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## **Traces of Iron Age activities at Kullen**

### **-A New Synthesis**

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**Abstract:** *Kullen has had a huge gap in knowledge about the Iron Age period. This thesis offers a new synthesis to close this gap in knowledge of the Iron Age period in the region.*

*The aim of this study was to gain more knowledge about the Iron Age and the activities during this period in the areas. Kullen has been inhabited since the last Ice Age to modern times based on archaeological data and historical records. The period has been deprioritized in the previous research, even if the finds and remains in the landscape can tell us about interesting presences. Spatial analysis was the performed method to visualize a more distinct view of the locations and relations between the different archaeological remains in the landscape. Through a landscape archaeological perspective, the landscape is treated as a container for the different activities and sites within the society, interpreted from the assemblages of finds, remains and place names, as well as the entanglements between humans and things. The affordance perspective was also used in order to interlink the landscape with these assemblages and entanglements. Through these relations, activities linked to economic- and religious purposes, as well as different functions of sites were interpreted. These activities were later inserted into the general pattern of social structures during the Iron Age in Scania and here, interpretations of a possible structure with a presence of leading farms and centers were executed. Through these patterns, a perspective of how the previous cultural landscapes and activities have been fundamental for the contemporary landscape emerged. This thesis is an example of landscape studies that can identify traces from past societies even if the archaeological material is small and could possibly contribute to future research of the areas in Kullen with both new synthesis and questions to the archaeological material.*

**Keywords:** iron age, Scania, kullaberg, kullen, social structures, GIS, spatial analysis, assemblage theory, affordance theory, entanglement theory, power, resources, older remains, social roles, sites, functions, landscape archaeology, social, culture, activities, cultural landscapes, historical legacies

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# 1.Introduction

## 1.1 Background

Kullen peninsula is located in north-western Scania surrounded by the seas Öresund, Kattegatt and Skälderviken. The topography is characterized by the dramatic mountain chain covered in

leaf forests, in contrast to the connecting flat land with open fields and hilly terrains. The mountain is about 2,5 million years old and consists of rocks such as granite, gneiss and mica. Several caves are located among the rocky hills and some of them have been archaeological investigated and interpreted as temporary campsites for fishing and hunting sites (Jennbert 2009, p. 97ff; Salomonsson 1959, p. 59). The region has been inhabited by humans from the Stone Age period to our present time based on the archaeological sites and finds in form of settlements, burials, barrows, fossil fields and stone monuments located along the mountain chain Kullaberg and among the flat lands together with other archaeological finds in form of flints and prestige findings (Carreli 2003, p. 15; Gustavsson 1994, p. 26; Jennbert 2009, pp. 93ff, 14 Ramsay 2007, p. 13). Still, only seven percent of the registered archaeological remains in the areas of Höganäs municipality are investigated (Jennbert 2018, p. 111)

Previous research at Kullen has mainly focused on the Stone Age period and the caves at Kullaberg, or the medieval and historical periods (Carreli 2003; Jennbert 2009; Lidén 1938; Ramsay 2007; Ranby 2005; Salomonsson 1959). The previous modern archaeological research of the prehistoric times in the areas has mainly been made by Kristina Jennbert (2009). The published research of the Iron Age period (for example Jennbert 2018) in the region has not been as further researched as other periods due to lack of archaeological data. Also, few archaeological excavations have been performed in the area. Therefore, there are few archaeological traces from the Iron Age at Kullen. Rich finds such as gold bracteates, silver treasures and jewelry have been found by farmers in the areas long ago and therefore lack archaeological context. This means a huge existing gap of many centuries in the archaeological research, history and foundation for the contemporary cultural landscape. The social and cultural structures appearing in the period of Iron Age, plays a huge role for the historical and modern systems we currently live within. Kullen has previously been mentioned in Scanian Iron Age research (for example Helgesson 2002; Jacobsson 2000, p. 94) but unfortunately, Kullen is often deprioritized or treated and viewed as a region where a lot of the traces from Iron Age and prehistoric times is destroyed, removed or non-existent. Further actions in research have not been performed to analyze the existing material from the Iron Age in an attempt to gain more knowledge about the areas during this period. Also, some find risks being excluded, probably because of unawareness. The archaeological records are small, but the archaeological remains and finds found within the landscape can tell us about interesting presences and activities in the areas and deserves more attention. The finds and remains have previously been individually interpreted and presented but not in relation to each other together with the surrounding landscape and environment. The landscape itself has unique

characteristics in comparison to other Scanian areas such as the contrast with the ancient mountain which probably was the region's unique token even for the Iron Age communities. It is also characteristic which indicates natural boundaries in the landscape which is usually rare in Scania (Helgesson 2002, p. 136).

This study is focused on collecting the archaeological data in the form of sites, finds, remains in the landscape together with old place- and farm names dating to the Iron Age or with identifications of possible activity from the period. These sites and remains were spatially analyzed within the surrounding landscape and environment using GIS technologies together with a theoretical framework of aspects from landscape archaeology, assemblages, entanglements and affordances. Based on the relations between the sites, remains, their placement in the landscape and surrounding environment, specific activities could be drawn and later be inserted into the general structure patterns from previous Iron Age studies in Scania. The goal with this thesis is to highlight and include the Kullen areas more in the Iron Age- and general archaeological research. In order to fill the gap in the previous research, remains from earlier and later eras were taken into account to gain more knowledge and understanding of the structural development essential for the contemporary landscape. By analyzing the surrounding landscapes and remains, a lot of places in the district seem to have a long continuity of activities.

In this introduction chapter, the chosen material, methods, theoretical framework and previous research will be presented together with brief descriptions of some important concepts within Iron Age society research together with periodical structures and their developments during the period. This will also be followed by a source critical section where critical aspects of the material will be mentioned. Next chapter will present the analysis where the areas of Kullen will be divided and analyzed in three segments (mountain area, flat lands and marshlands) to easier view and interpret the remains within the landscape in different environments. The sum of these analyses will be presented in the results and later be discussed in a broader context. Lastly, the thesis will end with a conclusion, means for future research and acknowledgments.

### **1.1.1 Luggude härad - “The precinct of the fertility goddess”**

The region is a part of the Luggude precinct where the name *Luggude* emanates from the Old Norse language. In medieval records from 1310, the name is written “*Liudgudha*” where “*liudha*” means grow and “*gudha*” signifies goddess. The name means “*The precinct of the fertility goddess*” and its roots in pagan religion creates a theory of the precinct as Pre-Christian federation (Sahlgren 1925).

### 1.1.2 Palnatokes skränt - Palnatoke's slope

Palnatokes skränt (Palnatoke's slope), is an area further out at the edge of the mountain Kullaberg named after the *jomsviking* and Danish chieftain Palnatoke who lived during the 900s. He is known from the *Jomsvikingsagan* written by Saxo Grammaticus during the early medieval period. In one of the tales, Palnatoke is forced by the Danish King Harald Bluetooth to shoot an arrow through an apple placed on the head of his son. He is also forced to slide down from the steepest slope at Kullaberg. This story therefore created the name of this slope area (Wikjander 1959, p. 113).

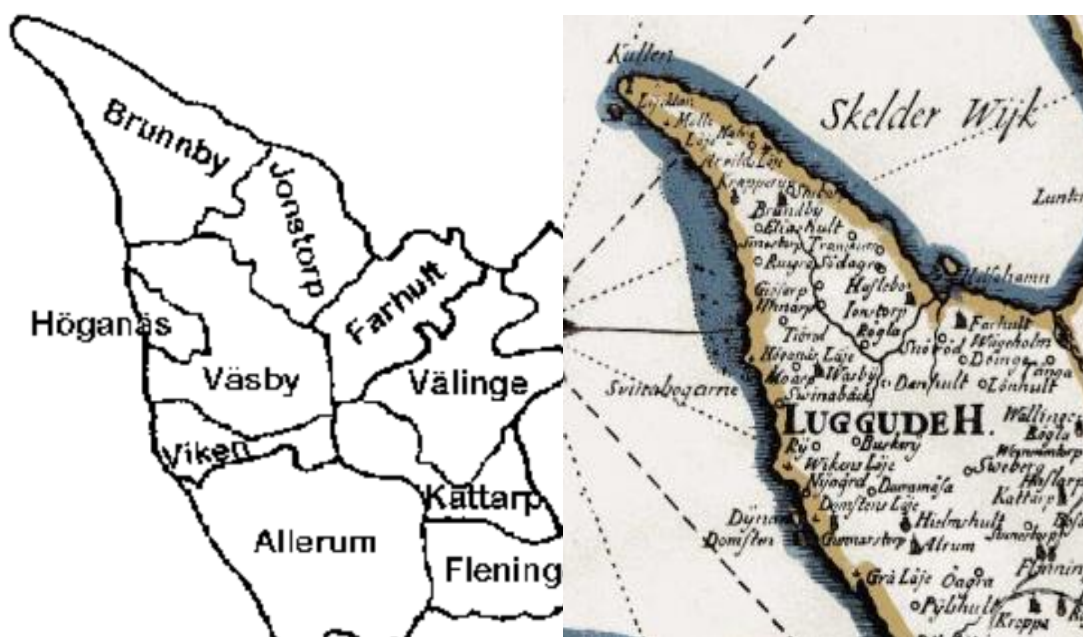


Fig 1. Kullen from the district map of north-western Scania (Wikipedia 2011) Fig 2. District from an older map (1752) (Brandt & Jerlerup LuggudeWiki 2009).

### 1.2 Aim of study and Research questions

The aim for this study is to fill the gap in the Iron Age period and achieve a better understanding and knowledge of the prehistory and history of the areas at Kullen. The study will focus on identifying activities and sites based on the spatial relations between archaeological remains within the surrounding landscape, such as settlements, grave fields, depositions, finds, and how these also relate to both older and later features. From the activities interpreted from these

spatial relations, suggestions of possible social structures will be made. Also, discussions of how the previous cultural landscape has structured the developments for later generations will be included.

This study will attempt to answer these research questions:

- What activities were conducted in the areas?
- How are these manifested spatially?
- To what extent can the social structures be inferred from these patterns?
- Did the cultural landscapes from earlier periods structure developments in the later periods?

### **1.3 Material and Methods**

The material chosen and collected for this study was the archaeological remains and finds within Höganäs municipality where the areas of interest for this study is located. The data of the archaeological remains was downloaded as shapefiles and added from *Riksantikvarieämbetet's (The Swedish National Heritage Board)* database *Fornsök* containing the registered remains, finds and private collections in the region together with the attached notes taken from the archaeological investigations or inventories. To download the archaeological dataset within the focused areas, a selection and filtration of “*ancient remains within Höganäs municipality*” was performed.

In order to interpret activities from the archaeological remains within the landscape, the shapefiles were added and spatially analyzed in GIS (Geographical Information System), more specifically, the ArcGIS Pro software. Since the introduction of GIS in the archaeological scholars and research, the software has been used a standard method for archaeological documentations and analysis in several areas and provided with more knowledge and understanding of spatial information (Conolloy & Lake 2006, p. 3; Dell'Unto et.al 2016, p. 75).

The shapefiles were selected from the downloaded dataset and divided into different categorized layers based on the type of remains or site (settlements, grave fields, fossil fields, depositions, barrows, enclosures etc. (see fig 3). with attached documentation from *Fornsök*. Due to the lacking material of identified archaeological sites, categories containing sites with traces of possible Iron Age activities were added to this study such as settlements and grave fields in order to expand the material. The sites within these categories were based on the characteristics of finds or remains similar to the other Iron Age sites. Place names were also



included in order to interpret possible settlement areas, ownerships or functions of sites in the Late Iron Age (fig. 4) (Carelli 2003, p. 20; Helgesson 2002, p. 32; Tveiten 1977; Brink; 1996; Brink 1998. Remains from earlier and later periods were included, for example barrows, settlements, harbors, churches, wells and castle etc in order to study the continuity of sites (Helgesson 2002, p. 32). To easier visualize the different sites and remains, different symbolism was applied for each category.

An important note is that not all of the existing remains in the Kullen landscape were registered in Fornsök and were therefore manually added in GIS. This means that some of the points may not be fixed in their precise measured position but still in the same area in relation to other remains and features in the landscape. Also, while collecting and analyzing the remains in Fornsök, a lot of the attached records and notes lacked detailed information and dates. This is probably caused by the lack of documentation from the older investigations. Some of the sites could be further dated into the earlier or later phase of the Iron Age from the previous research focused both within and outside of the Kullen area, but some sites and remains could unfortunately not be further dated than to the Iron Age period.

The maps will be used as a visualization to get a more distinct view of the remains location and relation to each other within the landscape in order to easier interpret and understand different activities in different areas. To include features and characteristics in the landscape and surrounding environment, ArcGis Pro's topographical map was used as base map for this project and an elevation map is downloaded from *SLU (Sveriges Lantbruksuniversitet/Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences)* was used to visualize the height differences in the landscape and include the characteristic topography with the mountain area and flat lands. Water courses and sea levels dated from the Migration Period to Viking Age was downloaded and attached from *SGU (Sveriges geologiska undersökning/The Geological Survey of Sweden)* and *Lantmäteriet (The Land Survey)* to analyze the site's location in relation to these. This provides a perspective on the archaeological remains distance from water sources. Data from earlier water periods will not be included in this study because of minimal differences.

Iron Age settlements	5
Possible Iron Age settlements	10
Stone circles	6
Grave fields	8
Possible Iron Age Graves	2
Burial Mounds	85
Depots	3
Boat landing	1
Fishing plots	4
Hearths	2
Wells	8
Other grave	1
Rock carvings	40
Grinding chutes	17
Historical castles/Farms	2
Menhirs/Stone settings	54
Other loose finds	13
Fossil fields	21
Enclosures	56
Modern harbour areas	7
Churches/chapel	5
Possible grave fields	2
Cairns	4
Routes	18

Fig 3. Table of the archaeological remains

Migration Period- Viking Age	
löv	2
inge	6
åkra	3
hult	2
by	2
Viking Age-Early Middle Age	
tofta	1
torp	10
arp	7
up	2

Fig 4. Table of place- and farm name endings dating from the Migration Period, Viking Age and Early Middle Ages

## **1.4 Theoretical Framework**

To understand and interpret activities in different areas, the spatial, social and cultural relations will be important. Therefore, the following theoretical perspectives have been chosen for this study. In order to understand the spatial relations, aspects of landscape archaeology will be included. Here, the landscape will be used as a framing concept for the assemblages of reflected activities and entanglements between humans and things, while the affordances will unite these with the landscape but also be used as a tool to gain knowledge and understanding of created structures and legacies for future generations.

### **1.4.1 Landscape archaeology - theoretical aspects**

Landscape archaeology is both a sub-discipline and a theoretical tool within archaeological research. *Landscape* has various definitions in different scholars such as archaeology, anthropology, geographers, historians etc. (Knapp 1997, p. 14-18). In archaeology, landscape is usually treated as the framework for the archaeological records (Maschner & Marler 2016, p. 109) both as an object but also as a social construction. In traditional landscape archaeology, landscape is as a social construction and a cooperative relationship between human/culture and environment (Binford 1982; Maschner & Marler 2016, p. 109; Tilley 1994, p. 37). In this study, inspiration will be taken from landscape archaeology as a theoretical aspect for the spatial analysis within the areas of Kullen. Landscape archaeology expands our understanding and knowledge of how individuals have related to the environmental space and how they have interacted and manipulated it (Parcero-Oubiña et.al. 2014, p.1). These activities can be interpreted through the material culture containing these cultural fingerprints. Landscape archaeology and geophysical attributes in the form of routes, enclosures, natural borders, trees etc, has also been used for interpretations of social statuses and differences within a community (Løvshal & Holst 2014). Using this aspect, will contribute to the understanding of the manifested activities and structures reflected in the material culture and landscape, connecting to social and cultural perspectives through the theories of affordance, entanglement and assemblage.

Landscapes can be viewed as a container or a “backdrop” for cultural activities, but also as a materialistic manifestation of the relationships between humans and environment (Crumley 1994, p. 6). Christopher Rodning describes landscapes as human manipulations of the environment which also creates landscapes as “outcomes” for between generations which were

built and rebuilt between earlier and later communities and how the cultural activities- and knowledge which gives space meanings and creates “places” (Rodning 2010, p. 187).

Arthur Bernard Knapp and Wendy Ashmore (1999), presents terms and themes for different specified landscapes. The following terms is 1) constructed landscape where different features in the landscape can create meaning of space such as construction of monuments, villages, houses etc. (Bradley 1993a, p. 23f; Ingold 1986, p. 153; Knapp & Ashmore 1999, p. 10). 2) conceptualized landscapes where social practices and experiences creates reproduced meanings (religious, artistic or cultural) connected to natural features (Knapp & Ashmore 1999, p. 11; Morphy 1995, p. 197; Richards 1996, p. 314) and 3) ideational landscapes which is linked to landscapes formed by ideas, mental images or emotions or as described by Bintliff “landscapes of the mind” (Knapp & Ashmore 1999, p. 12; Bintliff 1996, p. 250). The different presented themes is 1) landscapes as memory, where the meanings from earlier populations constructions of spaces are reused, reinterpreted, restored or reconstructed in the later generations and can be linked to identities of the community (Bender 1998, Bradley 1998a; Holtorf 1997; Knapp & Ashmore 1999, p. 14), 2) landscapes of identity, where places express and creates socio-cultural identity (Knapp & Ashmore 1999, p.14), 3) landscapes of social order, meaning how landscapes reflects society and social structures (Knapp & Ashmore 1999, p. 16f) and 4) landscapes of transformations linked to changes in the landscape through space, time and movement within the society (Knapp & Ashmore 1999, p. 18ff). These themes and terms overlap each other and often occur in landscape archaeological research. Aspects from these will be included in the discussion of the manifested activities and social structures in the Kullen landscape, as well as how later generations integrate with earlier cultural landscapes.

#### **1.4.2 Assemblage theory**

The assemblage theory is rooted in philosophy and political studies and was founded by the French philosopher Gilles Deleuze and French psychoanalyst and political activist Felix Guattari (1980/1987). The term has later been used in other disciplines such as archaeology, art (Deleuze & Guattari 2009), geology and paleontology and are included in the term called “new materialism” (Hamilakis & Jones, 2017 p. 77). The theory has also been involved in human geography (Anderson & Harrison 2010; Anderson & Macfarlane 2011), studies of material culture (Coole & Frost 2010), political theory (Bennett 2010), and in different social studies (DeLanda 2006a; Latour 2007). The theory has improved the archaeological practice and interpretation by focusing on the relational process of materiality and the relationships between different entities (Hamilakis & Jones 2017, p. 81).

Assemblage theory in archaeology means a set of different objects found and associated together in the same context (finding spot, environment, association to other artifacts/ecofacts/structures/features etc.), and in a particular time and place which represents different human activities. The assemblage theory focuses on the study of relations between practice and objects (Fowler 2013; Latour 1993; Lucas 2012; Shanks 2007, p. 589; Witmore 2007). The assemblages could be for example objects made of the same materials, stylistics or typological similarities (Hamilakis & Jones, 2017 p. 77 Lucas 2012, p. 75).

In this study, assemblages will be applied to different sets of archaeological sites, remains, place names and finds in the Kullen landscape and be studied in collective units which together reflect the different activities or sites. Also, the theory of assemblages will be used as a tool to interpret new possible Iron Age sites by identifying similar collections of remains and/or finds as in the already dated Iron Age sites in the areas.

### **1.4.3 Entanglement**

The concept of *entanglements* is created by the archaeologist Ian Hodder (2012) where he defines it as a dialectical relationship between dependencies between humans and things (HT and TH), between things and other things (TT), and between humans and other humans (HH) to attempt to capture ways of human reliance on material things (Hodder 2012, p. 88). The inspiration behind Hodder's concept maintained from the French sociologist Bruno Latour's *Actor-Network Theory (ANT)*, a theory created in purpose to eliminate the dichotomy between nature and culture and how actors can be both humans and non-humans and the symmetry between them (Latour 1993). Latour describes ANT as a relational theory where actors are defined by their relative position to other actors of the network and are not independent entities (Latour 2005, p. 7, 63ff, 86). Latour's theory has been used in works by Ian Hodder (2012) and John Robb (2013) of evolutionary history and long-term changes in prehistoric material culture such as the shifts from the hunter-gatherer populations to Neolithic farming societies in Europe.

Latour's theory focuses on the relation between humans and things and to remove the dichotomy between human and non-humans. The focus on the relations only between humans and things, risks losing the relation between the natural non-human forces outside of the network that affect changes and entangles humans, for example climate changes (Hodder 2012, p. p. 92ff; Edensor 2011; Robb 2013, p. 661). Based on this problem, Hodder created the concept of entanglement to include the four relationships (HT, TH & TT) and instead focus on dialectic tensions between *dependencies* and how humans are getting entrapped in their relations with things and how other *independent* entities can change these relations (Hodder 2012, p. 89, 94). Human's entanglement with things also emerges in the studies of Hodder

(2012) and Robb (2013) especially in the Neolithic societies where humans are being more entrapped in the world of materials and objects.

Humans and things are together entangled in the environment (Hodder 2012, p. 88) and humans depend on the environment for production of tools and construction of settlements, graves, monuments etc. The social world of humans and the material world of things are entangled together by *dependence* and *dependencies* that create *potentials* (Hodder 2012, p. 89). According to Hodder, societies are created and maintained from the relationships between human and things and social and cultural structures (Hodder 2012, p. 59,111).

While the assemblage perspective will focus on the collection of different remains to interpret the different activities in the areas, the entanglement will be included in this study to understand how the Iron Age society has been *dependent* on different sites and things in the landscape in order to organize and construct different functions or activity sites in the areas of Kullen.

#### **1.4.4 Affordance theory**

Affordance is a term coined by the psychologist James J. Gibson in 1966 in his book *The Senses Considered as Perceptual Systems*. The term is based on the verb *afford* and means what the environment *offers* to the living individual and what it *purveys* in both a positive and negative way (Gibson 1986, p. 127). The affordance perspective has influenced archaeologists and been used as a theoretical perspective in combination with spatial analysis and visibility analysis in GIS. Gillings (2012) and Llobera (1996) has highlighted the tools potential to approach anthropological theories in landscape studies and explore experiential affordances offered by the different studied features.

Gibson compares affordance with ecological niches where a *niche* involves a collection of affordances and the relationships between the ecological niches containing the environments characteristics and the human's niches based on their knowledge and needs, creates the qualification of inhabitation in the landscape (Carlie 2005, p. 414; Gibson 1986, p. 128f; Hodder 2012, p. 50). Depending on the ecological niches, the environments characteristics and their match with the niches of the inhabiting humans (needs and knowledge), creates the values and meanings of the landscape to the human which creates and/or changes cultures (Gibson 1986; Hodder 2012, p. 89; Knappett 2005, p. 45).

Individuals can modify the environment to suit their needs and different attributes, elements, resources, features and objects in the environment gives the possibility to humans to manipulate the landscape such as the choice of place for settlements, monuments, routes, monuments,

graves, safe places, hiding places, food or tool productions etc. (Gibson 1986, p. 36ff;). The affordance theory has previously been combined with visibility- and spatial analysis in archaeology to map what the environment from a chosen area can offer by its topological features, attributes, objects, elements, resources and characteristics to the individual and identify possible affordances (Gillings 2009; Llobera 1996; Lock et al 2014, p. 40).

