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Here and There

The setting of dolmens and passage
graves in north-eastern and
south-eastern Scania



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Abstract

In this master's thesis I have explored what characterises the setting of dolmens and passage graves in north-eastern and south-eastern Scania, southern Sweden; if there are common features, and what meaning/connection the setting can imply. By combining field visits at twenty-four sites with search results from the Swedish National Heritage Board's database, map studies, literature studies and previous research, I have found that the sites are characterised by diversity in the setting, though some sites share a combination of characteristics. The most common combination is view of mountain/hill/ridge and settlement within 100 metres of the site. Water seems to have been less significant. There are too few deposits recorded to interpret any connection between sites, deposits and features in the landscape. The diversity in setting suggests that there was no general rule of where to place a megalithic tomb; instead it may have been local/regional conditions that determined the placing. A view of a mountain/hill/ridge, often on the horizon, appears to be a significant aspect, as it is the most common feature in the setting. A mountain/hill/ridge is a landscape feature that stands out from the surrounding landscape, and it may have been perceived as a connection with other worlds as well as part of local mythology.

Keywords: dolmen, passage grave, landscape, Scania, megalithic, setting, dös, gånggrift, landskap, Skåne, megalit, omgivning

Cover images: Stora Köpinge 20:1(1), Österslöv 63:1 and Löderup 18:1. Österslöv is located in north-eastern Scania, while the other two sites are located in the south-east.
Photos: Catarina Nilsson.

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1. Introduction

Interest in how we humans connect with the landscape and environment around us is not new to me. I explored the expression ‘ritual landscape’ in my BA dissertation (Nilsson 2010), and during my studies at the University of Reading, UK, I had the opportunity to explore the interaction between humans and landscape further, especially regarding the building of monuments. From the UK, there are several examples of megalithic monuments that are connected with the surrounding landscape. The connection may be seen in the design of the monument, the materials used in the construction, and/or the location and orientation of the monument. Regarding the design of the monument, the Stones of Stenness, Orkney, is a good example. The Stones of Stenness consists of a circle of standing stones with an outer ditch, and possibly an outer bank (Richards 1996:198). The design of the monument is a reflection of the site’s location on a cape surrounded by lakes and hills. The standing stones themselves can also be interpreted as imitating the hills (Richards 1996:205). Another way to bring the landscape into the architecture of a monument is the choice of materials in the construction. This can include the type of stone, its texture and colour, and where the material came from. At Avebury, Wiltshire, for instance, local materials were used in the construction (Figure 1). The sarsen stones most likely came from the surrounding valleys (Watson 2001:301), and the blocks of chalk probably were the material that was dug out of the ditch of the henge (Smith 1965 cited in Watson 2001:301). Some of the stones at Avebury were held in place by packed clay (Smith 1965 cited in Watson 2001:301), which came from nearby streams (Pollard and Gillings 1998 cited in Watson 2001:301). The riparian clay is dark brown, whereas the clay at the site is pale and rich on chalk (Watson 2001:301).



Figure 1. Avebury, Wiltshire, is an example of a site that is built of local materials. The sarsen stones most likely came from the surrounding valleys, chalk was dug out of the ditch and used in the bank, and some of the standing stones were held in place by clay from nearby streams. (Image: English Heritage 2010).

The third way in which the landscape may influence a monument is where the monument is placed and its orientation. One example is the Greater Stonehenge Cursus, Wiltshire. The western part of the southern cursus ditch may have been aligned on Beacon Hill, as this section of the ditch points directly at a mark on Beacon Hill's northern side (Thomas *et al.* 2009:51). This part of the cursus is now believed to be the oldest (Thomas *et al.* 2009:51), and thus established the conditions for the other monuments that were built later in this part of Salisbury Plain (Thomas *et al.* 2009:49). When a monument had been built, it may have affected the way people moved in the landscape, not only around a monument, but also movement between monuments, and how they were experienced. Once more we can take Avebury as an example. It is linked to the Sanctuary, a stone and timber circle, via an alignment of paired stones called the Kennet Avenue. This link cannot be seen when standing at the Sanctuary (Watson 2001:299); instead the Kennet Avenue seems to lead to Windmill Hill (Watson 2001:300). What monuments in the area you can see differs as you walk along the avenue towards Avebury. Windmill Hill, for instance, disappears quickly from view and does not reappear until you have almost reached Avebury (Watson 2001:300).

After returning to Sweden, I have thought about our Swedish monuments and their connection with the surrounding landscape. We do not have the same kind of large monuments as in the UK, but we do have tombs of stone, such as dolmens and passage graves. Now I have an opportunity to explore the connection between them and their landscape.

1.1 Aim and research questions

My aim with this master's thesis is to explore the setting of dolmens and passage graves in two areas of Scania in southern Sweden. The areas are north-eastern Scania around Kristianstad and south-eastern Scania east of Ystad. I will focus on the following research questions:

- What characterises the sites of the dolmens and passage graves in the areas in question?
- Are there common features in the setting?
- What meaning/connection can the setting imply?

1.2 Outline of the thesis

Chapter 2 gives a short description of the building of megalithic monuments, particularly dolmens and passage graves. Chapter 3 presents landscape archaeology, which is my theoretical approach in this thesis. This chapter also introduces the term landscape, and the themes of place, monuments and phenomenology respectively. Chapter 4 gives the research history on megalithic tombs in north-eastern and south-eastern Scania. Chapter 5 describes the methods and material I use in my study, and presents some comments on them. Chapter 6 provides the environmental background of the study areas during the Neolithic. Chapter 7 presents the twenty-four sites of dolmens and passage graves, and the analysis of their setting in the landscape. Chapter 8 discusses my results regarding the setting in relation to some previous studies and theories. The discussion ends with a short evaluation of the influence of phenomenology on my fieldwork. Chapter 9 is the final chapter and summarises my study.

2. The building of megalithic tombs

The megalithic monuments of Britain and Sweden are part of a wider tradition. Megalithic monuments appear along the Atlantic façade of northern and western Europe and on the British Isles (Scarre 2002:2; Jensen 2006:346-349). The expression megalith comes from the Greek words *mega*, meaning large, and *lithos*, meaning stone (Jensen 2006:343). The monuments were called megaliths as large stones were used in their construction, and they include structures such as tombs, stone circles, and standing stones.

Two types of megalithic tomb – dolmens and passage graves – are at the centre of my study. The dolmen was the first type of megalithic tomb in southern Scandinavia, and the earliest ones are built *c.* 3450 BC (Gillis *et al.* 2004:121). A dolmen consists of a chamber of large stones with a large capstone as a 'roof'. Most of the dolmen would have been covered by earth, with only the capstone visible. Depending on the form of the earth mound around the chamber, there are round dolmens and long dolmens. Kerbstones were placed along the edge of the earth mound. The dolmen was usually for the burial of one individual, though there are multiple burials in some dolmen chambers (Jensen 2006:364). A second type of megalithic tomb appears around 3350 BC (Gillis *et al.* 2004:121). It is the passage grave. The passage grave has a passage into the main chamber, which sometimes has smaller niches. Also this kind of tomb was roofed with capstones and enclosed by earth; this time the capstones would have been covered. Evidence from excavated passage graves indicate that they were used for multiple burials (*e.g.* Strömberg 1971a). Passage graves are considered to have been built during a relatively short time period, 3350-3250 BC, with 75 per cent of them in the Falbygden area in the middle part of Sweden (Gillis *et al.* 2004:121). The tradition of building megalithic tombs in southern Scandinavia ends *c.* 3000 BC (Andersson 2003:62).

After this introduction to the building of dolmens and passage graves, I will continue with a presentation of the theoretical approach of this thesis: landscape archaeology.

3. Landscape archaeology

My theoretical approach is landscape archaeology, and I will start by giving a summary of the history of landscape archaeology. I will then go on to discuss the expression 'landscape'. Place, monuments, and phenomenology are the three main themes of landscape archaeology for this study, so these themes will then be considered. The discussion on place will include natural places, which are important but often forgotten. The building of monuments is also connected with memory, identity and agency, as monuments are placed in the landscape, and may influence and be experienced by people. I will conclude the chapter with phenomenology, which is a perspective that influences my fieldwork in this study.

3.1 Research history

The landscape has been of interest in archaeology since British antiquarians in the eighteenth century started to notice what surrounded the monuments that they were examining. William Stukeley not only noted the Wiltshire landscape, he also saw the effect of agriculture on monuments such as Stonehenge (Scarre 2002:4; Darvill 2008:60). Another early example is Richard Colt Hoare, who in the nineteenth century recorded earthworks from the Neolithic (Collis 2008:100). During the 1800s, there was also an interest in the aesthetic aspects of landscape (Darvill 2008:61). After the Second World War, there was a change in paradigm of archaeology in general, from the typology of the cultural-historical tradition to more interest in settlements and subsistence. This also resulted in a change in focus regarding the landscape, and a more economic view developed. One reason for the change in landscape archaeology in Britain may have been the increasing interest in the origins and developments of the medieval villages in Britain, which at this time had started to disappear from the landscape (Collis 2008:100). Another reason may have been the study of how agricultural fields and pastures had developed (Collis 2008:101). The changes in theoretical approaches with more work across disciplinary boundaries and new ways of accessing the source material have also contributed to the development in landscape archaeology (Darvill 2008:61). This development continued through the 1960s and to some extent the 1970s. Aston and Rowley published the book *Landscape Archaeology* in 1974, which resulted in the spread of the term 'landscape archaeology' (Darvill 2008:60). Some major landscape studies were started in the 1970s; Andrew Fleming began his investigation of the Dartmoor Reave System, and John

Coles started working on the landscape in the Somerset Levels (Darvill 2008:62). In 1982, the Stonehenge Environs Project was started by Julian Richards (Parker Pearson 2012:133). The aim of the project was to study how the landscape around Stonehenge was used from the Mesolithic to the Iron Age. Social aspects and humanistic approaches were added to landscape archaeology as part of the post-processual approach emerging in archaeology in general. In landscape archaeology, this addition can be seen as a change of or as a supplement to the earlier focus on the economy and the ecology of the landscape. Researchers were interested in how the world – and the landscape – may have been experienced by prehistoric people. Two publications in the early 1990s not only resulted in a new direction of landscape archaeology, but are still influential today. The first one was *Landscape: Politics and Perspectives* edited by Barbara Bender (1993), and the second was Christopher Tilley's *A Phenomenology of Landscape* in 1994. Bender's book presents various ways to consider landscape, during different time periods and in different parts of the world. Tilley introduces the philosophical concept of phenomenology (see the section on phenomenology below) into landscape archaeology, and suggests that by experiencing landscape and monuments *in situ*, they can be studied in a new way. He maintains that the Neolithic monuments he studied in three different landscapes (south-west Wales, the Black Mountains in Wales, and the chalk downland in England) are connected with landscape features such as rock outcrops and river valleys in their surroundings.

The introduction of phenomenology into landscape archaeology caused a stir among some 'traditional' landscape archaeologists. One of the more vocal critics is Andrew Fleming, who has published his critique on several occasions. He has, for instance, argued that Tilley's interpretations in *A Phenomenology of Landscape* were not supported by the data presented (Fleming 1999), and that phenomenological approaches in landscape archaeology were 'performance' rather than proper research (Fleming 2006). Another person who has raised some concerns regarding the use of phenomenology is Richard Bradley (2000:42). Bradley's first concern is that different people may experience a monument and its setting in different ways; the second is the relationship between monuments and landscape features, especially in landscapes where monuments are lacking. Tilley (2010:473) has admitted that he may have been imprecise regarding the influence of the culture we live in on our bodies and perceptions of the landscape. He emphasises that he makes no claim to put himself in the place of a prehistoric person when doing phenomenological studies (Tilley 2010:474), but that the experiences are valid as he does share the same kind of body with a prehistoric person:

bipedal and binocular, and that “is something to work positively with” (Tilley 2010:473). When authors refer to the use of phenomenology in landscape archaeology, the majority of them points to *A Phenomenology of Landscape*, which was the first publication. Tilley has, however, developed his approach since. The case studies in *A Phenomenology of Landscape* are focused on the vistas from the monuments in question. In his later studies, Tilley has looked at other sensory aspects, such as the significance of sound or smell in relation to a monument. When reading Tilley’s *Interpreting Landscapes* (2010), I also notice a change in his theoretical approach to landscape archaeology. Control and power over perspectives and interpretations regarding the location of monuments are toned down. Instead, it is more about interaction between humans and landscape through the medium of monuments.

Richard Bradley (2000) brought an additional perspective to landscape archaeology when he described how unaltered natural places would have been significant to people during European prehistory. People made connections with places in the landscape by making depositions, creating rock art, establishing production sites, and building monuments. The position of chambered tombs in landscapes of western Britain and in Ireland has been studied by Vicki Cummings (2009; Cummings and Whittle 2004). She identified views of mountains and of the sea, and in some cases watercourses, to have been important aspects for Neolithic people when positioning the tombs in the landscape (Cummings 2009:140, 144, 148). Cummings puts forward what she sees as the key problems with landscape archaeology today: to prove the significance of the setting for a monument (Cummings 2009:123), and the presence of vegetation surrounding a site (Cummings 2009:124). These two questions are very much part of her work, and they are also important for my study of the dolmens and passage graves in Scania, so I will return to them in chapters 7 and 8.

The research history I have presented is of the British tradition, which influences my work. There are differences not only within Europe, but also between Europe and America, in the way researchers work with the concept of landscape archaeology. In Europe, landscape archaeology is part of the usual archaeological work in Britain, Scandinavia and the Netherlands, whereas it is more or less absent in the southern part, such as in France and Spain (Collis 2008:99). This difference may be due to differences in agricultural pressure on the land resulting in the disappearance of remains, and differences in what type of remains there is a focus on in the country (Collis 2008:104). The American tradition has since the 1930s worked primarily with seven perspectives: ecological habitats, settlement patterns,

subsistence–settlement systems, terrestrial and celestial spheres (archaeoastronomy), materialisation of worldview, built or marked environments (rock art), and stages for performance (Patterson 2008:77). Researchers in Europe (exemplified by Britain) and America not only work with different perspectives, but in the theoretical approaches as well. While British landscape archaeologists draw on theories from, for instance, social theory, structural Marxism, phenomenology, and practice theory, the American researchers involve theories from ecology, economic geography, and anthropology (Ashmore 2004: 258-259). Though there are American researchers, who are influenced by more humanistic approaches (Ashmore 2004:258). I have found that one way of determining if a researcher is following the British tradition or the American one is to look at the bibliography/references. If it is based on the British tradition, I would expect to find surnames such as Bender, Bourdieu, Bradley, Fleming, Giddens, Richards, Thomas and Tilley.

