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Centrality – Regionality

The Social Structure of Southern Sweden during the Iron Age

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UPPÅKRASTUDIER 7

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The cover picture shows a round copper alloy brooch from the Merovingian Period, detector find from Uppåkra.

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Abstract

Iron Age research in Scandinavia has focused on studies of the significance of certain places as centres in political, economic, and religious spheres of interest. Archaeological research in recent years has shown that the Iron Age, chiefly the latter part, was a dynamic period with major changes. Danish and Swedish projects have examined this dynamism, but the discussion of central components in the understanding of the dynamic transformations that characterized the first millennium AD in Scandinavia has only marginally touched on southern Sweden. Due to intensive development, a large number of rescue excavations have taken place in southern Sweden since the early 1970s.

In 1996 members of different institutes formed a group in order to initiate a research project concerning the Iron Age in the southernmost part of Sweden, including the province of Scania and the southern part of the province of Halland. The goal of the project, entitled "The Social Structure of Southern Sweden during the Iron Age", was to study the development of society in a broad chronological perspective from 500 BC until 1000 AD. The main aim of the project was to analyse the hierarchy in the settlement structure. The overarching studies in the project concerned settlement and power structure in the Iron Age of southern Sweden and hence studies of local and regional variations. At the centre of the project was a continuous discussion of the concepts of central place and power. The landscape of power, in both its physical and its social shape, has not been sufficiently described and interpreted. The same applies to the properties that make a settlement unit into a centre.

The project comprised several undertakings, involving studies differing in scope and orientation in southernmost Sweden, and studies based on work on the settlement of Uppåkra in south-west Scania. In the project the Uppåkra site serves as a catalyst because of its special structure and find material. Iron Age settlement at Uppåkra was first documented in the 1930s, but the current project did not begin until 1996. Efforts such as archaeological excavations and metal detector surveys have constituted the basis for a significant number of research tasks of a highly varied nature. The study of the Uppåkra settlement site, however, would not have been complete without a deeper understanding of settlement in the vicinity of the site.

Research into this settlement phenomenon has resulted in a large number of articles, of which a considerable proportion have been and will be published in a special series named "Uppåkrastudier".

The work of the research project is not finished. The article describes plans for future efforts in the field and at the desk.

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Introduction

In Iron Age research, greater priority is being given to in-depth analyses of societal conditions. There has been lively discussion of topics such as the concentration of political power, socio-economic relations, and Christianization. Research has focused on studies of the significance of certain places as centres in political, economic, and religious spheres of interest.

Archaeological research in recent years has shown that the Iron Age, chiefly the latter part, was a dynamic period with major changes. The Danish project "From Tribe to State" has demonstrated, among other things, how regional political groupings made themselves felt in the middle part of the Roman Iron Age and then become fully distinct in the Migration Period (Mortensen & Rasmussen 1988, 1991). From this period we should thus be able to speak of an incipient establishment of what would later, following continental European models, develop into large, coherent states. The magnate and his retinue were a clear expression of a new political constellation in which the initiative for changes was to a large extent transferred from the kindred to leading persons or families. This discussion has taken on a political dimension in works about hypothetical kingdoms in the Migration Period. Extensive sacrifices of war booty deposited in the Late Roman Iron Age and Migration Period (200–550 AD) suggest a specialized system of martial forces that presupposed organized leadership. In the Vendel Period and Viking Age we notice an increasingly strong influence from an emerging central power. A radical transformation of society is reflected in increased trade, the beginnings of urbanization, and a change of religion.

During the Vendel Period and Viking Age (550–1050 AD) we notice the steadily growing influence of a nascent central power structure. The concentration of power in fewer hands can also be suspected in the foundation of well-structured trading sites. This suggests that the initiative came from a society with a fixed organization. A radical transformation of society is expressed in increased trade, incipient urbanization, and a change of religion. Several well-organized building projects are implemented, for instance in the Danevirke (Andersen 1998), the earthworks marking the frontier in southern Jutland, in protective semicircular ramparts around the early towns, and in the circular forts (Ambrosiani & Clarke 1991), which are viewed as the final confirmation of an established central power in a united Denmark.

In central Sweden the interest has concentrated on the formation of central places and trading sites, in the investigation of the adjacent sites of Helgö (Lundström 1988) and Birka in Lake Mälaren (Ambrosiani & Clarke 1992, 1995). In the project "Svealand in the Vendel Period and Viking Age" (SIV), the cemeteries at Vendel and Valsgärde have been associated with nearby central places (Arrhenius & Eriksson 1997; Herschend 1997a, 1997b).

The social structure of southern Sweden during the Iron Age

In the research that has been done on both Denmark and central Sweden, the intermediate area, that is, southern Sweden, has not been credited with the role or attracted the interest that this area must have enjoyed by virtue of its location and its contacts. The discussion of central components in the under-

standing of the dynamic transformations that characterized the first millennium AD in Scandinavia has only marginally touched on southern Sweden. With its geographical position, southern Sweden played a major role as a melting pot for various cultural contacts, which differ in parts from those affecting Denmark and central Sweden. Especially in a long temporal perspective, knowledge about the composition and transformation of these contacts can shed light on new aspects of the structure of Scandinavian society.

The intensive research has focused on the Iron Age society of Denmark as well as central Sweden, but the southern part of Sweden has partly been neglected. Due to intensive development, a large number of rescue excavations have taken place in southern Sweden since the early 1970s. However, information about several of these efforts is insufficient because the results have not previously been compiled. The extensive work in Scania of the National Heritage Board, Archaeological Excavations Department (UV-Syd), Lund (Tesch 1992), is supplemented with the intensive rescue excavations in the Malmö area (Björhem & Säfvestad 1993), which can also be related to new excavations in southern Halland (Carlie 1992, 1999).

In 1996 members of different institutes formed a group in order to initiate a research project concerning the Iron Age in the southernmost part of Sweden, including the province of Scania and the southern part of the province of Halland. Representatives of the Institute of Archaeology, University of Lund, Malmö Museum, the National Heritage Board, Archaeological Excavations Department, Lund, and Halland Museum, Halmstad, were taking part in the project. The aim of the project, entitled "The Social Structure of Southern Sweden during the Iron Age", was to study the development of society in a broad chronological perspective from 500 BC until 1000 AD. An important task of the project was also to make the information about the excavations of Iron Age sites in southern Sweden available for further analysis. Archaeology, medieval archaeology, human geography, osteology, palaeoecology, and ceramic analysis are disciplines represented in the project group.

The aim of the project

The main aim of the project was to analyse the hierarchy in the settlement structure. It was therefore intended to analyse the following problems in detail: What is meant by the concept of central place? When does regional power concentration start to encompass larger units than villages or kin groups? Is it groupings like these that are subsequently assembled in the beginnings of the Danish state? How was southern Sweden incorporated in the kingdom of Denmark? What were power structures like here before, during, and after the integration phase?

A significant contribution of the project was the compilation and analysis of the huge collection of material produced by rescue excavations in recent decades. In addition to the extensive work in Scania done by the Southern Excavations Department of the National Heritage Board, we have the results of the intensive rescue excavations in the Malmö area in the 1980s and 1990s. The picture of settlement in southernmost Sweden is supplemented by the findings of recent excavations in southern Halland. Information from the ongoing major rescue excavations in southern Sweden, occasioned by, for example, the Öresund Fixed Link and the changed course of the West Coast Railway Line, add to the knowledge gained from earlier large-scale investigations.

The overarching studies in the project comprised settlement and power structure in the Iron Age of southern Sweden and thereby studies of local and regional variations. Subsidiary efforts considered societal forms and local identity in southern Halland, Scania, and Blekinge, and southern Sweden's patterns of contact in the thousand years covered by the Iron Age.

The idea behind the sub-projects is to use various types of data and methods to analyse southern Sweden's internal and external contacts during the Iron Age and their significance for economic and political development. Regional and chronological variations will be given special consideration.

Southern Sweden, particularly Scania, lies at the intersection of different political and economic forces which emerged in the Early Iron Age and became especially obvious in the latter part of the Iron Age. Among these contacts, those with the Slavonic area south of the Baltic Sea deserve particular mention. In addition, influences from Western Europe, present-day Denmark, central Sweden and the lands east of the Baltic have been of fluctuating importance.

To understand the development of southern Sweden in such a dynamic time as the Iron Age, it is necessary to expand our knowledge of settlement development. Excavations of recent decades and the results of the new survey of ancient monuments have provided a large source of knowledge that is still waiting to be drawn on.

Central places

The influences that reached Scandinavia during the Roman Iron Age included structures that must have been previously unknown phenomena. The Roman Empire with which the Germans came into contact had a distinctly urban character. The town with its combination of permanent institutions in the form of judicial and bureaucratic representatives of the state apparatus, the clear mercantile element, and the marking of different religious outlooks, also steered by the state, was something new.

We may wonder about the transformation that is required for different phenomena around the Mediterranean to find a shape in which they could be accepted in Northern Europe. Imports from the Roman Empire, mainly during the Roman Iron Age, must have been objects that gave their owners special status without profoundly changing regional or local society. It was not until continental European Germans were directly confronted with colonial Roman society and more or less voluntarily tried to reconcile their traditional way of life with the one they encountered in Southern Europe that a true blend of cultures arose, with fundamental repercussions for daily life with its habits and customs and hence for attitudes and social relations. The influences from these new forms of society, with certain components previously unknown, and transformed by incorporation into traditional institutions, found it easier to gain acceptance even in areas far to the north of the *limes* (Hedeager 1997). The role of the town as a central place both for the ruling elite and also in mercantile and religious terms took on a more distinct form in the places of central character which began to appear at the end of the Roman Iron Age and in the Migration Period.

The core of the project was a continuous theoretical discussion of the concepts of central place and power. Both concepts have previously been used without much nuances. The landscape of power in both its physical and its social form had not been described or

interpreted with sufficient clarity. The same also applies to the characteristics that make a settlement unit into a centre. This concerns, on the one hand, the material expressions of power, such as large farms or control of highly skilled craftsmen, and on the other hand its practical function for steering flows of goods and the like (Helgesson 1998, 2002).

The definition of central places, and hence the interpretation of which functions should be related to these, is far from being unproblematic. What evidence is required of a site if it is to be called a central place? Is it possible to create a definition of the concept based on archaeological material? Are there indications that central places can change in function and significance? For the discussion of changes in society it is necessary to work with long temporal perspectives. This is lacking in research hitherto.

Central places are characterized by a degree of specialization. The specialization may concern functions associated with the base units, but also solitary physical places, or functions in society which do not need to be attached to a physical setting. What one chiefly thinks of here is a type of central place from which power and control proceeded (Callmer 1997). It is common to speak of an aristocracy.

Many phenomena can be perceived as being of central character. They may be cultic sites, votive sites, magnates' farms, assembly sites, market places, or craft places. In addition, the concept of central place is often associated with the accumulation of precious metals, but this was primarily conditioned by how and when precious metal was used, which varied considerably during the Iron Age. An important task of the project is to define the different parts of the overarching structure and give them valid names. Another task is to investigate whether the central functions can be linked to a special site, a small area, or if an entire area was central in itself.

Another important problem in the discussion of power formation and settlement in the Iron Age is that the empirical foundation is based on a small number of well-excavated areas. Mostly we only have limited knowledge of settlement in the area around the places that are supposed to have had a central character. The excavations in Jutland have played a dominant role for our knowledge of settlement in southern Scandinavia (Hvass 1988). As a result, the models of settlement that have been built up over more than two decades are far too generalized. New investigations in Scania and southern Halland show that the picture of settlement is complex. The relation between village-like structures and single farms is one such phenomenon that requires deeper analysis. In some places we find large farms, which suggests a concentration of power, whereas other indications of prosperity, such as accumulations of precious metal or graves with rich finds (Lund Hansen 1995), are found in some cases but absent in others. Earlier research on centre formations has been driven by attempts to identify and describe these places, while the discussion of their origin and function in relation to the surroundings – both social and physical – has to some extent been neglected. In addition, the varied composition of the excavation results makes it even more difficult to gain a good overall grasp.

The structure of the project

"The Social Structure of Southern Sweden during the Iron Age" was originally a project designed to run for four years, 1997–2000. Thanks to grants from the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation, it has been possible

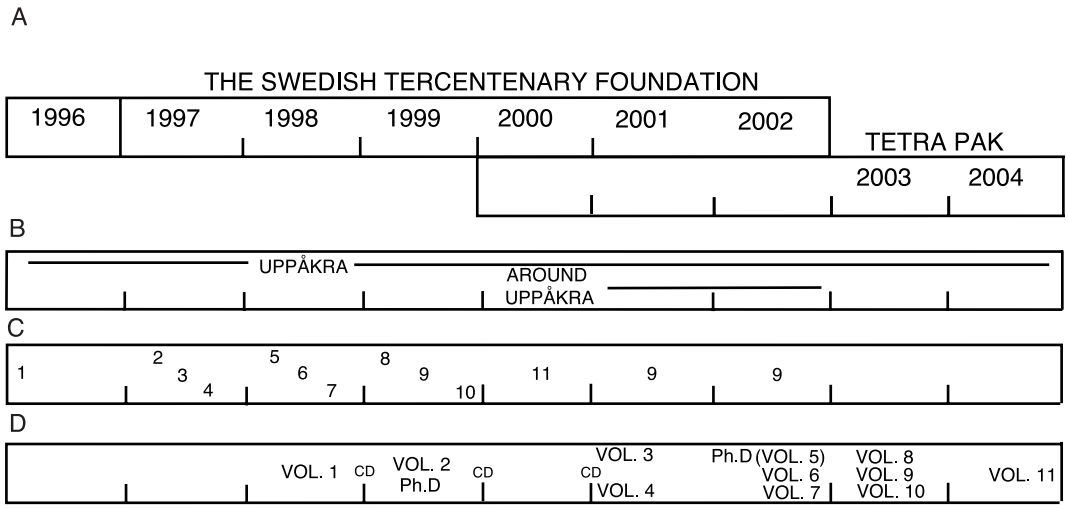

Fig. 1. The different activities within the project "The Social Structure of Southern Sweden during the Iron Age". A: grants and sponsorship, B: metal detector surveys, C: excavations (the numbers refer to excavation areas in fig. 3) and D: publications (the figures relate to volumes in the series Uppåkrastudier, CD means supervised student publications).

to carry on the project on its original scale and also to add a fifth year, 2001 (Fig. 1).

The project has had several aims. One has been to obtain a picture of the extensive excavations undertaken in southernmost Sweden since the compilations presented by Berta Stjernquist for the Early Iron Age (1955) and by Märta Strömberg for the Late Iron Age (1961). Most of the investigations conducted have been occasioned by the large-scale development that has affected Scania, chiefly the western part of the province, since the end of the 1960s. The National Heritage Board's Archaeological Excavations Department in Lund has performed the majority of these digs, so this task in the project was assigned to Bengt Jacobsson, who is employed in the Lund office of the Board. His initial work resulted in a detailed compilation of investigations of antiquities from the Iron Age, chiefly in Scania and Blekinge, with a total of 242 sites (Jacobsson 2000). The compilation of the remaining investigations, mainly those conducted under the auspices of Malmö Museum, is in progress (Tegnér 2002). The second part of Jacobsson's research as part of the project concerns social conditions in a part of south-west Scania and is now presented here (Jacobsson, this volume).

The project also touched on the southern part of Halland, where large-scale infrastructure investments had led to the excavation of a great many settlement sites. Lennart Carlie of Halland County Museum in Halmstad has analysed these sites, the majority of which come from the Early Iron Age, along with other finds and remains from the same period. His analysis has resulted in a doctoral dissertation (Carlie 1999, this volume).

Berta Stjernquist has done intensive fieldwork and analyses of Iron Age settlement in Scania (1955, 1993). Within the project it has been possible to draw on her knowledge of this settlement and its material culture. Her analyses of special settlements, special artefact groups and of votive sites have also been

presented in publications produced as part of the project (Stjernquist 1998, 1999. 2001).

Birgitta Hårdh shares the leadership of the project with the author of this article. Her primary sphere of responsibility is the analyses of the material retrieved in the metal detector surveys. Several analyses have been performed by both domestic and international scholars (Hårdh 1999, 2001). Hårdh has also supervised a considerable number of students whose work has directly or indirectly concerned Uppåkra. Her own research has mainly dealt with the relationship between categories and complexes of finds in Uppåkra in regional and interregional perspective (Hårdh 1999a, 2001b, 2002, this volume).

In the project there was the potential to present a multifaceted picture of the Iron Age in Scania based on the large amount of new material accumulated since the 1960s. With the extensive material retrieved from sites of a central character in particular, it has been possible to arrive at a deeper insight into the relation between a central place and both the immediate surroundings and the region. This research has been pursued for a doctoral dissertation by Bertil Helgesson (2002).

An obvious consequence of the study of traces of activity at Uppåkra during the Iron Age is the follow-up work to obtain a glimpse of what the place was like in the Middle Ages. It is important to examine the relation between the existing villages of Stora and Lilla Uppåkra and the Iron Age settlement between the two in order to understand settlement structure in the immediate vicinity. In addition, it is of particular interest to examine how it affected or was affected by the establishment of the town of Lund during the Late Viking Age and Early Middle Ages, to become an important base in the Danish kingdom. Parallel to the establishment of the secular structure, and as a consequence of it, the town was distinguished in religious terms by being chosen as the seat of a bishop. The study of this problem has been led by Mats Anglert (Anglert & Huttu 1999; Anglert & Jansson 2001). Other studies dealing with the Middle Ages in southernmost Sweden have also been conducted as part of the project (Thomasson 1998; Lihammer, this volume).

The oldest land survey maps and documents from most of the parishes in Scania are dated to the 18th century. It has nevertheless been shown that the material can be used for a retrogressive analysis of land use and settlement structure reflecting conditions as far back as the Middle Ages and even much earlier, in the Iron Age (Riddersporre 1995, this volume). That was an important reason for involving Mats Riddersporre in the project.

As stated above, a considerable amount of archaeological work has been done in connection with infrastructure development in the Malmö region. This has generated considerable knowledge of the structure and change of Iron Age settlement within a relatively limited area of what was probably the best arable land in southern Sweden (Björhem & Säfvestad 1993, Friman & Hector, this volume). A special undertaking within the framework has been to relate this knowledge of Iron Age settlement to the road that ran north-east towards Uppåkra (Björhem, this volume).

Uppåkra as a catalyst of research

In the project the Uppåkra site, situated approximately 5 km south of Lund, serves as a catalyst because of its special structure and find material (Fig. 2).

The site at Uppåkra was first recognized in 1934 in connection with house con-

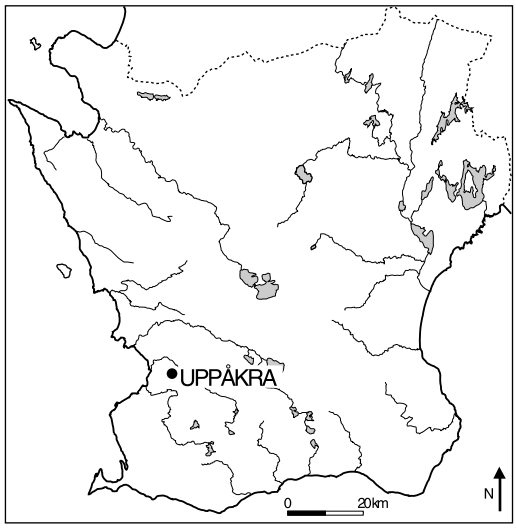

Fig. 2. The location of the Uppåkra site in southernmost Sweden.

struction. A minor excavation revealed occupation layers with a thickness of more than two metres, with elements of clay layers and soot horizons along with a large quantity of finds comprising pottery, bone, iron objects, and some bronze artefacts (Vifot 1936; Stjernquist 1996). The topmost occupation layer was datable to the transition between the Late Roman Iron Age and the Migration Period. Part of a wattle-and-daub house which had burnt down was investigated. Charred grains in large quantities and rich find material which also included fire-damaged bronze fibulae suggested that the house was destroyed by an accidental fire.

When the project was started, the remains from Uppåkra were felt to have significant potential as an important research object. As a result of the first efforts, the significance of the site for an understanding of the social structure of southern Sweden in the Iron Age was further accentuated. Because of the all-round nature of the work on Uppåkra, the project began to be called "the Uppåkra project" in everyday speech.

Archaeological investigations

By small rescue excavations in connection with development work in the form of road widening, house building, or digging for pipelines, and by field surveys, occupation remains dated from the entire Early Iron Age have been found within an area of approximately 1.1 x 0.6 km – the largest occupation site known so far in southern Sweden. Towards the north the site comprises the earlier row village, while the area to the south is delimited by a small stream with adjacent wetland (Fig. 4). The church is located on the highest point with a pronounced slope towards the north, in the lower part of which the present village is located. South of the church the ground slopes gently, with an increasing gradient in the area closest to the channel of a small stream. South-west of the church is a slight height with a noticeable slope towards the west. A natural terrace can be discerned on the slope south of this height.

In the course of the project, the extent and complexity of the Uppåkra site have proved much greater than was initially expected. From the important yet limited archaeological investigations that could be undertaken as part of the project, it was clear that the site had a complicated stratigraphy and highly varied find material. The potential of the site as an excavation object became increasingly clear, and it was simultaneously realized that the necessary fieldwork could not be done within the project budget. Thanks to sponsorship from the company Tetra Pak it was and will be possible to conduct archaeological investigations at Uppåkra in the period 2000–2004.

The first volume of the series "Uppåkra-studier" (Uppåkra studies) gave an account of the situation until autumn 1997 (Larsson 1999). Six small excavations had been undertaken in the initial phase of the project (Fig. 1

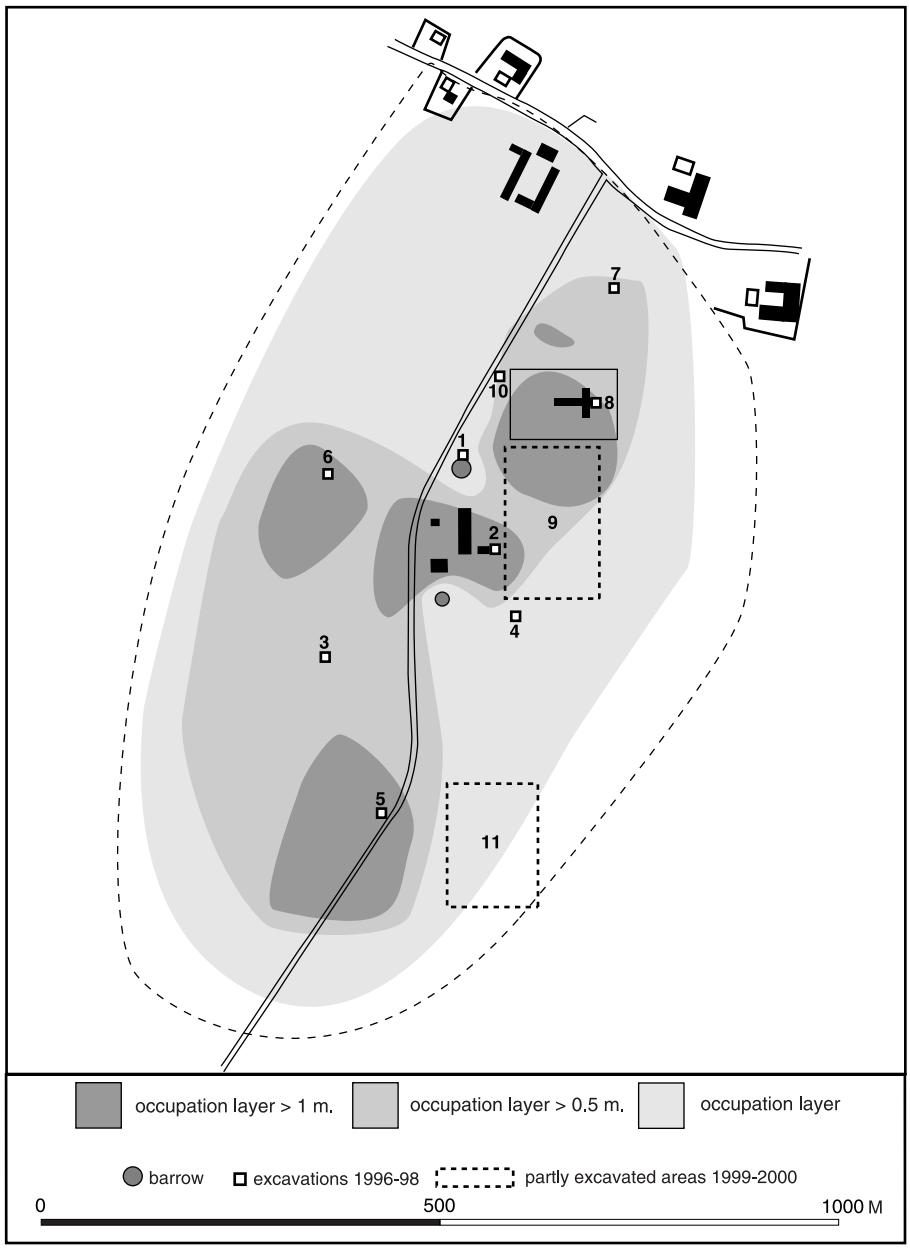

Fig. 3. Excavation areas within the Uppåkra site during the period 1997–2000.

and 3). By the end of 2001 a few other areas scattered over the roughly 40 hectare site were excavated (Larsson 2001b, 2001c, Lindell 2001). The intention here was to obtain a glimpse of the size and structure of the settlement site, the composition of features, and the date.

During 1999, excavations on a larger scale began with the stripping of topsoil by machine within long, regularly positioned test trenches (Fig. 3). The aim of this strategy was to acquire a better knowledge of the stratigraphy and the composition, structure and degree of pre-

servation of the features in specially selected areas. During the first year the excavations were in an area south of the church, while an area in the south-west of the site was excavated in 2000 (Fig. 3) (Lindell & Lenntorp 2000). Since 2000 the excavations have also been done according to the single-context method, with the use of extensive digital documentation.

In both cases the efforts were concentrated in areas with extensive amounts of finds from metal detecting and moreover with several finds of obvious status markers such as artefacts of precious metals showing skilled craftsmanship, as well as finds made of special material, such as fragments of glass beakers (Stjernquist 1999). In both areas there were rich remains of houses and other traces of activities. However, the variation as regards both the types and the chronological spread of structures seems to be much greater in the northern than the southern area. The southern excavation area slopes with an increasing gradient down towards a stream. Erosion seems to have been heavier here than in the flatter northern area. The northern area had structures from the Late Iron Age, whereas late structures occur more sporadically in the southern area. This difference between the two excavation areas meant that the major excavation with machine stripping of the topsoil in large continuous areas was concentrated on the area that had been subject to trial excavation in 1999. Here the finds in the topsoil were to be decisive for the selection of areas to strip.

Searching for cemeteries and graves

Although the archaeological excavations were primarily geared to settlement remains, high priority was also attached to tracing burials belonging to the Uppåkra settlement. At least one grave and some indications of burials had previously been found on the Uppåkra site (Stjernquist 1995; Larsson 1998). Within an area of 500 metres east of the site, digging to lay pipes uncovered five graves belonging to the Late Roman Iron Age/Early Migration Period (Stjernquist 1995). These graves were distributed in two areas about 100 metres apart and could thus be expected to be parts of a larger cemetery. A number of test trenches were therefore dug right beside the previous area where the pipes had been laid and also in a fairly large area further west of this, closer to the Uppåkra settlement site (Fig. 4). A number of features were discovered and a few of these subsequently investigated. None of them showed any remains of burial, but there were hearth pits with varying amounts of fire-cracked stone. The cemetery or cemeteries which must have existed in the large and long-lived settlement of Uppåkra should therefore be sought elsewhere.

The difficulty of finding cemeteries immediately beside sites of central character is an almost symptomatic feature in south-west Scandinavia. In cases where some form of relationship has been suggested between central place and cemetery, as for example between Gudme and Møllegårdsmarken, the distance is about one kilometre (Michaelsen 1994: Fig. 4). No large cemetery or graves with finds marking high social status have been found within three kilometres of Uppåkra (Larsson 1998).

One must also be aware that there is at least one grave, and probably several, at Uppåkra (Stjernquist 1996)(Fig. 3). There may be other graves, showing that parts of the site could undergo considerable changes in function, from settlement area to cemetery. A combination of settlement site remains and graves within the same ancient site, even if there is a certain distance in time between the

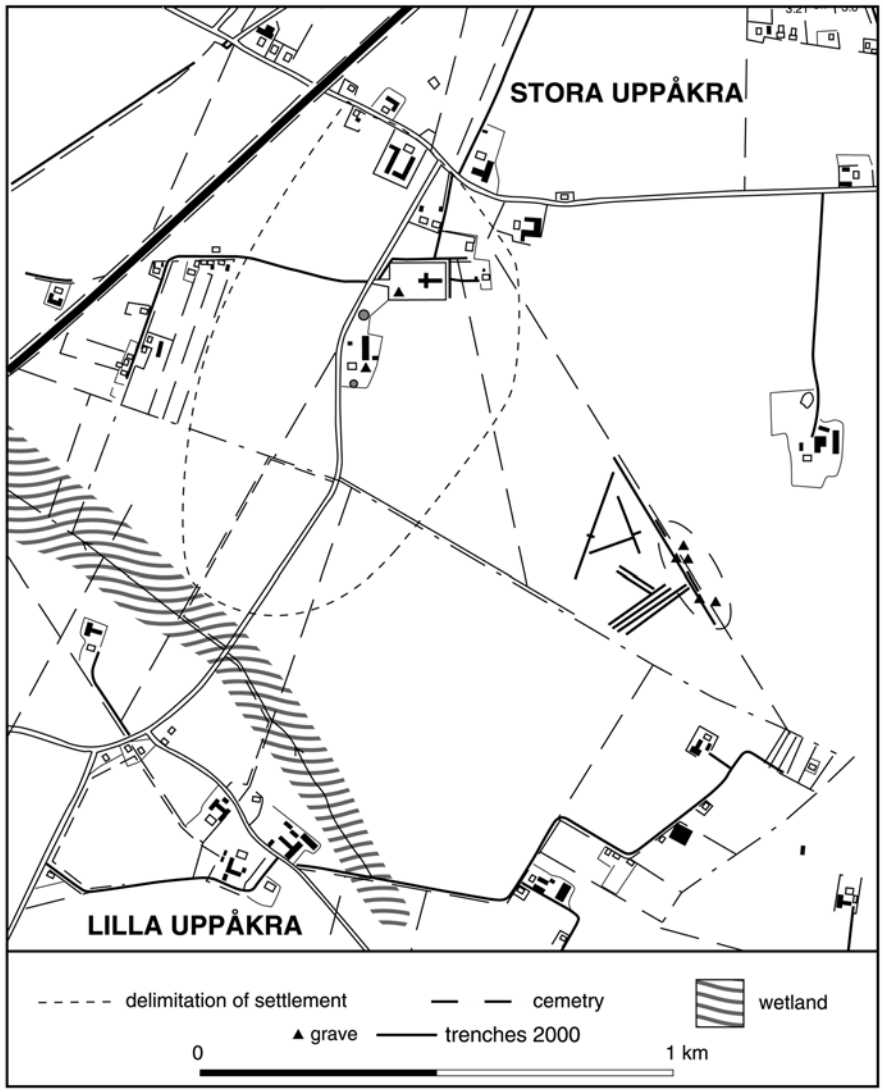

Fig. 4. Test trenches in search of graves belonging to the settlement at Uppåkra.

two phenomena, is found in the neighbourhood at Hjärup (1998) and at Önsvala (Fig. 5) (Larsson 1982). The situation is probably the same at Källby, north of the river Höje å (Fig. 5), where there is a considerable amount of burial but where settlement remains have also been found. The extent of these is uncertain, as is the dating. In continued excavations at Uppåkra, special attention must be paid to the possibility that single graves or cemeteries may occur within former habitation areas.

Drainage in the chancel of the church and its immediate vicinity has given an excellent opportunity to study the stratigraphy in an area which is otherwise difficult or virtually impossible to investigate. Inhumation burials occurred before the building of the Romanesque stone church. ^{14}C dating of a skeleton damaged by the construction of the foundation walls of the Romanesque church indicate a date in the Viking Age (Anglert & Jansson 2001). This may suggest that there was a cemetery in

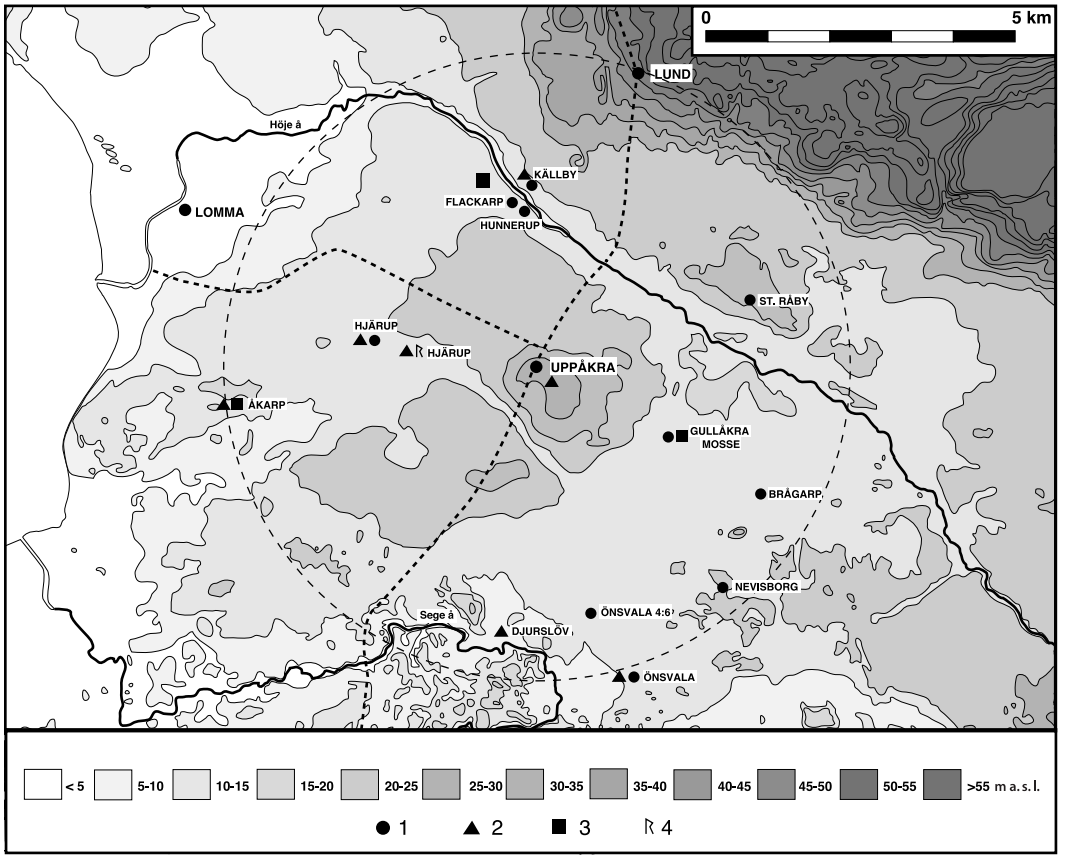

Fig. 5. Sites in the neighbourhood of the site Uppåkra. Legend: 1: settlement, 2: grave or cemetery, 3: hoard find, 4: runic stone.

the area during that period. Other finds in the churchyard hint that people were buried there as early as the Iron Age (Stjernquist 1995).

Metal detector analyses

The majority of metal finds have been uncovered by metal detector surveys. These have yielded more than 10,000 find units – the largest number in southern Sweden. This material has been crucial in painting a detailed picture of the function of the site and the length of time it was in use. Thanks to this rich and varied material, it is clear that Uppåkra was used throughout the first millennium AD.

In 1996–97 the metal detector surveys were conducted recurrently at weekends by amateur archaeologists from Bornholm. Since then our colleagues from Bornholm have returned at least once a year, usually in the spring when the majority of the fields are accessible for detector surveys. In addition, detector surveying by our own staff has been intensified. This has led to a slightly changed picture of the detector distribution (Paulsson 1999). For certain concentrations it has been found that finds in the vicinity have increased, which means that tendencies to concentration have disappeared in some areas but been further increased in others.

The database of detector finds that has been built up makes it simple to work with

the material, for example, to distinguish different forms of artefact and also to visualize their distribution. Renewed analyses, chiefly of the results of the earliest detector surveys, have led to the identification of more artefact forms and new types of artefacts. The distribution of different artefact forms may provide a basis for identifying, for instance, different farm units (Helgesson & Stjernquist 2001).

The relevance of the metal detector finds for the remains of features under the topsoil has also been tested, showing a good relationship between, for example, finds of casting in the form of split brooches, sullage pieces, and the like, and the traces of casting that have been documented (Hårdh 2001b).

Special analyses

Since the start of the project, the historical geographer Mats Riddersporre has played an important role with his retrospective analyses of the earliest land survey maps from the 18th century, which give a glimpse of conditions that may have applied in the Late Iron Age and Early Middle Ages (Riddersporre 1995). An analysis of land survey documents for the villages of Stora Uppåkra and Lilla Uppåkra shows that field-names and the grading of soil fertility shed very interesting light on a period contemporary with the settlement (Riddersporre 1996). The field-names indicate the earlier settlement between the two still existing villages, and fields named for their black soil correspond well to the extent of the occupation layer on the Uppåkra site. These analytical methods have also been applied to conditions concerning special Iron Age settlements and general structures in the settlement during the Late Iron Age and Early Middle Ages (Riddersporre, this volume).

The rich metal detector finds and the finds produced by archaeological excavations have given opportunities to perform a significant number of analyses of different types of artefacts and categories of material. Some experts were attached to the project right from the planning stage. One of them is Ole Stilborg, who has conducted several analyses of pottery (Stilborg 1998, 2001, this volume; Räf & Stilborg 1999). Stilborg has also supervised students performing analyses of pottery from Uppåkra.

Mats Regnell's speciality is macrofossils. Since the investigations at Uppåkra in the 1930s resulted in the largest find of charred macrofossils hitherto found in Scania, there should be great potential to obtain more material during the planned excavations. Regnell has analysed macrofossils and also assisted in the interpretation of complex stratigraphies (Regnell 2001, this volume).

A significant amount of bone and antler was known from the 1930s excavation. A large quantity of bone has also been found by the excavations as part of the ongoing project. This has been analysed by Lena Nilsson and Annica Cardell (Nilsson 2001, this volume; Cardell 2001).

As the project has developed, various analyses and special investigations have become necessary. To acquire some idea of the situation as regards structures, a total of four surveys with various kinds of geophysical measurement apparatus have been carried out (Dahlin 2001; Grassi 2001, Lorra *et al.* 2001; Mercer & Schmidt 2001). In some cases they have covered a significant part of the settlement site. Unfortunately, it has been found that there are serious difficulties in relating anomalies distinguished by the geophysical surveys to the results of the archaeological investigations. One reason for this may be the complex stratigraphies and relationships between structures found on the site.

The extensive material from the detector

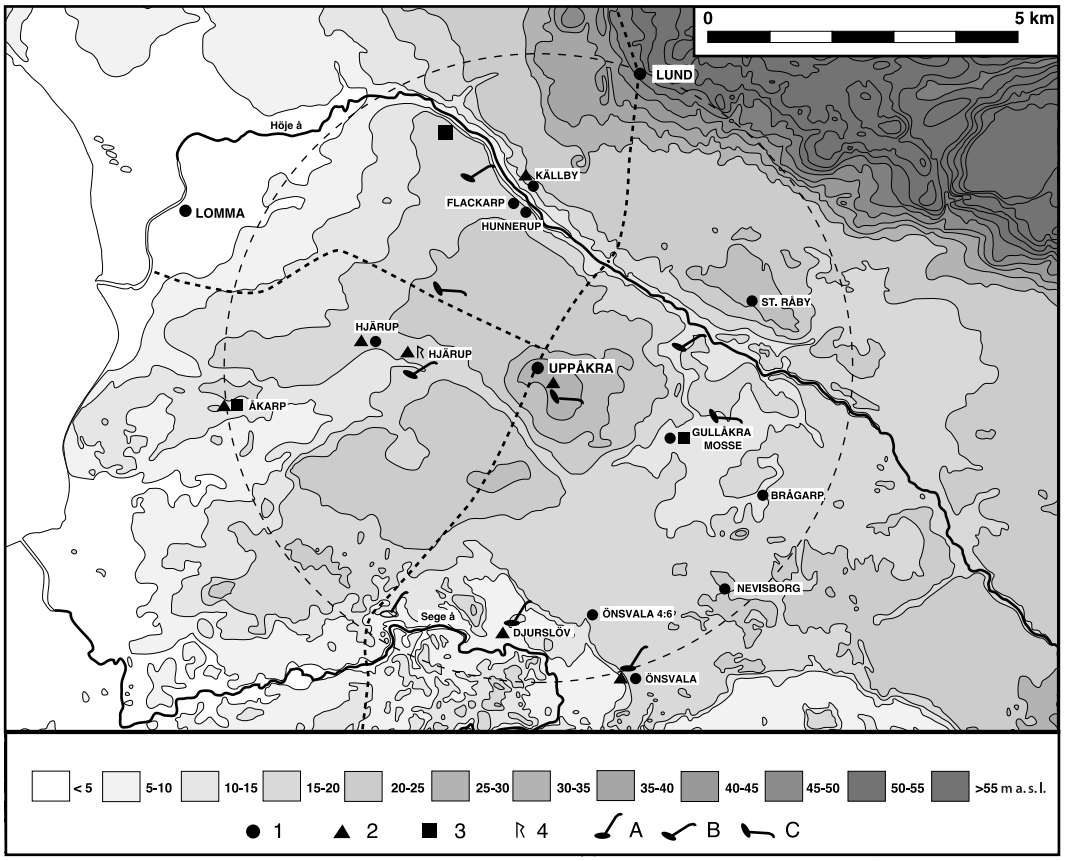

Fig. 6. The results of surveys with metal detector on sites in the neighbourhood of Uppåkra. A: plenty of finds, B: some finds and C: no finds.

surveys consists not only of whole objects. Finds occur which show various stages of fragmentation and new manufacture, as well as traces of metal craft in the form of rods, sullage pieces and droplett of melted metal. These finds are an excellent basis for a study of metal craft; this has been undertaken by the Geoarchaeological Laboratory in Uppsala (Kresten *et al.* 2001).

Metal detector surveying in the vicinity of Uppåkra

One aspect of importance in the analysis of Uppåkra as a central place concerns the relationship of the settlement to nearby settlements. Uppåkra seems to differ from most other settlements of central place character by having just one large continuous habitation area. At central places like Gudme and Sorte Muld these seem to consist of separate habitation areas (Fig. 7). Part of the explanation may lie in the different topographical conditions. Uppåkra is located in a relatively flat area whereas the Danish sites are in a much more undulating landscape where a continuous habitation area would not have been possible, since more or less distinct wetlands confined settlements to high locations. This situation is not wholly unknown at Uppåkra. A significant area in the eastern part of the

site contains a limited number of traces of settlement, yet this does not mean that the habitation area was divided.

In order not to miss any remains of settlement within the immediate vicinity of the Uppåkra site, the metal detector surveys have been extended to cover areas close to the remains at Uppåkra and also areas within about five kilometres of Uppåkra. The choice of places is primarily based on clear concentrations of phosphate both around today's villages and in relation to known find spots and antiquities such as graves and hoards. The results obtained hitherto show a varying intensity of finds (Fig. 6). At Önsvala, for example, several metal objects were found, suggesting settlement mainly in the Vendel Period. In other areas, such as Lilla Uppåkra, there are few finds, if any. This gives us relatively good insight into the changing settlement situation in the Iron Age.

Uppåkra in relation to other centres and to Lund

If the Uppåkra site is put in a geographical and chronological context, certain interesting features are found. As regards the chronological context, Uppåkra seems to be on a par with the major sites in Denmark.

Unlike the other places, settlement was located on a gently undulating site where it was possible to have a continuous habitation area. According to the detector survey there are no satellite settlements, as at, say, Gudme and Sorte Muld (Fig. 7) within the nearest kilometre. Uppåkra covers roughly the same area as these two Danish sites including their satellite settlements. Since the distribution of the settlement during its period of occupation is uncertain, we have to be cautious about

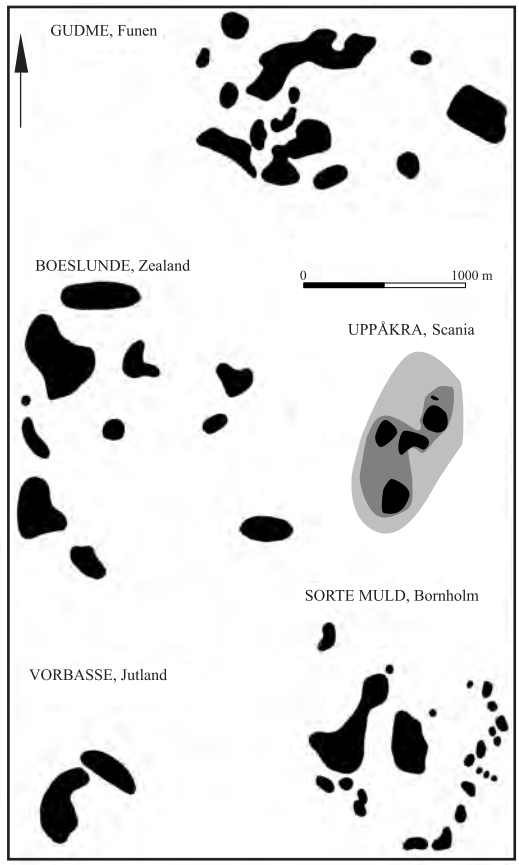

Fig. 7. The structures of some central places in southern Scandinavia. From Jørgensen 1994: Fig. 11 with additions.

calculating the size of the settlement in any particular period. There are clear indications that much of the site was occupied around 100 AD, and there are finds within the whole known settlement site since the Late Roman Iron Age or Early Migration Period. The traces of settlement and finds documented within significant areas, showing craft work on a considerable scale, along with mercantile elements and objects and structures indicating the presence of political leadership, suggests that Uppåkra, at least during the Late Iron Age, may have had an urban or proto-urban form.

There is no sure evidence that the whole of the 40 hectare area of the Uppåkra site was

settled in one and the same period. However, the distribution of objects dated to the Late Iron Age throughout the whole known occupation layer suggests that much of the site was occupied.

It would be valuable if it were possible to compare Uppåkra with the town of Lund, its probable successor. There is considerable uncertainty about the extent of early medieval Lund (Holmberg 1977; Andrén 1985); the extent of the occupation layers at Uppåkra has therefore been projected on to the area covered by late medieval Lund (Andrén 1980) (Fig. 8). The projection places the Storehög mound, which may have been an important focal point at Uppåkra, directly over another focal structure, the cathedral in Lund. This shows that the difference between the extent of Lund and that of Uppåkra is not large. It is interesting that the two areas have a striking similarity in form and orientation.

Prospects for the future

As mentioned above, the Uppåkra project, as a result of sponsorship from Tetra Pak, will be able to continue at least until 2004, chiefly in the form of excavations. During 2001 digging began in an area south of the church in Stora Uppåkra, with promising results (Larsson 2001a, Lenntorp & Lindell 2002). This means that future efforts during at least one excavation season will be concentrated on this area (Larsson 2002). In the final two years (2003–2004) it is planned to reduce the archaeological efforts.

The sponsorship funds will finance not only excavation but also continued analysis and work on the interpretation of the central place. In addition, it is planned to analyse the structure, continuity, and change of the central place, but the cost of this will not be covered by the sponsorship. Some of these planned tasks, such as studying the relation between Uppåkra and nearby Lund, and the possible existence of a harbour at Lomma on the west coast of Scania, about 7 kilometres to the west, have already been discussed (Larsson 1998, 2001). Other planned efforts of partly disparate nature are described below.

The role of iron at the central place

In the metal detector surveys the search has concentrated on alloys such as bronze and precious metals. The signals from the metal detectors indicate that there are considerable amounts of iron. Thanks to an amateur archaeologist who has walked the fields for about fifteen years, the project has obtained a varied collection of iron objects, comprising parts of horse bits and tools used for woodwork and both blacksmithing and fine metalwork. Detecting for iron has been undertaken once, giving very good results. The survey covered the area in which several spearheads and lanceheads from the Late Roman Iron Age and Early Migration Period had been found, both on the surface and by excavation. Their location and distribution, as well as their degree of demolition, suggests that they were part of votive deposits (Hårdh 1999). To obtain a better picture of the scope of the craft carried on for the ordinary needs of the site, and for the production of status objects and items for sale, it is important to acquire a large quantity of iron, which will hopefully reflect different activities on the site.

Thanks to work by staff at the Geoarchaeological Laboratory in Uppsala, we now have good insight into craft work with alloys and precious metals (Kresten *et al.*, 2001). By special grant it will be possible to study, for example, the development of the ironworking

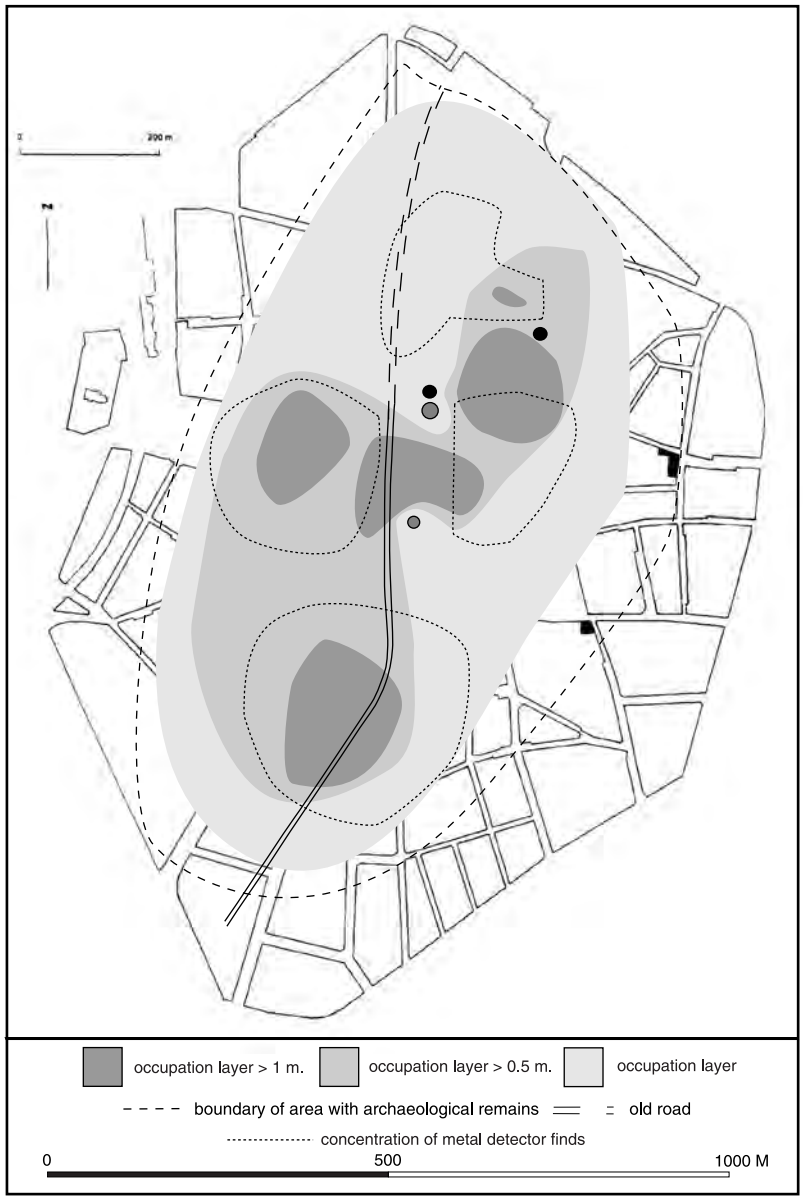

Fig. 8. Projection of the Uppåkra site on the area covered by late Medieval Lund. From S. Larsson 2000: Fig. 81 with additions.

craft over a thousand years. There should be remains of stages in the process from ore to finished products, traces of work done on the site, the scope of which may have varied from time to time. Moreover, it would be significant to be able to compare similarities and differences in craft skill between goldsmiths and blacksmiths.

Systematic ocular surface survey

At Uppåkra there has been too little ocular surface survey in search of glass and other material not registered by detector. A not insignificant amount of, for example, glass has been noticed as the detector users have walked the fields (Stjernquist 1999), but it

would be desirable to do more deliberate searches. The problem is today's systematic crop rotation. The fields are sown shortly after being harvested, which means that only a limited part of the settlement site can be investigated at the most favourable time of the year, in the early spring when the exposed ground surface has been washed clean by the winter's rain and melting snow. In addition, special conditions are necessary if the material is to be noticed. A significant proportion of the glass was found one morning during a detector weekend when the remaining dew made glass unusually easy to observe.

In the last few decades, mechanized deep ploughing has caused considerable damage to layers near the surface. Traces of house structures can thus be detected in ploughed-up clay, both burnt and unburnt.

Analysis of the build-up of occupation layers at Uppåkra

As the archaeological investigations have shown, there are extensive accumulations of occupation layers dated to the Early Iron Age. One may speculate about the different factors steering this process. In the oldest phase of settlement, until the 5th century, it may have been a deliberate act, allowing layers to build up, at times to a total depth of two metres, giving a distinct rise that may in itself have been a marker of continuity and tradition. In certain parts of the site, for example, beside the Storehög mound located at the highest point, there must have been a clear difference in level – roughly two metres between the original ground level and the accumulated occupation layers – in the early part of the Migration Period. Here the difference in level changes within a distance of a few dozen metres.

Waste from previous generations may also have been deliberately mixed with more recent remains as a result of deliberate digging, thus linking past and present, blending the ownership of different generations. These speculations about the deliberate use of waste have been put forward concerning the build-up of layers at tell settlements in south-east Europe (Chapman 2000).

It may also be a result of unconscious acts affecting the handling of waste which later became an active factor in marking the significance of the place. When an aristocratic setting with one or more distinguishable units was established, the deliberate removal of waste may have been one way to mark its importance (Larsson 2001c). The waste was taken away to emphasize the large estate and its immediate surroundings, to be simultaneously used to fertilize the fields.

Intact house floors

Even though the interest of the excavations was primarily focused on aristocratic settings, there are other things that may be just as interesting to consider. For instance, test digs in 2000 in the south-east of the site (Fig. 4) revealed several house remains dated to the Roman Iron Age. Some were marked by well-preserved floor levels. There are few if any such floors in other parts of southern Sweden and eastern Denmark. Investigating a house with intact floors and analysing different trace substances could give us a basis for studying the structure and function – still uncertain despite the investigation of a large number of houses – of an ordinary dwelling house in the Early Iron Age. What was the relation between the dwelling section, the byre, and the barn? To enable a study of this, the excavation was limited to a small area of the floor. In addi-

tion, samples were taken for analysis of phosphates and any other substances, in order to determine how useful these methods are.

Medieval settlement

The metal detector surveys have given us a good idea of the extent of the medieval settlement that followed the Iron Age settlement at Uppåkra. With the exception of the coins (Silvegren 1999), the medieval artefacts are found within the extent of the village of Stora Uppåkra as known from the land survey maps (Anglert & Huttu 1999). The excavations beside the church and in the apse revealed extensive prehistoric layers and traces of the Romanesque church which was demolished in the mid-19th century (Anglert & Jansson 2001). The dating of skeletons from graves disturbed by the digging to build the foundation walls of the Romanesque church suggest that there was a Viking Age churchyard on the site (Anglert & Jansson 2001), probably combined with a wooden church.

Excavations on a limited scale in spring 2001, in a field north of the church corresponding to a farmyard known from the 18th century, uncovered well-preserved floor layers and other house structures which can be dated to the High and Early Middle Ages. It may be hoped that these observations will be developed in future into a study of the process leading from a prehistoric central place to a medieval row village of a more ordinary form.

Publication

The first publication from the project appeared in 1998, comprising papers presented to a seminar held in order to obtain viewpoints from other scholars with competence of a kind that could enrich the project's design and problem formulation (Larsson & Hårdh 1998). This was the start of a series of publications in the series "Uppåkrastudier" (Fig. 1).

Uppåkrastudier 2 appeared in 1999, concentrating on a number of analyses of detector finds as well as glass and pottery (Hårdh 1999). Uppåkrastudier 3 contains further analyses of material from Uppåkra, along with more studies of topics considered in a broader geographical perspective based on the results from Uppåkra (Hårdh 2001). The clear link between teaching and research that is one ambition of the Uppåkra project has allowed a group of students each year in their third and fourth term of undergraduate study (CD level) to devote themselves to specific tasks concerned with central questions based on the Uppåkra project. Several of these studies have been published in volumes in the series. Uppåkrastudier 4 has a more heterogeneous content but is chiefly geared to scientific analyses (Larsson 2001d).

Volume 5 was the dissertation by Bertil Helgesson. Volume 6 includes the papers presented to the 52nd Sachsensymposium, which was held in Lund in 2001 on the theme of "Central Places in the Migration and Merovingian Periods". In the near future it is planned to publish more volumes in the series. One of them will concentrate on research concerning the Middle Ages which is relevant to the project. Others will have studies chiefly related to different groups of finds in the extensive material yielded by the metal detector surveys. The excavation results and the evaluation of the findings will be assembled in a special volume.

The doctoral dissertation about Iron Age settlement in southern Halland, mentioned above (Carlie 1999), has also been published as part of the project. Yet another dissertation,

this time about the Scanian Iron Age in general, using insights from the finds at Uppåkra, has been published (Helgesson 2002).

Works directly linked to the Uppåkra project have been published by other institutions. This is the case with the compilation of the remains from the Iron Age investigated by UV-Syd (Jacobsson 2000) and published by the National Heritage Board. Malmö Kulturmiljö, the institution that has conducted most of the other excavations in south-western Scania, plans to publish a similar compilation including all remaining excavations (Tegnér 2002).

In addition to this, the investigations and results of the Uppåkra project have frequently been presented in the media. The work of the project has also resulted in a considerable number of articles, both specialized and popular (Larsson & Hårdh 1998a, 1998b; Hårdh 2000; Larsson 2001b) and a booklet serving as an exhibition catalogue (*Uppåkra – rikedomar ur jorden* 1998), for exhibitions on varying scales mounted by the Lund University Historical Museum.

Altogether, the result of these efforts is that the ancient site of Uppåkra, from having been known only to a small group of professional archaeologists, is now a familiar phenomenon among the general public.

The list of articles and publications at the end of this volume provides the full perspective of the efforts conducted within the project.

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The Contacts of the Central Place

Birgitta Hårdh

Abstract

A central place may be defined on the basis of its contact networks. One aspect of centrality is that long-distance contacts are channelled via the place. Another aspect is the relations of the centre and the surrounding region. As the Uppåkra centre had a very long existence as a centre, from the beginning of the first millennium up to the 10th century, it is reasonable to think that its functions, as well as the patterns of contacts, varied through the centuries. During various parts of the first millennium it is possible to discern contrasts between the western and the eastern parts of Scania. The western parts seem to have been orientated mainly towards Western Europe. The record from Uppåkra fits well into this pattern.

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Introduction

The concept of central place is frequently used at present. A place of this kind is considered to have a number of functions, which are common to a region of some size. According to a definition of the concept of central place put forward by Harrison, it is: "a place where one or more social functions are concentrated in such a way that the place has become the dominating room of the region" (Harrison 1997:25). Archaeologically, the site should have a rich and varied find material indicating various functions (Fabech 1999:45 p.). According to the plan for the project "The Social Structure of Southern Sweden during the Iron Age", a principal task is to discuss the concept of central place. Fabech has maintained that we still have a long way to go until we arrive at a general understanding of the structure, internal and external, of the central places as well as of their variation (Fabech 1997:147). The concept is becoming vague as places of different character are continuously designated as central places. Thus, it is of the utmost importance to define clearly various types of central places and try to see places of different types in relation to each others. Callmer has devoted a number of articles to a discussion of centres, aristocratic residences, production places and trading places linked to a long-distance trading network (Callmer 1982, 1994, 1997), which are important distinctions, necessary in order to handle unclear central place definitions.

At the settlement site of Uppåkra, to judge from the abundant and varied finds, manifold different activities took place over a very long time. For an understanding of the place, it is

important on the one hand to discuss the geographical extent of the influence of the place, and on the other hand to examine changes in these functions over a long time span. In this article, starting from what we know today about the Uppåkra settlement, I intend to discuss the external network of contacts of southern Sweden in a long-term perspective, from around the birth of Christ till the beginning of the Middle Ages, *c.* 1100, and try to regard Uppåkra in this connection.

What we usually call trade had of course a highly diverse appearance during the long period concerned here. In 1990 Näsman made a survey of the development of trade in south Scandinavia in the Iron Age, a model in six stages from the Roman Iron Age to the beginning of the Middle Ages. He discerns a slow development during the four hundred years from late Roman time up to *c.* 700 AD while the last three hundred years of the Iron Age saw a rapid change in economy and society (Näsman 1990). According to Näsman's model, trade in the Early Roman Iron Age consisted almost entirely of gift exchange in luxury goods. The second phase, which is considered to have started in the Late Roman Iron Age, was still dominated by exchange of luxury goods. A new feature of the period is that more or less established places were now serving long-distance trade as well as the distribution of indigenous local production. Barter exchange predominated, although imported coins were used and precious metal was weighed as special-purpose money in special larger transactions. This situation continued through the Migration and Merovingian periods. A new stage starts with the establishment of the trade from the Rhine area. From the late 8th to late 9th century there are evident signs of developed forms of trade, among others imported coins (sceattas) and a coinage in Hedeby, even if it is far too early to speak of a monetary economy. The 10th century is characterized by Arabic silver as weighed means of payment, and conditions in south Scandinavia may be described as a primitive form of market economy. Medium-distance trade within Scandinavia increases and there is a foundation for proper regional trade. During the late Viking Age the Arabic silver was replaced by coins from the west. Silver circulated as hacksilver in small units, in a system approaching a monetary economy, and a royal Danish coinage was introduced. At the end of the Viking Age some of the medieval towns were founded. Their foundation was probably due to the need for effective distribution of regional products rather than a growth of the Iron Age type of long-distance trade in luxury products (Näsman 1990:110 p.; cf. Ulriksen 1998:216 pp.).

Contacts with distant regions probably went through several middlemen. As regards long-distance trade it is likewise most probably the interaction between more or less adjacent regions we can analyse best. In all probability the distribution of imported goods show the consumption areas, settlements with their networks or regions of contacts. Thus the analysis of contacts will also be an analysis of settlement patterns and local centre formations (cf. Stjernquist 1985; Helgesson 2002).

South Scandinavia and the surrounding world

During the first centuries AD the Roman Empire was still the dominating political and economic power in Europe. The Empire also had an impact on remote parts of Germania Libera; for example, Randsborg emphasizes how the Danish area was influenced by the

Roman Empire (Randsborg 1988:17). Long-distance trade in the Early Roman Iron Age consisted, as we have seen, almost entirely of gift exchange in luxury products. This may have meant that, for example, local chiefs in Germania Libera provided the Roman military complex with various kinds of raw materials and in return received Roman luxury goods. It is clearly seen from the import finds in south Scandinavia and elsewhere that a very conscious selection of objects was received, which might indicate some kind of administered trade (Hansen 1987:262; Hedeager 1988:149). In Hansen's opinion, the import of Roman goods was a prerequisite for preserving the structure of society (Hansen 1987: 265). The contacts might to an extent have been personal. Scandinavians who, for various reasons, had stayed within the borders of the Empire, perhaps serving in the army, returned home with a knowledge of Roman techniques, military organization, economic matters, Roman customs and script (Hansen 1987:248).

In the 5th to 7th centuries the situation was fundamentally different. The Roman Empire, as a totally dominating unit, was replaced by a mosaic of amalgamations at various levels of integration. The Germanic tribal confederations were eventually consolidated into more and more state-like organizations. The Scandinavian area seems to have taken part in this process in different ways. The Frankish realm under the Merovingian dynasty gradually became a mighty neighbour. According to Randsborg's characterization, the relation to the neighbour now meant the internal transformation of the society rather than external impact as in the earlier period (1988:17).

From the beginning of the 8th century trade developed and south Scandinavia gradually became involved in the trading activities around the North Sea, with the Rhine estuary as a dynamic focus. Contacts with the Orient were also developed in this period, and it is certainly possible to maintain that Scandinavia and the Baltic area in the Viking Age was situated at the intersection of influences from two mighty centres, the Carolingian and later Ottonian empires and the Abbasid and later Samanid Caliphates.

In the shadow of the Roman Empire

Roman imports in Scandinavia have mainly been found in graves. As mentioned above, it is a highly conscious selection of luxury objects we find in these contexts, primarily glass and bronze vessels. Thus the material has passed at least through two filters, firstly the selection of objects that reached Scandinavia and secondly the selection of them that was put into the tomb.

Randsborg shows how luxury objects in the time around the birth of Christ were spread rather evenly over the Germanic and northern areas. The territories of the local elites then still seem to have been rather small. From around *c.* 200 AD onwards we perceive a tendency to a concentration of imports in certain areas of Germania Libera. The social control seems to have been strengthened, resulting in a deliberate restriction of the distribution of the most precious objects. The old democratic system, described by Tacitus was replaced by a more elitist one, although it seems to have been rather unstable. The distribution of precious objects strengthens the assumption of a decentralized social structure, where some centres played a decisive role (Randsborg 1993:209 pp.).

A typical of this kind of centres is that they are rather unstable. In the Late Roman Iron Age, concentrations of imported goods

indicate mighty centres in eastern Zealand and eastern Funen which, for a period of uncertain duration, seem to have channelled long-distance contacts (Hedeager 1990:121; Hansen 1995:374 pp.; Ulriksen 1998:199; Axboe 1999:112). As for Stevns, the Roman imports may possibly have come directly along water routes. From there they were redistributed to subordinate centres in Zealand, south-east Funen and Jutland. An exchange of goods with Mecklenburg, northern Poland and the Baltic area, Bornholm, Öland, Gotland and central Sweden can be perceived. A certain degree of contact, although weaker, was maintained with Norway (Hansen 1987: 200 pp., 1988:83, Fig. 3). At the end of the Late Roman Iron Age the patterns of exchange became more complex, as Scania became more involved and the contacts with the South European Chernjakhov culture by the Black Sea, which mediated glass to the Baltic islands and east Zealand, were important (Hansen 1988:Figs. 3 and 4).

Ilkjær discussed warfare movements in south Scandinavia during this period in his study of bog sacrifice finds. He maintains that the invasions and war operations, shown in the composition of the bog finds, in the initial stages do not seem to have touched south Sweden. The oldest group of booty sacrifices is concentrated in southern Denmark and indicates attacks from the south. Finds from *c.* 200 AD show connection to the Kattegat region, indicating attacks from the north. Not until *c.* 300 do the finds show that the Baltic area was exposed to waves of attacks from some region in central Sweden, perhaps from Uppland. To this horizon, which Ilkjær calls the Ejsbøl horizon, he refers, among others, the finds from Gudingsåkrarna, Gotland; Skedemosse, Öland; and Hassle-Bösarp in Scania (Ilkjær 2000:68 pp.).

South Sweden

The sparse occurrence of imported goods in Scania compared to surrounding areas such as Zealand, Bornholm and the Baltic islands has often been observed (e.g., Stjernquist 1977). Apart from two glasses from Öremölla and two pieces of terra sigillata from Kroneborg, Hardeberga, the imports in period B seem to comprise bronze vessels, whereas the import in period C mainly consists of glass (Hansen 1987). A bronze vessel, of Östland type, was found in a weapon grave from Färlöv in north-eastern Scania. It has been dated to period C1 (Björk 1999:69 p.). The bronze objects dated to period B were, according to Hansen, produced in the western part of the Roman Empire (1987:188). For example, a bronze saucepan from Simris belongs to a type that was produced in a period when Roman bronze production was moved to the provinces. Gaul might be the production area for it (Stjernquist 1977:39 pp., with cited references). Hansen has maintained that in Denmark bronze vessels went out of fashion as grave goods while glass in the Late Roman Iron Age tended to be gradually more important than bronze. This corresponds well to tendencies observed in the grave goods in late provincial Roman and early Frankish graves on the continent (Hansen 1987:261).

Hansen's compilation of imports in the Early Roman Iron Age (1987:Karte 37) shows that the finds in Scania are most abundant in the eastern and southern parts of the province, with only a couple of finds from the north-western parts. There is a striking contrast between the sparse occurrence in south Sweden compared to the overwhelming quantities of finds in Denmark, especially from the islands, including Bornholm. In the Late Roman Iron Age (Hansen 1987:Karte 66) the finds from Scania are more evenly spread over the

Fig. 1. The grave find from Öremölla. Photo SHM.

southern parts of the province, from east to west. In this period too, the finds from south Sweden are sparse in comparison to those from Funen, Zealand, and Bornholm (Fig. 2).

The compilation by Hansen concerns bronze and glass vessels, and the picture should be supplemented with other categories of finds. In the graves at the Simris cemetery, for instance, there are weapons and mountings with parallels in the Roman provinces and a collection of glass gaming pieces coming from a Roman or provincial Roman area (Stjernquist 1955:109; 115 pp.; 125).

Of Roman silver coins, denars, Lind reports eleven finds from Scania, Halland and Blekinge. They make up three concentrations, in south-western Scania, in south-eastern Scania and on the border between Halland and Scania (Lind 1981:karta 1). Generally the finds consist of between one and five coins, but two finds are much larger. A hoard from Löderup in south-western Scania consisted of roughly 600 denars and one from Hasslöv, Flintarp, Halland, the second largest denar find, has 237 coins (Lind 1981:110). In the 18th century an unknown number of denars were found at Ravlunda on the east coast of Scania and some more denars have appeared lately through searches with metal detectors.

Lind maintains that the main share of the export of denars from the Roman Empire took place after *c.* 200 AD, more precisely after 220. He suggests that the Romans might have bought peace by taking some millions of the expensive, good denars from before 194/95, which had been collected to be melted down, transforming into new, deteriorated coins. They were instead poured out over loyal tribes in eastern Europe, in what was later to become Czechoslovakia, Poland and the Ukraine (Lind 1988:206 pp.).

A couple of gold objects, dated to the

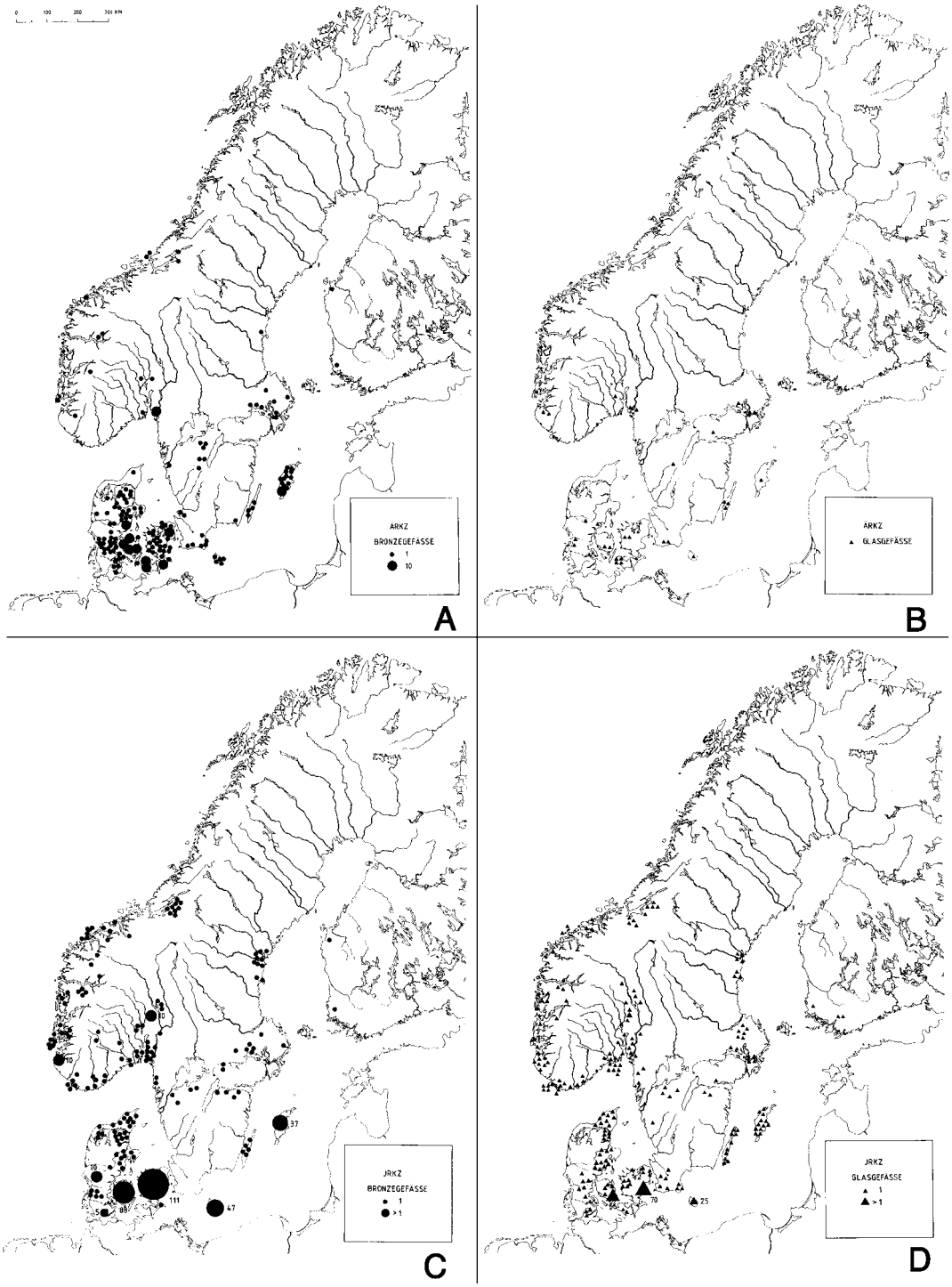

Fig. 2. Roman imports: a-b: Early Roman Iron Age; c-d: Late Roman Iron Age. After Hansen 1987.

Roman Iron Age, also show external contacts. A gold neck-ring from Ravlunda with a round, box-shaped clasp and inlayed garnets is, according to Arrhenius, a Byzantine work from the 4th century (Arrhenius 1990:123). In Glostorp, Käglinge, a "Kolben arm-ring" was found (Andersson 1993:cat. no. 954). These rings are in all probability imports from the continent. An origin somewhere in the south-east has been suggested. Kyhlberg mentions "Hunnish and Ostrogothic areas" whereas Arrhenius thinks that the production might have taken place in Hunnish as well as Germanic workshops (Kyhlberg 1986:7; Arrhenius 1990:129 p.). Rings from dated contexts, according to Andersson, belong to the Late Roman Iron Age (Andersson 1995:68 p.).

As for grave traditions, Nicklasson cautiously suggests that it is possible to identify two regions in Scania, one south-eastern part with traits in common with Bornholm and the Baltic area, and one south-western part, orientated towards Zealand (Nicklasson 1997:97). This is in accordance with analysis of pottery from the period, which shows obvious differences between the eastern and the western parts of the province. Ceramic vessels from eastern Scania show a clear connection mainly with Bornholm but also with the Baltic islands and eastern Sweden. Pottery from western Scania, on the other hand, shows clear connections westwards. The record here indicates contacts from the north-western part of the continent to Norway and west Sweden, contacts which also had an impact on western Scania (Stjernquist 1955:99 pp., 103, 163). Pottery, being a mass material, usually gives a clearer picture of regional connections and contacts than other types of objects, which are often a result of chance.

Uppåkra

The record from Uppåkra comprises a group of glass sherds. Among them there is a rim fragment from a glass beaker with cut and polished long ovals. According to Stjernquist, it should be referred to period C2–C3 (Stjernquist 1999:69 with references). A faceted beaker, reported to have been found "in the neighbourhood of Lund", is slightly younger, C3. Stjernquist considers the possibility that it derives from a tomb in the Uppåkra area (Stjernquist 1999:69 pp.). Glass with cut and polished decoration has been found at several places in Scania. Stjernquist mentions finds from Borrby, Riseberga, Valleberga, Dybeck and Kristineberg at Malmö and Stora Köpinge (Stjernquist 1999). With the exception of the Riseberga find, they have all been found in the south-western and southern parts of Scania. The sherd from Uppåkra with its long ovals possibly derives from a vessel made in Western Europe (Stjernquist 1999:70, with refs.). The glass beaker found in the neighbourhood of Lund may, according to Näsman, have connection to the Chernjakhov culture and been produced north-west of the Black sea. Glass of this type may have been imported along the waterways north of the Carpathians (Näsman 1984).

About 50 Roman denars have been found in Uppåkra (Fig. 3). They were struck by emperors from Titus to Commodus, thus from the latter part of the of the first century to the latter part of the second. The period most strongly represented is that from Antoninus Pius, Faustina II to Marcus Aurelius, i.e. 138–169 AD. The composition corresponds very well to that of the biggest denar hoard from Scania, Löderup (Lind 1981:110 p.). Silvegren has analysed the denars from Uppåkra. She demonstrates that their composition corresponds well to finds from the rest of Scania,

Fig. 3. A selection of denars from Uppåkra. Photo B. Almgren, LUHM. 1:1.

Bornholm and eastern Zealand. This makes it probable that denar hoards from these areas should be regarded as a unit as regards composition and routes of import. The denars from Uppåkra fit very well into this context. Denars found in Jutland, on the other hand, show early connections to the Rhine provinces of the Roman Empire and interestingly enough, the big hoard from Flintarp, Halland, has its closest counterpart in Jutland, thereby showing other connections than the denars from Scania (Silvegren 1999:98 p.).

Nielsen has discussed denars from the Danish area from an archaeological point of view and stated that denars from Zealand, in contrast to those from Bornholm and Funen, are not worn, which could mean that they were interred relatively fast (Nielsen 1987:152 pp.). Nielsen thinks that the denars from Bornholm might have come through Poland or possibly via Zealand (Nielsen 1987:159 p.). Hansen maintains that in the first part of the Late Roman Iron Age (C1b) it is possible to substantiate connections between Zealand, Bornholm and the southern coastal areas of the Baltic Sea, especially Mecklenburg and Poland (Hansen 1988:83). Some pottery from Uppåkra also shows connections with Bornholm in this period (Stjernquist 1955:100).

The Uppåkra denars have mainly been found in the plough layer but some denars were found *in situ* in an occupation layer, together with decorated pottery from the Late Roman Iron Age (Lindell 2000:22). Denars seem to have arrived early in Zealand and were obviously also deposited rather soon. Hansen suggests that denars in a region such as Zealand, characterized by administered trade and long-distance trade, might have been used as means of payment (Hansen 1987:259). Nielsen interprets denars found in the occupation layers at Lundeborg and Dankirke as means of payment (Nielsen 1987:159 p.). In Uppåkra the denars make up a couple of small concentrations but are otherwise spread all over the settlement area. This indicates that they were handled all over the area and may have been used as means of payment.

It is likely that the denars came to Uppåkra early in the Late Roman Iron Age together with the stream of imports that also brought the glass to Scania. Thus, the denars from Uppåkra show the same composition as denars from Bornholm and eastern Zealand. The denars from Uppåkra are generally not worn, which is in good accordance with those from Zealand.

It is not possible to state undoubtedly through what area the Löderup hoard was imported. Balling writes that it corresponds well to other big denar hoards from south

Scandinavia and Central Europe and maintains that the coins are in rather good condition, which would indicate deposition in the 3rd century (Balling 1966). The denars from Löderup are less worn than those from Flintarp, which strengthens the impression of correspondence between the Löderup hoard and the Uppåkra denars (pers. com. U. Silvegren).

Summing up

The distribution of the total amount of Roman imports gives a scattered picture and seems to indicate bigger settlement areas rather than central settlements. In the Early Roman Iron Age the concentration of Roman imports is to be found in the south-east, whereas glass from the Late Roman Iron Age is more evenly spread. Distribution maps showing imports in Scandinavia from various periods (Hansen 1987) give the impression that the import sometimes reached Bornholm and sometimes Scania. They do not support the idea that the import from time to time was primarily directed to Bornholm. The concentration of bronzes in the Early Roman Iron Age in south-eastern Scania may, however be connected with Bornholm.

Import to south Scandinavia in the Early Iron Age was indirect, through various links. These links were obviously centres through which the imports were channelled and which also could act as filters (Hansen 1987, 1988:7). Investigations carried out by Danish colleges on Roman imports and bog sacrifices together show a situation when Scania and south Sweden, especially at the beginning of the period, seem to have been outside the central development. Later, in an advanced part of the Late Roman Iron Age, Scania became involved in events of warlike as well as peaceful character. The composition of denar finds indicates a community between Scania, Zealand and Bornholm. Here it is especially interesting to notice that a big hoard from Halland, in contrast, shows connections with Jutland.

Björk has compiled a map showing the distribution of gold, weapons, imports and Roman coins found in Scania (after Balling 1966; Hansen 1987; Andersson 1993; Nicklasson 1997). The map gives a picture of prestigious objects distributed mainly in the south-western, south-eastern and north-eastern parts of the province. Moreover, Björk has indicated seven places where two or three of these categories fall together, one in the south-west and not less than four in the south-east (Björk 1999:79). Björk also brings Uppåkra and Vä into the discussion as central places at a high level (Fig. 4). After the recent investigations at Uppåkra this settlement now has all of Björk's established categories, among others gold objects such as three pear-shaped breloques and a spherical pendant (Fig. 5) , Roman denars, glass, weapon mountings and spurs. Björk's map gives an indication of where we might find the centres of the elite in the Roman Iron Age (Björk 1999:80; cf. Helgesson 2002).

The gold finds found in Scania are especially abundant in the south-western part of the province. Regarding the weight of the gold from each parish, we find concentrations in south-western, eastern and north-eastern Scania (Andersson 1993:figs. 56, 58). A snake-headed ring and a silver rosette brooch, both types which are referred to by Hansen as possibly reflecting a social elite, have been found in south-western Scania (Hansen 1995:375 pp.). Two golden snake-head rings have also been found on the east coast of Scania. Together with the above-mentioned golden neck-ring from Ravlunda, this region also stands out as especially prestigious.

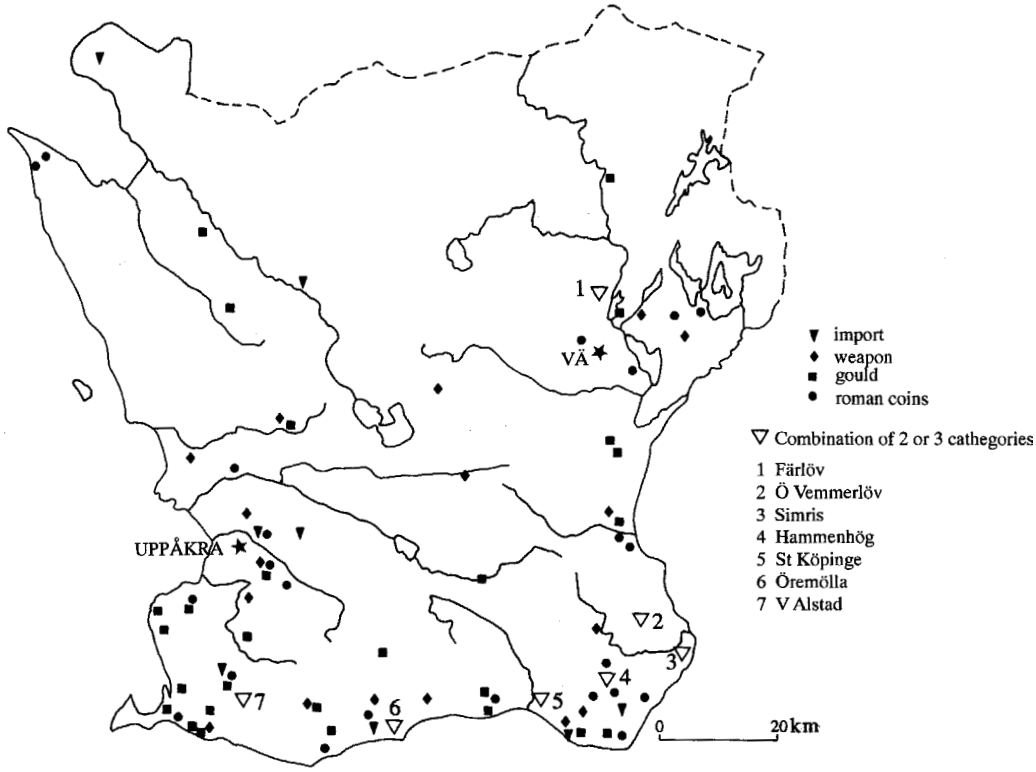

Fig. 4. Centres in Scania in the Roman Iron Age, after Björk 1999.

South-west Scania appears in many respects to have been a rich region. The recent investigations in Uppåkra have strengthened the picture of a central place, particularly through traces of extended craft production, which apparently had an importance beyond the needs of the population of the settlement. The pottery from the period gives the impression of a distinct south-western region in Scania. Uppåkra appears as the indisputable centre. Finds such as pottery and Roman coins make it likely that the site had relations to the south-east of Scania and possibly also to Bornholm.

Besides Simris and Vä, Ravlunda has manifested itself, through recent detector searches, as an important centre in eastern Scania. The record from the period thus shows a complex picture, with especially eastern Scania being characterized by several places which might have had some kind of central functions, whereas western Scania may have been more centralized. The last decades of investigations have uncovered settlement sites with finds of gold, glass, denars etc. which probably indicates that earlier hypotheses, mainly based on grave goods, are biased (cf. Sørensen 2000:76 pp.).

Migration and Merovingian Periods – new structures

The Migration Period is characterized by Hedeager and Tvarnø as a period when thoroughgoing changes made an impact on society. A new warrior elite gained power, an

Fig. 5. Four gold breloques from Uppåkra. Photo B. Almgren, LUHM. 1:1.

elite based on control over land and people and not, as earlier, based on family relations. Here we probably have the essence for an understanding of the migrations as a phenomenon (Hedeager & Tvarnø 1991:154). The warrior elite, which that became apparent around 200 AD, made a break with the old kin-based society and personal relations became decisive. Oaths of allegiance and the bestowal of gifts became the focus of society. The prerequisite for power was the ability of a leader to attach warriors to himself, and the best way to do this was to give from his fortune and oblige those who received the gifts to perform services in return. This is the warlord we encounter repeatedly in the sagas, the master of land, goods, gold and horses (ibid.:155; cf. Hedeager 1996).

The Frankish kingdom in the period between 480 and 750 was, according to Steuer, a "Personenverbandstat", characterized by the Rheiengräber tradition, which often is associated with a lifestyle full of retinue, war, banquets and heroic ballads. Archaeological traces from this structure could be, among others, the distribution of ring swords, the owners of these swords being interpreted as members of the retinue, followers of a lord who could attach them to himself by generous gifts. This system had an impact on its neighbours and promoted similar political structures in Scandinavia from the beginning of the 6th century (Steuer 1989:102 pp.).

A profound difference between conditions in the Roman Empire and the new Germanic states is, according to Pohl, that the Roman armed forces, including the officers, were sustained by taxes while the kings of the Franks had to use their own resources for military expenses including the maintenance of the retinue (Pohl 1997:42). This explains quite a lot of the structures in Germania in the Migration Period.

Scandinavia and the continent

Continental objects found in Scandinavia, for example, exquisite weapons, ornaments etc., are usually not regarded as ordinary trading goods. Arrhenius, in her study on garnet work, maintains that Frankish pommels found in Sweden indicate contacts and diplomacy between Franks and Svear at a royal level, rather than trade relations. The hypothesis is supported by the fact that local Central Swedish goldsmiths in the 6th century adopted all the Frankish status symbols, including weapons and horse equipment decorated with cloisonné, as in the tombs of Vendel and Valsgärde (Arrhenius 1985:197). Like the weapons, women's ornaments are probably gifts with the character of prestigious

symbols, but they were obviously spread through other channels than the weapons, as their distribution is strikingly different. Frankish disc brooches, for example, were found in central France, south Germany, Hungary, Italy and Anglo-Saxon England, but only one single brooch of this type has been found in Sweden. On the other hand, there are proportionally more Frankish swords pommels and other weapon details in Sweden than in comparable areas on the continent. The reason must be, according to Arrhenius, that exogamy, practised for diplomatic purposes, never included Sweden. The distribution of women's ornaments might also mirror mission activities from the Catholic church. Exquisite jewellery could have been handed over at Christian marriage ceremonies (Arrhenius 1985:197).

Through studies of weapon equipment in Denmark and comparisons with continental customs, Nørgård Jørgensen has been able to sketch a pattern of varying contacts between south Scandinavia and the continent, mainly the Frankish realm. She maintains that it is already possible early in the 6th century to perceive the first signs of a continental impact on the Danish military system. The abundance of gold in Denmark at this time shows that the area was not an unimportant alliance partner. During a period up till the early 7th century there were probably close diplomatic contacts, which seem to have been broken in the middle of the century, when other relations seem to have characterized the Scandinavian region. In this period Scandinavia seems to have gone through an indigenous development in military organization, independent of Frankish customs (Nørgård Jørgensen 1996:96, 1997:112 pp.).

Arrhenius emphasizes that the Swedish record mirrors military alliances but not exogamy. The South Swedish record might, however, indicate different conditions. Nørgård Jørgensen maintains that contacts between Scandinavia and the Merovingian realm mainly were individual in character and shaped when they were of benefit to the involved parties, whether trade, war, peace, marriage alliances or the like (Nørgård Jørgensen 1997:113). Koch demonstrates the presence of Scandinavian groups of people in Thuringia and other continental regions. The record shows clearly that the Thuringians in the early 6th century had close contacts with Jutes and other Scandinavians (Koch 1999:179). From the middle of the 6th century up to the beginning of the 7th century it is highly possible that Scandinavians were accepted as warriors and "Gefolgschaftsführer" in the Frankish army. Women's ornaments, weapons and horses show intense contacts between Scandinavia and Frankish Austrasia. Political reorganization among the Franks caused a cessation of the contacts, and at the beginning of the 7th century all traces of pagan, Scandinavian culture disappear from the Merovingian realm (Koch 1999:183 pp.).

However, some kind of trade connections seem to have existed. Hansen emphasizes that the fall of the West Roman Empire had little or no impact on trade with Scandinavia. Late Roman and Frankish glass was imported as earlier, although now concentrated mainly in western Denmark, Bornholm and the Baltic islands as well as in central Sweden. Obviously there was a continuous demand for raw material from the north (Hansen 1989:52). The finds from Dankirke manifestly show the connections of western Denmark to the Frankish area (Jensen 1991:74).

The distribution of imports shows substantial differences in the Migration Period compared to the Roman Iron Age. Hansen gives a picture of the course of events which is

useful here. In the Migration Period Zealand lost its dominating role regarding long distance contacts. Typical of the period is the emergence of a number of centres, of economic/political importance, which make the picture more complex. The evidence, especially glass, shows contacts between present-day Denmark, Scania, Bornholm and further eastwards. Frankish imports become more frequent on Bornholm, Öland and Gotland than in the Roman Iron Age (Hansen 1988:Fig. 5).

Scandinavian contacts and alliances with the Merovingian realm, as mentioned above, reached a climax around 600 AD. Thereafter the indications of contacts decrease and later cease altogether. In the 8th century it is no longer possible to identify a Merovingian/Frankish influence on the military symbols of the old military elite in Scandinavia (Nørgård Jørgensen 1997:115). Koch gives the same picture of broken contacts (1999). The close relations between south Scandinavia and the continent which prevailed earlier thus seem to have come to an end in the Merovingian Period.

The 7th century has been regarded as a problem in south Scandinavian archaeology due to deficient or anonymous source material. In the publication *Fra Stamme til Stat* Näsman states that the problem concerning the sources is not due to chance but instead shows definite historical conditions. The mute 7th century thus becomes an interesting historical problem (Näsman 1991:165). Randsborg maintains that, in a broad geographic perspective, the 7th century is a period of large transformations in the vast area from the Near East to Scandinavia. Cultures, societies and economies came to an end or were transformed at the same time as new phenomena appeared (Randsborg 1991:14).

There are also several indications of new conditions in Scandinavia. According to Nørgård Jørgensen, this is a period characterized by consolidation of the central powers, eventually manifested by big structures being built at the same time as the first traces of a historically known dynasty became visible in present-day Denmark (Nørgård Jørgensen 1997:115; also Näsman 1991:175).

In the neighbourhood of south Scandinavia, the Merovingian Empire is an important power, which influenced its surroundings in many ways. The development of society has been sketched by Steuer. He sees a number of new traits, which characterize Germanic societies in the process of developing new territorial structures after the breakdown of the old ones in the Migration Period (Steuer 1982:517 p.). Steuer maintains that, at the end of the Merovingian period and the transition to the Carolingian era, the open "ranked society" was replaced by a more hierarchal, closed society where a hereditary nobility had emerged. This class was no longer dependent on spectacular mortuary traditions to manifest itself. Instead, it was characterized by real property, permanent settlement and solidly built churches (Steuer 1989:120).

Obviously the successful Merovingian kingdom served as a model for leading groups in almost all Germanic societies, especially in the 7th and 8th centuries, and several of these traits can probably be transferred to Scandinavian conditions (Näsman 1991:174; Høilund Nielsen 1991:146). Näsman states that the society of the Danes, created during the turmoil of the Late Roman Iron Age and the Migration Period, was the strongest power of the Baltic. At the same time, this power was probably exposed to internal as well as external pressure, which led to a mobilization of the resources of the society (Näsman 1991:175). This can probably be explained by the possibilities for, above all, the south Jutish

region to become involved in the North Sea region, where fighting between petty kings, especially in England, gave good opportunities to gain wealth (Ulriksen 1998:222). Näsman sees a centre–periphery relation within the south Scandinavian region, where Bornholm and partly also Scania belonged to the outskirts of the Danish realm but were not necessarily politically subordinate (Näsman 1991:173).

The contact pattern of south Scandinavia has been studied through animal decoration by Høilund Nielsen. She analyses three regions, south Scandinavia, Gotland and the Mälaren area, which she perceives as fundamentally different (Fig. 6). In the 7th century south Scandinavia appears as an expansive power, eager to incorporate new areas and affect its surroundings (Høilund Nielsen 1991:147). In this period Blekinge, Öland and perhaps also Småland were included in the south Scandinavian sphere of interest. At the same time contacts with Gotland increases. South Scandinavia expanded and simultaneously took the leadership in the field of style, of objects of magnificence, as well as of more common objects. In the 8th century connections to the Mälaren area as well as towards Gotland declined. There was a shift of interest towards the continent, and south Scandinavia was incorporated into the continental long distance trade network, which probably also brought changes in trade relations (Høilund Nielsen 1991:147 pp.).

Näsman's, Nørgård Jørgensen's and Høilund Nielsen's pictures of the development in south Scandinavia during the 7th and 8th centuries can possibly be combined. The broken connections between the continent and south Scandinavia fell in a period when the latter area directed its interest northwards. This possibly promoted an accumulation of strength as well as consolidation. The warriors

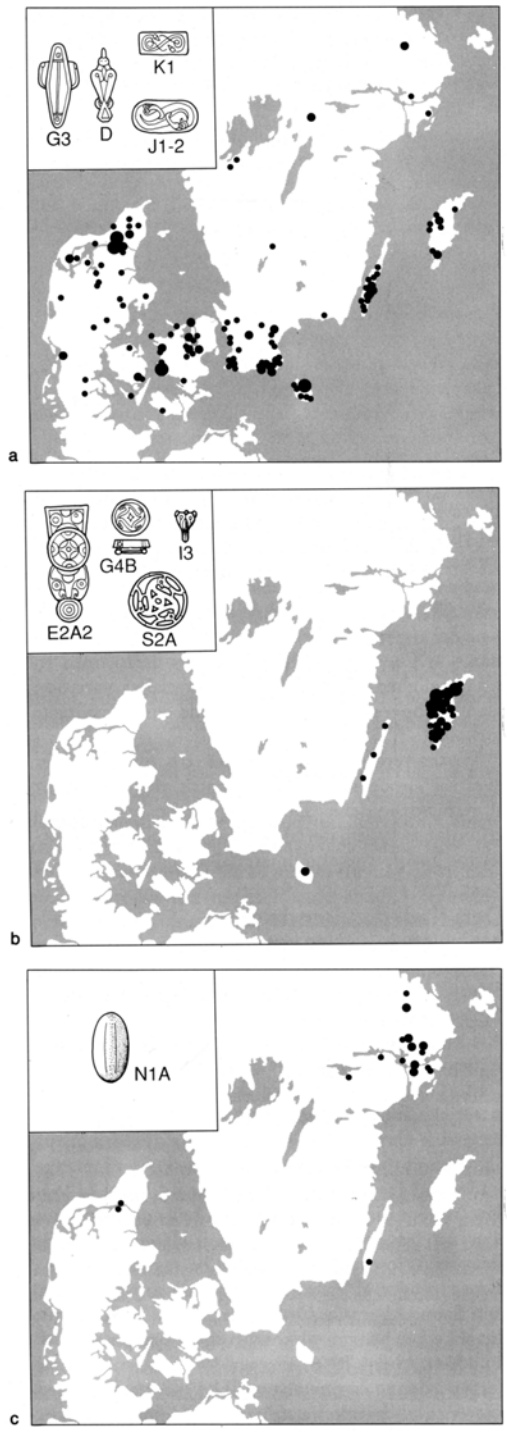

Fig. 6. Types characteristic of three main geographic regions: a) South Scandinavian types, b) Gotlandic types, c) Central Swedish types. After Høilund Nielsen 1991, Fig. 3.

who had joined retinues and alliances in the Merovingian realm used their experiences to build up their own positions of power. The early 8th century brought a new situation with renewed contacts with the continent, but now obviously of another character.

South Sweden

Through the distribution of the gold in Migration Period Scania, its south-western part emerges as a large and rich region possibly with a concentration of gold finds within and around Uppåkra. In western Scania, north of the Lödde River, there is an even spread along the west coast. In eastern Scania there is a clear concentration in the south-east and a group of gold finds in the north-east, along the Helge River. Ravlunda stands out as a small but distinct concentration (Strömberg 1963:karta II; Stjernquist 1983:Fig. 3; Stjernquist 1993:28; Helgesson 2002). In the 5th century gold, mainly in the form of solidi, dominates the picture of the imports. As gold in its entirety is imported, local gold ornaments in a way also represent imports.

In her study of Late Roman and Byzantine gold solidi in Scandinavia, Fagerlie states that the import of these started in the 450s and that the climax was reached some decades later (Fagerlie 1967:163). Solidi, according to her, were mediated to Scandinavia via the Ostrogoths. She sees the Vistula and later the Oder estuaries as points of departure for the influx to the Baltic area (1967:164 pp.). She also thinks that solidi arrived in Scandinavia as a result of trade (1967:171). This opinion has been criticized by Herschend and by Kyhlberg. They both maintain that the influx of solidi was not even and regular but indicates that solidi were imported on special occasions. This might be the result of larger payments from the East Roman emperor, in order to avoid threats on the borders (Herschend 1980; Kyhlberg 1986; also Arrhenius 1990:119).

Fagerlie regards Bornholm and the Swedish mainland as secondary compared to Öland and Gotland as regards the import of solidi (1967:117, 150). On the three islands coins circulated as coins. On the Swedish mainland and in Denmark, apart from Bornholm, they were instead used as ornaments. A large share of the solidi found in Scania are worn, and several of them also have loops (1967:139 pp.). Is it really the case that the solidi from Scania, and perhaps also from Blekinge, first came to Öland or Gotland then to Bornholm and thereafter were transmitted to south Sweden? It is difficult to understand why Bornholm, as Fagerlie suggests, had a secondary position in relation to the other islands. Bornholm is situated directly opposite the Oder estuary and communications from the Oder to Öland in all probability passed Bornholm.

The distribution of solidi in south Sweden does not show any clear concentrations. The coins are usually single finds and are spread along the coasts of Scania and Blekinge. In Augerum, Blekinge, two solidi have been found together with four gold bracteates (Fagerlie 1967:179 pp.). In western Scania there are seven finds in a sparse spread from Brunnby in the north-west to Reng in the south-west. In south-eastern Scania five finds from Ravlunda to Ystad might form a kind of concentration, also including the hoard from Hörup with 24 coins, the only coin hoard in Scania (Stjernquist 1983:Fig. 3). The picture is scattered and perhaps indicates several centres. The solidi in Scania might indicate first and foremost where people lived who were able to obtain gold. Just as in the Roman Iron Age, Scania and south Sweden seems to have been

outside the central network of contacts. The solidi found in south Sweden perhaps show contacts mainly with Bornholm. It is interesting to notice that the Hörup hoard was found only a few kilometres from the big denar hoard from Löderup. Possibly these hoards together should be seen as indications of contacts between Bornholm and south-eastern Scania.

Also glass is of great importance in this connection. A collection of fragments from "Snartemo" beakers is known from the Gårdlösa settlement (Stjernquist 1986; 1993:120). They are probably of Western European origin, although Scandinavian production has also been suggested (Stjernquist 1999:75 with references). It is important to consider glass sherds from settlements as they probably indicate contacts of another kind and other types of relations than the gold coins.

In a woman's grave in a cemetery in Önsvala, about 4 km south-west of Uppåkra, a big relief brooch was found. Its best parallels are known from Norway and it belongs to a group with primary distribution in central and northern Scandinavia. In the same grave there were also two Husby brooches, a type well known from central Sweden and Finland. The Önsvala grave is dated to slightly before the middle of the 6th century (Larsson 1982:158 pp.; Magnus 2001). In other respects, there are foreign traits in the tomb and almost every object has parallels in central Sweden or southern Norway. The most likely explanation is that the woman in the grave came from central Sweden (Larsson 1982:188).

Some mountings and brooches, dated to the Migration Period, indicate contacts with the continent or England. A strap holder of silver, gilded and with niello, from a sword scabbard was found in Vä. The decoration has parallels in the Sjörup hoard, central Scania, as well as on a couple of swords from Württemberg, Germany (Strömberg 1961, I:89). A strap end from Bjäre might have come to Scania from the north-east German area at the beginning of the Migration Period (Strömberg 1961 I:90). Some relief brooches show connections to England (Strömberg 1961 I:96 p.) whereas there is also a link to Denmark especially in the early Migration Period (Magnus 2001). This group of objects came probably to south Sweden as a result of personal contacts rather than trade.

Central Scania probably had a particular character in the Migration Period. Within a limited area between the lakes Östra Ringsjön and Finjasjön, approx. 30 by 15 km, a number of spectacular finds from the 5th century have been made. These are hoards, the most well-known coming from Sösdala, Fulltofta and Sjörup. The Sösdala and Fulltofta finds contain mountings and pendants decorated in what is usually called Sösdala style. The style is thought to have emerged as the result of interplay between Late Roman and Germanic traditions and is especially abundant in south Sweden. Objects decorated in this style show strong contacts between Scandinavia, especially south Scandinavia, and Eastern Europe down to the Danube region in the 5th century (Arrhenius 1987; Arrhenius 1994:190 pp.). The depots from Sjörup and Ankhult are characterized by mountings and clasps in chip-carving. The deep cut chip-carving shows influences from the south-east, possibly from Pannonia (Strömberg 1961, I:91).

Fabech thinks that the Sösdala and Fulltofta finds are funeral sacrifices, a custom characteristic of nomadic peoples. She maintains that the finds from central Scania indicate connections with Central Europe, shown not only in objects but also in religious rites and ceremonies. This would mean that in central Scania there was a kind of centre with con-

tinental contacts manifested not only in material culture but also in continental funerary rites being applied (Fabech 1991:130 pp., 1993, 1999:467 p.). Fabech regards central Scania in the Migration Period as a settlement founded on other resources than mainly agrarian ones (1993:218). Strömberg, referring to finds of iron slag, has suggested that one of the most important reasons for the localization of the settlement might have been iron production (Strömberg 1961, I:179). However, this does not seem to be a region rich in iron ore (cf. Ödman 1998:Fig. 3). The position in the border area between more central regions in western and eastern Scania might also have been of importance (Fabech 1999:468).

Also from the Merovingian period there are a number of objects from Scania, which show connections, mainly to Western and Central Europe together with the Irish/British region. Some swords should probably be regarded in connection with Western European impulses, regarded to be continental types, which had been developed in Frankish workshops and adopted on a large scale in Scandinavia in the Vendel Period (Strömberg 1961, I:106 p.). A couple of clasps from Trelleborg and Kävlinge belong to the early Merovingian Period, both showing continental connections. The Kävlinge clasp has parallels in southern Germany but might be a Scandinavian product, made according to foreign models (Strömberg 1961, I:113 p.).

A variant group of mountings and weapons belong to the late Migration Period, 8th century. They may all have been imported or made locally. A typical feature of the whole group is that it shows affinities to Western Europe, especially from the British Isles (Strömberg 1961 I:109 pp.). These objects likewise may very well represent personal relations, and the Western European connection is very obvious

There are sherds from glass vessels of high quality at settlements from various parts of Scania, Trelleborg, Åhus and Gårdlösa (Stjernquist 1999). Sherds from Valleberga, Kverrestad and Tygapil probably also belong in this connection (Stjernquist 1999:87 p.). The distribution of glass in the occupation layers of the settlements is important, giving a more reliable picture of external contacts than grave finds; however the settlement investigations so far have only given sporadic glimpses of the distribution (cf. Näsman 1990:90 p.).

Uppåkra

Among the finds from the Migration Period from Uppåkra there is a remarkably large group of gilded or gold ornaments with garnets (Fig. 7). A couple of S-shaped brooches are worth considering in this connection. The first one belongs to a group of brooches from Italy and southern Germany up to the Rhine–Main. North of this area the type has not been found, with the exception of the Uppåkra brooch. Another one belongs to a type with a wider distribution. It has been found in northern France, southern Germany, Langobardian Austria, Hungary, Slovenia and northern Italy. There are several suggestions concerning its origin, such as the Gallo-Roman or East Merovingian area. The date of both brooches should be the 6th century (Branca *et al.* 1999 with references).

A group of small equal-armed brooches with round garnets are referred to in Germany as "Dreirundelfibeln". They have a clear concentration with Thuringia but occur also in the Rhine area and have been seen as a record of contacts between Thuringians and Franks at the end of 5th century and the first half of the 6th (Brandt 1999:123 p.; Hårdh 2002:44 ff., Fig. 6). It is striking that five brooches of this type have been found in Uppåkra, and they

Fig. 7. A selection of gilded garnet ornaments from Uppåkra. Photo B. Almgren, LUHM. 1:1.

must be considered together with the contacts between southern Scandinavia and the continent discussed above (cf. Helgesson 2002).

An oval brooch with inlaid garnets has a close parallel from Gudme (Fig. 7). It was probably made in Southern Europe, perhaps in northern Italy in the late 6th century or around 600 (Jensen & Watt 1993:197; Helgesson 2002). A mounting in gold cloisonné which originally had about 40 garnets is obviously a continental work of high quality (Fig. 7; Helgesson 2002).

Also belonging to the continental group of ornaments is a small gold pendant consisting of a beaded rim and volutes of wire in the middle. It has a parallel in a bracteate hoard from Kläggeröd (Strömberg 1963:Fig. 23). The type is not uncommon in the Alamannian area in present-day south-western Germany (Christlein 1979:Taf. 58).

So, from the Migration Period we have quite a collection of continental ornaments. Even if the size of the single ornaments is small, they undoubtedly possess the character of prestigious objects: gold, gilding, and garnets. Interpreted according to Arrhenius, for example, they should indicate close connections, perhaps marriage relations. As there is quite a number of them they also probably represent a rather large proportion of these relations.

A silver pendant with two gilded snakes (Hårdh 1999a) and a sword pommel of silver show through their and decoration connections with central Scania with the striking collection of hoards. The pendant shows an association with the Sösdala hoard, not least through its stamped decoration, whereas the pommel with chip-carving decoration has a parallel in the Sjörup hoard (Fig. 8). It is very interesting that it is possible to demonstrate a connection between central Scania and Uppåkra, however, it is still too early to discuss the character of these contacts.

Fig. 8. A silver pendant and a silver sword pommel from Uppåkra. Photo B. Almgren, LUHM. 1:1.

The glass is, as mentioned, extremely important for demonstrating external contacts. Some glass sherds have been found in Uppåkra. Their number is limited but the variation is great and important conclusions can be drawn from them. They show contacts, first and foremost with Western Europe (Stjernquist 1999). The glass may also be seen as an indication of a special social milieu and should be considered together with the gilded garnet ornaments. Four sherds from Snartemo beakers belong to the Migration Period. In Scania similar sherds have, as mentioned above, previously been found at the Gårdlösa settlement. Glass of this type has also been found at Helgö and Bornholm and elsewhere (Stjernquist 1999:71).

The glass finds from the Merovingian Period show a continuity from the previous period. Some sherds, possibly deriving from claw beakers, bag beakers or squat jars, show a connection with the continent or England in the Migration Period or early Merovingian times (Stjernquist 1999:75). A slightly later dating should be given to some sherds from reticella glass and glass with gold foil decoration (Fig. 9). Reticella glass has been found at several places such as Birka, Helgö, Dankirke/ Ribe, Sorte Muld, Hedeby among others. The specimens of gold-foil glass known from Scandinavia are almost entirely found at trading centres or other places of a central character. On the continent gold-foil glass is known from, for example, Paderborn and Dorestad. They date from the 7th to the 9th centuries, probably with a concentration in the 8th century (Stjernquist 1999:79 pp.). A couple of sherds from Uppåkra come from palm cups. This is one of the most common types from the Merovingian Period, belonging to the 7th and 8th centuries (Stjernquist 1999: 85).

Thus, the glass from Uppåkra shows

Fig. 9. Glass – gold foil and reticella beakers from Uppåkra. Photo B. Almgren, LUHM. 1:1.

contacts with England and the continent, especially the Rhine area (Stjernquist 1999: 89). The glass, especially the youngest, fits very well into the picture of economic consolidation of the North Sea region. Sherds of the same types as from Uppåkra are moreover known from other sites in Scania, Valleberga, Tygapil, Kverrestad and Trelleborg. They strengthen the impression of Scanian contacts with the Rhine area in Migration–Merovingian times (Stjernquist 1999:87 p.).

In Ribe as well as in Åhus Roman copper coins have been found in contexts that show that they were used long after their issue. In Åhus one such copper coin was found and in Ribe five sceattas were found together with a Roman copper coin from the 4th century. On the continent it is not unusual to find Roman coins in late contexts, for example, in "Rheiengräber" (Callmer 1984:35).

The question is whether it is reasonable to think that Roman copper coins were used as means of payment in the Migration Period. Their main occurrence is in regions where Roman cultural and economic elements continued. It is probable that Roman copper coins were used after the withdrawal of Roman administration, but for how long and to what extent is difficult to determine. The record from Ribe and Åhus clearly shows the relevance of the hypothesis of a prolonged use of Roman copper coins within certain subsystems in Western Europe (Callmer 1984:35 p.).

Three Roman copper coins are known from Uppåkra, two of which have been dated to the 4th and 5th centuries. From the discussion above it is reasonable to consider whether they could have been used as means of payment as late as the Migration Period in Uppåkra. Otherwise there are no coins from the middle part of the Iron Age from Uppåkra.

The ornaments from the Migration Period also indicate, as mentioned above, contacts within Scandinavia, particularly with the north. For instance, a fragment of a big equal-armed brooch, U5681, has parallels in eastern central Sweden and Finland. The type has not been found so far in Norway or Denmark. Generally, the brooches from Uppåkra indicate that the contacts with central and northern Scandinavia were closer in the middle of the 6th century than before (Magnus 2001).

Gold-foil figures are usually considered as having been attached to trading and central places, or as Watt puts it, to "the homes of petty kings or chieftains with well established poli-

Fig. 10. Patrices for gold foil figures. Photo B. Almgren, LUHM. 2:1.

tical or trade contacts outside their local sphere of influence". They probably also indicate pre-Christian religious activities (Watt 1999b: 174). So far three gold-foil figures have been found at Uppåkra[1]. One depicts a man and a woman and has its best parallels in Lundeborg on Funen and Toftegård in east Zealand. One is a female figure, which in its general outlines and style is associated first and foremost with Bornholm but with some parallels also from Funen and Jutland. Two bronze thin sheets with figures from Vä and Gårdlösa are closely associated (Watt 1999a: 178 p.).

The production of gold-foil figures shows an indisputable connection between Uppåkra and Bornholm. Conclusive here are two, possibly three patrices for the production of gold-foil figures (Fig. 10). Such patrices are very rare, and the new finds from Uppåkra have extended the group considerably. One patrix, which has a female figure seen in profile, has not been used for any now known figures but there are several south Scandinavian items with rather similar female figures. The other patrix, which is very worn, shows the picture of a man in profile. Among the large collection of gold-foil figures from Sorte Muld, Bornholm, there are four specimens, which with great probability were made with this patrix (Watt 1999a:180 p.). Thus, the patrix and the gold foil figures show direct contact between craftsmen and workshops in Scania and Bornholm.

The detector finds from the Merovingian Period consist to a high degree of traces of metalwork. One large category of finds is brooches, several of which were fragmented already in prehistoric time. The brooches are of Scandinavian, especially south Scandinavian types. Worn and fragmented items probably indicate that they are intended for recycling. Moulds for making Merovingian Period brooches were recently also found during excavations (Fig. 11). Among them the beak-shaped brooches are distinguished by their large number; about 200 have been found in Uppåkra. Besides, this is the most common type of Merovingian period brooch in south Scandinavia and thus well suited for elucidating contact networks within Scania as well as in the south Scandinavian area. From an analysis of details of the brooches, technical and decorative, it is obvious that there is a clear south-east Scandinavian tradition which connects Scania to Bornholm. Further, among the Scania brooches there is a smaller element of Zealand traits. It is also possible to connect certain types to Uppåkra production, and brooches were transmitted from Uppåkra to various parts of Scania. Production of brooches on a smaller scale is furthermore manifested at a couple of other settlements (Hårdh 1999b, 2001). Independent production of beak-

Fig. 11. Clay moulds for beak-shaped brooches. Photo B. Almgren, LUHM. 1:1.

shaped brooches has been demonstrated in Ravlunda by recent finds.

The large-scale brooch production in the Merovingian period is something new, indicating new conditions. It has traits of mass production, the production of everyday objects, and it is undoubtedly used local material (Fig. 12). The brooches are made of bronze and constitute a current element in the women's graves in south Scandinavia from the period. They show that larger groups than before had a share in craft products. Näsman gives a picture of a south Scandinavian society with a gradually more centralized system, aiming at a surplus, especially manifest from *c.* 700 AD (Näsman 1999:3 p.). The intense craft production could thus be a part of the central place's integration with the surrounding region. Crabtree has drawn attention to the evident social and economic changes that took place in England in the 7th and 8th centuries. These include growth of the trade, regional as well as long-distance, with the emergence of proto-urban settlements where the inhabitants were involved in activities other than agrarian and thus had to be sustained with commodities. This in turn stimulated the development of specialization of agriculture (Crabtree 1996:73). A beak-shaped brooch in a grave at Önsvala has close parallels in Uppåkra and probably shows the spread of products from the central place to the surrounding region (Hårdh 2001:Fig. 7). The new situation for craft production probably also had an impact on societal development. For the North Sea area, Hodges has indicated the creation of a new order – urban craftsmen, that led to social interdependence and productive specialization in this period (Hodges 2000:83).

