

BOG BODIES IN A MACRO PERSPECTIVE

A spatial study of Early Iron Age Scanian bog skeletons and their cultural role as seen through the liminality perspective

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Abstract

This thesis was written with the aims to better understand the spatial relation between the Scanian iron Age bog bodies and the archaeological remains within the surrounding landscape, which in turn would lead to a new theory of understanding the cultural and social aspects of the bog body phenomenon, specifically by applying the liminality perspective. This was done by approaching the material through a wider macro perspective, as opposed to the normally individual-focused micro perspective most used in the bog body research. By applying the spatial perspective as the method, while analysing the relations between the bog body find sites (the key sites), and the archaeological remains within the surrounding landscape (the selected areas), certain spatial patterns emerged which displayed a change through time, and a rather low presence of contemporary archaeological remains within these areas during the recorded peak of the bog body phenomenon. Which may indicate that the people of this time viewed these special places in a certain way, different to the rest of the landscape. Thus, leading to the conclusions that these places, may have been regarded as not belonging to neither the world of the living nor the dead, which in turn may indicate that the people deposited there may have served a secondary liminal purpose to being sacrificial offerings.

Keywords: *bog bodies, bog skeletons, spatial perspective, landscape archaeology, early iron age, liminality, entanglement, ritual perspective*

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TERMINOLOGY

Archaeological remains – The archaeological traces of human activities included in the selected areas.

High bogs – Bogs which contain very poor mineral values and high acidity, which leads to soft tissues like skin, hair and nails to get well preserved in these kinds of bogs, and thus here the mummified bog bodies are discovered.

Key sites – The seven selected bog body find sites incorporated within this study. Marked by red stars on the map illustrations throughout this thesis.

Low bogs – Bogs which are alkaline and very rich in nutrients for the bacteria and micro-organisms present in the bog, which in turn will break down the soft tissues of the corpses deposited here. The high content of lime present in these bogs will however ensure the preservation of skeletal parts.

Selected areas – The immediate surrounding landscape of each key site, which is generated as a radius of six kilometres with each key site at its centre. Since some key sites are located rather close to each other, the selected areas vary in size, and thus may contain several key sites at once.

Spatial patterns – The relational patterns within the space of the selected areas in this study, between the find locations of the bog skeleton material, and the relevant archaeological remains within the selected areas.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The enigmatic bog bodies of Northern Europe have long intrigued people, sparked the imagination of artists, and held the attention of scholars. With their well-preserved skin, nails, hair, and their timeless facial expressions, these infamous individuals have allowed us to get a little bit closer to not only their lives, but also their final moments before death.

The utterly well preserved, several thousand-year-old, bog mummies are what most people tend to imagine when they hear the term *bog body*. This because these individuals tend to really engage our curiosity, and a select few of these individuals have long been the central focus of the bog body research. Understandably so, since coming face to face with these better-preserved human remains tend to engage our compassion and responsiveness, much more than just bare bones can. After all, “[a] face allows us to engage with the humanity of the past in ways that are generally unfathomable within archaeology, [...] prehistoric skin gets under our skin” (Moen & Walsh 2022:495). However, the vast majority of these bog people are in reality made up of skeletal remains, and yet, these individuals have largely been neglected within the bog body research. Although research has been conducted on the bog body phenomenon for centuries, beginning already during the 18th century, this tradition of depositing human remains in waterlogged areas has over time proven largely impossible to generalize, with explaining theories ranging from punished criminals and unfortunate accidental deaths to human sacrifices and offerings to deities (van der Sanden 2013).

