, enhance them or erase them. Most certainly the narratives of the ancestral line grew with every single mortuary monument in the landscape, which in this sense became a fixed point for another story or memory. There is a rather strong consensus in today's research about the importance of ancestral cult during the Bronze Age. This is often made with reference to the work of Helms (1988, 1998), where not only the ancestral past is important for achieving high status but also geographical distance. This view acknowledges that the dead had a continued presence both in society and in the landscape, both the recent dead and those who were distant memories and perhaps had a mythical status. In this way both the already existing mortuary monuments and the new added ones were important in the landscape, and they refer to one another, creating a local ancestral geography. 'Death is never over,' as Parker Pearson (1999:194) stated when discussing the long-term memories these monumental burials give, not only to the people making them but also to the landscape itself. This also refers to the continuous dialogue that is going on between landscapes, places and people – both past and present (Shanks 1998a, 1998b:chapter 2).

Fig. 60 shows the distribution of the mortuary monuments (mounds, cairns and stone-settings) from the Early, Middle and Late Bronze Age, based on the study of the excavated burials in Chapter 3. According to this map there is a westerly expanding use of landscape for monument building in the course of the Bronze Age. The later monuments expand towards the areas in the west and also to areas at lower altitudes. It also seems that certain altitudes in the landscape were more frequently used than others, and these coincide with the natural breaks in the landscape. Interestingly, the distribution along these altitudes is not even; some areas have a high density of mortuary monuments while others are empty. Further, it is mainly on the fringes of the higher plateaus that these monuments are found, while and the plateaus themselves are rather empty. There is also a big difference between the hilly inland area, which in general has many mortuary monuments, and the flatter coastal landscape, which has few.

I have previously argued that in a long-term perspective the mortuary monuments reflect *change* in landscape use whereas the rock-carvings, and especially the large sites reflect places for more static traditions (see Chapter 3 and Nord 2006a). There are also places where burial monuments seem to have had a more stable character, and those are mainly found along the coastline. Perhaps these were harbour sites and these monuments were markers for travellers on the sea, as we know that travelling and trading were important in Bronze Age society (see for example Kristiansen & Larsson 2005). The coastal burials were clearly visible from the sea while they are hard to distinguish at all from land, which is why they must have had a meaning in coastal communication. One of the coastal monuments is Dagshög (Västra Karup RAÄ 136, see fig. 163), which is the largest mound

in Skåne. It is located on the west coast of Bjäre and measures approximately 44 metres in diameter, with a height of 5 metres. Despite its large size it cannot be seen from the inland direction. It is deliberately exposed to the sea. Approximately 500 metres to the south there used to be another mortuary monument of a similar size and location according to the military survey map from the early 19th century (*Skånska rekognosceringskartan* 1985). It should be mentioned that the Kivik cairn on the eastern side of Skåne has a similar location to these two monuments and probably also a similar use in coastal communication (Larsson, L. 1993).

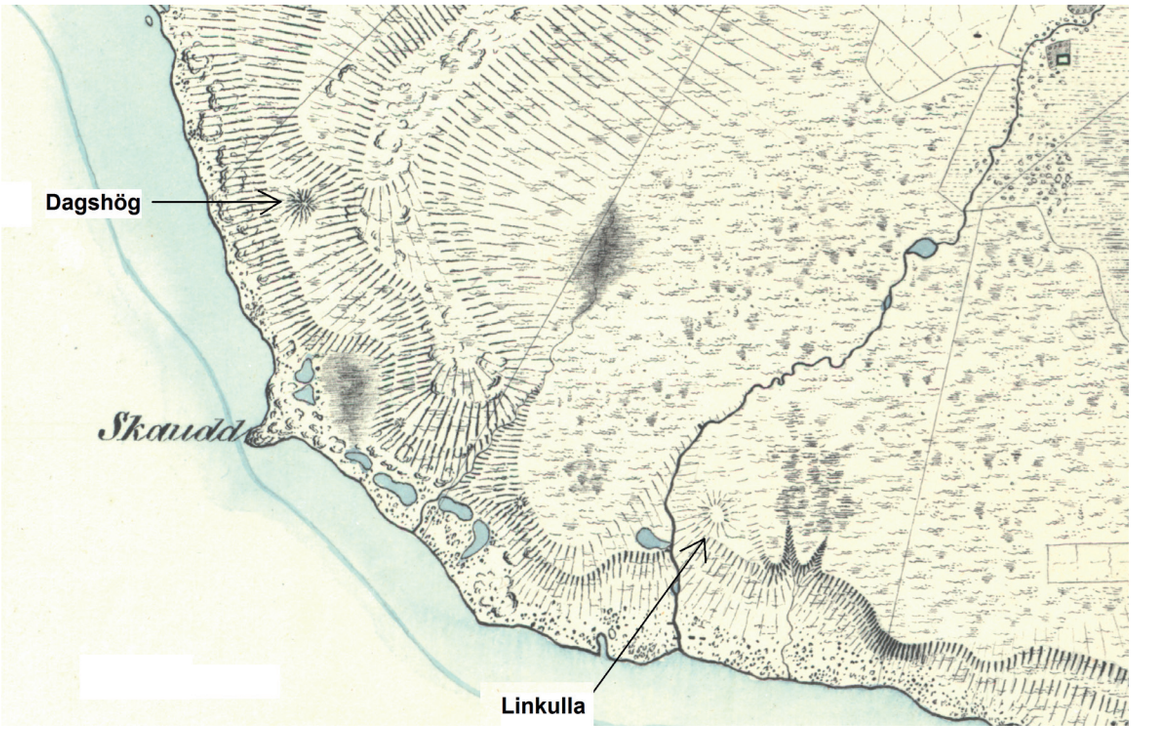


Fig. 162. *From the military survey map from 1812–20 (Skånska rekognosceringskartan 1985). The locations of Dagshög and Linkulla are marked.*

Fig. 163. *Dagshög (Västra Karup RAÄ 136) towards the southwest. Kullaberg is seen along the horizon. Photo John Nygren 2009.*

Mortuary monuments from the late Bronze Age have been added to the landscape, both in areas where they have to consider earlier monuments and in areas that lack earlier monuments. According to the results of Skoglund's work in Småland, the mortuary monuments in the Bronze Age followed the locations of the field systems. As they moved with their productive lifetime and new fields were cleared, the clearance stones were used for making new burial constructions close to the new fields (Skoglund 2005:96ff; see also Nord & Paulsson 1993:22 and Rasmussen 1993:180). In this sense the changed positions of settlements, or at least the field systems, can be followed through the changed positions of mortuary monuments. Following this argument, in Bjäre the field systems moved from the upland areas towards the lower areas in the west and southwest. It is more complicated than that, however. The burials surely had many more functions than being territorial markers and symbolic clearance cairns, even though this is one aspect of them that we definitely can distinguish and therefore discuss. In this connection the changes in the inner structure of the mounds especially should also be considered. The mounds from the early Bronze Age are generally larger. Looking at the details from excavations and perhaps in particular from the excavations in connection with the pollen sampling (see Chapter 3), it seems as if the large mounds from the early Bronze Age have a larger layer of soil above the inner construction than the later mounds. From the middle Bronze Age the topsoil is very thin. Perhaps this mirrors the increased importance of agriculture and the use of the mortuary monuments as actual 'clearance cairns' accompanying the fields in the landscape. During the Bronze Age there was most probably an extensive land-use model at work (Gerritsen 1998; Berggren 1999; Nord & Rosberg 2005:184), which meant that rather large areas were used for subsistence by single households or even by cooperatives such as villages. This extensive landscape use must have been more or less well regulated, perhaps with the aid of burials, and may possibly be seen as a prototype of the later medieval infield-outland system.

Skoglund also discussed the possibility that burial cairns could have been made from already existing clearances as well. He found several cases to which he refers, where the close vicinity of burial cairns is empty of clearance cairns but just a little bit further away these again occur frequently (Skoglund 2005:98 and his references). In Bjäre there is one good example of this situation. On the

Fig. 164. *The cairn Grevie RAÄ 124 towards the west. The ridge area on the opposite side of the Sinarp valley is seen in the distance, but the stream and the ancient fields are not visible since they lie lower in the landscape. Photo John Nygren 2009.*

ridge area close to the village of Axelstorp on the eastern side of the Sinarp valley (see fig. 3) one of the large inland cairns is located (Grevie RAÄ 124, see fig. 164). Close by, just on the other side of a stream, there is an area with ancient fields and hollow roads (Grevie RAÄ 194). The area that surrounds the large cairn (50–100 metres distance) is completely empty of clearance cairns while the area of the ancient fields is completely filled with them, see fig. 165. According to Skoglund this pattern might actually have been created already during the Bronze Age. One may wonder if the cairn was placed on this location since the agricultural activities had ceased, or if the thoroughly cleared area next to the cairn was used as well. It would indeed be interesting to know how the landscape was perceived and used in connection with production and death.

In Bjäre there was probably no real need to have territorial markers as the late Bronze Age emerged; the large-scale land-owning situation was probably quite well established during earlier parts of the Bronze Age since Bjäre is a peninsula and thus a limited area to expand upon. In a forested inland area like Småland where Skoglund worked, there was perhaps still expansion into new land areas (Skoglund 2005). In Bjäre the situation was likely slightly different; here people moved to new settlement locations and changed field systems, but they probably did so within their already defined larger areas. However, the different fields and settlement sites were probably still a cause of some internal struggle. Competition for the best land was still happening within the larger structures (villages) as the agricultural reform took place in the 19th century (see Gustafsson 2006) and

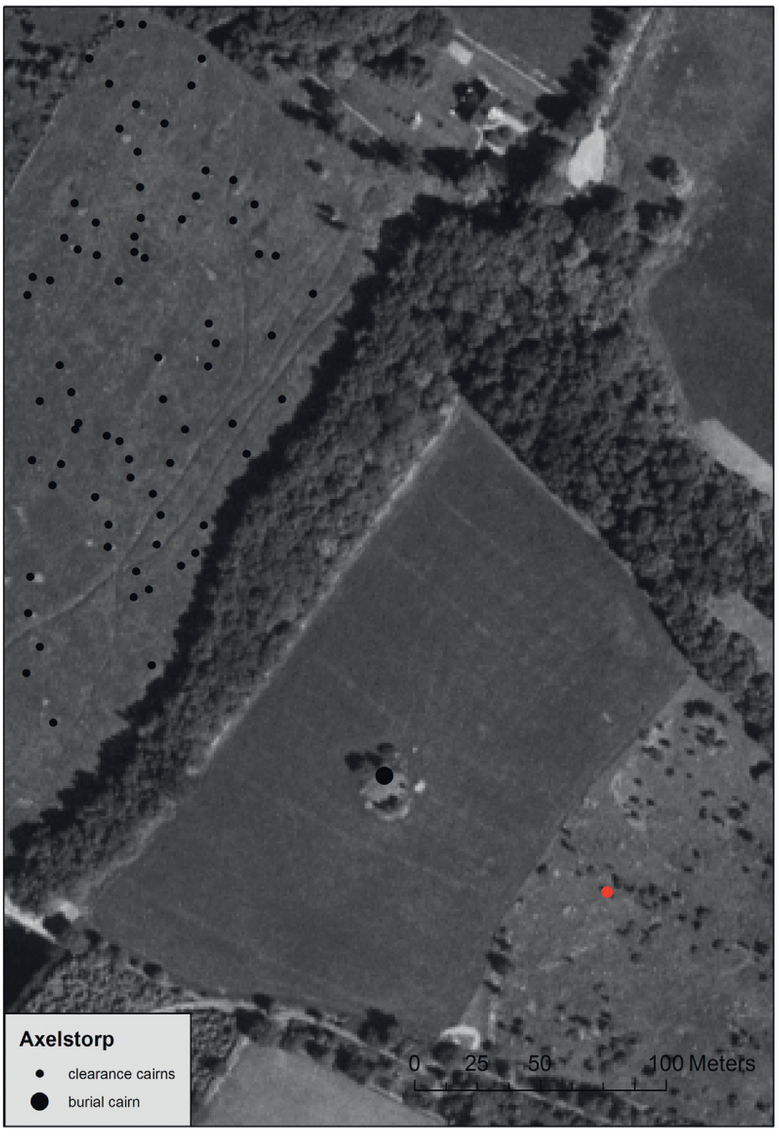


Fig. 165. *An aerial photograph map from an unknown source. Most clearance cairns in Grevie RAÄ 194 and the burial cairn Grevie RAÄ 124 are marked. The red point marks approximately where the photo in fig. 164 was taken from.*

it is likely to have been the same during the Bronze Age. The mortuary monuments from the late Bronze Age and early Iron Age should probably be seen in this light. Perhaps it was also important to make changes to settlements and fields visible in the landscape for ritual and religious reasons as well as for practical and territorial reasons. In the previous work on the Bjäre peninsula it could already be assumed that the burials of Bjäre were not destructive for the environment, rather the opposite, since the large central cairns swallow a high amount of stones presumably from the fields (Nord & Paulsson 1993:22). I find the idea of looking at the Bjäre burials as monumental and ritual clearances cairns appealing, adding to them the aspect of past generations' blood, sweat and tears as they had cleared the land, similar to the sentiments that often are tied to the more recent stone walls from the 19th century. However, there are some implications of this way of thinking. If there was an extensive landscape use in Bjäre in which grazing, field systems, burials and settlements moved within certain settlement areas, how were those defined? And who defined them? Does the continuing construction of mortuary monuments in the late Bronze Age actually show competition over available resources, as has been argued (Andersson 1999)? We need to look at the wider set of antiquities from this period to gain a better understanding of this situation; the rock-carvings, the cult house and the few hoards/offerings. Perhaps also the evidence from the individual burials – gifts and construction details as well as locations – can shed light on questions of hierarchy.

One of the hypotheses in this work has been that rock-carving sites should be treated as marked locations in the landscape instead of just focusing on the carvings as pictures. In this way it makes sense to treat them chorologically as well as chronologically the same way as the mounds (see Nord & Paulsson 1993). In the following I shall compare the results of the chronological distribution patterns from the burials and the rock-carvings. Both type of sites are contemporary and share the same long-term perspective, both as being in active use and/or giving meaning to the landscape. Both have attracted to certain moments in life or even during everyday life. I don't believe that I can arrive at a close understanding of the sites themselves. but perhaps I might gain insight into their distribution patterns and the Bronze Age landscape. Later, in Chapter 5, I will add other information and include perspectives from Chapter 2, 'Landscape as space', in the discussion.

The chronology of the Bronze Age ritual landscape

Phase one: the late Neolithic and the early Bronze Age

There are four registered stone cists which might derive from the late Neolithic or early Bronze Age (period I–II) on the Bjäre peninsula. Two of these (Västra Karup RAÄ 87 and 300) occur within stone-settings and are only partly visible, although they seem to be of the right large size to derive from late Neolithic or the early Bronze Age. These stone-setting might possibly be damaged mounds. Västra Karup RAÄ 300 is found in a cemetery. The other two stone cists (Västra Karup RAÄ 529:1 and Hov RAÄ 14:1) have both been removed from the present-day landscape and cannot be securely dated, but the latter one at least had the right proportions (2 × 1 metres). In addition to these stone-cists there are three cases in which late Neolithic stone-cist burials have been found in excavated mounds (Grevie RAÄ 41:1, 50:1 and Västra Karup RAÄ 244:2), see Chapter 3. There is also one stone cist which is defined by a place name (Grevie RAÄ 353). To sum up, there are 8 stone cists that can be assumed to belong to the late Neolithic period or to the early Bronze Age.

The information from the excavated burials in Chapter 3 has suggested that the larger mounds (larger than 10 metres in diameter *and* 2 metres high) generally can be dated to the early Bronze Age (see table 6 and connected text in Chapter 3). These monuments cover most burials from the late Neolithic. I have also assumed that the chronological tool made in Chapter 3 also can be used for the cairns and stone-settings. Further, it can be noticed that most of the cemeteries in Bjäre started their lifetime in the early Bronze Age with at least one mound on these sites, and it was only later in the Bronze Age that they developed into cemeteries.

The mortuary monuments deriving from the early Bronze Age are concentrated on the higher ground. It seems as if the sea and the view of the connecting areas – Kullaberg and Denmark towards the southwest, the Väderö Island to the west and the Swedish west coast towards the north –

were important for these early burials (see fig. 2). Certain landscape features seem to have attracted burials from Early Bronze Age more than others: mainly the higher ground surrounding the large and deep valleys, for example the Båstad area, Sinarp, Nötte, Kvinnaböske, Grevie and Drängstorp, and also an area in the middle of the peninsula close to the village of Hov, Bjäragården and Dejarp. The areas where the ridge descends towards the lowland, which in turn slant more gently towards the sea, are also well-used, for example at Utmarksvägen close to Vasalt. Vasalt is especially rich in large rock-carving sites from this period, and this would of course continue into the next periods. In the north the rock-carvings of Hovs Hallar are in use, just as Gröthögarna with which they have visual contact.

Fig. 166 thus shows the first markers in the landscape of Bjäre that were man-made; the first monumental burials making place for the ancestors and the first definition of places with cupmarks. Perhaps these were not made at the same time by the same generation, but they gradually developed and were in active use simultaneously. More important is that they show the first generation of landscape changes in the area, and it is to these that all later additions refer. If we can find an

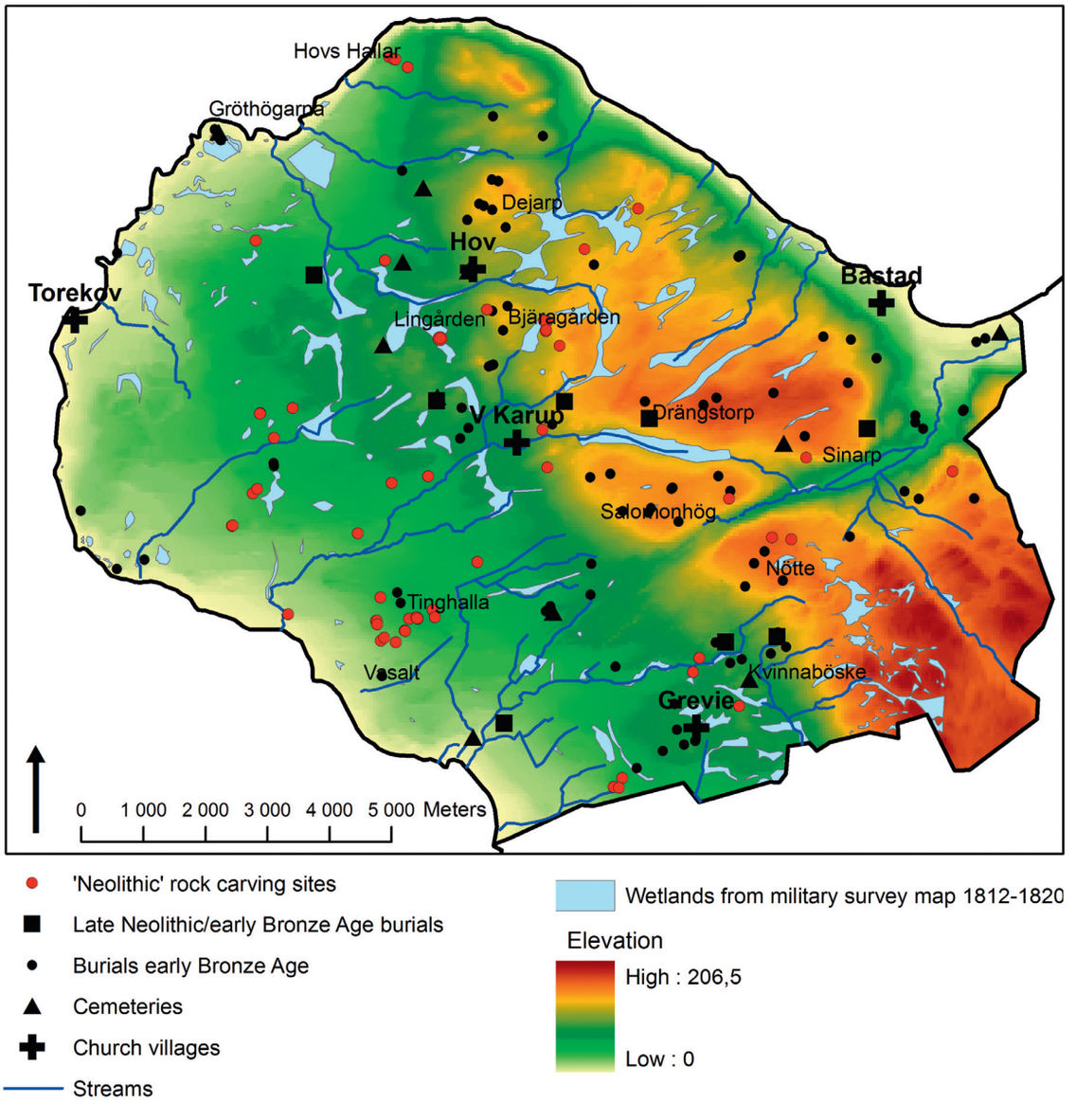


Fig. 166. *Early Bronze Age sites. Background data © Lantmäteriet Gävle 2009. Grant I 2009/0549.*

understanding of this initial phase, then it may be hoped that the later additions will make better sense as well.

Bengtsson (2004) has argued that the Neolithic cupmarks were connected with fertility and ancestors partly because they were found on Neolithic mortuary monuments. The early cupmarks of Bjäre are not found on burials, but they are often found at similar locations as most early mortuary monuments where an extended view is offered. What can be said is that the early cupmarks, by analogy with the Tanum area, could most probably be seen as general places for common activities at a community level. This is also the first period we find individuals that are singled out and given special burials in stone cists. In fact, this is the first period we know of any burials at all. These are located on the ridge and the inner area of the peninsula, just like the majority of the early Bronze Age burials.

There are stray finds from the Neolithic period which occur widely in the landscape, thus showing that there is rich activity from this period (Gustavsson 1987). Also, the pollen analyses presented in Chapter 2 indicated activity in this period. Thus the area was inhabited during this period and the opening of the landscape was already an ongoing project. Towards the end of the Neolithic the landscape became important for expressing ancestral rights; the first individuals were buried at prominent places and most probably the earliest sites with cupmarks were also a part of these expressions. Wide and panoramic views are a common feature of the early mortuary monuments and rock-carving sites; they were meant to be seen from far away, and from them there was also a wide view. The sea view from these monuments was vital. This has also been noted in other areas, for example in the Glumslöv area further south along the Scanian west coast (Eriksson Lagerås 2005). Thus the sky and/or the sun as well as the surrounding sea seem to be the crucial elements of the mortuary monuments and the rock-carving sites from this period. This connects with the spheres that had been distinguished in connection with rock-carvings (see fig. 69 and connected text). According to this, water is connected with death as well as with pre-life and thus the visual view of it might be important even if the distance was several kilometres. Another important sphere was the sky/sun, and the burials connect well with the sun, not only through their rounded shape, but also in the sense that the sky itself or the horizon is referred to by the high locations of the mounds (Gerdin 1999:67f). The middle sphere, the land, is also referred to as these monuments can be seen from large areas of land.

Both the early mortuary monuments and the rock-carving sites follow the edge of the ridge area and also occur on some of the higher ground on the western area. However, they avoid direct proximity to each other. They also generally avoid wetland, even though the rock-carvings often are closely connected with running water. Lingården (Hov RAÄ 175) is an exception, however, since it is located on an ‘island’ inside a wetland. The hilly and undulating area of the western side of the peninsula wais not frequently used in this period.

Phase two: the middle Bronze Age

Adding the mortuary monuments from the middle Bronze Age (period III–IV) as well as the rest of the rock-carving sites gives a somewhat different picture. It is of course questionable whether all rock-carving sites were in use by this time; many of the smaller sites with only cupmarks are probably later additions since these are the ones that often connect to late Bronze Age burials and cemeteries (see Chapter 3). This chronological situation has also been proposed for the Norrköping area (Hauptman Wahlgren 2002). However, in Bjäre the small cupmark-only sites are almost exclusively found in the south and western lower area of the peninsula. As I have already discussed in Chapter 3, Bengtsson has argued that in the Tanum area the later Bronze Age cupmarks were found rather evenly spread in the landscape and that they had a protective function for the grazing animals (Bengtsson 2004; see also Chapter 3). In this southern and western lower area in Bjäre grazing might of course have been very important, but it must have been a more widespread activity as well.

The mortuary monuments now extend in all directions in the landscape and do not follow the ridge and the high topography as strictly as they previously did. Instead they are found in long lines and

groups in the landscape, and possibly they have an increased territorial function. The mortuary monuments from this period are rather inventive; they come in many different appearances. They are also rather abundant and fill up the landscape quite well. Possibly, as was discussed earlier in this chapter, they are also connected with the opening of new arable fields, perhaps reflecting homesteads and clearances. Further, they are often rich in secondary burials which embrace old people, adults, children and both sexes; the complete family. Generally they are not rich in finds. So while the earlier burials might have been more connected to ancestors and cosmology, the second generation of monumental burials seems to have a stronger connection with the ownership of land and the family.

However, there are also cases where no secondary burials have been found in monuments from this period, for example the burial with the buried cupmarks and the burial with female ornaments (Grevie RAÄ 132 and Västra Karup RAÄ 242, see Chapter 3). Both these burials are located on the ridge and thus spatially connected with the past rather than with the new landscape locations.

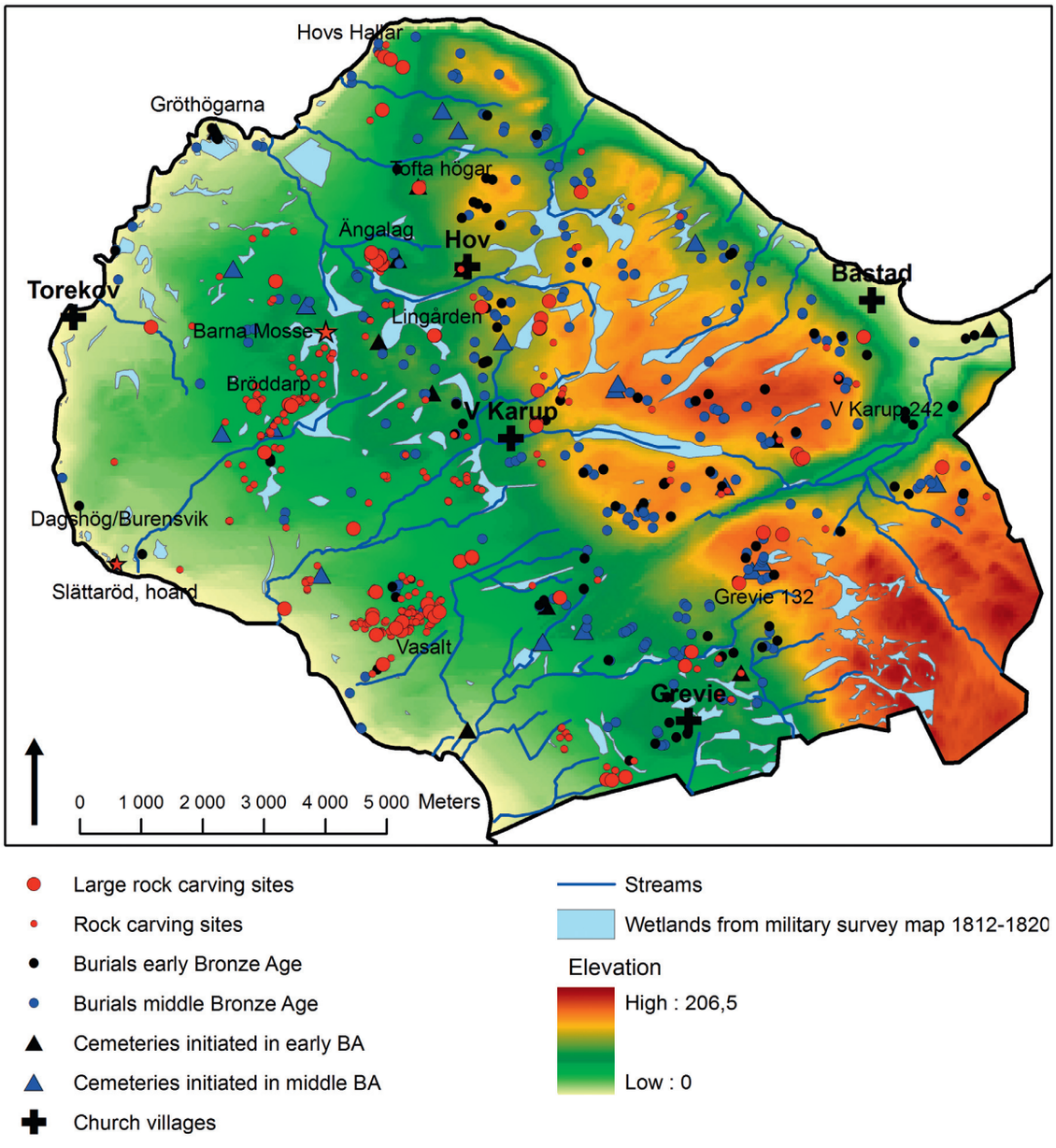


Fig. 167. *Middle Bronze Age sites. The previous sites are marked black. Background data © Lantmäteriet Gävle 2009. Grant I 2009/0549.*

This situation might in fact tell us something about the deceased person's social status. Thus there seem to be two main ways to use the mortuary monuments in this period; one concerns the mortuary monuments with many secondary burials and few finds that may have been used as family burials, and the other concerns the ones that show more exclusive traits which are found on higher landscape locations.

By this time there is also a new aspect added to the Bronze Age landscape; the depositions of bronzes. In 1914–15 a find of a bronze lure (see figs. 160 and 161) was made in the bog Barna mosse inside the western undulating area. The lure probably dates from period III–IV and it was found at a depth of approximately 1–1.2 metres during peat-cutting. It was wrapped in birch bark. A nice detail, according to the finder, is that it made a noise when blown (Västra Karup RAÄ 188; SHM 10775; Montelius 1917:no. 1237; Oldeberg 1974–1976:no. 911). Close to the sea in the westernmost part of Bjäre a hoard was found in connection with quarrying in 1921. It contained 5 spearheads which most probably also date to the period III–IV (Västra Karup RAÄ 420/490; Rydebeck 1926:291ff; Baudou 1960:323; Nord & Paulsson 1993:78). They were found in a peculiar-looking crevice along the coastline. Unfortunately the crevice is lost, as it was consumed by the same stone quarry that led to its discovery (*Skånska Socialdemokraten* 6/5 1921). Period III–IV is also of the same date that has been given to two of the rock-carving ships found in the western undulating area, not so far away from Barna mosse (see Chapter 3: Bröddarp, Västra Karup RAÄ 152 and Lingården Hov RAÄ 175). The cult house of Tofta Högar (Hov RAÄ 109) is also dated to this period (Victor 2002:101). I will later return to this subject.