The affordance perspective will be used in this study as a tool to understand the archaeological remains relation to the surrounding environment and to unite the assemblages and entanglements with the landscape. Based on the relation between the archaeological remains (settlements, grave fields, finds etc.) and their relation to the topography, water courses, fields, forests, seas and resources, indicates possible functions and activates in the areas (Gillings 2012; Llobera 1996; Nes van 2014, p. 277, 293).

The environment and archaeological features in the landscape also give different affordances for different humans and periods depending on the human's behavior, meanings, needs and values (Gibson 1986, p. 127ff). This means that older archaeological remains can be relevant for later societies. Therefore, older remains will be taken into account for the interpretations of different sites in the region in order to understand different continuities of places.

The construction of the landscape is a cooperative network between environment and humans and therefore, the affordances can contribute with a deeper knowledge and understanding behind the activities and structures of different sites. Using spatial and visibility analysis in GIS can increase the knowledge of past environments and create perceptions and ideas of the landscape and how societies have inhabited them and organized different functions (Lock et al 2014, p. 23). Since the landscape is built and manipulated by human actions shaped by social practices and norms within a culture, creates the possibility to identify structural patterns in the landscape. How these patterns are formed in the landscape depends on the environment's offerings to the human and how they match the human niches (Gibson 1986; Hodder 2012, p. 49). The identified patterns can also be inserted into the general patterns of the landscape development and social structures during the Iron Age in Scania, which allows us to gain more knowledge about the already identified Iron Age activity sites, but also contribute with new hypothetical activity areas or functions.

While the assemblages will reflect the different activities, the entanglements the understanding of dependencies behind relations between things and humans for the construction and organization of these, the affordances perspective will identify the possible offerings of these

different niches within the landscape and surrounding environment in the Kullen areas for suiting places for different activities and functions.

#### **1.4.5 Environment and Landscape - terminology**

In this study, the terms “*environment*” and “*landscape*” will be used. *Environment* represents the natural and physical phenomenon and attributes such as geography, geology, topology, water, resources and natural features. *Landscape* will represent the manipulation and construction within the environment and the cultural significance. This approach is taken from Christopher Tilley where he describes landscape as a humanized space with meanings based on different activities, events, movements and narratives (Tilley 1994).

### **1.5 Previous research of Iron Age at Kullen**

#### **1.5.1 1800s**

Baron Carl Gyllenstierna was the first who started to get involved in the ancient research of the Kullen district in the mid-1800s. He had an archaeological interest and collected ancient objects from different areas in the region. The collection is still kept at Krapperup’s Castle where he lived during the same period (Jennbert 2017; Ranby 2005; Salomonsson 1959; p. 35). Gyllenstierna documented different ancient remains in the landscape and financed archaeological excavations. The first excavation was held by him in 1853 together with the archaeologist Nils Gustaf Bruzelius during the investigation of the shell mounds and stone ruins located below Kullen’s lighthouse. The stone ruins were dated to Stone Age but finds of iron fishhooks and fragments of a glazed earthenware vessels also indicated later use during the Iron Age and the Middle Ages (Jennbert 2009, p. 18; Jennbert 2018, p. 117f; 2; Salomonsson 1959, p. 35). The stone ruins and their finds are similar to the Iron Age fishing plots located at Hallands Väderö and in the coastal areas along Bohuslän and Halland (Jennbert 2022). The plots at Kullaberg are interpreted as temporary spots used for fishing and seal hunting during Iron Age and Middle Ages (Jennbert 2009, p. 105).

During this century, sites with burials and monuments were a focused interest within archaeology. During the agrarian shifts in 1830, archaeological objects were found and submitted to Gyllenstierna’s collection at Krapperup’s Castle. Several graves were investigated at Björkeröd, Kockenshus and Möllehässle but the documentation from these is narrow (Jennbert 2018, p 113ff). Southern Lerhamn was partially examined by Gyllenstierna and Bruzelius in 1851-53 and according to the notes taken during the investigation, pieces of an urn, charcoal, ashes and bones were found in the central part of the circle. According to the records, a barrow was located somewhere close to the stone circle where the stones have formed



a surrounding chain. The barrow contained pieces of clay, flint shards, two small square whetstones and areas with ashes and coal (Jennbert 2018, p. 116). Based on the burial condition of cremations, the stone circle could probably be used during the Late Iron Age (Jennbert 2018, p. 116).

Preserved burial fields from the Iron Age with stone monuments are located in the areas of Lerhamn, Kockenshus, Himmelstorp and Björkeröd. All graves have not been archaeologically investigated but dates to the Late Iron Age based on their character (Jennbert 2018, p. 113ff; Ramsay 2007, p. 13). According to Jennbert, the broad occurrence of stone circles in the region is interesting as these are unusual from the Scanian perspective (Jennbert 2011, p. 18). At Himmelstorp near Himmelstorp's farm, includes among other things, a large burial field dated to the Later Iron Age with two stone circles as well as sixteen raised stones which are interpreted as the remains from a ship setting (Gustavsson 1994, p. 26f).



Fig 5. Stone circle at Himmelstorp (Drawing: Carl Gyllenstierna taken from Jennbert 2018)

### 1.5.2 1900-2000s

Few modern excavations focused on the Iron Age period have not been performed. Most of the investigated areas have preliminary been dated and interpreted as Stone Age settlements and been partly investigated or just identified through loose finds. The lack of infrastructure is probably one of the main reasons why no archaeological investigations are being executed in the areas. Presentations and interpretations of the archaeological remains in the landscape and rich finds dated to the Iron Age have been published by different researchers such as Kristina Jennbert (2018) and Margareta Ramsay (2007).

The archaeological research has mainly been focused on the Stone Age period, especially the caves at Kullaberg. This study will not touch upon the previous research about the Stone Age periods. For further interest about this subject is referred to the publication by Kristina Jennbert (2009) "*Kullabergs Grottor*" where she presents her research of the caves at Kullaberg and their use during the Stone Age period together with previous research made in these areas made by Salomonsson (1959). An interesting point taken and worth mentioning in this study, is the C14-datings from the caves taken from the last excavation indicating dominating usage during the Iron Age period to historical times (Jennbert 2009, p. 55; Salomonsson 1959). The osteological material (cattle, pig and goat) was also C14-dated to the Roman Iron Age/Late Iron Age to Middle Ages (Jennbert 2009, p. 33, 52ff, 71, 95,113). The flint material found in the Lahibia Cave had characteristics of roughly processed flint linked to Iron Age contexts (Jennbert 2009, p. 143; Knarrström 2000, p. 102f). According to Jennbert's research, the caves have been used as seasonal fishing spots during Iron Age (Jennbert 2009, p. 57ff) and been compared with the Iron Age cave use in Norway (Jacobsen 2020; Jennbert 2009, p. 57ff).

The district has a long history from Stone Age to Iron Age and Middle Ages based on the archaeological remains. The preserved finds consist mainly of flint but other objects of bronze, silver, gold and beads of glass or glass flux have been found. According to previous research, remains have probably disappeared with the new agricultural landscape and few ancient remains have been investigated since the region is a less exploited landscape (Carelli 2003, p. 15; Jennbert 2018, p. 110f; Ramsay 2007; p. 13; Wikjander 1957). The district has also been interpreted as a central area during the Iron Age according to the preserved finds and remains in the landscape (Ramsay 2007, p. 13). Carelli discuss a possible a new colonization and a larger established population in Brunnby parish from southern areas were settlers traveled into the region through Görslöv's river and northern populations settled in the southern parts of Skälderviken later during the Viking Age and Early Middle Ages (Carelli 2003, p. 22ff). But according to Jennbert, these colonisations cannot be reflected in the archaeological material (Jennbert 2018, p. 113).

In medieval research, older maps from the 1700s has been used to interpret ownership- and production conditions before the large agrarian shifts and geometric measurements of settlements, plots, fields and outfields (Carelli 2003, p. 26), Here, possible larger farms have been interpreted in some of the villages which in contrast to the other settlement areas has a larger collected arable lands in home blocks which probably was established in earlier periods (Carelli 2003, p. 28).

Three Iron Age settlements were identified in 1989 during the construction of Arild's golf course. The first settlement (L1988:1003) is registered as a "Stone Age settlement" in Fornsök but according to the notes taken during the investigation of the site in 1989, the settlement was C14-dated to 381 BC. The size of the settlement is 100 x 20 m (NW-SE) and contained 17 hearths, smaller fragments of worked flint distributed over the area and a mound was located in the western direction. The second settlement (L1988:1666) is an area measured 90 x 50 m (N-S) and is C-14 dated to the same period. 10 fragments of Early Iron Age ceramics were found, and one post hole was noticed through a test shaft. This is interpreted as a part of one of the walls of a 15 m house. Hearths, clay and ceramics were also found in this area together with other finds, but what kind of other finds are not mentioned in Fornsök.

The third settlement (L1988:1062) was dated to the Iron Age period and is located in the same area as the three Early Iron Age settlements. Only a preliminary investigation was performed with test shafts. The settlement probably missed a more specific date because no C14-dating was accomplished during the investigation. But according to the settlement's connection the other settlements containing finds of five fragments of Early Iron Age ceramics, shows a potential use during at least the Early Iron Age. Based on the identifications of five hearths containing charcoal, ashes and burned stone and six postholes, the site has most likely been settled. The size of the settlement is 170x50 m (SW-NE). The settlements also contained worked flint in form of smaller fragments and a few tools.

In 1989, traces from a settlement area in Möllehässle were found in the size of 630x70m. Post holes, pits, hearths and finds of pottery were found and the settlement was C14-dated from to the Pre-Roman Iron Age (Jennbert 2018, p. 111; Ramsay 2007, p. 13; Carelli 2003 p. 16). Additionally, two more Pre-Roman Iron Age settlements were found the same year during the construction of Arild's Golf course. The first contained few finds, but a posthole, waste pits and cultural layers were found and could be C14-dated to the Pre-Roman Iron Age. The second one was approximately 15 m long and 5 m wide with a wattle and daub house with an entrance towards west on the long side (Jennbert 2018, p. 111f; Carelli 2003, p. 16f).

During a larger excavation within the plot of Krapperup's Castle in 1995, a post hole C14-dated to Viking Age and early Middle Ages was found. This was interpreted as a remain from a temporary settlement. Interpretations of a permanent farm were not drawn because of the isolation of the and lack of finds (Carelli 2003, p. 36f).

Brunnby is interpreted as one of the oldest villages preserved and as a possible center during the new colonization during the Viking Age (Carelli 2003, p. 49; Nilsson et al. 2011, p. 23).

According to Carelli, the settlement structure in Brunnby parish was based on Iron Age characteristics with several single farms larger than in other villages until the 1300s (Carelli 2003, p. 50). A series of test shafts was made nearby Brunnby church between the northern churchyard wall and the rectory. The oldest mews of the rectory was identified but is today demolished. Most finds were dated to later periods, but rare finds of Baltic ceramics were found on a fragmented clay floor dated to the 1100s or 1200s. However, it was not possible to identify the character of the settlement based on the grounds of the shaft's limited surface (Carelli 2003, p. 45).

In 1998, a stone circle was examined in Lerberget's forest. Burnt bones of an adult together with worked flint were found in the southwestern part of the circle. The grave was dated to the Early Iron Age based on the burnt bones and there were no traces of soot or ashes in the grave. According to Jennbert, the flint could be part of the filling material that covered the burial and could be moved from older settlements. Several graves from the Bronze Age and Iron Age are also located in the area. (Jennbert 2011, p. 17f; Jennbert 2018, p.116).

In 1999 an archaeological investigation in Viken was performed during a road work of Way 111, three sites interpreted as settlements dating from Mesolithic to Iron Age based on the flint finds (Wallin 1999).

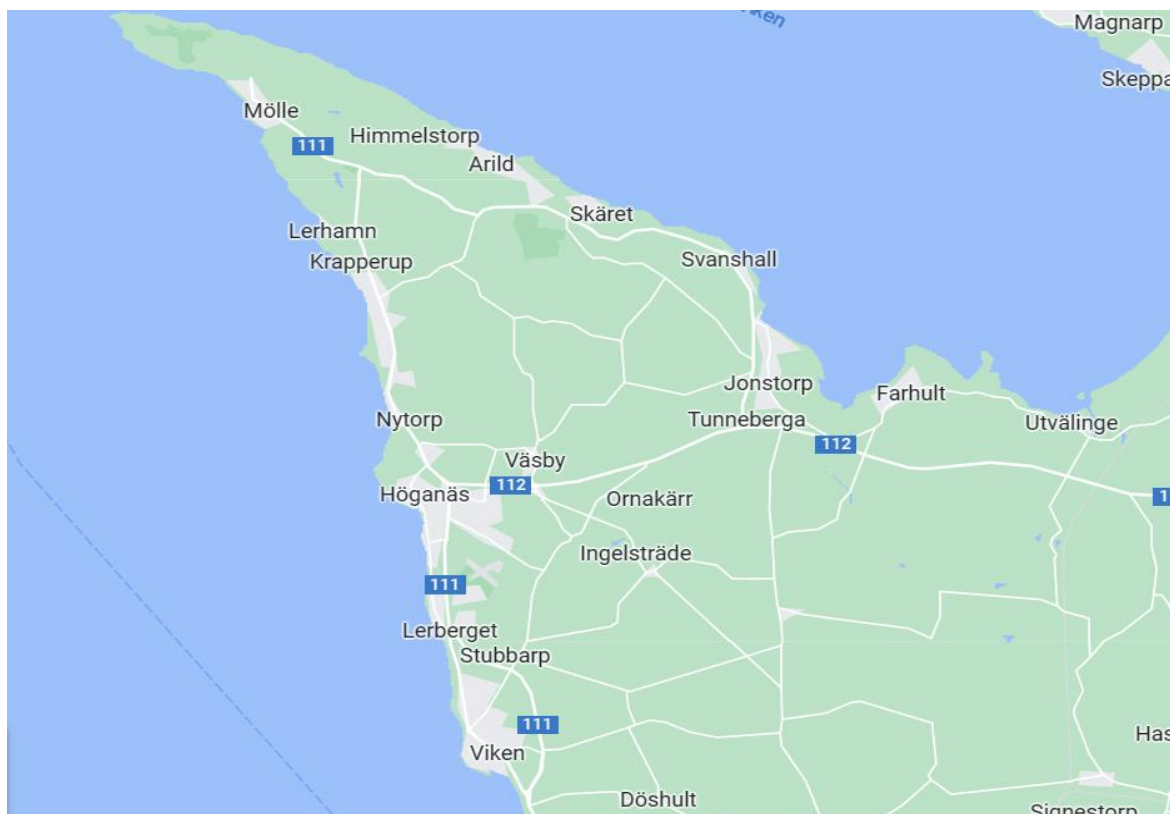


Fig 6. Map of Kullen district (Google Maps 2023)

## **1.6 Important concepts in Iron Age society research**

### **1.6.1 Power, centrality, hierarchy & regionality**

The social structures during the Iron Age in Scania are going through major changes during the whole period and the geographical position of the county created connections with different cultural contacts who also influenced the structure during the time (Larsson & Hårdh 2002, p. 5). The Roman Empire influenced Scandinavia with its urban characteristics and transformed the social structures in the societies and the material culture with more prestige finds representing wealth and power (Larsson & Hårdh 2003, p. 6). The social entities during the Early Iron Age were small and ruled by local chieftains which later grew into larger units of tribal alliances and where some of these developed into kingdoms during the Late Iron Age (Helgesson 2002, p. 215). The societies became more controlled by elites and political powers during time. The concepts power, centrality, regionality and hierarchy are common concepts debated in the Iron Age society research (Helgesson 2002, p. 9) In order to identify activities and functions where social structures can be implied, concepts such as power, centrality, regionality and hierarchy is important concepts discussed in previous research of Iron Age societies. The results from the Kullen district will be tested in an attempt to identify matching criteria with these concepts. The following concepts and how these can be identified through the archaeological material will be briefly presented below.

### **1.6.2 Power**

Power is a broad term but is treated as an expression of the power and rule of societies and the variations in different regions depended on its construction and structure. The power could be linked to a single individual or a group (family, generations or a counsel) (Helgesson 2002, p. 10, 215). Power could be maintained from a military force, threat or other dependency systems. According to Kristiansen (1990), the power can be divided into four groups: establishment, expansion, consolidation and cessation (Kristiansen 1990). The power depends on the interaction between the social, economic and political changes and can be reflected in the use of prestige objects and conduction of monuments during a long-term perspective (Helgesson 2002, p. 19; Kristiansen 1990; Schmidt Sabo & Söderberg 2019, p. 46).

The differences between settlements' construction, form and size reflects different hierarchies and power. Long-houses are the common main building during the whole period but can differ

in its appearance depending on the owner's identity (Artursson & Carlie 2005, p. 215, 240). A wealthier farm can be interpreted by larger size, more advanced construction or supplemented smaller buildings for storage or crafts at the site. The settlements showed a materialistic manifestation for their position in the society (Artursson & Carlie 2005, p. 215). The changes in the settlements and their structures increases over time as well as the social symbolism plays a bigger role (Artursson & Carlie 2005, p. 240).

### **1.6.3 Hierarchy**

Hierarchy during the Iron Age can be expressed through burials, settlement structures and written sources. In Scandinavian research, there is a separation between residence of chieftains, magnate farms, kings, farmers and slaves (Helgesson 2002, p. 215). But according to the written sources, there are more different groups in comparison to the archaeological material. Another problem in this kind of research is that different groups could live together and work at the same place. Therefore, this kind of model is a very simplified way to describe social hierarchies (Helgesson 2002, p. 215).

### **1.6.4 Centrality**

A centrality has a larger variation of settlement structures (Artursson & Carlie 2005, p. 240), but the centrality in a society cannot be indicated only by a secluded settlement because individuals or places outside of the community can be involved (Carlie 2005, p. 415). What signifies a central place is debated, but the common patterns in the characteristics of a central place is a concentrated area holding different central functions such as cult sites, halls, larger grave fields, administrative/judicial functions (thing), communication routes, economic functions (markets, specified crafting and production of textiles, coins, iron etc.), specified or/and mass- production, military functions (castles or other sites), local magnates, and harbors, long-distance trade and a larger distribution of contemporary settlements (Harrison 1997, p. 27; Helgesson 2002, p. 215; Fabech & Ringtvedt 1995, p. 11ff, 24ff). These areas are also embossed with arable lands, raw materials and are connected to the trading routes. These criteria are also important for the society's development and enforcement (Helgesson 2002, p. 215f). Central places appeared in the later Roman Iron Age and Migration Period when the immigration of Danes expanded in southern Scandinavia (Helgesson 2002, p. 219; Larsson & Hårdh 2002, p. 6). Another importance for a centrality is the development and preservation of the social system of power and control and also the inheritance of the system to later generations and not all magnate families succeeded (Helgesson 2002, p. 29). A central place can be reflected by sacral or organizational names (Helgesson 2002, p. 22; Fabech & Ringtvedt

1995, p. 24). Traces of structural continuity can be reflected in silver depositions, chapels, early medieval churches, magnate farms, runestones and royal-or noble properties (Fabech & Ringvedt 1995, p. 24ff). Examples of well-known central place in southern Scania are Gudme, Uppåkra and Järrestad (Hårdh & Larsson 2007, p. 45; Larsson 2006, p. 147; Söderberg 2006, p. 156ff; Wells 2008, p. 116f).

### 1.6.4 Regionality

Regionality is the areas or zones where the geographical, cultural, political or biological relations are similar and can be specified by the material culture, grave customs or finds or place names depending on the incidence of the research (Helgesson 2002, p. 16, 216). Regionality can also include the studies of networks between continents, for example in Scania where west and east had different connections to the west and east continents which also reflects a difference in the archaeological material (Helgesson 2002, p. 17).

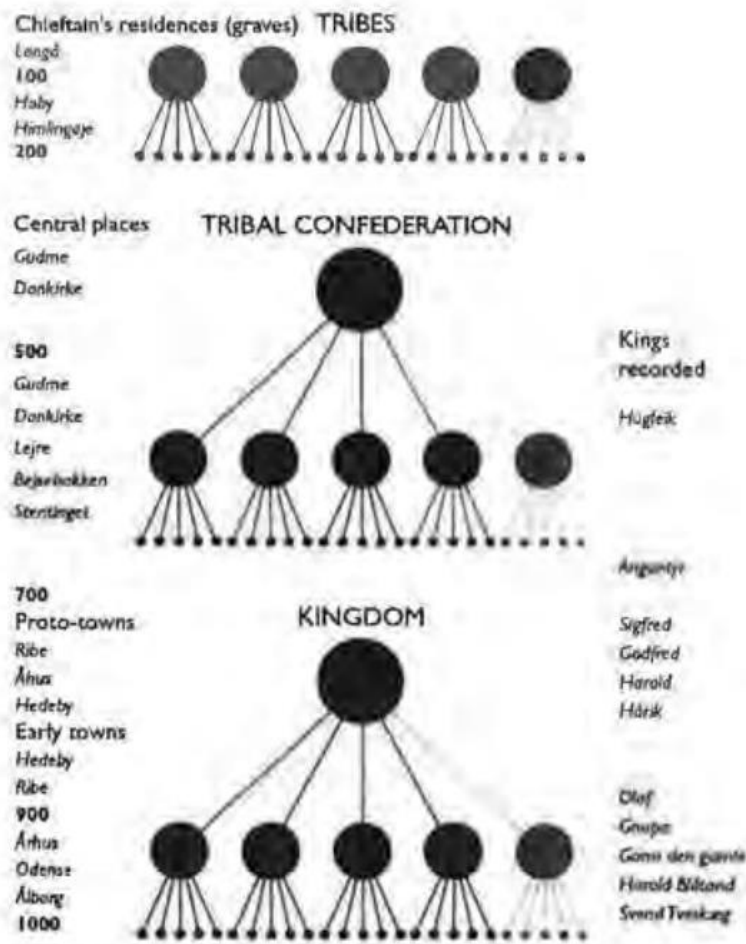


Fig 7. Model of the Danish constitution from tribes to kingdoms together places of importance for the king (Näsman 1998)

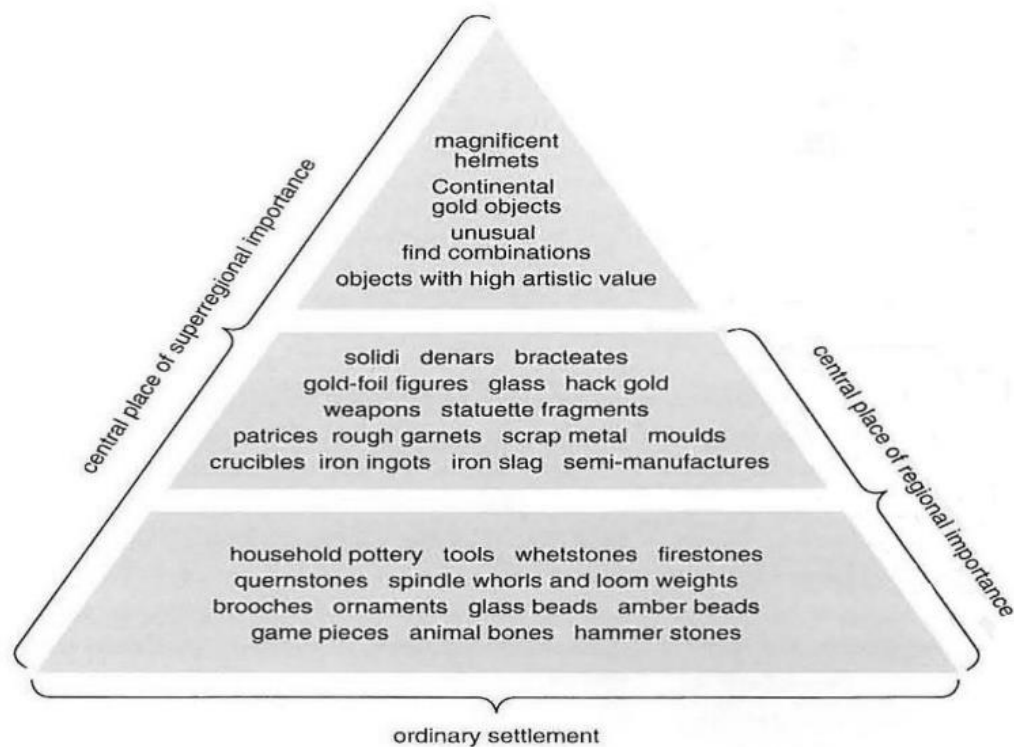


Fig 8. Categorized finds indicating places of central and regional importance (Fabech och Ringtved 1995)

## 1.7 Periodic structures

Related to the previous part of the concept's centrality, hierarchy, regionality and power, a brief background of structural developments will be presented below. These developments are taken from previous research of Iron Age societies and social structures in Scanian areas. Similar to the concepts, the results from Kullen will also be tested and discussed with these patterns in an attempt to find similarities and interpret the structural changes at Kullen.