Thus, there are a few reasons as to why this phenomenon is still so very elusive and difficult to fully grasp. Firstly, as already mentioned, researchers have mainly focused on a select few of these individuals as subjects of their studies, and secondly, rarely have they ever viewed these bog people through a wider lens, such as through the spatial perspective. Contrary to these earlier trends, this study will place its focus on the very bog people who have not received much attention in research, the bog skeletons. And by placing these individuals and their find sites in such a spatial perspective, meaning that by analysing the spatial relations between the find sites of the selected bog skeletons and the archaeological remains in the surrounding landscape, in combination with a comprised theoretical framework including the liminality perspective, I believe that this thesis will shed new light on these forgotten materials, as well as contribute with new insight into the phenomenon. This because by examining these spatial relations, and thus by understanding how the people of the past related to, and utilized the surrounding landscape of these find locations, we may be able to understand not only how these same individuals viewed and related to the specific sites of deposition, but also how they related to

the act of depositing human remains in these specific bogs at this time, and thus what these action may have meant.

1.1.Aims

The aim of this study is to achieve a better understanding for the spatial relation between the Scanian Iron Age bog bodies, and other archaeological remains and sites within the surrounding landscape. Such archaeological remains may include settlements, burial grounds, sacrificial sites, and the like, to ultimately gain a better understanding of the bog body phenomenon, and its cultural and/or social role. Secondly, I aim to shed more light on the often-neglected bog skeletons, and what they can add to the discourse surrounding the general bog body phenomenon.

This study will thus attempt to answer the research questions down below.

1.2.Research questions

1. How does the seven selected find locations, or the key sites, relate to other archaeological remains found in the surrounding landscape, meaning the selected areas of each site, (such as settlements, graves, possible central places etc.)?
2. Are there any spatial patterns visible in these areas, if so, do these change over time?
3. What can the older, respectively the younger, archaeological remains within these areas, tell us about how the early Iron Age people viewed this landscape, regarding the bog body phenomenon?
4. From these patterns, what can be said about the role/aspect of the bog body phenomenon within the social and/ or cultural dimension or the cultural landscape?

2. MATERIAL

2.1.The selected material and limitations

The primary material chosen for this study consists of the literature describing the known Scanian Early Iron Age bog skeletons and their find locations. This material has been provided by three main publications, namely Fredengren 2018, Storå et al. 2020 and Van Beek et al. 2023. Before presenting this primary material in further detail below, I would like to point out further restrictions for the chosen material. This study will only focus on human remains deposited in still, waterlogged areas, such as bogs, fens, and mires, and thus ancient human remains found in bigger bodies of water and moving water such as lakes, creeks, and rivers are

excluded in this study. The reason behind excluding these is because my primary interest lies specifically in bogs, bog depositions and these unique environments, rather than the general wetland depositions.

The secondary set of material included in this study is the archaeological remains present within the selected areas of the find locations of these bog skeletons. These archaeological remains are essentially the archaeological traces of human activities within these areas and may be of either *grave-type remains*, meaning graves of different types, *settlement-type remains*, meaning remains which have been deemed as possible settlements or dwelling areas. Additionally, there are a few find locations and sacrificial sites which have also been incorporated within the material as these were deemed as being possibly related to the studied phenomenon and thus relevant to incorporate into the study in order to better understand the spatial relations and spatial use of these areas. I would also like to clarify here that this study will only focus on archaeological traces of human activities as a secondary material related to the primary material, and therefore not include any naturally occurring geological or topographical characteristics within the areas, such as possible heights, cliff drops, or the like.

Neither will there be any areas included in this study as possible sets of control material, where for example further selected areas would include bogs without any known discoveries of human remains. The incorporation of such areas would naturally be the ideal when analysing any possible spatial patterns present within a landscape, since it would be able to either support or debunk any new emerging theories. Although, these limitations are mainly in place due to the time limit for this master's thesis.

Below I shall present the selected bog bodies, their find sites, and the known archaeological context of the surrounding landscapes. The reason as to why the wider archaeological context will be presented in addition to the rest of the material, is because by developing an understanding of the general landscape in which these key sites and the selected areas are located, will provide a better foundation for understanding the spatial relations which may later be found within the selected areas. The secondary material, meaning the archaeological remains, will be presented as GIS derived maps as well as in *Appendix II* as a table containing all the archaeological remains incorporated in the study. Additionally, in *Appendix I*, you will find a table presenting the primary material, the selected bog skeletons.