Summing up

As mentioned above the gold finds indicate several concentrations of wealth and power in the Migration Period, with the emphasis in

the south-west as well as in the east of Scania. Ornaments and weapon details of foreign origin are scattered in various parts of the area of investigation. They give occasional glimpses of personal contacts, sometimes manifested in graves like the woman's grave from Önsvala, where the woman probably came from central Scandinavia. A similar interpretation is probably valid for the striking group of continental ornaments found in Uppåkra.

The glass is present through all periods but tends to be more abundant and varied in the Merovingian period. Probably the glass indicates trade connections, and shows South Swedish contacts with the North Sea trade. Glass, often found as sherds at settlements, is especially important as it indicates relations of another kind than occasional belt mountings or ornaments.

The Sösdala deposit might show a special aspect of imports, that of ideas. As for Uppåkra, it is important that some finds show a connection to the distinctive milieus in Middle Scania.

The 7th century differs in many ways from the preceding and the following periods. Besides glass, possibly dated to this period, there are very few indisputable imports. Ornaments from Uppåkra are mainly of local appearance and there are also signs of production of ordinary objects on a large scale. Perhaps these two phenomena are connected, a tendency to isolation and establishment of a local production directed towards a broad group of customers. The Uppåkra production is linked into a clear south Scandinavian, sometimes a south-east Scandinavian network. The craft products are sometimes restricted to western Scania, sometimes they show connections to more remote parts of the province. In style and craft traditions the relations with Bornholm are obvious.

So, the Merovingian period record from south Scandinavia gives a more local impression than that from the previous period and moreover, rather small craft districts may be delimited. This is in accordance with Nørgård Jørgensen's and Høilund Nielsen's thoughts of, on the one hand, a more isolated Scandinavia and on the other hand a Scandinavia establishing and consolidating its position.

The later part of the Merovingian period shows, for Uppåkra, continuity from the earlier part with a large indigenous production of simpler ornaments but also gradually a more prestigious element. In Scania weapons and details from ornaments, primarily from the 8th century, show contacts with Western Europe. From Uppåkra there is a group of mountings from the continent and the British Isles dated to the transition from the Merovingian period to the Viking Age (cf. below).

Viking Age

The world in the Viking Age was dominated by mighty economic and political power centres, in the south-east the Caliphate and Byzantium, and in Western Europe, the Carolingian realm. Scandinavia was obviously at the intersection of influences from both directions.

In the close neighbourhood of Scandinavia was the Carolingian realm, where trade under royal control played a major part (Ulriksen 1998:223 with references). The North Sea area, clearly continuing from the previous period, had a crucial impact primarily on south Jutland with Ribe and Hedeby, which made up an economic focus for much of south Scandinavia (Steuer 1987:Figs. 4–7; Jensen 1991:84 pp.; Näsman 1991; Hårdh 1996). Hedeby was established as a big and important trading place at the beginning of the 9th century. The place could be controlled by the Danish king and gave good possibilities for contacts

Fig. 12. Five fibulae from Uppåkra, probably from the same model, all with the same outline but with variations in size up to 1 mm perhaps due to shrinkage of the clay mould. Photo B. Almgren, LUHM. 1:1.

with Western Europe (Callmer 1994:63 p.).

The contacts eastwards along the Russian rivers are documented by the import of Arabian coins. Most scholars seem to agree that Arabian coins did not arrive in the Baltic area until the end of the 8th century or around 800, manifested by the record from Staraja Ladoga and elsewhere (Callmer 1976; Noonan 1986:341; Jansson 1989:569). According to Jansson, Birka has a special position in this respect, having an extremely rich and varied assemblage of Oriental material, with no counterparts in the rest of Scandinavia. The finds reflect a considerable Oriental impact on Sweden, in clear contrast to western Scandinavia and the countries south of the Baltic (Jansson 1989:631). Concerning Birka, Ambrosiani maintains that the place was on the margins, between influences from the North Sea area, which dominated up to the middle of the 9th century and influences from the Islamic, Byzantine and Khazar regions, the latter dominating the picture totally from the end of the 9th century. Ambrosiani maintains that the Birka record shows that the eastern contacts became more important only at the end of the 9th century. The few coins, beads and other objects of eastern origin from earlier layers in Birka might, according to Ambrosiani, very well have come via the Mediterranean to the Carolingian area and from there been transmitted to more peripheral regions in the north (Ambrosiani 1999:242).

In the early Viking Age there was a network of trading places along the coasts of the Baltic. They all have rather similar material with, among other things, imports showing connections with Western Europe. They were connected to the well-developed North Sea trade but indicate also Baltic trade linked to the Slavonic area. Through these places contacts, not the least between Slavonic and Scandinavian areas, but also with more remote areas, in the west as well in the east, were channelled (Callmer 1989; Ambrosiani 1999: 241 p.).

South Sweden

In Viking Age silver hoards there are some obvious horizons which indicate variations in the contact network. The most evident changes are naturally seen in the coins. A 9th-century hoard from Häljarp, Tofta, contains some 30 Carolingian coins together with

Fig. 13. The hoard from Häljarp, Tofta, Scania. Photo I. Kristensson. 4:5.

mountings and ornaments of Western European origin (Fig. 13). Up to the late 10th century Arabic coins dominate the hoards, being replaced by Western European coins, mainly English and German, at the close of the century. Some finds from the last decades of the 10th century also contain early Scandinavian issues, probably struck in Hedeby or south Jutland. From the 11th century there is a gradually increasing element of royal Danish issues in the hoards.

A number of hoards from the 9th and early 10th century contain Western European imports, cast mountings and filigree work. These hoards have been found in the western parts of Scania and one in Halland. From the middle of the 10th century and some decades on (*c.* 950–990), there are fragments of eastern rings, of Permian type, and some eastern pendants in the hoards. These objects derive from present-day Russia and are sometimes referred to as Khazarian. The two pendants come from hoards from westernmost Scania. Hoards with ring fragments have a wider distribution and have been found in western, southern and northern parts of Scania and also with Blekinge (Hårdh 1976). As mentioned above, the assembled indications from hoards, other find combinations, stratigraphy from Birka and finds from Staraja Ladoga, show that Arabic coins appeared in the Baltic area at the earliest around 800. The earliest silver hoards with Arabic coins in south Sweden have a clear concentration to western Scania and to the coastal areas of Halland (Hårdh 1996). The two eastern pendants, from Helsingborg (Fig. 14) and Tottarp, have also been found in the westernmost parts of Scania (Hårdh 1976b: Taf. 35:36, Taf. 50:4). The geographical distri-

Fig. 14. An Oriental pendant from Filborna, Helsingborg, Scania. Photo author. 1:1.

bution may indicate that the early eastern objects in South Swedish hoards, the oldest coins and the pendants, mainly came from the west, perhaps via Hedeby. The fragments of Permian rings might have come the same way and then been internally distributed in south Sweden.

Almost every large hoard dated from the 980s up to the middle of the 11th century contains granulated beads, pendants, earrings etc. originating in the northern parts of present-day Poland and Germany, the west Slavonic area. These hoards have been found in south-western and eastern Scania together with a hoard from Blekinge Thus this west Slavonic horizon is very distinct. In the same period as the west Slavonic silver the hoards are dominated by English and German coins showing a massive impact from the south and west.

The big hoard from Hjortsberga, Johannishus, Blekinge, from early 12th century, contains some fragments from the area around the Gulf of Finland. In the Baldringe hoard from southern Scania there are also a couple of fragmentary pins of Baltic types. Thin sheet with embossed decoration in the Hjortsberga hoard has parallels in the Öland hoard from Böda from the 1020s. In both cases they seem to derive from the region around the Gulf of Finland. The Hjortsberga hoard seems to contain elements from widely different periods and it is very difficult to date individual unminted objects. The objects from the hoards from Baldringe, Hjortsberga and Böda indi-cate sporadic contacts, direct or indirect, with the areas east of the Baltic in late 10th century and at least into the first half of the 11th century.

Thus, the assembled record from the hoards shows a clear and early horizon of Western European contacts with a concen-tration in western Scania. A period from the middle to the end of the 10th century, with a wide regional distribution, is characterized by Eastern or Oriental objects. In the decades around the turn of the millennium there is a west Slavonic horizon. It is important to note that the Eastern and Oriental objects so clearly belong to a period before the west Slavonic influx. As for the early Western European and the west Slavonic silver, it is possible, judging by the geographical distribution in south Sweden, that it came in from the west and south, the western silver perhaps through south Jutland and the west Slavonic silver directly over the Baltic Sea. As for the Oriental and the Baltic silver, it is more difficult to trace the import ways. The early Oriental silver may have come via Hedeby. The Baltic fragments from Hjortsberga should probably be seen in connection with the Öland fragments from the same direction and are probably a reflection of economic activities in the east Baltic area, which might have a background in the establishment of Novgorod as a central power.

Several groups of objects show regional differences between various parts of Scania and south Sweden. Regarding Scania, Svanberg demonstrates that the eastern and western parts of the province are characterized by contacts in different directions. Carolingian mountings and other objects from graves and hoards, up to the late 10th century, have a clear western distribution in the province

Fig. 15. Four filigree ornaments of Carolingian origin from Bräcke, Brunnby, Scania and one from Pålstorp, Raus, Scania to the right. Photo author. 1:1.

(Svanberg 1999:33 pp., 2000) (Figs. 15, 21). The eastern contacts of Scania in the Viking Age are manifest in the western and in the eastern parts of the province, but in this respect the south-east dominates. The objects showing these eastern contacts are bronze combs, swords mountings, brooches etc. (Svanberg 1999:36 p., 2000:Fig. 10).

From the cemeteries at Stävie and Önsvala, both in western Scania, three graves in wagons are known altogether. They are dated to the 10th and early 11th centuries. They belong to a group of distinguished graves from the Danish area and the custom has possibly its origin in Merovingian Western Europe (Larsson 1982: 184 pp.; Müller-Wille 1987:34). The presence of these graves in cemeteries in western Scania strengthens the impression of the western orientation of this region (cf. Müller-Wille 1987:31, Fig. 4).

The western impact is generally missing from the eastern parts of the landscape, with the exception of finds from the craft and trading site of Transval at Åhus, where, among other things, there was glass and pottery from the Rhine area (Svanberg 1999:33 p., 46 p.), and also recent finds from Ravlunda. Svanberg maintains, importantly, that the record from Åhus is of another character than that from western Scania. The British and continental objects found in western Scania have an exclusive appearance and also occur in contexts which indicate a clear association with an elite. According to Svanberg's interpretation they might show that persons from this region, with their retinue, took part in raids in early Viking Age and possibly also organized such raids (Svanberg 1999:34). Eilbracht, however, who also has analysed Carolingian ornaments in south Scandinavia, thinks however that they are more likely to be gifts. She maintains that trade and raiding played a subordinate role and that instead personal contacts were the main motive behind the imports (Eilbracht 1999:154 pp.). The Åhus evidence, with its large amount of glass and pottery and western coins, obviously showing trading connections, is of quite a different character, thus indicating the function of the site in a long distance trading network (cf. Callmer 1994). With the recent finds from Ravlunda, including Carolingian coins, this site now seems to be something similar (pers. com. Helgesson).

South Scandinavian contacts across the Baltic Sea regions are manifest in the occurrence of West Slavonic ceramics at south Scandinavian settlements. It is possible to demonstrate that there was a trade which brought this type of ceramics to south Scandinavian coastal settlements and trading places as early as the first half of the 8th century. The pots themselves were probably not the imported goods, but rather containers for some product or other, perhaps salt. Sherds of Slavonic pottery, dated from the late 8th century up to the beginning of the 10th century, have been found at settlements along the south coast of

Scania, indicating regular contacts mainly with the region around the Oder estuary (Callmer 1989:673, Abb. 4). Important for understanding the character of the contacts is the fact that the Slavonic pottery is mainly a coastal phenomenon which only occurs at the inland settlements of central place character, such as Vä or Fjälkinge (Callmer 1989:662; Helgesson 2002).

The contacts with the West Slavonic region seem to have been well established and regular from the latter part of the 10th century. Slavonic impact is predominant in 11th-century ceramics in Scania and eastern Denmark (Roslund 1992). Also in the 11th century, Slavonic pottery is abundant, mainly in the coastal areas of southern Scania. Roslund maintains that this shows the presence of craftsmen from the regions south of the Baltic and that their establishment in Scania should be regarded in connection with the expansion of power of the Jelling dynasty (Roslund 2001). The evident concentration of Slavonic ceramics in south Scania in the 11th century should be compared with the silver hoards from the same period and mainly from the same parts of Scania. Precisely these hoards possess a marked element of West Slavonic silver, fragments probably used as means of payment.

Well worth attention in this connection is the settlement of Mölleholmen in south Scania, totally dominated by West Slavonic objects and in its general character similar to settlements south of the Baltic. The most probable explanation for the phenomenon is that it is a result of immigration which took place in the second quarter of the 11th century (Kelm 2000:86).

A strong English element is manifest in the oldest layers of the town of Lund. From the beginning an ecclesiastical establishment, Lund had close connections to the Anglo-Saxon church through bishops and missionaries. Mint striking and mint masters show a clear English connection, and above all ceramics of English type indicate that a rather substantial group of English people were present in Lund. They represented English specialization and knowledge and were important in establishing Lund as an international metropolis (Andrén & Carelli 1998). Beads of cornelian and other materials show that early Lund also had eastern contacts. The cornelian beads may have come via Kiev in the first half of the 11th century (Salminen 1998:60 pp.).

During the Viking Age an important change of the trade is that "heavy cheap goods" steadily increased in importance, earliest in the south-western parts of south Scandinavia (Jensen 1990; Näsman 1990:106). This trade in everyday commodities can be traced through millstones, soapstone and whetstones. Iron must also be included in this group but is much more difficult to grasp. Viking Age soapstone shows a greater concentration in the western part of Scania and a smaller and more scattered spread in the east (Svanberg 2000:Fig. 9; Nilsson 2001). As soapstone is heavy, it is reasonable to think that it was mainly transported on ships. Thus, concentrations might indicate possible areas of import. The soapstone indicates contacts with the north, with Norway, and was probably brought to south Scandinavia along the west coast of Sweden. However, as the finds in Zealand are scarce whereas there are many finds from Jutland, indirect transmission through this area is also possible (cf. Gjøstein Resi 1979:Figs. 132, 133). From the late Viking Age millstones of garnet-muscovite-schist show a close connection to Norway. These mill stones occur in a dense concentration all over western and south-western Scania, linked to the distribution in northern and eastern

Fig. 16. Carolingian mountings from Uppåkra. Photo B. Almgren, LUHM. 1:1.

Denmark (Carelli 1997:121, Fig. 15).

A few runestones from Scania mention persons who died abroad. Two stones say: "he fled not at Uppsala" (DR 279, DR 295–297), one stone mentions Svithjod (DR 334), one says briefly "in the north" (DR 334–35) and one "Gotland" (DR 259). A stone from Valleberga (DR 337) reports that "they lie in London". A stone from Hjärup, a couple of kilometres from Uppåkra, bears the text: "Navne erected the stone after his brother Toke. He died in the west." This stone belongs to the so called post-Jelling group, which means a dating around 1000 AD or later. Toke from the Uppåkra region might very well have taken part in the extortion actions against England, which took place at this time.

Uppåkra

From the transition between the Merovingian and the Viking Periods there is a small group of mountings, which might derive from exquisite caskets or the like. Some of them show liturgical traits. Their origin is the Carolingian area or the British Isles. Among them is the well-known silver animal "Helge". Some enamelled mountings were probably made in Ireland; a couple of them show affinities to a mounting from Oseberg, which would indicate a dating to early 9th century (Helgesson 1999:195, 2002). A hypothesis is that they could be connected to an early mission directed towards south Sweden (Helgesson 1999, 2001). Of course, the mountings could also be looted goods or prestige gifts (cf. Wamers 1985; Eilbracht 1999; Svanberg 1999).

A group of bronze and silver objects may come from the Carolingian area (Fig. 16). An oval mounting with plant decoration was originally a sword mounting, later transformed into a brooch. A rectangular bronze and silver mounting has a vine tendril decoration in niello. The third object is a part of a brooch with enamelled inlays. All three of them ended up in the soil as fragments and were probably intended for recycling (Capelle 2001). Here it would be of the utmost interest to know whether the objects arrived in Uppåkra as complete ornaments or as scrap metal.

A small group of Carolingian coins, three struck by Charlemagne and four by Louis the Pious (Fig. 17), fall well into the group of early Viking Age objects showing Western European contacts. They should also be considered together with the quite abundant western material that is characteristic of the whole of western Scania. The Louis coins are of the type Xristiana-religio, which is the same type of coins as in the Häljarp, Tofta, hoard.

A small equal-armed brooch probably

comes from north-west Europe. A couple of similar brooches are also known from south Scandinavia, one from Hedeby and one from Zealand. Their dating is from the mid-9th to the beginning of the 10th century (Callmer 1999:218).

Four small round brooches are inlaid with enamel. At least two of them belong to the type "Kreuzemailfibeln", which is dated to the 8th–9th centuries (Fig. 18). They were probably made in the north-western parts of present-day Germany where they are rather abundant (Wamers 1994:54 pp., Abb. 31–34). These small and fairly simple brooches give the impression of being personal belongings, possibly expressing a Christian affinity. The rather large group of Western European ornaments, mountings etc. manifestly strengthens the general picture of Western European impact on western Scania described above.

Glass of reticella type from Late Iron Age is known from several trading places, estates and some graves. From Uppåkra two sherds of reticella glass are known (Stjernquist 1999: 75 pp.). Reticella glass in Scandinavia is in all probability imported. Due to its wide spread, it is difficult to point to an indisputable manufacture region, but a connection with the North Sea trade is probable (Stjernquist 1999:78). Glass is of course also a luxury and prestige product, and its regular appearance at trading places is also conclusive. As for Uppåkra, we must remember that a systematic search for glass has not been made, and it is highly probable that the amount would increase considerably if it was done.

The Arabic coins in Uppåkra now number about 200, a lot of them early issues. Among the dirhams, Abbasids from the 8th and 9th centuries dominate, but there are still older coins, Umejjads and Sassanids from the early 8th, 7th and even late 6th centuries (Silvegren 1999). Besides, there are Khazarian and Volga Bulgarian imitations (Fig. 19). The Oriental coins have to a large extent been cut, which indicates that they circulated as means of payment. Possibly the fragmentation took place before as well as after the coins arrived in the Baltic area. According to the discussion above, the big group of Oriental coins in Uppåkra do not necessarily show eastern contacts. It is no less probable that they came as result of indirect contacts intermediated from the south-west.

A group of spiral striated silver rods should probably also be regarded together with the Arabic coins (Fig. 20). They are made of a technique known from the Permian rings from the Early Viking Age, probably imported from Russia. In Gotland and Denmark there is a simpler variety of these rings, and there has been a lively debate as to whether these rings were also imported or if they are local copies. Seven fragments of such rings have been found so far in Uppåkra. From the thickness of the rods it is obvious that they come from the simple type of rings. Similar fragments are known from other Viking Age settlements of central place character, for example, Strøby, Zealand (Tornbjerg 1998:Fig. 2). An Oriental contact in a rather late part of the Viking Age is indicated by a small mounting from the 11th century (I am indebted to Ingmar Jansson for comments on the object) (Fig. 20).

The Viking Age silver hoards from south Sweden, as well as in general, from late 10th and early 11th century usually contain a large share of Western European coins. For example, the hoard from Igelösa, tpq 1007, contains 1,850 English coins, and the Värpinge hoard, not far from Uppåkra, is reported to have consisted of 1,200 coins, among them Ethelred issues.

In this respect it is remarkable that these

Fig. 17. Carolingian coins struck for Charlemagne and Louis the Pious found in Uppåkra. Photo B. Almgren, LUHM. 1:1.

Fig. 18. Enamelled brooches of continental origin from Uppåkra. Photo B. Almgren, LUHM. 1:1.

Fig. 19. Khazarian and Volga Bulgarian coins from Uppåkra. Photo B. Almgren, LUHM. 1:1.

Fig. 20. Oriental mounting and spiral striated rods, possibly Russian, from Uppåkra. Photo B. Almgren, LUHM. 1:1.

types of coins are rare in Uppåkra. Only three English coins have been found hitherto, all issued by Ethelred II, 978–1016.

Also contemporary German coins are scarce, One Sachsenpfennig and one Otto-Adelheid coin, 983/991, have been registered together with three unclassified German coins. Does the lack of larger groups of Western European coins mean that Uppåkra lost its importance in the latter part of the 10th century or can there be some other explanation?

An encolpion is probably a German product from *c.* 1000 AD (Staecker 1999:271 pp.). As it was found not far from the church, it might possibly be connected to a predecessor of the former Romanesque church (Anglert & Huttu 1999). An enamelled brooch, from the late 10th or the first half of the 11th century, has parallels in South Germany or Switzerland (Fig. 18; Tegnér 1999:233).

A trefoil brooch with round foils is isolated among the Uppåkra finds but should probably be regarded together with sporadic occurrences of objects from the eastern coastal regions of the Baltic Sea known from south Sweden.

No Slavonic ornaments have so far been

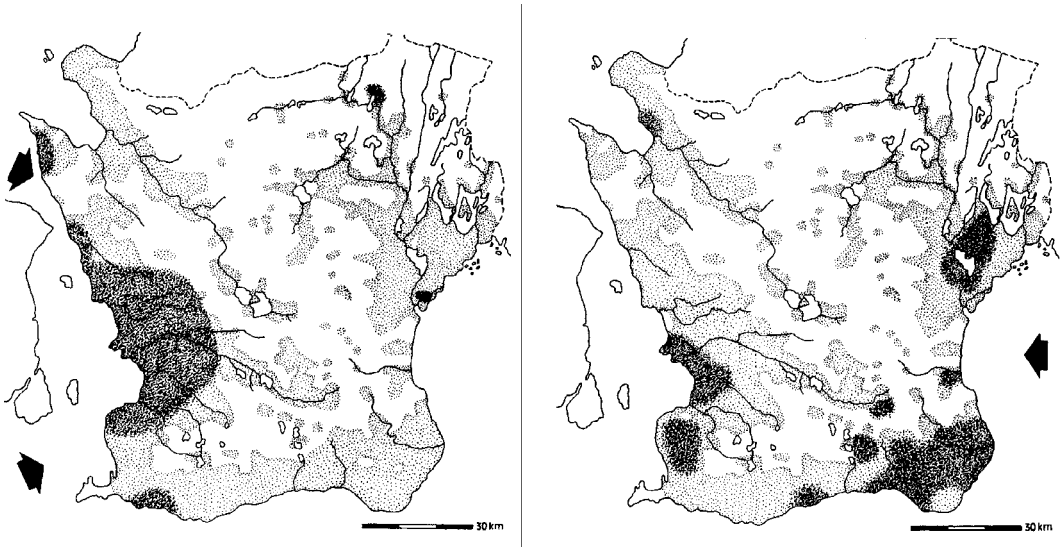

Fig. 21. Western and eastern influences in Scania, after Svanberg 1999.

found in Uppåkra. However, quite a substantial group of Slavonic knife scabbard mountings is known. Mountings of this type are also known from other parts of Scania and are generally dated to the late 11th and 12th century. A number of them are also known from Lund (Anglert & Huttu 1999:289). Together with phenomena like the settlement of Mölleholmen and the late Slavonic pottery, they show continuous relations with the Slavonic region. The mountings are simple and are personal belongings rather than trade goods or gifts.

Summary

South Sweden in the early Viking Age is in large measure characterized by contacts with Western Europe. The influential North Sea trade played an important role in the long-distance trading network that is reflected in trading places in the south Baltic area. The record shows that the western parts of Scania, already from the late 8th century, had long-distance contacts with the west, which might indicate that the elite took part in raids there or reflecting personal contacts at a high social level. Imports from Uppåkra, with a clear element of Western European mountings and others, accord very well with this picture. Apart from the coins, Western European elements dominate the imports (cf. Fig. 21).

Early silver hoards dominated by Arabic coins are concentrated in the western coastal areas of Scania and Halland, and it is probable that they should be seen in connection with economic activities in south-west Scandinavia rather than direct contacts westwards. The same interpretation should be valid for the Arabic coins and the small fragments of striated rings from Uppåkra.

Besides the personal transmission of prestigious objects, the pottery and glass indicate another type of contacts, with mainly coastal settlements integrated in long-distance trade, especially in the first part of the Viking Age. Here the Åhus settlement clearly shows connections of this type. Indications of Western relations are not at all as abundant in eastern Scania as in the western parts of the province and seem to show connections to long-distance trade, whereas western Scania is included in a broader cultural context. Objects showing

eastern connections have been found in eastern as well as in western Scania, but in this case with a centre of gravity in the east.

The Slavonic record shows other characteristics than the imports generally. It is mainly everyday items such as the knife scabbard mountings from Uppåkra and elsewhere. The west Slavonic silver in the hoards consists of small fragments and thus means of payment in small units. Here we do not see a luxury trade and indirect relations through middlemen but rather everyday contacts and people who moved between two adjacent areas. The Slavonic element is especially obvious in south Scania.

In the 11th century abundant pottery points to the presence of groups of people from the Slavonic area and from England in south-western and southern Scania and in early Lund. This comprehensive immigration should probably be seen in connection with the consolidation of royal power in the region.

South Swedish contacts in a thousand-year perspective

The amount of evidence may seem to be overwhelmingly large, but in spite of this it is difficult to make interpretations which go beyond mere truisms or what we already think that we know. The source-critical problems also make interpretations difficult. This is especially evident when it comes to comparing Uppåkra with other settlements or finds. It is beyond doubt that Uppåkra is a settlement with special qualities, but when it comes to making concrete comparisons there are great problems in deciding what is due to different investigation methods and what are real differences. Comparisons between grave and settlement material also raise considerable difficulties, as well as comparing grave material from different areas where different mortuary customs may have played a part.

A complication which is difficult to handle is the interpretation of the external networks of contacts through imported objects, as they were usually transmitted through several links, so the production area of an object usually says very little about the contact routes to for example Scania. Instead, what is shown through the distribution of imported goods is the interaction between various adjacent regions. This is obvious with regard to Roman imports of the Early Iron Age as well as Arabic coins, Oriental pendants and other artefacts in the Viking Age. This makes it necessary to analyse centres in the immediate area, in south Scandinavia and the Baltic region, to be able to grasp something of the dynamic interaction, which we can only imagine. A conclusive factor is furthermore the general instability of Iron Age centres.

Various types of imported objects also reflect different forms of contacts. Some objects, such as dress ornaments, weapons and so on probably show private, direct contacts. To be able to speak about trade, whatever form it had, it is necessary to perceive some kind of regular pattern. Some quantity of goods is brought from one region to another during a certain period. Glass is perhaps the best expression of this type of transmission, having a character of luxury or prestigious goods. Groups of mass material, such as pottery in the Viking Age, probably show other kinds of connections. Here it was probably not transmitted commodities but instead groups of craftsmen who moved.

Throughout the Iron Age a contrast is visible in many ways between different parts of Scania, primarily between its eastern and western parts. The western parts are in many respects linked to the west, to Denmark west of Öresund and Western Europe. This is

obvious in mortuary traditions as well as in ceramics from the Roman Iron Age. Long-distance connections from the continent, along the Swedish west coast up to southern Norway, had an impact on development in western Scania. Similar connections are visible in the Viking Age when connections from present-day Denmark, via west Sweden to the Oslo fjord area, are manifest. These contacts can be traced in the silver hoards from western Scania and Halland. In its entirety, the Viking Age record shows that western Scania mainly received its influences from Western Europe, whereas in eastern Scania there are traces of eastern connections. Also the group of imported Migration Period brooches from Uppåkra fits well into the pattern, as they too show a clear affinity to the western parts of the continent.

In the Early Iron Age, ceramics show that the eastern parts of the province are related mainly to Bornholm but also to the Baltic area in general. The same connections are indicated by finds of denars and solidi in south-eastern Scania. Connections with the Baltic region and Bornholm are also visible in the Late Iron Age from different parts of Scania. In the Migration and Merovingian periods there is clear evidence of the same craftsmen working in Scania and on Bornholm, or at least sharing the same craft traditions.

The position of south Scandinavia at the intersection between east and west is visible throughout the Iron Age. It is important, however, to consider that finds which show long-distance contacts were transmitted through many links and reflect mainly contacts between centres in the Baltic or North Sea region.

Uppåkra and other central places

According to Näsman's hypothesis (1990), more or less permanent places were established in the Late Roman Iron Age to serve the needs of long-distance trade as well as the distribution of local products. As regards Uppåkra, the material from this period is still mainly covered by thick occupation layers. What has been found and registered so far, however, corresponds well to his hypothesis. Various crafts were carried out at the place, in antler, bone and metal. At least the first of them was on a scale reflecting production probably beyond the needs of the settlement. The spread of denars in the occupation layer indicates quite general handling of coins at the place; perhaps coins were to some extent used as means of payment. Glass sherds, although few so far, indicate fairly regular contacts with glass-producing regions.

Especially in the Late Roman Iron Age and the Migration Period, craft production seems to have been substantial. Now the question is, what role did these antler combs and bronze brooches play? Was the production organized by leading persons at the settlement to be used as gifts or is it independent craftsmen, who made their living by selling their products on their own? This is a central question which has to be investigated further in order to discuss the functions of a central place more precisely.

From the Early Iron Age there are a number of sites that show great similarities to Uppåkra: Sorte Muld, Dankirke, Feddersen Wierde and Hørup. All of them seem to have started in pre-Roman Iron Age and were stable for generations. They have thick occupation layers and combine a substantial element of craft indications with settlement waste and high phosphate values showing a large presence of cattle. These places are at the same time centres and workshop sites (Sørensen 2000:60, 75 pp.).

In the Late Iron Age the picture of the central places is very complex. The places are

different in appearance and have yielded highly varied material. It is obvious that the concept of central place is not unitary and that different places had different functions. To put it bluntly, we may ask whether Uppåkra was a trading place or a residence. Is it most similar to Tissø or Ribe, to Vä or Åhus (cf. Callmer 1994; Sørensen 2000:77)? The assessment of Uppåkra is complicated by the fact that structures from Late Iron Age largely seem to have been destroyed by the plough. We can hardly expect to ascertain through excavations whether the settlement consisted of a collection of big farms or if there was a structured craft centre.

To understand Uppåkra it is necessary to consider, not only what has been found there but also what is lacking. The Roman imports found in Scania, so scarce compared to Zealand, must be explained. Is it a source-critical problem, due to variations in burial customs etc., or does the record reflect fundamental variations in the external contacts? How to interpret, for instance, the lack of sceattas? What is the position of Uppåkra in relation to places like Åhus or Ribe? Of course, new investigations in Uppåkra might change the picture, but Åhus as well as Ribe have been put forward as two related phenomena attached to long-distance trade. Is Uppåkra something quite different? A striking thing is the small amount of Western European coins from the latter part of the 10th century, a group which is most abundant in hoards from the region, deposited in the late 10th or early 11th century. This brings up the question of the relation between Uppåkra and its neighbour Lund. Do the few coins show that the functions of Uppåkra were taken over by Lund in the late 10th century? In this respect, too, the evidence fails to give a simple and indisputable answer. In Lund the coins are likewise sparse in the late 10th and early 11th century, and on the whole the earliest Lund does not seem to have been very town-like.

The central place over one thousand years

A discussion of Uppåkra as a central place may take its point of departure in two aspects: the central place in its region and the contact network of the central place and how this changed through the first millennium AD. During the entire period Uppåkra stands out, beyond comparison, as the biggest settlement and richest in finds in Scania. This must show some kind of centrality that certainly affected the surrounding region, mainly south-western Scania. The rich traces of extent craft production are difficult to explain if it is not in some way connected to a region around the settlement.

Within a radius of some tens of kilometres, there are several examples of rich and prestigious graves and cemeteries. This is especially obvious in the Late Iron Age. It is an important task for further investigations to analyse how they are related to Uppåkra.

Because of the rather scarce imports from Scania in the Early Iron Age, it is difficult to maintain that Uppåkra was a centre channelling imports. Here, the glass, although not extensive, shows a constant import of these luxury products from the Roman Iron Age up to the Viking Age. It also shows continuous contacts with, first and foremost, Western Europe during this long time span. If the glass imports show that there was a constant need on the continent for products from the north, Uppåkra might have been one of the centres that organized these contacts. The glass also gives the place an aristocratic appearance, and the prestigious character is especially marked in the Migration and Viking periods. The crafts which have left substantial traces from Roman Iron Age as well, probably

show something of relations to the surrounding regions. Foreign ornaments might show personal contacts whereas glass possibly indicate some kind of trade relations.

In the Merovingian period the settlement is again characterized by crafts on a large scale. This may have something to do with the political ambitions of the time. In any case the craft products clearly show an interplay between Uppåkra and much of Scania.

Viking Age Scandinavia is generally characterized by manifold contacts in various directions. The western parts of Scania are manifestly characterized by contacts with Western Europe. Uppåkra, with its rich western material, is well integrated into this picture and strengthens the western impression of the region. However, there are also traces of contacts with areas to the east and south of the Baltic, just as in the rest of Scania. Apparently the record indicates a variety of contacts, personal as well as commercial. Traces of trade and crafts are manifest features in Viking Age Uppåkra.

At the close of the Viking Age there is a new element in Scania's contacts with the surrounding world, as pottery, being a mass material, permits the supposition that new groups of people from England and the Slavonic area settled, primarily in the southwestern part of the province. This immigration in all likelihood had something to do with new political and economic conditions and is obviously not primarily related to Uppåkra but to the royal power and its new central place, Lund.

For the present there are a number of places in Scania which in some sense may be regarded as central. As matters stand, it is also possible to see a contrast between eastern and western Scania, as the eastern part of the province shows a disparate picture, with a number of places which in various ways stand out from more "ordinary" settlements. These places, Vä, Åhus, Ravlunda, Järrestad and others are very different from each other and apparently also had different functions.

In this respect the western parts of the province give the impression of having been much more centralized, with a large and dominating settlement over a very long time span. The finds from Uppåkra show a complex settlement which assembled a great many various functions that changed during its long existence. Trade and crafts were sometimes manifest, sometimes less visible. An element of aristocratic luxury consumption, on the other hand, is evident all through the Iron Age.

From the record at the present stage of the investigations, Uppåkra appears not primarily as a trade and craft centre but rather as a residence with an impact on a larger region, mainly in western Scania, and with the ability, at various levels – local, regional and supra-regional – to organize and maintain a network of contacts.

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Footnote

[1)] With the excavations in 2001-2002 the gold-foil figures now number c. 60.

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Detector Finds from Uppåkra as a Source of Information, Illustrated by the Fibulae from the Early Iron Age

Berta Stjernquist

Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to consider the information value of a defined body of detector material, namely, the fibulae from the Early Iron Age. One problem concerns the possibility of tracing their connections with structures at the site. This discussions call attention to the eventuality that they might originate not only from settlement constructions but also from graves. To illustrate the function of the fibulae in graves, comparative material is used. Another problem which concerns the information value is applicable to the layer sequence and the increase of the settlement. The method for this analysis is to use excavations as a reference in spite of their small extent. It is assumed that there are variations. The thick occupation layers were formed successively during the whole Iron Age. We have, however, to consider that structures not only from the Roman Iron Age but also from later periods were erected at the bottom on a surface which had not been used earlier. Consequently, they are situated at different levels of the sequences. This has consequences for the erosion and the detector material. It will, however, be stressed that the model of the increase of the layers must be tested critically through larger excavations.

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Introduction

Two papers by Näsman (1999) and Axboe (1999) treating the social development of southern Scandinavia during the Iron Age are important contributions to the research. They discuss the same problems but in different ways. Both lay stress on very rich settlements called central places. These settlements have a key position for the study of the structure and change of the society. Earlier known as well as later identified settlements have been analysed intensively. The finds which have been brought out of the upper disturbed soil during recent years play an important role in this process. Their connections with the structures on the site are of the greatest importance for an estimate of their information value.

The purpose of this paper is to consider the information value of a defined body of detector material from the Uppåkra settlement, namely, the fibulae from the Early Iron Age. Their connections with the structures will be discussed. The method is to use early information about the site, to use the information of the excavation reports and to discuss comparative material. The choice of material

is not by chance but caused by the fact that the fibulae are now registered and treated as regards classification and chronology (Helgesson & Stjernquist 2001). This treatment has given an overview of the material and at the same time raised many questions which have to be analysed. The result of the discussion will have a general value even if the circumstances vary at different settlements.

Background

The background to the large amount of detector material from Uppåkra will be touched upon briefly. This gives occasion to mention and discuss the methods that have been used for identifying large settlements and the relations of different structures. It is logical to start with the fieldwork.

A classical method is to excavate the layers manually, collect the finds and investigate the traces of structures which are hiding below the surface. Sieving the disturbed soil is an integral part of this method, even if it is not always effected on a full scale. This method is hard, the cutting away is a slow business and it is difficult to get an area large enough for an overview of the structures. It is a matter of course that the work has been mechanized. Archaeologists started to use machines to do the cutting away, the change coming successively during the 1950s and 1960s (Becker 1965; Säfvestad 1995).

The advantages of mechanized work are obvious. It is possible to remove large amounts of soil in order to localize groups of house foundations and whole settlement constructions. The disadvantage is that it is impossible to collect the finds which may exist in the plough-soil. As a consequence, the find material is limited, above all what is localized in the postholes. This was not regarded as a great disadvantage because of the idea that the lost finds were few and could not possibly contribute much to the knowledge of the structures. The problems have been discussed in different connections, as for instance in Stjernquist 1993a. It has successively been noticed, however, that many datable finds are in the plough-soil.

This was the reason for investigations of settlements with metal detector. Jonas Paulsson who has great experience of practical work with metal detectors, has published a comprehensive history and detailed analysis of the metal detector as an instrument in archaeological work (1999). That paper also discusses problems concerning the representativeness of the detector material and its limitations from a critical point of view. It is a very useful basis for treating and interpretation the detector finds in the future.

After occasional utilization, for instance, in the search for gold rings at Skedemosse, metal detectors became an instrument used very much for localizing settlements at the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s (Petersen 1991; Nielsen & Petersen 1993; Watt 1997). It is worth mentioning that Henrik Thrane attracted attention among participants at the Sachsen-Symposium at Bederkesa in 1984 when he showed us objects which had been found by metal detector at the Gudme settlement (Thrane 1985, 1994). We had acquired a method to indicate sites with rich and unusual finds which to a great extent existed in the topsoil. Some of these sites have been interpreted as central places and have been investigated further (Gudme, Uppåkra and several other sites).

In order to illustrate the potential of the topsoil, a project called "The Hidden Cultural Landscape" was carried on for some years (Larsson 1992–96). The analysis of different

situations showed a correspondence between the find composition at the surface, in the soil and in the structures below. It was emphasized, however, that the precondition for good information from the material was the effort to interpret the distribution and the processes which had caused it. Paulsson has discussed these important questions. He stresses that the physical quality of the objects and the effect of agriculture play a great role for the distribution. The problem is illustrated by experimental studies by different scholars (Sjöström & Pihl 1996).

The conditions at settlements with finds in the topsoil can vary greatly. Therefore, it is possible to mention the cause of the distribution only in rough outline. The original locations of the stray finds in structures cannot be defined. The distribution is, generally speaking, influenced by the erosion between elevated areas and those lying lower down and by the method of working the soil, for instance by cultivation. Several factors play a role. Inasmuch as the conditions vary, it is necessary in the discussion of the reasons for the distribution to take into consideration the conditions of the actual find place.

The material which will be discussed here originates, as mentioned, from the Uppåkra settlement. It is the conditions there which are the basis. Paulsson has illustrated his analysis with concrete examples, also mentioning the conditions at Uppåkra. We are, however, justified in further analysing the occurrence of the detector finds at the Uppåkra settlement and the background to their distribution. These conditions influence the information value of the fibulae which will be considered here.

The fibulae found in the disturbed soil can be treated in different ways. However, the investigation should not be confined to classification, dating and technique. It is essential to go further and try to analyse the find conditions and their importance for the problem.

Aspects of the fibulae from Uppåkra

The starting point is thus the detector finds. This body of finds has been slightly augmented with surface finds from the settlement collected on different occasions. All these finds have been collected on the surface or in the plough-soil layer with a depth of approx. 30 cm. For the present, excavations have been carried out only to a small extent (Larsson 1998) (Fig. 1; cf. Fig. 9). These have left a defined body of material but they can, however, be used as reference for the interpretation of the disturbed finds.

The first of these excavations was carried out in 1934 when the settlement was found. Later activities, for instance, occasioned by the construction of the mortuary, have given some idea of the sequence of the deep occupation layers. An important reference is the after-investigation which has been carried out in connection with the current project and which consists of a check-up of the levels in connection with the house foundation excavated by Vifot (Rapport 97:1, Helgesson 1997; Larsson 1998:106; Calitta 2001, area C) (Fig. 2). It has appeared that the surrounding level was lowered through cultivation by approx. 20 cm over about 65 years, the time from the excavation until now. This heavy destruction was caused by efficient cultivation methods with deeper ploughing. That means that this result cannot be used to estimate the destruction for a long time back when the ploughing was relatively superficial. The destruction has been uneven.

The settlement area at Uppåkra is not even and flat; it has topographical differences

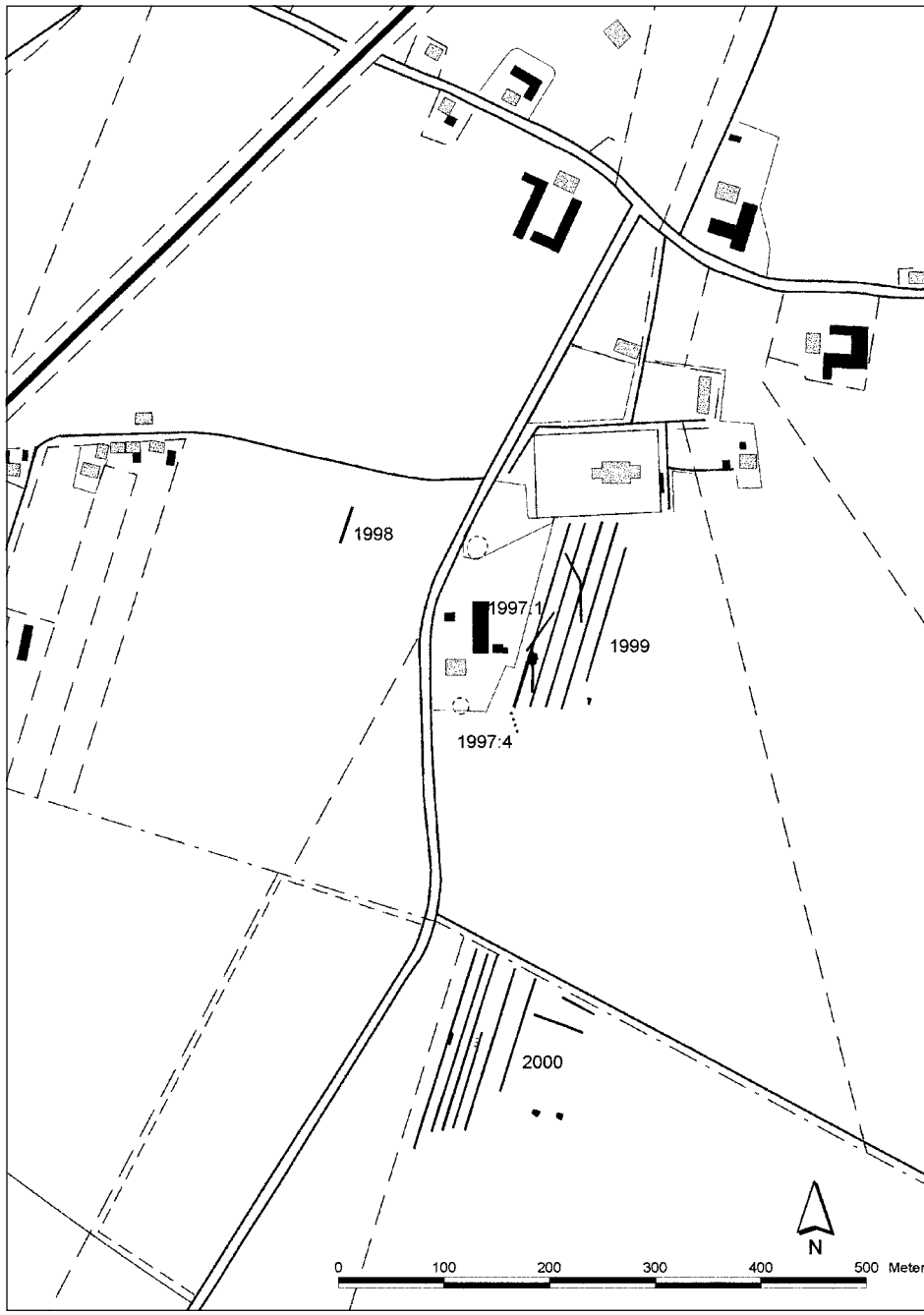

Fig. 1. Uppåkra. Map showing the excavations mentioned in the paper. Compiled by Maria Lindell and Karl-Magnus Lenntorp.

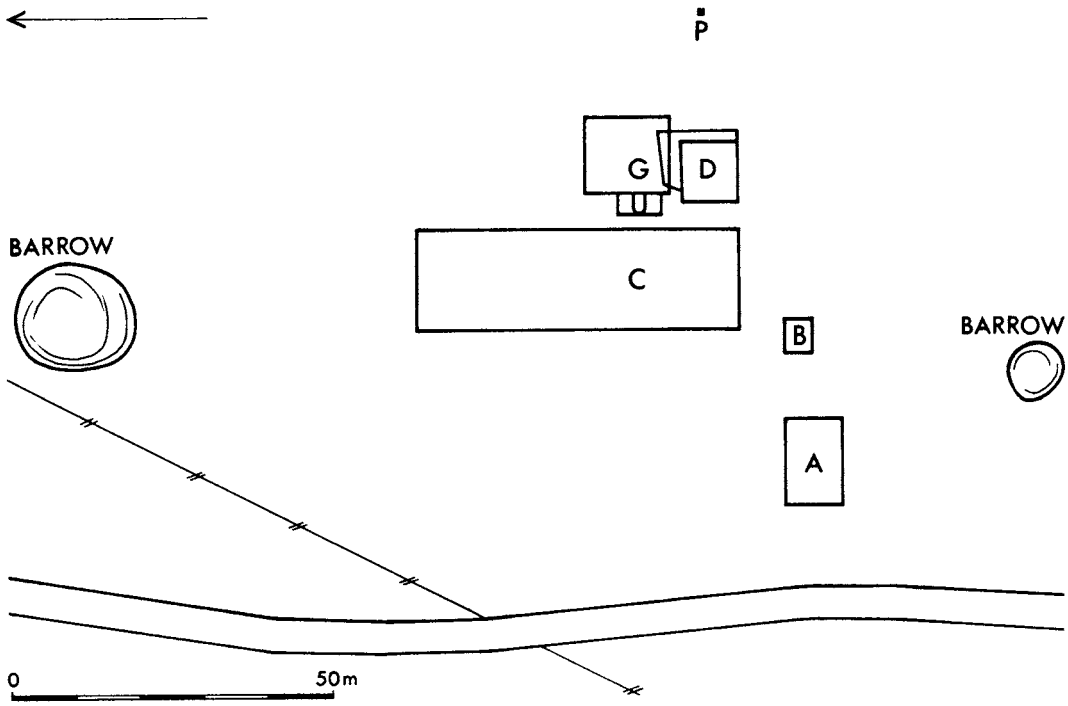

Fig. 2. Uppåkra. The trenches excavated in 1934 (after Vifot 1936).

in altitude. The most probable conclusion is that parts of the plough-soil have been transported from higher to lower areas. That does not necessarily mean that the transport of objects from the original place to the present is very far. Objects have been transported both away and back again. Paulsson has shown that the distance between parts of the same object which have been found sometimes is large but sometimes negligent (Paulsson 1999:46 pp.). It may be mentioned, however, that fired clay and other traces of the settlement were noticed at the motorway when it was constructed approx. 100 m to the west of the occupation layer.

Thus, the distribution pattern of the detector finds is important for the interpretation of their original presence in structures or as stray finds. As has been said, several facts speak for their appearance rather near the place where they were deposited during prehistoric times, even if there are variations. The finds from Pre-Roman and Roman Iron Age are in the main distributed as three concentrations over the fields to the east and to the south-west of the farm and to the south of the borderline between Stora and Lilla Uppåkra in the southern part of the occupation layer. Some distribution further away from these concentration can be seen, however. The finds are mostly fibulae (Fig. 3) and Roman coins (Fig. 4) (Hårdh 1998; Silvegren 1999).

Structures below these concentrations have been localized in the northern part, where Vifot's investigation touched on a foundation which had been damaged during the construction work. Several fibulae from the Roman Iron Age and the Migration Period were found in connection with the house foundation (Fig. 5). The foundation which had burn down was probably founded during Roman Iron Age and damaged at the beginning of the

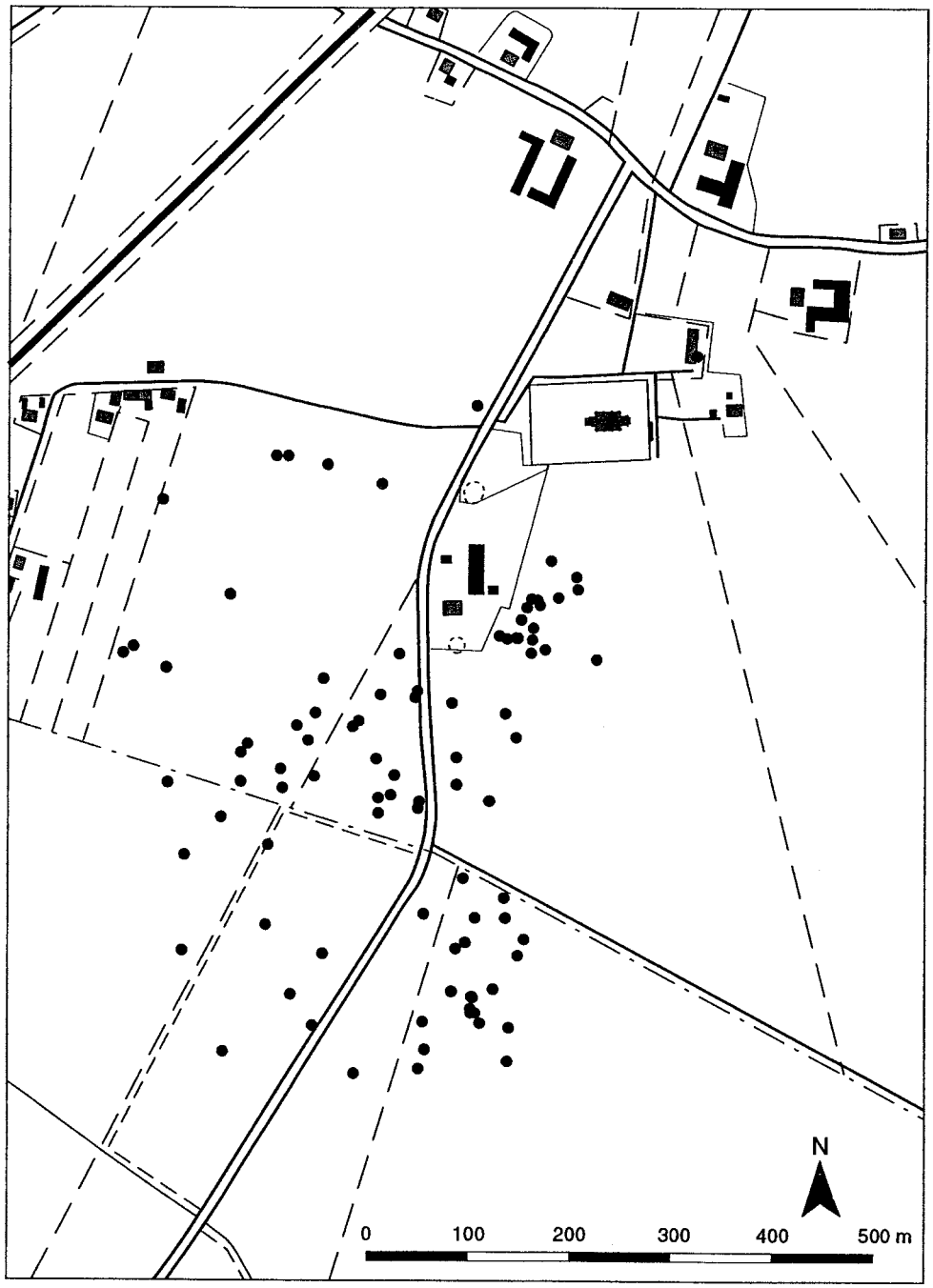

Fig. 3. Distribution of detector finds. Fibulae from the Roman Iron Age. Distribution 1999. (after Helgesson & Stjernquist 2001).

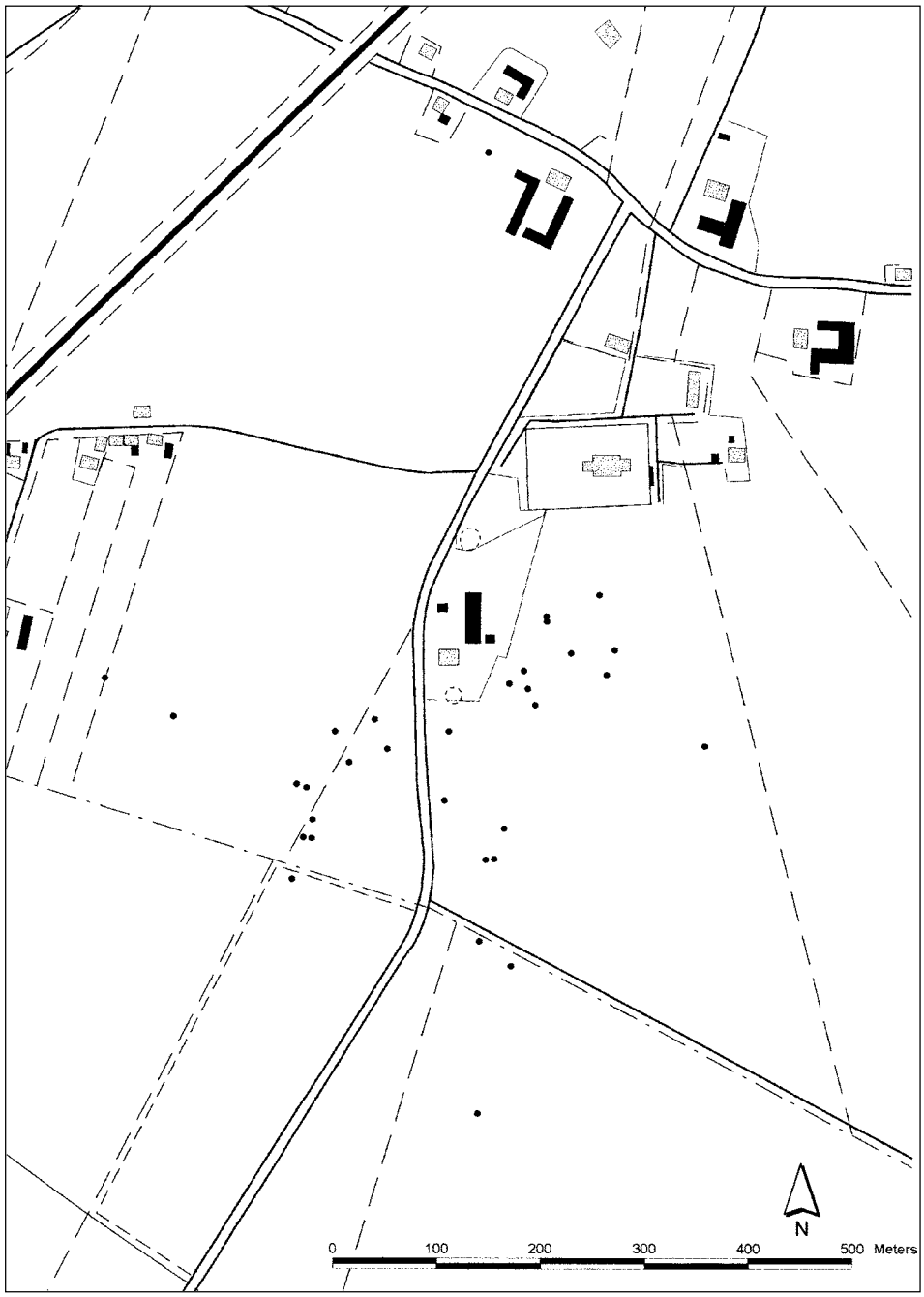

Fig. 4. Distribution of detector finds. Coins from the Roman Iron Age. The map is made up by Maria Lindell and Karl-Magnus Lenntorp.

Migration Period. As mentioned above, it was possible to study, in layers near the house foundation, the result of the erosion during some decades of the 1900s (Report 97:1). An inhumation grave from the Roman Iron Age was found in the area as well. The finds from the area indicate that the erosion had touched not only the upper layers but that it had penetrated deeply. The many finds from the Migration Period, Vendel Period and Viking Age from the same area indicate damage to a large extent of the layer sequence within this elevated part of the settlement.

The most difficult step of the analysis is to judge which kinds of constructions were exposed for the erosion with the consequence that the objects from them have landed in the plough-soil. The excavations and investigations in connection with the structures show which constructions there are below the topsoil, how deep they are situated and whether they are damaged – entirely or to a certain degree. The compressed layers make the observations difficult.

During his investigation Vifot noticed that the occupation layer consisted of collapsed houses covered successively by new house constructions. The trenches show horizontal layers of clay and hearths and also earth and sod which were probably formed by walls of the houses. It has been possible to observe compressed layers at other places as well, for instance at the churchyard, which probably originate from house foundations (Fig. 6).

If the same layer sequence had existed everywhere at the settlement and been formed by means of a successive increase of the layers during the Iron Age, the deepest should have been established during the Roman Iron Age and the upper ones during the Viking Age. The layers, however, were not formed so systematically. One can probably reckon with a stratification from the oldest to the most recent ones only in some cases. These circumstances can prevail in the areas where the occupation layer is thickest (Larsson 1998) (Fig. 7). The thickness varies greatly, however. A thinner occupation layer probably marks that the settlement was there only for a rather short time and that it moved to other areas after that. The soil between the houses has been used for cultivation etc. Structures from the Roman Iron Age probably did not cover the surface completely.

It may be assumed that structures not only from the Roman Iron Age but also from the Migration/Vendel Period and the Viking Age were in some places erected on a surface which had not previously been used for settlement constructions. Without any addition during later periods, they are now situated just below the plough-soil, which is the result of the erosion of the upper layers. The erection of structures from different periods on untouched soil at the surface means that constructions with houses from the same period are situated at different depth, inasmuch as some structures have received additions from later periods, others not. We must reckon with levelling and alteration as well. These variations are evident from a study of the sequence of the trenches which have been dug through the layers. They are important for the interpretation of the extent and localization of the settlement during different periods and for the estimate of the connections of detector finds with different structures. It is informative to compare with the result of a paper concerning the activities during the Viking Age (Thilderqvist 2000).

In connection with Vifot's house foundation, situated in a high layer sequence, one can ascertain the different levels and their dating (Vifot 1936) (Fig. 5). The upper part

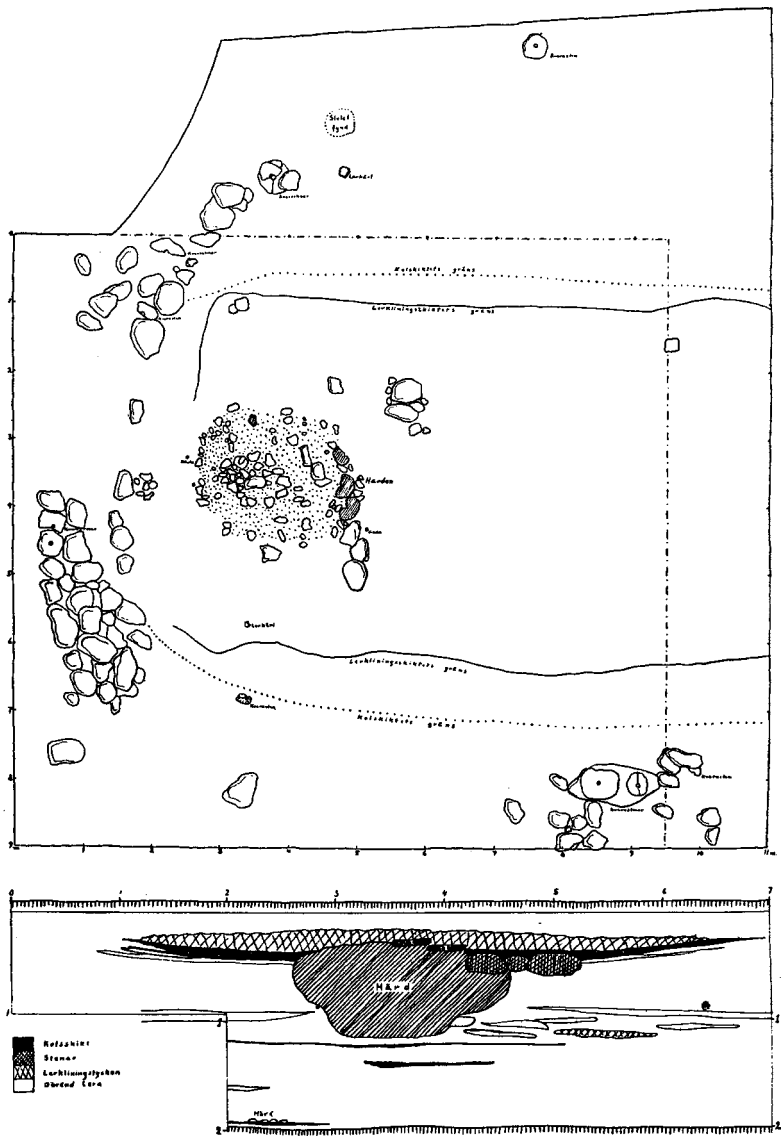

Fig. 5. The house foundation with fibulae finds, excavated and drawn by Vifot in 1934 (after Vifot 1936).

of the foundation came just under the topsoil. Its different layers with fired and unfired clay, charcoal and stones then went down to levels deeper than 1 m. Below a layer of fired clay and a layer of charcoal beneath that it was possible to see a hearth and an area which was interpreted as an earthen floor. The finds appeared at different levels. In the layer of charcoal near the hearth a fibula with long profiled foot was found, a type which can be dated to the early Migration Period. Three other fibulae from the early Migration Period lying together were found at a depth of 54 cm. Traces of wood were interpreted by Vifot as fragments of a case in which the fibulae had been kept. Another fibula with a simple

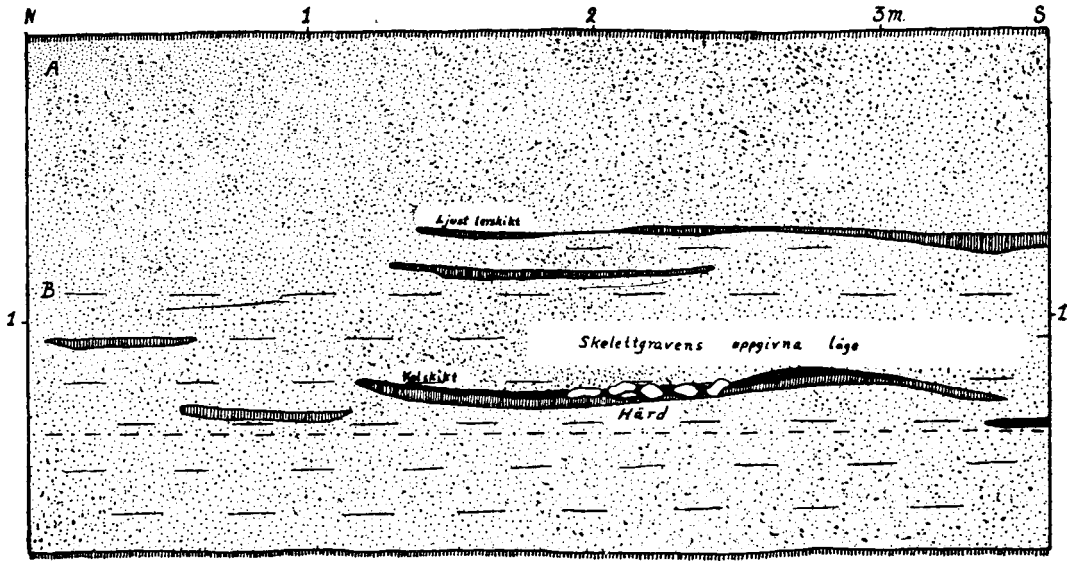

Fig. 6. Uppåkra. Section of trench B with strips of clay and with an inhumation grave (after Vifot 1936).

bow is difficult to date but was interpreted by the excavator as belonging to the finds from the transition between Roman Iron Age and the Migration Period. Below the floor at a depth of 60 cm a fibula typical of the early Migration Period was found. It is decorated with strong profiling and with traces of an animal head on the foot.

The fibula finds from this foundation show that it was used during the later part of the Roman Iron Age and the beginning of the Migration Period, when it was destroyed by fire. Vifot fixed the time for the damage of the house to the transition between the Roman Iron Age and the Migration Period. This may mean that the settlement at that time was devastated by assailants, even if it is quite possible that the damage happened during peaceful conditions.

The finds from Vifot's investigation show that fibulae come from house foundations at the settlement. They can have been kept there or been lost. This is important information for the interpretation of the fibulae. However, no information is gained about the fibulae which are older and which belong to the earlier part of the Roman Iron Age. The house foundation may have been built and been used earlier than the finds discussed here indicate, but there is no evidence of that (Calitta 2001:area C). Furthermore, we must reckon with erosion of parts of the occupation layer over the house foundation.

Collapsed layers from older houses may exist below this house foundation if there were buildings on this site. Through finds of pottery with a faceted rim, Vifot was able to identify layers from the early Roman Iron Age below the layers from the Migration Period. They were found in trenches A, B, C and D at a depth of 1.2 to 1.8 m (Vifot 1936:130).

The excavations and the analyses of a prospecting character, made in connection with the current project named "The Social Structure of Southern Sweden during the Iron Age" illustrate the present sequence of layers and indirectly the structure of the settlement during the Iron Age (Fig. 7, cf. Fig. 9). The

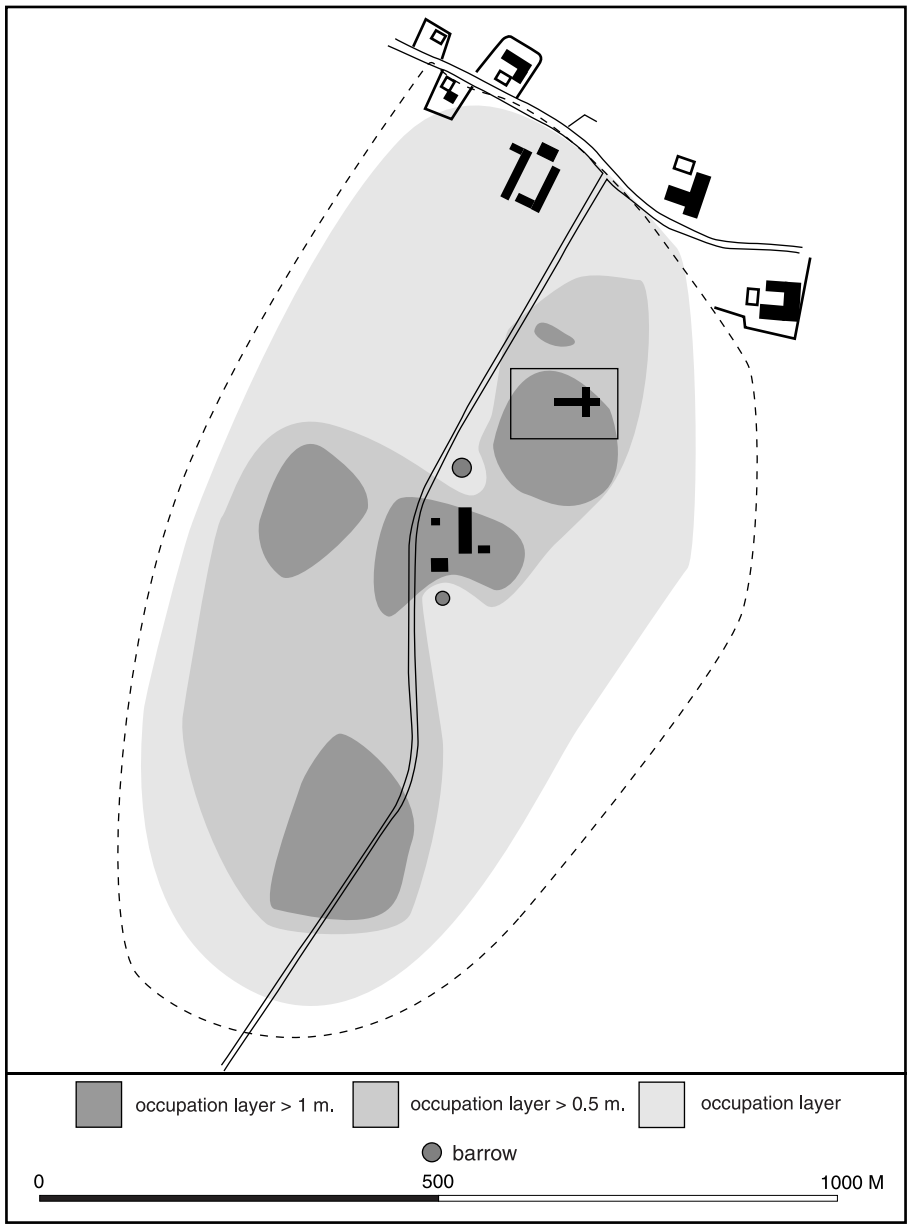

Fig. 7. Uppåkra. The occupation layer with concentrations based on auger investigations (after Larsson 1998).

investigations show that the thickest occupation layers still reflect the sequences built up during the Iron Age and that only the upper parts of it have been damaged. Some examples from the current investigations will be mentioned.

It is possible to study the layer sequence of the trenches which were investigated in 1999 (1999:1 and 1999:2) within the eastern part of the settlement area, approx. 175 m to the south of the church (Lindell 2000; Helgesson & Stjernquist 2001) (Fig. 1). It is possible to

Fig. 8. Pottery sherd found during the excavation at Uppåkra in 2000. Trench 2, find no. 321 (Lenntorp & Lundell 2000). Approx. 1:1. Photo Bengt Almgren.

notice a distribution with finds from the Pre-Roman and Early Roman Iron Age (pottery, clay blocks) via the Late Roman Iron Age (Haraldsted fibula), Migration and Vendel Periods (beak-shaped brooches) to the Viking Age, which is documented by a sword pommel of Petersen type H. Thus, at some places within these trenches, it is possible to show a layer sequence which on the whole corresponds with the stratigraphy proved by Vifot. The material from these trenches also confirms Vifot's observation that the fibulae existed in the settlement layers (Calitta 2001:area B).

An investigation which shows the lower parts of the layer sequence was conducted in 1998 to the west of the road opposite the Storehög mound (98:2, Lindell 1998) (Fig. 1). Below the plough-soil there were parts of ovens dated by the ^{14}C method to the 7th century. Below them layers from the Roman Iron Age were documented at some places but not everywhere. A continuous layer sequence is not indicated (Stilborg, this volume).

The circumstances indicate that the structures from the Roman Iron Age were sometimes localized at other places than the house foundations from the Migration Period. That means that some fibulae from the Roman Iron Age found by detector might have come from structures localized rather near the surface. A workshop for combs of antler and bone excavated in 1997 may be mentioned as an example of shallow layers from that time (Rapport 97:4, Lindell 1997; Calitta 2001:area D). The site is situated rather near the house construction where the after-investigation has shown that the level was lowered 20 cm over approx. 65 years (cf. p. 69 and Fig. 1).

A foundation found during the excavation in 2000 gives the same information about the localization of the settlement. It is situated high up under the plough-soil and is dated by a potsherd to the Early Iron Age (Fig. 8). With its faceted rim and the simple angular orna-

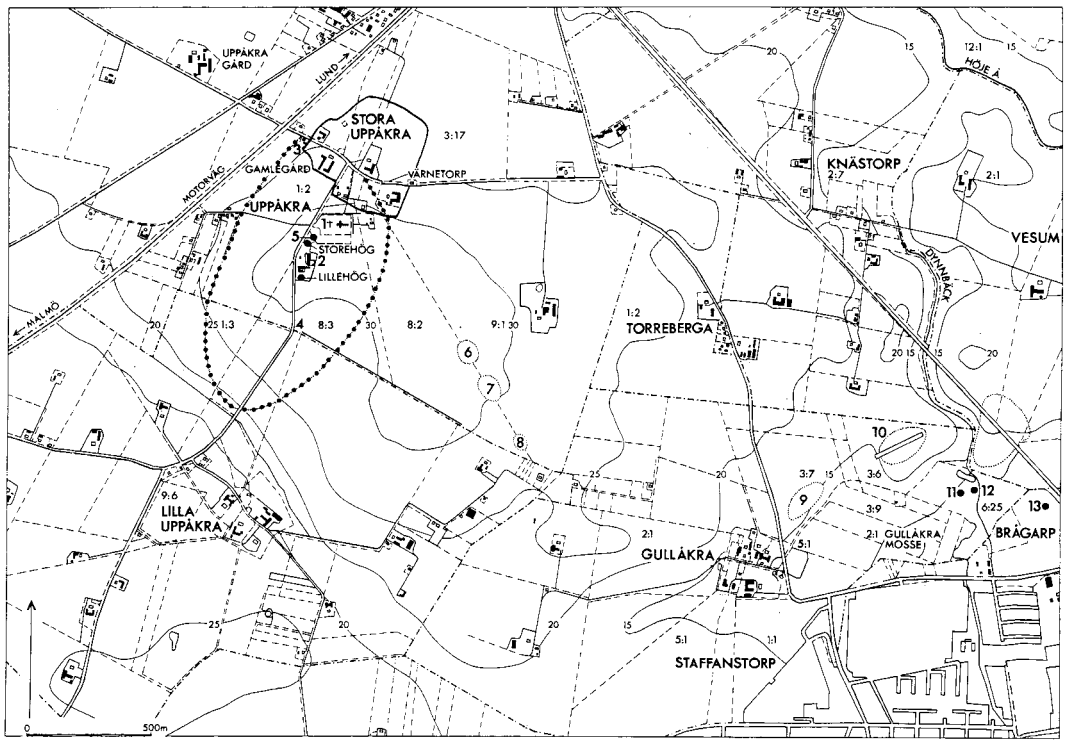

Fig. 9. Map of Uppåkra and Gullåkra with the location of the large occupation layer and the find spots mentioned in the text (after Stjernquist 1995).

mentation, the sherd is a typical representative of the pottery from Vifot's lower layer. It was connected to a structure from the Roman Iron Age which was covered by a layer which can be dated to the Late Roman Iron Age and perhaps to the Migration Period (Lenntorp & Lindell 2000). Many fibulae from the Roman Iron Age were collected in that area (Fig. 3).

This indicates that structures from the Roman Iron Age were not always covered with a high sequence of later settlement. Constructions from that time were sometimes localized at levels where they have been touched by the erosion. Fibulae from such constructions might have come into the ploughsoil. It will be stressed, however, that the excavated trenches so far are very small and the estimate of the results accordingly complicated. This must be tested and discussed critically.

It appears that the fibulae from the Roman Iron Age found by detector have to a great extent come from house foundations. The question is whether they have come from graves as well. An examination of the graves which have been found may illustrate this problem.

The inhumation which Vifot investigated and which is mentioned above was situated at a depth of 1.2 m. (Fig. 6). It was cut down through layers which must be older. It was a male grave without fibulae which can be dated through the pottery to the Late Roman Iron Age. Another find, with a pottery vessel and an axe, cut down into the occupation layer in the churchyard, has been interpreted as a grave. Such deeply situated graves can hardly have contributed to the detector finds. There is, however, information about other types of graves which were probably situated more

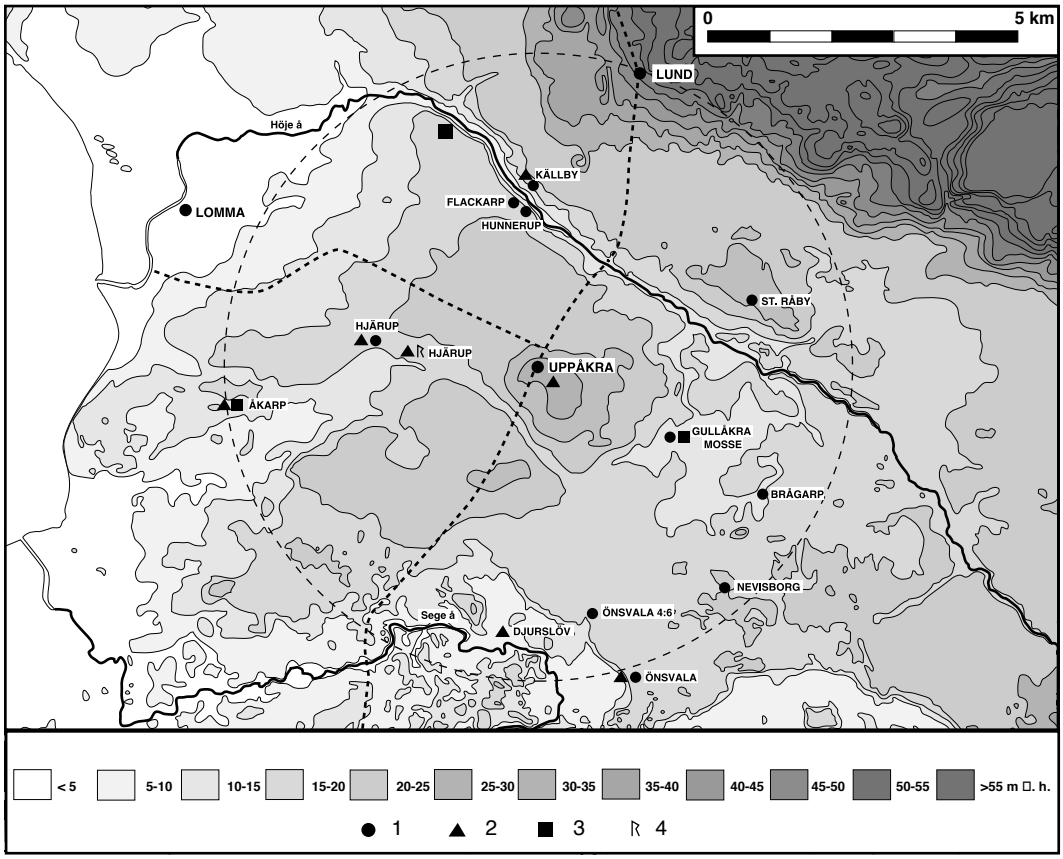

Fig. 10. Uppåkra with sites within a radius of 5 km: 1. settlement, 2. cemetery, 3. offering, 4. runestone (after Larsson 1998).

superficially. These are cremations which are said to have been located approx. 50 m to the south of the southern mound (Bruzelius 1878; Vifot 1936; Stjernquist 1995). These were also situated near or in the occupation layer but without any information about the level. Inasmuch as they are cremations, there is reason to suppose that they were not placed very deep. This can be compared with the cremations which have been found during the excavation in connection with the construction of a water conduit on the height to the east of the central occupation layer (Fig. 9). The cremations there at a point designated 22 (point 6 on the map) had a maximum depth of 53 cm below the level. A fibula with a high catch-plate was found in one of them which had a depth of 52 cm. At a point designated 23 (point 7 on the map) an inhumation burial at a depth of 25 cm was investigated. A cremation at the same point was only 20 cm deep. The vessels and other finds in some of these graves were damaged by cultivation work. Objects from such or similar graves were probably taken away with the plough-soil and may be included in the detector finds (Stjernquist 1995).

It is not possible to gain a clear idea of the division of the detector finds between the house structures and the graves. There are, however, very good reasons for the assumption that some of them are grave finds. It appears

that graves were localized in connection with building constructions.

The fibulae and other detector finds from the Roman Iron Age form some concentrations within the settlement area. The occurrence of scattered graves indicates that each building concentration in the vicinity had some graves which have to a large extent been eroded and given finds to the collection of detector finds. It we accept that, there is a model for the Uppåkra settlement during the Roman Iron Age with some concentrations of house foundations with their fields and in the vicinity graves belonging to them. This is a model which at any rate has to be considered. It may have existed during an early time when the integration within the settlement was rather loose. During the rich Late Iron Age the organization appears to have been different, with firmer integration. One might expect that the cemeteries were in that case situated outside the central settlement. There are, for instance, traces of graves within the Gullåkra area where an impressive lancehead has been found, probably a grave-find (Stjernquist 1995). The Gullåkra area is not far from the settlements in the southern part of Uppåkra. Within a circle of 5 km around central Uppåkra there are other places with graves as well, for instance Hjärup (Larsson 1998; Runcis 1996; cf. Riddersporre 1996) (Fig. 10). The change might have come with the 4th and 5th centuries.

Considering the discussion above, one might assume that the detector fibulae from the Roman Iron Age originate from house foundations as well as from graves. In the house foundations fibulae have been lost as well as deposited. It ought to be mentioned as well that, in the area to the south of the church, there are traces of handicraft with bone, antler and metal, a workshop mentioned above. It is possible that some of the fibulae found within this area were deposited for reworking or for distribution (Lindell 1997; 2001).

The fibulae from the Roman Iron Age which were registered at the end of 1999 and then analysed for a preliminary publication, mentioned above, number about one hundred (Helgesson & Stjernquist 2001). The body is enlarged by the fibulae found by Vifot and some coming from the graves excavated in connection with the construction of the water conduit on the height. Some fibulae found during the current excavations may be added. As the investigations continue, the picture may, however, change very much through new finds. But the fibulae from the Roman Iron Age now make up such a large body that it can in some degree illustrate the number and status of the population during that time. The starting point is the function of the fibulae.

In his article Paulsson has touched upon the problem of the representativeness of the detector fibulae. The same question has briefly been discussed by Helgesson & Stjernquist 2001. They have emphasized that the fibulae of iron are under-represented because of the adjustment of the detector in favour of bronze, gold and silver. Another observation stated in that paper is the lack of very fine fibulae with decoration of stamped sheet foil. Thus, both some simple fibulae as well as some magnificent ones are under-represented.

Comparative material

To illustrate the problems one can look for comparative material in other regions. Available publications show, however, that the variations in different areas are considerable, which speaks for local customs (Hoops 1994; Gebühr 1976). Concerning customs in the Late Roman Iron Age in Scandinavia, Lars Jørgensen mentions that single fibulae for the

cloak are found in the male graves while the female graves are often richly furnished with fibulae (Hoops 1994:34b). It is a rule that wealthy female graves have one or two magnificent fibulae and two or three plainer ones. More ordinary graves have three or four fibulae. Finally, there are graves with two or three fibulae with the function of keeping the dress together. This is based on known material and is in accordance with observations from cemeteries in southern Scandinavia. From a source-critical point of view the best comparative material is cemeteries with series of graves which have been investigated systematically. There are such cemeteries in Bornholm, Zealand and to a certain extent also Scania. It is, however, important to declare that there are great variations concerning the manner of using fibulae, beads, neck-rings and diadems in this material too. Thus, the information it gives us to form an idea of the detector fibulae from Uppåkra is restricted. It can only provide some suggestions as to their function. The comparative material, however, sheds some light on the material and will be discussed briefly.

Klindt-Jensen has investigated large cemeteries at Slusegård on Bornholm (Klindt-Jensen 1978). Amongst the 1,446 graves from the Roman Iron Age which have been published there is only a small proportion from earlier investigations, for instance, graves investigated by Vedel. A large share is cremations. Many have been damaged by plundering or in another way. Therefore, there is a small number which give detailed information about the fibula equipment. The male graves sometimes have a fibula, which confirms the opinion that these brooches were used to keep together a piece of garment, a cloak. About twenty female graves show the known variation of the fibula equipment with two to five fibulae combined with a string of beads and a neck-ring. The two fibulae on the shoulders are often plain, sometimes of iron. The two or three fibulae at the neck-band and on the breast associated with a string of beads and a neck-ring are finer. An example is grave 274 with five fibulae. The three bronze fibulae were placed at the neck where there was also a string of beads. Two magnificent silver fibulae, one with rosettes, were placed in front on the dress. Grave number 600 is of special interest. It had only two fibulae but in addition two bronze needles which were placed on the shoulders and which obviously took the place of two fibulae. One of the two fibulae was a rosette fibula and the other a plain silver fibula. The graves from the Late Roman Iron Age generally have a more abundant fibula equipment than the ones from the Early Roman Iron Age, which have very often only three fibulae.

The depth of the inhumations at Slusegård varies between roughly half a metre and a little over two metres. The wealthiest are the deepest. The consequence is that only deep disturbance could take them up.

A cemetery with many female graves from the 3rd century has been investigated at Skovgårde in Zealand (Ethelberg 2000). It is possible to study there the fibula dress of very wealthy graves in a central area of southern Scandinavia. There are graves without fibulae and graves with only one fibula. The latter are generally male graves. The female graves have two or five fibulae. In most graves the fibulae on the shoulders are similar and rather plain. The plentiful fibulae were placed on the breast associated with beads or with the function of holding together a piece of garment. They are jewellery. It is the same model as the one known from Slusegård and from other cemeteries. Ethelberg, however, proposes some differences in the custom of wearing fibulae,

diadems and strings of beads. The material emphasizes the fact that the variation in the jewellery equipment is considerable. One may assume that the age and the degree of wealth are indicated.

The fundamental features of the fibula equipment are illustrated by textile finds from the cemetery of Nørre Sandegård Vest (Mannering 1997). The dress consisted of a vest or undergarment with an opening in front, an opening which was closed by a fibula. The dress over the vest was a gown which was fastened on the shoulders with two fibulae. A string of beads fastened with a fine fibula hung in front on the breast. Over that the women wore a coat or cloak fixed with another fine fibula. This costume is from the Migration Period but the grave finds, for instance, from Skovgårde speak for the same model during the Roman Iron Age.

The material discussed here from places outside Scania illustrates the assumption that certain groups are lacking among the detector finds at Uppåkra, in the first instance the magnificent fibulae but also very plain fibulae. This emphasizes that the detector finds do not originate from deeply situated fine graves. Inasmuch as the variations are considerable one ought to check the graves in Scania to shed further light on the question of the fibula equipment.

Well investigated cemeteries in Scania from the Early Iron Age with series of graves are, however, very rare. In the south-western part of the district many graves are often damaged. Furthermore, several graves are accidental finds, with the consequence that the information about them is defective (Johansson 1999). An earlier registration of the inhumations from the Roman Iron Age of the whole district shows the same picture (Stjernquist 1955).

The best comparative material are the Simris and the Gårdlösa cemeteries. Both have been investigated systematically. Fibulae are found in male as well as in female graves. The material is not large but can perhaps illustrate some aspects of the information value of the detector finds.

At the Gårdlösa settlement there are fibulae from the Early Iron Age as finds mostly in graves (Stjernquist 1993b). However, they have sometimes been found in occupation layers. Brooches from the Late Iron Age are found in house foundations as well as in graves. The conditions are different. The many pit-houses from the Late Iron Age have yielded lots of finds while the foundations from the Early Iron Age are rarer and above all more damaged. It is the graves, especially the inhumations, which illustrate the use of the fibulae. They are graves 2, 3, 4 and 72. No. 3 is a simply equipped female grave with a bronze fibula and some beads. No. 4, of which the sex is not identified, has a silver fibula and beads. No. 2 has a valuable set of fibulae, altogether four. The dead woman, about twenty years old, lay on her right side. In spite of displacement of the skeleton one can see that two similar bronze fibulae were placed on the shoulders. One of them has been brought towards the waist together with a collarbone. A silver fibula with a high catch-plate and with runic inscription (**ek unwodR**) was placed by the chin (Stoklund 1995; Stjernquist 1993b, 1993c). The fourth fibula is of an uncommon type with a long foot. It is made of silver alloyed with a high percentage of copper and decorated with beaded silver rings. This last example is placed in front and might have fastened the string of beads (Stjernquist 1993c:35 p., Fig. 12). Grave No. 72, which can be dated to the transition between the Roman Iron Age and the Migration Period, contains two fibulae and two bronze

needles. The iron fibula and the two bronze needles were found together on the breast. Associated with them was a string of beads, most of them of amber. The iron fibula or the needles were used for attaching the string of beads. The bronze needles are perhaps too fragile for the weight of the beads but may have been used to hold the dress together. The other fibula, of bronze with profiled foot, probably held together a piece of garment, say a cloak.

Needles sometimes replaced the fibulae in graves excavated at the Simris cemetery.

Of the definable inhumations from the Roman Iron Age in the Simris cemetery there are nine male and seven female graves. Some are young persons who cannot be defined (Stjernquist 1955, 1961). The determination of sex is mostly based on Gejvall's analyses but in some cases on weapons or jewellery in the graves. Of the male graves, the weapon grave No. 88 contained a silver fibula with a high catch-plate which is in accordance with the experience that a male grave sometimes has a fibula. In addition two other graves, situated in the vicinity, were found and investigated in 1972. One of these was a richly equipped weapon grave while the other, probably a female grave, contained among other things a bronze fibula (Stjernquist 1977, 1978). In the seven female graves of the central cemetery (Nos. 12, 19, 46, 47, 77, 84, and 100) there were fibulae in all with the exception of No. 12 which was damaged. In addition a bronze fibula was found in a cremation.

The six graves with fibulae are of interest for the assessment of the fibulae from Uppåkra. A silver fibula and three of bronze were found in No. 19. No. 47, equipped with a neck-ring of silver, contained two silver and two bronze fibulae. Grave No. 100 with neck-ring of silver had two fibulae of silver and two large needles of bronze. Two fibulae of bronze and two small needles were found in grave 46, while grave 77 had two fibulae of iron and two small needles of the same metal. Grave 84, finally, had two fibulae of bronze. Thus, needles which probably replaced fibulae were found in three graves, for instance in grave No. 100, which had a part of a textile cord preserved in one needle. This cord might have been coloured and replaced a string of beads. The equipment of beads was as a whole very rare in the Simris graves. In grave 47 the string of beads was arranged as a diadem, like the ones found at the Skovgårde cemetery which have been discussed by Ethelberg (2000:187 p.). There are needles of many kinds among the detector finds at Uppåkra, but their use is not clear (Cedergren 2000).

It is notable that the graves at Simris do not follow the customary model of wealthier graves with four or five fibulae. This emphasizes that the jewellery sets follow the local customs where they play the role of communicating the identities of the people (cf. Wells 1998). These circumstances influence the conclusion about the fibulae from Uppåkra and their information value.

The amount of fibulae from the Early Iron Age in Scania is at present too small for conclusions concerning connections between Uppåkra and other find places. It is nevertheless apparent that the fibulae decorated with gilt sheet foil from south-eastern Scania lack parallels in Uppåkra. This is partly due to the incompleteness of the detector finds but perhaps also to variations in the material from different part of Scania. It is difficult, however, to know at the present time. To be certain we would need many more fibulae from graves. The Simris material from the Early Iron Age is very similar to finds from Bornholm. It has long been known that

contact between south-eastern Scania and Bornholm was very intense during the Early Iron Age while western Scania had influences from the western part of southern Scandinavia (Stjernquist 1955; Näsman 1998).

Conclusions

The fibulae from the Early Iron Age found by detectors at the Uppåkra settlement are a defective body of material from a source-critical point of view. Some types or variants are under-represented. This selection may, however, illustrate some problems provided that the source-critical aspects are considered. Other problems cannot be illustrated. Variations in the costume at different places meant that the fibulae can not be used for any far-reaching assumptions concerning the population. The abundance of fibulae shows, however, that there was a great number of women and accordingly a large population at the settlement already during the Early Iron Age. It is furthermore possible to gain some information about the origin of the detector material and accordingly about the model of the settlement with changes during the Iron Age. Another very interesting question is why the inhabitants moved.

The reason for the different thickness of the occupation layers is at any rate partly that the settlement grew through successive addition only in some places. The grave material is rare and not distinct. It seems, however, to indicate a model with the graves situated in connection with the concentrations of house foundations during the Early Iron Age, whereas later on, when the integration was firmer, they had moved away a little.

The conclusion is that house foundations as well as graves have contributed to the body of detector finds. It is a task for future research to elucidate the successive change of the settlement. Another task is to analyse clearly the extent of contact between Uppåkra and the surrounding settlements and the changes during the Roman Iron Age.

The general estimate of the Uppåkra material at present is that the fibula equipment from the end of the Roman Iron Age, the 4th century, had intense connections with the surrounding areas in Scania and outside this district as well. There is probably an abundant development which can be seen from such fibula types as the Haraldsted type and the Nydam type. It is possible to mention some fibulae with close parallels elsewhere, for instance a fibula of the Nydam type with a close parallel in a grave at Kristineberg in Malmö, where there are also fibulae of the Haraldsted type (Stjernquist 1994). There are also Haraldsted fibulae in the newly found magnificent female grave from Jerrestad in south-east Scania (Söderberg, this volume).

Contacts probably expanded during the Late Roman Iron Age when the integration was firmer and influenced a major area with inhabitants closely joined to the Uppåkra settlement. This is very likely the beginning of a development which continued during the Late Iron Age. It is difficult, however, with the known material, to give more conclusive proof. The model presented here must be tested by excavations and other analyses.

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Animal Husbandry in Iron Age Uppåkra

Lena Nilsson

Abstract

Uppåkra was a large Iron Age settlement with many functions, including animal husbandry and bone and antler working. The central point in this article is animal husbandry during the Roman Iron Age and Late Iron Age, and its changes over time and in comparison with other sites. The results are based on the bones from trial excavations in 1997–1999, amounting to 7,540 identified fragments with a weight of about 70 kg. Cattle, pig and sheep/goat dominate the material, but a few bones of horse, dog and cat are also found. Domestic goose and hen are represented by a few fragments, as are the wild species of, for example, red deer, roe deer and seal. In some areas of the settlement waste products of antler were found, reflecting various stages in the combmaking process. Sawn-off horn cores of cattle, sheep and goat indicate utilization of the horn sheath for the making of, for example, drinking vessels. The significance of animals in the Iron Age is not only connected with food, but also with art and religion, which is not yet reflected in the bone finds but included in my thoughts for future research on Uppåkra.

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Introduction

Farming was generally intensified during the Iron Age in Northern Europe and Scandinavia and was based on a combination of animal husbandry and cultivation. In the winter the animals were stabled and milking cows began to play a central role in the economy (Welinder *et al.* 1998:239 p.). In the fields, which were manured, mostly barley was cultivated, and the "tilling" of meadows (Swedish *ängsbruk*) was widespread. Animal husbandry showed regional variations and the composition of species changed over time. Hunting and fishing were complementary practices to animal husbandry, based on cattle, sheep and pigs. The horse, being used both as food and as a draught animal, was rather common on the farms, especially during the Viking Age. Eating horse meat was quite common in the Early Iron Age but decreased during the Late Iron Age and stopped in the Viking Age (ibid.:239 p.). In Northern Europe animal husbandry was dominated by cattle, supplemented by sheep and pigs, into the 7th and 8th centuries, changing at the end of the 8th century when pig became the most frequent animal. In Sweden and most evidently in Scania the increasing importance of pig began in the Viking Age continuing into the Early Middle Ages, particularly in settlements of high status, for example, the royal estate in

Gårdstånga, Scania (ibid.:1998:369). Additionally, the domesticated cat and hen were utilized in Scandinavia from the birth of Christ, and a couple of centuries later the domestic goose appeared. Uppåkra was a large Iron Age settlement with occupation layers up to 2 m deep in some places, mostly dated to the Roman Iron Age. However, the archaeological finds from the detector investigation and the recent test excavations show that the site had been inhabited from the Pre-Roman Iron Age to the Early Migration Period (100 BC–400 AD) and there are also finds from the Vendel Period and the Viking Age. Uppåkra is suggested to have played a central part in the Iron Age settlements in Scania (Larsson & Hårdh 1998).

Is the general picture of animal husbandry in Northern Europe and Scandinavia in agreement with what we find at Uppåkra? The results of the osteological analysis will hopefully give some of the answers to this question.

Aim and limitations

The main aim of the faunal analysis is to gain information about animal husbandry in Uppåkra during the Iron Age. The investigation is based on species composition, age and sex distribution, size variation, anatomical distribution and slaughter patterns. A small part of the analysis concerns bone, horn and antler craft. Difficulties in dating different levels in the occupation layer in some of the trenches make the result of this analysis preliminary. In addition, the test pits were rather small and in most cases without features or traces of houses, leaving us without any clear context. Further limitations concerning the interpretation of the bone assemblage were the lack or scarcity of fragments for age and sex estimation, and few measurable bones for calculating the height of the animals.

The animal bones

The bone assemblage from Uppåkra was retrieved during small-scale test excavations in 1997–1999 in different areas of the site (Fig. 1). Back in 1934, Vifot excavated some trenches in connection with house construction (Vifot 1934). The occupation layers were rich in finds and bones, which were sparsely analysed by Herved Berlin. Unfortunately, the bones went astray and it was very difficult to find them in any of the existing stores. Finally, in the summer of 1999 parts of the material were found, still in a very good condition, and were re-examined in a similar way to the recently excavated material. In contrast to this early excavation the bone from the recent excavations was both hand-collected and sieved (Lindell 1997, 1998, 1999). The degree of weathering varied between the different assemblages, species and the depth in which the bones were found. The degree of weathering was registered in six groups (0–5) according to Behrensmeyer (1978). Bones assigned to group 0 show no sign of cracking on the bone surface and bones in group 5 are falling apart. In Uppåkra the material from 1934 was the least weathered, with 92% of the bone fragments assigned to group 0. Second best was the material excavated in 1998, dated to the Roman Iron Age, where an average of 86% of the fragments belonged to group 0, in contrast to 47% for the bones from the Late Iron Age. The bones from 1997 and 1999 agreed rather well with each other, with an average of 60–63% in group 0 of all fragments in both periods. The remaining fragments were registered in group 1, which means that small parts of the bones were

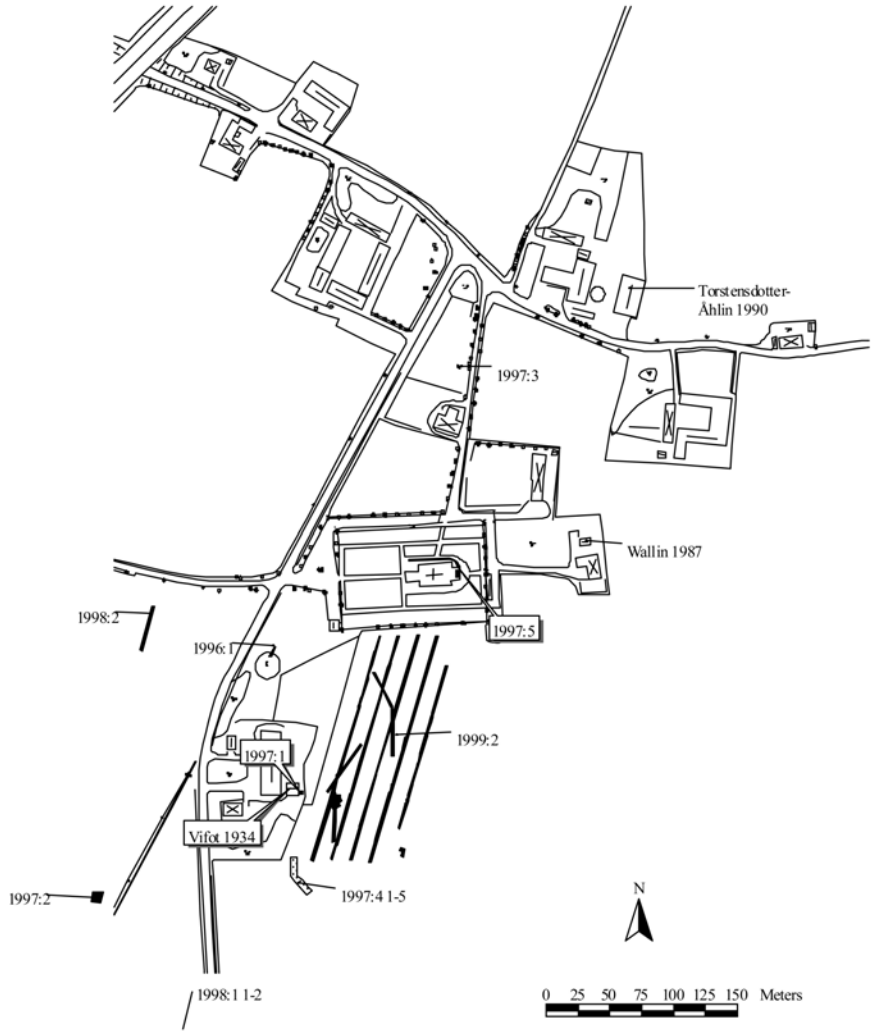


Figure 1. Map over the test excavations in Uppåkra 1997-1999.

weathered, and only a few fragments were placed in group 5. The bone assemblages were highly fragmented and consisted of 228 kg in all. The number of identified fragments was 9,778 with a total weight of 117 kg. The results presented in this article contain only the bones which were found in dated layers divided into two periods of which one is called "Roman Iron Age", including the Early and Late Iron Age, and the other "Late Iron Age", containing bones dated to the Migration Period and the Vendel Period. The analysed bones from these periods consist of 7,540 identified fragments weighing 69,923.7 g. The majority of the bone fragments derived from domesticated animals, of which cattle, sheep and/or goat and pig were most frequent. The dog and horse are represented by only a few fragments each. There are also some bones of wild animals and birds (Tab. I). Fish bones are rather frequent and are analysed and discussed separately by Annica Cardell (2001).

Animal husbandry in Uppåkra

The species composition, based on the identified number of fragments (NF), including the relative frequencies of the animals, and anatomical distribution, are fundamental for interpreting animal husbandry and its products. Animal husbandry in Uppåkra was founded on cattle, sheep and/or goats and pigs. As we all know, there are some difficulties in separating the sheep from the goat, but both species are present in the material and sheep is more frequent. The relative frequency of the domesticates seems to change over time.

In the Early Iron Age cattle accounted for 44% of the bones, sheep/goat for 36% and pig for 20% (Fig. 2). During the Late Iron Age the importance of pig as a meat producer increased at the expense of cattle. The pig is now represented by 36%, cattle by 33% and sheep/goat by 31%, which is almost the same as in the earlier period (Fig. 3). The greatest difference in the species composition is the increased amount of pig bones in the later period, when the amount of cattle decreases. The result was tested statistically with a two-

Tab. I. Uppåkra. Species distribution.

Uppåkra	**Roman IA**	**Roman IA**	**Late IA**	**Late IA**
Domesticated animals	NF	Weight (g)	NF	Weight (g)
Cattle	1189	16954.6	1626	30775.8
Sheep/goat	860	2882.4	1409	5076.4
Pig	508	2007.0	1692	8832.7
Horse	43	732.5	50	1235.1
Dog	7	56.2	5	11.2
Cat	-	-	5	4.0
Wild animals				
Red deer	1	5.2	-	-
Roe deer	-	-	1	2.6
Seal	2	3.1	1	2.4
Pine marten	-	-	2	0.2
Weasel	-	-	1	0.1
House mouse	18	1.8	7	0.7
Water vole	40	6.6	48	7.5
Birds				
Domestic hen	-	-	11	4.9
Domestic goose	5	0.5	5	4.9
Mallard	-	-	1	0.3
Wild goose	1	1.7	-	-
Swan	-	-	2	17.2
Rook	1	0.8	-	-
Total	**2675**	**22652.4**	**4865**	**45976.0**

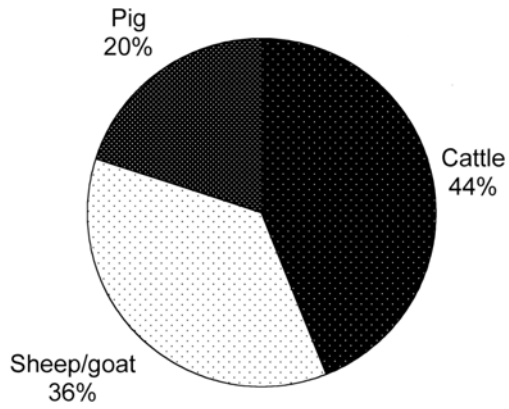


Figure 2. Uppåkra Roman Iron Age. Frequencies of the three main taxa based on (NF).

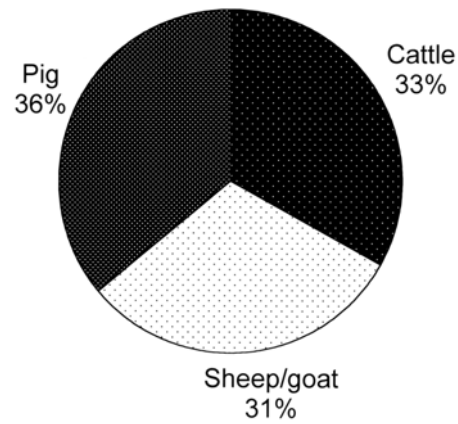


Figure 3. Uppåkra Late Iron Age. Frequencies of the three main taxa based on (NF).

sided Fisher's exact test using the 5% level of significance.

The utilization of the animals

The age and sex distribution give information about how the domesticates were utilized as regards meat, milk and wool production. The age determination is mostly based on epiphyseal fusion, because the number of jaws with erupting and/or worn teeth is rather small. Epiphyseal fusion occurs in stages and at different ages in each bone and animal species, making the age determination less "exact" than tooth eruption, ending up in age groups. Unfortunately, the number of fragments with sex indicators is rather small in both periods, resulting in only vague tendencies.

Cattle

The age distribution of cattle shows that meat was a very important product in both periods. A majority of the animals were slaughtered between 1.5 and 3 years of age. In the Late Iron Age the share of fully grown animals increases from 40% in the Roman Iron Age to 60% in the later period (Fig. 4). The amount of sucking calves was almost equally distributed in both periods, with 26% and 23% respectively. The sex determination of cattle was only possible in a few pelvis bones and metacarpals, because the horn cores were often missing or too fragmented to measure. In the material from the Roman Iron Age only one pelvis fragment allowed the identification of sex, deriving from a cow. Two pelvis fragments from the Late Iron Age were identified as cow, and of the five metacarpal bones four (80%) were from females and one (20%) was male. Despite the small number of fragments there was a tendency in the Late Iron Age to keep cows, which agrees with the presence of sucking calves in the Uppåkra finds. Even if the majority of the bones were from cows, there is a possibility that some bones of oxen are hidden in the group of fully grown animals. If so, perhaps the increase of pigs in the Late Iron Age compensated for the decrease in beef production. Another explanation may be an increase of cultivation at the expense of meat production, which means a greater need for draught oxen and less pasture land.

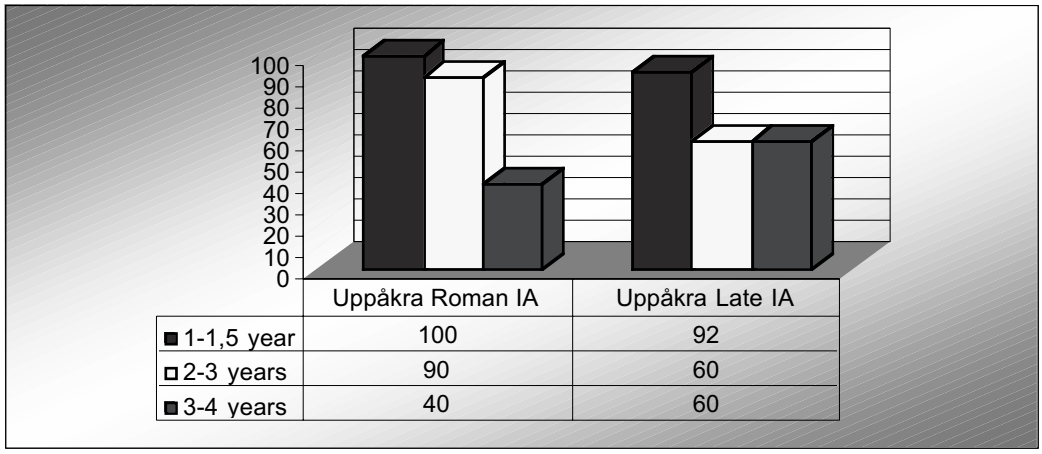


Figure 4. Uppåkra. Age distribution in cattle based on (NF).

Sheep/goat

The age distribution of sheep/goat reflects different strategies, indicating differing economic orientation in sheep farming, i.e. meat, milk and wool production. In Swedish medieval towns and rural places, as well as in modern sheep farming in Iran, three strategies were commonly used. In milk production a majority of lambs are killed at about the age of six months and in meat production the animals are kept to the age of 18 months. If sheep farming is geared to wool production, the amount of fully grown animals would be rather high (Vretemark 1997:90). In Uppåkra the age distribution of sheep/goat was rather equal in both periods (Fig. 5). There were few sucking lambs, 3% and 7% respectively. A majority of the animals were killed in their first and second years in both periods, but the share of fully grown animals increases somewhat in the Late Iron Age to 29%. This distribution reflects the importance of meat in both periods, but slightly indicating a bias towards milk and/or wool production. Sex ratios in sheep/goat were only available in the bone assemblages from the Late Iron Age and were based on the pelvis bone. Of the nine identifiable fragments six (67%) were rams and three (33%) were ewes. Despite the small size of the sample, the predominance of rams taken together with the increase in adult animals may reflect the increasing importance of wool production.

Pig

Pigs were kept for producing meat, and the age distribution in the Uppåkra material agrees with this assumption. The age estimation of pigs showed that 3% of the fragments were from sucking pigs in the Roman period, increasing to 16% in the later period. The epiphyseal fusion shows that a majority of the pigs were killed at the age of 1 year in both periods. In the age group of 2–2.5 years 40% were killed at 2.5 years in the Roman Iron Age, decreasing in the Late Iron Age to only 11% (Fig. 6). In both periods the share of fully grown pigs, > 3.5 years of age, was rather small, 11% and 12% respectively. The sex indicators of pig are easily recognized in the canine tooth. The canine teeth of the male adult pig are heavily curved with open roots, in contrast to the straighter female teeth

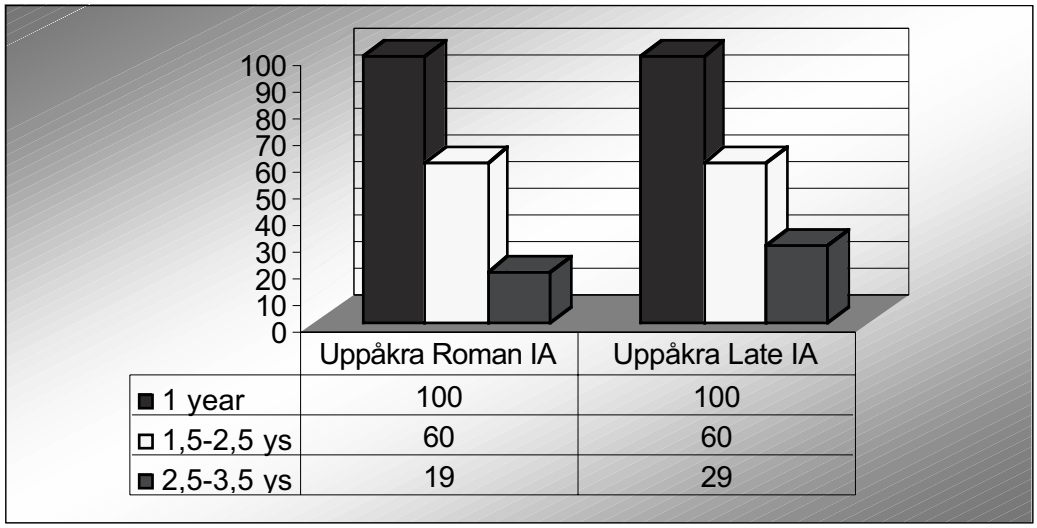


Figure 5. Uppåkra. Age distribution in sheep/goat based on (NF).

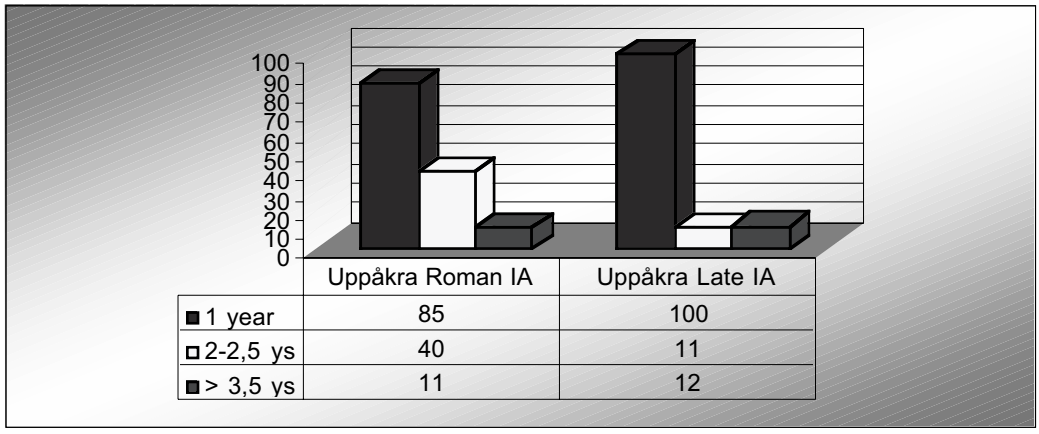


Figure 6. Uppåkra. Age distribution in pig based on (NF).

with fused roots. In Uppåkra there were ten sex-classified teeth from the Early Iron Age, of which six (60%) were male. In the later period there were 37 canine teeth, of which 27 (73%) were males. The age and sex distribution of pigs confirms meat as an important product. The presence of sucking pigs and sows reflects the renewal of the pig population kept on the site. The slaughter of male pigs, probably castrated ones, is evidence of a choice of pigs with almost a maximum of meat on the bones.