The site of Lingården is in a low-lying area in the western undulating inland. The site is located on a rocky island completely surrounded by wetland, and towards the east there is a very steep cliff wall. Added to these special circumstances is the complete absence of burials in the vicinity (approximately 500 metres). The surrounding landscape is hidden by trees today but it can be estimated that from the site one would have been able to see some of the mortuary monuments of the surrounding areas along the higher-lying horizon. The site is thus remote and beyond a boundary of wetland yet on the main rock two ships have been found, although neither is clearly and deeply engraved. Someone with the knowledge of them must have been in control of their uses and possibly their existence was not common knowledge. One of these ships has been dated to the middle Bronze Age period III–IV, while the other is a later addition (see Chapter 3, fig. 104–107). Even more interesting is that the site is severely fire-damaged and probably was also used as a quarry – possibly for stone-cist slabs. The wetland that surrounds Lingården is one of the larger wetlands in Bjäre and it is also connected with a stream. The stream passes Ängalag on its way to the coast where it ends close to the spectacular site of Gröthögarna where one of the natural harbours is located. However, if you instead move towards the southwest you will soon reach another stream which eventually leads to Burensvik, a natural harbour close to the very large coastal mortuary monuments, Linkulla and Dagshög (see fig. 167 and later). On its way to the coast it passes rather close to another rock-carving with a ship which has been dated to period III–IV (Bröddarp, Västra Karup RAÄ 152). This ship, however, has a completely different character; it is easily accessible, found on an open site in the landscape on a large boulder. Further, this ship is filled with cupmarks just as if it had a cargo. The Bröddarp ship has strong communicative aspects and thus differs from the hiddenness that characterises the ships at Lingården.

There are two other coastal areas that stand out on the distribution map from the middle Bronze Age; one is the area of Vasalt which is the densest area of rock-carvings in Bjäre; surely this area had special meaning. This area is also closely connected with several possible natural harbours, even though it must be stressed that on this side of the peninsula it is not difficult to find a natural harbour. The other coastal area is located close to Hovs Hallar on its western side before the great and steep cliffs of the northern coast begin. Later I will discuss the coastal areas more thoroughly.

The large rock-carvings sites are more or less consistent with the previous period. It is mainly the sites which have the large and deep cupmarks that were interpreted as possibly even belonging to the Neolithic (Chapter 3) that continued to be in use as large sites. Thus they show continuity and probably mirror stable places in the landscape for different central activities. As the sites themselves show great variation in their compositions, it is also possible that the activities on them were rather varied and perhaps specialised.

To sum up; in the middle Bronze Age there is a westerly expanding landscape use visible through the expansion of mortuary monuments and the sites with rock-carvings. Some of the mortuary monuments appear to mirror expanding landscape use. But some mortuary monuments still follow the old pattern connecting to the already existing monuments and the topography. Possibly these burials connect more with the cosmology and the cosmological leadership than with territorial ideas. The undulating area in the western part now show several attributes that give it a special sacred character: first of all the water-enclosed site of *Lingården*, the only examples of ship carvings on the peninsula, and a votive offering of a bronze lure. The large rock-carving sites are more or less the same as before but there is an expansion to the west among the small sites and those with only cupmarks. This might reflect a settlement expansion to the west or changed land-use, but also the special sacred character connected with this area. I have previously argued that the additions of mortuary monuments seem to reflect change as they expand with time to new areas and to new

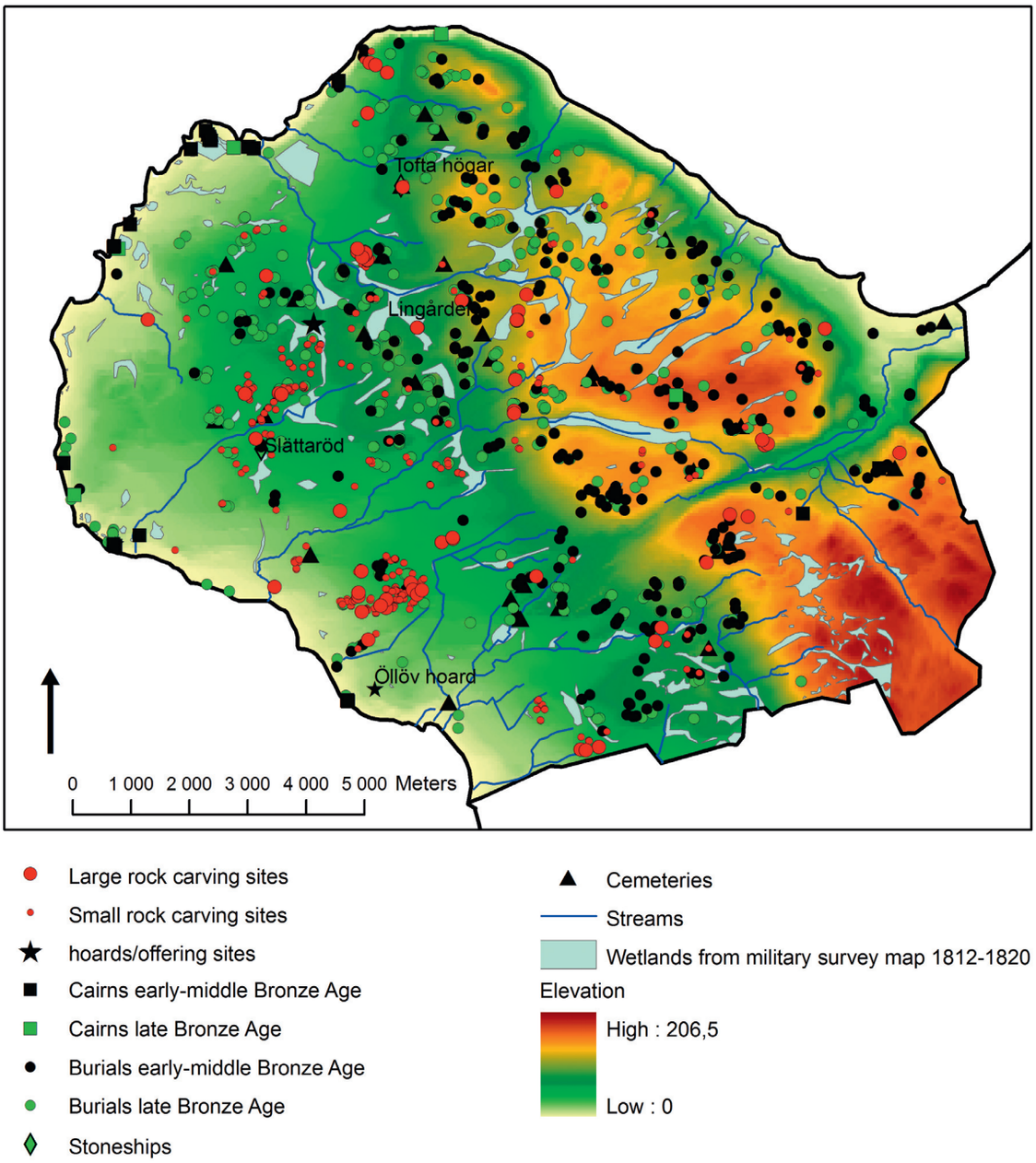


Fig. 168. *Late Bronze Age sites. The previous sites marked with black. Background data © Lantmäteriet Gävle 2009. Grant I 2009/0549.*

types of locations. The large rock-carving sites, however, are more fixed in space. According to the chronology of rock-carvings there are few new large sites in the middle Bronze Age, with the same sites still being used. However, there are many new small sites which probably reflect a different use from the large ones.

Phase three: the late Bronze Age – early Iron Age

During the late Bronze Age the landscape was further filled with burials. Now they were not very monumental in their appearances, and also their landscape settings were in general less dominant. Instead the burials moved down the slopes, getting closer to the wetlands, but they were also still being built on the higher ridge area. It seems as if the burials to a great extent still avoided the sites of large rock-carvings, but there are some exceptions to this, to which I will return.

Recent studies have suggested that the expansion of burials actually might mirror the expansion of more intensively used land rather than the settlements themselves (Rasmussen 1993; Skoglund 2005:100ff, see earlier in this chapter). As there are very few settlements known that may be dated to the Bronze Age in Bjäre (Chapter 1), settlements have not been included in the analyses, which instead have focused on the visible remains in the landscape. Pollen analyses suggest that the landscape of Bjäre was opened by the early Bronze Age and that during the late Bronze Age it was already a well-managed cultural landscape (Chapter 2). The expansion westwards might mirror the need for new agricultural land, caused, for example, by an increased number of inhabitants, a changed settlement structure or just changed attitudes to this part of the landscape. Also, small sites with only cupmarks are rich in this area. Other studies have suggested that these sites were connected with settlements or with agriculture/grazing (Ullén 1997; Bengtsson 2004). It is very difficult, however, not to say impossible, to distinguish prehistoric land-use by referring solely to burials and rock-carvings. The sites with only cupmarks are rare on the ridge where burials were still being built; furthermore, the sites with only cupmarks mainly occur in some rather restricted areas in the south and the west, and thus it can be assumed that they do not mirror settlements or agriculture/grazing, both of which must have been more widespread in the landscape. The pollen analyses from soil beneath mounds that were described in Chapter 2 suggested that the actual sites of the burials – even though these could be dated to the early and middle Bronze Age – were mainly used for grazing, but cereal pollen has also been found. It can of course be argued that if the mortuary monuments were built when fields were cleared for agricultural activities this would not be clearly visible in the samples from the buried soils. The more general pollen analyses suggest that agricultural activities took place, even though the emphasis was on animal husbandry.

Close to the area of Vasalt, in Öllöv, a hoard from the late Bronze Age has been found close to the coast. It includes a set of jewellery and clothing adornments from period V (SHM 12937; Tillväxten 1906:260f, abb. 87–89; Montelius 1917:no. 1345, 1390, 1403; Baudou 1960:323). For some reason

Fig. 169a and b. *Some of the clothing adornments from the Öllöv hoard. Inv.nr. 12937 © Sara Kusmin/Statens historiska museum.*

it has not been registered by the National Heritage Board. Geographically Vasalt is connected to one of the coastal areas (which will be further discussed later) and can therefore be assumed to have been important in the networking activities during this period.

There are also two ship burials from the late Bronze Age in Bjäre; one was found in the cemetery- and cult-house complex of Tofta Högar (Hov RAÄ 109, see fig. 170) which will be discussed later as well. The other one was found in Slättaröd (Västra Karup RAÄ 118, see fig. 49) as the undulating western lower area begins. And at the site of Lingården one of the rock-carving ships most probably also derive from this period.

In general it seems as if the western expansion continued but burials were also still being built on the higher ground. The rock-carving sites are to be considered rather stable places in the landscape while the distribution of the burials perhaps describes changes in landscape use. I will now explore the burials of this period more closely, but first I want to say some words about the issue of a sea view.

Sea views

I have previously argued that the mortuary monuments from the early Bronze Age were primarily exposed to the sea, and this to a higher extent than the later burials which seem to be exposed differently, towards each other or to landscape features. In order to put some flesh on this argument I have made viewshed analyses of the burials and the landscape of Bjäre. For making the viewshed analysis of the complete land area of the Bjäre peninsula I am indebted to Karin Larsson at the GIS Centre of the University of Lund. Her analysis is based on the topographical data available from the National Land Survey (*Lantmäteriet*), which manages the Swedish cadastral system and is also responsible for basic geographic and land information. Of course the viewshed analyses are not more detailed than this data. Every cell unit is 50 to 50 metres large and shares the same topographical level. All viewshed analyses are made from ground level. No

Fig. 170. *The ship burial in Tofta Högar towards the southeast and the church in Hov. Photo John Nygren 2008.*

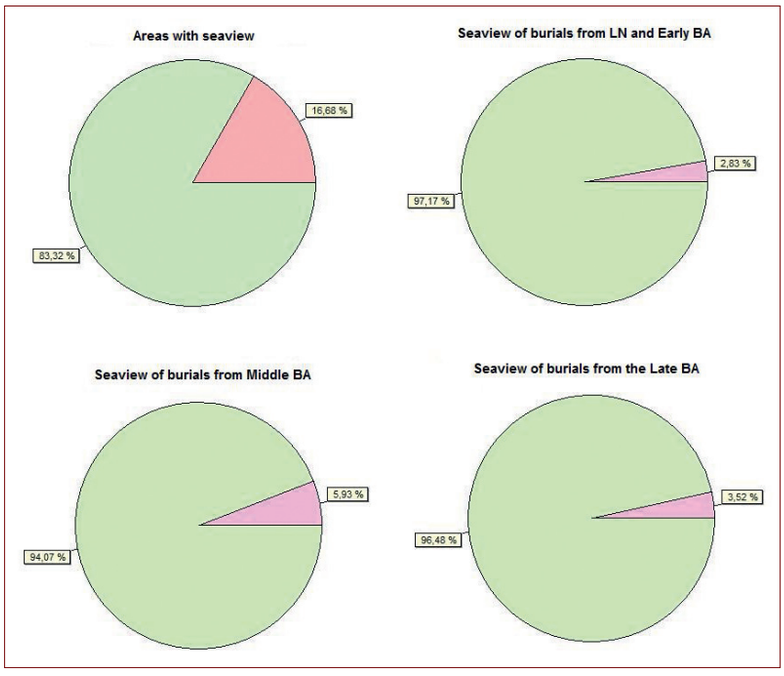


Fig. 171. *Pie-charts illustrating the sea view from all land area and from the burials from different periods.*

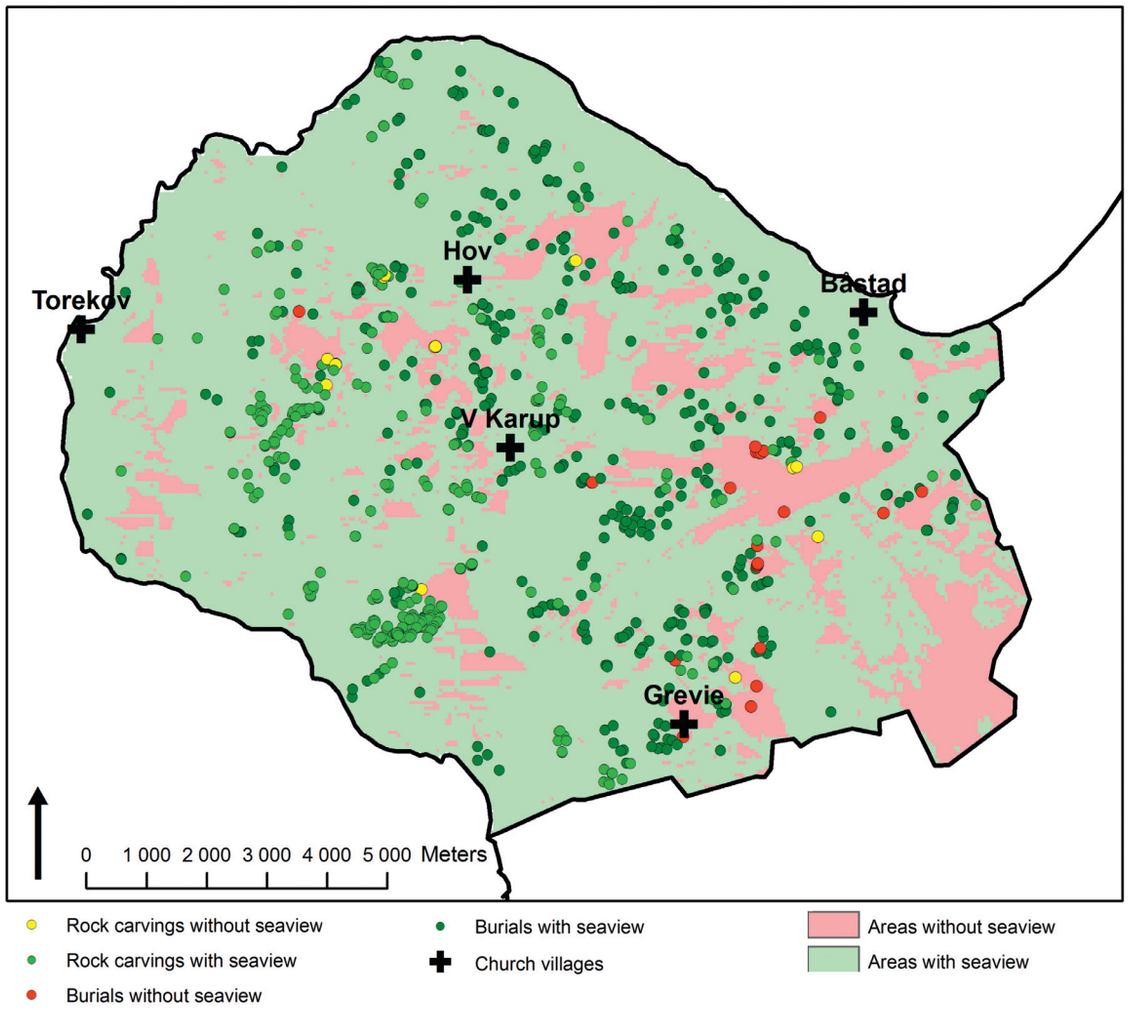


Fig. 172. *Viewshed of the study area with all Bronze Age sites. Added to this are all the mounds and rock-carvings according to whether they occur on areas with or without a sea view. When they are located on the very fringe of an area without (or with) a sea view, the result can be questioned due to the lack of detail of the result (see text).*

consideration of eye levels has been made. Even so, this material provides a good background for the questions concerning, for example, sea views. In fig. 171 we see a pie-chart showing the proportion of land area in Bjäre that has a sea view and the proportion that has none. Comparing this with the pie-charts showing the proportion of mortuary monuments from the different periods that have a sea view, it is obvious that the burials have a larger exposure to the sea than the available land provides. This can thus be considered to be a man-made choice. However, there are no great differences between the different periods, yet the argument that the early mortuary monuments are strongly directed towards the sea may be considered valid since these monuments generally are positioned on higher locations which include a panoramic view of the sea, not only a fragment of it.

An issue that the viewshed in fig. 172 shows is that the places where there is no view of the sea are mainly found on a north-south axis along the Sinarp valley. This is interesting since I have argued in earlier studies that this axis is a prehistoric pathway crossing the ridge (Nord 2006a, 2006b). Perhaps these mortuary monuments are focused on the pathway instead of the sea. The very same thing can be observed concerning the rock-carving sites. Besides some sites in the hilly western area, the only places without a sea view are located along this axis.

Landscape and burial types

Earlier in this work I made a point of not distinguishing between the different types of mortuary monuments – mounds, cairns and stone-settings – with reference to the fact that they are often difficult to distinguish anyway and that their differences mainly concern the topsoil layer or the height of the profile. Further, they contain burials from the same period; the Bronze Age. Instead I drew up a chronology based on the evidence from investigated burials which led to a tripartite division, early, middle and late Bronze Age, which depended on the size of the burials, and both diameter and height were included as defining elements (Chapter 3). However, I will now do the opposite and instead look at the traditional burial types and their landscape contexts. The reason for this is that that these types might, at least partly, be dependent on their landscape locations as their distribution patterns in fact follow the landscape's characteristics. Artelius has touched upon the same subject in an area in Halland, north of Bjäre, where he suggests that the stone-settings represent different traditions within the social organisation and overall ideology (Artelius 1998).

A general idea is that mounds and cairns are of a similar age and that the stone-settings are later. In Bjäre too this is as a general rule true. Thus their distribution patterns generally show the same westerly expansion as the previous distribution maps did, see fig. 173. In this map the mounds are distinguished according to the chronology devised in Chapter 3, except that the stone-settings and the cairns are separated with their own symbols.

The mounds have a distinctive chronological pattern which became obvious in the previous division of the mortuary monuments. The larger ones occupy the western edge of the ridge and the smaller ones fill the surrounding areas during the middle and late Bronze Age. However, the distribution of stone-settings and small mounds don't coincide in space even if both presumably derive from the late Bronze Age – early Iron Age. The small mounds have a general preference for the ridge area and often they are found close to and thereby referring to earlier large mounds. The stone-settings to a higher extent colonise new areas to the west. These differences between stone-settings and mounds might suggest that there actually is a difference between these two burial types although not depending on their ages but rather on their landscape settings. The differences between the two simultaneous types can be summarised:

- They have slightly different profiles, with the mound being more rounded and thus slightly higher.
- They have slightly different landscape distribution patterns, as the mounds follow more the patterns of the earlier larger mounds while stone-settings are focused in the western and lower area.

A suggestion is that the late Bronze Age mounds on the ridge area were given a more rounded shape as a reflection of an already abundant feature here; the large mound. Perhaps this was unconscious; the presence of the earlier mounds might have influenced the builders and thus the later burials were generally given the same outline. This can be compared with the study of Artelius where he suggests the choice of type instead was a conscious decision (Artelius 1998). In the western area where few earlier burials existed, the building process was not influenced by the direct visual influence of pre-existing burials and the general higher skyline of the ridge, and thus these burials received a flatter profile. Is it possible that this difference was not noticed during the Bronze Age? If this is the case the landscape itself and the pre-existing monuments strongly influenced the later burials that were built upon it. It was not only the burials that changed the landscape and its horizon lines but also the landscape itself that influenced which sort of changes was made to it. If it was a conscious decision, however, it would mean that the later burials on the ridge were actively made mound-like to connect with the cosmological values of the existing mounds and thus not only to mirror the landscape context.

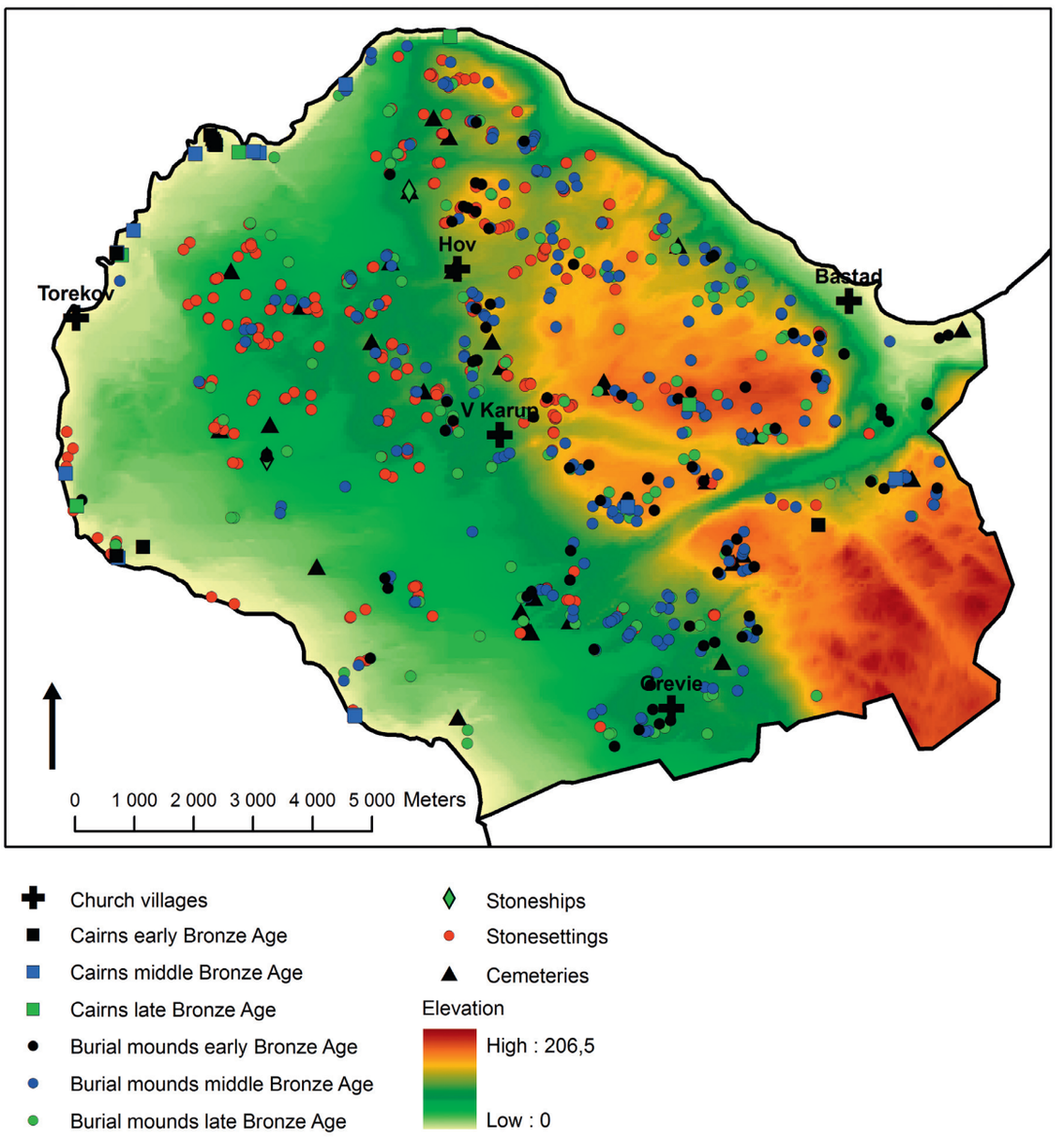


Fig. 173. *The distribution of burial types according to chronology in Bjäre. Background data © Lantmäteriet Gävle 2009. Grant I 2009/0549.*

The stone-settings are more closely related to the landscape areas in the west, where both a large amount of mainly small rock-carvings are found and one bog site with an offering were located (the bronze lure). This might reflect that new ideas of what was important to connect to in death were in an active phase of introduction, and the new ideas were breaking through in the lower western areas first. The distribution pattern of the stone-settings as well as the smaller mounds may very well mirror the opening of the arable fields in this period, since the connection between fields, clearance cairns and burials seem to be very strong indeed (see earlier and Rasmussen 1993:180; Skoglund 2005:102f).

I have previously referred to Connerton's ideas of how societies remember where he distinguishes between two main ways of remembering, which have also been discussed by Bradley (Connerton 1989; Bradley 2002:12f; see Chapter 1). These are *inscription*, for example mortuary monuments, and *behaviour*, places where rituals that took place which to a great extent are intangible for us today. However, the rock-carving sites were most probably places for rituals as well as the cult house at Tofta Högar and the offering bog site Barna Mosse.

With this in mind, it is possible to discuss the meanings of different landscapes and chronological changes in the use of mortuary monuments and how the ancestral ideas were played out.

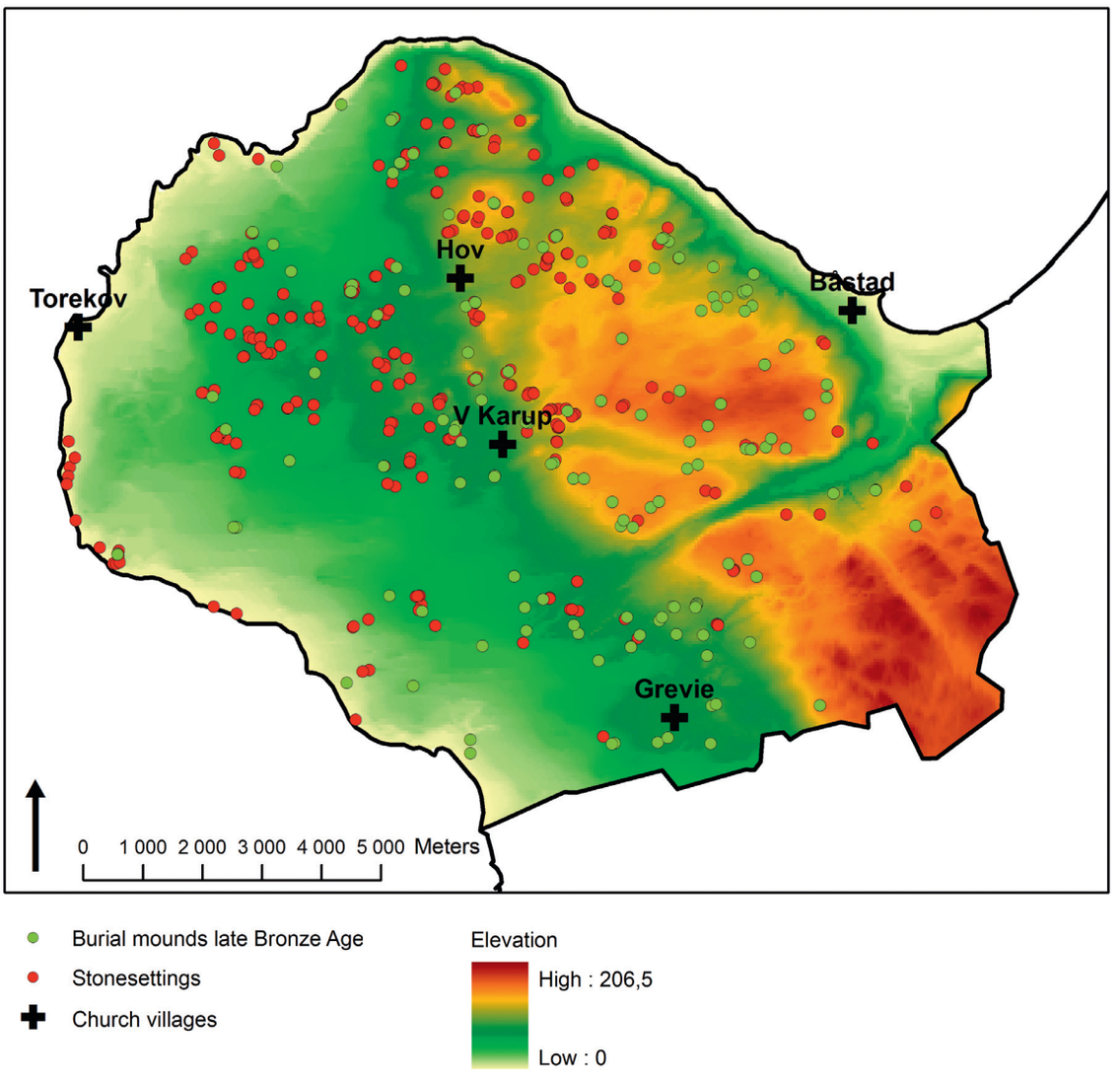


Fig. 174. *The distribution of mounds from the late Bronze Age and stone-settings.*

The ridge area is used for the ancestral ideas according to the *inscription* way of remembering. Further, this use seems to have had its prime time during the early and middle Bronze Age, even though it was also kept alive during the late Bronze Age when monuments were still being built on the ridge area, referring to the past and to the ancestors in a still tangible way. During the middle Bronze Age there seems to have been a change, however, when the lower areas were more frequently used for different kinds of rituals. First of all this is mirrored in the more frequent use of this area for rock-carvings and the rituals connected with them. These belong to the *behaviour* way of remembering, just like the offerings in the bog site. It is also in this area that where the appearance of burials changes most during the late Bronze Age, towards a less dominant and monumental appearance. This change might mirror how the *behaviour* way of remembering was growing more important. This could mean that the ancestral beliefs were becoming less strong during the Bronze Age and/or that the rituals were being more firmly controlled by individual ritual specialists. It also means that different types of landscapes were proper for different kinds of remembering.

The cairns show a completely different picture from the mounds and the stone-settings. They only occur at two different landscape settings: on the highest locations of the ridge and along the coastline (see fig. 173). This can be compared with the ideas of Skoglund, who argues that the cairns are located on common ground while the mounds are closely connected with settlements and fields (Skoglund 2005:149). This could possibly imply that these cairns were burials of people from the outside (see Kristiansen 2002) or non-accepted people, for example criminals (Selinge 1980:295). However, these ideas are in my opinion less probable; instead the locations along the coast for burials were very strategic in communicative respects, and thereby they were important monuments for the inhabitants of the peninsula and for communication with others. I will return to this issue later.