3.2 Landscape and place

Landscape is a word we often use, it seems uncomplicated but it is not. Landscape can have many meanings; it may refer to landforms and topography, to a specific area, or to a representation such as a painting (Nationalencyklopedin 2013b). Landscape may also refer to a way of seeing the world (Daniels 1989 cited in Thomas 2001:166). In this study I work primarily with landscape as landforms and topography, but when discussing my finds I will touch on landscape as a way of seeing the world.

The landforms and the topography of a landscape in northern Europe were shaped by ice during the last glaciation. Features such as mountains and hills, caves, valleys, and rivers still maintain much of their shape. They are “the bones of the land” to use an expression by Tilley (1994:73; 2010:30). Humans have then cultivated the landscape, built upon it, and affected it in different ways, resulting in a landscape that is also a cultural landscape. Landscape, however, is not only comprised of physical features, it is considered to hold meaning and symbolism. Have we not all heard stories about a particular stone or a cave? Landscape is no longer a background for humans to act against or a source of resources; it is a part of peoples’ lives. It can give people identity, a way to see the world, a sense of history, or be an expression of power (Ingold 2000:193; Thomas 2001:173; Ashmore 2004:264). The

landscape is a network of connected places (Ingold 2000:193; Thomas 2001:173; Tilley 1994:34). This relation can be manifested in people moving between the places on paths, materials being transported between them, and narratives. Places are created by people, and activities, movements and narratives give them meaning and symbolism (Tuan 1977 cited in Owoc 2008:72). Julian Thomas, on the other hand, sees the meaning and symbolism of a place as emerging from “the background of a landscape that people always already understand to some degree” (Thomas 2008:303). A person visiting a place may experience it differently than a person who lives nearby and experiences it on a daily basis and during different times of the year (Tilley 2010:26). The sights, sounds, smells as well as activities at a place affect how people experience it when they spend time there (Ingold 2000:192).

“Just as with an excavation, the construction of a megalith would have been a messy experience. Moving around big stones would have required rope, rollers, grease and many people trampling over a site repeatedly. It may well have been very muddy and chaotic, quite possibly with children and animals running around the site. Moving heavy stones around may also have injured people, from a twisted ankle to something more serious. These ‘construction sites’ (McFadyen 2003) would have become part of peoples’ biographies, places not only in the landscape but also in peoples’ life histories. These were places where relationships were formed, social relations negotiated and altered. These were places about which stories would be told, perhaps for generations to come.”

(Cummings 2009:106).

I see Tuan’s and Thomas’ views on how meaning is created as complementing rather than excluding each other, and that is by turning to the significance of unaltered places in a landscape. People in all times seem to have been drawn to natural elements that stand out from the surrounding landscape. In third century Greece, according to the Classical writer Pausanias, there were several kinds of sacred places in the landscape: mountains, caves, rocks, gorges, springs, rivers, waterfalls, lakes, trees, groves, capes, islands, and the seashore (Bradley 2000:22-23, 26). The Saami culture in northern Scandinavia holds mountains and hills, lakes, peninsulas, caves, islands, waterfalls, and springs as sacred (Bradley 2000:6). Activities at sacred places can have different effects on the site: some do not alter the site physically, as the deposition of artefacts, while others do change it, such as creating rock art or building a monument (Bradley 2000:36-37). Not only do the natural places assume a meaning in the minds of people, they are also part of their cosmology. The Saami, for

instance, has a threefold worldview: the world of the humans, the underworld, and the sky (Bradley 2000:11). The sacred natural places are seen as places where the different worlds meet; a lake may be a link between this world and the underworld, and a mountain can be seen as access to the sky.

3.3 Monument

A monument can be a statue, a building, or a structure to commemorate or in memory of a person, an event or a site of historical importance or interest (Oxford English Dictionary 2010). Building monuments is one way to convey memory in a society (Rowlands 1993:144). Another is to destroy objects or take them out of circulation (Rowlands 1993:146). This latter way is also known as “remembering by forgetting” (Bradley 2002:13). There is an intention and a way to see the world behind every monument, and it would have influenced not only the choice of monument, but also its architecture, location in the landscape, and movement around it. A monument would have been built with an awareness of the past (Bradley 2002:8, 11), but the initial purpose of building may not have lasted, as each generation may have reinterpreted not only the monument but the landscape it was built in (Ashmore 2004:262). The process of creating a monument may also have been important; someone coming up with the idea and people coming together to implement it. This process could create a sense of group identity and strengthen bonds within a community.

Building a monument in a place with established meaning changes how the place is experienced, and the possibilities to participate in activities. For instance, an open site may become closed and formal, parts of the site may be difficult to access, or the monument can make a place more visible (Bradley 2000:104-106). The place may also have new layers of symbolism added by, for example, introducing particular depositions (Bradley 2000:107). Tilley (2010:38-39) has identified eleven ways in which a monument or a place may relate to the surrounding landscape: marking (a particular view), mimetic (imitates aspects of its surroundings in various ways), referencing (points toward or direct one’s attention to particular features of the landscape beyond it, looking either toward or from it), clustering (grouping together of places or monuments around, on, or in relationship to particular landscape features), perspectival effects (the manner in which one’s sensory experience of

landscape changes as one walks along, around, or through a monument), sequencing (the manner in which one's experience of landscape changes as one walks between one monument and the next from a particular direction following a particular path), directionality (the relationship between monuments and particular sensory effects), temporality (the manner in which earlier monuments relate to later ones and how their relationship to wider features of the landscape might change or remain the same), origins (the sources of the raw materials used to construct a monument), substitution (the monument occupies a place where elsewhere one might find a 'natural' feature), and incorporation ('natural' features of the landscape are incorporated within the monument itself). The existence of monuments in a landscape can in several ways structure the behaviour of people: the way people move around and/or in the monuments, the way people move between monuments, what activities that can be carried out in the area surrounding the monuments, the social relationships within and between communities, the political relationships within and between communities, and the economic relationships within the community (Nilsson 2010 unpublished). Though the building of a monument in a significant natural place may change the experience of the site, it would not extinguish the original importance of the place (Bradley 2000:153).

3.4 Phenomenology

The concept of phenomenology in landscape archaeology was introduced by Christopher Tilley in 1994. It has to do with gaining knowledge of the landscape by experiencing it with one's own body. Phenomenology is a philosophical field of interest originating from the German philosopher Edmund Husserl (Nationalencyklopedin 2013a). However, the school that is used in landscape archaeology is based on the works of the philosophers Maurice Merleau-Ponty from France and Martin Heidegger from Germany. They have contributed with two central expressions: 'embodiment' and 'dwelling'. Both philosophers were against the Cartesian division of body and mind (Ingold 2000:169). Instead, they considered each person as a being-in-the-world (Ingold 2000:168), where the person engages with the world through the medium of the body (Merleau-Ponty 1962 cited in Cummings 2009:125; Ingold 2000:169; Tilley 2010:25). This embodiment is part of the mental processes of thinking, understanding, remembering, and learning (Ingold 2000:171; Tilley 2010:25), *i.e.* the mind is not separate from the body. By moving around in a landscape and experiencing it, our senses

and our body will help us to get an understanding of the landscape. To dwell is to be at home in the world and to take care of it (Heidegger 1993:352). There has to be a balance, or rather a reciprocal relationship, between humans and the world in order for the world to be itself (Heidegger 1993:352-353).

One of the criticisms of phenomenology is the use of one's body as the instrument of work, as landscapes have different meanings to different people. Using a phenomenological approach means that it is important to remember that a person in the twenty-first century cannot know what a person in the Neolithic may have thought, as our previous experiences and life histories are very different. One thing we share, however, is that we walk on two legs in an upright position, and have two eyes facing forward (Tilley 2010:473). I agree with Julian Thomas (2001:181) in that we should see our present-day bodies as "analogs for those of the past". However, we have to be careful not to reduce phenomenology to a technique like others used in landscape archaeology: geographical information systems, geomorphology, fieldwalking, etc. (Thomas 2008:301). A phenomenological study takes time, as it takes time to get to know a landscape (Tilley 2010:26). The landscape should be experienced during various times of day, during different seasons, and in different weather (Tilley 2010:26).

This presentation of landscape archaeology and the themes for this study – place, monuments and phenomenology – concludes a more general section of the thesis, and I will now turn my focus to Scania and the megalithic tombs there.

4. Archaeological research on megalithic tombs in Scania, primarily in north-eastern and south-eastern Scania

In this chapter I will describe some of the research history concerning dolmens and passage graves in Scania during the last 200 years. There will be a focus on north-eastern and south-eastern Scania as these are my study areas. Some of the more significant studies in western Scania will be mentioned too. I will start with some words on the distribution of dolmens and passage graves, then I will present two inter-regional studies, before continuing with the research history. When previous research has looked at aspects that are relevant for my study, the results will be presented.

The occurrence of dolmens and passage graves in Scania

The known number of sites of dolmens and passage graves in Scania has increased in the last thirty years. In 1980, Märta Strömberg (1980:133) identified five main areas with megalithic tombs in Scania (Figure 2): the Råå River valley (south of Helsingborg); the valleys of the Saxå River and its feeder stream the Väla River, and the Lödde-Kävlinge River (south of Landskrona); the Sege River valley (east of Malmö); the Österlen area (between Ystad and Simrishamn), and the area around Kristianstad. This picture has then been added to by excavations and studies of older maps and texts in search of information regarding tombs that have been removed. Archaeological excavations in connection with the large infrastructure developments in western Scania in the 1990s and onwards (the Öresund link, the West-coast railway, the City tunnel, and expansion of the E6 highway) have resulted in an increased number of known dolmen sites in western Scania, and the separate distribution areas have expanded into one more or less continuous area along the coast from Trelleborg in the south to Helsingborg in the north (Figure 3). The expansion of the E22 highway in north-eastern Scania in the early 2000s did not change the distribution pattern of dolmens in this part of the region. Even though additional sites of passage graves have been discovered in Scania since 1980, the distribution map still shows clusters (Figure 4).

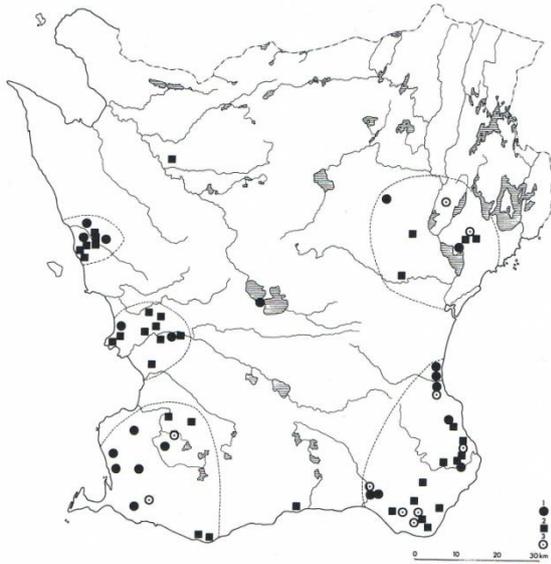


Figure 2. In 1980 there were five main areas with megalithic tombs in Scania. 1 = dolmen, 2 = passage grave, 3 = undetermined. (Strömberg 1980:133, Abb. 1).



Figure 3. The increased number of known dolmen sites in Scania today has resulted in an almost continuous distribution along the west coast. (Swedish National Heritage Board FMIS 2012).



Figure 4. The distribution of passage graves in Scania still show clusters in Scania. (Swedish National Heritage Board FMIS 2012).

The concentration of megalithic tombs in western Scania connects with the picture further west, in Denmark. The majority of known sites of megalithic tombs in Denmark is found on Zealand (Jensen 2006:365). In the Neolithic, the sea covered the area known today as the Kristianstad Plain, and this explains to a certain extent the gap in the distribution of megalithic tombs along the eastern coast of Scania.

Inter-regional studies

The Scanian megalithic tombs have been part of two larger studies by Lars Bägerfeldt (1992 [first published in 1989 as a PhD thesis under the surname Blomqvist]) and Christopher Tilley (1999) respectively. 128 Scanian dolmens and passage graves were included in Bägerfeldt's (1992) analysis of Swedish and Norwegian megalithic tombs. The study is concerned with the construction and chronology of the tombs, their spatial distribution, topography and geology, and the author has also discussed social and economic behaviour of the Funnel Beaker culture (Bägerfeldt 1992). Although Bägerfeldt has included tombs from several parts of Sweden, my impression is that the passage graves in the Falbygden region in western Sweden are at the centre of his analyses. The chapter on topography and geology is the chapter of interest for my study. Regarding the topography of the Scanian tombs, Bägerfeldt concluded that there are no characteristic locations (Bägerfeldt 1992:108). Megalithic tombs may be situated near a high point in the landscape, but never on the highest point itself (Bägerfeldt 1992:108). All tombs except one were located near the coast (Bägerfeldt 1992:108). The coastal zone has rich soils, but the choice of location for the tombs seems to have more to do with the proximity to the coast rather than the type of soil (Bägerfeldt 1992:114, 116).