2.2.Key sites and the selected areas

In this study you will get acquainted with four specific areas of interest. I have chosen to call these selected areas, *the Gullåkra-Vesum area*, *the Åkarp area*, and *the Hyby-Hässleberga-Tejarp area*, which are all located in the southwest area of Scania, as well as *the Österlen area*, which is located in the southeast area of Scania.

These areas are made up of the seven key sites where the selected bog bodies were found, as well as the archaeological remains and sites surrounding these, within a six-kilometre radius of each key site. As some of these key sites are very closely located to each other, a few of these areas have thus merged together, meaning that in certain instances the selected areas are bigger than just six kilometres in radius. Thus, even though there are seven find locations or bogs of interest being included in this study, the selected areas are no more than four. The only areas containing one single find site, is that of *the Åkarp area* and *the Österlen area*. You can see the distribution of these areas and the five key sites in the figure below. Further descriptions of how these areas and key sites were processed, distinguished, and analysed can be found below.

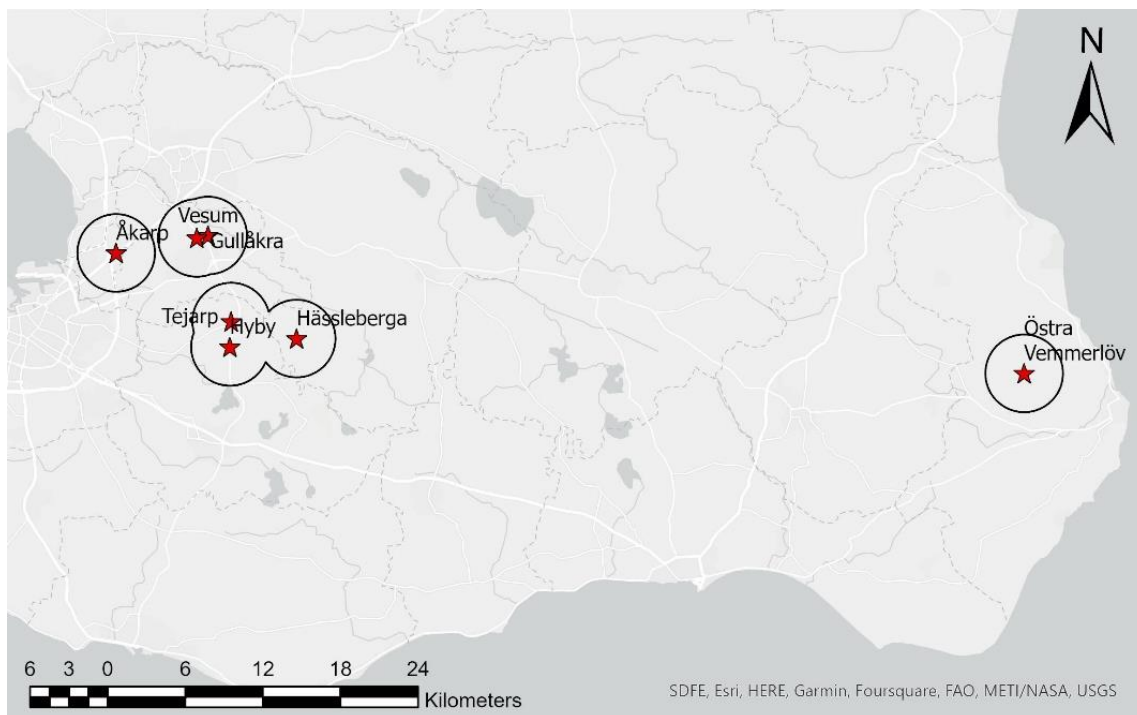


Figure 1: Map showing the key sites and the selected areas in southern Scania.