The coastline of Bjäre is dominated by cairns and stone-settings; very few mounds occur here. Even so, the largest mound in Bjäre, as well as in Skåne, is found along the coastline of Bjäre: Dagshög. The coastal burials are clearly exposed towards the sea, and even in the cases where they are very large they cannot be seen from inland. In fig. 175 a viewshed of Dagshög illustrates this well. This situation seems to suggest that they have an important communicative function that points outwards, to the sea. Along the coastline there are three particular areas that are clearly marked out by large burials. These areas will be more thoroughly discussed below. Here I will only conclude that cairns are present in all these three coastal areas. The two areas that face south are also marked by mounds, but the northern area is marked only by cairns. This must be a deliberate communicative choice. The next logical question is, what did they communicate? To answer this we have to consider the surrounding areas as well (see fig. 2). To the north of Bjäre are Halland and Bohuslän, and cairns become more frequent to the north. Bjäre itself is the last outpost towards the south for cairns along the west coast (see table 38). There are three main differences between cairns and mounds that have been identified and discussed in previous work:

- The difference is only due to different material; there is no cultural difference (Almgren 1934:34; Hansen 1938:100; Arbman 1954:70).
- The difference is a cultural one which has to do with the economic base; the mounds refer to agricultural subsistence while the cairns refer to a marine and hunting subsistence (see Moberg 1965; Selinge 1966; Bertilsson 1980:145f).
- The choice is due to the nature of the dead person and has nothing to do with subsistence or culture (Selinge 1980:295).

The first explanation can be partly ruled out. Of course, the available material has some influence on the outcome but it is not the only explanation. This can be exemplified with finds from Halland, where Lundborg noticed that some mounds were actually carefully covered with stones as if to make them look like cairns (Lundborg 1972:77, 121). On the Bjäre peninsula both materials – turf and stone – are available and many of the mounds have large inner cairns and only a thin cover of soil. This outer layer, however, seems to imply that they were meant to look like mounds and not cairns. But for some reasons there are some exceptions to this general rule, and these all have very specific landscape positions which imply that an important statement is made, i.e. they are

communicating something. Perhaps there is a cultural difference between the two contemporary burial types, but still this difference is not so important that it does not allow the 'other' culture to co-exist in these places. And if this is so, is it only the very thin outer layer of the monument that tells of the cultural belonging. Maybe it is more correct to talk about local habits than of cultural differences. This brings us back to the discussion in Chapter 1 of *agency* concerning both landscape and humans (Bender 1998:66f), as well as *cultural biographies* of people according to Bourdieu's habitus (Bourdieu 1990:52ff) and of places and landscapes according to the ideas of Kopytoff (1986).

However, it would not be very strange if there were several contemporary burial types. In his study of the Viking Age, Svanberg found that there was a great variety of parallel mortuary systems, and the same situation could also have existed in Bronze Age Bjäre (Svanberg 2003).

In Bjäre there are two situations where the local habits are broken, and both of these situations can be connected with communication routes, one inland and one along the sea. According to the third explanation above, the choice of making a cairn has to do with the origin of the deceased. This would mean that the deceased originated from the north where cairns were more common. According to Kristiansen, leaders in the Bronze Age made long journeys in order to

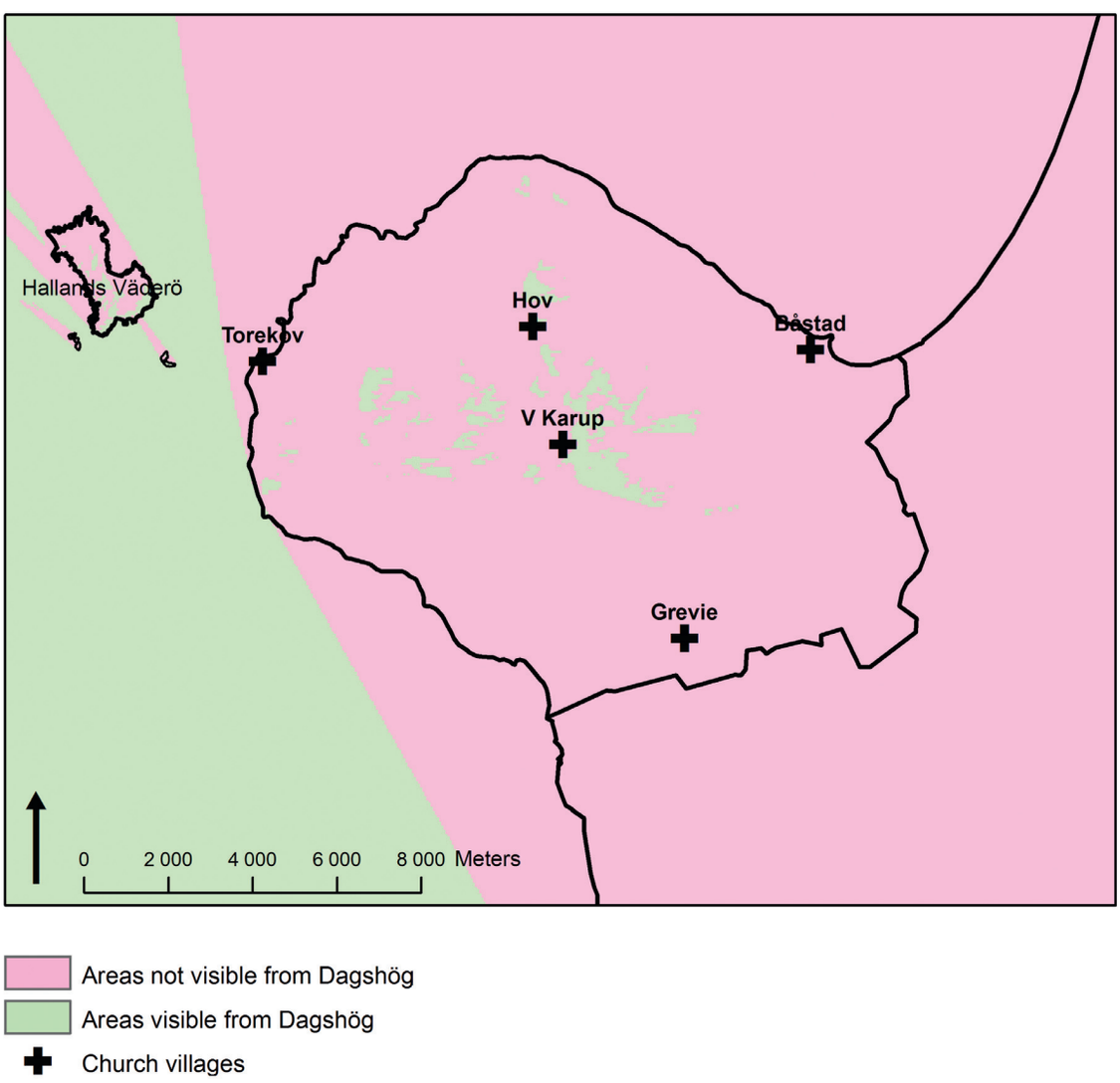


Fig. 175. *Viewshed of Dagshög.*

achieve higher status (Kristiansen 2002; see also Helms 1988, 1998). Following this line of thought, it might have been persons from the northern west coast or possibly Norway that were buried here on one of these journeys, following the burial tradition of their homelands. However, I find this less convincing since a local landscape probably mirrors local traditions, and as was noted above these burials have important communicative characteristics that must have arisen from local needs. Further, if a foreign leader died abroad he would most probably have been taken home for his burial – if not as a dead body, at least in a cremated form, or even dried, especially since the ancestral cult seemingly was an important aspect of the Bronze Age society (see Chapter 1).

The cairn cemetery of Gröthögarna faces the Swedish west coast towards the north. where cairns become more common. Väderö Island, just west of the Bjäre peninsula, also has two large cairns on its northern coastline facing the same direction. In the two burial areas of the southwestern coast of Bjäre there are large mounds found together with cairns, and this is also the area one would first reach coming from the south and from Denmark, where mounds are the dominant burial type. It thus seems that the communication aspects of the coastal burials not only are territorial markers for harbours but are also welcoming in the sense that the monuments present a 'homecoming' and provide a recognisable symbol that is exposed in the appropriate direction: cairns to the north and mounds as well as cairns to the south. These large cairns and burials might have signalled the location of a friendly guest-harbour where exchange was possible and new stores (as well as stories) could be obtained.

The inland cairns might in fact have had similar communicative attributes as they are located on the very heights of the ridge by the Sinarp valley and the Drängstorp valley (see fig. 3 for location and fig. 173 for distribution). This is also where the prehistoric inland communication routes crossing the ridge north–south were probably located (see above and Båstad kommun 2002a; Nord 2006a, 2006b). Only 7 of the 35 cairns in Bjäre are located in the inland area, however. Most of them are found on the coast.

Thus, it seems as if all three explanations above might help to answer these questions and contribute to an understanding of the differences between cairns and mounds. As so often in archaeology, there is hardly ever only one answer.

Fig. 176. *Photograph of the different sides of the mound above Drottninghall (Västra Karup RAÄ 72). Here it is clear that the layer of soil is very thin. It is also clear how modern agriculture is cutting into the mound bit by bit. Photo Jenny Nord 2005.*

Table 38. *The proportion of mounds and cairns along the west coast of Sweden. Information partly from Sarauw & Alin 1923, Bertilsson 1980:144, table from Nord & Paulsson 1993). The table clearly shows that the proportion of cairns decreases rapidly moving south along the west coast of Sweden. It is interesting to note that the cairns increase slightly on the Bjäre peninsula compared with the south of Halland. The south of Halland is as an area larger than the Bjäre peninsula, which might explain why there is a higher proportion of mounds in Halland than in Bjäre which is located further south. This circumstance, however, makes the higher proportion of cairns in Bjäre even more noteworthy. It may partly be explained by the long coastline that Bjäre has, since it is a peninsula and Bjäre is stonier than Halland.*

Area	Mounds	Cairns
Bohuslän	0%	69%
Northern Halland	15%	22%
Central Halland	31%	7%
Southern Halland	33%	0.5%
Bjäre peninsula	21%	1.5%
Total (number)	100% (2363)	100% (2531)

The coastline

Looking at the maps presented earlier in this chapter, we see there is no doubt that the coastal area was important. Some of the more spectacular mortuary monuments are found along the coast and these, together with the hoards and further mortuary monuments covering the whole of the Bronze Age, seem to point out the areas that were of special interest. The sea was of course of major importance on the Bjäre peninsula. It not only provides food and contacts and was the element on which traded goods arrived, but it was also the sphere where the sun disappeared every night. This is an aspect which makes the west coast very different from the east coast of Sweden; the sun sets into the sea every single night, and thus the cosmological idea of the ship as the sun's helper is really not so strange at all (Kaul 1998). Sunrise in Bjäre would be located on the horizon of the inland and the ridge area; this was surely also an important aspect that might have played a part in the local characteristics of the Bronze Age heritage.

Back to the coastline, though, and in order to find out whether any further coastal mortuary monuments have existed that have disappeared in the later landscape I have used the military survey map from the early 18th century (*Skånska rekognosceringskartan* 1985). This map had a special interest for all landscape obstacles, especially around the coastline and especially those that could hinder military movements. Mounds along the coastline were well documented just as all the wetlands

Fig. 177. *The line of cairns belonging to Gröthögarna from the southwest. On a less hazy day the coastline of Halland and the city of Halmstad would be clearly visible. Photo John Nygren 2009.*

were. In fig. 178 all mounds that existed along the coastline according to this map are marked. In fig.184 all the coastal areas are named.

Looking at the distribution of the Bronze Age features along the coast of Bjäre, we can see that the southwestern and northwestern coastline tend to have a higher proportion of mortuary monuments. These are also the coastal areas which have many natural harbours, and one may suspect that they all needed to have an ancestral guardian in the form of a mortuary monument. Further, there are some coastal zones which are rich in monuments and connected with inland areas that have lots of rock-carvings. All of these places are also connected with streams reaching inland.

Below I will briefly describe the coastal areas that particularly stand out. In this connection it might be helpful to return to the thinking of Foucault and his suggestion that the meaning of places is often connected with power relations (Foucault 1980:149). The coastal areas as places for networking and long-term strategies connected with (inter-)regional relations should probably be seen in this light.

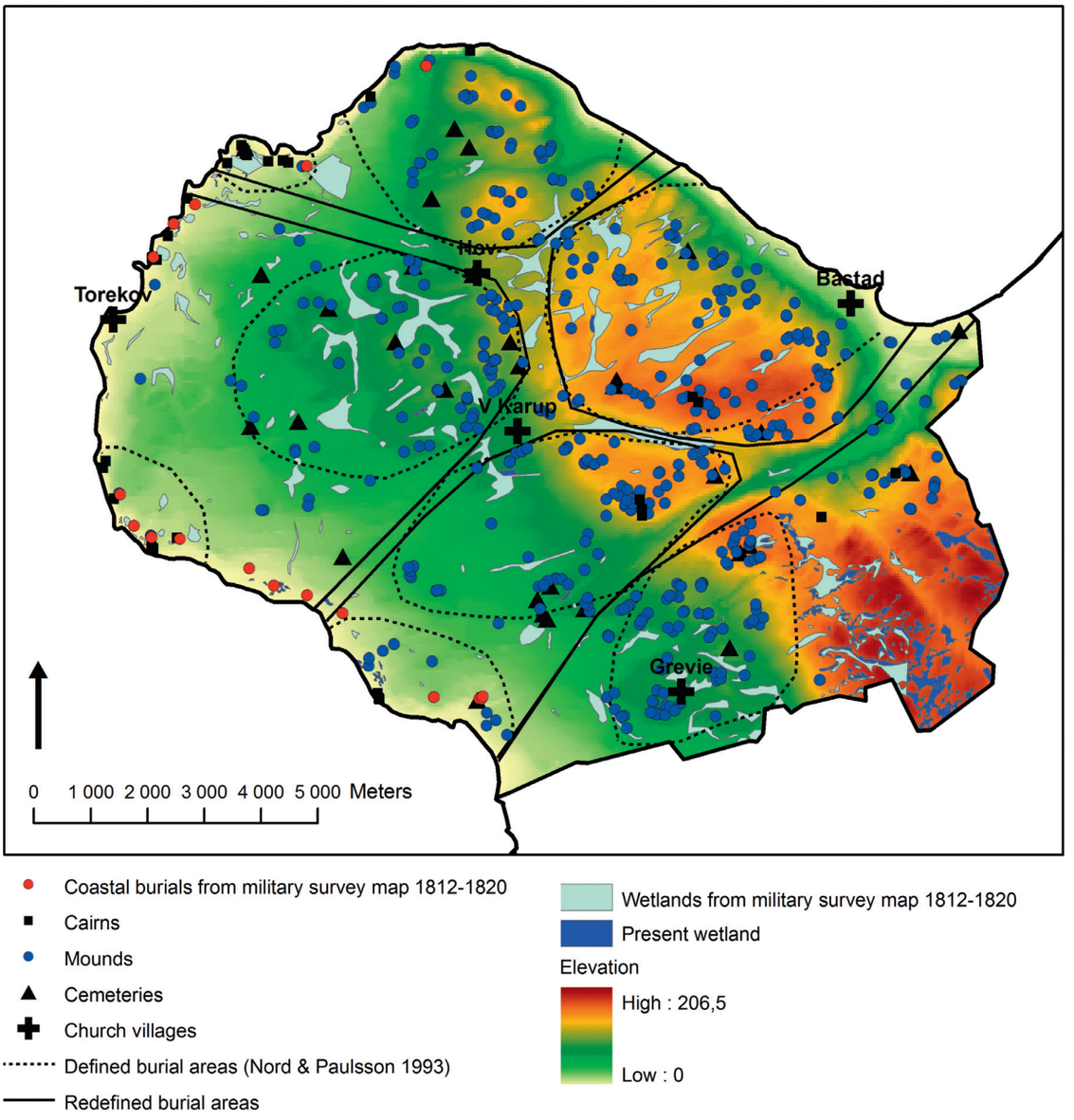


Fig. 178. *The coastal burials according to the military survey map from 1812–1820 are marked in blue. The burial-defined areas from 1993 as well as the redefined areas are also mapped. They will be discussed later in this chapter.*

Båstad – along the sandy coast of Båstad there is a rather large cemetery consisting of at least 13 mounds. Since Båstad is located precisely where the study area ends, I will not discuss the Båstad area very thoroughly, even though it is clear that it has been an important place in north–south communications. The place is very strategic, being connected with the large Sinarp valley that crosses the peninsula and perhaps having been used as an inland communication route (see Nord 2006a, Nord 2006b).

Kattvik – On the northern steep-sided coast of the peninsula there is a rather large valley which is framed by burials that have a large rock-carving site. This is a natural harbour along the dangerous coastline which is in use even today. The area has a very steep coastline and there are no mortuary monuments close to the sea, probably for this very reason. However, the valley around the natural harbour of Kattvik is easy to distinguish by looking at the elevation contours (see fig. 122). The valley is surrounded by burials and one of the large rock-carving sites (Troentorp, Hov RAÄ 92) is also located here. This valley and the harbour were most probably well defined and in use already during the Bronze Age.

Segeltorp/Hovs Hallar – Just before the northern coastline starts to rise and become the dangerous cliffs of Hovs Hallar there is an area which is rich in Bronze Age features. Here we find the rock-carving sites of this area, Hovs Hallar (see Chapter 3), and also a number of mortuary monuments close to the coast.

Gröthögarna – Further south is the cemetery of Gröthögarna. The cairns in the cemetery form a magnificent row and are clearly seen if you travel along the coastline (see fig. 177). From inland they are not visible except from the very coastal area of Segeltorp/Hovs Hallar (see above). The area in between the two streams that runs out east of Gröthögarna is called Vråen and is a natural harbour (see fig. 179). Perhaps this natural harbour is the one pointed out by Gröthögarna.

Torekov – Just north of the present village of Torekov there are a number of mortuary monuments which might signify a harbour place. One of the large rock-carvings is found along the stream that flow into the sea close to these burials (Västra Karup RAÄ 143).

Fig. 179. *Photograph of view from Gröthögarna towards Hovs Hallar and the rock-carving site of Hov RAÄ 130. Vråen is located just to the right of where the photograph ends. Photo Jenny Nord 2008.*

Dagshög/Burensvik – Along the southwestern corner of the peninsula there is a high density of mortuary monuments. This is a very strategic point in terms of communication. Dagshög is the name of the largest mound in Bjäre (as well as in Skåne), 44 metres in diameter and more than 5 metres high (see fig. 163). The burial is presumed to be of a Bronze Age date, just like the majority of the Bjäre burials; it can not be completely out ruled, however, that it is of a later date. Even so, this would not take away the impression of this area being important already during the Bronze Age, but it would instead enhance its importance in a long-term perspective.

Close to Dagshög there are several cairns and stone-settings and also one of the few Bjäre hoards was found here in a crevice. It contained five spearheads which can be dated to the period III–IV (Rydebeck 1926:291ff). However, Jacob-Friesen puts them slightly later in his work about spears from the Bronze Age and assigns them to period IV – possibly even period V. He also emphasises their length and European origin (Jacob-Friesen 1967:241f). In the Register of the National Herit-

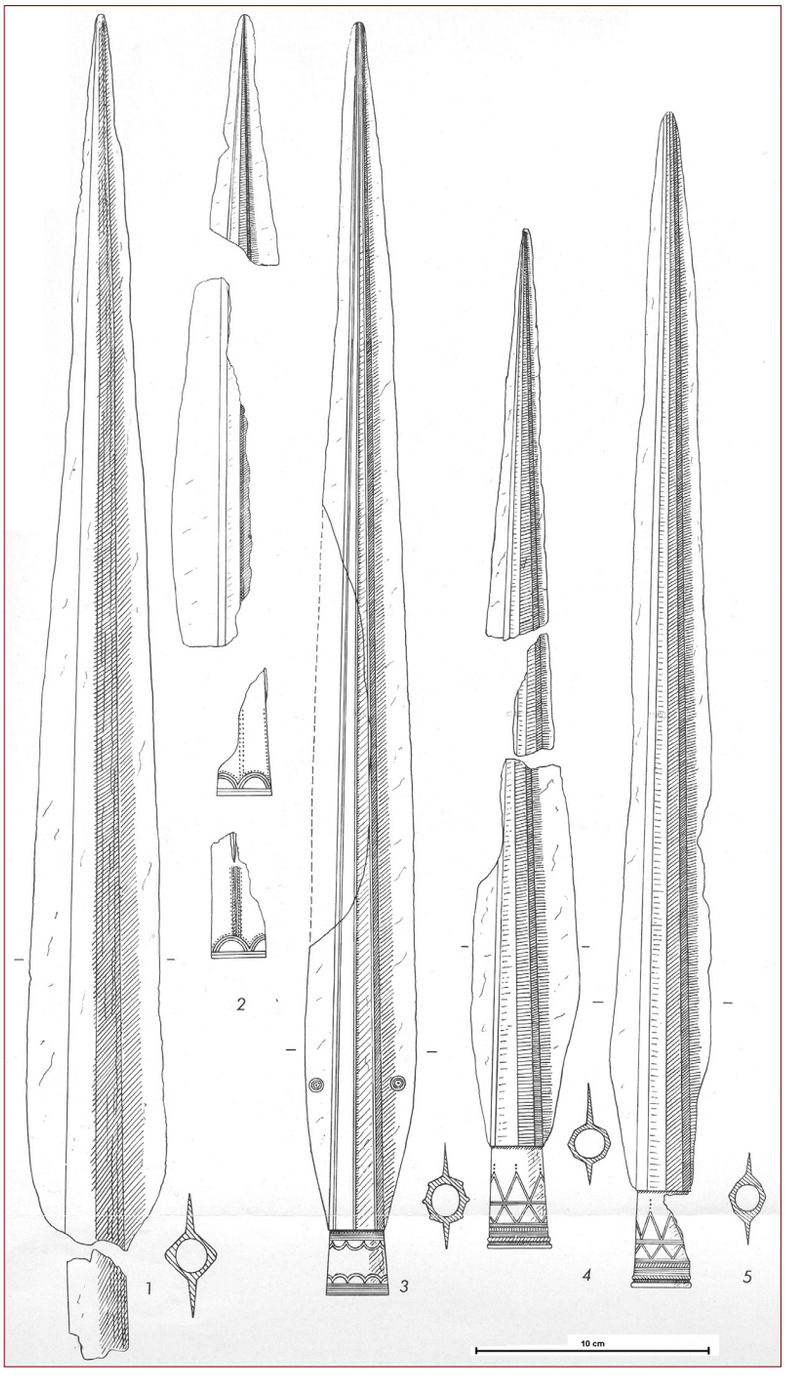


Fig. 180. *The spearheads from Slättaröd. From Jacob-Friesen 1967: tafel 125.*

age Board there is some confusion between this hoard of large spearheads and a hoard of swords, but from a close look at the information given (Nord & Paulsson 1993:78) it can be assumed that both hoards actually are the same (Västra Karup RAÄ 420/490). It seems as if two persons had different memories of the same find, which has led others to believe it was different hoards. In view of the very large size of these spearheads, it might not be so surprising if they were mistaken for swords (see fig. 180).

On the other side of the stream that runs out in this area there was another very large mortuary monument. Unfortunately, it has not survived but it is visible on the military survey map from the early 1800s (*Skånska rekognosceringskartan* 1985), see fig. 162. Information from people in the area has confirmed that there used to be a very large burial here called Linkullahöjen, which was removed in the early 1900s in connection with quarrying. 'Thousands of loads of stones were taken from the burial', and most probably it was used to build a quay for the boats in connection with the quarry. Nothing is known about whether it was a cairn or if it was covered with soil, but the size has been estimated to be as large as that of Dagshög (Västra Karup RAÄ 462; Nord & Paulsson 1993). All in all, this coastal area gives the impression that it was of great importance during the Bronze Age, and perhaps also in later periods. In particular, the communication aspects of the large burials, together with the hoarding activity, suggest that this was one of the important areas for trade and networking. The area has also been compared with the area of Kivik where the large Kivik cairn probably had a similar coastal communicative aspect to Dagshög and Linkullahöjen (Larsson L. 1993).

Mäsinge – Further, southeast of Dagshög/Burensvik and on the outskirts of the Vasalt area there is a stream where a large rock-carving site is found only 270 metres from the coastline. It is located along the stream just as it takes a sharp bend. This is a rare location for a rock carving site in Bjäre; they are more common in the inland areas. Besides this site (Västra Karup RAÄ 19) there are really only two other cases where rock-carvings are found close to the coast; one is found in the vicinity, in the Vasalt area (Grevie RAÄ 207, 419), and there are another two at Hovs Hallar (Hov RAÄ 220, 291). However, following the brook that runs upstream from Mäsinge there are a few further large sites, and eventually you reach the central sites of Drottninghall and Holmen. There are, however, few mortuary monuments that mark this coastal area, even if the military survey map adds a few.

Vasalt – The area of Vasalt, which has been thoroughly described in Chapter 3, is one of the richest rock-carving areas on the peninsula and it reaches almost all the way to the coastline. However, a number of mortuary monuments mark the coastline and make the area clearly visible from the seaside. A hoard from late Bronze Age period V has been found in this area, consisting of jewellery and clothing adornments (SHM 12937; Tillväxten 1906:260f, abb. 87–89; Montelius 1917: nos. 1345, 1390, 1403; Baudou 1960: 323; see figs. 169a and b). The rock-carvings in the Vasalt area mainly follow a natural ridge which leads inland (Chapter 3). This area was probably also important in the trade and communication activities of the peninsula.

Ängelsbäckstrand – South of Vasalt there is a place where several streams are connected and reach the sea. Several mortuary monuments are found where the streams connect, which gives this place a certain communicative function.

In this discussion I will focus on the coastal areas on the peninsula that were most clearly in active use during the Bronze Age: Segeltorp, Hovs Hallar, Gröthögarna, Dagshög/Burensvik and Vasalt. Kattvik, Torekov, Mäsinge and Ängelsbäckstrand are not forgotten, but they seem to have had a more local importance and are not as effectively marked out for travellers. The duality between rock-carving areas and areas rich in mortuary monuments recurs in one way or another on many of the coastal sites. Both Vasalt and Dagshög/Burensvik are marked on the coastline by mortuary monuments, and further inland a vast rock-carving area emerges. At Vasalt this happens close to the coast on a natural ridge, while in Dagshög/Burensvik this takes place further inland following a stream. But essentially it is the same pattern. Gröthögarna is clearly connected with the natural harbour of Vråen from where a stream leads inland directly into the western undulating area where several special rock-carving sites are found. There is no close connection with any rock-carvings, however, but a special connection with the rock-carvings in Segelstorp/Hovs Hallar can be noted from where the cairns of Gröthögarna can be seen; this is one of the few places inland from where this is possible. Perhaps these two areas, Gröthögarna and Segeltorp/Hovs Hallar, should be seen as

parts of the same coastal activity zone, with the natural harbour in Vråen placed in the middle (see fig. 179). It should be mentioned that the cult-house and cemetery complex of Tofta Högar, with its ship-setting, also can be easily reached from this place. The other ship-setting in Slättaröd (see fig. 49) is located close to the stream that leads to Dagshög/Burensvik.

A possible scenario is that travellers, whether homecomers or strangers, were greeted by the large monuments as they reached the coast of Bjäre. These were impressive and most probably told strangers of the strength and power of the Bjäre people and their ancestors. But at the same time they were also welcoming symbols saying that this is a place for networking and exchange. This is most probably one of the cases in which the rock-carving sites connected with the coastal areas had one of presumely several important tasks to fulfil: as places for networking activities.

Landscape and rock-carvings

In Chapter 3 rock-carvings were rather thoroughly discussed and many aspects were covered by these discussions, including the landscape that surrounds the different sites. Here I wish to look at the rock-carving sites with a more general landscape approach. The most striking difference among the sites in this perspective might be the way large and small sites are differently distributed. Large sites are rather evenly distributed in the landscape, often in dominant landscape positions and often

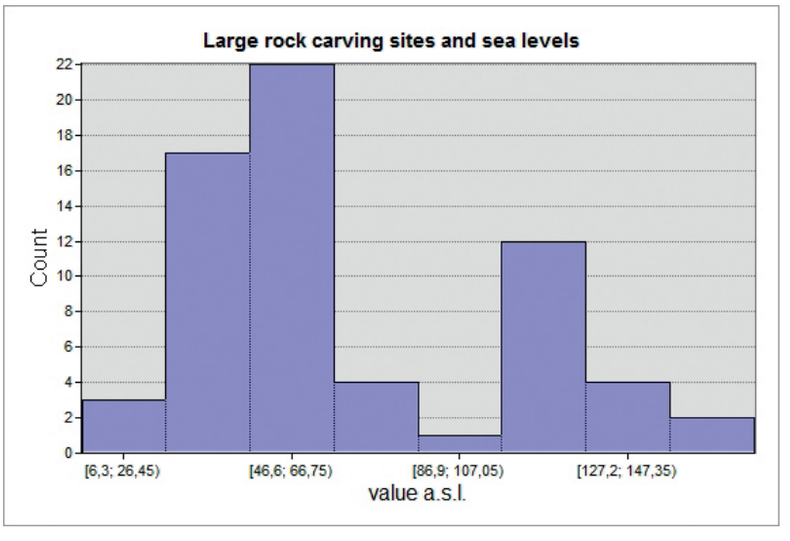


Fig. 181. *Graph showing the sea-levels and the frequencies of large rock-carving sites.*

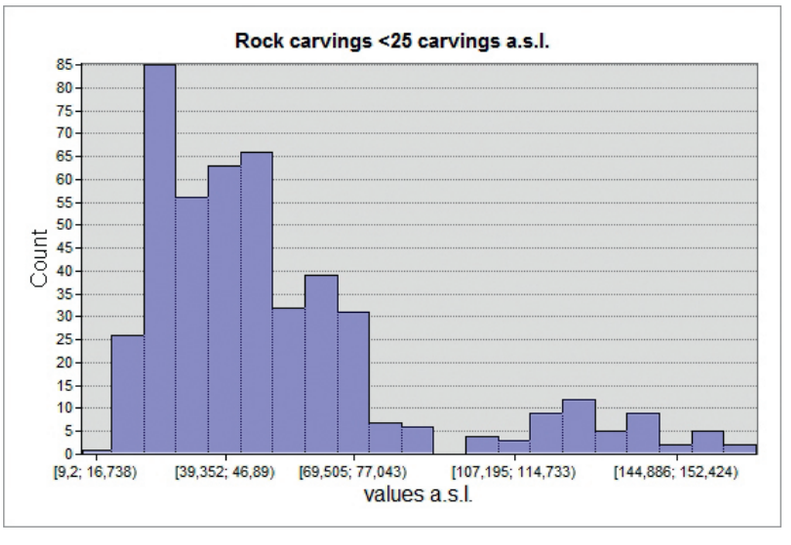


Fig. 182. *Graph showing the sea-levels and the frequencies of rock-carving sites with 1–24 carvings.*

they also follow natural topographic zones, mainly the edges of the large valleys and the ridge. In a previous work I have suggested that these were places along communication routes in the landscape (Nord 2006a).

Small sites occur mainly at lower altitudes in the western part of the peninsula and on sites that often are not so dominant in the landscape. A similar pattern has been noticed elsewhere especially where the cupmark is the main motif (Broström et al. 2008). In this work these sites are regarded as hierophanies with reference to Eliade (1959). Thus these central large rock-carving sites are seen as religious central sites while the smaller sites, according to this way of thinking, can be viewed as 'home-altars' connected with settlements, as has also been argued by Ullén. In the Bjäre landscape the large rock-carving sites can easily be interpreted as hierophanies, and as I discussed above, they are mainly connected with the *behaviour* way of social remembering (see above and Connerton 1989; Bradley 2002:12f). The rather specific individual characteristics of these sites (Chapter 3) suggest that it was different topics that were in focus at different sites. However, the smaller sites of Bjäre are not generally spread around the larger sites as if they were magnets, as was the case, for example, in Södermanland (Broström et al. 2008) and in Småland (Gurstad-Nilsson 1999). Instead they are especially concentrated in two areas in the southern and western lower part of the peninsula. It is less probable that these sites should be seen as being closely connected with settlements since these must have been more widespread. Instead they might have been connected with something else; for example with some kind of activities that were special for these both areas.