Christopher Tilley presented in 1999 a guide to dolmens and passage graves in Scania, Halland, Västergötland, Öland, and Bohuslän. Not all recorded sites are included in the guide, only the sites where there are remains to be seen above ground. Tilley's guide includes his earlier work regarding the topographic location of megalithic tombs in the landscape in Scania, Bohuslän, and Västergötland (Tilley 1993; 1999). The tombs in Scania occur in four types of location (Tilley 1993:58; 1999:22). They can be found on the top of a ridge, directly on the coast overlooking the sea, at a midpoint of a slope, or in more or less flat terrain. Tombs on ridges have either panoramic views or restricted view in one direction (Tilley 1993:58; 1999:22), and tombs in flat terrain are placed on flat ground, or on a slight elevation with higher land in the immediate vicinity (Tilley 1993:58; 1999:22). In Scania, the topographic location is independent of the type of tomb (Tilley 1993:69; 1999:22). Tilley (1999:23) concluded that the majority of tombs are not located as the most visible feature in the landscape, and there is low inter-visibility between the megalithic tombs (Tilley 1999:22). The dolmens and passage graves in Scania are situated close to the coast and/or along watercourses (Tilley 1993:59; 1999:23). The bodies of water create boundaries and features in a relatively flat landscape (Tilley 1999:23). This together with settlements and other

monuments may have constituted references for the dolmens and passage graves when they were built (Tilley 1993:74; 1999:23).

The early studies in Scania

Megalithic tombs in Scania have been studied since the nineteenth century. Arvid Kurck, for instance, excavated the passage graves at Löderup 18:1 and Löderup 29:1 in 1875 (Strömberg 1965:6, 9). In the same year, Hans Hildebrand visited the passage graves at Fjälkinge (Fjälkinge 7:1 and 12:1) (Bagge and Kaelas 1950:55, 139). Hildebrand investigated at least the one at Fjälkinge 7:1 (Bagge and Kaelas 1950:139). These investigations are not the earliest recorded in my study areas though. The dolmen known as ‘Trollasten’ (Stora Köpinge 20:1(1)) was investigated by N.G. Bruzelius in 1855 (Strömberg 1966:27) and then described in 1869 (Bagge and Kaelas 1952:101). In the early twentieth century, Folke Hansen excavated some of the megalithic tombs in my study areas: for example, Löderup 18:1 in 1918 (Strömberg 1965:9), Fjälkinge 12:1 in 1927 (Bagge and Kaelas 1950:55), and Löderup 31:1 in 1933 (Strömberg 1971a:139). Folke Hansen also led the restoration work of the dolmen Vinslöv 29:1 in 1928 (Swedish National Heritage Board 2013) and of the passage grave Löderup 18:1 in 1930 (Strömberg (1965:9; 1971a:77). In 1939, C.A. Moberg began excavating the passage grave at Östra Vram, but the work had to be called off due to bad weather (Bagge and Kaelas 1952:23), and work at the tomb was not resumed until 1947, when Berta Stjernquist completed the excavation (Bagge and Kaelas 1952:23). The site of Skepparslöv 10:1 was excavated by J.-E. Forssander and S. Hommerberg in 1943 (Bagge and Kaelas 1952:14).

The finds in focus

Axel Bagge and Lili Kaelas presented in the early 1950s their studies of the finds, pottery as well as other materials, from some dolmens and passage graves in the north-east (the hundreds of Villand, and Gärds) and the south-east (the hundreds of Albo, Järrestad, Ingelstad, Herrestad, and Ljunits) (Bagge and Kaelas 1950; 1952). Some of the passage graves in my study area – Fjälkinge 7:1, Fjälkinge 12:1, and Östra Vram 8:1 – may be dated

to the Middle Neolithic period through the potsherds found at the sites and the analyses by Bagge and Kaelas (Bagge and Kaelas 1950:73, 147-151; 1952:26-28).

South-eastern Scania in the spotlight – the era of Märta Strömberg

Märta Strömberg initiated in 1960 a major investigation of the village Hagestad, Löderup parish, in south-eastern Scania (Strömberg 1965:2). The aim was to study settlement development during the Neolithic (Strömberg 1965:2; 1980), and the passage graves of the area were an integral part of her work. In her excavations of the tombs, Strömberg looked for the most part at the construction and contents, but the locations of the tombs were also part of her work. The passage grave at Löderup 18:1, 'Ramshög', was excavated in 1961, 1964 and 1968-1969 (Strömberg 1971a:78). The grave was built on a natural mound (Strömberg 1971a:78), and may well have been visible from a distance (Strömberg 1971a:79). The site is 3.2 kilometres from the Baltic Sea (Strömberg 1971a:75). The majority of the pottery sherds found at the grave indicate that it is from the Middle Neolithic (Bagge and Kaelas 1952:81). Strömberg excavated at Löderup 29:1, 'Carlshögen', in 1964 and 1968-69 (Strömberg 1971a:20). This passage grave is, as Löderup 18:1, placed on a low natural mound in the landscape, about four kilometres from the Baltic Sea (Strömberg 1971a:24). Löderup 31:1, 'Albertshög', was excavated in 1964 and 1968-1969 (Strömberg 1965:8; 1971a:142). The passage grave was erected on a natural gravel hill (Strömberg 1965:8), with an old wetland to the east of the site (Strömberg 1971a:157). The site is less than 3 kilometres from the Baltic Sea coast (Strömberg 1971a:139). The finds of Middle Neolithic pottery indicate that the passage grave was built during this time period (Strömberg 1965:9; 1971a:146). Strömberg excavated the fourth passage grave in Hagestad, Löderup 46:1, 'Stendösa', in 1964 (Strömberg 1965:2) and 1969 (Strömberg 1971a:164). The dating indicates that it, as the other sites in the area, was built during the Middle Neolithic (Strömberg 1965:3, 6). With 5.5 kilometres to the Baltic Sea, it is the furthest inland of the Hagestad passage graves (Strömberg 1971a:164).

Märta Strömberg did not only excavate the passage graves at Hagestad during the 1960s, she also turned her attention to other megalithic tombs in south-east Scania. In 1965 she excavated the dolmen at Stora Köpinge 20:1(1), 'Trollasten' (Strömberg 1966:25, 27). The

finds of Funnel Beaker pottery indicate that the dolmen most likely was built at the end of the Early Neolithic (Strömberg 1966:32; 1968:150). It was erected on a low mound of sand, which sloped into a wetland north of the site (Strömberg 1966:39; 1968:17). A feeder stream to the Nybro River ran 130-150 metres west of the site at the time when the dolmen was built (Strömberg 1968:17). The site of Stora Köpinge 20:1(1) is four kilometres from the Baltic Sea (Strömberg 1968:17). Strömberg excavated the passage grave at Ingelstorp 10:1 in 1969 (Strömberg 1973:41). The landscape around the site is flat, but the grave itself was placed on a low elevation in the landscape during the Middle Neolithic (Strömberg 1973:74, 100). The nearest watercourse is the Tuve Brook, which runs *c.* 160 metres south of the site, and the Baltic Sea is four kilometres to the south (Strömberg 1973:42, 96). Borrby 4:1 is the site of a passage grave, and it was excavated by in 1971 (Strömberg 1971b:2). The pottery found at the grave dates it to the Middle Neolithic (Strömberg 1971b:6, 9). In the early 1970s, Strömberg investigated the site of Valleberga 47:1 (1). She could conclude that there had been a megalithic tomb at the site, but whether it was a dolmen or a passage grave could not be determined (Strömberg 1976:12). The finds include Middle Neolithic pottery (Strömberg 1976:11). The site is 300 metres from the Tuve Brook (Strömberg 1976:12).

The long dolmen at Stora Köpinge 45:3, 'Skogsdaladösen', was excavated in 1974-1976 (Jacobsson 1986:84). It was discovered underneath a Bronze Age round barrow (Jacobsson 1986:84). The site is in an undulating landscape, about four kilometers from the coast (Jacobsson 1986:84, 85). There was no material suitable for radiocarbon dating, but the finds suggest that the dolmen was built during the transition from the Early to the Middle Neolithic, *c.* 3300 BC (Jacobsson 1986:84, 91, 99-103).

Western Scania

Birgitta Hårdh managed a research programme in the Lödde-Kävlinge River valley in western Scania during the early 1980s (Hårdh 1982:26). She had two objectives: the first was to study contacts during the Middle Neolithic within the area and with other parts of Scandinavia through the pottery finds at the graves, the second objective was to give a background to the contact patterns by identifying the territory belonging to each megalithic tomb and by examining the environment (Hårdh 1982:26). Though her focus was on the finds of the tombs

(eight passage graves and two dolmens) and the Funnel Beaker settlements in the research area, she did pay attention to the locations of the tombs in the landscape. They were placed on small elevations or on slopes, and water – either in the form of watercourses and their valleys, or the coast – would be close to the site (Hårdh 1982:32-33). The majority of tombs were placed on or adjoining land with soil suitable for farming during the Middle Neolithic (Hårdh 1982:32).

The megalithic tombs of western Scania were again at the centre of a study in the early 2000s, when Magnus Andersson studied the development, organisation and change of Neolithic societies in the valleys of the Saxå River and its feeder stream the Väla River, and the Lödde-Kävlinge River. He examined the settlements, the graves, the central places, and wetland depositions of the Funnel Beaker and Battle Axe cultures during the Early and Middle Neolithic (Andersson 2003:13). Not only the finds and sites themselves were studied, also their location in the landscape was considered. The megalithic tombs were placed on the highest point in the area, but not necessarily very visible, or on slopes (Andersson 2003:198). The location was independent of type of tomb (Andersson 2003:198). All tombs except one passage grave were situated along or near running water (Andersson 2003:198). Most of them were placed on sandy soils (Andersson 2003:198). Andersson (2003:198) identified clusters of tombs at four locations in his study areas.

The Kristianstad Plain and its surroundings

The location of the dolmens and passage graves in north-eastern Scania was included in the licentiate thesis by Anders Edring (2005). Edring looked at topography and distance to shore for the tombs on the Kristianstad Plain, but he had a different theoretical perspective than I have. He studied how social spaces were created during the Early and Middle Neolithic, using a methodology based on the relationship between function, structure, and form (perception) as suggested by Henri Lefebvre (Edring 2005:8). The study is based on megalithic tombs, settlement sites, and ritual deposits (Edring 2005:30). Regarding the location of the megalithic tombs, the ridges and the Precambrian mountains surrounding the Kristianstad Plain are suggested to have been significant in the choice of location (Edring 2005:122). For instance, are the passage graves at Fjälkinge situated south of Fjälkinge Hill, the Fjälkestad dolmen is

placed close to Bal Mountain, and the long dolmen and passage grave at Skepparslöv are on the very south-eastern edge of the Nävlinge Ridge (Edring 2005:114, 118, 120). The dolmens at Åraslöv [Vinslöv] are placed on a ridge in the landscape (Edring 2005:122). Not all megalithic tombs are in direct contact with the heights. The dolmen at Österslöv is situated about two kilometres east of Bal Mountain, and the dolmens at Viby [Gustav Adolf] are about four kilometres south of Fjälkinge Hill (Edring 2005:120, 122). The megalithic tombs that were not placed on or near the ridges and mountains have a close connection with the sea or watercourses (Edring 2005:122). The Österslöv dolmen as well as the Viby dolmens were situated on the Neolithic coast (Edring 2005:120, 122), and the passage grave at Östra Vram is located just north of the Vrams River (Edring 2005:122). The mountains and watercourses may have represented boundaries between different worlds in the cosmology of the Neolithic people, and placing the tombs near these boundaries may have been a way to assimilate some of their significance (Edring 2005:143).

The Neolithic and the Iron Age side by side

During geophysical investigations in 2006 at the stone setting Ale's Stones (Valleberga 20:1) in Kåseberga in south-eastern Scania, a circular anomaly was discovered (Söderberg *et al.* 2012:39). The anomaly was about 50 metres in diameter with a rectangular structure in the centre (Söderberg *et al.* 2012:39). An initial excavation was carried out in autumn 2012, confirming that there had been a dolmen at the site Valleberga 154 (Söderberg 2013 pers. comm.). The site is located on the coast with views across the sea, a setting similar to the dolmen at Ravlunda 40:1, the Haväng Dolmen (Söderberg 2013 pers. comm.).

From solitary tomb to complex site

The recent discovery of the burial and gathering site Döserygge (Håslöv 47) in south-western Scania have given us a new view of how dolmens were distributed in the Neolithic landscape, as most of them are situated separately in today's landscape. The site of Döserygge was revealed and excavated in 2007 and 2008 in connection with expansion of the E6 highway between Vellinge and Trelleborg (Andersson and Wallebom 2011). Before the archaeological

investigations, the site was unknown. A circular mark with four dots on a map from the 1770s was the first sign of that there might have been something at the site. The excavations uncovered a complex site with the remnants of twenty dolmens, palisades and standing stones. The Neolithic remains are radiocarbon dated to the period 3940 – 2490 BC (Andersson and Wallebom 2011:154), a dating that is supported by the ceramic finds. The dolmens were situated on both sides of a path, which was delimited by a palisade on each side, and it was oriented north-south. However, later excavations south-east of the main excavation area suggest that the palisades may have enclosed an area rather than a path (Andersson and Wallebom 2013:124). Foundations of about 300 standing stones were found along the palisades as well as dotted within the site, and east of the palisades, there was a small stone circle (Andersson and Wallebom 2011:105). The Döserygg site is situated on higher ground in an otherwise flat landscape, with a former wetland on its western side and a valley to the east of it. Andersson and Wallebom (2011:129) connect the site and its location with communication, as the current highway follows an old road and there are additional dolmen sites further south on the same ridge. I believe that there may be another connection between Döserygg and its surrounding landscape. Adjoining the eastern valley, there are another eight sites of dolmens. This suggests that the valley with its stream may have been a significant feature in the landscape (Nilsson 2010:19, 26). Perhaps the location for Döserygg was chosen because of the combination of wetland and valley. Close proximity to water has been linked with both palisaded enclosures (Thörn 2007) and megalithic tombs (Tilley 1994; Cummings 2009). The area around Döserygg was most likely woodland during the Neolithic – *c.* 4500 posts were used in the palisades (Andersson and Wallebom 2011:85) – and a location on the ridge may therefore not have meant visibility from the surrounding landscape.

An additional site with several structures from the Neolithic was found in 2010 in connection with excavations in Skepparslöv parish south-east of Kristianstad. At this site (Skepparslöv 81:1), also known as Öllsjö, the archaeologists found remnants of three dolmens, rows of parallel pits, a timber circle, palisade structures, and post holes from a building (Edring 2011:5, 127, 137). The three tombs were surrounded by the other structures: the rows of pits enclosed an area to the west, the timber circle and the post holes from a building to the south-west, and the semi-circle of post holes along the wetland to the east (Edring 2011:121). From the southern dolmen towards south-west there was a path delimited by posts on both sides. The site is included in my study, and I need to take the known finds into account in my interpretation.