### 1.7.1 Pre-Roman Iron Age

The settlement structures during the Pre-Roman Iron Age are similar to the Bronze Age structures. Inhabitants settled in the older Bronze Age landscapes in western Scania during the Early Iron Age (Strömberg 2005, p. 367f). This is a phase where regionalization occurs and is reflected in isolation of units and cultural identities. Stockbreeding, access to cultivation systems and iron extraction is important for the development of more complex social systems which is indicated by the appearance of cairns in the landscape (Helgesson 2002, p. 207,217). In the later phase of the period, smaller and isolated farms of multifunctional long-houses with attached smaller economic buildings spread in the landscape and near water courses and



communication routes. The distribution shows an increased movement in the landscape. Long-houses in Scania during this period is measured around 12-32 m and sizes of farm areas varies from 65-260 m<sup>2</sup> where the long houses constitute the largest part of the area (Artursson 2008, p. 36; Carlie 2005, p. 424ff, 458; Helgesson 2002, p. 216ff). The interiors and room divisions are similar to the previous Bronze Age farms (Artursson 2008, p. 37) and traces from enclosures are not common in the archaeological material dating to this phase (Artursson 2008, p. 37).

New chieftains settled in different areas in Scania and marked their power through offerings while some regions were autonomous. Grave finds from this phase are few due to poor preservations and they can be hard to distinguish from Bronze Age graves. The graves consist of cremations in urns or pits and the finds of bronze and precious metals increases in the later phase which indicates emergences of regional centers and continental contacts (Carlie 2005, p. 426ff; Helgesson 2002; Jensen 1997).

### **1.7.2 Roman Iron Age and Migration Period**

During the later Pre-Roman Iron Age and Early Roman Iron Age, the number of long-houses and economic buildings increased in Scania and the farms developed into more complex units. The traces from enclosures are also more preserved in the archaeological material and easier to identify (Artursson 2008, p. 40). The differences in social structures increase with more complex farms with varying sizes and appearance (Helgesson 2002, p. 220). The larger farms represent the presence of economic wealth and political power together with introduction of new agricultural crops and technologies (Artursson 2008, p. 41ff). Units integrated with each other to reach new social- and political power positions. Partition between the western and southern Scania occurs, units decreased and became more socially complex, for example in Western Scania, Eastern Zealand and in the Öresund area (Helgesson 2002, p. 210ff, 219). The long-houses in Scania measured around 10 to 68 m while the other farms varied between 80–360 square meters (Artursson 2008, p. 52). Prestige finds and weapons inspired by Germanic areas linked to individuals of higher rank appear as grave goods or loose finds (Carlie 2005, p. 432f; Stjernquist 1955, p. 67ff). Roman imports to Scania were controlled by centers and were offered in bogs (Hårdh 2002, p. 35; Hansen 1987; Hansen 188, p. 7 I). Finds of Roman coins, gold and weapons indicates elites or herds and distributions of centers shows a higher centrality, political strategies for conquest and alliances (Hedeager 1990: Helgesson 2002, p. 29, 210; Hårdh 2002, p. 35; Nicklasson 1997; Näsman 1991) Offers of prestige finds reflects a power manifestation linked to central places (Helgesson 2002, p. 209)

The societal changes during the Early Roman Iron Age are distinctly reflected in agriculture during the colder climate. The control of the farmers by central powers also increases together with permanent farmlands and new complex and advanced techniques developed (Gren 1997, p. 58f; Myrdal 1995). The farmland systems during the Iron Age also consisted of infields (permanent fields and pastures) and outfields (forest) (Gren 1997, p. 60).

The same settlement structures continue during the Later Roman Iron Age and Migration period, but some settlements move further in from the coasts (Carlie 2005, p. 434). The relocation could be a sign for more turbulent times of conflicts (Hårdh 2002, p. 35) and an increased land use with denser and permanent villages, inland, outfields and magnate farms (Callmer 1991; Callmer 2001; Helgesson 2002, p. 211). More finds from iron- and textile crafting appears which reflects an increased production (Carlie 2005, p. 436f). Social and economic cooperations or leadership is marked by enclosures, long-houses and a more complex structure. Finds of solids symbolize high status and has been used as raw material or payment (Carlie 2005, p. 440ff; Jennbert 2018, p. 120; Stjernquist 1983) The grave finds are few, but some consists of prestige finds similar to the early phase (Carlie 2005, p. 440ff; Helgesson 2002). The increased contacts between govern families and kins, are reflected in the appearance, function and interiors of farms and long-houses affected by the social norms. The upper class did not just consist of chieftains or magnates, but also wealthy farmers (Carlie 2008, p. 57).

During the Roman Iron Age and Migration Period, strip plots were introduced and are the oldest example of systematic land division and based on the different archaeological traces from these, there was usually more than one owner per plot. Enclosures systems were also introduced during the same phase and are the most well preserved remains in the form of collapsed stone walls. These systems disappeared during the Late Iron Age when new systems occurred (Gren 1997, p. 62f; Widgren 1983).

### **1.7.3 Vendel period and Viking Age**

During the Vendel period and Viking Age, a relocation of the farms appears and a more distinct difference in the settlement structures with a denser and larger amount of settlement areas but also isolated farms, which indicates an increased hierarchy. The settlement in western Scania also returns closer to Öresund. Networks with the North- and Baltic seas increases, and western Scania creates new contacts with the Anglo-Saxon and Frankish areas (Carlie 2005, p. 447,450ff; Helgesson 2002, p. 213f). New social positions appear and the society changes with more central places in Scania. The craft increases based on finds specializing in bronze casting, pit houses used for craftsmen or other labor. This also shows an increased economic and social

wealthless (Carlie 2005, p. 452f; Helgesson 2002, p. 216). Finds of Arabic silver coins appearing and indicates contacts with the Eastern continent (Carlie 2005, p. 454; Silvergren 1999, p. 99ff). Contacts with Western Europe dominate according to distribution of imported finds with trading centers (Hårdh 2002, p. 58). During the late Viking Age, the magnate farms turn into military units and conflict increases which can be reflected in the enlargement of weapon graves (Helgesson 2002, p. 216ff). Finds of jewelry in form of different fibulas and pearls in graves is interpreted as grave goods linked to elites, commonly in women's graves (Helgesson 2002, p. 30; Randsborg 1980, p.129ff; Jörgensen 1990, p. 62ff; Ringtved 1988, p.145ff, 1991, p.60; Nicklasson 1997, 165ff). Women also had power and could play large roles in the political games (Helgesson 2002, p. 19).

Fossil fields dating to the Later Iron Age are difficult to identify because of their continued use in later periods and have been overgrown or disappeared by plowing (Gren 1997, p. 63; Carlsson 1986). The older systems from the Early Iron Age have also been used until the 1640's based on older maps of some regions in Scandinavia. There are therefore no distinct traces of the systems used in the Later Iron Age, but the permanent agricultural lands have probably been in connection to the settlements or the village with woodlands in the outfields. The settlement pattern changes from scattered farms to larger units and the precursors to the medieval larger farms occur (Gren 1997, p. 63f; Rahmqvist 1994).

### **1.8 Source criticism**

There are some important limitations to be aware of in this study. First, the lack of archaeological material and some of the loose finds also have a lack of context as they have been found by farmers during several years (Jennbert 2009, p. 55; Jennbert 2011, p. 20). Prestige finds have been found in cultivations in various locations in the region and have been submitted to museums and private collections during the 1800s and 1900s but have not been found during archaeological investigations (Carelli 2003, p. 19; Jennbert 2018, p. 118). The prestige finds can be linked to the parish they were found, but not to their specific finding spot. No modern archaeological excavations have been performed except smaller investigations in some areas. The largest excavations done were in the mid-1800s and around 1960s but the documentation lacks details. The registered data in Fornsök can also be a bit misleading or unclear with missing information and it is unsure if all of the remains are registered correctly or at all, which can affect the amount and selection of the data.

Secondly, the categories of possible places for Iron Age settlements and activities are also hypothetical and affect the reliability of the result. These sites are not fully archaeologically investigated and cannot be absolutely interpreted as Iron Age sites. Even sites interpreted as

“Stone Age” settlements based on different loose finds in the form of flints or settlements with uncertain or overall interpretations as a “prehistoric settlement” can still be taken into account depending on their location and relation to other Iron Age remains or place names. According to Tronde (1985) and Knarrström (2000), archaeological settlements consisting of flints that are not surely dated to the Stone Age are still being registered as Stone Age settlements. The concept “Stone Age settlements” can therefore be seen as a misleading term (Tronde 1985, p. 114; Knarrström 2000, p. 97). Bo Knarrström (2000) argues an important aspect regarding flint finds in later prehistoric periods and how they sometimes risks being de-prioritized during investigations focusing on later periods such as Iron Age, probably because of the focus of interest in metal finds and other prestige finds in form of golds and silvers. Flints also risks being misregistered as objects from older settlements in reports but has been used as raw material during the whole prehistoric period and appears both within and near Iron Age settlements in layers and post hole together with ceramics, trundles and pearls and finds of flint are usually dominated in Iron Age contexts (Knarrström 2000, p. 96ff). Studies by Knarrström present differences in flint material from Stone Age, Bronze Age and Iron Age contexts and according to his research, flint can be dated to Iron Age based on different markers and techniques. Iron Age flint is also more roughly worked and poorer quality than flint from Stone Age or Bronze Age (Knarrström 2000, p. 96ff). As earlier mentioned, finds of flint from the Lahibia Cave at Kullaberg have been interpreted as Iron Age flint (Jennbert 2009, s. 51, 143).

Lastly, it is important to keep in mind that the social structure we know from the Iron Age period has obviously been different in various regions and what we know from archaeological research. Some of the models used in this study are taken from previous research but are still simplified based on existing knowledge.

## **2. Analysis**

### **2.1 Kullaberg – the mountain area**

#### **2.1.1 Settlements and land divisions?**

Archaeological remains of Iron Age settlements have not been identified at Kullaberg except one site beneath the mountain in the area of Solhaga where a fragment of Early Iron Age ceramics, a hearth with burned stones and five patches of ash and charcoal was found (L1988:1149). But traces of activity and possible settlements during the period can be reflected in place- and farm names and other surrounding remains such as enclosures, routes, fossil fields, grave fields and osteological- and some archaeological finds. The identified settlement

sites in the mountain area are either dated to Stone Age or are not further investigated and are registered as settlements with prehistoric characteristics.

According to pollen analysis from the mountain area, the area has been used as long-term pastures from around 1500 B.C which has increased during around 650 B.C. The grazing has affected the vegetation at Kullaberg, the growth of beech replaced the oaks and heaths appears in different smaller areas (Björkman 2001; Jennbert 2018, p. 112). Identifications of cereal pollen grains (*Secale*) is the only identified species and occurs later around 900 B.C., which reflects a later appearance of arable farming at Kullaberg (Björkman 2001, p. 208). The increase of pastures in the mountain area during the 600s, indicates a population growth during the Late Iron Age (Björkman 2001; Jennbert 2009, p. 142) which relates to the population growth and higher importance of land use and farms spreads over larger areas in Scania (Carlie 2005, p. 447,450ff).

Through an affordance perspective, the mountain has possibly been settled during a long time with nearness to grazing fields but may have increased during Viking Age and Early Middle Ages with cultivation lands and larger connected farms. The contemporary area is embossed with arable lands and historical farms from the 1600s-1800s, and the modern land shifts may have destroyed the prehistoric agricultural traces. But some of the structural traditions could also be continually used (Gren 1997, p. 63; Carlsson 1986).

Traces of enclosures are registered as remains dated from Iron Age to modern historical times and hollow ways are only registered as Bronze Age/Iron Age routes. The enclosures could both be interpreted as markers for a ceremonial site (Carlie 2005, p. 411), but also as a pattern of farm- and land divisions between different collaborated or individual farms (Carlie 2005, p. 447). These enclosures could be possible preservation from older systems used during the Early Iron Age and in later historical times (Gren 1997, p. 64; Rahmqvist 1994). The enclosures are also closely connected to the Bronze Age/Iron Age fossil fields and hollow ways dated to the same period. This means that the pattern could indicate possible Iron Age farm- and land divisions. Remains of barrows, routes, erected stones and cairns are also identifications of a previous prehistoric population. This pattern of land division reflects both social and economic leaderships and collaborations (Carlie 2005, p. 440ff). The encounters and traces from hollow ways extend further northwest at the mountain in Björkeröd and the mountain edge. Another Iron Age grave field and older historical farm plots are located in Björkeröd and several grave fields connected to farms probably existed in the area before the 1800s land shifts (Jennbert 2018, p. 115).

Place- and farm names  
date

- VA-M
- MP-VA
- other
- Wells
- Bogs
- Harbour
- Caves
- Stone circles
- Erected stones
- Cairns
- Possible Iron Age settlements
- Iron Age settlements
- FishingPlots
- Depots
- Barrows
- Boat landing
- Fossil fields\_linestring
- Routes
- Enclosures
- Fossil fields
- Prehistoric settlement areas
- Water

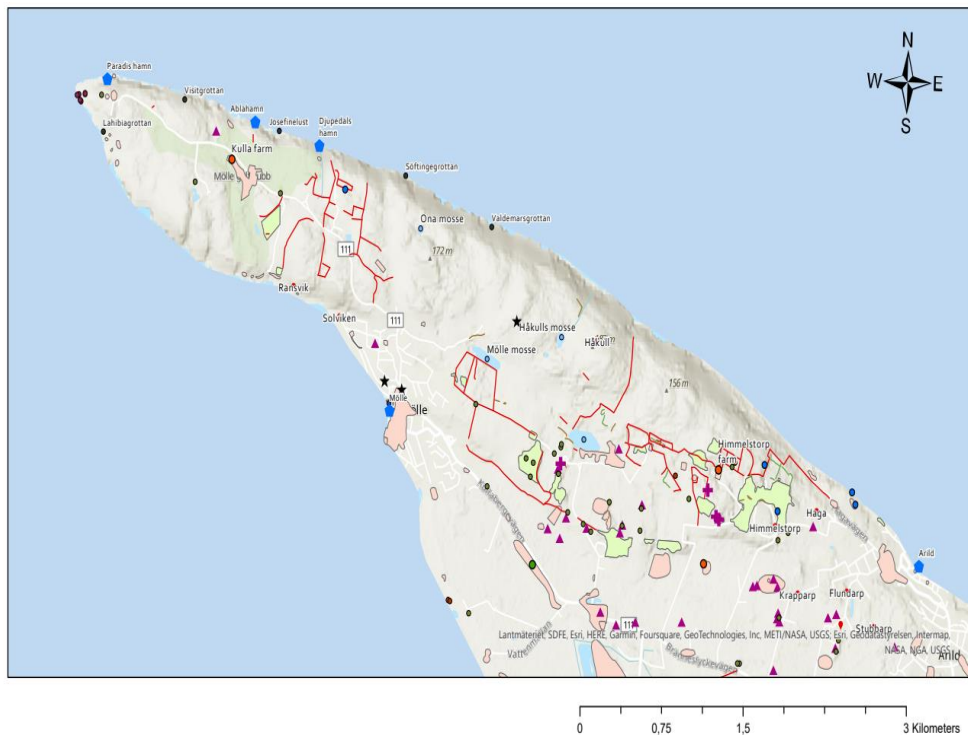


Fig 9. Distribution map of the mountain area

Place- and farm names  
date

- MP-VA
  - VA-M
  - other
  - <all other values>
  - Halsehamn
  - Possible Iron Age graves
  - Wells
  - Bogs
  - Rock carvings
  - Harbour
  - Church/chapel
  - Caves
  - Hearths
  - Castle
  - Stone circles
  - Erected stones
  - Cairns
  - Possible Iron Age settlements
  - Iron Age settlements
  - FishingPlots
  - Finds
  - Depots
  - Barrows
  - Fossil fields\_linestring
  - Routes
  - Enclosures
  - Water courses
  - Prehistoric settlement areas
  - Fossil fields
  - Water
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- value
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- 0.798885

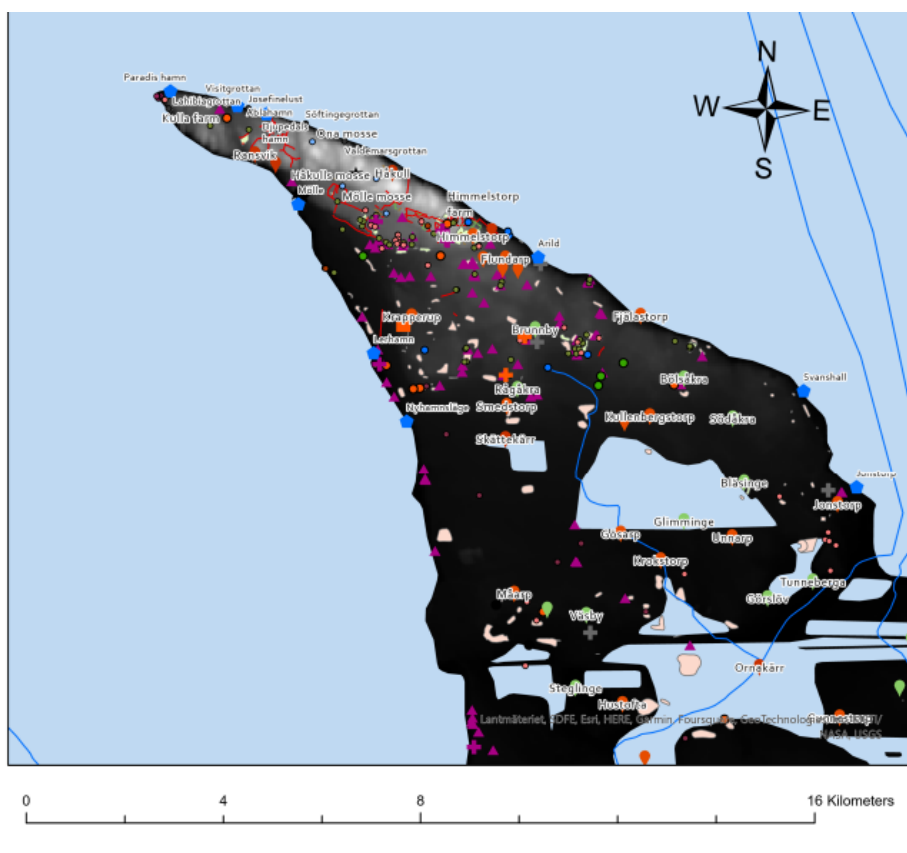


Fig 10. Elevation- and distribution map of the Kullen district

### **2.1.2 Himmelstorp – the farm and grave fields**

The name "*Himmelstorp*" means "*Hemel*" (*man's name*) and *-torp* signifies a "*newly built farm*". The farm name dates to the Viking Age and the Early Middle Ages (Wijkander 1959, p. 71). According to older records, an older farm plot, Himmelstorp's Farm, owned by Krapperups's Castle has been present in the area since 1491, but the present farm was built in the 1800s (Länsstyrelsen Skåne/naturum Kullaberg 2012; Ranby 2005, p. 437). No archaeological investigations have been made in the area and traces of an Iron Age settlement have not been confirmed. But still, the farm's name and location near the Iron Age grave field creates interesting theories (see fig 11).

The grave field in Himmelstorp consists of 20 graves with three stone circles, several stone settings and erected stones (Jennbert 2018, p. 115). Two stone circles in Himmelstorp are registered as parts linked to the grave field (L1989:9543). Both stone circles are built with nine stones and are 13 m and 19 m in diameter. The third one (L1988:72) is located above the other stone circles close to the farm and is measured around 16 m in diameter. Remains of stone monuments such as stone circles, cairns and erected stones in the district dominate in the mountain area. The reasons could be the easy access to stone resources for their construction but also the majestic and sacred atmosphere of the mountain.

Stone circles is an ancient burial monument characterized by seven or nine lump stones forming a circle and has been used over a long time during the Iron Age period. According to C14-data of stone circles in Sweden, the burial type has been used during the whole Iron Age period but mostly associated with the Late Iron Age (Burenhult 2000, p. 256; Gustafsson & Nordström 2010, p. 446f; Nordman 2015, p. 18f; Varenius 1985, p. 20; Wennerberg 2008, 13ff). Cremation graves are the most common burial type in stone circles (Gustafsson & Nordström 2010, p. 444f).

Other lump stones are identified in the same area at the grave field which could be rests from damaged stone circles and a stone ship has previously existed according to older records (Ahelnius & Kempe 1908; Gustavsson 1994, p. 26f). None of the graves are investigated but based on the characteristics, they are dated to the Late Iron Age (Björk 2005, p. 63; Carlie 1994; Helgesson 2002, p. 77; Jennbert 2018, p. 115; Strömberg 1961, p. 51ff; Nord 2009, p. 24).

The stone circles are also interpreted as prehistoric court locations where judicial decisions were made, which has given the Swedish name "*domarring*" (*eng. translation: judicial ring*).

The stones were used as seats for the judges and their odd number made it possible to avoid pending decisions (Arne 1938). Another interpretation is the link between the nine stones (the most common number of stones for a stone circle) and Norse mythology (Andrén 2011, p. 35ff). For example, the tree Yggdrasil and the ninth worlds in *Eddan*, and the story of Adam of Bremen and the temple in Uppsala and Lejre where great feasts were held every ninth year and nine men, nine male animals of nine species were offered (Andrén 2011, p. 35ff). This new world image is an influence from the Roman Empire and forms a new religion and ideology in Scandinavia during the Iron Age period (Andrén 2011, p. 35ff; Zachrisson 2014, p. 181).