I have previously put forward the possibility that the small cupmark sites might have a protective function and be connected with grazing land, as has been found elsewhere (Bengtsson 2004). I have also argued that these might in fact be protecting and framing an area with a special sacred character. There is, however, yet another possibility which refers more directly to the local landscape's characteristics. Often – both within this work and in others dealing with rock-carvings – the large rock-carving sites are describes as places which have a vast view, or places that can be seen from long distances (see for example Broström et al. 2008). Within the lower landscape in Bjäre which has a high density of small sites, there are also less landscape-dominating places and thus a greater freedom in choosing places for these activities. Perhaps the local landscape had an impact on how the rock-carvings are executed within it; large sites on dominant outcrops with vast views and small but many sites on lower land with less dominant natural places. Thus the rock-carving distribution patterns should not only be seen as a result of the cultural traditions. A similar idea about the landscape as an active agent was put forward above concerning the burials. The landscape might in fact be much more active in constructing (pre-)historic layers within it than we normally think of it.

Another possibility can be found in the earlier discussion about *inscription* and *behaviour* ways of social remembering according to Connerton and Bradley (Connerton 1989; Bradley 2002:12f). In this discussion the lower western area was seen as an area where a presumed later tradition of remembering in the form of *behaviour* dominated and thus formed the prehistoric sites. The *behaviour* way was less dependent on ancestors and more dependent on ritual control, which could have been one reason for the increased use in a landscape zone that was less occupied with the earlier ancestral monuments. In this way the wealth of small rock-carving sites in the western lower areas can be seen as products of an increased religious power struggle. Perhaps this ritual control was connected with exchange and networking since both these areas that are especially rich in small sites with cupmarks are spatially connected to important coastal areas (see earlier in this chapter).

Rock-carvings and burials

In Chapter 3 I defined a 50-metre distance between mortuary monuments and rock-carvings if they are to be considered connected. Further, I distinguished four different levels of relationship between them:

- The first level is when a mortuary monument or a cemetery and a rock-carving site are related to each other, that is, within 50 metres.
- The second level of relationship is on a wider landscape level, where places with rock-

carvings and places with mortuary monuments seem to relate to each other, as for example at Ängalag where they are strictly located on two different but adjacent hills. This situation is often true when it comes to larger rock-carving sites. This level has a larger distance than 50 metres.

- The third level is that there is no obvious relationship at all.
- Beyond these three levels there is also the specific relation found on several of the larger sites, Holmen, Bjäragården, Svenstad, Lingården and Tofta Högar, where the joint context suggests that the sites were specialised for rituals in connection with death.

These levels can be compared with the ones that Widholm has seen in the area of eastern Småland (Widholm 1998:88ff; 2001:191). He was able to distinguish three different ways of using cupmarks in burial rituals (he does not include figurative rock art):

- When there are cupmarks centrally in a burial defining the special importance of the buried person.

  This is actually included in my first level but perhaps it should be singled out. In Bjäre we know of one specific case from period III where a large cupmark stone was buried together with a person: Krogstorp (Grevie RAÄ 132). Besides the cupmarks a pommel was also recovered. There was no burial construction but cremated bones and pieces of pottery were spread in the southern part of the burial. However, the boulder with the cupmarks was not deeply buried in the monument and it could possibly have been (made) visible during later periods. The report is not very detailed but it defines the boulder with cupmark as a central boulder and further comments that the cover of earth that was 0.5 metres thick was recent (Nagy 1975a, see also Chapter 3). There is also another case in the area of Ängalag where a small boulder with 25 cupmarks was located directly on the side of a stone-setting. This boulder has however been removed recently (Hov RAÄ 11).

- A few large places with hundreds of cupmarks in connection with mortuary monuments. These cupmarks were in use for ancestral cult repeatedly over long periods.

  In Bjäre several of the large rock-carving sites have a connection with mortuary monuments or cemeteries and also implying a special use in connection with burials or death rituals. Some of these places are not especially closely located to burials; for example Lingården, Troentorp and Ängalag, while others are directly connected with burials: Flatakull, Bjäragården, Ängalag, Drottninghall, Holmen and Tofta Högar.

- A large amount of mortuary monuments with only a few cupmarks in close connection. This suggests that the cupmarks were in use in connection with funerary rituals. A similar pattern has been noticed in Britain (Deakin 2007).

  This is a situation that seems to be similar to what is found in some cemeteries and also on the lower and undulating western area of Bjäre. This way of using the rock-carvings seems to connect mainly with late Bronze Age mortuary monuments, while the above examples seem to have a closer connection with early or middle Bronze Age monuments.

All the sites that are connected in different ways with death rituals are located on the ridge area or on the edge of the ridge (see fig. 183). Lingården is remote from burials but seems to have been used for quarrying stone slabs for cists. The site of Holmen is closely located to a stone-setting but was also covered in the late Bronze Age with a heap of fire-cracked stones where a house-urn was also found. This connects the site closely with mortuary rituals, and perhaps also with the final use of the site itself. Tofta Högar is a well-known cemetery with a cult house where mortuary rituals are presumed to have taken place and has been dated to period III (Victor 2002:101). At Svenstad there

are rock-carving features that might be connected with the cult-house symbolism. The two remaining sites with large black dots are large sites with rock-carvings that are closely located to burials and cemeteries, which indicates a relation between them. At Ängalag the site with rock-carvings is located on a hill opposite another hill which contains many burials but no rock-carvings. The same situation is found at Troentorp.

All of these sites are located in the same space where we find the majority of early and middle Bronze Age burials. However, the eastern part of the peninsula has very few of this type of rock-carving sites. In the lower and undulating western area there is a more general connection between small sites with cupmarks and burials, and mainly with stone-settings. This suggests that during the early and middle Bronze Age the mortuary rituals in Bjäre were at least partly held at centrally located places where many people could gather. These rituals were probably connected with the ancestors in the same way as Bengtsson suggested for Tanum and Widholm for Småland (Bengtsson 2004; Widholm 1998:88ff, 2001:191; see also above) and may in fact also be seen as a mixture of *inscription* and *behaviour* ways of remembering the past and the ancestors (Connerton 1989; Bradley 2002:12f; see earlier). During the later part of the Bronze Age this activity generally seems to have become more private and perhaps also more controlled and was now to a great extent connected more directly with the burials themselves and with the western lower areas.

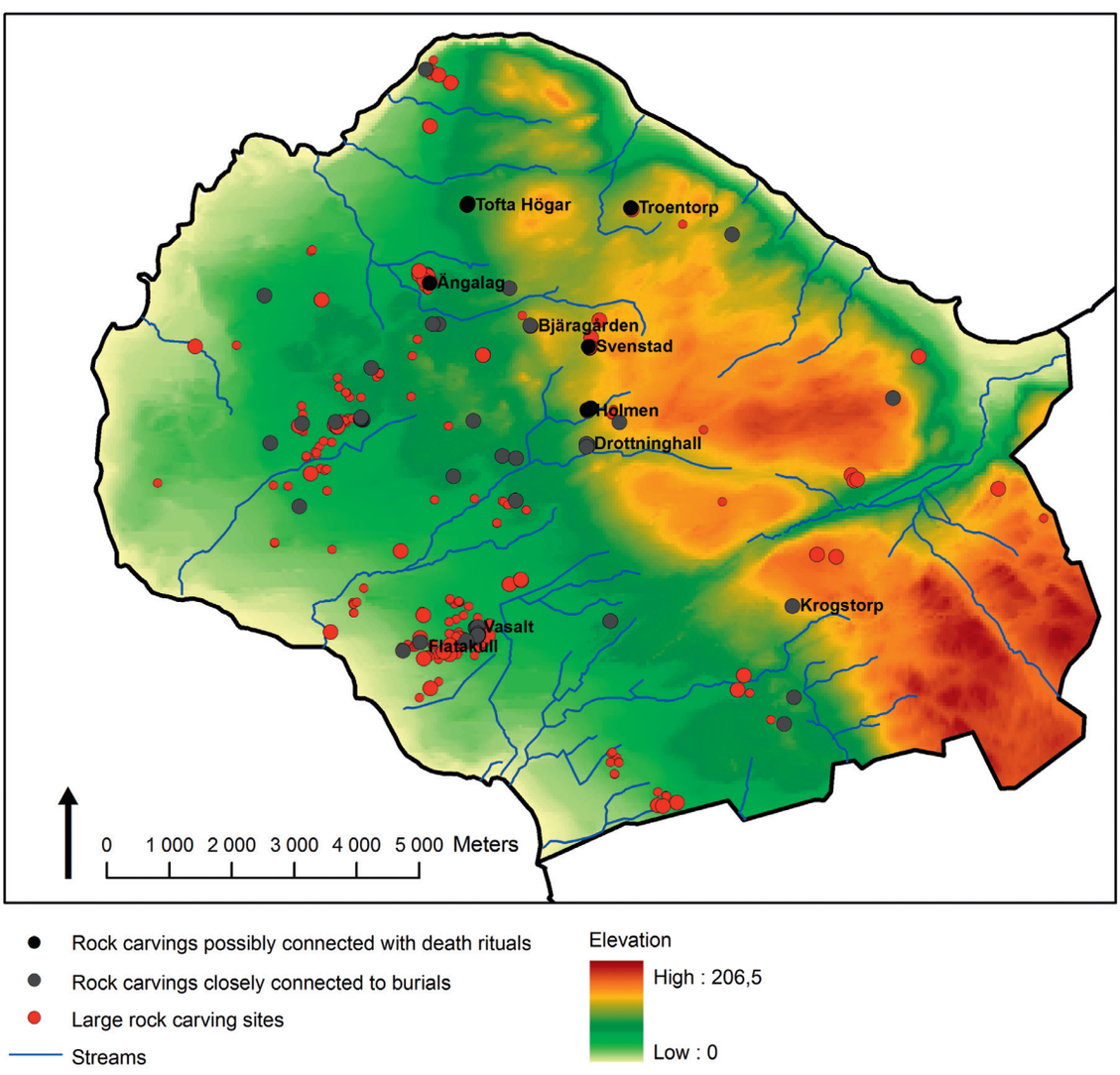


Fig. 183. *Rock-carvings connected with burials or possibly with special death rituals. Background data © Lantmäteriet Gävle 2009. Grant I 2009/0549.*

The symbol of the ship and the house, and a discussion of social structure

The impetus for the rather sudden start of creating a ritual landscape on the Bjäre peninsula during the early Bronze Age can most probably be traced to the ideological and cultural ideas that were flowing through Europe during this period. At this time many phenomena, items, pictures and ideas united large parts of Scandinavia, which of course was made possible through the existence of good communications and social networks. I will now discuss two symbols that seem to recur in many Scandinavian areas: the ship and the house. This discussion will end in an exploration of the social structure of Bjäre.

Kaul argues that the ship as a symbol is valid for the whole of the Bronze Age since it emerges when the import of bronze becomes important and disappears only as it becomes less important and when local or regional ironworking takes its place (Kaul 1998:110f). Recently Bradley has applied Kaul's cosmological model where the ship is of great importance on a landscape basis using ships on rock-carvings. Bradley argues that ship carvings are often connected with the sea (Bradley 2006:378, see also Chapter 3). In Bjäre there are three newly found ships carved on rock. One of these (Västra Karup RAÄ 152, see fig. 128) is seemingly charged with other symbols, mainly with cupmarks. The two other carvings of ships of Bjäre are found on the site of Lingården (Hov RAÄ 175) and are much more modest (see fig. 105). Lingården in itself is one of the more hidden sites of Bjäre, being located on an 'island' surrounded by wetland, and the carvings of these ships are not very clear; they are almost hidden on the rock surface. The sea is not visible from this site (see fig. 104), which makes it different from the general idea of ship carvings (Bradley 2006:378). Further, the sea is one of the more common views from most places in Bjäre. However, the wetland where the site is located is the source of streams leading to important coastal areas. The other ship carving in Bröddarp is different, however, and perhaps more typical in its setting on a boulder which has a sea view, and it is also deeply and clearly engraved. Kristiansen has argued that visiting chiefs might have been responsible for ship carvings (Kristiansen 2002). This would of course be one explanation for these rare motifs in Bjäre, but I do not find this a probable scenario, mainly for two reasons: first, the remote and hidden character of the Lingården site where two of the ships are found. Only people well acquainted with the neighbourhood would know the place or find their way there. Secondly, the ship of Bröddarp seems to be made to fit the local tradition with rather rough carvings as well as in the choice of the amphibolite part of the large boulder for the engravings.

There are two other ship symbols from the study area; two ship-settings, and just north of Bjäre, in southern Halland, there is another similar ship-setting, Lugnarohögen, which is covered by a mound (Wranning 2006). Today it is possible to visit the inner of the mound through a tunnel that connects the mound with a small museum. Lugnarohögen was – and is still – definitely covered by a mound but for the two stone ships in Bjäre there are some uncertainties as to whether they ever were covered with mounds or not. In the case of Tofta Högar (see fig. 170), we can read in the preliminary report made by Göran Burenhult that the whole construction was made directly on the former ground level and that most probably it was not covered by a mound, but it was partly covered by a very small cairn in which a burial from the late Iron Age was found (Burenhult 1976, report to ATA 958/1976). However, in a later publication Burenhult argued that it was in fact covered by a mound similar to Lugnaro (Burenhult 1981:396ff).

The stone ship at Slättaröd (see fig. 49) has not been covered by a mound in recent times; there is, however, some information in an old letter to the National Heritage Board that soil from a mound was taken from here in the early 1900s. This information may of course refer to one of the large mounds located very close to the ship, which is rather damaged in parts (Gustavsson 1931, ATA dnr 2901/1931). Unfortunately we cannot for sure know whether these two stone ships, like the one at Lugnaro, actually were covered by mounds. In a way it does not matter since both burials are surrounded by large mounds that connect them with the same symbolic language even though they were not physically hidden. Furthermore, they are hidden in the grass and can hardly be seen even from a short distance. However, the two in Bjäre have sea views, which the Lugnaro burial does not have. All three stone ships have been thoroughly investigated and they have been dated to the late Bronze Age. The Bjäre ships are about 11 × 4 metres in size, while Lugnaro is slightly smaller, 8 × 2.5 metres (Strömberg 1962; Burenhult 1976, report to ATA 958/1976, 1981:396ff; Wranning 2006).

The ship burial at Slättaröd was excavated by Märta Strömberg, who discovered that it was superimposed on a Bronze Age settlement layer (Strömberg 1962), as if to conclude a dwelling location with a symbolic journey to the realm of the dead. The burial gifts found in the Slättröd ship – cremated bones of a horse and a dog as well as some burnt arrowheads in flint (see fig. 50) – are a rather unusual set of gifts. The ship burial at Tofta Högar is located at a large cemetery and cult-house complex, which in itself suggests that the buried person had a special meaning. The Lugnaro burial is located close to other mounds and also close to an important river-crossing (Carlie et al. 2003). In the area of Kalmar a close connection between rectangular stone monuments and burial ships from the Bronze Age has been noted (Widholm 1998:148f). Widholm argues the burials in these monuments were given a special ritual meaning. Further, he also notes that these burials often occur with an even distribution in the landscape, as if they were central ritual sites that summoned a large audience, and were not only for family events (Widholm 1998:148f).

The ship symbols in Bjäre were not exposed – they were instead hidden in the landscape either covered by mounds or so low-lying that they cannot have been seen unless someone stumbled on them. Indeed, you have to know where they are to find them. Was it the construction of a ship, the special character of the deceased person or the location that made the important symbolic marker? Or was it perhaps a choice by the living that had nothing to do with the dead (Oestigaard & Goldhahn 2006)? Artelius has argued that the ship as a religious symbol during the Bronze Age was used for different social purposes, with the social function being seen in the way the ship is exposed in the burial (Artelius 1996:101). According to Artelius the stone ship hidden by a mound – or just not being visible in the landscape – symbolises the journey to the realm of the dead rather than power and status. The value of the symbol may have been made even stronger by being hidden and thereby not available for the living. The same situation applies to the rock-carving ships in Lingården, of which one has a similar age to the ship burials, while the other is of the same age as the cult house in Tofta Högar, just like the Bröddarp rock-carving ship.

Both of the ship-formed burials in Bjäre have spatial associations with houses or at least settlements; the Slättaröd burial is superimposed on a settlement layer (which probably is connected to a house) and at Tofta Högar there is a close spatial relationship with a cult house. Victor suggests a dating of the cult house in Tofta Högar to the middle Bronze Age, period III (Victor 2002:101) which makes the house older than the ship burial close to it, and perhaps the cult house was no longer in active use by this time. In the case of Slättaröd the settlement layer is also older than the burial since it covers it, and it is therefore no longer in active use. I should also mention the excavations conducted at Valhalla in the parish of Barkåkra just south of Bjäre, where Gad Rausing in 1948 found a cult house buried beneath a mound. The burial could be dated to the Bronze Age period III (Rausing 1949) which would give this cult house a similar dating to the one at Tofta Högar. At Tofta Högar the two symbols; the ship and the house, are found together. Next to the cult house there is an enclosure constructed in a similar way but much larger. It seems to share the same symbolic language as the smaller house and perhaps it shares the same idea of a house, but one that has gone completely out of scale. This is not the only feature in Bjäre that seems to have gone out of scale, however; there are also the cupmarks which are sometimes extremely large (Flatakull and Svenstad, see Chapter 3).

Earlier in Chapter 3 I discussed the status markers of house and burial as they appear in current research. I argued that it is within the living society that social changes were made, and it is only later we see the effects in the landscape as in, for example, mortuary monuments. During the Neolithic era the long-house is interpreted as a symbol of status and also a symbol of the community (see Bradley 2002; 2005 and discussions in Thäte 2007:chapter 5). During the Bronze Age we have the cult houses, which may have maintained the old idea of the house: *house* in the sense of a shared community, family and thus ancestral history. Maybe the rectangular stone burials that Widholm talks about (1998:148f) can be seen as similar house symbols, and perhaps the rectangular form in different situations symbolises the idea of the house. The rectangular rock-carving at Svenstad should probably be seen in the same light. This is in fact not the only rock-carving that has a connection with a symbolic house; the site of Holmen (Västra Karup RAÄ 66) was partly covered with a heap of fire-cracked stones where some pieces of a house-urn were found.

When the first large mortuary monuments were being built in the landscape of Bjäre during the early Bronze Age, it can be argued that individual status had become more important. It can also be argued that individuals from earlier periods had attained an ancestral position as some of these early mounds cover late Neolithic stone cists. But it may be questioned whether a large mound that covers an ancestor's burial actually shows *individual* status; it might in fact be just as possible that the connection with the ancestor is instead a connection with the *house* of the ancestor, by which I mean the family, the kin, and not only with a single person. As we saw above, mounds also cover houses, which indicate even more strongly that the symbolism of the *house* is more important than that of individuals. The specific Bjäre situation, with many mortuary monuments that, at least from the middle Bronze Age, seem to have been used to a great extent as family graves (Chapter 3), suggests a social system where status generally is not focused on individual level, but rather on the level of the *house*.

A similar idea was put forward by Harding, who argued that a system of small farming units does not give the impression of being especially hierarchical (Harding 2000). However, there might of course have been great competition between the different farming units (or houses as I have called them above), competition which might also have been played out in other spheres, for example in the way rituals were performed.

There is no clear evidence of a hierarchical structure based on individuals, as the numerous mortuary monuments are rather even-sized and often have the character of family burials. Even so, there are burials with individuals that seem to have been special. The mortuary monuments that cover these are not different from others, however, except perhaps for the ship-settings. The keen interest in building mounds during the whole of the Bronze Age in Bjäre might mirror the vigorous upholding of cosmological traditions. It may also relate to an internal struggle where the local definition of land ownership became relevant as agriculture became more important (see also Håkansson 1985; Andersson 1999; Nord Paulsson 2002a). Perhaps it was with the increasing agricultural activities, with the growing of crops, that the landscape became a subject of real contest (Bender 1993, 1998), as activities such as grazing, crop-growing and the need for undisturbed sites for ritual activities led to a conflict that is seen today in large number of sites from this period.

Burial-defined areas

In a previous work from 1993, Jonas Paulsson and I performed a study of the exposure of the mounds and the rock-carvings of Bjäre, inspired by the methodology of Ulf Säfvestad (Nord & Paulsson 1993; Säfvestad 1993, see also Chapters 1 and 3). Five burial-defined areas were distinguished mainly through two methods: looking at the nearest neighbour and thus defining clusters, and looking at the exposure of the burials and thus defining the borders of these clusters. It was assumed that burials and settlements were spatially connected and further that the burials had an outward exposure towards other areas, and later this was hypothesis was strengthened in the analyses. It became apparent that the natural borders – steep-sided valleys and bogs – had a large number of burials that were exposed towards the burial cluster on the other side. A pattern that emerged was that the mounds often framed the burial-defined areas, and that the large rock-carving sites generally were located in between these. They were interpreted as being common meeting places across the borders. With the new information from the recent documentation work on rock-carvings together with the chronological tool of the Bronze Age burials to which the stone-settings were also added, the burial-defined areas from the previous work can be tested and redefined.

Of course there are many source-critical difficulties with defining borders in prehistoric times, in this case not least because the Bronze Age is a long period of time, from 1800 BC until 500 BC, and some of the burials that are used in the analysis may possibly be younger and belong to the Iron Age. The settlements surely moved and expanded several times during this period of time, and thus the burial-defined areas represent a long-term landscape use and do not show one single window on a particular period. And perhaps this is also the very strength of this method (see also Fahlander 2001:chapters 1 and 2). Even if these areas are hypothetical they might in fact help us to understand and define land-use patterns in a long-term perspective. The border zones in between the different areas are rather narrow and fit well with the description of similar borders on the island of Als, Denmark (Sørensen 1992b:135).

The defined burial areas seem to follow the topography and streams fairly well. These are the natural borders, besides which the coastline makes up yet another important natural border. Using the chronological tools defined in Chapter 3 there are two things to learn: that the locations of at least the large rock-carving sites are consistent and that, even with the newly found sites added, they are still located mainly in between the settlement areas. There is no great need to redefine the areas for this reason. The second issue concerns the mortuary monuments which show a rather different patterning during the three defined periods: early, middle and late Bronze Age. The early Bronze Age mounds seem to have been mainly exposed towards the sea (see also Eriksson Lagerås 2005). Looking at the hypothetical borders of the burial-defined areas, we see that these early and large monuments are not so clearly connected with the borders. Instead the borders make better sense when all mortuary monuments from all periods are added. I suggested above that it is mainly the mortuary monuments from the middle Bronze Age that show a strong territoriality and it is also these burials that seem to be most closely connected with the proposed borders (see fig. 184). I have also argued earlier in this work that while the large rock-carving sites represent long-term stable

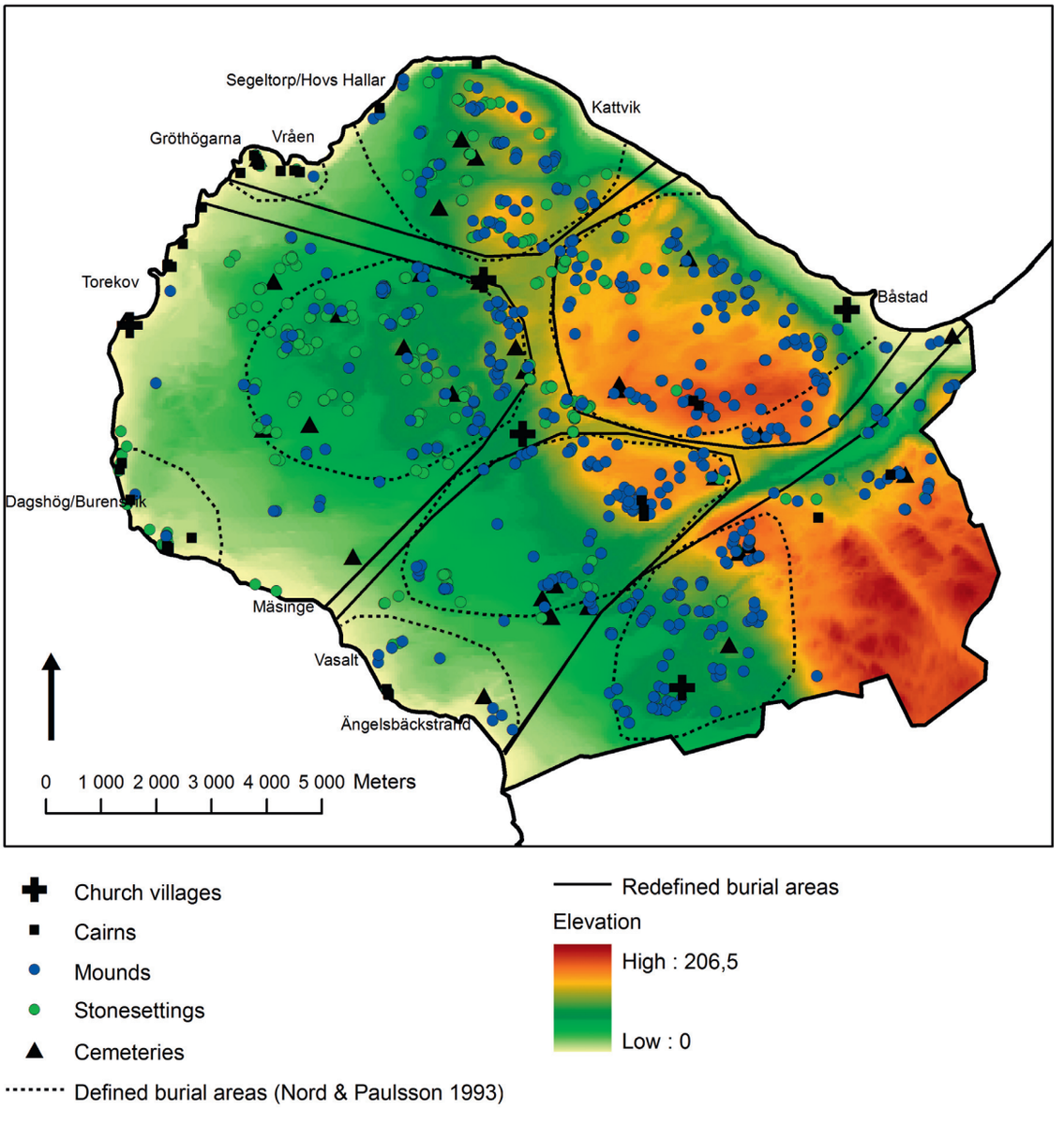


Fig. 184. *Burial-defined areas, coastal areas and mortuary monuments. Background data © Lantmäteriet Gävle 2009. Grant I 2009/0549.*

places, the burials instead show change in the landscape use. Therefore it is probable that the burial-defined areas show the result of an organic long-term landscape use and thus show the end result of a long period's landscape activity concerning the ritual landscape and the more profane everyday life that went on around it.

Looking at the coastal areas that were discussed earlier in this chapter, it is clear that most of them were already noticed and defined in 1993, but they need to be redefined and actually to be connected with the inland areas. All of the burial-defined areas have at least one coastal zone connected to them, as well as one large rock-carving area that is located in between the coastal area and the more intensively used burial area on the ridge. The two ship burials in Bjäre: Tofta Högar and Slättaröd (see Chapter 3), are located in two different burial-defined areas (see also the discussions in Nord Paulsson 2002a) which can be compared to the results Widholm reached in eastern Småland. He noticed that the ship burials only appeared in central areas (as opposed to marginal areas). He also distinguished between ship burials in the inland and along the coast and found that the inland ships were located at fairly even distances in the landscape. Widholm suggested that they were the focus of more complicated and centrally located funeral rituals (Widholm 1998:148f). I think that, in the light of Widholm's research, the situation in Bjäre where the two ship burials are found in two different burial-defined areas strengthens the interpretation of these areas as actual administra-

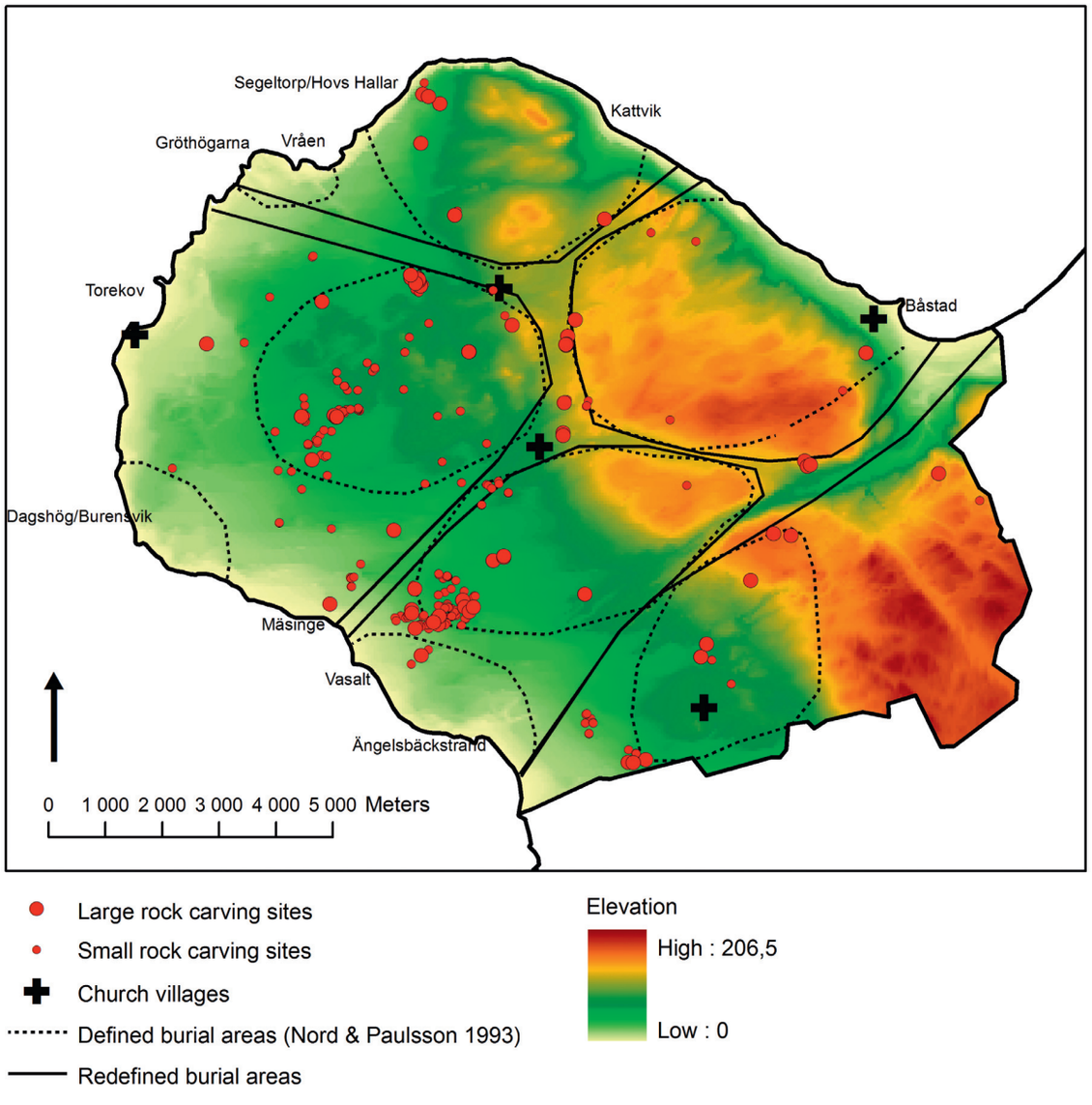


Fig. 185. *Burial-defined areas and rock-carvings. Background data © Lantmäteriet Gävle 2009. Grant I 2009/0549.*

tion units, even though they might not have been very fixed. Further, people surely came together for feasts, ceremonies and for networking. Many of the large rock-carving sites are located in the border zones between the settlement areas, and they were most probably used as common meeting places and perhaps for slightly different purposes than the more local sites, even if they sometimes can have been large. This is also suggested by the different characteristics that many of the sites have, as was described in Chapter 3.