It shall also be mentioned here that originally, according to Van Beek's database, there were only six key sites with bog bodies dated to the Iron Age in Scania. However, as it turns out, a piece of a human cranium found at the site at Saxtorp near Landskrona, which had according to the Van Beek database been dated to the Pre-roman Iron Age, did in actuality, date back to the Neolithic (Nilsson, personal communication, Bergerbrant, personal communication). This

was discovered after studying the referenced literature, as well as being in contact with one of the co-authors of the Van Beek et.al. research paper, Sophie Bergerbrant, as well as Lena Nilsson, the osteologist who examined the said skeletal remains from the Saxtorp site. In addition, the human remains found at the Åkarp and Tejarp sites were not at all included in the Van Beek database, but rather in the 2018 study by Christina Fredengren. This study did in fact cover several other bog skeletons, which were not incorporated within this study, simply because these were either dated to earlier time periods, or there were no available radiocarbon dates for these. In addition, it seems as if the Van Beek et al. database did not include some of the finds presented in this study by Fredengren, this is possibly a simple mistake or misunderstanding.

Lastly, to gain a better understanding of the key sites and the selected areas, and in turn the finds themselves, it is important to get an idea of what the wider archaeological context of the surrounding landscape looks like. What archaeological remains are included in the landscape, if there is a long continuity of activity at these places etc, this information will also be presented below.

2.3.The Gullåkra-Vesum area

2.3.1. The Gullåkra find

Gullåkra mosse (or bog in English) is located circa two kilometres south of the enigmatic Iron Age settlement of *Uppåkra*. The placename Gullåkra, contains the word *gull*, which might refer to gold, and may thus possibly refer to the treasures which have been deposited and found in this bog over the centuries (Fredengren 2018:3f). The name Gullåkra can thus be roughly translated into “Fields of gold” from Swedish. At times this bog has given up some of its treasure in connections with peat cutting, although to my knowledge this specific ground has never been properly archaeologically excavated nor investigated (Stjernquist 2001, Fredengren 2018:4). Some of the finds uncovered in this specific bog is that of horns and other skeletal remains from the now extinct aurochs (*Bos primigenius*), and other animal skeletal remains (Liljegren 1975). However, it should be noted that some of these animals might have been attracted to the wetlands and water-meadows in which Gullåkra bog is part of, and thus might have died naturally and become part of this bog-matrix in that way (Fredengren 2018:4). Some of the more archaeologically interesting finds originating from this bog complex is that of a stone axe, a bronze axe, a bronze sword, and perhaps more famously, a bronze torque neck ring, and a period III Bronze lur (see images below), which allegedly were discovered together with

the skeletal remains of an unknown large animal and the remains of a boat (Fredengren 2018:5, Fredengren 2022:146). The depositions here at Gullåkra continued well into the Late Roman Iron Age and the Migration Period, which the finds of spears and lance-heads points to (Stjernquist 2001:11, Fredengren 2018:5, Fredengren 2022:146, Van Beek et al. 2023).



Figure 2: Artefacts found in the Gullåkra-Vesum bog complex, bronze neck ring from Gullåkra (upper left), bronze lur from Gullåkra (right), and bronze sword from Vesum (bottom).

Although, something which had been previously unknown to archaeologists and researchers is that for centuries, Gullåkra bog had also held the remains of a human being, in the form of a single cranium. This was recently discovered by Christina Fredengren (2018), who clarifies that the reason behind the apparent exclusion of this skull in the writings of the history of Gullåkra, is the fact that it had previously been a part of the natural collections of the previous Zoological Museum in Lund, and thus managed to evade the attention of researchers all these years (Fredengren 2018:6). Fastened on the top of this skull was a label indicating its find site, find year and at which depth it was encountered (see image below). It was originally discovered in the year 1900, at the depth of circa 1,5 metres (2,5 aln). The osteological examination of this skull shows possible post-mortem cuts at the edges, and staining on the top of the skull suggests that it may have been deposited and exposed at the very surface of the bog, placed upside down, and later become buried. Fredengren hypothesises that this might indicate that the skull may have been used as a container, collecting liquids like rainwater or perhaps even libations (Fredengren 2018:3,6,12, Fredengren 2022:149). The initial radiocarbon dating of this specimen indicated that this individual died sometime around the late Bronze Age or the early