The research history shows that megalithic tombs have been excavated since the middle of the nineteenth century, and that the aims of the excavations have changed in the same way we see the paradigms of archaeology in general changing. From a focus on the finds and the type of tomb, via the tombs representing different settlements and being indicative of the territories of different groups, to meaning and social relations. Landscape goes from something that is part of sustainability to being an intricate part of people's lives. The location of megalithic tombs has to some extent been part of previous studies, for instance topography, soil type, and distance to the coast have been mentioned. I want to explore if there is something else in the landscape that might affect the choice of location for a dolmen or a passage grave.

5. Methodology, material, and comments on sources and methods

The previous chapters on the building of megalithic tombs, earlier research in Scania, and how landscape, place and monuments respectively may be perceived and experienced, described my theoretical perspectives for this master's thesis. This chapter explains my choice of study areas, the methods and the material that I will use in order to answer my research questions. It concludes with some comments on my sources and methods.

5.1 The choice of study areas

My study areas for this master's thesis are north-eastern Scania (around Kristianstad) and south-eastern Scania (east of Ystad). I have chosen these areas because current research on megalithic tombs, particularly dolmens, in Scania is focused on the south-western part of the region as a result of the site Döserygg (see chapter 4). By looking at two areas in Scania, I will be able to identify if there are common features in the setting independent of what part of Scania the tomb was built in or if there are features specific for each area.

5.2 Methods and material

In order to answer my questions I will use the following methods: searching the Swedish National Heritage Board's online database FMIS, literary research, map studies, and field visits to the sites.

The FMIS database contains an official record of ancient monuments in Sweden. I have searched it on 22 November 2012 and 1 February 2013 for sites of dolmens and passage graves in Scania. My search criteria were Landskap (Landscape): Skåne, Kategori (Category): Gravar, Lämningstyp (Type of remains): Stenkammargrav, Egenskapstyp (Type of characteristic): Typ, and Egenskapsvärde (Value of characteristic): Dös and Gånggrift respectively. There are a total of 113 dolmen sites and 52 passage grave sites in Scania. Of these, 30 (19 + 11) sites are located in my study areas (Table 1).

Table 1. There are 30 sites of dolmens and passage graves in the two study areas, north-eastern Scania and south-eastern Scania. The name listed here is the FMIS-designation of the site.

* The sites Skepparslöv 81:1(1) and Skepparslöv 81:1(3) are considered to be one site, Skepparslöv 81:1, in my study, as I interpret site 81:1(3) to be one of the three dolmens at site 81:1(1).

** This site is based on information on eighteenth century maps, and is excluded in my study.

	Dolmen	Passage grave
North-eastern Scania	Fjälkestad 7:1 Gustav Adolf 4:1 Gustav Adolf 5:1 Skepparslöv 8:1 Skepparslöv 81:1(1)* Skepparslöv 81:1 (3)* Skepparslöv 315 Vinslöv 28:1 Vinslöv 29:1 Österslöv 63:1	Fjälkinge 7:1 Fjälkinge 12:1 Skepparslöv 10:1 Östra Vram 8:1
South-eastern Scania	Glemminge 8:1 Glemminge 36:1** Stora Herrestad 31:1** Stora Herrestad 45:1** Stora Herrestad 46:1** Stora Köpinge 20:1(1) Stora Köpinge 45:3 Valleberga 47:1(1) Valleberga 154	Borrby 4:1 Hörup 7:1** Ingelstorp10:1 Löderup 18:1 Löderup 29:1 Löderup 31:1 Löderup 46:1

In my study areas, the database searches resulted in clusters of sites, separated by empty areas. In south-eastern Scania, however, I decided to exclude three sites at Hammenhög and Skillinge as they are situated further to the north-east than the other sites east of Ystad. In north-eastern Scania, I consider the dolmen sites Skepparslöv 81:1(1) and Skepparslöv 81:1(3) to be one site, Skepparslöv 81:1, in my study (Table 1). I interpret the description of the site 81:1(3) as the central one of the three megalithic tombs found at site 81:1(1). The description of 81:1(1) in the FMIS database is based on the report from the final excavation [Edring 2011], whereas the description of 81:1(3) seems to refer to the initial excavation report [Edring 2009]. I have excluded five sites from the database search (Table 1), as the location of these sites is based on information from eighteenth century maps, and there are no visual remains at the site today. Some of these sites have been investigated previously: at Glemminge 36:1 nothing was found during ground work, and test pits at Stora Herrestad 45:1 and Stora Herrestad 46:1 showed no traces of megalithic tombs (Swedish National Heritage Board 2013). 24 sites of dolmens and passage graves are part of my study (Figure 5 and 6). Each site is described in chapter 7:1.

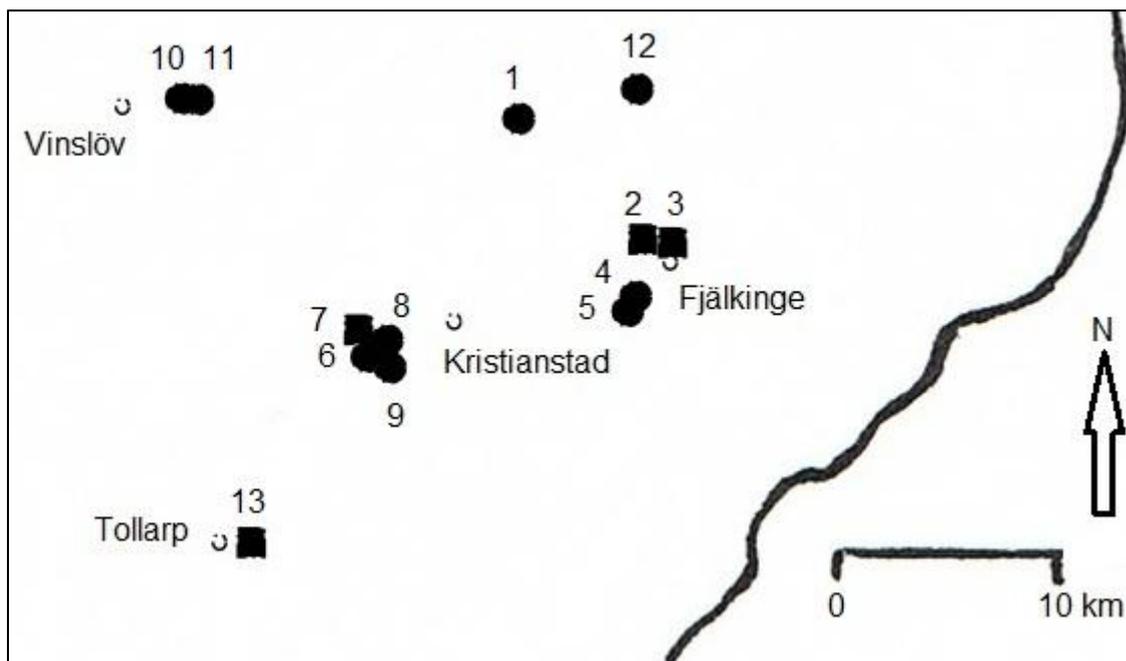


Figure 5. Thirteen sites – nine dolmens (circle) and four passage graves (square) – in north-eastern Scania around Kristianstad are included in my study.

1 = Fjälkestad 7:1, 2 = Fjälkinge 7:1, 3 = Fjälkinge 12:1, 4 = Gustav Adolf 4:1, 5 = Gustav Adolf 5:1, 6 = Skepparslöv 8:1, 7 = Skepparslöv 10:1, 8 = Skepparslöv 81:1, 9 = Skepparslöv 315, 10 = Vinslöv 28:1, 11 = Vinslöv 29:1, 12 = Österslöv 63:1, 13 = Östra Vram 8:1.

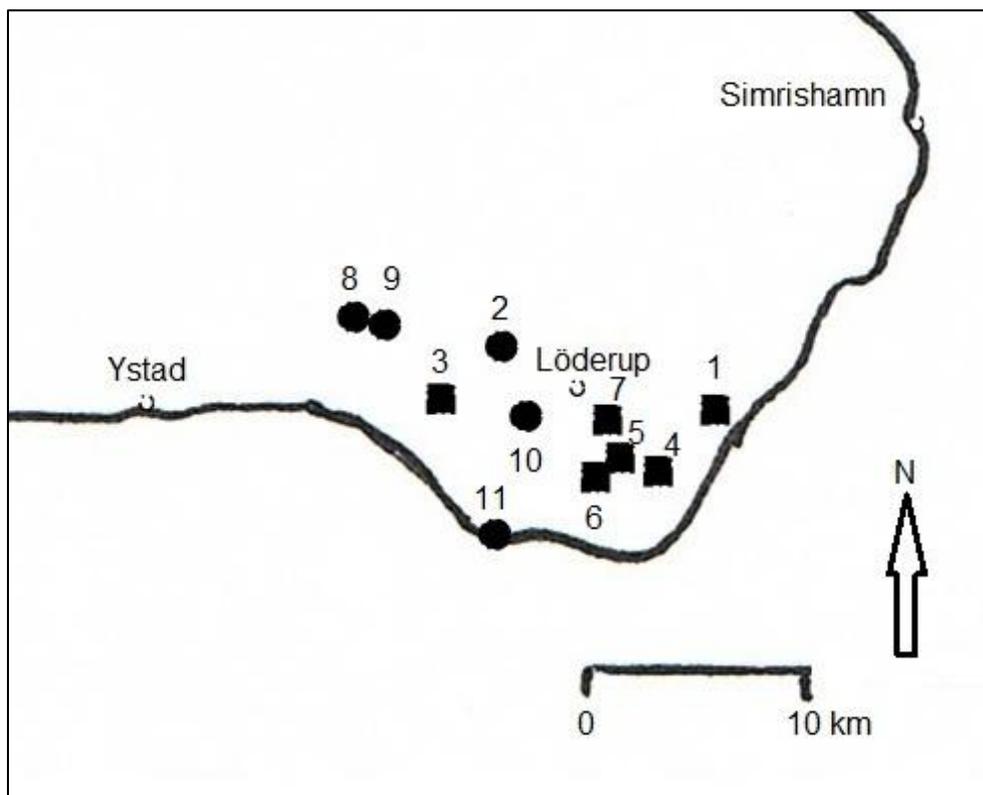


Figure 6. Eleven sites – five dolmens (circle) and six passage graves (square) – in south-eastern Scania are included in my study.

1 = Borrby 4:1, 2 = Glemminge 8:1, 3 = Ingelstorp 10:1, 4 = Löderup 18:1, 5 = Löderup 29:1, 6 = Löderup 31:1, 7 = Löderup 46:1, 8 = Stora Köpinge 20:1(1), 9 = Stora Köpinge 45:3, 10 = Valleberga 47:1(1), 11 = Valleberga 154.

I also used the FMIS database to find Neolithic deposits and settlements in the vicinity of the tomb sites. The database searches were made on 1 and 2 May 2013. The deposits are those which are not connected with the tomb itself, and my search criteria were: Landskap (Landscape): Skåne, Kategori (Category): Övriga lämningstyper, and Lämningstyp (Type of remains): Depåfynd. There are 78 deposits in Scania, eight of these are within the parishes in my study areas that have megalithic tombs. Five deposits are Neolithic: Borrby 87:1, Fjälkestad 199(5), Löderup 32:1, Löderup 51:1, and Valleberga 36:1. Since four of the deposits are not shown on the map, I cannot connect them with my tomb sites. The fourth one, however, is 200 metres east of the dolmen at Fjälkestad. The search criteria for settlement were: Landskap (Landscape): Skåne, Socken (Parish): Borrby, Fjälkestad, Fjälkinge, Glemminge, Gustav Adolf, Ingelstorp, Löderup, Skepparslöv, Stora Köpinge, Valleberga, Vinslöv, Österslöv, Östra Vram, Kategori (Category): Boplatser och visten, and Lämningstyp (Type of remains): Boplat, Boplatslämning övrig, Boplatsområde, Grav- och Boplatsområde. This search resulted in 590 sites. As the result cannot be sorted by dating, I had to go through all the sites. The best way I found, was to have the tomb site at the centre of the map in FMIS and then look each R-marking within 500-1000 metres of the site and make a note of possible settlements (see comment below). This resulted in more than 60 possible Neolithic settlement sites.

The literature research consists of previous studies of megalithic tombs in my study areas, studies regarding the setting of megalithic tombs, theories and research regarding landscape archaeology, landscape, place, phenomenology, and monuments respectively, and palaeoecology studies in my study areas. The literature was found through the previous work on my bachelor dissertation on the term 'ritual landscape', by using the search engines LIBRIS, LUBsearch and Lund University Publications, and in the reference lists of other literature. My supervisor has given me reading suggestions, and I have used my handbooks from the modules *British Prehistory I: The Age of Stonehenge* and *Burial Archaeology* at the University of Reading, UK. The main material regarding theories on landscape, place and monuments are from the United Kingdom. The literature gives me the background and the knowledge to help with the interpretation of the setting of the megalithic tombs in north-eastern Scania and south-eastern Scania. The literature studies have also resulted in the chapters on theoretical perspectives (chapter 3) and previous research in Scania (chapter 4).

My map material include print-outs from FMIS, the Scanian reconnaissance map 1812-1820 (Lantmäteriet and Krigsarkivet 1986), and maps of shore-levels 6000 years BP and 5000 years BP respectively (Geological Survey of Sweden 2012). This kind of material is of help when looking at where in the landscape different kinds of features and sites are located.

Why a site has been chosen cannot be concluded from literature and maps only; one has to visit the site itself. I have visited the twenty-four sites of dolmens and passage graves in my study. At each site I looked at topography, orientation of the tomb/entrance if possible, what the site looks like today, if there are any special features, how I experienced the site, and if there was something in the surrounding landscape that caught my eye. I did not only use my sight when I visited the site, I tried to use my other senses too. In order to note the same kind of information at each site, I created a site recording sheet (Appendix 1). Additional information from literature and maps was recorded on the sheet ahead of the field visit. Each site was photographed from different directions, both looking out from the site and looking towards it. The field visits were made 13 March, 18 April, 19 April and 3 May 2013.