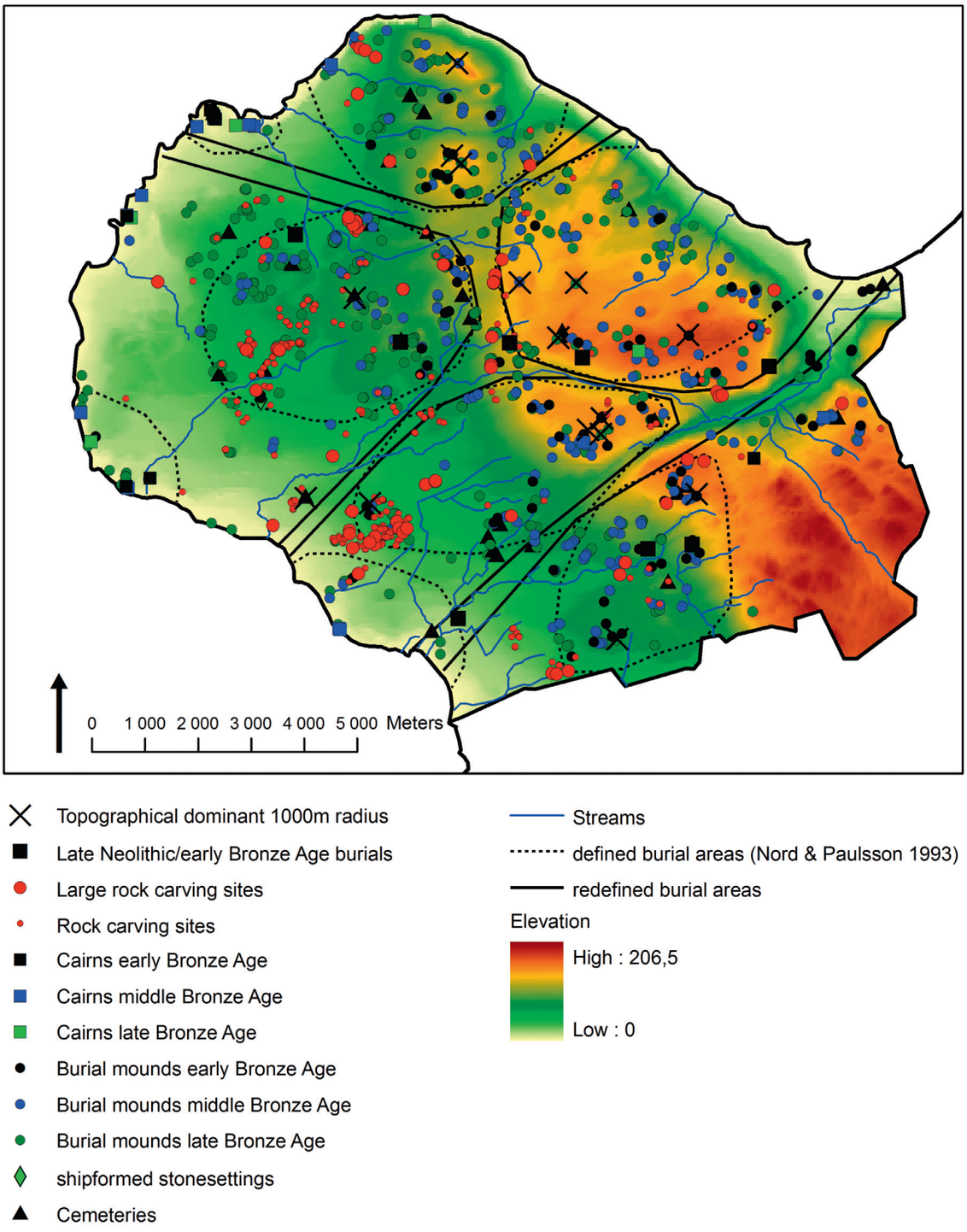


Fig. 186. *Burial-defined areas together with rock-carvings and mortuary monuments. The mounds with topographical dominance are marked with a cross. Background data © Lantmäteriet Gävle 2009. Grant I 2009/0549.*

Generally the burial-defined areas from the previous work in 1993 still function rather well with the adjustment of connecting the coastal areas to them as was described above. However, it should be emphasised that they show the sum of long-term ritual landscape use. Still, as a model it can facilitate our understanding of landscape use on a general base. The easternmost area from 1993 is located on the very edge of the study area and is not defined in this work.

Landscape communication aspects

Through the observations that have been made about the Bronze Age sites and the landscape of Bjäre there are some general patterns that seem to have been of some importance for landscape communication, both locally and regionally, that I will sum up here:

There are many large mounds, presumably from the early Bronze Age, on high locations; they are exposed towards the sea and visible over larger distances. Sometimes they frame the burial areas that have been defined above, and might in this case have had a territorial function. This is a recurrent pattern in other areas, for example Möre on the east coast (Eriksson 1992) and the south of Skåne (Säfvestad 1993). Säfvestad also discussed topographical dominance among the mounds and found that, on the outskirts of the burial-defined areas, there were often mounds that had this dominance, meaning that they were located on the highest spot within a 2000-metre radius. Mounds with topographical dominance in Bjäre were defined in the initial work (Nord & Paulsson 1993); because of the hilly landscape of Bjäre and the abundance of mounds the radius was redefined as 1000 metres. The mounds with topographical dominance are marked in fig. 186; as in Säfvestad's study area they often, but not always, occur on the outskirts of the burial-defined areas.

Another issue which should be considered when discussing the burial-defined areas in connection with landscape communication aspects is the directions of exposure of the mortuary monuments. In fig. 187 the directions of all mortuary monuments are marked by colours. The exposures have been calculated from the elevation data, which means that they have the same inaccuracy as these data are calculated from 50 × 50 metre squares. Even though this means that there might be some monuments that are given the wrong direction, the overall pattern is securely captured. There is a general trend that the burial monuments are directed outwards from the borders of the defined areas; sometimes an inward exposure is also noted. These data suggest that the area of Gröthögarna might be more connected with the southern area instead of with Hovs Hallar as has been suggested earlier. However, the overall pattern strengthens the idea of burial-defined areas.

There are large mortuary monuments both in the inland, mainly on the ridge, and along the coastline, where they are exposed towards the sea. To people approaching, this would communicate about the inhabitants and their ancestral rights to the area, but also tell of possible harbours for exchange and networking, through mounds facing south and cairns facing both north and south. This certainly inscribed the landscape with another type of memory which not only had to do with ancestors but also with territorial thinking as well as communication (Artelius 1998). These mortuary monuments along the coastline were the outward face of Bjäre and important in transregional communication. They played a socio-political role, showing both identity and power as well as being a welcoming feature along the coast for foreign and homecoming vessels.

The burials from the middle Bronze Age are smaller but often well located in the hilly landscape in order to look more monumental than their size suggests. They probably display an ancestral right to the land similar to the previous burials, but these rarely cover earlier burials. To a greater extent, however, they show specific exposures in the landscape and are not always focused on the sea. This situation has not yet been quantified properly and needs further investigation. These burials seem to have a stronger territorial function than the earlier ones.

The burials from the late Bronze Age are fairly evenly distributed on the peninsula while the earlier ones are more restricted to the ridge and the higher ground. The late Bronze Age burials rarely show any landscape dominance; they are often found in cemeteries and blend in rather well in the landscape. By this time the large-scale territorial function is less important and instead they follow other principles, perhaps the movements of field systems as has been discussed earlier.

In this connection they would still be territorial but on a smaller scale within a group, family or kin instead of in between them on a larger scale. It should not be forgotten, though, that the earlier burials were still in use for secondary graves, which suggests that ancestral thought was still very important in the community. This might be one of many possible ways that social differences were signalled in this period; a burial with the ancestors on the ridge might have brought higher status than being buried in the stones from the opening of a new field (see also Olausson 1993a).

The large rock-carving sites with a more varied figurative world seem to be located mainly in between the settlement zones that the mounds indicate. These sites may possibly be seen as neutral in worldly terms but cosmologically highly charged where meetings between the neighbouring groups on the peninsula took place for several reasons (Nord & Paulson 1993). At some of these places which are closely connected with the coastal areas discussed above, exchange and networking with people from much longer distances probably happened too.

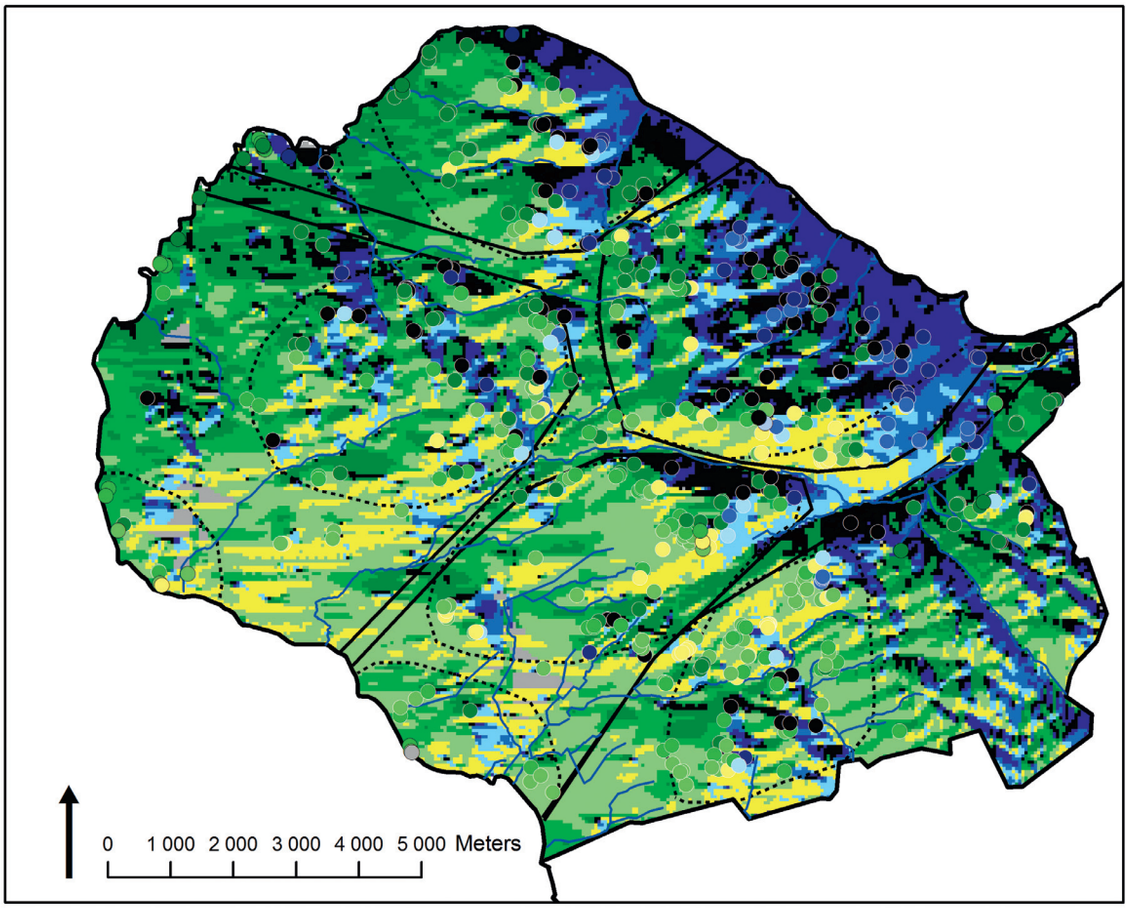


Fig. 187. *The exposures of both the landscape in Bjäre and all the mounds and cairns. The colours on the landscape share the same colour definitions as the monuments in the legend. Since stone-settings generally are too small and low to be clearly seen from a distance, I have chosen not to include them in this map.*

Looking at the visible traces of the Bronze Age in today's landscape, then, there seem to be several levels of markers that give the landscape and its features an important role in communication:

- Burials aimed towards the sea.
- The inland burials which define the different areas on the peninsula and which also seem to work on a third level:
- To mark single units from each other.
- Large rock-carving sites which worked as common meeting grounds, unifying at the same time as they mark the borders of the settlement areas

However, the small rock-carving sites whose distribution pattern is skewed when looking at the general landscape are hard to fit in with this general thinking. The different angles I have explored in this work have suggested several different reasons for the different distribution patterns of the smaller cupmark sites, and I will now discuss them.

First of all there is the chronological aspect. The smaller sites are expanding into the western and southern area of the peninsula during the course of the Bronze Age just as the mortuary monuments of the late Bronze Age are doing and this could possibly be explained by an expansion of settlements. By analogy with Bengtsson's results in the Tanum area (Bengtsson 2004) I previously discussed whether they could define intensively used grazing land that were protected through cupmarks. However, I found this doubtful since the results of the pollen analyses in Bjäre indicate that grazing was an important overall activity and therefore could not have been restricted only to these areas. The same is true concerning agricultural activities; they were surely not restricted solely to these areas. They are, however, located in between different land-use zones, as has also been noticed in other areas (Hauptman Wahlgren 2002:44f). Yet I am doubtful about this as an explanation too. This is mainly because they are not evenly distributed along this axis, but instead cluster in some restricted areas.

The small sites do not follow the distribution of the larger rock-carving sites. It could have been expected that the larger sites would have been like landscape magnets for the small sites that would have gathered around them evenly in the landscape, as has been noted elsewhere (Gurstad-Nilsson 1999; Broström et al. 2008). This is not the case, however; instead they follow another pattern, located in the lower landscape and only clustering around some of the larger sites in these areas. They partly follow the distribution pattern of the late burials, especially the stone-settings. But a closer look reveals that they both occur in the low-lying western area but it is clear from a distribution map (see figs. 168 and 173) that they do not share the same distribution. The stone-settings have a more northern focus than the small rock-carving sites.

I have also offered a landscape-based explanation in which the landscape itself has inspired certain characteristics of the prehistoric remains; for example, the late Bronze Age burials look more mound-like on the ridge area while they occur as low stone-settings in the lower western area. Similarly in the lower western area there are not the same kinds of landscape-dominating places that were used for rock-carvings on the higher ground, and perhaps this is one reason why they are more widely spread in the landscape here: there are not just a few natural places for them; instead there are many possible places which are used. This explanation suggests that the landscape itself is an active agent in defining the characteristics of prehistoric sites. Another explanation that has been discussed previously is the sacred character of the low western area which became increasingly defined during the course of the Bronze Age with the addition of hoards and offerings as well as ship carvings.

However, the burial-defined areas were discussed above and a connection with the coastal zones was given to most of these areas. It is perhaps in this connection we will find the most probable explanation for the very special pattern that the small cupmark sites display. They are located close to the two areas which, according to the distribution of coastal monuments and hoards, can be suggested as the most important places for interregional contacts, networking and exchange. The impact that the networking left in the Bjäre landscape clearly shows that the inhabitants of Bronze Age Bjäre were active agents in this and not just passive onlookers as the others passed by the peninsula. The small rock-carving sites in these areas might have been made in connection with trade and exchange and the rituals that were connected with these activities.

Looking at the amount of Bronzes found in Bjäre (fig. 188) it is obvious that the area can be considered as one of the important coastal areas in Skåne with a considerable networking activity at that time which supplied these items. However, comparing the amount of Bronze finds in Bjäre with the number of burials (T. B. Larsson 1993:figs. 2, 3 and Hyenstrand 1984:fig. 16, see figs. 8 and 9 in Chapter 1) makes two things obvious: first that there is a comparatively small amount of bronzes if they are related to the number of burials, secondly – since the burial picture in Bjäre may be considered well-preserved, it may also mean that a large amount of bronzes are still uncovered in these. Bronzes that have been found in other areas is often a result of damaged burials. Since Bjäre statistically still has a rather large amount of bronzes, the complete number of them might in fact be very high. This is yet another indication of Bjäre's central and nodal position between the west coast of Sweden and southern Scandinavia.

In this connection we should not forget the obvious; Kullaberg, the horizon of the peninsula south of Bjäre is visible from most places on the southern side of the central Bjäre ridge, which actually is the main part of the peninsula. Kullaberg has a very dramatic steep-sided rocky peak which is

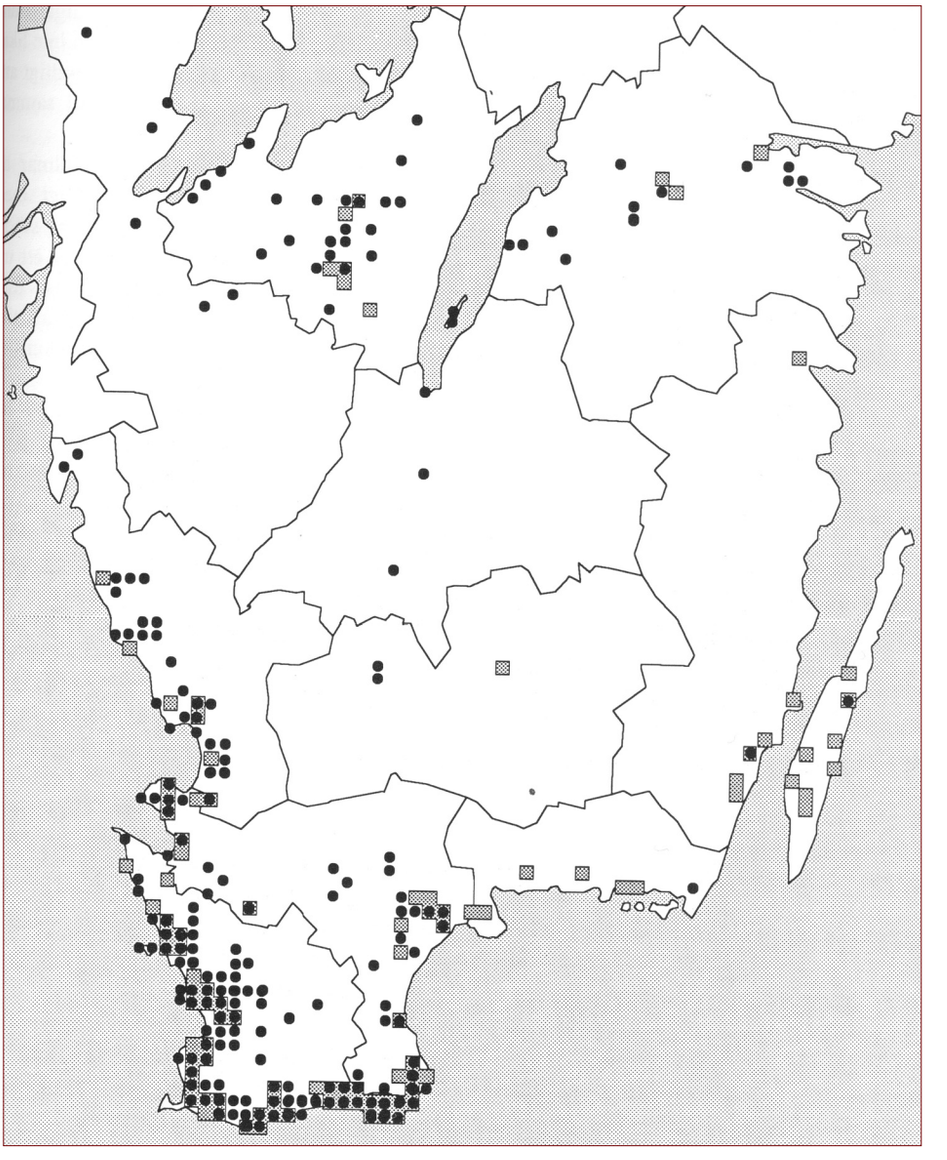


Fig. 188. *The amount of bronzes in relation to large mounds in the south of Sweden. Black dots represent map units with mounds larger than 25 meters in diameter and hatched areas represent map units with >5 bronze finds. From T. B. Larsson 1993:fig. 7.*

known even today to be a dangerous place to pass by boat. Further, there are some indications that the mountain was used for special rituals during prehistoric times (Jennbert 2002). One of the more spectacular bronze finds in the northwest of Skåne was found close to the very edge of Kullaberg by the former lighthouse keeper; it was a little bronze figurine from the late Bronze Age (Nord Paulsson & Paulsson 1996). This is hardly a place one would visit from a boat; instead it must have been a locally conducted offering to the 'holy' and dangerous mountain of Kullaberg. Today the outline of Kullaberg is one of the more characteristic landscape features of the Bjäre peninsula, and of course this was also true during the Bronze Age. On the other side of Kullaberg and visible from the higher ground of the Bjäre peninsula is the outline of Zealand, Denmark. From the northern side of the peninsula there is a vast view of the coast of Halland and from the west the small Väderö Island. Today Bjäre seems remote, being far away from our present-day centres, but in fact, looking at the areas that surround this little peninsula it becomes obvious that Bjäre used to have a central position in Bronze Age movements and communication of western Scandinavia. In this light, the coastal areas and the large mortuary monuments that we find there begin to make sense.

Fig 189. *The figurine from Kullaberg. Photo Christer Åkerberg.*

Summary

In this chapter the development of the Bronze Age features in the landscape of Bjäre has been discussed. The mortuary monuments left strong imprints and have dominated landscape views since then. The analyses have been conducted with the aid of chorological and chronological map studies of the mortuary monuments and the rock-carvings that were more thoroughly presented in Chapter 3. Other information, such as cemeteries, cult houses, hoards and offerings as well as some GIS modelling of viewsheds and exposures, has been added. The discussions revealed that the landscape was a stage for many actors and activities through this period, and one may say that the scenery that was created during the Bronze Age is still visible in the landscape of Bjäre to an unusually high degree. However, the actors and their plays are gone. There are indications of some issues that seem to have been played out in the landscape, however. The clearest example is connected with the mortuary monuments that changed both in appearance and in distribution pattern during the Bronze Age. It has been suggested that this was due to changes that took place within the living society concerning the mortuary rituals and changed ideas towards death and ancestors. In these changes the different landscape characters in the area also seem to have played a part in how they were actually performed.

Through time the mortuary monuments move downwards in the landscape from the higher ridge area towards the southern and western slopes. They also change appearance and become smaller and flatter, especially in the western lower land. It has been suggested that the burials on the ridge area have a stronger connection with ancestors than the burials on the lower land. This rests upon the connection with the past (late Neolithic) that can be seen among the mortuary monuments from the early Bronze Age and which mainly occur in higher locations. This thinking can also be applied to the large coastal burials, presumably also from the early Bronze Age, which seem to connect strongly to harbours and thereby with places for communication, networking and exchange, activities that most certainly also had cosmological meaning (see Helms 1988; 1998; Rudebeck 2001; 2002; Kristiansen & Larsson 2005) as well as being important places in inter-regional power relations (Foucault 1980:49).

One outcome of this work is that the landscape may have played an active role in the shaping of the prehistoric sites, even though other explanations which put human choices to the forefront also were important (Bender 1998:66f; Shanks 1998a, 1998b:chapter 2). Both the landscape and the people have together been active in forming the landscape and the *inscribed* memories in it, just like the different *behaviour* that has shaped other places in the landscape, such as rock-carvings and offerings.

Large rock-carving sites are fairly evenly distributed in the landscape, often in dominant landscape positions, and they often tend to follow natural topographical zones. They also tend to have individual characteristics which may suggest that different topics were in focus at the different sites and at different times in life (Bender 1998:8f, 38). Further, they were in use all through the Bronze Age and in some cases they were probably also used into the Iron Age. There is, however, one example of a site (Holmen) being partly buried with a burnt mound in the late Bronze Age and probably also being abandoned from this time, but there is another example where a rock-carving was added in the late Bronze Age (Lingården). In a landscape perspective this makes sense since the Holmen site is located on the ridge which seems to have had its greatest importance during the early Bronze Age, while Lingården is located in the midst of a wetland in the lower western area, which clearly became more frequently used in the late Bronze Age and probably also in the early Iron Age. I will return to this topic in the next chapter.

The large rock-carving sites should probably also be seen as hierophanies (Eliade 1959), and it seems as if they have been stable and persistent places in the landscape. The smaller sites are concentrated especially in two areas on the southern and western lower part of the peninsula. It is less probable that these sites should be seen as being closely connected with settlements, agricultural activities or grazing since these activities must have been more widespread. Instead they might have been connected with something that was distinctive for both these areas. I have argued that the coastal areas and the communication activities that took place there might have contributed to this pattern.

Furthermore, the large rock-carving sites are often aligned with border zones according to the burial-defined areas of Bjäre. This works well with two of my main points; first, that the large rock-carving sites are stable in a long-term perspective and, secondly, that the burial-defined areas also are stable in a long-term perspective even though the individual burials may be more connected with short-term change. The large rock-carving places have been there 'forever' while death goes on all the time and thus creates changes in the landscape all the time. On the other hand, these changes are forever imprinted in the landscape and thus 'death is never over,' to quote Parker Pearson (1999:194). The burial-defined areas and the large rock-carving sites are the sum of how the Bronze Age people structured their land according to traditions, cosmology and practicality; they are the outcome of *landscape* and *habitus* (Bourdieu 1990:52ff; Chapter 1).

There are also indications that mortuary monuments, even though they look similar, have some different values connected to them, at least from the middle Bronze Age onwards, as some seem to focus on the family while others seemingly were made for special persons or occasions. The evidence is scarce but the tendency is that the latter are found on the ridge where the main part of the early Bronze Age mortuary monuments also are found. The so-called family burials are to a great extent found in the lower western area and possibly mirror the everyday landscape use, as they may have accompanied the locations of the field systems. This situation again suggests that the ridge had ancestral and cosmological values and the mortuary monuments located on the ridge were connected with these matters. I have found the thoughts of Connerton (1989), also used by Bradley (2002), about the different ways that societies remember useful for understanding the changed ideas represented by the changes among the mortuary monuments in Bronze Age Bjäre. These changes not only concern the cultural biographies of places, such as mortuary monuments and rock-carving sites, but also the cultural biography of the whole landscape. This biography will be the main focus of the next chapter.

The ridge area was thus used for ancestral ideas according to the *inscription* way of remembering. Further, this seems to have had its prime time during the early and middle Bronze Age. During the course of the middle Bronze Age there seems to be a change happening when the lower areas are more frequently used for different kinds of rituals. First of all this is mirrored in the increased use of this area for rock-carvings and the rituals connected with them. These belong to the *behaviour* way of remembering, just like the offerings in the bog site. It is also in this area that the mortuary monuments change their appearance during the late Bronze Age. This change might reflect how the *behaviour* way of remembering increased in importance. The *behaviour* way was now less dependent on ancestors and more dependent on ritual control (although these are not mutually exclusive), which could have been one reason for the increased use of a landscape zone that was less occupied with the earlier ancestral monuments. In this way the abundance of small rock-carving sites in the lower western areas can be seen as products of an increased religious power struggle. It became a contested landscape (Bender 1993, 1998) where ritual specialists of the old ancestral tradition and the new rather performative tradition perhaps were not always at peace. However, it may also be that these two sides of the ritual arena complemented each other as new needs arose, perhaps in connection with increased interaction with the surrounding areas.

Two symbols that frequently occur in Scandinavian Bronze Age connections, the house and the ship, were a starting point for a discussion which ended with an exploration of the social structure of Bronze Age Bjäre. Here I suggested a social system where status generally was on a family/kinship level and individual status was not as important. However, there might of course have been competition between the different *houses*, but the effect of this competition might instead be visible in other ways than in rich burials and large mortuary monuments. It is the locations of the mortuary monuments rather than their size that seem to have been important, and probably also the activities on the large rock-carving sites where different local houses might have been in control. All in all, there is rather little evidence in Bjäre of a hierarchical structure based on individuals. The high interest in building mounds during the whole of the Bronze Age might mirror how the cosmological traditions were kept alive and perhaps also an increased internal competition over agricultural land towards the second part of the Bronze Age. There are also some burials of persons who seem to have had special functions which might tell us something about the increased importance that rituals and the *behaviour* way of remembering were attaining during the middle Bronze Age. These persons might have become increasingly important during the middle to late Bronze Age.

Chapter Five. Space and place

Or the making of a cultural landscape

Space and place are inexorably connected with each other and together, with the dimension of time they constitute our world. Or we constitute them. It is a tight relationship where the constituent parts are dependent on each other. Landscape archaeology needs to include the landscape of today since this is the context that has evolved around and together with the prehistoric features. In this work I chose to do this through the *Historic Landscape Characterisations* (HLC) which focuses on *change* as an active ingredient. An investigation of the present-day landscape with methods such as HLC, vegetation studies and pollen analyses is useful as a means of understanding (Chapter 2). Adding to this the analyses of prehistoric and historic sites (see Chapters 3 and 4) is then a constructive way to achieve information about the past and to understand the cultural biography of the landscape in which there has been a continuous dialogue between landscape, places and people (Kopytoff 1986; Shanks 1998a, 1998b:chapter 2).

Space and place have many dimensions of course, and they stretch out to connect with other areas as well. Bjäre is located on the west coast of Skåne, close to Denmark, and is a part of the west coast of Sweden. Pollen analyses have shown that the coastal area around Skåne was opened up during the early Bronze Age, and it is also from the coastal area of Skåne that the majority of the sites from the Bronze Age are found (Hannon et al. 2008; see also The Ystad project, Berglund 1991; The Öresund Fixed Link; Björhem & Magnusson Staaf 2006; The West Coast Line project, Strömberg 2005:174; The Thy project, Andersen 1992–93). Bjäre was already a fully cultural landscape during this period, which might be due to the fact that it was both inland and coastal being a peninsula. There is many indications that the sea was an important medium for travelling and networking during this period, both the way the prehistoric sites are located in the coastal areas of the landscape and in the presence of imported material as well as ideas (Kristiansen & Larsson 2005). This chapter will further explore some the outcomes of the earlier chapters in order to find answers to the questions concerning landscape development.

HLC and archaeological sites

In the previous chapters the archaeological sites of Bjäre and their landscape context have been explored. Among other things it has been found that different categories of sites occupy different spaces. The locations were chosen by prehistoric people for different reasons. Through the surviving monuments it is possible to understand the past landscape use, at least in parts. In order to do this, however, it is important to understand the landscape itself and not only the prehistoric sites within it. In Chapter 2 different ways of understanding the present landscape as an archaeologist were presented, with the HLC as one of the main tools. This chapter will put together the information of the present landscape from Chapter 2 with the understanding of prehistoric sites that emerged from Chapters 3 and 4. Of course it can be argued that the present landscape of Bjäre is remote in time with the prehistoric sites in it. However, my idea is that the sites predate the landscape of today but still can be considered as dominant features within it. This is why they must be seen as important factors for landscape development and landscape use through time, and therefore they are in fact not as separate as they might seem. The landscape and the sites are instead dependent on each other and should be looked upon together in a long-term perspective. Through this perspective we can reach a better understanding of the past as it is intermingled with and inseparable from the present.