Skeletal elements

Interpreting the representation of skeletal elements is always difficult owing to, among other things, fragmentation pattern, collection and post-depositional destruction. Bones of adult animals generally survive better than

bones of young animals (Binford 1981:217 p.), and fragments of compact bones survive better than soft ones. The representation of skeletal parts may also be due to the stage in the butchering process they belong and the time before they were deposited and buried in the ground. This means that bones of the skull, jaws, and the foot, which are cut off in the primary stage of butchering an animal, would be buried more quickly than parts of the axial skeleton containing more porous bones such as, for example, the vertebrae, which will be discarded much later in the third stage of the process. The distribution of skeletal elements of the three domesticates in Uppåkra is shown in tab. II. The cranial fragments, including the jaw and loose teeth, were most frequent in all animals in both

Tab. II. Uppåkra. Distribution of skeletal elements in cattle, sheep/goat and pig.

Uppåkra	**Roman Iron Age**			**Late Iron Age**		
Skeletal elements	*Cattle*	*Sheep/goat*	*Pig*	*Cattle*	*Sheep/goat*	*Pig*
Horn core	25	4	–	12	3	–
Cranium	128	57	30	150	136	201
Mandible	130	158	26	114	119	100
Loose teeth	357	257	161	339	421	447
Hyoideum	6	7	–	7	10	–
Sternum	–	–	–	–	–	2
Vertebra	70	20	19	186	75	61
Ribs	58	1	10	96	3	15
Scapula	25	13	19	67	25	50
Humerus	28	44	18	71	53	47
Radius	41	45	15	52	69	39
Ulna	24	15	9	39	27	44
Carpal bones	19	13	15	39	39	30
Metacarpus	32	25	15	26	29	41
Sacrum	2	–	–	4	1	5
Pelvis	10	25	10	56	45	39
Femur	31	22	17	58	15	68
Patella	–	4	1	5	12	6
Tibia	41	28	22	50	81	78
Os malleolus/fibula	3	2	14	5	9	61
Tarsal bones	32	42	17	42	70	113
Metatarsus	31	26	6	54	36	27
Metapodium	13	13	10	18	24	37
Phalanges I–III	74	36	108	100	97	179
Sesamoidea	6	7	–	7	10	–
Total:	**1189**	**860**	**508**	**1626**	**1409**	**1692**

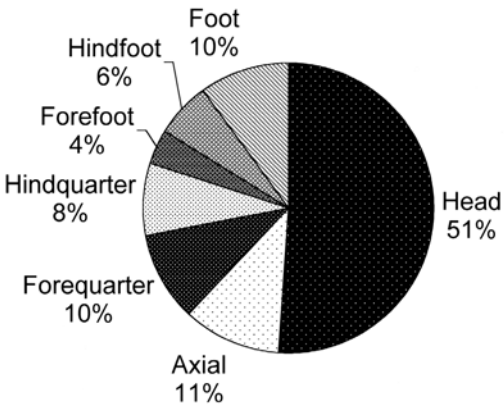


Figure 7. Uppåkra Roman Iron Age. The distribution of skeletal groups exemplified in cattle based on (NF).

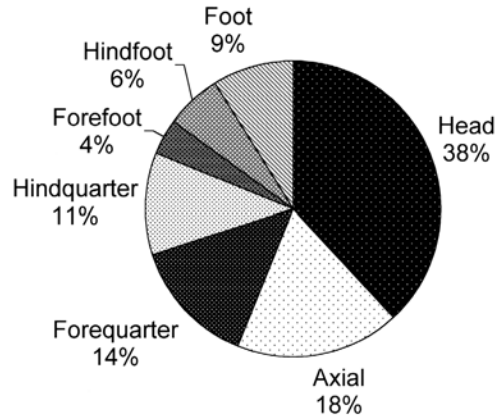


Figure 8. Uppåkra Late Iron Age. The distribution of skeletal groups exemplified in cattle based on (NF).

periods. In cattle the number of fragments decreased from 51% in the Roman Iron Age to 38% in the Late Iron Age, in favour of the meatier parts of the trunk, fore- and hindquarters (Figs. 7 and 8). The same pattern was seen in sheep/goat, with 56% of the fragments in the head group from the Roman Iron Age, decreasing to 48% in the Late Iron Age. The skeletal groups of pig were similarly distributed in both periods, with only minor differences. The decrease of cranial fragments of cattle and sheep in the Late Iron Age of Uppåkra is very difficult to explain. One possible assumption is that the bone fragments in the upper layers were more fragmented and more weathered due to modern agricultural techniques. Another explanation is a connection with the seemingly increasing horn and antler craft in the later period. If so, the heads of cattle, sheep and goat may have been disarticulated at the place of slaughter and transported directly to the craftsmen who cut off the horn sheaths and discarded in that part of the settlement. The debris of horn and antler craft seems to show that this work was performed in a limited area, at least during the Late Iron Age. The majority of the fragments of Uppåkra derived from butchering activities, although there was evidence of bone, horn and antler craft. All regions of the body, in varying numbers, were present in all three domesticates.

Butchery pattern

The practice of butchery includes different activities to extract consumable parts from the animal and non-consumable pieces, for example, bones for tool manufacture. Cut and chop marks on bones reflect the three stages in the butchery process, of which the first stage includes killing the animal, skinning and eviscerating the carcass (Landon 1996). Cut marks from this activity are often located on the skull and foot bones. The second stage involves dismemberment of the body into major parts, and these traces are evidenced near the joint surfaces in the long bones of the upper and lower extremities. The final stage concerns cutting up the portions into handy pieces before cooking, and the filleting marks are often located at the diaphysis of the

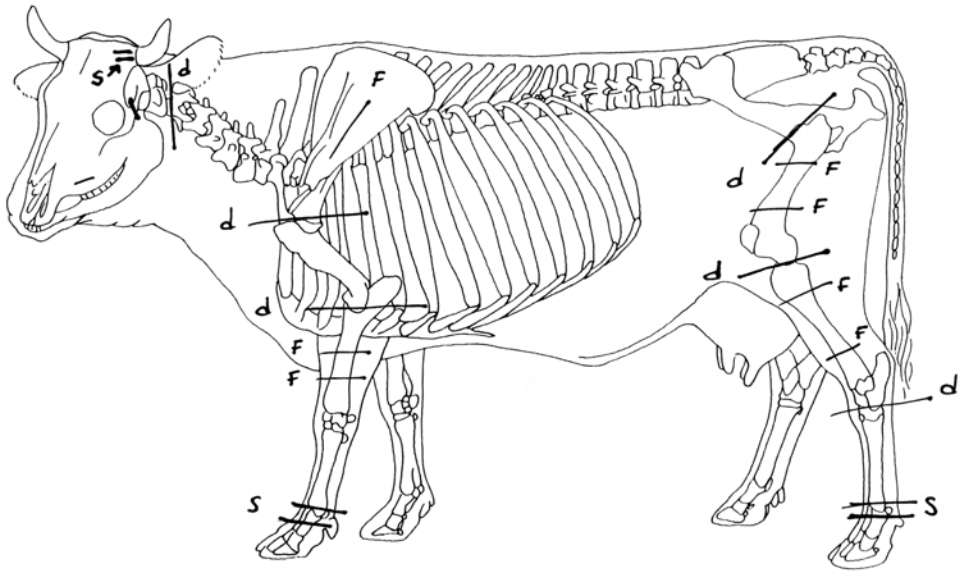


Figure 9. Uppåkra. Examples of location of cut marks showing skinning, dismemberment and filetting. S=skinning, d=dismemberment, F=filetting.

long bones, in the blades of the shoulderblade and the lateral face of the body of ilium in the pelvis bone. The butchery pattern may differ between different animals because of size variations. In Uppåkra the butchering practice of cattle, sheep and pig seems to have been similar in both periods and they are therefore treated together as one group. The number of fragments with visible cut marks is low (Tab. III), varying between 2% and 6% depending on species and period. The impact marks are even fewer, with 1% or less. The location of cut marks and impact marks showed that all three butchery stages were performed on the site (Fig. 9), except for the traces of killing, which are absent in all three animals, probably due to the high degree of fragmentation of cranial bones. Skinning marks were most visible in the cranial fragments of cattle and pig and possibly also in the foot bones of cattle.

Traces of the second stage in the butchery process were more common in all three animals. Cut marks corresponding to the division of the head from the vertebral column occurred in the first vertebra, the atlas, and most likely also in the neck bone of pig. Dismembering of the jaw from the head was a common act, leaving traces in both the mandible and the skull, as well as cutting off the tongue, evidenced by cuts on the inside of the jaw. Further activities in the second butchery stage were the dismemberment of the bones in the fore and hind limbs from each other, preparing for the third stage, i.e. cooking and consumption. Cut marks in the shafts of the long bones, in the blade of the scapula and mostly in the wings of the innominate bone showed the act of filleting. Marrow was extracted from cattle jaws and the long bones of all the three domesticates, as demonstrated by the impact marks on these bones.

In sum, the animals bred on the farms in Uppåkra were slaughtered, consumable parts were eaten, and the non-consumable parts were utilized for, among other things, tool

Tab. III. Uppåkra. Cut and impact marks in bones of cattle, sheep/goat and pig (NF).

Uppåkra	Roman Iron Age				Late Iron Age			
	Cut marks		Impact marks		Cut marks		Impact marks	
	NF	%	NF	%	NF	%	NF	%
Cattle	50	4	14	1	62	4	14	1
Sheep/goat	29	3	4	0.4	32	2	2	0.1
Pig	33	6	2	0.3	33	2	–	–

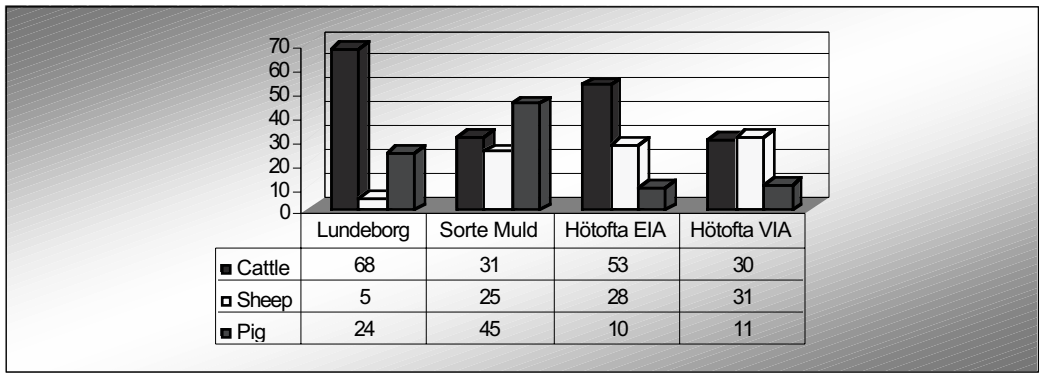
and comb manufacture. Cut-off horn cores showed that the horn sheaths of cattle and sheep also were used in some kind of craft work.

Height and size comparisons

The height of cows in Uppåkra was on average 110 cm and of bull/steer 116 cm, which agrees well with early medieval Lund. The cows in Lund were on average 108 cm and the bull/steer 116 cm (Ekman 1971:73). The height of cattle was calculated as the height of the withers according to Fock (1966) and based on the greatest length (GL) of four metacarpals and four metatarsals, the majority of which were from the Late Iron Age. Three of the metacarpals were from cows and one was male. The cattle from the west of Sweden were somewhat smaller (Ekman 1971:73). The withers height of sheep was calculated according to Teichert (1975) as 63 cm, based on only one metatarsal bone, which agrees with the Eketorp material (Gejvall 1981:106). The sheep in early Lund had an average height of 65 cm (Ekman 1971:74). The average height of the pigs in Uppåkra was 75 cm based on the greatest length (GL) of the metacarpals III and IV and on the factors of Teichert (1969). In Lund the height of pigs varies between 65 and 80 cm (Ekman 1971:73). Size may also be compared by the greatest length (GL) of the third molar in the lower jaw. In Uppåkra there were four of these with an average of 32 mm, and the largest tooth measured 38.4 mm.

Bone, horn and antler craft

Waste products of antler, bone and horn cores have been retrieved from the topsoil, occupation layers and pits during excavations in 1934, 1997 (8:3) and 1999 (Fig. 1). The majority of the waste material derived from red deer antler, mostly shed ones, used in the manufacture of combs. Approximately 4 kg (+ 2.3 kg of sieved shavings not counted) of antler was retrieved from excavations in 1997 and 1999. The antlers from 1934 were not weighed because a large part of the material was dispersed in exhibitions and picked out as teaching material. The majority of the waste products from red deer antler reflect various stages in the combmaking process. Antlers from slaughtered animals have not been found. Shavings and fragments of compact tissue are most frequent but the amount varies from trench to trench. The rather large number of shavings in the recently excavated material is due to the practice of sieving. The waste product of bone was dominated by metapodials of cattle and horse, but a radius of pig and some bird bones were also present. Sawn-off horn cores of cattle, sheep and goat indicate



	Lundeborg	Sorte Muld	Hötofta EIA	Hötofta VIA
Cattle	68	31	53	30
Sheep	5	25	28	31
Pig	24	45	10	11

Figure 10. Frequencies of the three main taxa of Lundeborg, Sorte Muld and Hötofta based on (NF).

utilization of the horn sheath for the making of, for example, drinking vessels. Some of the horn cores are not sawn-off but show traces of cuts and saw marks.

Discussion

The increase in the relative frequency of pig during the Late Iron Age was a general trend in Scandinavia, especially in Scania, and in Northern Europe (Welinder *et al.* 1998:369 p.). In comparison to other contemporary settlements and central places, there are both differences and similarities regarding species distribution. In Lundeborg in Denmark (200–300 AD) cattle dominate with 68% over pig with 24% and sheep with only 5% of the identified fragments (Fig. 10). The horse was almost as frequent as sheep with 3% (Hatting 1994). The bone assemblage from Sorte Muld in Bornholm is dated a little later than Lundeborg, to the 5th and 6th centuries. The species distribution differs somewhat from both Lundeborg and the late Uppåkra in that the pig was the most frequent species, with 45%, as against cattle 31% and sheep 25% (Møhl 1957). As in the late material from Uppåkra and Viking Age Hötofta (Ove Persson, unpubl.) the relative frequency of the domesticates was more equal (Fig. 10) than it was in Lundeborg, early Uppåkra and early Hötofta (Stjernquist 1998). There are probably several explanations for this increase in pig bones during the Late Iron Age in Uppåkra. One possible explanation is changes in the local landscape and that Uppåkra was more of an ordinary settlement in the Early Iron Age while in the following centuries it was transformed into a central place, giving it a higher status. In that case, the increased supply of pork may be reflected in the animal husbandry, showing that in addition to beef it was possible to raise pigs for the settlers' own benefit (Welinder *et al.* 1998:370). This was a common practice in the Viking Age in Sweden, but it has been documented in central Sweden from the Migration Period. In Scania this practice was seen in Gårdstånga in the transition Viking Age–Early Middle Ages. In contrast to Uppåkra, the age determination of the material from Lundeborg is based on tooth wear, which makes comparisons unequal but necessary. The majority of cattle at Lundeborg were killed as adults over 3 years of age (77%), indicating the keeping of both milk cows and draught animals. The age distribution of sheep indicates both meat and wool production. The majority of pigs were killed before the age of two and more than half of the animals (57%) were killed in their first

year (Hatting 1994). Generally the age distribution of Lundeborg agrees with Uppåkra but there is a difference concerning cattle, in that the majority of cattle in Uppåkra were killed before the age of 3 years and not as adults as in Lundeborg. The difference could simply be explained by the use of different methods and skeletal elements for age estimation, which certainly affects the results. Another possible explanation is that the animal husbandry was performed differently from in Uppåkra, because of environmental differences. Lundeborg was situated closer to the sea and may have used the shores as pasture land. The material from medieval towns in western Sweden, as well as early Birka, shows a distinct pattern of the distribution of skeletal body parts of cattle and sheep. The bones of the trunk (ribs and vertebra) was most frequent, around 30% in all three domesticates. The cranial fragments (without loose teeth) came second but varied most, between 20% and 60% (Vretemark 1997). In these assemblages, fragments of the trunk and the skull dominated while the remaining bones of the skeleton were less frequent (Fig. 11). In medieval towns bone waste seems to be leftovers from different activities such as butchery and craft industries, for example, tanning (Vretemark 1997:54 pp.). Unfortunately, bones of the trunk, except for the first and second cervical vertebra, were not identified in the material from early medieval Lund (Ekman 1971). Summing up the bone analysis, animal husbandry in Uppåkra was based on cattle, sheep/goat and pig. The utilization of the animals differed somewhat between the Roman Iron Age and the Late Iron Age. There is a tendency for cattle to decrease as a meat producer during the Late Iron Age in favour of the pig. Another tendency is a minor increase in wool production in the later period. The word production is rather frequent in this article, but it is not used in the sense of modern thinking and modern agricultural techniques, which focuses on profit and specialization. In Iron Age Uppåkra most of the animals bred on the farms were utilized by the inhabitants from top to bottom and inside out, and this is reflected in the bone finds,. Exchange and trade of all sorts of goods, for example, between farms and in market places, most certainly played some part in the economy but the question is to what extent. Animal husbandry was complemented by fish and wild animals, which may be a small part of the answer to the question.

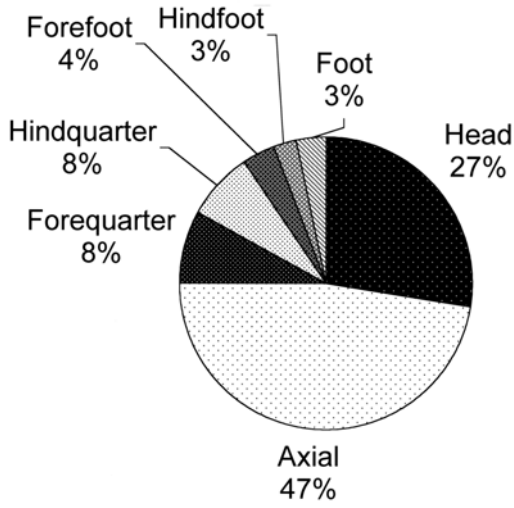


Figure 11. Birka. The distribution of skeletal groups exemplified in cattle based on (NF).

Thoughts for the future

The overall question, though, is whether the bone assemblage from a central place differ in any way from those of ordinary settlements during the Iron Age in southern Scandinavia. If so, in what way? What function or functions did Uppåkra as a central place have during the Iron Age in Scania? Did it change over

time? Was the production of food aimed at the individual farms or at surplus distribution at market places? The answers to these questions are very important in interpreting the significance of animal husbandry in Uppåkra and its neighbourhood, but they will not be available until further research has been performed.

Both the bone assemblage and the archaeological record indicate some form of division in activity areas on the settlement. During the excavations in 1998 in the western part of the site (Fig. 1) two low-temperature ovens were found used for baking, smoking of meat, and "cooking" (Stilborg 1998). In this rather small area there was no evidence of, for example, comb manufacture, but the bone finds bore witness to butchery of animals and consumption of their meat (Nilsson 2001). There is no evidence, so far, of special butchery places.

Traces of comb manufacturing were detected in the southern part of the settlement. During excavations in 1997 (Fig. 1), concentrations of horn cores and antler waste were found in two of the investigated square metres (Lindell 1997). Completed combs were not found in this area, but fragmented and almost complete combs appeared in other parts of the site. The presence of bone waste from the manufacture of needles together with finds of spindle whorls indicate some sort of textile manufacture. In addition, the tendency to the increased importance of wool production speaks in favour of this. The significance of animals in the Iron Age is not only connected to food and labour, as in all of our prehistory, but also to art and religion. Domesticated animals including horses and dogs deposited in offering bogs and wells were rather common in southern Scandinavia, for example, at Skedemosse on Öland (Hagberg 1967), Röekillorna in Scania (Stjernquist 1997) and Rislev in Denmark (Møhl 1957). In Sorte Muld special deposits of horse bone, known as head-and-hoof burials, were found in pits containing a skull, the four metapodials and sometimes vertebrae (Klindt-Jensen 1967). This kind of deposit has not yet been found in Uppåkra and not even the adjacent Gullåkra bog has yet been investigated. Some recent finds of animal bones deposited in wells in connection with remains of a magnate's farm from the Viking Age have been found in Jerrestad in Scania (Söderberg, this volume). For now we have to be content with the more exclusive finds, linked to religious expressions in Uppåkra, referring to the quadruped called Helge (Helgesson 1999) and the statuette of Odin with horns (Hårdh 1999). Animals and religion are a very exciting subject to be explored more closely in the future. The animal bones also have connections to the environment. The presence of cattle, sheep and pig bear witness to a mixed environment, including both damp and dry deciduous forest and pasture areas. Analysis of charcoal shows that the leaves of foremost hazel and ash, but also oak were collected as fodder, demonstrating the presence of small groves in the vicinity (Regnell 2001). Attempts have been made to connect the bone finds to both environmental reconstruction and archaeology. The interpretation of bone assemblages seems to be in its infancy, posing more questions which hopefully will be answered by future investigations in which the suggested tendencies may be confirmed.

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Abbreviations

GL – greatest length
NF – number of fragments

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Charcoals from Uppåkra as Indicators of Leaf Fodder

Mats Regnell

Abstract

Apart from charred cereal grains and weed seeds, the macrofossil analysis from Uppåkra also revealed large amounts of charcoal. The cereals together with other plant remains suggested that an agrarian economy, including cultivation on different soils, grazing and meadowing supported the Iron Age village at Uppåkra. Charcoals from 17 soil samples were identified as to species and also the age types of branch, small trunk or trunk. The predominant species were ash, oak and hazel. Charcoal from branches and small trunks clearly dominated over charcoal from trunks. It is suggested that the charcoal composition at Uppåkra reflects leaf foddering. It is also proposed that extensive charcoal analyses can be used to detect the introduction of infield-outland systems.

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Over the last few years there have been many large archaeological projects in Scania due to national and local infrastructural ventures. If the situation could be referred to as archaeologically hot, the excavations at Uppåkra put even more wood on this bonfire in southern Sweden. A fire produces charcoals, and so do excavations. The study of charcoal from archaeological excavations can give site-specific information about environment and use of available resources. Yet compilation of extensive analyses from a multitude of sites and periods can also produce knowledge about long-term changes in woodland vegetation, development of the cultural landscape and agrarian economy.

Countless charcoal samples have been produced by the recent excavations in the region performed by the National Heritage Board, Malmö Museums and the Uppåkra project, and they have all been analysed by the same person.[1] There are in addition other charcoal assemblages available from earlier excavations in southern Sweden. The total amount of analyses performed is huge and must have a scientific potential that is hard to grasp. So far, however, it has not been possible to compile the results. This paper will present only a very small part of the results available, but it will hopefully be followed by similar compilations produced within the ongoing archaeological projects in the region.

During the excavations at Uppåkra, soil samples for botanical analyses have been taken continuously. Macrofossil analyses from the excavations until 1998 have previously been reported (Regnell 2001). These analyses were carried out on samples mainly from the Late Roman Iron Age, but in some cases also from the early Migration Period. This article will

primarily report and discuss the charcoal analyses performed on the same samples of carbonized seeds and fruits. However, the different methods complement each other and therefore it is necessary to include a short synopsis of the information from the macrofossil analyses.

Until now 23 soil samples from the recent excavations at Uppåkra, comprising about 31 litres, have been analysed. More than 7,500 carbonized cereal grains have been found. These are dominated by hulled barley (>80%), but bread wheat, speltoid wheats, naked barley, oat and rye were also found. Seeds of flax, field cabbage and gold of pleasure were also encountered. It may partly have been the high oil content of the seeds of these plants that motivated the cultivation, which may have taken place adjacent to the dwelling houses at Uppåkra, and thus correspond to garden cultivation. This may also explain the humic and very homogeneous layers found at the site. The weed flora shows that crops were grown on both clayey and sandy soils. Specific plants indicate grazed areas around the settlement. There are no indications that cereals or other plants were of distant origin and thus implying any kind of import. It might be stated that the botanical remains from Uppåkra, when period and region are considered, have a rather common appearance. This leads to the assumption that even though Uppåkra at the time was a special village with a high concentration of people, craftsmanship and wealth, the settlement was dependent on a normal agrarian economy including cultivated crops and animal husbandry.

Leaf fodder in prehistory

In historical times leaf fodder was used on a large scale in Scandinavia as well as in much of Europe (Slotte 2001). The main motive for collecting leaf fodder was lack of grass hay (Rasmussen 1980; Slotte 1997, 2000). Another reason was that leaf fodder was considered to be healthy and also to improve milk production as well as to prevent parasite infections (Austad & Hauge 1996).

In prehistory, especially before major deforestation had taken place, the woodlands had only limited quantities of available grass and herb vegetation. This could have led to an inevitable need for leaf foddering within an economy dependent on animal husbandry, for example, during the Neolithic of Scandinavia (Rasmussen 1990).

The range of information on leaf foddering in prehistoric times is, however, limited. Pollen-analytical data have been used to seek out information about pollarding. A classical, and often quoted example, is when Troels-Smith (1954, 1960) explains the decrease in the frequencies of elm pollen during the Neolithic by extensive use of elm leaves for foddering. Fægri (1940, 1944) and Andersen (1976) have similarly suggested that decreases of lime-pollen during the same period were due to pollarding. It has been argued that leaf foddering requires no fires and results only in a decreased flowering intensity of the trees, whereas slash-and-burn cultivation followed by pasture produces peaks in beech and herb pollen curves (Andersen 1976:14). There are several other studies where pollarding (together with other utilized plant production) was invoked to explain changes in pollen curves, especially for lime and ash (e.g., Aaby 1986; Berglund 1988; Regnéll 1989; Göransson 1991). But these conclusions could be argued as adducing only circumstantial evidence, and the suggestion that the classical elm decline in Northern Europe was solely a result of harvesting leaf fodder has been proved impossible (Rackham

1980; Rowley-Conwy 1982). Rowley-Conwy (1982:205) calculated – on the basis of numbers given by Troels-Smith – that if the elm decline in Denmark was a result only of leaf foddering cattle, it would imply pollarding of 47–80 million elm trees for cattle that numbered in total between 190,000 and 400,000!

Finds of numerous twigs and branches in waterlogged sites in Switzerland have been explained as being some sort of foundation in the houses and not leaf fodder. It was argued that leaf foddering could be excluded since the twigs were not of elm, ash or lime, which were the only species considered suitable as fodder, and that the twigs apparently were gathered outside the growing season (Schweingruber 1976a, 1976b; Bräker 1979). Rasmussen (1990), however, has very clearly explained these arguments as not valid for dismissing leaf foddering as an interpretation. He concludes that *all* deciduous tree species have been used for fodder in recent times in Switzerland. He also points out that leafless twigs are often collected during winter for use as fodder.

More recently, substantial indications of leaf foddering during prehistoric times have been presented from waterlogged sites in Switzerland (Rasmussen 1993) and Sweden (Göransson 1995, 1996). In both cases it is mainly the botanical evidence from preserved goat faeces that sheds light on the use of leaf fodder. In the faeces from the Early Neolithic site Egolzwil 3 in Switzerland, the pollen content was totally dominated by hazel, alder and birch. Small fragments of wood in the faeces were of hazel, alder and oak. In addition, the droppings were found together with numerous twigs, mostly of hazel and alder. Since the twigs were harvested in early spring, before leaf emergence, it was obvious that the goats were fed with leafless twigs and branches (Rasmussen 1993:479). The investigations of the Middle Neolithic site of Alvastra in southern central Sweden have also yielded goat faeces. Here the faeces contents of pollen were dominated by hazel followed by elm and birch (75, 11 and 6% of the total pollens respectively). Among the results from the extensive botanical investigation at Alvastra, analyses of the occupation layer also revealed large amounts of pollen grains of anemone (pollen of *Anemone* type were also found in the faeces) and mistletoe (*Viscum*) together with numerous seeds of celery-leaved crowfoot (*Ranunculus sceleratus*). The interpretation concerning animal fodder is that the goats were fed with leafless branches harvested during winter/early spring and that the goats also may have eaten the anemone and other herbs gathered early in the year. Crowfoot and other herbs may have been collected nearby during late summer (Göransson 1995:84).

The very short resumé above concerns leaf foddering only during the Neolithic. This is not by chance or due to lack of effort to seek information in relevant literature. When younger periods are discussed there seems to be little if any palaeoecological data that support the presence of pollarding in Sweden. In a recently published volume on prehistoric farming in Sweden it is stated about animal fodder: "Already during the Neolithic the cattle were fed with gathered leaf fodder. This tradition had an unbroken continuity into the Iron Age. This is noted not least from the amount of leaf-knives found in the graves" (my translation from Welinder *et al.* 1998:258). The numerous finds of flint leaf-knives from the Late Neolithic and Bronze Age and the iron sickles of later periods cannot be disputed. They exist, although it may not have been proved that all of them were for harvesting leaf fodder. The explicit functions of the dif-

ferent types of sickles from the Iron Age are not easily explained. Some types may have been intended to cut cereals, others to cut branches, and the multipurpose variety must also be considered. The "angular sickle with upright blade" is regarded as mainly a leaf-knife. The type is found from the Early Iron Age and is succeeded by the "angular sickle with obtuse angle blade/handle" during the Roman Iron Age. The latter type is considered to be best suited for cutting cereals, but may also have been used for other purposes (Myrdal 1982). The notion in this article, however, is that in the study-field of agrarian economy in prehistory (and medieval time) there is altogether a notable lack of botanical data concerning aspects of leaf fodder and pollarding. The ambition here is to suggest a new implication of a formerly used botanical method to produce information on the subject.

To a certain degree it is possible to distinguish the age or maturity of the tree from which pieces of wooden charcoal derive. To make this identification it is necessary to look at a combination of characteristics: the curvature of the annual rings in the charcoal, the density of the annual rings and the cell structure. It is important to state that the age-analysis of each charcoal piece is not totally objective and that it is necessary to use a quantity of fragments to obtain a fair result (Thomas Bartholin, pers. com.). It will be argued here that the charcoals gathered from prehistoric sites not only tell about the kind of wood that was used in general, but also about the practice of leaf foddering. This may in addition give important information about land use, agrarian economy and settlement organization. In this respect pollen analysis is a very important method to combine with charcoal analysis, not only to describe the environment as such, but also to define the available trees and bushes in a situation where the rational use of wood and leaves is discussed.

The charcoal from Uppåkra

The number of soil samples from Uppåkra which have been charcoal-analysed to date is 17 (Tab. I). In this study the tree and bush species are only reported as present in a sample, and not by number, volume or weight. Quantification could be misleading since different wood types are fragmented in different ways. The most proper way of quantification should be by weight. Charcoal weight can, for example, be used in comparison with pollen or seed concentration of each tree species to evaluate the specific use of wood (Regnell *et al.* 1995). Yet representation by weight could also be biased in that some wood, for example, hardwood of pine, has relatively high density and is less easily fragmented and thus should be over-represented in soil samples. The charcoal fragments are shown not only as species but also with the determined age or maturity. "Branch" is here equivalent to dimensions less than about 4 centimetres in diameter. "Small trunk" refers to a diameter between 4 and 20 centimetres and "trunk" wider than 20 centimetres. Each determination of the age/maturity of a charcoal is somewhat subjective. But it will be shown here that the picture yielded by the study of many charcoals shows a trend that characterizes the charcoal assemblage of each site.

The samples from Uppåkra are from different contexts, such as floor layers, postholes and pits. The samples represent not only several contexts, and therefore separate activities, but also a certain time range. Furthermore, the samples do not have a totally homogeneous composition, as regards either species or age/maturity. These aspects could

Tab. I. Charcoal analysis from Uppåkra. See text for explanation of the determination of age/maturity.

UPPÅKRA/Charcoal analysis				Alder		Elm	Ash		Birch		Beech		Oak			Hazel	Lime		Maple		Pomoideae		Prunus		Dogwood	Willow		Pine
Constr. No.	Constr. Type	Period	Sample vol (ml)	Trunk	Small trunk	Small trunk	Small trunk	Branch	Trunk	Small trunk	Trunk	Small trunk	Trunk	Small trunk	Branch	Branch	Trunk	Branch	Trunk	Small trunk	Small trunk	Branch	Small trunk	Branch	Branch	Small trunk	Branch	Branch
Sq P V L4	Floor layer	ca 400 AD	18 000																									
Sq NIV L4	Floor layer	ca 400 AD	3 000																									
Sq OIV L4	Floor layer	ca 400 AD	700																									
Sq VI L6 A9	Posthole (?)	2-400 AD	400																									
Sq VII A5	Occupation layer	2-400 AD	400																									
Sq VI L6 A8	Posthole (?)	2-400 AD	400																									
Sq VII A6	Posthole (?)	2-400 AD	400																									
Sq V -97- -104	Pit	2-400 AD	225																									
Sq V L8 A19	Pit	2-400 AD	400																									
A1 - botten	Hearth-pit	0-400 AD	800																									
A2 x11-13/y0-2	Oven	ca 600 AD	650																									
A2 x12,5/y0,2	Oven	ca 600 AD	600																									
A27 x11-13/y0-2	Clay pit	0-400 AD	500																									
A27:3	Clay pit	0-400 AD	600																									
A33 x13-15/y0-2	Pit	2-400 AD	650																									
A36 x11-13/y0-2	Hearth-pit	0-400 AD	100																									
A41:II 60-70cm	Pit	2-400 AD	250																									

"Pomoideae" includes hawthorn, rowan and wild apple. "Prunus" includes wild cherry, bird cherry and blackthorn.

be considered together as a severe bias. Nevertheless, the charcoal fragments must be looked upon as "leftovers" from ordinary fireplaces, more or less unintentionally dispersed to all parts of the settlement. It is a fundamental assumption of this study that a representative composition of charcoals (from Uppåkra as well as from the other sites presented in this article) reflects the firewood in general that was used at the settlement. Thus the charcoal will not only reflect which tree species were available but also the primary intention in gathering the wood. It is not obvious how many charcoals or how many samples must be included in a study like this to achieve significance. Without having calculated any kind of statistics, it is my impression that when about 50 charcoals from at least 10 samples have been identified, it is possible to distinguish each site's "charcoal character".

Since many aspects concerning activities and context must be considered, it will be of interest in forthcoming studies to compare charcoal from different types of structures from several sites and periods. Is there, for example, a characteristic charcoal assemblage for fireplaces? It is also important to define the "normal" assemblage of any given situation to be able to distinguish anomalies and thus have a chance to explain specific activities. This study must, however, try to act without a number of desirable insights.

The most common species, appearing in almost all samples analysed from Uppåkra, are ash, oak and hazel. The species group of Pomoideae (including hawthorn, rowan and wild apple) is present in almost half of the samples. Alder and beech are found in about one third of the samples. Elm, birch, lime, maple, dogwood, willow and pine occur in only one or two samples. Hazel, which is a

bush that only develops rather thin branches, seems to be always present in smaller or larger quantities at prehistoric sites. Apart from hazel, ash and oak also have distinctive representations as branches. In addition lime, Pomoideae, dogwood, willow and pine are present as branches. Most of the samples include charcoal from branch wood. It is only a single sample from a clay pit (A 27:3) that shows a distinct diverse composition of trunk wood from several species. The upper three samples in the table all emanate from the same house floor. In all nine species of trees and bushes were documented from this house. The species diversity is notable in other samples as well.

Charcoal from other sites

To understand and explain the charcoal composition at Uppåkra, it is advantageous to compare it with other sites. From the last four years of excavations undertaken by the National Heritage Board in Scania, a large number of charcoal analyses have been performed. The charcoal content of about 500 soil samples from more than 20 sites has been identified. These analyses will be presented in a forthcoming publication from the archaeological project "The West Coast Railway Line", but it is suitable in this paper to present some of the studies hitherto compiled. Three Iron Age settlements have been chosen for this purpose. Two sites have been excavated within the West Coast Railway Line project in western Scania: Annelöv (Ericson 1999), mainly representing the Roman Iron Age, and Dagstorp (Becker 1999), with settlements dating from the Migration Period to the Early Viking Age. The third site, Bårslöv (Knarrström & Olsson 2000), dates mainly to the German Iron Age and is situated outside the city of Helsingborg in north-western Scania. To facilitate comparison, the charcoal assemblages from the sites are shown in the same type of diagram (Fig. 1). In the bar diagrams the height axis has different scales. This design has been chosen to make it easier to distinguish the dominating tree species at each site. In other words, the tree species that is most common at each site has the same bar height in all diagrams. The frequencies of the different types of wood – branch, small trunk and trunk – are shown in pie diagrams for each site.

Compared to Uppåkra (Fig. 1a), none of the chosen sites has as high proportions of branch wood. The charcoals from Bårslöv, however, show comparably low proportions of trunk wood (Fig. 1b). At this site ash is clearly the dominating species, followed in importance by alder, oak and hazel. Unlike Uppåkra the charcoals from Bårslöv include few branch-wood pieces. Apart from branch wood of hazel, there are only a few charcoal fragments of ash.

The compositions from Annelöv and Dagstorp are dominated by charcoal of trunks. At Annelöv (Fig. 1c) oak clearly dominates. Oak is twice as abundant as hazel, which is the second most common species. Ash is present with a third of the frequency shown by oak. Finally, alder, beech, lime, maple and Pomoideae are present with one or a few pieces each. The charcoals of Dagstorp (Fig. 1d) are not clearly dominated by any species. Ash, oak, hazel and lime all have high representations with a slight predominance for charcoal of hazel. The difference in the species composition and frequencies between the two sites may be a result of differences in vegetation. Although the distance between the sites is only about three kilometres, the surrounding topsoil and the topography are more varied around Dagstorp, which could explain the

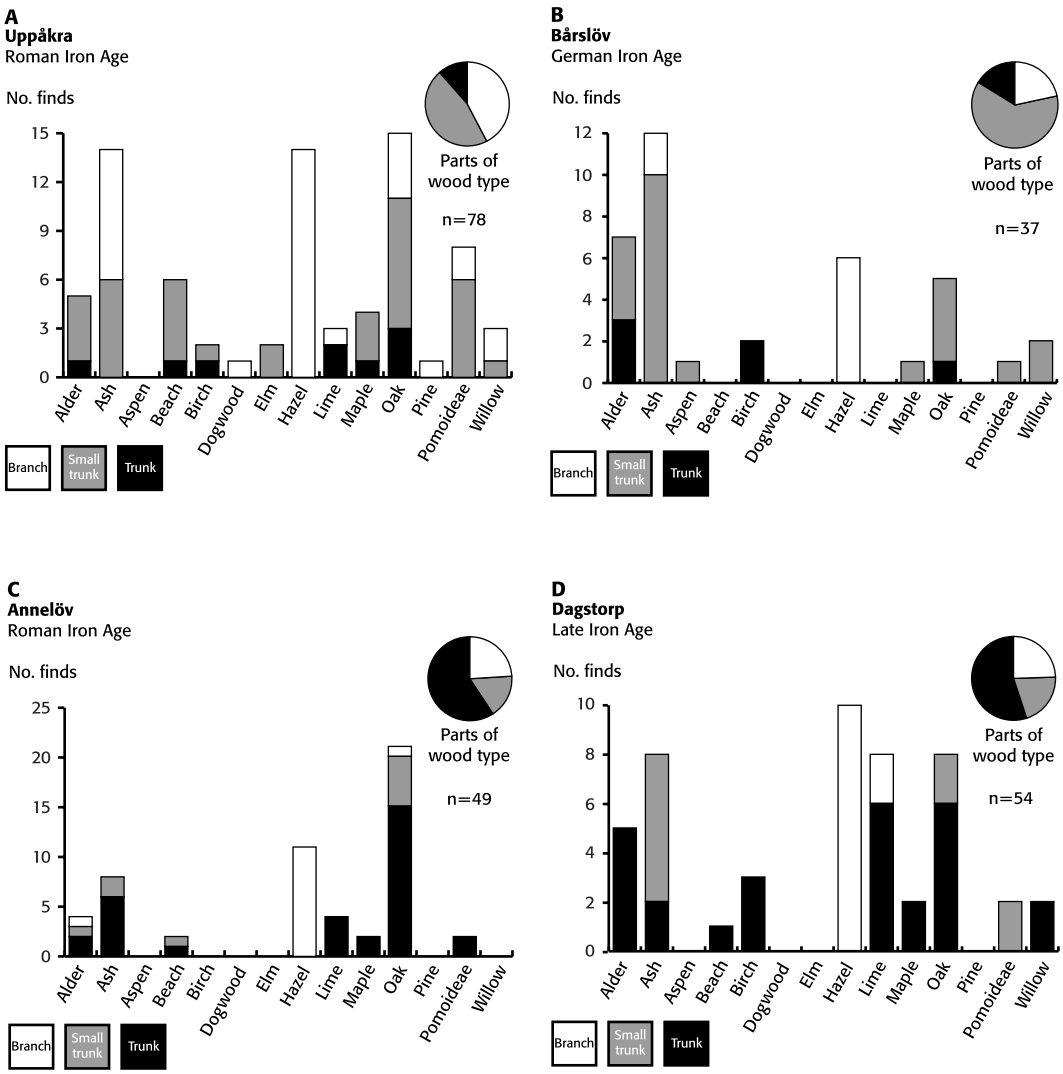

Fig. 1. Charcoal assemblages from four sites in Scania. The height axis has different scales in the diagrams. The tree species that is most common in each diagram have the same height in all diagrams.

more varied composition of trees and bushes. The two sites correlate very well concerning the proportions of the different age types of wood. At both Annelöv and Dagstorp well over half of the charcoal assemblage emanates from trunk wood. About a quarter of the charcoal comprises hazel branches, only a few branch pieces are of other species. The wood of small trunks corresponds to about a fifth at both sites.

The most easily noted difference among the charcoal compositions of the presented sites is that of the proportions of trunk wood. In Uppåkra and Bårslöv there are small amounts of trunk wood whereas in Annelöv and Dagstorp there are much higher numbers. Moreover, there is a higher diversity of species in the material from Uppåkra than in the other assemblages. As regards the dominating species, there are some notable traits. Oak has

a clear dominance in Annelöv. Ash dominates in Bårslöv. Lime has a high representation in Dagstorp which is not seen in the other localities.

Discussion

The charcoal from Uppåkra, compared with other sites, displays a high proportion of branch wood and a low frequency of trunk wood. This can be interpreted as a result of leaf foddering. Obviously there was a significant presence of cattle at Uppåkra (see Nilsson, this volume), so the explanation is not very far-fetched.

Leaf fodder probably makes many people think of certain tree species, in particular ash, elm and lime. From the literature, however, it is obvious that almost all sorts of trees and shrubs have been harvested for leaf fodder. We find large regional differences and also variation in use relating to, for example, available vegetation, animals and not least local tradition (for local traditions in Scania see Bergendorff & Emanuelsson 1996). Slotte (1999) has put together a "list of popularity" of different species harvested for leaf fodder (Tab. II). The list refers to information from Sweden as a whole. Oak is at the bottom of the list, which is explained by the tannin content, which is disliked by animals and/or considered harmful to them. Yet there are easily found examples of oak leaves not only being viewed as acceptable but also good as fodder, especially for sheep and goats (in Scania: e.g., Campbell 1928). Taking the traditional use of leaf fodder as a parallel, it may be insufficient to seek prehistoric indications for leaf fodder only in the species composition.

In historical times coppicing was also practised to provide a multitude of raw materials such as birch-bark and wood for making tools.

Tab. II. Tree and bush species ranked in order of "tastiness" to the animals. The table is constructed from scattered information in older agricultural publications, opinions from questionnaires and the author's own observations of feeding preferences. It is a compilation of partly contradictory information (table and text translated from Slotte 1999).

Ash (*Fraxinus excelsior*)
Lime (*Tilia cordata*)
Guelder-rose (*Viburnum opolus*)
Goat willow (*Salix caprea*)
Rowan (*Sorbus aucuparia*)
Aspen (*Populus tremula*)
Elm (*Ulmus* spp.)
Hornbeam (*Carpinus betulus*)
Swedish whitebeam (*Sorbus intermedia*)
Downy birch (*Betula pubescens*)
Norway maple (*Acer platanoides*)
Silver birch (*Betula pendula*)
Willow (*Salix* spp. – not *S. caprea*)
Alder buckthorn (*Frangula alnus*)
Bay willow (*Salix pentandra*)
Hazel (*Corylus avellana*)
Alder (*Alnus* spp.)
White willow (*Salix alba*)
Bird cherry (*Prunus padus*)
Beech (*Fagus silvatica*)
Oak (*Quercus robur*)

Furthermore, leaf foddering decreased the number and size of trees and shrubs to favour the growth of grass swards in meadows, enclosed fields and wooded pastureland. An important factor to bear in mind is that much of the firewood was obtained from leaf fodder (Slotte 2000).

The charcoal found at a settlement probably represents the wood used in everyday activities. Fire for heating and cooking must have been the most common charcoal-producing everyday activity at an average settlement. If leaf fodder was regularly brought to and consumed at the settlement, it would produce large volumes of wood as a by-product, which would be used as firewood.

Thus the dimensions of the wood may be a more significant diagnosis of leaf fodder than the species used.

Trunk wood has a low representation at both Uppåkra (11%) and Bårslöv (16%), but the charcoals from Bårslöv represent altogether a smaller proportion of branch wood, with wood from small trunks clearly dominating. If the composition of wood types in Uppåkra is regarded as indicating leaf fodder, and the compositions at Annelöv and Dagstorp are not, then the charcoal assemblage from Bårslöv reflects a situation where leaf fodder may have been practised but is less obvious to distinguish.

From Dagstorp there is rather large composition of animal bones, and cattle together with sheep/goat bones make up a considerable part (Cardell 1999). Yet there is no conflict between the presence of cattle and the absence of leaf fodder. It simply tells that the animals were fed on something else than leaf fodder. It is interesting that there are very few plants indicating grazed land or meadows in the plant macrofossil analyses from Dagstorp. The analyses show clearly that the seeds and fruits are totally dominated by cereals and weeds (Regnell, in forthcoming publication of the West Coast Railway Line project). This implies that the cattle were not kept (at least not fed) within the farms at Dagstorp.

Regarding the botanical remains (Regnell 2001) as well as the animal bones (Nilsson, this volume), Uppåkra displays an agrarian economy normal for the period, an economy characterized by cereal cultivation, animal husbandry and at least to some extent also garden cultivation. Does leaf foddering fit into this model? It most likely does. In Scania the infield-outland system was introduced sometimes during the Iron Age (Olsson 1991). In the infield-outland economy important factors are permanent fields, outfield grazing areas, manure and winter-stabled cattle. This situation contrasts to what is believed to have prevailed in earlier periods in southern Sweden. Beginning in the Neolithic and with a marked accentuation during the Bronze Age, an economy based on cattle and vast grazed areas was current (Berglund 1991). Areas around the settlements could have been used more or less collectively corresponding to the extensive pasturelands of modern times (Kristiansen 1998).

At Uppåkra, with its exceptional concentration of craftsmanship and wealth, it was conventional agriculture that supported the village. But the concentration of people and cattle could easily have led to extra requirements of fodder for which the surrounding pastures were no longer sufficient and additional harvesting for leaf fodder was necessary. The social factors behind the introduction of an infield-outland system, including a hierarchic land control, may have led to a constraint of pastures for the average settlement unit (for discussion of Iron Age socio-economic structures see Skree [with "Comments" from several authors] 2001). The infields may have become the major source for production of hay and fodder. This would be the result if the outlands to a lesser extent were available when the earlier collectively used pastures came under the control of a superior power. When further studies of charcoal assemblages from Iron Age settlements are performed, it may be possible to distinguish when important changes in land management and social organization appear. This initial study has hopefully pointed out an alternative potential to use botanical data to achieve information about social aspects in prehistory.

Notes

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Pottery as a Source of Structural Information
Internal Structure and External Contacts of Uppåkra 0–400 AD

Ole Stilborg

Abstract

The present article deals with the potential of pottery as archaeological evidence for elucidating the structure of activities on Iron Age settlement sites as well as with the structural development and contacts of Uppåkra from a ceramic viewpoint. Pottery, by virtue of being ubiquitous and richly diverse in manufacture and use, makes up important remnants of household and craft activities, and is, furthermore, conditioned as refuse (crushed, removed, reused) by the same activities. An excavated area of the Uppåkra occupation layers is analysed to reveal the nature of the activities that went on and possible changes in the activity pattern. Comparisons are made with earlier analyses in other parts of Uppåkra and with other Iron Age sites in south-west Scania. Changing relations to other sites in the region and to other parts of southern Scandinavia are discussed. The picture emerging is one of the upcoming central place Uppåkra characterized by increased internal structural control and broadening external contacts during the Late Roman Iron Age.

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The pottery of Uppåkra

The aim of the present studies of pottery from Uppåkra and other sites in western Scania has been to reveal information about the development of the pottery craft and its products at Uppåkra as well as on the range of vessels used here in relation to other sites and possible ceramic indications of contacts between the sites included. Earlier on, I have discussed the chronological scope and the structural differences of the pottery, principally derived from the excavations in 1934 by B.-M. Vifot (Vifot 1936; Stjernquist 1998; Stilborg 2001). This was compared with the results of a technological study of pottery from the Early Roman Iron Age site of Hötofta performed by E. Ramstedt (Ramstedt 1999; Stjernquist 1969, 1998). Some of the results of this study will be incorporated in the present article. Since the completion of the article in Uppåkra Studies 4, more analyses have been performed on material from trench 98:2 at Uppåkra; from the settlement site Lockarp 7H near Malmö and from the settlements of Klörup-Aggarp and Saxtorp SU 8 (Fig. 1). The work on the latter two was done within different projects conducted by UV-Syd, National Heritage Board and information concerning these sites has kindly been provided by UV-Syd.

The development of the craft, the chronology of the pottery and the contacts as revea-

Fig. 1. Map of Scania with sites appearing in the text.

led by non-local pottery or by design "identity" remain pertinent questions. However, increasingly higher priority has been given to the search for the functional structure of Iron Age sites and the difference in this respect between the ordinary village and the site incorporating central functions in the same area, i.e. Uppåkra. As will be discussed below, this seems to be the most fruitful use of pottery as archaeological find material, partly because there are good arguments that the structures revealed are insensitive to chronological changes (Stilborg 2001). It is therefore possible to compare the layout and function of different sites although they are not contemporary. The functional analyses of the ceramics from trench 98:2 compared to other parts of Uppåkra will be used as a case study.

Ceramics as an archaeological source

Pottery being ubiquitous find material at Iron Age settlements and common as grave goods in contemporary graves all over southern Scandinavia, has mainly been seen as a means for creating typologies and subsequently chronologies. Notable exceptions to this general trend are Hulthén 1995 and Stjernquist 1972 (see also Stilborg 1997). Although the historical development in the pottery of this era and region does reveal some major changes that were spread fairly quickly over the whole of southern Scandinavia or large parts of it, most of the variation in shapes and ornamentation we see is due to local and regional changes. The bulk of the pottery, especially the larger storage vessels, furthermore contains precious little chronological value in its practical design, to say nothing of the burnt daub, the oven and furnace walls, the mouthpieces for bellows, the moulds, crucibles etc. that make up the rest of the total ceramic finds on a site. The possible role of pottery as an active ethnic marker is of course another interesting aspect (Starck 1999) but just one of several plausible explanations for differences in the pottery between different areas. The degree of contact between the areas and the role and status of the pottery within each society are other major factors.

Pottery, however, because of its general presence on Iron Age settlement sites, always carries information about the existence and location of a range of activities as well as of the varying intensity of human activity in different parts of the settlement. Thus, ceramic finds may be a key source to the organizational structure of a settlement studied – of course – in connection with the distribution of other types of archaeological material. To preserve the richness of information in the archaeological record, however, it is important that each group of material should be studied separately and the results compared on an equal basis, each making its unique contribution to the total complex picture.

The structure of a site and the activities on it must to a large extent be determined by

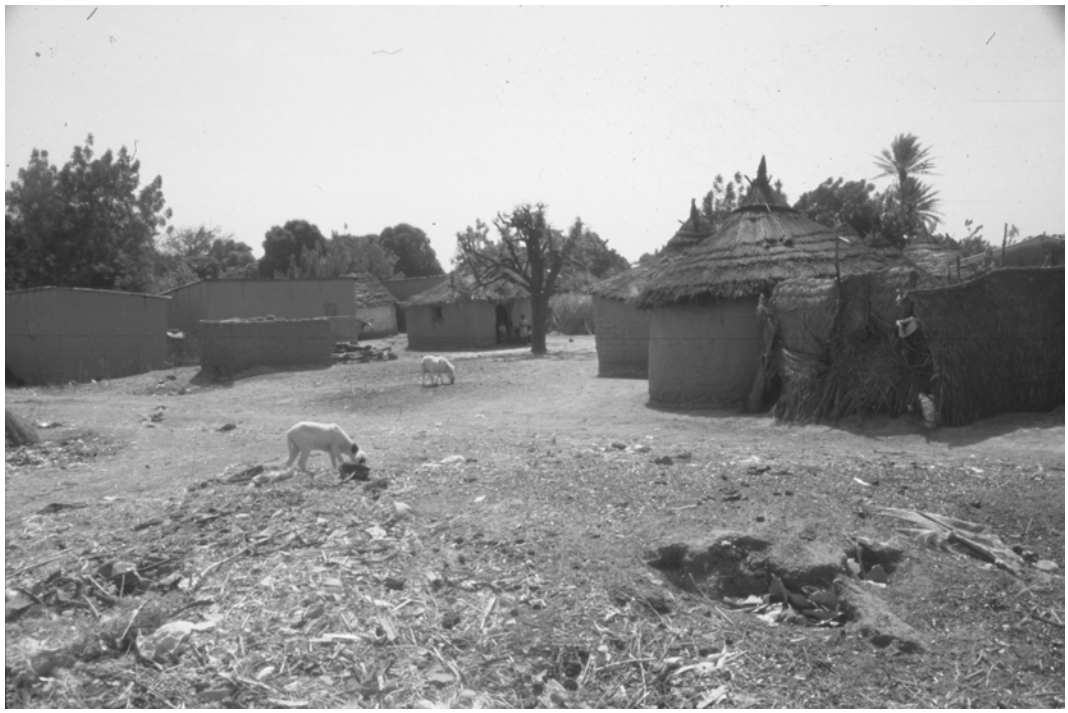

Fig. 2. Interhouse/farm space in Kangaba, Mali. Photograph A. Lindahl.

practical considerations (Carlie 1999). The following discussion of the location of the settlement activities and their refuse is based on the normal archaeological condition of these sites with little or no occupation layer left, in contrast to sites like Uppåkra. During the construction of the houses, clay pits for the daub were dug at a convenient distance from the building, provided that suitable clay could be found in the underground (Björhem & Säfvestad 1996:133). This leaves sizeable open pits and thereby potential refuse dumps at varying distances from the house and household. In most societies the floor of the living house and the immediate surroundings incorporating storage buildings and the like are swept on a daily basis (Arnold III 1991:122 p.; Brandt 1999 and personal observations in Buhera, Zimbabwe). One of the usual explanations for this is that children playing in and around the houses might get hurt treading or falling on sharp or hard objects (Fig. 2). The refuse, however, is seldom carried far away from the house (Arnold III 1991:124 p.), which means that a clay pit at a reasonable distance will likely be chosen as the dump. If the clay pits were very close to the house it is most likely that they would have been filled up with soil immediately after the construction work was finished and therefore they will contain few finds. On the settlement site Klörup-Aggarp, the clay pits were placed on the border – so to speak – between two farms and subsequently used by both as a dump for household refuse (Bergenstråhle & Stilborg 2002). This is obviously the most convenient site for a dump. Some crafts may have been carried out within the house or in its vicinity, which means that the material traces left by these activities ended up in the same dump as the household refuse. Other household activities or crafts, including the smellier and those

involving high temperature and thereby a heightened risk of fire, i.e., metalworking, were placed some distance from the living quarters. Often these activities involved pits dug in the ground or they were situated in pit-houses constructed for the same purpose. The ceramic refuse preserved for us to study will be whatever is thrown into or left behind in the pits and pit-houses. The often sunken floor of low-temperature ovens may also contain associated ceramic refuse, such as clay bricks (Stilborg 1995).

Besides the practical considerations and the traditional way of doing things, which presumably most often coincide, the allocation of activities may of course even be influenced by some person or persons holding a power position and residing on the site. Certain activities may be concentrated in certain parts of the site because a production monopoly has been introduced or the craft has been professionalized or – perhaps most likely – both.

Ceramics as indicators

Pottery is associated with a wide range of different activities. Basic household functions require or can be done using ceramic vessels – such as cooking, water storage, fermenting/souring, storage of food etc. Variations in the composition of the pottery refuse in terms of the types and sizes of the vessels as well as the representation of different vessel parts reveal deviations from the normal household activities, as is the case in one of the Late Roman Iron Age (LRIA) layers in area D of Vifot's excavations (Stilborg 2001). The normal household seems to have had some small vessels, quite a few medium-sized vessels (i.e., 15–16 cm rim diameter), some large vessels and a few extra-large vessels fulfilling the needs for serving, cooking and storage. The degree of fragmentation of the pottery, primarily in occupation layers, signals the general level of activities in the area (Stilborg 1997:98).

Besides the household functions, pots may be used as containers for storage of raw materials or water used in craft activities (Stilborg 1997:146 p.). The smithing vessel is one such well-known category of pottery used in the service of a craft (pers. com. B. Hulthén; Stilborg 1997:147). The large vessel by definition, sometimes tempered with crushed iron ore, was used for holding water for cooling and in some cases even as protection of the hearth overnight standing upside-down over the embers. There are indications that other smaller vessels characterized by tempering with iron ore or with crushed bones may also have a connection with iron reduction or smithing. The function of yet other vessels in other crafts may not be determined more precisely than as all-round containers. It is important, however, that while the smithing vessel and presumably the specially tempered vessels mentioned above are made specifically for this activity, most of the other vessels in the service of different handicrafts were reused household containers which could have damaged or missing rim/upper parts. Generally, as long as the bottom was whole, the vessel could be used for holding something. Even individual sherds could be reused, for example, as scrapers for hide-working (Räf & Stilborg 1999; Shamanaev 2001). Concentrations of reused pots and sherds may therefore characterize craft areas.

When we turn to the wider field of ceramics, we find a range of indicators for different crafts. The crucibles, the moulds, the soldering plates (Hulthén 1995) and the asbestos-tempered vessels (ibid.:1991) reveal the casting of metals or work with precious metals, while pieces of sintered mouthpieces

for bellows, sintered clay lumps in general and secondarily sintered potsherds reflect metalworking activities as such – often though iron reduction or smithing. The remnants of these activities are often associated with minor concentrations of burnt clay – in most cases probably derived from clay-covered hearths. Larger pieces of low-fired daub usually come from the domes of low-temperature ovens rather than burnt-down houses. Clay bricks, probably used as heat containers (Hulthén 1981), are often associated with low-temperature ovens or hearths.

Finally, clay loom weights and ceramic spindle whorls are clearly associated with the textile craft (Andersson 1999).

Thus ceramic finds reveal information about a wide range of activities as well as the intensity with which they were pursued.

Chronology

It is necessary to review the main trends in the development of pottery through the Early Iron Age in southern Scandinavia, or rather the characteristics of shape and ornaments that seem to have chronological importance. A key element in the pottery chronology of this area in the Pre-Roman (500 BC–0) and Early Roman Iron Age (0–180/200 AD) has been the profile of the rim (Vifot 1936; Becker 1961; Liversage 1980; Martens 1998), even if others have concentrated on shape analysis (Lund Hansen 1977; Ethelberg 2000) or a broader view of pottery design (Stjernquist 1955, 1969). There is no good practical explanation for the changes in rim profile and why they could be used as chronological markers spreading fairly quickly over large parts of southern Scandinavia. According to our present knowledge, Iron Age pottery was used and discarded locally where it was once made (Stilborg 1997:27 pp.). It was only transported in rare cases (ibid.:251). The prehistoric people never saw the profiles as clearly as we do on archaeological drawings of cross-sections, and looking at the pot as a whole, I would say that the shape of the rim is less conspicuous than the general shape and ornamentation. However, I must admit that the onset of the use of profiled rims (Martens II a 1998:Fig. 7, Liversage's Rørby phase, 1980:86 p.), later on the development towards thickened, profiled rims (Martens II b, Martens 1998:Fig. 7; Liversage Nissehøj phase, Liversage 1980:88 p.) and lastly the disappearance of the latter trait in the later part of the 2nd century AD (Vifot 1936; Albrechtsen 1971; Bergenstråhle & Stilborg 2002) form a general development recognizable in large parts of southern Scandinavia. Scania may to some extent deviate from this development in the Pre-Roman Iron Age. Unfortunately, we lack securely dated material from the end of this period in Scania (Martens 1998), which would have given us the basis needed to discuss the problem, but there are indications of a different development in Scania (Stilborg forthcoming and below). In the Early Roman Iron Age the thickened, profiled rim and certain elements in the ornamentation, such as the meander motif, seem to be common to the whole of southern Scandinavia (Albrechtsen 1971; Liversage 1980:89 pp.; Vifot 1936; Stjernquist 1955:102 p., 1969; Bergenstråhle & Stilborg 2002) even if there are clear differences as well (Stjernquist op. cit.). In the ensuing Late Roman Iron Age (180/200–400 AD) the main elements in the development of the fine-ware vessels – as they are established, for example, at the large cemetery of Møllegårdsmarken on Funen – the handled beaker with a fairly low neck at the beginning of the period, the occurrence of the cross-

hatched cordon in the middle of the period and the change towards plastic ornamentation in the 4th century (Albrechtsen 1971; Stilborg 1997) seem to be mirrored in the rest of the eastern part of southern Scandinavia, with the exception of Bornholm (Klindt-Jensen 1957; Andersen 1996). Elements such as vessels with drawn-out handles, biconical pitchers with closely spaced horizontal lines on the upper part; large vessels with three or more handles on the shoulder and finally the ornament motif consisting of three converging vertical cordons (Andersen 1996:14 pp.) characterizes the Bornholm pottery in relation to the rest of southern Scandinavia.

The basic work on the chronology of the Scanian pottery of this period was done by Stjernquist in 1955, with the pottery from the Simris cemetery as the main material. A few key datings may be mentioned. A pot from Råga Hörstad (ibid.:93, pl. XXXIX:1) with horizontal variations in the composition of the ornaments on the shoulder is placed in the 3rd century. This is congruent with the dating of the same type of varying decoration at Møllegårdsmarken (Stilborg 1997:199 pp.). Likewise, the ornamentation dominated by finger grooves and plastic appendices, which is found on the majority of 4th-century fine ware pots on Funen (Albrechtsen 1971) has been given a comparable dating from a grave on Albäcksbacken, Maglarp parish in Scania (Stjernquist 1955:90, pl. XXXVII:7–8). Even the tendency towards taller flaring necks at the end of the Late Roman Iron Age and into the ensuing Migration Period (400–600 AD) on Funen is matched by contemporary finds in Scania (ibid.:92, pl. XXXVIII:9).

The next important design event in the history of Iron Age pots is the spread from Western Europe of boss-ornamented pottery during the 6th century (Myres 1969). One example with vertical oblong bosses pressed out from the inside covering the shoulder on a vessel with high flaring neck is known from Göingeholm (Stjernquist 1977:fig. 4,1). The design has a parallel from the top levels of Lundeborg II Funen, although on a larger vessel (Stilborg 1997:155). Otherwise, this type of design is rare in the area.

Yet another element – stamped decoration – appears already in the Late Roman Iron Age in southern Scandinavia, although it is rare (Stjernquist 1993b:28 p.; Stilborg 1997:153). They seem to become more common, especially the incidences where there is more than one stamp in the latter part of the Iron Age (Stjernquist 1993b:28 p. with references).

The sharply offset conical neck on vessels from the Late Vendel–Early Viking Age around 800 AD, AIV:2 in Selling's system (Selling 1955), however, marks a clear break in the pottery design. Even the ware, with a rough exterior and probably fairly high fired, separates it in general from previous pottery.

The analytical tool

The thorough technological recording of pottery as developed by Birgitta Hulthén (1974) is an ideal way to gather information for a thorough analysis of the pottery craft. However, in some cases it may be modified to suit special assemblages or questions (Stilborg 1997:94 pp.). If the primary objective of the study is to reveal the functional structure of the site, it is important that all the material is examined. In my work with the pottery from Klörup-Aggarp (Bergenstråhle & Stilborg 2002), I therefore chose to replace the accurate measurements of sherd thickness and weight with a recording of sherd thickness interval and number of sherds for groups of fine, medium and coarse tempered pottery. Sur-

face treatment, type of firing and traces of use were also recorded. Some key materials were chosen for a traditional recording as well. Since my main questions about the ceramics of Klörup-Aggarp concerned the identification of special activity areas with deviating composition of the pottery refuse and/or large amounts of burnt clay, sintered fragments, mouthpieces for bellows etc., the data needed was mostly of the absence/presence type, and the modification of the recording may be justified.

In order to bring out significant concentrations of major groups of finds, screening levels were used: 100 grams was set as a lower limit for the plotting of bone, burnt clay and pottery on the site map. For the analyses of the material from trench 98:2 at Uppåkra, even a 50-gram limit for metal slag seemed appropriate and useful.

In this way, it was possible at Klörup-Aggarp to sketch out some of the activity areas of two farms during two phases covering the end of the Early Roman Iron Age and the beginning of the Late Roman Iron Age (Bergenstråhle & Stilborg 2002). Both farms had smithies with fragments of bellows mouthpieces and in one case a smithing vessel as well as additional areas for ironworking some distance from the houses. One farm even included a pit-house used for metal casting, leaving a number of fragments of crucibles. Separating the two farms was a large system of clay pits for daub. These pits had almost been filled up with ordinary household refuse during the first phase, but the area continued to be used for the same purpose during the later phase, resulting in the formation of a culture layer on top of the infilled pits.

The vertical and horizontal functional layout of 98:2 at Uppåkra

The excavation (Fig. 3) consisted of 9 minor 4 m^2 squares – nos. 1, 2 and 3 approx. 2 metres apart; nos. 3–7 adjacent to each other and finally nos. 8 and 9 around 4 metres north of no. 7 and adjacent to each other (Fig. 4; Lindell 1998). The present analysis has concentrated on squares 1–7, which had the richest find materials. The up to 80 cm thick occupation layer on this site was dug in 10 cm spits (levels) except for square 2, which was dug in natural layers. For details of the excavation technique and the stratigraphy, I refer to the report.

The large amount of fragmented bones and the amount and high fragmentation of the pottery – few sherds are larger than 25 cm^2 – show that the activity level was high in the area all through the period when the occupation layer was formed. Base fragments are under-represented, indicating that this is not a formal refuse area. Vessels with destroyed rims or even missing the whole upper part were not thrown away, but reused and finally often deposited elsewhere. The bone, the pottery and the pieces of burnt clay make up by far the majority of the finds in the area.

The functional analyses using the analytical model outlined above gave a result which may be presented graphically as in Fig. 5. I would, however, like to present the functional history of the area in chronological order starting with the bottom levels.

Bottom levels (70–80 cm)

Characteristic of spit 70–80 cm in squares 1, 3 and 4 and layers 9–18 in square 2 is rather normal household pottery refuse, with both small and large vessels; both coarser-ware and

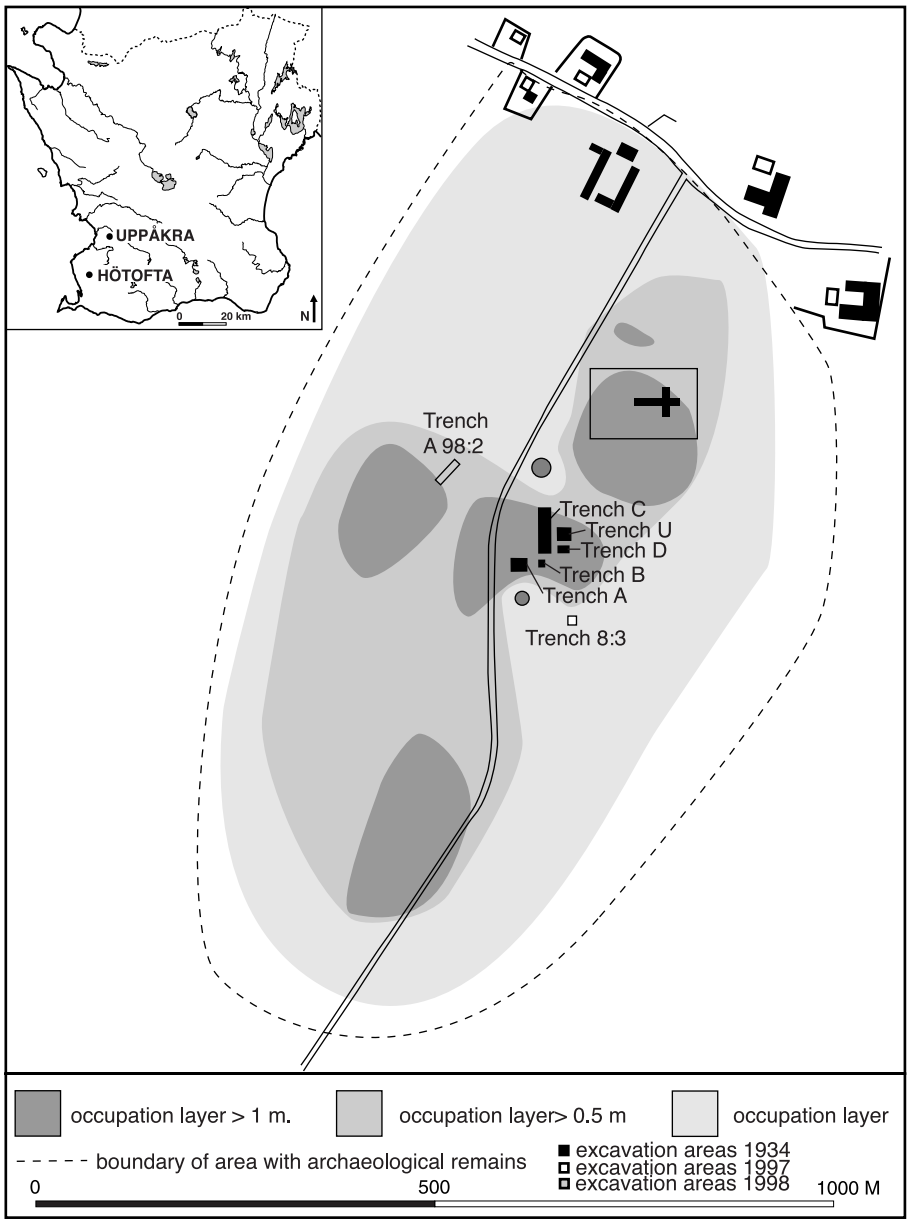

Fig. 3. Location of excavated trenches at Uppåkra discussed in the text.

fine-ware vessels, even if the smaller vessels and medium coarse temper predominates. A medium-coarse temper is defined here as 15–20% crushed stone temper with maximum grain sizes most often varying from 2 to 4 mm. Among the latter we find one larger ornamented sherd (Fig. 6, D) and a number of rims with facets, some of them slightly thickened. The type of decoration element seen here was often used for the meander motif, which was in use on both sides of the birth of Christ. The elegant, facetted, somewhat thickened rims to my mind are more akin to pottery dated to the Pre-Roman Iron

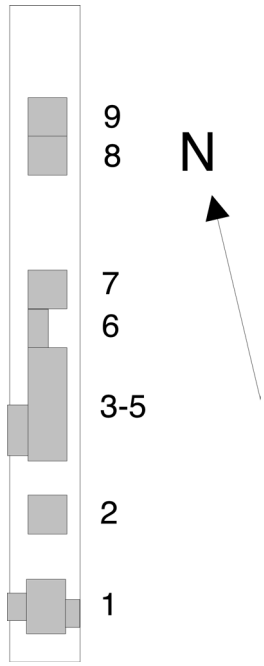

Fig. 4. Plan of trenches at 98:2.

Age elsewhere (Martens 1998) than later material. It must be stressed again, however, that we lack well-dated comparative material from Scania. In trench 98:2, only a couple of rims with the pronounced thickening characteristic of the Early Roman Iron Age pottery as it appears in level 5 in square D of Vifot's excavation (1936:331), the lower levels of trench 5 dug during the investigation of Uppåkra 97:4 and the material from a small test square at Uppåkra 1:2 (Dahlström 1999:6 pp., Fig. 6) were found. However, rims akin to the material from the bottom level of 98:2 have been found in a few instances in different levels of squares C and D of Vifot's excavation indicating a later dating. A more precise dating is dependent on graves from the late Pre-Roman period with good fibula dating – graves which are still to be found.

Another ceramic find group interesting to note from a functional viewpoint is a small concentration of 4 spindle whorls of burnt clay in layer 9/feature 27, square 2. One other spindle whorl – of sandstone – was found higher up in square 3 and two spindle whorls were stray finds. This small concentration should indicate the presence of spinning and weaving here or near by (Andersson 1999:36 p.).

Level 60–70 cm

Even in the ensuing level the pottery refuse is of a general household character. Sherds from the same LRIA vessel were found in layer 8 and in feature A 27 in square 2, documenting the disturbance by digging also seen in the pit in square 4. Among other things, the latter contained a fine ware sherd with ornaments best dated to the beginning of the LRIA – 180/200 AD (Fig. 6, E). This material may of course come from a higher and later level, but there are no clear signs that the pottery in the rest of the layer is earlier. There are no thickened, profiled rims and the few ornamented fragments in square 3 could just as well be Late Roman in dating as Early Roman. This layer was probably formed just at the transition Early/Late Roman Iron Age.

Level 50–60 cm

With the exception of one rim with a diameter of 27 cm in square 6, the larger vessels are missing among the reconstructable rim diameters from this level upwards, and vessels between 10 and 17 cm in rim diameter dominate (Fig. 7). This is partly a result of the high degree of fragmentation. Even small rim fragments may suffice to calculate the original diameter of small vessels, but not of larger ones. The variation in sherd thicknesses from 3 to 17 mm indicates that pieces of large vessels, often with vessel walls thicker than 10 mm, do end up here as well, but they are rare.

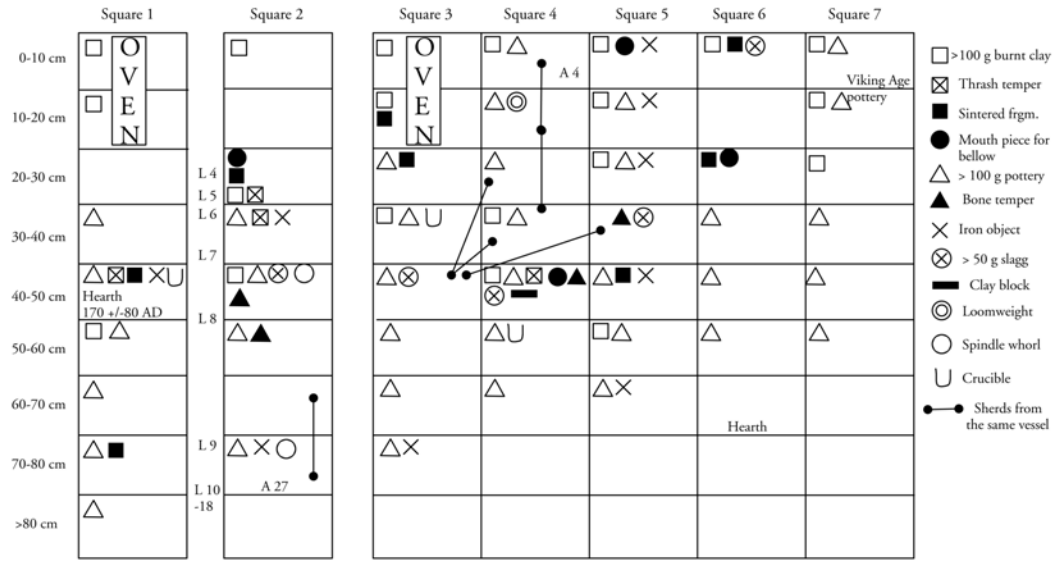

Fig. 5a. Table of the results of the functional analysis of Uppåkra 98:2.

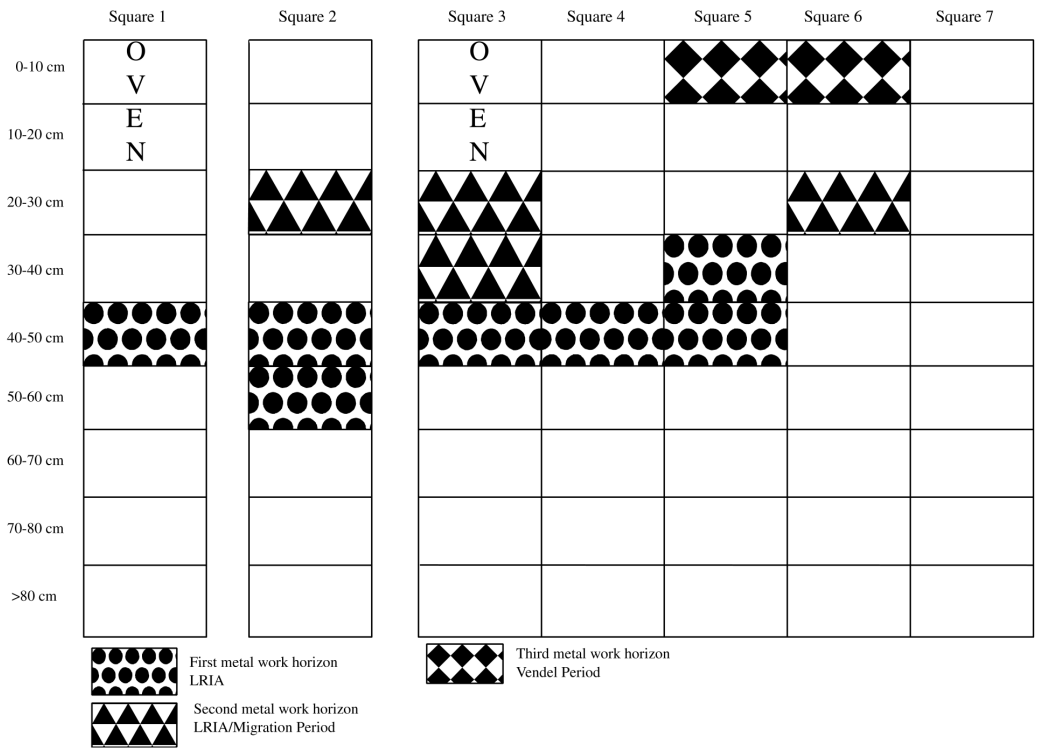

Fig. 5b. Table of the results of the functional analysis of Uppåkra 98:2.

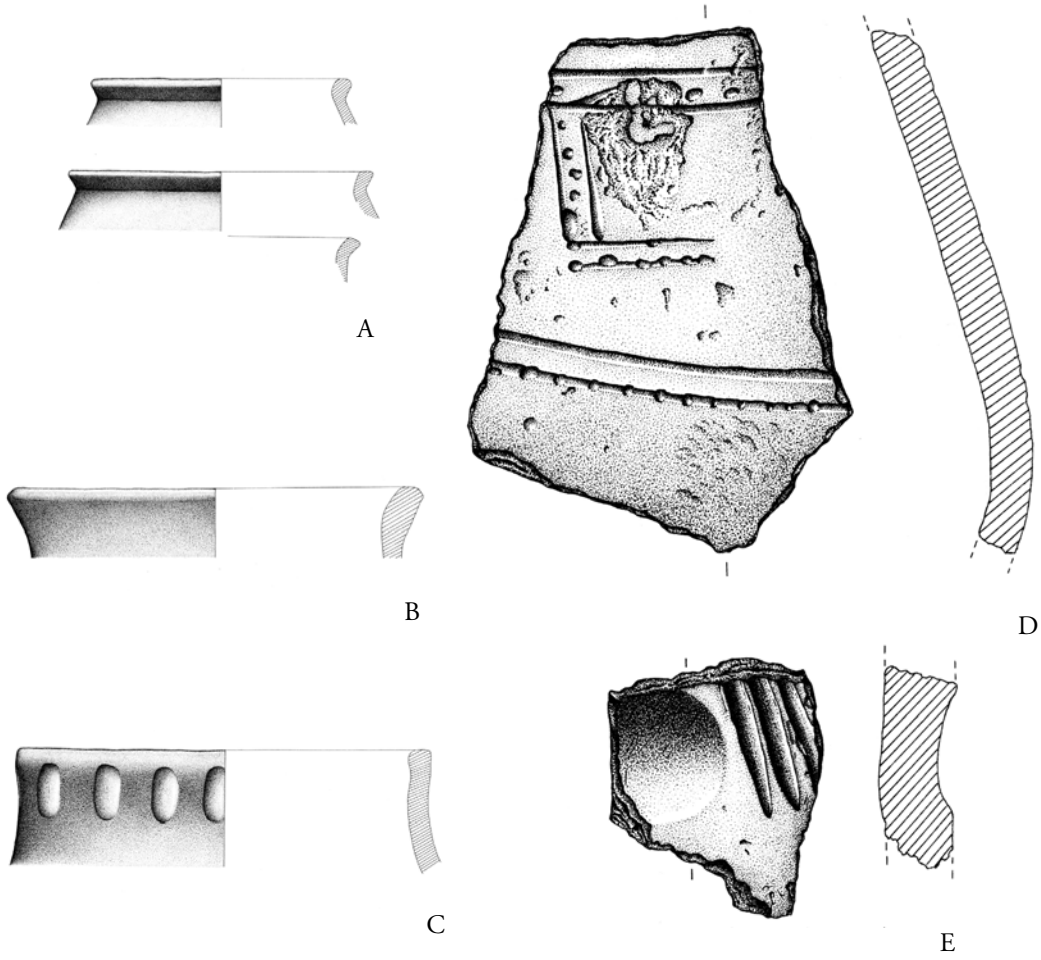

Fig. 6. Selected pottery from the bottom levels of 98:2. A-C 1:3, D-E 1:1.

Especially when it is compared to the contemporary material from level 3, square D of Vifot's excavations and the pit-houses at the contemporary site of Saxtorp SU 8, where medium-sized vessels (15–20 cm rim diameter) and large vessels (21–25 cm rim diameter) are the most frequent (Stilborg forthcoming). The ornamented sherds in the level with a small concentration in square 4 may be dated to the early LRIA.

The level is furthermore characterized by finds of more than background level (100 g) of burnt clay in squares 1 and 5. Together with a small, heavily sintered fragment of a crucible in square 4 and one weathered fine ware sherd with bone temper in the top of layer 8, square 2, it probably belongs to the metal craft activity horizon in the following higher level.

Level 40–50 cm – the first metal craft horizon

The activities of this level are revealed by the concentration of burnt clay fragments in layer 7, square 2 and square 4, together with sintered fragments in squares 1 and 5; pieces of a bellows mouthpiece in square 4 and more than 50 grams of metal slag in squares 1 and 4. Two cases of special temper – plant material (threshing refuse) and bone – used for

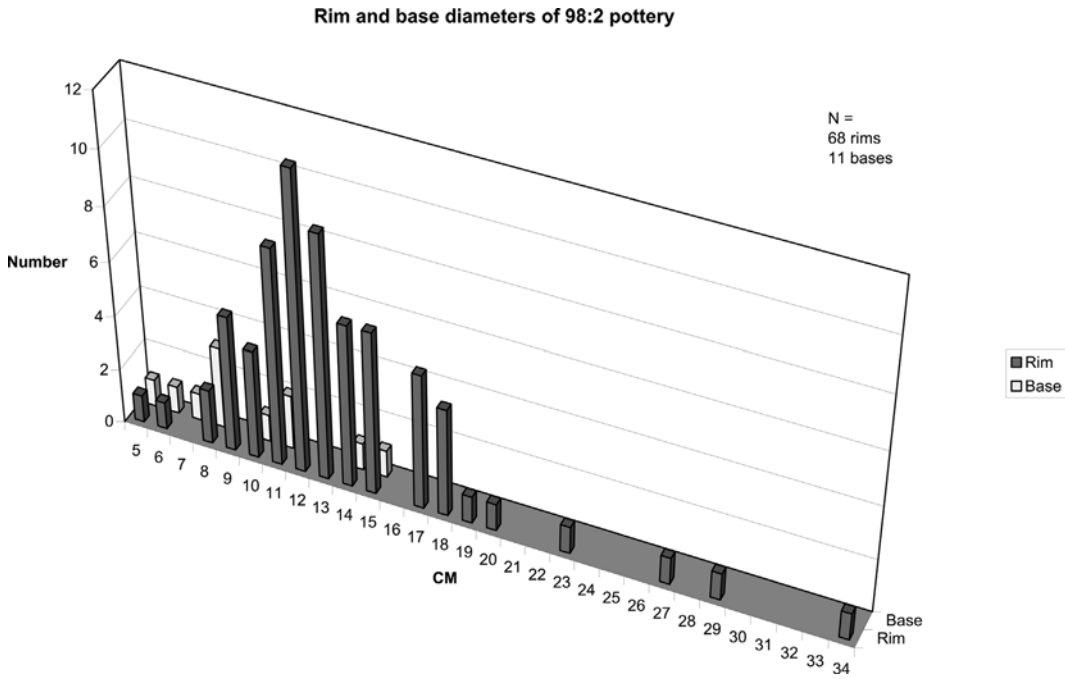

Fig. 7. Rim diameters reconstructed from rim sherds from 98:2. A-C, E-F 1:1, D 1:3.

daub (?) and pottery (at least two different vessels) respectively also seem to be attached to the metal craft milieu (Stilborg 2001b. The same type of plant-tempered daub was found in some of the pit-houses with traces of metal craft at Saxtorp SU 8 (Stilborg forthcoming), and two sherds of bone-tempered fine ware were found in two different metal craft contexts at Klörup (Bergenstråhle & Stilborg 2002). Contemporary bone-tempered vessels have been found on east Funen and were discussed by me in connection with the Gudme-Lundeborg project (Stilborg 1997: 258 pp.). There they appear first and foremost as grave vessels, which does not seem to be the case in Scania (Engblom 2001). However, the find at Lundeborg (Stilborg op. cit) of a bone-tempered sherd reshaped into the only pottery pendant found on the trading site, indicates that the temper had more than a practical function. Bone makes an excellent temper, binding well to the clay and resulting in a light ware.

A clay-covered hearth in square 1 has been ^{14}C-dated to 170±80 AD cal. Thus this level should also belong to the early part of the LRIA. Three of the few ornamented sherds hint at a date not earlier than the middle of this period. The decoration on the three sherds in square 3, deriving from the same – fairly large – fine ware vessel (Fig. 8 E, F), is dominated by a series of vertical, slashed cordons with parallels in the house in trench D from around 400 AD (Vifot 1936:312) and at the Källby cemetery (Stjernquist 1955:pl. XXXVIII,5 and pl. XXXIX,2) dating to an advanced part of the LRIA and into the Migration Period. It is questionable, however, whether these sherds date the level, since other sherds from the same vessel have been found at levels 20–30 and 30–40 cm in square 4. It is, of course, impossible to say whether these vessels have travelled downwards or upwards because of the later disturbances. The rest of the pottery material has the same composition as in the preceding level. No smithing vessel was encountered.

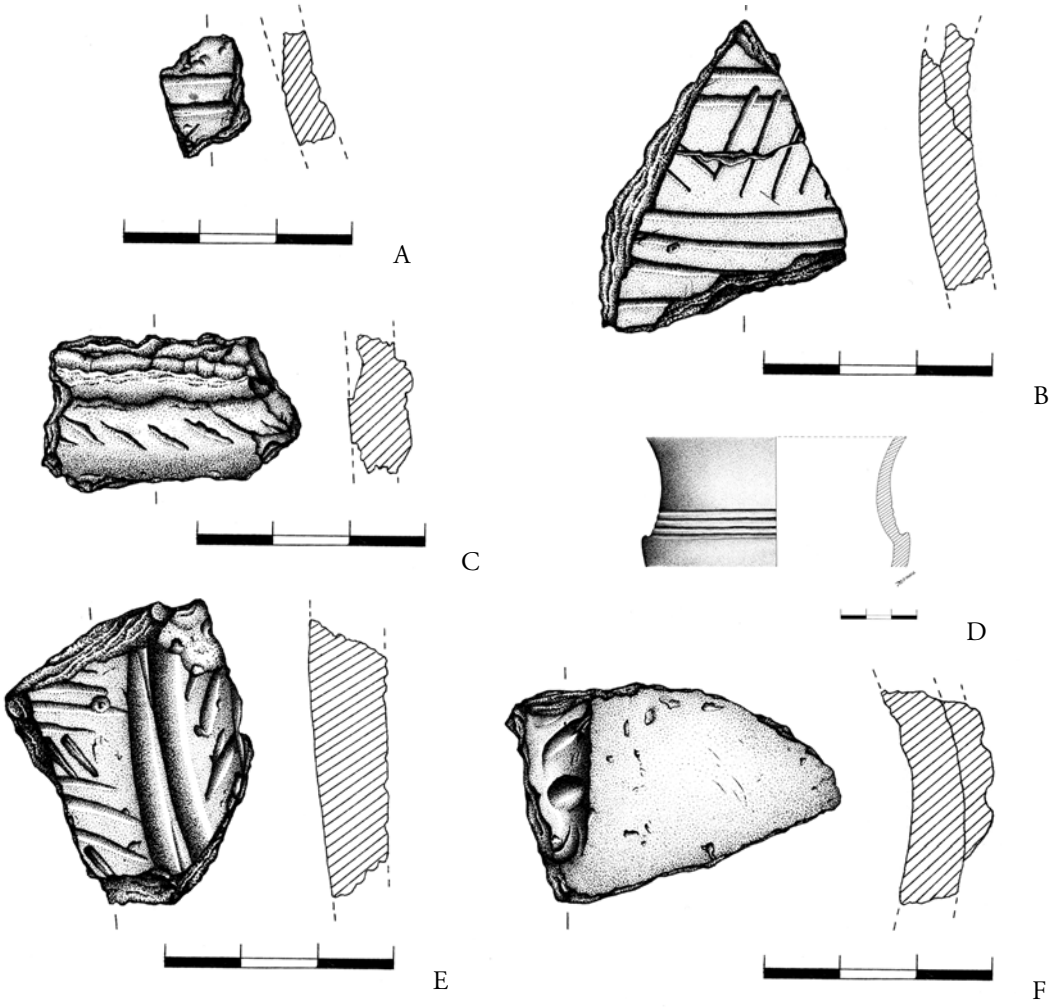

Fig. 8. Ornamented sherds from level 50 cm and upwards in trench 98:2.

Level 30–40 cm

In square 5 we find the top of the metal craft horizon, with 3 small sherds of bone-tempered pottery and more than 50 grams of slag. Among the finds there is also a fragment of a band-shaped handle ornamented with parallel vertical lines, possibly deriving from the same vessel as a comparable fragment in square 3, level 40–50 cm. The fragments of plant-tempered daub in layer 6, square 2 and a sintered fragment of a crucible (?) in square 3 may also derive from the concentration of craft refuse in the lower level.

The pottery is still dominated by small and medium-sized vessels and the fragmentation is high. However, large parts of one albeit extremely fragmented large, coarsely tempered vessel were found in square 6. Apart from the ornamented sherds (groups of slanting lines) from a vessel spread in the preceding as well as in the ensuing level, there is only one other decorated sherd in square 3, comprising a horizontal, slashed, cordon and indicating a dating in the middle part of the Late Roman Iron Age or later.

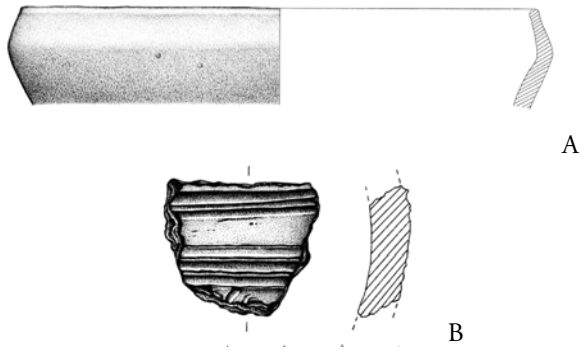

Fig. 9. Selected sherds from the top levels. A 1:3, B 1:1.

Level 20–30 cm

The metal craft activities seem to begin anew at this level. In square 2 a concentration of burnt clay as well as sintered fragments and parts of a mouthpiece for a bellows appeared. In squares 3 and 6 there are also a few sintered fragments and in square 6 also a fragment of a mouthpiece for a bellows. This activity horizon was not associated with bone-tempered pottery as the preceding metal craft horizon. The amount of pottery is smaller, but otherwise maintains the same character as before. Apart from the spread of sherds from the same larger fine ware vessel, a sherd in square 7 decorated with broader, horizontal furrows points towards the end of the Late Roman Iron Age/beginning of the Migration Period. A sherd with a comparable type of decoration was found in level 10–20 cm in square 1.

Level 10–20 cm

This layer could have been deposited during the Migration Period with the two 7th-century ovens[1] being dug down into the layer later on. In that case the rim and neck sherd from the transition between the Vendel Period and the Viking Age (*c.* 800 AD; Selling 1955: type A IV:2 and pers. com. T. Brorsson) found in square 7 should have been introduced from above (Fig. 9, A).

The large concentration of hard-burnt pieces of daub with impressions of up to 2.5 cm thick poles and with finger impressions and finger furrows on the outside could derive from a type of oven, but also from a smaller burnt outhouse. The burnt clay in square 5 probably belongs to the concentration of oven wall fragments in the uppermost 10 cm.

Finally, parts of a loom weight were found in square 4. It may be connected with a spindle whorl of sandstone from square 3, level 20–30 cm.

The ovens

The two round low-temperature ovens were of similar design, with clay wallfoundations from the dome (?) situated in a pit around 1 m in diameter. Some stones, among them used quernstones, were also included in the construction (Lindell 1998). For the oven in square 1 a coarse, calciferous clay had been used for the inner parts of the wall, and a finer clay with more calcium for the outer parts. The preserved parts of the oven appeared to have been exposed to temperatures in the range of 300–600 °C. The oven in square 3 may have been rebuilt since the lower parts had been constructed of a coarse, non-calciferous clay, while the pieces of the dome

(?) spread out in the adjacent squares consisted of an equally coarse but calciferous clay. The preserved pieces of the oven wall had been exposed to a maximum of 500–600°C.

The uppermost layers

This level (0-10 cm) – just beneath the plough-soil – was characterized by a large amount of oven wall fragments, and must therefore have been deposited when the ovens were no longer in use and crumbling. The pottery in square 7 comprising two bases and a body sherd, probably dating to around 800, and one ornamented body sherd of Baltic ware from the 10th century (Fig. 9, B; pers. com. T. Brorsson) also indicates later activity. These later sherds are clearly less fragmented than the pottery below.

Fragments of a mouthpiece for a bellows in square 5 and of both sintered fragments and slag in square 6 may be interpreted as yet another metalworking horizon. The pit feature A4, containing, among other things, a whetstone, may also belong to this milieu.

The development of Uppåkra 98:2

Around the birth of Christ varying activities, of which textile production may be identified, were carried out in the area. Refuse of household pottery, probably from an adjacent farm, accumulated in the area. There seems to have been a longer hiatus in the use up to the beginning of the Late Roman Iron Age or the level of activity was low during the remainder of the Early Roman Iron Age. During the following 200–300 years the activity is high and the occupation layer rapidly growing. The pottery refuse is now dominated by small and medium-sized vessels and contains sherds of quite a few fine ware vessels. In the early part of the LRIA, the first metalworking is carried out in the area. The activity is spread out over at least 14 metres N–S. Attached to this horizon are finds of bone-tempered pottery. From this time onwards it is most likely that the area is situated at some distance from the farmhouses (Bergenstråhle & Stilborg 2002). An example of how this area may have been organized is provided by the excavations at Hørup on Zealand (Sørensen 2000:9 pp.).

In the ensuing levels, which were formed during the remainder of the LRIA and possibly the beginning of the Migration Period, the level of activity is still high and the metalworking continues, although no longer associated with bone-tempered pottery. The increased disturbance of the layers, as revealed by the vertical spread of sherds from the same vessels, may perhaps be explained by a slower build-up of occupation layers or that the area was now used for larger buildings with bigger postholes, introducing more disturbance. Because of the problems regarding the development of the Migration Period pottery mentioned earlier, it is difficult to say whether there was another hiatus between the activities of the 5th century and the low-temperature ovens built in the 7th century.

The uppermost metalworking horizon is later than the ovens although probably not as late as the 9th – 10th century pottery finds, which end the activity in the area as far as the ceramics are concerned.

Uppåkra in the Late Roman Iron Age

In an earlier article, I have pointed out the marked differences in the composition of the pottery materials from level 3, trench D in

Vifot's excavation, compared to the contemporary levels at Uppåkra 8:3 – one being dominated by big storage vessels and the other by thin-walled fine ware (Fig. 3, Stilborg 2001a). Even if the latter also contained slag and a fragment of a crucible, a more important find group here was worked antler from comb production (Lindell 2001). The pottery of Uppåkra 98:2 was recorded differently and the statistics of the composition of vessel sizes and types cannot therefore be compared directly with the finds from the two trenches mentioned above. However, my impression is that the LRIA pottery of this trench has an intermediate composition in relation to trench D and Uppåkra 8:3. Most important, though, it deviates from the other two in the clear concentration of metalworking and the finds of bone-tempered pottery associated with one of these horizons. Another similarity to trenches D and 8:3 is that the layers deposited before this period have a normal household pottery composition. Besides the large amounts of burnt daub from the 4th-century house in trench D, the ceramics other than pottery found in the trenches excavated by Vifot consist of small amounts of burnt clay (no sintered fragments), pieces of a clay brick (trench D), a pyramid-shaped loom weight (trench A) and pieces of a "hibachi" (trench B). A hibachi is a perforated clay cylinder used for containing glowing charcoal as a heat source (Vifot 1936: 339). The hard-fired, even sintered inside of the cylinder attests to its use as an ember container.

The clear functional characteristic of Uppåkra 98:2 therefore strengthens my belief that the LRIA in this part of Uppåkra, covering in total nearly 40,000 m^2 (Larson 1998:101), not only entailed a rapidly growing occupation layer and presumably a high level of activity as well, but also a structuring of the site relegating special activities, such as metalworking, combmaking and storage/brewing (?) to certain areas (see also Riddersporre, this volume, on traces of later structures).

Pottery craft at Uppåkra

When we turn from the differential use and distribution of the vessels produced to look at the pottery craft and its general development, we encounter a much more traditional picture. Clearly, almost all the pottery found at Uppåkra must have been made locally within a continuing craft tradition through the Roman Iron Age. On the basis of the technological recording, a total of 60 thin sections have been made and analysed from the Uppåkra material. Characteristic of the tradition is the ability to cope with calciferous clays – like the Brudager potters on Funen (Stilborg 1997:220 pp.) and a preference for tempering with granites rich in mica and dark minerals (Stilborg 2001a). Presumably, this was determined first and foremost by the local availability of raw materials, but there are a good deal of wares, without doubt local as well, that are non-calciferous and tempered with other types of granite. The household pottery of the 5th-century house in the top of trench D of Vifot's excavations represents a break in the tradition, showing a very coarse tempering. No pottery of a comparable ware was found in Uppåkra 98:2, where the 5th century ought to be represented. Thus, the pottery of the house at trench D may be the product of one idiosyncratic potter. Hopefully, the ongoing Uppåkra excavations will help in the further elucidation of this problem.

One fairly certain import vessel was isolated in the material excavated by Vifot and subsequently analysed by thin section. One small body sherd lying high in trench D was made of a fabric tempered with amphibolite.

Amphibolite as temper has a long history in Halland, but has to my knowledge not been used in Scania.

Finally, the recording of Uppåkra 98:2 produced the first vessels of bone-tempered pottery at Uppåkra. No thin section analysis of the sherds has been performed yet, but microscope examination of polished sections on the sherds indicate that at least three different bone-tempered wares are present varying in the amount and coarseness (0.5–2 mm max. grain size) of the added burnt bone. Several of the sherds have organic coatings on the inside deriving from some content.

The relation between Uppåkra and other sites in the region

A number of assumptions have been put forward regarding the possible difference between the pottery craft and its products at a site/settlement with central functions in relation to ordinary hamlets (Stilborg 2001a). A larger diversity in the craft due to immigrating people; a larger diversity in the vessel types and sizes due to more special functions; more and higher quality fine ware because of the higher status of people living here; and a higher chance of finding non-local pottery – these were the key assumptions for Uppåkra. When compared to Hötofta, disregarding for the moment the difference in time,[2] the Late Iron Age pottery of Uppåkra seemed to confirm these ideas (ibid.; Dahlström & Ramstedt 1999).

The recording of material from the settlement Klörup-Aggarp (ERIA–beginning of the LRIA) and from the partly earlier settlement of Lockarp 7H[3] (Fig. 1) raises some doubts about these assumptions. In terms of diversity in the craft exemplified by surface treatments and temper qualities, the contents of one pithouse (feature A30) at Klörup-Aggarp surpasses what has been found at Uppåkra so far (Bergenstråhle & Stilborg 2002). The raw materials used for the Klörup-Aggarp vessels suggest that the pots were locally made. One possible explanation for this marked diversity could be that skilful potters with ample access to good clay experimented with the ware composition, as did the potters at the Brudager settlement on eastern Funen (Stilborg 1997: 306).

The rich pottery material from the settlement Lockarp 7H (end of the Pre-Roman Iron Age through the ERIA) illustrates the complexity of another assumption. Here, we find sherds of a number of fine ware vessels of very high quality with polished, ornamented surfaces and wall thicknesses down to 2–3 mm. We should not be surprised that relations between pottery and the function of a settlement are more complex than the assumptions above allow for. I still believe that, taken together, they may be characteristic of the central place, but there are other factors as well, such as the local variation in the skill and professionalism of the potters, which will blur the ideal picture we would like to see.

Ceramic contact fossils

Normally, Iron Age pottery was used and deposited where it was once made. It is in the few exceptions to this rule and in the use of the same complex vessel design on different sites that pottery might reveal contacts between sites.

In the Early Roman Iron Age a small group of biconical bowls seems to mark out an interaction sphere in the south-west corner of Scania. The bowls are characterized by a biconical profile, a faceted rim and an ornamentation on the upper half consisting

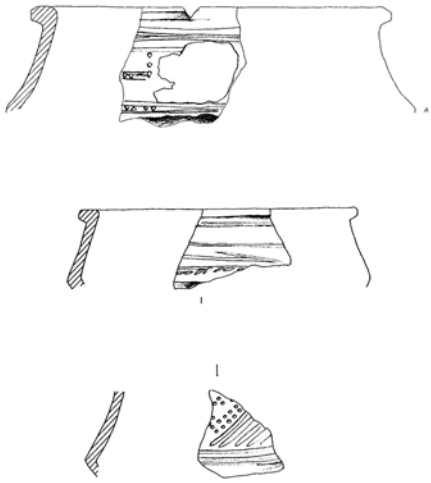

Fig. 10. Early Roman biconical vessels. Annika Jeppson and author del. 1:3.

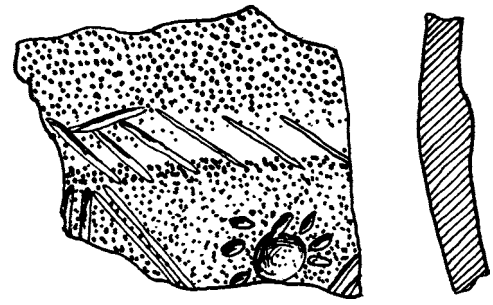

Fig. 11. Sun/flower motif on sherd from trench D. After Vifot 1936. 1:1.

of vertical and horizontal lines forming rectangles and small impressions/stamps either alongside the lines or on top of them (Fig. 10). Pots with this design have so far been found at Klörup-Aggarp, the cemetery of Albäcksbacken (Jacobsson 1984:15; Stjernquist 1955: pl. XXXI,3) and at Lockarp 7H. A dating around 100 AD, as suggested by Stjernquist (1955:76 p.) for the Albäcksbacken find, is not in contradiction with the dating of the new finds. The pots at Klörup-Aggarp and Lockarp 7H all appear to be locally made. So far no vessel of this kind has been found at Uppåkra or Hötofta. It is, therefore, interesting to note that during the Late Roman Iron Age there is at least one example of vessels with the same design being found at Uppåkra (Vifot 1936:303) and at Fallenbjer, Stora Köpinge parish, Herrestad hundred, southern Scania (Stjernquist 1955:pl. XXXII,1). The two pitchers have the same size and profile and an ornamentation containing the same basic motifs. Even if the use of ornamentation on the grave vessels in the Malmö area may not have been as rich as in the vicinity of Uppåkra (Engblom 2001), the ornament style of some of the vessels at Kristineberg, furthermore, has parallels in Uppåkra (Vifot 1936:337; Rudebeck & Ödman 2000:197). As mentioned earlier, the period as such entails an inter-regional style development encompassing the whole of south-eastern Scandinavia (Stjernquist 1955:102 p.; Stilborg 1997:196) and that of course detracts from the importance *vis-à-vis* contact of general design resemblances.

On the other hand, one sherd found in level 3 (LRIA) beneath the 5th-century house in trench D is ornamented with a sun/flower motif (Fig. 11, Vifot 1936:Fig. 18) otherwise not occurring in the Scanian material as published. This motif, however, is very common on the fine ware pottery of eastern Funen (Albrechtsen 1973:2) but rarer on Zealand (Lund Hansen 1976:94; Ethelberg 2000). The association with a horizontal slashed cordon would date it to the middle of the Late Roman Iron Age on Funen. This sherd may signal that Uppåkra played a part in the cross-regional contacts creating the overall homogeneous design development in eastern southern

Scandinavia. As clearly shown by the work of Stjernquist on Simris and Gårdlösa (1955, 1993) eastern Scania likewise followed the general trends in the pottery development during this period. However, influences or possibly imported vessels from Bornholm are also clear (ibid.) and recently further exemplified through a pot found in the rich Järrestad grave (pers. com. T. Brorsson). No such influence has yet been traced in the Uppåkra material. Some sort of contact may on the other hand, be indicated by the richly ornamented vessels in the top levels of 98:2 and in the 5th-century house in trench D. Vessels with comparable decorative design consisting of vertical cordons with line patterns in between have been found at the Vä settlement (Stjernquist 1951:Fig. 34) and at the Slusegård cemetery (Andersen 1996: 16, type 46). The spread of this design idea may mark a common development in Scania and Bornholm, which was not paralleled further west (Albrechtsen 1971).

Pottery in the Iron Age community

Even if pottery survives better than many other materials in the archaeological record and thus is over-represented, it must have been a normal daily phenomenon in Iron Age society. It served a range of practical functions and was for long periods an important element in funerary rites. In the house and in the open settlement space, the different sizes and shapes and in some cases decoration of the vessels signalled the different chores that occupied the family and their neighbours, both to themselves and to the archaeologists wanting to understand the structure of the settlement. The intertwined entities of the design hierarchy and the pattern of daily activities involving ceramics formed a material matrix that facilitated living in and learning to live in the society (Stilborg 1997:1 pp.). This matrix of material meaning in some cases even stipulated the use of specific types of tempering materials for special-purpose vessels or special ceramics in general – here exemplified by the tempering with threshing refuse and bone in daub and pottery respectively.

In a larger geographical perspective, the areas sharing similar design styles varied greatly in size and coherence, and it would be dangerous to try to translate this directly into ethnic or political entities. Design sharing is primarily a result of contact. I would like to raise the discussion of ethnicity above the level of the overt resemblances between vessels on different sites to the structure of the material matrix forming the basis for understanding the society. Viewed from this level, the lack of "Klörup-Aggarp" bowls at Uppåkra is less important than the fact that the association between metalworking and bone-tempered vessels is part of the material matrix on both sites. This to my mind shows us that their material language was the same although they differed with respect to some particular "words".

In the case of Uppåkra, the study of the ceramics left behind by the working matrix hint that a major factor in the making of the central place of Uppåkra was a restructuring of the site during the Late Roman Iron Age with designated locations for a series of different craft activities. At the same time, contacts with the surrounding region and further west were increasing in intensity, reflected in a common design development of the pottery during the Late Roman Iron Age.

Notes

1. Only one of the ovens has got a 7th-century ^{14}C dating, and a Vendel Period fibula was found beneath it (pers com. B. Helgesson). The other oven had a much earlier ^{14}C date, but since it has both the same construction and is placed at the same level as the 7th-century oven, a contemporary date is more likely.
2. With the possible exception of the amount and quality of fine ware, the factors mentioned above seem to be independent of the chronological development of the pottery.
3. The recording of the pottery from Lockarp 7H and the statistics were performed by E. Ramstedt.

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Large Farms and Ordinary Villages
Perspectives on Uppåkra

Mats Riddersporre

Abstract

The large farm – the magnate's farm or the manor – is often discussed in research on the central places of the Scandinavian Iron Age and Early Middle Ages. Sometimes it is seen as a more or less constitutional part of the central place, as opposed to more ordinary settlements. In this paper, the large farm is discussed on the basis of historical maps in combination with written sources and archaeological observations. It is argued that the large farm, although varying in size and dignity, may have been a normal ingredient of both prominent places and ordinary settlements. Moreover, the Viking Age and early medieval large farms seem to have been arranged in a way that displays social structure and economic relations through the spatial setting of the local settlement.

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Hötofta is an ordinary village in the parish of Södra Åkarp on the plains of south-west Scania (Fig. 1). In 1708, when the oldest land survey map of Hötofta was drawn, there were twelve farms in the village. As a result of the *enskifte* (enclosure) reallotment programme a majority of the farms were relocated in 1805 and only four farms were able to remain on their old plots in the village core. In the 1960s, extraction of gravel induced archaeological excavations, under the leadership of Berta Stjernquist, which revealed Iron Age settlement in the close vicinity of the former village green (Stjernquist 1969a, 1998a, 1998b; Frostin 1977). The relation between the Iron Age settlement and the historical village of Hötofta is one of the objectives of this paper.

In relation to the concept of the ordinary village, a second objective concerns the "large farm". Within the discussion of central places during the Iron Age and the Early Middle Ages, the large farm – the seat of the magnates of the time – is often in focus. The Iron Age magnate's farm has become quite well known in Scandinavia in recent decades through excavations of large hall buildings, and the relation between these and medieval estates and manors, to some extent known from written sources, is a challenging question. The result of recent excavations at Järrestad in south-east Scania (Söderberg, this volume) is a very good example of a Late Iron Age large farm. As a part of the excavation project, historical maps were analysed in order to search for structures in the historical village of Järrestad that relate to the archaeological observations.

In the land survey maps of the 17th to early 19th centuries, more or less obscure and

Fig. 1. Map of Scania with places mentioned in the text.

obsolete structures can often be detected that reflect the spatial arrangement of large farms or manors of the Early and High Middle Ages (the 11th–14th centuries). In many cases the location of the earliest church buildings seems to be a part of this spatial arrangement (Skansjö *et al.* 1989; Riddersporre 1989, 1998).

This paper discusses examples where map analysis is combined with important archaeological observations, and where the results give interesting perspectives on Uppåkra in the period of transition from Viking Age to Middle Ages. An overall aspect concerns how the landscape was used in order to display the structure of society. Related to that is the question of the relation between the large farm, the village and the church, and the question of what an ordinary village looked like at that time. Serving as a starting point is a cross-disciplinary inventory of the manors of the Ystad area, based on historical maps, written documents and archaeological observations.

The medieval manors of the Ystad area

Within the Ystad project, "The Cultural Landscape in Southern Sweden during 6000 Years" (Berglund 1991), the source material (archaeological observations, written documents, place-names, maps etc.) concerning medieval large farms and manors in the two

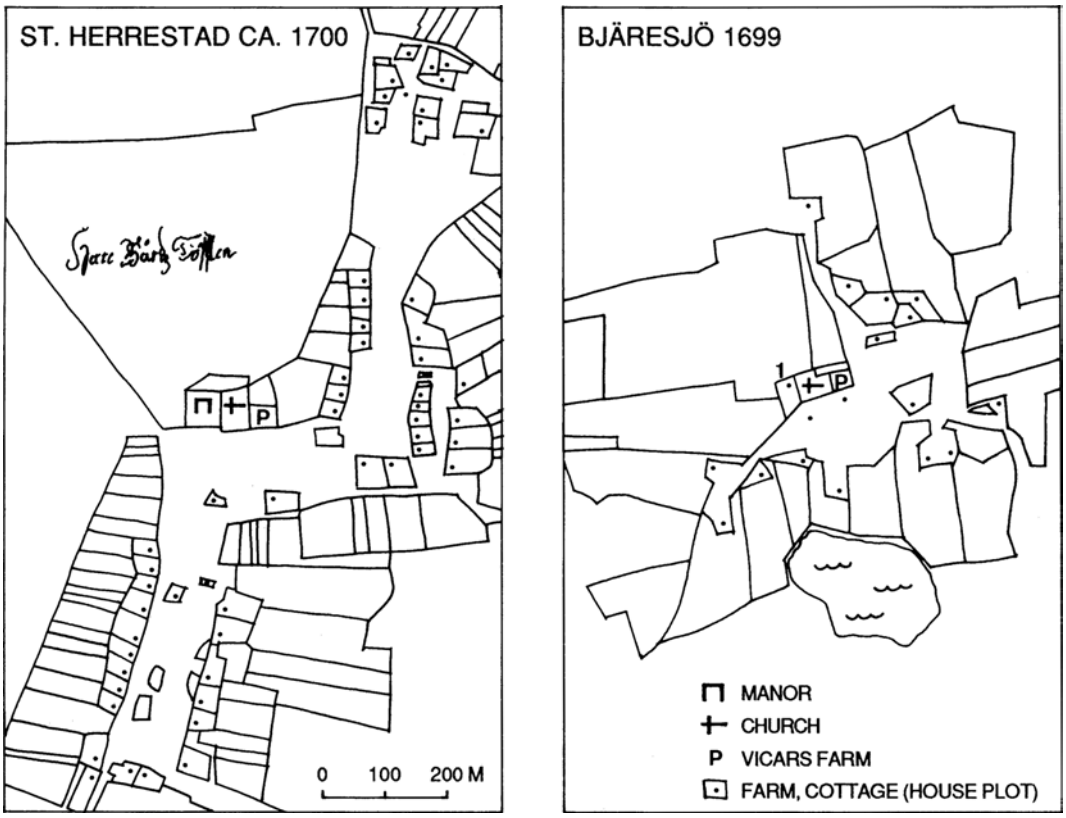

Fig. 2. Tofts in the villages of Stora Herrestad and Bjäresjö. In Stora Herrestad at the start of the 18th century the manor probably stood on its original site in the large *Herregårdstoften*, "manor toft". Similar conditions can be reconstructed in Bjäresjö. The archaeologically documented manor (1) was also in what appears to have been the largest toft. The toft structure in Bjäresjö can be reconstructed with the aid of land survey documents from 1699 – about 350 years after the assumed move of the manor from the village core. Note the similar spatial relationship between large toft, manor, church, and vicarage in the two villages. From Riddersporre 1992.

hundreds of Ljunits and Herrestad was worked through (Skansjö *et al.* 1989). The Ystad area is dominated in modern times by large manorial estates. Some of these have a long history that can be traced back to Early Middle Ages, but many manors also disappeared during the Middle Ages. The overall result of the study implies that the existence of a notably large farm or manor was more or less normal for a majority of the villages in the area during the Early and High Middle Ages. Of these, Bjäresjö and Stora Herrestad have come to serve as good examples of the medieval manor, located in the largest village in the parish, on an extensive toft and with a close spatial and architectural relation to the church (Fig. 2). In Bjäresjö, the manor was moved out of the village around 1350, whereas in Stora Herrestad it is still in existence at the original location in the village core. In both cases it is possible, on the basis of archaeological observations, to argue that the manor-in-the-village dates back to the Viking Age.