The different kinds of burial features together with other cult objects such as the bronze figurine found at the edge of the mountain (Nord Paulsson & Paulsson 1996; Nord 2009, p. 251) reflects a long continuity of cult sites in the mountain area and a conceptualized landscape of sacral symbolic meaning seems to have continued in later generations (Bender 1998, Bradley 1998a; Holtorf 1997; Knapp & Ashmore 1999, p. 14). Bronze figurines found in areas together with Iron Age remains have been made in other regions in Scania and Denmark (Arne 1909, p. 183; Carlie 2005, p. 428; Jensen 1997, p. 163). The grave fields in Himmelstorp and Björkeröd is similar to Drottninghög and Tofta högar at the neighbor-peninsula Bjäre which is dated to both Bronze Age and Late Iron Age based on archaeological investigation (Nord 2009, p. 185, 267). The mountain has also been used as a meeting spot in historical times. An older field was previously located in the nearby area of the burial site in Himmelstorp, where the inhabitants in the district met during the 1700-1930's. Here, people celebrated Whit Monday with plays, dancing and drinking. This place was first called *Pingsthålan* and later *Mysikehagen* (Länsstyrelsen Skåne/naturum Kullaberg 2019; Wikjander 1957, p. 68).

The assemblage of the archaeological remains and their position in the mountain area surrounded by seas, indicates an atmosphere and locations for ritualistic or ceremonial purposes. Wells and bogs are also located in the areas which could be used for ritual purposes. One of them is near the highest point of the mountain Håkull. Except for the religious symbolism of the grave field, it could also be used as a marker for an important farm belonging to a leading family or individual (Helgesson 2002, p. 215). The remains from the stone ship monument are also a primary indication of a larger elite farm (fig 13) (Helgesson 2002, p. 196). If the farm is located in the exact spot as the contemporary building is not necessarily the case, but the continued use of the plot, its location to the grave field and the older place name makes the interpretation not entirely improbable.

The assemblages of the archaeological remains and the topographical location surrounded and above the sea, reflects a constructed and conceptualized landscape used by generations from



earlier prehistoric eras to historical times. The connection between the grave fields and the larger farm plot together with older enclosures, fossil fields, cairns indicate a settled area with a larger farm belonging to a possibly wealthy or leading individual(s). The patterns of relations between grave fields and farms in previous research, is often linked to manifestations of power roles in the landscape (Helgesson 2002, p. 215). During the later phase of the Iron Age, cult sites also moved from water courses and wetlands closer to the farms of leaders and the cult sites became more controlled and private (Helgesson 2002, p. 26, 40f). A lot of activities took place inside of buildings (such as cult houses), but offerings and depositions were still performed outside (Hårdh & Larsson 2007, p. 52). Except for the religious aspects in the mountain area, the mountain has been settled during the whole prehistoric period but has probably increased in the later phases based on the pollen analysis showing a later appearance of cultivation lands. A theory is, if a later larger farm has appeared together with the increased population at Kullen which appears during this period in Scania. But as earlier mentioned, no archaeological evidence has been found in the area of Himmelstorp, even if the old farm name and connection to the large Iron Age burial monuments, indicate a possible settled site during this period. Through an entanglement and affordance perspective, the patterns of grave fields, fishing spots, agrarian lands with possible farm- and enclosure systems, indicates activities of a settled and organized population. During the population growth, inhabitants have probably moved further up the mountain and the agrarian production and fishing spots have been dependent on more control in order to maintain. Also, larger grave fields have been constructed for gatherings, more burials and, hypothetically, manifest the leading position in the landscape.

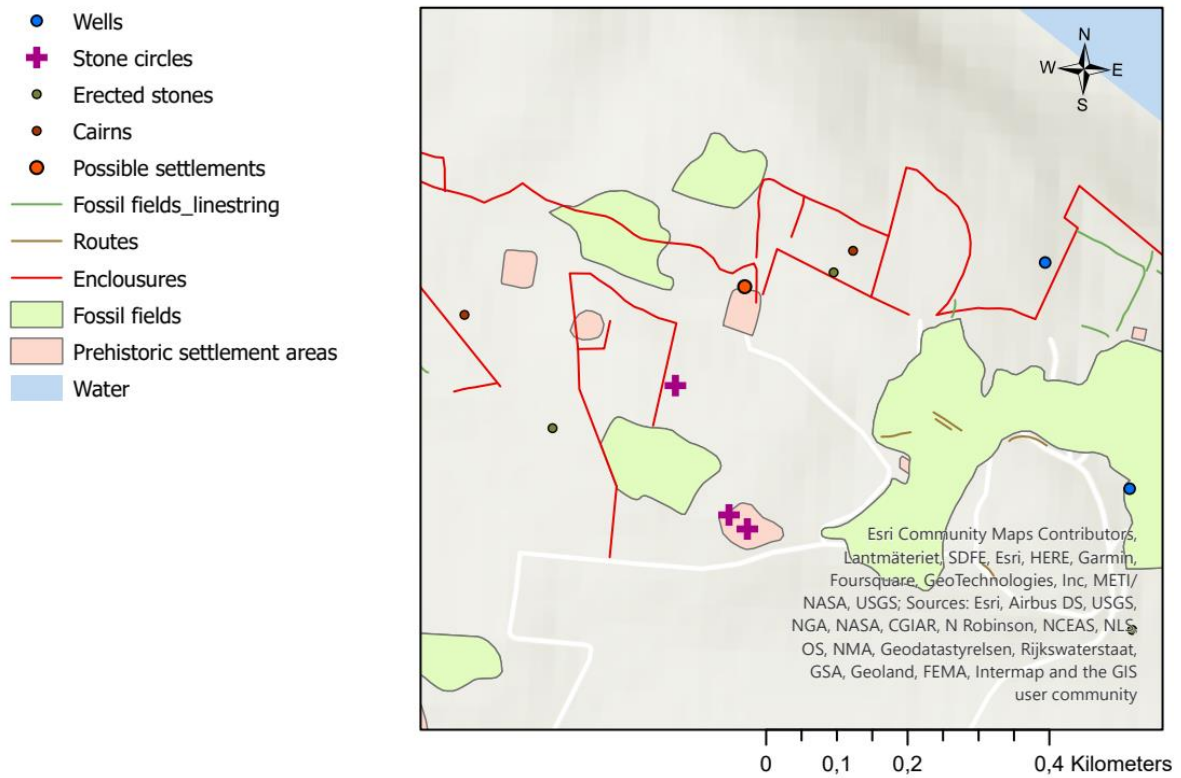


Fig 11. Himmelstorp farm plot and grave field



Fig 12. Stone circle at Himmelstorp (Photo: Karolina Jacobsen 2020)



Fig 13. Erected stones from stone ship (Photo: Karolina Jacobsen 2020)

### **2.1.3 Silver depositions at Kullaberg – an elite presence**

Other traces indicating presences of high-status individuals in the mountain areas are reflected in two silver depositions, but their exact finding position is unknown. The first (111734) (fig 14) was found in the 1700s and consists of a large silver ring together with three smaller rings and Arabic coins (902-916 B.C.). A silver ring preserved at Krapperup's Castle is also interpreted as a part of this collection. Unfortunately, the treasure has previously contained more pieces, but these are currently missing (Jennbert 2018, p. 125)



Fig 14. Silver treasure 111734 (Hårdh 1976)

The second one contained two bracelets, two neck rings, three dinars with the portrait of the Roman Emperor *Trajan* (98-117 AD) and *Gordianus* (238-244 AD) and the find is today stored at Helsingborg's Museum (Jennbert 2018, p. 118; Lunds Weckoblad 1845). These silver coins were used as payment in the Western Roman Empire and the coins found in the district are interpreted as souvenirs (Jennbert 2018, p. 118). This find has been alternated in Fornsök (L1988:1492) with another silver deposition found underneath a stone during the construction of Mölleberg Hotel in 1913, which today is replaced by an apartment villa. This deposition contained one large neck ring with faceted tens and braided threads, one arm ring, six chains and three Arabic coins (905-906) dated to early 900 B.C. (Hårdh 1976; Jennbert 2018, p. 126). According to Sundius (1754), a smaller find of a large silver chain found by children among the cliffs at Kullaberg was gifted from the tenant at Krapperup to Brunnby church during the 1700s (Jennbert 2018, p. 125).

The prestige finds reflects the presence of an elite and the depositions has previously been interpreted as a symbol of power, new established groups and replacement of earlier systems of family ties. These kinds of objects were important for the survival of social and political organizations (Headager 1990, p. 91). The coins and hack silver found in the depositions has been used as payment and indicates traditional trade (Helgesson 2002, p. 199). Arabic coins were used from the 700-900 B.C until the domination of Western European coins occurred in the end of the 900 B.C during the expansion of imports and trading centers (Carlie 2005, p. 454; Hårdh 2002, p. 58; Jennbert 2018, p. 126; Silvergren 1999, p. 99ff). The Arabic coins and the Roman dinars indicate networks between the continents and even if there are no other finds indicating these relations at Kullen, the region's location between Öresund and Kattegatt. The inhabitants and foreigners visiting Kullen probably traveled by these seas during the whole Iron Age.

The interpretation of depositions is mostly linked to troubled times when inhabitants buried their valuables and have either been forgotten, deliberately been left behind or not been able to return (Carelli 2003, p. 49; Friman & Skoglund 2009, p. 245). The region is surrounded by the seas and has probably been threatened during the Iron Age as much as during historical times. Other research also links depositions to surrender or inauguration of a new settlement and an offering to the gods (Aspeborg 2008, p. 19; Carelli 2003, p. 20, 49; Friman & Skoglund 2009, p. 245f; Ramsay 2007, p. 13; Nilsson et al 2011, p. 23; Gustavsson 1994, p. 30f). If the depositions are linked to settlements or ritualistic purposes is hard to say because of their lack of contexts. Still, the depositions strengthen the theory of a possible elite or leader in the area and a presence of a settled population during the Viking Age. Also, the coins indicate possible activities of trading and networks with other continents.

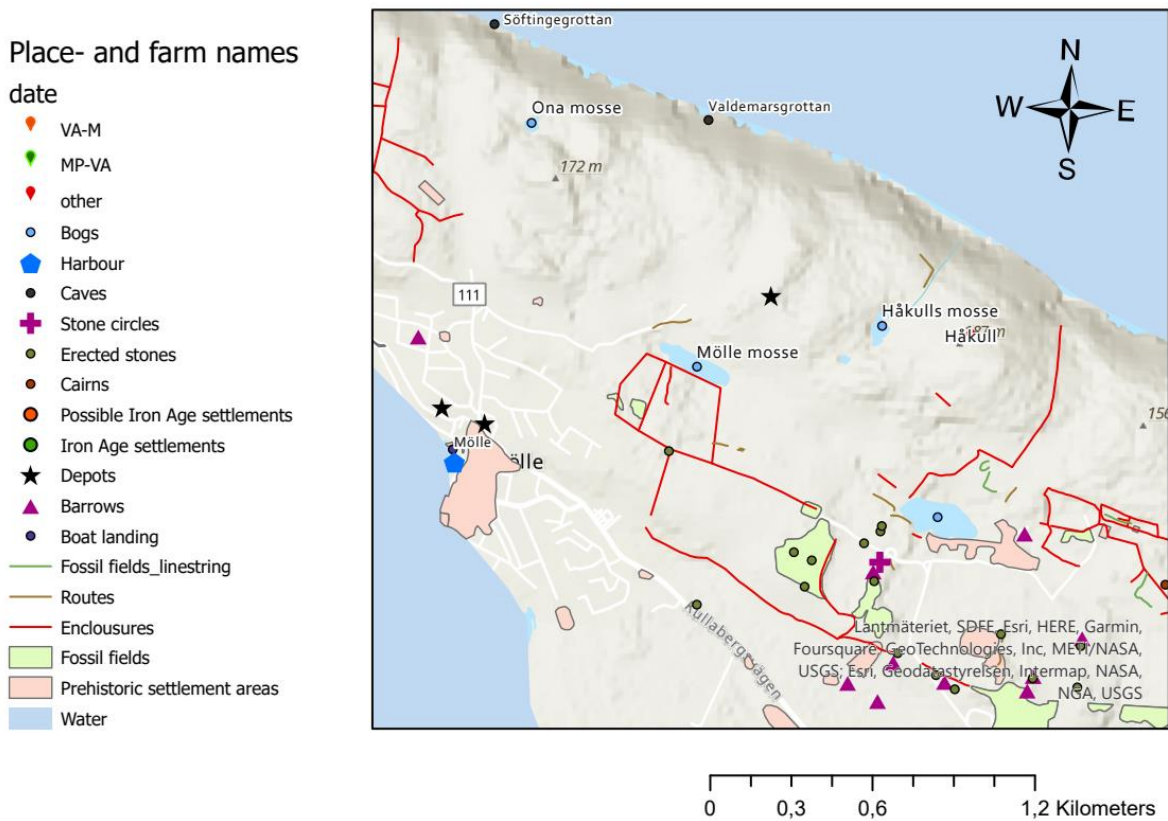


Fig 15. Silver depositions at Kullaberg

### 2.1.4 Fishing and harbors

Fish has probably been an important resource for the inhabitants based on the benefits from the seas Öresund and Kattegatt. Öresund is historically known for containing a rich variation of different species attracted by the higher salt levels during the Iron Age. Different species have also been identified from the fish bones found in the caves at Kullaberg (Jennbert 2009, p. 51,101ff; Lepiksaar 1962). Bones from harp seal and gar bird have also been found and are represented in other material from southern Scandinavia during at least Roman Iron Age (Jennbert 2009, p. 53; Aaris-Sørensen 1998). The fish bones are interpreted as traces from household fishing but if a controlling authority has been involved is unknown. The osteological material from the caves together with the stone ruins found at the edge of Kullen (Jennbert 2018) indicates activity of Iron Age fishing and seal hunting at Kullaberg. Inhabitants from the flat lands in the district and from the mountain could visit the caves and the stone buildings for seasonal fishing and seal hunting.

The social and political networks between the Roman Empire and other areas in Europe and Scandinavia, which is also reflected in the silver treasures found in the district, indicates fishing products as a possible trading product as early as in the Viking Age period (Jennbert 2009, p.

110). Other seafood such as mussels and crabs have probably been important food resources. The importance of fish as resource and trade goods is conceivable even before the herring market during the Middle Ages and the appearance of the fishing community for example in Arild, Viken and Mölle (Gustavsson 1994, p. 37f). Based on the osteological and C14-data, seasonal fishing may have been current during ca 600 B.C, which is also during the same time as the emergence of cultivation lands at Kullaberg (Björkman 2001; Jennbert 2009, p. 101, 142).

Harbors and markets linked to a hypothetical Iron Age fishing trade have not been found. Eight boat landings were found in Mölle's harbor but have not been further investigated. These are preliminary dates to the Iron Age and Middle Ages according to Fornsök (L2022:6689). The current harbor in Mölle was built later in the 1800s and traces from an older prehistoric harbor have not been identified. But based on the location out on the edge of the mountain in the direct connection to Kattegatt and Öresund and the older boat landings, the location could be a relevant harbor location.

Another example is Ablahamn located in the northern flank of the mountain where an old boat landing has been located according to an older map from 1712. A road from the harbor has been connected to the area where the modern inn Kulla Farm is located. This plot has previously been used for an old medieval administrative building linked to the older lighthouse and fishing sites (Wijkander 1957, p. 25). According to previous research, trading sites can be identified through seasonal or permanent harbors which deviate from the agrarian areas and could be linked to chieftains or magnate farms (Helgesson 2002, p. 26).

Through the theoretical framework, the natural harbor locations, silver coins and traces from seasonal fishing, indicate a possible trading- and/or market site in this area. Based on the geographical position and the remains of fishing spots and both archaeological- and osteological finds indicating fishing activities, the mountain has possibly been an optimal place for fishing based on the surrounding seas which were rich in different species of fish and other coastal animals. The different locations of bays and caves has also provided the inhabitants, and probably visitors, some good natural fishing spots and access for boats. The combination of fishing activities together with the communication routes from Kattegatt and Öresund, reflects hypothetical sites for markets or trading spots. In that case, these would be dependent and controlled probably by a leader or another administrative function in the area similar to Kulla Farm, especially during the Late Iron Age. A presence of a leader is also indicated in the prestige finds at Kullaberg and in Mölle (Helgesson 2002, p. 26). The inhabitants have probably been farmers or/and fishermen and the mountain has most likely been visited by individuals

within- and outside of the district. Based on the peninsula's geographical position, a lot of the communication and orientation has probably been linked to the sea routes and the society may have been dependent on harbors and inlets, which in turn has been dependent on control. Here, a conceptualized landscape with marine communication and way of life has probably been important for inhabitants both during the prehistoric and medieval/historical times and formed the landscape we know today.

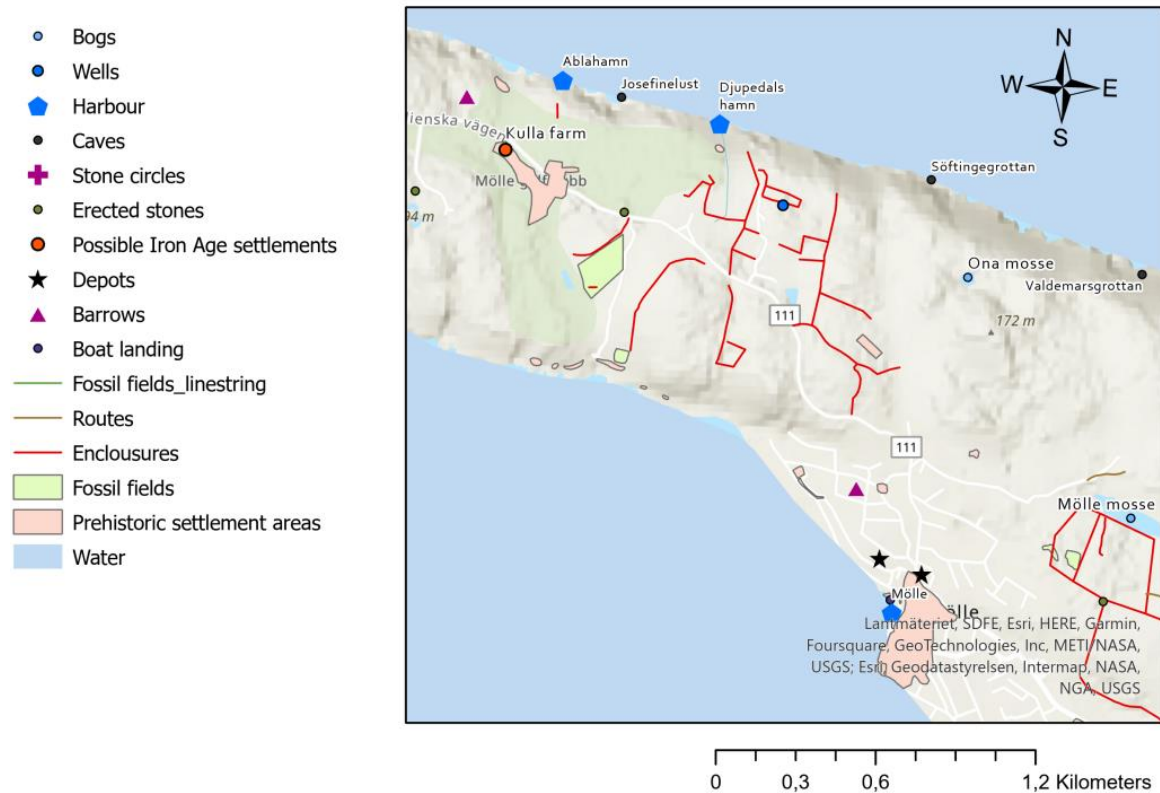


Fig 16. Harbors and boat landing at Kullaberg

## 2.2 Flat land areas

### 2.2.1 The central agricultural area

The central flat land area consists of several traces from prehistoric graves and settlements where most of these are registered as “Stone Age settlements” or settlement sites with prehistoric characteristics. Most of them have not been fully excavated according to the documentation in Fornsök. Place- and farm names ending with *-arp*, *-torp* and *-up* indicate later settlement areas during Viking Age and Early Middle Ages (Fjälastorp, Flundarp, Balderup, Krapperup, Krapparp Stubbarp etc.) (Jennbert 2018, p. 112; Tveiten 1977, p. 16).



An older place name is Brunnby based on the ending *-by* which indicates settled areas earliest during the Migration Period (Jennbert 2018, p. 112; Tveiten 1977, p. 15)

Traces from the prehistoric agricultural landscape are replaced by modern cultivation fields and pastures. But based on older maps of the district before the agrarian shifts, the traditions of the older Iron Age characteristics have probably endured for a long period in the region (Carelli 2003). From an affordance perspective, this central region has probably been used for pasture- and cultivation during a longer phase in contrast to the mountain area. The areas are suitable flat terrains with moraine soils (fig 17) and the location further inland creates a more hidden space for settlements and cultivation. Through an assemblage perspective, the collection of archaeological remains of settlement areas, graves, fossil fields, enclosures and place names indicate a continued settled area during the whole prehistoric period.

The dependency of agrarian land and productions is hugely economically important especially during the developments in Iron Age after the agricultural appearance in the Late Neolithic and Bronze Age. It is also important for the development and society's retention and survival. Except the fishing and farmlands in the mountain area, the flat lands have probably been most focused on cultivation and pastures which also can be reflected in the density of older place- and farm names. The few identified settlement sites are also located within these areas.

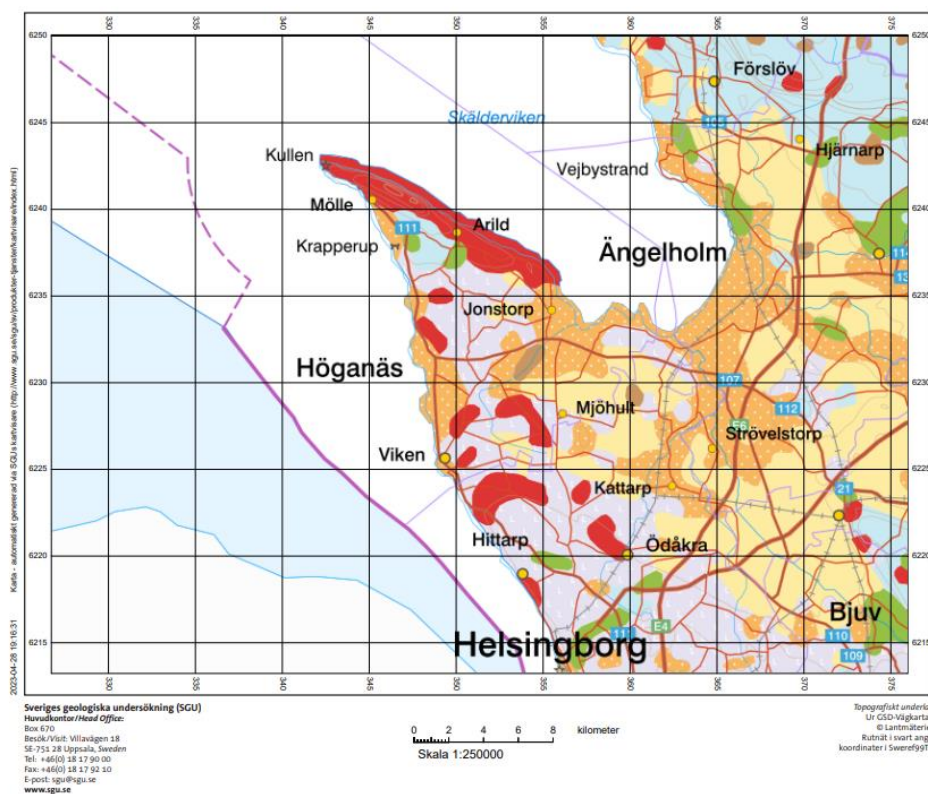




Fig 17. Soil types in the region (SGU 2020)



of life from birth, death and burial (Stjernquist 1993, p. 124ff). The Poetic Edda mentions Urn's well in the tale about the river *Leiptr* (Eddan 1990, p. 166; Fredengren 2015, p. 161). An offering well is also mentioned in Adam of Bremen's description of the offerings in Uppsala and the nine offerings hanging above the sacrificial grove (Alkarp 1997, p. 155). Other examples are the holy water by Yggdrasil in *Grimnesval* and Mimer's well in *Völuspá* where Oden drank the water after offering his eye (Alkarp 1997, 158f; Eddan 1990, p. 10). Eight wells are known in the district but if all of them originate from prehistoric periods is not stated.