My findings from the site visits together with the results from the FMIS database searches, the map studies and literature studies were used in a contextual analysis in order to answer my research questions.

5.3 Comments on my sources and methods

Of the registered megalithic tombs in FMIS, not all sites of dolmens and passage graves have a remaining tomb today as some have been removed and others are based on map information. Sites where research has confirmed a previous tomb on the site or the probability of one are included in my study. I have chosen to exclude five sites that are based on information on old maps. If I would have included them and there had not been a tomb on the site, the result of my study would have been affected. There may be additional sites where tombs have been located once in the past (Edring 2005:58-63), but these are not registered as dolmens or passage graves in FMIS. Chambered tombs might in some cases be registered as mounds in FMIS. There may also be sites that we do not know of today. The site of Döserygg in south-western Scania was unknown prior to the road expansion project. The first indication

was a symbol with the name on an eighteenth century map, and then the excavation revealed the remains of a least twenty dolmens in addition to several other monumental features. As my aim is not to reconstruct the Neolithic landscape in the study areas, but to look at what characterises each site, I do not consider these ‘missing’ sites a problem in regard to the number of sites that I will study. They may, however, affect the interpretation of the setting in relation to other monuments and structures.

In early megalithic research, passage graves were seen as succeeding dolmens (Bägerfeldt 1992:96; Malmer 2002:51 cited in Edring 2005:114), but they are now considered to be overlapping in time (Andersson 2003:198; Gillis *et al.* 2004:121). Furthermore, it is not always easy to decide whether it is a dolmen or a passage grave. There are, for instance, dolmens where a short passage goes into a ‘typical’ dolmen chamber. This is why I have chosen to include both types in my study. As an additional aspect of the study, it may show whether there are similarities in the setting independent on type of megalithic tomb.

The majority of sites registered as some type of settlement remains have been identified by surface finds of worked flint and/or flint debitage, and have not been excavated. This means that the site cannot be dated and we do not know if it was contemporary with the tomb site.

The choice of literature consists primarily of published books, articles and theses. I consider it to be relevant, representative and written by reliable authors.

I went to the sites of the dolmens and passage graves by car; at some sites I had to park some distance away. Arriving at a site by car is very different from the way Neolithic people would have encountered the site. I walked around the site to experience it from different directions, and by closing my eyes I tried to build an inner image of the site in a Neolithic landscape with woods and pastures. To put the site into a wider landscape context, I noticed the surrounding landscape when arriving at and leaving the site.

I do not claim to have made a phenomenological study in this work, as a phenomenological study implies that a site or landscape should be experienced repeatedly and during different conditions (time of year, weather). The time allotted for my study only permitted one visit to each site. Phenomenology has, however, influenced my fieldwork, and how to look at a site and its relation to the surrounding landscape: especially the importance of different senses.

During my visits to the sites, I have tried to use as many senses as possible, even though sight may be the principal one. Sound might relate back to a distant past, as water, for instance, have different properties. The sea gives off different sounds than a stream, and the sounds from a stream depends on whether the water flows still or in ripples. Scent might have been an important aspect during the Neolithic, but today's landscape will have quite a different smell. Based on the palaeoecology literature, I can get an idea of the kind of landscape and the scents a person might have encountered. I believe that my own background in biology [I have an M.Sc. in Zooecology] is of help in this interpretation. By using different senses during a site visit, I gained more information, which was of use in interpreting the setting of the tomb.

After this presentation of methods and material, I turn my attention to north-eastern and south-eastern Scania and the environmental background.

6. Environmental background for north-eastern and south-eastern Scania

In order to find out what kind of landscape/environment people during the Neolithic would have experienced, I have to turn to studies in palaeoecology.

In north-eastern Scania, samples were collected in connection with the expansion of the E22 highway. The results indicate that most of my study area was woodland of broad-leaved trees [such as elm, lime, and oak] with hazel and birch in open spaces, and alder in wetter areas (Gedda 2007:36). In areas, which had been covered by the sea during the previous maximum of the Littorina Sea transgression, there were wet meadows (Gedda 2007:38).

In south-eastern Scania, the landscape of the western part of my study area was studied during the 1980s as part of the Ystad Project. In the early Neolithic, the area closest to the Baltic Sea coast consisted of half-open pasture-land with coppiced trees, meadows, and arable fields (Berglund 1991:71). Further inland was wood-pasture with some underwood of hazel and birch (Berglund 1991:71; Berglund *et al.* 1991:110). On slightly wetter ground willows grew (Berglund 1991:69; Berglund *et al.* 1991:110). Along the watercourses of the area was fen wildwood: mainly with alder, but also with ash (Berglund 1991:71).

Today the areas, where the dolmens and passage graves are located, are primarily open agricultural landscape. There are, however, more built-up areas in the north-east.

With some knowledge of the environment during the Neolithic, it is time to explore the sites of dolmens and passage graves in north-eastern and south-eastern Scania.

7. The setting of dolmens and passage graves in north-eastern and south-eastern Scania

I will start the chapter with a presentation of the sites in this study, and then I will analyse the sites with my three research questions in mind: What characterises the sites of the dolmens and passage graves in the areas in question? Are there common features in the setting? and What meaning/connection can the setting imply? This contextual analysis is based on the information from my field visits, searches of the FMIS database, literature studies and map studies. In the conclusion I present the answers that I have found to my research questions.

7.1 Site presentations

The descriptions of the twenty-four sites in the study are based on my notes from the field visits. Further information regarding, for instance, construction, condition, and coordinates of location can be found in the FMIS database via the Swedish National Heritage Board's website. I will start with the sites in north-eastern Scania and then present the ones in south-eastern Scania. The sites are presented in alphabetical order.

7.1.1 North-eastern Scania

Fjälkestad 7:1

The remains of this dolmen are located on a slight rise in the south-east corner of a former pasture (Figure 7). To the south, east and north of the site is farmland. About 600 metres to the south is a group of Bronze Age round barrows. Further east are a cluster of buildings and the forest-covered Bal Mountain. There is a stream running in between the buildings, but today it is not visible from the site. West and south-west of the site are pasture-land intermixed with forested areas. All of the surrounding area except for the mountain is flat. Based on the position of the remaining standing stones, the tomb entrance was orientated to south-west, and looking out in this direction I see farmland, then pasture-land behind it, then forest, and five wind-turbines in the background. Facing the entrance, I see fields with standing crops, the northern part of the Bal Mountain, and woodland.

My experience of the site is that it is placed where different types of terrain meet: farmland, pasture-land and mountain. It has extensive view, especially to the south. The view is framed by the mountain to the east and forest to the west. I could hear small birds, traffic and a lawn mower, and I could smell chemicals. The four visible stones were all of coarse rock; based on colour I would say possibly two types of rock. The stones are covered by moss and lichen.

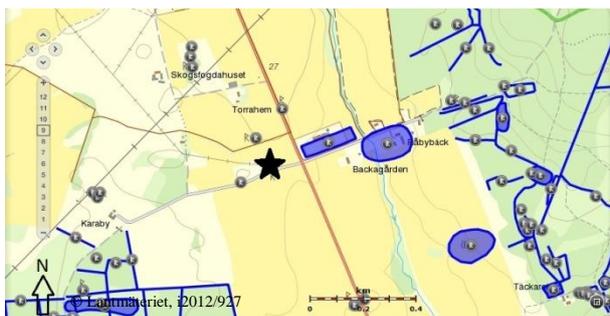


Figure 7a. Fjälkestad 7:1 is situated south of the village of Fjälkestad. (Swedish National Heritage Board FMIS 2012).



Figure 7b. View of the dolmen at Fjälkestad 7:1 from the east. (Photo: Catarina Nilsson).

Fjälkinge 7:1

The capstones of this passage grave are visible in the mound, which is on a slight rise in a flat landscape (Figure 8). East of the site is an industrial estate, and north, north-west and west of the site are areas with pine trees and birch trees. To the south are arable fields, some with stone walls and groups of trees. The Linderöd Ridge is visible on the horizon. The entrance is orientated to the south-east, and looking out from it I see an office building on the industrial estate. Facing the entrance I see flat land with pine and birch trees. The office building blocks the view towards the Fjälkinge Hill, which is about two kilometres north-east of the site.

My experience of the site is that has extensive views over the plain towards the south-east, south and south-west. I could hear small birds, larks and traffic, and I could smell spices from the neighbouring factory. The capstones of the chamber are of a coarser rock than the other visible stones. All stones are partly covered by moss and lichen.



Figure 8a. Fjälkinge 7:1 is situated at the western end of Fjälkinge. (Swedish National Heritage Board FMIS 2012).



Figure 8b. The passage grave at Fjälkinge 7:1 from south-south-west. (Photo: Catarina Nilsson).

Fjälkinge 12:1

The passage grave, which lacks the capstones, is located in a small copse of pine and birch on flat ground in a village (Figure 9). The entire village is built on flat ground. There are residential areas on three sides (east, north and west). The main road with a bus-stop is south of the site. The entrance of the tomb is orientated east. When facing the entrance as well as looking out from it, I see buildings. Looking out from the entrance, the Fjälkinge Hill is partly visible to the north-east behind a house.

My experience of the site is that it probably had extensive views once, but these are blocked today as the village of Fjälkinge has grown. This is confirmed by an old photograph in Bagge and Kaelas (1950:61). I could hear traffic, small birds, rooks, a saw, and a bumblebee. There was a smell of pine. The remaining stones in the construction are of at least four types of rock, mostly smooth. There is a mixture of smooth and coarse stones in the chamber as well as in the passage. The stones are partly covered by moss and lichen.



Figure 9a. Fjälkinge 12:1 is situated in the village of Fjälkinge. (Swedish National Heritage Board FMIS 2012).



Figure 9b. View from the entrance of the passage grave at Fjälkinge 12:1 towards east-north-east. Fjälkinge Hill is partially visible on the left hand side. (Photo: Catarina Nilsson).

Gustav Adolf 4:1

The stone setting of this long dolmen is located in a field (Figure 10). There is a house about 75 metres north-north-west of the site, and roads the north and the east. The site is on flat ground in a slightly undulating agricultural landscape. The ground rises west of the site, and there is a depression 100 metres to the south-east. I could not access the site due to standing crops, and made my observations from the road about 30 metres to the north, about two metres lower than the dolmen mound. There is no visible chamber. The dolmen of Gustav Adolf 5:1 is clearly visible to the south as it is only 100 metres away.

My experience of the site is that it has extensive views, especially north-east, north and north-west. Fjälkinge Hill is visible in north-north-east, partly behind a farmhouse. The Linderöd Ridge is visible on the horizon to the south-west. I could hear small birds, traffic, larks, rooks, crows and bumblebees. There was a smell of spring. As I could not access the site, touch was not recorded.

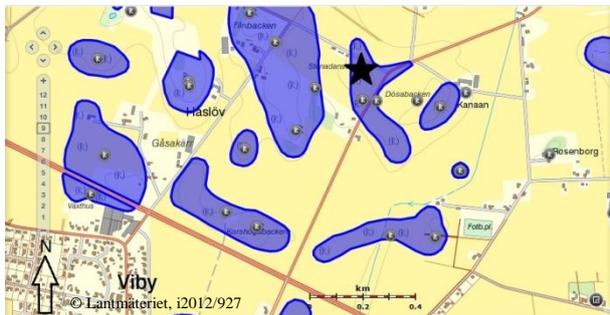


Figure 10a. Gustav Adolf 4:1 is situated in a field north-east of Viby village. (Swedish National Heritage Board FMIS 2012).



Figure 10b. The dolmen at Gustav Adolf 4:1 from the south. (Photo: Catarina Nilsson).

Gustav Adolf 5:1

The round dolmen at the site is situated in a field near the edge of a slight rise (Figure 11). South of the dolmen is a house with outbuildings. East of it is a road and undulating arable fields. The Fjälkinge Hill is visible to the north-north-east, and the stone setting of Gustav Adolf 4:1 is located about 100 metres to the north. West of the site is farmland, which rises slightly. The tomb entrance is orientated south-east, and looking in this direction I see a slightly undulating agricultural landscape, to the south-east there is a drop down to a plain that extends southwards. The Hammar Lake is visible in the distance. Facing the entrance I see an undulating agricultural landscape with the dolmen Gustav Adolf 4:1, buildings, and the E22 highway in the background.

My experience of the site is from the road 30 metres to the east as the field has standing crops. It is on higher ground with extensive views over the surrounding landscape. I could hear larks, small birds, traffic and the wind. There is a smell of spring. No touch could be recorded.

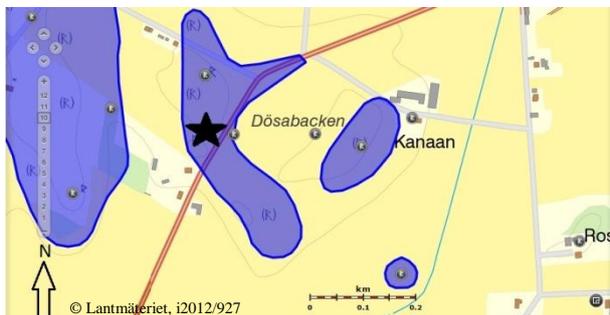


Figure 11a. Gustav Adolf 5:1 is situated in a field north-east of Viby village, 100 m south of Gustav Adolf 4:1. (Swedish National Heritage Board FMIS 2012).



Figure 11b. The dolmen at Gustav Adolf 5:1 from east-north-east. (Photo: Catarina Nilsson).

Skepparslöv 8:1

This long dolmen is located on a small mound at the end of an east-west slope on the northern side of the Nävlinge Ridge (Figure 12). To the east of the site, the landscape is flat, and consists of a residential district. To the northeast the slope continues into a small depression before flattening out. To the north the slope flattens out a bit and then rises again. These areas are today covered by grass. West and south of the site is stony pasture-land, which is part of the edge of the Nävlinge Ridge. South of the pasture, there is a residential district. There are no remains of the dolmen chamber, so I cannot discuss the view from and towards the entrance. The other sites at Skepparslöv are in full view.