HLC aims to describe time-depth and changes in a landscape with the use of archaeological methods of looking at shapes and patterns. The HLC uses the present-day landscape and does not consider individual places within it. The HLC thus provide an archaeological landscape which does not take archaeological sites in consideration. This is of course questionable since both aspects are needed to be able to understand the landscape and its historical depth. Therefore this

chapter will connect the HLC with the archaeological data. This approach will provide a more comprehensive understanding of the archaeological landscapes as well as with the historical and the present-day landscapes. This richer understanding is of course ideal in the present-day management of the cultural landscape in order to better guide present landscape changes, which I will return to later.

Reading the HLC backwards…

Looking at the HLC map which gives us the picture of time-depth in the landscape (see fig. 36 in Chapter 2) we can begin by reading it backwards. By this I mean that we may look at the most recent landscape changes first and then go further backwards in time. These changes should be seen in their historical light. Later we can add the archaeological sites to this history of changes.

In the HLC map (see figs. 36, 190 and 191) a light blue colour corresponds to the areas which have the most recent changes in land-use. The major part is found on the coastal plains where the former outlying grazing land has been put under the plough. This change started in connection with the agricultural reform in the early 1800s, which also is the cause of change for most areas of Bjäre (see Chapter 2). The changes on the coastal plain have been large and are still an ongoing project since this is the main area on the peninsula which has good soil for modern agriculture and may be used efficiently (Emanuelsson et al. 2002:211). The coastal strip, however, is dark blue, which means it has a long history of being used in the present way. This refers mainly to the nature reserves along the coastline which are still used for grazing and have been so probably for thousands of years. Grazing was previously also the main use for the coastal plains. The coastal area and the coastal plains together represent the majority of the former pre-reform outlying land. Along the coastline we can thus see fragment of the previous land-use that used to dominate the whole of the coastal plain. Coastal grazing is known from the pre-reform period for sure but the pollen analyses (see Chapter 2) indicate that grazing was an activity that started in the Neolithic period and most likely the coastal areas were used for this activity right from the beginning. In the area of Malmö land-use continuity has been found from the early Iron Age until the present day as regards coastal grazing (Björhem 2003).

Even though the changes on the coastal plains have been comprehensive, it seems like that the very scale of it actually helped to preserve the borders of the land-use from before the agricultural reform. This can be seen in HLC maps showing time-depth (see figs. 190 and 191), where the former infield–outland border more or less coincides with the limits of the light blue areas of the coastal plains. Therefore one might say that the present land-use, however large changes this meant, also have helped to preserve old land-use divisions.

The medium blue colour refers to areas which have a land-use and structure which to a great extent were created in connection with the agricultural reform. Most probably these areas have a similar land-use now to what they had before the reform, mainly being used as arable fields and meadows, and today also for grazing. In the reform both the ownership and the size of these fields changed. New borders were made with stones that have been removed from the fields for centuries and through this activity many of the clearance cairns in the landscape were also removed. The medium blue coloured areas are mainly located on the ridge or on the western undulating inland, which also more or less corresponds to the former infield in the pre-reform landowning system. These areas have not changed much in their overall structure since the agricultural reform, partly due to the high proportion of obstructions to agriculture found in these fields, often in the form of outcrops and mortuary monuments. This situation makes these fields less efficient for modern agricultural methods.

On the ridge and along the Sinarp valley there are areas with a very long land-use history (dark blue colour). They mainly occur in connection with rather specific topographical characteristics; steep-sided valleys, drumlin areas or areas rich in biotope variation such as the western undulating area which is rich in wetlands and natural obstructions. These areas are not suitable for modern rational agriculture, which most probably is why they show very little change.

Looking at fig. 191 it looks as if the pre-reform infield–outland system has been reversed in modern times. The most intensively used agricultural areas are today found on the former outland areas while the infield areas show a richer diversity of activities including grazing, and sometimes also a pre-reform mosaic landscape character (see also Reiter 2007).

… adding the sites

The history of land opening and increased agricultural efficiency has engraved itself into the landscape of Bjäre. The first generation of land opening can be seen in the mounds from the Bronze Age. The second generation is seen in the stone-settings and smaller mounds of the latter part of the Bronze Age (see Chapters 3 and 4). The third land opening, which is also a field enlargement, is visible through the many stone walls in the landscape (see Chapter 1). The most recent land opening, with enlargements and increased agricultural efficiency, is seen not only in the large fields on the coastal plains but also in the recent large heaps of stone which have been picked by machines, and today they cover many obstructions to agriculture and thereby also the biodiversity as well as cultural diversity in these. Today there is no natural use of the stones from the fields.

This short historical survey of land opening monuments tells us that the sequence of agricultural activities should follow the chronological distribution of mortuary monuments, which has also been discussed earlier in this work with reference to other areas (Rasmussen 1993; Skoglund 2005). Adding the mortuary monuments to the HLC map of time-depth in landscape change could possibly tell us something more about this development.

In Chapter 4 I argued that the mortuary monuments from the early Bronze Age were not only territorial but also showed a close connection with the elements water (sea, death) and the sky (sun, horizon, life). On the HLC map in fig. 190 these monuments show a close relationship mainly to the dark blue areas, which correspond to areas that have long continuity in their land-use. A similar pattern is visible if we add the burials from the middle Bronze Age, which I have argued were more closely connected with territorial ideas and with agricultural activities than the earlier monuments (Chapter 4). These monuments also to a great extent occupy areas with a medium blue colour, which corresponds to areas which underwent their main land-use change in connection with the agricultural reforms. When the burials from the late Bronze Age are added, the pattern is still similar even if there is a higher proportion of burials that are now located in light blue areas, which correspond to areas with a recent change in their land-use.

It thus seems as if the opening of the land for agriculture was a process that first took place in the dryer areas on the ridge and the higher slopes and successively moved to surrounding areas and expanded down the slopes. Possibly the settlements expanded in the landscape in a similar way, but we cannot be sure of this since we lack detailed information about them. The rock-carving sites also have a close connection with medium and dark blue colours on the map (see fig. 190) and less with the light blue.

In figs. 190 and 191 I have added the border between the pre-reform infield–outland system, and it is very clear that the time-depth of the present land-use very closely follows this old land-use border, as I mentioned earlier. It is also obvious that the prehistoric sites follow this land division as well. Rather few sites are found in the former outland, and when they do occur, they are often found close to the former land-use division and following the topographical outline of the peninsula rather than this later border. There are exceptions, however, where prehistoric sites are abundant on former outlying land, often they are located close to the sea, for example in Vasalt which is one of the coastal areas of importance that were distinguished in Chapter 4. We may conclude that the prehistoric sites closely follow the activity areas of the prehistoric people; their agricultural land-use strategies, settlements (most probably) and coastal activities. Many of the small rock-carvings, however, are located between intensively used burial areas in the inland and coastal areas. In Chapter 4 I argued that these most likely were connected with important coastal zones where networking took place. A direct connection between rock-carvings and agricultural activities and grazing can of course not be dismissed but as the rock-carvings are not generally distributed but only found in some restricted areas, this seems a less likely interpretation. How-

ever, the pre-reform infields also seem to be closer to the coast in these cases than otherwise (see fig. 190).

At several places there seem to be corridors or areas which are empty of prehistoric sites, some of which have previously been interpreted as either borders or central areas in prehistoric burial-defined areas (Sørensen 1992b; Nord & Paulsson 1993; Nord Paulsson 2002a and Chapter 4, see figs. 178 and 186). Some of these empty corridors follow natural circumstances, for example wetlands and steep-sided valleys, and have been interpreted as natural borders, while others are more unexplainable as borders but might instead mirror central areas which are framed with burials as territorial markers. When comparing the burial-defined areas with the pre-reform land-use division and the HLC (see fig. 191) it appears as if there is some general agreement in the distribution of the prehistoric burial-defined areas and the land division of the pre-reform infield–outland system, which in turn shows a reverse picture to the present-day land-use. Now this is perhaps not so strange when one thinks about it. The prehistoric burial-defined areas should be considered as areas

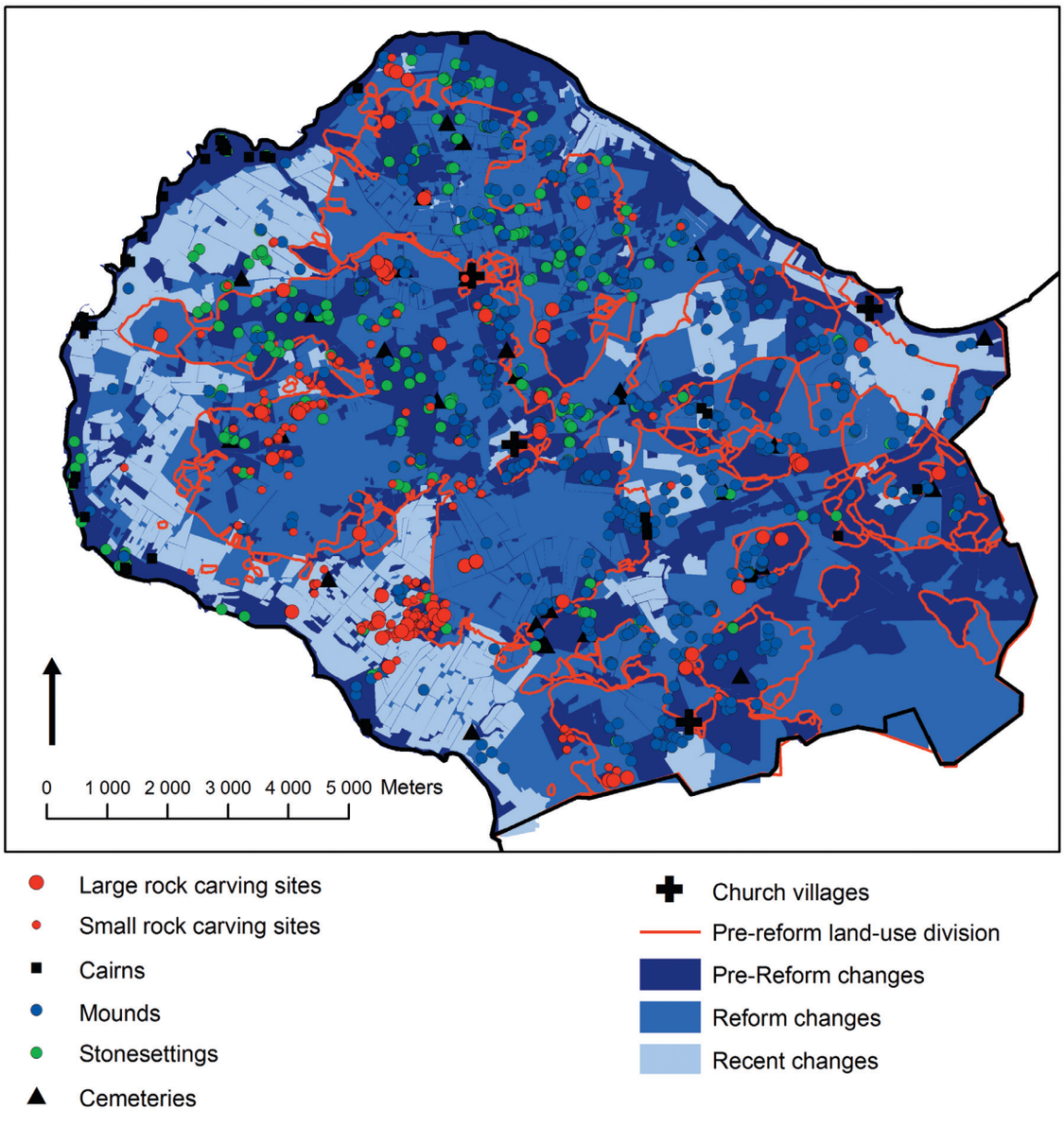


Fig. 190. *HLC map of Bjäre with the prehistoric features as well as the pre-reform infield–outland border added.*

defined by mortuary land-use strategies in a long-term perspective. As there is considered to be a spatial connection between mortuary monuments and settlements in the Bronze Age as well as the agricultural fields and burials, the burial-defined areas should correspond to settlement core areas as well (see Chapter 1; Nord & Paulsson 1993; Säfvestad 1993; Skoglund 2005:149). Pre-reform land-use most probably has roots in the middle to late Iron Age, even if the villages were settled more formally only around 1000 AD (Emanuelsson et al. 2002:43ff). This makes the leap between what we definitely know and the vague prehistory rather short. Further, even if the modern and efficient land-use of today is very different from earlier periods, the landscape in which it is set still shows a similar structure, although reversed.

The pollen analyses described in Chapter 2 inform us that the landscape has been opened and used for different agricultural activities all through the Bronze Age until today, with only a small regression in the early Iron Age. The sets of HLC maps with the added information about the pre-reform land division and the prehistoric sites thus give a reasonable understanding of the long-term land-use. It provides the landscape with a cultural biography (Kopytoff 1986; Chapter 1).

In this connection it may be interesting to have a brief discussion of the mounds which have been found to provide the most genuine set of vegetation on their surfaces (see Chapter 2). These are

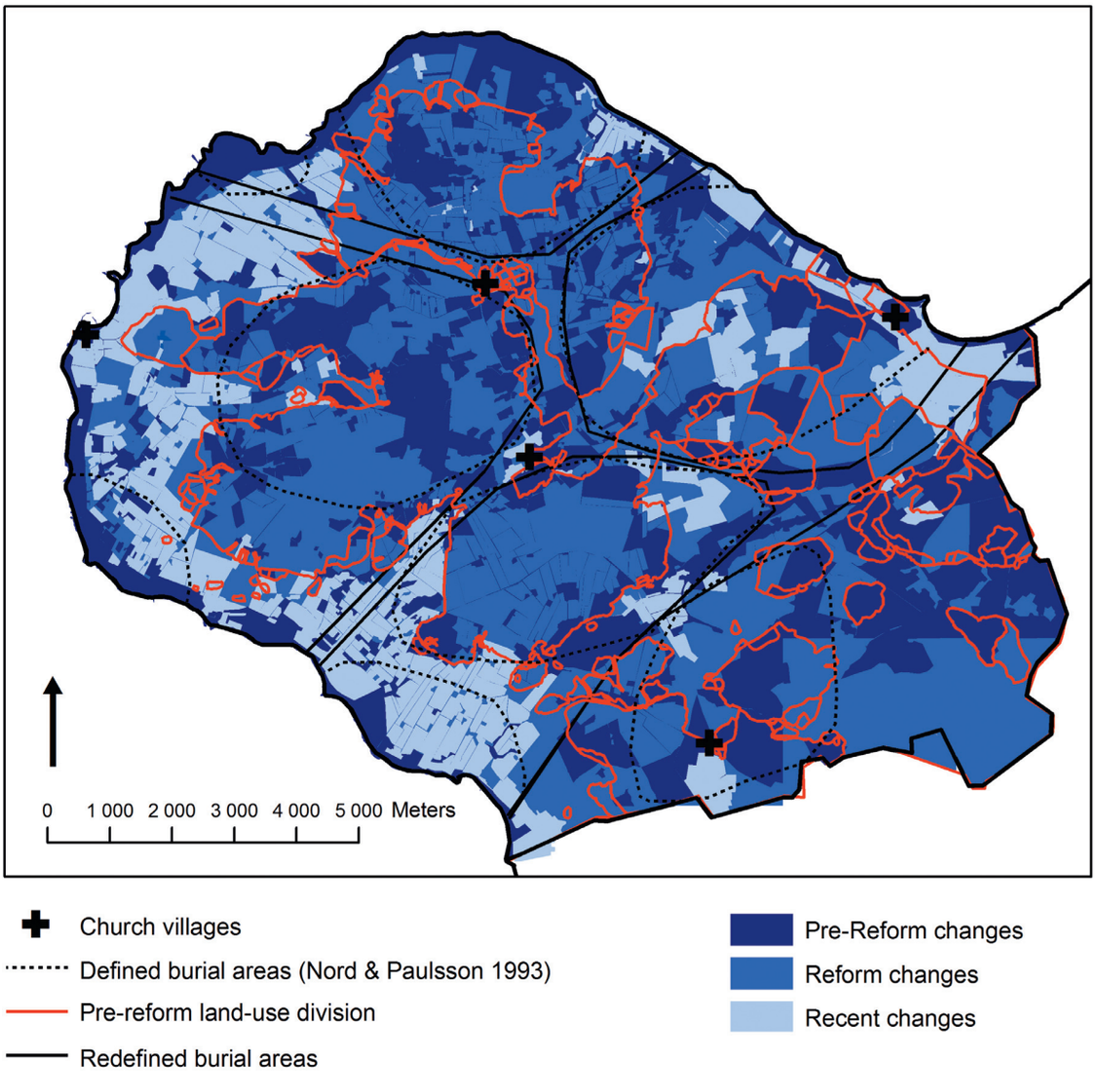


Fig. 191. *HLC map of Bjäre with the burial-defined borders and the pre-reform infield/outland border added.*

found mainly in the inland area and along the edges of the ridge. This distribution is partly due to the inventory work which has focused on the larger mounds. However, from the HLC map showing time-depth it may be noticed that they mainly occur in areas which have a long continuity in land-use. In the near vicinity of these mounds there are also later burials added. They refer to each other, which means that when they where added the landscape was still open.

A good example is the site of Bjäragården, where a large number of burials are found which date from the early Bronze Age until the Iron Age (a stone circle). Several of the burials with genuine vegetation are found not only at Bjäragården but also in the vicinity (see fig. 192). The HLC maps give this area a general pre-reform character, and the pollen analyses of the buried soils in connection with two of the mounds in Bjäragården speak of an open landscape with grazing as the most important form of management (see Chapter 2). Bjäragården shows surviving agricultural features from the medieval period (Båstad kommun 2002a) and the area has been kept open since then. The burials from the late Bronze Age and Iron Age connect very closely to the Bronze Age monuments, and thus it is very likely that the landscape was kept open when they were constructed as well. The information from both the vegetation and the pollen analyses informs us of an open, well-managed

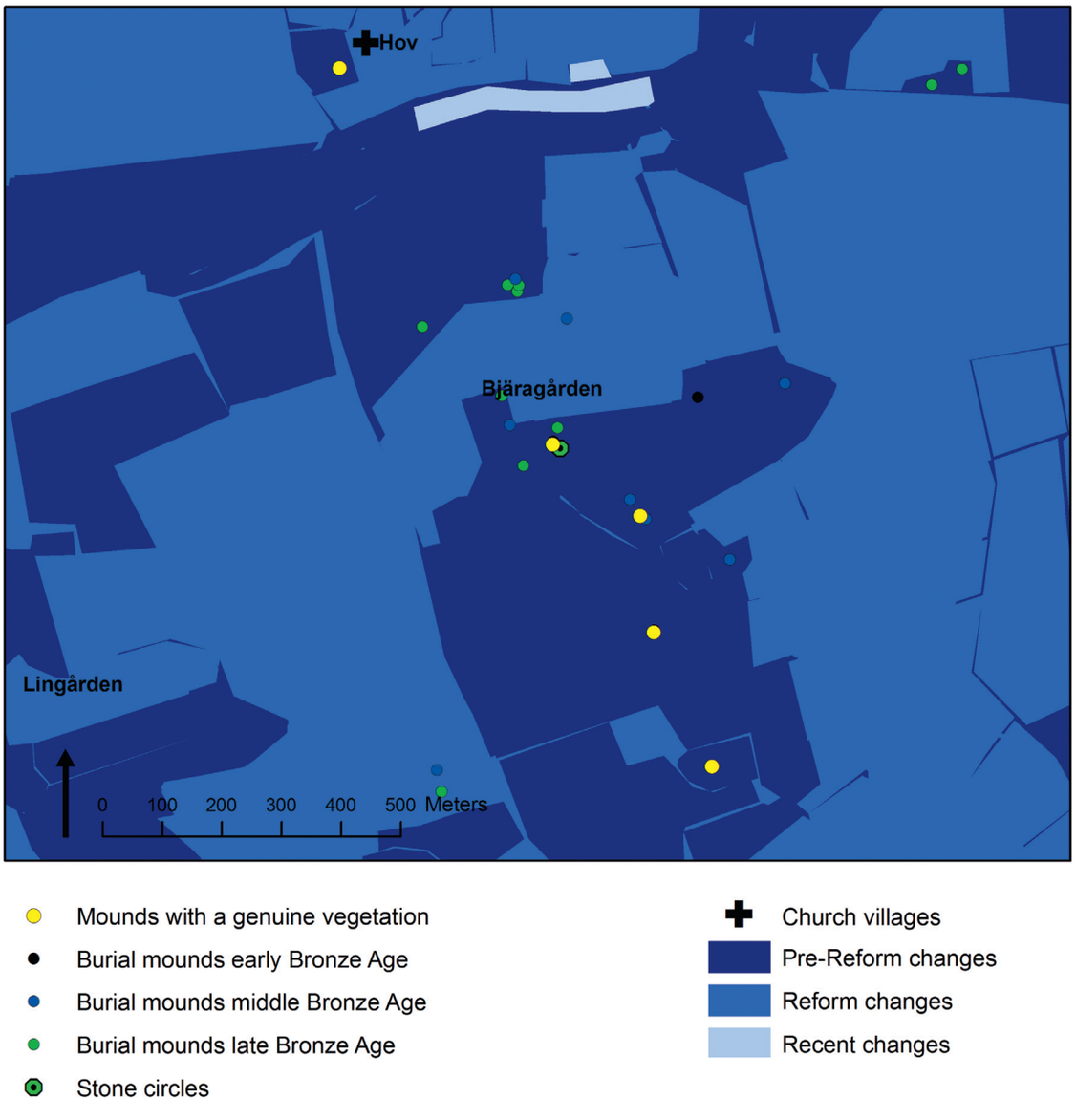


Fig. 192. *Close-up of the Bjäragården area with the mounds with genuine vegetation marked in yellow.*

landscape and both the prehistoric monuments and the historic structures show a long continuity of land-use. There is thus no reason to believe that the area was overgrown in the Iron Age. The vegetation on these mounds may therefore go back all the way to the Bronze Age and the area has been kept open and managed ever since. Further, the initial monuments from the Bronze Age guided later land-use, as the borders of the agricultural reforms were drawn using these burials as landmarks (see figs. 193 and 194). The pre-reform borders likewise use the outline of the burials in the landscape. In Bjäragården this is obvious as the former border between infield and outland is located just next to and curving neatly around one of the largest mounds of Bjäragården (see Chapter 1 and Båstad kommun 2002a).

Settlements and the HLC

Throughout this work I have avoided discussing registered and excavated settlement sites because there are very few that can be securely dated to the Bronze Age, and adding the few we know of could give a skewed impression. However, at this point I have found that if we add all the settlements that are recorded by the National Heritage Board, irrespective of their age, to the HLC map we will find an interesting pattern which I think can be a helpful contribution to the discussion. The

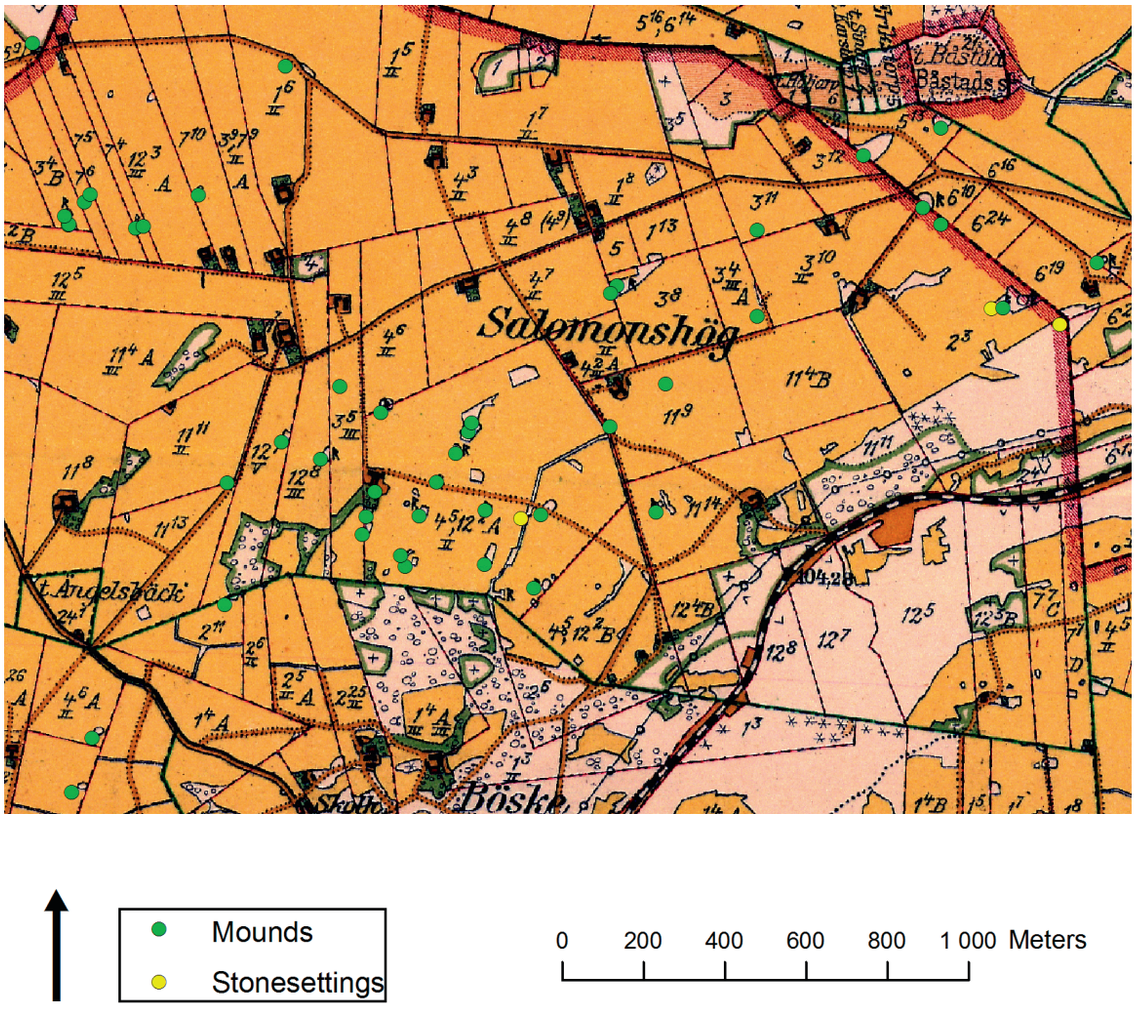


Fig. 193. *A view from the economic map of the early 20th century, Häradskartan, with the mounds and stone-settings added. Here it is obvious that quite a few of the mortuary monuments are connected to the new straight land divisions that were made in the agricultural reforms of the 19th century.*

majority of these settlements consist of dense distributions of worked flint that have been found in ploughed fields, and they are hard to date because flint was used all through prehistory (see for example Högberg 2001). It is striking, though, that they occur mainly on the coastal plains which have the most recent land-use change, and this is also where most of the large arable fields are found. This pattern is of course due to the intensive agriculture now found in these areas, as the inventories of the National Heritage Board have only taken place where the fields have been open and available. The comparable few settlement sites in the inland area and on the ridge are surely not a representative pattern (Roos 1988). But looking at the coastal distribution pattern, which should be rather representative of the coastal area at least, we can also see that there is a higher density of settlements close to the important coastal locations which were defined in Chapter 4. This means that, even if we only have a limited and skewed picture of prehistoric settlements and no real knowledge of their chronology, we can still use their distribution to confirm the importance in prehistory of the previously defined coastal areas.

In the municipality's programme concerning the cultural environment there are four harbours and/or shipbuilding sites mentioned from the 17th–18th centuries: Båstad, Ingelstorp (Vråen), Torekov and Rammsjöstrand (Båstad kommun 2002a:26). Three of these sites have been noticed through the analyses of prehistoric sites in Chapter 4, while the fourth, Rammsjöstrand, on the southern coast, is differently located from the sites that were suggested by the prehistoric monuments in this area. This is not so strange, however; the southern coastline is rich in possibly natural harbours and Rammsjöstrand is a fishing village that was inhabited only in the 18th–19th centuries. The harbour sites in Bjäre which have the longest continuity are instead found along the northern and western coast where the topography naturally limits the available places. But it is on the southern coast that the strongest marks have been made on the landscape from the prehistoric harbour sites, mainly at Vasalt and Burensvik, but also at Vråen on the northwestern coast (Chapter 4). These three areas also have a high density of settlements and are most probably also the places where the major part of the Bronze Age networking took place and where people actually lived close to the coast. The settled inland can probably be defined through the distribution of burials and rock-carvings which form the burial-defined areas that were redefined in Chapter 4.

Fig. 194. *Elna Mårten's mound (Hov RAÄ 73) in Bjäragården, located along the parish border between Hov and Västra Karup. In fig. 102 the opposing direction of the same stone wall is seen. Photo John Nygren 2008.*

The burial-defined areas from the Bronze Age (see Chapter 4) share more or less the same borders as the later infield areas of the pre-reform period (see fig. 191). This could mean that the peninsula still today shares the overall administrative structure that was defined back in the Bronze Age through the building of mortuary monuments. In fact, the way many borders seem to have been laid out in between burials (see figs. 193 and 194), and in some cases also close to large rock-carving sites (for example Lingården, see Chapter 3), suggests a continued territorial function of the mounds into our days; in a way they still guide our land divisions.

Bjäre is a small-scale landscape with a rather specific topographical situation, which also limits the land available for expansion. This may be one reason why the prehistoric land organisation is still preserved in the present-day landscape. Even the large land-use change of the agricultural reform in the early 19th century still preserves the old general structure from at least the medieval period, although reversed (see above). The present-day land-use change will most probably be more comprehensive, but we still have little knowledge or understanding of the extent to which we are changing our landscape. Perhaps the implementation of the HLC mapping in the planning system could be helpful in understanding the impact of change and thus guiding it in a better way (Nord Paulsson 2002b).