Brunnby church was built in the 1100s and is interpreted as the earliest church center in the district (Carelli 2003, p. 51; Helgesson 2002, p. 28). Through a perspective of affordances and entanglements, the church is also located where routes from different directions in the region connect and forms the central point in the parish. The church is located near the prehistoric grave fields *Lunnabjär* and *Trulshögarna*, which shows a continued use of place. The place has probably been valued by many generations, even if the grave fields are not being used for their primary use during medieval times. Churches built close to older grave fields is an ordinary pattern in Scania (Helgesson 2002). It is debated if an older wooden church has been located closer to Trulshögarna based on a mention of an "old cemetery" in a land book from 1569 containing notes of a property attached to the churches in the diocese of Lund. The location for this church is not surely stated (Carelli 2003, p. 74; Wikjander 1957, p. 94f). This is an interesting theory as due to the old road "*Krapperups kyrkoväg*" (eng. *Krapperup Church Way*), which connects to Krapperup's Castle.

*Trulshögarna* in Brunnby is a burial site with barrows and five stone settings dated to the Bronze Age period. There are four barrows and two of them are named. The first is called "*Truls hög*" or "*Trollshög*" (*Trul's or Troll's barrow*) and is 25 m in diameter. The second smaller one is 19 m in diameter and is called "*Lille Trulshög*" (*The small Trul's barrow*) (L1989:9598). Even if the barrows are dated to the Bronze Age, the area has not been excavated. Thus, it is unknown if this grave field has been continuously used in generations. The place name indicates a possible judicial assembly (*thing*) based on the assembly of a personal name and the word "*hög*" (*barrow*) (Helgesson 2002, p. 28, 216; Svensson 2015).

*Lunnabjär* is a larger hill with similar characteristics as a barrow located almost 1 km from the church in the southwestern direction near Rågåkra and Smedstorp (*The Black smith's farm*). The barrow is covered by leafed trees and is placed in the middle of a field. Two excavated graves preliminary to Bronze Age and Iron Age are registered in this area. According to folklore, the hill rises on four golden feet every Maundy Thursday night (Länsstyrelsen Skåne 2023). The name containing "*lunna*" means "*lunda*" (*boscage*). Cult sites during the Iron Age



Fig 19. Brunnby church, Trulshögarna and Lunnabjär

Close connections between early medieval churches, medieval castles and noble farms during the Viking Age and Early Middle Ages is a conceptualized and constructed landscape pattern and norm within Scania according to previous research of these relations (Helgesson 2002, p. 196; Reisnert 1989, p. 145ff; Nord 2009, p. 267). The farms together with the medieval castles were located between 200 m and 7500 m from the churches but the farms were not necessarily located next to the churches (Helgesson 2002, p. 196). Traces from an older farm were not found during the smaller investigations of the northern churchyard wall and the rectory. The only find linked to Iron Age activity was the fragments of Baltic ceramics (Carelli 2003, p. 45). But through the theoretical framework, the pattern of the medieval church's distance of 4000 m to Krapperup's Castle and the close connection to older grave fields, indicates a possible location for a noble farm in the nearby area and reflect a continuity and dependency of a function and legitimate the power position in the region (fig 20) (Helgesson 2002, p. 196; Tegnér 2008, p. 149f). During the introduction of Christianity, the grave fields and chieftains were replaced by churches. But in some places, the pattern of connection between churches and prehistoric burial or sacred sites can still be seen (Anglert 1995; Helgesson 2002, p.33; Nord 2009, p. 286). This area has probably been dependent on a local leader for the agrarian production in the region which has been one of the main activities of economic importance.

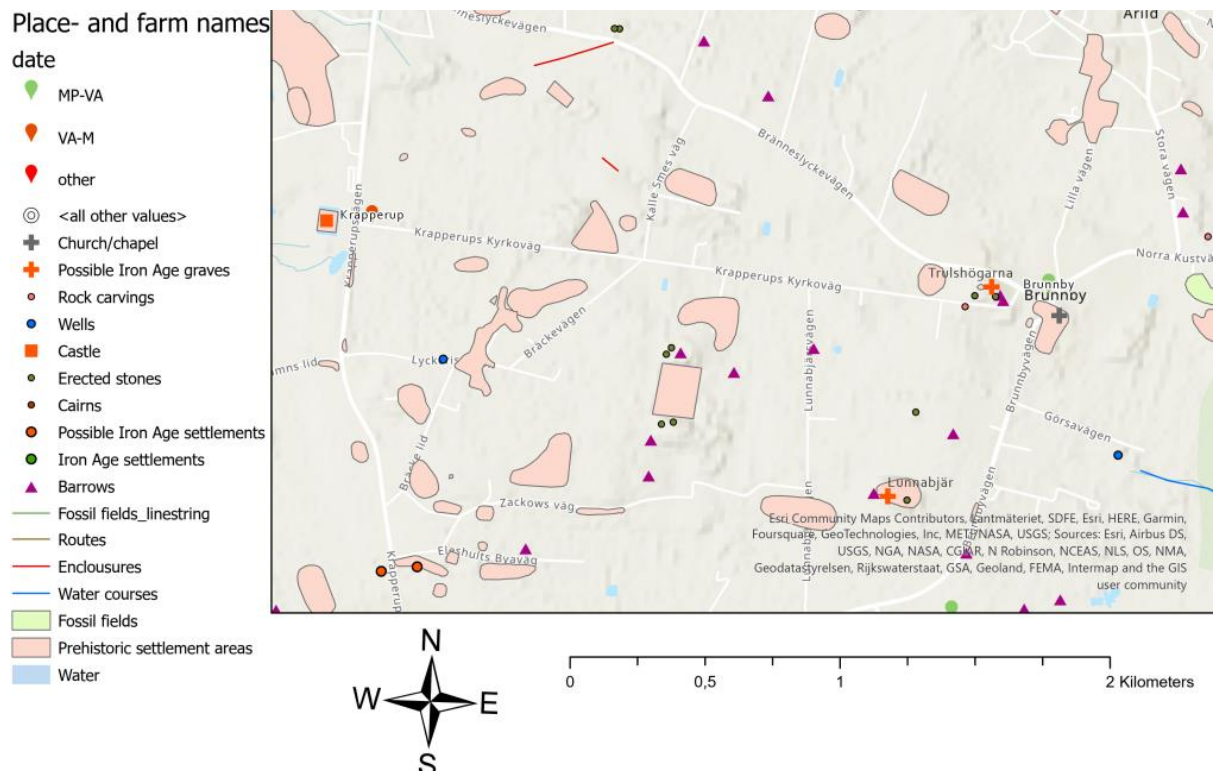


Fig 20. Brunnby church and Krapperup's Castle

### **2.2.3 Krapperup's Castle and Lerhamn's harbor – a previous prehistoric fortification site?**

Krapperup's Castle has medieval roots from the 1200-1300s and has been the lease center for the majority of lands in the area since this time. An older ancestry is possible based on a previously placed stone at the plot where the name of an older progenitor named *Kjeld Krognos* together with the year 1001 was written (Carelli 2003, p. 77). During the excavation of the plot in 1995, a post hole from an older settlement was identified. The facility was interpreted as a temporary farm settlement based on the isolated post hole and lack of findings (Carelli 2003, p. 36f). An interesting idea is a possible earlier magnate farm or military unit before the medieval castle (Helgesson 2002, p. 216ff). Interpretations of the historical maps, a larger farm could possibly be located in the same plot which became the foundation for the medieval castle. The site has also been inhabited since the Stone Age period (Carelli 2003, p. 28). The nearby older cult site in Bräcke and grave field in Möllehässle indicate a continued importance of the site similar to Brunnby and before the modern road, the cult site and grave field was probably closer connected to the plot in earlier eras (Helgesson 2002, p. 26).

The topographical location and sea view makes this plot an optimal fortification spot. Medieval castles in Scania reflect an interesting continuity of building and administrative functions. As we know from the previous research, the older magnate farms changed into military forts during the Vendel Period and Viking Age together with an increased warfare (Helgesson 2002, p. 216ff). Weapon graves have not been found in the district, only a spear from an unknown context which today is preserved in the collection at Krapperup. This spear is also ornamented and has probably functioned as votive rather than as a weapon. Also, the warriors do not necessarily need to be settled in the same area or region (Helgesson 2002). The place name also indicates a settlement or farm area during Viking Age and Early Middle Ages (Jennbert 2018, p. 112; Tveiten 1977, p. 16). A military force was important for the Iron Age society for protection and defense, but also for the control of production, communication and distribution. Herds was required by noble families in order to assist the king to accomplish different societal matters, but also as personal entourage connected to a tribe or a leading individual (Anglert 1995, p. 36ff; Hedeager 1990, p. 195ff; Helgesson 2002, p. 27). Based on the region's geographical location surrounded by the sea routes, a military force or fortification has probably been needed for defense, communication and perhaps trade and control of distribution

and/or production. As well, this type of function has probably been important for the survival and safety of the long-term generations of populations living in the district.

The harbor in Lerhman was built in the 1700s by Peter Gothard von Kochen during his ownership of Krapparup's Castle (Jacobson 2021). An earlier constructed harbor connected to the older castle has not been identified. If an older magnate farm or fortification has been located at Krapperup, a possible older harbor or boat landing could be located in the same area. Based on the distance between the height where the castle is located and the harbor and the communication routes from Öresund and Kattegatt, creates an optimal placement of an older harbor and fortification (Carelli 2003).

The topographical relations of the castle placed on a height with a sea view over the routes from Kattegatt and Öresund, is a well-suited location for a castle and a possible earlier military unit. The connection to the older grave fields and cult site also indicates a site of importance and early construction. Based on the district's exposure to the different seas, the region has probably been dependent and in need of this kind of unit. The distance and older road also indicate a connection to the early village Brunnby where the older grave fields and the medieval church is located and has probably been connected to the hypothetical older church located next to the road system. An earlier magnate farm located before the castle is also strengthened based on the close relation to the older cult site and grave field in the landscape. In the surrounding areas, traces of Iron Age settlements have been found and a stone circle is located in Lerhamn. Here, the senses of a conceptualized landscape reflecting social orders and memory in the form of possible reuse is indicated.



Place- and farm names  
date

- MP-VA
- VA-M
- other
- ⊙ <all other values>
- Wells
- Harbour
- Castle
- + Stone circles
- Erected stones
- Possible Iron Age settlements
- ▲ Barrows
- Fossil fields\_linestring
- Routes
- Enclousures
- Water courses
- Prehistoric settlement areas
- Fossil fields
- Water

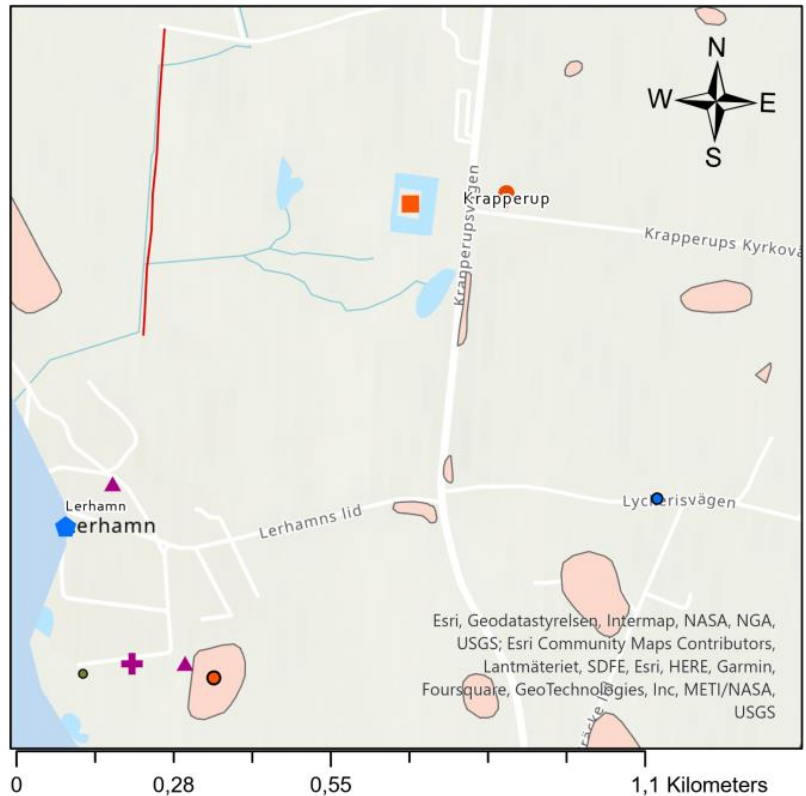


Fig 21. Krapperup and Lerhamn

### 2.2.4 Fjälastorp - a Early Iron Age settlement area

The most distinct site with identified and excavated Iron Age settlements is located in Fjälastorp where Arild's Golf course is located today (fig 22). Three settlements dated to the Pre-Roman Iron Age based on C14-datings and ceramics, were found during the investigation in 1989 associated with the construction of the golf course. The settlements are dated to the Pre-Roman Iron Age period based on the C14-datings from the hearths and fragments of ceramics (*see Previous research*).

The place name *Fjälastorp* also indicates later activity during Viking Age and Middle Ages based on the ending *-torp* meaning a "new-built farm" (Jennbert 2018, p. 112). An old farm plot (L1988:1135) indicated from older maps (1707-1837) was investigated the same year as the Iron Age settlements, fireplaces, seven post holes together with flint and ceramics were found. The farm is only interpreted as a prehistoric site and has not been more specifically dated.

The fossil fields with barrows, stone settings and cup marks are located almost 5 m from the settlement area. The cup marks are probably dated to the Stone- and Bronze Age period but the burials have not been investigated and are preliminary dated to Bronze Age and Iron Age according to Fornsök. Cup marks have also been interpreted as meaningful in the Iron Age and

could be dated to the period as well (Hauptman Wahlgren 2002; Nord 2009; p. 132). These could be used as a protection-symbol for the cattle, especially in later times when agriculture became even more important (Bengtsson 2004; Nord 2009, p. 187). These fields have probably been constructed during the Bronze Age period and later reused based on its location in relation to the Iron Age settlements. Other loose finds of worked flint and scrapes have been found in the surrounding area and other settlements have been interpreted but have not been dated. Grave fields consisting of different monuments is an identification of continuously used sites (Strömberg 2005, p. 367). Most of the barrows in the Kullen landscape are unexcavated and therefore preliminary dated to both Bronze Age and Iron Age. The barrows are initiated and most common during the Bronze Age period but can also be reused in the Iron Age as secondary graves (Larsson 1993, p. 47).

Based on the assemblage of archaeological finds, the area has probably been settled by regular households and continuously inhabited by generations from Bronze Age to Iron Age. The central village Brunnby is located about 700 m from the grave field and 2 km from the settlements. The location further inland and close placement to the river, is also relevant for later Iron Age settlements (Carlie 2005, p. 434). This environment offers fields for cultivation, pasture and the river has probably functioned as a communication route between the different areas in the region and other parts of Scania. The different environmental features have been important for people during the whole Iron Age and the site has probably been inhabited by later generations but has not been confirmed through archaeological investigations. Construction of burial sites closer to the settlement sites increased during the Iron Age period and therefore, the inhabitants could possibly use this burial site during this period. Alternatively, this could be an older burial field from Bronze Age that was continuously used in later generations (Bruzelius 1853; Helgesson 2002, p. 75; Hildebrand 1870).

In the southeast direction from the settlement site, a finding spot containing a disc-scraper and slag described as a “low-tech” type (L1988:1648) is registered. But if the slag originates from iron production is not noted.

The distance between L1988:1003 and L1988:1666 is 130 m while L1988:1062 is located about 500 m from these. Three other settlements are located in connection to the grave field, but these are either interpreted as Stone Age settlements or finding spots with prehistoric settlement characteristics. Another possible settlement is located in the nearby Bölsåkra area where the place name indicates an inhabited area during the Migration Period and Viking Age.

The pattern in Fjälåstorp indicates how people during the Iron Age probably settled in the region, at least in the flat land areas. The reasons behind the find-domination of Iron Age settlements in this specific area is because of the performed larger excavation together with the construction of the golf course in the 1980's. This kind of excavation has not been performed in other areas of Kullen. This highlights that more traces of settlements are probably hidden beneath the earth. This could be possible identifications of the community of the prehistoric village in Brunnbby,

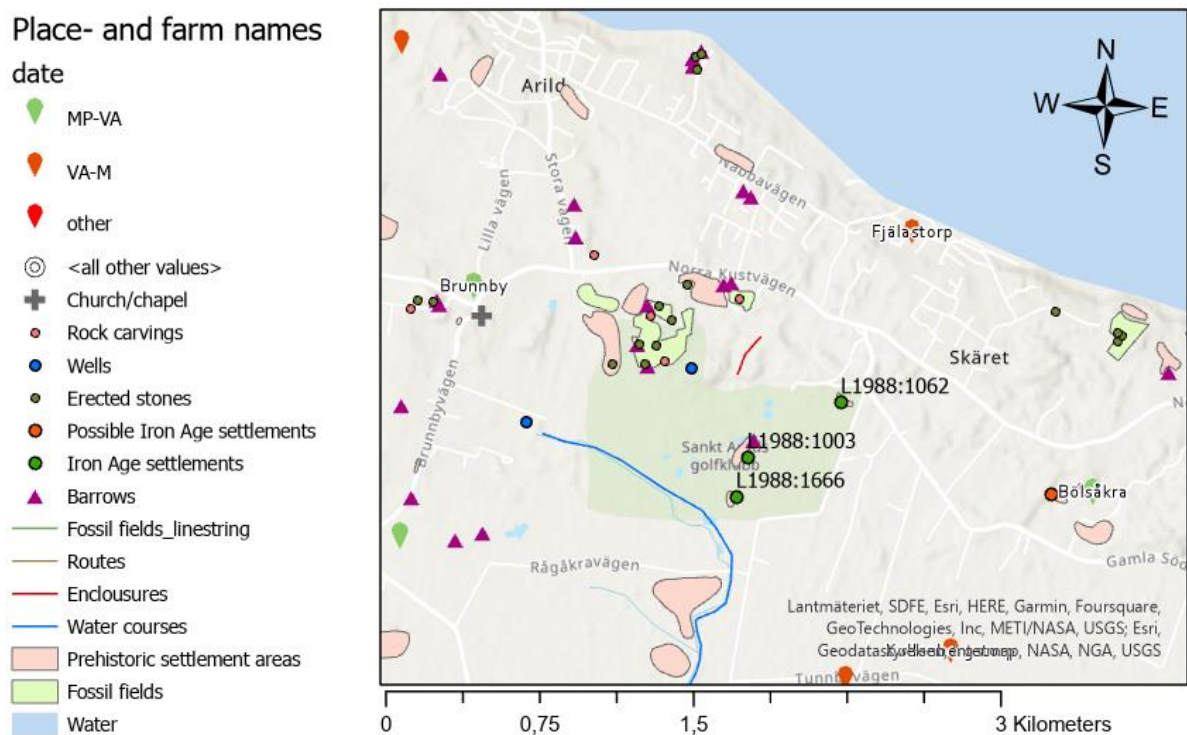


Fig 22. Iron Age settlements in Fjälåstorp

### 2.2.5 Other settlement areas and Möllehässle grave field

Other settlement sites have been identified in the flat land areas, especially close to the coastal prehistoric grave field *Möllehässle*, containing graves dated from the Bronze Age to Iron Age. The identified settlement sites together with the grave fields indicate a settled area during a long prehistoric period.

As previously mentioned, another stone circle is located in Lerhamn (L1988:1169) dated to the Late Iron Age (Jennbert 2018, p. 116). From a 200 m distance, a “Stone Age settlement” site

in the area of 130x100 m (N-S) (L1988:1147) is registered. Two fragments of Iron Age ceramics were found together with worked flint, a disk ax, scrape, two fire stones, flint dagger and a core scrape. Some of the worked flint is also crusted which is prominent for Iron Age flint (Knarrström 2000). A barrow is also located next to the settlement. The site has not been archaeologically excavated and the interpretation is probably based on collected loose finds. It is unclear if the ceramic belongs to the possible settlement site, or if they are connected to the graves.

Another settlement area measured 200x50 m (WNW-ESE) is located in a hillside down to a field (L1989:9921). A hearth with charcoal, fire cracked stones and fragments of burned clay was found together with flint in form of flakes, two augers, a polished ax, two core axes, two disc-axes, chipboard and four pieces of early Iron Age ceramics. A finding spot in the western direction on the other side of the road, more patches of ashes and charcoal was found together with a fire stone and two core axes. If these sites have a connection is unsure, but the site is preliminary interpreted as a settlement site used from the Stone Age and Iron Age. This area shows activity from the Stone Age period to Iron Age and is located near the same coast as the stone circle and possible Iron Age settlement in Lerhamn. This location is interesting because of the topographical differences with a higher point where the modern Bräcke moth is located today and with a view over the sea and coast where the grave field in Lerhamn is located. This area is also a previous prehistoric cult site.

Between Lerhamn and Mölle, a settlement with an area of 630x70 m (NW-SE) is identified and contains 15 hearths with fire cracked stones, ashes and charcoal distributed over the area, especially in the southern part. 40 pieces of ceramics were found central in the southern part (L1988:1573). Burned clay and 20 pieces of flint were found in the northern part together with two disc-scrapes in the north. According to the documentation, the archaeological material reflects a long-term settlement, but the ceramics and distribution of the hearths indicates a distinct use during the Early Iron Age. The settlement has not been C14-dated and is registered as an interpreted Iron Age settlement based on the remains. The settlement is located near the coast and based on settlement patterns in Scania, some settlements returned from the inland areas closer to the coast during the Viking Age (Carlie 2005, p. 447,450ff).

A grave field is located by the shore dated from the Bronze Age to Iron Age with cairns, barrows and stone settings but these have not been archaeologically investigated. Three older farms are located in the area which is indicated in older maps from the 1700s-1800's. The oldest one based on the written sources, is *Bärekulla* mentioned in a land book in 1569. Other farms from the 1600s is *Ryhuset* located near the Iron Age settlement and *Vattenmöllagården* where

an old water mouth from the 1600's has been located and is replaced by a new reconstruction. An older mouth has been located near *Kockenhus* (L1987:3135). but the place seems to have had a long continuity. Other preliminary Stone Age settlements are also located in the area, but these have not been investigated. Graves in the form of barrows marked with stones are located in the surrounding area and a deposition of 12 casts was found in one of the barrows connected to a farm (L1989:9740). Based on the assemblages and entanglements of prehistoric settlements and grave fields located between the coast and the mountain area together with the older farms shows a continuity of place.