Within the Ystad area, there are other examples that conform to this picture, but there are also examples of manors/large farms

Fig. 3. The Hunnestad monument as drawn by Ole Worm in the 17th century. From Jacobsen & Moltke 1942.

in small villages that are not church villages. One of these is Hunnestad in the parish of Skårby. Here, on the other hand, one of the most magnificent monuments of runestones in southern Scandinavia is found (Fig. 3).

According to written documents from the 17th century, Hunnestad is supposed to be the oldest manor in Scania with privileges granted to the nobility. The earliest evidence of a person of noble rank in Hunnestad, however, is not older than 1496 (Skansjö *et al.* 1989:85). The runestones, dated to AD 1000–1050, might on the other hand indicate the existence of a magnate family in Hunnestad already in the latest part of the Viking Age, probably akin to persons living in Skårby and Gussnava, all within the same parish. (Jacobsen & Moltke 1942; Riddersporre 1989:140 p.). It is thus highly interesting to note that the oldest known location of the monument falls within the manor toft of the main farm *Hunnestadgård*, as it is documented on the earliest map of Hunnestad, drawn in 1745.

The connection between the historically known manor and the monument is not uncomplicated, however. The earliest evidence of the location of the stones is not older than *c.* 1627, and the field-name *Runstensåkrar* "field of the runestone(s)" on the map indicates the possibility of an alternate location. It could on the other hand also indicate the existence of other stones than those of the monument, or that some of the stones originally did not belong to it. It is possible that the runestones were important markers displaying social rank

and property rights both in the Viking Age and later, and that the monument was, perhaps partially, collected and relocated during the Middle Ages (Riddersporre 1989:87).

In 1745, Hunnestad was no longer an independent estate, but it was a part of the estate complex of nearby Marsvinsholm. The reason for drawing the map was that the owner of Marsvinsholm wished to reorganize Hunnestad, i.e. to break out the lands of the main farm and to equalize the tenant farms in terms of land and land-rent (Skansjö *et al.* 1989:87). This restructuring of the lands makes it difficult to identify the original situation on the map, but the fragmented material can serve as a basis for a simple sketch that illustrates some general traits in the spatial arrangement of the combination of manor and village (Fig. 4). The sketch summarizes the main aspects of a pattern, or a model, that includes a large manor toft, often laid out on high ground with a prominent position, which underlines the domination over the farms of the village on their ordinary-sized tofts. In Hunnestad the positioning is further underlined by the location on the opposite side of a stream. In addition, a water mill forms part of the manorial dispositions.

A problem with Hunnestad, as well as with Stora Herrestad and many other localities investigated within the estate-dominated Ystad area, is that main farms or manors may have existed for a longer or shorter time, with or without continuity, over a period of a thousand years. It is therefore difficult to maintain that the structures that can be identified in maps from the 17th to the early 19th centuries all in all date back to, for instance, the Early Middle Ages. Moreover, estates have not always been static constructions through time; they have in many cases undergone profound changes. Inheritance and marriage practice,

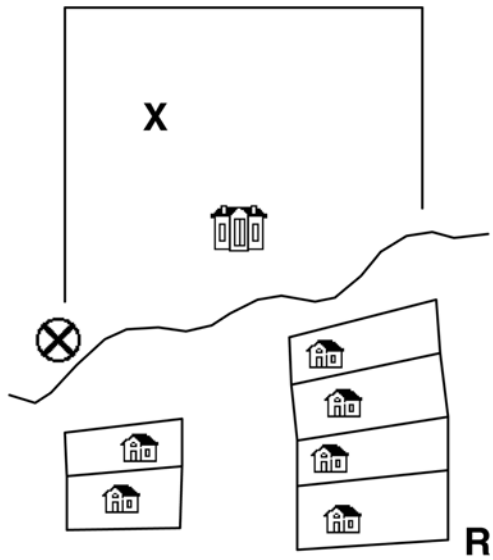

Fig. 4. The toft structure of Hunnestad. Sketch model of manor and village with possible Viking Age origins. X: oldest known location of the Hunnestad monument. R: the field-name *Runstensåkrar*, which indicates further runestones or an alternate original location of (some of) the stones in the monument. Circle with cross: water mill.

competition among the elite, confiscation and grants by the king, donations to the Church, amalgamation of smaller estates into larger estate complexes etc. may in many cases have resulted in changing ownership and restructuring of entire estates, or of lesser parts. In this process some manors vanished, while others came into existence – for a shorter or longer period of time. In some cases former manors were divided and converted into tenant farms under a new owner. In other cases nucleated estates were split up, and neighbouring tenant farms in the same village acquired different landlords.

A village consisting of a couple of farms mostly of the same size and with a mixed ownership, documented on a map from the 17th century, may therefore not be the best model for understanding an early medieval

situation. Still, the oldest land survey documents (maps and descriptions) contain a lot of important information that is relevant to the understanding of earlier periods. One way of bridging the problem is to investigate villages in areas that are not as estate-dominated in the Late Middle Ages and modern times as the Ystad area (cf. Riddersporre 1989:142).

Järrestad

The name Järrestad (1322 *in Iarlastatha*) indicates that the village may have been "the seat of the earl", and the expectations that the place should manifest itself in the terms of an Iron Age magnate's farm have been more than fulfilled by recent archaeological excavations (Söderberg, this volume). There is, on the other hand, no indication in the written sources of a residence for persons of noble rank in Järrestad in the Middle Ages. The church in Järrestad was possibly already annexed to the monastery in nearby Tommarp around 1150. Tommarp was an early town forming part of the royal estate, where coins were minted in the 11th century and where the monastery was founded on property granted by the king. In the Late Middle Ages there were four or five farms in Järrestad that belonged to the monastery, while the remaining twelve (or seventeen) farms constituted an archiepiscopal fief (Wallin 1991:71 pp.). In terriers from that time there are (at least) two farms with notably higher land-rents than the rest of the farms. All in all, it is possible that the structure of the village, as it was around 1150, may have been little affected by later changes.

The oldest map of Järrestad is rather late and was drawn 1801–1810 as a plan for the *enskifte* reallotment of the village. As a faint backdrop to the proposed new distribution of farms and fields, the old open-field system is vaguely indicated on the map. By combination with details from a thorough description accompanying the map it is thus to some extent possible to reconstruct the pre-*enskifte* strip fields of each farm (Fig. 5). The strip-field subdivision, which may have Viking Age origins, reflects the medieval farming system. By 1800, the total area of land (arable and hay meadows) belonging to the village was divided into strips that were intermixed and scattered all over the area but individually held by the farms. Further, farms were grouped together in (ideally) equal-sized component fiscal holdings (*bol*) of two to four farms each. The distribution of the strips was carried out on the level of the *bol*, and by reconstructing the *bol* division it is possible to identify whether there were farms or *bol*s that "broke the rules" (Fig. 6).

The *bol* division reveals that all farms were represented in all parts of the village lands. In addition to that, there were three *bol*s that also held separate land that was not subdivided into strips (cerise, yellow and turquoise in Fig. 6). All three had larger areas of arable land near the village green, and in those three areas the field-name *toft* appears. This may indicate the existence of three large or independent farms in the early history of the village. These *bol*s also had their land concentrated in larger blocks in the small meadow field in the central western part of the village lands (cf. Fig. 5). Here the pattern can be seen as a scheme for the village at the time when the meadow field was laid out: two large and "independent" farms (cerise and turquoise), one not so large farm (yellow), and a couple of probably subordinate farms with their lands entirely divided into strips. This seems to be a nice match for the late medieval evidence of (at least) two farms with notably high land-

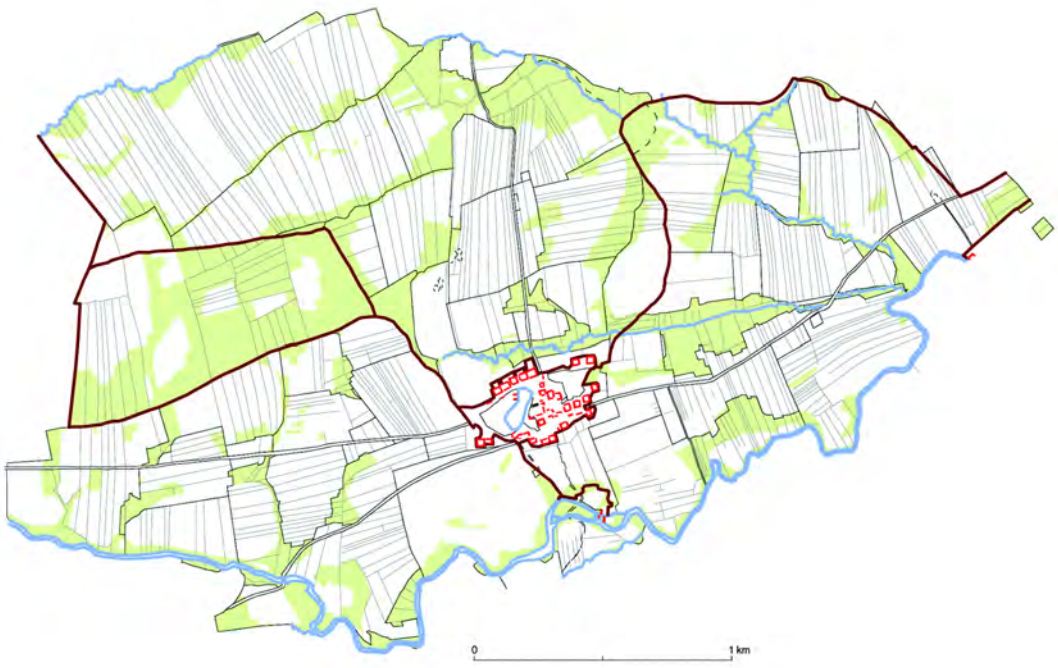

Fig. 5. Järrestad in the early 19th century: settlement, land use, field subdivision, and fences. Reconstruction of the situation prior to the *enskifte* re-allotment, based on map and description from 1801–10. White: arable. Green: meadow. Brown: fence. The documentation of the strip-field subdivision is not complete and does not register all the strips of the individual farms.

rents. Curt Wallin suggests that one of these farms was the original priest's farm of Järrestad, at the disposal of the monastery in Tomarp ever since the annexation of the church (Wallin 1991:140 pp.). The actual farm did not, however, belong to any of the *bol*s forming the three large farms of the map.

A possible early dating of the reconstructed structure is indicated by the fact that the large farm to the south encompassed the water mill *Järrestadsmölla* (grey, cross-hatched). The right to dispose over mills was notably in the interest of the elite, and water mills are known to have existed in the stream as early as 1161, when King Valdemar I's deed of gift to the monastery in Tomarp mentions five water mills. It is notable that two of the hypothetical large farms (cerise and turquoise) have a common interest in land immediately to the south of the mill. Perhaps this implies a connection between the two farms.

The third large farm, on the other hand, had its lands on both sides of the cattle path leading to an area formerly used as grazing ground. Around 1800 the area was reclaimed as arable, but a triangular piece of land (light blue, dotted) leading down to the village green is a clear indication that the north-west part of the village lands was a former grazing area. The triangular piece of land was still common ground at the time of the map, and the strip-field subdivision of the rest of the former grazing area reveals a reclamation process in which all the farms of the village took part. In the remaining common, on the other hand, the eight farms that made up the *bol*s of the reconstructed two largest farms were excluded, which also indicates links between these two.

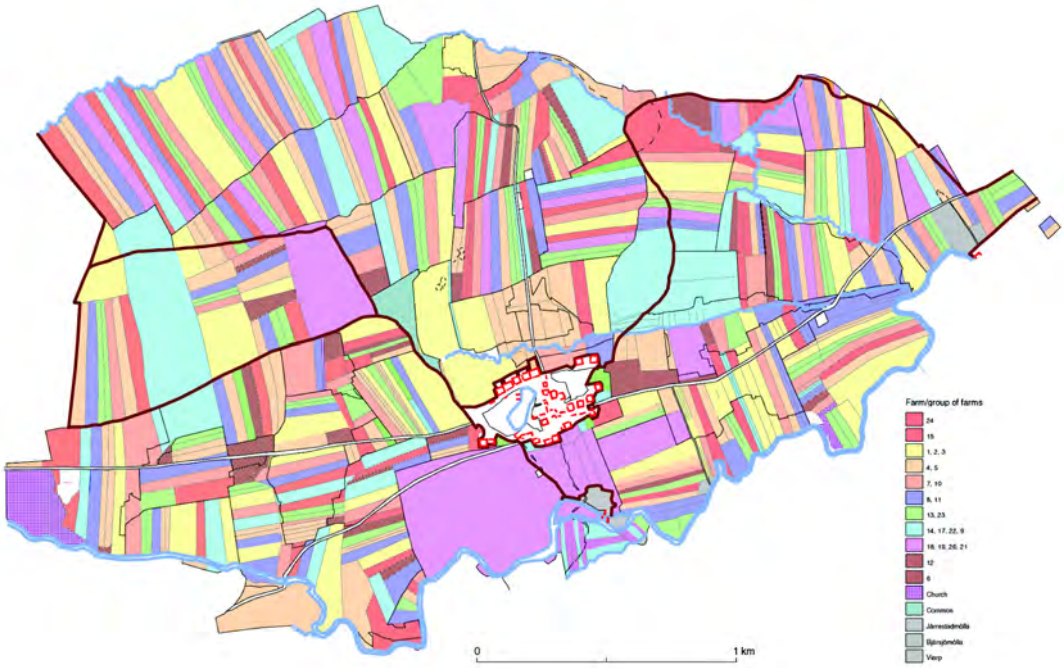

Fig. 6. The *bol* division in Järrestad. Reconstruction based on map and description from 1801–1810. Three *bol*s (groups of farms) had, in addition to the fields that were subdivided into strips, parts of their lands concentrated in large blocks (cerise, yellow and turquoise).

The possible existence of more than one large farm in Järrestad may seem puzzling. On the other hand, an early dating of the entire structure might hint at an explanation of the earliest recorded form of the name, *in Iarlastatha* (1322), where the suffix is in the plural (*Nationalencyclopedin*, s.v. Järrestad). In other words, there may actually have been more than one "earl's farm" in Järrestad. If one of them were to be pointed out as more prominent, i.e. the actual seat of the earl, it would be the one in the south, as it has a commanding position and is closely connected to the stream and the water mill. According to the description with the map, the soil quality here was quite bad (light sandy soil with no humus content), which is an indication that the localization of the residence was not primarily determined by agrarian preferences.

There is still much research to be done in order to combine different sources, observations and interpretations, but in contrast to the Ystad area there seems to be no indications in the written sources that can explain the structures revealed by the map analysis. From this point of view it is highly interesting that the archaeologically identified Late Iron Age (7th–11th century) farm falls entirely within the area of the southern large farm (Fig. 7). In combination with the archaeological observations, it is thus quite reasonable to discuss the spatial arrangement revealed in the map as possibly related to an Iron Age context. Another contrast to the experiences from the Ystad area is that the church in Järrestad appears not to have been built on ground belonging to the large farm, which indicates that the large farm here had lost its importance already at the time when the church was built.

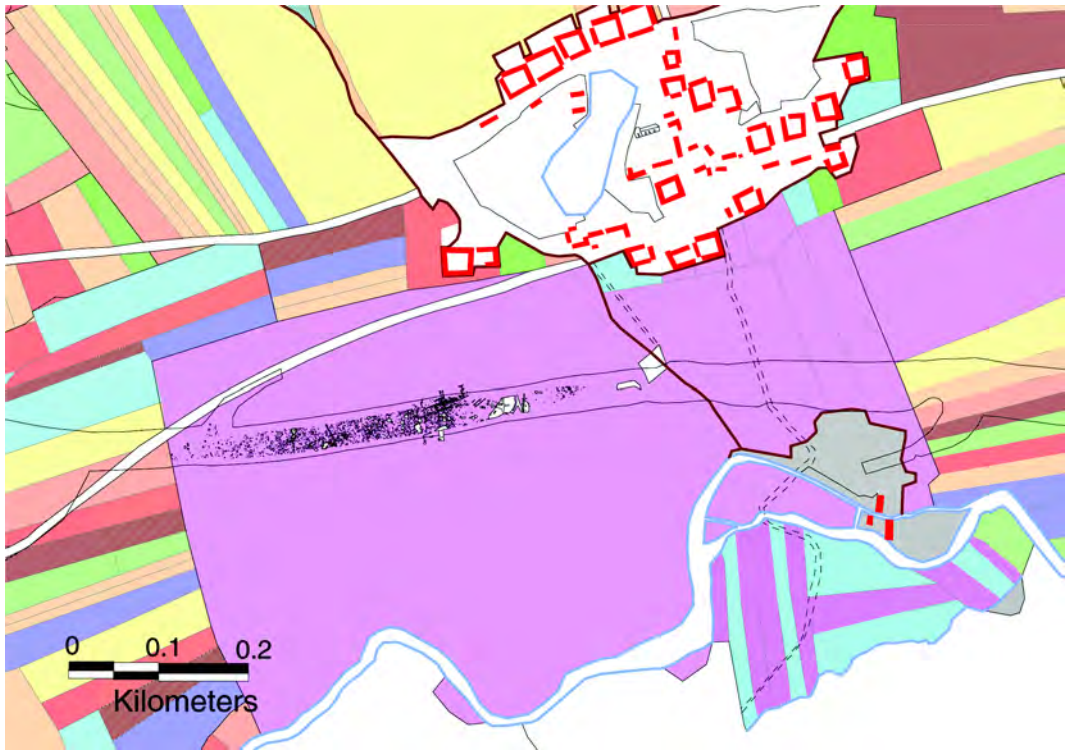

Fig. 7. Järrestad. Composite map combining the archaeological investigations and the analysis of the historical map. The structures that relate to the magnate's farm from the Late Iron Age (black) fall within one of the large farms of the map analysis (cerise, cf. fig. 6). Archaeological objects by courtesy of the National Heritage Board (RAÄ UV-Syd). Map analysis based on map and description from 1801–1810.

This should probably be seen in relation to the king focusing on nearby Tomarp as a regional centre.

Järrestad appears to have been a rather magnificent place in the Late Iron Age. As such it is possibly a representative example of the Late Iron Age magnate's farm, forming part of an agglomerated settlement, or a village, that probably also included subordinate farms and that later became the centre of a parish. On the other hand, it might not be a representative example of a more ordinary settlement. As an example of the latter, Hötofta is perhaps a better choice.

Hötofta

The name Hötofta indicates house plots (tofts) located on high ground or adjacent to a hillock or burial mound (Pamp 1983:54), which is quite remarkable since the historically known village core with its tofts is laid out on relatively low-lying ground.

Hötofta was mapped for the first time in 1708 (Fig. 8). The map shows the twelve farms of fairly equal size located around the village green, and a strip-field system that covered the entire open fields of the village. Arable and meadow were divided among the farms according to the principles of *bol* division. In its early-18th-century appearance,

Fig. 8. Hötofta in the early 18th century. Settlement, land use, field subdivision, and fences according to a map from 1708. White: arable. Green: meadow. Brown: fence.

Hötofta is an example of a village structure that has often been regarded as more or less timeless and that ultimately goes back to "the free farmer" of the Viking Age. According to that view, the *bol*s have been interpreted as representing the originally equal Viking Age farms. On the other hand, there is evidence that in many Danish and Scanian villages there was a structural change during the Middle Ages, which included the splitting up of large farms or manors and the establishment of equal-sized tenant farms (Dahl 1942; Ulsig 1968; Skansjö *et al.* 1989). In other words, the origin of the historical farms of Hötofta is not obvious.

According to the archaeological record, on the other hand, it is clear that settlement has existed in the area since the Stone Age. Through the excavations carried out in the late 1960s, there is ample evidence of settlement during the Late Bronze Age and the Iron Age in the vicinity of the historical village (Fig. 9). Due to the circumstances during the excavations, which was caused by ongoing extraction of gravel, only limited parts of the settlements could be investigated. The best-preserved and most thoroughly excavated structures revealed a settlement to the north-west of the village core, dating from around the birth of Christ. A bit further to the north

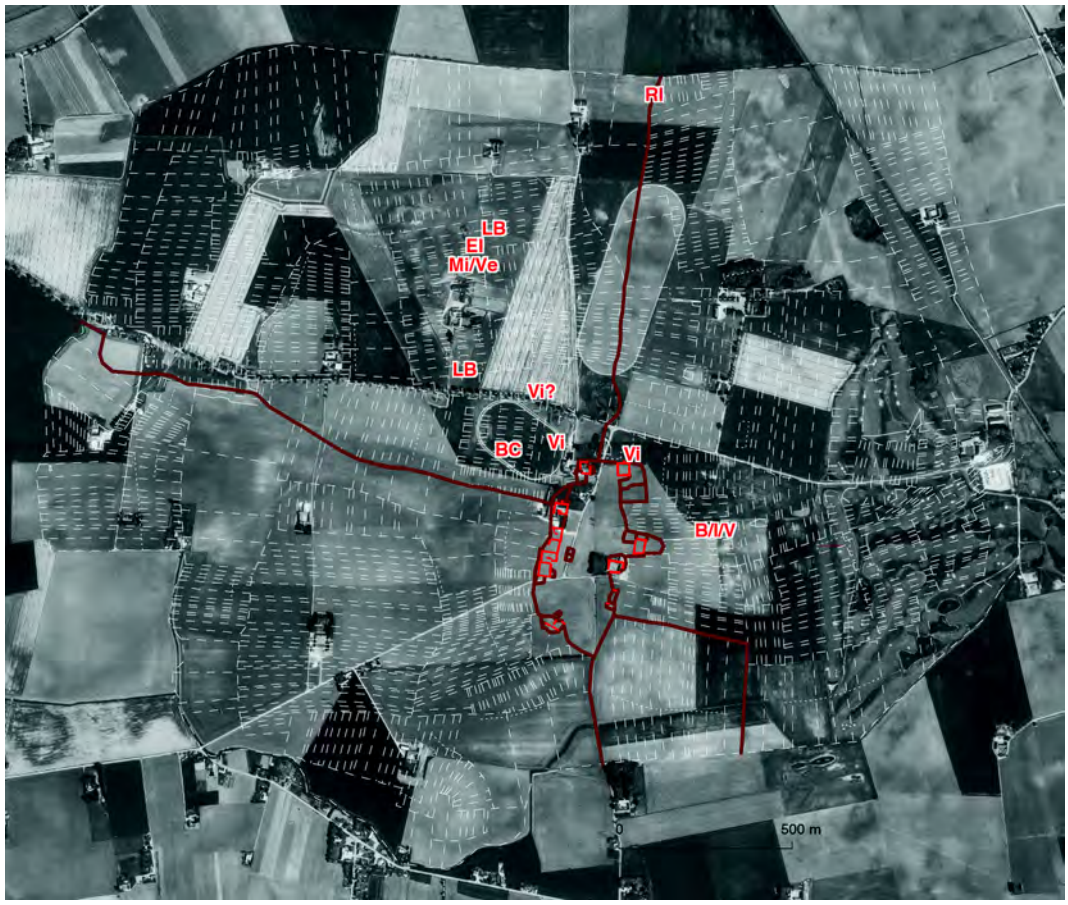

Fig. 9. Archaeological excavations in Hötofta. LB: Late Bronze Age. EI: Early Iron Age. BC: birth of Christ (settlement). RI: Roman Iron Age (grave). Mi/Ve: Migration and Vendel Periods (settlement). Vi: Viking Age (pit-houses). Vi?: Crop marks, probably Viking Age pit-houses. B/I/V: scattered finds from Late Bronze Age, Early Iron Age and Viking Age. Archaeological observations according to Frostin 1977, Stjernquist 1998a-b, and adjusted after pers. com. from Berta Stjernquist 2000. Strip fields, fences and historical settlement according to map from 1708. Modern air photo, © the National Land Survey, publication permission 507-99-3573.

there were badly damaged settlement remains dating to the Migration and Vendel Periods. Immediately to the north of the village there were two localities with Viking Age pit-houses. All in all, eleven houses could be documented. Crop marks in the fields further north indicate that pit-houses existed here too. More scant observations of activities during the Bronze Age and the Iron Age have also been made to the east of the village (Stjernquist 1969a, 1969b, 1998a, 1998b; Frostin 1977). The location of the Viking Age pit-houses, which represent a settlement that probably also included long-houses, is highly interesting through the close spatial connection to the historical village.

An analysis of the *bol* division, of the toft structure, and of the field-names according to the map and description from 1708 indicates that Hötofta has not always been a village of

Fig. 10. The *bol* division in Hötofta. Reconstruction based on map and description from 1708. Each colour represents a separate *bol* of one or more farms. Thick blue contour lines denote tofts.

twelve farms (Fig. 10). At the time of the map the twelve farms made up eight *bol*s. In the major part of the open fields the *bol* division was systematically established. The *bol*s were also quite clearly displayed in the tofts to the east and west of the village green. Here they properly match the plots for the individual farmsteads, as they ideally should. The only anomaly is the toft area to the north of the village green. Here four *bol*s (corresponding to five farms) shared the central part of a larger toft. In this toft the other four *bol*s had their shares in the outskirts. Only two farms from the central group had their farmsteads localized in their shares of the large toft area, which is on higher ground overlooking the village green.

A possible explanation, or hypothesis, is that the *bol* division represents a reorganization of the village, and that this reorganization was momentary and systematically carried out in the fields of the village. Concerning the tofts, on the other hand, the reorganization was not as radical, and an obsolete structure still shines through. Before the reorganization, Hötofta in that case consisted of a large farm, represented by the large toft area laid out on higher ground, and of a couple of smaller tofts, representing farms in a subordinate position that actually was displayed in the use of

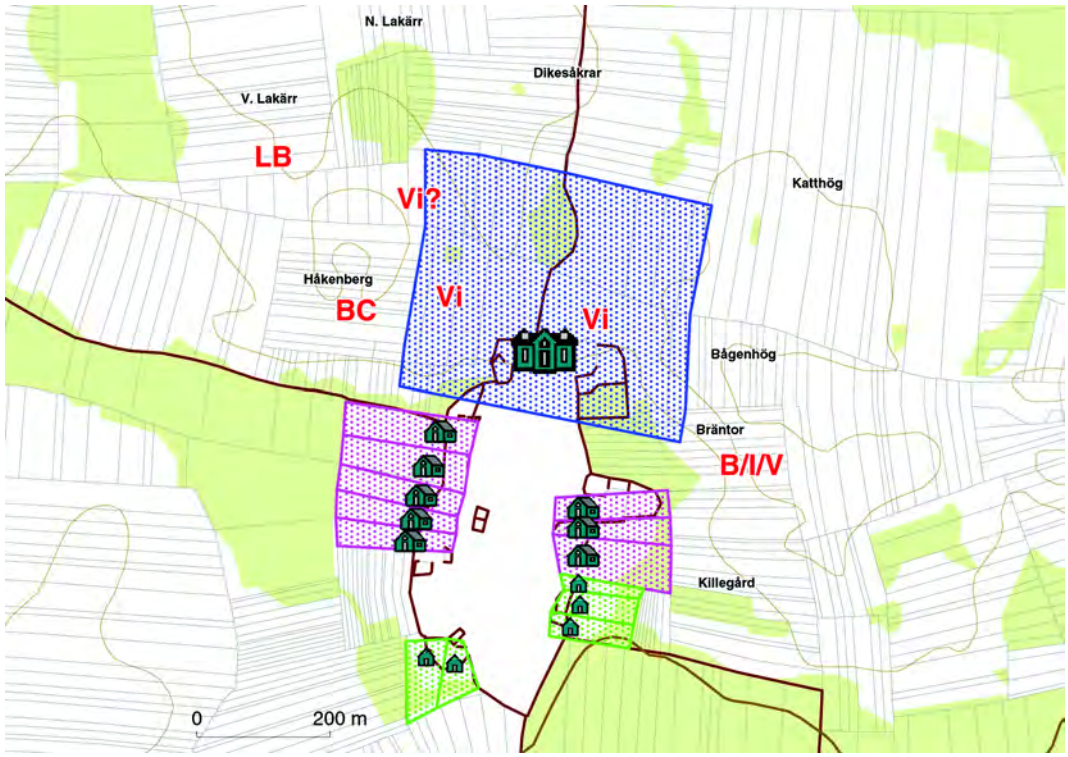

Fig. 11. Reconstruction of the probably original toft structure in Hötofta, based on the analysis of a map from 1708. The two areas where Viking Age pit-houses were excavated (Vi, cf. fig. 9) fall within the large toft of the hypothetical manor. Strip fields (grey), fences (brown) and meadows (green) according to the map from 1708. Contour lines, 5 metres equidistant, © the National Land Survey, publication permission 507-99-3573.

the topography (Fig. 11).

Possibly the smallest tofts to the south of the village green represent even smaller units that may resemble the term *colonia*, which was the Latin term for *gårdsædebrug* in Denmark and *fästa* in Scania in the early 14th century (Ulsig 1968:126 pp.). The *coloniae* were notably small units and appear as more or less annexed parts of both tenant farms and larger farms or manors. This division into three levels – the large farm, the "ordinary-size farms", and the smaller units – quite often appears in the toft structure of the historic maps, even if, as in Hötofta, it does not reflect the situation at the time of the maps. A differentiation of the tofts, on the other hand, is documented in medieval law codes; *Jyske lov* (1241) mentions *lanbos toftæ* (tenant's toft) and *garth sættæ toft* (Hoff 1997:88).

There is much to suggest that Hötofta in the Early and High Middle Ages was not an ordinary village – in the way it was in 1708. On the contrary, it appears as if it was a large farm with subject farms and *coloniae*. Moreover, the Viking Age settlement revealed by the pit-houses falls well within the reconstructed toft of the large farm, which indicates that it may date back to this period. If the toft-structure of Hötofta does not represent the ordinary village in the modern sense, it should on the other hand probably be seen as

a reflection of an ordinary settlement of the Early Middle Ages, the manor-in-the-village. And presumably the spatial arrangement of Hötofta and other villages of that time reveal a conceptualized model for the display of social and economic aspects of society in the landscape. In Hötofta the place-name also formed part of the concept.

Perhaps Hötofta was a small estate of its own, or maybe it was part of a larger estate, in which the large farm served as a subordinate and local main farm. It is possible that it originated as the former and developed into the latter and that the *bol* division reveals further reorganizations within the administration of an estate complex. It is quite possible that a number of the manors that disappeared during the Middle Ages originated in the Viking Age as local estates, with manor and subject farms together forming a village, and that they later became parts of larger estates in the hands of the upper elite. Some of these may have continued in their old form, with the manor now run by a bailiff, while other manors were split up and transformed into tenant farms together with the rest of the farms in the village. In other cases inheritance may have led to the distribution of an estate, with the effect that it became split among many hands.

The latter is evidenced in Grevlunda in south-east Scania in 1313, when the village and its manor, at that time a part of a larger estate complex, was split between six brothers. The distribution did not only concern the tenant farms and *coloniae*; the manor was divided too. Concerning the manor, the document states that the toft of the *ladegård* (*lathgart fundi*) was split into two parts (Dipl. Dan. 2:7 no. 18; Ulsig 1968:122 p.). Ongoing research indicates that the *lathgart fundi* in Grevlunda was the large toft within a toft structure similar to that of Hötofta, Hunnestad and other Scanian villages.

The word *ladegård* has several connotations, one of which indicates an economy that includes the raising of cattle. It is also the term for an "executive" part of a manor, more or less separated from the residence. In fact, a number of the large farms that can be reconstructed through the analysis of historic maps have a location that indicates cattle raising. One example is the yellow large farm in Järrestad (Fig. 6). Another is found in the village of Bussjö in the Ystad area. Here the former manor, according to a map from 1731, had a notably large toft, called *Huvudgårdtoft* "manor toft", that dominated the village and controlled the cattle path in the same way as the yellow farm in Järrestad (Skansjö *et al.* 1989:109). There are still many open questions about this hypothesis, but it is not impossible that the holders of the early manors were specifically engaged in the raising of cattle and in the control and distribution of products from cattle. The yellow farm of Järrestad was perhaps the earl's *ladegård* in more than one sense of the word.

It is possible to argue for similar conditions in Hötofta, which is an example in many respects of how the structure of society at a local level was displayed in the landscape, not only through the use of topography. Another exponent of the model is the town of Lund, founded by the king in the late 10th century. Here the location of the royal and ecclesiastical residence, *Lundagård*, where the minster was erected, corresponds to a large manor toft. Lundagård dominated the Main Square and the house plots to the south in terms of both size and topography, in just the way the "manor toft" of Hötofta dominated the village green with its surrounding farms. And *Bredgatan* "broad street" (or Broadway), which passes by Lundagård, led to the common pasture

Bredgatans fålad to the north of Lund.

Lund may perhaps display a more symbolic aspect of domination than small prosaic villages in the countryside. All the same, the concept and the use and arrangement of the landscape is the same, and there is much to suggest that the concept was, if not invented, at least elaborated in the Late Viking Age. Perhaps Lund in this respect came to serve as a model in the same way as the construction of the cathedral became a model for many of the churches that were built in the countryside in the Early Middle Ages. It is notable, for instance, that the oldest map of the village of Stora Herrestad (Fig. 2), where the historically known manor is supposed to have continuity since the Viking Age, is more or less a blueprint of the medieval town plan of Lund (Riddersporre 1995:166). Another example where the concept was clearly elaborated is Ravlunda in south-east Scania, which was a regional centre and part of the royal estate in the Early Middle Ages (Riddersporre 1998).

Uppåkra

Historical map analysis indicates large farms or manors in a number of Scanian villages. Some are still there, but many have disappeared. In some cases it seems likely that the structure revealed in the maps was established in the Late Viking Age, in Järrestad possibly even earlier. In that perspective it may seem puzzling that a similar structure has not been identified in Uppåkra (Riddersporre 1996, 1998). One explanation can be that the structure documented in the oldest maps of Uppåkra is the result of a total reorganization. This could, for instance, have been the effect of the king's confiscation and passing on to the Church of farms in Uppåkra that is documented in King Knut's deed of gift to the cathedral in Lund 1085 (Riddersporre 1996).

Another explanation may be that there actually was no manor or residence in Uppåkra, at least not in the Viking Age. Uppåkra was obviously a place of central importance for the region for about thousand years, but it is hardly so that this had the same meaning and that it was displayed in the same way during all that time span.

If evidence of early manors or large farms is lacking in the historical villages of Stora Uppåkra and Lilla Uppåkra, there are on the other hand interesting indications in the third village of the parish, Hjärup (Fig. 12). Here a runestone indicates the presence of a prominent landowner in the 11th century. The original location of the stone is somewhat obscure, but it seems to have been located near a brook that runs through the southern part of the village green (Jacobson & Moltke 1942; Larsson 1995). Archaeological excavations within the village core have yielded settlement remains dating from 10th century until modern times (Larsson 1995).

The historical map material for Hjärup is not the best, and gives only limited possibilities to study field-names and the subdivision of fields (Manhag 2000). A reconstruction of the village core and the tofts nevertheless reveals a structure that indicates a possible large farm in the north and smaller farms in the south (Fig. 13). The tofts in the southern part are located south of the brook, and there are clear parallels with the layout of Hunnestad and Hötofta. If the toft structure in Hjärup reflects Viking Age conditions, the runestone and its placing might be interpreted as a marker of social significance *within* the village.

A Viking Age manor or large farm in Hjärup evokes many questions. As Andreas Manhag has pointed out, the relation between

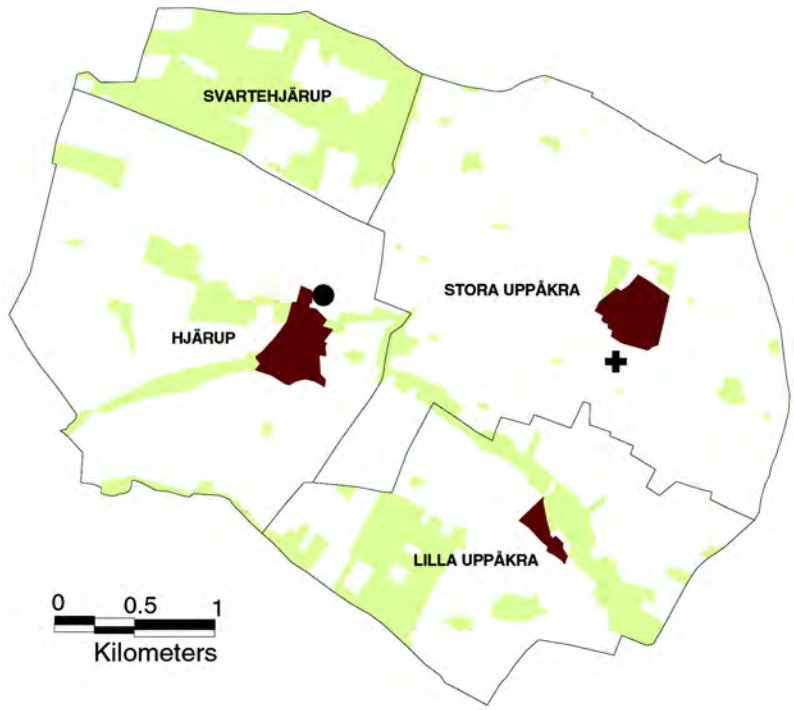

Fig. 12. The parish of Uppåkra at the time of the oldest maps (1703–1797). White: arable. Green: meadow. Brown: settlement. Black cross: church. Black dot: location of possible "large farm" in Hjärup. Modified after Riddersporre 1996 and Manhag 2000.

Hjärup and Uppåkra is complicated. One possibility is to interpret Hjärup as a place where a person of high rank and with good connections to the king established, or was granted, a new farm at the time when Lund succeeded Uppåkra as a regional centre. Another possibility is that there is a line of continuity back to a settlement dating to the 7th century, the one excavated to the west of the historical village core (Manhag 2000). In the latter case, perhaps the magnate farm of Uppåkra should be sought in Hjärup. On the other hand, does the presence of a large farm in Hjärup imply a magnate family with regional authority?

Village and large farm

Concerning Uppåkra and other Iron Age central places, the hall and the large farm have long been in focus. The magnate's farm is no doubt an important ingredient of such places, but to what extent do they thereby differ from other places? Analysis of rather small and "ordinary" places like Hötofta indicates that it was quite normal also for settlements of limited centrality to consist of a large farm in combination with smaller units. The Viking Age and early medieval large farm is in other words not only an aspect of "central places" or large villages where stone-built Romanesque churches were to be erected. Rather, the large farm seems to be a normal part of normal settlements – of varying size.

As a consequence, this highlights the necessity to differentiate between magnates of different size – a hierarchy of both people and places. On the other hand, it also emphasizes the local scale of social hierarchy.

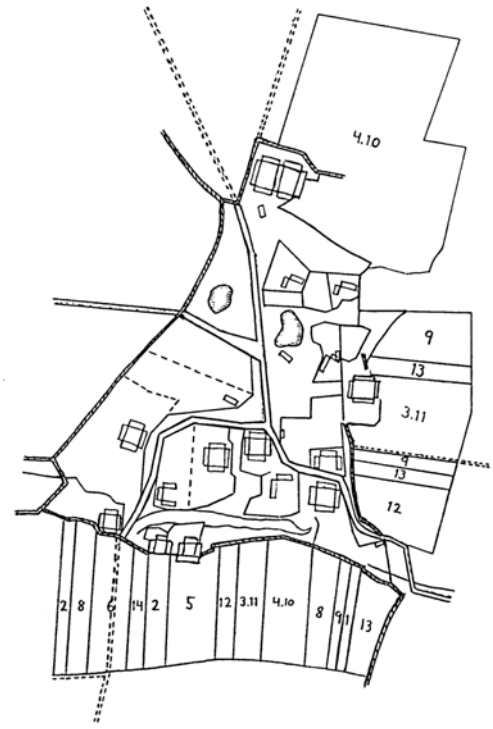

Fig. 13. The toft structure of Hjärup in Uppåkra parish. Reconstruction based on *storskifte* and *enskifte* maps from 1795–1798, and on *Skånska rekognosceringskartan* from the early 19th century. The large toft of farm(s) no. 4 & 10 indicates a possible earlier large farm of the village. Scale approx. 1:10.000. From Manhag 2000.

It took more to people places like Hötofta, Hunnestad, Järrestad and others than kings, earls, (petty) magnates and great pretenders. The social structure that is indicated by the analysis of historical maps matches medieval conditions quite well. Perhaps it also has some validity for earlier periods.

The large farm of Hötofta, in other words, does not make the village special. On the contrary, it presents itself as an ordinary village with an ordinary large farm. The holder of such an ordinary large farm, on the other hand, was probably not equal to the proprietor of a more prominent estate, or to earls and kings. One thing that brings places of different dignity together is, however, the conformity in the way they were spatially arranged. The concept includes a large toft area that was an integral and focal part of the settlement, which was often laid out on higher ground and dominated the rest of the settlement (to overlook and to be seen), with a key position in terms of communication and the local economy.

Of course, the question can be raised whether an actual place possessed these characteristics in advance, or if they were created by the way the settlement and landscape was formed. Whichever of these is true, once in place, vital aspects of the structure of society were communicated.

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The Development of Iron Age Construction in the Malmö Area

Nils Björhem

Abstract

The article concentrates on the change and development of Iron Age settlements. The analysis is one of several studies based on material from the Malmö region carried out in cooperation with the project "The Social Structure of Southern Sweden during the Iron Age". This study is primarily based on the extensive material which was recently investigated in connection with the archaeological investigations for the Öresund fixed link. The excavation areas are evenly distributed along the 24 km long circular road around Malmö and they constitute a representative and uniformly investigated material. Based on the appearance of the houses and their composition at specific places, it has been possible to distinguish four different types of settlement structures. This has been facilitated by the fact that in the long perspective the construction has changed in localization. A very comprehensive base for the chronology comes from numerous radiocarbon datings which have confirmed the chronological conditions. The distribution of the settlement phases in different landscape zones defined along the circular road around Malmö has been analysed. We gain insight into the changes that comprise the arrangement and movement of farms and settlements which affect the total area. A more detailed knowledge of the relations between the settlements can be observed in the Fosie/Lockarp area, where recent and old excavations border on one another. The considerably less common grave material suggests that certain individuals were buried at the habitation in connection with the restructuring of settlements. An association with evidence of historical old roads and settlements from the Iron Age is also suspected.

From a spatial point of view, three clear changes in the location and appearance of construction can be discerned in the area during the Iron Age. All three changes demand a social organization with a level of authority above that of the farm and village. This is tentatively concerned with land use, the control of production and communication, and the formation of the state. The first, which began during the centuries before the birth of Christ, is assumed to be a consequence of a comprehensive shift of territories and was hypothetically already present as the organized landscape we can still perceive today with a little knowledge of local relations. In the 4th century AD, a concentration took place, with a change in appearance and contents. The final development occurred when the villages, as we know them from the historical material, were formed.

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Introduction

The possibilities and angles of approach for the study of the social structure during the Iron Age are rich and varied in the archaeologically well-investigated Malmö area. However, although certain sites may have been more thoroughly excavated than others, or may have contained the first instances of a certain find category, it is difficult to single out any

one site as being of greater significance than the others. The distinctive attribute of these settlements is their ordinary agrarian nature. This situation is also the consequence of the selection of the investigation sites according to the need for land development instead of the premeditated selection of investigation objects distinct from the ordinary ones. The quality and degree of workmanship of the material varies greatly, and our intention has not been an analysis of the complete Iron Age material. A corresponding database for the rest of Scania has, however, been prepared (Jacobsson 2000; Tegnér in prep.). Isolated important settlements, such as that at Toftanäs in eastern Malmö, have already been described in the project (Persson 1998). Ancient roads in the area have been analysed from both archaeological and geographical perspectives (Erikson 2001; Samuelsson 2001; Björhem 2001). Several of the areas are due to undergo closer study, including Oxie with its functions as central place (Jönsson & Brorsson in prep.). This volume also includes an article about the Hyllie area. Concurrent with this research project, excavations took place along the Outer Ring Road around Malmö leading to the Öresund Bridge. It therefore seemed natural to integrate the results of both projects, which this article, with its as yet partial preliminary results and its many references to as yet unpublished basic data, is a consequence of. The aim is to supply new information on Iron Age construction as it relates to questions of social structure.

The current boundaries of the city of Malmö lie about 7 km south-west of Uppåkra, with the industrial estate at Fosie lying a similar distance further on in the same direction. Malmö constitutes a well-investigated area with a presumably "normal" Iron Age construction pattern in comparison with Uppåkra's more atypical one (Fig. 1). The point of departure for the study of this quantitatively comprehensive material is to indicate developments over time and thereby possibly discover the reason why these occurred. Can claims of power and important social roles be associated with certain sites? Is it possible to identify these in the archaeological source material? If so, what significance does continuity in construction have for the perception of status differences between settlements? Did certain settlements develop into centres as a result of a long existence? Or had they always been some kind of centre?

Fig. 1. South-west Scania and the old road connecting the towns of Lund and Trelleborg.

It is difficult to answer questions of this kind solely from the general picture provided by the Register of Ancient Monuments. The resolution is too poor both chronologically and regarding the extent and delimitation of the settlements. Malmö's concentration of ancient monuments within an area close to the coast has been to a large degree created by the expansion of the city over the last few decades. This becomes quite apparent if one compares the occurrence of ancient remains

Fig. 2. Archaeologically investigated areas in Malmö. The outer circular roads and later investigations marked as trial trenches. Triangles = Iron Age graves known before 1994. Dots = Iron Age settlements known before 1994. Dotted line = sea level c. *4000 BC.*

with the investigation areas (Fig. 2). At the same time, one can say that investigation areas where no Iron Age material has been found are also present, indicating that distribution is not just dependent upon the development of land.

The Öresund Fixed Link

The land connections of the Öresund Fixed Link (*Öresundsförbindelsen* in Swedish, Sound Link for short) consist of a motorway around Malmö with large traffic junctions and a railway. The work areas make up a representative section across the whole area from the shores of the Sound in the west to the Sege River valley and the Lund plain in the northeast. To facilitate the analysis of the excavated material, the landscape has been divided into four topographical zones named the coast, the coastal inland, the outer hummocky landscape, and the Sege River area. The excavations proceed under the same conditions and are carried out with the same general level of

Fig. 3. The Öresund Fixed Link Project. Investigated areas (1–20) and topographical zones (I–IV).

ambition. The investigation of certain areas is never comprehensively ruled out at an introductory level, and the investigation areas are relatively evenly distributed over the whole of the 24 km long extent (Billberg *et al.* 1996, 1998) (Fig. 3). This quantitatively comprehensive material provides us with an opportunity to see general patterns. As a consequence of the great breadth of work caused by the placement of the railway alongside the motorway and the large traffic junctions, the investigation areas are of considerable size. Within the Sound Link project, a total of some fifty sites, with a total surface area comprising 1000,000 m^2, were investigated during the period 1996–98. In addition to this, an area of 5000,000 m^2 was subjected to some degree of machine stripping in connection with site assessments and survey excavations. In the greater part of these surfaces, traces of Iron Age settlement were present, with, among other things, 150 houses being documented. Despite the extent of the investigation areas, far from all of the settlements are adequately defined, and important information exists in what we know from earlier and also, to a certain degree, later excavations. For example, the Outer Ring Road passes right by the Fosie IV area where Settlements IV, V and VI have been completed to the south as part of the Sound Link project (Björhem & Säfvestad 1993; Hadevik 1999).

The long-house landscape

Several subprojects were formulated in advance of the Sound Link project's archaeological investigations, and of these, it fell within the scope of the subproject "The Long-house

Landscape" (*Långhuslandskapet*) to consider construction over a long-term perspective. It had been possible to sketch out rough patterns and developments from the results of the Fosie IV investigation (Björhem 1996:11 p.). Since the Fosie IV investigation, our conception has been one of expanding settlement from the Bronze Age, with the whole area being settled during the Pre-Roman Iron Age. During the course of the Early Iron Age, a more village-like structure arose, and at the transition between the Early and Late Iron Age the area was densely occupied with both concentrated and dispersed farm buildings. A relatively comprehensive sunken-floor hut construction had also been developed. The concentration of construction towards the western part of the Fosie IV area around the birth of Christ is considered to be the result of a change in cultivation system. A connection with the position of the known ancient road linking Lund and Trelleborg, which passes by the western edge of the investigation area, was also assumed. It has been asserted on several occasions that this road is of prehistoric age. This has also been studied, with a certain amount of success, within this project (Erikson 2001; Samuelsson 2001). The questions posed prior to the Sound Link project, which are also valid in this connection, dealt with whether several shifts in construction took place over the course of the Iron Age, and whether buildings of a distinctively new type occurred during the Late Iron Age.

Dealing with questions of continuity needs a definition of time and space. Time periods have primarily been structured on the basis of previous knowledge of settlements and periods in the area. The spatial levels are perceived on three levels: individual settlements, the relationships between the settlements, and the resource area. Due to the relatively large investigation areas, knowledge of the individual settlement areas is fairly good. Relations between settlements can be examined through the density of investigation areas and the many test trenches and extensively examined investigation areas which lie between them. The larger perspective is harder to define, but can be dealt with through the division into landscape zones which was made. This long temporal perspective facilitates the possibility of discerning developments (Fig. 4).

The dating of the settlements was mainly based upon accelerator dates, which in the case of the house remains were taken from macrofossil samples. The analyses were carried out by the Ångström Laboratory in Uppsala. These dates have been analysed successively and compared with existing knowledge of the find material, house types, spatial connections and theories in order to increase their value. About 700 samples have been dated in this way. These comprise the whole of prehistory and to a some extent the Middle Ages, but mostly the Iron Age. For the account and interpretation of the material which follows, dating values with a probability of 68% have been used.

One supposition which derives from the investigations at Fosie IV was that construction became denser during the transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age and had an extensive distribution. A consequence of this was that construction from this time also should be expected to occur in the coastal zone. These suspicions were confirmed during the survey excavation stage, and now, when both radiometric and artefactual relationships have been assessed, the picture can be confirmed. Settlement 3A–B at Vintriehemmet was settled during the Pre-Roman Iron Age. Settlement 7B at Lockarp underwent a longer and clearly more complicated series of events

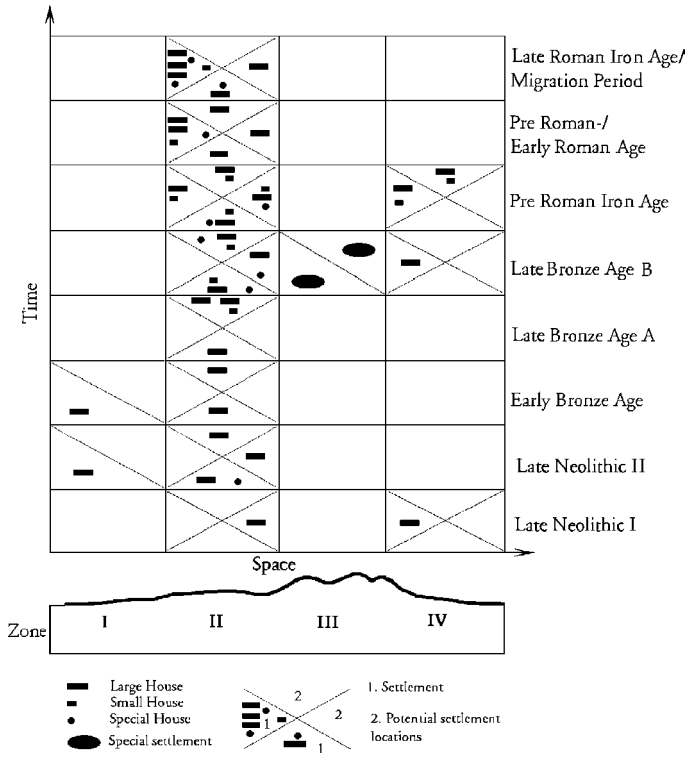

Fig. 4. Model of "The Long-house Landscape". Occurrence of settlements with remains of houses grouped in suitable periods and topographically defined environments. The level of space contains: region, resource area = zones; settlement area = rectangle; settlement and potential location for a settlement is marked with one or more diagonal.

(Fig. 5). The varying duration of the settlements illustrates this, and can be related to spatial conditions. The proportionately limited area, which in principle enables daily contacts between people, means that the changes taking place in a location, in a hypothetical sense, actually embrace several sites. The density and scope of the settlements can also be illustrated by the occurrence of wells and waterholes, many of which are from the Early Iron Age (Fig. 6). If, on the other hand, the locations with settlement remains from the 4th century AD are presented, the map is reduced to being made up solely of individual dots (Fig. 11). We are dealing, therefore, with a quantitatively and spatially representative settlement material which varies strongly depending upon which time period is being studied.

Carrying out an analysis means not just the evaluation of basic dating material for the individual settlements but actually making use of the advantage of studying many neighbouring settlements. A change at one place can consequently always be assessed in relation to nearby settlements. We can see that the houses change over time, but these differences are simultaneously easy to see because the houses lie on different sites. If one were to move one's settlement and thereby also one's house, there would also be an incentive to change the appearance of the house. In a fully exploited landscape, as one

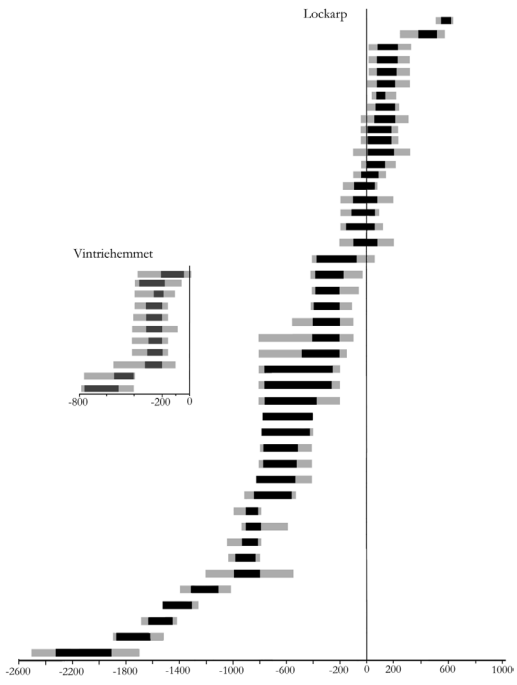

Fig. 5. Radiocarbon datings from a settlement at the coastal zone (Vintriehemmet 3 A) and a settlement in the coastal inland (Lockarp 7B).

expects to be prevalent during the Early Iron Age in the area, almost all major relocations of buildings would affect the "neighbours", providing a basis for a simultaneous creation of new house types. In this way, the occurrence of a new type of house could be the sign of a more unified and co-ordinated territorial shift. In general, it has been possible to see four types of chronologically distinct building types within the project.

The settlements from the first half of the Pre-Roman Iron Age consisted of relatively vague house remains where the postholes from the walls were absent. The long-houses assumed to be dwelling places were up to 20 m long, but many houses were only about 10 m. Within the settlements, large pits and pit systems were present, as during the Late Bronze Age (Fig. 7). These are assumed to be clay pits. This indicates that the walls were clay-lined, which in turn indicates a fairly open and deforested landscape. These long-houses lay spread out over different parts of the landscape all the way to the coast, and can be considered as remains of farm buildings. This was followed by construction units most often consisting of well-built houses, closer to 40 m in length, with tightly-placed wall-posts, which were sometimes placed in dug-out ditches, in some cases leading one to suspect different types of walls in separate parts of the house. The construction of the gables often varies within the same house. The houses may have had some form of entrance in the gable. Smaller houses, possibly workshops, also occur. A very important context was that the houses, in several cases, had been surrounded by fences or small palisades (Fig. 7). The houses were dated by ^{14}C analysis to the later part of the Pre-Roman and earlier Roman Iron Age. The settlements were no longer situated near the coast, but continued to be concentrated just in from the coast, with it being possible to talk of the formation of villages in some cases (7D-H). The third type of construction included houses placed after one the other in rows, making it very difficult to determine the length of the houses. As a rule, these lacked traces of walls. The inner roof-bearing construction is narrower than earlier, and the length and placement of postholes vary both within and between houses. It is difficult to define a typical house plan. Exceptions occurred, however, in the form of houses with an apparent division into several different rooms. Sunken-floor huts also occur in connection with this building type (Fig. 7). Within the Sound Link project, a settlement like this has only been found at Fosie (11A), directly connected with Fosie IV. Construction here comprised a large

Fig. 6. Wells and waterholes documented in The Öresund Fixed Link Project.

number of long-houses and about thirty sunken-floor huts and had its main occupation at 300–600 AD. Towards the end of the prehistoric period, settlements with broad houses and individual buildings oriented in a north–south direction also occur. Sunken-floor huts similarly occur, these being dated to *c.* 700–900 AD.

5th–2nd centuries BC

During the oldest building phase in this study, the settlements were distributed over the whole landscape (Fig. 8). In the outer hummocky landscape (Zone III), house remains are less clear but settlement remains and features dating to the period are present. This should be perceived as a fully-colonized landscape with scattered farms. This also corresponds with earlier theories from Fosie IV where, in the "middle settlement level" represented by this area, it could be said that a building was present upon more or less every hill in the area (Björhem & Säfvestad 1993: Fig. 556). Constructions were also perceived as contemporaneous units rather than as the result of constant relocation. This view was strengthened by the results of the Sound Link project, although it may be difficult to completely disregard the occurrence of "migratory farms". No construction is completely demarcated. It is characteristic of house remains that in several

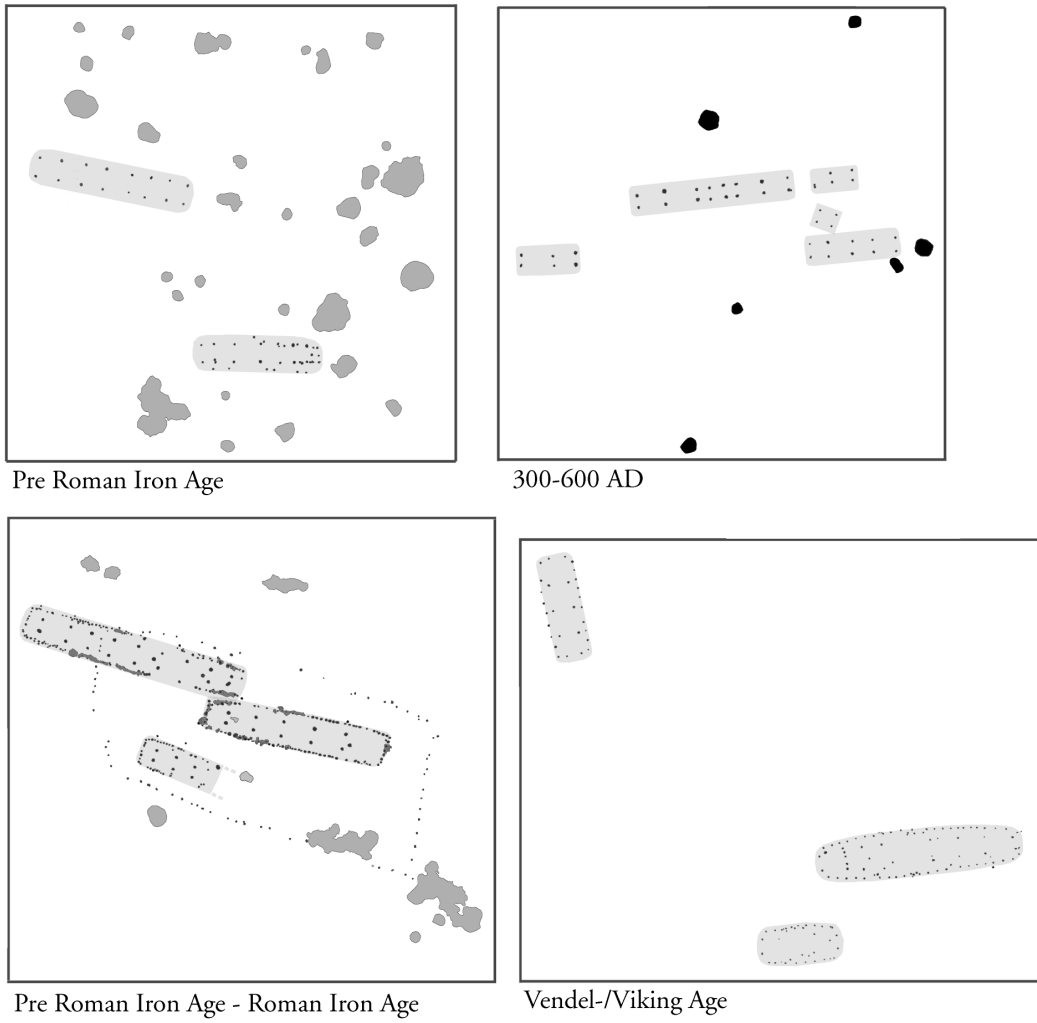

Fig. 7. Different types of Iron Age settlements. Clockwise Burlöv 20 C, Fosie 11 A, Sunnanå 19 D, Lockarp 7 E. Scale 1:1000.

cases they lie in groups upon a limited surface in succession to one other. It therefore becomes a question of a relatively stable construction in a spatial sense. In at least one case (20C), it seems as though we are dealing with several contemporaneous units in the same settlement area, but this is also likely in other locations (3A–B) (Berggren & Celin in prep.; Öijeberg & Hadevik in prep.).

A (certain) link to wetlands exists, with wells constituting a frequently occurring feature type for the period. The many pits in the settlements recall the Late Bronze Age's pit-rich settlements, something which is also true of the house remains with their unclear traces of wall constructions. Variation is found in the size of the houses, and the house plans can consist of few as well as many pairs of postholes. One trend is for a farm to consist of different large houses. However, it is not apparent whether structures should be interpreted as hierarchically ranked either within

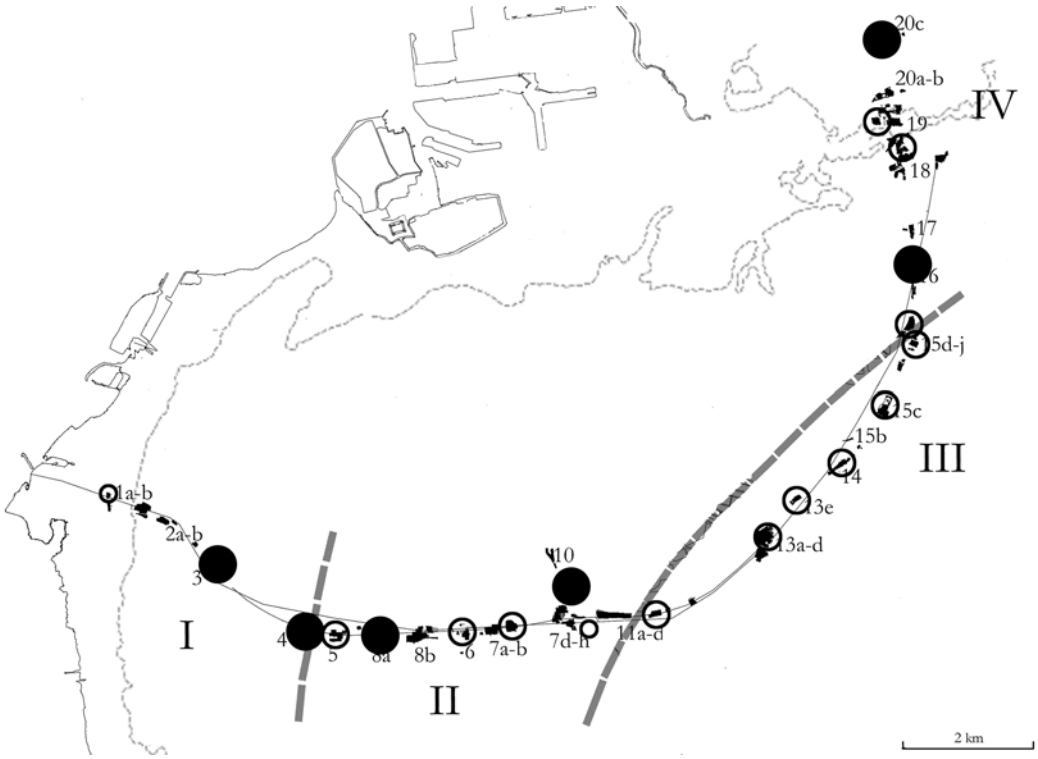

Fig. 8. Settlements during the 5th–2nd centuries BC. Solid circle = substantial remains and houses. Open circle = settlement remains. Small open circle = separate dating. Dotted line = 5 m above sea level.

or between settlements. A continuity from settlements from the end of the Bronze Age can be surmised, but it is impossible to separate them on the basis of accelerator dates, and it should also be pointed out that newly-established settlements lacking direct spatial connections with settlements from the end of the Bronze Age with clear traces of B-phase pottery also occur. There could be a certain degree of mobility here, but this can also probably be interpreted as an expansion in the landscape.

An interesting phenomenon which has been observed is that the structures within Burlöv 20C replaced a grave dated to the end of the Bronze Age, and were replaced, in turn, by something similar when the buildings were abandoned. In other words, a kind of tradition manifested through a funerary feature can be seen at the site (Berggren 2000; Berggren & Celin in prep.). A similar phenomenon exists at Fosie 9B (Lövgren 2000; Jönsson & Lövgren in prep.).

2nd century BC – 3rd century AD

Construction retreated from Zone I, and is now found further in, in the Fosie-Lockarp area of Zone II as well as around the Sege River in Zone IV (Fig. 9). Settlement remains and finds dated to the period also occur in the outer hummocky landscape, where the remains at the traffic junction at Fredriksberg are also quite extensive. However, no secure house remains were found here. North of the Outer Ring Road, we know of constructions of the same type as in Zone II further to the west

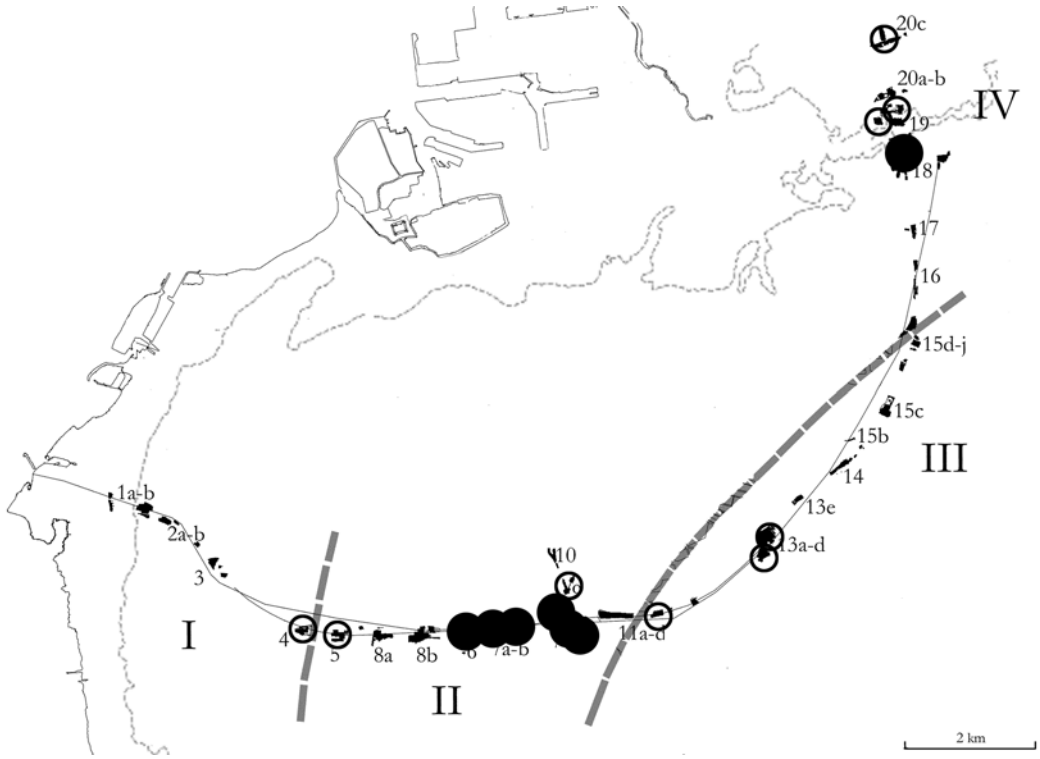

Fig. 9. Settlements during the 2nd century BC – 3rd century AD. Solid circle = substantial remains and houses. Open circle = settlement remains.

from both the Svågertorp and the Hyllie areas, as well as from Toftanäs in Zone IV (Nilsson 1996; Persson 1998; Friman and Magnusson Staaf, this volume). The altered house construction and introduction of large fences around the houses (or farmyards) combined with fences resembling cattle paths stand out clearly in the material in contrast to the lack of settlement remains from the preceding period. We are therefore dealing with a relocation, an altered distribution in the landscape and a new appearance given to the buildings. These changes are so clear as to make it difficult to interpret them in any other way than as some form of shift in settlement, probably followed by a more intensive use of certain types of land (pers. com. Stefan Gustafsson). Considering the dense occupation of the area during the preceding period, it must be considered difficult to utilize the area around without everybody being affected and contributing. One hypothesis is that everything must have taken place relatively quickly and that the new house types are the result of a comprehensive rebuilding. It is not easy to state an exact point in time for this course of events, but as a starting point for future discussion, 150 BC is a date to consider.

It is not wholly unrealistic to propose that landscape use at this time underwent a shift resulting in the area nearest the coast being used primarily for grazing and remaining so up until historic times. In other words, the east–west orientation of field structures we can see in historic times may possibly have its origin in this period. Buildings occur both as

Fig. 10. Plan of settlement remains at Lockarp 7 D–H, Bageritomten. The Iron Age houses are shaded.

farms (in a dispersed village structure) and in agglomerated form. Both of these are exemplified in the Lockarp area. The farms consist of different large houses where there can be a considerable difference between the large dwelling houses and those which must be regarded as minor farm buildings. Again, we are generally dealing with several phases of freshly constructed houses upon the same site, with construction subsequently being stable over a longer time. Among the constructions at Lockarp 7D–E, H and Bageritomten, which can be regarded as a village formation, no farm is either appreciably larger than the others or appears obviously different, even if certain differences when it comes to production can be discerned (pers. com. Jenny Nord Paulsson & Anette Rosberg) (Fig. 10). Nor can differences in size between settlements be seen within the Sound Link project. However, similar buildings at Toftanäs are somewhat longer, and some buildings at Hyllie are 50 m long. This could possibly be explained in terms of natural relationships and the vicinity to the coast with its large grazing areas. Differences in find material are also apparent at Hyllie when it comes to metal finds, and, despite searches with a metal detector, no similar material has been confirmed at the Lockarp area.

Signs of exceptional wealth are lacking. However, a few finds have been made at the Lockarp area indicating that individual people may have had a certain position of power and

experiences stretching beyond the home settlement. These included a golden bead from the Roman Iron Age (7A), a bone bridle piece and an iron spur (7H) (Rudin & Brink 2000a; Rosberg 2000). The golden bead should be seen in connection with the graves discovered at Lockarp 7A, which, as earlier, are situated amidst the settlement itself. In this case too, we are probably dealing with somebody, or a couple of people, buried during the Roman Iron Age. Interpretation of the ^{14}C dates indicates that the most recent grave, from the 4th century AD, replaces buildings on this exact spot, which does not, however, rule out the possibility of them existing just outside the investigation area. At Lockarp 7E, two inhumation burials from the early Roman Iron Age were investigated. These should be viewed in connection with the house remains from one or a pair of farms which were present on the site during the same period. The grave of a child from the Early Iron Age has also been identified at 7H, emphasizing the pattern (Nord Paulsson & Rosberg in prep.; Rosberg & Engström in prep.). One difference with the conditions of the earlier part of the Pre-Roman Iron Age is that a larger spatial connection between graves and existing buildings now exists, as they can occur simultaneously in the same location. Graves, previously indicative of a site without buildings (at least at that point in time), now become related to the settled site. We are probably looking at different expressions of the same relationship, and the acts of one lineage group at different points in time. The graves mark territorial claims and continuity in ownership rights on the "lowest" settlement level, represented by the Iron Age farm or a smaller group of farms (Rudin & Brink 2000b). However, this does not mean that graves in the Malmö area did not occur outside the direct settlement sites, which can be demonstrated, for example, by a number of graves along the coast of the Sound (Fig. 2).

4th–7th centuries AD

Something appears to happen to construction during the 4th century AD. Radiometric dates from this century are very sparse and entirely absent from the Svedab stretch, with the exception of one grave at 7A and a few isolated postholes at 7H (Fig. 11). However, just east of this, and along the stretch south of Fosie IV, considerably more settlement material dated to this century was present. Occasional dates from this period also occurred at Fredriksberg Trafikplats (13) and at Sunnanå and Segeå (19). The basic data for dating increases over the following centuries, and constructions with houses can be identified at several locations (Fig. 12). The spatial shift which was so clear between the first part of the Pre-Roman Iron Age and the period after it is not as abrupt here. Settlements from the Late Iron Age recur or have existed in the near vicinity, at several sites; sometimes they are newly founded (8a), recur within a limited extent (7E), increase in extent (13A), or move to a nearby site (7E–H to 11A and 19 from south to north of the river).

The changes in construction occurring during the 4th century AD result in the disappearance of the enclosed farms. However, this does not mean that the area becomes totally desolate. Settlement remains dated from the 4th century occur to a very limited extent on other sites, but strangely enough to a large degree outside the stretch south of the Fosie IV area (11a–d). The intensification and removal of Iron Age constructions towards the west which was perceptible in the Fosie IV area is assumed to have its cause in

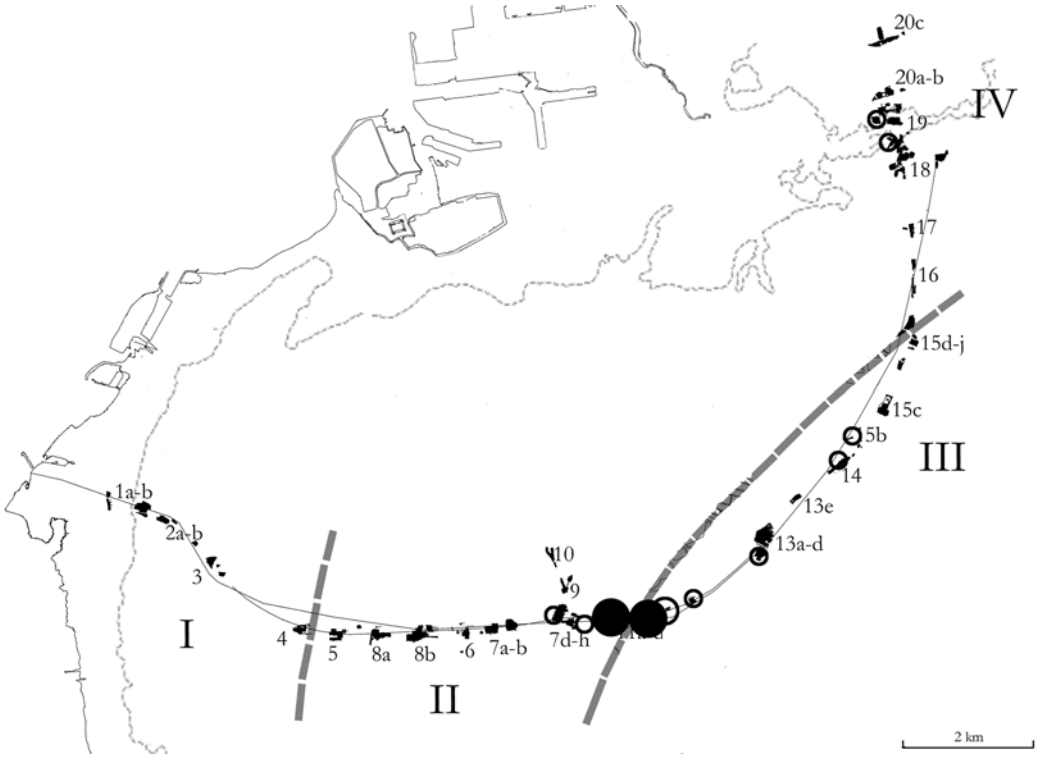

Fig. 11. Settlements during the 4th century BC. Solid circle = substantial remains and houses. Open circle = settlement remains. Small open circle = separate dating

connection with the main highway between the towns of Lund and Trelleborg mentioned above, which passed by here and probably has prehistoric antecedents. It is interesting to note that the pattern of reorganisation and reestablishment which was perceived in this "little area" ten years ago has also been considered just as valid in large investigation areas such as the Sound Link project. The concentration and reduction of construction which was noticed in the larger material was equivalent to the increase we saw among Late Iron Age construction in the earlier investigation area. In the "little" Fosie IV perspective, a displacement and reestablishment of construction in alignment with the road took place over the course of the Iron Age. The same pattern could be established within the larger perspective of the Sound Link project. Equivalent basic dates, although only in the form of the remains of pits and wells, also occurred at another location (13A). It should be noted that this settlement also lay just next to a probable prehistoric road, parallel to that discussed above – these roads join together just before crossing the Sege River (Erikson & Samuelsson 2000). It is of course unrealistic to imagine that all construction in the Malmö area during the 4th century AD was concentrated upon just these sites, but this does illustrate what was most likely an overall development and organization of construction in which communication trails also had a part to play. The reason for this concentration of buildings in this area has not been completely elucidated, and may not be directly answerable only from the results of the Sound Link project. It is however, even less likely that it

Fig. 12. Settlements during 4th–7th Centuries AD. Solid circle = substantial remains and houses. Open circle = settlement remains. Small open circle = separate dating

would only be something to do with agricultural conditions and land use. The changes in construction, and their chronology, correspond with the Danish material (Hedeager 1992:202). It is only somewhat later, during the 5th and 6th centuries AD, that autumn sowing of rye and spring sowing of barley begin, a change from earlier practices (pers. com. Stefan Gustafsson).

The variation between both settlements and houses is greater now, but could be partly explained in more fragmentary and less manifest traces in the ground. The clearest of these is the extent of Settlements IV and 11A, with their total of over 30 sunken-floor huts, which has no equivalent elsewhere. Variation of construction within settlements can therefore be seen only at Fosie, where possibly only one of the farms is larger than the others in the area (Fig. 13). This is one 30 m long house with surrounding sunken-floor huts situated upon a faint terrace between the previously documented settlements IV and V within Fosie IV. In one of the farm's sunken-floor huts, radiometrically dated to the Migration Period, the find material was of a nature distinct from the others in the area. Among the finds were glass beads and fragments of blue glass from a beaker, a worked amethyst bead, an unusually well-constructed loom weight and game consisting of water fowl such as Eurasian widgeon and various fish. In one of the nearby sunken-floor huts, an unusually large amount of linseed also occurred, in addition to bones of northern gannet (*Sula bassana*) in another and also in another imported ore from western Jutland (Hadevik & Jönsson 2000; Hadevik & Gidlöf

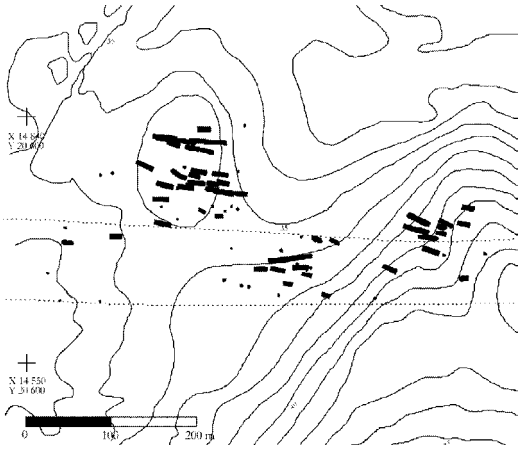

Fig. 13. Long-houses and pit-houses from Settlement IV–V (Fosie IV) and 11 A (Sound Link Project).

in prep.). We are dealing therefore with an assemblage suggesting a certain status and a somewhat higher social level than the ordinary. The closest premise is that in this settlement and in the area leading up to the Riseberga stream, some kind of specialized production took place. One sign of this could be the special long hearths upon that settlement, which were also discovered at all of the Iron Age settlements in the Fosie IV area, all of which lay in the "valley" of the Riseberga stream (Björhem & Säfvestad 1993:317; Gidlöf 2000). One interpretation is that there was a need to control this production, for which the major concentration of sunken-floor huts by the conjectured Iron Age road constitutes the basis. It should be emphasized that this settlement, so distinct from the others with its presumed contacts with communication routes and possible specialized production, probably has its roots in the comparatively major construction at settlements 7E–H and Bageritomten a few hundred metres to the west (Fig. 14). Even if the settlement is distinct from the others, it should be appreciated that continuity in construction in the area formed a basis for the development of the settlement.

The incompletely delimited concentration of settlement remains and activities at Fredriksberg Trafikplats (13 A-D) has not yet been analysed. However, the material does not appear to comprise a similar number of sunken-floor huts and long-houses from the Late Iron Age. The find material is somewhat conspicuous, with a connection to ritual activities being present both in terms of the history of the site, with Bronze Age mounds and surrounding features placed in the most monumental positions of the Malmö area, and with the evidence in the Iron Age material of sacrificial activities in the wetlands and wells, something unparalleled in the Fosie material (Björhem, B. 2000; Carlsson 2000; Svahn 2000; Thörn 1998:22)

Within the Sound Link project, relations between graves and settlements are not as direct in spatial terms as they were earlier, when graves and buildings replaced or lay near each other in more or less the same place. Graves from the later Roman Iron Age are represented in Malmö by the fine examples from Kristineberg in the parish of Oxie. The graves are rich and suggestive of a higher social level (Rudebeck & Ödman 2000:218). The site is also interesting as it has been repeatedly used for burials over a long period. It appears as if the graves here do not mark the territorial rights of one settlement but rather probably of the community in a wider perspective. When it comes to the Late Iron Age buildings in the Fosie and Lockarp areas, the graves lie closely connected to the road mentioned, and just next to a Bronze Age mound. The cemetery at Ljungbacka has been investigated on a couple of occasions over the last few decades, and is relatively thoroughly examined. At this cemetery, which consists of 161 cremation graves and 31 inhumation

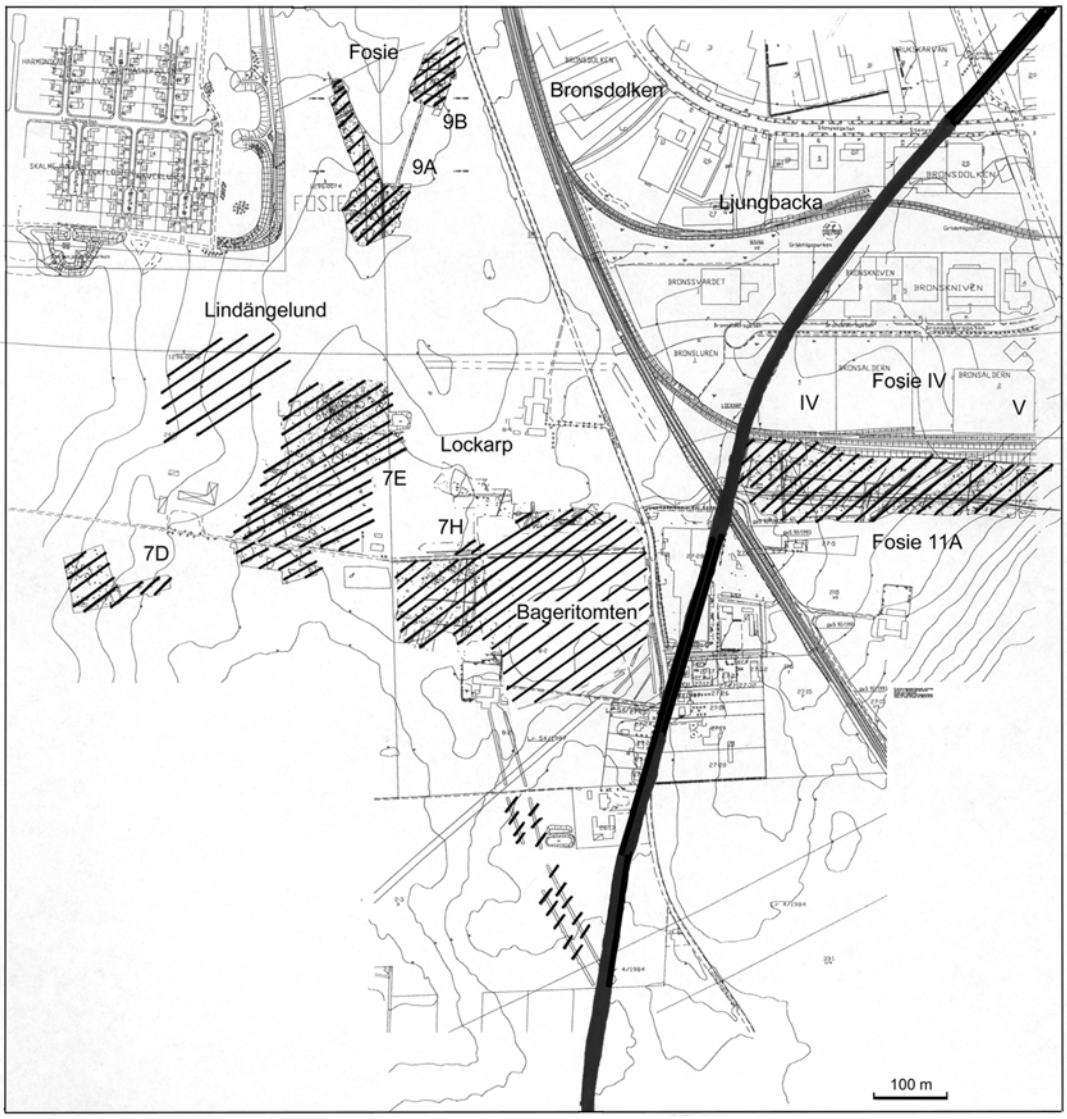

Fig. 14. Iron Age settlements in the Fosie and Lockarp area. Hatched areas were investigated 1996–1999. Black line denotes the possible Iron Age main road.

graves dated to the Late Iron Age and Viking Age, occurred two clear examples of 10th-century warrior graves. On the basis of the grave goods, one can be characterized as a horseman's grave (spurs) and the other as a weapon grave (axe) (Samuelsson 1998:51). However, it is not possible to link these chronologically to the farm at 11A discussed above.

8th–10th centuries AD

This period is not included directly in the analyses of the long-house landscape, and has therefore been studied in less depth. As far as the general body of ancient remains in the Malmö area goes, it seems that, as expected, Viking Age material occurs more frequently

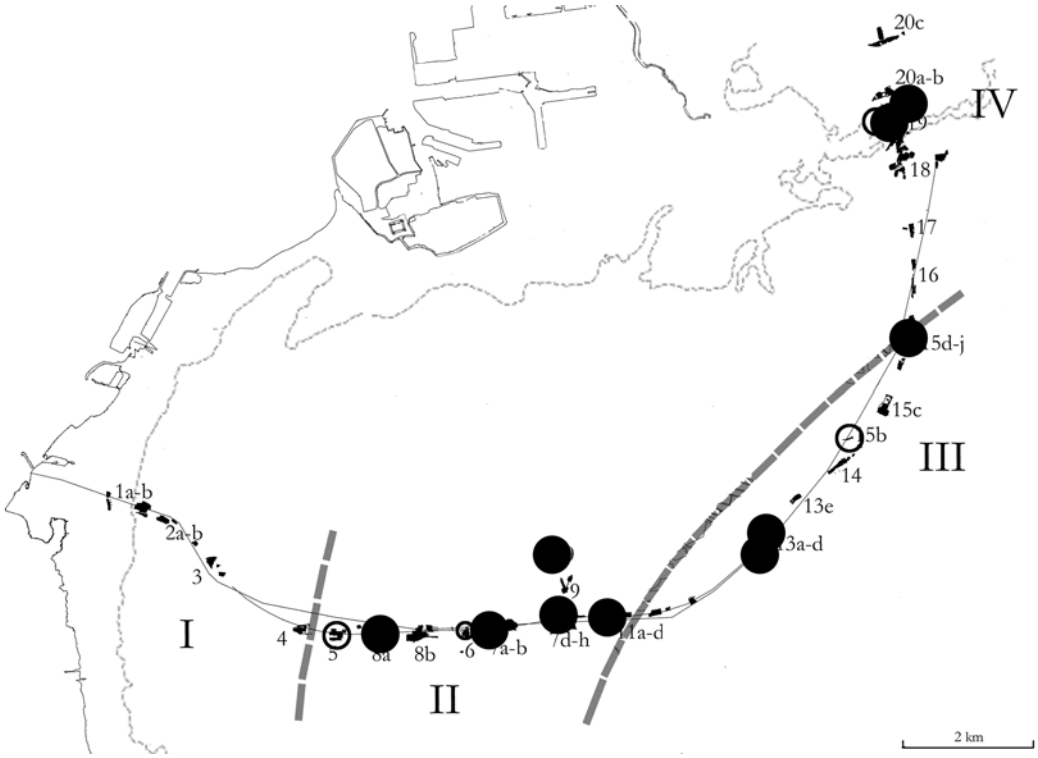

Fig. 15. Settlements the during 8th–10th Centuries AD. Solid circle = substantial remains and houses. Open circle = settlement remains.

in areas outside the medieval village nuclei than find material from the 11th century. One unanswered question, however, is whether or not Late Iron Age material may be "hiding" in the villages. Settlement remains from the 8th to 10th centuries AD in the Sound Link's investigation area are evenly distributed over the entire extent except for Zone I (Fig. 15). The remains give the impression of representing farms rooted in the previous constructions. In the case of Fosie (Settlements IV and 11A), a reduction in extent takes place. This was already perceptible at Settlement IV, but has now been reinforced (Björhem & Säfvestad 1993:351). One exception is present in the shape of a palisade-like collection of postholes placed inside the curve of the Sege River near Sunnanå. Among other things, this has been interpreted as a form of bridge structure, and moreover it occupies a strategic position where the main road discussed above crosses the Sege River (Steineke 2000).

Social structure

The whole investigation area was exploited in some form during the Iron Age. At least a couple of changes in construction can be perceived. Despite these, continuity in the settlements is striking, and the developments we see do not imply any break with respect to population. The salient feature of these changes is, if anything, an indication of continuity with the preceding settlements. On this local level, the buildings give the impression of an egalitarian society rather than of a strongly stratified one. In the probably

quite comprehensive shifting of territory which took place during the centuries before the birth of Christ, this continuity could be marked with a grave on the old farm site. That one or more people were granted special honour or gave the living descendants rights to the land or the like is suggested by the continuing placing of graves near the farms even after the shift took place. Yet graves also occur at special places lacking direct contact with the farms themselves. The presence of graves along the coast suggests that we could be dealing with larger units making use of the entire landscape, something which has also been proposed as relevant to periods before the Iron Age (Rosborn 1981:37). Examples of very rich graves also occur during the later Roman Iron Age at Kristineberg (Rudebeck & Ödman 2001:179 pp.), which can however hardly be linked to these actual settlements, but should rather be seen in a wider perspective in which the Fosie and Lockarp areas are also naturally included. It is conversely no coincidence that the Ljungbacka cemetery with graves from the Late Iron Age and above all Viking Age lies only 200–300 m north of Settlements IV and 11A.

The settlements situated in the area between the historic villages of Fosie and Lockarp went through a change in construction during the 2nd century BC, which was of such an extent that it is perceptible throughout the whole landscape. Developments were probably radical, with many new buildings being raised, which is clearly illustrated by all the well-preserved houses with clear traces of walls from this period. Following this period of relocation, the settlements remained in place for 500 years, only to be moved a few hundred metres eastwards where they remained for a further 600 years or so. At the same time, individual farms were founded at other sites in the vicinity, certain of which were rebuilt. During the 10th century, however, it seems that all settlement in the area ceased, coincident with the establishment of the historically-known villages. Iron Age construction consequently consisted of a village-like concentration within an area corresponding, on the surface, to the historical village of Fosie before the shift and, if viewed not on the basis of the placement of individual buildings, but rather in its entirety, it existed at least as long. What we see is several construction systems replacing one another over a very long time. Comparisons of the positions of buildings with an 18th-century map of roads (which are probably older) leads one to suspect that certain roads connected with Iron Age buildings may predate historic times (Fig. 16). The Iron Age village lies clustered around a crossroads where the regional highway meets the local road running to the coast. If this connection is accepted, it also means that the east–west structure of roads and property boundaries we see in Zones I and II during historic times could have its origin in the Early Iron Age.

From a spatial point of view, three clear changes in the location and appearance of construction can be discerned in the Fosie-Lockarp area during the Iron Age. All three changes demand a social organization with a level of authority above that of the farm and village. This is tentatively concerned with (i) land-use; (ii) control of production and communication; (iii) the formation of the state. The first, which began during the centuries before the birth of Christ, is assumed to be a consequence of a comprehensive shift of territories and was hypothetically already present as the organized landscape we can still perceive today with a little local knowledge. During the 4th century AD, a concentration and change of appearance and contents takes

Fig. 16. Villages and road network of the pre-enclosure landscape (18th century) superimposed on a modern map of Malmö (Rosborn 1984). Black areas are the Iron Age settlements at Lockarp 7 D–H, Bageritomten, Fosie 11 A and Fosie IV: IV–V. Black dots are Bronze Age barrows.

place, which does not mean a complete abandonment of settlements, but that the largest settlement in the area is evidenced with sunken-floor huts to an extent unseen at any other site. The final development occurs when the villages of Fosie and Lockarp, as we know them from the historical sources, are formed. This development is so comprehensive that it far surpasses the spatial perspective of this study.

We can, however, establish that all the developments we have seen in the Fosie and Lockarp area are paralleled by the appearance of the buildings or reflected in terms of occurrence when seen in the clearer perspective of the Sound Link and the Malmö area as a whole, which can also probably be applied to observations of the Uppåkra material. The long construction history of the Fosie and Lockarp area, however, has not left any traces of any exceptional wealth or power except for the warrior graves at Ljungbacka. However, one should probably not ignore the runestone presented to the village of Fosie. The settlement remains at Fredriksberg, which have a similar history in terms of localization and chronology, and the same spatial relationship with Oxie as that described above regarding Fosie and Lockarp, are conversely distinct as to their contents, with ritual aspects in the form of sacrificial sites and so on being clearly more pronounced here. This should perhaps be seen in connection with Oxie and its prominent role as the site of the court of the *härad* ("hundred", a judicial district) during historic times.

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An Early Iron Age Settlement at Hyllie
Preliminary Results of the Excavations

Bo Friman and Lena Hector

Abstract

A major Early Iron Age settlement close to the coast is located on a height in Hyllie, south of Malmö. The preliminary results reveal a settlement with two phases. Phase 1 consists of an egalitarian Pre-Roman Iron Age settlement in the southern part, with houses and large pit systems but only containing minor finds. In phase 2, dated to the transition between Pre-Roman and Roman Iron Age, the area seems to be more complex and stratified. In the northern part of the excavation area well-built long-houses were found with enclosures and cattle paths. The pit systems in the south are now reused for an ancestor cult. In the top layer metal finds of extraordinary quality and quantity were deposited. The area was enclosed by stone field-walls. The settlement at Hyllie shows us that a local centralization of power was already starting to develop during the Pre-Roman period without any traces of direct foreign influences.

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Introduction

The Hyllie settlement (Hyllie 156:8) is the only major Iron Age settlement in the Malmö area lying close to the coast. The coastal region is a predominantly flat landscape, but 3 km inland a marked hill rises. On this clay moraine hill, 17 metres above sea level, the Hyllie settlement was located (Fig. 1). The excavation area is marked *Mellanbyn* ("between the villages") on the maps from the years 1701 and 1702, providing arable land between the villages of Hyllie and Bunkeflo. The settlement was bordered by a bog, Hyllie Mosse, to the west, the village of Hyllie to the north and wetland to the east and south. All the results that are presented in this article are preliminary. The work with the material has only just started, but since the finds and features are of such outstanding character, we have chosen to present here the excavation in its infancy. Our datings therefore are mainly based upon typological parallels as we have not yet received the ^{14}C results. The excavation area can be divided into two parts, a northern and a southern activity area, with the area between showing only vague traces of prehistoric activities. About 30 houses were registered in the investigation area, of which 19 can be dated to the Early Iron Age. In the northern area there were several larger farms and an abundance of refuse pits. In the southern part, smaller farm complexes with associated pit systems were found. Around the higher

Fig. 1. The research area on the topographic map. Scale 1:50,000. Edited by Bo Friman.

land towards the west and east, two stone field-walls ran which appeared to connect towards the south. In the southern area another stone field-wall ran in a north–south direction. The hill was periodically inhabited from the Middle Neolithic to the Middle Ages.

The background to the excavations

Expedient circumstances have caused the hill to be more or less totally investigated, with only the south-eastern part remaining to be excavated (Fig. 2). However, the preliminary investigation has given us an idea of what might turn up. This south-eastern part will also be excavated due to the building of a City Tunnel under Malmö and across the investigation area. In the northern part of the settlement a sports ground is planned. In the same area, archaeological excavations during the spring and autumn of the year 2000 revealed remains of medieval farms in Hyllie village. This investigation lay directly to the north of the prehistoric remains that were investigated at the same time. In the autumn of 1999 the eastern half of the area was investigated on account of the construction of a new road, Vintrieleden, connecting with the Outer Ring Road. The south-western part of the excavation will become a recreation area. Further

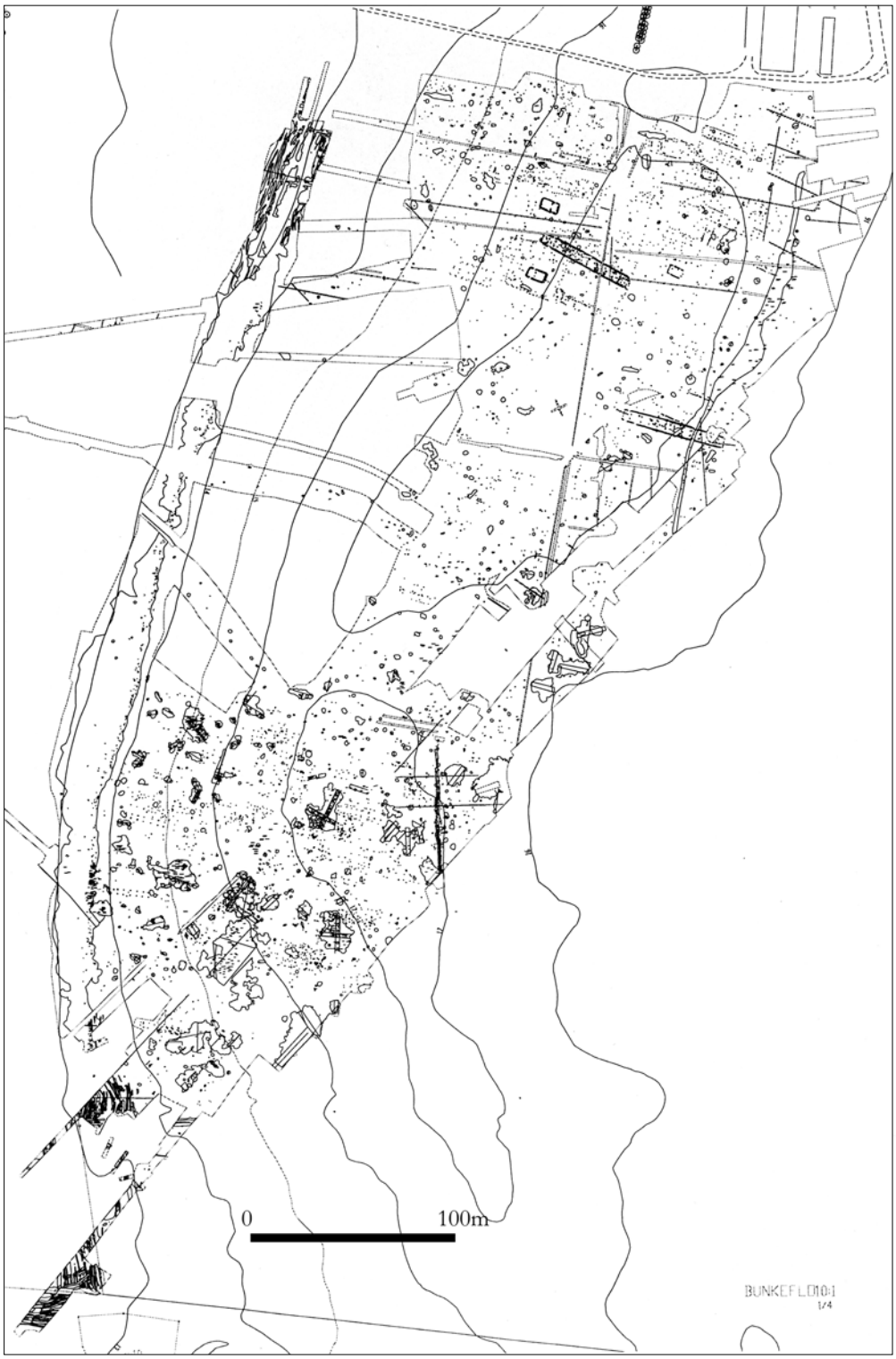

Fig. 2. The excavation area. Edited by Bo Friman & Lena Hector.

planned developments in the region offer us a unique chance to see the whole extent of the Hyllie settlement and also show us a complete picture of settlement development and spatial organization during the Iron Age over a larger area. This research is all the more interesting as the investigations were performed using similar methods and documentation.

Preliminary remarks

During the excavation we became aware of the fact that the site reflected aspects of a variety of periods. The relics and finds show activities on the higher ground from the beginning of the Middle Neolithic to the Early Bronze Age. The Neolithic traces were not distinct, being only sparse finds of Funnel Beaker pottery in one of the stone field-walls. A storage vessel that can be dated to the Middle Neolithic period was also found in the northern area. Some refuse pits containing prepared flint of Neolithic type were registered nearby. The first visible settlement remains originated from the Late Neolithic–Early Bronze Age, being traces of two houses of single post-row construction, one house in the northern and one house in the southern area.

The Pre-Roman Iron Age settlement (Phase 1)

The first settlement upon the hill at Mellanbyn that seems to be of a more permanent character has its origin during the Pre-Roman Iron Age (Fig. 3). This settlement was situated towards the south of the excavation area, on the slope facing south-west down towards Hyllie Mosse. Here we found nine houses that seem to be approximately from the same period of time. The houses were all located in a WNW–ESE direction. These houses consisted of double post-row constructions. There were just traces left of the roof-bearing postholes, while the walls were poorly preserved throughout. The houses made up small farm complexes and had in some cases been enclosed. They were of ordinary type, comparable to contemporary settlements in Lockarp (Nord Paulsson & Rosberg manuscript; Rosberg & Engström manuscript) and Fosie (Björhem & Säfvestad 1993) in the Malmö region and Hodde, Jelling and Grøntoft in Jutland (Hvass 1988). The long-houses were 15 to 20 metres in length, with the farms consisting of two to three houses, the houses in the farms being of similar form and size. Phase 1 in the southern part of the excavation area indicated a densely built-up area where the farms were included in an egalitarian society. The find material from this period is not that abundant but consists of pottery, bone and burnt clay. The settlement also includes ten large pit systems. Some of these were shown to contain one or two wells. In about five of the wells, crania of dogs were found. This seems to have been a very common phenomenon in the Malmö region. Crania or skeletons of dogs in Iron Age wells have been found in adjacent excavations (Rosberg & Lindé 2001:93 pp.; Berggren & Celin manuscript; Sandén manuscript), which seems to confirm the interpretation of these as rituals of sacrifice. The pit systems are probably a result of various habitation activities such as clay extraction, followed by use as refuse pits in a secondary phase. The remaining pits have been interpreted as deposits of garbage or as storage pits. These contained mostly pottery and bone. The amount of finds was relatively small, with nothing out of the ordinary occurring in the type of features, finds or houses.

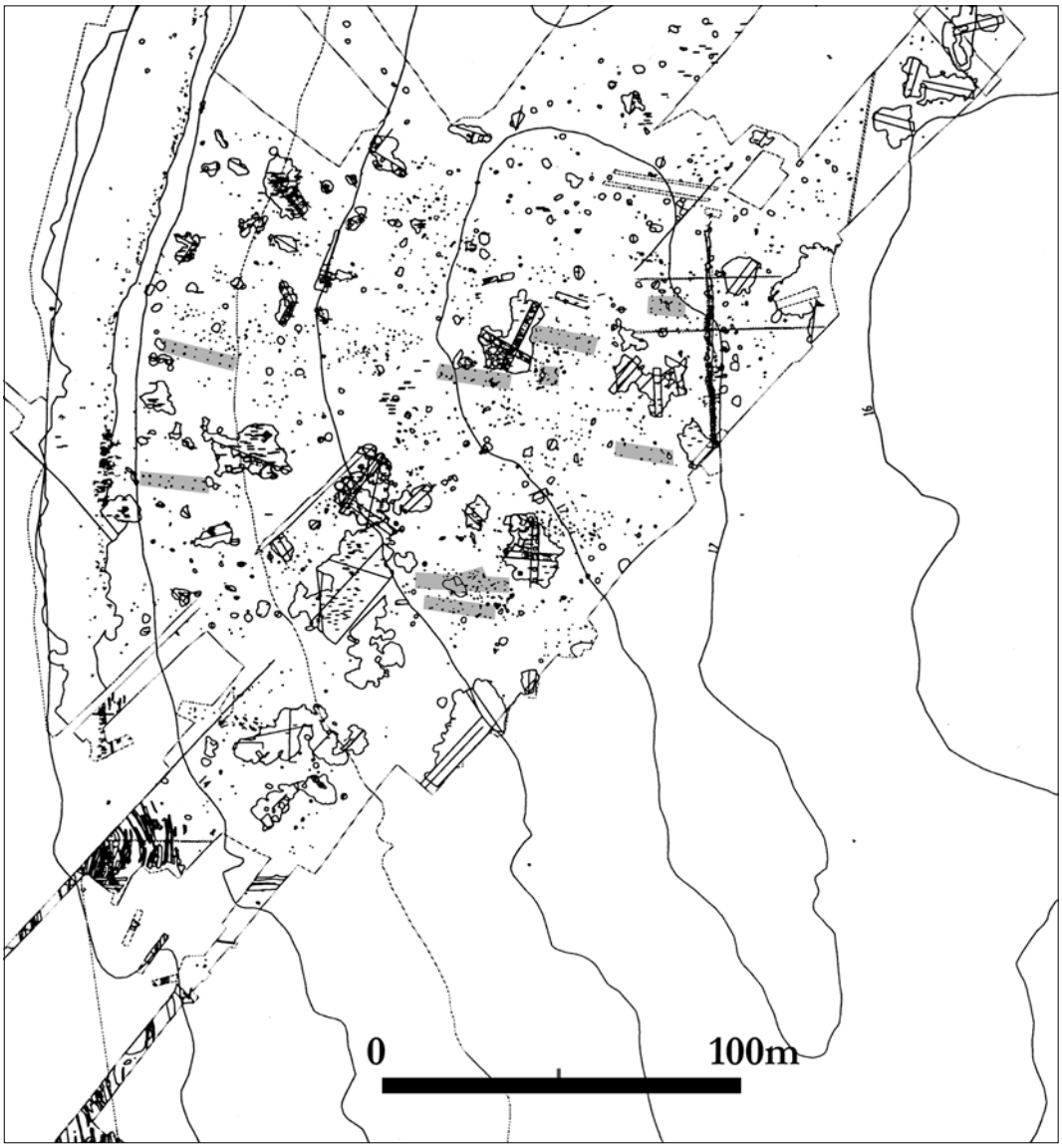

Fig. 3. The southern area with the pit systems and the settlement from phase l. Edited by Bo Friman.

Late Pre-Roman–Roman Iron Age (Phase 2)

A later phase in the settlement can presumably be dated to the transition between the Pre-Roman and Roman Iron Ages, with the main emphasis being upon the first century BC (Fig. 4). This settlement was situated to the north of the excavation area. Whether this represents continuity from the earlier settlement in Phase 1 or a new establishment has not for the time being been completely elucidated. In the northern area we can now discern a settlement that is of totally different status to the earlier one. In Phase 2, the settlient has moved up to the northern area (Farms 1 and 2). The long-houses have rounded gables and double roof-bearing posts. The house in Farm 1 is 34 metres in length while the house in Farm 2 is 42 metres in

Fig. 4. The northern area with the settlement from phase 2. Edited by Bo Friman.

length. They are very similar to the houses at Toftanäs as regards the width of the houses, the shape of the gables and the placing of the roof-bearing posts (Persson 1998:70). Houses with a length of up to 46 metres were also registered at Toftanäs with a radiocarbon dating from around the birth of Christ. The farms were enclosed and from Farm 1 a cattle path ran towards the south. Part of a similar construction was also visible north of Farm 2. It appears as if Farms 1 and 2 had the same builder. Another builder constructed Farms 3 and 4, where the houses were almost identical in shape. It is possible that these farms were of a later date than the beginning of the Early Roman Iron Age. The finds of pottery in Farm 4 can possibly verify this dating. Ditlev Mahler has also verbally suggested the same date on the basis of a smaller house in Farm 4. The long-house in Farm 3 is 52 metres long and 6 metres wide, and is located about 50 metres south-east of Farm 4. Farm 4 consists of a long-house 48 metres in length and 6 metres in width and two smaller houses. All four houses in Farms 3 and 4 have wall-ditches and the two long-houses have heavy roof-bearing posts. Farm 4 is completely enclosed and in the southern part runs a cattle

path. All houses in the four farms have a WNW–ESE direction. The oldest farm dominated the spatial utilization of the area. It is also interesting to note how the enclosures seem to interrelate with each other, indicating that the farms may have been contemporary for a period. A large number of pits were investigated in connection with the farms in the northern area. These can be described as find-rich refuse pits. Bones were abundant and represented a wide range of species. A large amount of pottery from the Early Iron Age was also registered. This material can be described as unsorted. The pit systems mentioned above gain a different significance during this period of time. In the southern area there was a 15–20 cm thick occupation deposit over all of the pit systems. The nature of the finds from these occupation deposits was entirely different from the finds from the fill in the pits beneath. Finds of pottery and bone were more abundant, with the bones in the top layer generally giving a more sorted impression. Horse bones and dog crania were represented in a number of cases both separately and together. The tradition of depositing dog crania continues in the area into the years AD. An amount of fish bones, interpreted as waste, was found in the pit systems, confirming the coastal location with its maritime contacts. Pottery was also predominant in the top layer. The pottery is in most cases of very high quality, polished and thin-walled with a reduced technique. The rims are often strongly profiled with, in some cases, decoration occurring on the neck. In the culturally affected top layer, extraordinary finds of metal were found. Most of the finds were a result of using metal detectors. It is interesting to note that almost all metal objects were found in the pit system and not between them. These metal finds exceed in number the total amount of metal that was found throughout the prehistoric investigations of the Öresund Fixed Link Project (Björn Magnusson Staaf pers. com.). One of the pit systems in particular was very rich in metal finds, containing a single-edged iron sword (Fig. 5), a curved iron knife (Fig. 6), two tanged knives, a needle, a buckle, a possible spur, and a strap-end mounting. In another pit system finds of a very well-preserved horse bit (Fig. 7) and a lancehead (Fig. 8) were also present in the top layer. In a third pit system, a triangular fibula was found (Fig. 9). The metal finds are of excellent quality throughout. A preliminary survey of the metal finds indicates a date in the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age, about 100–0 BC. Most of the objects were deposited over three of the pit systems, lying separately in different locations rather than all together. The single-edged sword could be dated to the transition between the Pre-Roman and Early Roman Iron Age. Since swords exist in different regional forms during this period, they should be seen as being of Nordic parentage and not as imported objects from further away (Nicklasson 1997:43). The sword could possibly have been manufactured on the site.

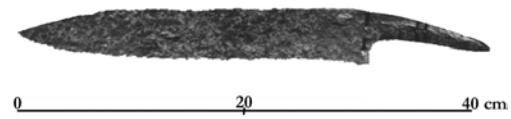

Fig. 5. Single-edged sword. Photo: Malmö Museer.

Fig. 6. Curved knife. Photo: Malmö Museer.

Fig. 7. Horse bit. Photo: Malmö Museer.

Fig. 8. Lancehead. Photo: Malmö Museer.

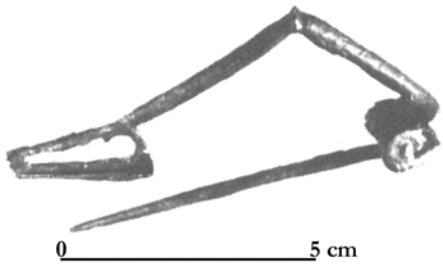

Fig. 9. Triangular fibula. Photo: Malmö Museer.

Families in the northern area seem to have reused the former settlement with its pit systems for cult rituals. The choice of pit systems as places of sacrifice must be seen as unique. An ancestor cult with sacrifices of metal seems to have been celebrated at the site to confirm their belonging to the site. This can be seen as symbolically sealing the southern settlement as well as honouring the ancestors in the area. During this period of time, the stone field-walls that appeared can also be seen as a delimitation of the older settlement/cult centre. After this period it seems as though the site was abandoned for a long period. Three younger houses were found, one of these cutting across the long-house in Farm 4. Another one ran parallel a little further to the north and was presumably a contemporary Late Iron Age house. The presumed youngest house is a Trelleborg house, situated just south of Hyllie village. A younger settlement phase seems to appear during the Viking Age with continuity until present times through the establishment of the medieval village of Hyllie. The village was the largest and maybe the most important medieval village on the Southern Plain.

Stone field-walls

In the excavation area we found traces of three stone field-walls, sometimes not just traces but large stones in rows (Fig. 10). These stone field-walls occurred in different parts of the excavation area. Two of these delimited the settlement towards the wetlands in the east, west and south. The third ran in a NNW–SSE direction through the area with pit systems towards the south. The western one separating the hill from Hyllie Mosse was at least 520 metres long, was situated in a dark layer affected by water and consisted of an underlying bed of smaller stones with larger stones on top. It could have constituted the foundation of a stone wall and/or a wooden construction. The largest stones are about 1.5 by 1 metre in size. The eastern stone field-wall was more ploughed out with only a short part still visible, approximately 200 metres long. The Iron Age settlement with houses and enclosures harmonized with the stone field-wall, i.e. the enclosure ended where the stone field-wall began, forming a continuous

Fig. 10. The western stone field-wall facing north. Photo: Ulf Sandén.

enclosure row facing south. The third stone field-wall ran just east of those pit systems which were most rich in finds, and, together with the western stone field-wall, it encircled the area. However, one must not forget that stone field-walls like this are very uncommon in this part of Scania, and since we have three of them within this defined area it is very likely that they existed during the same period. The stone field-wall towards the south is locked in time by the boundary between the parishes of Hyllie and Bunkeflo, i.e. the medieval boundary cut the stone field-wall. During the Pre-Roman Iron Age, the landscape around Hyllie must be seen as already very heavily settled. This could be one explanation for the stone field-walls, as markers *vis-à-vis* other settlements. One can also see the stone field-walls as boundary markers for different resources. The presence of three such monuments in and about the settlement emphasises their great importance for the interpretation of the site.