My experience of the site is that it is part of an undulating, somewhat stony landscape. I could hear the wind, small birds, and aeroplanes. There are at least three different types of rock, covered partly by moss and lichen, in the stones that make up the remaining stone setting. One rock is smoother, another is coarser and the third one is in between. There is also a colour difference between the different types of rock.



Figure 12a. Skepparslöv 8:1 is situated on a pasture outside the village of Vä. (Swedish National Heritage Board FMIS 2012).



Figure 12b. The dolmen at Skepparslöv 8:1 from north-east. (Photo: Catarina Nilsson).

Skepparslöv 10:1

This site consists of a passage grave, which has been converted into a stone cist [Tilley (1999:116) uses the expression gallery grave]. It is situated on a south-west facing slope on a mound, which I interpret as part of the grave (Figure 13). My impression is that the entrance is the south-western end of the cist. Looking out from the entrance, I see an open landscape with the Nävlinge ridge in the background. The long dolmen at Skepparslöv 8:1 is in view. Facing the tomb, the view is restricted as I look uphill. The site is surrounded by grassland. There is a road about 50 metres south and east of site, and a detached house about 100 metres to west-north-west. The site Skepparslöv 81:1 is about 150 metres to the east-south-east, on what appears to be the same slope.

My experience of the site is that there are extensive views over the surrounding landscape to the east, south, and west, while the view is restricted to the north. When standing on edge of the ridge north of the tomb, there is a view over the north-eastern end of the Kristianstad plain. During my visit, I became aware of that the area at the entrance of the tomb was windier than other parts of the site. I could hear birds (rooks) at a distance. No specific smell could be detected. The stones that make up the current cist are of different kinds of rock. It was difficult to visually determine how many. Some stones were of a coarse rock, while others were smoother. Moss and lichen covered the stones partly.



Figure 13a. Skepparslöv 10:1 is situated on a slope. (Swedish National Heritage Board FMIS 2012).



Figure 13b. The passage grave at Skepparslöv 10:1 from the north, with the Nävlinge Ridge in the background to the right. (Photo: Catarina Nilsson).

Skepparslöv 81:1

As nothing remains above ground, I had to approximate the position of the site based on the FMIS map (Figure 14). The excavation of this site revealed that there had been three dolmens (Edring 2011). The site is grassland at the moment, awaiting the building of a new residential area. The site is located at the end of slope, which descends into a shallow depression. There is a view towards east, south and west, while it is more restricted towards north (uphill). The Nävlinge Ridge is visible to the south-west, and the dolmen Skepparslöv 8:1 in south-west. Today the ‘passage grave’ Skepparslöv 10:1 is visible north-north-west of the site.

My experience of the site is that there are views except to the north. It feels as if the site is more connected with the shallow depression to the south-east rather than the hills. The sounds I could hear are modern: motor traffic and aeroplanes. No specific smell. There was nothing connected with the dolmens to touch, only last year’s grass.



Figure 14a. Skepparslöv 81:1 is situated at the end of a slope. (Swedish National Heritage Board FMIS 2012).



Figure 14b. Nothing remains above ground of the site Skepparslöv 81:1. View from north-north-west. (Photo: Catarina Nilsson).

Skepparslöv 315

As nothing remains above ground, I had to approximate the position of the site based on the FMIS map (Figure 15). During the initial excavation, the site was identified as a possible megalithic tomb (Edring 2009). The site is part grassland, part footpath/cycleway. It is located on flat ground on the edge of a small depression. To the east, there is a residential district, while there are views north, west and south. The Nävlinge Ridge is visible west and south-west of the site. The other sites at Skepparslöv are in full view.

My experience of the site is a feeling of being surrounded by the landscape as the site is lower than the surroundings and on flat land. I could hear the wind, small birds, and aeroplanes. I did not pick any specific smell. There was nothing connected with a megalithic tomb to touch, only last year's grass.



Figure 15a. Skepparslöv 315 is situated on the edge of a small depression. (Swedish National Heritage Board FMIS 2012).



Figure 15b. Nothing remains above ground of the Skepparslöv 315. View towards south-west and the dolmen Skepparslöv 8:1. (Photo: Catarina Nilsson).

Vinslöv 28:1

The site is a long dolmen located in a private garden, which resulted in that I had to make my observations from the road. The dolmen is situated on a ridge with some view over the surrounding, flat landscape (Figure 16). The view is limited today due to buildings and trees, especially to the north and west. The Nävlinge Ridge and the Åraslöv Bog are visible to the south. The tomb is orientated east-west, parallel with the ridge. The long dolmen at Vinslöv 29:1 is visible to the east, as is the end of the ridge on which the dolmens are situated. West of the site, along the main road and the ridge, is stony pasture-land.

My experience of the site is that it is situated with view over the surrounding landscape, and the Nävlinge Ridge visible. No specific sounds were detected. I could smell manure from a neighbouring farm. As I could not come close to the dolmen, I could not record 'touch'. From the road, I could see that moss and lichen partly covered the stones.



Figure 16a. Vinslöv 28:1 is situated on a ridge, with some view over the surrounding landscape. (Swedish National Heritage Board FMIS 2012).



Figure 16b. View towards the south from the site of Vinslöv 28:1. Nävlinge Ridge is visible on the horizon. (Photo: Catarina Nilsson).

Vinslöv 29:1

This site is along dolmen located on a ridge, between the main road and a private garden (Figure 17). To the east there is a view down the end of the ridge, and an undulating landscape. To the north there is a stony pasture on the slope and then extensive view. Along the northern edge of the ridge is a stream. The dolmen at Vinslöv 28:1 is visible to the west-north-west, along the ridge. The Nävlinge Ridge is visible to the south and south-east, though the visibility today is limited by buildings. Between the ridge on which the dolmen is located and the Nävlinge Ridge, the Åraslöv Bog is visible. There is no dolmen chamber, so I cannot discuss the view relative to the entrance.

My experience of the site is that has extensive views of the surrounding landscape, and the stone setting is parallel with the Nävlinge Ridge. I could hear small birds, and sense the smell of manure. The stones are mostly smooth types of rock. There seem to be less variability in rock than at, for instance, Skepparslöv 8:1. Moss and lichen grow on the stones.



Figure 17a. Vinslöv 29:1 is situated on a ridge, with some view over the surrounding landscape. (Swedish National Heritage Board FMIS 2012).



Figure 17b. View towards the north-west from the dolmen at Vinslöv 29:1. The site of Vinslöv 28:1 is visible on the left. (Photo: Catarina Nilsson).

Österslöv 63:1

The dolmen is situated high on a western slope towards the Råbelöv Lake (Figure 18). South and east of the site is agricultural land with standing crops. The fields are delimited by stone walls. North of the site is a farm, where the farm house and its garden has line of sight towards the dolmen. To the west is woodland along the lake shore. The Bal Mountain is visible through the trees.

My experience of the site is from the small road 50 metres to the north as the field has standing crops. The site seems to be orientated towards the lake, and possibly the Bal Mountain. There are views over the surrounding flat landscape, though it is partly restricted today by the stone walls. I could hear several bird species, such as geese, blackbirds, ravens, and small birds of all sorts. There was a smell of spring and a faint smell of manure. Touch could not be recorded.

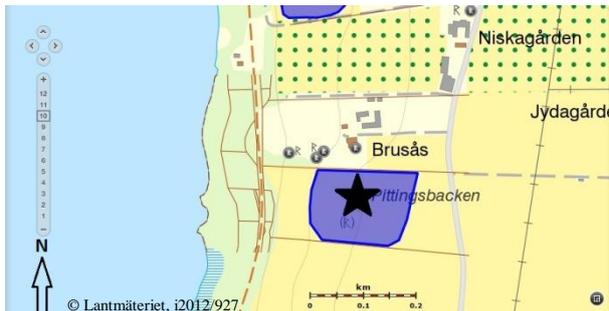


Figure 18a. Österslöv 63:1 is situated on a slope towards the Råbelöv Lake. (Swedish National Heritage Board FMIS 2012).



Figure 18b. View of the dolmen Österslöv 63:1 from the east, with Bal Mountain to left in the background and Råbelöv Lake visible on the right. (Photo: Catarina Nilsson).

Östra Vram 8:1

The remains of the passage grave are today located at the edge of a garden, with a spruce plantation to the south, and a fence along its western side (Figure 19). The site is near the upper end of a gentle, south-facing slope towards the Vrams River. The surrounding landscape is relatively flat, and the Linderöd Ridge is visible to the south-west. The view of the ridge to the south and south-east is restricted by the spruce trees. The site is surrounded by buildings to the north and west. The stone setting is orientated north-north-west – south-south-east.

My experience of the site is that it seems to be orientated towards the south. I feel, however, that the current placing at the edge of a garden, with the neighbouring garden next to it, overshadows the original placing of the passage grave. While visiting the site, I could hear traffic from the E22 highway, which is less than 200 metres north of the site. No specific smell. The stones are covered in moss and lichen.



Figure 19a. Östra Vram 8:1 is situated on south-facing slope at the edge of Östra Vram village. (Swedish National Heritage Board FMIS 2012).



Figure 19b. View towards south of the passage grave at Östra Vram 8:1 (Photo: Catarina Nilsson).

7.1.2 South-eastern Scania

Borrby 4:1

The passage grave is today located in the middle of a field (Figure 20). There are farms about 200 metres to the south-east, east, north, and south-west respectively of the tomb. The site is located on a very slight rise in a flat agricultural landscape. The tomb entrance is orientated to east-south-east. When looking out from it, I see a flat landscape that becomes more undulating at a distance. Facing the entrance, I see flat open arable fields behind.

My experience of the site is that there are extensive views in all directions. I did not feel that it was orientated towards something in today's landscape. The passage grave is very exposed to the wind as the surroundings are very flat. I could hear larks and the wind, and smell manure and spring. The remaining stones are of five different types of rock. Some are smooth and others more rough, although the majority are smooth. They have different colours, several of them are reddish. Moss and lichen grow on the stones.



Figure 20a. Borrby 4:1 is situated in an open agricultural landscape. (Swedish National Heritage Board FMIS 2012).



Figure 20b. View of the passage grave at Borrby 4:1 from south-east. (Photo: Catarina Nilsson).

Glemminge 8:1

The single stone that remains of the dolmen is located in the middle of a field (Figure 21). The site is on slight rise in a flat landscape, which makes it visible from a distance. There is a power line west of the site. A watercourse runs *c.* 500 metres to the east, and the trees along the stream are visible.

My experience of the site is from a distance. I could not walk out to it as the field was ploughed, so I made my observations from the road about 140 metres east of the site. As the stone is visible from a distance, I conclude that it has extensive views over the surrounding landscape. The site is exposed to the wind. I could hear larks and the wind. No specific smell. No touch or type of rock could be recorded.



Figure 21a. Glemminge 8:1 is situated on a slight rise. (Swedish National Heritage Board FMIS 2012).



Figure 21b. The dolmen at Glemminge 8:1 from south-south-east. (Photo: Catarina Nilsson).

Ingelstorp 10:1

The passage grave at this site is located in the corner of a field, about 25 metres from a garden (Figure 22). It is on flat land as is the surrounding landscape. There is a ridge visible in the distance north and north-north-west of the site, and another one to the south and south-west. A stream, the Tuve Brook, runs 100 metres south of the site.

My experience of the site is that it has extensive views. I can, however, not be sure as I could not walk out to the passage grave due to standing crops. This means that I could not record touch either. I could hear the wind and larks. There was no specific smell.



Figure 22a. Ingelstorp 10:1 is situated on flat ground in the corner of a field. (Swedish National Heritage Board FMIS 2012).



Figure 22b. The passage grave at Ingelstorp 10:1 from south-west. (Photo: Catarina Nilsson).

Löderup 18:1

The remains (chamber and passage) of the passage grave are situated on the top of a rise in a flat agricultural landscape (Figure 23). When approaching the site from south-west, it is visible at a distance. A gravel road encloses it on two sides. The Kåseberga Ridge along the coast is visible at a distance to the south-west. The entrance of the tomb is orientated east-north-east. Looking out from the entrance, I see a flat landscape, however with a slope south-east of the passage grave. The landscape behind the tomb cannot be seen when I am facing the entrance as the middle capstone blocks the view.

My experience of the site is that it has extensive views in all directions, while at the same time being exposed to the wind. There is a depression to the south-east. I could hear the wind and larks, and there was a smell of onion. The stones used are of three/four types of rock; with coarser ones in the capstones – all seem to be of different kind of rock – and smoother ones in the passage.

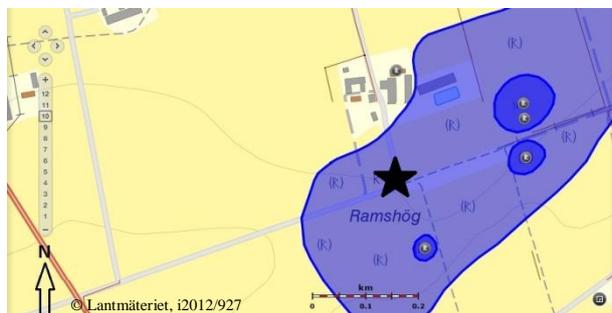


Figure 23a. Löderup 18:1 is situated on top of a rise in a flat agricultural landscape. (Swedish National Heritage Board FMIS 2012).



Figure 23b. View over the central capstone of the passage grave Löderup 18:1 towards east-south-east. (Photo: Catarina Nilsson).

Löderup 29:1

The passage grave is enclosed of its mound, and it is situated on very slight rise in a field, just north of a small field road (Figure 24). The surrounding landscape is primarily flat, though with slight depressions to the south and east respectively. The Kåseberga Ridge is visible to the south and south-west. The tomb entrance is orientated east-north-east, and the view from the entrance is of the flat agricultural plain. I cannot see the landscape behind the mound when facing the entrance.