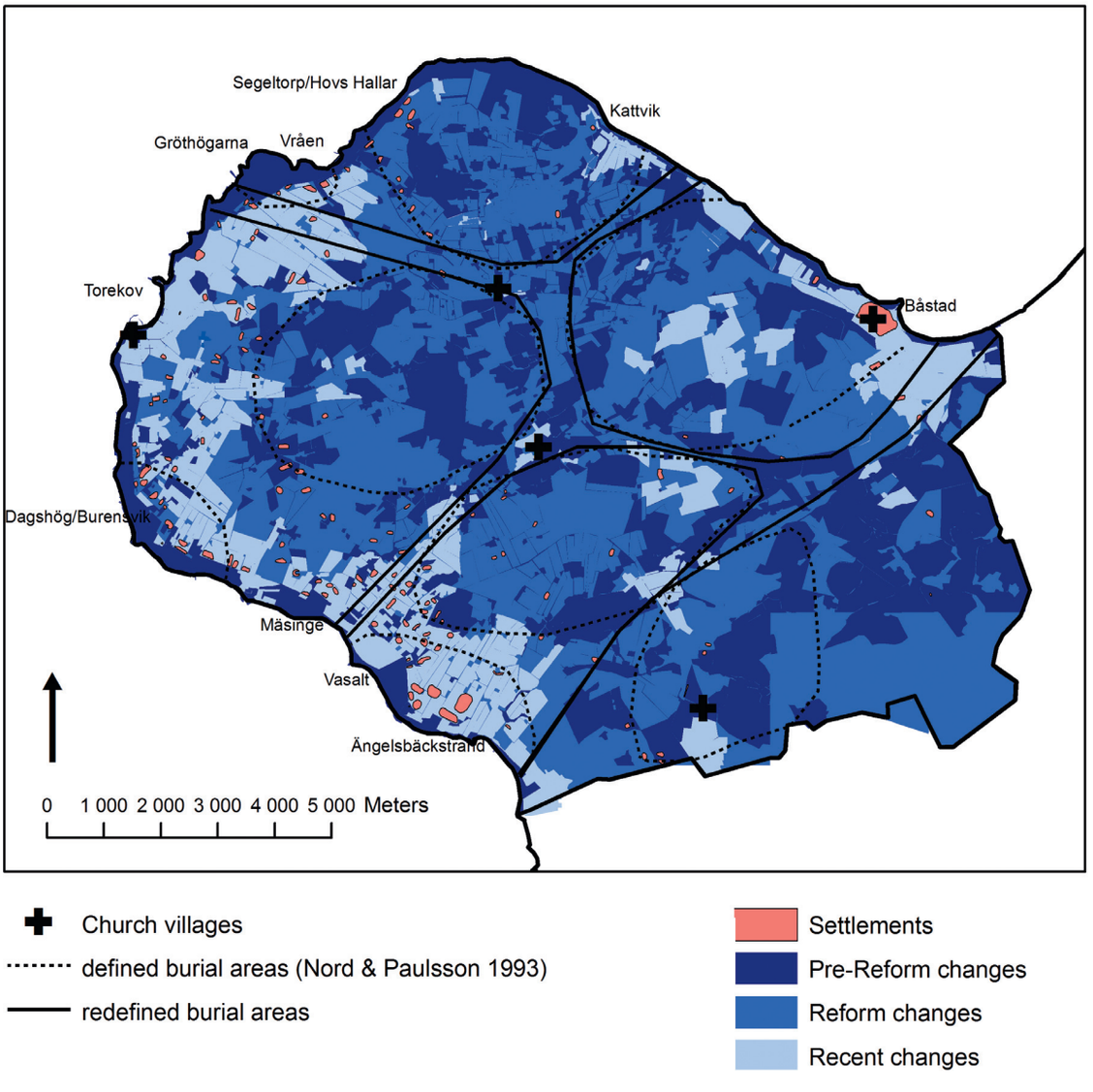


Fig. 195. *HLC map of Bjäre with the settlements from the Register of the National Heritage Board added.*

What about the Iron Age?

According to the general picture of prehistoric remains it may seem as if the Iron Age is almost non-existent on the peninsula. However, a quick look at the results of the pollen investigations disproves this (see Chapter 2). There is a period of decrease in cultural indicators in the early Iron Age and also indications that the forest regained some ground. However, this regression was only temporary, and there was a continuation of human impact all through the Iron Age. This is a general development for northern Europe and does not only apply to Bjäre (Hannon et al. 2008). The major change as we can see it today is the decreased use of the landscape for mortuary monuments and other lasting imprints. There is, however, some information which may tell us about the peninsula and the landscape use during the Iron Age.

I have already mentioned some places with an Iron Age origin, mainly the assembly places for the *thing*. There are also some cemeteries, burials and finds from this period and, interestingly enough, also radiocarbon dates that have been obtained from presumed Bronze Age sites. These are marked on fig. 196. It should also be remembered that the late Bronze Age burials may conceal a certain

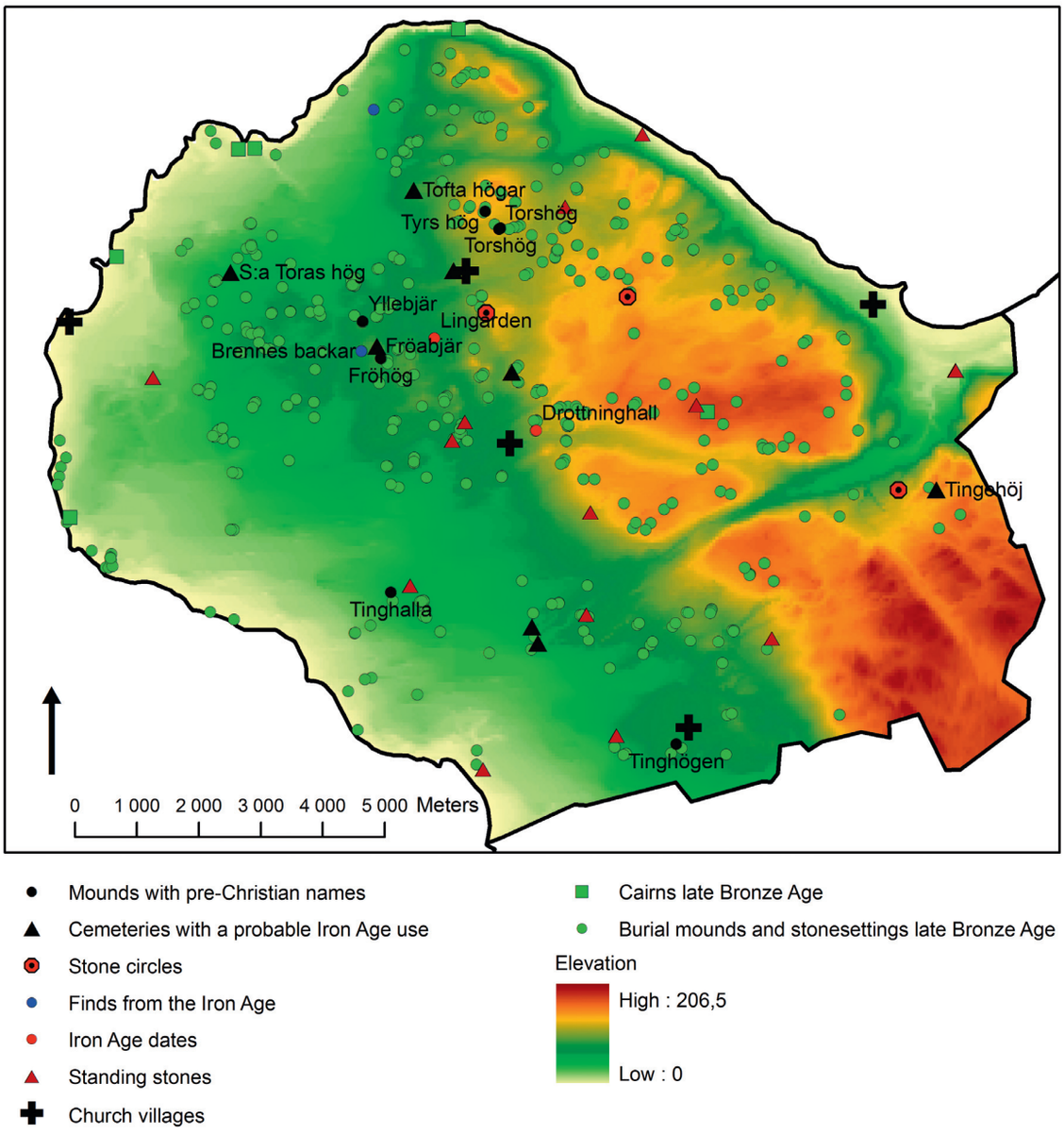


Fig. 196. *Iron Age sites in Bjäre. Background data © Lantmäteriet Gävle 2009. Grant I 2009/0549.*

amount of Iron Age burials; therefore these are also added to the Iron Age distribution map. Other landscape memories which have their roots in the Iron Age are the many place names and village names which are pre-Christian. Many of these can be dated to the late Iron Age (Båstad kommun 2002a:11; Emanuelsson 2002:44ff). Villages with Iron Age names are rather common in Bjäre. In fig. 197 the villages' names are marked with different symbols being from the Iron Age (square) or Viking Age/early Middle Ages (circle).

The older names dominate on the southern slopes of the peninsula. This is also the area which probably was the most desirable since these slopes were the best land for farming (Reiter 2007), which is perhaps why they were named early. Compared with the prehistoric sites (see the maps in Chapter 4), many of these old villages are located close to rock-carving sites and generally below the ridge and the majority of the burials. The parish of Hov in the northwestern corner of the peninsula almost completely lacks the older generation of village-names, however this area is rich in Iron Age sites.

The stone circles with a presumed Iron Age dating are located on the ridge area, except for those which are incorporated in the cemetery of Fröabjär located in the western undulating area (see fig. 196). The standing stones are distributed both on the ridge and in the coastal areas, but they are not known from the western undulating area, again, except for those found at the cemetery of Fröabjär. Close to Fröabjär, drinking-vessel equipment from the Roman Iron Age (Brennes backar) has also been found, probably from a destroyed burial (SHM 5025; Björk 2005:200).

The cemetery of Fröabjär (Frö's mountain) was initiated in the early Bronze Age and gradually grew to become the largest cemetery in Bjäre. It was probably in use all through the Iron Age as well. The name of the cemetery derives from Norse paganism, where the god Frö (Freyr) was associated with agriculture and was a fertility god (NE online; Frej). Only 200 metres to the south-southwest, on another small hill, there is a mound which also carries the name Fröhög (Frö's mound). In the opposite direction, approximately 460 metres away on another neighbouring hilltop called Yllebjär, there are three mounds. Ylle in this case may possibly be connected with Ull, another Norse pagan god. This connection is however uncertain and entirely my own interpretation.

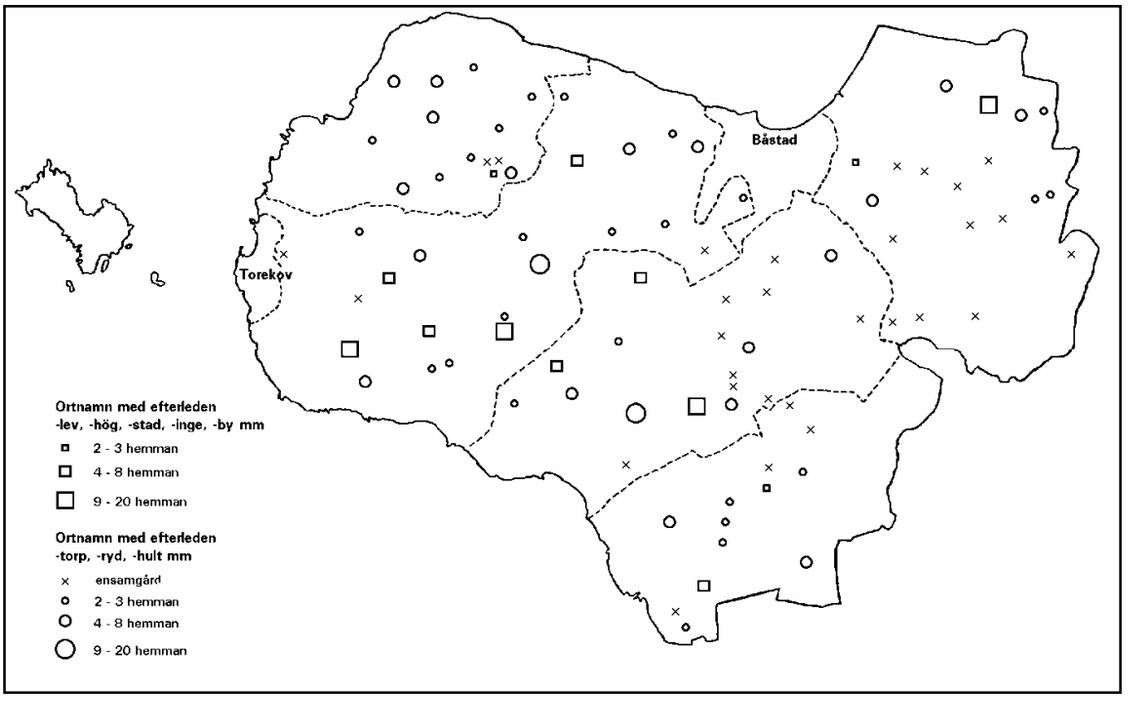


Fig. 197. *The distribution and chronology of village names in Bjäre. Squares show villages whose names probably derive from the Iron Age. Circles show villages whose names probably derive from the Viking Age or Middle Ages. The size of the symbols corresponds to the size of the villages around 1800. Crosses indicate single farms. From Båstad kommun 2002a.*

The western undulating inland area seems to have acquired an increasingly sacred character during the Bronze Age (see Chapter 4), and this character was retained in the Iron Age. The name Frö is intimately connected with fertility. Every little hilltop in the area is filled with burials, often dating from the early–middle Bronze Age, and there were further additions in the late Bronze Age–Iron Age. One peculiar aspect is that the area where the Iron Age names occur has very few rock-carvings even though they are abundant in the surrounding landscape. Strangely enough, it seems as if this rather central part of the western undulating area was partly left alone during the Bronze Age when it comes to rock-carvings and the activities connected with them. This Iron Age interest we see here could possibly be a result of the former 'emptiness' of rock-carvings; it was available. It could however be the opposite situation as well; the rock-carvings framed this central area which was highly sacred during the Bronze Age. The name *Frö* might actually be connected with fertility rituals that preferably took place in this area which has a history going back to the Bronze Age. Nowhere else on the peninsula do we find names with Frö. The god Ull was also connected with fertility (Sandén 1984). In this area we also find the only known offering activity from the Bronze Age, the bronze lure. Furthermore, there is also the rather special hidden site of Lingården with its ship carvings. One of these ships is thought to belong to the early Iron Age (see Chapter 4).

The material from this small area derives from a long period and there seems to be a red thread running through it, which is its special sacred character and, at least in the Iron Age, this seems to be connected with fertility. It also seems that there is no clear break in any period; instead the landscape and its hills were used continuously and with reference to each other. The rock-carving sites from the Bronze Age, which of course may still have been significant during the Iron Age, were not changed, but there is at least one example of an Iron Age addition: the ship at Lingården. It is possible that cupmarks were made also in the Iron Age. The mortuary monuments that were built during the late Bronze Age/Iron Age also referred to the past and were located in relation to them. However, some sites were becoming more important; the area around Fröabjär is perhaps the most obvious. This is also the area where the Roman Iron Age drinking equipment was found (see above).

North-northwest of this area is the last outpost of the ridge. Just below the higher ridge area is the village of Hov. *Hov* is an old name which originally is thought to have meant hill or high area, but later achieved the meaning 'farm' and 'house of gods', and in historical times it took on the meaning of a 'king's house and household' (Hellquist 1922:244). From Hov there is a good view over the western undulating area and also the sea. Close to the church is a cemetery which originated in the Bronze Age and was probably used into the Iron Age. Also the old *thing* place was located here. Furthermore, there are indications that there used to be a market here before the rights were given to the village of Grevie, which probably happened early in the medieval period (Janson 1999). Along the same level beneath the ridge, some 1500 metres further northwest, lies the cemetery of Tofta Högar. *Toft* is an old dialectal word meaning 'homestead' (Hellquist 1922:998). However, an often used local name of the place is *Gudahovet*, which means the 'hov of the gods'. Tofta Högar is not only interesting because of its Iron Age name but also because of its Iron Age dates.

Tofta Högar was initially a Bronze Age cemetery and cult place; there is at least one cult house which has been dated to the Bronze Aged period III (Victor 2002:101). There are also enclosures of a similar type but much larger in size. When Burenhult was doing excavations at Tofta Högar in 1974, he excavated one mound which proved to be from the Roman Iron Age (Burenhult 1974, 1975, 1976, see Chapter 3). A stone-setting with two cremation burials was dated to the middle Bronze Age. Further, he found one cremation burial from the early Viking Age that was superimposed on a late Bronze Age stone ship. He also dug trenches across and outside the cult house. By its eastern gable there was a hearth which was also dated to the Viking Age. It seems as if Tofta Högar was used during the Bronze Age for activities in connection not only with burials but also with cult houses. Burials from both middle and late Bronze Age have been excavated, and also burials from both Roman Iron Age and Viking Age. Further, there are mounds on the cemetery which are not excavated, but judging by their shapes and sizes they date from the early Bronze Age to the Iron Age. Perhaps during the Iron Age this was a place for rituals and communication with the gods, a hierophany, while the place for *thing* by the church of Hov was a more profane and formal place

concerned with people's everyday life as well as justice. Close to Hov there are two mounds with the names Tyrshög and Torshög. Tyr was a god that was connected with war and bravery (Hellquist 1922:535f) and Tor is known as a weather god (god of thunder) but he was also a protector of gods, people and the land (Sandén 1872:36). Thus the names in this area, together with the types of sites they are connected to, give a different view of the landscape use here than in the western undulating area. Of course the material is small and perhaps the conclusions are not substantiated. Nevertheless, I find it worthwhile to investigate the landscape this way. There is really no other way to find visible signs of the Iron Age in this landscape.

It is not only at *Tofta Högar* that hearths from Iron Age are known. A hearth was also found at one of the largest rock-carving sites and definitely the most centrally located one, *Drottninghall,* when it was investigated by Arbman in 1966 (Arbman 1966; see Chapter 3). The hearth was interpreted as having been used on several occasions and it was radiocarbon-dated to the Migration Period (400–550 AD) and the pieces of pottery that were found in connection with it were dated to the Ro-

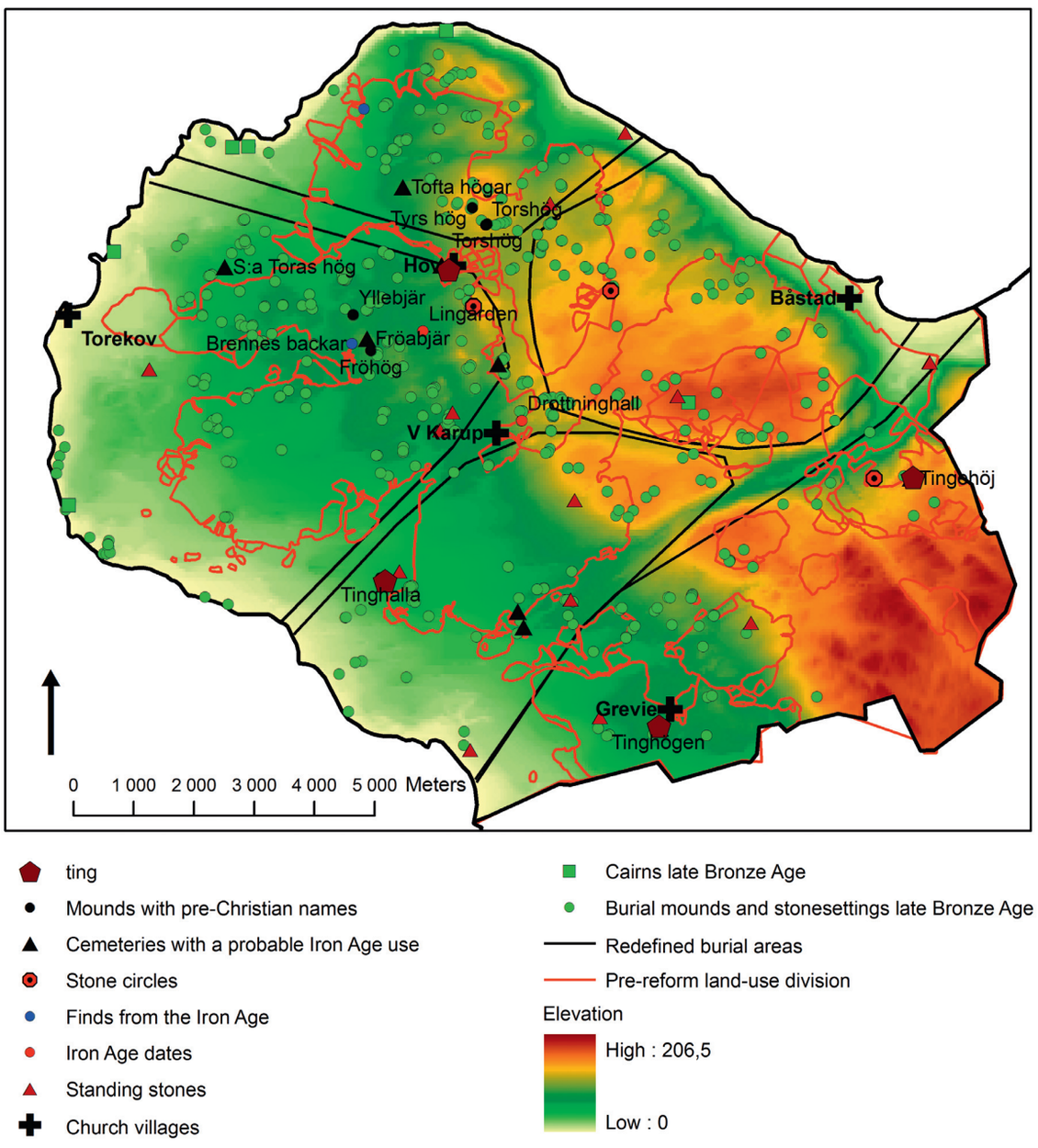


Fig. 198. *The Iron Age sites together with the burial-defined areas and the pre-reform land-use divisions. Background data © Lantmäteriet Gävle 2009. Grant I 2009/0549.*

man Iron Age and some were given the same date as the hearth. The excavation also uncovered a heart-shaped arrowhead of flint which was dated to the early Bronze Age (see fig. 84).

Finally, the historically known central places on the peninsula should be added to the picture: sites for judicial assembly (*thing*), markets and churches. At the *thing* places legal proceedings took place during the Iron Age. On fig. 198 they are shown together with the prehistoric and pre-reform land-use divisions. The *things* at Grevie and Hov are places that we know for sure were in use (Janson 1999). The other two are places in the landscape which still have the *thing*name but about which there is no information in historical sources. They are, however, found close to major rock-carving sites and the one on the ridge is also close to a stone circle. The southern red dot also represents the pre-reform market location of the peninsula. Obviously two of the churches were built at old central places and thus continued the pre-Christian tradition. The church of Västra Karup in the middle of the peninsula may not be connected with a *thing* or a market site but it is still connected with one of the most important rock-carving sites from the Bronze Age, and we know from excavations that there was a continued presence into the Iron Age, Drottninghall (see above). The church in Båstad is a rather late addition from 1460 and is connected with the newly founded town of Båstad which became an important harbour in this period (Båstad 2002a; Gustafsson 2006). The church in Torekov has a longer and more complex history and may possibly be connected with one of the important prehistoric coastal areas (Båstad kommun 2002a; Janson 1999). However, there seems to be a strong connection with the inland central sites from the prehistoric period until today; the central assembly places are continuously found close to the border zones between the different burial-defined areas and in or close to the pre-reform outland. In the eastern part of the peninsula where I have not defined burial-areas the situation is more uncertain.

In all the examples where Iron Age monuments or finds occur in the landscape of Bjäre they seem to relate to the Bronze Age sites. In a way this is not so strange since they fill up the landscape rather well. However, the Iron Age sites in the landscape, whether names, radiocarbon dates or monuments, seem to connect rather well with *important* Bronze Age sites, as if they were still making a linkage to their importance. Thus the Bronze Age features in the landscape and the meanings they had given to it were still in active use during the Iron Age. The way they were used might have changed; the cult-house rituals in the Bronze Age were replaced by a 'hov of the gods' probably inspired by the cult-house remains and the enclosures at this place. The offerings and rock-carving ceremonies of the western undulating area were replaced – or continued to be used for fertility rituals. Further, this area is also rich in burials from late Bronze Age – Early Iron Age which might have to do with the character of the rituals that were performed and the meaning that was inscribed into this part of the landscape (see also Chapter 4).

Thus the Bronze Age heritage seems to have directed the landscape use of the Iron Age, just as it is still directing landscape use in Bjäre in different ways today. What a legacy!

Summary

In this chapter different approaches have been merged together in order to reach a better understanding of the historical development of the structures and the land-use in the Bjäre landscape. Both space and place have contributed to defining a more detailed understanding of prehistory, history and present times. This approach has sought to find the continuous dialogue between the landscape, its places and the people inhabiting it (Shanks 1998a, 1998b:chapter 2). It seems as if the greatest land-use change in Bjäre, which is the land-opening process, can be followed in the way the disposal of the stones from the fields has been arranged. Further, we may conclude that the pre-reform land divisions connect prehistory and the present time with each other. It is very clear from this odyssey through time in Bjäre that the prehistoric sites cannot be seen as frozen locations in the landscape with no context; on the contrary, they are very much an important and integral part of today's landscape and they have been active in shaping the landscape until the present day. Thus they are important ingredients in the cultural biography of the landscape (Kopytoff 1986; Chapter 1).

However sparse the Iron Age sites are in the landscape of Bjäre, the ones that do exist are integrated in the Bronze Age landscape; the meanings of many important Bronze Age places in the landscape have been persistent and they have probably been used in local and regional structural and power relations in a long-term perspective (Foucault 1980:49). These places also provide the landscape with a bridge towards the historical landscape, with place names, locations of villages and *things* which later became the sites of medieval markets and/or church villages.

Now the topic will change and this work will conclude with some discussions concerning the difficulties we face in management issues.

Chapter Six. Heritage and management

Or the making of a recreational landscape

The present

Among other things, the traditional cultural landscape of the Bjäre peninsula, with its Bronze Age heritage and splendid views is presented by the local Tourist Office as typical features of the landscape when advertising for tourists (www.bastad.com). The peninsula is however very much affected by developments associated with recreation, mainly from the construction of holiday homes and golf courses (Reiter 2007). The golf courses can be seen as threats to the cultural landscape in several respects, for example in the way they redesign and reshape the historical landscape with artificial mounds, which can be rather destructive and confusing for the conception of the historical depth in this kind of landscape. They are also quite space-consuming, which makes itself particularly felt in an area as limited as the Bjäre peninsula.

Traditional small-scale agriculture is facing considerable difficulties surviving into the present, which may lead to either abandonment or possibly overuse, or even both at different levels. Abandonment or neglect will destroy the cultural heritage, either by letting it become overgrown or become forgotten, while overuse will most probably lead to the physical destruction of the cultural landscape and its historic and prehistoric remains. Overuse with modern technical resources will also in all probability lead to a degree of abandonment as well, since it will demand larger areas to be farmed with fewer people in them. People abandoning the region will lead to a loss of information and an erosion of the human context in the cultural landscape.

These developments are increasing in today's landscape and may in the near future represent a threat to the present character of the cultural landscape. These changes are also important not only in terms of abandonment or overuse, but perhaps even more so when it comes to the fragmentation of the cultural landscape. Farms are being sold as summer cottages or permanent residences, but without the farming land that belonged to them. This is being amalgamated with other land to create new large farms that are then farmed more and more intensively, changing the landscape no less by putting fields together and destroying their old boundaries. New houses are being built in the countryside in a way that suppresses the cultural landscape and changes its character. Added to this, the space-consuming golf courses are becoming increasingly common projects also, causing comprehensive changes in the landscape. Looking at it in a long-term perspective, it is intriguing that a cultural landscape that was initially transformed by monumental symbols during the early Bronze Age, after a long period of rather poor circumstances is returning to being changed by another variety of monumental symbols (Larsson 2005).

Paradoxically, these large current changes that are occurring in connection with tourism are also erasing many of the values that are argued to be essential for Bjäre as a tourist area (see above). Maintaining good values in a landscape whilst letting it undergo changes is a very complex task. According to the ELC (see Chapter 1), changes should be carefully monitored with many aspects in consideration, and they should also let all local people into the decision-making process.

Already today there are many regulations which may be applied to local landscape issues, several of which were mentioned or discussed in Chapter 2; for example the cultural and natural environmental programmes of Båstad municipality (Båstad kommun 2002a and b). These programmes pinpoint a number of areas in the municipality which are especially fragile or have a special historical and/or natural value that is worth preserving. The municipality has accepted these programmes and thereby should follow their intentions. However, the recent golf course development in the area of Påarp (see Chapter 2 and below) shows that this is not the case. Just like the ELC, these programmes are regulations without penalties; they are mainly guidelines. For this reason there may also be serious doubts about the future fulfilment of the ELC; will it really matter?

Until recently, the heritage from the prehistoric times has been allowed to stay vivid in people's minds and lives, as well as in the character of the landscape. This might be an effect of the small-scale traditional way of life where people rarely have been forced by superior ownership or by national regulations to make unwanted decisions. The period of the agricultural reforms might have been the first time this occurred (see Chapter 1). Today it is difficult for farmers and other landowners to continue farming in a traditional way. However, the implementation of the ELC together with new environmental demands caused by the climate change might in fact improve the situation for small-scale traditional farming and stimulate the search for new ways for it to become efficient. There are already many movements on the Bjäre peninsula which show possible future ways to survive, for example, certain niche activities such as local meat production from animals fed on cultural grazing land, ecological products, small farm shops, small bed and breakfasts and a number of other initiatives (Reiter 2007 for some examples).

In Bjäre there is a strong interest in traditions and places of the past. Regular walks are organised by local societies such as the Nature Protection Society (www.bjare.snf.se), the local archaeological societies *Föreningen Bronstid* and *Bjäre arkeologivänner* (www.bronzeage.net) and the new Sinarpsdalen movement (Lindegren 2008). Perhaps this is a result of the increasing rootlessness that has become an issue these days, probably as a side effect of globalisation. People no longer know their history and backgrounds; the places in the landscape have lost their old meanings for many people. It seems as if a need to return to the basic knowledge of the past in the surrounding landscape has emerged.

Do we need to care for the past and for the history in a landscape? The importance of places has been discussed by several scholars, and a common idea seems to be that the kind of roots offered us by places is in fact of great importance (for example Relph 1976; Weil 1987:41f; Lowenthal 2007). Also the ELC looks at the social importance of the landscape and the quality it brings about in people's lives (Council of Europe 2000). The implementation of the ELC is therefore of clear interest for future management issues.

The implementation of the ELC in Sweden

During 2006 the National Heritage Board was commissioned by the government to produce a proposal for implementation of the ELC, and in January 2008 the National Heritage Board presented its proposal (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2008). The implementation of the ELC is currently being prepared by the Ministry of Culture. The suggestions by the National Heritage Board are broadly summarised below.

First of all there is a strong recommendation to the Swedish government to ratify the convention as soon as possible. Then there are a number of headings. Below I have themed what I think are the most important and interesting issues in the report:

- *Unifying the national policies on landscape issues*. This is of major importance since the responsibility and regulations for management today are found among many different sectors and are very hard to survey. Further, the landscape issue is not recognised in the law, which is needed.
- *Promoting landscape issues in regional and local growth contexts*.
- *Strengthening awareness and public involvement in management issues*. Local knowledge should be taken advantage of in all landscape work.
- *Creating a system for collecting and using knowledge and data for all landscape issues at all levels*. This topic is of special interest for my work with the Historic Landscape Characterisations, which can be seen as a tool in this system.
- *The already existing systems in the different sectors should be coordinated in order to give holistic and unified landscape perspectives. Furthermore, the different sectors should jointly develop new methods to analyse landscape change*. This means that the National Heritage Board does not suggest the creation of a new administration unit for landscape issues, only that the existing ones (above all the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency, the National Heritage Board and the Board of Agriculture) should develop common means

to answer to new needs following the Convention. Since there are very strong borders between these different sectors and no history of cooperation this conclusion might, at least in my opinion, be questionable.