Discussion

The early part of the Pre-Roman Iron Age was at one time considered to have been a poor period almost without finds. Cultural advances were only supposed to have been achieved due to increased contacts with the continent. This was noticeable in the rich grave material from the later part of the period (Stenberger 1964:330, 337). Mårten Stenberger furthermore states that there were no traces of settlement whatsoever (ibid.). However, in the south-western part of Scania a large amount of settlements from the period have been discovered lately, particularly in connection with the investigations associated with the Öresund Fixed Link. What are still to be found in Scania are the weapon graves (Nicklasson 1992:155). In Denmark most of the known settlements from the period are from Jutland, but settlements from Zealand (e.g., Høje Taastrup) have also been published (Lund 1992:79; Lund 1994:70). Sten Hvass points out that this representativeness shows that only a small part of the material is known (Hvass 1985:197; 1988:67). His presentiments are well suited to south-west Scania. The investigations connected with the construction of the Öresund Fixed Link indicate the that the Malmö region was densely settled during the Early Iron Age. Large concentrations of Iron Age settlements were found in Fosie, Lockarp, Svågertorp, Toftanäs and in the south and south-west of Hyllie, as well as in other locations. These settlements were mainly located on more or less marked heights. The site at Hyllie is the only extraordinary

settlement during Early Iron Age south of Malmö in an otherwise egalitarian settlement structure. A local chief or magnate must have been established in Hyllie. In a densely occupied area the settlement had about 12 hectares at its disposal. This indicates its strong position in the area. Dense settlements create great social pressure in a society. If the stone field-walls constituted the foundations of walls, and if they are contemporary with the farms in the northern area, they might be a sign of power and tensions in the area. Berta Stjernquist is of the opinion that a wall is a sign of a system showing great demand for exercise of power (Stjernquist 1990:47). The large and prominently located long-houses also indicate a manifestation of power. The houses are very long in comparison to contemporary houses in southern Scandinavia (Larsson 1995:50 pp.). The settlement is strategically located along the highest hill seen from the coast. The coast was used as a resource area as the rich finds of fish bones indicate. It is also along the coast that graves are found in the area (Salomonsson 1971), as well as along the communication links inland as at Kristineberg (Rudebeck & Ödman 2000:29 pp.).

Indications of a central place

To sum up:

- The settlement was located on the highest point visible from the coast.
- The location was close to the coast with developed communication.
- The houses were unusually long and well-built for the period with wall-ditches. Since they are situated on the highest point in the area they must also have been visible from far away.
- The settlement was enclosed by wetland at three points of the compass and could therefore not have been reached without observation.
- The settlement was enclosed by a wall-like structure which served as a defence in a heavily settled area and was at the same time an indication of power.
- The settlement had about 12 hectares at its disposal in an otherwise densely occupied area. Phase 2 consisted of just a small amount of large farms.
- The character of the metal finds and their composition indicates both military influences and material and social wealth.

Local change

No obvious imported finds have been registered, which indicates change on a local level. The three phases show that change was dynamic during this period. There were more metal finds in the Hyllie settlement than have been discovered in the whole of the rest of this area. These finds seem to indicate local development, local connections and local power. The dynamic changes in the site took place without visible, direct influences from the Celts or the Romans. Central places have otherwise been viewed in connection with increasing contacts with the continent, above all with the Roman Empire, and have often been defined upon the basis of the occurrence of imported material. An incipient centralization of power and the introduction of a new social structure have been considered to take place through the occurrence of imported materials, with the Roman influence also contributing to subvert Germanic kinship-based relations and allow a martial aristocracy to arise (Burenhult 1991:33 p.; Fabech 1989:112). The Hyllie investigations show that the centralization of power and a new system of society had already started to develop

during the Pre-Roman period. Hyllie was also linked mentally to Uppåkra, as the social climate for the development of Uppåkra already existed during the Pre-Roman Iron Age.

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Trelleborg and the Southern Plain during the Iron Age
A Study of a Coastal Area in South-West Scania, Sweden

Bengt Jacobsson

Abstract

During the 1980s a great deal of archaeological interest was focused on medieval towns. Several excavations uncovered not just remains of medieval towns but also traces of much older settlements. Along the south coast of Sweden, the Trelleborg area occupies a special position since the discovery – in connection with excavations in the medieval town – of a large coastal settlement site from the Vendel Period and Viking Age, as well as a Viking Age fortress.

It has only been possible to excavate limited parts of the site, which covered a considerable part of the medieval town. The finds indicate external contacts, both with Russia and the Baltic lands and with Western Europe.

The Viking Age fortress shows similarities to the Late Viking Age "Trelleborg fortresses" in Denmark, which are usually associated with the emergence of royal power.

The excavations in Trelleborg thus suggest that the area in the Late Iron Age may have had special functions, or at least had a more prominent role than nearby areas.

This article surveys the situation in the hinterland of Trelleborg as regards ancient remains, in order to try to put the settlement and the fortress into a historical and archaeological context. The aim is not to answer all the questions that may be asked about evidence of this kind, but rather to point out various archaeological remains, phenomena, and material which may provide a basis for continued archaeological research.

The study extends about 10 kilometres in from the coast, comprising Skytt Hundred and the southern part of Oxie Hundred and the western part of Vemmenhög Hundred.

This work has been conducted as part of the project "The Social Structure of Southern Sweden during the Iron Age", also popularly known as the Uppåkra Project.

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The Southern Plain

Trelleborg is situated in Skytt Hundred, on the western part of the south coast of Scania, within easy sailing distance of Denmark and Germany (Fig. 1). On the landward side the city is surrounded by the fertile Southern Plain, which gives way, about 10 kilometres to the north, to the hummocky landscape of south-west Scania, characterized by undulating terrain and a great many small lakes. Several small watercourses run into the sea around Trelleborg. Just west of the city is the mouth of the River Ståstorpsån, which drains

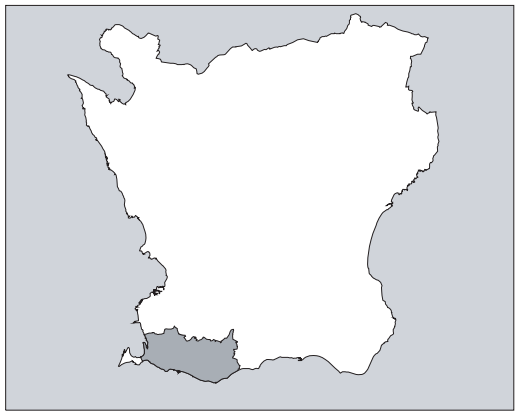


Fig. 1. The study area in south-west Scania.

several areas of wetland further inland. A couple of kilometres east of the city is the mouth of the River Dalköpingeån, and the site of the medieval town was demarcated by small streams. Several of these watercourses have almost vanished from the landscape today, having been drained or channelled in conduits (Fig. 2).

About 15 kilometres further to the west, at the south-west corner of Scania, is the Falsterbo Peninsula. Because of its exposed position, the coastline here has undergone major changes over the centuries. Constantly moving currents and sandbanks have made it dangerous to navigate around the peninsula. This is confirmed by finds of a large number of wrecks. In the Middle Ages Skanör and Falsterbo were the sites of the Scanian Market, from which large quantities of salted herring were distributed over Europe (Ersgård 1988:1 pp.).

The Southern Plain is fully tilled, and the good soils have given the conditions for prosperity all through the ages. A significant concentration of megalithic graves, above all west of Trelleborg, testifies to intensive settlement as early as the Neolithic. Slightly further in from the coast are the Bronze Age barrows. These often occur in groups of varying size, as at Steglarp in Fuglie Parish and at Fjärdingslöv in Gylle Parish. The graves from this period are thus a prominent feature of the landscape, but we know less about Bronze Age settlement sites. Iron Age settlements and graves are likewise little known. In the immediate vicinity of Trelleborg, however, there are some cemeteries. One of these on the coast, south of the village of Maglarp, consists of about 80 small barrows. The cemetery, which was used during most of the Iron Age, was originally much larger (Bruzelius 1853:56). Another cemetery consists of flat-earth graves from the Late Iron Age, just north-west of Trelleborg. The biggest cemetery, however, is at Hammarsnäs, a good bit west of Trelleborg. Here no fewer than 141 graves from the Early Iron Age were excavated in 1931–34 (Hansen 1936). Individual graves and small groups of graves, above all from the Early Iron Age, have also been found in the area west and north-west of Trelleborg. Only a few settlement sites from the Iron Age are known. A coastal settlement from the Vendel Period and Viking Age has been excavated beside the coast in the parish of Lilla Isie (Stjernquist 1988; Jeppsson 1995b). Also from the same time is the settlement site within the area of the medieval town of Trelleborg. In addition, there are remains of the Viking Age fortress which has been discovered and partly excavated in Trelleborg.

A similar fortress has also been found recently at Borgeby in western Scania (Svanberg & Söderberg 1999).

The settlement and the fortress

The settlement site found within the limits of the medieval Trelleborg had its largest extent during the Vendel Period and Early Viking Age. The site, which at that time occupied a

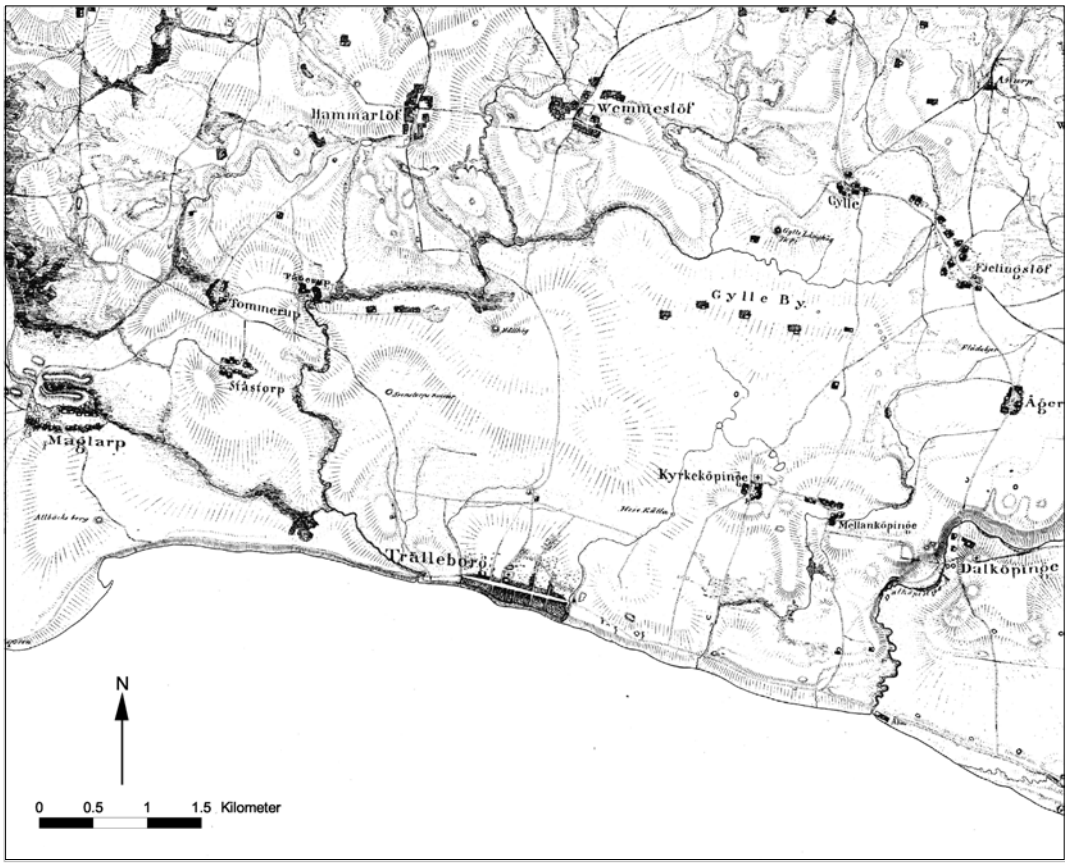


Fig. 2. Skånska rekognoseringskartan from around 1815. Several small watercourses can be seen on the coast at Trelleborg.

stretch of land about 800 metres long, was on the raised beach right beside the shore of the Baltic Sea (Fig. 3).

Besides the raised beach, the topography is dominated by two low rises in the north-west part of the town. On the western hill, which is called Kattebäckshejdan on modern maps, the fortress was constructed in the Late Viking Age (Jacobsson 1999b:9). Before the fortress was built, the area was an integral part of the coastal settlement. On the eastern rise, the town church, dedicated to St Nicholas, was built during the Middle Ages. Neither of these hills is particularly noticeable today. Soil movements and the growth of occupation layers have mostly erased the original topography.

Several watercourses flowed from the fertile plain down towards the coast. Before they reached the sea, some of them were stopped by the raised beach, forming ponds and lagoons. These ponds and watercourses are clogged up today or have been channelled in conduits, but early maps show that two larger streams demarcated the medieval settlement. The western one was called Västerbäck, and in the Viking Age it was connected to a lagoon just west of the Viking Age fortress. It was no doubt possible for small ships to reach the lagoon via the stream in order to anchor and find shelter in bad weather. The eastern watercourse was called Österbäck. It flowed

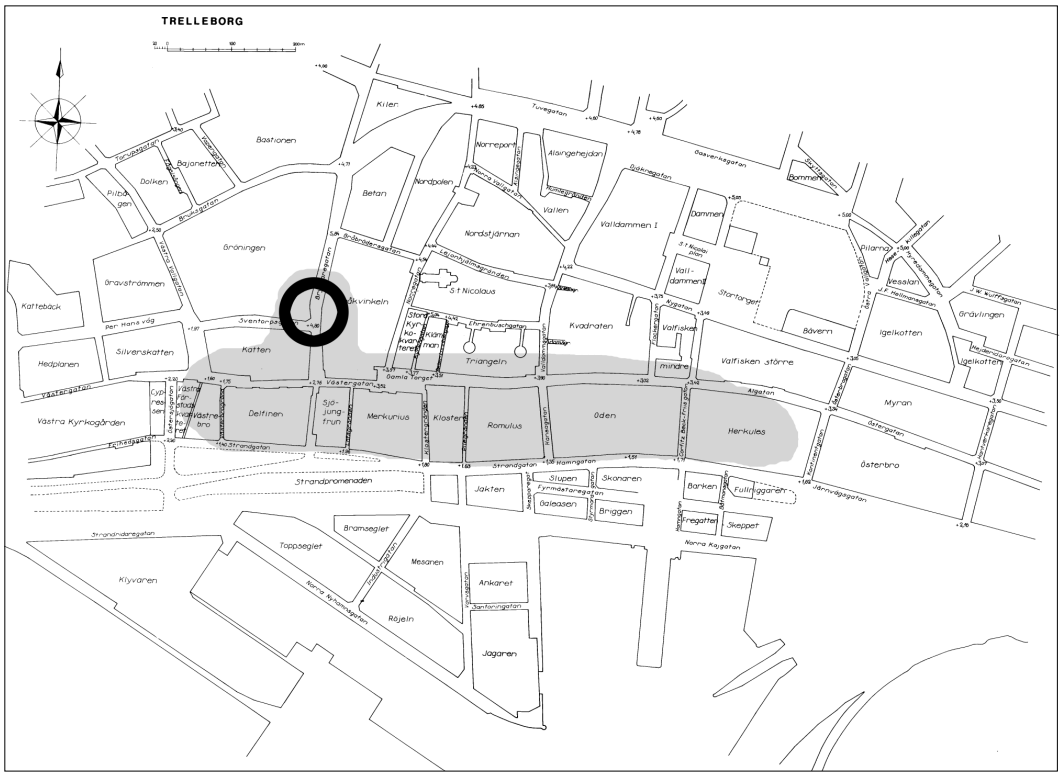


Fig. 3. Trelleborg. The dark area represents the Iron Age settlement with the fortress.

via Kyrkoköpinge down to Östersjögatan and Kontinentgatan, where it ran into the sea.

The finds retrieved from the settlement site indicate that it reached its greatest extent in the eighth and 9th centuries, that is, the latter part of the Vendel Period and early in the Viking Age. In the first half of the 10th century it seems to have reduced in scope and then ceased to exist. As excavations have been carried out in the town over the years, however, increasingly early dates have been obtained. We now know that there was a small settlement on Kattebäckshejdan in the late Bronze Age. The occurrence of graves and traces of settlements from the Roman Iron Age suggest that there was also a settlement in that period. The find of a fragmentary button-topped fibula from the Migration Period in the Katten block, south of the fortress, is evidence that this period was represented too (Jeppsson 1995a:21).

Generally speaking, it may be said that the type of remains that normally occur in the settlement do not differ essentially from those found in agrarian settlements from this period. Occupation layers, pits, hearths, postholes, and sunken-floor huts are common. Post-built houses have also been found, but as yet they are only documented on Kattebäckshejdan in the north-west of the area, where it has been possible to excavate large continuous areas.

The finds mainly consist of pottery and animal bones, but there are also objects of iron, stone, and bone, as well as fragments of glass, beads, amber, and jewellery details. The glass and an equal-armed brooch are of Western European origin, whereas the find of a cornelian bead indicates eastern contacts (Jacobsson *et*

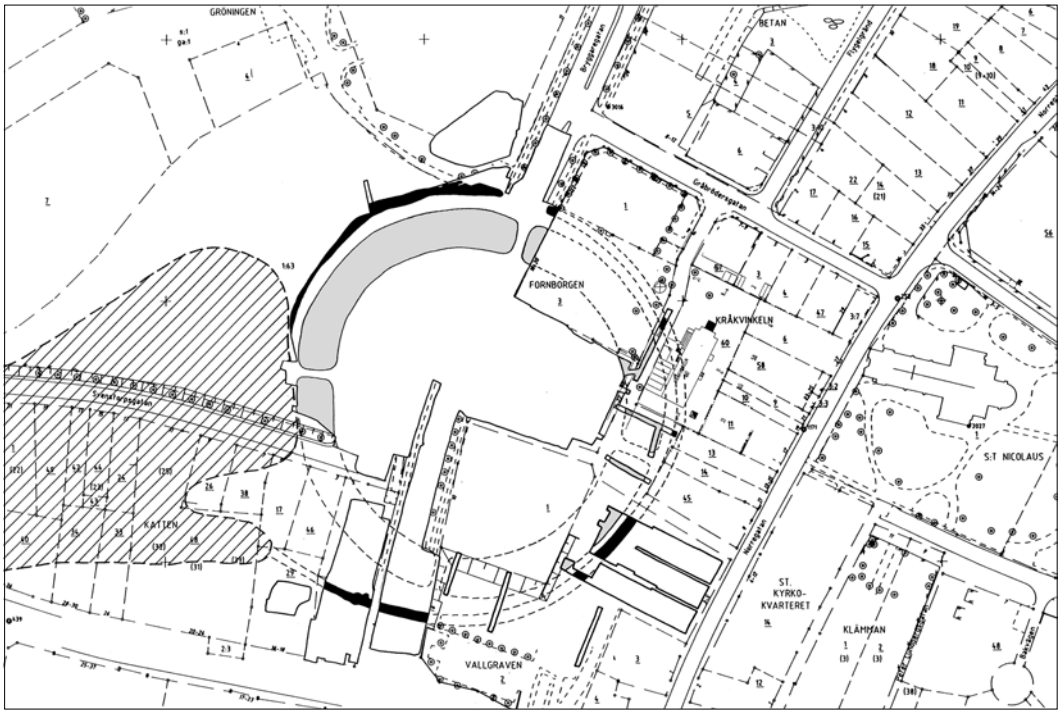


Fig. 4. The Viking Age fortress in Trelleborg with the lagoon.

al. 1995; Jacobsson 1999b).

The pottery mainly consists of domestic AIV ware, but a relatively large number of early Slavonic sherds of Feldberg and Fresendorf type have been unearthed, as well as occasional sherds of Tatinger ware. The former led Brorsson to draw the conclusion that Slavonic potters worked for a time in Trelleborg (Jacobsson 1999b:52 pp.; Brorsson, this volume).

In the early 10th century the settlement on Kattebäckshejdan and on the raised beach was probably abandoned. The fortress was built shortly afterwards, and in the second half of the 10th century it was expanded and reinforced (Figs. 3 and 4). The fortress was constructed of wood and earth, with a rampart of upright timber. Outside the rampart, which bordered to the west on the previously mentioned lagoon at Västerbäck, a moat was dug. At full size the fortress had an external diameter of roughly 143 metres. The closest parallels to the fortress can be sought in the circular fortresses of Denmark from the same time, but the one in Trelleborg differs from these in not being perfectly circular. Nor has it been possible to show that the fortress in Trelleborg had the typical regular arrangement of buildings seen within the walls of the Danish fortresses. At the start of the 11th century the fortress was abandoned and left to decay. From this time until the establishment of the medieval town, there is an almost total absence of archaeological material. The only exception consists of scattered clay-lined pits which show that the shoreline was used during the autumn herring fishery in the Early Middle Ages.

Within the area of Trelleborg town, then, besides remains of the medieval town there are also traces of a large settlement from the

Late Iron Age and a Viking Age fortress. This situation is unique in Scania and could be interpreted as a sign that the area had special functions in the Vendel Period and Viking Age.

Earlier research into the Southern Plain

What else is there in Trelleborg and its hinterland that might demonstrate the significance of the place in the Iron Age? To begin with, it should be pointed out that some parts of Scania have long been considered to have occupied a special position throughout prehistoric times. Märta Strömberg, Sten Skansjö, and Birgitta Hårdh have all previously studied the Southern Plain and emphasized its status as an important central area of high fertility and with a large population (Strömberg 1961; Skansjö 1983; Hårdh 1984). These scholars, however, have treated the area from different angles.

Strömberg's work has primarily been geared to an account of the development of settlement history in the whole of Scania in the Late Iron Age. Through a study of find distribution and early place-names she is able to distinguish different centres of gravity in the settlement pattern at this time. One of the densely populated areas, in her view, was the Southern Plain with Trelleborg (Strömberg 1961).

Skansjö's point of departure was settlement history and agrarian development in the Southern Plain, from the Viking Age until around 1600. He focused his interest on when the historically known settlement was established, how it was structured, and how agrarian production was organized. Skansjö thus mainly considers issues concerning the development of medieval society (Skansjö 1983).

Hårdh began her work in connection with the Foteviken Project, which was triggered by the discovery of a Viking Age underwater barrier in the Foteviken bay in south-west Scania. The project investigated the development of the Foteviken area in the Viking Age and Middle Ages. As part of the project, Hårdh surveyed the Iron Age material in the hundreds of Skytt and Oxie. The aim was to paint a picture of the development of the area in the Iron Age and to study to what extent this development could be associated with the Foteviken barrier.

Through this work Hårdh is thus the scholar whose research is mostly closely associated with the area around Trelleborg, so a brief summary of her conclusions is justified. From her analysis of the occurrence of precious metals, settlements, and graves she draws the conclusion that Early Iron Age settlement was localized in the coastal areas to a greater extent than was the case in the Late Iron Age. In addition, Late Iron Age settlement appears to have been aggregated in larger units than Early Iron Age settlement. This suggests a relocalization of settlement. The distribution of both precious metals and graves speaks in favour of this, according to Hårdh. In the distribution, among other things, of precious metals from the Late Viking Age she sees a connection with places named *köpinge*, where they seem to be concentrated. She also thinks it reasonable to associate the occurrence of precious metals with the successful farming that generated an economic surplus. The paucity of finds around Foteviken is striking. Hårdh thus thinks it unlikely that the place played any great role in trade at this time (Hårdh 1984).

The prehistoric remains within the area of the medieval town of Trelleborg were wholly unknown just over twenty years ago. Since

then our knowledge of the ancient remains in the town has changed radically. The excavations, however, have been almost solely confined to the town itself, while the countryside around Trelleborg has not been studied in the same way. The explanation for this is that the soil of the Southern Plain is fully tilled, being the most fertile in Sweden, and development outside the town limits has thus been restricted to some road construction or industries established on the outskirts. A relatively small number of excavations have been conducted, but together with the many remains visible above ground and the numerous finds turned up by farming over the years, this area can be regarded as having a very high density of ancient monuments by Swedish standards.

Ancient monuments and finds

This survey does not pretend to be complete. Many of the older data on finds are incomplete, making it impossible to locate the exact provenance. These have therefore been omitted. However, they do not seem to affect the main features in the picture of the distribution of Iron Age remains presented here.

Graves

Several cemeteries have been reported from the outer areas of Trelleborg. Seven graves have been found on the eastern outskirts (Strömberg 1961 II:58). These were probably part of a larger cemetery, now destroyed (Fig. 6:23). The finds include iron knives, a mount, a paste bead, and a whetstone. In the northwestern part, about 60 grave finds have been reported within a larger cemetery (Fig. 6:24). Of these, 23 have been excavated (Hansson 1992). Among the finds there were iron knives and fire-irons, beads, fibulae, and belt-end mounts. These graves have been dated to the Roman Iron Age, the Vendel Period, and the Viking Age. Yet another cemetery is located about a kilometre further to the west (Fig. 6:25). Three graves here have been excavated, yielding an iron knife. In 1997 there were renewed excavations at the site, but no further graves were discovered (Jacobsson 1999a).

Iron Age graves have also been found in central Trelleborg. Three inhumation graves were excavated in the Katten block, just south of the Viking Age fortress (Fig. 6:22). Samples from one of the graves gave a ^{14}C date in the late 10th century (Jeppsson 1995a:14; Jacobsson *et al.* 1995:26). All the graves lacked grave goods. Within the area where the Viking Age fortress was built in the 10th century, three cremation graves from the Roman Iron Age have been excavated (Fig. 5:25). Two of them were urn burials, one of the urns containing an iron razor (Jacobsson 1999b:48).

If we move outside the built-up area, we find still more graves. One of the most famous cemeteries is at Järavallen in Maglarp Parish, west of Trelleborg (Figs. 5:21 and 6:20). There are about eighty small barrows here, near the coast. They date from the Migration Period to the Viking Age, but before they were raised, there was a cremation cemetery from the Pre-Roman Iron Age on the site (Jacobsson 1979:27). Five barrows and ten cremation graves under flat earth were excavated by Folke Hansen between 1931 and 1941 (Hansen 1945:321 pp.). The barrows contained very few finds. No skeletons, or only tiny remains, were found. On the other hand, there were scattered pieces of cremated bones and potsherds in the filling of the barrows. These were interpreted as belonging to older graves destroyed when the mounds were built. One of the barrows distinguished itself from the

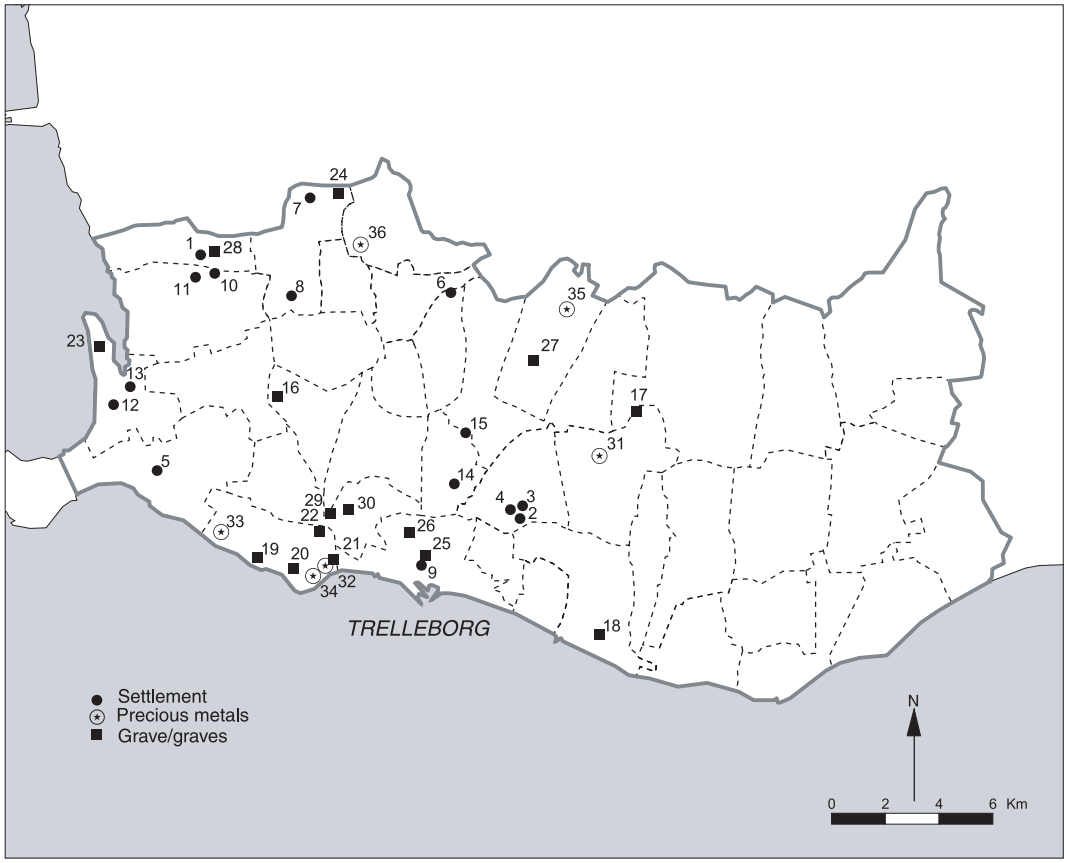


Fig. 5. Map showing the location of finds from the Pre-Roman Iron Age, the Roman Iron Age and the Migration Period (Tab. I).

others; barrow XIII contained a fairly well preserved skeleton of a man who had been buried in a boat about 4 metres long. Only rivets from the boat survived, and at the dead man's hip there was a simple iron buckle. Hansen dates the grave to the Late Iron Age, but an alternative dating to the Roman Iron Age has been suggested (Hårdh 1984:104). Just north of the Järavallen cemetery, also in the parish of Maglarp, is Albäcksbacken (Fig. 5:21). Several inhumation graves from the Roman Iron Age have been excavated here, yielding pots, cruciform bronze fibulae and iron sickles, knives, spearheads, etc. (Hansen 1945; Jacobsson 1979; Stjernquist 1995).

Further west, towards Skåre Skansar, there are said to have been other cemeteries from the Iron Age (Fig. 5:19–20). Little or no traces remain of these above ground today. East of the town, in Gislöv Parish, six inhumation graves and an urn grave have been excavated on the raised beach at Modes Hög (Fig. 5:18). One grave was excavated as recently as 1995. ^{14}C analyses suggest a dating in the Early Roman Iron Age (Inger Torstensdotter Åhlin, pers. com.).

The largest known cemetery is at Hammarsnäs, about 15 kilometres west of Trelleborg (Fig. 5:23). Between 1931 and 1934, a total of 141 inhumation graves from the Roman Iron Age were excavated here. About a third of them contained grave goods. These con-

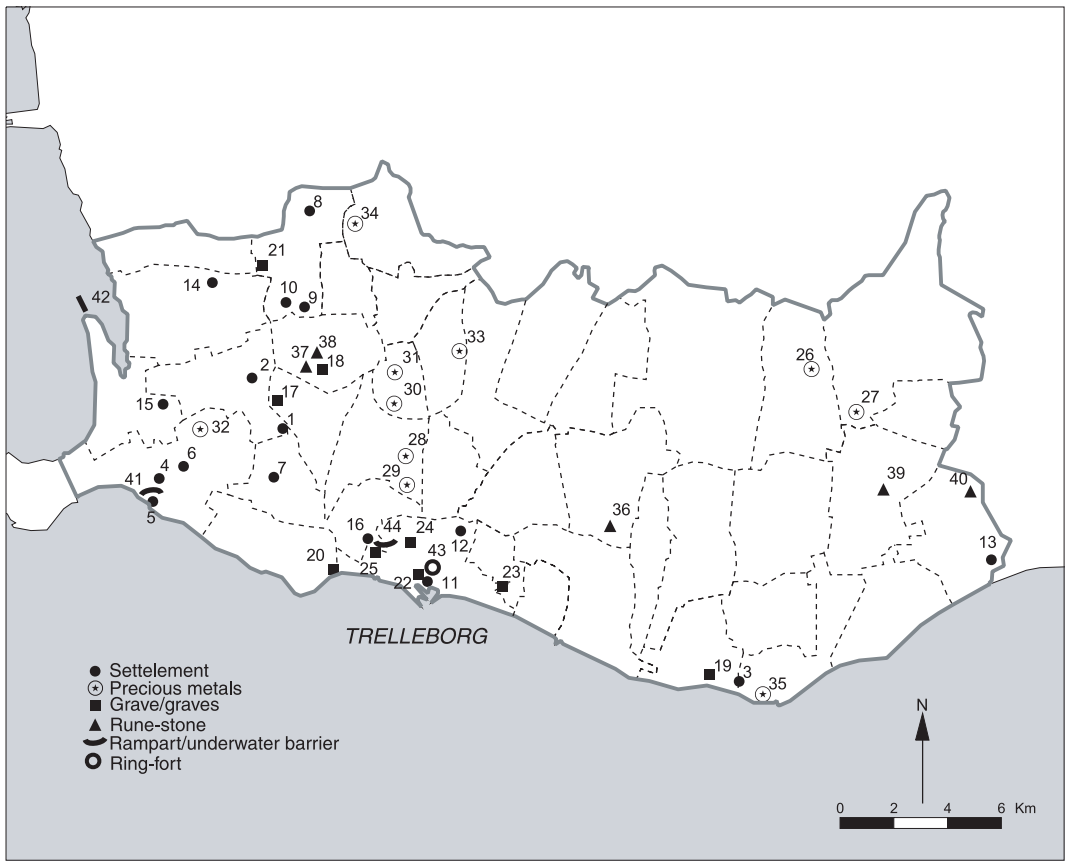


Fig. 6. Map showing the location of finds from the Vendel Period and the Viking Age (Tab. II)

sisted of simple utility objects such as pots, knives, whetstones, combs, etc. Occasional graves also had fibulae and beads (Hansen 1936).

These cemeteries are all right beside the coast or very close to it. If we move inland, we see that not as many cemeteries have been registered. In Västra Tommarp Parish there are the cemeteries designated RAÄ 5 and RAÄ 22. RAÄ 22 consists of five inhumation graves excavated in the 1850s (Fig. 5:30). The finds included fibulae from the Roman Iron Age (Bruzelius 1853:67 pp.). RAÄ 5 likewise consists of several inhumation graves with finds such as objects of iron and bronze and a large pot (Fig. 5:29). East of the village of Maglarp, several graves from the Roman Iron Age have also been discovered (Fig. 5:22). In Bodarp Parish, parts of a larger cemetery from the Roman Iron Age and a couple of graves from the Migration Period have been excavated (Fig. 5:16). In addition, a grave has been found in Fuglie Parish (Fig. 6:18).

Besides the graves described above, there are also some finds which are thought to have come from graves, although the exact find circumstances are not known. From Bösarp no. 1, a skeleton is said to have been found in a gravel quarry. Alongside the skeleton was an iron sword of Viking Age type (Sköld 1968: 179). In Kyrkoköpinge an oval brooch, found in 1841, may have belonged to a grave (Strömberg 1961:58).

Table I. Location of finds (Pre Roman Iron Age, Roman Iron Age, Migration Period)

Settlements

Nr	Parish	Location	RAÄ nr	Date	Description	Reference
1	Eskilstorp	Eskilstorp 27:1	8	PRIA	Pits, hearth	Petersson 1975
2	Gylle	Fjärdingslöv 15:9	63	LBA/PRIA	Pits, hearths	Edenmo 2000
3	Gylle	Fjärdingslöv 15:10	77	LBA/PRIA	Pits, hearths	Wallin 1985
4	Gylle	Gylle 1:8	53	LBA/PRIA	Pits, hearths	Edenmo 2000
5	Räng	Höllviken 23:7	4, 34, 39	RIA	Postholes, pits, hearths	Torstensdotter Åhlin & Söderberg 1994
6	St. Slågarp	St. Slågarp 9:1	3	RIA	Hearths	Hårdh 1984
7	S. Åkarp	Hötofta 18:3	14	PRIA/RIA	Long-houses, pits, hearths	Stjernquist 1969
8	S. Åkarp	V. Grevie 20:2	34	RIA	Postholes, pits, hearths	Torstensdotter Åhlin 1992
9	Trelleborg	Stadskärnan	19	RIA/MP	Long-houses, hearths	Jacobsson 1999b
10	Vellinge	Kv. Skolan	17	PRIA/RIA	Long-houses, pits	Söderberg 1993b & 1994
11	Vellinge	Vellinge 99:24		PRIA/RIA	Pits, Postholes	Torstensdotter Åhlin 1995
12	Vellinge	L. Hammar 15:1		PRIA/RIA	Long-houses, pits, hearths, well, culturlayer	Pettersson & Torstensdotter Åhlin 1999a
13	Vellinge	St. Hammar 16:178		PRIA/RIA	Long-houses, pits, hearths, culturelayer	Pettersson &Torstensdotter Åhlin 1999b
14	V. Vemmerlöv	Rämpedal 1:2	17	LBA/PRIA	Pits	Räf 1996
15	V. Vemmerlöv	Vemmerlöv 8:1, 21:1	15	PRIA/RIA	Pits, hearths	Räf 1996

Graves

Nr	Parish	Location	RAÄ nr	Date	Description	Reference
16	Bodarp	Bodarp 9:20	10	RIA/MP	Grave-field	Stjernquist 1955 Strömberg 1961
17	Bösarp	L. Markie 6	3	RIA	Grave-field	Stjernquist 1955
18	Gislöv	Gislöv 19:2 (Modes hög)	1	RIA	Grave-field	Inger Torstensdotter Åhlin (orally)
19	Maglarp	Maglarp 60:1	35	RIA?	Grave-field (destroied)	Fornminnes – registret
20	Maglarp	Maglarp a	9	RIA?	Grave-field (Partly destroied)	Fornminnes – registret
21	Maglarp	Albäcksbacken , Järavallen	5,13	PRIA/RIA/ MP	Grave-field	Hansen 1945 Jacobsson 1979 Stjernquist 1995
22	Maglarp	Rävsbacken	6	RIA	Grave-field	Fornminnes – registret
23	St. Hammar	Hammarsnäs	2	RIA/MP	Grave-field	Hansen 1936
24	S. Åkarp	Hötofta 9:7	10	RIA	Grave	Hårdh 1984
25	Trelleborg	Kv. Gröningen	19	RIA	Group of graves	Jacobsson 1999b
26	Trelleborg	Västervång 2:25 m.fl.	2	RIA	Grave-field	Jacobsson 1999a
27	V. Alstad	Prästgården		RIA	Grave	Hårdh 1984
28	Vellinge	Vellinge 17	4	RIA	Grave-field	Rydbeck 1907
29	V. Tommarp	Rävsbacken	5	RIA	Grave-field	Hårdh 1984
30	V. Tommarp	Tommarp a	22	RIA	Grave-field	Bruzelius 1853

Table I. Location of finds (Pre Roman Iron Age, Roman Iron Age, Migration Period)

Precious metals

Nr	Parish	Location	RAÄ nr	Date	Description	Reference
31	Bösarp	V. Virestad 12	41	MP	Ring of gold	Strömberg 1963
32	Maglarp	The mouth of Albäcksån		RIA	Ornament of gold.	Strömberg 1963
33	Maglarp	Maglarp 3:1	25	MP	Bar of gold	Strömberg 1961
34	Maglarp	Maglarp 2:1B, 35:1B	38	MP	Bars and rings of gold	Strömberg 1961
35	V. Alstad	Tegelberga		MP	Ring of gold	Strömberg 1963
36	V. Ingelstad	Ingelstad 1		RIA	Coin of gold (276-282)	Strömberg 1963

Table II. Location of finds (Vendel Period, Viking Age)

Settlements

Nr	Parish	Location	RAÄ nr	Date	Description	Reference
1	Håslöv	Hermanstorp 1:4	43	VP/VA	Pithouse, pits, postholes, hearths	Knarrström & Olsson 2000
2	Håslöv	Håslöv 2:13		VP	Pithouse, pits, hearth	Söderberg 1997
3	L. Isie	v. Torp 32:10, 32:9	21, 24, 26	VP/VA	Pihouses, hearths, pits	Stjernquist 1988 Jeppsson 1995
4	Räng	Höllviken 23:7	4, 34, 39	VA		Torstensdotter Åhlin & Söderberg 1994
5	Räng	Kämpinge	20	VA	Culturelayer	Ersgård 1984
6	Räng	Räng 17:1 m.fl.		VP	Pit from a smithy	Söderberg 1997
7	Skegrie	Skegrie 18:1		VP/VA	Pithouse	Marie Olsson (orally)
8	S. Åkarp	Hötofta 18:4	12	VA	Pithouses	Stjernquist 1969
9	S. Åkarp	V. Grevie 2:18	32	VA		Torstensdotter Åhlin 1992
10	S. Åkarp	V. Grevie 20:2	34	VA		Torstensdotter Åhlin 1992
11	Trelleborg	Stadskärnan	19	VP/VA	Long-houses, pithouses, hearths, pits m.m.	Jacobsson 1999
12	Trelleborg	Östervång 1:84, 2:26-2:31 (V. Köpinge)	20	VA	Long-houses, pithouses, wells?, hearths, pits	Jacobsson 1996a
13	Tullstorp	St. Beddinge 7:4	22	VA	Pithouse	Fornminnes-Registret
14	Vellinge	Kv. Skolan	17	VA	Pithouse, postholes, pits	Söderberg 1993b & 1994
15	Vellinge	Gottåkra 1:56	13	VA	Culturelayer	Söderberg 1993a
16	V. Tommarp	Ståstorp 3:1		VA	Long-houses, pithouse, pits, hearth	Bengt Jacobsson (orally)

Table II. Location of finds (Vendel Period, Viking Age)

Graves

Nr	Parish	Location	RAÄ nr	Date	Description	Reference
17	Bodarp	Bodarp 9:20	10	VP	Grave-field	Stjernquist 1955 Strömberg 1961
18	Fuglie	Fuglie 42:10	18	VA	Grave	Strömberg 1961
19	L. Isie	Böste fiskeläge		VA	Grave-field	Sköld 1968 Bruzelius 1853
20	Maglarp	Järavallen	5	VP/VA	Grave-field	Hansen 1945 Jacobsson 1979
21	S. Åkarp	Åkarpsgården	9	VA	Group of graves	Hårdh 1984
22	Trelleborg	Kv. Katten	19	VA	Group of graves	Jeppsson 1995a
23	Trelleborg	Stg 3592 (Fagerängen)	21	VA	Grave-field	Fornminnes-registret
24	Trelleborg	Västervång 2:25 m.fl.	2	VP/VA	Grave-field	Hansson 1992 Jacobsson 1996b
25	Trelleborg	Väster Jär	18	VA	Grave-field	Jacobsson 1999a

Precious metals

Nr	Parish	Location	RAÄ nr	Date	Description	Reference
26	Grönby	Grönby 2	29	VA (1024-)	1 500 silvercoins and pieces of ornaments.	Hårdh 1976
27	Gärdslöv	Assartorp 3		VA (1002-)	490 silvercoins and pieces of ornaments.	Hårdh 1976
28	Hammarlöv	Vid kyrkan	38	VA (907/908)	1 silvercoin.	Hårdh 1976
29	Hammarlöv	Hammarlöv 19	25	VA	4 small rings on a bracelet of silver.	Hårdh 1976
30	L. Slågarp	L. Slågarp 1		VA	1 silvercoin.	Strömberg 1961
31	L. Slågarp	Villie 13	48	VA (1028-)	890 silvercoins and pieces of ornaments.	Hårdh 1976
32	Räng	Räng		VA (1016-1035)	5 silvercoins.	Strömberg 1961
33	St. Slågarp	Prästgården		VA (1029-1035)	140 silvercoins.	Hårdh 1976
34	Ö. Grevie	Kyrkbyn 2	48	VA	Ring of gold.	Hårdh 1976
35	Ö. Torp	Ö. Torp 5		VA (996-)	110 silvercoins and pieces of ornaments	Hårdh 1976

Table II. Location of finds (Vendel Period, Viking Age)

Rune stones

Nr	Parish	Location	RAÄ nr	Date	Description	Reference
36	Bösarp	Bösarp 8:11	81	VA	The stone is fragmentary and consit of several parts. In the center there is a mask above a ship with animalshaped steams. The readable part of the text saies: "Tuki raised….".	Rydbeck 1944
37	Fuglie	Kyrkogården	1	VA	The text saies: "Alte raised this stone after his son Thorsten". The stone has originally been situated at Fuglie 5:3.	Christoffersson 1936
38	Fuglie	Toftagården	2	VA	The stone stands on the top of a mound. The text saies: " Ønd raised this stone after his brother Øde; he died on Gotland".	Christoffersson 1936
39	Källstorp	Jordberga 1:2	2	VA	The stone is attached to a socle of grey stones. The text saies: "Thorkil Thordsson built this bridge after his brother Vrage".	Christoffersson 1936
40	Tullstorp	Kyrkogården	1	VA	In the center of the stone there is a large animal above a ship with animalshaped steams. The text saies:" Klibir och Åsa raised this stone after Ulf".	Christoffersson 1936

Ramparts and Sea-barrier

Nr	Parish	Location	RAÄ nr	Date	Description	Reference
41	Räng	Kämpinge	20	VA (1000-1200)	A 600 meter long bowshaped rampart by the shore at the Baltic.	Ersgård 1984
42	St. Hammar	Foteviken	23	VA (1000-1200)	Underwater barrier of piles, stone packing and sunken ships.	Crumlin – Pedersen 1984 Ersgård 1984
43	Trelleborg	Stadskärnan	19	VA (900-1000)	Ring-fort, ca 143 m.d. Two phases.	Jacobsson m.fl.1995 & Jacobsson 1999b
44	Trelleborg	Ståstorp	15	?	120-140 meter long rampart.	Trelleborgs Allehanda 7/12 1933.

Generally speaking, it may be said that the finds in graves are few and simple in character. Weapon graves in the traditional sense have not been found at all. Known graves occur above all in the areas west of Trelleborg, whereas the areas to the east lack records of grave finds.

Early Iron Age graves occur both as large cemeteries and as small groups of graves and single graves (Fig. 5). A concentration of large cemeteries is seen above all in the Roman Iron Age, with Hammarsnäs beside Foteviken and the coast west of Trelleborg deserving special mention. It is clear from the evidence that Early Iron Age cemeteries in many cases had a decidedly coastal location.

Late Iron Age graves are not as common. Most graves from this period belong to large cemeteries and have mostly been found around Trelleborg. Single graves or small groups are also recorded, for instance in central Trelleborg, where three inhumation graves were discovered just south of the Viking Age fortress.

Settlement sites

Iron Age settlement sites have hitherto been mainly found in the areas west and north of Trelleborg. (Figs. 5 and 6), but even on the site of medieval Trelleborg, as we have seen, traces of settlement both from the Roman Iron Age and from the Migration Period, Vendel Period, and Viking Age have also been discovered (Figs. 5:9 and 6:11).

It is difficult to obtain a clear picture of Early Iron Age settlement within the area of the town. The remains that are found mostly consist of scattered hearths along the raised beach and on the plateau where the Viking Age fortress was built. A long-house on the plateau has also been excavated, possibly dating from the Roman Iron Age (Jacobsson 1999b:62). Otherwise, known settlements from this period are sparsely represented in the area. Most settlement sites have been discovered further inland, often together with remains from the Late Bronze Age, such as at Kulladal in Gylle Parish (Fig. 5:2–4). At Stora Hammar in Vellinge Parish, a small settlement site, consisting of a single farm with only a few houses, has been excavated (Fig. 5:13). At Lilla Hammar, a slightly larger site with at least three separate farms with buildings for various purposes, has also been excavated (Fig. 5:12). A larger settlement site has also been encountered at Hötofta in Södra Åkarp Parish (Fig. 5:7), where there were several long-houses and a rich collection of finds (Stjernquist 1969).

The general impression, however, is that the Early Iron Age is chiefly represented by fairly small settlements of short duration. At several places they seem to have been a direct continuation of Late Bronze Age settlements.

The known settlements of the Late Iron Age show basically the same pattern of distribution. A concentration in the western part of the area is evident (Fig. 6). Unlike previous periods, at this time there were also a number of large coastal settlements lying along the shore of the Baltic Sea. The Vendel Period and Viking Age settlement site in Trelleborg is one such (Fig. 6:11) (Jacobsson 1999b). On the coast about 12 kilometres to the east, in Lilla Isie Parish, there is yet another settlement site (Fig. 6:3). It is characterized by a large number of sunken-floor huts where evidence of bronze casting was documented (Stjernquist 1988; Jeppsson 1995b). It may also be mentioned that a Viking Age sunken-floor hut was found at the well-known Late Mesolithic site of Skateholm, a further 10 kilometres or so to the east (Fig. 6:13). In the sunken-floor hut, which is also near the shore,

Slavonic pottery of probable Viking Age date was found. Further east, outside the area studied here, another Viking Age settlement site has been excavated at the Tankbåten block west of Ystad (Strömberg 1978). If we turn west from Trelleborg, we can possibly count yet another coastal settlement beside the Viking Age rampart at Kämpinge (Fig. 6:5). Ersgård suggests that the rampart was part of a semicircular structure which demarcated a settlement on the landward side. The rampart and the settlement site have been dated by ^{14}C to the start of the 11th century at the earliest (Ersgård 1988:58 p.).

Slightly withdrawn from the coast, at Ståstorp in Västra Tommarp Parish, an isolated farm with several post-built houses and a sunken-floor hut has been excavated (Fig. 6:16). A preliminary dating to the Late Iron Age has been assigned to the site (Jacobsson, report in progress). A sunken-floor hut has also been found at Håslöv (Fig 6:1–2). Several of the other settlement sites marked on fig. 6 have only seen limited investigation. They are mostly characterized by the presence of sunken-floor huts, but in the Skolan block in Vellinge, long-houses built with posts have also been found (Fig. 6:14).

In connection with development in the northern districts of Trelleborg, further remains of settlement have been found (Fig. 6:12). There are high phosphate rates in the area, and it has previously been suggested that a village which disappeared in the 15th century, Västra Köpinge, might have been situated here (Skansjö 1983:219). The investigation confirmed that there are medieval remains in the area which could come from Västra Köpinge, but there is in addition a Late Iron Age settlement with sunken-floor huts, wells, hearths, and postholes, the latter probably belonging to post-built houses (Jacobsson 1996a).

Whereas in the Early Iron Age there were several large cemeteries very near the coast, and settlements were more withdrawn from the coast, the situation seems partly to be the reverse in the Late Iron Age. Although the majority of settlement sites are still found inland, there are also large sites right on the coast, apparently at a distance of 10–12 kilometres from each other. Whereas Early Iron Age graves were clearly exposed close to the sea, Late Iron Age graves are further inland.

Precious metals

The occurrence of precious metals in an area is usually taken as a sign of an environment with good opportunities for providing an economic surplus. Rich objects would thus indicate the presence of a higher stratum in society, an élite, who could profit from the surplus and who also exerted influence over the activities carried on in the area. Scania, especially the south-west of the province, shows a striking density of finds of precious metals (Hårdh 1984:99). This can also be seen in the hinterland of Trelleborg, where several objects of gold and silver from the Iron Age have been found (Figs. 5 and 6). Most of these were discovered in the 19th century and the early 20th century, as a result of which the find spots are sometimes only approximately recorded.

Six finds can be dated to the Roman Iron Age or the Migration Period; they consist of small gold objects. Three of them have been found beside the coast, the other three further inland (Fig. 5).

All ten Late Iron Age hoards have been dated to the Viking Age. In five cases they are large silver hoards containing coins, hack-silver, and parts of ornaments. At the other find spots, occasional coins, silver rings, and

in one case a gold ring have been found (Fig. 6).

A clear difference can be seen between the finds deposited in the Roman Iron Age and Migration Period and those dating from the Viking Age. The former consist exclusively of gold, usually small objects such as finger-rings and rods, sometimes deposited as grave goods. The Viking Age finds, on the other hand, show a distinct predominance of silver, usually in large quantities of coins and/or hacksilver and pieces of ornaments. Moreover, the Viking Age hoards were not deposited as grave goods but were probably concealed in times of unrest. Several of the large hoards have been found 8–10 kilometres from the coast. They include two large finds from the early 11th century in the parishes of Grönby and Gärdslöv (Fig. 6:26–27). From the parishes of Lilla Slågarp and Stora Slågarp there are also two large silver hoards, likewise dated to the early 11th century (Fig. 6:30 and 33). These finds contrast sharply with the total absence of known contemporary settlement sites and graves in these areas. Only one find has been discovered on the coast. It consists of hacksilver and pieces of silver from ornaments, along with 110 coins, all found at Östra Torp, east of Trelleborg (Fig. 6:35). This find is dated to the time around 1000. The Viking Age hoards are thus, with one exception, withdrawn from the coast.

Some stray finds

A few other finds may be mentioned here. In Trelleborg, near Österbro, a Viking Age sword with gold thread around the hilt is said to have been found (Christoffersson 1936:356). At the Museum of National Antiquities in Stockholm there are parts of a set of scales found in the town of Trelleborg (SHM 8298:5).

Rune stones

The practice of raising runestones did not become common in Scania until late in the Viking Age. It has often been viewed as a reflection of the need for people in power to manifest their status, and it has thus been associated with state formation and the introduction of Christianity (Anglert 1995: 36). With few exceptions, the runestones of Scania belong to the "post-Jelling type", dated around 1000 (Randsborg 1980:27). In the studied area there are five runestones of this kind. One is in a relatively central location (Fig. 6:36). Two are in the eastern area (Fig. 6:39–40), while there are two in the western area (Fig. 6:37–38). There is no secure evidence that any of the stones is in its original place. The total number of runestones of this kind in Scania amounts to 53, all of them in the southern and south-western part of the province. Two concentrations can be discerned, one in the area around Lund and one along the south coast (see the figure on p. 37 of Anglert 1995). Most of the runestones are memorials to dead persons. The text often mentions who raised the stone and in memory of whom. The titles of these people are usually mentioned as well, and their relation or kinship to each other.

As regards the titles and relations named on runestones in Scania, certain interesting observations may be made. The most common titles are *dreng* and *thegn*, but we also find *landman*, *bonde*, *hirdman*, *boman*, and *husbonde*. *Dreng* and *thegn* have usually been interpreted as titles of vassals connected to the lord's retinue, the *hird*. It has been assumed that a *dreng* was younger and of lower rank than a *thegn*. In the eastern part of the area of runestones along the south coast, *drengs* and *thegns* are named only as fathers or husbands,

whereas in the western part they are named as brothers. This has been interpreted as a sign that inheritance rules were different in the eastern and western groups. For the eastern part, it has been claimed that it is possible to trace family ties based on vertical inheritance, that is, a son inherits from his father and spouses from each other. In the western part, on the other hand, it seems to have been different. Since the only *drengs* who are mentioned are brothers, this is interpreted as showing horizontal relations, that is, brother inherits from brother. It is worth pointing out that the designation "brother" need not necessarily refer to blood kinship but could also denote companionship between two men (Anglert 1995:38 pp.). From these differences in the texts of runestones, it has been claimed that it is possible to see an older, more fixed structure in the eastern area, where vertical inheritance was firmly established, while a new order had been introduced in the western area, with different rules for inheritance. These areas may have been "fiefs" associated with various obligations, probably to the king. These obligations could have included maintaining roads and bridges or manning warships, which only younger men could do. This would give the western area a more martial character than the eastern area, where older traditions were firmly established (Randsborg 1980:35).

If we look at the five runestones in the studied area, this difference is hard to confirm. On one of the stones the text is incomplete and cannot be interpreted. One of them does not mention a relationship, an on another one a son is named. Two of them, however, relate to brothers, which could indicate a vertical inheritance (Tab. II).

The difference in the texts of the runestones over a larger area, however, suggests that conditions in the western and eastern parts of the south coast differed. If the runestones in the western group are to be seen as an expression of more martial activity, one may wonder what this consisted of and what was the reason for it. Rune stones of "post-Jelling type", as stated above, have been dated to the early 11th century, that is, the reign of Svein Forkbeard. On the basis of dendrochronological dates from the Mammen grave in Jutland and from the burial chamber in the north mound at Jelling, Marie Stoklund suggests that these runestones can be assigned to the time around 980 (Stoklund 1991:294). This would mean that they could be contemporary with the last years of the reign of Harald Bluetooth, thus coinciding with the construction of the fortresses. It thus seems as if south-west Scania could have been an important strategic area.

Ramparts and barriers

Apart from the Viking Age fortress in Trelleborg, there are other structures of a fortified character in the area. Just west of the present-day town of Trelleborg, about 800 metres from the former shoreline of the Baltic Sea, there is a rampart some 120–140 metres long, describing a slight arch along the boundary between the parishes of Trelleborg and Västra Tommarp (Fig. 6:44). It is 3–4.5 metres wide and 1–2 metres high. The ground level north of the rampart is about 1 metre higher than to the south. According to older information, the rampart used to continue into the lands of Ståstorp to the north (*Trelleborgs Allehanda,* 7 December 1933).

The rampart runs ENE–WSW, on a flat ridge between a former wetland to the south and the River Ståstorpsbäcken to the north. In 1933 Folke Hansen of the Lund Univer-

sity Historical Museum excavated three inhumation graves just south of the rampart (Fig. 6:25). Hansen dated the graves to the 10th century and also put forward the hypothesis that the rampart was the residue of a fortress (*Trelleborgs Allehanda,* 7 December 1933). The rampart has never been excavated, so it has not been possible to confirm Hansen's hypothesis. During archaeological investigations in 1997, immediately to the north of the rampart, an attempt was made to establish whether the rampart had previously continued to the east-north-east and west-south-west. No traces of any such continuation could be found; if there ever were any, they have been completely eradicated by agricultural operations (Jacobsson 1999a). It is hypothetically conceivable that the rampart may have described a semicircle, with the open side towards Ståstorpsbäcken, and that this is the remains of a well-enclosed trading site. However, this would mean that the rampart ran at most about 500 metres from Ståstorpsbäcken, and that it enclosed an area the size of Hedeby. The flat promontory between the wetland to the south and Ståstorpsbäcken to the east, which would then have been surrounded by the rampart, was scarcely an ideal place for settlement or trade. Parts of the area closest to the river are low-lying and sometimes flooded by Ståstorpsbäcken. Moreover, there are no traces of settlement or other activities within the rampart. Flint artefacts have been found within an area measuring roughly 50 by 50 metres (RAÄ 7 in Västra Tommarp Parish), but these have been dated to the Stone Age. In the present state of our knowledge, then, we cannot say anything certain about the function and age of the rampart.

If we move about 15 kilometres west, to Kämpinge on the south-west corner of Scania, we find yet another rampart (Fig. 6:41). This is about 600 metres long, 15–40 metres wide, and 1–2 metres high. The rampart runs north-east in a slight arch from the shore of the Baltic Sea towards the village of Kämpinge. At its north-eastern end it levels out and gradually disappears. North of the surviving part of the rampart is a now dried up moat.

The rampart was excavated as part of the Foteviken Project in 1983, when it was shown that it had been built in two phases. In the older stage, a low bank of sand and turf had been built. It had later been made higher with earth and sand, and the north face had been reinforced with greensward and blocks of cut flint. South of the rampart, occupation layers and hearths were found, along with iron objects, clay daub, flints, and black earthenware (Fig. 6:5). Three ^{14}C samples gave dates for the rampart and the occupation layer from the start of the 11th century to *c.* 1200. It has been suggested that the area south-east of the rampart used to be a narrow peninsula, which the rampart cut off towards the north-west. There could have been a marketplace on the peninsula, protected by the rampart (Ersgård 1988:58). Another theory is that the rampart was built to give shelter from drift-sand. This caused great damage to cultivable soil, chiefly in the 17th century (Ersgård 1984:113).

None of these hypotheses could be confirmed by the excavation, but Ersgård believes that the course of the rampart could be explained if it had been part of a semicircular rampart enclosing a settlement on the landward side. The character of the occupation layers suggests that some form of seasonal activity was carried on at the place before the Middle Ages (Ersgård 1984:119). It therefore cannot be ruled out that there was trading at the site in the Late Viking Age, and that an organization involving the king was behind it.

In the Foteviken bay, about 5 kilometres north of the rampart at Kämpinge, a stone barrier about 300 metres long has been found at the entrance to the bay, between Hammarsnäs and the mainland (Fig. 6:42). The barrier was built in two stages. The oldest part consisted of piles and a thick stone packing. Later on, several useless ships were filled with stones and sunk to the top of the older barrier (Crumlin-Pedersen 1984:57). ^{14}C datings of the later barrier gave values from the mid-11th century to the end of the twelfth century. Ersgård believes that the whole barrier functioned from the start of the 11th century to the end of the twelfth century (Ersgård 1988:55 pp.). The barrier was evidently constructed to protect something on land and to control shipping on its way into Foteviken. It thus seems reasonable to conceive that someone in command of economic resources and manpower was behind the building of the barrier.

The road network

Communications in ancient times often went on rivers, along coasts, and over open seas, but in contacts between neighbouring villages and areas further inland, a well-functioning road network was also required. This applied especially to the densely populated Southern Plain. It is not possible to reconstruct the Iron Age road network, partly because of later alterations to the landscape and changes in the location of villages and farms. It is reasonable to assume, however, that the Southern Plain, with its many villages of medieval origin, has a road network which broadly reflects an old structure. If we compare, for example, the road network on Gerhard Burman's map from 1684 with that on a present-day map, we find that only marginal changes have taken place. P. E. Sköld observed this, and in an article published in 1968 he put forward the idea that a prehistoric main road in western Scania followed the west coast, linking Trelleborg with Uppåkra and Lund (Sköld 1963). The road from Trelleborg would have run northwards towards Malmö and on to Uppåkra and Lund (Fig. 7, road A). On the basis of Burman's map, Sköld also suggests alternative roads from Trelleborg. Among other things, he says that the road popularly known today as *Landsvägen*, linking Malmö with Ystad, must have been part of a very ancient road network (Fig. 7, road B). He also believes that there must have been smaller roads between the villages (Sköld 1963:9).

It seems clear that Sköld's ideas are basically correct. The big hoard finds from the Late Iron Age are usually found near the medieval villages or the suggested roads. Rune stones have been raised at several places along these routes. The main road suggested by Sköld (road A) would thus have run from Trelleborg. During the time when the Vendel Period and Viking Age settlement existed, the road led communications from the coast inland and on towards Uppåkra. When the fortress was built in the 10th century, the road ran through its north gate.

Conclusions

Coast and inland

What conclusions can be drawn from this brief survey of the plain around Trelleborg? Can we say anything about historical development in the Iron Age? It should first be pointed out that this survey does not claim to be complete. It has primarily focused on remains from the Iron Age and has only superficially touched on the medieval situation and topics such as soils, fertility, and so on.

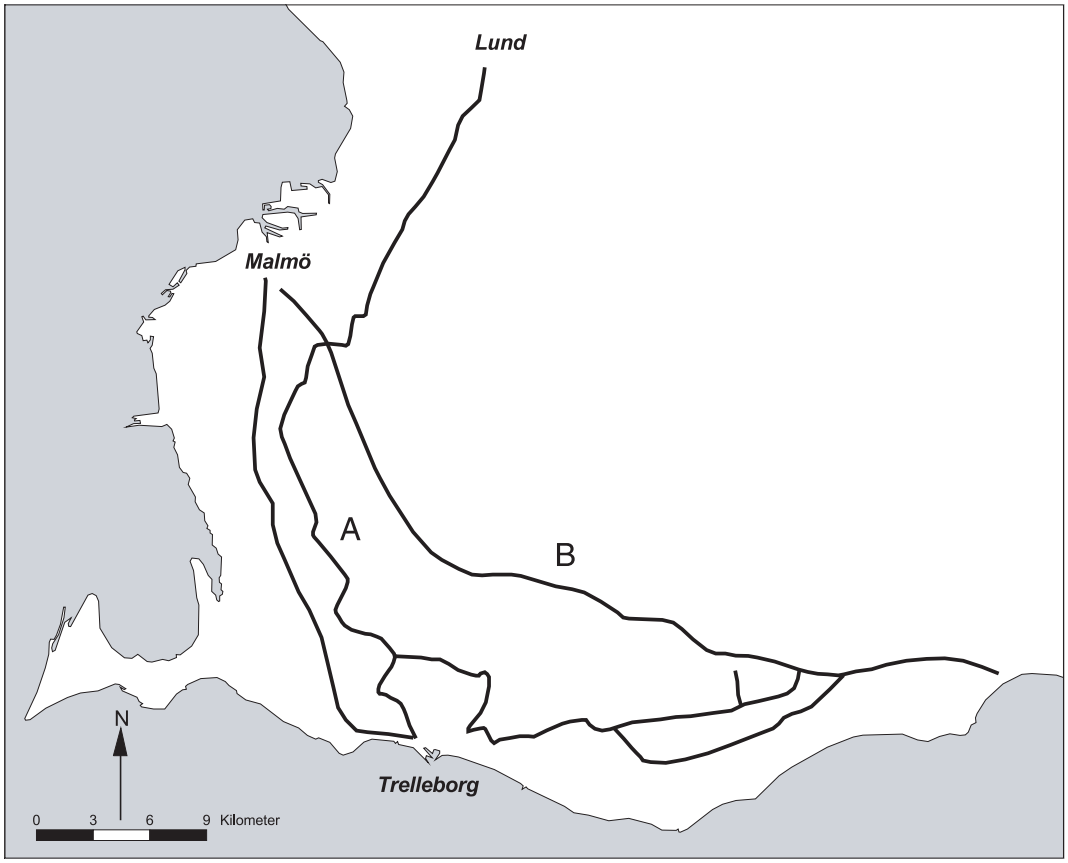


Fig. 7. South-west Scania with the old roads. After Sköld 1963.

As Fig. 5 shows, the known remains from the earlier part of the Iron Age are few in number and chiefly found in the western part of the studied area. Remains from the Migration Period are virtually negligible. This means that it is difficult to draw any conclusions about settlement development. Settlements and graves should reasonably reflect the extent of settlement, but it is scarcely likely that the eastern parts of the area would have been depopulated in this period. On the contrary, we should assume that the whole area was densely populated, and that the small number of known Iron Age settlement sites is due in part to the low degree of development on the plain and in part to inadequate methods of field survey.

The settlement sites have in most cases been only partly excavated, sometimes documented only in the form of scattered hearths and pits, in some cases beside settlements from other periods. It is therefore difficult to say anything about their size, but the general impression is that in several cases the settlements were relatively small. Continuous parts of settlement sites have been excavated, for instance, in Vellinge Parish. In one case the remains have been interpreted as belonging to a settlement consisting of several farm units (Fig. 5:12), while another site was probably a single farm (Fig. 5:13).

The known graves from the early part of the Iron Age also show a concentration in the western part of the area (Fig. 5). In several

cases the graves are right on the coast, but some are also found inland. There is a significant concentration close to the shore west of Trelleborg, where several large cemeteries are registered (Fig. 5:19–21). By far the biggest cemetery, however, is at Hammarsnäs by Foteviken (Fig. 5:23). Birgitta Hårdh has suggested that this may have been the burial place for merchants from outside the area. The Foteviken area, which is well situated for linking contacts from different quarters, could thus have played a prominent role for the surrounding district. Hårdh points out, however, that this hypothetical assumption is contradicted by the fact that the graves at Hammarsnäs, with their distribution of the bodies of men, women, and children seems to represent a normal population rather than a "trading site". Moreover, the small quantity of Roman imports in Scania suggests that trade with precious goods did not occupy a prominent role (Hårdh 1984:92).

The picture of remains from the Early Iron Age thus gives the impression of dispersed settlement. Settlements and graves occur both along the coast and inland. Generally speaking, it may be said that the big cemeteries are mainly found along the coast west of Trelleborg, while most of the settlements are further inland.

The remains from the Vendel Period and Viking Age show a distribution closely resembling that found in the Early Iron Age. As Fig. 6 shows, the known settlements and graves are mainly concentrated in the western part of the area in this period as well.

Graves are sparsely represented, mainly containing simple grave goods. Around Trelleborg there is a concentration of graves, but not in such pronounced coastal settings as in the Early Iron Age. Graves also occur further inland, but not on a scale corresponding to the number of known settlement sites.

There were probably more settlements in the Late Iron Age than Fig. 6 shows; this is indicated, among other things, by the finds of spindle whorls in the area (Fig. 8). The spindle whorls are mostly of sandstone and are described as flat and cylindrical, sometimes with turned stripes on the narrow sides or on the top and bottom. In the Bronze Age a hook was normally used for spinning wool, but in the Iron Age the use of the spindle increased. This is particularly clear in the Vendel Period and Viking Age, when large quantities of sailcloth were needed for ships (Andersson 1996). Much of this textile production is assumed to have taken place in the sunken-floor huts of the Late Iron Age, where spindle whorls are common finds. Unlike settlement sites, which have been discovered almost exclusively west and north-west of Trelleborg, large numbers of spindle whorls have also been found east and north-east of Trelleborg. This could be taken as a sign of a much denser and more even distribution of Late Iron Age settlements than is suggested by the known settlement sites. The occurrence of several finds of precious metals in the eastern part of the area would corroborate this assumption. It seems reasonable to presume that this picture of the distribution of settlement also applies to the Early Iron Age, even though this is not directly visible in the archaeological evidence.

Only limited excavations have been carried out at the known "inland settlement sites". Sunken-floor huts, postholes, and pits occur commonly, but there are also post-built houses. The finds are relatively sparse, suggesting that we are dealing with fairly ordinary agrarian settlements.

In the eighth century and up to the start of the 10th century one can notice an intensi-

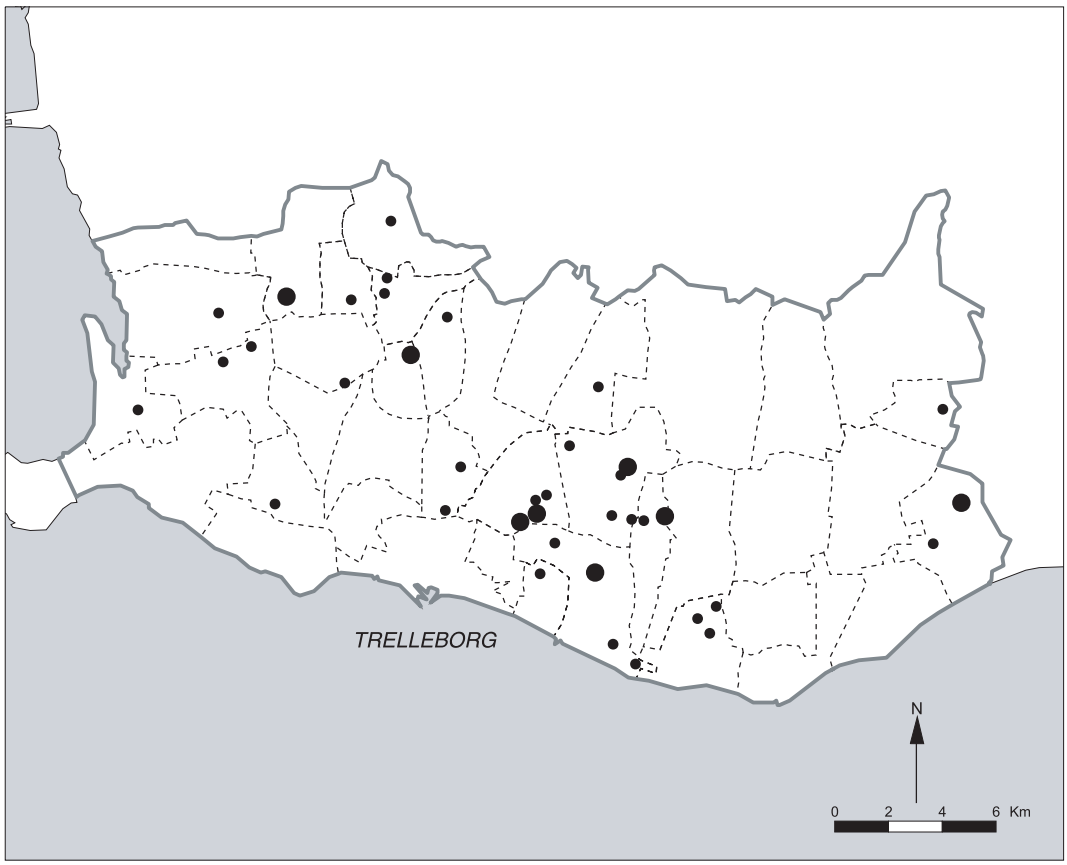


Fig. 8. Map showing the location of spindle whorls.

fication of coastal activity in the studied area. Large settlement sites are now found right beside the shore. The settlement inside Trelleborg is one such site (Fig. 6:11). Another site may have been located beside the rampart at Kämpinge (Fig. 6:5). East of Trelleborg, on the border between the parishes of Lilla Isie and Östra Torp, there was yet another (Fig. 6:3). Even further east, outside the study area, similar settlement sites have been found, for example, in the Tankbåten block in Ystad and at the Helge River at Åhus.

At this time the Scandinavians had begun to look west, and the early Viking expeditions were starting. In western and south-western Scania one can now see increased Western European influence, for instance, in the form of imported glass, jewellery, and the like. Contacts were also established to the south and east, with the areas on the other side of the Baltic Sea. In Trelleborg these contacts are seen in the form of a relatively large amount of pottery consisting of pots of Feldberg and Fresendorf types. Torbjörn Brorsson, who has analysed this pottery, has put forward the thought that Slavonic potters may have worked in Trelleborg at this time (Brorsson, this volume).

The establishment of the coastal settlements may thus be due to increased contacts with Western Europe and the Baltic lands, with trade and exchange playing a major role. It is not possible, however, to point out the settlement site at Trelleborg as an important

trading place, since the finds are too limited for this. Most of the evidence nevertheless suggests that trade played a certain part, albeit not a crucial one, for several of these coastal settlements. Others may have functioned as meeting places or market sites visited on a temporary basis (Callmer 1991:43 pp.).

In this connection it may also be of interest to remember Sköld's ideas about an early road network in south-west Scania, and his suggestion that a prehistoric main road may have followed the west coast of Scania, linking Trelleborg with Uppåkra and Lund (Sköld 1963). As regards communications, then, Trelleborg would have been well situated in relation to the other coastal sites.

At the start of the 10th century, the settlements along the coast of Scania appear to have declined in importance. Stagnation now struck Trelleborg. The settlement was abandoned, and finds of ard marks testify to the cultivation of parts of the site.

In the Vendel Period and Viking Age, then, one can see continued use of the areas that had been occupied in the Early Iron Age. At the same time, the coast was now claimed for settlements, partly geared to trade and exchange.

Some medieval villages and a Viking Age market site

It is now appropriate to comment on another settlement site located east of the new water tower in northern Trelleborg, about two kilometres from the shore (Fig. 6:12 and fig. 10). Sten Skansjö has suggested that this is the site of the village of Västra Köpinge which disappeared in the 15th century (Skansjö 1983:219). An archaeological investigation was carried out here in 1995, uncovering remains from both the Middle Ages and the Iron Age. Within the investigated area it could be seen that the medieval remains seemed to be concentrated mostly in the western parts, beside the water tower, whereas the Iron Age settlement covered a larger area than the medieval settlement, extending at least 400 metres east of the water tower, probably even further. A small stream or man-made canal appears to have served as the eastern boundary of the medieval settlement. Finds of pottery indicate a dating of the Iron Age remains to the Vendel Period and Viking Age (Jacobsson 1996a). It should be pointed out, however, that this investigation did not involve the excavation of any features. When the surface of the site was cleared, however, a limited number of finds were made, which give some dating guidance. Apart from the indigenous pottery that is common in this period, a potsherd of Central Slavonic type was also found. The sherd belongs to the Menkendorfer group and occurs up to the late 10th century (Schuldt 1956:9 pp.). It is thus conceivable that this site continued to exist after the coastal settlement in Trelleborg had ceased in the early 10th century. Another possibility is that it actually succeeded the coastal settlement.

Along the coast of Scania, Halland, and Blekinge there are several places with names ending in *-köpinge*. These are thought to have functioned as Viking Age trading sites. They are all at a distance of 2–5 kilometres from the coast, mostly beside watercourses which in most cases were probably navigable at that time (Fig. 9). The towns of the High Middle Ages grew up close to these sites, at the same time that the trading function of the *köpinge* sites came to an end (Cinthio 1975:2).

North and north-east of Trelleborg there are no fewer than three medieval villages ending in *-köpinge* (Fig. 10). They are Kyrkoköpinge, Mellanköpinge, and Dalköpinge.

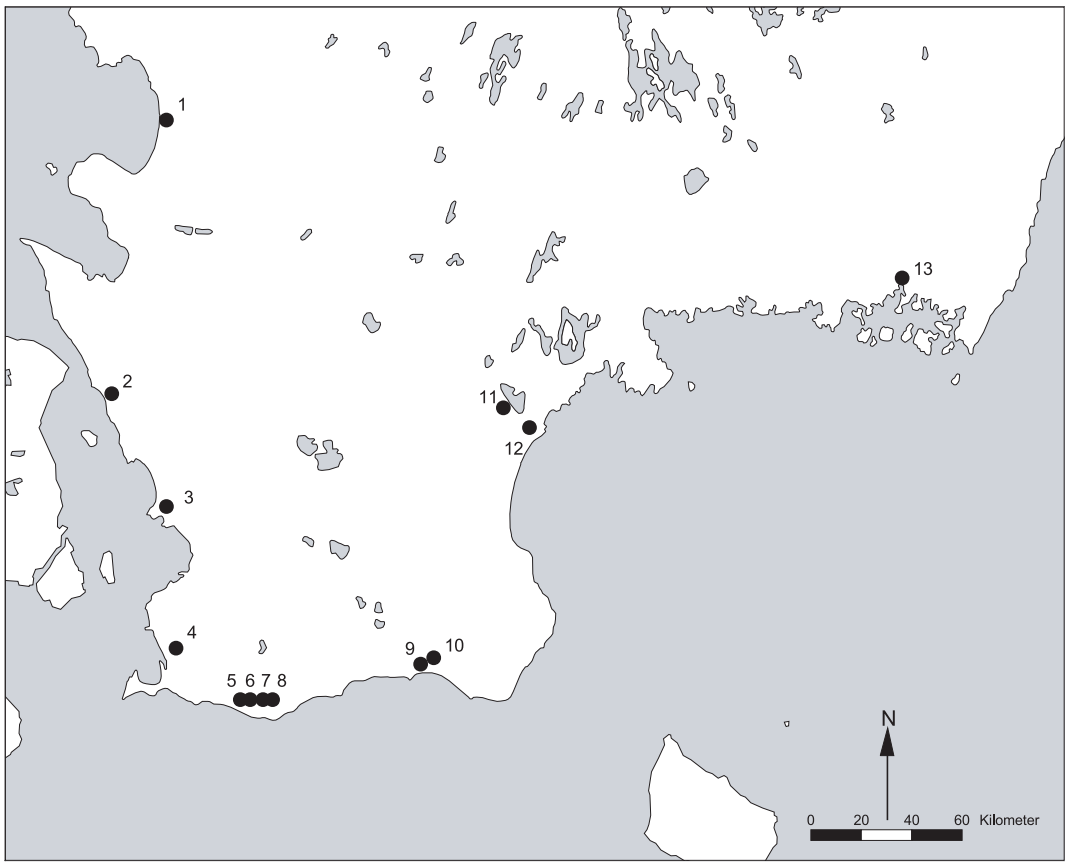
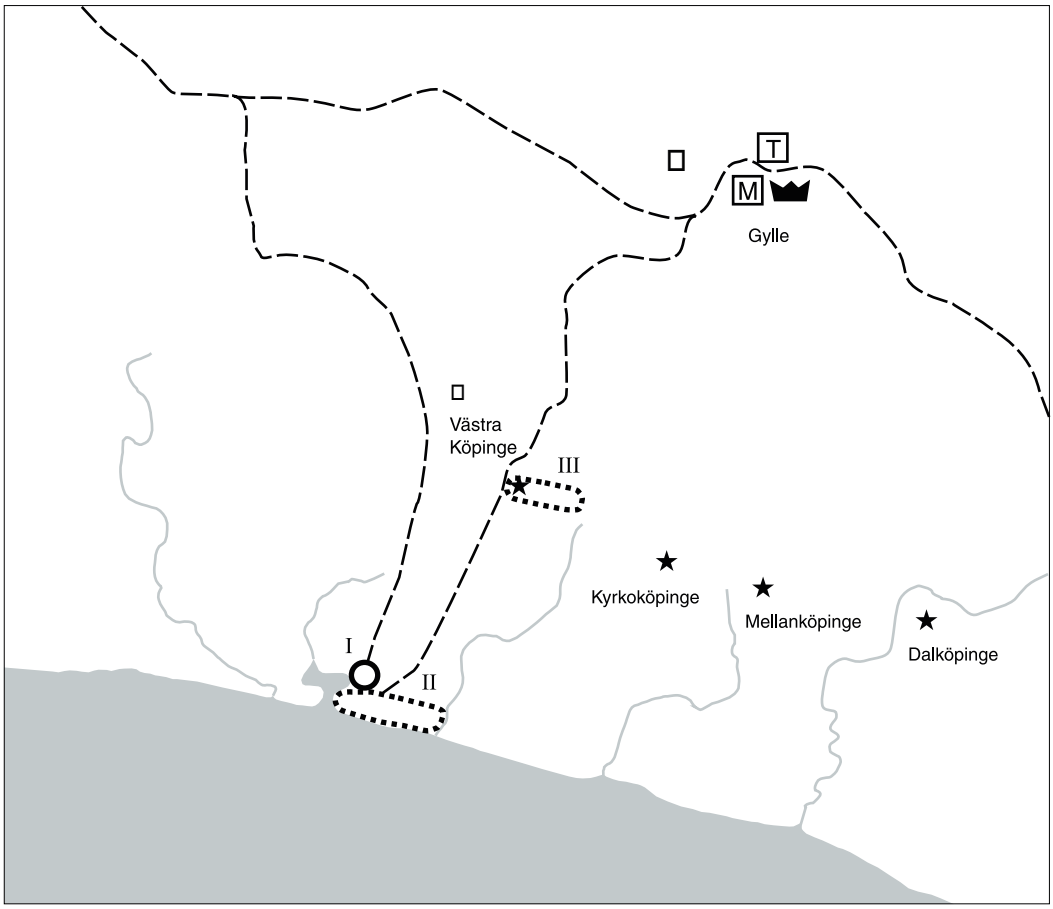


Fig. 9. *Köpinge* places in southern Sweden. 1. Köpinge close to Laholm. 2. Köpinge close to Raus. 3. Löddeköpinge. 4. Hököpinge. 5. Västra Köpinge. 6. Mellanköpinge. 7. Kyrkoköpinge. 8. Dalköpinge. 9. Lilla Köpinge. 10. Stora Köpinge. 11. Gärds Köpinge. 12. Elleköpinge. 13. Köpingegården.

The latter used to be called Österköpinge. In the Middle Ages there was also a fourth village, the Västra Köpinge mentioned above, which was deserted in the 15th century; its probable location was where Trelleborg's new water tower stands (Skansjö 1983:218 p.; Jacobsson 1996a:12). Skansjö points out that the existence of the four villages need not mean that four trading sites existed at the same time during the Viking Age. It is more likely that there was just one trading site in the area, and that the medieval villages ending in *-köpinge* assumed and preserved the name of the older place named *köpinge*. Skansjö thinks it uncertain that any of today's villages in *-köpinge* conceal remains of the Late Viking Age trading site (Skansjö 1983:125). At the same time, several scholars have pointed out that Dalköpinge, although it is the smallest parish in the hundred, appears to have had large resources at its disposal, and that the location beside the River Dalköpingeån would speak in favour of trading functions here (e.g., Svanberg & Söderberg 2000:280).

As Skansjö points out, however, it is tempting to envisage that the villages of Dalköpinge (Österköpinge) and Västra Köpinge are secondary names indicating the location of the villages east and west of an existing place or village called *köpinge* (Skansjö 1983:125).



★ Medieval village
I Viking age ringfort
II Settlement from the Vendel period/Viking age
III Settlement from the Viking age (Köping)
Kungalev
T Thing
M Mint
Old roads

Fig. 10. The area around Trelleborg with important places.

Similarly, Mellanköpinge, "middle *köpinge*", could lie between two already existing villages and also be a late formation. Moreover, archaeological investigations in Mellanköpinge have recently confirmed the absence of Late Viking Age and early medieval remains in the area of the village (Lord 2000:10). We are thus left with Kyrkoköpinge, which according to this line of argument would be the site of the original market place. No archaeological investigations have been undertaken in the village, however, which means that it is

impossible to verify the assumption. At the site suggested by Skansjö for Västra Köpinge, on the other hand, remains of a medieval village and of Late Iron Age settlement have been found, as we saw above. A similar situation has been observed at the medieval village of Maglarp, located about five kilometres further west. In 1937–38 the eastern edge of the village land was excavated. Remains of medieval settlement were found, as well as remains of older settlement which extended a further 150 metres or so east of the village site. Arbman interpreted this settlement as being separate from the village and dated it from the end of the twelfth century to the mid-13th century (Arbman 1939:31). Since the oldest pottery is Wendish ware, Skansjö would instead put the dating back to the 11th and twelfth centuries, while simultaneously suggesting that high medieval Maglarp is the result of the reduction of an originally large settlement (Skansjö 1983:121).

This line of thought could also be applied to Västra Köpinge. The Late Iron Age settlement observed within the area covers a much larger extent than the medieval remains. As at Maglarp, the remains of the village are in the western part whereas the Iron Age remains extend further to the east. Although the finds are scant, we could hypothetically imagine that the Iron Age remains at Västra Köpinge represent the trading site (*köpinge*) that gave its name to the four medieval villages. The medieval village of Västra Köpinge would then have arisen in the western part of the trading site, being a result of the reduction of the original settlement area. The other villages ending in *-köpinge* (apart from Kyrkoköpinge) were then named according to their location in relation to the trading site.

As an argument against this interpretation one could say that Västra Köpinge is not on a navigable watercourse, as is the case with the other placed named *köpinge* in Scania. However, the south-western part of Scania has no major watercourses at all. The biggest one in the Trelleborg district is the River Dalköpingeån, just east of the town. West of the river there are a few smaller streams, but neither these nor the River Dalköpingeån were likely to have been navigable in the Viking Age. As pointed out previously, there was a lagoon immediately to the west of the Viking Age fortress in Trelleborg, which may have been used for mooring small ships. From the lagoon up to the settlement site at Västra Köpinge is only about two kilometres, a distance that would have hardly been insuperable for land transports, especially if we bear in mind that they could have followed the old entrance road from the north where it came close to the coast.

The area at Västra Köpinge thus seems to be one possible place for the Viking Age trading site that may have existed at Trelleborg.

A time of change

As mentioned above, the settlement at Trelleborg ceased to exist at the start of the 10th century. Towards the middle of the century, a fortress was built instead, with a diameter of about 140 metres, on a flat plateau near the shore. The fortress was strengthened towards the end of the 10th century, at a time when a series of other fortresses in present-day Denmark were built (Aggersborg and Fyrkat in Jutland, Nonnebakken on the island of Funen, and Trelleborg on Sjælland). The newly discovered fortress at Borgeby on the west coast of Scania can also be numbered with the Late Viking Age fortresses (Svanberg & Söderberg 1999:32). It thus seems as if the significance of the place now changed radically.

From having previously been partly geared to trade and exchange, the coast at Trelleborg now took on a decidedly defensive character.

The construction of a fortress required great resources in terms of material and manpower, and the ability to organize and implement such a project must have been reserved for an élite in the society of the day. As we have seen, the fortress shows great similarities to the other Danish fortresses from the period. These fortresses are generally thought to have been linked to the emergent central kingship in Denmark, probably built on the initiative of King Harald Bluetooth. The building of a fortress in Trelleborg could then be interpreted as showing that the king was taking a greater interest in the area in the late 10th century.

If this interpretation is correct, the fortress in Trelleborg, like the one in Borgeby, could be regarded as links in a chain intended to help to incorporate the Scanian provinces in the Danish Kingdom. However, they seem to have lost their significance quickly. By the year 1000 the fortresses in Scania and those in present-day Denmark had already been abandoned and left to decay (Roesdahl 1987:162; Jacobsson 1995:59). At roughly this time, it is thought that a different power structure was established in the Scanian provinces: the organization of royal estates (*kungalev*). These were residences for the king during his travels in the country and also centres for the administration of royal property. In the Scanian provinces there seems to have been one such royal estate in each hundred (*härad*), which suggests that the crown now had political control over the area (Andrén 1985:75 pp.). The fortress in Trelleborg had therefore had its day and was replaced by a royal estate at Gylle, just north of the present town.

An association can also be seen between the royal estates and early minting in the 11th century. At this time minting was under the control of the crown, and one of the local mints was probably Gylle ("Gori") (Anglert 1995:47).

It has also been suggested that the site of the assembly and court (*thing*) in the hundred was Gylle. P. E. Sköld has drawn attention to the field-name "sköttings ager", belonging to the north field of Gylle, where the element *ting* might indicate the site (Sköld 1968:194).

The presence of an élite in the area during the Late Viking Age can also be traced in the occurrence of runestones, which have been interpreted as testimony to political changes.

The numerous finds of silver hoards likewise suggest that there was an economic surplus in the area. Several of these finds of precious metal have been discovered along Sköld's proposed main road between Trelleborg and Uppåkra/Lund (Fig. 6:28–31).

Around 1000 one can also see that the south-westernmost part of Scania, the area around the Falsterbo Peninsula, appears to increase in importance. It has been suggested, for example, that the rampart in Kämpinge was part of a semicircular rampart that surrounded a Late Viking Age trading site (Figs. 6:5 and 6:41). Ersgård suggests that this place may have had relations to the crown, but he stresses at the same time that only limited parts of the settlement area south of the rampart have been excavated, and that the relation of the rampart to the settlement has not been clarified (Ersgård 1988:58 pp.). The Foteviken barrier (Fig. 6:42) has also been associated with the crown and interpreted as a possible harbour for the king's navy, intended to protect an assumed marketplace (Crumlin-Pedersen 1984:62). Hårdh, however, points out the absence of finds in the

area immediately around Foteviken, which would argue against the place having played an important part in trade. This applies in particular to finds of precious metal. Only one such find, consisting of five silver coins, has been discovered in the western part of the study area (Fig. 6:32). Other finds of precious metals have instead been discovered north of Trelleborg, or further east in the area (Hårdh 1984:98).

The survey thus shows that there are several clear indications that the Trelleborg area had a significant role during the Vendel Period and Viking Age. However, no satisfactory explanation has been found for the sudden disappearance of coastal settlements in Scania around 900. It has been suggested that Wendish pirates made the coast unsafe around this time, causing the people to move a short distance inland, to safer places (Callmer 1986:201). Svanberg, on the other hand, claims that the evidence indicates rather that contacts with the Slavonic peoples at this time were friendly, and there were scarcely any hostilities with the Wends before the twelfth century (Svanberg & Söderberg 2000: 240). Friendly relations during the Vendel Period and Viking Age are also indicated by the possibility that Slavonic potters may have worked on a fairly permanent basis in the Trelleborg area during the late eighth and early 9th centuries (Brorsson, this volume). What really caused the disappearance of the coastal population is thus still a mystery. What is clear, however, is that it took place relatively quickly in most places, around 900. Activities at some of these places came to a complete stop, as for example at the large settlement site of Lilla Isie, east of Trelleborg (Fig. 6:3). In other places, other functions associated with the social élite arose later. Examples of such functions are the royal estates, fortresses, mints, and the like. In south-western and western Scania, two such places stand out in demonstrating the presence of the crown more clearly than anywhere else: Trelleborg and Borgeby.

Throughout the ages, the good soils in the vicinity of Trelleborg have created the conditions for an economic surplus. This is evident, for example, from the many Late Viking Age silver hoards that have been found. Several scholars have emphasized the close connection of the king to the function of *köpinge* places, here represented by Västra Köpinge (see, e.g., Svanberg & Söderberg 2000:294 pp.). In the Viking Age a fortress was built on the site where Trelleborg now stands. The fortress was succeeded by a royal estate at Gylle, just a few kilometres to the north, and a mint was probably also established (Andrén 1983). There was good anchorage along the shore, and good communications along the coast and inland towards Uppåkra and Lund.

Similar conditions can be seen at Borgeby, situated near Löddeköpinge, where the recently excavated fortress bore traces of the manufacture of exclusive jewellery which is assumed to have been intended for the social élite (Svanberg 1998). Via the Lödde River it was easy to reach the fortress, from where there were contacts by road with Uppåkra and Lund. Just offshore in the river estuary, a harbour has been found, known as Lödde Kar, dated to the 11th and twelfth centuries. Nearby royal estates mentioned in King Valdemar's cadastre from 1231 were situated at Gårdstånga and Lund, but Söderberg has put forward the hypothesis that Borgeby itself may have been a royal estate, whose regal rights were donated to the archbishopric in the twelfth century. This could explain why Borgeby is not mentioned as a royal estate in the 13th century (Svanberg & Söderberg

2000:297). Borgeby is also said to have been one of the early minting sites in Scania (Anglert 1995:47 p.).

The similarities between Trelleborg and Borgeby are difficult to ignore, as is their special position in relation to other places with *köpinge* functions and royal estates in Scania. Above all, it may be emphasized that the functions associated with the king, as represented by fortresses and mints, give the places a unique position. These are the only sites in Scania where Viking Age fortresses have been found. Mints were established in the 11th century only in the early towns, with the exception of Gylle and Borgeby. When compared with the Danish fortresses, clear similarities can also be seen. Both royal estates and mints were also established near Aggersborg, Nonnebakken, and at Trelleborg on Sjælland (Svanberg & Söderberg 2000:297); Fyrkat is the only exception in not having any. It is thus tempting to regard these "royal manifestations" in Scania at Trelleborg and Borgeby as indications that the places were of special importance, and that they may have served as sluices for the influence of the Danish kings in south-west Scania (Fig. 11).

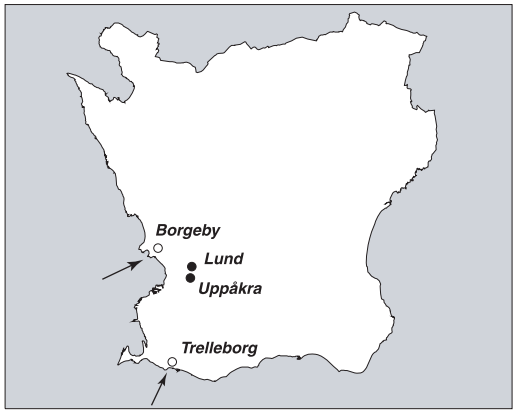


Fig. 11. Trelleborg and Borgeby in relation to Uppåkra and Lund.

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The Slavonic Feldberg and Fresendorf Pottery in Scania, Sweden

Torbjörn Brorsson

Abstract

Early and Middle Slavonic pottery has been found at several places in Scania, dated to the 8th and 9th centuries. The pottery has been discovered at coast-related places and is the remains of contacts between Slavs and Vikings. Through analyses of ceramic thin sections it has been possible to discuss the contacts in a qualitative perspective. The vessels were most likely not trading goods themselves, but were part of Slavonic family's household.

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Introduction

Contacts across the Baltic Sea have for several decades been of great interest to scholars in archaeology. The contacts were primarily interpreted as some kind of permanent migration, and since the 1970s trading has mainly been used to explain the contacts between Scandinavia and the Slavonic area. However, research in the last few years has shown that the picture is rather more complex. Other social exchanges and perhaps plunder could also have been important factors.

The picture of a violent Viking campaign, such as those to the British Isles in the second half of the 8th century, seems to be incorrect for relations between Scandinavia and the Slavonic area. It must be pointed out that the contacts during the 8th and early 9th century were probably built up on trade, but this hypothesis has to be partly expounded. A foreign presence at a trading place might be the trace of a long-time subsistence whereby the craftsmen produced their goods at the trading place itself. Such events should of course have generated waste material other than what would have been generated by a normal household. Pottery of foreign types may also be found scrapped.

Pottery could therefore be an important contribution to the understanding of contacts across the Baltic Sea. Potsherds are useful complements to the large amount of metal objects generally used for this work. This study seeks to discuss the importance of the Slavonic pottery in Scania during Viking Age, focusing on the place of production.

The pottery

An investigation of the Slavonic ceramics in Scania in Sweden has resulted in several new finds. Some of these have been published

previously, but not classified as pure Slavonic shapes. The classification system used for the Scandinavian pottery is based on the system published by the Swedish archaeologist Dagmar Selling. This system is normally used for Swedish material and was first applied to the grave material from Birka in Lake Mälaren (Selling 1955). The Slavonic material has been classified according to the system by the German archaeologist Ewald Schuldt (Schuldt 1956). This system was established during the 1950s and is frequently used in several countries in the Baltic Sea area, for example in Sweden, Denmark, Germany and Poland.

Microscopic analyses have been carried out on Slavonic and Scandinavian pottery from several sites in Scania. Most of the thin sections were recently made for this publication. The analyses also involve thin sections made in the 1950s by Nils Sundius. This material was first published by Selling (1955). It was also analysed in the 1980s by Birgitta Hulthén (1984).

During the late Vendel Age and early Viking Age domestic pottery was dominated by a particular vessel shape, classified by Selling as AIV: 3a1 (Fig. 1) (Selling 1955:167 pp.). The fabric of the domestic pottery was made from clays tempered with crushed rock in varying proportions. The vessels were made by means of coiling and the outside was smoothed with a wet hand. No other supplementary work was done. Normally the vessels were undecorated. The reverted rim is a characteristic vessel shape. In Scania, this vessel type has been dated to the period 700–1050 (Brorsson 2000: Fig. 10).

The Slavonic material present in Scania during 8th and 9th centuries is represented by the early and middle Slavonic shapes Feldberg (Fig. 2) and Fresendorf (Fig. 3). These types are not to be mistaken for the later Baltic ware, which appears in late 10th century and has obvious Scandinavian influences (further information in Roslund 1992).

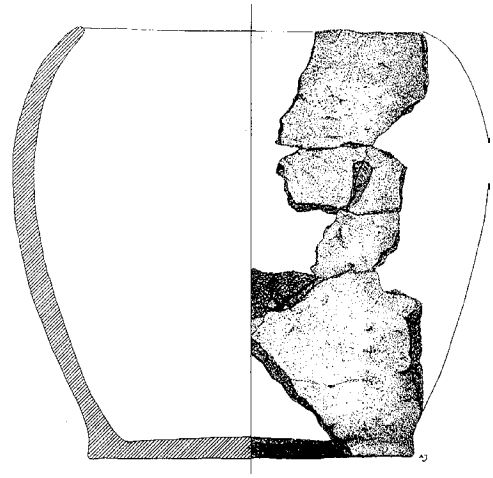

Fig. 1. Scandinavian AIV vessel from the late 8th or early 9th century. Bjärred, Flädie parish in western Scania. Drawing by Annika Jeppsson. 1:3.

The early and middle Slavonic pottery was also made from clays tempered with crushed rock. The vessels were built up by means of coiling but shaped and decorated on a cavalette. The most frequent decorations are parallel wavy and straight lines. The Slavonic pottery was of a different quality from the Scandinavian.

Feldberg and Fresendorf pottery in Scania

Early and Middle Slavonic pottery is rare in Sweden. However, the pottery type has been discovered on several sites in Scania, especially near the coastlines of the Baltic Sea and the Öresund (Fig. 4) (Callmer 1988:664). The recent work involves seven sites containing Feldberg and Fresendorf pottery, but the types have also been discovered at three more sites in southern Scania. At Hagestadmosse, Valleberga parish (Strömberg 1963), Grane-

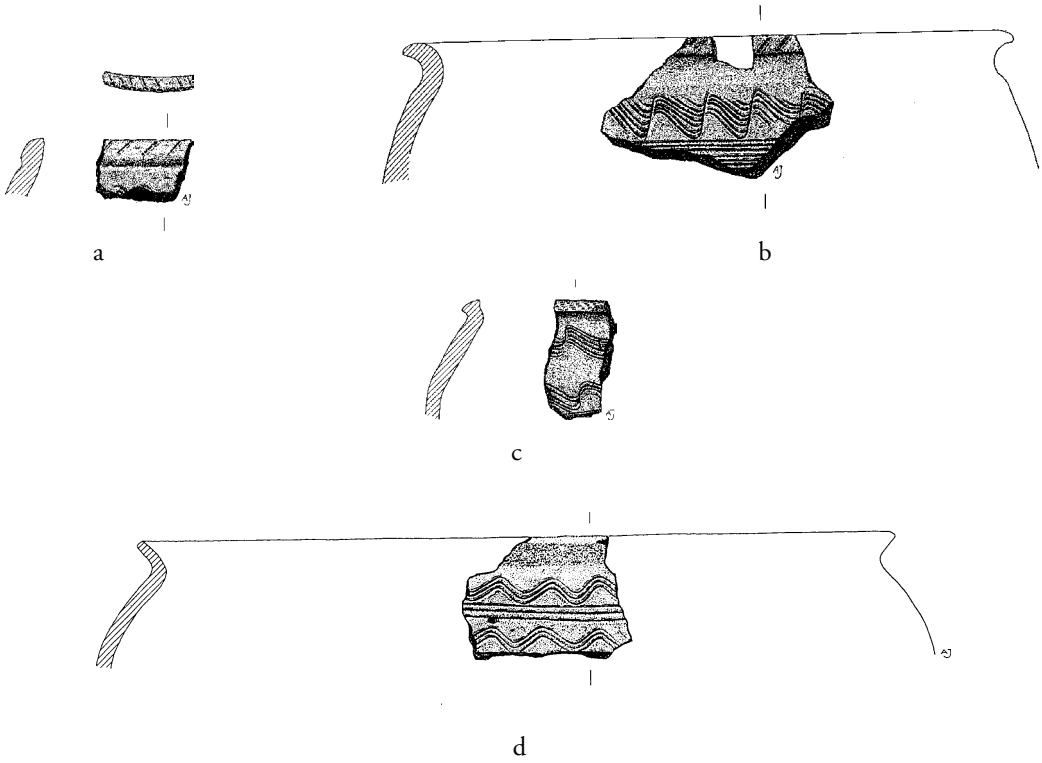

Fig. 2. Slavonic Feldberg vessels found at Trelleborg in southern Scania. Drawings by Annika Jeppsson. 1:3. 2a. Thin section No. T3. 2b. Thin section No. T7. 2c. Thin section No. T8. 2d. Thin section No. T12.

dal, Gässie parish (Holmberg 1964) and at Fosie, Fosie parish (Kv. Dubbelknappen Malmö Historical Museum 6022). Hagestadmosse is situated in the south-eastern corner of Scania, close to Valleberga. Gässie and Fosie are just south of the city of Malmö. The other sites in Scania will be presented in more detail in the following text.

Löddeköpinge, Löddeköpinge parish (Vikhögsvägen)

The community of Löddeköpinge lies on the West Coast of Scania, only 3.5 km from the Öresund. In the 1970s a market place dated to the Viking Age was found here. Löddeköpinge stands on the Lödde River, which is only about 30 m broad and flows into the Öresund.

At the market place itself 54 pit-houses were discovered (Ohlsson 1976). It was mainly the find material that showed that Löddeköpinge had probably been a market place. The name -*köpinge* also indicates that it was a trading or market place. On the site early and middle Slavonic pottery such as Feldberg and Fresendorf was discovered. The pottery was analysed and compared with the local AIV ware (Hulthén 1976). The analyses showed that there was imported Slavonic pottery as well as locally made vessels of the same type.

Mossby, Västra Nöbbelöv parish

In the middle of the 1980s a minor excavation was carried out at Mossby, just outside Ystad (Larsson & Olausson 1986). Only four pit-houses from the Viking Age were discovered.

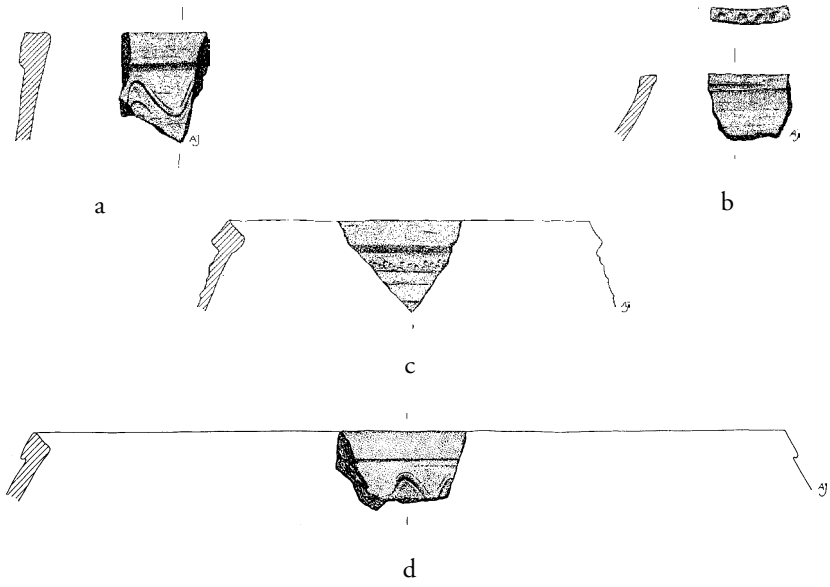

Fig. 3. Slavonic Fresendorf vessels from Trelleborg. Drawings by Annika Jeppsson. 1:3. 3a. Thin section No. T4. 3b. Thin section No. T6. 3c. Thin section No. T10. 3d. Thin section No. T11

The find material was sparse and the pottery consisted of Feldberg and Fresendorf types and the local AIV pottery. No microscopic analyses were carried out on the pottery.

Sandby No. 15, Borrby parish

The documentation of the site Sandby No. 15 in Borrby parish is sparse. The information about the site reports a settlement containing finds of pottery of Selling's type AII: 3b (Strömberg 1961a:29). The pottery is the Feldberg type and was first published by Selling (Selling 1955:Taf. 21:14,15). Thin sectioning was carried out on one of the sherds.

Trelleborg, Trelleborg parish

Trelleborg in southern Scania is mostly known for the fort, the *trelleborg*, dated to the end of the 10th century (Jacobsson 1995). The fort shows that the place was of great interest in the late Viking Age. The settlement around the fort was rather large during this period. The excavations conducted in the 1980s indicate that the place was already inhabited 150 years before. A large number of pit-houses dated to the first half of the 9th century have been discovered. The pottery from this period consists of local AIV vessels and finds of Slavonic Feldberg and Fresendorf pottery. Some sherds of the Western European Tating ware were also found (Brorsson 1999:51 pp.).

Stockholmsgården, Valleberga parish

In the south-eastern corner of Scania a settlement from the Vendel Period and Viking Age has been discovered (Strömberg 1961a:32 pp.). The settlement was excavated between 1949 and 1951 and consists mostly of pit-houses and hearths. Production of combs and bronze items has been confirmed at the site. The pottery mostly consists of Scandinavian

Fig. 4. Scania, southern Sweden. Map showing sites with finds of Slavonic Feldberg or Fresendorf pottery.

ware, but Slavonic Feldberg and Fresendorf types were also found on the site (Strömberg 1961b:Taf. 28:4,5).

Ystad, Ystad parish (kv. Tankbåten)

In the 1970s a large settlement of pit-houses from the Viking Age was discovered in Ystad (Strömberg 1978). Scandinavian pottery predominated, but there was also pottery of early and middle Slavonic types, such as Feldberg and Fresendorf. Microscopic analyses were carried out on some sherds. The result of the analyses showed that the early Slavonic pottery was most likely imported (Hulthén 1978).

Åhus, Åhus parish (Transval)

Åhus is situated in the north-east of Scania. The place stands on the Helge River near the Baltic Sea. A market place dated to the 8th century has been discovered on this site (Callmer 1991:34 pp.). Traces of glassmaking, metal craft and probably combmaking have also been identified. Other evidence of trading comes from finds of sceattas from Western Europe, a Roman coin and a balance with weights. The pottery consists of local AIV ware.

Some hundred metres downstream lies the other complex of Åhus. A trading place dated to the end of the 8th century and to the 9th century has been investigated there. The find material consists of large amounts of imported artefacts such as beads and pottery. Comb making and bronze smithing have been identified. The pottery consists mainly of Scandinavian AIV-pottery but also foreign types such as Slavonic Feldberg and Western European Badorf pottery (Callmer 1988:661; Ericson-Borggren 1993).

Microscopic analyses

The analyses have been carried out in a polarizing microscope. A thin section was made for every sherd. The investigation was done at magnifications from 25 to 1000 X, in both parallel and transverse polarized light. The clay structure, the proportion and mineralogical contents of the coarse fractions (sand, silt), the kind and amount of temper and the presence of accessory minerals were studied.

Slavonic pottery found at Borrby, Löddeköpinge, Trelleborg, Ystad and Åhus has been investigated. Local Scandinavian AIV-pottery from Åhus has been used for comparison with the Feldberg pottery.

Pottery ware groups

Based on the microscopic analyses of the thin sections, the pottery has been classified into seven groups named I–VI. The classification is based on raw materials such as clay and temper (Tab. I).

Ware group I (Thin section No. Å4): This group comprises only one sherd, which is

made of fine silty clay rich in mica. Iron oxide and grains of ore have been observed in the clay. Sand was used as tempering, and the largest grain has been calculated as 1.5 mm. The temper amount is only 4%.

The sherd belongs to the Feldberg type and has been found at Åhus.

Ware group II (Thin sections L1, L2, L3, T1, T, T3, T4, T5, T6, T9, T12, Y1, Y2, Å7, Å10, Å11, Å12, Å15): The ware of the sherds in group II was made of sorted fine clay. The amount of iron oxide, mica and ore differs from sparse to rich. Crushed granite was used as temper material. The amount of temper varies from 11 to 25%. The maximum grain size varies between 1.0 and 3.5 mm.

The analysed sherds of Feldberg type from Löddeköpinge belong to ware group II, which also contains Feldberg and Fresendorf sherds from Trelleborg, Ystad and Åhus.

Scandinavian AIV pottery from Åhus is also included in group II. The amount of temper in the AIV pottery varies from 10 to 26%. The maximum grain size varies between 2.5 and 5.5 mm.

Ware group III (Thin sections L4, T11, Å5, Å6, Å9, Å13): The ware was made of sorted, silty medium-coarse clay. The amount of mica varies from some occurrence to rich. Augite and hornblende have been identified in thin section No. T11. In thin section No. Å6 zircon has been observed. The clays are tempered with crushed granite. The largest grains have been measured from 1.5 to 4.5 mm and the amount of temper estimated from 7 to 28%.

The sherds in group III belong to the Feldberg and Fresendorf types and they have been found at Löddeköpinge, Trelleborg and Åhus.

One sherd of AIV pottery from Åhus is also included in group III. The ware is tempered with 15% of crushed granite and the largest grain has been measured to 3.5 mm.

Ware group IV (Thin sections B1, T10): The ware of the sherds was made of coarse clay. The amount of mica is rich. Zircon has been identified in thin section No. T10. Maximum grain size is measured to 1.5 and 2.5 mm. Crushed granite was used as temper material in amounts of 11 and 20%.

The sherds belong to the Feldberg and Fresendorf types and they have been found at Borrby and Trelleborg.

Ware group V (Thin sections T7, Å1): The ware of the sherds in group V was made of unsorted coarse clay. The amount of mica is rich. Ore has been observed as accessory mineral. Zircon has also been observed in the thin sections. The clays were tempered with grog. The maximum grain size has been measured to 2.0 and 2.5 mm.

The sherds belong to the Feldberg type and they have been found at Trelleborg and Åhus.

Ware group VI (Thin sections T8, Å2, Å3, Å8, Å15): The ware of the sherds in group VI was made of unsorted coarse clay. The amount of mica varies from some occurrence to rich. Ore has been observed as accessory mineral. In thin section No. T8 zircon has also been observed. No temper was added to the clay. The largest grain has been measured from 1.0 to 3.0 mm.

The vessels in group VI belong to the Feldberg group and they have been found at Trelleborg and Åhus.

One sherd of local AIV pottery is also included in group VI. The largest grain has been measured to 2.5 mm.

Grain size distribution

The microscope investigation also involves a grain size distribution analysis based on the size and amounts of the grains of the ware. The calculations were performed by com-

Tab. I. Results of microscopy of thin sections of test sherds from Scania in Sweden. Abbreviations: Zi = Zircon, Fl = Fluorite, Au = Augite, Ho = Hornblende, Ti = Titanium. Symbols: * = occurrence, – = sparse, + = abundant, ++ = rich, x = observed, n o = not observed.