My experience of the site is that it is in the middle of a flat landscape with views in all directions. I could hear larks and the wind. There was a smell of spring. The passage grave is built of coarse as well as smooth stones. It was difficult to move around on the steep mound so I was not able to get close to all the stones to touch them to ‘determine’ the rock, but I saw moss and lichen on all of them. There are grass and small shrubs on the mound.



Figure 24a. Löderup 29:1 is situated on a slight rise in a flat agricultural landscape. (Swedish National Heritage Board FMIS 2012).



Figure 24b. The passage grave at Löderup 29:1 from the south. (Photo: Catarina Nilsson).

Löderup 31:1

The tomb is covered by grass and located in a ploughed field (Figure 25). It is on a very slight rise, but there is a somewhat higher rise south-west of it that blocks the view from this direction. The site became more and more visible as I moved from the south to the east and north-east. The surroundings consist of arable land, with no building within 200 metres of the site, and the Kåseberga Ridge in the distance to the south.

My experience of the site is limited as I could not walk up to it due to the ploughed field. My observations were made from the road about 200 metres south of it. The movement of the grass on the megalithic tomb showed that it is in a windy location, which I experienced standing in the road. I could only hear the wind. No smell or touch was recorded.



Figure 25a. Löderup 31:1 is situated on a slight rise on arable land. (Swedish National Heritage Board FMIS 2012).



Figure 25b. The passage grave at Löderup 31:1 from the south-west. (Photo: Catarina Nilsson).

Stora Köpinge 20:1(1)

This dolmen is situated in a field on a slight rise in a slightly undulating landscape (Figure 27). The site is visible from all directions. There is a depression to the north-west. The entrance of the dolmen faces south-west, and looking out from it I can see a flat landscape like a plateau, with the village of Köpingebro and the trees in the valley of the Nybro River seen in the distance. The valley runs in the west; at its closest it is about 500 metres from the dolmen site. Facing the entrance, I see a slightly undulating landscape.

My experience of the site is that it has extensive views over the undulating landscape. I could hear larks and the wind, and smell the freshly harrowed ground [the farmer was harrowing the field during my visit]. The stones making up the dolmen are of at least three different kinds of rock. The capstone is coarser and has a darker grey colour.

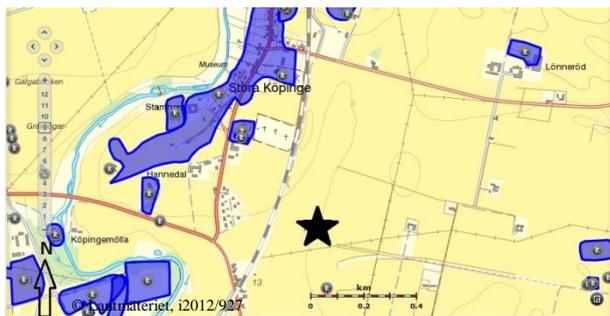


Figure 27a. Stora Köpinge 20:1(1) is situated on a slight rise in a slightly undulating landscape. (Swedish National Heritage Board FMIS 2012).



Figure 27b. The dolmen at Stora Köpinge 20:1(1) from the south. (Photo: Catarina Nilsson).

Stora Köpinge 45:3

As nothing remains above ground of the dolmen, I had to approximate the position of the site based on the FMIS map (Figure 28). The site is arable land today. It is on flat ground in a mostly flat landscape. There is, however, a more undulating area starting about 500 metres south of the site. There are buildings only 50 metres north of the site, and other small farms in all directions. Three Bronze Age round barrows are located about 200 metres to west-north-west.

My experience of the site is that it has views in all directions. Due to the flat nature it is exposed to the wind, which was also the only sound I could hear during my visit. There was a smell of soil and dust. No touch could be recorded.



Figure 28a. Stora Köpinge 45:3 is situated on flat ground. (Swedish National Heritage Board FMIS 2012).



Figure 28b. Nothing remains of the dolmen at Stora Köpinge 45:3. View from south-west. (Photo: Catarina Nilsson).

Valleberga 47:1(1)

As nothing remains above ground of the dolmen, I had to approximate the position of the site based on the FMIS map (Figure 29). The site is part road, part field with standing crops. It is a north-facing slope towards a farm, with the Tuve Brook running about 300 metres north of the site. The site, which was identified by finds, is surrounded by an open agricultural landscape with farms. The main road is just south of the site.

My experience of the site is ‘nothing’. For some reason this is how I experienced it; perhaps because of the lack of remains and the many buildings and roads. I made my observations of the site from the main road. The site has views of the surrounding landscape, with a setting similar to Löderup 46:1. I could hear the wind and the traffic. There was no specific smell. No touch could be recorded.

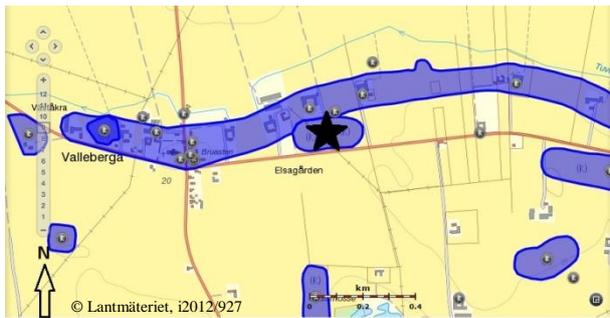


Figure 29a. Valleberga 47:1(1) is situated on a north-facing slope. (Swedish National Heritage Board FMIS 2012).

Figure 29b. No photo is published of the site Valleberga 47:1(1) as it is right in front of a farm.

Valleberga 154

As nothing remains above ground of the long dolmen, I had to approximate the position of the site based on the FMIS map and the marks on the ground from the excavation last autumn (Figure 30). The site is on a slight south-eastern slope of Kåseberga Ridge, about 100 metres from the edge towards the Baltic Sea. The area is pasture-land, and the stone setting of Ale's Stones is 50 metres south-west of the site. There is more than 180 degrees of sea views, towards east, south, and west. To the west-north-west, the Kåseberga Ridge can be followed along the sea. There is a limited view to the north as it is uphill towards the top of the ridge.

My experience of the site is that it is located with the sea in mind as there are extensive views. I could hear the sea, the wind and larks. There was a faint smell of sea. No touch could be recorded except for last year's grass.

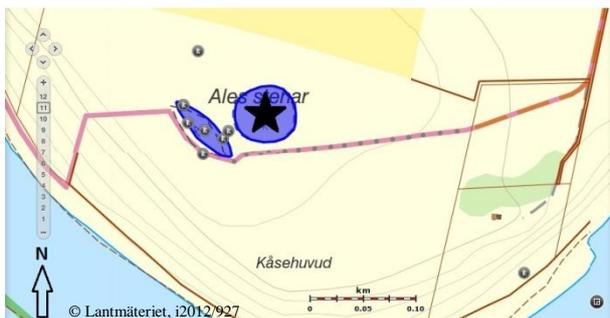


Figure 30a. Valleberga 154 is situated on slope of Kåseberga Ridge. (Swedish National Heritage Board FMIS 2012).



Figure 30b. Nothing remains above ground of the dolmen at Valleberga 154. View from north, with the Baltic Sea in the background, and Ale's Stones on the right. (Photo: Catarina Nilsson).

7.2 Looking for answers

In my analysis I look at different aspects related with the setting of the dolmens and passage graves: topography, visibility, the presence of elevations, the presence of water, deposits, the presence of settlements, and how these characteristics are combined. In this section I also discuss the presence of other monuments/structures, and I conclude with the senses other than sight that I recorded during my field visits.

7.2.1 Topography, landscape, and visibility

All the sites, in north-eastern as well as south-eastern Scania, are situated in what today are open agricultural areas, most of it flat, but some is more undulating (four sites). The openness results in the tombs having extensive views over the surrounding landscape. Seven of the sites (29 per cent) are on a slight rise in the landscape, which makes them visible too (Table 2). Eight sites (33 per cent) are located on a slope (Table 2). Location on a slight rise is more frequent in the south-east, while a slope location is more recurrent in the north-east (Table 2). Today's open landscape is somewhat deceiving as the Neolithic landscape would have been less open (see chapter 6). A slight rise would not have been as noticeable in a wooded or semi-open landscape. The rise may also be of a later date, created by ploughing the field around the site. Many authors refer to visibility, that the tombs should be seen from a distance (*e.g.* Thomas 2008:304). To build on an elevation does not have to be for visibility [only]. It may be a way to come closer to the sky, avoid floods (functional explanation), a way to separate from the everyday, or simply 'the right way to do it'.

Even though Stora Köpinge 20:1(1) is situated in an open landscape, it does not feel as exposed as the passage grave sites further east. I think it is because of the slightly undulating landscape.

The dolmen at Stora Köpinge 45:3 had been located on flat land, on the border between undulating landscape and plain.

Table 2. Summary of characteristics in the setting of dolmens and passage graves in north-eastern and south-eastern Scania.

* View blocked by building today; ** During the Neolithic

Site	Type of tomb D = dolmen P = passage grave	Situated on flat ground	Situated on a slight rise	Situated on a slope	Situated on a high rise or ridge	Surrounded by flat land	Mountain/hill/ridge visible from site	Settlement within 100 m of site	Water within 100 m of site
North-eastern Scania									
Fjälkestad 7:1	D		X			X	X		
Fjälkinge 7:1	P		X			X	X*	X	
Fjälkinge 12:1	P	X				X	X		
Gustav Adolf 4:1	D	X					X	X	
Gustav Adolf 5:1	D	X					X	X	
Skepparslöv 8:1	D			X		X	X		X**
Skepparslöv 10:1	P			X		X	X		
Skepparslöv 81:1	D			X		X	X	X	X**
Skepparslöv 315	D	X				X	X	X	X**
Vinslöv 28:1	D				X	X	X		
Vinslöv 29:1	D				X	X	X		
Österslöv 63:1	D			X		X	X	X	X**
Östra Vram 8:1	P			X		X	X		X**
South-eastern Scania									
Borrby 4:1	P		X			X		X	
Glemminge 8:1	D		X			X		X	
Ingelstorp 10:1	P	X				X	X		
Löderup 18:1	P				X	X	X	X	
Löderup 29:1	P		X			X	X		
Löderup 31:1	P		X			X	X	X	
Löderup 46:1	P			X		X	X		
Stora Köpinge 20:1(1)	D		X						
Stora Köpinge 45:3	D	X				X			
Valleberga 47:1(1)	D			X		X		X	X**
Valleberga 154	D			X			X		

7.2.2 Mountain/hill/ridge

From nineteen (79 per cent) of the sites it is possible to see a mountain/hill/ridge (Table 2). All sites in north-eastern Scania have a view of a mountain/hill/ridge in some direction, while it is less than 50 per cent of the sites in south-eastern Scania. The mountain/hill/ridge is often at the horizon. At none of the sites, where it was possible to record the view from and towards the entrance, was the elevation directly in sight. At Fjälkestad 7:1, Fjälkinge 12:1, Skepparslöv 10:1, and Östra Vram 8:1 the elevations are part of the view in one direction. So any significance does not seem to be directly correlated with a perception of the deceased entering another world when placed in the tomb, and where a mountain/hill/ridge would represent this other world. For some of the cairns in the Black Mountains in Wales, UK, it has been suggested that the different views when entering and leaving the tomb may indicate the movement between worlds (Tilley 1994:140). In the Saami culture, for example, mountains are considered to be links between the world and the sky (Bradley 2000:11). Perhaps it was not important at the sites in my study to reference the elevation directly, but appropriating powers from it by building within sight of it. There may have been stories about the elevation itself and about how it fitted into the world-view of the people living near it. Mountains could also be the source of polished stone axes (Bradley 2000:40, 81; Cummings 2009:143). In the wooded or semi-open landscape of the Neolithic, a mountain/hill/ridge may not have been visible part of the year; during summer the leaves of the trees may have been blocking the view. This seasonal change of visibility may have been part of the elevation's significance to people and to the tomb site (Cummings and Whittle 2003). Though there is a mountain/hill/ridge visible from the site, six of the sites seem to 'turn their back' on it: Gustav Adolf 5:1, Skepparslöv 8:1, Skepparslöv 81:1, Skepparslöv 315, Löderup 29:1 and Löderup 31:1. In this case, especially the Skepparslöv sites are interesting as they are built at the edge of Nävlinge Ridge. They seem to connect with a depression rather than the ridge (see chapter 7.2.3 for further discussion regarding the depression). The two dolmens at Vinslöv are parallel with the Nävlinge Ridge. This may have a functional explanation: as they are built on top of a ridge, which is also parallel with Nävlinge Ridge, it may have been easier to build along the ridge than across it.

7.2.3 Water

None of the sites of dolmens and passage graves have water within 100 metres of the site today. During the last 200 years, the landscape in Scania has been heavily affected by

agriculture, and drainage in particular. This has resulted in about 90 per cent of wetlands and small streams disappearing from the landscape. A look at the Scanian reconnaissance map from the early 1800s gives an indication of what the landscape used to look like. At Östra Vram 8:1, the Vrams River used to come within 100 metres of the site, indicated by a bend in the river on the Scanian reconnaissance map (Lantmäteriet and Krigsarkivet 1986). Ingelstorp 10:1 and Stora Köpinge 20:1(1) were also closer to bends in the watercourses; however, in both cases they are still several hundred metres away. There was, though, a stream in the depression 150 metres north-west of the site Stora Köpinge 20:1(1) in the early 1800s (Lantmäteriet and Krigsarkivet 1986). Skepparslöv 8:1, Skepparslöv 81:1 and Skepparslöv 315 are placed on slopes adjoining the same depression, where excavation has revealed a former wetland (Edring 2011). This wetland dried out earlier than the 1800s as it is not shown on the Scanian reconnaissance map. Valleberga 154 has extensive views across the sea, and its location on the coast indicates that the sea may have been an important factor. The setting is similar to that of Ravlunda 40:1, so it is unusual but not unique. The higher sea-level during the beginning of the Neolithic meant that some sites would have been closer to the coast or would have been closer to small lakes. In north-eastern Scania, the site at Österslöv was more or less on the shore of a bay, the dolmens at Gustav Adolf were about one kilometre from the main coast, but there seems to have been a small cove about 500 metres to the south-east, and the dolmens at Vinslöv were on a peninsula as there was a lake at the eastern end of the ridge (Geological Survey of Sweden 2012). In south-eastern Scania, the dolmen at Valleberga 154 would have had the sea to the south and a lagoon north of Kåseberga Ridge, and the Valleberga 47:1 site was on the southern side of lake (Geological Survey of Sweden 2012). Six of the sites (25 per cent) in my study would have had some kind of water within 100 metres during the Neolithic (Table 2).