An earlier precursor to Krapperup has probably been present with a similar system with ownership and leased lands to farmers in the district. The pattern of prehistoric sites and older farms with connected fields could possibly be similar to the Iron Age landscape. Inhabitants settled in the older Bronze Age landscapes in western Scania during the Early Iron Age. The pattern disappears during the larger changes occurring during the Late Roman Iron Age (Strömberg 2005, p. 367f). Also, the historical farms could have possibly older precursors (Carelli 2003, p. 28; Gren 1997, p. 63f; Helgesson 2002, p. 216ff). People related to the older cultural landscape and structures and settled in the landscape and settlement could be continuously used in generations (Strömberg 2005, p. 402) or be located to older remains without necessarily having any impact on them (Helgesson 2002, p. 31).

As interpreted by previous research, the modern agriculture and land shifts have probably removed remains from the Iron Age structures and the lack of archaeological excavations makes it hard to fully interpret the landscape and social structures within. But according to the data of topographical locations, the central flat land areas of the district have probably been economically important and suitable to construct cultivation farms compared to the environmental offerings in the marshlands and mountain area. The assemblage of finds and identified attributes at the settlement sites are also similar to the Iron Age settlements in Fjälastorp and seems to have been inhabited by regular households, but no further identities can be identified based on the material.

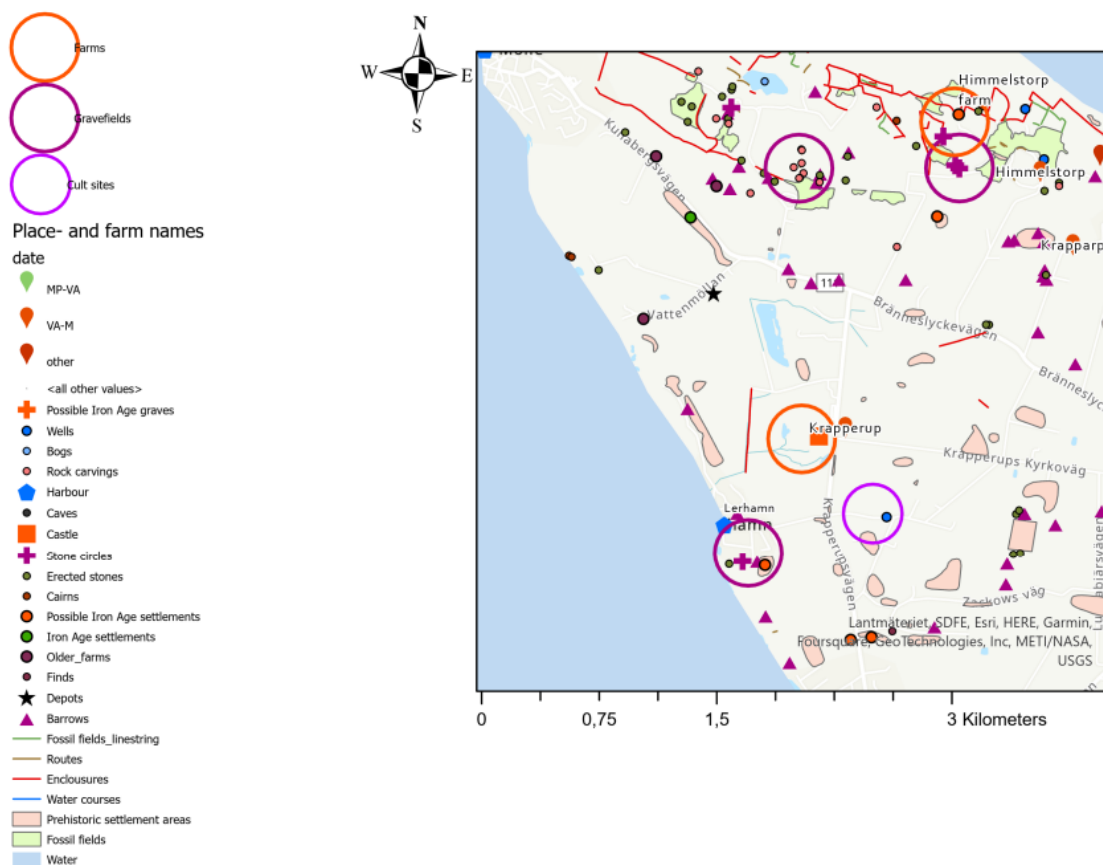


Fig 23. Map of Möllehässle area

## 2.2.6 One of the largest silver depositions in Sweden - Bräcke 11

One of the largest silver deposits discovered in Sweden was found at the farm Bräcke 11 in 1876-77. The silver treasure contains 117 pieces of jewelry, arm rings, a neck ring, an amulet with Thor's hammer, filigree decorated pendants, silver tints, hack silver and 130 coins. The coins consisted of 125 Arabic coins, one from England and one Nordic coin from Hedeby dated to 940-960 B.C. (Carelli 2003, p. 19f, 49; Gustavsson 1994, p. 29; Jennbert 2011, p. 17ff; Jennbert 2018, p. 120ff). The coins reflect contacts with the Byzantine, Carolingian empire and British areas. According to Hårdh and Jennbert, the deposition has been buried earliest in 925 B.C (Hårdh 1976; Jennbert 2018, p. 125). The deposition's connection to the farm could possibly be interpreted as a surrender or inauguration of a settlement or a hidden collection of the most valuable objects owned by the household. The farm could also be settled by an elite or wealthier individual(s). Unfortunately, the location of this farm is unknown which makes it hard to interpret the relation between the farm and silver treasure. But taking the deposit into

account, an old farm plot in Bräcke where an older prehistoric cult site is located, and an early medieval castle is interesting and reflect a presence of a wealthy farm in the area.

## 2.3 Marshland areas

### 2.3.1 Water – communication, natural borders and cosmology

A lot of the southeastern areas in the district were covered by lakes or bogs during the whole Iron Age period. The water areas and inland rivers created delimited patterns between Väsby, Jonstorp, Farhult and Ingelstråde. The largest lakes are located in the areas of Ornakärr and Glimminge. The ending of the place name *Ornakärr* (-kärr) similar to previously mentioned *Skättekärr* means *lake* or *bog* (Tveiten 1977). The inland rivers have been important for communication and transport of people and goods during Iron Age and the imports was controlled by elites (Carlie 2005, p. 421; Tacitus 1960; Stjernquist 1974, 1997) Water has also played a big role in prehistoric cosmology and cult where offerings in water was performed as gifts or as an act of communication to the gods (Stjernquist 1997, p. 79ff). Depositions in running water have been performed during the whole Iron Age (Berggren 2010, p. 26; Karsten 1994, p. 144; Zachrisson 2004, p. 25). The jewelry and other prestige objects in the district have not been registered as depositions found in bogs or water. But according to the water levels calculated and dated to the Iron Age, bog-offerings could possibly be performed in the region.

The oldest place names in the district ending with *-löv* and *-inge* are located in these areas which reflects an early settlement during the Migration Period and (Jennbert 2018, p112f; Tveiten 1977, p. 15). These endings are also interpreted as areas where the Nordic Germanic tribe called *Danes* established (Helgesson 2002, p. 167). The place name “Ingelstråde” refers to the Old Norse god “*Ing*” or “*ruler*” (Otterbjörk 1979). Settlements and agrarian lands have probably been located in Väsby, Tjörred and Nyrup on the west side of Görslöv’s river and in the areas of Jonstorp, Tunneberga and Höganäs.

This area could be a possible central point of communication based on the inlet between Jonstorp and Farhult, as well as the inland rivers within the district but also further out in the county. This has probably been an important point for communication with other areas within- and outside of Scania. The majority of the prestige finds have also been found within these areas.

Place- and farm names  
date

- MP-VA
- VA-M
- other
- ⊙ <all other values>
- ⊕ Church/chapel
- ⊙ Rock carvings
- ⊙ Wells
- ⊕ Stone circles
- ⊙ Erected stones
- ⊙ Possible Iron Age settlements
- ⊙ Iron Age settlements
- ⊙ GrindingChutes
- ⊕ Barrows
- Fossil fields\_linestring
- Routes
- Enclousures
- Water courses
- ▭ Prehistoric settlement areas
- ▭ Fossil fields
- ▭ Water

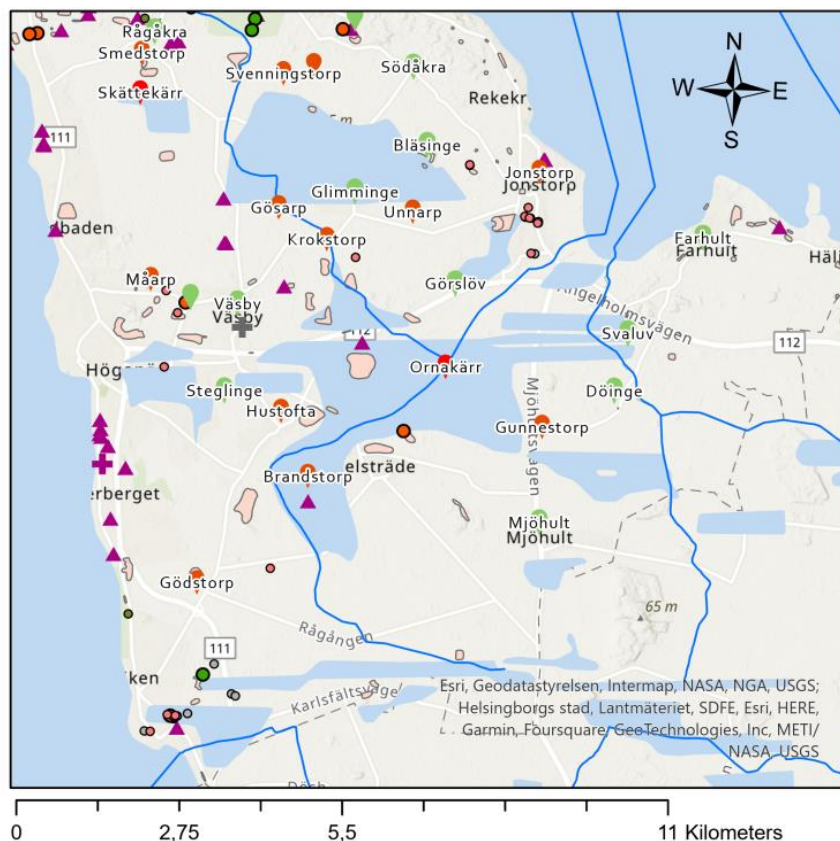


Fig 24. Distribution map of the marshland areas

### 2.3.2 Skättekärr - An old lake, gold bracteate and solidus

A solidus was found in Skättekärr by a farmer named Anders Jönsson in 1867 during field plowing. The solidi has a loop and is decorated with a portrait of the Byzantine emperor *Theodosius II* (408-450 AD) and with the inscription “IMPXXXII COSXVII PP”. The other side of the solidus is decorated with a standing figure holding a globe and a cross. The solidi have probably been used as a pendant based on the loop and have probably been worn during a long time based on the attrition (Jennbert 2018, p. 120).

A rare A-bracteate was found later in the same field and person with a loop and decorating grains of gold. The motif represents a male figure in half-length portrait, a raising hand and an animal-head with two birds by his side (Jennbert 2018, p. 120). The bracteates indicate activity and regional elites during the Roman Iron Age and Migration Period in the area and could be symbols of power, amity, gifts, membership in political alliances or contacts with the Roman Empire (Andrén 1997, p. 254; Aspeborg 2008, p. 25; Helgesson 2002, p. 217). Bracteates have



been interpreted as medallions worn around the neck and as a message and symbol for the owner's identity and belonging to a social group (Gustin 2008, p. 230; Wicker 2005, p. 57f). Wearing medallions adorned with portraits of Roman emperors is an old tradition from Northern Europe which was probably the inspiration for the later bracteates (Hedeager 1988). Bracteates was produced during the Migration Period (400-500 B.C) and was further developed with new domestic characters with ornaments of animals and figures when the associations with the Roman Emperor decreased (Hedeager 1990).

The ending of the place name Skättekärr (*-kärr*) indicates an older lake which can be seen in the digital maps through the water data dated to the Migration Period. Unfortunately, the precise finding spot of the solidus and the bracteate is unknown and makes it difficult to interpret the reason behind their occurrence in the soil. But if the finds were found in the field where the lake previously existed, the finds could have been offered in the water. The lake has also been located at a height of 2 km from the coastal grave field in Möllehässle, which shows a possible connection of a cult site (fig 25). Offerings of Roman imported objects in bogs indicates presence of elites or higher hierarchies during the Roman Iron Age and Migration Period (Helgeson 2002, p. 26).

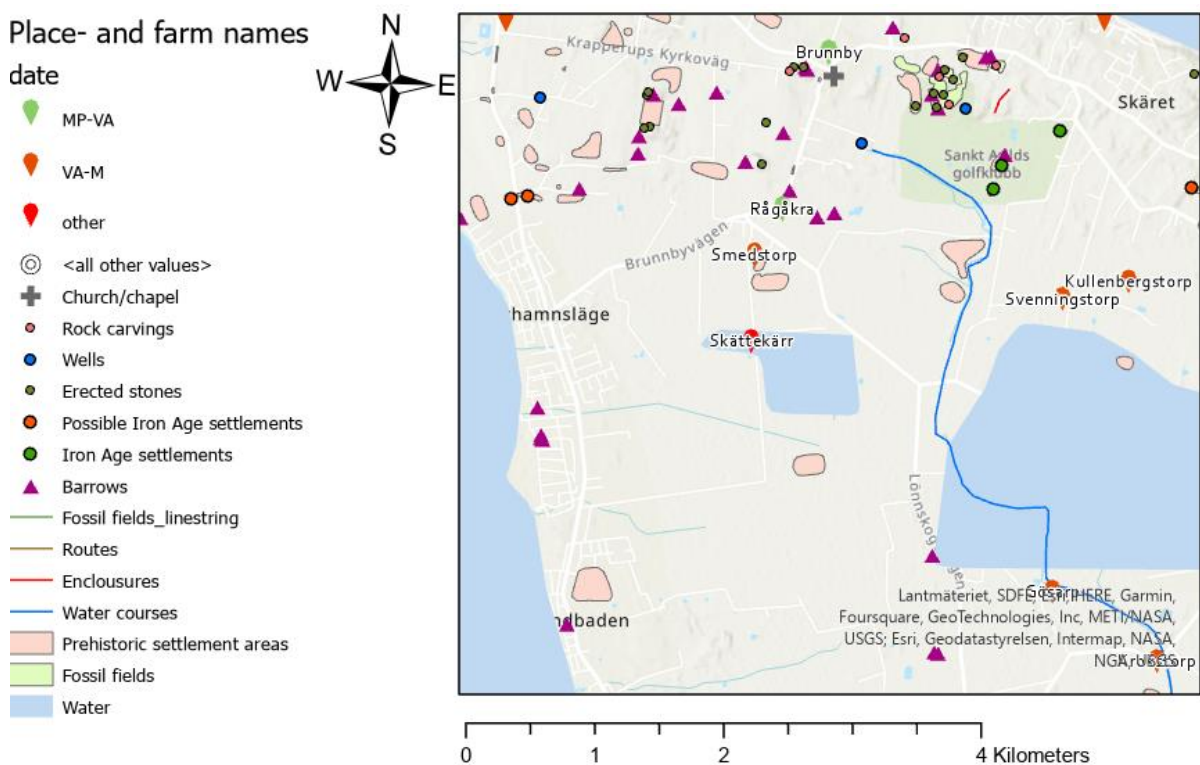


Fig. 25. Skättekärr



Fig 26. Solidi from Skättekärr (SHMM) Fig 27. Bracteate from Skättekärr (SHMM)

### 2.3.3 Väsby - the “holy village”

Väsby means “*holy village*” where “Vä” is a translation of the old Norse “*wæ, vé, ví*” meaning holy place or place of worship or also “*vik*” (bay) and “*vidher*” (forest) (Calissendorf 1986, p. 53; Pamp 1983, p. 23). The name can also be linked to the old Norse God *Ve* (Store Norske Leksikon 2023). The name has probably been formed during the early phase of Iron Age but also reflect later settlements during the Migration Period and Viking Age (Ståhl 1976, p. 57; Jennbert 2018, p. 112). Väsby church was built during the 1100s and was the only church in the district with patronage rights, which means that one or several local magnates economically promoted the church and in return had the right to nominate pastor (Gustavsson 1994, p. 41).

Other traces of settlements were also located in Plöninge in Väsby and was investigated in 2010 (L1986:2357) and contained four facilities with two fireplaces, one post hole and one pit. These were dated to the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age. The ending of the place name - *inge* dates to Early Iron Age, Migration Period and could also be dated to Viking Age. The meaning of the name also reflects an inhabited area (Tveiten 1977, p. 15).

The second rare bracteate found in Väsby is a F-bracteate but as the previous finds, the finding spot is unknown. The motif shows a four-footed animal with big ears similar to a horse. The





Fig 29. Bracteate from Väsby (SHMM) Fig 30. Pearls from Väsby (SHMM)



Fig 31. Brooch from Väsby (SHMM)

#### 2.3.4 Jewellery finds – traces of elite graves?

No graves belonging to individuals of higher status have been found in the district, but jewelry interpreted as finds from destroyed women's graves has been found in the fields during the 1800-1900s (Jennbert 2018, p. 123). The finds can also be linked to different parishes, but their precise find location is unknown as the other prestige objects found in the areas.

A three-lobed silver buckle in niello and plant ornamentation dating to Viking Age was found in Väsby together with a square gilded fitting with the same ornamentation and 18 beads. The

finds are together interpreted as finds from a women's grave and as a crafted object in the Western European area between 800-900 B.C (Gustavsson 1994, p. 29; Jennbert 2018, p. 123). A Vendel s-shaped buckle in bronze was found in Höganäs. The buckle is 3 cm tall with two twisted animals and a diagonal head with an open mouth and tongue. These kinds of buckles were worn by women in southern Scandinavia but also in Continental European areas (Jennbert 2018, p. 122). A Jelling-style double-scale buckle was found in Utvälinge close to a sand field in the beginning of the 1900s and is dated to the first half of 900 B.C. These buckles were worn in pairs but only one was found according to the existing records. But a pair of similar buckles is preserved in the collection at Krapperup's Castle, but their provenance is unknown.

Also, finds of oval fire flints dating to the Migration period based on their forms, has been found in Skättekärr, Lerhamn, Möllehässle and Bräcke close to the Iron Age graves, which indicates grave goods belonging to people of higher status (Aspeborg 2008). The finding spots of these are not registered in Fornsök.



Fig 32. S-shaped fibula from Väsby (Strömberg 1961)

### **2.3.5 Tunneberga and Jonstorp**

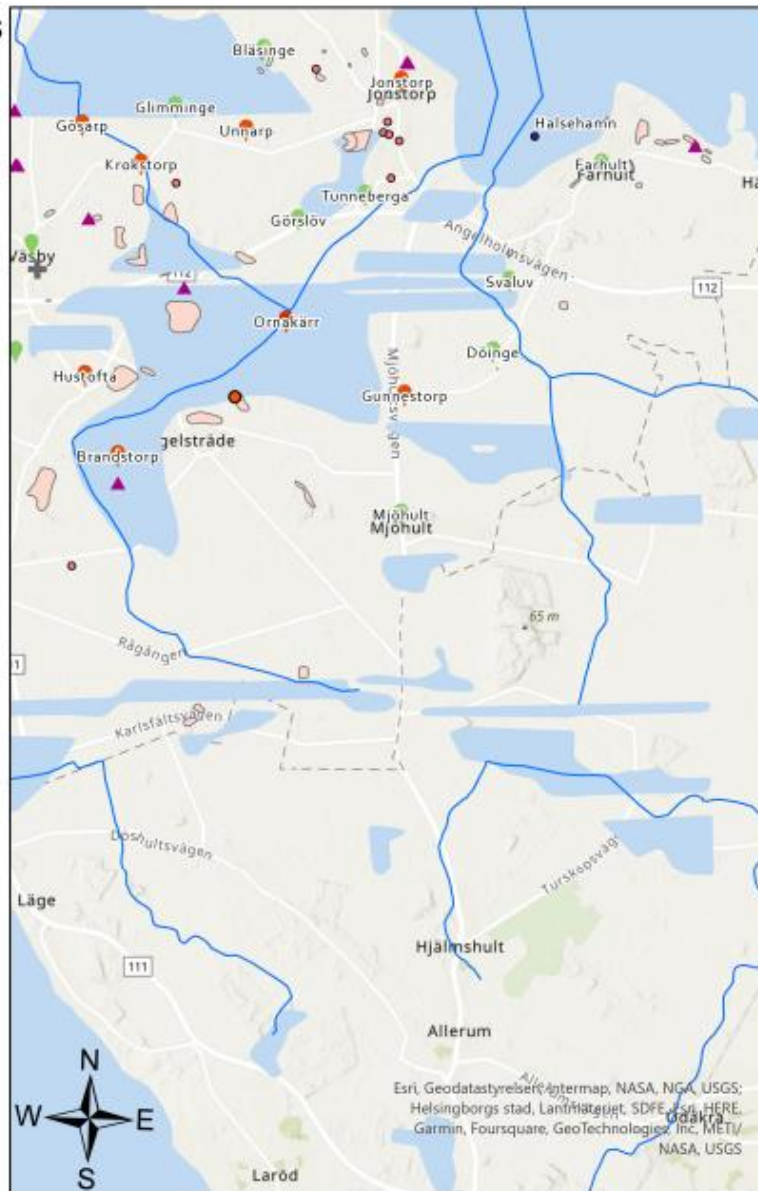
A provincial Roman key dating to Later Roman Iron Age and Migration Period was found in a field in Tunneberga and has probably belonged to a coffer. This type of keys was probably only used by individuals in the higher hierarchy and is rare in Scandinavia. One has been found

in a house dating to the Migration Period in Uppåkra but these keys have mostly been found in richer graves in Germany (Jennbert 2018, p. 118f). The precise context of the find is unknown, but the place name Tunneberga indicates a possible central place reflected by “*tun*” (ISOF) and the connection to the village Väsby (Helgesson 2002, p. 22). This area is also located near the older lake Ornakärr. According to medieval records, a bridge or some kind of passage called *Tunneberga bridge* has connected the nearby county Mjölby and Helsingborg. This was the older travel route over the water which today is replaced by the modern road which connected to Allerum which is interpreted as the closest area for iron production (Wikjander 1957). Bridges was one of the most important constructions for communication routes inland during older times (Carlie 2005, p. 421) The importance and dependencies of iron resources for the society and the communication between a possible center in Tunneberga and Allerum, creates theories of an important center for iron imports (fig 33).

People has probably traveled by boat through the inland rivers such as the Görslöv’s river between Jonstorp and Farhult. A harbor called *Wasahamn* was written out on an old map from 1754 by Simon P. Sundius. An archaeological excavation was performed in 1986 with the goal to find a Viking Age harbor, but no indications was found (Jennbert 2018, p. 113) But according to the old map by Gerhard Burhman (1687), a harbor called *Halsehamn* has been located in the area. The inlet from Kattegatt and the rivers and formed shelter by the bight, constitutes an appropriate location for a conceivable prehistoric harbor.