SHERD ID.					CLAY												TEMPER						NOTES
																			crushed				
sherd no.	site	vessel type	Grain size distribution	Pottery ware group	sorted / unsorted (s/u)	coarse / medium / fine	sand	silt	iron oxide	ironoxihydroxcide	ore	mica	calcium carbonate	diatoms	plant material	accessory minerals	natural	sand	granite	grog	max. grain size [mm]	total content [%]	
B1	Borrby	Feldberg	A	IV	s	c		x			*	+		n o					x		1.5	11	
L1	Löddeköpinge	Feldberg	C	II	s	f	x		-		+	-		n o					x		3.0	21	Few grains grog
L2	Löddeköpinge	Feldberg	C	II	s	f	x		-	x	-	-		n o					x		3.5	14	Few grains grog
L3	Löddeköpinge	Feldberg	C	II	s	f		x	+		+	+		n o					x		1.5	11	
L4	Löddeköpinge	Fresendorf	C	III	s	m	x	x	+		+	+		n o					x		3.0	22	Few grains grog
T1	Trelleborg	Feldberg	B	II	s	f		x	+	x	*	++		n o	x				x		3.5	20	Few grains grog
T2	Trelleborg	Feldberg	B	II	s	f	x	x	*	x	*	++		n o	x	Zi			x		2.0	12	
T3	Trelleborg	Feldberg	B	II	s	f		x	*		+	++		n o					x		2.0	22	Few grains grog
T4	Trelleborg	Fresendorf	B	II	s	f			-	x	*	*		n o	x				x		2.0	14	
T5	Trelleborg	Fresendorf	B	II	s	f		x	+	x	*	*		n o		Zi			x		2.0	14	
T6	Trelleborg	Feldberg	C	II	s	f		x	-		*	++	x	n o					x		2.5	25	Few grains grog
T7	Trelleborg	Feldberg	B	V	u	c			-	x	*	+		n o		Zi				x	2.5		
T8	Trelleborg	Feldberg	A	VI	u	c			*		*	++		n o		Zi	x				3.0		
T9	Trelleborg	Fresendorf	C	II	s	f				x	++	*		n o	x	Zi			x		2.5	15	
T10	Trelleborg	Fresendorf	B	IV	u	c			-	x	*	+		n o		Zi			x		2.5	20	
T11	Trelleborg	Fresendorf	B	III	s	m		x	*	x	+	*		n o		Au,Ho			x		1.5	7	
T12	Trelleborg	Feldberg	C	II	s	f		x	*	x	*	+		n o	x				x		3.0	14	
Y1	Ystad	Feldberg	B	II	s	f			-		-	*		n o		Zi, Ti			x		2.0	19	Few grains grog
Y2	Ystad	Fresendorf	B	II	s	f		x	*		*	++		n o		Zi			x		1.0	11	Few grains grog
Å1	Åhus	Feldberg	A	V	u	c	x		-	x	*	++		n o			x			x	2.0		
Å2	Åhus	Feldberg	A	VI	u	c	x	x	-	x	-	+		n o	x		x				3.0		
Å3	Åhus	Feldberg	A	VI	u	c	x	x	*	x	*	+		n o			x				1.0		
Å4	Åhus	Feldberg	A	I	s	f		x	*	x	+	++		n o	x			x			1.5	4	
Å5	Åhus	Feldberg	A	III	s	m		x	*	x	-	+		n o	x				x		3.0	14	
Å6	Åhus	Feldberg	C	III	s	m		x	-		-	++		n o	x	Zi			x		2.5	14	
Å7	Åhus	Feldberg	A	II	s	f			-	x	+	+		n o	x	Zi			x		2.0	12	
Å8	Åhus	Feldberg	A	VI	u	c			+			*		n o			x				2.5		Flint
Å9	Åhus	Feldberg	A	III	u	m	x	x	*		-	+		n o					x		4.5	28	
Å10	Åhus	AIV	C	II	s	f			+	x	-	*	x	n o		Zi			x		5,5	26	
Å11	Åhus	AIV	C	II	s	f			+	x	-	*		n o					x		4.0	19	
Å12	Åhus	AIV	C	II	s	f			+	x	-	-	x	n o		Zi			x		3.0	22	
Å13	Åhus	AIV	C	III	s	m		x	+	x	-	*		n o					x		3.5	15	
Å14	Åhus	AIV	B	VI	u	c	x	x	*		*	-	x	n o			x				2.5		
Å15	Åhus	AIV	B	II	s	f		x	+	x	*	*	x	n o		Zi			x		2,5	20	

puter and are presented in diagrams (Fig. 5). The diagrams include both the clay and the temper. According to the microscope analyses, most of the sherds consists of tempered clays. The grain size distribution can be used to identify different sources of pottery production.

The grain size distribution is measured in 12 intervals between 0.031 and 2.8 mm. The wares have been divided into three different groups, named A–C.

Grain size group A (fine): This group consists of fine ware. Altogether eight sherds from Åhus, one from Trelleborg and the only sherd from Borrby have been placed in group A. It is noticeable that eight out of the nine analysed vessels from Åhus have the same coarseness of the fabric.

Grain size group B (medium coarse): This group is a medium-coarse ware. Altogether eight out of 12 analysed Slavonic vessels from Trelleborg and both sherds from Ystad have been placed in group B. Among these vessels there are both untempered and tempered wares.

Two AIV vessels from Åhus is also included in group B.

Grain size group C (coarse ware): This group involves the total material from Löddeköpinge, thin section No. Å6 from Åhus and three sherds from Trelleborg.

Seven out of the nine AIV vessels from Åhus are also included in group C.

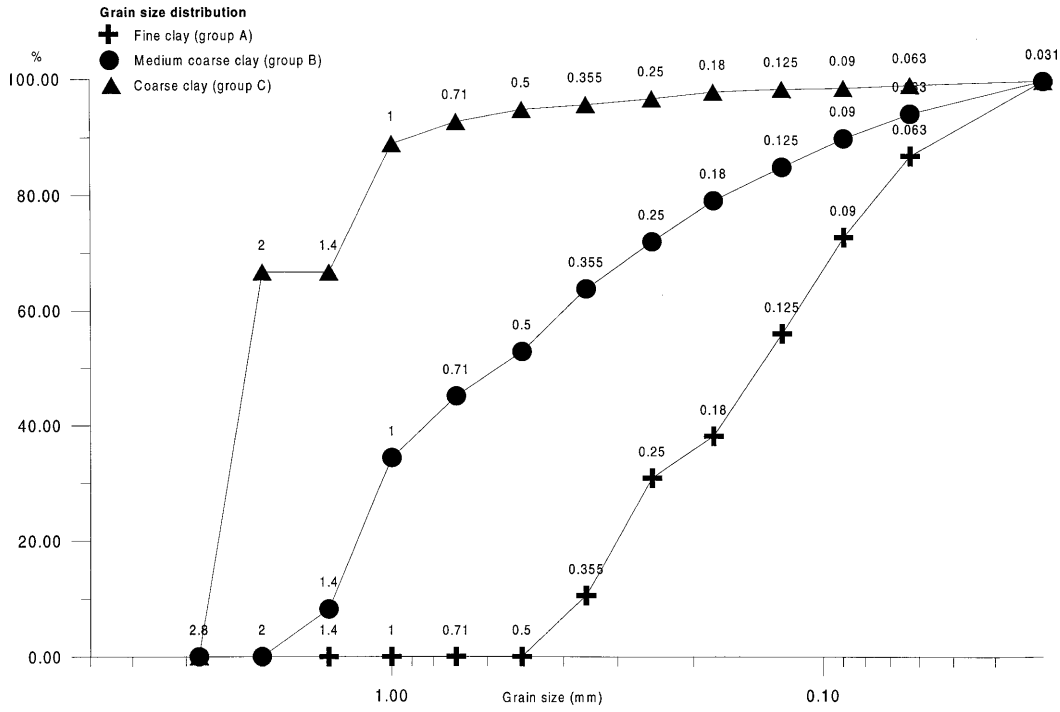

Fig. 5. Diagram showing the coarseness of the wares based on the area of the grain sizes as percentages.

Results

The microscopic analyses of the Slavonic pottery from Scania indicate that several sources of production are represented in the material. The pottery types from, for example, Åhus and Löddeköpinge are quite different from each other, though there are some similarities in pottery from other sites. The sherds from the southern coastline of Scania are quite homogeneous. There is fairly good correlation between the pottery from Trelleborg, Ystad and Borrby.

The analyses also clearly show that there are no differences concerning the ware between the Feldberg and the Fresendorf pottery. The Slavonic pottery in Scania was built up by means of coiling and shaped on the cavalette. This technique is called the slow wheel by some authors. It is important to distinguish pottery made on the potter's wheel from vessels shaped on the cavalette. Vessels made on the potter's wheel leave traces of manufacturing on both the inside and the outside. The use of a cavalette leaves traces only on the outside and on the upper part of the inside. It also important to point out that this technique requires the vessels to have been built up by hand. This use of the cavalette is a technique that is quite different from the local Scandinavian one. Scandinavian vessels were not shaped on the cavalette and were normally left undecorated. Callmer has pointed out that the different manufacturing techniques indicate that the Scandinavian potters did not produce Slavonic pottery (Callmer 1988: 661).

The analyses show that the Slavonic pottery was made of several different clays and that various temper materials were used. It could thereby be established that several different craftsmen made the pottery. An example is the pottery from Trelleborg. The Slavonic

pottery on the site contains six different ware groups. These ware groups, including the grain size distribution, correspond fairly well to the pottery from Borrby and Ystad. Where the pottery was made is of great importance. Considering the large variation within the Slavonic material the question can be answered by comparing it to the local Scandinavian pottery. As shown in tab. I, microscopic analyses have also been carried out on Scandinavian sherds from Åhus.

Birgitta Hulthén has previously analysed Scandinavian sherds from Löddeköpinge and Ystad. The results of these analyses made it possible to point out distinct parallels between clays in the Slavonic and Scandinavian pottery (Hulthén 1976:138 p., 1978:105 pp.). Hulthén interpreted some of the Feldberg and the Fresendorf vessels as locally made.

The Slavonic pottery from Åhus shows that several production types are represented in the sample, which has been analysed under the microscope. This is no surprise, though the Slavonic ware accounts for 8% of the entire Åhus material (Callmer 1988:661). The grain size distribution indicates that the different production types might have the same origin. One of the most interesting topic to investigate is the possibility of local production of Slavonic vessels.

The grain size distribution indicates that the Feldberg pottery from Åhus may originate from mainly two places. Eight of the vessels can be placed in group A and only one sherd in group C. Analyses of the local AIV pottery indicate that rather coarse clays (group C) were used when making the local pottery. The same type of clay has been identified in Feldberg vessel No. 6. This Feldberg vessel must being interpreted as being of local Scanian origin. The rest of the analysed Slavonic pottery from Åhus seems to be of foreign provenience.

The occurrence of Slavonic pottery in Scania

The occurrence of Slavonic Feldberg and Fresendorf pottery in Scania was first observed by Selling in her work on the Birka pottery. In connection with the extensive excavations of the Vendel Period and Viking Age settlements in Löddeköpinge, the largest find of Slavonic material in southern Sweden was made. The material was analysed and it pointed out that probably imported and locally made Slavonic pottery had been found. This was interpreted as a mix of Scandinavian and Slavonic populations. One explanation might be marriages with foreign women (Hulthén 1976:139). This is a question that greatly needs to be further discussed.

The occurrence of Slavonic pottery in itself in Scania could hypothetically be explained in six different ways:

1 The vessels might have been used as containers for a product that was traded.
2 The pottery itself was the trading product.
3 The pottery was part of a Slavonic tradesman's inventory
4 The pottery was imported by Scandinavians.
5 The pottery was made in Scania by Scandinavians.
6 Slavonic people made the pottery in Scania.

The analyses of the Slavonic pottery in Scania show that alternative 1 and 2 can be excluded. As locally made pottery has been identified in the analysed material, the vessels themselves cannot have been part of the trading process. Besides, Feldberg and Fresendorf vessels probably played an important role as cooking pots. It could be a possible scenario that pottery was imported by Slavs who settled in Scania and earned their living by the pottery

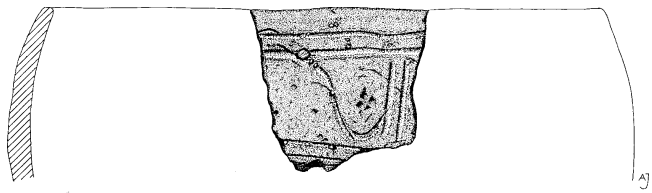

Fig. 6. Sherd found at Köpingebro, Stora Köpinge parish in south-eastern Scania. The shape and the vessel-building technique belong to a Scandinavian tradition but the decoration is Slavonic. Probably 10th century. Drawing by Annika Jeppsson. 1:3.

craft. This hypothesis, however, can be questioned since different vessel types were closely connected to different households where the vessels had very specific functions. The vessel shape, the ware, the cooking methods and the food itself belonged to a system in which where every part was dependent on the others. This leads to the hypothesis that the Slavonic Feldberg and Fresendorf pottery was of no great interest to Scandinavians. It was, however, an important part of the Slavonic household. As further support for this hypothesis, the Slavonic pottery dates to the only period between 775 and 825 and then disappears (Brorsson & Stanislawski 2000). The new and foreign pottery with different shapes, decoration and of foreign manufacturing technique did not become established in the Scandinavian pottery tradition. Slavonic influence in the local pottery craft did not appear until a second Slavonic wave in the late 10th century. Even then it appeared in a Scandinavian form, in the Baltic ware.

It has been discussed earlier in this work that the Scandinavian and Slavonic pottery differs widely as regards technology. Certainly, they are made from the same types of clay and temper, but the way of shaping, decorating and firing varies. The use of cavalettes when shaping the Slavonic pottery and the controlled firing make it most likely that mainly Slavonic craftsmen made the Slavonic pottery. The Scandinavian vessels are simpler, and it is hard to believe that Scandinavian craftsmen made Slavonic pottery as well. At Köpingebro, north of Ystad, for example, Scandinavian pottery with Slavonic decoration has been found (Andersson 2000). This combination of Slavonic and Scandinavian pottery shows that Scandinavians tried to capture some characteristics of the Slavonic pottery, such as the decoration, but maintained such important features as vessel shape and manufacturing technique (Fig. 6).

This discussion eliminates alternative 5. Still left for discussion are 3, 4 and 6.

The Slavonic pottery in Scania has been found only at coast-related places, which might have been some kinds of trading places. Löddeköpinge and Åhus have received much more attention than other places because of the comprehensive and complete excavations carried out at the sites. At Trelleborg, for instance, the Viking Age settlement was most probably much larger than the area excavated (Jacobsson 1995:Fig. 1).

My point is that the Slavonic pottery was taken to Scania by Slavs, and therefore is it natural that it appears in coast-related places. The pottery is proof that Slavs stayed in these places. The relatively large amounts found in Löddeköpinge and Åhus show that these settlements were long-term, although possibly only on a temporary basis.

Conclusion

The presence of Slavonic material in Scania may be explained by alternative 4 and 6 and to some extent by alternative 3. The vessels were not trading goods in themselves, but were part of a Slavonic family's household. The Slavs stayed in the Scanian trading places long enough to have to replace vessels that might have been broken. The Slavonic craftsmen had to produce new vessels, using the same clay as the Scandinavians. It might be surprising that the Scandinavian pottery did not try to use this new technology, but probably this is related to function; no improvement seemed necessary.

Summary

The Slavonic Feldberg and Fresendorf ceramics in Scania make up some very important groups of artefacts. The vessels have been found mainly in coast-related places that most likely had visitors from a Slavonic population. The traces of these Slavs are vague and exist almost only in the pottery, closely related to household and in the long term to the cultural identity.

The Slavonic pottery in Scania consists of partly imported vessels but also locally made ones. These vessels probably belonged to the Slavonic family's inventory, where every vessel had its given function, and was replaced if broken, whether this happened at Wolin, Oldenburg or Åhus. Investigations of exclusive jewellery and different types of graves have for decades dominated the search for contacts across the Baltic Sea during the Viking Age. Detailed investigations of the pottery show that this artefact can contribute facts about the complex relations between different culture groups in the Baltic Sea region.

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Earth or Fire

Burial Customs as a Beginning in Exploring Regional Variations in Early Iron Age Scania

Tony Björk

Abstract

This paper is a presentation of the regional implications of ongoing work about burial rituals during the Early Iron Age in Scania. Based on archaeologically investigated graves where grave type and/or grave goods have been recorded, preliminary conclusions about regional diversity lead to a rough division into four different areas in the south-west, south-east, north-east and interior parts of the landscape. There are very clear similarities between this division of smaller areas with distinct cultural traits and divisions made for Viking Age and historic times. This indicates that there are long-lived and very stable structures in the everyday common culture, in stark contrast to the probably more unstable political situation. This is a challenge to further investigation by means of long-term studies of different aspects of regional variations.

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Introduction

The author is presently working on a thesis about burial rituals during the Early Iron Age in Scania. The study concerns similarities and differences in mortuary rituals, primarily based on archaeologically investigated graves. An important priority is to make an updated list of the material from the period in this geographic area. This will be used to try to extract evidence of regional differences in the area and how people of the time consciously or unconsciously signalled their belonging to a certain group (age, sex, cross-regional social group, ethnic group or other possibilities).

A discussion of these topics of course needs a very thorough review of limitations and source reliability, depending on the questions that we expect graves to be able to answer (Näsman 1994:16). This concerns first of all the distinction between intentional and unintentional grave information, as Härke puts it (1997:23 p.). It also concerns the uneven spread of archaeological investigations in the region (concentrated in the arable and today densely populated areas), the different preservation conditions for inhumation and cremation burials, and so on. Further clarification of these topics, however, is not the aim of this brief presentation.

Landscape and regional diversity

Large hilly ridges that cross the landscape diagonally, running from north-west to south-

east, subdivide Scania. Another natural barrier is the large bogs and wetland areas, with large concentrations in the northern part of the province. The main agricultural areas of today are roughly identical with the areas that have been considered as having the largest population density from the Middle Neolithic, through the rest of prehistoric times and in the Middle Ages (Malmer 1962:693 pp., Abb. 120–124). These areas consist of the coastal plains and hillock landscape in the north-west, west, south-west, south, south-east and the north-east.

In studying Iron Age Jutland in Denmark, Ringtved was able to divide that province into regions from the Late Roman Iron Age until the late Germanic Iron Age (Scandinavian chronology, equal to *c.* 200–800 AD). Among the most interesting results was a very clear tendency towards larger and more uniform territories through time, according to the archaeological material. Her example pointed out several categories that can be fruitful to study, such as graves, houses, ceramics, etc. (Ringtved 1988).

Similar studies have been made about Scanian development, but not as consistently regarding regional variations. It is possible to see evident regional differences in the archaeological material in Scania and this has, so far, mainly been done for the Late Iron Age of the province. Märta Strömberg first visualized the major settlement areas of the Late Iron Age (Strömberg 1961b:Figs. 23–25, 29, 30). This first attempt at mapping was later modified and broadened into a discussion concerning regional division, changes in settlement pattern and trade in several contributions by Johan Callmer (for example 1991:Figs. 5, 6).

Charlotte Fabech has used topographic studies and the findings of several other researchers to examine the location and importance of the communication routes for the development of places of central power in the landscape (Fig. 1 and Fabech 1993).

Quite recently Fredrik Svanberg has developed this further by studying the Viking Age material (graves, single finds and so on), and he recognizes several areas with varying burial traditions and also, in a wider sense, areas with cultural differences. Svanberg's study finally confirmed that there were distinct cultural variations between different parts of the region (Svanberg 1999).

But what about regional differences in Early Iron Age Scania? Apart from describing the inhumation graves of the Roman Iron Age, concentrated on the coastal plains, Berta Stjernquist pointed out some clear regional differences in the Scanian pottery in the very first Simris publication. Her main contribution in this field was to show the difference between eastern and western Scania in the Roman Iron Age and the Early Migration Period (Stjernquist 1955:95 pp.). This was supplemented by Strömberg, who made a survey of the cremation graves of the Early Iron Age, in which she pointed out that all the excavated graves in the northern part of the province were cremations (Strömberg 1961a:63).

Stjernquist, in the last publication of the Gårdlösa project, developed a theory regarding tendencies towards regional variation in which the region was divided into a south-western part with the western coastal strip, a south-eastern part with the eastern coastal strip and an interior northerly area. This division was based not as much on the distribution of finds as on the belief that natural conditions played a large role in the diffusion. It was, however, also relevant to the differences in the archaeologically excavated grave material (Stjernquist 1993:86 p.).

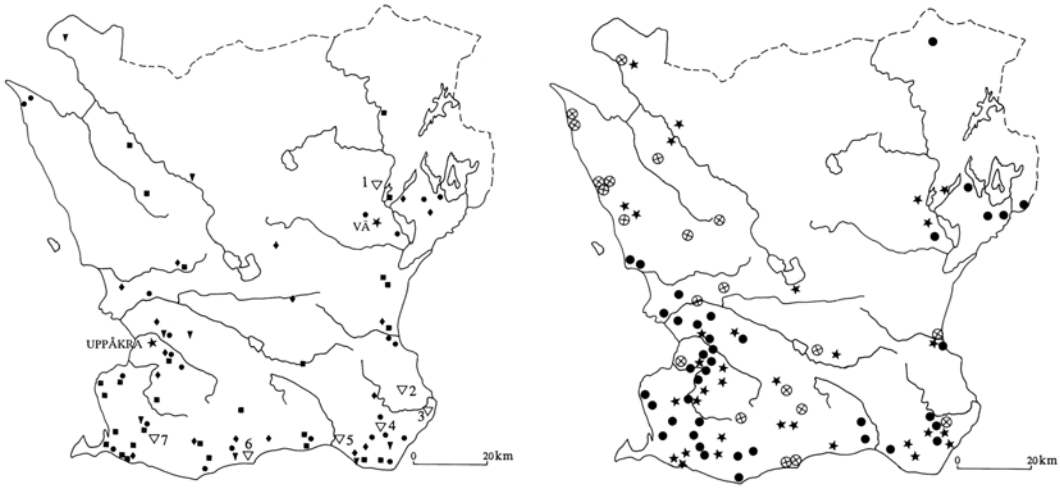

Fig. 1a and b. Status-indicating finds from the Roman Iron Age and Migration Period (from Björk 1999:Fig. 8 and Fabech 1993:Fig. 15 a).

In 1999 a map of the Early Iron Age material in Scania that indicated status was produced in connection with a description of a new find of a weapon grave in Färlöv (north-eastern Scania). The map showed obvious similarities to the picture known from the above-mentioned studies by Strömberg, Callmer and, especially, Fabech. This clearly indicated that the pattern of "strongholds" was a fact at least as early as the Early Iron Age, and that it was connected to the best arable land (Björk 1999:80)(Fig. 1). The area around Helsingborg is not, however, represented in the Early Iron Age, but we will address that problem later. The observation that the distribution of Early Iron Age findings is very similar to that of the Late Iron Age awakened my interest in studying variations in grave ritual during the Early Iron Age, which allows a possibility to study regional variation.

Preliminary conclusions

It is time to present some preliminary observations about the tendencies towards a division of culturally specific areas in the region during the Early Iron Age. The following presentation should not be considered as having clear-cut boundaries, either chronologically or typologically. The material needs further, deeper study before it can be used as a more precise description. Nevertheless, it can contribute to a discussion concerning Iron Age research in the area.

The work is based on the distribution of archaeologically or, at least, otherwise investigated/observed graves where grave type and/or grave goods have been recorded/recovered. The picture extracted reflects a pattern that can give a background to some preliminary observations and comments. (The reader should know that list is not yet complete. Some localities in the Malmö area and some locations recently excavated by the National Heritage Board are missing.)

The registered sites with Early Iron Age graves in Scania are, in a purely geographical sense, unevenly spread. Nevertheless, they show two fundamental differences. The first is of course the distribution of inhumation burials and cremation burials (Fig. 2). It is

Fig. 2a and b. Inhumation graves/cemeteries and cremation graves/cemeteries from Early Iron Age Scania.

clear that inhumations are common in the coastal areas, particularly in the south-west. Cremations dominate totally in the interior and north, but they are also represented in the other areas, especially in the Early Roman Iron Age. This is only one truth about Early Iron Age societies in Scania, and studies of different categories of find reveal a more complex situation. It is a delicate task, and has just been started. Many finds, for instance sickles, have a chronological importance rather than a regional meaning. A category that seems to have some relevance in this respect is wooden buckets with bronze mountings. They are all concentrated in the southern part of the landscape. This coincides with graves containing more than two fibulae and graves with more than two clay pots each (Fig. 3). These common traits suggest that the south coastal area was quite similar in cultural expression. On the other hand, Stjernquist's observations of a division into a western and an eastern part of Scania on basis of ceramic development (see above) suggests a complex situation that must be investigated further. The east–west border is so far corroborated by the diversity in grave forms and grave goods on a very generalized level.

To summarize a preliminary interpretation of the variation in burial customs, it is believed that the province of Scania can be divided into several smaller areas with characteristic cultural traits (Fig. 4). To begin with, south-west Scania (Fig. 4:1) has a clear dominance of inhumation burials (at least in the Late Roman Iron Age and Early Migration Period) and seldom traces of more complex interior or exterior grave monuments, apart from a few cemeteries with low mounds on the south coast. In south-east Scania (Fig. 4:2) the picture is much more complex, with a large variety of grave forms, for example stone settings with cremation or inhumation graves, massive stone cists, mounds and so on. Grave forms in north-eastern Scania (Fig. 4:3) are very similar to those of south-eastern Scania, with a large variety, although some forms known from the south-east are not known here (stone settings with inhumation graves and boat graves). The interior (Fig. 4:4) is completely dominated by cremations,

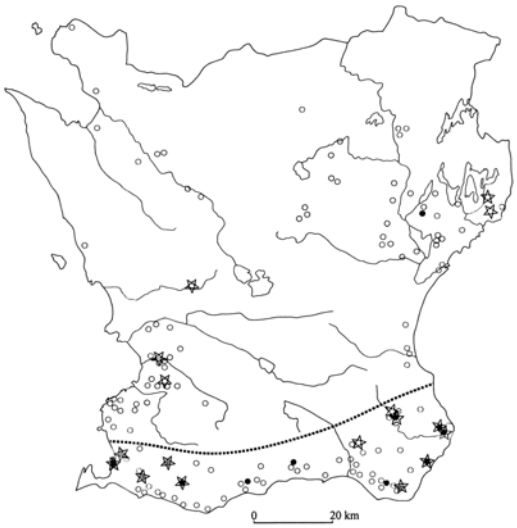

Fig. 3. Tendencies to an area of cultural similarities in south Scania. Symbols mark graves with wooden buckets with bronze mountings (cross), more than 2 fibulae (solid circle) and gold and/or silver (star).

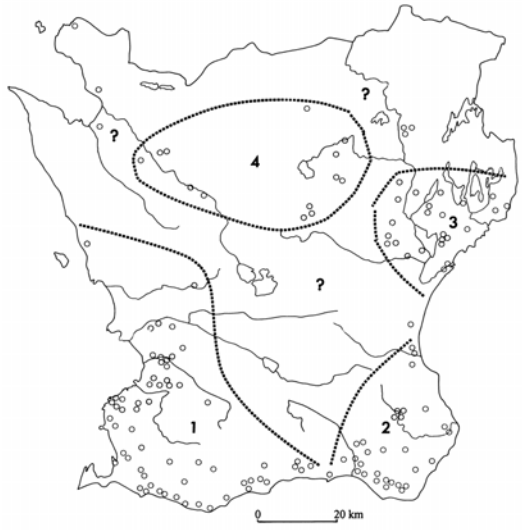

Fig. 4. Tendencies to culturally specific areas in Scania during the Early Iron Age, based on grave material. Numbers are referred to in the text.

either in small burial pits or in stone settings. Some of these differences have, of course, already been observed by Stjernquist (1993:86 p.).

If we consider the general picture of the distribution of grave goods, it gives further strength to the division suggested above. We can see that south-west Scania has a good share of graves with fibulae and gold. Furthermore, the region is in several respects closely related to south-east Scania, as we have seen. South-east Scania has much more varied mortuary material, not only in grave forms, but also in the grave goods represented. Thus it is worth noticing, for instance, that apart from graves with gold and fibulae, the area has a number of weapon graves and graves with Roman imports. The weapon graves, especially the ones with a full, classic armament, are a clear link between south-eastern and north-eastern Scania, which accords well with the relationship in ceramic development in eastern Scania (Stjernquist 1955:97 p.). In stark contrast to the other two areas, the grave material of north-eastern Scania has much fewer fibulae and beads, and no gold finger-rings or combs. Finally, the interior and northern Scania have extremely few grave finds with grave goods, except for occasional ceramic pieces, and the highland area, in this respect too, is clearly distinguished from the coastal plains.

One of many problems to consider is that a large area in the west and the north-west of Scania is virtually empty of both graves and status-indicating material from the Early Iron Age. If we compare the spread of grave locations between the early and the Late Iron Age, we can observe a clear similarity. That indicates either an actual absence of population in this area or a problem regarding representation (compare Fig. 2 with Svanberg 1999: Fig. 4). The latter is probably the case. On the other hand, the status material from the two periods is not at all similar. The status material is absent in the Helsingborg–Ängelholm area during the Roman Iron Age, but suddenly from the Migration Period, the very same

area is full of status-indicating finds (compare Fig. 1 and Björk 1999:Fig. 8). It is not likely that, for instance, farmers never observed any finds from the Early Iron Age but only from the Late Iron Age, unless the difference represents something that actually happened between the periods. This is one of many important loose ends to follow up in coming work.

The conformity between the rough outline of Early Iron Age material and the results achieved by Svanberg for the Viking Age are nevertheless obvious (Figs. 4 and 5). This indicates some stability in the development of cultural diversity in the region.

Fig. 5. Culturally specific areas in Scania during the Viking Age, based on grave material (from Svanberg 1999:Fig. 4).

Stable structures

The long-lasting regional traits in material culture have been touched upon by Näsman, who believed that there is continuity in this respect from the Iron Age up to the 19th century (Näsman 1998:18 p.). In the first half of the 20th century many Swedish anthropologists and historians were involved in dividing the post-medieval agricultural society into cultural areas and regions, by means of written sources (for example named areas and placenames), dialects, material culture (for example, single artefacts and house building traditions) and so on. Cultural differences, cultural borders, cultural provinces and diffusion of innovations were important concepts in describing and explaining why societies were different and how they changed. A good example is Sigurd Erixon, who compressed several observations of this kind in *Svenska kulturgränser och kulturprovinser* (1945). Comparative studies of long-term regional differences in material culture seem to be an important field to explore further.

There is, however, a troublesome gap to bridge in regional studies based on material culture, between the Iron Age and late historic times. It seems that scholars concerned with (Scandinavian) medieval times unfortunately, in general, have not been interested in studying this aspect to any large degree, even if there are exceptions (for example Söderberg 1997:91 pp.). Almost everybody seems content with the knowledge of the medieval administrative division into hundreds, as if it reflected all aspects of regional variations in medieval society. The strength of archaeology is however not to deliver absolute facts, or to confirm known facts, but to present various models and explanations for long-term development and change of societies.

In order to give a brief insight into the importance of observing historic society in a long-term perspective, one work of special relevance to conditions in Scania has been chosen here. In 1935 Sigfrid Svensson published a study of the traditions and changes in local traditional costumes from 1500 to 1900 AD. One of the most interesting conclusions of his study is that he was able to show evident differences in the dispersion of various cos-

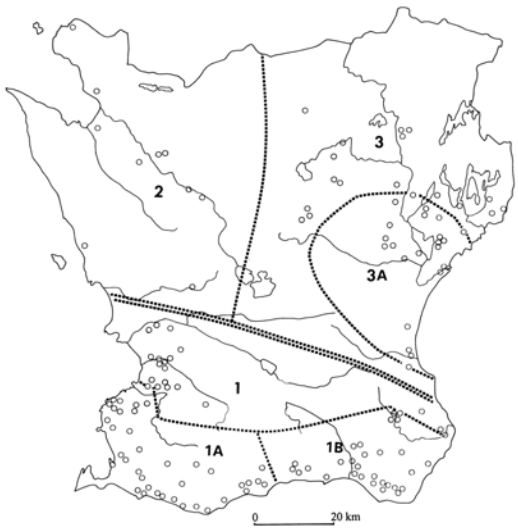

Fig. 6. Traditional local costume areas in Scania 1500–1900 AD. The boundary marked with double lines divides the two main costume areas and the two main dialect areas (based on Svensson 1935:298 pp.).

tumes, and that the main dividing line in dress style between southern and northern Scania corresponds to the dividing line between what have been defined as main dialects of the province (Fig. 6 and Svensson 1935:298 pp.). These areas are very similar to those distinguished both in the Early and the Late Iron Age. The comparison between the pictures of the Iron Age and the picture of the post-medieval situation strongly indicates long-lived and very stable structures in everyday common culture (Figs. 4, 5 and 6).

This tells us that we must separate the phenomena of common, mental and material culture, which obviously had very stable development in some respects, as opposed to the more unstable political situation, with probable rapidly changing strategic alliances. At least we must make the distinctions intellectually, even if they can be hard to separate in the archaeological material in many cases.

Manifestation of peculiarity and power

How are the differences in grave traditions relevant to a discussion about central places in the Iron Age? The answer is that, if the central places are considered as part of a larger settlement area in a region, we must try to divide the region into smaller areas with cultural similarities, likely to indicate some sort of common territory or community (Swedish *bygd*). The study of regional variation has been viewed as a frame for discussion of the individual placement of territories in a political hierarchy (Näsman 1998:17). From such a viewpoint we can study the central places from the outside, trying to grasp their meaning in a much wider sense than from only within them.

Establishing that there were, and to some extent still are, stable structures in cultural variations within Scania is another subject that challenges further examination. This gives us a possibility to discuss stability versus instability in behaviour, and various reasons behind parallel complex developments, for example changing patterns of contact, by means of long-term studies of regional variations.

Finally, the grave material could be used as one tool in the clarification of the rich vocabulary used to describe – without explaining – the differences between major and minor centres (Helgesson 1998:39). A suggestion touched upon is that the central places (like Uppåkra) are the highest level of the hierarchy, with a much larger number of strongholds which were subordinate to them. This seems like the most reasonable way to consider, for instance, weapon graves and rich female graves (Björk 1999), but this statement must definitely be made with much caution, to avoid an impression of a developed medieval feudal system in the Early Iron Age society of Scandinavia.

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The Invisible Hierarchy

Manifestations in the Halland Iron Age as Indications of a Stratified Society

Lennart Carlie

Abstract

In general discussions of the social hierarchy during the Early Iron Age, single finds of gold and silver or other high-status finds are put forward as the main indicator. In several districts these finds are few in number and will render an undifferentiated picture of a society as a whole. By adding other structures and interpreting the meaning of these features it would be possible to obtain a more varied picture of the society. In this article the aim is to look at three different sites where the underlying processes indicate a variety in the hierarchy, even though the sites themselves do not demonstrate any events of significance for this.
The Iron Age village of Brogård, the sacrificial bog at Käringsjön and the cemetery at Påarp are locations where collective manifestations were the driving force. The leader or initiator was a dynamic person or a family who had the ability to initiate, organize and guide a large number of people in the same direction.

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Introduction

From the point of view of settlement archaeology, the Roman Iron Age is the most dynamic epoch in southern Halland. In the many archaeological excavations that have been carried out we generally come across houses from this period. What characterizes these houses is the uniformity, with similar buildings within every single settlement, but also the fact that there has been distinct proof of local characteristics, showing the importance of aiming at a distinct identity. Looking at other finds from this period, we receive completely different information. The gold and silver finds, and also other high-status finds from southern Halland, are few in number and evenly scattered along the coast (Carlie 2000:134 pp.). Some of the finds are associated with an aristocratic elite but at the same time these finds are only indirect indications of a partially hierarchic social structure. Helgesson gives examples of different interpretations of the society during the Iron Age; the finds in particular and their composition play an important part here (Helgesson 1998:39 pp.). If we apply these models to the material from southern Halland, we face the fact that only a handful of scattered finds will be the determining factor.

Despite the few gold and silver finds, these artefacts still indicate that the society was divided into different strata. Yet there are more concrete relics that are crucial for how to interpret the variation in the social hierarchy in Halland. The relics consist of three completely different categories which also represent varying phases in the life cycle of man, with life as well as death representing natural elements of the process. What the three locations have in common is that the primordial initiative required distinct roles right from the beginning. These locations are also concentrated in a limited area and can be found within a radius of 10 kilometres. All three places are unique from a Halland point of view, which further strengthens the thesis of a strong initiator, whether this was a single person or a family. The dating of the three locations is also contemporary, the initiation taking place in the 1st century AD, with continuity throughout the Roman Iron Age.

The three localities are the Iron Age village of Brogård, the sacrificial bog Käringsjön and the extensive cemetery at Påarp (Fig. 1). What these locations have in common is how they differ from other archaeological sites in southern Halland by means of the collective manifestations which were the fundamental driving force.

Brogård

Our knowledge of Iron Age settlements in southern Halland has increased conspicuously during the last few years. At the moment we know more than 50 settlements that contain remains of houses of varying size. All these settlements comprise a single farm consisting of a long-house as well as storehouses of varying size. In most cases it is possible to follow continuous occupation for as much as 400 years. During this time a great deal of changes took place at the settlement, the rebuilding of the houses being most obvious. In spite of all the changes within the time of occupation, there remains one fundamental similarity regarding all these settlements. From the beginning of the settlement to the abandonment of the place there was never any increase in the number of farms. As a rule it looks as if Iron Age society in Halland consisted of single farms, situated a few hundred metres to a couple kilometres from each other.

There is one exception to this. A few kilometres east of Halmstad, at Brogård, it is possible to follow the development of an Iron Age village from the birth of Christ until the gradual decline which took place during the Migration Period (Fig. 2). A characteristic of the settlement at Brogård is that we find the farms gathered together around an open area. This area extends over 2,500 square metres and shows hardly any marks of human activity. Most likely the area functioned as a kind of common land throughout the existence of the village. What preceded the settlement is not known, but from the archaeological evidence we know that it was intense from the very beginning of the Roman Iron Age. From an unoccupied area at the start of that period an accumulated village crystallized, consisting of at least four farms. The farms were situated north and south of the common land of the village, extending over 18,000 square metres. The next two centuries saw a gradual expansion of the village. Three more farms were added but, unlike the first farm, the latter had a more peripheral location. One farm was raised about 50 metres north of the centre of the village. The second unit was build 50 metres to the south and the third farm was located more than 300 metres to the north-east. The accumulation of farms

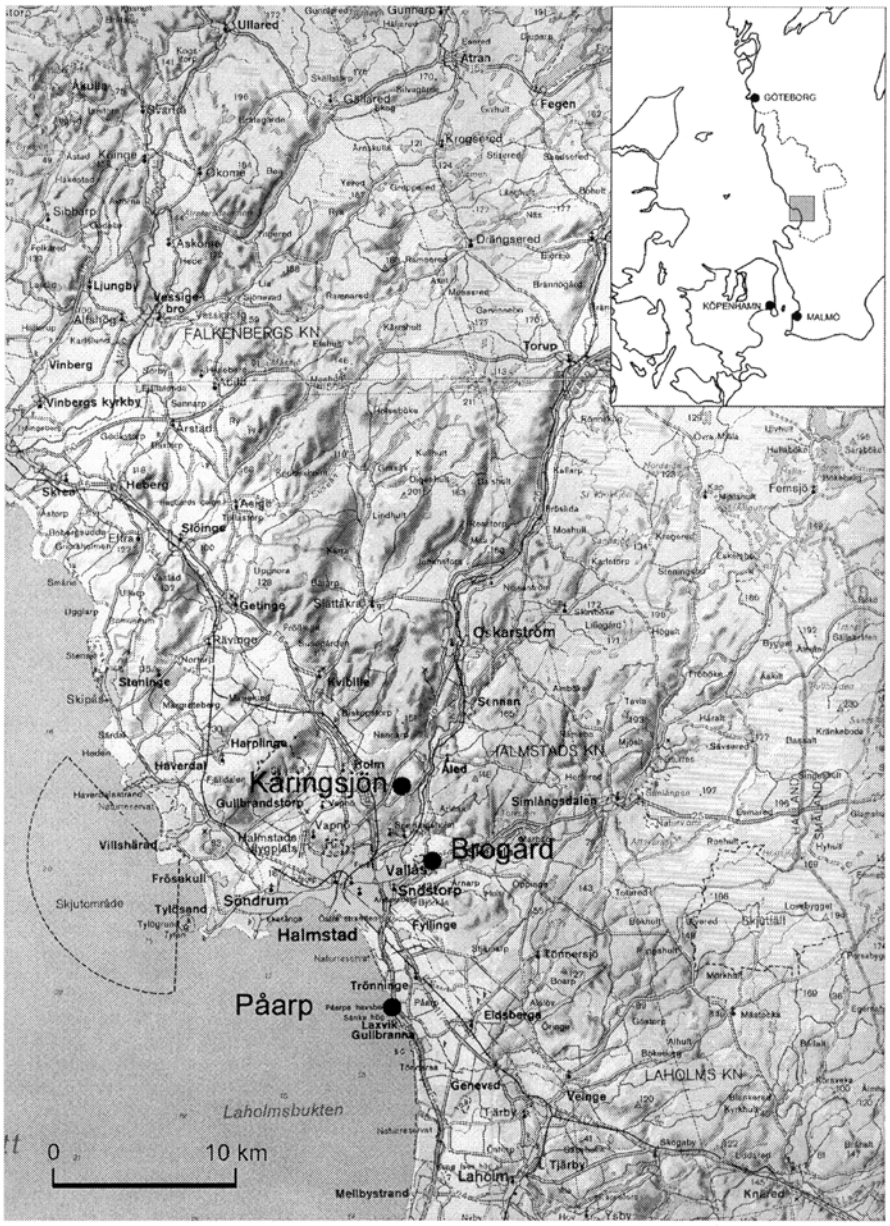

Fig. 1. Brogård, Käringsjön and Påarp are situated in the vicinity of present-day Halmstad, on the west coast of southern Sweden.

resulted in an enlargement of the village, and at the end of Roman Iron Age the total area covered some 250,000 square metres. During the existence of the village it is possible to follow intense construction activity, with older houses torn down and new ones erected. When a house was rebuilt it was always done right beside its precursor. In some cases there was only a metre or two between the previous house and its successor, and on other occasions the new house was built on the very same spot as the precursor.

Even if there are no traces of enclosures either from the village or the individual farm,

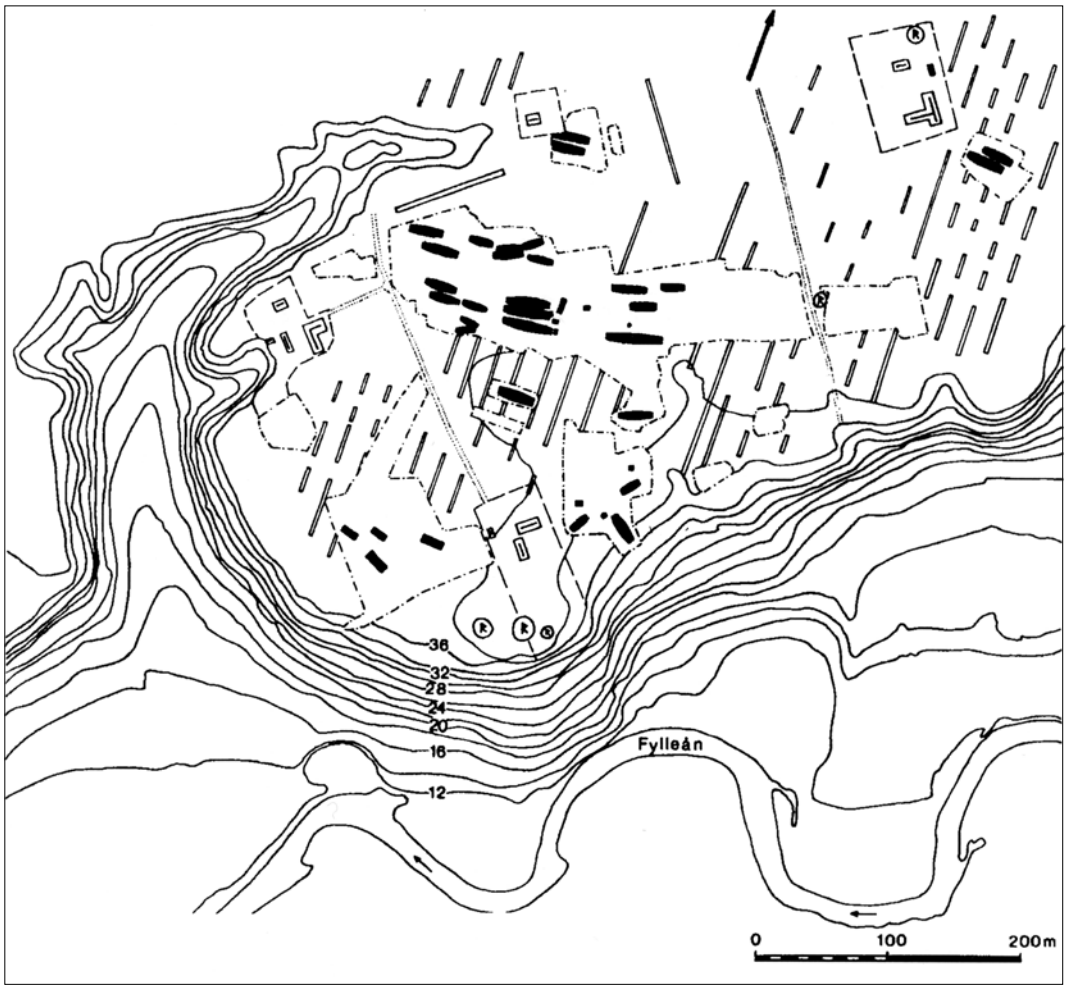

Fig. 2. The Iron Age settlement at Brogård. The centre of the village was situated in the western part of the main trench, gathered around an open area.

the position of the houses indicates a well-established organization within the village where each farm had its distinct boundary. This kind of organization is visible among the farms in the heart of the village as well as the farms on the outskirts.

As a single object, neither the houses at Brogård nor the finds differ from what is typical of the rest of Scandinavia. The houses at Brogård exhibit a traditional three-aisled construction and range in length from 15 to 45 metres. The finds are sparse, with a composition in which pottery makes up the most common category. The only finds that intimate some kind of sophisticated handicraft consist of a small crucible which could have been used for making gold or silver jewellery. At the same time, however, there is one major factor that makes the Iron Age settlement at Brogård stand out as a unique phenomenon, at least from a Swedish point of view.

To build and organize a complex settlement of this kind requires a leading spirit with the ability to initiate and arouse enthusiasm in order to direct a large number of people. If one looks at the rest of the Iron Age

settlements in Sweden, it is not possible to distinguish this kind of organizing phenomenon. Instead an ordinary settlement consists of single farms, scattered with no obvious or distinct organization. This observation includes the extensive settlement at Fosie. Even though there was quite a number of houses, the settlement was scattered over a large area. The same phenomenon is to be observed among the settlements in Östergötland (Borna-Ahlqvist 1999) as well as in Uppland and Västmanland (Göthberg 2000). Even in Halland, Brogård stands out in that the rest of the settlements in this province consist of single farms or, in some cases, two farms located next to each other (Carlie 1999).

What is visible at Brogård is that some person or kin group chose a suitable area with favourable conditions. In this particular case, access to different plant biotopes could have been the main reason. The sandy soil was suitable for agriculture and also as pastureland for sheep. The river valley of Fylleån, some hundred metres south of the village, provides a biotope suitable for cattle while the forest land to the east could provide food for a great many pigs. Another reason is the presence of several fords. Though Brogård is located in an area where the river is easy to cross, it would also be easy to control and watch over people passing by.

The question that arose is why this kind of village appears when there is no other example within the borders of present-day Sweden. Is it possible that a single person or a kin group suddenly chose to organize the houses in an assembled group, or did they receive the inspiration from somewhere else? It is not likely that it could have happened spontaneously; on the contrary, it must be due to influences from other parts of Northern Europe. The Roman Iron Age provides a great deal of evidence for regional as well as supraregional contacts where the communications took place over long distances (Andersson & Herschend 1997). It is from this point of view that we should regard Brogård. Above all, the structure of the village, along with some of the supporting structures of the houses and ritual deposits in the postholes, demonstrates influences from different regions in Northern Europe.

The structure of the village

The organization where the farms are gathered in dense concentrations and in structured conditions already existed in the Pre-Roman Iron Age (Fig. 3). This stands out most obviously at the Danish settlement of Hodde, where, at most, some 25 farms were gathered around an open area (Hvass 1985). This organization resembles what we can see at Brogård, even though there is a difference in the dating of the two villages. Hodde is somewhat older and appears to have been abandoned at the time when the village at Brogård was founded.

At Flögeln, in northern Germany, we find another Iron Age village with the same organization as at Hodde and Brogård. In this village the farms were gathered around an open area, covering about 4,000 square metres (Zimmermann 1976:6). The development at Flögeln differs in that here we can notice the gradual growth of the settlement. During the first century AD the village consisted of some individual farms but at the end of Roman Iron Age the village acquired its final appearance which could be compared to traditional cluster village (Kossack *et al.* 1984:227).

A third Iron Age village with the same organization is to be found at Feddersen Wierde in northern Germany. Here, as at Brogård, it is possible to follow the develop-

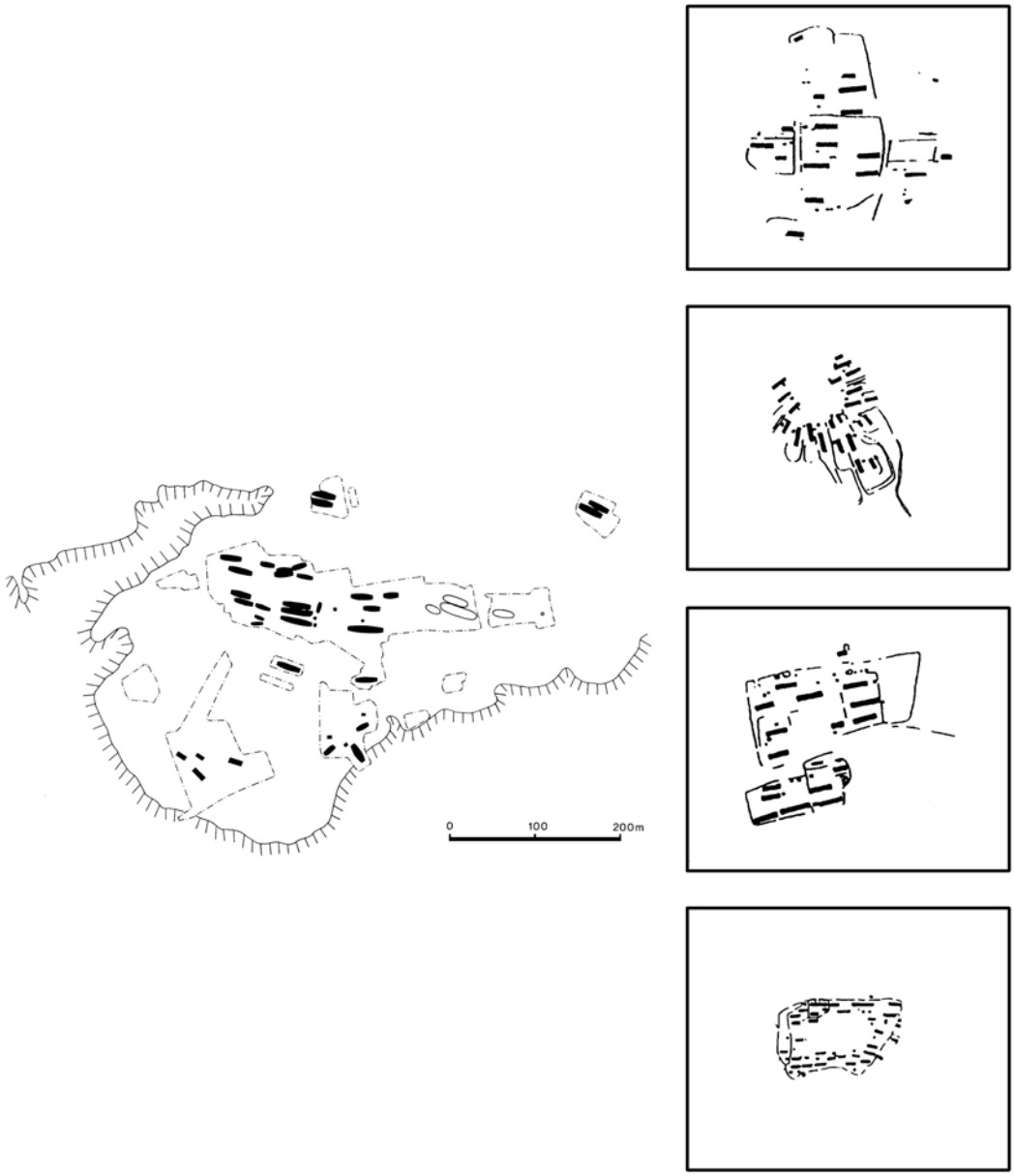

Fig. 3. The organization of different North European Iron Age villages. Left: Brogård. Right, from the top: Wijster, Holland. Feddersen Wierde and Flögeln, Germany. Hodde, Denmark (partly from Fallgren 1993).

ment of a village from the time of the foundation in the first century AD right up to the Late Iron Age. As at Brogård, the initial establishment took place when several farms were erected at the same time, and at an early stage the houses were gathered around an open area. The continuing course of events at Feddersen Wierde looks the same as at Brogård. Over time we can see a gradual influx of settlers, finally resulting in a village comprising about ten farms. In one way there is a difference between Brogård and Feddersen Wierde

in terms of the hierarchical organization. At Brogård we can see a similar hierarchy throughout the centuries, but at Feddersen Wierde there is a shift from an egalitarian constitution during the early phase to more stratified conditions during the latter phases (Haarnagel 1979:320 p.).

Similar conditions are to be seen at Wijster in Holland. From the 1st century AD, several scattered farms are slowly gathered together, and by the end of the 2nd century AD a village similar to Brogård, Flögeln and Feddersen Wierde had developed (van Es 1967).

The houses

During the early part of Iron Age we can see a similar primary form of the long-house, with the roof supported by posts in pairs while the walls consist of posts arranged close to each other, from a distance of a couple of decimetres to nearly a metre. The traditional way of constructing a house and its walls involved digging separate holes for each post. This way of building was also the most common at Brogård, where 21 out of a total of 31 houses were erected this way. The remaining ten houses were built in a slightly different way, with the posts being sunk in a groove extending along the entire house. The reason for this particular way of building could be seen as form of rationalization. Instead of digging hundreds of single postholes it was enough to have one groove along each side of the house. The groove-houses at Brogård are erected in a way which differs from most of the long-houses in other parts of Sweden in that there are distinct impressions of each single post in the grooves. In the rest of Sweden there are other forms of groove-houses, but in these cases the grooves are to be found outside the actual walls and give the impression that they served as ditches for drainage, as can be seen at Gene in Ångermanland (Ramqvist 1993) and Skrea in Halland (Wranning 1998); they could also be an effect of dripping from the eaves.

Once again we find the nearest parallels at Hodde and Flögeln (Zimmermann 1992). At these locations several long-houses contain grooves where the posts for the walls were set. Just as at Brogård, one also gets the impression that each post was finally adjusted in the groove by removing a small amount of sand to achieve an exact adjustment for the posts. Another feature common to these four villages is the coexistence of both groove-houses and traditional long-houses where the posts were set in separate postholes. The different building methods are not connected with particular types of house, although the grooves are more common among the long-houses (Fig. 4).

Sacrificial deposition in houses

If we study the ritual deposits in Iron Age houses, we see a difference between the village of Brogård and other Iron Age settlements in Sweden. In a research project, not yet published, the results shows that Halland and in particular Brogård are over-represented in terms of ritual deposits inside the houses. The deposits consisted of pottery, unbroken vessels as well as small numbers of sherds, the majority of which were found in the postholes belonging to the roof-supporting structure (Carlie in prep.). At Brogård seven farms had secured the future for the house in this way.

The ritual deposits are mainly to be found among the long-houses, but some of the smaller houses are represented. In a couple of long-houses there are twice the number of deposits, and in these cases the ritual was carried out in the opposite part of the building. The proce-

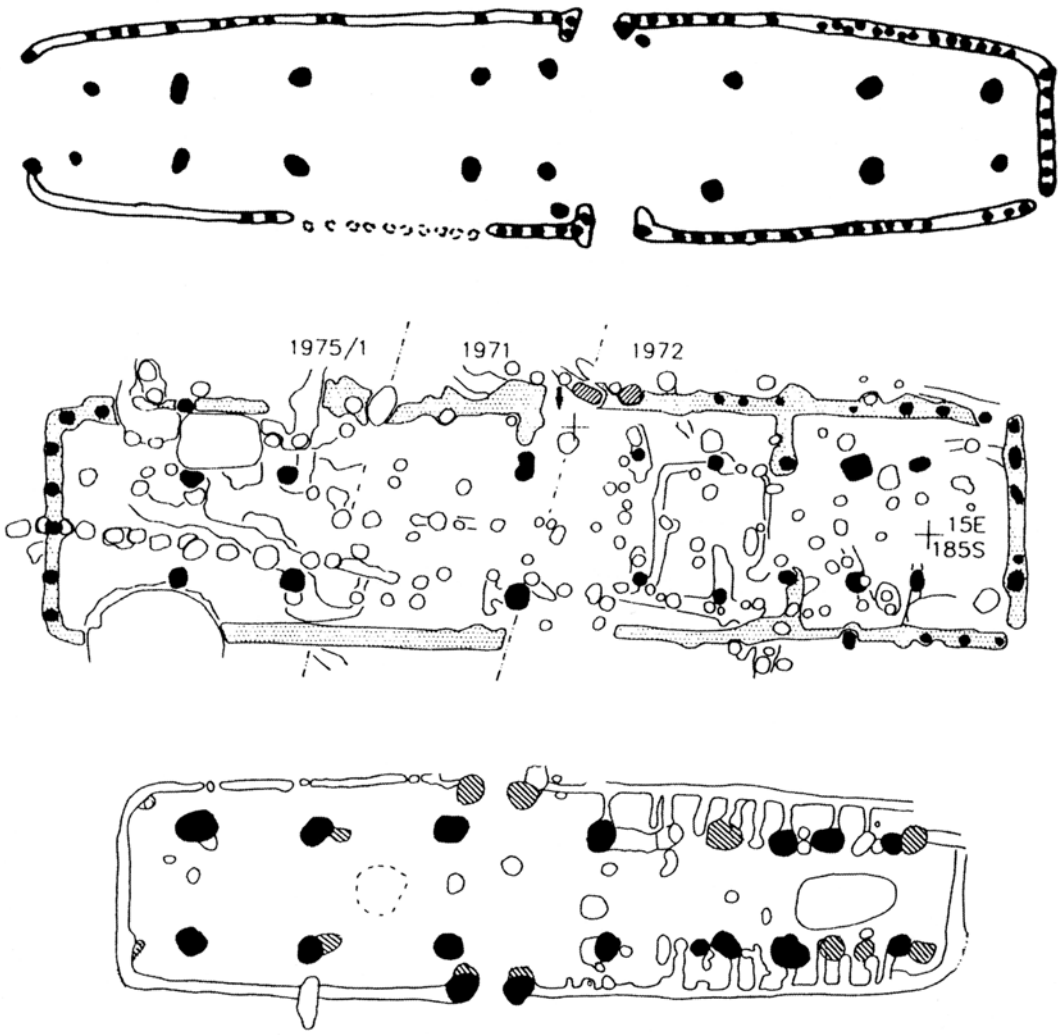

Fig. 4. Different long-houses with wall grooves. Top: Brogård, house XXII. Middle: Flögeln, house 25. Bottom: Hodde, structure I. Scale 1:200.

dure gives the impression of a desire to secure the entire building against evil spirits (Carlie 1992). By looking at the pottery we can see that most of the deposits were made during the second phase of the settlement.

To compare the ritual deposit at Brogård with other location in northern Europe the most equally good site are once again Hodde. Above all there is a similarity in the time of introduction of the rituals which took place in the second phase at both villages.

Social organization at Brogård

If we combine the structure of the settlement, the type of houses and the ritual depositions, Brogård emerge, as a unique phenomenon in Swedish archaeology. To be related to the primary settling, it seems that the model or inspiration is to found outside present-day Sweden. Comparison with other Iron Age villages in Northern Europe indicates that the influences originate from northern Germany

or Jutland. As the course of settlement in many ways resemble what happened in Feddersen Wierde, Flögeln and Hodde, there is a possibility that the people who initiated the consolidation of farms at Brogård had some kind of interregional contacts. These contacts may have been based on trade, but could also be due to more private relations with the inhabitants of villages in Germany and Jutland.

Perhaps the most interesting fact is that, beyond the foundation of the village at Brogård, we can perceive a person or family who had the capability and power which made it possible to unite and gather several families to work for a common goal.

This person and his successors built their farm in the south-eastern part of the village. Since it was built, the farms was located at the same place during the 400 years Brogård existed. During this space of time the long-house were rebuilt on two occasions, but always on the same spot. If one compares this farm with other units at Brogård it is possible to distinguish two substantial differences. Firstly, and at the same time most obviously, the long-houses were much longer at Brogård. The average length of the long-houses belonging to the magnate was about 40 metres, which is more than 10 metres longer than the houses on the other farms. A second difference concerns the way these extra ten metres were used. It is clear that the dwelling part of the magnate's long-house is the same size as in other long-houses. On the other hand, the opposite part of the house was much longer at the magnate's farm, which means the storerooms. In one way or another the family acquired wealth by providing the farm with a considerable surplus of products which resulted better economic conditions than the rest of the inhabitants in the village (Fig. 5).

During the Migration Period a drastic change occurred in the structure of the village, with the result that the well-organized settlement from earlier stages was completely broken down. All the farms around the open square and those which were located on the periphery ceased to exist. What was left at this point was only one farm, erected some 50 metres east of the magnate's farm. The design of the new farm resembles in size of that of the magnate's farm, with a long-house about 45 metres in length. Belonging to the farm was a 20-metre-long storehouse and a pit-house.

The structural changes at Brogård had the consequence that at least five families, voluntarily or involuntarily, abandoned their farms and moved somewhere else. What caused this revolutionary change is not obvious from the finds. But if one looks at the development of the settlement at Brogård, it is possible that the presence of too many farms within a limited area could be the principal reason for the division of the settlement. The poor soil and over-intensive exploitation of the land could have reduced the capacity, forcing the people to move.

Käringsjön

The small sacrificial bog at Käringsjön is situated five kilometres to the north of Brogård. From the second centaury AD people performed important ritual acts along the shore of this roughly 100-metre-wide waterhole. Unlike most sacrificial locations in Sweden, the finds in Käringsjön allude mainly to chores connected with everyday life. Consequently, the finds consist of pottery and also several wooden tools such as rakes and storage boxes and large bunches of flax.

The location was used by a large number of people. For a couple of centuries the people

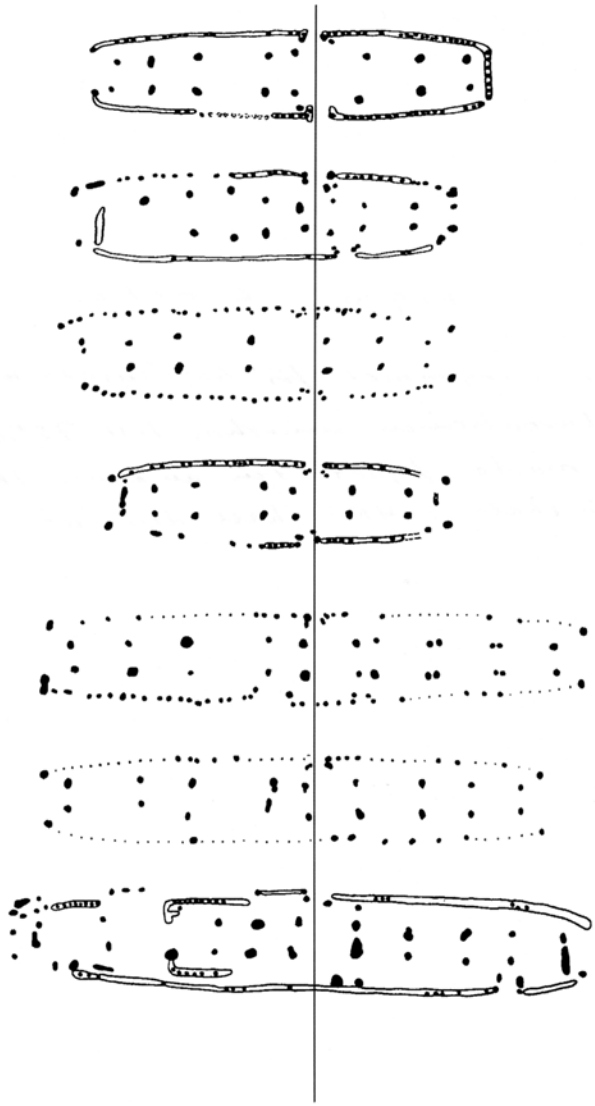

Fig 5. The division of the long-houses at Brogård differs depending on the importance of the farm. The dwelling area is the same in most long-houses. The most obvious differences are to be found in the storage section, where the area is much larger on the magnate's farm. The four houses at the top originate from ordinary farms while the three houses at the bottom represent different stages of the magnate's farm. Scale 1:500.

returned on specific occasions in order to perform major acts of ritual. The act itself was the same during the two hundred years. At the same time, it is possible to discern a successive displacement as regards where the rituals were carried out. In the early phase, the first century AD, the acts took place along the eastern edge of the bog, while they moved to the opposite edge a century later (Carlie 1998:35).

Some time during the 3rd century AD an abrupt change occurred when the site was totally abandoned. The interpretation of the finds indicates that the process was very rapid and should not be seen as a protracted event.

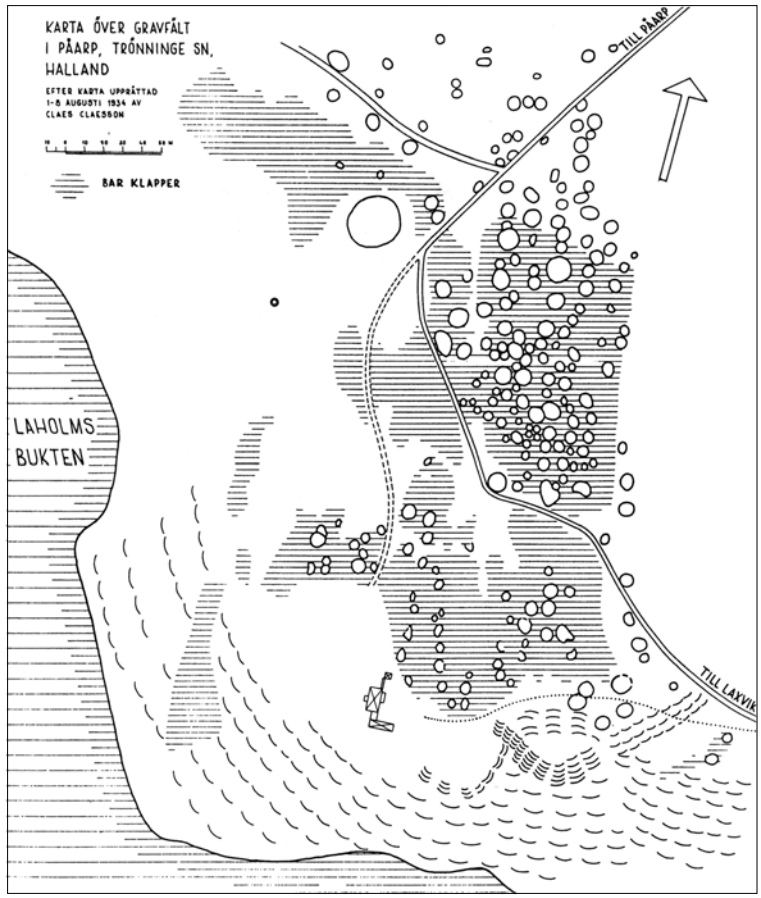

Fig. 6. The distribution of the stone settings at the Påarp cemetery.

Anne Carlie states two conceivable reasons, the first one being an effect of a change in belief, the second alternative being that new families or kins could have taken charge of the acts and move them to another place. Both alternatives imply dynamic, determined people who, in one way or another, were able to guide a large number of people.

The cemetery at Påarp

Our knowledge of mortuary practice during the Early Iron Age tells us that it mostly consisted of small cemeteries connected to a single farm. At the same time, we find solitary cremation graves, showing that some individuals were buried alone without any contact to their kinsfolk.

The opposite situation is to be found at Påarp, some nine kilometres south of Brogård. Situated on a western slope of a small mountain ridge and close to the seashore, we find the largest cemetery from the Early Iron Age in Halland, consisting of about 230 round stone settings (Fig. 6). The cemetery is located on a field of rubble stones where the people used the rubble stones as building material for the graves. The few archaeological excavations that have been carried out at Påarp have yielded finds from the Roman Iron Age. The pottery and the shape of the vessels indicate that the first stone settings was erected during

the first century AD. The cemetery was abandoned in the Late Roman Iron Age or at the beginning of the Migration Period (Lundborg 1966:6 p.).

The choice of this specific location is some what difficult to interpret, as there are no contemporary settlements. The oldest settlement from the Iron Age in this area could be dated to the Migration Period (Carlie 1999). Perhaps the most obvious suggestion should be based upon the coastline in southern Halland and its character. Thanks to the shallow, sandy beaches there are few natural anchorages where boats can berth. The few places are to be found near the outlets of rivers and streams and in well-protected inlets. If we look at Påarp, we see that the location is a sheltered area where the cliff reaches out into the sea and forms a protecting reef behind which it was possible to anchor. In other words, Påarp could have been an important anchorage during the Roman Iron Age.

Still the question remains why there are so many graves here. The number is of a proportion which cannot be connected with a single farm; on the contrary, it should be seen as collective manifestation including a great number of people. Perhaps we should see the cemetery as a common attribute for an entire district. To continue this discussion would require further archaeological excavations. However, at Påarp we can make the same observations as at Brogård and Käringsjön, namely, that the locations suddenly came into use and after a few hundred years of intensive exploitation they were abandoned and forgotten.

At Påarp it likewise required a dynamic person to guide the people in a certain direction. If we take into consideration the probability that the cemetery represents the whole district, the leading person most have had far-reaching authority.

The invisible hierarchy

Power and wealth are often associated with finds of precious metal or other unique imported objects, an interpretation which is justified. What I have tried to show with the Halland examples, however, is that there are other phenomena which indicate social stratification in the community. At Brogård, Käringsjön and Påarp we have indications of activities involving a large number of people over a long period. Even if the activities were different at the three locations, the common factor was the need for a well-established organization in order to initiate, keep together and guide the people involved.

At Brogård this form of hierarchy was visible in the farm of the magnate, whose buildings were much bigger than those on the other farms. The differences were most obvious in the size of the storehouses, where it was possible to accumulate a considerable surplus of various products. On the other hand, there were no direct traces among the finds to indicate a stratified society. The same conditions are to be seen at Käringsjön and Påarp where it is the initiation and organization that indicate the presence of dynamic persons who had the power and strength to gather and guide a larger group of people in a specific direction.

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The Centrality of the Landscape

Elite Milieus in Eastern Blekinge during the Viking Age and Early Middle Ages

Anna Lihammer

Abstract

This is a study of eastern Blekinge in the Viking Age and the Early Middle Ages. The traditional picture of the region in this era is the constant domination of the area by one, and only one, central place. The central functions may move to a different location, which has been linked to hypotheses regarding nationality.

By applying the method of landscape archaeology to the available material, this study has changed this picture. The study shows that much more regard must be paid to the special landscape of the area. This landscape cannot have been dominated by one central place. On the contrary, the study shows several small, but important, central places in both the Viking Age and the Middle Ages. The study stresses communications as the most important factor behind power and the localization of elites in eastern Blekinge in the Viking Age and Early Middle Ages. Communications are the only thing that can rightly be termed central in a landscape such as eastern Blekinge in the time concerned.

The province of Blekinge is sadly forgotten in the archaeological and historical research concerning the Late Iron Age and Early Middle Ages in southern Scandinavia. The scarcely known archaeological material is one reason for this. More important, though, is that Blekinge has been a border province in both the kingdom of Denmark and the kingdom of Sweden. Most archaeological research in southern Scandinavia concerning this period focuses on phenomena such as power, centrality and the making of states, and Blekinge therefore remains unseen.

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The present picture of eastern Blekinge in the Late Iron Age and Early Middle Ages

Apart from a few studies of settlement development (most importantly Björkquist & Persson 1979) and some minor works on different topics (e.g., Borna 1984; Eckerbom 1992), it is above all the political history of this region that has interested researchers. A small number of scholarly works have constructed a picture of the history and development of this area in the period in question (above all Atterman 1967; Ödman 1983; Stenholm 1986).

The present picture of eastern Blekinge during the Late Iron Age and Early Middle Ages may be summarized as follows:

1 During the mid Iron Age, there was a powerful elite in the area, which is considered indicated by a small number of exclusive finds. This hypothetical elite was based in

Augerum and their power extended over vast areas. Anders Ödman thinks that the power in question was based on control of transports of iron along "Lyckåleden", a road that followed the River Lyckebyån from the iron-producing areas in the inland of Småland to the harbours of Blekinge (Ödman 1983; Stenholm 1986).

2 Blekinge belonged to the Svear during the Viking Age. In Blekinge, the Svear ruled from their base – the important market place of Hammarby in the innermost part of Hallarumsviken (a bay in the far east of the region) (Atterman 1967; Stenholm 1986).

3 Around the year 1050, there was a change of regime in eastern Blekinge. The Danes took over, and the Svear lost the area. It was not to be regained until the 17th century. Hereby Blekinge became a part of Denmark and the change was codified in a document generally known as *Gränsläggningstraktaten* (the demarcation tractate), which is included in *Äldre Västgötalagen* (the elder law of Västergötland) (Stenholm 1986).

4 For a short period, the Danes governed the area from Köpinge, a place which is thought to have been located in the vicinity of the mouth of the River Lyckebyån (Ödman 1983; Stenholm 1986).

5 In the Early Middle Ages, the Danish king governed eastern Blekinge from royal bases in the landscape known as *kungalev*. The *kungalev*s of this area are dated from the known state of affairs in the rest of contemporary Denmark, where they are thought to have been established in the 11th century. The *kungalev*s of eastern Blekinge, as well as the hundreds, are assumed to be the remains of an older partition in *skipæn* (Stenholm 1986).

6 The *kungalev*s of Blekinge are assumed to lose their importance in the 13th century, while the towns in Blekinge are thought to gain importance during the same period (Stenholm 1986).

To generalize, this is the current picture of the history of Blekinge in the Late Iron Age and the Early Middle Ages. The present study, focused on the Viking Age and the Early Middle Ages, will show that the foundation of these theories is far from sufficient. If treated differently, the material available opens for considerable changes.

The road to a new picture of eastern Blekinge in the Viking Age and the Early Middle Ages

The quest for centrality and central places has been a distinguished feature in earlier research concerning eastern Blekinge in the Viking Age and the Middle Ages. The archaeological material from eastern Blekinge has been interpreted in terms of movement of centres, a kind of game which means that there can be only one important place in the landscape at the same time. These important places are thought to have ruled the region. The central places are subsequently linked to interpretations of nationality. A new central place or important place in the province is linked to the appearance of a new ruling nationality (Stenholm 1986).

This line of thinking can no longer be upheld. The present study will, instead, demonstrate that eastern Blekinge in this period was a province with a large number of smaller, but important, places – a province without real central places, but with several places more properly denoted by the concept of *focal places* (Aston 1989).

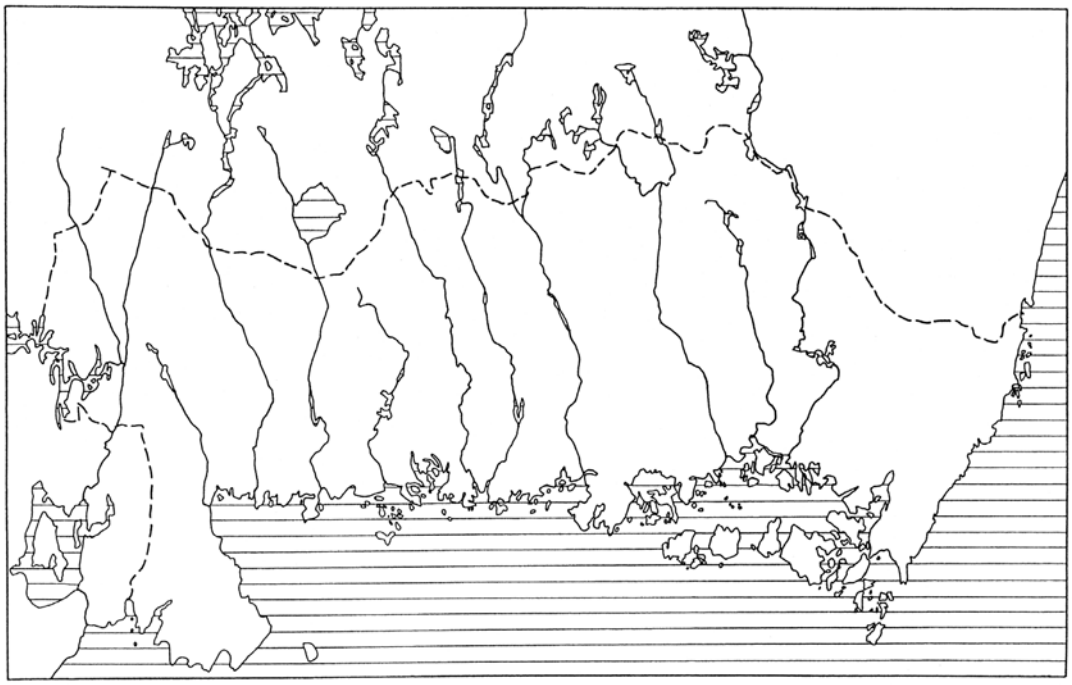

Fig. 1. Key map of Blekinge. The borders on the map are the borders of the province today. Drawn by Anna Lihammer.

Eastern Blekinge in this period must be regarded as an area without real nodes of power or commerce. It was, for example, not until several hundred years later than the period discussed that the urbanization in the area ceased to be weak and instable.

The reasons for this lies in the nature of the province and the physical geography. In eastern Blekinge, the agricultural landscape is constantly divided by woodlands unfit for agricultural use. Most people lived in this disrupted landscape and this was the economic backbone of the region. Here, we can see the medieval churches and the larger villages. The original parishes in the area, therefore, should be regarded as a series of small districts divided by wooded, outlying lands. These small districts were united by the old main road through Blekinge. Where the different small districts met the sea and the archipelago, there were a large number of small peasant harbours (*lastor*) in the 16th century. It was from here, rather than from the towns, that much of the trade in the region took place. This must also have been the case in earlier periods.

The extensive archipelago in eastern Blekinge gave opportunities for fishing and pasture in the summer (Eckerbom 1992), but above all it meant certain conditions for social life in eastern Blekinge, especially concerning factors such as power, control and politics. The economic potential of the archipelago is scarce. Most islands are unfit for agriculture and the villages have always been very small.

Instead, the Viking Age and medieval archipelago should be seen as a web of navigable routes, a web by which it is possible to protect – or control – the mainland countryside. That someone made use of these possibilities is demonstrated by the frequent maritime barriers in the archipelago. These were constructed and used for control of the

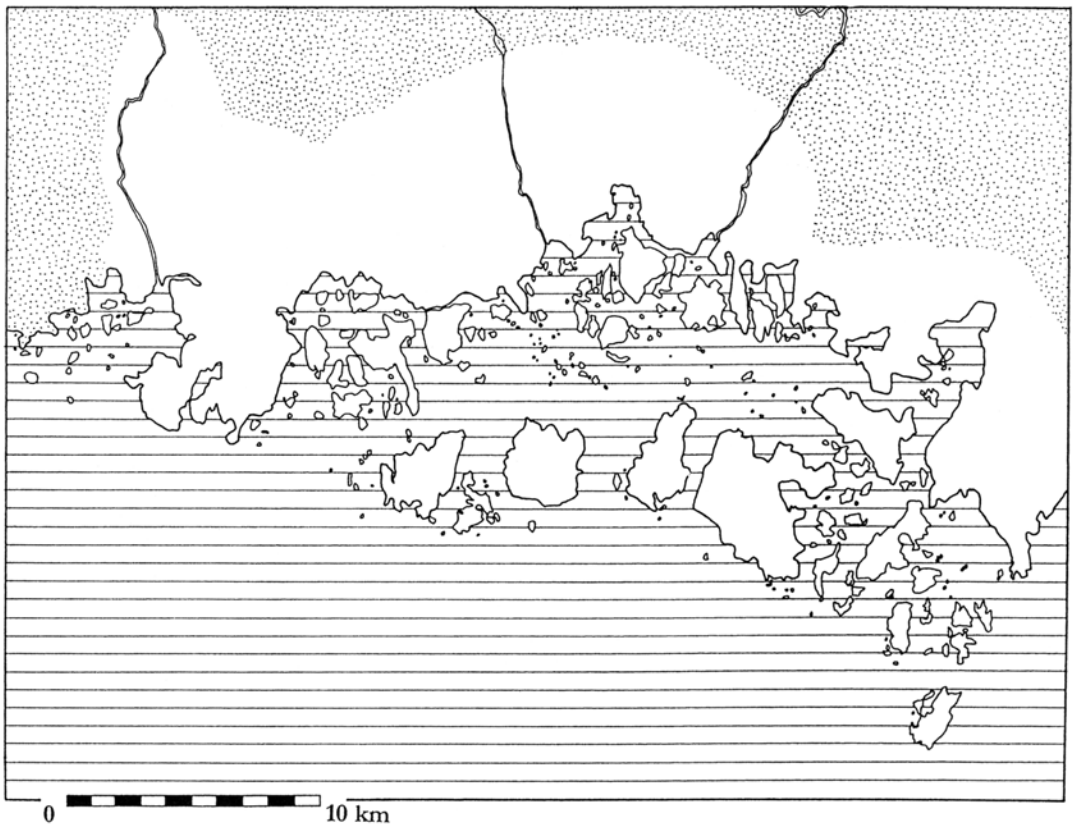

Fig. 2. Key map of eastern Blekinge. The dotted areas were unsettled woodland through much of the Middle Ages. There are no early villages or churches here. The white area, therefore, is the maximum medieval countryside of eastern Blekinge. Drawn by Anna Lihammer.

routes through the archipelago in the Viking Age and Early Middle Ages. The archipelago offered possibilities for both defence and control. The landscape in the area thus had a great potential for those who understood how to use it.

Eastern Blekinge, was not, then, *one* landscape, over which a presumptive conqueror had to win control. On the contrary, the divided landscape created a region with many small units of landscape linked by routes of communication. After Christianization, these small units became one, or sometimes two, parishes. Thus, most important in the life of the region, was the old main road and the naval routes through the archipelago. The importance of these links of communication cannot be overestimated. Further, if these links were controlled, the people of eastern Blekinge also were.

A Birka in eastern Blekinge? The question of the supraregional importance of Hallarumsviken

The material from Viking Age eastern Blekinge has a number of concentrations in different small areas and it is possible to discern local elites in several places. Even so, the theories concerning the bay of Hallarumsviken has almost totally dominated research into the area in the period in question. The innermost part of Hallarumsviken has been inter-

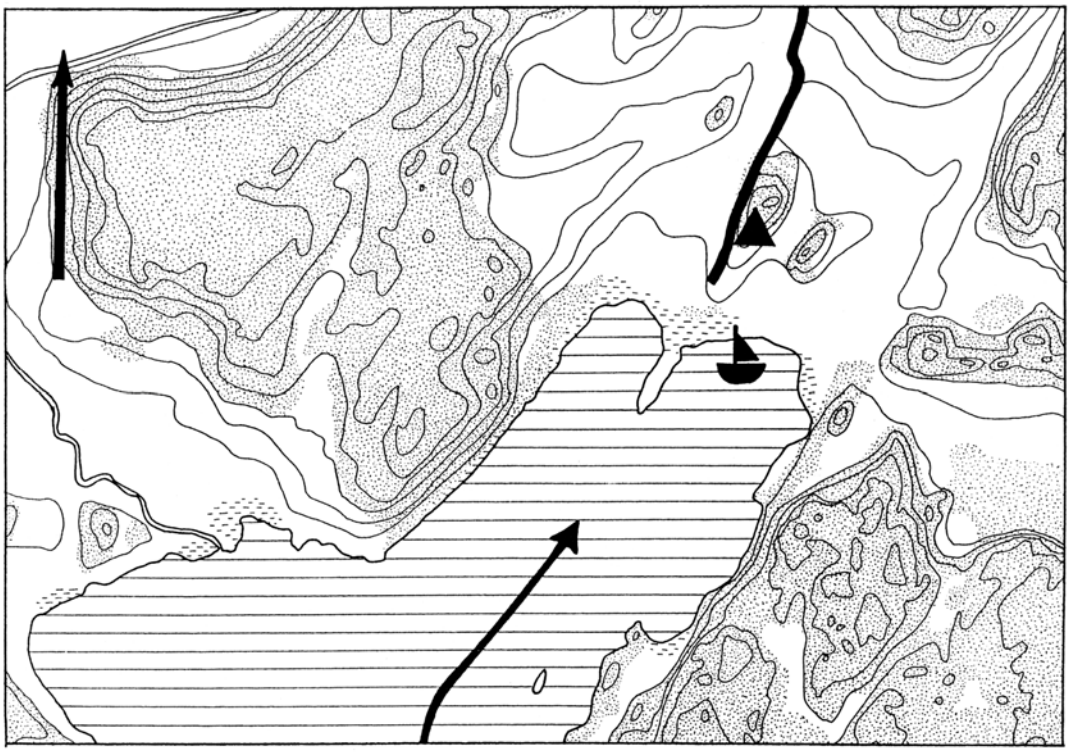

Fig. 3. The innermost of Hallarumsviken. The agricultural area is surrounded by undulating woodlands. The triangle shows the grave-fields of Store Backe and the boat the assumed older harbour of Hammarbyvik. The remains of (undated) harbour structures can still be discerned in the terrain. The map also shows an older road, which runs past the grave-field down to the water and the naval route to the innermost of the bay (arrow). West of the presumed harbour is the earlier islet, now the peninsula of Heaby. Drawn by Anna Lihammer after personal fieldwalking and Atterman 1967.

preted as a central place of vast importance from which the Svear ruled eastern Blekinge (Fig. 3).

The theories concerning Hallarumsviken are based on a number of factors, some of them quite questionable.

One theory, put forward by Sture Bolin in the 1930s, claimed that the original Blekinge had been a *småland* ("small country") of its own, later divided into the three hundreds of *Östra härad*, *Medelsta härad* and *Västra härad* in the east, middle and west (Bolin 1933:78). This was further developed by Bertil Ohlsson (1939), who saw the name of Blekinge as originally only referring to the area surrounding Hallarumsviken.

In written sources from the 17th century, a number of places are mentioned as the most important harbours in eastern Blekinge. Among these are *Hammarby vik* in the innermost part of Hallarumsviken. The name Hammarby is known in written sources from 1315. Hammarby has been seen as the southernmost example of a type of name common in central Sweden. The theories concerning Hallarumsviken, therefore, have connected the bay with the famous Svear and their assumed supremacy over the area (Ohlsson 1939; Atterman 1967; Stenholm 1986).

In the innermost part of the bay there is a small islet, today a peninsula. Maps from the 1680s and 1690s call it *Hejabyholm* and the

survey map of the 1910s calls the same islet *Hedabyholmen* or *Heaby, en holme* (Heaby, an islet). These names are yet another argument for a central place of great importance and have been interpreted as inspired by the Danish trading centre Hedeby and as proof that Hallarumsviken was an important part of the naval route between Hedeby and Birka (Ohlsson 1939; Atterman 1967; Stenholm 1986). The next argument has been delivered by the archaeological material. On the innermost shore of the bay lies the grave-field of Store Backe (Late Iron Age and Viking Age). The finds from the grave-field include two pendants for a bridle and a round brooch with animal ornaments. The pendants belong to a group with an eastern distribution and are also found at Birka (Arbman 1940). Parts belonging to a set of beam scales have also been found here. The pendants have been taken as evidence of strong connections with present-day central Sweden and the Svear, while the scales have been taken as proof of an important trading place nearby (Atterman 1967; Stenholm 1986).

The extensive system of maritime barriers in the archipelago of eastern Blekinge is the last argument. In the research concerning Hallarumsviken these barriers are viewed as a defence for the central place in the innermost part of the bay only. In the bay there are also an undated hillfort and place-names indicating defence (Atterman 1967).

Earlier research concerning eastern Blekinge, thus, assumed a central place dominated by trade in the vicinity of the grave-field of Store Backe in the innermost of Hallarumsviken, a central place ruled by the Svear. This assumed central place has not been located archaeologically.

The theories concerning Hallarumsviken have dominated research on eastern Blekinge, but they seem questionable when viewed together with the Viking Age material from the whole area. In contrast, the area in the innermost part of Hallarumsviken is far from alone in being indicated in the Viking Age material, rather the opposite. The material seems to have several concentrations, such as northern Sturkö, the area around the mouth of the Lyckebyån, the area around the mouth of the Ronnebyån and the area around the villages of Listerby and Förkärla (Fig. 4).

By applying the method of landscape archaeology, I intend to demonstrate some alternatives to the idea of the domination of Hallarumsviken.

A powerful man in Augerum

Augerum is famous through a boat-grave (mid Iron Age) investigated in the late 19th century. Some of the finds in the grave are closely connected to the rich boat-graves in Vendel (Sweden) and Sutton Hoo (Britain) (Arrhenius 1960). The investigation of the grave also revealed the remains of two Viking Age houses. Among the finds connected with these were pottery, a spindle whorl, a weight and a spur. The spur (SHM 10037) is very interesting, belonging to a group of spurs manufactured in England, or possibly in Denmark under strong English influence. Peter Paulsen (1937) has connected this type with a special form of riding gear used by warriors taking part in Sweyn Forkbeard's and Canute the Great's expeditions to England in the 990s and later. Anne Pedersen (1999) has also shown the connections between riding gear and the contacts between England and Denmark in the end of the 10th century. This kind of riding gear is mostly found in Jutland, the Danish islands, western and southern Scania and Bornholm. It is very rare outside these areas.

It is therefore likely that in Viking Age

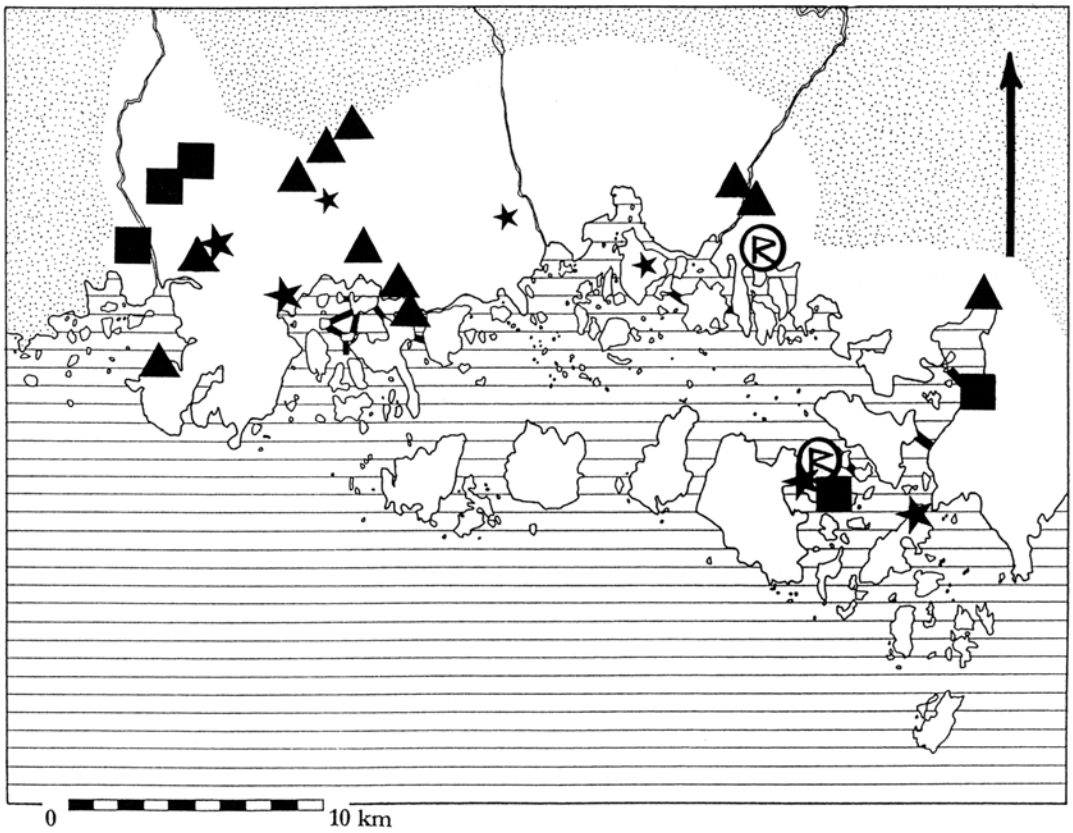

Fig. 4. Selected manifestations in the Viking Age material of eastern Blekinge. As shown by the map, Hallarumsviken does not catch the eye. The grave-fields are shown by triangles, hoards by stars and runestones by R-signs. Hillforts (undated) are shown by squares. In the sea, the maritime barriers are shown. Drawn by Anna Lihammer after the survey of prehistoric remains and Hårdh 1976; Borna 1984; Stenholm 1986; Svanberg 1994, 1995.

Augerum there existed a person with some kind of connection to the Danish Christian kings in the late Viking Age, a person who might have been able to organize Viking raids and who at some point probably was involved in the Danish king's army. This does not necessarily mean that the area around Augerum belonged to the Danes at this point in time. Scandinavian Viking Age armies did not last very long. What it does show is that there might have been an individual in Viking Age Augerum who was capable of taking part in Viking expeditions. This participation also meant coming into contact with Christianity, general conditions in the west and the new Scandinavian Christian royal power.

The landscape around Augerum is a rich agricultural area (Fig. 5). Like other rich agricultural areas in eastern Blekinge it is surrounded by rocky, unsettled woodlands. The country around Augerum can be characterized as a communication junction. Here, a road leading north meets the old main road through Blekinge. It is also the area where the old main road crosses the Lyckebyån, a considerable obstacle to communication in the landscape. At the mouth of this river there were very good conditions for a harbour. Also in the vicinity was the strategically important archipelago.

It is therefore possible to generally charac-

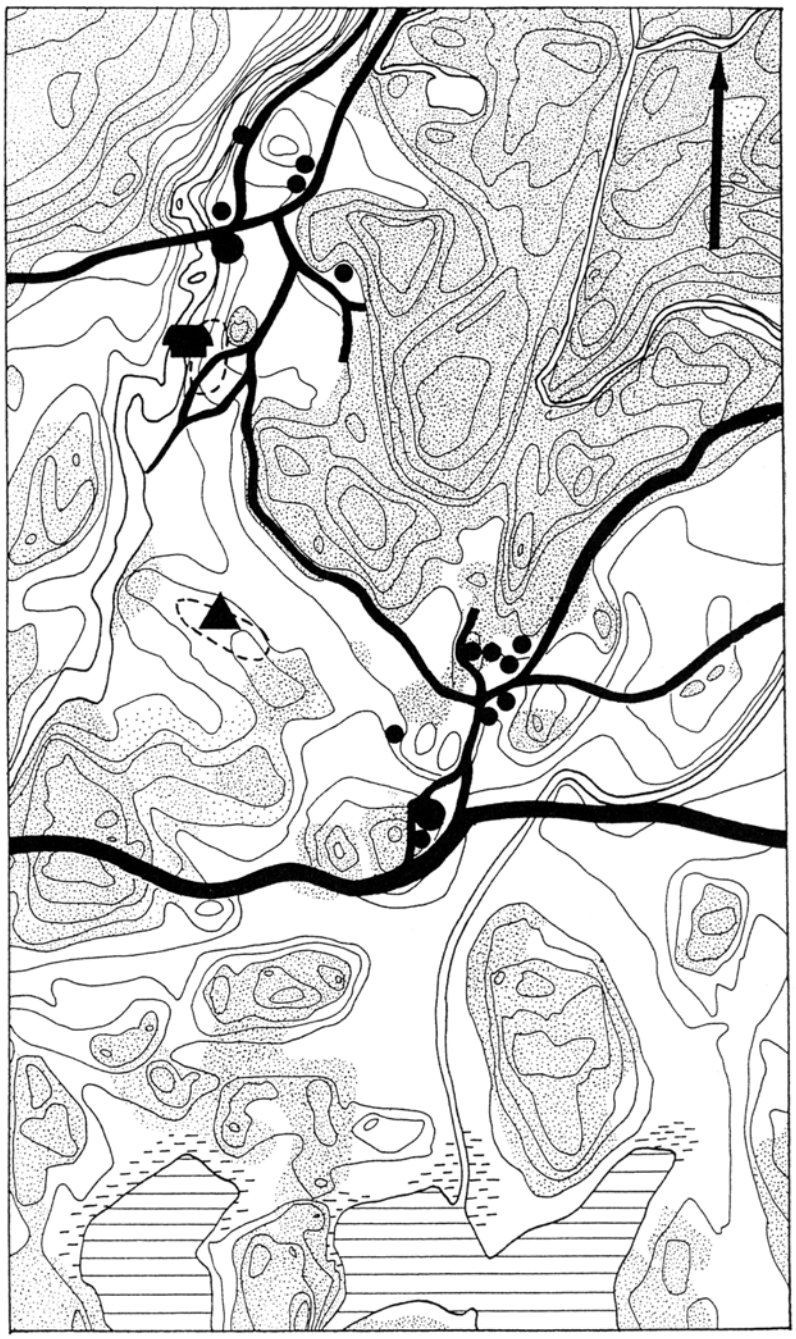

Fig. 5. The area around Augerum and Lösen. Data (roads and farms) from the elder survey maps and archaeological sites have been plotted on a modern topographic map. The triangles show Viking Age grave-fields. The houses show the likely site of the two houses from the Viking Age. The larger dots show the medieval churches and the smaller one the farms according to the older survey maps. The dotted areas are unsettled woodland. The map shows the area's character of a communication junction. Drawn by Anna Lihammer after LMV, Augerums socken; Akt 1; LMV, Lösens socken; Akt 14; LMV, Lösens socken; Akt 59; RAÄ fornminnesinventeringen; Arrhenius 1960.

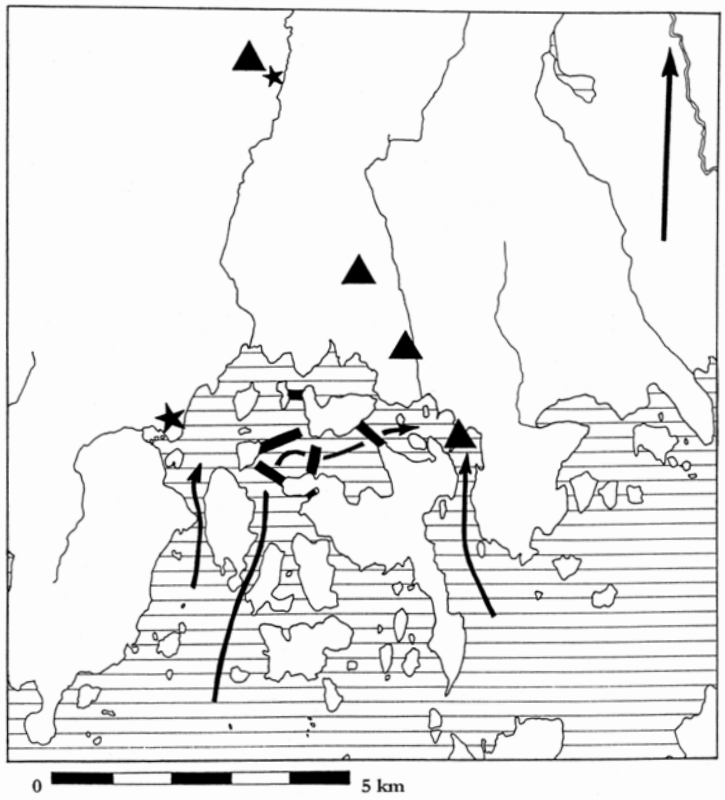

Fig. 6. The Viking Age sites in the area around Listerby and Förkärla. Triangles mark the grave-fields of the Viking Age, stars mark hoards, and the maritime barriers are shown in the sea. The map also shows the most important naval routes in the area. Drawn by Anna Lihammer after RAÄ fornminnesinventeringen; Hårdh 1976; Svanberg 1994, 1995.

terize the area as a communication junction. The potential of the area is also demonstrated through the later *kungalev* in Lösen and the medieval town of Lyckå.

The wealthy countryside around Listerby, Förkärla and Hjortsberga

During the Middle Age churches were built in the villages of Listerby, Förkärla and Hjortsberga. In the countryside surrounding these villages one finds the largest number of known grave-fields from the Late Iron Age in all of Blekinge (Fig. 6). These are consciously placed in the landscape, overlooking the agricultural countryside and the land communications.

The number of archaeological excavations in the area is very small, but the grave-fields have nevertheless generated a small number of finds. At the grave-field of Hjortahammar a rare oval brooch from the 10th century has been found. The oval brooch is decorated with Jelling-style ornamentation and known equivalents have been found in only a few places in Scandinavia, at Jelling, in northern Bohuslän, in Norway and in Iceland. The pattern of the distribution is clearly western (Capelle 1968:Karte 2). At the grave-field at Hjortsberga church a rectangular brooch from

the 9th century has been found. This is a rare type previously only known in western Norway and Lapland. Among the finds are also a fragment of a equal-armed brooch of a type also found at Birka and dated to the 9th century (Hansson 1987:24 p.; Svanberg 1994:17). At Klockaregården nearby, a Late Viking Age stirrup has been found, possibly originally from the grave-field (BLM 2991). At Bökenäs two gilded oval brooches (latter half of the 10th century) have been found (Hansson 1987:28). At the investigated grave-field of Kasakulle several pieces of jewellery have been found (Nagmér 1982:7; Hansson 1987:25; Svanberg 1994:17).

From the countryside around Listerby and Förkärla come the most extensive treasure finds in Blekinge. The Listerby hoard (*tpq* 955) includes a large number of Arabic coins, three armlets, a round brooch and a neck-ring. The rich Edestad hoard (*tpq* 1060) includes about 1,420 coins (mostly German and English) and among other finds three armlets. The hoard also includes traces of metal-working. The late Hjortsberga hoard (*tpq* 1120) includes more than 4,000 coins (mostly German and English) and 106 pieces of broken jewellery and silver. Among the contents of the treasure are a round brooch, 10 neck-rings (some fragmentary), 19 armlets (some fragmentary), three mounts, one crucifix and two crosses, one animal figure, two cruciform pendants and 5 chains of coins. Several of the armlets seem to have been manufactured in Gotland. Also contacts with areas to the east and the south of the Baltic Sea are indicated in the jewellery. The material show signs that the treasure might have been deposed in stages (information from Birgitta Hårdh; Hårdh 1976, 1977).

There are problems of representativeness concerning the archaeological material from the area around Listerby and Förkärla. These problems are due to a very limited number of archaeological investigations and surveys. Even though these problems exist, the material reveals the outline of a rich agricultural area in the Viking Age. In this area, there were a number of individuals who had the potential to amass personal wealth. It is these that are reflected in the finds from grave-fields and hoards. The people in the area also had opportunities to uphold contacts with several different areas. The suitable harbour at Hjortahammar must have been very important, and also the good conditions for agriculture in the area. The importance and possible wealth of the area are underlined by the maritime barriers in the sea nearby.

Gude's skipper – a manor in the archipelago

Sturkö is one of the larger islands in the archipelago of eastern Blekinge. Finds and monuments from the island stand out in the archaeological material in several ways. A closer look shows that the exclusive archaeological material can be related to only a smaller part of the island, the peninsula of Skällenäs in north-eastern Sturkö (Fig. 7).

From Sturkö comes the considerable Sturkö hoard (*tpq* 1000), amongst other things including 300 coins (mostly German and English) and a pair of Tempelhof earrings. Such earrings are rare in Scandinavia and have only been found in small numbers in Bornholm, Zealand and Gotland. The largest numbers are known from Slavonic areas, above all in the southern half of present-day Poland. In Scandinavia, it is unusual that these kind of earrings are so well-preserved as the ones found in Sturkö. The Sturkö hoard also

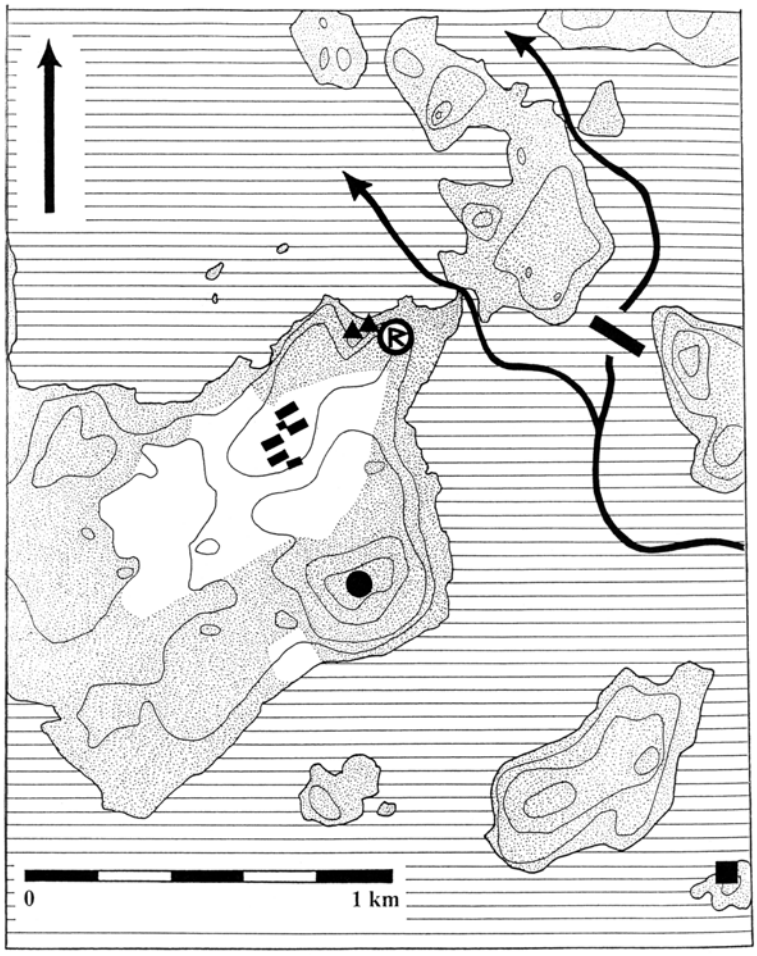

Fig. 7. The peninsula of Skällenäs on north-eastern Sturkö. Data on land use (infields and farms) from the older survey maps and archaeological sites have been plotted on a modern topographic map. The white areas are the village's fields. The triangles indicates the two Viking Age graves. The runestone is marked with an R. In the sea the hillfort at Borgholm, the maritime barrier between Östra Skällön and Västra Skällön and the naval routes past Skällenäs are indicated. The dot shows a possible place for a lookout point indicated by a place-name. Drawn by Anna Lihammer after LMV, Sturkö socken, akt 11; LMV, Sturkö socken, akt 36; Atterman 1967; *Arkeologi i Sverige* 1969; Svanberg 1995.

included an armlet, a round brooch, granulated beads and some weights designed for beam scales (Hårdh 1976:22 p., 1977:37; Herrmann 1982:42 p.). The weights found in the hoard indicate that the people who deposited them were participants in a milieu where the exchange and general handling of precious metals were important. By tracing the finders of the Sturkö-hoard, the archaeologist Karl-Axel Björkquist has been able to prove that the Sturkö treasure was most probably found on Skällenäs (Björkquist 1993).

On northern Skällenäs stands a runestone, made in the Jelling style (early 11th century).

The text on the stone has been interpreted as *Gudes 'skipper' rejst (e NN.'s) sten* (in translation: Gude's skipper erected X's stone) (Jacobsen & Moltke 1942:415 p. (stone 363); Atterman 1967:27). Runestones in the Jelling style are a western phenomenon in south Scandinavia. The stone on Sturkö is the easternmost of the group. The other stones are known from Jelling, a few in the Danish islands and one, possibly two, in Scania. The title of *skipper* is also unusual (Jacobsen & Moltke 1942 sp. 329).

From Skällenäs two excavated Viking Age graves are also known. Among the finds from these graves are beads, a marline spike and four bluish-green fragments of glass, possibly from a Frankish glass beaker (*Arkeologi i Sverige* 1969:5; BLM 16924:1).

Slightly to the north of Skällenäs, between the small islands of Östra Skällön and Västra Skällön, runs a maritime barrier dated to the Viking Age and Early Middle Ages (Svanberg 1995).

In the archipelago to the south-west of Skällenäs is a hillfort on the small island of Borgholm (Svanberg 1995:20). The dating of the hillfort is unknown.

Kung Valdemars Jordebok (King Valdemar's Cadastre) names Sturkö in its List of Islands, interpreted as a catalogue of the king's islands and royal estates on these. The list also says that the king had a *hus* (house) on Sturkö (Aakjær 1926–1943:33, fol. 32v–33v).

The indications for the localization of power and elite functions on Sturkö and Skällenäs are strong. Most of the Viking Age finds are of such character that they indicate manors, and on Sturkö, Skällenäs is a very likely site for a Viking Age manor. It is on Skällenäs that we find the runestone, and if it was meant as a personal manifestation it is probable that it was erected close to home. In Skällenäs we also find the Viking Age graves and the hoard. It is also the location on the island where the conditions for supervision and control of the more important naval routes past the island are best. Viking Age interest in control of the naval routes is proven by the maritime barrier nearby.

Older survey maps (1800 and 1819) show the village as a well gathered settlement with a possible origin in only one settlement unit, a single farm. With only one exception, the infields are well assembled around the few farms of the 19th-century village of Skällenäs. The exception is called *Gudelÿcka* on the map from 1819. *Gudelÿcka* lies at the waterside on south Skällenäs, close to a possible older lookout point where there are very good conditions for landing ships (LMV, Sturkö socken; akt 11 & akt 36). The location gives very good opportunity for watch over the archipelago and is a well suited site for a harbour close to a very good lookout point.

The explanation for the prestigious milieu on Skällenäs lies in the landscape, to be precise, in the strategic and communication potential of the peninsula. Several of the most important naval routes through the archipelago of eastern Blekinge run past or close by Skällenäs. It is this potential that was the foundation for the wealth of the elite at Skällenäs. The landscape here gives no chance of founding wealth on agricultural activities. Instead, the importance of the peninsula lies in control of naval routes and the possibilities for a harbour. One proof of this is the still existing maritime barrier between Östra Skällön and Västra Skällön. The construction seems to have closed the narrow passage between the islands and thus forced ships to a more problematic route, the small strait of Steksundet between Västra Skällön and Skällenäs, a route very easy to control from Skällenäs. At this route we find the runestone, whose possible role as a manifesta-

tion then becomes understandable. The text on the runestone indicates that an important individual at this location chose to manifest his role in maritime contexts, his quality of being a *skipper*.

It is therefore likely that there was an important manor at Skällenäs in the Viking Age. The proprietors of this manor had the economic and social ability to erect a runestone, an exclusive social gesture in Viking Age society. They were also able to construct a maritime barrier in order to close the strait between Östra Skällön and Västra Skällön entirely. The barrier indicates plans for control – without supervision and continual maintenance the construction of a barrier of this kind is pointless. The wealth of the manor was enough to allow some of it to be deposited in the hoard. The different parts of the hoard indicate contacts to the east and south, while the style of the runestone is a clearly western phenomenon. The indications for an elite environment within a limited geographical area are thus very strong in the Viking Age material from Skällenäs. The Jelling style of the runestone also indicates some kind of contacts with the late Viking Age Danish kings.

Some time later, the local elite was replaced – or supplemented – with a royal *hus*, most likely located in the same place. This might have happened either by cooperation or by conflict. The maritime barrier was still in function at this date, and the possibilities for control and communication still as good as earlier. It is therefore likely that the reasons behind the localization in Skällenäs are the same, communication and control.

The contours of a Viking Age system for coastal defence

Between the mainland of eastern Blekinge and the sea lies the archipelago as a wide band of islands surrounded by a web of naval routes. This unique landscape determined the conditions for long-distance communications to and from mainland eastern Blekinge. The landscape also gave special possibilities for defence and control of communication routes. The many remains of naval defence in the archipelago – barriers, hillforts and placenames indicating defence – must be seen in connection with this. Together they give the impression of a system for defence of considerable proportions, used in the Viking Age and the Early Middle Ages (Fig. 8).

Maritime barriers have been registered at several places in the archipelago of eastern Blekinge. At present, thirteen sites are known. Of these, ten have been dated to the whole period of the late Viking Age and the Early Middle Ages (for a summary of the maritime barriers in the area, see Svanberg 1995). That the dates reaches far into the Middle Ages can be interpreted mainly in two ways. Either the structures have two phases, with a construction phase in the Viking Age and supplement in the Middle Ages, with a possible bearing on functions of defence versus control. It might well be the case that the barriers were constructed for one purpose, but later used for another. The other possibility is a single long construction phase.

The different fragments of defence give the impression of a system of defence of the mainland beyond the archipelago. There is considerable correspondence between the rest of the defence-indicating material and the most important naval routes of the area (Rollof 1977). It might, therefore, be a system for

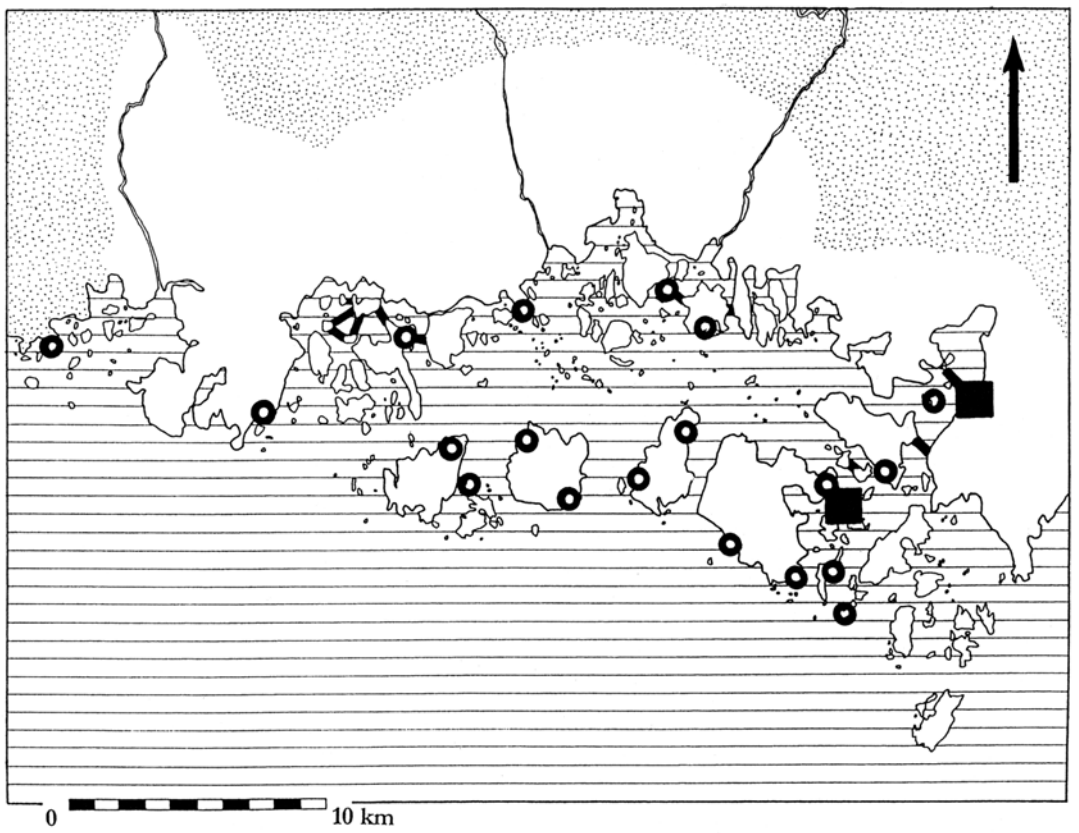

Fig. 8. The contours of a Viking Age system for naval defence. In the sea, the maritime barriers are indicated. The map also shows more uncertain remains, such as coastal hillforts (squares) and place-names indicating Viking Age defence and control (circles). Drawn by Anna Lihammer after Atterman 1967; Borna 1984; Stenholm 1986; Svanberg 1994, 1995.

defence of local or regional origin. This is underlined by the picture of the Viking Age material of the area. Both grave-fields and hoards show a strong concentration in precisely the areas that the barriers seem to have been constructed to protect. It is therefore likely that the barriers are parts of a defence for the entire mainland countryside. It is important here to remember that the system for defence in that case was constructed for a series of smaller unconnected rural districts.