- *Sweden should take an active and leading part in the international engagement concerning landscape issues and the application of the convention*. International exchange of information and knowledge should be promoted. However, if this is to be possible perhaps a more radical implementation than the one suggested in this proposal would be needed.
- *Strengthening the landscape perspective in research and education*. Cross-disciplinary research about landscape issues should be promoted. Landscape issues should be brought into education at high school level as a theme of its own.

The National Heritage Board is suggesting that the government should set up a committee to formulate a national goal for landscape policies. Further, they also suggest the establishment of a governmental council to help cross-sectorial decisions in landscape issues. The National Heritage Board recognises the problematic situation today where the different sectors have partial responsibilities for the landscape but no one has the overall responsibility. Still the only means suggested to overcome this situation is a council at governmental level and better cross-sectorial information and opportunities for cooperation. There is a great risk of conserving the existing structural problem instead of creating new holistic solutions that are not coloured by old habits and sectorial borders. Perhaps a better solution would have been to gather all sectors under the same roof in order to erase old habits and territorial behaviour. At present, however, the whole cultural sector is being reconstructed (SOU 2009:16) and we still do not know how the new structure will be defined concerning the landscape issue.

An example to clarify the present problem: an old grazing land is used by a farmer (thereby responding to the Swedish Board of Agriculture), the grazing land is also recognised as a man-made ‘artefact` (responding to the National Heritage Board) and because of its long traditional use it is the homeland of rare plants (responding to the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency). Landscape is *‘an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors’,* which is why a more concerted strategy should be preferred to the continuation of the present division into many different sectors.

Returning to the ELC (Council of Europe 2000) we can further read that:

Identification and assessment is a central part of the ELC, and each Party undertakes:

- to identify its own landscapes throughout its territory;
- to analyse their characteristics and the forces and pressures transforming them;
- to take note of changes.

In the European Council’s guidelines for implementation (https://wcd.coe.int/ViewDoc.jsp?id=1246005) it is stressed that this work should contain three parts:

- A description of the landscape characters and the relation between humans and landscape.
- An analysis of processes of change in the landscape; looking both backwards in time and forwards. This should also include a description of risks and challenges that the landscape is facing.
- An analysis of the meaning and value of landscape characters, including social dimensions of landscape.

In the report made by the National Heritage Board it is concluded that there is some of conceptual confusion since the English word ‘assessment’ does not have a direct counterpart in Swedish. Assessment is translated as *landskapsanalys*, which is a commonly used and widely accepted concept in Sweden. However, it has no single all-round use; instead different disciplines use their own methodology and give it meaning depending on the focus topic. This situation with highly specialised assessments is not necessarily bad; it can give strength to the landscape issue – if the assessments can be integrated within the same framework which will allow interdisciplinary uses. In my opinion the development of a common tool or framework is essential. A tool which can include all landscapes as well as different specialised data about it should be developed. Today some ‘assessments’ have been undertaken at regional basis to respond to this demand. In Skåne *Det skånska landsbygdspro-*

grammet, which was partly presented in Chapter 2, has been developed (Reiter 2007). Another way is of course the Bjäre HLC drawn up in Chapter 2. This product in fact answers better to the guidelines of implementation from the ELC (see above) since it also uses landscape change as an important definition, besides which it also focuses more directly on the relation between landscape and humans.

It is of course an immense task to put landscape in the forefront the way the ELC suggests. We have few, if any, tools (yet), we have almost no concepts which are comprehensive enough, and the democracy aspect is a real challenge. Still it can be done and should be done.

For further reading about the suggestions of the National Heritage Board about the implementation of the ELC and different aspects of it, see http://www.raa.se/cms/extern/kulturarv/landskap/europeiska_landskapskonventionen.html.

The future

The remains of the past are also memories for the future, two aspects of our environment that are somehow inseparable and the two main ingredients that we need to consider in the present-day planning of the cultural landscape. Already during the Bronze Age the monuments changed the living landscape. At present, several thousands of years later, we still consider them important features in our landscape. As I have shown in the previous chapters, they have not only affected the landscape during prehistoric times, they have also affected the development of later landscapes, for example the agricultural landscape in historical times. Today they also seem to have an impact on the tourist landscape as they are heavily promoted in the tourist information and highlighted in organised activities in the landscape, such as walks, golf, riding, etc. (www.bastad.com).

It is obvious that in the Bjäre landscape the prehistoric and historic dimensions must be able to exist together with modern developments, since these make up the very heart of the landscape. To ensure this is it important that small-scale farming should find ways to survive and thus keep this cultural landscape alive? At the moment, it looks quite possible that the area will be turned into a sophisticated recreation area, a sort of monoculture with golf and summer holidays as its crops, even though many visitors actually come to Bjäre only to enjoy the beautiful cultural landscapes (Larsson 2005). An important issue is also that the peninsula loses so many of its inhabitants during wintertime and that the local people cannot afford to buy houses in the area (Båstad kommun 2008), which is threatens even more to create this monoculture landscape instead of a landscape filled with a diversity of intentions and solutions.

To keep the cultural and natural values in the landscape of Bjäre it is important to create a wider understanding and appreciation of it, which would also contribute to a wider respect for the historical dimensions. As I have mentioned before, there is a strong awareness in this region about the historical layers of the landscape, but still this is quite limited to certain groups in society and does not concern the community as a whole. There is a need to strengthen the awareness of the landscape's history among all those who live there, using and affecting the landscape in different ways, even if they only do so during part of the year. In this way we might be able to create a climate where, for example, cultural tourism and the continuation of the traditional farming could be developed in a sustainable way. Today a discussion of alternative solutions to keep small-scale farming alive, and thus also the ancient qualities of the landscape, has begun to emerge. Ideas about ecological production, quality brands, small-scale slaughtering, local processing of farm products, cooperation between producers and consumers, farm shops and 'farm holiday' enterprises are discussed and being promoted, for example, by the local Nature Protection Society and the County Council (see Reiter 2007).

The path-making in the landscape which was mentioned above is a way to pass on the understanding of the past and the development of the cultural landscape to a broader public. This is probably of fundamental importance if we want to protect those values into the future. As archaeologists we also have a responsibility in this work. The European project, EPCL was a cooperation of mainly

archaeologists that dealt with these questions (see Chapter 1; Kraut 2002; Ermischer 2002). If the prehistoric and historic values of the landscape were to be acknowledged by regional decision makers and other interest groups, then it could be developed by the means of eco-tourism and cultural tourism, which would be a good alternative for managing the area in a sustainable way in the long run. The cultural landscape of Bjäre should be defined as a living antiquity in order to give connotations to something that has an economic value and also a value that is likely to grow in time, which I believe it will (Nord Paulsson 2002b).

An important obstacle for the future is to decide what is worth passing on to the future generations who will make those decisions. Should it be the people living in the area, archaeologists or market forces together with politicians? The best thing would of course be if the decisions were made jointly and the communication between different opinions and interests worked well. There is a hope that the implementation of the ELC will improve this situation. The cultural landscape is like a living organism that is constantly changing. We have to embrace this fact and guide changes instead of looking at the heritage as a static landscape layer. In this work I have been able to show that the prehistoric remains have guided landscape change since they were put into the landscape, and perhaps the best contribution we as archaeologists can make to the management is to carry on this tradition.

I have earlier in this work argued that the HLC would be one good tool in the work of guiding future landscape change. It is simple to understand and also to use as a background in cross-sectorial dis-

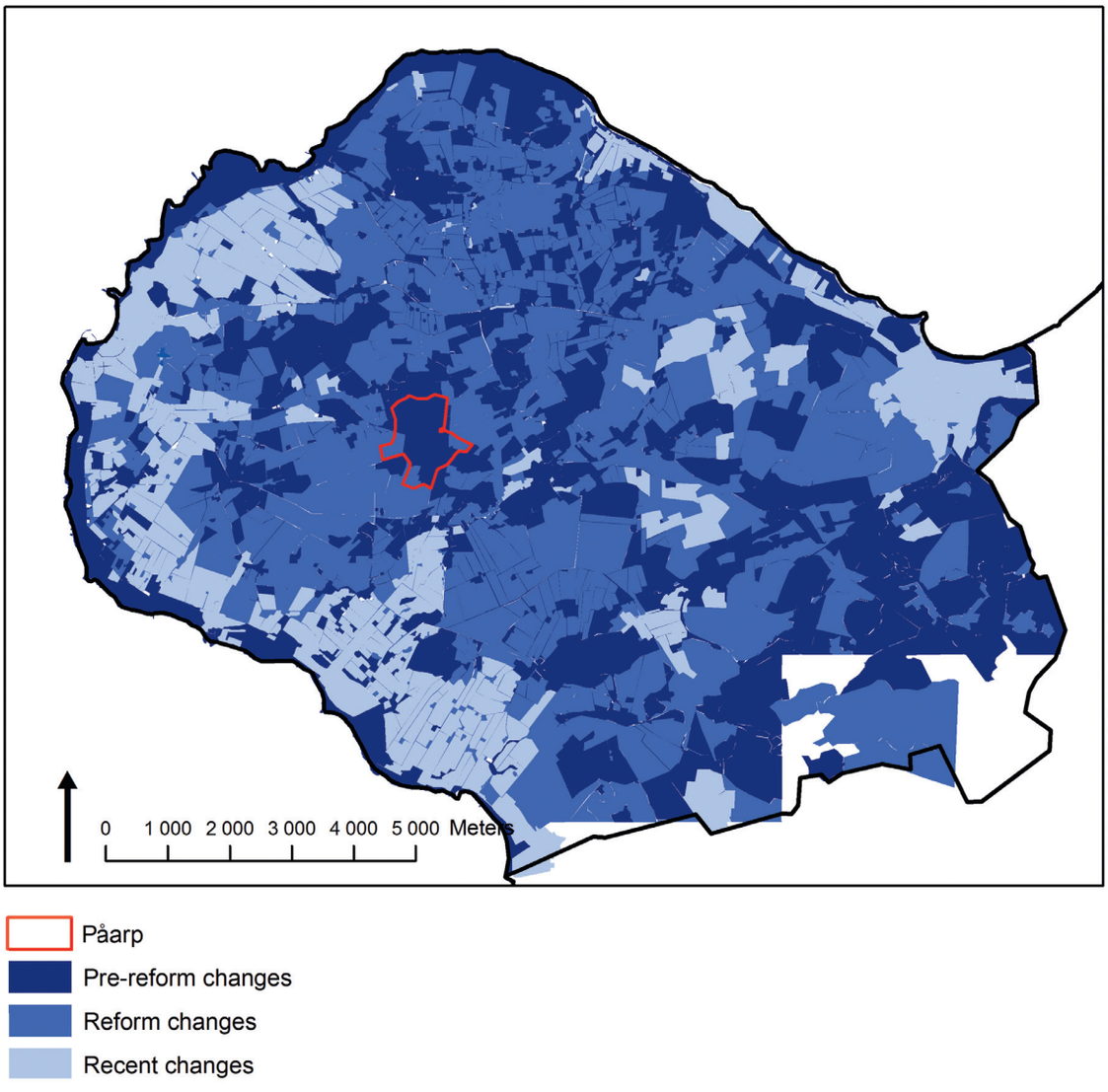


Fig. 199. *The location of the Påarp area on an HLC map showing time-depth.*

cussions. In order to exemplify I will use the present situation in the Påarp area which was described in Chapter 2.

In the Påarp area in Bjäre there is a strong movement to build a large and modern golf course which has caused a lot of discussions and protests. The local Nature Protection Society and the local archaeological societies *Bronstid* and *Bjäre arkeologivänner* (which have merged today into one society) have perhaps been the strongest voices of protest outside the political arena. The area is characterised by its former use as infield area; in fact, it is the infield area of several villages that together are the focus of these plans. In Chapter 5 I described the landscape history with the aid of HLC maps and other information. This study showed that this infield area is not very well suited for modern and efficient agriculture (see also Reiter 2007) and has in fact been used more extensively in later times. This means that the traditional landscape features are very much fossilised here and the historic mosaic field patterning that follows the topography and wetlands still dominates in the area. This is probably the reason why there are several natural and cultural values which people have found worth fighting for.

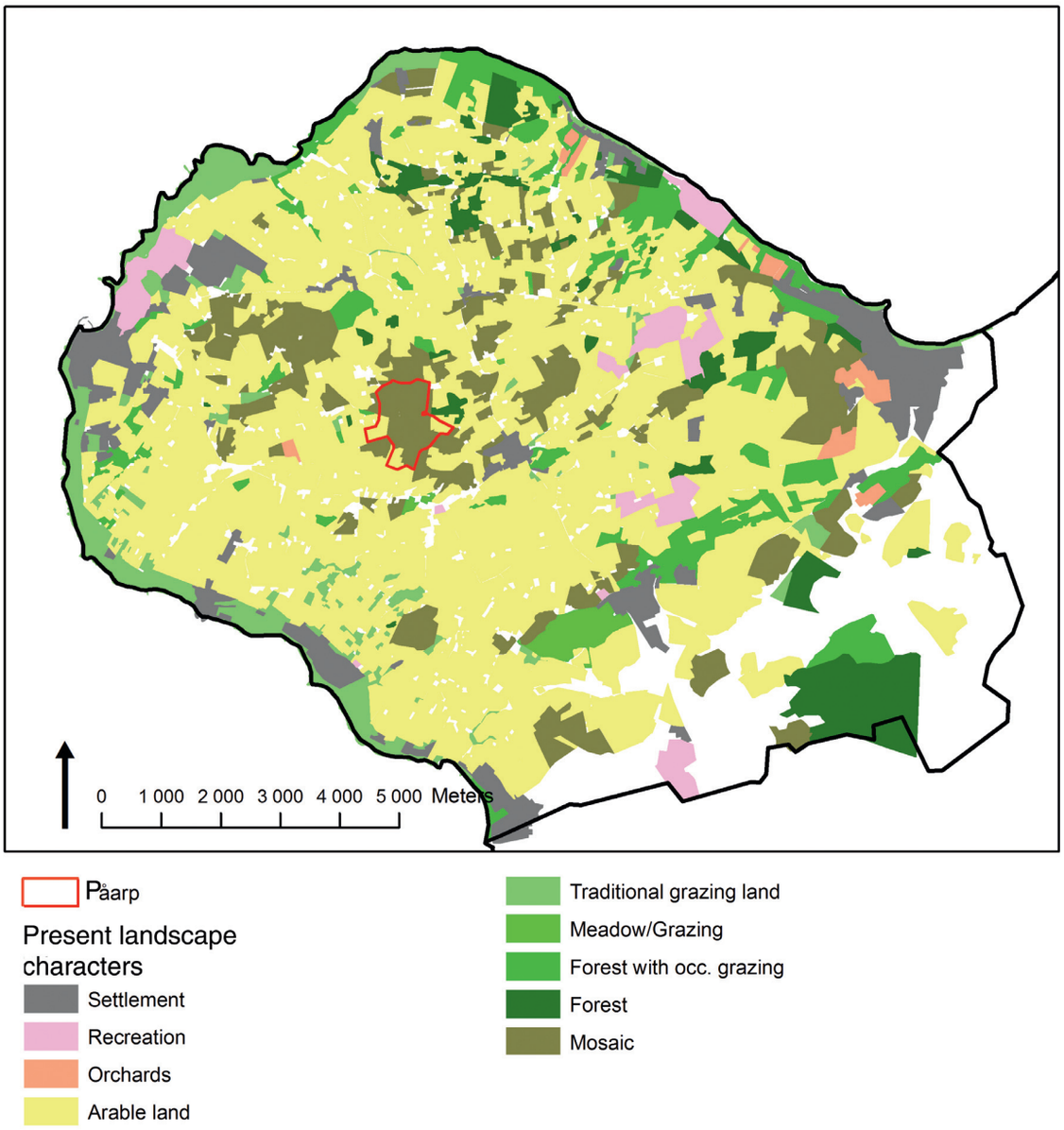


Fig. 200. *The Påarp area on an HLC map showing present-day landscape characters.*

There is also a very distinctive intangible value to this area which is hard to grasp and which has to do with memory and the importance of places and roots in a landscape. This used to be the centre of the landscape, the pre-reform infield where everyday life went on to a higher degree than in the lower areas close to the sea that were previously used mainly for grazing. And perhaps there are also some intangible feelings and memories of the sacred character this area had during the Bronze and Iron Age that still survive. Whether or not this is the case, the memories of the pre-reform times at least still exist and are understood by many people, and the Påarp area has become like the heart of Bjäre. The landscape features which show the traditional land-use have inscribed memories into the landscape of past work and ways of life which are readable for the old inhabitants of the peninsula. Furthermore, many of the newcomers to the peninsula who are searching for new roots are learning to read and appreciate these inscribed memories in the traditional landscape; perhaps it is the *aura* in the landscape that the newcomers learn to appreciate as it evokes memories (Shanks 1998a, 1998b:chapter 2; Connerton 2002, see also earlier in Chapter 1). It could be that the traditional agricultural landscape features today work in the same way as the mortuary monuments did during the prehistoric period, – and of course still do, albeit differently since the stories with which they provide the landscape have now become anonymous.

This situation emphasises on one of my initial points in this work; that places and landscapes are of archaeological concern not because they are abandoned as the law defines them, but because they

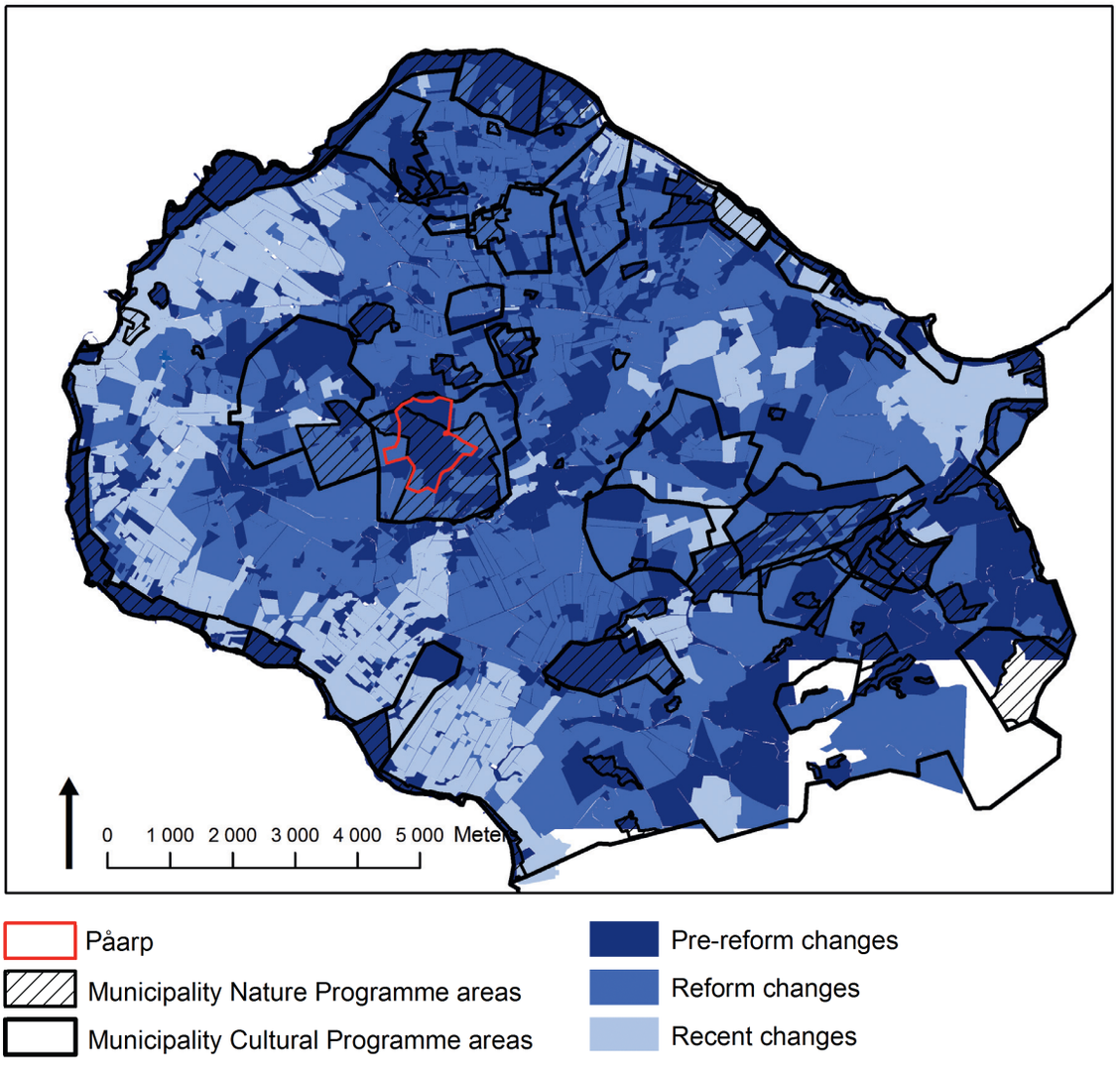


Fig. 201. *The Påarp area on an HLC map showing time-depth and added to this are the areas defined by the municipality's nature and culture programmes.*

still matter to us and still provide us with common memories. However, they have shifted emphasis in their life-cycle (Kopytoff 1986).

In the landscape of Bjäre there are not so many areas left where the past mosaic landscape, which used to dominate the infield area of the pre-reform period, is still present, and fig. 200 makes it clear that the planned golf course embraces one of the larger areas with this pre-reform quality. In fig. 201 we can also see that the time-depth consequently is considered very high. These two maps are very good examples of how HLC maps may be used in planning discussions. They clearly show the particular historical situation which is the main reason for so many people to contest the proposed golf course and instead calling for a more careful land-use change for this area. Further, these maps provide an efficient basis for joint discussions where the understanding of the effect of changes can be monitored, not only concerning the area of proposed change but also for the larger surrounding landscape. To these simple layers of time-depth other information from different disciplines may be added, both the prehistoric heritage which up until today has been helpful in guiding changes and any other interest which may be mapped in a GIS system. The HLC methodology may thus provide us with knowledge and understanding of both past and present changes which together with complementary information may guide future management to make better and more long-lasting solutions.

The uniqueness of Bjäre consists, above all, of two things. First the abundance of Bronze Age mortuary monuments which seem to give an extremely good total picture of what once used to exist. This extraordinary prehistoric heritage has also had an influence on later developments in the area. At first they dominated and exposed the land. Secondly they played an active role in the later development of the agricultural landscape. This is also the second unique heritage of Bjäre, the many layers of agricultural development and especially the well-preserved picture of the agricultural reform. However, it will only remain this way as long as all the mortuary monuments and their context – the cultural landscape of today – is there to be seen. One could therefore argue that every single one of the monuments or features should be well protected (Båstad 2002a). This may not be a possible scenario, but we need to learn how to guide changes in the best possible way.

We also need to find a local solution for every local situation, even though support is needed from regional and national or even international institutions. For some years the regional museums in Sweden have offered skilled staff to local authorities in guidance on heritage issues: municipal keepers of antiquities (kommunantikvarier). So far these services have mainly been applied to the conservation of buildings, but they might be useful for other issues as well. In the Bjäre peninsula, for example, it would have been very useful to have a municipal keeper concentrating mainly on landscape issues (Nord Paulsson 2002b).

Local pride and sense of belonging are fundamental values for the future management of the cultural landscape and the historical environment as a whole. If people feel connected with the places in which they live, they will also feel more responsible for maintaining the landscape for future generations. As professionals we have to communicate the necessity of understanding the past as well as its legacy in present. The walks that are organised today by local societies are not only informative but also a very good way to achieve a dialogue about the cultural landscape with the people actually living and working there. We also need to find ways to introduce this into the HLC methodology. The Sinarp valley movement is showing one way to engage the public and share memories and values in the landscape for a better understanding (Lindegren 2008).

At Bjäre the non-profit organisation *Bronstid* and the society *Bjäre arkeologivänner* as well as the local Nature Protection Society have devoted an enormous amount of work to communicating the heritage to inhabitants and tourists. Through the EU project European Cultural Paths (see Chapter 1) several paths have been created in the landscape, giving substance to some of the heritage in the region which is still anonymous for many people. The signs with the EU stars also give a certain dignity with the hidden message that ‘even the EU’ has noticed the uniqueness of the cultural heritage in this area. *Bronstid* has also developed a Bronze Age centre with the above-mentioned reconstructed Bronze Age house on the peninsula, in which information and education have been provided for schools and the public about the prehistoric remains. Today *Bjäre arkeologivänner* is continuing this work. The local Nature Protection Society has organised a very interesting grazing

project and ecological food projects which help to strengthen awareness and guide future developments.

The more direct way, however, deals with the regulations. So far the conflicts in management issues often draw a thick line between yea-sayers and nay-sayers. The landscape in Bjäre has (again) become a contested landscape, an arena for conflicts between different interest groups (see Bender 1993, 1998). My hope is that the implementation of the ELC will find new ways to start constructive discussions where better information, and hopefully also HLC maps, will be used and thus create new means for more democratic decisions that will be sustainable in the long term. I do think the ELC will matter, but *we* need to make it matter. It will not happen on its own. We – all the people and organisations that wish to engage – should embrace the ELC and make it a democratic and well-used tool for landscape users at all levels.

Chapter Seven. Conclusion

This work has been concerned with the landscape of Bjäre in the northwestern part of Skåne, Sweden. Above all it has been an exploration of different ways in which an archaeologist may study the landscape, with the two concepts *space* and *place* at the forefront.

For an archaeologist, landscape as space is a rather new way of perceiving the landscape; it is not concerned with individual sites, which is otherwise the main material we work with; instead it focuses on the areas in between the sites, the complete landscape, its historical depths and the patterns it brings to the present day. For this purpose I have used the English methodology of Historic Landscape Characterisations (HLC) which also answers well to the demands of the European Landscape Convention (ELC) which at this very moment is in the process of being implemented in Sweden. Since the ELC highlights the democratic aspect when it comes to both definitions of landscapes and decisions about landscapes, this may be a powerful tool in management issues in the future and therefore it is wise to understand how it works and how we can work it.

Chapter 2 dealt with landscape as space, and here a *Historic Landscape Characterisation* (HLC) for the Bjäre peninsula was produced. Other means to understand the landscape as space were also explored, such as pollen and macrofossil analyses, vegetation studies, the intangible values and a detailed matrix study of the Dejarp forest. Most of the studies in Chapter 2 were made in connection with the EU project *European Pathways to Cultural Landscapes* (EPCL) and are cross-disciplinary landscape studies. I found it extremely valuable to use different sets of landscape information and to cooperate with other disciplines in order to reach a better understanding of the landscape's development.

Landscape as place was the main topic in Chapters 3 and 4, where the prehistoric remains from the Bronze Age were discussed and analysed. In Chapter 3 the focus was on the sites themselves and in Chapter 4 the sites were discussed with consideration for their landscape settings and the chronological changes. One may say that the cultural biography of the Bronze Age landscape of Bjäre was written in this chapter, while in Chapter 5 the cultural biography of the historical landscape was written.

In Chapter 5 I also merged the two different points of view: landscape as space from Chapter 2 and landscape as place from Chapters 3 and 4. The aim was twofold: a better understanding of the landscape as space might provide a better understanding of the distribution of the archaeological sites. However, a good knowledge of the prehistoric sites might also provide a better understanding of the development of the later landscape. Here it became obvious how closely linked the Bronze Age sites are with later landscape developments. The HLC was used as a research tool in order to understand past changes to the landscape which sometimes seem to have been steered by the prehistoric sites.

Chapter 6 dealt with the management issues that we are facing today in landscape perspectives. I used an example situation from the Bjäre area in order to demonstrate how the HLC can be used as a management tool, arguing the need to embrace the ELC.

I think that there are several results of this work besides the pure findings and knowledge of the Bronze Age landscape of Bjäre and its later impact on landscape development. For these results I refer to the summaries of the earlier chapters. Here I will sum up the overall results.

- Both landscapes and places within the landscape are active agents in the forming of our world and a constant dialogue is conducted between people and landscape/places in the process of change. Therefore places matter to us, they shape us and help us to change the world. According to the Swedish law, ancient monuments and remains are 'traces of human activity in the

past which are the results of use in previous times that have been permanently abandoned' (SFS 1988:950:chapter 2 § 1). This is not true, as I have been able to show in this work. Places as well as landscapes matters and they are of concern to us because they are *not* abandoned, neither physically nor mentally; *they have just shifted emphasis in their life-cycle* (Kopytoff 1986).

- I also believe that I have shown that local detailed analyses of prehistoric material are important in understanding the past. The answers concerning our local past are here and now, and there is not always a need to draw large-scale conclusions with the use of cultures that are distant in both space and time. However, it must also be said that this methodology may be very useful in some respects. But the local landscapes and the information they may provide us with about the actual people living and acting here are sometimes underrated (but see Skoglund 2005). The variation that can be seen in the local landscape of Bjäre differs from the uniform general picture of the Bronze Age that we often are presented with.

- Through the detailed analysis in Chapters 3 and 4 it is now easier to understand the Bronze Age heritage of Bjäre, especially concerning the landscape use and choices available. Further, it has been possible to distinguish different preferences for local or regional landscape use; the two concepts of *inscription* and *behaviour* ways of keeping social memories have been used to explain these differences (Connerton 1989), with the higher ridge area being concerned with the first and the lower western area with the latter. It has also been possible to distinguish changes in these attitudes during the course of the Bronze Age.

- One important issue concerns the use of the HLC methodology, which has the strength to be used in both research and management topics and which also invites other disciplines to discussions concerning the landscape. The HLC presented in this work is an archaeological and rather subjective interpretation of the present and past landscape patterns and features. However, it provides a very useful basis for deeper cross-disciplinary as well as cross-sectorial discussions about important landscape issues. Since the implementation of the ELC in Sweden most probably not will give us a National Landscape Board which would put the focus on landscape issues without preference for certain interests (such as nature, culture or agriculture), a tool like the HLC would in my opinion be useful to use in connection with cross-sectorial communication.

- Further, the study has been able to show that the prehistoric heritage has guided landscape change since it was put into the landscape. In my opinion the best contribution we may provide the management with as archaeologists is to carry on this tradition.

The overall aim in this work has been to explore the rich Bronze Age heritage and the landscape of the Bjäre peninsula through different methods and perspectives. Often several possible explanations have been given concerning both the Bronze Age landscape and people and the later landscape developments; having an open mind in making interpretations is in my opinion more honest towards the material. However, I am very much aware that, even though I have spent years on this work, I have just scratched the surface of many topics of great interest to me, which may deserve one book each to further explore them. This gives me hope for the future.

Abbreviations

ATA = Antikvarisk-topografiska arkivet. This is the central archive for the National Heritage Board, the Museum of National Antiquities and the Royal Coin Cabinet.

BA = Bachelor of Arts.

ECP = European Cultural paths

ELC = European Landscape Convention.

EPCL = European Pathways to Cultural Landscapes.

EU = European Union.

HLC = Historic Landscape Characterisation.

LUHM = Lunds Universitets Historiska Museum; the Historical museum in Lund.

PhD = Doctor of Philosophy

RAÄ = Riksantikvarieämbetet; the National Heritage Board.

SHM = Statens Historiska Museer; the Museum of National Antiquities

SFS = Svensk Författnings Samling; the Swedish Code of Statutes.

SOU = Statens Offenliga Utredningar; the Swedish Government Official Reports.

UV = Uppdragsverksamheten; the Swedish National Heritage Board Archaeological Excavations Department.

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