Place- and farm names  
date

- MP-VA
- VA-M
- other
- <all other values>
- Halsehamn
- Rock carvings
- + Church/chapel
- Hearths
- Possible Iron Age settlements
- ▲ Barrows
- Fossil fields\_linestring
- Routes
- Enclosures
- Water courses
- Prehistoric settlement areas
- Fossil fields
- Water



0 2 4 8 Kilometers

Fig 33. Route between Tunneberga and Allerum

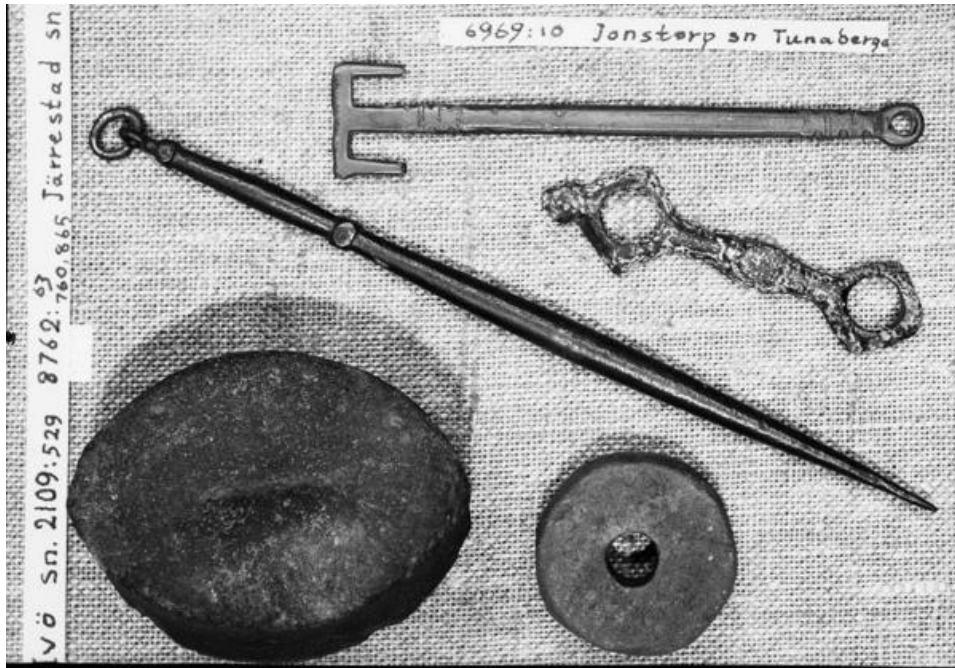


Fig 34. Roman key and other finds from Tunneberga (SHMM)





Fig 35. Halsehamn (Map: Gerhard Burhman 1687)

### 2.3.6 Viken and Lerberget

The area of Viken and Lerberget seems to have been surrounded by lakes and the water courses with a grave field consisting of burial mounds and the stone circle in Lerberget's forest (L1988:8356) measured in 9 m in diameter consisting of 16 stones. The area has been settled since the prehistoric period.

During the excavation in Viken of Way 111 in 1999, two sites (L1988:7759 & L1987:2278) was preliminary dated to Bronze Age and Iron Age which contained worked flint, but the flint was not collected except for a scrape and two flakes in L1987:2278. 40 grinding chutes were indicated north from L1988:7759 was indicated which is dated from the Bronze Age to Iron Age period. These sites were probably roughly investigated during the road construction, and what the dating is based on is unclear. Finds of flints is the only material noted. Another site (L1987:277) was also interpreted as a possible Iron Age settlement, but according to the water levels, this point is located in the middle of the lake and is not included in the map.

The sites have not been C14-dated and is just interpreted by the finds found during the investigations. Through an assemblage perspective, the finds of worked flint, post holes, hearths and pits are similar to the identified Iron Age settlements in the region. Other finds of a ceramic spindle whorl belonging to a private collection and fragment from medieval redware pottery was found nearby the shore (L1988:7847). If the ceramic spindle whorl has been found in the area is unknown, but it belongs to a collection at a farm located near the Görslöv river where an excavated "Stone Age settlement" is registered. The different burial remains, finds of flints and later medieval finds shows a continuity of place, and the areas has possibly been settled during a long time based on the location near the water courses and access to fields and fish from the sea. Place names such as Hustofta and Gödstorp also indicate settled areas during the Viking Age and Early Middle Ages (Tveiten 1977, p. 16).

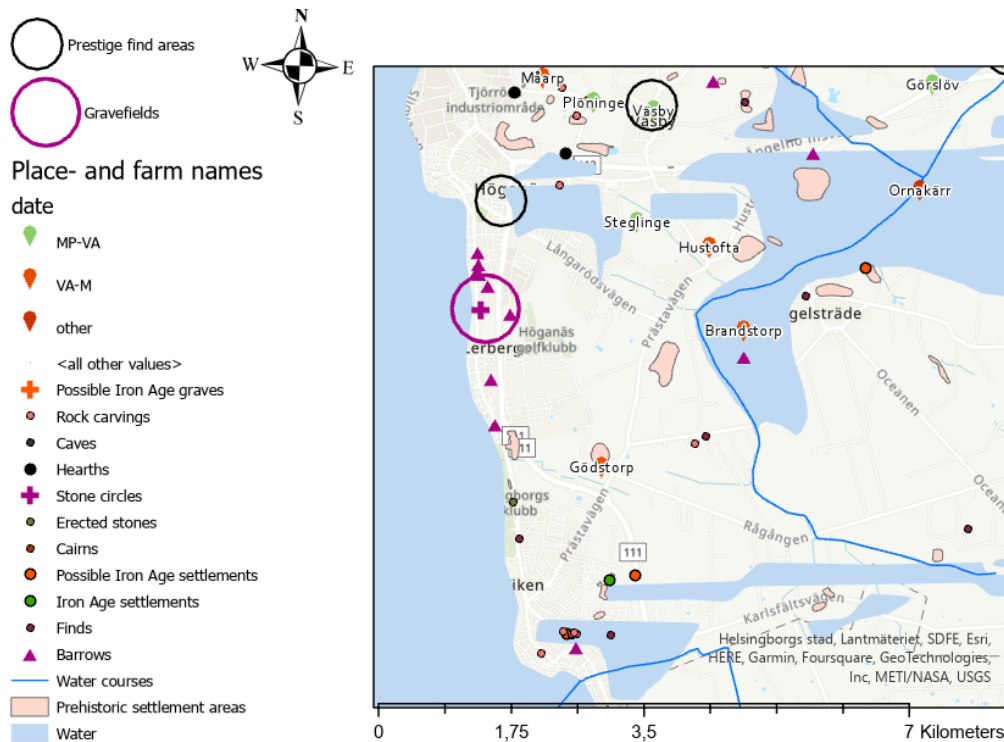


Fig 36. Map of Lerberget and Viken

### 3. Results

In this study, the archaeological remains from Iron Age at Kullen, as well as the remains from earlier and later eras, have been spatially analyzed within the landscape to interpret activities from the Iron Age societies. By analyzing different categories of identified Iron Age sites, and hypothetical activity sites mapped within the landscape of the areas of Kullen, a more distinct view of the different relations between the archaeological remains, landscape and surrounding environment was created in order to gain more knowledge and understanding of possible activities and functions conducted in the areas and the social- and cultural structuring.

The spatial analysis of the archaeological remains within the landscape indicated traces from the Iron Age society at Kullen. Based on assemblages, entanglements and affordances between the archaeological remains within the landscape and surrounding environment, different activities linked to these societies could be interpreted. These were linked to both economical purposes (farming, fishing, market spot, trading areas, coins), religious purposes (cult sites, grave fields, depositions/offering) and other functions such as fortification, leading farm plots and communication routes.

The spatial manifestations of these activities were reflected through the relations of different remains, finds, sites and place- and farm names in collected units and their location in the landscape. For example, different household finds, and settlement sites related to agrarian lands reflected different settled/farming areas in the region. Areas with fishing resources, harbors, fishing spots, waterways and boat landings indicated possible areas of marine activities with possible seasonal trading and markets. Religious- or cult gathering sites were indicated from areas with graves, monuments and depositions or offerings in the marshland- and mountain areas. Networks with communities within- and outside of the region were reflected in the assemblages of coins and affordances from the inland routes, water courses, natural harbor areas and Kullen's geographical position.

The archaeological traces from Iron Age settlements cannot be deeper interpreted by interiors, such as construction, size and complexities reflecting identities and activities linked to the settlements. However, the collections and relations of different archaeological remains, place- and farm names together with offers and dependencies from the surrounding environment and older remains in the landscape, can together interpret structural patterns at Kullen. Relations between older phenomena and sites from Iron Age and early medieval features, reflects a long-term use and importance of different places and possible locations for power manifestations. These structures can also be linked to the general structural patterns known in Scanian Iron Age research of different collections and dependencies.

Based on the place- and farm names together with prestige finds, settlement areas, fields, communication routes, harbors and relations between older- and contemporary remains in the landscape, possible locations of leading farms belonging to elites or other leaders, can be interpreted in the mountain area, flat- and marshland areas. For example, in Tunneberga, Väsby, Brunnby, Himmelstorp, Kulla Farm and possibly in the areas of Krapperup and Mölle. Further details about these identities (gender/genus, families/single individual etc) are hard to interpret based on the existing material. But the majority of jewelry finds originates from wealthy women during the Late Iron Age.

Collected units of prehistoric settlement sites, graves, place- and farm names and older prehistoric and- medieval remains distributed together in the areas, shows a possible continuity of settlement areas in the region and a local manifested power. Some of the possible or identified Iron Age settlements are also dated from Bronze Age to Iron Age which suggests that settlements probably had a long continuity in the region. Prehistoric settlements have been located in the coastal and inland areas but many of these have not been fully investigated or dated. The identified Iron Age settlements are located further inland and are dated to the Pre-

Roman Iron Age and Early Roman Iron Age which indicates a relocated settlement focused in the flat land areas, communication routes and water courses which is important for the increased network and movement in the landscape. Together with the increased population in Late Iron Age during the Migration Period and Viking Age, new farms and villages seem to appear and creates denser settlement areas in the district.

But further details about the activities are hard to interpret based on the existing archaeological material. The agrarian- and marine culture have probably been economically important for the region and the presence of elites in the archaeological find material indicates possible control by local leader(s). Traces of iron production or other specified crafting have not been found, but finds of low-tech slag, hearths, casting mounds for bronze crafting are the closest traces of prehistoric metal productions. These are focused in the areas of Väsby and Tunneberga, where communication routes connect to the iron production in Allerum. If the craftsmen were settled in the region or visited the area is unsure. A smaller find of a spindle whorl indicating textile productions has been found in the areas.

The activities indicate functions linked to possible hierarchies of elites/local leaders, herds/warriors, possible craftsmen and farmers/fishers but their precise organization is not surely stated because of the lack of archaeological excavations.

Relations between earlier and later cultural structures was identified based on relations between different sites and remains where dependencies and affordances from earlier remains affects the placement for the later. For example, sites with grave fields, churches indicating a manifested religious function and power, location of a possible magnate farm before a medieval castle to retain a function of a military/fortification, older boat landings before modern harbors, farm plots with attached lands, modernized older routes, the cave fishing spots, wells and sites for gathering and cult.

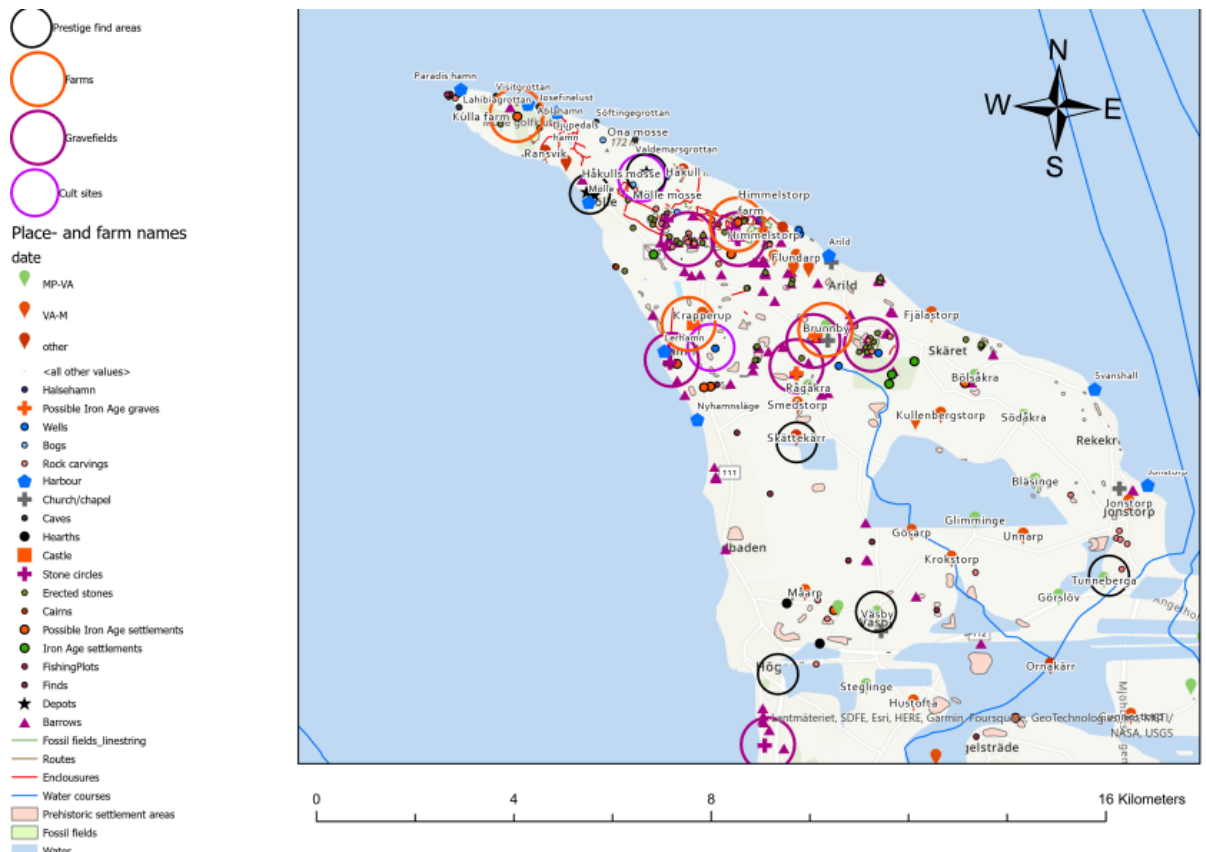


Fig 37. Interpreted areas of leader farms in relation to grave fields, prestige finds and cult sites

## 4. Discussion

### 4.1. Landscape as an archaeological “object” - medium and outcome of human activity

In this study, the landscape has been treated similarly as an archaeological object. As earlier mentioned in the introduction, the landscape is more than a scene for the conducted activities, it is also a product formed by a cooperative relation between human/culture and environment (for example Crumley 1994; Gibson 1986; Hodder 2012; Knapp & Ashmore 1999; Tilley 1994). The landscape is a never-ending manipulation of human activities through history.

In this case, the landscape can tell us a lot of the past eras and Iron Age even if the archaeological material is small and undetailed. It is a container of memories from the past where earlier generations also may have constructed and conceptualized the landscape which also have been essential for the present. The developments during the Iron Age, as well as during the Bronze Age, is very central for the modern landscapes, activities and functions. The human structured landscape also structures the later cultural landscape in later generations

(Knapp & Ashmore 1999, p. 8). Similar to today, people visit older ancient sites, for example Pompei or the Egyptian pyramids, reminding us of past times. Despite the archaeological landscape, other environmental features such as geological attributes, seas, water courses, forests etc are maintained in the same space for the later inhabited generations which creates long-term conceptualized and constructed landscapes (Bradley 1998a; Morphy 1995; Knapp & Ashmore 1999, p. 19).

Although, it is important to remember that the sites and monuments we see in the modern landscape are just small traces from past activities (Knapp & Ashmore 1999, p. 5). What happened in between? How are these connected? Here, the new digital technologies and spatial analysis of landscape together with theoretical frameworks involving relations between human, things and environment, has the potential to easier answer these questions. These methods and theoretical perspectives have not been applied to the areas in Kullen in the previous research and could be used for other periodical studies at Kullen. The Iron Age is the focus in this study because of the minor research and knowledge from this period at Kullen, but this analysis could be applied to both Stone Age/Bronze Age, historical periods and also a larger study including all of the periods for analysis within a broader time span. The problem with the Iron Age period within this region is the small collection of archaeological finds and settlements. The indications found during the archaeological excavations, is also mainly dating to the earlier phases, which also risks being confounded with Late Bronze Age sites. It is also important to remember that social and cultural landscape studies is very broad, and the archaeological model is very simplified to study complexities and differences within past communities. Therefore, even if the interpretations are relevant according to recurrent patterns, it is important to still be critical and not view the model as sole and exclusive. But even if landscapes or the archaeological material may not reconstruct and interpret the precise details of life from the past, identified patterns of maintained actions can be still within the landscape from the human manipulations of the environment through time. The landscape is space inhabited by activities and is both a medium for human actions and the outcomes from these (Knapp & Ashmore 1999, p. 8; Tilley 1994, p. 10, 23).

Landscapes are formed by activities which are human actions affected by individual and social impacts, such as economic, political, religious or social forces (Knapp & Ashmore 1999, p. 8). Thus, the landscape can tell us about prehistoric societies, essential structures and how previous landscapes have affected the later generations' developments and use. For example, in areas of Kullen, a lot of forces from prehistoric periods seem to have been structured and survived in historical periods such as farming areas, fishing spots, fortifications, power centers, religious

gathering sites etc. During the Iron Age, even in the Late Bronze Age and early Iron Age, a leading force may have had an impact on the construction of sites and organizations in the landscape. Also, archaeologists sometimes focus on the periods when monuments were built and actively used, but sometimes forget the afterlife of these in later landscapes and their impacts for later generations (Bradley 1993; Bender et al 1997, p. 149; Knapp & Ashmore 1999, p. 18). Ancient sites and monuments can be reused or transformed by later inhabitants to either re-create the past or to maintain traditions or functions (Bender et al 1997, p. 149; Knapp & Ashmore 1999, p. 19). For example, building churches next to prehistoric burial sites, castles on plots of previous magnate farms or military units, secondary graves in older burials etc. Some ancient sites have probably been conquered, destroyed and removed with new ideologies, politics and traditions (Knapp & Ashmore 1999, p. 19; Parcero-Oubiña et.al. 1998, p.174), where some is being reused or replace by another monument or building in the landscape. As stated by Parcero-Oubiña, “re-writing traditions, re-writes landscapes” as well as it objectifies intentions, meanings and rationality (Parcero-Oubiña et.al. 1998, p. 159, 174). In the case of Kullen, a lot of the different Iron Age functions does not necessarily have to be non-existent, rather replaced by the later generations for example during the introduction of new ideologies, rules, economic necessities etc.

Still, it is hard to interpret the space of time when these developments and when activities have been performed. The concept of *time* in social changes in archaeological research is often divided into substantial time and chronological time. Substantial time is the human experience while the chronological time is the abstract measured time (Bradley 1998b, p .87f). These developments involve a lot of commonplace short-term events which probably has affected the changes within the community and landscape. Also, the periodic division in archaeology is an older tradition and model. This means a risk of exclusion of different phases of change and development in a society and a specific appearance of a monument, find or system does not necessarily need to mean a change in cultural or social structure (Helgesson 2002, p. 3). But due to the limited time and material for this thesis, a more detailed investigation of changes over time and periods involving more intern and extern forces has not been performed.

## **4.2. Previous cultural landscapes in later generations – Historical legacies**

### **4.2.1 The role of older archaeological remains in later generations – continuity and reuse**

Different older phenomena have probably played a role for later generations organization and choice of place for different features or sites. Studying relations between different remains in

the landscape from different periods reflects interesting ideas of important places in the district. For example, archaeological remains of settlements from Stone Age and Iron Age in the same regions show a long continuity of a settled population in the region. Grave fields consisting of different burial types from older and later periods also indicate a long-term prehistoric population but also a continued use of burial sites. The larger burial sites such as Möllehässle and Himmelstorp have probably been used by many generations. The distance between Lunnabjär and Trulshögarna also creates an idea of a previous larger site where more graves have been present but later disappeared with the expansion of modern agriculture. By involving the different terms and themes presented in the introduction of these thesis, many of these play a role in historical legacies of different cultural landscapes. For example, constructed landscapes from past eras could both start within an ideational landscape with a suitable natural environment for a type of activity site or function which later develops to a conceptualized and memorial landscape through generations. Grave fields are good examples of these were prehistoric burials and monuments constructed in a suiting area with affordances from environmental phenomenon or connection to settlements and communication routes. Later, the grave fields are being continuously used by later generations with new burials and monuments.

Relations and combinations of different remains dating from the Stone Age and Iron Age reflect different continuities of places in the district and importance of different places. For example, Brunnby where the relation between the prehistoric burial sites and the early medieval church reflects a long-term religious concept and memory, but also as a landscape of social order and identity, such as a possible function of a central power manifestation. Another example is the large grave fields at Kullaberg in Himmelstorp and Björkeröd with different burial types dating from Bronze Age to Late Iron Age.

Continuity, reuse and a conceptualized landscape of social orders can also be applied to the medieval castle Krapperup, where traces from prehistoric periods have been indicated. Based on the different environmental offers, relation to Brunnby and the assemblage of the different remains, creates ideas of a possible use of place during Iron Age according to previous research patterns (Anglert 1995; Bruzelius 1853; Helgesson 2002, p. 75; Hildebrand 1870; Jennbert 1993, p. 72f; Nord 2009, p. 104; Tegnér 2008, p. 151, 172). Including older phenomena contributes to the small archaeological material and can both be viewed as objects included in assemblages reflecting different functions and activities, but also as features with affordances and entanglements to the inhabitants for choice of placement for different sites.

Older remains can also be reused for their primary usage in later generations, for example Bronze Age barrows used for secondary graves during Iron Age (Bruzelius 1853; Helgesson



2002, p. 75). Even if the majority of the barrows contain graves dating to the Bronze Age, they also function as markers for routes, power or borders in both the Bronze Age and Iron Age periods (Schumann 2022; Säfvestad 1993; Nord Paulsson 2002, p. 113ff). This also contributes to the knowledge of the older remains values for the later generations. The materialistic construction of grave monuments creates special collective significands of sites in the landscape for communities, as well as memories and history of place and past generations and times for later societies (Bender 1998, Bradley 1998a; Goldhahn 2006, p. 171f, 196f; Holtorf 1997; Knapp & Ashmore 1999, p. 14). Older remains do not necessarily need to be reused to play a role in the landscape, because the abandoned monuments are still a part of it (Bradley 1993; Knapp & Ashmore 1999, p. 19). Even in modern cultural heritage, we may recognize the feelings or attachment to sites or landscapes containing remains from past generations reminding us of previous activities, functions or symbolisms even if the site is not in usage.