This demands reconsideration of earlier hypotheses about Hallarumsviken. One of the stronger indications of the vast importance of this bay, the considerable naval defence of it, now must be regarded as a defence for all of eastern Blekinge.

The question of nationalities and borders in the mid 11th century

The question of Danish or Swedish domination of eastern Blekinge during the late Viking Age and Early Middle Ages is usually answered by one of three written sources. The sources are the story of Wulfstan's journey from the end of the 9th century, the document in the *Äldre Västgötalagen* generally called *Gränsläggningstraktaten* and *Kung Valdemars*

Jordebok (written 1231/1300). In earlier attempts to answer the question the emphasis has been on the two older sources.

The story of the journey of Wulfstan is to be found in an English translation from the end of the 9th century of Paulus Orosius' *Historiarum libri VII adversus paganos* (Seven books of history against the heathens). Wulfstan describes a journey from Hedeby to Truso, and the story has had a major impact on the view of the political situation in southern Scandinavia in the Viking Age.

"Wulfstan said that he travelled from Hedeby and that he was in Truso within seven days and nights, since the ship was running under sail all the way. Wend-land was on his starboard, and to his port was Langeland and Laaland and Falster and Skane; and all these lands belong to Denmark. And then to our port was the land of the Burgundians, and they have their own king. Then after the land of the Burgundians there were to our port those lands which are called, first: Blekinge, and Möre, and Öland and Gotland; and these lands belong to the Swedes [_as land hyra_ to Sweon]. And Wend-land lay on our starboard all the way to the mouth of the Vistula" (Swanton 1974:35 p.; Lund 1983a, 1983b:24 p.).

The story of Wulfstan has been regarded as proof that Blekinge belonged to the Svear at this point in history. It is, though, important to scrutinize this. We cannot know what differences there might be between Wulfstan's *Denemearcan* and the later kingdom of Denmark and *Sweon* and the later kingdom of Sweden. It is also hard to judge the precise meaning of the expression *hyra_ to*, or "belong to". Did the different lands belong politically or culturally? Geographically or linguistically? Wulfstan might also have meant other kinds of resemblances, irrelevant to political interpretations. Another problem is that the account most likely is a story about Scandinavia meant for an English audience. This in turn might have led to the translation of Scandinavian terms or phenomena to an English context, using terms that the English audience could identify with even if these did not recall the conditions in Scandinavia with absolute correctness and so changed the story to suit the audience. Further, we cannot know exactly how truthful Wulfstan was. Another very important consideration must concern the relative instability of the kingdoms and kings in Scandinavia at this time. What was true at the time of Wulfstan's story was not necessarily true shortly after. To summarize, the use of this account for hypotheses about political history in Scandinavia is very problematic and in any case questionable.

We turn to the second document in question, the delimitation of the Swedish borders. In the *Äldre Västgötalagen*, there is under subtitle *Detta är konungsbalken* (This is the royal code) a short description of an early delimitation of the borders of the kingdom of Sweden. The text runs:

"Emund Slema was king in Uppsala and Sweyn Forkbeard in Denmark. They placed boundary-marks and rocks between Sweden and Denmark. Then appointed were, from Sweden, Kakalde from Tiundaland, Botn from Fjädrundaland, Gåse from Västmanland, Grimalde from Östergötland, Nänne from Småland, Torsten from Västergötland. [From Denmark] Tolle from Jutland, Tote and Toke from Jutland, Gymkel from Zealand, Dan from Scania, Grimulv from Grimeton from Halland. The twelve placed six rocks between the kingdoms. The first rock at Suntruås, the second at Danabäck, the third Kinnestenen, the fourth at Vraksnäs, the fifth Vitasten, the sixth Brömsesten between Blekinge and Möre. Danaholmen is divided into three parts. One

part belongs to the Uppsala king, another to the king of the Danes and the third the king of Norway. When they met, the Danish king held the bridle for the Uppsala king, the Norwegian king his stirrup".

Slema is a nickname probably meaning lump, clod or bad. In *Konungalängden* (the roll of kings) it is used of the last king of the dynasty line of the Ynglingar, Emund Olovsson. It is with him that the king in *Äldre Västgötalagen* has been identified (Beckman 1974:104).

Much research concerning Blekinge and other provinces along the "border" has stressed the importance of this delimitation of borders. In the case of Blekinge it has been considered proof of a late Viking Age Danish dominion. The tractate has been dated by the kings mentioned, and four of the rocks are thought to have been identified. A major problem is that Emund Slema (or Olovsson) and Sweyn Forkbeard neither ruled nor existed at the same time. The explanation given for this has been erroneous copying and that the kings in the original text must have been Emund Slema and Sven Estridsen. The cause of the problem would thus have been that in the original text these were called only by their first names, Emund and Sven. This explanation dates the tractate roughly to around 1050. Peter Sawyer has shown that this explanation is wrong. It is founded upon the unproven and unlikely existence of a now vanished original text. The idea of erroneous copying also seems questionable since all known 27 copies of the tractate include the same facts (Sawyer 1991:22). Sawyer's findings mean that the tractate cannot be used as a source for conditions in the 11th century. The tractate is not likely to be older than the rest of *Äldre Västgötalagen*, which is usually given a *terminus post quem* after its youngest part, *Biskop Brynjolfs stadga* (the charter of Bishop Brynjolf) from 1281. The codification of the whole of *Äldre Västgötalagen*, therefore, cannot be older than that, even if different parts may have an earlier origin (KLNM XX, col. 338, s.v. *Västgötalagarna*). This should be placed in context with 13th-century political conditions in Sweden. In 1250 Valdemar, son of Birger Jarl, was elected king of Sweden. This meant a new dynasty in the kingdom, a dynasty which might have felt a need to make its right to the crown legitimate. The new dynasty ended civil wars which had lasted for centuries and started a strengthening of the royal power in the realm, for example, by new taxes and the building of royal castles. The compilation of *Äldre Västgötalagen* could be seen as yet another way of strengthening royal power at this time. The tractate itself is well suited for the political reality of the 13th century (Sawyer 1991; Lihammer 2000a, 2000b). The fabulation of ancient Swedish borders, borders laid down in the reign of the legendary Danish king Sweyn Forkbeard, is also understandable in this context. This is supported by the end of the passage, where the Swedish king is symbolically superior to the other Scandinavian kings.

The third source, *Kung Valdemars Jordebok*, has received less attention than the others. It has been taken as proof that the tractate's statement about Danish dominion in the middle of the 11th century was correct. It has also led to interpretations concerning early divisions of the landscape and possible origins for these. For research into early medieval Denmark in general, it has had great importance. The present picture of the political and organizational structure of the realm is largely based on information from *Kung Valdemars Jordebok*.

Consultation of the Viking Age archaeological material from the area reveals a complex picture concerning nationality and national

supremacy. The material shows contacts with many different areas. Finds from burials indicate, for instance, Birka, Hedeby, Småland, Norway, Iceland, Lapponia and Frankish areas. The runestone from Sturkö and the spur from Augerum reflects contacts with Danish kings. On the other hand, a runestone in Lösen from the decades around 1050 shows what is usually called "Swedish influence".

The contents of the hoards indicate contacts with, for example, Bornholm, Zealand, Gotland, areas to the east of the Baltic Sea and Slavonic areas.

The contacts indicated by the archaeological material from Viking Age and medieval eastern Blekinge are thus both western and eastern. Similarities between eastern Blekinge, south-east Scania and Bornholm are indicated by the existence of pre-medieval runestones. The existence of a church tower of the Herrestad group also shows connections with south-east Scania.

It can thus be concluded that the inhabitants of eastern Blekinge were capable of upholding contacts with several areas. The channels of contacts point to both the east and the west and stretched over considerable distances. The statements of earlier research, that the material clearly shows a break between Swedish rule in the Viking Age and earlier, and Danish rule after 1050, is impossible to uphold.

Considerations of elites, central places and the Viking Age of eastern Blekinge

It is impossible to maintain the picture of a Viking Age eastern Blekinge dominated by the powerful trading place in the innermost part of Hallarumsviken. The material does not justify any such interpretation. Instead, a disrupted landscape with several small, but wealthy, agricultural areas, should be pictured. These presented a foundation for several local elites in the Viking Age, but the geography of the landscape made it very difficult to realize more far-reaching ambitions of supremacy.

The study has shown some of the likely local elites in the landscape. In Augerum the material indicates the presence of people with special resources both in the middle of the Iron Age and in the Viking Age. The find of a Viking Age spur makes it possible that these took part in the armies of Sweyn Forkbeard and Canute the Great. The peninsula of Skällenäs displayed the outlines of a Viking Age manor. The inhabitants of the manor were able to have contacts with the kings at Jelling and with the east. Their wealth was founded on the possibility to control the links of communications through the archipelago. The study has also given examples of the rich archaeological material from the area around the villages of Listerby and Förkärla. Recent investigations of the barriers in the archipelago of eastern Blekinge change the view of Hallarumsviken as central. Earlier theories have seen the barriers as a defence for Hallarumsviken only. This can no longer be upheld; the barriers must be seen as parts of a defence system for all of eastern Blekinge.

In eastern Blekinge one cannot overestimate the importance of the landscape and the communications within. In this area, several smaller local elites co-existed, and it is not relevant to seek one central place of regional importance.

If something indeed has been central in this landscape, it is communications and the special forms for these that the landscape dictates. The sparsely settled countryside was linked by the old main road and the naval

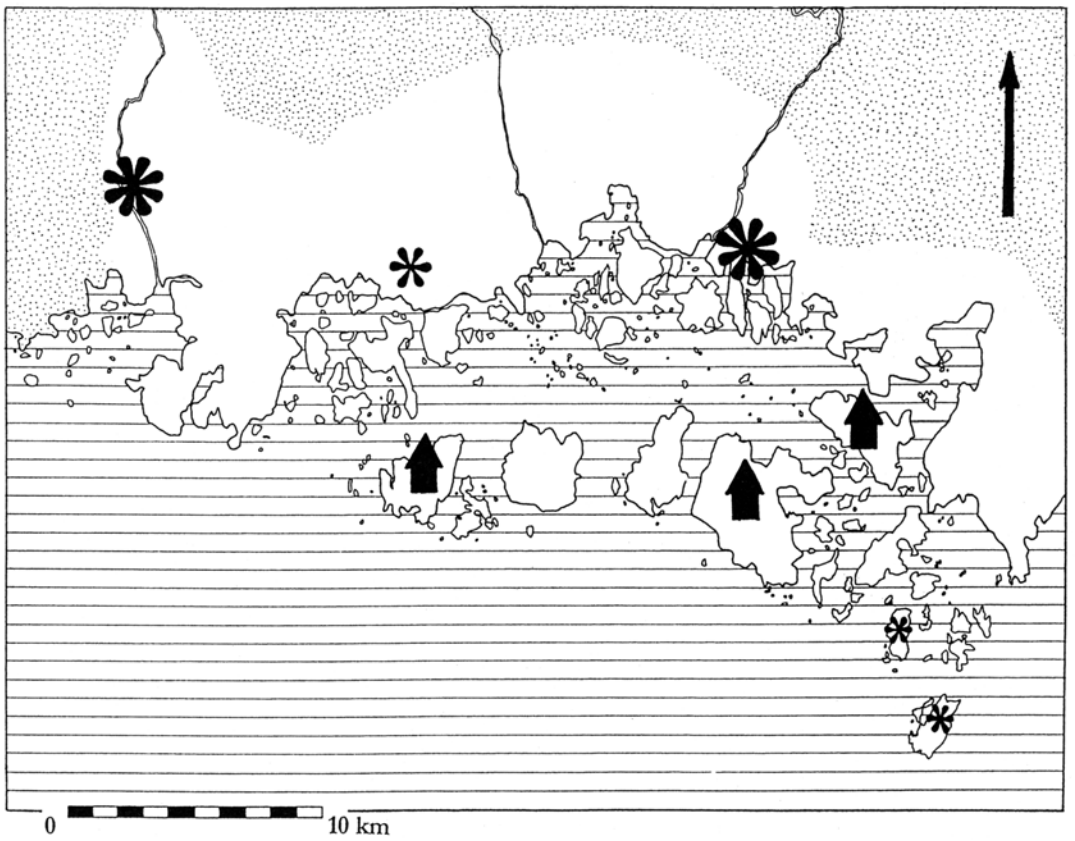

Fig. 9. Information about eastern Blekinge in *Kung Valdemars Jordebok*. The larger flowerlike symbols show the two "real" *kungalev*s of Ronneby and Lösen. The smaller one shows the more uncertain additional *kungalev* of Vambåsa. The smallest one are the islands mentioned as royal property in the list of islands. The houses indicate that the king had *hus* on these islands according to *Kung Valdemars Jordebok*. Drawn by Anna Lihammer after Aakjær 1926–1943.

routes through the archipelago. The importance of these in the Viking Age can hardly be overestimated.

Outlook towards the Middle Ages

It is time to look forward to medieval eastern Blekinge. The information in *Kung Valdemars Jordebok* now becomes very important. The text mentions three places in eastern Blekinge as *kungalev*. Two of these, Ronneby and Lösen, have been interpreted as "real" *kungalev*s while the third, Vambåsa, have been regarded as a kind of "extra" *kungalev*, an addition to the basic royal structure (Fig. 9). Vambåsa has been seen as a possession of the king guarding more specific, and local, royal interests, probably in the important harbour of Hjortahammar nearby (Aakjær 1926–1943:115 p. (fol. 29v–30r); Andrén 1983).

Lösen and Ronneby stand out in the archaeological material in several ways. In Lösen, there were three runestones. One of these have been dated to the transition between the Viking Age and the Middle Ages and indicates people with special resources through the mentioning of the title *arving* (heir). The text have been interpreted as *Toka lod rejse*

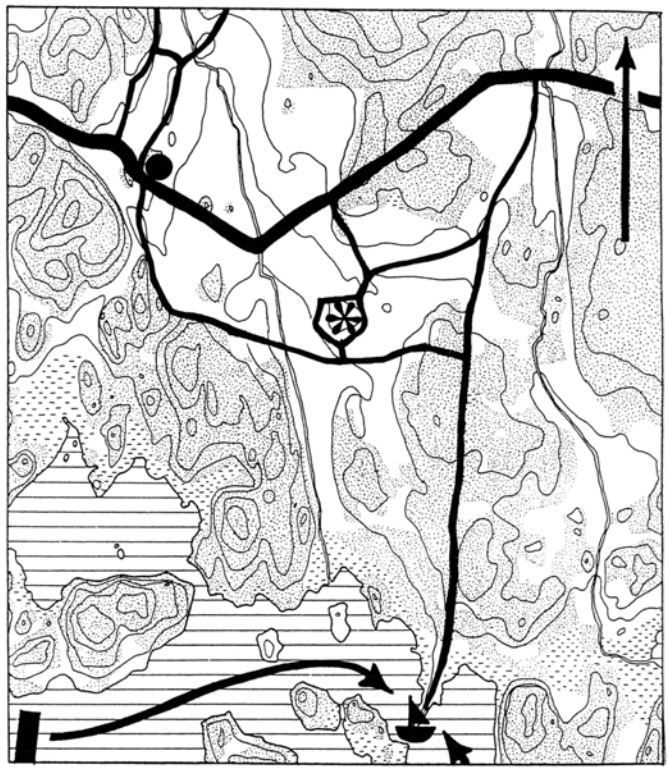

Fig. 10. The location of Vambåsa in the landscape. The dotted areas are unsettled woodlands. The dot shows the medieval church of Förkärla. The boat marks the harbour at Hjortahammar. The old main road have been marked according to older survey-map sources and field surveys. In the sea the maritime barriers and the major naval routes to the harbour at Hjortahammar are shown. Drawn by Anna Lihammer after information in older survey-map sources (LMV, Förkärla socken, akt 13) and the present-day naval map.

d(isse) stene (efter …) gunne (?) den gode, Gyrds arving (in translation: Toka had these stones erected after Gunne the good, the heir of Gyrd). Interestingly, the stone also displays a cross. The stone might have some connection with the establishment of royal power in the area. The other two runestones in Lösen come from later parts of the Middle Ages. Ronneby subsequently developed into a town and is the only constant town in the whole area. The reasons for *kungalev*s at these places must have been to do with communications. Both are favourably located in the landscape, close to naval routes as well as the old main road. At Ronneby the old main road crosses the Ronnebyån (one of few navigable rivers in Blekinge). Lösen lies at a communication junction, with the ability to control communications to the east, west and north. Close by was the important harbour at the mouth of the Lyckebyån. The same type of communication localization applies to the third *kungalev* in the area, Vambåsa (Fig. 10). Vambåsa combines proximity to the important harbour at Hjortahammar with the possibility to control the old main road. From Vambåsa it

is possible to control the access from Listerby and Förkärla to the harbour at Hjortahammar. A major difference between the three *kungalev*s is that Vambåsa never became a church-village.

The list of islands is a catalogue of the king's islands and properties in these. The list mentions that the king had *hus* on some of the larger islands in the archipelago of eastern Blekinge. The islands mentioned are *Haslø* (Hasslö), *Gyø* (Gyö), *Storkø* (Sturkö) and *Sinhorn* (Senoren).

A number of smaller islands are also mentioned as royal property: *Vtlængi* (Utlängan), *Ænlang* (Inlängan) and *Tærnø* (Tärnö) (Aakjær 1926–1943:33 (fol. 32v–33v).

The different estates and *hus* in the archipelago supplement the picture of the main royal structure in the landscape. The places mentioned in the list of islands are generally considered to be royal hunting grounds (Andrén 1997). It is questionable whether this explanation covers the places in eastern Blekinge, or if it needs to be widened. The islands mentioned are the most strategic places in the whole region.

Again, the answer should be sought in the landscape of eastern Blekinge. To uphold effective power in this region, control over the archipelago was necessary. This must be the reason why the maritime barriers were in use as late as the 13th century and why there were *hus* on some of the islands. These *hus* were most probably placed in or near existing villages and close to the barriers.

There are interesting similarities between the royal administrative structure as presented in *Kung Valdemars Jordebok* and the indications of naval defence (Fig. 11). If someone controlled both these structures, it would mean total control of the countryside within. An older local system for defence of the region can thereby have been used by the early medieval Danish kings to effectively control the region. This could have been made possible either by occupation or by cooperation with local elites. The later is most likely, particularly since the archipelago of eastern Blekinge at all times has been very hard for strangers to navigate.

Together with other types of royal property in the area, the material renders the impression of strong royal presence in the area at the beginning of the 13th century. This impression becomes even stronger with regard to the possibility of using the older system for naval defence (Fig. 12).

An interesting aspect is presented by the churches in the area. Most of the churches in eastern Blekinge belong to the same group, built of stone with a rectangular nave and a lower, rectangular chancel. Minor differences exist within this group. Some of the churches in the area, though, manifest themselves in their completely different architectural layout. These are Fridlevstad, Hjortsberga, Nättraby and Ramdala (Anderson 1932; Andersson 1997:46 pp.).

When compared with these four churches, the churches of the *kungalev*s (Ronneby and Lösen) seem modest. The picture presented by the location in the landscape of the four splendid churches is very interesting. The lack of any connection to the *kungalev*s and the other royal estates is extraordinary (Fig. 13). A possible explanation for this is that the elite in precisely these areas, outside the areas under stricter royal supervision, felt a need for display, or maybe had the opportunity for such a display of splendour.

With this, it is possible to summarize developments in eastern Blekinge in the Early Middle Ages. The foundation for this summary must lie in the landscape (Fig. 14).

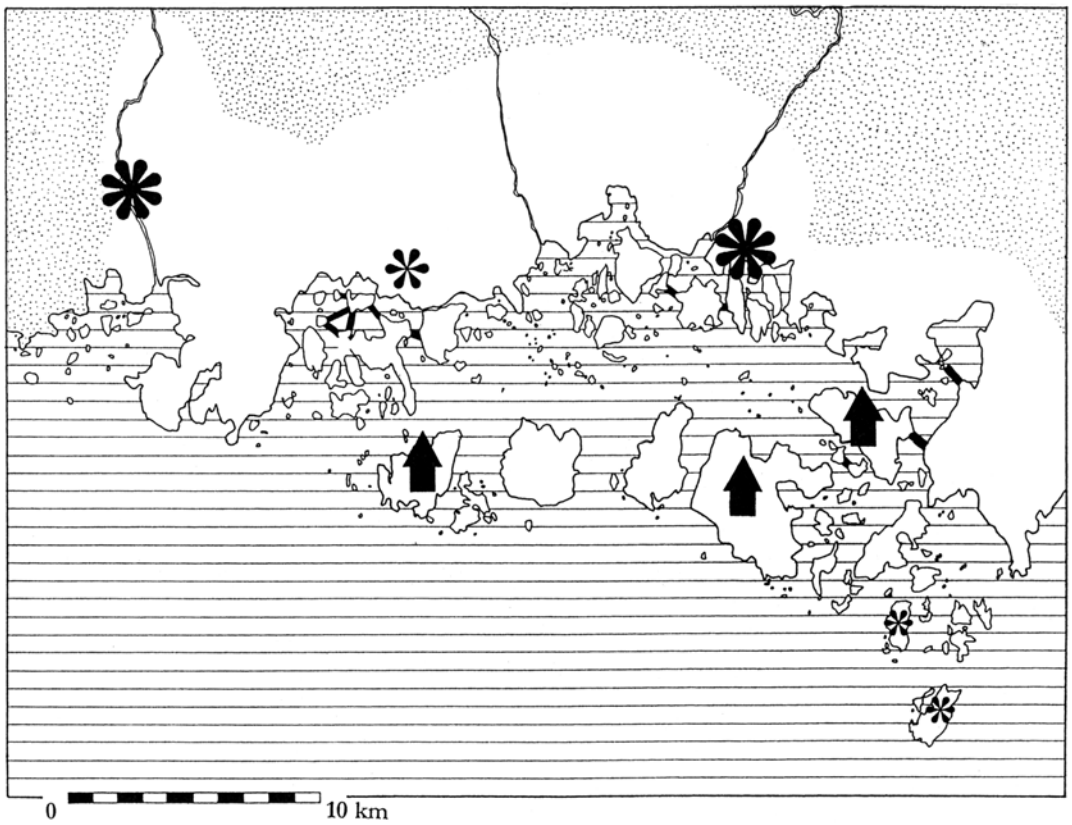

Fig. 11. Information on eastern Blekinge in *Kung Valdemars Jordebok* together with known maritime barriers in eastern Blekinge. For symbols see Fig. 9. Drawn by Anna Lihammer after Aakjær 1926–1943; Svanberg 1995.

When the ambitions of the king in the area became stronger in the Early Middle Ages, the control of communications became increasingly important. The royal power was then presented with the special conditions for communications dictated by the landscape of eastern Blekinge. As a result some places – Ronneby, Lösen and Vambåsa – became *kungalev*s. What these places have in common is that they are communication junctions. In all three, the old main road meets the sea, or waterways, in some way. In Lösen and Ronneby, the potential of the localization can also be seen in the later urbanization. Vambåsa has been interpreted as a kind of additional *kungalev*, based on special royal rights. It might be that Vambåsa instead should be seen as an adjustment to the special terms for communication and control inherent in the landscape of eastern Blekinge. It is not necessarily the case that the five *kungalev*s of Blekinge originally constituted different "divisions" or were residues of older divisions of the landscape, but instead were an adjustment to the landscape. With these few points of control, it was possible to establish a very strong influence and control in the area.

Such a small-scale royal establishment might have constituted the first royal steps into Blekinge, an establishment where the kings had very limited resources but made use of these extremely strategically. By estab-

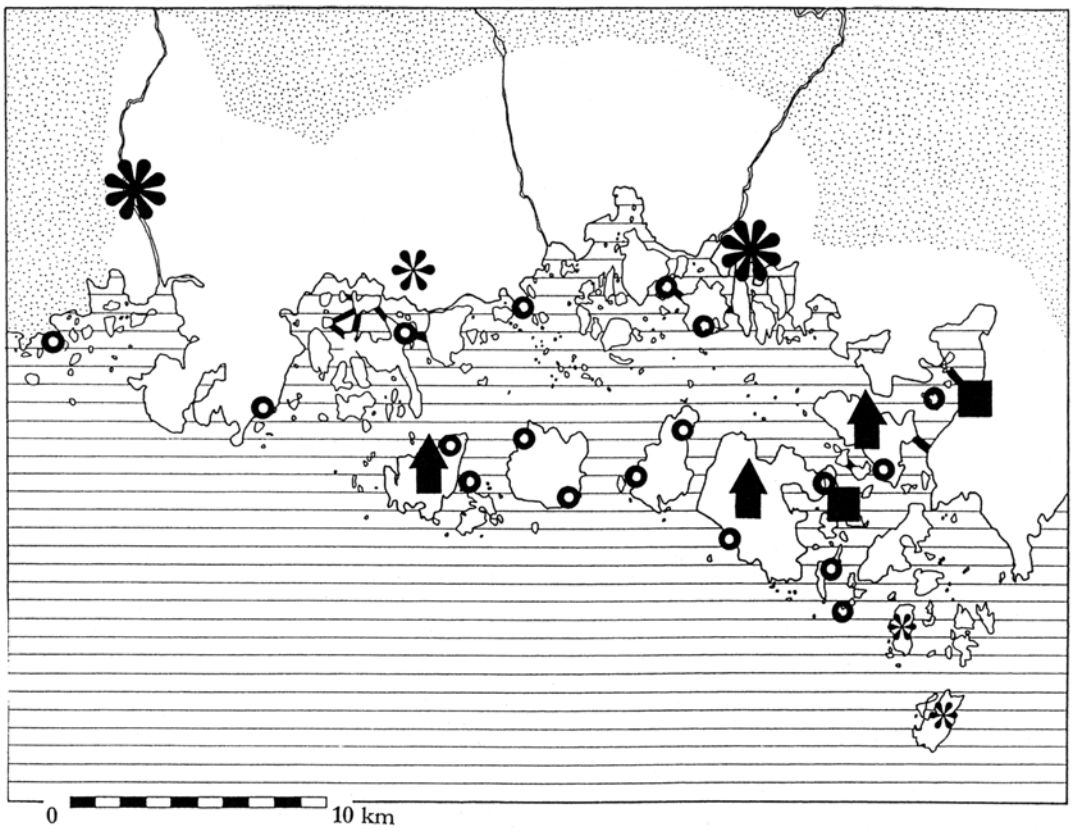

Fig. 12. Information on eastern Blekinge in *Kung Valdemars Jordebok* together with the contours of a Viking Age system for naval defence. For symbols see Fig. 9. The map also shows the more uncertain remains, such as the coastal hillforts (squares) and the place-names indicating Viking Age defence and control (circles). Drawn by Anna Lihammer after Aakjær 1926–1943; Atterman 1967; Borna 1984; Svanberg 1995.

lishing control over a small number of places in the landscape, an almost total control over communications became possible. The reason why Vambåsa seems to differ from Lösen and Ronneby might not be that there were differences from the start, but that the royal power gradually became strong enough to give priority to fewer places.

Conclusions

When the material of eastern Blekinge is considered, the importance of relating the archaeological and historical material to the context of the landscape becomes evident. The study has made it clear that it is possible to obtain new and different knowledge by creating relations between material remains, places and manifestations. In the landscape as a whole, we catch a glimpse of what might once have been. It is with a method of this kind that it is possible to change the picture of the history of Blekinge.

My ambition in this study has been to change the picture of the past of eastern Blekinge in the phase of transition between the Viking Age and the Middle Ages. It is beyond doubt that older views of this history have been simplified as well as founded on erroneous assumptions. The older tendency to

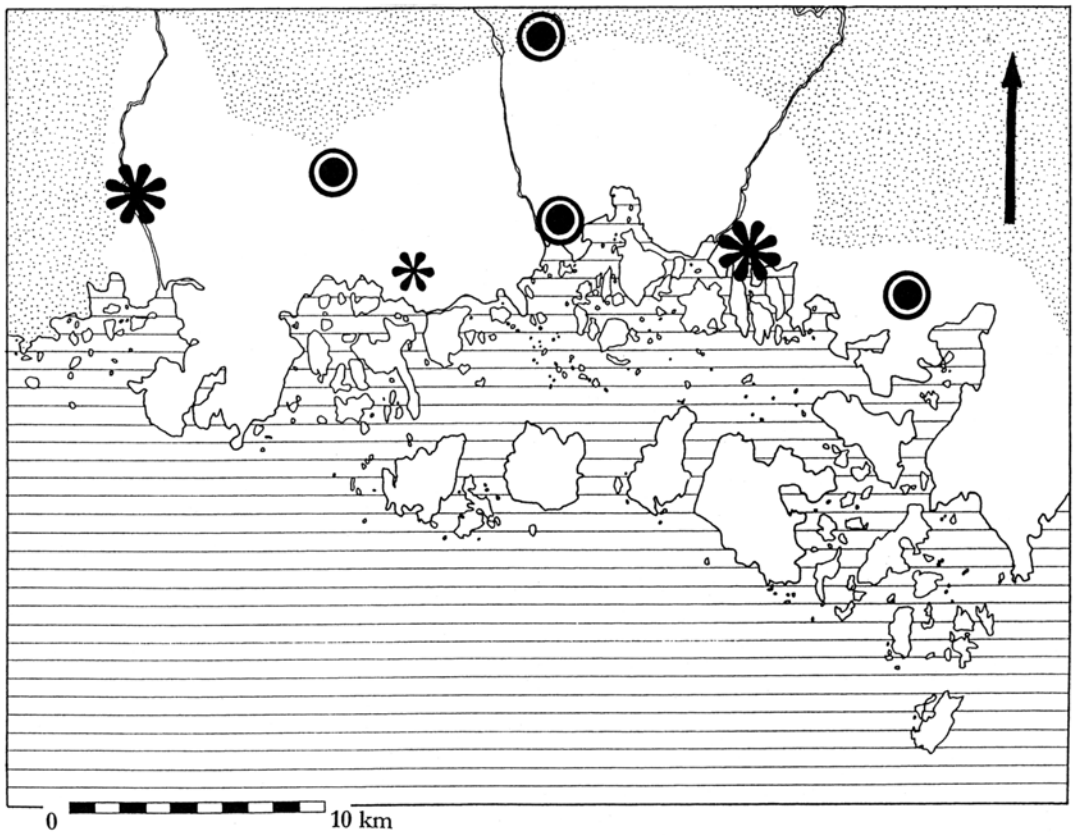

Fig. 13. Information on eastern Blekinge in *Kung Valdemars Jordebok* together with the differing churches. The flowerlike symbols show the *kungalev*s and the dots the manifested churches (see text). Drawn by Anna Lihammer after Aakjær 1926–1943; Anderson 1932.

focus on the innermost part of Hallarumsviken must be replaced by something rather more complicated. It is possible to glimpse several smaller, but important Viking Age focal places, located in the small settled rural areas. During the Early Middle Ages, royal points of control were established. Through these, the possibilities for communication and control inherent in the landscape could be realized. In order to obtain an understanding of this development, regard must be paid to the landscape. It is also important to apply a flexible view to the making of kingdoms with understanding for the regions in question. Without understanding the role played by the landscape in the development of eastern Blekinge, understanding of the region becomes impossible.

Viking Age eastern Blekinge was a landscape with many small, but important places. Real central places, combining functions such as power, religion and trade, did not exist. The same goes for regular market places. Instead, there were focal places with a number of important persons or families in each small settled area of countryside. Hereby, trade also became decentralized to a number of small peasant harbours.

In eastern Blekinge, landscape archaeology has revealed the game of relations displayed in the landscape. During the Early Middle Ages the king made establishments in some

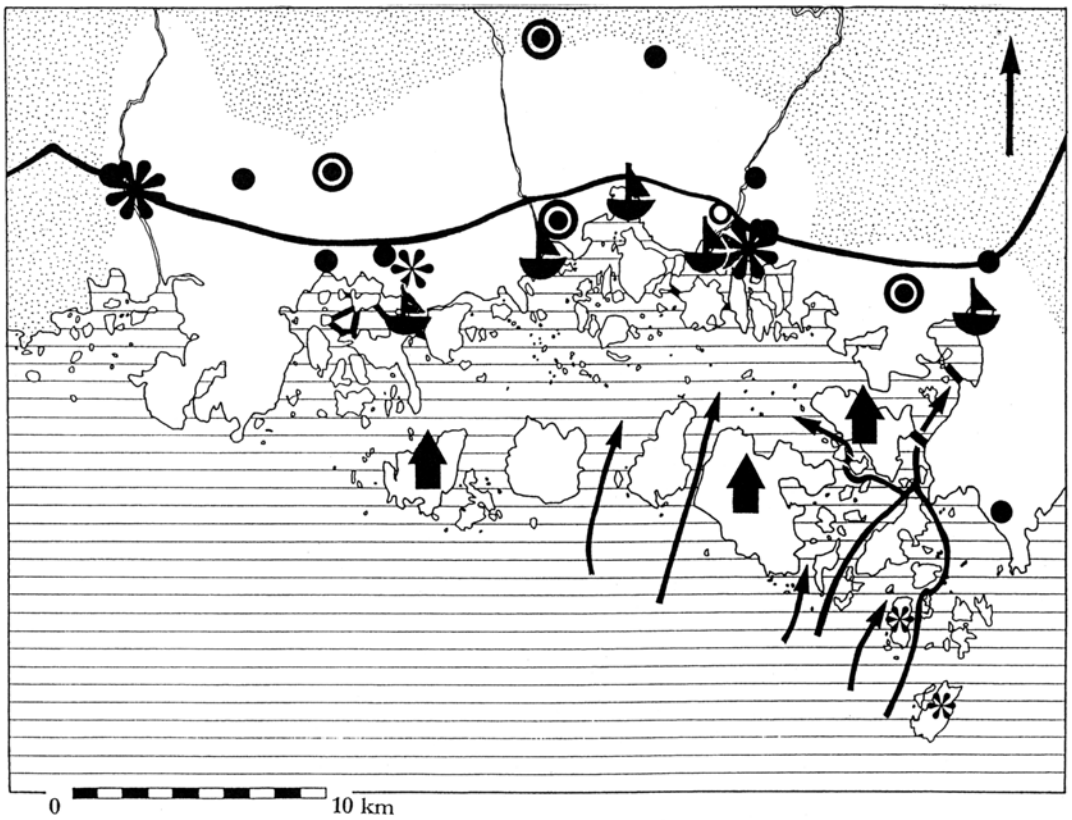

Fig. 14. The countryside, the king and communications in the Early Middle Ages. For symbols see Fig. 9. The old main road has been marked. Boats show the best harbours in the area. The dots show the medieval churches, the ones with manifestations surrounded by a circle. Drawn by Anna Lihammer. For references see earlier figures and texts.

of the small areas in eastern Blekinge. In others, there were still possibilities for manifestations from other social groups, for example, local elites and ecclesiastical potentates. At approximately the same time, Christianity came to the people of eastern Blekinge. Churches were built as a string of pearls along the old main road. Thus, the church also seems to have desired a favourable location in the landscape as regards communications.

The study has shown the view of the landscape in this phase of establishment, the clear aspiration for control over communications. The landscape played an important part in the struggle for political power.

The entry of royal power into the area changed the picture. The localization of royal estates seems to have been well considered. The main function of the royal bases was control of the communications.

The study has stressed communications as the most important factor behind power and the localization of elite milieus in eastern Blekinge in the Viking Age and Early Middle Ages. The reason for this is the special landscape of the area. The only thing that can be termed central in such a landscape are the communications. Controlling communication routes in eastern Blekinge, meant controlling eastern Blekinge.

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Lantmäteriverket, Lösens socken; Akt 14. *Bredagöl, Klemtsmåla, Kropp, Lösen, Räfsmåla eller Hultet, Sibbamåla, Stubbetorp, Torp och Öljersjö. Storskifte. Påbörjat 1715–81.* Slutfört 1782–90.

Lantmäteriverket, Lösens socken; Akt 59. *Lösens by: enskifte å inägor.* 1814–21.

Lantmäteriverket, Sturkö socken; Akt 11. *Skällenäs by, storskifte å inägor jämte utjorden, Skällön och Skanholmen. 1798–99.* 1800.

Lantmäteriverket, Sturkö socken; Akt 36. *Skällenäs by, enskifte å inägor. 1818.*

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Integrating Power
Some Aspects of a Magnate's Farm and Presumed Central Place in Järrestad, South-East Scania

Bengt Söderberg

Abstract

The article presents a recently investigated Late Iron Age magnate's farm and some outlines of a central place formation process. The farm includes an area with a succession of hall buildings, a palisade enclosure and a wetland context, consisting of wells, depositions of fire-cracked stones and animal bones. A tentative attempt is made to analyse the architecture and layout of the presumed hov in a structuralist fashion. Some artefact groups and local traditions are interpreted as links connecting the elite setting to an overall concept of cultural space, related to Old Norse myths and an ancient sacred river valley topography. The hov is thought to constitute a focal point of the pagan cosmos, where the military, economic and ideological power spheres were integrated in various ways. The chosen examples are mainly derived from the ideological sphere and include religious rituals, feasting and the designing and manipulation of cultural space and memory.

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In connection with planned roadworks outside the town of Simrishamn in south-east Scania, an archaeological project was initiated by the National Heritage Board, Archaeological Excavations Department (UV-Syd). The project started in 1999 and most of the fieldwork was carried out in 2000. From the very beginning it was clear that a major Iron Age settlement was situated where the new road passed south of the small village of Järrestad. Finds related to various metal handicrafts were known from this settlement, and its potential importance was underlined by the village name, recorded in 1322 as Jarrllestatha, which is also the name of the härad or hundred, recorded in 1182 as Ierestedt herrit (Fig. 1). The name refers to "the settlement of the jarl/earl" or possibly "Jarl's settlement", and it was considered reasonable that the village at some point held a prominent position in relation to the larger unit (Strömberg 1976; Callmer 1995; Thurston 1996). The central place of a härad is generally thought to be associated with central functions of a military, juridical and religious kind (KLNM:488 p.).

The archaeological results proved this to be a relevant hypothesis. Central parts of a magnate's farm with finds from the period c. AD 500–1050 were excavated. The reconstruction of the magnate's farm, carried out by human geographer Mats Riddersporre, is

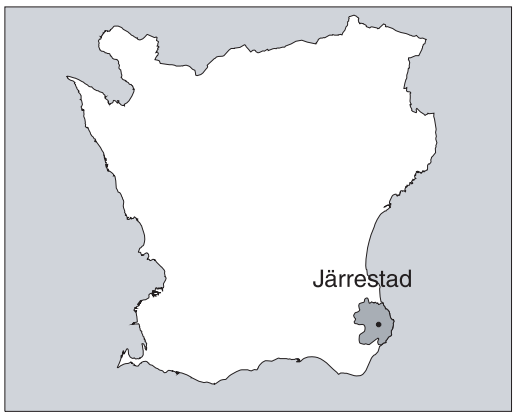

Fig. 1. The location of the village and *härad* of Järrestad.

based on land survey documents from around 1800, showing an approximately 30 hectare large rectangular area situated between the historically known village nucleus and the river (Riddersporre, this volume). The area is defined by fields situated next to each other, belonging to four farms. The halls and enclosure were situated within the reconstructed farm. Remains of a small farm unit, dating to c. AD 700–800, was situated to the west of the reconstructed area. On the southeast periphery of the magnate's farm a settlement dated to the period c. 100 BC–AD 700 was localized. At the same place, a richly equipped women's grave was excavated and dated to c. AD 350 (Fig. 2).

This study will briefly present the Iron Age settlement in Järrestad and thereafter focus more or less entirely upon certain aspects of the presumed hall and hov of the magnate's farm, which seems to have existed for roughly four hundred years, covering a time span from the 7th to the 11th century AD. This setting was no doubt ideologically charged, and the fundamental assumption is that the structuring and continuous restructuring of the hall area reflects different levels of a broader sociocultural context. The hall and hov is thought to constitute a focal point of the pagan cosmos, an arena where attempts were made to integrate the main sources of power, for example, religion, military strength and production, through social interaction including religious rituals and the structuring of sociocultural space. Fragments of this concept can be "read" in the architecture and layout of the area as well as the artefact pattern. Furthermore, an attempt is made to explore links connecting the elite setting to the overall concept of cultural space, related to Old Norse myths.

The last decade has, generally speaking, seen quite a lot of archaeological research and discussion involving different aspects of pre-Christian religion (Jennbert 1999). When it comes to explaining the phenomena of Iron Age central place formation and in particular its presumed nucleus, the hall, the archaeological material combined with a renewed use of West Norse Eddic poems, sagas and myths, has proved to be very capable of development (Roesdahl 1991:293 pp.; Lönnroth 1997:37). The more mundane concept of production has been somewhat overshadowed (Callmer 1997), probably for several reasons; partly as a post-processualist reaction to a previous rather one-sided system-theoretic approach and partly as a consequence of the setting in itself. The hall can obviously be regarded as the very opposite to the concept of production, as a place where the wealth of a society was consumed, redistributed or symbolically transformed (Herschend 1998). The ambition to integrate the concepts of production and military power with ideology and thus give a more holistic interpretation of the hall area as a cultural setting and an arena in the quest for power is not possible to fulfil here. The study deals mainly with examples connected to the religious or ideological sphere and should be

Fig. 2. The new road on the old land survey map with features mentioned in the text. The shaded area constitutes the reconstructed magnate's farm. 1: Small farm unit, *c.* AD 700–800, 2: Large house dated to the 8th or 9th century, 3: The presumed hall and *hov* of the magnate's farm, 4: The marshy area with fire-cracked stones and wells, 5: Older settlement, *c.* BC 100-AD 700, with the richly equipped women's grave and 6: The historically known settlement of Järrestad.

considered as a tentative attempt to build a preliminary framework for further analyses.

Landscape, settlement and Iron Age development – a local perspective

The south-east corner of Scania is characterized by its beautiful, varied landscape. The variations are largely due to the fact that the bedrock is made up of several layers, as a result of a major fault and several fissure zones. Järrestad is situated in a hummocky landscape, close to the small Tommarp River (Fig. 3). The village is situated on a plateau consisting of a large glaciofluvial sediment. Erosion caused by intensive farming and wind has somewhat smoothened out the quite varied sediment surface, with hills and lower terrain, including overploughed marshy ground. Outside the sediment a clayey moraine dominates the fertile river valley. The varied geology is dramatically manifested by a fault in the Wilhelmsberg and Impan area, situated a couple of kilometres to the north, on higher rocky terrain (Liljegren 1999). The curved coastline is situated some three kilometres to the east, with natural harbours at the mouth

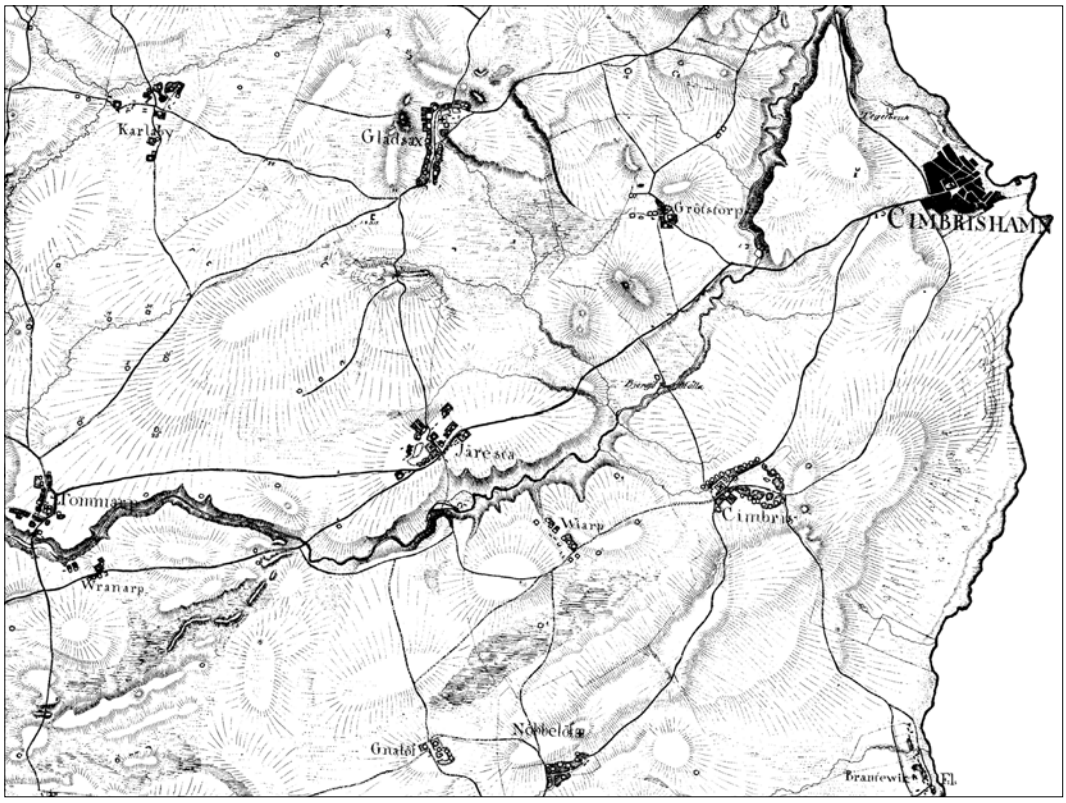

Fig. 3. The magnate's farm (dark shading) and the land belonging to the historically known village of Järrestad (light shading) in the old cultural landscape. Section of the Scanian reconnaissance map, *c.* 1815.

of the Tommarp River and the town of Simrishamn.

Järrestad was thus situated within a richly varied natural environment, strategically at the junction of communication routes, where the river valley was favourable to cross. Thurston estimates the settlement size AD 800–1000 as 28.75 hectares on the basis of phosphate mapping and surveying. As an interesting contrast, the village size is estimated to be much smaller around AD 1200, about 18.7 hectares (Thurston 1996:284, 289, 308). The results from the project so far indicate that the Viking Age settlement was larger, but at this point no precise estimate has been made. An abundance of remains from older periods, including Stone Age and Bronze Age settlements, megalithic burials, stone cists and Bronze Age barrows, show that the glaciofluvial sediment was attractive in a longer temporal perspective.

Grave-fields, settlements and various stray finds indicate a rather densely populated landscape along the river valley during the Roman Iron Age, with a calculated distance of one or a few kilometres between settlements (Stjernquist 1991:194). The 4th century burial of a richly equipped woman in Järrestad can be viewed as a prelude to central place formation and possibly also a shift in the focal point of the local landscape. Among the grave goods were two exclusive silver brooches and four bronze fibulae, fragments of a facetted glass beaker, a pendant and a hair needle of silver

and more than 300 beads of amber and glass. The burial took place no more than 1.5 kilometres from the Simris grave-field, across the river. The Simris burials, famous for their warrior graves, are dated to the 1st to the 4th century AD (Stjernquist 1955). One of the six excavated warrior graves in Simris was especially richly furnished, showing criteria corresponding to continental princely graves (Stjernquist 1977:70).

Imported luxury items and objects of gold and silver are not unusual during the Roman Iron Age, demonstrating that the elite in south-east Scania was part of an international network, closely connected to the island of Bornholm and in some periods indirectly and perhaps even directly linked to the rich centres in eastern Zealand (Lund Hansen 1988). The manifestations of wealth, alliances and military muscle can probably be interpreted as signs of social unrest and elite competition in the area. The elite living strategically close to natural harbours near the mouth of the Tommarp River was geographically favoured, but their position was probably not unrivalled.

The bulk of the archaeological material from the area consists of Roman Iron Age grave-fields, and there was obviously a restructuring of settlements, perhaps at the end of the period or somewhat later. Finds or structures from the later parts of the Iron Age are scarce in comparison, which in part may be due to the relatively small number of archaeological excavations that have taken place in the area. Probably it also reflects a general trend away from smaller and more scattered settlements to fewer but larger, more stable and regulated settlements (Stjernquist 1993: 143 pp.).

The Järrestad grave was not matched by other finds or structures. Although some of the excavated houses can be dated to the later part of the Roman Iron Age, they were all quite modest. The oldest metal artefacts in the plough layer at the magnate's farm dated back to the 6th century and some of them, a dress pin and a crossbow brooch, were found close to a large house, provisionally dated to the 8th or 9th centuries. The large house is preliminarily interpreted as a long-house, possibly with a hall function. The formation process of the magnate's farm in Järrestad is at this point difficult to interpret in detail. The evidence suggests repeated restructuring of the settlement during the Late Roman Iron Age and early Germanic Iron Age, possibly reflecting an overall shift in settlement structure as well as a specific restructuring or, perhaps, establishment of the magnate's farm. A less vague picture can hopefully be obtained by ^{14}C datings and continuous surveying, but until the Late Roman Iron Age settlement is localized, this interpretation is of course highly hypothetical.

In the 7th century, the central part of the magnate's farm was firmly established. The hall and *hov* of the farm are thought to be a carefully designed concept from the very beginning and proved to be a successful one as well; the changes that occurred did not break up the original concept during the next four hundred years. Obviously, changes must have occurred in the overall farm layout during this long period. The material is, however, vaguer in this respect and will not be discussed further here. In this context the strong continuity manifested by the hall and *hov* contrasts effectively with the presumably unstable formative process.

Returning to the wider area and the next period of change, it is interesting to note that the magnate's farm disappears in the course of the 11th century, coinciding with the establishment of an exogenous power structure in

the nearby villages. *Tumathorp* east of Järrestad is recorded as a *kongelev* in King Valdemar's cadastre, *c.* 1230; a royal demesne most probably established in the 11th century. This dating is supported by archaeological evidence and most likely also by the occurrence of a royal mint from the time of Sven Estridsson to Knut the Holy, that is, 1047–1086 (Thun 1967:48). In the village of Simris runestones were erected; one of them mentions *Knuds dreng* (Moltke 1985:265). Apart from the runestones in Simris there are no other post-Jelling stones recorded on the east coast of Scania. The manifestations indicate that the area was of special interest from an interregional point of view at the close of the Viking Age, a fact confirmed by the urbanization processes that took place somewhat later, in Tommarp and in Simrishamn, the only medieval towns between Ystad and Åhus.

The central part of the magnate's farm

The hall and *hov* were established on the south-east periphery of the village plateau, close to a slope and marshy ground to the east. The place was topographically very well chosen; the sloping terrain reinforced the height and volume of the hall from a distance, and a spring in the marshy ground close to the hall provided a suitable place for wells.

The halls

The halls and connected structures could not be entirely excavated, but the road construction area was widened and all of the involved structures delimited and defined. The buildings in phase 3 could be thoroughly investigated; the halls in phases 1, 2 and 4 were for the most part situated outside the road construction area and thus only partly excavated.

In phase 1 the hall was 37 metres long, with curved stave-built walls and a width up to seven metres (Fig. 4). The postholes in the two halls connected to phase 1 and 2 are difficult to separate at this point of analysis, which does not, however, affect a general interpretation of the layout. In the middle of the hall phase 1 there was a large room with a hearth. The entrance from the south was centrally situated, with direct access to the large room. In phase 2 the hall was rebuilt and widened up to 8.5–9 metres. The length was not changed and the hall was situated at the same spot. The layout stayed the same, with a hearth in the large central room. The southern entrance was, however, moved closer to the east gable.

In phase 3 a new hall was built slightly to the south (Fig. 5). The hall was of the same size as in phase 2, and the outer walls constructed the same way. The interior was also basically the same, but clearly more elaborated. The entrance from the south was moved close to the west gable and the entrance from the north was situated in a similar way, to the east. The large central room was flanked by two entrance rooms and there was one room in each gable; a chamber in the west and a kitchen, supply and/or servants' room in the east. Furthermore, the hearth in the middle room was supplemented by an oven and rows of postholes was situated parallel to the outer walls of the central hall. The rows of postholes can be interpreted in various ways, and no parallels has been found so far; they are obviously a part of the internal architecture. Posts could have been connected to long-benches and possibly also functioned as supports of the roof or perhaps a gallery. Finally, the postholes related to the roof-

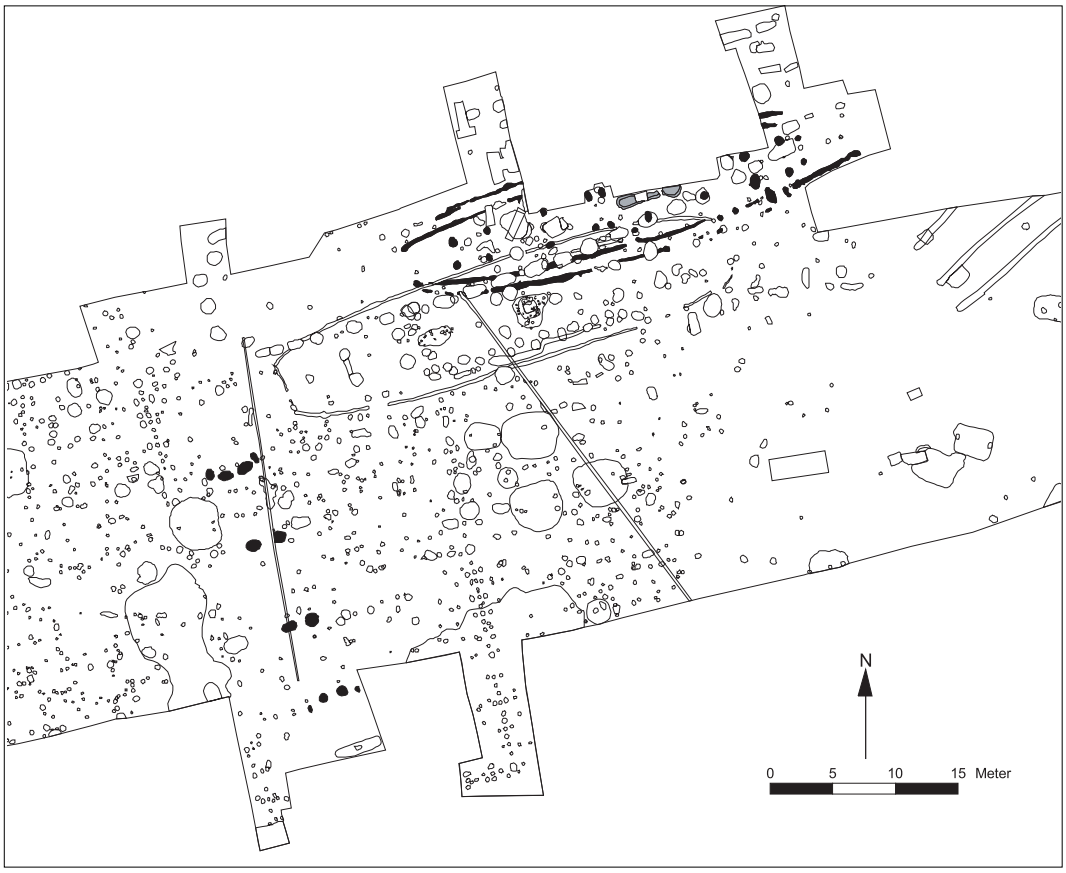

Fig. 4. The central part of the magnate's farm phases 1 and 2.

bearing structure were quite voluminous and the above-mentioned row of postholes was doubled, in both cases suggesting a thorough rebuilding of the hall.

In phase 4 a fifty-metre-long and up to fourteen-metre-wide hall was built slightly to the north, almost doubling the size of the hall (Fig. 6). A new building technique was introduced, most probably consisting of timber framing with horizontal planks. The outer walls must have carried the weight of the roof; at least there were no visible traces of internal posts to be found in the house, with the exception of a presumed roof-bearing inner wall in the eastern part of the building. No hearth could be found in the building; probably the hearth was raised above ground, and the house floor in its entirety made of planks. Two entrances were localized in the south, close to the gables. The east entrance was situated by the presumed inner wall.

The enclosure

The palisade south of the halls enclosed a 37 by 20–22 metres, 700 m^2 large, slightly irregular rectangular area (Fig. 5). The palisade was connected to the facade of the western part of the hall phase 3 and the hall was clearly an integrated part of the structure. The palisade was built up with "sections" nine to ten metres long (Fig. 7). The traces of the sections consisted of a central row of shallow postholes close together and pairs of

Fig. 5. The central part of the magnate's farm phase 3.

larger postholes regularly spaced with two-metre intervals on either side. Each section ended with a solitary posthole lined by stones and of greater size. The same kind of postholes marked the corners and an entrance a couple of metres south of the hall. The eastern part of the palisade consisted of three sections, an entrance and the width of the hall. The western part consisted of four sections. To the south it was situated outside the roadworks area and could only be delimited, but probably consisted of two sections.

The palisade is interpreted as an earth and timber construction. The fronts were built up of horizontal planks or logs, held in place by the outer pairs of posts, which were connected by cross-beams. The empty space in between was filled up with earth or turfs. The central row of postholes stabilized the construction and perhaps served as a kind of parapet.

The postholes were generally quite significant, but at some sections to the east they were only partly preserved. This suggests that the vaguer parts were originally situated on somewhat higher ground, which suffered more from erosion. The lack of connection between palisade and hall in the north-west corner is harder to explain, though. Perhaps the connection to the hall was constructed in a somewhat different way.

Inside the enclosure only one building could be identified with certainty, situated along the west palisade. Four sets of symmetrically arranged postholes were preserved,

Fig. 6. The central part of the magnate's farm phase 4.

most of them lined with huge quantities of stones (Figs. 4 & 5). The postholes in the gables were supplemented by smaller pairs. Several posts had clearly been replaced, if not all of them. The poorly preserved building, with no visible traces of walls, possibly with the exceptions of large postholes marking out an entrance in the northern part of the building, was situated at the same place as the vague part of the palisade, in the two middle sections of the west palisade.

Wells and fire-cracked stones

The marshy ground close to the hall area in the east was also characterized by continuous utilization. A 300 m^2 large area was covered with a massive layer of fire-cracked stones. The layer could be delimited in all directions except to the south, where it continued outside the roadworks area. In all, the investigated part of the layer contained about 50 m^3 of stones. Other layers contained fire-cracked stones as well, but were mixed with humus and sand.

Seven wells were excavated in the periphery of the layer and five of them were dug into one another. The most common construction was wattle hurdle, but in two instances timber with notched corners occurred. In one of the wells the square timber construction was supplemented with large upright slabs of sandstone. The notched-corner constructions were dated to the time around AD 900, and

Fig. 7. A section of the east palisade.

the timber showed no traces of being re-used. In another well the wattle hurdle construction was replaced with re-used planks, including parts of a boat. The animal bones deposited in the wells will be specifically dealt with later in this article.

Preliminary chronology

Artefacts with dating potential associated with the halls were generally scarce and the radiocarbon analyses had not been carried out at the time of writing. A fragment of a glass beaker in the hall phase 3 is dated to the 7th century (pers. com. Johan Callmer). The relative chronology of the halls is firmly based on the horizontal stratigraphy; it is more difficult, however, to ascribe the palisade and in particular the enclosed house to a specific building phase. Charcoal from a posthole in the enclosed house was radiometrically analysed in connection with the trial excavation and dated to AD Cal 640–770 (1 sigma/Ua-25312). The find of a socketed axe confirms the Germanic Iron Age origin of the house. The connection between the palisade and the hall phase 3 obviously makes them an integrated unit. The Germanic Iron Age datings of the enclosed house presented above suggest that the house dates back to phase 1 or 2. This dating is also supported by the roof-bearing construction in the house, with a small distance between the posts in the sets. Furthermore, the house is slightly askew in relation to the palisade, perhaps indicating that the house was built earlier than the palisade. The calculated distance between the phase 3 and 4 halls and the enclosed house suggests, however, that the halls were planned in relation to an existing house, perhaps indicating that the enclosed house was in use for a very long time.

A sunken-floor house was cut through the palisade and the enclosed house. Finds of Middle Slavonic ware combined with black earthenware suggest a dating to the second half of the 10th century. The same combination of ceramics was present in a pit dug through the east palisade. The group of four sunken-floor houses east of the palisade is interpreted as a succession of houses in use during the period *c.* AD 950–1050, throughout phase 4.

Charcoal from the bottom part of the layer with fire-cracked stones, close to a hearth, was radiometrically analysed and dated to AD Cal 770–960 (1 sigma/Ua-25313). Oak timber from four of the wells turned out to be suitable for dendrochronological dating, and the dates covered the period from about AD 870–71 to 948–49. In all, the excavated wells are estimated to have been continuously in use during the period *c.* AD 850–1000, and the layer of fire-cracked stones was accumulated during the same period or perhaps somewhat earlier.

The concept of hall and *hov*

The central part of the magnate's farm in Järrestad resembles other elite farms in south Scandinavia, such as Toftegård at eastern Zealand (Tornbjerg 1998), Slöinge in the province of Halland (Lundquist 1996) and Lejre (Christensen 1991), but the most striking parallel is no doubt the magnate's farm at Lake Tissø, situated in western Zealand (Jørgensen 1998:233 pp.). The layout with hall and enclosure in Tissø phase 1–2 and Järrestad phase 3 can almost be described as carbon copies. The sequence of halls, their size and layout are also generally quite similar, and so are the preliminary datings, from the 7th to the 11th centuries (pers. com. Lars Jørgensen). There are, of course, differences as well. In Järrestad there is only one enclosure and a larger building inside it, a structure which probably remained unchanged for a very long time. In Tissø the enclosure was subject to change in all the building phases, and the smaller houses inside were repeatedly rebuilt. When it comes to the sequence of halls, the situation is quite the reverse. In Tissø the hall was rebuilt on exactly the same spot in phase 1–3, and the internal layout remained unchanged. In Järrestad the continuity was also strong, but there were changes. Finally, in phase 4, considerably larger halls were built in both farms, introducing a new building technique.

The main difference between the settings in Järrestad and Tissø is perhaps due to the fact that the Tissø investigations have been going on since 1995. Large areas, almost 50,000 m^2, have been uncovered, including most of the magnate's farm and parts of a 2–3 hectare large area with workshops, interpreted as a market area. The find material is vast compared to Järrestad, with substantial finds of gold and silver treasures as well as large amounts of weaponry. It is interesting to note that the rich finds in Tissø generally were found in the workshop area and not in the central hall area. This was also true in the case of Lejre, but in Toftegård and Slöinge there were rich finds connected to the halls.

Of special interest in this context is the interpretation of the enclosed houses in Tissø as pagan cult houses, a *hov* (Jørgensen 1998: 242 pp.). This is also mirrored by the name of the lake, Tissø, associated with the war god Tyr. Finds of weaponry in the lake, near the magnate's farm, support the idea of a cult site.

The resemblance of the hall areas in Järrestad and Tissø may of course be regarded as a result of some sort of direct connection between

the elite in eastern Scania and western Zealand, for example, a family relation, an alliance or an overlordship. Of course, this cannot be ruled out, and must be examined more closely. In this context the similarities (and differences) will, however, only be discussed in terms of a sociocultural concept, as a way to structure the social space at elite farms in south Scandinavia. The fact that ideas and innovations of various kinds were communicated rapidly over large distances within a common sphere of culture is often emphasized and amply demonstrated by, for example, the distribution of artefacts and animal styles over vast territories throughout the Late Iron Age (Näsman 1998:4 pp. and cited literature).

Summing up, the archaeological evidence supported by the retrogressive analysis of the old land survey maps matches quite well with the name *Jarlestattha,* which is the name of the village as well as the *härad*. The display of wealth can be traced back to *c.* AD 350, and the continuous layout of the hall and *hov* during the period *c.* AD 600 to 1050 is quite similar to the magnate's farm at Tissø. The general distribution of artefacts points in the same direction, with finds rich enough to let us know that the Järrestad elite took active part in an interregional network, in which a variety of people, ideas and commodities were channelled. This is also mirrored by various building techniques, introduced earlier than what is generally considered usual.

Kings, jarls and *godar* are some examples of many known titles of leaders in Iron Age society. We do not know much for certain about their functions, but they are generally thought to integrate roles as leaders of religious as well as worldly matters. There is no strong evidence for the existence of a special class of priests in the pagan societies in Scandinavia during the Iron Age, in particular not the later part (Sundquist 1998). In the old Icelandic literature the *hov* is characterized as a sort of "privately owned" cult place, situated at farms owned by *godar*. Participants in the cult activities that took place at these farms paid some sort of tribute to the cult leader, either taxes, military services or loyalty (ibid.:82 pp.*).* The original meaning of the word *hov* is thought to be "hill or slightly raised ground". The term has been debated for a long time, and Brink has summed up the discussion (Brink 1999a:31 p.). In short, *hov* is thought to refer either to an elite multifunctional building where cultic activities, for example, feasts or ritual meals took place, or to denote a building exclusively intended for social interaction involving cultic activities.

Lars Jørgensen has pointed out the small houses near the Lejre hall as a possible example of a *hov* similar to the enclosed buildings in Tissø (Jørgensen 1998:233 pp.). There are a few more examples dating to the Late Iron Age, for example, the small building at Borg in the province of Östergötland (Nielsen 1997) and, possibly, the enclosed small buildings among the halls in Toftegård (Tornbjerg 1998:222, Fig. 5, 225 p.). In Borg and Tissø there is a close connection between depositions of animal bones and the presumed *hov* areas. The animal bones at Borg were deposited in large numbers in a paved yard connected to a cult house (Nielsen 1997:384 pp.). In Tissø substantial numbers of the animal bones were found in the features inside the enclosure, and bones from a child were deposited in a pit-house close to the enclosure. This material, however, has not been published (Jørgensen 1998:242). Other researchers has drawn attention to depositions of animal bones in similar elite contexts, and their meaning (e.g., Herschend 1997:61 pp.). Charlotte Fabech suggests that the animal sacrifices

could have been carried out in the *hov*, while the ritual meals took place in the nearby hall. Finally, the bones were collected and deposited at special places (Fabech 1998:153).

Cultural space in Järrestad

A more thorough discussion of a presumed hall and *hov* concept in Järrestad proceeds from the view that the human built environment in general is organized and functions in a cognitive structure which relates its inhabitants to different aspects of the outside world. In structuralist method, socio-cultural space is analysed through the construction of a grammar built on oppositional pairs (Glassie 1975; Doxtater 1990; Burström 1995). The basic oppositional pairs of culture/nature, private/public and internal/external should be applicable in this context too. The structuralist method of analysis has been combined with the usage of pagan cosmology as described in the Old Norse literature. The farm is thought of as a conceptual explanatory model of the universe and the world and constitutes the centre of the world for the inhabitants (Doxtater 1990; Burström 1995; Herschend 1998). The fences around the farm separated us from them and culture from nature, in legal terms as well as in a mental sense. This existential situation is often thought to be mirrored in Old Norse mythology, where *Midgard*, the cultured home of mankind, was situated in the middle of the universe. This is also where *Asgard*, the home of the goods, was. Outside Midgard there was the outlying land, *Utgard*, where chaos and nature reigned, and where giants and monsters dwelled (Haastrup 1985:147; for a critique, see Clunies Ross 1998:59 pp.).

Inside

The large uncovered areas at Lake Tissø makes it possible to study almost the entire toft of the magnate's farm (Jørgensen 1998:Figs. 2–5). The hall and enclosure is centred on a toft which is surrounded by a fence. Other buildings are generally situated close to this outer fence. The excavated area in Järrestad was not large enough to let us assess the toft structure, at least not at this point of analysis; a further analysis is complicated since no traces of toft fences could be identified.

In some farms, the hall buildings appear as an interface between the farm and the outside world, with the hall building connected to the outer fence (Herschend 1998:22 f). At Tissø, and probably also in Järrestad, the hall and *hov* were situated in the middle of the toft, as if to emphasize the private or closed character of the structure. Another characteristic feature is the enclosed space connected to the hall. The hall can be entered from two directions, but the southern entrance is blocked by the palisade. "Since all doors in a hall are designed to fit humans, it therefore makes a difference of how we enter and leave the hall" (Herschend 1998:37). Enclosures and entrances are considered to be significant features in the structuring of social space and possible to reveal by "access analysis" (Hillier & Hanson 1984:143 pp.). In this context it is not far-fetched to claim that the entrances also form parts of a ritual scheme.

The changing layout of the entrances in the hall is interpreted as a shift from an open concept with immediate entrance to the middle of the large room in phase 1 to a closed concept with side entrances and special entrance rooms. The shift is not convincingly accomplished in phase 2, but it is fully developed in phases 3 and 4. Herschend has noted the differences in other known halls

and interprets it as a Late Iron Age development of the hall layout, intended to make sure that the owner of the hall and more prominent guests could enter the hall with immediate access to the high seat and the central, upper part of the hall (Herschend 1998:37 pp.). The new scheme ensured that social rank could be upheld in the hall, and made it possible to develop the role of the leader further. The layout of the hall with the positioning of entrances and relation to the enclosure is interpreted as divided. The western part of the hall is a closed, private structure in contrast to the eastern, open and public part of the building. This is partly supported by the find material, however scarce, with artefacts of a "domestic" character found in the eastern, public part of the house, such as a large grindstone, coarse household ceramics and animal bones. The layout of the hall phase 3 is very close to Herschend's tentative interpretation of the Lejre hall (Fig. 8). The same divided scheme can be applied to the connected enclosed space, where the upper, private entrance from the hall made a separate entrance possible, and the public entrance was situated to the east.

The palisade in Järrestad is a puzzling phenomenon, for several reasons. One cannot escape from the thought that the layout with hall and enclosed *hov* is an architectural unit from the very beginning and that it was largely kept as such through all of the phases, with minor changes. It is interesting to note that the west gables of the halls in phases 1–2 were situated in line with the east palisade, suggesting that the early halls were situated in the north-east corner and connected to an enclosed space. The halls in phases 1–3 are 37 metres long, the same length as the western part of the enclosure, and the enclosed house is centred in relation to the west palisade. It is

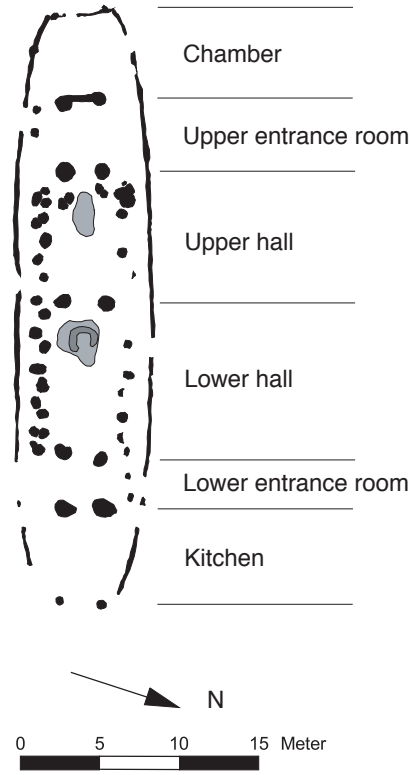

Fig. 8. The layout of the hall phase 3 (cf. Herschend 1998:171, fig. 39)

very tempting to speculate about some kind of predecessor to the palisade, a light structure which has not left any traces in the eroded ground. It is also interesting to note that the activities dated to the period *c.* AD 950–1050, with sunken-floor houses and pits, were situated just outside the enclosed area or on the very border. If the interpretation of the palisade as a timber and earth construction is correct, it is quite possible that a late successor of the palisade was constructed on the remains of the older one, perhaps preserved as a small rampart, and thus leaving no trace in the ground. The sunken-floor house can thus be interpreted as dug into the rampart and connected to a new kind of enclosure. It may be regarded as the successor of the post-built house, which is in accordance with Jørgensen's

interpretation of the presumed *hov* building sequence in Lejre (Jørgensen 1998:247).

At Tissø phase 3 the enclosure was built much more solidly than in previous phases, and at the same time it was separated from the hall (Jørgensen 1998:238). This interesting combination is a strong argument for the ritual character of the enclosure and possibly also a social statement, manifested by the separation of the public (but clearly with restricted access) enclosed *hov* from the private hall. The *hov* at Tissø appears in general as a more dynamic feature than its counterpart in Järrestad, which is also manifested by the variety of enclosed buildings constructed at Tissø, as opposed to the long-lived building and its presumed successor, the sunken floor dwelling in Järrestad.

One of the most fascinating resemblances in the layouts of Järrestad and Tissø is probably the facade connection of palisade and hall phase 3, which must be considered a significant architectural detail with a symbolic message. One hypothesis is that the interior high seat was articulated through the exterior architecture, thus emphasizing its transcendental qualities and defining major border zones in the overall layout (Herschend 1998: 50). The point of connection between palisade and hall facade in Järrestad phase 3 coincides with the presumed high seat in the upper hall, at the western end of the large room with the row of postholes, interpreted as supporting presumed benches and gallery. In Tissø the point of connection was similar, but not so obviously related to qualities of interior architecture.

Smithing and cooking

The metallurgical and osteological analyses had not yet been completed at the time of writing, and the following text must therefore be regarded as highly preliminary. A preliminary interpretation has been considered as important, since smithing and cooking stand out in the archaeological material as perhaps the most important activities, closely linked to the hall and *hov* environment. Furthermore, these basic activities are depicted on different levels in a number of Old Norse myths and they must be considered to be of central importance to the interpretation of cultural space, religious rituals and the functioning of hall and *hov* in Järrestad.

The above-mentioned deposition of a smith's hammer and a socketed axe was found in a posthole belonging to the enclosed house, together with a wide range of refuse from smithing. Most of the finds from the postholes could be related to metal craft and especially smithing; smithing slag, vitrified clay, hammer scale and prill showed that this was indeed an important activity related to the house (Fig. 9). Smithing refuse was also found in other contexts in the farm, and the preliminary results of the metallurgical analyses show that high-quality smithing was performed, involving the welding of quenched carbon steel (martensite), phosphorous iron and ferritic iron, a technology which enables, for instance, the advanced smithing of swords possible. The material also indicates iron production close to the excavated area (pers. com. Eva Hjärtner-Holdar).

In Järrestad, as in Borg, smithing stands out as an important part of the ideologically charged setting, and we may assume that the smithing performed in the enclosed house was of another kind than outside the enclosure. A hoard of amulet rings played a central role in the interpretation of the smithing in Borg as primarily a ritual affair (Nielsen 1997). Production of other objects beside religious

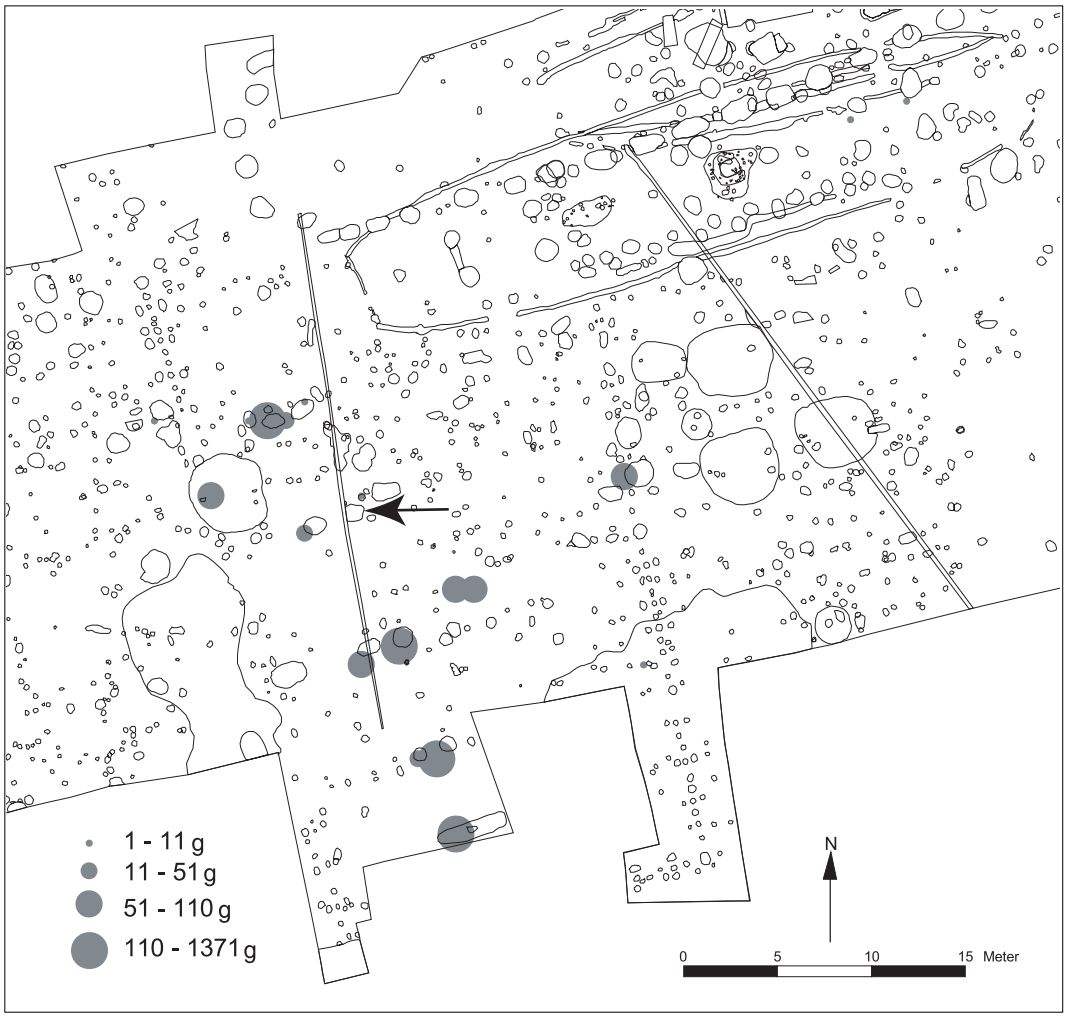

Fig. 9. Distribution of smithing slag. The deposition of the hammer/socketed axe is marked.

objects such as amulets should also be considered in the context of a *hov*, for example weaponry. The forging of weapons was a highly specialized craft, involving many complex procedures of almost ritual character; it was closely associated with myths and rites, protected by magic and, in the case of Järrestad, also by the enclosure.

The spatial relationship between the *hov* and the marshy ground to the east must be considered very close and should probably be regarded as a structural entity (Fig. 10). The layer of fire-cracked stones in the marshy ground can obviously be interpreted as simply deposited in order to dry up the area surrounding the wells, by stopping capillary attraction (Fig. 11). On the other hand, the stones can very well originate from food preparation in association with animal sacrifice and ritual meals. Large accumulations of fire-cracked stones are a characteristic feature observed in central place contexts. The best example is Lejre, which seems to be the closest parallel to Järrestad (Christensen 1991:55), but the phenomenon has also been observed in Toftegård near Køge (Tornbjerg 1998:224), and

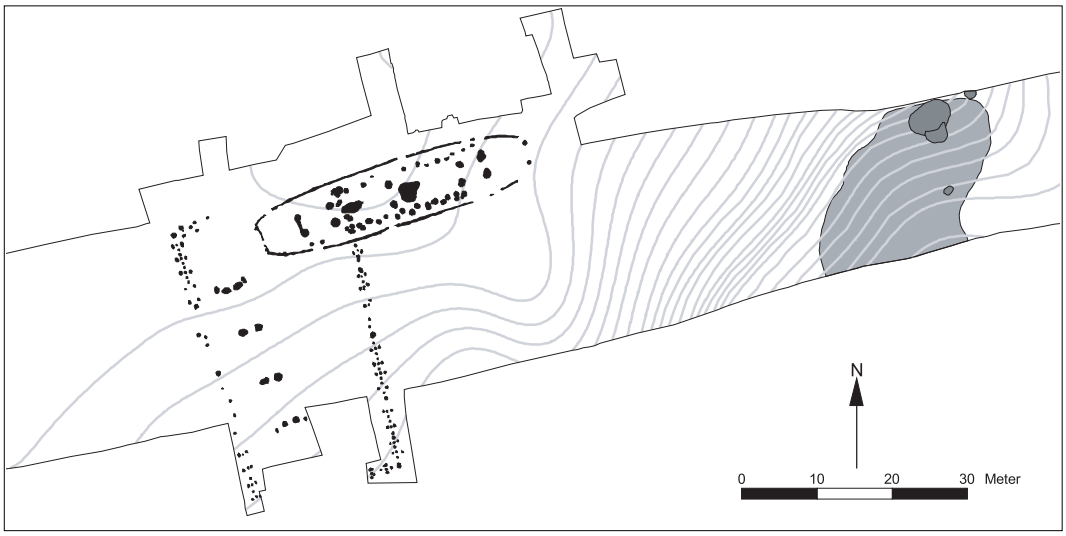

Fig. 10. The relation of the hall/*hov* phase 3 and the marshy area with fire-cracked stones (light shading) and wells (dark shading). Equidistance 0.2 metres.

Husby in the parish of Glanshammar in central Sweden (Ekman 1998:11). Needless to say, fire-cracked stones can be derived from a wide range of activities, including metal crafts, different kinds of food preparation and drying procedures, sauna baths, ritual activities and so on. The occurrence of fire-cracked stones in the places mentioned above has not yet been thoroughly discussed, but rather viewed as indications of intensive activities in general. A hypothesis is that the phenomenon should be related be related to food-preparation in connection with "veizlu-halls", i.e., halls connected to feasting and ritual meals (Brink 1999:13). In Norway, the occurrence of ploughed-out layers of fire-cracked stone on Late Iron Age tofts has been interpreted as a shift in food processing, from Roman Iron Age "dry cooking" in pits to "wet cooking", using heated stones in water, probably reflecting a cultural change (Skre 1996:138 p.).

When parts of the plough layer inside the enclosure were sieved, small fragments of burnt bone were a recurrent find. Large amounts of animal bones were found in the wells connected to the fire-cracked stones, dominated by jawbones and larger bones from cattle, horse and pig (pers. com. osteologist Lena Nilsson). The unusually large proportion of cranial parts was also observed in Borg (Nielsen 1997:384). It is considered significant that animal bones were totally absent in the layer with fire-cracked stones, and a preliminary hypothesis, in line with Fabech's above-mentioned idea concerning a spatial separation of the sacrifice from the ritual meal, is that the refuse from animal sacrifices, the slaughter and the ritual meals were deposited in different contexts, in accordance with ritual behaviour related to the overall symbolic meaning of different structural entities at the site.

The fire-cracked stones and animal bones in Järrestad may thus be interpreted as a drastic example of seemingly everyday "artefacts", elaborately used in a religious context. Fire-cracked stones surrounded the wells where selected parts of animal skeletons were deposited, as if a giant cooking pit had been recreated in the marshy ground. The "pure" character of the layer suggests that heaps of

Fig. 11. The massive layer of fire-cracked stones. Photo: Sven Waldemarsson, SWA bilder.

stones were stored first and then deposited on a massive scale.

Smithing and cooking are interpreted as closely integrated activities, involving the oppositional pairs of life/death, culture/nature, in the *hov* and the marshy ground. It is of special interest to note that the pit with the long sequence of wells, some of them showing very significant constructional details, were visible from the *hov* through the eastern, public entrance to the enclosure. The spring can obviously be regarded as a holy spring, offering its water to the central activities of cooking and smithing.

The power of directions?

Doxtater's structuralist analyses of vernacular Norwegian architecture are based primarily on an analysis of directions, as related to an overall symbolic conception of space, which is derived from mythology as recorded in the Old Norse literature (Doxtater 1990). In contrast, Glassie's structuralist analysis of folk housing in Virginia involves surface details, for example, facade decorations, to a very high degree (Glassie 1995) and is obviously more difficult to apply to a ploughed-out archaeological site. It is not surprising that the outcome of the two approaches is quite different. Glassie's method of analysis is designed to uncover a more subtle socio-political change, adapted to the short *durée*, while Doxtater's method is adapted to the long *durée*, a slowly emerging and almost total socio-political change.

According to Doxtater, the structuring of space, including the functions of separate rooms in a building, the positioning of the buildings as well as the locations of churches and natural sites, is made in accordance with the hierarchical oppositions of the directions. The most powerful oppositional direction was, according to pagan mythology, the dominating north, which is the directions of the spirits and the subordinate south, the home of the living and the mortal. The west/east oppositional pair is considered to be of a complementary character, attributed to male/female meanings such as culture/biology. This basic structuring of cultural space prevailed for a long time in Norway and was not affected by Christianization until well after the Reformation (Doxtater 1990:186 p.).

The premises of Doxtater's analysis are, however, not entirely uncontroversial from the point of view of the scholar of religions. Nilsson has summed up previous research regarding pagan approaches to the four cardinal points (Nilsson 1994:21 pp.). Different mythological phenomenon are obviously connected to cardinal directions in the Old

Norse texts, and north is in this perspective the most charged direction, strongly associated with spirits, death and demons. The written sources are not consistent, however, and Nilsson reaches the conclusion that different cosmological systems seem to appear parallel to each other, among other things probably indicating chronological significances. Furthermore, researchers have pointed out that the abstract Christian approach to the cardinal points could very well have influenced the Old Norse literature. In the following, Doxtater's method of analysis will be briefly exemplified and discussed in relation to the hall and *hov* layout and the cultural space of the surrounding landscape.

I have already discussed the layout of the halls in terms of a west/private/closed structure as opposed to an east/public/open structure, as a consequence of the arrangement with a high seat in the western upper hall area and the positioning of the entrances. The male/female division can also be applied to this concept, with meanings referring to culture/west and biology or nature/east. When it comes to the presumed *hov*, the enclosed building is oriented in a north–south direction. The enclosure could be reached from the private sphere in the hall, situated north of the enclosure, in the direction associated with the spirits. The public entrance through the palisade enclosure in the east connected the *hov* to the marshy area, and thereby forming another significant axial direction, with the meanings west/male/culture and east/female/nature. This structuring can possibly shed some light on the patterns of distribution, with depositions of processed refuse such as burnt bone and slag in the west/male/culture dry area and the symbolical depiction of the cooking process in the east/female/nature wet area.

Outside

If the hall and *hov* in Jarl's long-lived settlement were structured as a centre of the pagan cosmos, can we possibly locate this concept in the surrounding landscape, as exemplified by the relation between the presumed oppositional pairs of Midgard/internal/inlying land/culture and Utgard/external/outlying land/nature? Is it possible to explore links connecting the hall and *hov* to features of importance and directions structured in accordance with an overall concept of symbolic space in the landscape?

Graves, depositions of wealth, runestones and picture stones in Scandinavia have been studied in relation to settlements and are in certain circumstances thought to reflect the cosmological aspects of farms and link them to certain domains in a surrounding landscape. The settlement is a part of a "sacred topography", associated with a strong mythical content (Hedeager 1999). Special attention was obviously drawn to significant topographically and/or culturally defined border zones outside the settlements, where different kinds of manifestations or rites took place, throughout the Iron Age. The picture stone is probably the most profound example, embodying a rich variety of myths, designed as doors and placed at the borders of inlying and outlying land (Andrén 1991).

It is an established fact that Iron Age central place formations are situated in a highly organized landscape. In certain circumstances they can be identified through a rich flora of village- and place-names scattered over the surrounding landscape, sometimes accompanied by depositions of wealth, graves and other monuments (e.g., Brink 1998; Fabech 1998; Lundqvist 1998). The various manifestations are obviously expressions deeply rooted in a general human demand for

existential structure and as such they can, in a more or less conscious manner, also be used as powerful tools in order to manipulate people's activities in a shared cultural space (Doxtater 1990:185). In elite settlements like Järrestad, characterized by very long continuity and an ambition to exercise power, the culturally shared and unifying space must have been carefully defined. Continuous attempts must have been made to profit from a unifying overall concept, in accordance with power strategies.

The problem is, however, to "localize" this long-lost space to begin with. The relation between farm and grave-field is still obscure in Järrestad, and there are no records of runestones or Iron Age hoards in the vicinity. The women's grave east of the farm is of course an interesting possibility and so is probably the land survey place-name *Stenagerenn,* "the field of stones", in a similar topographic situation west of the farm, without any traces of stones in the sandy hills (Fig. 12). The presumed grave-fields are both situated on promontories by the river, which is a recurrent and no doubt very significant feature along the Tommarp River during the Iron Age.

So far, no systematic study of place- and village-names has been carried out in the area by experts. A tentative study by Thurston indicates that "fragments" of a central place formation are preserved (Brink 1998:301) and a thorough analysis could be worthwhile (Thurston 1996:247 pp.). This can be exemplified with the hamlet of *Karlaby*, the village of the (house)carl, situated a couple of kilometres north-west of Järrestad and possibly connected to the retinue (Brink 1999b). The hamlet of *Viarp*, possibly interpreted as the new settlement at the old cult site, is situated two kilometres south-west of Järrestad, accompanied by a grave-field with mounds, numerous stray finds and land survey place-names like *Vijeagerenn*. Close to Järrestad and an old passage over the river west of the village, the place name *Galgabacken*, gallows hill, is attributed to a hill enclosed by streams and situated where the parish borders of Järrestad, Tommarp, Simris and Bolshög meet, indicating a meeting place, the site of a *thing* or assembly (Fig. 12).

In this context attention will be directed to another category of source material, namely local tradition, which is seldom used by researchers. The reasons for this are obvious; folk tradition is, generally speaking, difficult or even impossible to evaluate and date. Old traditions involving, for example, giants connected with ancient monuments and topographical features are common in Sweden and elsewhere. In certain regions, such as south-east Scania, they are quite numerous, probably because the traditions were maintained long enough to be documented (Wallin 1952). Obviously, the origin of this widespread phenomenon is deeply rooted in a prehistoric past, which is clearly reflected in the Old Norse myths. The traditions can be thought of as explanatory models, applied to more or less unusual features in the landscape of the "old peasant society". The interpretations vary over time, and the meanings ascribed to the features are no doubt in the eyes of the beholder (Burström 1996:104 pp.), which, of course makes them problematic to use as "evidence". In some instances, however, they may directly or indirectly reflect an old pagan concept of cultural space. In my opinion, a study of local tradition may be relevant if it can be applied to the archaeological material, old myths and cultural space in a way that make sense. In Järrestad there is a strong possibility that the unifying concept of cultural

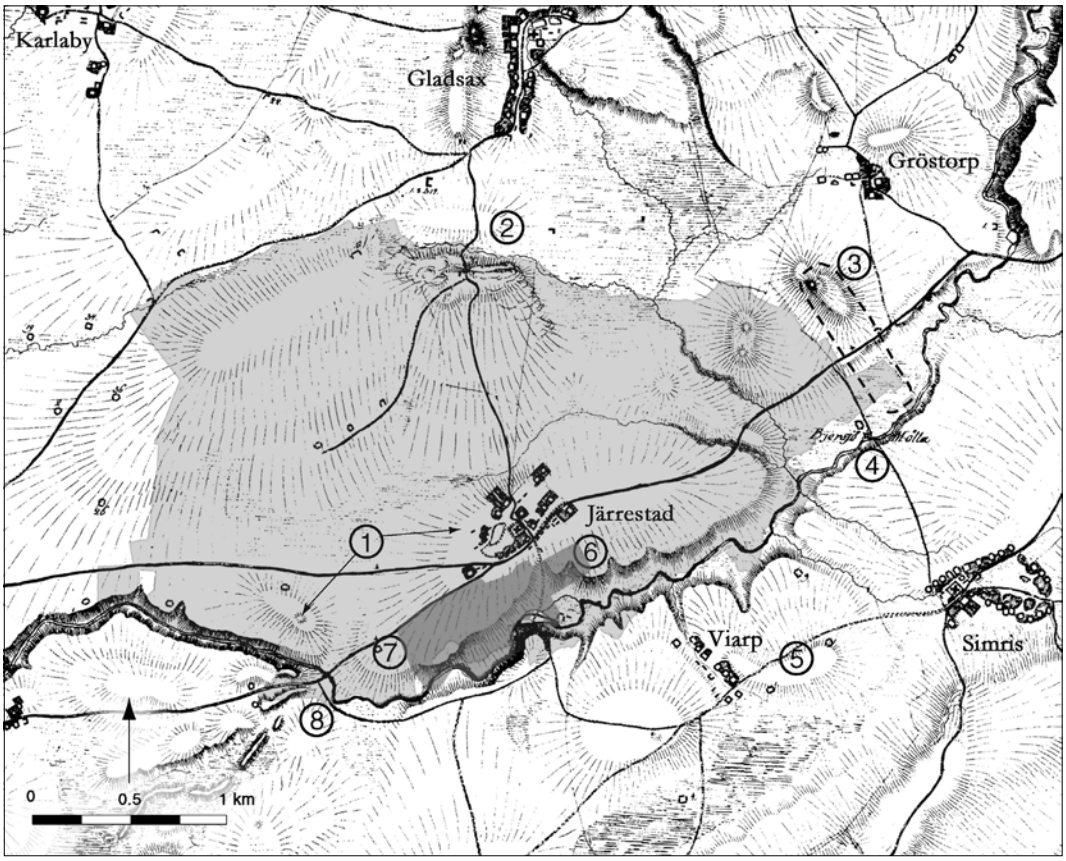

Fig. 12. The magnate's farm (dark shading) and the land belonging to the historically known village of Järrestad (light shading). 1. Megalithic burials. 2. Holy mountain. 3. Buried giant. 4. Simris grave-field. 5. Viarp grave-field and possible cult site. 6. Women's grave. 7. Indication of grave-field. 8. *Galgebacken.* Section of the Scanian reconnaissance map, *c.* 1815.

space, modelled during the time of the long-lived magnate's farm, did leave a strong imprint on local tradition, The following examples of tradition in Järrestad should be regarded as possible links in a tentative approach to the lost, changeable cultural space in Järrestad.

Two megalithic burials west of the village of Järrestad are traditionally named *Jarladösen,* "the Jarls dolmen", and *Jarlafruns dös,* "the wife of Jarl's dolmen" (Fig. 12). The impressive Neolithic monuments have certainly played an important role in structuring cultural space in Järrestad and the naming may possibly relate them to the Late Iron Age concept of the sacred marriage. The so-called *guldgubbar* or gold-foil figures, sometimes found in the filling of the central postholes in Scandinavian halls, have been pointed out by several researchers as links between halls and cosmos (e.g. Herschend 1998:49 pp.). The most widespread gold-foil motif is the "embracing pair" (Watt 1998:185, Fig. 9). The motif has been interpreted as a representation of the marriage between the good Frey and the giantess Gerd (Steinsland 1991). In the hall context the mythical motif is thought to allude to the sacred origin and reproduction of the elite (Steinsland 1991; Skree 1996:290 pp.;

Herschend 1998:49 pp.). The depositions of gold-foil figures in, for example, the halls of Slöinge were strictly concentrated in certain postholes, and a direct connection with the high seat seems most likely (Lundqvist 1996:14, Fig 5; Lönnroth 1997). The myth and the general pattern of distribution have inspired the interpretation that "the hall constitutes a point in Midgård, where, due to the holiness of kings and the way they marry, Utgård and Asgård are connected in the focus of Midgård society" (Herschend 1998:51). The cosmological links constituted by the phenomenon of gold-foil figures was present in the magnate's farm through the find of a shafted patrix made of bronze, with the motif of the "embracing pair" Utgard/Gerd and Asgard/Frey (Fig. 13). Returning to the megalithic burials, it is perhaps significant that the presumed jarl's wife/giantess was related to the large passage grave situated at a distance from the settlement while the jarl's grave was a dolmen, situated close to the settlement. The possible linking of the "elite myth" to the megalithic burials can obviously be regarded as a manifestation of a social order legitimized by elite preference of interpretation of the ancient monuments.

Fig. 13. The shafted patrix from Järrestad. Photo: Bengt Almgren, LUHM.

A tradition more directly involving a giant is tied to a group of monuments situated to the east of the village (Fig. 12). One of the largest Bronze Age barrows in the district, *Kvejshög*, is spectacularly situated on the top of a hill. On a terrace below there is a Neolithic passage grave, *Stenstuan*, and further down the slope there is an Iron Age upright stone, *Pickasten* (Fig. 14*)*. The terrain below consists of wetland, adjoining the Tommarp River. The antiquarian N. G. Bruzelius, who visited the place in the 19th century, was told by the local farmers that there was a giant buried there; the barrow marked the place of his head, the passage-grave his heart, the upright stone his penis and the wetland his feet. There is also a tradition that a gold ring was found in connection to the giants feet (Fornminnesinventeringens register; see also Wallin 1952:9 for a less detailed and partly different version of the tradition).

There are several details in the lovely story of the giant which make him interesting as part of a pagan cosmos and ritualized landscape in Järrestad. The sexual connotations can obviously be explained simply as an

Fig. 14. Body part of stone. The ritual landscape east of Järrestad. Photo: Sven Waldemarsson, SWA bilder.

outcrop of folk humour, but are still very much in line with the pagan view of giants as sexually excessive (Clunies Ross 1998:83). The giant's funeral place between the villages of Järrestad and Gröstorp can be regarded as a rite of passage phenomenon, a demarcation of the border between inlying and outlying land and/or the border between the two villages. The communication route following the river valley from the coast to the hinterland, known as far back as the 17th century, passes right between feet and penis. The dead giant forms a tremendous obstacle in the landscape, stretching out from the low wetland in the south to the top of the hills in the north. The body is obviously connected to vertical qualities of space as well as horizontal, and it can be viewed as a metaphor connecting different zones of the river valley topography.

One kilometre north of Järrestad, the landscape changes character dramatically as the fertile river valley is succeeded by barren rocky hills. There are splendid views of the river valley and the sea from the hills, and a famous Bronze Age rock carving site shows that this suggestive environment was incorporated in cultural space at an early stage. Apart from a few groups of stone settings, there are no Iron Age features known on the mountain.

It is definitely outlying land (Fig. 12), and quite a number of different minerals are found embedded in the rocks on both sides of a fault depression, for example galena, calcite, fluorite, and, to some extent, silver. Large amounts of galena were easy accessible for open-cast mining, activities which are easy to spot today. Written sources inform us that the

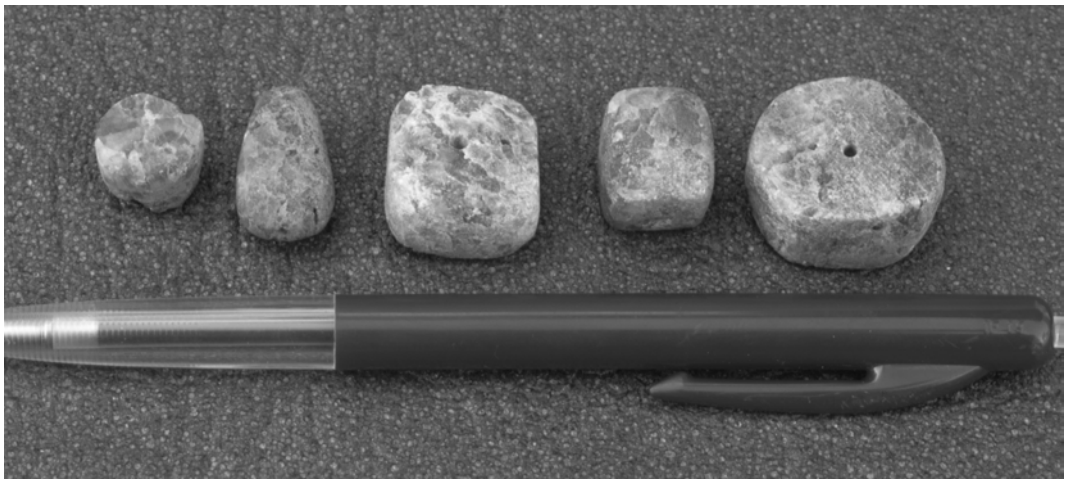

Fig. 15. The unfinished beads from the hall phase 4. Photo: Sven Waldemarsson, SWA bilder.

minerals were considered an important resource and mining is recorded at least back in the 17th century (Liljegren 1999:24 pp.). The name of the nearby village of Gladsax, recorded in 1322 as *Glathsyas,* may come from *glänsande saxa* or "shining sword". This has been interpreted in various ways (Thurston 1997:261) and I would like to add another suggestion to the list: the village was named after the impressive, very characteristic long, rocky formation called *Impan* close to the village, which delimits the fault to the north, and contained easy accessible shining minerals.

One of the handicrafts performed at the magnate's farm was the making of beads out of minerals such as calcite and fluorite. No less than five unfinished beads made of fluorite were deposited in a posthole in the hall phase 4 (Fig. 15). The deposition constitutes a link between the hall and the presumed holy mountain in the outlying land of the "all-dominating direction of north" (Doxtater 1990:187). It can also be interpreted as an illustration or a paraphrase of a recurrent theme in Old Norse literature. The Æsir stole various kinds of natural resources or raw materials from the giants and their domains in the outlying land, in order to transform the loot into cultural assets, an art which the giants themselves were not capable of performing (Clunies Ross 1998:155 pp.). The choice of unfinished artefacts, quite in accordance with the saga theme, should not be considered a coincidence, and it is likewise interesting to note the placing of the beads, in the west/male/culture upper part of the hall.

Integrating power

The strategy of integrating and controlling different societal spheres is fundamental for the formation and maintenance of power. In a cross-cultural analysis of chiefdoms, Timothy Earle has pointed out three main sources of power: the military, ideological and production spheres (Earle 1997; cf. Mann 1986). To increase and maintain power it is of vital importance to bring the three spheres as closely together as possible, in terms of time and space. This is done in different ways depending on natural, economic and socio-cultural conditions and the societal complexity in general. The evolution of the hall as an arena where the spheres were integrated, in concrete

and symbolic form, must be considered of central importance for the making of an elite and the changing quest for power during the Iron Age (Skre 1998; Herschend 1998:160 pp.). Halls appears to be the nucleus of large farms as well as central place complexes and, basically, they should all be regarded as attempts to integrate power, whatever the actual historical outcome.

The classical question of what the presumed *hov* consisted of, in terms of architectural features, has been very briefly touched upon. Should the *hov* be regarded as a single feature, such as the enclosed house, or is it equal to the whole concept, with hall, enclosure, enclosed house and spring? Perhaps there has never been a single, clear-cut definition of what a *hov* was supposed to consist of. Does the term simply denote a cult site closely integrated in an elite farm, as opposed to "natural" cult sites? This leads further, to the fundamental issue of whether the hall and *hov* in Järrestad should be considered as a specialized concept designed exclusively for ritual activities and banquets or if it was a multifunctional concept, designed for domestic life as well? This is obviously a more complex issue than at first thought, involving knowledge of elite lifestyles as well as the farm/settlement/domain/society in its entirety. In my opinion, the mundane activities of everyday life seem to have been intimately integrated in the cultural space of the magnate's farm, as indicated by, for example, sunken-floor houses close to the presumed holy spring and the halls. On the other hand, the initially mentioned large house could very well have functioned as the dwelling of quarter the highest-ranking individual and his family, and this house is preliminarily dated to a phase corresponding to the halls phase 2 or 3, and it is obvious that various alternatives must be considered.

Integrating power is, in this context, expressed in the structuring of the socio-cultural space of the presumed *hov* and the surrounding landscape, by the performances of rituals, including sacrifices, and by symbolic depositions. A structuralist approach related to an overall concept of Old Norse myths has been discussed and to some extent exemplified with archaeological material and local tradition. The layout of the hall and *hov* can be argued to correspond to internal as well as external symbolic directions, but when it comes to the overall concept of oppositional directions in the landscape it is certainly wise to consider cultural space and mythical space as a lot more complex and "fluid" than an analysis based on oppositional pairs can ever hope to reveal (cf. Clunies Ross 1998:59 pp.). The *hov* is tentatively thought to relate to an ancient sacred river valley topography of Bronze Age or perhaps Neolithic origin, consisting of the key elements river/south and mountain/north. In contrast to Doxtater's scheme, the positioning of grave-fields and other features close to the river/south suggests the importance of many vertical rather than one hierarchically dominant horizontal direction in the landscape, which perhaps is embodied in the multi-period giant buried to the east of Järrestad. The magnate's farm was obviously linked to a world of myths, and in my opinion we should not hesitate to explore possible fragments of this lost cultural space, inherent in local tradition. Spatially arranged traditions should, at least in theory, be possible to investigate and evaluate with archaeological methods.

Summing up the structuring of space in the hall and *hov* environment in a socio-political perspective, the development can hypothetically be characterized as a slow and gradual process from an open/public/small to a closed/private/large concept. The general

tendency towards a specialized, differentiated and centralized Iron Age society is reflected in the archaeological material at settlement level as an increasing number of metal finds, imports, sunken floor houses, new building techniques etc. Further analysis of the material will give a more detailed picture of this development.

The movement towards a closed concept is preliminary considered as a consequence of central place formation. This was not possible without an increase of the population size, in occupational terms consisting mainly of peasants, artisans, warriors/soldiers and servants, or in social terms, of free, unfree or in other ways bound by oaths of loyalties to an elite. Furthermore, it involved an increase in the number of visitors from near and far, people from the local district as well as prominent guests with artisans, servants and retinue, present from time to time. The growing complexity and social differentiation are mirrored in the structuring of space in the direction towards a closed/private/large concept. It is, however, important to note that the overall structure of hall and *hov* remained largely intact. The establishment of a more permanent residence/cult place can be interpreted as a sign of a relative equilibrium in the local landscape, achieved during the 7th century and maintained to the 11th century, indicating possibilities as well as limitations in the integration of power in Late Iron Age south-east Scania.

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Places in Our Minds
Transformation and Tradition in Early Iron Age Settlements

Björn Magnusson Staaf

Abstract

A "central place" cannot be central on its own. Its designation is derived from the fact that it has been recognized as having a superior role for a wider number of settlements. The significance of Uppåkra during the Iron Age was thus not inherent in the physical place itself; it was inherent in the minds of the people living in the region. Landscapes are lived in, and all the various domains and stations within this, connected through shifting sets of human trajectories, are endowed with specific significance. The founding of Uppåkra as a specially designated place in the Early Iron Age was most likely an intentional act that took place in the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age. This article focuses on the settlement pattern in south-west Scania during the Pre-Roman Iron Age, trying to put the founding of Uppåkra into a social context.

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The Uppåkra site viewed from 10 kilometres to the south-west

In clear weather one can distinguish the spire of Uppåkra church without difficulty from Flansbjär in north-east Malmö. One of the many Early Iron Age settlement sites that has been excavated in the Malmö area during the last decades was located at Flansbjär (Samuelsson 1996a). It was situated on the edge on a ridge south of the Sege River. The landscape slopes gently down from Flansbjär to the meandering river. The south-west Scanian Plain and the Plain of Lund are separated by the river. From the Middle Ages onwards it has functioned as a border between the hundreds of Oxie and Bara. One can still walk easily to Uppåkra and back in a day from Flansbjär without getting too sore feet.

The Flansbjär site cannot be described as being unparalleled, as it shows many similarities to other Early Iron Age habitations in the Malmö area. This stands in contrast to Uppåkra, which is without doubt a unique site in a south-west Scanian context. Uppåkra does show similarities to a number of other "central places" from the Iron Age. One thing that sets Uppåkra apart, however, is the extraordinary place continuity that has been discerned here. It appears as if the status at one time conferred upon Uppåkra charged it with a specific long-lasting meaning. A social cognitive notion must have been connected to the topographical feature of this site. It was, in other words, a place of importance in

people's minds for over a thousand years.

Yet, a "central place" cannot be central on its own. Its designation is derived from the fact that it has been recognized as having a superior role for a wider number of settlements. The significance of Uppåkra during the Iron Age was thus not inherent in the physical place itself; it was inherent in the minds of the people living in the region. It is of course relevant to have a perspective where one looks from Uppåkra to other points in the landscape, but it is just as vital to look at Uppåkra from other settlements in the neighbouring region. What role can Uppåkra have had for the people living at Flansbjär?

Lived landscapes

Landscapes are lived in, and all the various domains and stations within this, connected through shifting sets of human trajectories, are endowed with specific significance. The topography of a landscape, together with settlements, fields for tillage, burial grounds, and so on, therefore represents not only a physical setting but also a social construction. We cannot separate the mental experience from the physical surroundings or vice versa. This should definitely not be understood in the sense that our perception of the living world around us is arbitrary or inconsistent. The everyday living world makes sense to those living in it, the various stations and domains all have tacit ambiguous meanings that contribute to set a framework for our social interactions (Magnusson Staaf 2000a). We can regard people's relationship to stations and domains as an extension of the existing, given world (Werne 1997). However, people can play the role of active agents who can restructure the setting of everyday trajectories through intentional acts. These acts may in turn change the meaning of places and thus also affect human interaction. One could say that intentional action is a reaction to an extensional state. Every intentional act leading to transformation can, on the other hand, lay a foundation for the structure of a new extensional state (Werne 1997; Magnusson Staaf 2000b). The foundation of Uppåkra as a specially designated place in the Early Iron Age was most likely an intentional act, just as the abandonment of the site in the Late Iron Age probably also was intentional.

Still, the extensional is a relative concept. The way Uppåkra was apprehended by people during the Early Iron Age was probably different from how it was seen during the Late Iron Age. It is evident that the settlement pattern in south-west Scania underwent several radical changes during the time that Uppåkra played the part of a "central place". We may therefore assume that these transformations were of importance for how Uppåkra was recognized and used. This must in turn have had consequences for how the spatial organization of Uppåkra was structured. Changes taking place at Uppåkra may also have had consequences for the structuring of other habitations in the region. The major transformations in settlement pattern that we can detect, for example, in the Malmö area and in the shifts of spatial use at Uppåkra, may be reflections of intentional acts that were to lay the foundation for new extensional states.

What were the causes that brought about these changes? A "central place" is awarded its role within a social context. It therefore seems reasonable to assume that social factors of wider character were of importance in the processes of change at a "central place" such as Uppåkra. One must look outside Uppåkra to get a grasp of these. It may therefore be worthwhile to try to relate the Iron Age deve-

lopments in the Malmö area with Uppåkra.

In this article I will primarily focus on the settlement pattern of the Pre-Roman Iron Age in the Malmö area. My aim is also to put forward some hypotheses concerning the social structure of this period. However, these hypotheses are based on certain assumptions respecting the developments during later part of the Bronze Age in the Malmö area. One could say that my ideas about the social structure during the Pre-Roman Iron Age have been inferred from an interpretation based on a dichotomization between the Early Iron Age and the Late Bronze Age. This type of dialectic thinking is not unproblematic since it easily can turn into a circular reasoning. I find it worth risking this, though, but I must therefore also in this context present my understanding of the Bronze Age background to Early Iron Age society.

A Bronze Age background

The investigations related to the Öresund Fixed Link project have shown that Bronze Age habitations in the Malmö area differed from those of the Early Iron Age. The distance between the separate domiciles, for example, seems to have been greater during the Bronze Age than during the Iron Age. The number of long-houses dated to the earliest part of the Iron Age is also higher than the number of Late Bronze Age houses. Yet, considerable changes of the settlement structure also appear to have taken place at the transition between the Middle and the Late Bronze Age (Magnusson Staaf & Björhem 1998).

The Middle and Late Bronze Age pottery from Malmö can be categorized into two chronologically separated groups, A-ware and B-ware. A-ware seems to have been in use *c.* 1300–800 BC, whereas B-ware appears in younger contexts (Björhem & Säfvestad 1993). It is only in rare cases that these two pottery types appear at the same habitation, if we judge from the result of the large-scale excavations that have been carried out during the last few decades. A reasonable interpretation is therefore that the settlements of the B-ware phase changed place in relation to those of the A-ware phase. There may be several reasons for this shift. One possible cause can be related to the agrarian system. There are archaeological-environmental indications implying that manure started to be used as a fertilizer on the fields during the Late Bronze Age. The appearance of pollarding knives made of flint, which are almost exclusively found in B-ware contexts in the Malmö region, could support this hypothesis. Fields with ard-marks, stratigraphically dated to the Middle Bronze Age, were also abandoned during the B-ware phase. An agriculture based on regular fertilizing puts other demands on how the landscape is used. Grazing grounds, fields for cultivation as well as stabling of livestock (at least during some parts of the year) must be correlated in a different manner than earlier. This must of course have had consequences for the general settlement structure (Magnusson Staaf in press).

However, it is probably not possible to single out one prime mover for these transformations during the Late Bronze Age. The developments of agricultural strategies and technologies did not take place independently; they are just one aspect of complex society. A settlement transformation on this scale, perhaps involving a break with older farming practice, must somehow have been socially legitimated. It is therefore not impossible that social, ideological and political changes on several levels preceded, or took place at the same time, as the events that involved a shift

of the habitation. The aggregation of ritual depositions of metal hoards in the Malmö area increased during the Late Bronze Age, at the same time as the total of metal deposited in burials decreased (Salomonsson 1971:111). Finds of urn burials on habitation sites of the Late Bronze Age are not uncommon around Malmö (Björhem & Säfvestad 1993). To speculate, this tendency could indicate an increased emphasis on collective actions, rather than on individuals, in contrast to the Early Bronze Age (Oldeberg 1974:Nos. 514, 521, 523, 525 pp., 530). The comparatively rich amount of metals that is found in the burials of the Early Bronze Age could be regarded as an expression of stressing the significance of individuals – an act which was perhaps addressed to a more exclusive group of people, rather than a wider collective.

Yet, the urn burials of the Late Bronze Age are still not so numerous that we can regard them as representing a common practice, though the grave goods are modest. The design of the metal objects testifies that the material culture of the Late Bronze Age around Malmö and in Scania was influenced by trends from Central and South-East Europe, and even the Mediterranean area (Salomonsson 1971:116; Rudebeck & Ödman 2000:131). The occurrence of metals also clearly demonstrates that this society must have been a part of a wider supraregional network in which goods changed owners. It might very well be that the trajectories of individuals in certain social strata during the Bronze Age followed different patterns than those of the wider population. It is tempting to say that the people embraced by this network constituted an aristocracy (Magnusson Staaf 1996:122). It seems likely that there was a social elite that participated in a supraregional network both during the Early Bronze Age and in the Late Bronze Age. In this context it should be pointed out that it is difficult to separate the long-houses of the A-ware phase from those of the B-phase. Large systems of pits are not uncommon features among the settlement remains from both these periods. There are thus also several signs of continuity between the Middle and the Late Bronze Age (Björhem & Säfvestad 1993). Still, it seems likely that the mentality, social behaviour and political strategies of the Late Bronze Age elite differed considerably from those of the Early Bronze Age aristocracy.

Various rituals, sacrifices, burials and the like might have been manifestations of belonging to these particular exclusive groups *vis-à-vis* a wider population. This belonging might in turn have legitimated privileges and various sorts of ownership. It might, however, have been just as important to make these displays to more restricted groups of equals, as was suggested above. From this perspective, these performances can then be regarded as acts of bonding. The changes of ritual during the course of the Bronze Age, which are reflected in the archaeological material, may testify to shifts of group bonding. The rituals of the Late Bronze Age could, at least hypothetically, have been intended for enhancing the bonding of a wider group of people than just a small elite. The purpose of these ceremonies was then not primarily to demonstrate a distinction of individuals from others, but rather to pronounce a sense of sharing a common good. This does not exclude the possibility that certain specific people took on central roles as mediators in these ceremonies. Why would the elite of the Late Bronze Age have any interest in this during the later part of the Bronze Age?