Still water has a different sound than a stream or the sea. As I have found sites near the sea as well as lakes, the connection may have been the view of water or the proximity rather than the sound. In the Saami culture, water is seen as link between this world and the underworld (Bradley 2000:11). Another way of considering the sea, it is that is a place where the sun either rises or sets, indicating that the sun is reborn or dies respectively (Tilley 2010:462). The sea, rivers and lakes may also be interpreted as representing movement in the landscape (Cummings 2009:148).

7.2.4 Deposition

There are 78 registered sites of deposits in Scania in FMIS, five of which are Neolithic and found in the parishes where there are megalithic tombs in this study (Swedish National Heritage Board 2013). Unfortunately, only Fjälkestad 199(5) shows up on the map, so I can relate it to the tomb site. The Fjälkestad deposit, which consisted of Funnel Beaker pottery, was found about 200 metres east of the dolmen. In the parish of Borrby, early Neolithic thin-butted flint axes were found. Two deposit sites are recorded in Löderup parish: one with thin-butted as well as thick-butted flint axes, and another with finds relating to the Battle Axe Culture. In Valleberga parish, there is a deposit of six pieces of worked flint; each about 40 centimetres long and with a square cross-section.

Depositions are one way to connect with a natural place (Bradley 2000:37). The deposit at Fjälkestad is from a settlement site that is not too far from the dolmen site; it is between the dolmen and a stream along Bal Mountain. However, since the deposit is connected with a settlement area, it is possible that it was deposited for safe keeping rather than as a votive deposit.

7.2.5 Settlement

In the thirteen parishes with megalithic tombs in this study, there are 590 settlement sites registered in FMIS (Swedish National Heritage Board 2013). Of the twenty-four tomb sites, eleven have a settlement site within 100 metres; seven of them are ‘on’ a settlement. At two of the eleven sites, Borrby 4:1 and Glemminge 8:1, the settlements are identified as Neolithic in the site description. At Skepparslöv, a site has been registered in FMIS as an Early Neolithic settlement, though there do not seem to have been regular houses (see chapter 4; Edring 2011). As I discussed previously in chapter 5.3, settlements are usually only identified by surface finds and not radiocarbon dated, so in most cases we do not know whether settlement and tomb site were contemporary. This makes it difficult to discuss how the presence of a settlement at a site may have influenced the placing of a tomb. Settlement has been suggested as one significant aspect in structuring the landscape and placing of the tombs (Tilley 1999:26).

At Gustav Adolf, the dolmen sites are situated on flat ground on a small hill, but it is not the highest one in the immediate area. East of the sites is a higher hill, and settlement remains

have been identified on this hill. If the settlement was contemporary with the dolmens, the tombs would have been seen below the settlement, and they would have been part of the daily life. At the tomb site, some of the activities would have been the same as in the settlement, such as digging pits, lighting fires, and feasting.

7.2.6 Combinations of characteristics

I have analysed the combinations of topographic location, visibility of mountain/hill/ridge, settlement, and water to see if there are any similarities in the setting. Four of the most shared combinations will be described. The most common combination is view of mountain/hill/ridge and settlement within 100 metres of the site (Table 2). This combination occurs at eight sites (33 per cent). Two of these sites had a wetland within 100 metres and one was on the shore of bay, so there does not seem to be an association with a particular category of water for the sites. 62 per cent of the sites with this combination are dolmens, and the combination is more common in north-eastern Scania. The second most common combination is view of mountain/hill/ridge and water within 100 metres, which occurs at 21 per cent of the sites (Table 2). As with the previous mentioned combination, there does not seem to be a particular category of water; three sites are connected with wetland, one with a bay, and one with a river. All sites are located in north-west Scania. A third combination, which occurs at 21 per cent of the sites, is that the site is situated on a slope and has view of mountain/hill/ridge (Table 2). This combination occurs in north-eastern as well as south-eastern Scania, and at both dolmen and passage grave sites. The last combination I will mention here is a site situated on flat ground with view of mountain/hill/ridge and settlement within 100 metres. This combination occurs at three sites (12.5 per cent) in north-eastern Scania (Table 2). The four groups of combinations show that there is diversity in the setting of dolmens and passage graves, though some sites have common features in the setting. Three of the groups are more common in north-eastern Scania. This may indicate that there might have been less 'restrictions' regarding the placing of a tomb in south-eastern Scania.

7.2.7 Other monuments and structures

The cluster of megalithic tombs at Skepparslöv suggests that they were built with regard to each other. This pattern is strengthened by the finds of the other Neolithic structures in the area (see chapter 4). Further indications of tombs probably being built with other monuments in mind are the sites at Gustav Adolf and at Vinslöv, where the dolmens are 100 metres apart.

No excavations have been carried out between the tombs, so we do not know what was going on between the monuments and how they may have related to each other. The importance of a site or an area in later time periods is suggested by the Bronze Age round barrows south of Fjälkestad 7:1 and the Iron Age stone setting next to Valleberga 154.

7.2.8 Sound, smell, and touch

As I mentioned earlier, different categories of water sound differently. There is no stream alongside any site, which I interpret as the sound of a stream may not have been important when choosing a location. On the other hand, the sound of the sea was very audible at Valleberga 154 despite it being a very windy day when I was there. This could indicate that it was not only the sight of the sea that was important, but also the sound from it. Modern sounds like motor traffic and airplanes were intrusive, but I could also hear sounds, which would not have been unfamiliar to a Neolithic person: different species of birds, bumblebees, and grass moving in the wind. This indicates that how one experiences a site not only has visual connotations.

Smell was a more difficult sense to work with, but I noticed that the smell of chemicals at Fjälkestad 7:1 made me want to leave the site rapidly. It may have been a mental effect too, as a tractor with crop-spraying equipment left the area as I stopped at the site. Other smells I recorded during my fieldwork were spice, pine trees, spring (the season), manure, onion, freshly harrowed ground, soil, dust, and the sea. At seven sites I could not record any specific smell.

The sense of touch was recorded by stroking stones in the construction. For me it was a way of experiencing the stones in another way, not only by looking at them. At all sites with remains of the megalithic tomb and where touch could be recorded, there were coarser as well as smoother types of rock. Usually the stones of different types were mixed, but at Löderup 18:1, the capstones of the chamber were coarser than the ones of the passage. The use of different types of rock may have different explanations. One is that the people building the megalithic tomb used whatever large stones they could find and that the kind of rock did not matter as the tomb would be covered by a mound of earth. Another explanation may be that it did matter, and that though the stones were covered, there was a mental significance; knowing that the stones were considered to have different properties, which were brought together in

the tomb. A third explanation may be that the different textures designated different areas of a monument, as indicated by the chamber and passage at Löderup 18:1.

7.3 Conclusion

My aim with this study was to explore the setting of dolmens and passage graves in north-eastern and south-eastern Scania. The sites in the areas in question are characterised by diversity in the setting, though some sites share a combination of characteristics. The most common combination was view of mountain/hill/ridge and settlement within 100 metres of the site. One aspect that seems significant is the view from the tomb site towards a mountain/hill/ridge in some direction, often on the horizon. All sites in north-eastern Scania have this kind of view. In north-eastern Scania, there are more sites on slopes, while in the south-east, sites on slight rises in the landscape are more common. Water, though there are several kinds represented in the study, appear not to have been as significant. There are too few deposits recorded in FMIS to investigate a connection between sites, deposits and features in the landscape. Only two areas have remaining megalithic tombs within 100 metres of each other.

The diversity in setting suggests that there was no general rule of where to place a megalithic tomb in the Early and Middle Neolithic; instead it may have been local/regional conditions that determined the placing. The most common feature in the setting is view of a mountain/hill/ridge. A mountain/hill/ridge is a landscape feature that stands out from the surrounding landscape, and it may have been interpreted as a connection with other worlds as well as part of local mythology.

8. Discussion

My conclusion from the sites of dolmens and passage graves in north-eastern and south-eastern Scania is that there is diversity in the setting, but a mountain/hill/ridge is a common element and may have been a significant factor when placing the tomb in the landscape. This conclusion is similar to Vicki Cummings' studies in the Irish Sea zone. She found that the Early Neolithic chambered tombs related to mountains and/or sea, lochs and rivers, and that there were regional variations (Cummings 2009). I could not, however, find the same kind of association with water as Cummings did at the sites around the Irish Sea. The majority of sites in my study are surrounded by flat landscape, while the monuments of the Irish Sea zone are found in hillier landscapes (Cummings 2009:140). This difference in landscape topography may affect what locations to use and the significance of various landscape features. However, Edring (2005) points to the mountains as being significant in his study of the Kristianstad Plain area, an area that is included in my study. He also puts forward that there is a close connection with watercourses or the sea (Edring 2005:122). Also Tilley (1999:23) refers to the tombs being close to the sea and/or river courses, as he considers within five kilometres of the coastline to be close. I do not agree with these general suggestions regarding closeness to water. Edring (2005:113) refers to the Råbelöv area as well as the Skepparslöv area. The Österslöv site, which is in the Råbelöv area, was close to a bay, so there the suggestion applies. The megaliths at Skepparslöv were 2.5-3 kilometres from the sea, and in this area, the 'water connection' seems to have been with a wetland, which had not been discovered yet when Edring wrote his thesis. This brings me to the question of proximity: How close does a feature have to be for it to be significant? A mountain/hill/ridge may be visible from a distance, whereas a watercourse/wetland is not. During my field visits, I had to look at the map to confirm the presence of a stream. It was not visible *per se*, but indicated by trees and shrubbery growing along it. For sound to be important, I believe it has to be very close to a site; except perhaps for a site by the sea, such as Valleberga 154, where the sound of sea could be heard even if the distance was more than 100 metres. I presume that Neolithic people were very familiar with their surroundings and knew where streams and wetlands were even if they were not visible from a site. The difficulty is to prove or at least indicate any significance when there is some distance in between. Cummings (2009:151) argues that sites were positioned in the landscape as a whole, rather than referring to specific features.

As my study areas were woodland and semi-open coppiced pasture during the beginning of the Neolithic, one natural feature that may have been significant is the presence of trees and groves. As these features do not leave archaeological traces, I cannot definitely say that they were there. Ethnographic studies and written sources indicate the importance of trees and groves. The Minoans in Bronze Age Crete as well as the Saami of northern Scandinavia considered trees to be sacred (Bradley 2000:7, 97).

It is not only the natural landscape that has been of interest regarding the location of megalithic tombs in the landscape. Some of the older studies show different views concerning the importance of soil type and farming. Strömberg (1973:103) and Hårdh (1982:32), for example, point to megaliths being situated on or adjoining land suitable for farming, whereas Bägerfeldt (1992:116) argues that the placing would not have been closely associated with farming.

Communication is another aspect that could have influenced the location of the tombs. It is suggested for the setting of Döserygg in south-western Scania (Andersson and Wallebom 2011:98). The idea of placing the dead along routes of communication has usually been linked with southern Europe, but studies in Scania imply that, at least from the Late Neolithic, graves were intentionally placed along roads (Rudebeck 2002:184). The dolmen at Valleberga 154 is suggested to have been located in association with a route along Kåseberga Ridge (Söderberg 2013 pers. comm.). The location of the Skepparslöv dolmens in relation to a route has been discussed, but any road was not discovered during the excavations (Edring 2011:136). It may be hidden under the current road through Skepparslöv village, as this road follows the foot of Nävlinge Ridge.

My fieldwork for this study was influenced by phenomenology, and I would like to conclude with some thoughts on this. Thomas (2008:301) cautioned against reducing phenomenology to just another technique in the landscape archaeologist's tool kit. His words have been with me during the study, and I have at times wondered if my recording of different senses could be referred to as such a reduction. However, I am glad that I kept them in the site recording sheet. Recording not only what I saw at the sites, but also what I could hear, smell and touch, was a good reminder of that all one's senses are part of the experience of a site, and should be considered in a contextual analysis of the setting.

9. Summary

My aim with this study was to explore the setting of dolmens and passage graves in north-eastern and south-eastern Scania. Through a contextual analysis of twenty-four sites of dolmens and passage graves I have answered my research questions: What characterises the sites of the dolmens and passage graves in the areas in question? Are there common features in the setting? and What meaning/connection can the setting imply? The sites in the areas in question are characterised by diversity in the setting, though some sites share a combination of characteristics. The most common combination was view of mountain/hill/ridge and settlement within 100 metres of the site. The diversity suggests that there was no general rule of where to place a megalithic tomb; instead it may have been local/regional conditions that determined the placing. The most common feature in the setting is view of a mountain/hill/ridge. A mountain/hill/ridge is a landscape feature that stands out from the surrounding landscape, and it may have been interpreted as a connection with other worlds as well as part of local mythology.

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Appendix 1. Site Recording Sheet

RAÄ-number:

Date of visit:

Weather:

Description of today's site (remains, landscape, buildings, natural features):

Topography:

Orientation of the tomb/entrance:

Any special traits/characteristics:

What I see behind when I'm facing the tomb entrance:

What I see looking out from the tomb entrance:

Experience of the site:

sight

sound

smell

touch

Description of the surrounding area today:

Something in the surrounding area that catches my eye, describe if yes:

Site photographed:



Additional information from FMIS (incl. settlements and/or deposits nearby):

Date of monument erection/use (include reference):

Additional information from the Scanian reconnaissance map:

Vegetation according to palaeoecology studies (include reference):

Distance to the sea (based on the shore-level maps from the Geological Survey of Sweden):

Additional information from Tilley 1999:

Additional information from Bägerfeldt 1992:

Additional information from earlier research at the site (include reference):

Conclusion (describe how the monument may have been experienced when it was in use):