### **4.3 Social structures based on the activities and sites**

#### **4.3.1 The concepts of centrality, hierarchy, regionality and power**

As mentioned in the chapter of previous research of Iron Age structures, the concepts of power, centrality, regionality and hierarchies are often debated in analysis of Iron Age societies (*see Previous research*). Kullen district may probably not have been a centrality similar to for example Gudme, Uppåkra and Järrestad. But the region has a rich but under-researched records which allows new synthesis of suitable locations for fortification, harbors, possibilities for long-trade network and cult sites reflected by the grave monuments and fields in the landscape which also shows manifestations of power (Helgesson 2002, p. 215). Also, the prestige finds reflect areas of central or regional importance (see fig 8). But the archaeological material does not show any specified or increased production of textiles or metal crafts based on the finds of production tools, which is also one of the criteria for central places and no runestones have been found (Harrison 1997, p. 27; Helgesson 2002, p. 215; Fabech & Ringtvedt 1995, p. 11ff, 24ff). Leading farm(s) could also be located in the areas close to the medieval churches such as Brunnby, which could be interpreted as a later central place in the region and agrees with Ramsay's argument (Ramsay 2007). Some of the names also carry sacred significations such as Väsby and Ingelstäde, in areas of previous marshlands and where prestige objects have been found. Names with this symbolism often occur in central places but could also just indicate places of religious meaning (Helgesson 2002, p. 22; Fabech & Ringtvedt 1995, p. 24). The place- and farm names reflect a denser and larger settled region from the Migration Period and Viking Age. This is also when the centrality concept with new social structures and power positions occurs (Helgesson 2002, p. 219; Larsson & Hårdh 2002, p. 6). During this

development, local leader(s) could establish in the district which also is reflected in the prestige objects dating to the same periods which could be linked to a more dependence of control within the community. Similar to Brunby, a previous chieftain or magnate farm could possibly exist in the areas of Tunneberga and Väsby, and was later replaced by the medieval church in Väsby. Also, churches could be erected on the initiative of the magnate (Helgesson 2002, p. 111).

The archaeological material is too small and undetailed for further interpretations of social hierarchies. To do these, more settlements and identifications of differences in size, construction, complexity is needed to interpret activities such as crafting, production, farming etc. Krapperup and Himmelstorp are interesting farm plots because of their isolated locations, but it is unknown if these have been surrounded by denser settlement areas based on the existing material. As Helgesson (2002) argues, an isolated farm area does not necessarily need to indicate an elite farm. For example, an elite or leader could be settled in the region but could be controlled by another leader seated in another place. But many regions were also independent autonomies at least until the Roman Iron Age (Helgesson 2002, p. 216) and all farms and elite environments did not necessarily need to have a leading role (Helgesson 2002, p. 212). The majority of building units did also probably have their own burial site (Helgesson 2002, p. 27). Therefore, different functions should be analyzed instead of focusing on isolation of farm settlements (Harrison 1997, p. 27; Helgesson 2002, p. 215; Fabech & Ringtvedt 1995, p. 11ff, 24ff). Through the chosen theoretical framework of affordances, entanglements and assemblage of the archaeological remains and place names, creates interesting ideas that some of these earlier mentioned functions could possibly have been present in the region based in comparison to the general pattern from previous research.

Based on Himmelstorp's location to a large grave field, which possibly could have been even larger before the plantations and agrarian shifts, indicates a presence of power (Helgesson 2002, p. 196) A previous noble farm could possibly be located in Brunby in the area between the grave fields and the medieval church reflecting a continuity of a power position. The silver treasure found at an older farm in Bräcke could also reflect a wealthier household. These leaders could be either elites or/and other wealthy farmers (Carlie 2008, p. 57). The district consists of early medieval churches, finds of silver depositions, traces of possible magnate farms which indicates structural continuity based on previous research (Fabech & Ringtvedt 1995, p. 24ff). But the surrounding environment and closeness to grave fields creates potential farm plots belonging to prehistoric magnates, elites, other leading families or individuals. The landscape in the Brunby area, reflects a landscape of both memory and identity, where both

religious and cult has been performed for many generations and has probably been important gathering areas (Knapp & Ashmore 1999). The web of communication also indicates a possible important center for gatherings at least during the Viking Age and Early Middle Ages. The landscape also reflects a landscape of social order, linked to a presence of power manifestation (Knapp & Ashmore 1999, p. 16f). But where this farm has been located is unsure. As previously mentioned, the farm does not need to be necessarily located in the same plot as the medieval church but is often erected in the nearby area. Examples of this pattern are Bjäresjö and Lisbjerg (Callmer 1992; Jeppesen & Madsen 1991). If a possible earlier wooden church has been located next to the grave field Trulshögarna, the older cemetery site and the church road connected to Krapperup, the farm could also possibly be located in this area.

Enclosures and fossil fields could both be interpreted as traces from the Iron Age period or a later system with similar tradition (Gren 1997, p. 64; Rahmqvist 1994). It is hard to grasp how much of the prehistoric agricultural landscape has been removed and/or preserved by the modern systems. As mentioned in the analysis, the enclosures are dated as remains from Iron Age to later historical periods. Some of them are also located in the same areas as later farms. This could both be interpreted as remains from the Iron Age or reused tradition. Either way, the remains are probably dated based on their appearance and location to other remains and can be taken into account for analysis of Iron Age structures.

The agricultural landscape was reliant on control for the district's economic survival (Pedersen & Widegren 1998, p. 312f), where fishing resources, harbors and possible markets could be included. But if these in their turn were controlled by another place or an interregional leader or elite before the diocese of Lund. The location also reflects a broad network from other continents and a region where harbors and fortification would be important and can also be interpreted in the finds of coins and water courses. A centrality also has a settlement with different functions which reflects different social identities (Harrison 1997, 24ff).

During this Late Iron Age, the previous isolated farms develop to larger units which are the predecessors to medieval farms (Gren; 1997, p. 63f; Helgesson 2002, p. 216ff). For example, a precursor to Kulla farm's function linked to the seasonal fishing in the mountain area and as an administrative building for the lighthouse could be present during the Iron Age in the same location. Another example is Krapperup where older farms later become a military unit or fortification and feudalistic functions. The traces from a prehistoric settlement in Krapperup could belong to an older farm or settlement dated to the Viking Age based on the location near the coast. As previously mentioned, new settlements return to the coastal areas during the Viking Age which also can be linked to the place- and farm name Krapperup dating to the same

period. This farm or settlement could theoretically be the foundation to a military unit before the medieval castle. The decentralization of the military power structure during Viking Age in the western Scania, gave magnates a high position of power and surrounded themselves with armed retinues and formed smaller centers of power in the different parts of the landscape (Carelli 2003; Helgesson 2002, p. 213). This concentration of power was important during this period due to the conflicts between the Danes and Franks, as well as the power struggles in western Denmark (Helgesson 2002, p. 222). This is a period when more finds of weapon graves occur in the western areas (Helgesson 2002, p. 221), but none of these has been found in the areas of Kullen. Thus, it is unsure if warriors/herds were settled in the region. Also, these kinds of units did not only function as military forces, but they also controlled the agrarian production and lands (Helgesson 2002, p. 27) which probably has been important for the economic survival for the inhabitants at Kullen already during the Iron Age period.

The land properties are essential for the magnate's power positions and the settlements are going through major developments during the whole Iron Age period (Harrison 1999; Helgesson 2002, p. 40). The cultivation landscape in the district has probably been important and increased during the Iron Age and established the contemporary. Most of the cultivation has probably been focused within the central region and increased in later periods to the southeast and mountain area. The fields in southeast have been covered by water in the form of lakes and marshland and the pollen analysis in the mountain area shows a late establishment of cultivation during the later phase of Viking Age. Agriculture has probably been focused in the flat land areas and been later distributed during the increased population, importance of land use, agricultural control, and also the turbulent times occurring in later Iron Age. The question is if a feudalistic function has been present in the region or controlled from another central place, for example Uppåkra as other areas in Scania (Helgesson 2002, p. 221).

Based on the construction of burial monuments and prestige finds, the district seems to have had a local power in a long-term perspective based on patterns from previous research (Helgesson 2002, p.10; Kristiansen 1990, p. 44). The construction of these kinds of monuments was often controlled and determined by a leader. But traces of complex settlements, rich graves, runestones and some of the important political, social and religious functions mentioned by Helgesson (2002, p. 216) are hard to interpret based on the archaeological material. The finds of jewelry could belong to destroyed graves but cannot be fully stated. It is hard to interpret if the lack of archaeological material is a result from minimal investigations and destroyed remains or if power manifestation was unnecessary in this structure. This is also a common discussion for the north-western parts of Scania (Helgesson 2002, p. 210).

### 4.3.2 Where are the settlements?

Most of the Iron Age settlements in the district are preliminary dated to either Early Iron Age or the general Iron Age period and mapping the distribution of the settlements and changes in a long-term perspective is hard to interpret by only analyzing the archaeological material. The excavated sites indicate activities from the earlier phases, while the remains in the landscape and loose finds date to the later phase (Jennbert 2018). Also, the period during 500 B.C is a very intensive period of migration, culture shifts, abandonment of farms and climate crises (Widgren 2012) and we do not know how much this has affected the areas of Kullen. Although few Iron Age settlements have been archaeologically investigated, it is possible to trace sites where settlements from the Iron Age may have been built.

According to previous research of Iron Age settlement structures in Scania, older settlements may have been continued used by later generations or inhabited by new inhabitants during the Pre-Roman Iron Age, until the increased importance of cultivation- and farmlands in the later phases of the period (Artursson 2008, p. 37). The later settlements could be removed or unidentified because of the new habitations and therefore, earlier Iron Age settlements in the coastal areas have been identified. But the Early Iron Age settlements, for example in Fjälastorp, could possibly be a settled area during the Late Iron Age based on its location further inland near the river and roads connecting the later village Brunnby. The assemblage of finds in the Iron Age settlements is also similar to the other settlement sites interpreted as Stone Age settlements, and some of these are either not fully investigated or excavated at all. This means a risk of uncertain or misinterpreted sites which could be settlements dated to later periods, for example interpretation which is only based on the finds of flints (Knarrström 2000). The appearance of grave sites or monuments in the districts has a strong link to settled populations during prehistoric times. Thus, barrows also indicate settlement areas during the Iron Age period (Gustavsson 1994, p. 26). Iron Age settlements on the mountain are so far unknown, places of the residence are identified and partially investigated or investigated as Stone Age settlements, but these do not necessarily need to be determined.

The distribution of the indicated settlements dating to the Early Iron Age are focused near water courses or near the shores, while the place- and farm names dating to the Late Iron Age indicate a denser and increased settlement area and permanent villages further inland. This matches the general pattern of settlement structures during the Iron Age period in Scania (*see Structures during different periods*) Several place names indicate settled areas between the Migration period to the Early Middle Ages. According to Carelli, these place names seem to be stable and unchanged. The settlement names indicate a form of a new colonization or reorganization

during the Viking Age, and it is consistent with archaeological remains dating to Late Iron Age such as deposited treasure finds (Carelli 2003, p. 20, 49; Ramsay 2007, p. 13; Nilsson et al 2011, p. 23; Gustavsson 1994, p. 30f). As previously mentioned, Jennbert argues that the previous from these colonisations cannot be proven from the archaeological material (Jennbert 2018, p. 113). The place names indicate traces of prehistoric settlement areas, but the archaeological material is lacking. The dates of the place names at Kullen are also similar to the neighboring peninsula Bjäre (400-1050 AD) which indicates a comprehensive settlement pattern in the areas (Nord 2009, p. 265).

Later during the Roman Iron Age and Migration Period, larger farms could be built in the district during the Roman Iron Age and Migration Period together with the increased agriculture based on previous research about structure development (Callmer 1991; Callmer 2001; Helgesson 2002, p. 211). The prestige found in the areas of Skättekärr, Väsby, Tunneberga, Bräcke and in the mountain area reflects the vicinity of elites and members of political alliances (Helgesson 2002).

As previously mentioned in the analysis, cult sites have been important for the Iron Age society from the Pre-Roman Iron Age to the Early Middle Ages and for rulers for political power manifestations (Helgesson 2002, p. 40ff). In the later phase of the period, cult- and offering sites moved from water courses and marshlands located further away from the settlements closer to the locations where people belonging to the higher hierarchies were settled (Söderberg 2006, p. 154). By analyzing the distribution of the grave fields consisting of graves of later characteristics, wells and plots interpreted as possible locations for leaders, it is concentrated in the areas of Himmelstorp, Krapperup/Bräcke and Brunnby.

#### **4.3.3 Jewellery – female elites?**

The finds of jewelry in the marshland areas indicates a presence of high-status females or individuals of female gender in the district. But if these finds of jewelry, fibulas and bracteates originate from graves cannot be proven. According to previous archaeological and osteological research, bracteates have dominated occurrence in female grave contexts, but have also appeared in graves belonging to males during the Migration Period. These have also been found together with other rich grave goods associated with females, for example other pieces of jewelry such as brooches, pearls and fibulas (Wicker 2005, p. 52) which also has been found in the region. As previously mentioned, women during this period could have a social power position and play a big role in political games (Helgesson 2002, p. 19). The problem still stands where no graves belonging to individuals of higher status have been found which makes it hard

to interpret if these objects belong to high-status females or if they are depositions or grave goods from high-status males, alternatively their husbands, or vice versa. Regardless, the finds are in some way or other connected to higher status.

#### **4.3.4 Crafting?**

If a closer regional production of iron has been present is unsure based on the existing archaeological material. Traces of iron production in the region are not found but iron production from the northern parts of Scania is known from the early Iron Age (ca 500 B.C) which later expanded during the medieval times together with Blekinge and Halland and the East Danish kingdom (Olsson 1995). The roasting of the ore demanded a lot of wood, which northern forests contributed with. The iron was of high importance for the building of churches, ships and war materials. Castles were also built to control the iron production (Olsson 1995; Ödman 2001). Other place names in the district such as Smedstorp (*The Black smith's farm*) where an older farm plot is located where prehistoric flint tools have been found. No archaeological traces of later settlements or iron production has been found in the area but is closely located to the grave field Lunnabjär and Rågåkra.

Three casts have been found in the district but only one is registered in Fornsök and one of these is dated to the Iron Age (Jennbert 2017, p. 55). This indicates metallurgical crafting in the area during this period. Crafting of bronze and iron in the district has been performed based on finds of bronze and iron slag in Väsby, Jonstorp and Södåkra and Ingelstråde. Bronze casting is still present during the Iron Age as a central function for a chieftain's seat and is very evident especially in Scania, for example in Uppåkra, Västra Karaby, Östra Torp and Dagstorp (Helgesson 2002, p. 34f; Stjernquist 1996; Tornbjerg 1998) and has been used in the production of fibulas, buckles, needles and other objects (Helgesson 2002, p. 54). The Bronze was sparingly occurring in Scania during this period and depositions of bronze have been found in connection to farms interpreted as local chieftain's seats (Helgesson 2002, p. 34f). The symbolic value of bronze still lasts even if the iron replaces it as a metal (Hedeager 1990, p. 84). Copper and bronze have been viewed as an exotic material with a long votive use in late prehistoric Europe (Bradley 1998b). But the archaeological material does not show any traces of specified crafts, pit houses linked to crafting connected to farms or important raw materials. Iron could possibly be imported from Allerum to Tunneberga or Väsby and later distributed in the rest of the region or hired craftsmen could travel to the peninsula.

#### **4.3.5 Decentralization?**

The district has probably been mostly locally and regionally important, but the region could be divided into different locales based on the topographical relations between mountains, flat land

and marshlands with rivers and lakes. These areas have probably been focused on different activities such as fishing in the mountain area, agricultural domination in the central region around Brunnby, especially during the later phase of Iron Age when a denser and larger population develops, and the center for iron imports in the areas of Tunneberga or Väsby. These locals could have different magnate farms or leaders. The region could be decentralized with several farms with efforts of power. It is also important to keep in mind that the functions we define as central functions, does not necessarily need to be the same as the Iron Age societies. Helgesson defines this as mental centers (Harisson 1997, p 27).

#### **4.3.6 How do all of these activities and functions work together?**

To in some way briefly interpret this web of sites with activities and functions together in the areas of Kullen through these spatial patterns and theoretical framework, a lot of these sites seems to have been constructed and conceptualized far back in time, probably already during the Bronze Age period. Even if Kullen is surrounded by seas, and inland communication routes connect with other areas in Scania, the region is quite isolated in comparison to other Scanian regions. The area has probably been dependent on the local resources, affordances and older sites in order to preserve their position, survival, community and identities. The inhabitants have probably been dependent on each other and perhaps by one or several leaders, which in their turn has been dependent to mark their power in the landscape through sites, monuments, prestige finds or environmental features. The exposed geographical position has probably been safe but also threatened and due to practical reasons and distances from other centers in Scania, functions such as military units, leading farms, harbors, markets, grave fields or other cult/gathering sites, trading spots etc. would be relevant for the area. Despite the natural boundaries between the mountain, flat lands and marshlands, and if some activities have been more focused within these areas, the inhabitants have probably been highly dependent on each other and these places and cooperated to maintain. It is a big web of different activities and functions which are dependent on each other to construct, operate and survive. Even if there is a small collection of settlements, the sites of large grave fields consisting of burial types from different periods, distribution of place- and farm names together with other remains and finds from different activities, reflects the presence of the Iron Age society. The affordances of lands for pastures, cultivations, fishing opportunities, communication routes and connection to the iron production in Allerum, are also indications of activities and economic importance for these societies. These activities and functions have probably been important for the emerged contemporary landscape and community. Also, even if there are no distinct traces of specific trading spots in the archaeological material, coins, harbor locations and sea routes indicate possible networks with other continents, which probably has been important for the region



especially during the Late Iron Age. The question is, if Kullen has been an independent region or dependent or controlled by an external power.

#### **4.6 Misinterpretations?**

The problem is the lack of investigations of the older remains in the district which affect the reliability of these interpretations. But the contribution of these is still relevant based on previous research made of older archaeological traces in later periods (Schumann 2022). Most of the archaeological sites in Kullen district are unexcavated, which means that the older remains could contain Iron Age finds or C14-data. The flint material could also be interpreted as Stone Age flint without performing further analysis and comparisons with Iron Age flints. Smaller finds of whetstones together with flint also indicate possible usage of fire flints (Knarrström 2000). Identified Stone Age settlements based on smaller investigations, inventories or loose finds could therefore be misinterpreted. The same counts for Bronze Age barrows which could be used as secondary graves during Iron Age or maybe even primary Iron Age burials.

#### **4.7 Some last critical aspects**

To finish this discussion, it is important to highlight the hypothetical sites interpreted in this study. As mentioned during this thesis, the archaeological material is still small, and a lot of these sites and remains are unexcavated. Even if the patterns in the landscape indicate these possible activities and functions, the archaeological material lacks details and context. The different assemblages of remains, finds and features are also different in relational distance in the landscape. Although, the use of the perspective in this thesis is mainly focused on the concept of a relational collection in larger areas or sites of remains and features in the landscape. The smaller assemblages interpreted as hypothetical Iron Age settlements are also interpreted based on the records from Fornsök. Unfortunately, the majority of these records are very undetailed which excludes important details and dates of finds and sites. Also, it is important to remember that our perspective of landscapes, environment and on their appearances does not necessarily need to be the same as for the past generations.

### **5. Conclusion**

To conclude this study, the landscape is embossed with remains and features reminding us of the past Iron Age society, but the traces of monuments, rich finds and the possible essentials to the landscape we see today from the Iron Age community has ended up in obscurity in the previous research.

Instead of interpreting the remains individually and analyzing the spatial relations between them within the landscape involving perspectives of assemblages, entanglements and affordances, different activities and places of function linked to the Iron Age society in the Kullen. This thesis is an example of how landscapes can reflect past societies and activities even if the archaeological record from excavations is lacking, and how the contemporary landscape still shows traces from essentials constructed by past generations. The most distinct interpreted activities connected to both economic purposes (farming, fishing, market, trading etc.) and religious purposes (grave fields, cult sites, depositions/offerings) and other functions such as fortifications, leading farms and communication systems has been manifested through the different patterns of relationships between the archaeological remains, place names, features and attributes within the landscape. These patterns of different activities and functions can also indicate possible traces of social structures such as presence of elites/magnates, agriculture, fishing, harbors, military units, cult sites and smaller finds of low-tech crafting can be interpreted. But further details of these identities, other social roles and their precise location in the landscape is hard to interpret from the archaeological material and still remain hypothetical. The place- and farm names indicate possible settled areas, especially during the increased population occurring in the Late Iron Age. But the question remains if these settlements have been destroyed and removed, or if other sites have been misinterpreted during the smaller investigations.

The previous cultural landscapes have probably been a great essential for the later generations and the landscape we know today. The relations between remains from different eras, indicates a long continuity of sites in many areas where religious and economic activities have taken place, for example grave fields, settlement areas, military units, power manifestations and plots or sites of central importance. Here, terms and themes of different landscapes have been included in order to understand how the landscape of Kullen can reflect memories, identity, social order, transformation as well as how the landscape is constructed and conceptualized for later generations.

The interpretations of social structures and cultural landscapes impacts and developments, are based on research of the general pattern of Iron Age structures in Scania where periodic changes and criteria from concepts as centrality, regionality, power and hierarchies are taken into account. This creates relevant ideas of the structure, but these are not proven in the archaeological material.

The question is if the archaeological remains from the Iron Age in the district are destroyed and removed, or if these have not yet been discovered because no archaeological excavations

are being performed. Perhaps, more of the activities, function and social structures will emerge depending on more remains will indicate these. In that case, it would be interesting if these were found in these interpreted areas, or somewhere else. Regardless, the presence from the Iron Age society is reflected in the landscape and remains at Kullen. And through knowledge of later periods, will contribute with more understanding of previous generations and older periods and the region's long-term development.

## **Future research**

It is important to note that we still do not know much about the Iron Age in the areas of Kullen and still need further investigation. In this thesis, new possible synthesis and questions has been created to the archaeological material at Kullen which probably can be further investigated, interpreted and discussed. Hopefully, the region has been more introduced and inserted into the world of Scanian Iron Age research, as well as the general archaeological research of the area.

Studies of social structures, cultural landscapes and their developments are large subjects where a lot of further questions can be asked to the material and different analysis and discussions can be performed with other methods and theoretical frameworks. And perhaps, further investigation of developments and changes during time and periods can be performed. The areas of Kullen could also be compared in more detail with other specific places and worked cases involving intern and extern impacts. Due to the limited time for this thesis and the focus on collecting material and interpreting the landscape of Kullen, broader comparisons with other similar sites and regional comparisons were not performed and could be more included. But this study could work as a foundation for future comparative analysis.

Kullen needs and deserves more inclusion in the Scanian Iron Age research in order to be announced as a region with an outstanding landscape and environment, but also as an interesting archaeological place with interesting remains and features from prehistory to historical times. Instead of focusing on the lacking archaeological documentation from the older investigation, new methods and theories should be taken into account. In modern archaeology, new scientific and digital methods can be used for studying the landscape such as Geo radar, remote sensing, LiDAR etc. Of course, this should not compensate for the archaeological excavations, but can trace interesting areas for investigations, perhaps identifications which possibly could be linked to the results in this study. Lastly, it is also

important that archaeological investigations will be performed before construction works in the areas when needed in order to not lose more archaeological traces from past eras in the region.

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