If an elite becomes less mobile it becomes more directly dependent on local economic

production. This is an incentive to become more directly involved in the production itself. As we saw above, there are indications of agricultural changes during the Late Bronze Age in the Malmö area. Do we have any evidence of a less mobile elite during the Late Bronze Age? The answer, also according to the reasoning above, is no. However, the character of the supraregional interaction may have gradually changed character. There are signs of increasing conflicts on the continent during the period that corresponds to the latest part of the Scandinavian Bronze Age. This is reflected, for example, in fortification complexes such as the Heuneburg in Baden-Württemberg in south-west Germany. Heuneburg appears to have been influenced by Greek fortification architecture. Several Greek colonies had been founded by this time in the western Mediterranean (Kimmig 1986:31). Even if fortifications were erected during earlier periods as well, these complexes indicate that a change in the character of conflicts had taken place. The size of military units grew. The elite of the Late Bronze Age society in south Scandinavia was perhaps forced to adapt to these developments (Randsborg 1995). It may have been necessary to augment economic production in order to maintain larger military units. This can in turn have increased territoriality and the necessity of bonding larger groups of people. The foundation for the supraregional network of the Bronze Age might have been eroded, and finally collapsed some time around 500 BC. By this time a new social order seems to have become established in south Scandinavia, including the Malmö area.

The scene in the Early Pre-Roman Iron Age

A large number of long-houses dated to the Pre-Roman Iron Age have been investigated in the Malmö area. The exact number is difficult to state, but they should be counted in hundreds rather than tens (Björhem 1999). However, the Early Pre-Roman Iron Age still appears, despite the vast habitation remains, to have been a fairly anonymous period in the Malmö area, at least when viewed in relation to the Bronze Age. The number of archaeologically retrieved metal artefacts, for example, is far lower than from the preceding period.

The long-houses share many traits with the long-houses from the latest part of the Bronze Age, even though the general dimensions of the houses from the Early Pre-Roman Iron Age tend to be more modest. The post-holes from the walls are often vague and irregular (Björhem 2000a:152). However, they appear in larger numbers than the Bronze Age houses. The distance between clusters of Early Pre-Roman long-houses is generally shorter than between Bronze Age houses. Habitation seems to have become denser in the Malmö area during this period (Björhem 1999). This dense habitation implies a strictly organized and regulated landscape. People cannot have been free to choose areas for habitation, fields for cultivation and grazing grounds. It was a settlement system in which people must have been constantly forced to show consideration for neighbouring domains.

Pit systems, probably dug to obtain clay, and various other types of pits are often found in the vicinity of the long-houses of the Early Pre-Roman Iron Age. The pits have the same morphological features as those from the Late Bronze Age (Berggren & Celin in press) and they also often contain debris consisting of

pottery, flint artefacts and bones (Högberg 2001) in parallel to the Bronze Age pits. The pottery from the Malmö area may have some local specific traits, but it shows on the whole large similarities to the general design of pottery in south Scandinavia from this time. Flint continued to be used for various implements. However, we know that iron was used as well, even though the number of finds of iron artefacts is small. It is possible that sickles of iron (Salomonsson 1971:138) replaced the "pollarding knives" of flint from the Late Bronze Age. The sparse finds in cremation graves are another trait of the Early Pre-Roman Iron Age. It is almost as if people during the early part of the Pre-Roman Iron Age consciously tried to avoid individual distinction in the deposition of remains from the cremation.

Does this evidence give us any clues to the character of the social structure? No habitation has yet been found around Malmö that markedly sets it apart from the rest of the settlements in the Malmö area. This could be interpreted as an egalitarian sign. This contrasts with the Late Bronze Age, when it seems as if the settlements around Södra Sallerup show some distinctive traits of specific status. Metal artefacts, for example, were found in the Bronze Age layers of debris at Södra Sallerup. The settlement system and the cremation graves of the Early Iron Age also signal an egalitarianism that is different from the urn burials of the Late Bronze Age. It is thus tempting to regard the society of the Early Pre-Roman Iron Age as being more egalitarian than Late Bronze Age society. If this was the case, why did it arise?

Klavs Randsborg has put forward the hypothesis that Early Iron Age society was more egalitarian in character. He has also set this development in relation to the military organization. The famous find from Hjortspring indicates that the size of military units did increase. Randsborg suggests that the arsenal might have been lighter than during the Bronze Age, yet more efficient. The spearheads of bone that were found in great numbers at Hjortspring were effective, handy and cheap to produce (Randsborg 1995). Several bone spearheads of the same type as those from Hjortspring have been found at settlements in the Malmö area, for example, in the vicinity of Flansbjär (Samuelsson 1996b; Nicklasson 1997:93 – Catalogue Skåne No. 3) and from Södra Sallerup (Magnusson Staaf 2000c:172).

We can perhaps also put the settlement system of the Early Pre-Roman Iron Age in relation to these developments. It need not have been a sudden population increase that caused increased settlement density in the area around Malmö. The habitations of the Early Pre-Roman Iron Age indicate a new system for land holding. Certain social strata could perhaps now start to support themselves on the basis of their own household, instead of subsisting on the premises of a superior elite. The dense and possibly strictly regulated habitation is also something that speaks for a society with strong social bonding, a tribal democracy. A social system of this kind would have contrasted with the aristocratic communities of the Bronze Age. This hypothesis is of course highly speculative. If there was a reform of the land-holding system, how was it then brought about?

We must probably look both to local circumstances as well as to supraregional developments if we want to get closer to this problem. The communities of the Hallstatt culture seem to have disintegrated in the period 600–400 BC. Most of the fortified sites were abandoned. Some of these sites appear to have been destroyed by violent action. The settlement systems were also transformed over

most parts of continental Europe north of the Alps. A culture with a new and different social organization began to take shape around 500 BC in Central Europe, known as the La Tène culture (Kimmig 1986). The period for the early La Tène culture, which corresponds to the Early Pre-Roman Iron Age, is characterized by military aggression. Celtic people, for example, invaded central Italy and were a serious threat to the Roman Republic. Rome itself was conquered by Celts in 386 BC (Arslan 1994). Increased warfare and developments of new strategies and technologies can force adaptation in other parts of society. Armed conflicts, for example, can bring about rapid social transformations. It is probably not a coincidence that the radical cultural changes in south Scandinavia are contemporaneous with the appearance of the La Tène culture. This does not mean that there must necessarily have been any Celtic campaigns to Scandinavia, but the armed turbulence in Central Europe might have had supraregional consequences.

An adaptation of a military strategy does not mean that a social system has to be duplicated, however. There may have been considerable differences between local communities. It is therefore hazardous to draw too many parallels between the societies of the La Tène culture in Central Europe and the societies in south Scandinavia. The archaeological evidence from the Pre-Roman Iron Age in Scandinavia differs in many respects from that of Central Europe. However, there are also several artefacts showing that south and central Scandinavia at least were influenced by the La Tène culture. One of the more intriguing objects dated to the Pre-Roman Iron Age that were found within the Öresund Fixed Link project was a ceramic ram's head unearthed just south of the Sege River. This head, which shows some La Tène traits, was found together with a material that indicates a ritual context (Steineke 2000:183). The religion of the La Tène culture may have had some influence on metaphysical beliefs in Scandinavia as well. Religion and ideology are of central importance for the setting of ontological concepts that in turn structure social behaviour.

It was claimed above that the society of the Early Pre-Roman Iron Age showed signs of being egalitarian. There are no clear traces of an elite in the Malmö area from this period. Was there then no elite or aristocracy? It is difficult to imagine that such a complex settlement system, which must have required a great deal of coordination, could have been formed and maintained in a society without hierarchical structures. There might have been cultural codes for signalling status that are difficult to discern in the archaeological record. Some recent finds from Hyllie, in the south of Malmö, may help to shed light on these questions.

Tradition and transformation: The Late Pre-Roman Iron Age

The settlements and habitations from the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age and Early Roman Iron Age in the Malmö area are more diverse in character than those from the Early Pre-Roman Iron Age. The long-houses also show differences in construction from the older long-houses. The postholes for the walls tend to be more distinct and regular. The dimensions of the houses are often larger than earlier. Pit systems and other types of pits are normally not found in such large numbers and in such close relation to the long-houses as during the previous phase. Some of the houses and habitation units were also fenced (Björhem 1999, 2000a, 2000b).

Two settlements, one from the Early Pre-Roman Iron Age and one from the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age/Early Roman Iron Age, were investigated at Hyllie in 1999–2000. The radiometric datings from the sites were not ready when this article was written. These two settlements are described in further detail in another article in this publication (Friman & Hector, this volume). However, they are of importance for the reasoning in this article as well.

The preliminary investigations at Hyllie had shown that there were settlement remains from the Early Iron Age. One of the questions in the research plan for the final investigation was whether these habitations close to the coast showed similar traits to those further inland, or if they showed specific traits (Magnusson Staaf & Hector 1999). The results of the investigations as part of Öresund Fixed Link project had shown that the settlement density was lower on the coastal plain than in the undulating landscape (Björhem 1994, 1999). Could it be that the settlements closer to the sea had a different status and perhaps held larger areas of land? This could explain why the settlement density was lower along the coast (Magnusson Staaf & Hector 1999). The result of the investigations showed that these habitations most likely had a status that set them apart from other types of settlement.

The distance between the two settlement sites is only a few hundred metres. They are both situated at the very edge of the undulating landscape that borders on the coastal plain to the south of Malmö. The southern habitation is dated to the Early Pre-Roman Iron Age. The structure of this habitation had a similar appearance to other settlements from this period. Large pit systems were situated close to the long-houses. The northern habitation dating to the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age/Early Roman Iron Age was more noteworthy. The long-houses here were exceptionally long, around 50 metres, and covered almost 300 square metres. The postholes indicate that the houses were very solid, and at least one of them was fenced in. The houses were situated in such a way that they encompassed a large open surface. The whole settlement, which appears to have been a high-status habitation, lay within an enclosure constructed of stones which appears to have formed an ellipse around the younger settlement as well as the older one. It has been difficult to date this enclosure, but it seems plausible on the basis of stratigraphy that it was erected while the northern habitation was still being used.

The most extraordinary finds from Hyllie were the iron artefacts found in the pit systems at the southern habitation. These finds consisted of fibulae, various types of knives, spearheads, a sword (Friman & Hector, this volume), a horse bit and several other metal implements. The artefacts are currently in conservation and have not yet been subjected to closer analysis. The objects date from the Late Early Pre-Roman Iron Age and the Early Roman Iron Age. They can therefore not be interpreted as being debris from the habitation of the Early Pre-Roman Iron Age. The metal artefacts were found together with sherds of pottery, and bones from various animals including horse and whale. The layer contexts of these finds were situated on the very top of the pits and pit systems. The lower layers of these pit systems contained only a few finds and they showed more similarity to what is normally found in pit systems of the Early Pre-Roman Iron Age. How should we interpret this?

The interpretation that I would suggest is that the southern habitation was moved to

the north. There was thus a direct succession between these two habitations. It might even have been that the people that lived on the northern habitation were descendants of those who had inhabited the southern settlement. The two settlements might represent a land-holding unit that showed continuity throughout the Pre-Roman Iron Age into the Roman Iron Age. It seems as if at least the persons who controlled the domain of the northern settlement upheld a status that was higher than most other habitations from this period in the Malmö area. The exclusive finds in the pit systems of the southern habitation may have been ritually deposited in this place by people from the northern habitation. A ritual of this kind could be a manifestation of belonging, either to ancestors or to a certain place, or to both, a belonging that perhaps legitimated the upholding of a certain higher social status. This could mean that the persons who inhabited the southern settlement during the Early Pre-Roman Iron Age had a higher rank than the people from other habitations, even though the settlement remains are as modest as at most others from this period. In this context it is specifically worth noting the arms and the horse bit among the metal finds, implying a martial connotation. It seems at least as if the southern habitation remained in the minds of people after it was abandoned. Could it be that the persons controlling the domain of the southern habitation were "primus inter pares"? What had once been a living habitation in the minds of people, had perhaps been transformed into a place of myth charged with new meanings.

Uppåkra and the developments of the Pre-Roman Iron Age

Uppåkra was definitely a more important place than Hyllie during the Iron Age. It also had, without doubt, a more central place in the minds of people, but when did it gain this position? The settlement transformation between the Early Pre-Roman Iron Age and the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age in the Malmö area took place during the two last centuries before the birth of Christ. These transformations corresponds in time with changes on the continent. Urban-like settlements, *oppida*, started to be founded around 200 BC within the areas of the La Tène sphere. The economy of the La Tène culture changed as well, several oppida had a coinage and various specialized craftsmen worked within these urban centres. "Keltenschanzen" also started to be constructed during this period. These constructions appear primarily to have had a ritual function. The density of Keltenschanzen are in some regions higher where the density of oppida is low and vice versa, for example in Bavaria. (Uenze 1978:17). It might be the case that some of the social-ritual projects performed at the Keltenschanzen had certain similarities to some of the collective projects carried out at the oppida. Are these matters of importance for the understanding of Uppåkra and its foundation? Perhaps we should regard the establishment of Uppåkra in the light of the establishment of oppida and Keltenschanzen, albeit in another cultural context than that of the continental La Tène culture?

There are signs of influence coming from the La Tène culture in the material culture of south-west Scania too, as mentioned above. Germanic tribes even had direct contact, albeit hostile, with the Mediterranean civilizations well before the Romans reached the Rhine. It

was during the later years of the second century BC that the Cimmerians and Teutons, two Germanic tribes from the north, started to march south into the Celtic areas. They defeated the Roman army in 113 BC at Noreia (Neumarkt in present-day Austria) and in 105 at Arausio (Orange in present-day France) before they were finally vanquished by the Roman commander Marius at Milan in Italy. An enterprise like this, which brought the Roman Republic into a serious crisis, must have required an advanced organization.

Neither the Cimmerians nor the Teutons appear to have come from south-west Scania, but it is not unlikely that they had their origins somewhere around the southern Baltic. The dense settlement patterns indicate that the complexity of the social organization must have been fairly high in south Scandinavia at this time. The Hyllie site and the several other Early Iron Age settlements in the Malmö area indicate that there was a hierarchy between places and settlements during this period. It could therefore be that Uppåkra started to play the role of a "central place" already during the Pre-Roman Iron Age. Settlements such as the one at Hyllie might have been related to Uppåkra, and perhaps even subject to it. Perhaps Uppåkra was a ritual centre, a place for the manifestation of a collective tribal bonding in south-west Scania? It is interesting to note that one of the earliest conspicuous metal finds from Uppåkra consists of a fragment from a neck-ring with ornamentation that is in La Tène style (Branca *et al.* 1999:60).

These speculations concerning the foundation of Uppåkra as a central place and how it gained a foothold in the minds of people during the late Pre-Roman Iron Age may be bold, but I do believe that we should not underestimate the developments that took place in south Scandinavia during the Pre-Roman Iron Age. Studies of the regional settlement patterns in south-west Scania will give us leads to this.

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Central Places and Regions in Scania during the Iron Age
Some Examples

Bertil Helgesson

Abstract

An often discussed problem in Scandinavian Iron Age archaeology is the different ways in which central places and central regions are indicated in the archaeological source material. These variations may have many reasons. In this paper some Scanian places and regions are presented and the underlying reasons for their various expressions in the archaeological material will be discussed. Three places will be focused on: Uppåkra and Flackarp close to Lund, and Färlöv on the Kristianstad plain. The connection between Slavonic silver, Ethelred coins and "after Jelling" runestones will also be discussed. It is presumed that different historical situations are the underlying reasons for the chronological and geographical differences in the source material.

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Uppåkra

Uppåkra has been the object of several investigations, and a majority of the metal finds have been found in the plough layer by metal detectors. Weapons, spurs, mountings and other objects connected with warriors' equipment have been found at Uppåkra, dating from B2 in the early Roman Iron Age and throughout the whole Iron Age. From C1b in the Late Roman Iron Age until the early Migration Period, weapons were deposited in a restricted area on the Uppåkra site. Most of these weapons are lanceheads and spearheads, and several of them were deliberately destroyed before being deposited. This concentration is extreme, perhaps indicating that the weapons were sacrificed (Hårdh 1999: 133). The custom of destroying weapons before sacrificing them is well known and especially well documented in Jutish bogs in Denmark. What is unusual is that the deposition in Uppåkra is on dry land. An alternate interpretation might be that the concentration of weapon heads was an arsenal at the settlement. According to Tacitus, weapons were not commonly carried by the Suiones but kept in a locked room and guarded by a slave (1960:97). This interpretation, however, does not explain why the weapons were deliberately destroyed. A parallel to this unusual deposition manner can be seen at the settlement of Sorte Muld on Bornholm. Here too, lanceheads and spearheads were found lying close together in the occupation layers (Watt 1991:93; Watt, pers. com.). Perhaps this unusual way of depositing can be seen in variations in the political and religious life in the Late Roman and Migration Periods.

From the Early Roman Iron Age and the first half of the Late Roman Iron Age there are many finds (especially in graves) of weapons, precious metal and Roman imports, indicating rich regions and a rich nobility in this period (Stjernquist 1977:59; Lund Hansen 1987:192 pp.; Hedeager 1990:87 pp.; Andersson 1995: 14 pp.; Stjernquist 1996:14 pp.; Nicklasson 1997:171 pp.). In the Late Roman Period there is a tendency that the social units become fewer and instead of rich graves certain types of central places develop, probably initiated by the nobility (Näsman 1996:60 pp.). Cultic life also changes, and many of these activities are often connected with the large central settlements (Fabech 1991:287).

Quite a few weapon graves from the Early Roman Iron Age and the first half of the Late Roman Iron Age (B2, C1b, C2) in Scania are commonly found in the coastal zones in the eastern and southern parts of the landscape. In western Scania weapons are almost absent except for Uppåkra. This might be interpreted as showing that the area around Uppåkra was integrated with the great settlement already before B2 and that warriors from Uppåkra were responsible for the defence of the settlement and the surrounding region. The deposited weapons might be connected with the chieftain(s) and the warriors at the settlement, perhaps as traces of a warriors cult. If this is the case, Uppåkra stands in contrast to the rest of the landscape, and also most areas in southern Scandinavia at this time.

Another trace of a special function connected with Uppåkra is a large amount of waste from combmaking in the Late Roman Iron Age. The production seems to have been standardized. Comb production from the Roman Iron Age is not known from any other places in Scania, although many settlements have yielded large amounts of bone (Jacobsson 2000:50 pp.). From Denmark comb production is documented at Lundeborg on Funen (Thomsen *et al.* 1990:84 p.) and Hørup on Zealand (Sørensen 1997:5 pp.), but on a rather small scale compared with Uppåkra. Lundeborg is interpreted as a seaport and a production place, and is often seen in connection with the rich Gudme. This might indicate that comb production, which is an advanced craft, was carried out only at special places. The production of combs at Uppåkra was probably too large for local use. Instead the combs were sold and also used for transactions of a social character. It is probable that the combs were given to subjects particularly in the neighbourhood (Helgesson 2002:52). Using combs as gifts to the magnates in Gudme, and in other rich places, must have been apprehended as an insult. Identifying "Uppåkra-made" combs in grave finds is an interesting task for future investigations. This might show which regions were connected with Uppåkra during the Late Roman Iron Age.

In the Migration Period the find material from Uppåkra changes character. A large amount of luxury objects have been found, for example, gold bracteates, gold-foil figures (*guldgubbar*), agraffes, and domestic and continental brooches and mountings (Hårdh, this volume; Helgesson 2002:45 pp.). The Migration Period gold of Scania has a rather marked concentration in the western parts of the province (Fig. 1). In contrast to Uppåkra, other find places in western Scania do not have so many types of finds. In principle, the find material is divided into three find categories: gold bracteates, large gold necklets and solidi (ibid.). The necklets (two in number) were found in the vicinity of Uppåkra, and the gold bracteates and solidi show an rather equal spread all over western

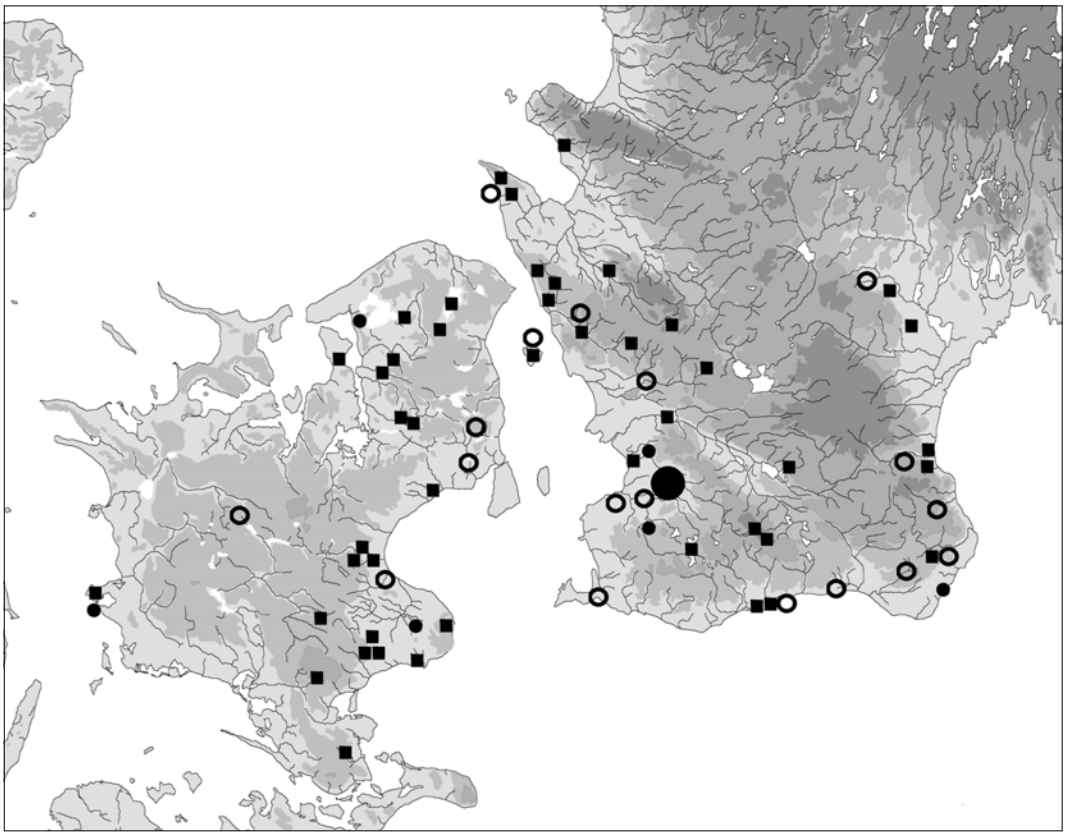

Fig. 1. Scania and Zealand in the Migration Period. Large dot = Uppåkra. Small dot = find spot for golden necklet. Square = bracteate find. Circle = solidus/solidi find. After Fabech 1991; Fonnesbech-Sandberg 1991; Helgesson 2002.

Scania. This might indicate a threefold hierarchical division, with the necklets possibly indicating noble milieus which were more directly connected with Uppåkra than others in western Scania. The whole area was probably held together by certain systems of dependence in which the circulation of the prestige goods played an important role. The political system in this region might be apprehended as a tribal confederation (or a part of one) according to Wenskus (Wenskus 1961; Näsman 1996:61).

The western Scanian concentration of prestigious goods is reflected on Zealand in Denmark (Fig. 1). Most finds of gold bracteates, gold necklets and solidi come from the eastern parts of the island (Fonnesbech-Sandberg 1991:238, Fig. 8). There might have been two different political systems in Scania and Zealand, but it is more likely that they constituted the same tribal confederation. This is corroborated by the idea that central Zealand and central Scania should be apprehended as borderlands (Fabech 1993:220 pp.; Fabech & Ringtved 1995:28). This unit was gathered around the Sound, Öresund, and was probably one of the most important parts of the Danish realm. The Danes are indicated in the written sources from at least the Migration Period, and also in the archaeological record (Näsman 1996:46 pp.). Uppåkra with its rich archaeological material was probably the most

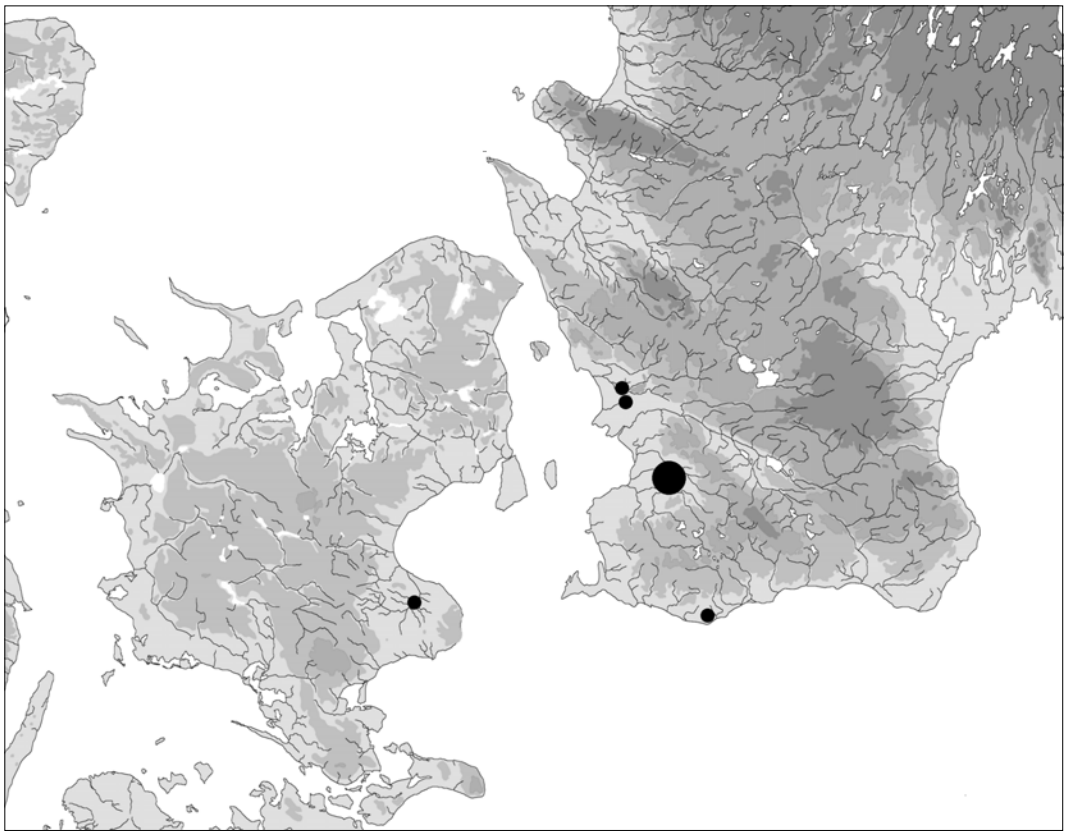

Fig. 2. Scania and Zealand in the 7th century. Large dot = Uppåkra. Small dot = settlements with higher status.

influential place in this Öresund area of the Danish kingdom.

Uppåkra of the 7th century sees a change in the composition of the source material. The prestige goods of the Migration Period decreased and the continental connections are not so obvious. Instead the material becomes domestic and one is struck by the enormous amount of bronzes, especially fibulae (about 600 in January 2001). Waste from production of the same types of fibulae has also been found on several occasions. The material from bronze working is rather large, indicating large-scale, and probably also continuous, production. Traces of bronze working have also been found at other settlements in western Scania dating from the 7th century (Fig. 2). At both Dagstorp and Västra Karaby, some 25 kilometres north-west of Uppåkra, and in Lilla Isie on the south coast, bronze casting was carried out on a small scale (Helgesson 2002:69, 71 p.). All three settlements seem to have been newly established in the 7th century (ibid.).

The production of fibulae in Uppåkra and at the three other settlements seems to be quite similar as regards the types that were produced. It might very well have been the same craftsmen that were responsible for the production in the four places. This leads to the question how the craftsmanship might have been organized in western Scania. There may have been a situation where the craftsmen had a rather free position and the metal support was the responsibility of the customer. The archaeological material indicates that

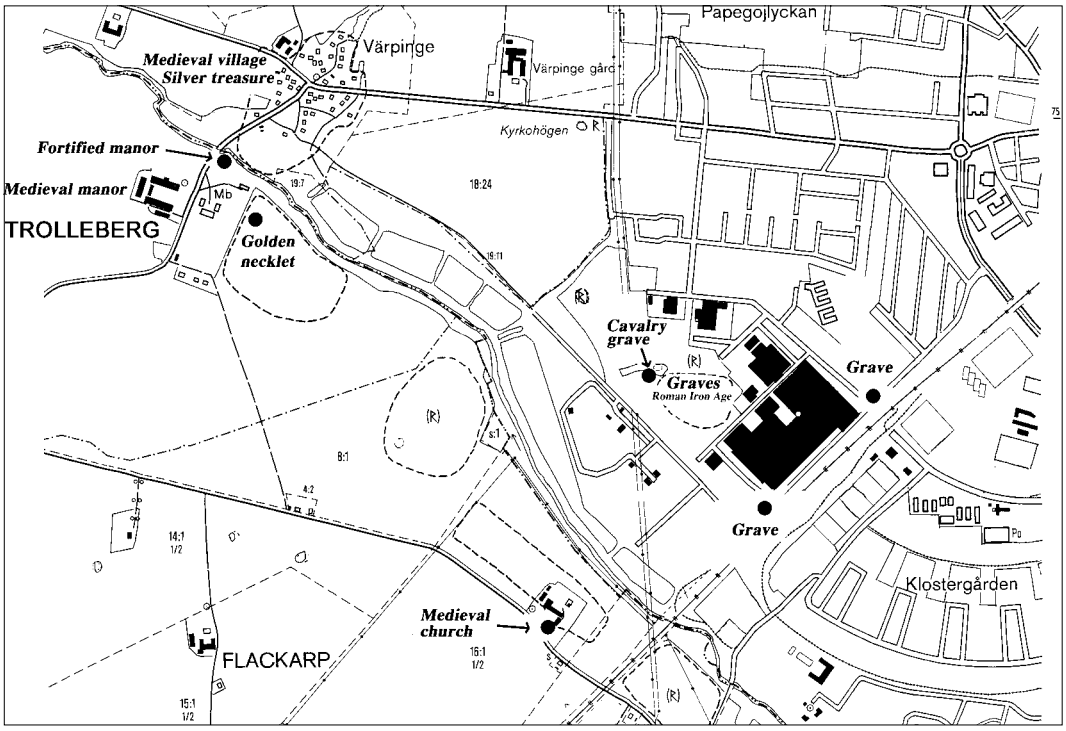

Fig. 3. Flackarp and features mentioned in the text.

craftsmen, according to this model, worked most of the year at Uppåkra, and were bound to their work. Another situation is that Uppåkra tried to achieve a monopoly in both controlling the production and the metal support. In this case there must have been craftsmen closely tied to Uppåkra, and the production in the other places was either sanctioned by the rulers at Uppåkra or a sign that the control did not succeed totally.

Dagstorp, Västra Karaby and Lilla Isie were newly established in the 7th century and the bronze working is concentrated in restricted areas of the settlements, perhaps one or two farms. Close to the bronze-working area in Västra Karaby a richly ornamented sword pommel and beaker glass were found (Ohlsson 1971:29 pp.). This might indicate that single farms on the settlements had some higher status in the Iron Age society. Perhaps we here sees the nucleus of an development towards large estates well known on the continent in the Early Middle Ages (Harrison 1999:443) and in the Scandinavian Viking Age (Randsborg 1980:25 pp. and 126 pp.). Land was granted and new settlements arose, and the giving of prestige goods was replaced by the giving of land.

Flackarp

To the west of Lund and scattered around the Höje River, an unusual concentration of prestigious finds and special places is known (Fig. 3). North of the stream and covering an area of about 600 by 400 metres, at least 18 graves have been found dating to the Late Roman Iron Age. Most of the graves were found on the margin of this area, as the central part is largely covered by industrial buildings. Most of the graves were found in small ditches lying close together. This indicates that many

graves are to be found in this area (RAÄ 5, 6, 7 and 8). Among the grave finds glass beads, fibulae, combs and silver beads are known (ibid.).

In another area, just south of the river, a golden necklet was found in 1924. The necklet is of Bragnum type according to Ekholm (1918: 55) and can be dated to the Migration Period. The necklet is one of the largest from this period in Scandinavia, weighing 1,224 grams.

Close to the graves from the Roman Iron Age another grave has been found. This grave was rather badly disturbed, but a two-edged sword and a bridle with gilded bronze mountings were found. Also a skeleton of a horse might be connected with this grave. This cavalry grave can be dated to the late 8th century (Helgesson 2002:82).

On the north side of Höje River is the medieval village of Värpinge. A silver treasure of at least 1200 coins has been found close to a farm. The treasure is unfortunately lost today, but among the coins a large amount were struck for Ethelred II of England. Probably the treasure was deposited in the 990s (Jonsson 1986:123 pp.).

On a small island in the river, traces of a complex structure have been found. This might have been a fortified manor (RAÄ 138). Just south of this place the large farm of Trolleberg is situated. This is the medieval manor of Värpinge, known in the written sources since 1123 (Helgesson manuscript). Also close to the Höje River is the site of the medieval church of Flackarp (RAÄ 3). About 6 kilometres south-west of Värpinge on the estuary of the Höje River lies Lomma. The place is known as Lumaby in 1085 and was probably a town in the Early Middle Ages (Andrén 1985:164). A wall marked on the older maps has often been connected with the old town (ibid.). This concentration of special finds and places which might be called the Värpinge complex is striking.

The Värpinge complex has several parallels in southern Scandinavia and could be compared with, for instance, Boeslunde, Vålse and Jørlunde in Denmark (Jørgensen 1995:96 pp.). These Danish places are all apprehended as magnates' estates and this might have been the case for the Värpinge complex as well. This noble milieu could perhaps be seen in connection with Uppåkra, and it has been suggested that the Värpinge complex was in some way dependent on the former (Helgesson 2002:152). A key question arises here which is essential when discussing central places. How would the Värpinge complex have been apprehended if Uppåkra were not known? It might well have been seen as an autonomous centre, perhaps the residence of a chieftain with influence over the surrounding areas. Today Uppåkra in known and no one really pays any attention to Värpinge.

Uppåkra was obviously a central place during the Late Roman Iron Age and the Migration Period, and so was Gudme on Funen in Denmark. Gudme is in an elevated location about one kilometre from the Tange River and about five kilometres from open water (the Great Belt). About two kilometres from Gudme, and close to the Tange River lies the large cemetery of Møllegårdsmarken, primarily from the Roman Iron Age. About four kilometres from Gudme the large Broholm treasure was found dating from the Migration Period, and at the estuary of the Tange River is Lundeborg, which was a market place, a craftsmen's place and a port during the Late Roman Iron Age and the Migration Period (Thomsen 1991:25 pp.)

Uppåkra is also on a height about one kilometre from the Höje River and about seven kilometres from open water (Öresund). About three kilometres from Uppåkra and

close to the Höje River lies the (probably) large cemetery of Källby from the Roman Iron Age. About four kilometres from Uppåkra a large Migration Period gold necklet was found (beside the Höje River), and at the estuary of the same river lies Lomma. The wall in Lomma could perhaps be connected with Uppåkra and perhaps a market place, a craftsmen's place or a harbour.

The areas around Uppåkra and Gudme seem to have some traits in common, yet there are also differences. For example, the large amount of gold that is known from Gudme is unique and not documented from the areas around Uppåkra. Another difference is that the Gudme material shows a regression in the late Migration Period, while the amount of material from Uppåkra instead becomes larger (Jørgensen 1995:82 pp.; Helgesson 2002:168 p).

The similarities between the two areas might be a coincidence but they could indicate that the areas were organized in a similar way. This further hints that there were contacts between Uppåkra and Gudme. The areas might have been two autonomous social units, perhaps allied in some kind of redistributive system. They might even have belonged to the same system, as two powerful units of a petty Danish kingdom.

Färlöv

Long continuity, as at Värpinge, can also be seen in Färlöv in north-eastern Scania (Fig. 4). Färlöv is situated on a sandy ridge dominating the northern part of the Kristianstad plain. East of Färlöv is Lake Araslöv, which is a part of the Helge River water system. Much of our knowledge about Färlöv derives from archaeological excavations in 1996–1998 (Björk 1998:55 pp.). The oldest find from Färlöv is a cremation grave in a Roman bronze vessel, equipped with double sets of weapons, i.e. sword, lancehead, spearhead, shield boss, shield handle and spurs. The bronze vessel also contained skeleton remains of two adult men. Postholes around the grave indicate some kind of wooden superstructure (ibid.).

The double grave is the oldest known grave in a rather large cemetery in Färlöv. The cemetery is marked on the older maps and stones are still standing at several places in the village. The excavations of 1996–1998 revealed that there were at least four ship settings in the cemetery. The largest of these is about 80 metres long (ibid.). This is exactly the same size as the famous ship-setting at Lejre, Zealand, Denmark, and larger than two other famous ship-settings, Ale Stenar in southern Scania and the ship-setting from Glavendrup on Funen in Denmark (Helgesson manuscript). The ship-settings from Färlöv were erected in the Merovingian Period and in the Viking Age. Also some other cremation graves were found, indicating that the cemetery was used more or less continuously from the Late Roman Iron Age until the middle of the Viking Age (Björk 1998:55 pp.).

Another find from the excavations in 1996–1998 is a runestone which was found only about 50 metres west of the large ship-setting. So far it has been impossible to give the inscriptions any meaning but the identifiable runes dates the stone to the 8th or 9th centuries AD. This makes it a very early runestone (ibid.).

The church in Färlöv is in Romanesque style and can be dated to the 12th century. It is rather exclusive, with a double transverse rectangular western tower and canopy frieze of granite around the south portal. Färlövsholm was a fortified manor and known since the middle of the 14th century. Its walls are

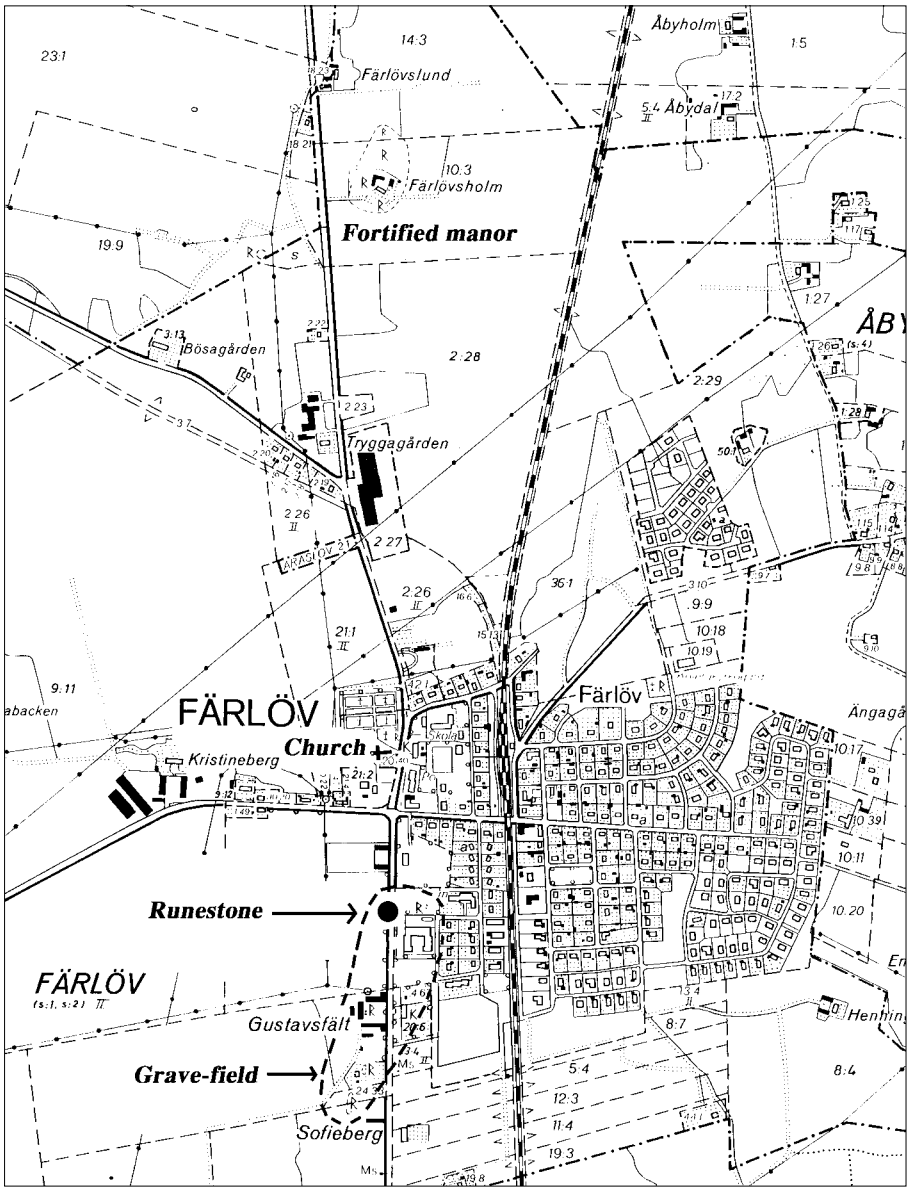

Fig. 4. Färlöv and features mentioned in the text.

still visible about 1,000 metres north of Färlöv church (RAÄ 28). Another manor from the Middle Ages is Araslöv, situated about 2 kilometres south-east of Färlöv. Araslöv is today a part of Färlöv parish but was a parish of its own during the Middle Ages. The church from the 13th century is still standing, and the manor and the church are lying close to Lake Araslöv.

In a larger perspective, the location of Färlöv seems to be very strategic. A great many monumental constructions and many spectacular finds from the Iron Age are known in Färlöv and its immediate surroundings. Examples are the large settlements of Vä and Fjälkinge, a gold bracteate and a solidus from Önnestad, a golden necklet from Fjälkestad

(Viking Age) and many ancient monuments, especially graves and cemeteries (Helgesson, manuscript). In the Early Middle Ages this is also accentuated. In north-eastern Scania three *kungalev* (Nosaby, Vä, Önnestad) are known from King Valdemar's cadastre (Andrén 1983:64). These *kungalev* were royal domains, perhaps with administrative and military functions. The north-eastern part of Scania is about 60 by 60 kilometres, and most of this area is divided into the three jurisdictional districts or hundreds (*härader*) of Gärd, Göinge and Villand. In each one of these a *kungalev* is situated but they are all extremely close to the borderland between these three jurisdictional districts and very near Färlöv. The three districts probably go back to an older administrative division into "folk-lands", surely of prehistoric origin (Brink 1998:316 pp.).

The area around Färlöv seems to have been of great interest for a long time. In the Iron Age and Middle Ages the Helge River water system on the Kristianstad plain, with the lakes of Hammar and Araslöv, had the character of a fiord, and the extent of this is hinted at high water, for example when easterly winds blow. Large areas are laid under water and other large areas become swampy. The best place to cross this water system was at Torsebro, just four kilometres north-east of Färlöv. The first streams of this large water system are at Torsebro and it was possible to sail to this point from the Baltic. This point must have been very strategic in the communication systems, connecting Blekinge with north-western Scania, and Småland with the Baltic. This is also a place where two types of economic systems border on each other: the agrarian economy on the Kristianstad plain and a more composite economy in the north where cattle-breeding and production of iron and tar were important. Torsebro might therefore have been an important place for trade as well. As a curious addition, it may be noted that a farm close to Torsebro is called Trälleborg and is placed, just like the famous *trelleborg* of Fyrkat in Jutland, far up a fiord system. This might indicate the location of a fortified structure (cf. Andersen 1992:19 pp.).

The area around Färlöv, and especially Lake Araslöv and Torsebro, seems to have been of great strategic and economic importance. Anyone who could control this area must have had a powerful position and been able to profit from the trade. This was probably the case during the Iron Age of local magnates in Färlöv, who manifested their positions through rich graves and huge monuments. This was probably also the case of the Danish king during the Middle Ages, whose sphere of interest is seen in the *kungalev*.

Slavonic silver, Ethelred coins and "after Jelling" runestones

Silver hoards and runestones can be seen as indications of magnates during the Late Viking Age and the Early Middle Ages (Helgesson 2002:32). Some features concerning these categories of source material can be related to actual historical events and periods. In this special analysis three aspects of silver hoards and runestones will be dealt with.

The first aspect is silver hoards containing objects of west Slavonic origin. Harald Bluetooth married the daughter of a prince of the Slavonic Abodrites, probably in the middle of the 10th century. The marriage was political in nature, aimed against the Germans (Randsborg 1980:22). This marriage might not only have meant an alliance between two social and political units but also broader contacts between different social groups from the two

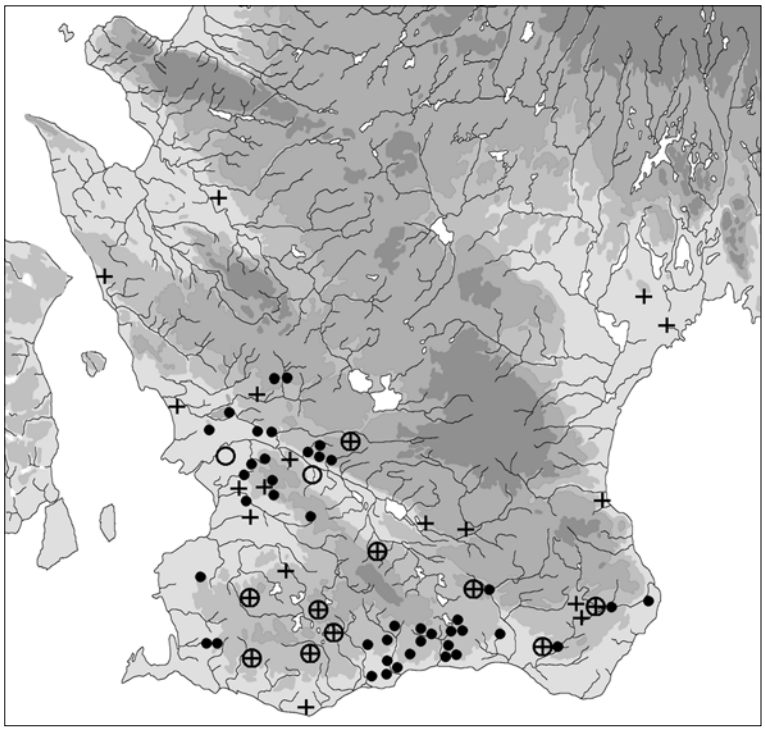

Fig. 5. Slavonian silver (circle), Ethelred-coins (cross) and "after-Jelling"-runestones (dot) in Scania. Cross in a circle = Slavonian silver and Ethelred-coins in the same treasures. After Hårdh 1976; Randsborg 1980; Helgesson 2002.

units. Contacts across the Baltic are of course not dependent on the king. It is possible that magnates and other groups from the Danish kingdom kept contact with Slavs both before and after the marriage of King Harald. This is indicated by hoards of Slavonic silver from Scania with a t.p.q. of 960–1051 (Helgesson 2002). These contacts, mostly peaceful in nature, might well be reflected in the Slavonic silver. A parallel to this can be seen some 150 years earlier. According to the Frankish annals, the Danish king Godfred destroyed the Slavonic town of Reric (Groß Strömkendorf?, Alt-Lübeck?) and moved the merchants to Sliesthorp (Schleswig/Haithabu). The contacts between Slavonic and Danish people were primarily warlike but a Slavonic minority obviously became an important part of Schleswig/Haithabu at least and perhaps other settlements as well. This might be seen in Slavonic pottery at several settlements in the Danish kingdom (Brorsson, this volume).

Another historical event is also seen in the silver hoards. Coins stuck for Ethelred II of England have been found at several places in Scania. Between a few and several hundred coins have been found in the different places, sometimes together with other coins and objects. It is known from the historical sources that renewed Viking attacks on England started in 991 and that the Danish king Sweyn participated in these attacks from at least 994 onwards. In 1013 Sweyn became king of England. In the meantime King Ethelred bought peace by paying large amounts of silver (Danegeld) to the Vikings (Randsborg 1980: 141). It can hypothetically be assumed that the distribution of Ethelred coins in southern

Scandinavia shows where Vikings were recruited for these attacks.

It is assumed that most runestones of the so-called "after Jelling" type are historically connected with the Danish king Sweyn. Most of the stones were raised between 1000 and 1025 and indicate some kind of royal vassalage or royal dependence. Special interest is paid to the titles recorded in the runestones. Thegns and drengs are supposed to be royal vassals, thegns having the higher ranking and drengs being more closely connected with the army (Randsborg 1980:34; Anglert 1995:38).

Mapping these three types of source material gives some interesting clusters (Fig. 5). In south-eastern Scania there are three places with silver hoards containing Slavonic silver and Ethelred coins, and there are also runestones raised for thegns. A fourth stone raised for a thegn is known from Villie. In the central part of the south coast there is a cluster of runestones, five of them raised for drengs. No silver hoards are known from this area. Silver hoards have been found in an even spread north-west, north and north-east of these clusters. The combination of Slavonic silver and Ethelred coins seems to be a western feature in this area. Slavonic silver, Ethelred coins and runestones of the "after Jelling" type are also found in a cluster around Uppåkra and Lund, but no divisions like the ones mentioned above can be seen here.

The interpretation of these clusters may be broadly outlined. The three places in south-eastern Scania with all three categories discussed above (Baldringe, Glemminge, Östra Herrestad) (Hårdh 1976:33 pp., 42 pp. and 73 p.) were probably residences for an already propertied class of magnates when the Viking raids on England begun. They were enough influential to establish contacts across the Baltic in the 10th century and they were powerful soldiers under king Sweyn in his attacks on England. They became vassals (thegns) of the Danish king when Scania was integrated with the Danish realm and may have been active in this process. Finally, they marked their special position by erecting runestones. This final position was obviously won during two generations or so.

The cluster of runestones on the southern coast probably tells another story. Here we cannot see any continuity as in the case discussed above. Instead this area is rather poor in finds from the period preceding the one in which we are interested. This stands in contrast to the rich areas to the west and the east. This area can be apprehended as marginal, sparsely populated and perhaps with a looser social system (Helgesson, manuscript). The extreme concentration of runestones in the early 11th century must therefore be connected with a special historical situation. Perhaps the runestones were erected by warriors of king Sweyn's army (five of them were erected for drengs) who were given land as a reward for their military duties. The runestones of this cluster are concentrated in the jurisdictional districts of Ljunits and Herrestad, and perhaps the granted land was associated with duties in return. It has long been discussed whether these jurisdictional districts of the Middle Ages originally were founded for military reasons. Perhaps the old warriors of King Sweyn had to organize them militarily, for example, in naval units. This is only indicated in this way in Ljunits and Herrestad, suggesting that the jurisdictional districts were founded for other reasons and by other groups elsewhere.

The cluster of silver hoards in the south-western part of Scania also contains Slavonic silver and Ethelred coins, but in none of these places were runestones erected; they are instead

found elsewhere in the surroundings. The people behind these silver hoards had Baltic contacts, and joined King Sweyn in England. They were paid for their duties in silver but never became his vassals. This speaks for different relations between this area and the king than further to the south-east. Perhaps this area was already administrated by Uppåkra/Lund and the need for vassals was less accentuated.

Slavonic silver, Ethelred coins and "after Jelling" runestones are also documented from other parts of Scania. Ethelred coins has the broadest spread of these and are known from almost every part of the province. This might be interpreted as showing that warriors for the raids on England were recruited in several areas in Scania. Slavonic silver is found solely in southern and south-western Scania, and these are the areas facing the Slavonic lands. All three categories form a rather obvious concentration in the area around Uppåkra/Lund, but no patterns like those in southern Scania are visible. In southern Scania the local power in the early Danish period might have been concentrated in thegns, drengs and other magnates. The area around Uppåkra/Lund was probably more directly ruled by the magnates of Uppåkra (Helgesson, manuscript) and later on by the Danish kings. For the Late Iron Age it has been suggested that the society was more hierarchical in this part of Scania (Helgesson 2002). Perhaps this situation lasted into early historical times. Obviously, those with Slavonic contacts, those who participated in the English raids and those who erected the runestones here were different social groups, contrasting with the situation in southern Scania. This brief examination of three types of source material indicates that different regions of Scania played different roles in building society at the transition from the Iron Age to the Middle Ages.

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Wayland
An Essay on Craft Production in the Early and High Middle Ages in Scandinavia

Johan Callmer

Abstract

Although the development of craft production largely follows an evolutionary pattern from simple to complex, it is necessary to differentiate between crafts requiring exclusive, profound knowledge and high skills, and crafts which are mainly a specialization of the kind of production normally pursued in a self-sufficient household. A characteristic feature of some highly qualified crafts in this period is that local demand is at such a low level that permanent local production is improbable. The solution to this problem of maintaining a very high level through frequent work is mobility, either permanent or during parts of the year. The crafts that are interesting in this connection are fine smithing, weapon smithing, casting and working of bronze, gold and silver, glass working and combmaking. The problematic relationship between the local power elite and the skilled craftsman is epitomized in the saga of Wayland. The political elite had to accept the relative freedom of the craftsman. Some of these crafts continued in the urban communities of the 11th century and later. They made up the core of the medieval urban craftsmen.

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Work and craft

Craft production is a form of production of commodities which plays an important role for the definition of several social and economic systems. Craft production has often been crucial in the discussion of the emergence of the earliest urban communities. Opinions on the importance of the role of craft production have differed and sometimes stood in sharp opposition to each other. It has often been said that craft can only develop when society generates a surplus which makes it possible to set individuals or groups of people who have a special gift for or mastery in producing complex artefacts, free from subsistence production. Craft products of this character are often regarded as exclusive and it is assumed that groups dominating society have an interest in controlling both the production and the products and even the craftsmen[1] personally. Through this control it becomes possible for these dominating groups in society to expand their political influence in the local society and they can also develop and maintain bilateral connections with other dominating groups in other regions. All this is of course a rather abstract

historical construction which, with certain variations, is part of several different materialistic and evolutionistic schemes for the progressive change of society from simplicity to complexity and from egalitarianism to hierarchy. Archaeology has often explicitly or implicitly used these models for explanations of change in society.

There is after all good reason to accept and appropriate this basic idea about change in a general way. At the same time, we must draw attention to the fact that the concepts used are vague and that the causality between different parts of the constructions could be called into question. Here archaeology has one of its most rewarding tasks to make clear and go deeper into concepts and relationships since archaeology primarily treats material culture. Many forms of production can be studied in detail by archaeology because production often means installations and above all waste material. The essential parts of this sphere of human culture are situated completely or almost completely beyond the scope of written history, both for chronological reasons and because early written sources hardly pay any interest to craft production until in the late medieval period. Through studies of production contexts and through analysis of tools, production waste and finished products, archaeology can reconstruct the conditions of craft production, its organization, its material, its technology, its quality and its traditions. Within some limits, the importance and the place in society of craft production can be ascertained.

The study of craft production and its material traces not only demands intensive inquiries into the artefact material with conventional archaeological absolute and comparative methods but also far-reaching cooperation with a number of different natural sciences. Alternatively, the archaeologist can her/himself learn certain methods of preparation and analysis but for more profound and complex studies of any size it is necessary that specialists in the natural sciences, especially in technology and engineering, are incorporated in the project right from the preparatory stage. It is sad to see that interest in studies of craft production with this aim has been very weak in recent years. With its structural likeness to parts of processual archaeology, the question at issue has been viewed in a negative light and declared outdated. The close connections between material studies in archaeology and scientific theory and method has often led to a stigmatization of these studies. They were labelled scientistic and declared unacceptable for the archaeology of today, still dominated by post-modern thinking.

The concept of craft is of course fundamental, and not even in archaeology is this an unambiguous concept. Is the work of craftsmen the production of a certain artefact with a certain perfection? Where must we draw the boundary between craft production and other forms of production, especially production in the ordinary local household? What is specialized production? In archaeology there has been much uncertainty about these problems. Very well executed artefacts of bone, antler and ivory from Palaeolithic sites, for example, no doubt are mostly classified as "fine examples of craft production". A survey of traditional cultural artefacts in ethnographical collections generally shows us a very high standard of workmanship and a very deliberate design. Very often we are confronted with complex products which demand many hours or days to finish. A closer look, however, reveals considerable variations with this regard. It can also be concluded from the vast majority of ethnographical studies that one of the aims

of the fieldwork was to find the artefacts which, according to European and American taste, were the most beautiful and well executed, and not carelessly or even downright badly executed material things. It may be assumed that not everybody in a social community could produce all things on the uppermost technical and aesthetic level. Variations in talent between individuals have often been balanced through the exchange of services and products. Confirmation of the existence of such systems is often found in ethnographical descriptions of traditional societies. It is also clear, however, that some differences are hardly overcome in this manner. In these connections we often find the term craft production used for "good" production. This means that the production of artefacts wholly or to a certain extent is understood as craft production. This meaning of the term craft production is not uninteresting, but it cannot form the basis for our aim of defining the role of craft production during important phases of the development of social stages. It may also be important to state that specialized production need not necessarily mean craft production. One impetus to develop specialized production has already been mentioned, but there are several others too (see below). Most forms of specialized production only mean a quantitative increase in forms of production executed in most households. Sometimes a certain increase in quality is achieved but not always. We can see that the problem with a definition of craft production which could be used for this purpose has both a linguistic and a semantic side. Our language, like most modern languages, as we have seen, designates the production of an object of a certain quality made by hand as craft without really considering the form of organization of the production process.

The problem with an appropriate definition of the concept of craft production cannot be solved by the additional remark that the production is a form of handicraft. The understanding of the craftsman as producer and craft production is diverse for several reasons. Our ideas about conditions in prehistoric and early historical times are certainly strongly influenced by conditions in our own time, with handicraft as a small and irrational niche alongside the vastly dominating industrial form of production. The emphasis of historical socio-economic models on the creation of a surplus of production as a prerequisite for the emergence of craftsmen erroneously sets the focus on the available time for craft production as a deficit in early traditional societies. For societies of that type, of varying complexity and with or without hierarchies, we cannot maintain that there was not enough time for craft production. It is often well documented that people in traditional societies have considerable resources of time at their disposal and that there is seldom too little of it. The development towards time as a shortage is very late, beginning only tentatively in the Late Middle Ages. If we consider craftsmen and artisans for whom we have a rather good documentation, that is, from the 16th and 17th centuries in different parts of the world, it is obvious that during this early preindustrial phase they quite often did run a small farming unit that could secure their subsistence. Written sources indicate that artisans and craftsmen usually organized their economy in this way, at least from the Late Middle Ages. This does not touch on the question of ownership, which of course is important in this connection. We stand before the question whether craftsmen and artisans were dependent or independent social and economic actors. In China during the Tang-

period many craftsmen were slaves but in Europe the conditions were different. The quite rare sources for early medieval[2] conditions, mainly from the Merovingian, realm show us that both forms of social position were encountered and that the variations in the degrees of dependence were quite considerable (Claude 1981). Whether the craftsmen were organized, for example, in guild societies, is not known but cannot be ruled out. When the written sources become more numerous during the high medieval period, many artisans and craftsmen were free individuals and frequently organized in corporations.

Some attempts at the classification of craft production have taken their point of departure in where the work was carried out. Is work carried out in the rooms where people live or is there a special workshop building? During the 18th and 19th centuries craft production was mostly carried out in special workshops where special installations and tools were set up. Pictures of artisans at work from the 15th and 16th centuries show us that there was a longer tradition. These observations could be used to support an evolutionist model of the development of craft production over time. This way of looking at the development has probably influenced the well-known scheme of Büchner from *Hauswerk* to *Handwerk* (Hauser 1972). The close connection of the activities to a separate workshop is, however, hardly something general. If we widen our scope a little it becomes obvious that craft production for a long time also was carried out in the dwelling where the producer lived. It is rather the special character of the production that dictates the establishment of a separate workshop or not. Then both security risks and the need for free space play important roles.

Among the numerous crafts we know from medieval written sources, a considerable number have their roots in activities which we know very well from the agrarian society and form of production. What we here find is, as already noted above, a form of specialization which sharply differs from a number of activities which will interest us more and which almost never or indeed never are executed in the far more numerous agrarian households outside towns and specialized settlements. If we want to try to grasp the earlier history of these crafts, the early and high medieval continental written sources again become important. The picture we can make out, however, hardly supports the idea that these forms of specialized production were directly derived from the ordinary agrarian households. On the contrary, it is in the secular and ecclesiastical manor organizations, sometimes in specialized settlements (e.g., potter's villages) and of course in the urban communities that we find several crafts of this type. The necessary background for this form of specialized production is rather the existence in the first millennium AD of large, social units with a complex organization. In the Merovingian period many urban communities experienced a total or partial regression, but the other forms of organization continued. Manors in both the Merovingian and Carolingian periods included the organization of a range of well-defined specialized tasks in this manner. Especially well known are the organizations of Carolingian ecclesiastical manors, but there is no reason to assume that the organization structure of secular estates was basically different. We still know too little about contemporary estate organizations in adjacent parts of Europe to decide whether conditions there were similar. Spectacular discoveries during the last few years of very extensive complex sites with residences for the regional political elites and

with many other central social and religious functions makes it most likely that at least at some of the biggest of these specialized activities derived from ordinary tasks in an agrarian household were organized in this manner (Callmer 1997). The important thing here is the organization of certain activities, and there is basically no other very great difference between the majority of the activities at the centres and those at the numerous more or less "ordinary" agrarian units with regard to this part of production. A background to this change in the organization of activities of the kind described in the amassment of a surplus is questionable. The change could very well exclusively touch on organization including perhaps – but not necessarily – a slight qualitative increase as already remarked (cf. above).

Producers and production

The difficulties in coming closer to the core of the problem have not become less as a result of the emphasis on craft production as a form of production as well as a form of organization. The core of the concept is something else. Most essential in our opinion is the exclusivity of the activity in relation to other parts of society. Only then can craftsmen play a role in the process of transforming society. Consequently the impression of homogeneity, which the word craft production generally offers, is utterly false. Partly under the influence of patterns of thought of our own time and our culture, we are left with one word and three different meanings. First, it can mean proven dexterity in a pre-industrial production process; in its essence this is a qualitative assessment. In the second place it is a pre-industrial form of production which allows craftsmen to specialize in the production of a certain product or in a certain part of a complex process of production. In the third place it denotes pre-industrial production which is exclusive and which has recourse to a capital of knowledge which is profound and which is rare in the vastly dominating agrarian social units of society. This exclusivity and this monopoly of profound knowledge (at least relatively) is a very significant aspect of craft production because it contradicts the simple evolutionist notion, just referred to, of the development of craft production as based on the procurement of a surplus, impending specialization and a separate organization. The urban communities of the Middle Ages had craftsmen both of this exclusive kind and those who simply specialized in some sort of production which was also an organic part of a normal agrarian social unit, but which the urban form of life made it possible and sometimes also desirable to cultivate separately. Historians have had difficulties in realizing these profound differences because the written sources so often present these craftsmen and artisans side by side in urban communities, monasteries and larger estates in a confusing manner, and they have seldom tried to see deeper into the diverse origins of the different activities. It must not be forgotten that we also can maintain that from quite early on there was a certain specialization of production depending on diverse talents and aptitudes and on the uneven access to certain scarce materials in the world. These are two constant factors to reckon with, and they may carry the germ of the development of separate treasures of knowledge, but they need not necessarily do so. It also seems very likely, as we have seen, that there were producers quite early on who wielded exclusive profound knowledge that was vital to society. In the Roman Iron Age and in the Early Middle

Ages their importance increased. We think it is fruitful to view these periods separate from the immediately preceding periods (Late Bronze Age, Pre-Roman Iron Age and Early Roman Iron Age) when metallurgy was more widely practised, albeit on a technically much lower level.

In Scandinavian archaeological research Christophersen's view of the development of craft production in the Viking Age and in the High Middle Ages has been especially influential (Christophersen 1980), despite the fact that this study examines the very strongly specialized combmaker's craft. His thesis does not include a discussion of whether this specific craft required special talents and profound and exclusive knowledge. The study results in a strongly evolutionist sketch of the development of the combmaker's craft in Late Viking Age and high medieval Lund (southern Sweden) from domestic production with sporadic visits of itinerant craftsmen with their connections to the "natural hinterland of the town", via production for specific customers to market production. A basically similar view of the emergence of combmaking from domestic production in the Viking Age has been presented by Mikkelsen (1994). For reasons of principal this model is unlikely, and especially for combmaking these ideas lead in the wrong direction. The processing of antler from red deer and to some extent elk (possibly a little reindeer as well) for the production of composite combs, as early as the end of the Roman Iron Age, if not before, can be understood as a highly specialized craft which may indeed completely lack roots in any branch of domestic production.

Before we proceed to a characterization of the diverse relevant crafts, it is necessary to come even closer to a definition of what an exclusive specialized craft is during the Early Middle Ages is. It is probably appropriate, as already argued, to approach the core of the concept from the attributes of dexterity and exclusive knowledge, especially the latter. A special talent must of course always be at hand, but its importance must be viewed relatively. A certain specialization is, as we have seen, not infrequently present in traditional societies. It may be individual but it may also comprise family and descent group. This form of specialization need not mean that the production has the character of craft production, as we have also already stressed. What can be learnt from the character of the working process? To some extent craft production, like all forms of specialization, is always one-sided and monotonous. This does not mean, however, that the same craftsman only performs one craft. An important qualification is that craft production is executed continuously and with a certain intensity. As pointed out, this hardly rules out the possibility that other tasks may also have been performed by the craftsman. Deep and exclusive knowledge is probably the most important criterion. This means that craft production in this narrower but more significant meaning is a production which is only known and mastered by a minor (often even a minimal) part of the population. The products are not primarily consumed by the producer but disposed of either in an open system through some form of trade or turned over within a closed organization such as a major estate, a petty kingdom or some even bigger political unit. It is, as already stressed, well known that precisely this exclusive and profound knowledge of a certain production process has been kept for themselves by craftsmen and artisans. Expert knowledge has been more or less secret and has only been accessible to those initiated into a production group. It is

important that a description of this kind of a certain craft only indicates the situation at a certain moment. Knowledge may become more common and accessible to everybody, but knowledge that once was common may be lost and only carried on by a small and closed group. The latter may be the case with bronze casting present at so many Late Bronze Age settlements. Finally, there are crafts which indeed emanate from general knowledge but which turn into specialized craft production separated from this more generally shared information.

No doubt people who lived under traditional conditions in earlier days to great extent made all they needed themselves. Certain much desired artefacts and materials not at their own disposal could be acquired through various forms of exchange with other social groups. In very substantial measure, this form of virtual self-sufficiency was alive also in our part of Europe until the 19th century. In the traditional agricultural society of those days some well-defined and officially accepted craftsmen were already represented long ago, such as tailors, shoemakers and professional smiths. It is likely, however, that this classification is late and influenced by the development in the urban communities. Does this overwhelming dominance of domestic production mean that the role of craftsmen and the role of the products of craftsmen were very limited in pre-urban society and later in non-urban milieus? Maybe they were even marginal? This conclusion is certainly rash, and the correct answer is probably both yes and no. The role of craft production in the early medieval and high medieval periods was important. In contemporary archaeological and historical research the role of the craftsmen and craft production are probably underestimated. The strongly specialized craft production supplied early medieval society with a wide range of both functionally important and symbolically loaded artefacts, which the local agrarian social units had no capacity to produce. These commodities became distributed to diverse parts of society according to various patterns. At the same time as it is important to stress the importance of the artefacts, it is necessary to realize that the consumption of products was extremely slow. Some artefacts had been inherited or had in some other way followed from one generation to the other. In this connection, it is relevant to pose the question how many brooches, mounts, combs, beads, buckles, spears, swords and so on there were in the villages, groups of farms and solitary farms. How many artefacts of all these types must be produced anew each year because older artefacts had been deposited in graves or sacrificed at religious sites or lost in some other way? How many had to be produced anew simply because they did not correspond to contemporary values? No matter how we count, the figures remain low. It is very difficult to reach a reasonable relationship between consumer and producer if we presuppose a very close permanent connection between them in the local community. A model of the organization of craft production with small-scale, stationary regional craftsmen has been suggested by Zachrisson (1960) and Carlsson (1983; cf. also Jansson 1981). Certain empirical support for this model may also be found among Finno-Ugric groups in the Eastern European forest zone (Golubeva 1984). However, it is much more difficult to argue for it when considering conditions in Scandinavia during the early medieval and high medieval periods (cf. Callmer 1994). For large parts of Scandinavia small settlement regions divided by very wide zones of uninhabited woodland were characteristic. Parts

of southern Scandinavia were more densely settled, but here too the settled regions were limited and woodlands were extensive. Large concentrations of population are relatively few. Under such conditions local production is often problematic. It seems most unlikely that a craftsman could keep up his mastery on an acceptable level if he or she, for example, only produced one or two brooches per year. Exactly how long interruptions could be allowed is of course impossible to state but regularly recurrent opportunities to execute the craft many times a year are a prerequisite. The logical assumption that a majority of these craftsmen to a certain extent led an itinerant life requires a couple of additional considerations. Naturally, this is very much a result of the empirical data, which have become available from a number of sites, mainly from the 7th century and later. Despite increasing mobility in our time, a model that includes an itinerant existence involves a problem of credibility. Where would such a person live is without doubt the first spontaneous implicit question. The concept of a home (of whatever type it may be), which plays a central role in our personal philosophy, hardly existed for medieval people. When there is something comparable it is not so generally positive and laden with emotion as in our time. The family group at that time was a much wider concept and the number of personal belongings was not overwhelmingly great. To many persons we know of from medieval written sources (admittedly socially a very restricted selection of mostly high-status individuals), mobility was not so unusual and it was often very positive and not at all something negative. Neither to these persons, nor to the craftsmen who interest us here was this mobility equal to wandering about more or less aimlessly. Primarily two probable variants of an itinerant existence can be discerned. In the first place the person in question can move from place to place in an unbroken succession of visits. A person living under these conditions of course cannot run a farm of his own on the side (however small) but is completely dependent on the support he or she can receive through the exchange of services or through gifts, exchange or trading. In the second place, the itinerant craftsman disposes of a homestead of his or her own, where at least a part of the family lives permanently. From this base longer or shorter expeditions could be undertaken. According to which criteria these two patterns could be discussed in the archaeological material is difficult to say. Production waste (the best archaeological indicator) should appear both on the homestead site in the second case and at the places of temporary residence in both cases.

The archaeology of the craftsman

In order to extract more knowledge from the archaeological evidence about this, in our opinion, very important part of the population formed by the specialized craftsmen, one can study both the artefacts (products) and the production contexts (installations and waste material). It is of prime importance to classify artefacts and production milieus according to the question whether knowledge of the production process for these artefacts was generally known and mastered by a majority of persons in local society, or if we see evidence of acts which required exclusive skill and knowledge which only a small and closed circle was familiar with. This also means that all parts of the production process in all its different stages must be reconstructed (Fig. 1). Here the scientific investigations are highly relevant. The goal, however, is not the

establishment of these data but the further reconstruction of the production as a complicated mental process. It is of the utmost importance to arrive at an understanding of how this knowledge could be learnt, how it could be maintained and how it could be further developed and refined. The reconstruction of the production must also comprise conclusions concerning the organization of the work executed.

In this connection there is no room to enter into this reconstruction work in detail over the whole spectrum of different potential crafts. Let us instead have a look at some crafts of diverse character which can give us a certain idea of the difficulties and also the possibilities when we turn to this way of work. These different crafts may also shed light on variations both with regard to the level of sophistication and to the organization of the production. It may be appropriate to start with two very different potential crafts, which have a close relationship to ordinary production practices in the local community. In the Scandinavian production of pottery after the Migration Period there is hardly any reason to speak of specialization until the end of the Viking Age, and then only on a very small scale. Pottery was produced in many agrarian social units and was mainly of low quality. Some Scandinavian pottery from a number of trading places might possibly suggest a vague form of specialization, but we still lack the appropriate studies of the relevant material. From the end of the 10th century there are some finds of pottery of Slavonic type which also could form the basis for a similar investigation. During the 11th century it is likely that Stamford pottery was produced at Lund under conditions similar to craft production (Larsson 2001). Otherwise it is very uncertain whether any part of the production of pottery in the high medieval period could be understood as a specific craft.

Through the numerous finds of artefacts with a direct connection to the production of textiles, above all spindle whorls and loom weights, this production has been very visible in the archaeological material. As a consequence of lacking problem-related questions about the character of textile production, this large body of material could not give any information about the degree of specialization in textile production. Only through the important work by Andersson (1996) could various levels of sophistication in the working tools be discerned. Really fine thread qualities were spun only as an exception at "ordinary" agrarian settlements. It seems as if the production of high-quality garment cloth and decoration ribbons was restricted to a small number of localities, often of the trading place type. Some types of other specialist tools for textile work are also exclusively known from such places. There is much to suggest that the production of textiles had several different levels. It is of great interest that the working methods themselves were not so different in a specialized milieu from those in an ordinary settlement. It is without doubt the case that, at least from the middle part of the Early Middle Ages, we find a distinct specialization and a tendency to the emergence of a craft character in textile production and the making of dress for display purposes. Further work involving more integrated studies of the tools of production, the products and the production milieus is necessary to solve the problem of the different levels of professionalism in textile production. As noted above, the high-quality textile production is based on the commonly well-known textile working traditions during the early medieval period. The introduction of the horizontal loom and its

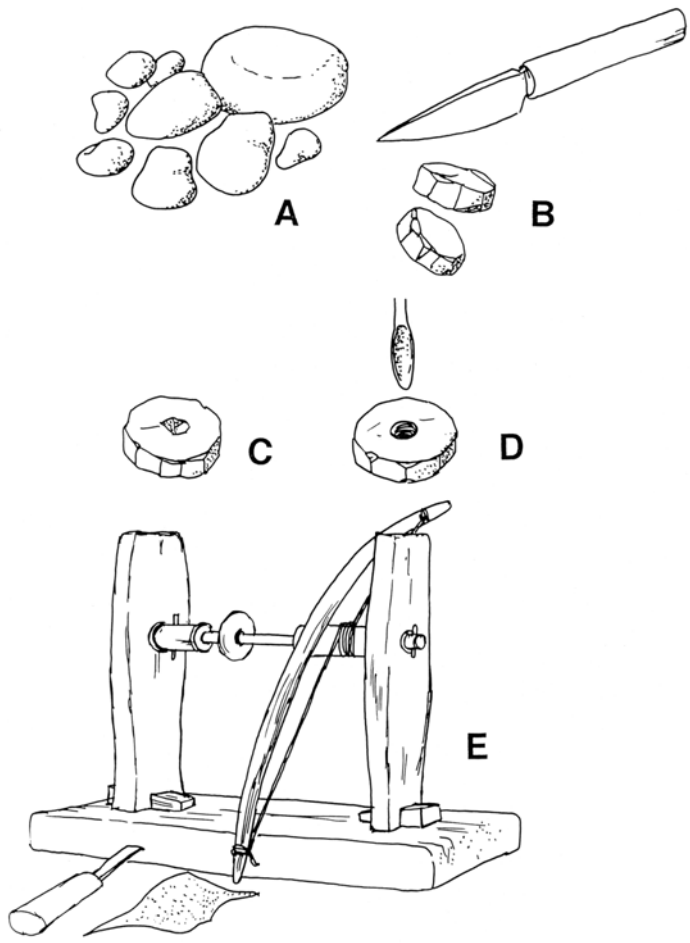

Fig.1. Amber working. This craft is not commented on in the text but shares many characteristics with antler working. The process of antler working at first glance seems to be quite easy. Contemporary amber workers however certify the expert knowledge necessary to judge and work this special material. First the amber must be carefully sorted in order to exclude brittle and cracked pieces (A). Amber is very tricky when cutting it (B). The perforation requires a firm but light hand and good tools (C, D). Finishing the beads and other amber products involves the use of a turning lathe and special tools, abrasives and polishing material (E).

connection with professional weaving is still very incompletely known. It is most likely that this new loom type meant a stronger tendency to craft production in urban communities and special milieus such as monasteries in the 11th and 12th centuries. However in the ordinary agrarian households as well, this technological innovation had its breakthrough in the 12th century without any perceptible professionalization. This is of course to a large extent a result of the organic integration of textile production in the self-sufficient agrarian economy.

Observations on the working of iron (for lack of space here the primary iron production has to be omitted) are very interesting as a complement to those concerning textile production, especially while there are many basic technical concepts common to diverse forms of forging. Here too it may be fruitful to consider several different levels of quality, and

the complexity of the relevant source material supports this approach. Tentatively we must reckon with at least three different levels: domestic production and adaptations, local production on an intermediate level and highly specialized craft production. Parts of the production of cutting weapons was on a very high level. Especially the production of swords and lanceheads and spearheads shows a high level of professionalism. Complex production processes including plaited staves with different carbon content and separate edges plus sophisticated methods of tempering presuppose very profound knowledge and experience. Further on the processing of the steel component used must be highlighted. To produce the optimal high-quality steel for these weapons, composite packages of different, well chosen, steel qualities must be forged very many times with great care. The mastery of the smith could also be measured by the quality of the joints between various components. The process of production does not end with this work by the smith. The weapons produced must be ground and whetted to shape and extremely carefully polished. Through these stages, including the addition of shafts, hilts and guards, the weapon must be balanced (perhaps the most significant and important part of the work) (Mäder 2001). Only through this very long and complex process could weapons of the highest quality be produced, enabling deadly thrusts and cuts through armour, cartilage and bone. The production of weapons on this high level presupposes a group of several master smiths and craftsmen working together. There was only a small number of weapon smiths on this level in Scandinavia. The voluminous import, especially during the Viking Age but also earlier, of high-quality swords (partly only blades) and lanceheads to Scandinavia from the Rhine-Maas regions would have been unnecessary and impossible if high-quality weapons had been available in large numbers locally in Scandinavia. It is unlikely that the majority of all cutting weapons were imported in this manner from Western Europe, and probably all weapon axes and many lanceheads and spearheads and some swords are of Scandinavian production. Also, the production of a number of cutting tools with a high-quality steel core (especially three-component package forging) could be brought into the discussion of the different levels of iron working. Some of these tools, such as certain knives, are produced with mastery (Arrhenius 1970) and could indicate a level of quality of work which we cannot expect at the majority of the settlement units in these periods. The competence to execute simple forging must have been well known to many of the local population. This level of knowledge primarily concerns simple tools, mounts, rivets and nails through the reworking of old iron objects or through the processing of imported rods. It is an important task for archaeological research to develop a methodology for the qualitative judgment of these very different products of forging.

Casting non-ferrous metals, primarily bronze and similar alloys, but also silver and gold, for the production of brooches, other items of jewellery, mounts, ornaments and so on is a complicated process (Fig. 2). As already noted, we must make a distinction between the relatively simple bronze technology of the Bronze Age and that of the periods treated here. The available metal, which consisted either of domestic scrap metal or imported metal, must be carefully studied so that their special character can be certified because we never meet pure metal and very seldom standard alloys. The imported metal likewise often consisted of scrap of very heterogeneous origins.

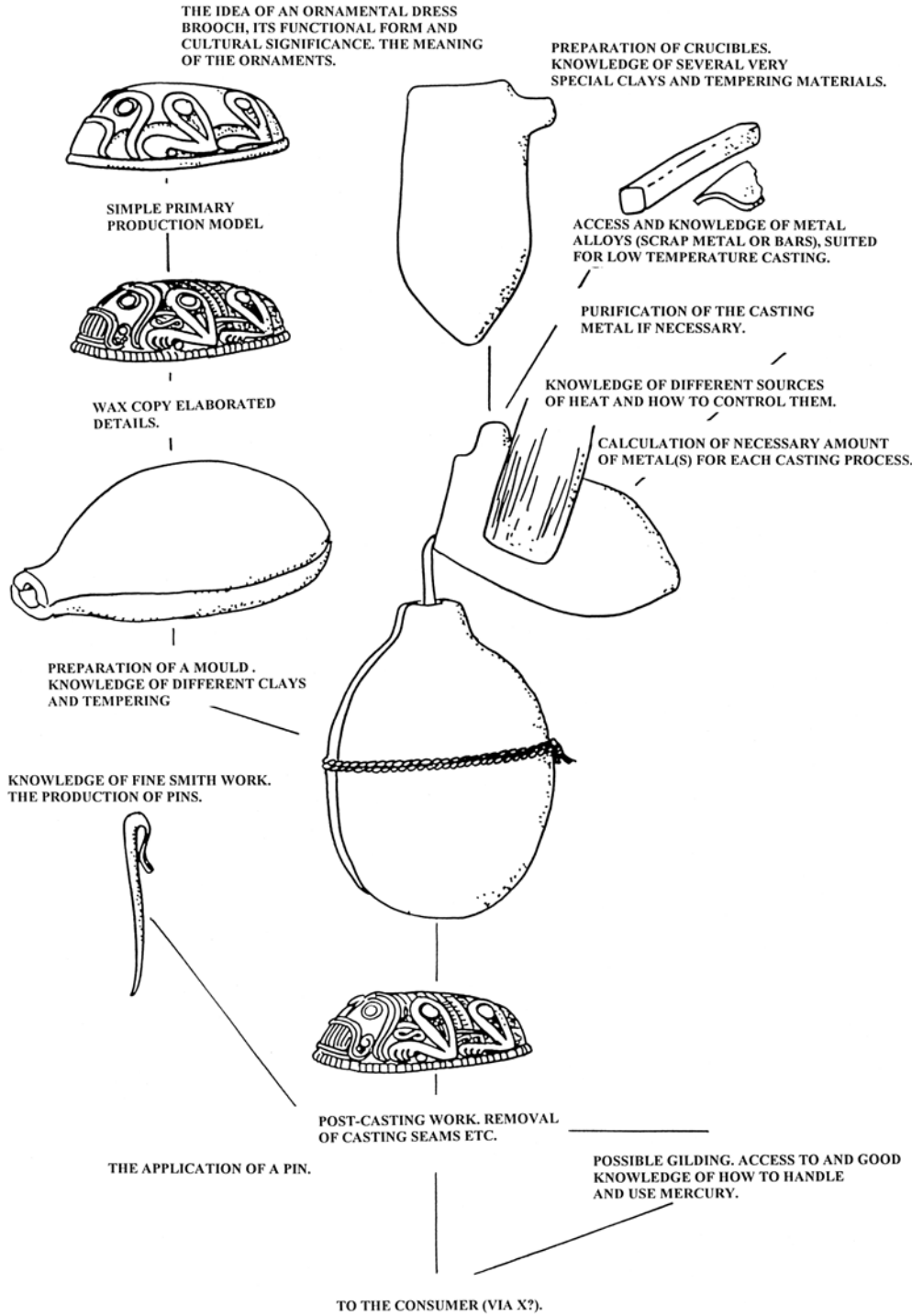

Fig.2. Bronze casting. Work with non ferrous metals is very complex and the production of high quality metal work requires a wide range of different expert knowledge. From the Migration Period onward the quality of the products with only few exceptions is excellent.

Only in the 8th century did imported ingots become more numerous. When necessary, different components must be blended. Lead, for example, could be added to make the casting metal more fluent. The making of a mould is always complicated and the production of a mould requires special knowledge, for example, to prepare suitable clays for the outer and inner shells. This is something very different from the normal ceramics technology of the period (cf. above). Very significant is the control and mastery at the moment of casting. For this a crucible is also necessary and the production of crucibles is not uncomplicated. The clay must have a special composition and is often built up with more than one layer. The tempering should be pure quartz. The volume must be well adjusted to the amount of metal used. Unnecessary contact with air must be avoided. Any slag and impurities must be removed and the metal kept at an ideal temperature. Both too high and too low temperatures give very negative effects. For the whole casting process, control of the source of heat must be total. The preparation of the cast artefact requires a number of small quality tools. If gilding is desired in the form of fire gilding – which dominates from the 6th–7th centuries – we touch on a most demanding method. Mercury must be imported, probably from Spain or possibly from Central Europe. Whoever works with mercury must know how to protect himself from the highly toxic gases released during the process.

An equally high level of dexterity is required in connection with the production of beads of glass, which we may assume took place during these periods in Scandinavia. The glass is primarily imported, which, as in the case of non-ferrous metal alloys, requires a well-developed expertise in judging the qualities of the glass and how they change when heated. Glass was imported in various forms, from shards (broken vessels and panes), cullet and tesserae to staves and rods. Especially demanding is the judgement of diverse glass materials, which are meant to be combined, for example, in a polychrome bead. The different characteristics are definitely not the same but have to be considered. Among the archaeological finds we find ample evidence of an excellent mastery in the combination and handling of different glass materials. The production comprises a long series of different stages (Fig. 3). After the shaping and decoration of the glass bead comes the annealing, which must proceed slowly and under full control. The technical side of the work requires a full competence to judge temperatures. The production of beads consequently demands a high degree of mastery and above all qualities of judgement and swiftness of action. The prerequisite for these qualities is experience. Both metal casting and glass working demand complex sources of heat. The constructions used may have been rather similar, although of course there are some special requirements for each craft. There is good reason to go further and investigate the close connections between forging, metal casting and glass working. With a slight twisting of the original term we could call these crafts "pyrotechnical".

Among the highly specialized crafts we should also count combmaking already from the Late Roman Period, as noted above. At that time this highly specialized production technique, which is characteristic of Scandinavia as well as of large parts of continental Europe (from the end of the Viking Age also of large parts of Eastern Europe), developed very rapidly. The raw material for these combs is red deer antler and to a certain but probably not large extent elk antler (occasional reindeer

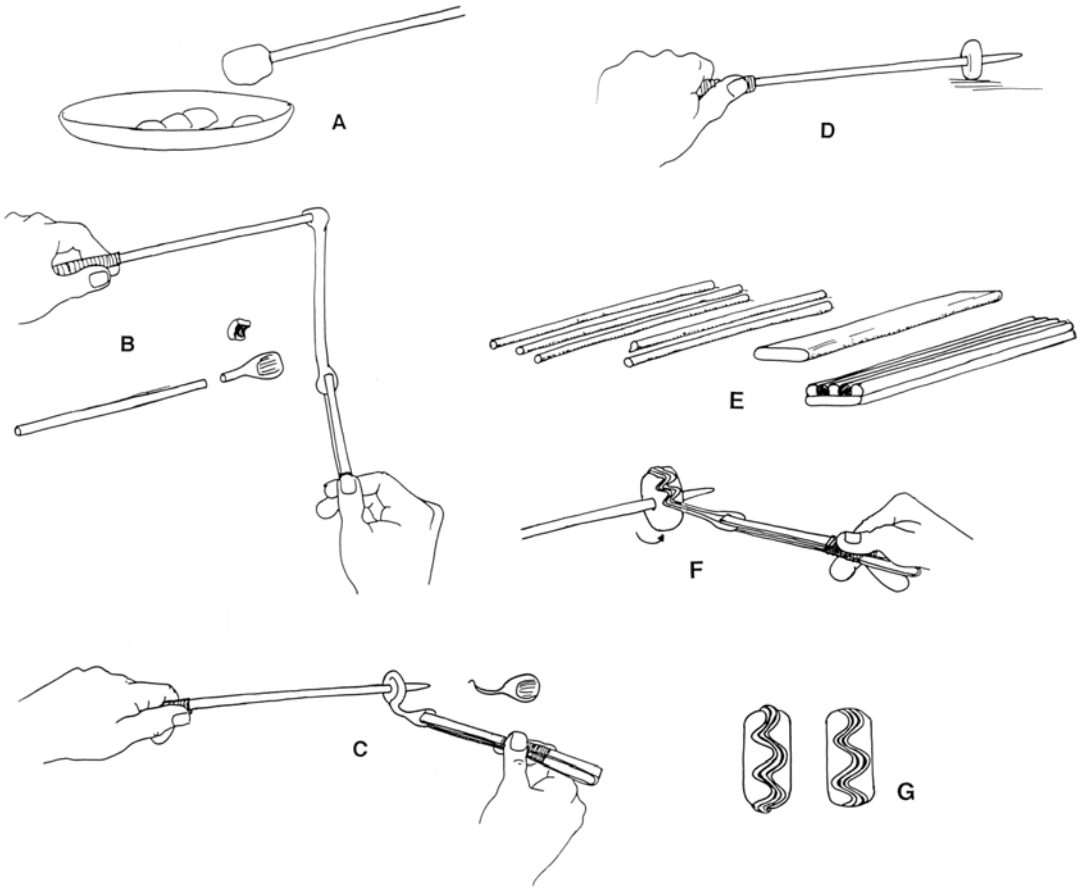

Fig.3. Glass working / bead production. The question of whether an oven or some portable device like a blow lamp (or both) was used in bead production is not known. Primarily glass was always collected on the punty iron (A). Compared to modern methods of bead making the production of staves was important (B). Staves were used for the production of composite decoration rods (linear, cable or millefiori). Beads were produced by winding (C) and secondary shaping (D). Composite decoration rods were baked together (E) and drawn out to appropriate dimension. The application of a wavy pattern required a very high degree of control and dexterity (F). Later the decorated bead must be turned on a hard surface to become smooth. Last comes the important stage of annealing.

antler combs are also known). The production of these combs is extraordinarily meticulous, with a considerable number of components, the dimensions of which have to be thoroughly adjusted to each other (Fig. 4). This requires a very high degree of precision in the production process. A number of special tools must be used, such as precision saws, files, rasps and emery cloth and other abrasives. These tools were hardly in every man's possession. The technique remained more or less unchanged until the gradual introduction of double combs of continental tradition in the 11th and 12th centuries. The choice of the raw material is very remarkable because no weighty reason can be put forward as to why bone which was available in plenty at every settlement site, was not used until the High Middle Ages. There is only a very slight comparative advantage for the use of antler and with a

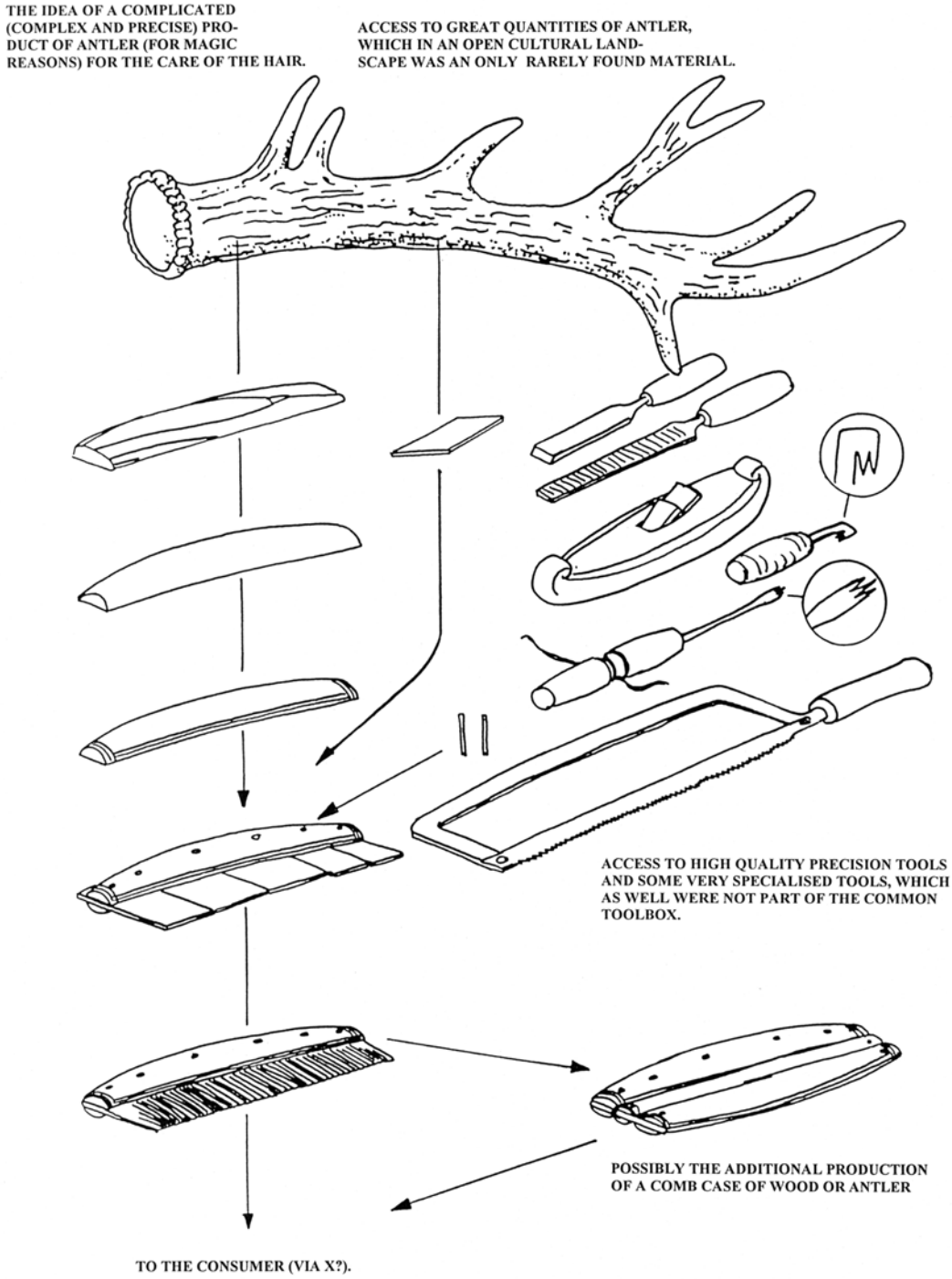

Fig.4. Antler working. In comb production both the technique and the tools and the choice of antler as material suggest activities of specialists with access to special resources, material and immaterial.

selection of the most suitable bone material this can be brought practically to nil. The red deer antler, which grows anew each year and which is bound to the male sex, certainly had a symbolic importance and should be seen in connection with fertility cults (cf. amulets of red deer antler in the Gallo-Roman culture). The godly connection of antler is well known from Celtic religion and the red deer is one of the few zoologically identifiable animals appearing in Germanic animal art. The significance of hair as a symbol of vitality and the power of life has to be stressed here and combines well with other aspects of this raw material for combs. For our problem, the organization of supply of this raw material is of course of great interest indirectly. To judge from lists of fauna from a large number of settlement sites of these periods, red deer was only very rarely consumed. Mostly this animal is altogether absent. Access to antler from hunted and slaughtered deer was probably minimal. The collection of shed antlers, if it should be successful, requires very intricate knowledge of which tracts of woodland the animals regularly visit. Such knowledge is above all connected with a hunter's life, and during the periods examined here everything indicates very few hunters. You must also have plenty of time to look for the antler, and still it requires really good luck to find a shed antler on the ground in snow and ice in dense woodland. The majority of shed antlers are quickly consumed by small rodents. Purposeful collection of a large number of antlers probably implies some form of delimited tracts of woodland such as a chase or park or other sort of enclosure. The choice of using red deer antler of all materials (hard wood could have been another good alternative to bone; cf. above) must also be seen in connection with the emergence of a special hunting culture among the highest social stratum in Barbaricum. Thus we may suppose a close connection between these combmakers and royal estates and similar centres of the political elite for the procurement of the raw material. Antler was mainly available to the vast majority of the population in the form of purchased antler combs or exquisite examples received as gifts.

Among the six different production processes which have been briefly described here, five could be designated strongly specialized and probably connected with craftsmen who were continuously and intensively at work with their speciality. Only the production of pottery had a mainly different character. Concerning pottery, a few exceptions could be mentioned, but they were mostly vague and it cannot generally be understood as a craft. For textile production the picture is more distinct, and certain production milieus with the characteristics of craft production could be sketched. Forging occupies a somewhat similar position, while metal casting, glass working and combmaking more unambiguously stand out as crafts in the essential sense of the term (cf. below).

Craft production and production contexts

The discussion above of six different production processes of the early medieval and high medieval periods in Scandinavia is generalized but based on studies of both artefacts and production contexts. For a further precision of the frequency of these production activities and connections between special types of localities it is essential to have a closer look at these contexts within the potentially contrastive framework of a large body of material. In southern Scandinavia the province of Scania

stands out as one of the most intensively excavated and studied regions (cf. Callmer 1995). The qualification of the material from Scania, that it is almost completely from settlements, is essential. Very considerable volumes of occupation soil have been examined. Unfortunately, occupation layers have only exceptionally been subject to excavation. When found (several examples) they have been removed deliberately with the blessing of the archaeologists. This very serious loss is in some way compensated by a special feature of the local building traditions, which include a number of sunken-featured buildings (*Grubenhäuser*). They occur with varying frequency but not seldom in considerable numbers. The vast majority of the archaeological finds stem from the occupation earth with which these buildings were backfilled when deserted. We are mostly concerned here with volumes of between one and seven cubic metres per house. Under normal conditions on a site a sunken-featured building, deserted for whatever reason, was very rapidly filled in with rubbish of various kinds from the immediate surroundings (i.e., probably the plot of the household unit). In a similar way, wells were also very rapidly backfilled. This common practice is so regular and ever-present that the similarity to prescriptions in later village regulations that all pits must be filled in as soon as possible so that the domestic animals will not come to harm is very striking. Consequently, the artefact material must be rubbish and waste from the social unit of which the house is part. Activities which leave tangible and distinct traces in the form of waste material must then be well represented in this material. From Scania more than one thousand excavated sunken-featured buildings from the early medieval and the high medieval periods (this house type is only rarely dated later than the first half of the 12th century) are available from about sixty different sites. For the following discussion, however, only 650 sunken-featured buildings have been included as a consequence of difficulties of access and in a few cases poor documentation.[3] A division of this source material into finds from the fill proper and finds from so-called floor levels in the sunken-featured buildings has not been undertaken for two good reasons. In the first place it is likely that many of these floor levels are rather products of wishful thinking than really existing contexts. In the second place the question here is not that of possible functions of sunken-featured buildings as buildings for production but quite simply whether production debris as evidence of a certain craft-related activity is present or not.

It can be stated from the very beginning that the number of finds which could be brought into connection with specialized craft production is very small. When the production of pottery was discussed we were able to observe an almost total deficit of indications of craft production. Domestic pottery is of course one of the most frequent finds. In the material from the sunken-featured buildings we of course find imported pottery, which at least partly must have been produced under conditions similar to craft production, but for our current question this is of little interest. In Scania so far a strongly specialized craft production of textiles has only been made credible for the trading place at Åhus II (Transval). From this site also some exclusive specialist tools for work with textiles have been recovered. Certain tendencies towards specialization have also been noted for the big settlement at Löddeköpinge (the Village) near the west coast of Scania (Andersson 2000).

The presence of traces of iron forging is of course of prime interest because so many

observations indicate the existence of several different levels including a specialized professional level. As we have argued above, basic knowledge of forging must have been widespread among all parts of society, while strongly specialized and high-quality forging must have been very exclusive and rarely encountered. In the present material it may be difficult to decide whether certain types of slag are evidence of forging or if they are connected with the primary extraction of iron from iron ore. There is, however, a great deal to suggest that the vast majority of the slag is slag from forging. If we consider in the first place simple quantitative data, it is striking to note a very strong variation of the volume of slag from different sites. A considerable number of sites have yielded no finds of slag at all whereas other sites only produce very small amounts of slag (less than one kilo). Only very few settlement excavations have resulted in slag finds in abundance. Unfortunately, more detailed data (especially qualitative) and very accurate information on weight are only available from a restricted number of mainly recent excavations. This circumstance of course restricts the possibilities of going into details, but the tendency in the material can very well be certified on the basis of summary information from a majority of the sites involved. A place like Löddeköpinge (the Village) with a very large number of structures excavated only has very few and weak indications of forging (Ohlsson 1980; Svanberg & Söderberg 2000). This must have been quite a big village, centrally placed in a densely settled region and with very good communications. The slag recovered from the nearby specialized settlement of Löddeköpinge/Vikhögsvägen (trading site?) is relatively small and almost exclusively concentrated in a small delimited sector of the excavated surface (equal to a plot?) (Ohlsson 1976:112). This concentration of rather modest amounts of slag in a minor part of the area of the settlement is also characteristic of a number of other settlements. At Västra Karaby the finds of slag are concentrated in a rather small restricted area within the western sector of the settlement, whereas the eastern part yielded hardly any finds at all. Like Löddeköpinge/the Village, this must have been a considerable village-like settlement with a certain centrality in the region. The same conditions can also be noted in the case of the big coastal settlement at Östra Torp on the south coast of Scania. There finds of slag are only reported from the central part of the settlement, while they are completely lacking from the eastern part (Jeppsson 1995; Stjernquist 1988). More widespread and numerous occurrences of slag, as at Gårdlösa, are unusual (Stjernquist 1993). Also the extensive settlement at Valleberga/Stockholmsgården is rich in finds of slag (Strömberg 1961, 1971). In the latter case we probably have to do with a settlement with a relatively high status. This pattern suggests that forging was practised under very diverse conditions and with great variations of intensity. It seems to be a fact that intensive and continuous forging activity was not carried out at the majority of more or less "ordinary" agrarian settlements. There were settlements where forging was a minimal activity. Although qualitative investigations of iron products and slag are still lacking to a very large extent, it is probable that at the majority of sites there was forging on a qualitatively low level (cf. Müller-Wille 1977; Strömberg 1981; Englund & Grandin 2000). It is worth noting in this connection that the evidence for extraction of iron as well as forging is more numerous and above all more widely spread in the Roman Iron Age than later.

There must have been a change in the organization of the processing of iron some time at the end of this period. Later craft-related forging on a qualitatively high level was probably primarily located at various centres (Söderberg 2001) and generally – beginning in the Late Vendel Period the Viking Age and the High Middle Ages – increasingly at trading sites and urban sites. The importance of the trading sites is strongly indicated by the large and wide of masses of slag at Åhus II (Transval) dated to the 8th and 9th centuries.

Casting and other types of modifications and decoration work involving bronze (and related alloys), silver and gold stand out generally as much more exclusive than forging. This may be a partly erroneous conclusion when the production of high quality weapons is also considered (cf. above; this is however a production activity which has not yet been identified in the material). Finds of moulds from sunken-featured buildings come only from four localities. In all mould finds have only been collected from seven localities. A calculation based on the finds of crucibles does not change the picture. The number of find localities for crucibles is only six and the number of find units is very small. If we choose ingot as another diagnostic category we can add only one site. Finds of slag with bronze content do not change the picture at all. The material found at Dagstorp (Becker 1999; Kresten, Hjärtner-Holdar & Stilborg 2000), Västra Karaby (Callmer 1995), Löddeköpinge/Vikhögsvägen (Ohlsson 1976) and Östra Torp (Callmer 1995; Jeppsson 1995) indicate short spells of time for the production and a limited volume. In a decisive way only the trading site of Åhus II (Transval) stands out with finds of crucibles in 49% of the 148 sunken-featured buildings and moulds in as much as 67% of them.

Considering the find material, glass working has an even more exclusive character. Finds which unambiguously give evidence of the real production process are known solely from the twin localities of Åhus I (Yngsjö) and Åhus II (Transval). From other parts of southern Scandinavia there are a few very interesting observations which indicate short visits and a very restricted production. Observations of this kind come from Slöinge in the middle part of the province of Halland (Sweden) (Callmer 2001) and from Selsø in northern Zealand (Denmark) (Sørensen & Ulriksen 1995). Almost equally exclusive are localities with evidence of combmaking. If we consider the number of finds of this very characteristic and easily recognizable waste material, it is striking that we have so few observations. Large and distinct finds of debris from the processing of antler for the production of composite combs are known from only four localities. With an early dating (Late Roman Iron Age or Migration Period) there is a fairly large body of material from Uppåkra (Lindell 2001). The biggest collection was excavated at the 8th- and 9th-century site of Åhus II (Transval) and from the Late Viking Age and high medieval layer of the town of Lund (Christophersen 1980; Ryding 1990; Callmer 1995). Relatively small amounts of antler waste were found at Ystad/Tankbåten (Strömberg 1978) and Valleberga/Stockholmsgården (Strömberg 1961). It is most remarkable that this material is lacking at a special coastal site (trading place?) like Löddeköpinge/Vikhögsvägen (Ohlsson 1976). Solitary and non-typical pieces of red deer antler on some sites like Rinkaby (Strömberg 1961) and Norra Lindholmen (Jacobsson 1978) cannot be claimed as evidence of comb production. Antler could be used and was, of course, also used for the production of some tools.

The study of these finds indicating craft production in the voluminous settlement material has corroborated some important hypotheses concerning the organization of these crafts and given an idea of their place in society. In this survey the chronology of the finds, until now, has not played any role. Also further on we will refrain from using a very tight absolute chronology, but a certain relative chronological order can help us understand how the organization of the craft production changes. In principle, an earlier system (A) and a later system (B) can be discerned for the early medieval period. Let us first consider the earlier system. Lately, a whole row of new observations have been made in Scandinavia of traces of production on a small scale. Often these finds are restricted to a small area, perhaps only to some pits on a settlement site. These unambiguous but – with regard to volume – very small finds indicate one or two short, occasional visits by craftsmen rather than occasional whims of the local population to produce something extraordinary. In our opinion it is more likely that the craftsmen were at work for a short time and later moved on to some other place. Also at regional centres we find traces of production. Unfortunately, we still know too little about production at these often big and complex settlements, but there is much to suggest that there were both similar short-term visits and much longer sojourns. Whether we also have really permanent craft activities at centres is not clear, but it is not completely unlikely. In the younger system (B) we find large production at trading places on the coasts or at river mouths. These sites do not form a homogeneous group but vary between non-permanent activities already in the Late Roman Iron Age (Lundeborg on Funen, Denmark) to more or less permanent activities at sites like Åhus II (Transval). The A-type activities were very directly connected with the local elites (on different levels) whereas the B-type activities often must have been much more difficult to control or supervise. Through time the short-term visits which resulted in small deposits of waste material became less frequent. Without doubt the two systems were intertwined and the details of the activities changed only slightly. The gradual change from a dominance of system A to system B certainly means that the character of the craftsman as a social actor changed. His or her social role in general became more detached from the elites. However if the production at the centres decreased, it certainly did not stop altogether. Through the Middle Ages some elite residences maintained certain craftsmen.

The pattern for the system of organization which we have sketched for the earlier stage is, as noted above, characterized by, among other things, a rather strong connection with often very extensive and rich sites, which we have called centres, i.e. residences for regional and supraregional power elites. Are the theoretical models which regard the relationship between craftsmen and elites as fundamental and the craftsman on principle as dependent then accepted here? Or do we have a somewhat different opinion? Real evidence for the prolonged activities of a certain workshop attached to an aristocratic residence of any sort has not been put forward. On the other hand, we must again stress that we have fairly good evidence for itinerant craftsmen, who not only ambulated between centres, but were also at work at a settlement, albeit of certain rank, like Dagstorp/Särslöv and a rich coastal settlement like Östra Torp. Perhaps these movements of the itinerant craftsmen are movements inside a certain sphere of political power, but there is a great deal to suggest

that mobility also includes several other spheres. Consequently, the pattern seems to be more complicated. Our observations brought together indicate the existence of craftsmen who moved during parts of the year between localities where preconditions and motivation for the activities existed. In these circumstances it is unlikely that the craftsmen were only slaves or lived their lives in a strongly unequal relationship of bondage to the power elites. However, it becomes evident that the two sides had many mutual interests to maintain good and very close relations. The status of highly qualified craftsmen may have been quite high in fact.

Wayland: deep knowledge and power

In the Old Norse language there is no common word known to us to designate the activities treated here. Being mainly a south Scandinavian phenomenon the non-existence is not so amazing. Only very seldom did craftsmen reach Western Norway not to speak about Iceland. It is however of great interest that the Anglo-Saxon language has the word *cræft* to designate exactly this type of exclusive handicraft skills. Moreover, this word has another two very interesting meanings: power and magic. In this connection it also becomes interesting to consider the place and the role of the craftsman in Old Norse literature. The mastery of the skilled craftsman is regarded as something on the margin of an ordinary human's competence or even beyond. The master craftsman is quite often a non-human, an alien. Skilfully and exquisitely executed metal products, both weapons and jewellery, were often said to be the work of dwarves. The use of these objects by humans is generally connected with certain prerogatives and magic on the part of the producer. Not infrequently the master producers in some way or other wish to retain control over their masterpiece through sorcery or curses, for example, the dwarf Andvari and the ring Andvaranautr in the Völsunga Saga. Producers of the finest items of craft in the myths can also be described as elves, that is, mythological and religious human-like beings with a certain godly status. Certain sacrifices, according to literary sources, were performed to regulate relations with the elves. Most interesting for us here is the Wayland myth. Wayland is of the kind of the elves and he is a master metallurgist (maker of both jewellery and weapons and armour). The central and certainly for us most significant part of the mythological biography of Wayland is his stay with Nidud, king of the Njarar. The king keeps Wayland by force at his residence and constrains his mobility radically by having his Achilles tendons cut. The freedom of movement and liberty of action so important for the lifestyle of Wayland is taken from him. Wayland's revenge is terrible and, as is well known, it is directed towards the offspring of the king, who are murdered (the exquisite jeweller makes drinking cups from the skulls of the two sons) or savagely raped. This means disaster and the downfall of the line of Nidud and perhaps for the dominion of the Njarar. At last Wayland escapes from the royal compound with bird's wings which he has constructed himself. This remarkable detail has something important to say about the status of Wayland. The only other mythological character who can appear in the form of a bird is Wodan, one of the most important gods. The Wayland myth was widely known in North-western, Northern and Central Europe. As a matter of fact, it is probably one of the most widely spread mythological motifs among the Germanic peoples. In our opinion,

this myth can contribute in a very important way to an understanding of the relationship between skilled craftsmen and leading representatives of the social elites. It is a directly didactic myth. It stresses both the importance of the skilled craftsmen and their exposure to the arbitrariness of power of local rulers. The main motif of the myth aims at drastically demonstrating necessary restraint in handling the skilled craftsmen. To demand complete submission and to establish serfdom leads to total catastrophe. It is most important to accept the independence of the craftsman and to reach a respectful agreement which is advantageous for both sides. The reason for this necessity is the importance of objects of great prestige which could only be produced by individuals wielding exclusive knowledge of how the specialized crafts could be executed with complete mastery. The existence of this relationship gives a welcome insight into power relationships of great complexity. It also shows us very clearly that the mostly simple models of power relationships in early medieval society are inadequate. Perhaps symbiosis and balance between craftsmen and rulers better describe the relationship. The ability to guarantee security and good preconditions for work, not infrequently including lodging and entertainment, was central for the local power elite. Failure to cope with these tasks meant political decline. Such relationships are reflected in some contemporary Western European law texts.

Conclusions

The strongly specialized craft production in Northern Europe discussed here emerges during the second half of the Roman Iron Age. Already quite early on, the three intrinsically very closely related pyrotechnical crafts appear especially demanding: high-quality forging, casting and working non-ferrous metals and glass working. In all three cases we are confronted with very complex processes of production, which demand profound and extensive knowledge which can only be appropriated by a long time of learning from a very competent teacher and which can only be maintained as a result of intensive practice. This knowledge concerns the properties of the material, the changing character of the material throughout the process, different combinations of various materials, specialized tools and control of complicated sources of intensive heat. Already during this early stage, combmaking based (mostly) on red deer antler can also be recognized as a specific craft. The question whether textile production had the character of craft production is not resolved, but there are apparent tendencies in this direction especially during the Viking Age. During the whole early medieval period these crafts were further developed and carried on by a numerically rather small group of people who nevertheless occupied a key position in society of those days. They kept considerable parts of their knowledge secret and perhaps, like blacksmiths in many African cultures, they deliberately formed separate social units, never mixing with the rest of the population. Their connection with elite centres and residences is obvious, but they are not exclusive. Also a second-rank social stratum was directly in touch with these producers. Their relations with these higher strata of society were certainly not without problems. There is here an apparent tension between the will to control and the inner dynamics of these crafts. Mobility is often a precondition for the maintenance of the quality of the production on a high level. Mobility also fulfils a very important function in that it creates

positive conditions for communication so that technical knowledge, aesthetic values and ideological thinking can be transmitted. Still, it is very difficult to decide the size of the areas in which these craftsmen circulated. However, there is much to indicate that the size of these areas varied considerably. It is likely that at various centres and residences there were specialists who concentrated on and exclusively executed some household task, but at this stage this had very little to do with craft production. Taken together, these characteristics describe our system A.

At full breadth system B, with semi-permanent and permanent trading places, evolves at the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 8th centuries, although it is known on a smaller scale already from the end of the 4th century. The broad establishment of system B does not mean that the earlier system disappears. Rather, it looks as if some craftsmen seek a new social and economic role for themselves at the trading places. How intentional this process is can hardly be decided at the present stage of research. It is most likely that local and supraregional rulers played an important role, but it is at the same time very improbable that the process in its totality can be explained in this way. We do not find it likely that some ancient mastermind designed it all at one time. Places with these characteristics emerge from the British Channel in the west to the Eastern Baltic in the east in the course of not too many years. Craftsmen who no doubt were closely connected with traders in this new milieu produced goods, which along various routes – not only via the highest social strata – reached consumers at highly varying positions in society. The activities of these craftsmen reached their maximum during the first two centuries of the Viking Age (9th and 10th centuries). The activities were predominantly, but not exclusively, concentrated at the semi-permanent and permanent trading sites. Some important centres, like Uppåkra and Gamla Uppsala, were also nodes in this network. The trading places were no doubt taxed by kings and other rulers (probably customary tithes), but it is very unlikely that they were capable of organizing and controlling the production and the trade and exchange in any thorough manner. For many of these craftsmen, the end of the 10th century must have meant a period of deep and severe crisis. Parts of the two systems had broken down and there may have been great difficulties in adjusting to new structures of dominating sites and as well to some new trading places. It is, however, a serious mistake to interpret the earliest appearances of these specialized crafts in the new milieus (which in several cases develop into medieval urban centres) as something completely new. The kernel of specialized craft production, as before, consists of high-quality forging, jewellery production and combmaking. Mobility is still a characteristic and thus a certain independence is most likely. Especially forging and combmaking in a distinct manner continue earlier tradition. Gradually more and more specialized variants of trivial household work are included as these urban sites develop into fully fledged towns in a socio-economic sense. Partly these forms of specialization were brought over from residence milieus of the early medieval centres, collapsing in the last decades of the 10th century and around AD 1000, to the emerging towns. For a long time, however, goldsmiths, fine smiths, armourers, sword smiths, sword dressers, brass casters and others form a most important and influential group of craftsmen in the medieval towns by virtue of their profound and exclusive knowledge.

Notes

1. The term craftsman will be used frequently in this paper. It is necessary to stress that this term in no way excludes activities by female actors.
2. Continental chronological terminology will be used throughout the paper.
3. Almost all excavations by UV-Syd are listed in Jacobsson 2000. Additional excavations (mainly by Lund University Historical museum, Malmö Museum and Kristianstad Museum): Björhem & Säfvestad 1993; Callmer 1991; Ericson-Borggren 1993; Larsson, L. 1982; Larsson, M. 1984; Ohlsson 1971, 1976, 1980; Stjernquist 1951, 1988, 1992, 1993; Strömberg 1961, 1971, 1978, 1981, 1985; Svanberg & Söderberg 2000; Thun 1982.

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