Iron Age, and with a 93,9% accuracy this period is narrowed down to the period between 541-391 BC, which means that with the highest probability, this individual belongs to the Pre-Roman Iron Age. The most recent C14 dating of this specimen (Ua-46203, 2376 ± 31 BP) supports this statement, placing the cranium at 2376 BP (Fredengren 2018). This individual is estimated to be that of a young adult male (Fredengren 2018:8, Van Beek 2023). Additionally, the osteological examination of this skull also suggests that this specimen showed signs of *cribra orbitalia* (active or healing lesions of the skull), ectocranial pitting (pitting of the skull) and periostitis (benhinneinflammation in Swedish), as well as possible post-mortem modifications, which was interpreted as “shaping” of the skull (Fredengren 2018:7, Van Beek 2023).

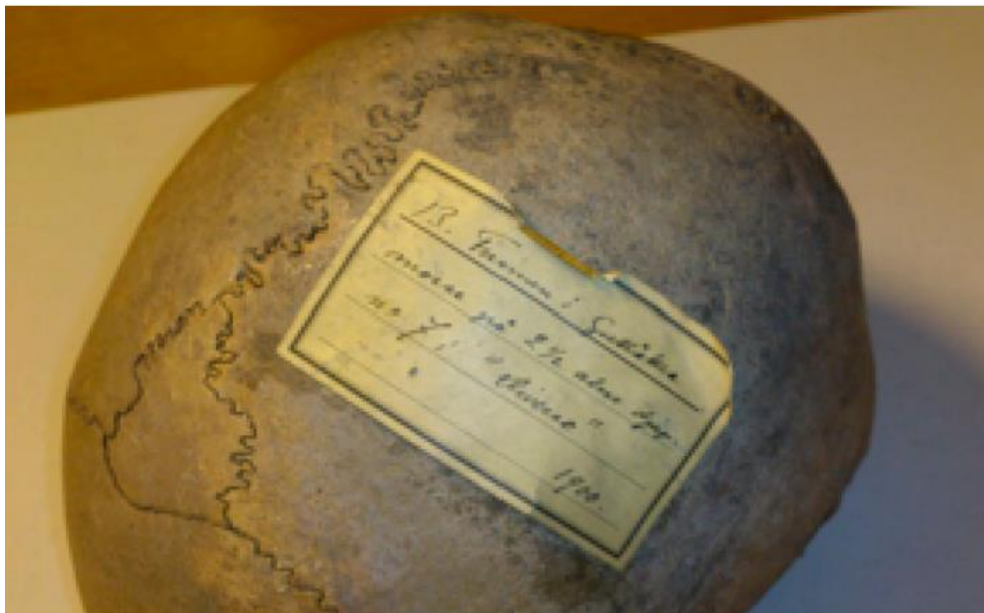


Figure 3: Top view of the Gullåkra skull.

2.3.2. The Vesum find

Technically part of the same bog system but located directly to the east from Gullåkra mosse separated by road 108, lies Vesum mosse. Here, a human mandible (jaw) from a clay pit located at the edges of the bog was found, unfortunately at an unknown date. This jaw, however, shows possible signs of gnaw marks, which may indicate that after death, the body was left exposed to the elements and animals for some time. Additionally, this mandible shows signs of an infection and mild periostitis. With a radiocarbon dating placing this find at 2386 BP (Ua-49069, 2386 ± 42 BP), this probable young adult male individual likely lived sometime around the late Bronze Age and the early Iron Age, and with a 80% probability, this individual can

more specifically be dated to between 556-386 BC, meaning they most likely belong to the Pre-Roman Iron Age (Fredengren 2018:6,8, Van Beek 2023).

2.4.The Åkarp area

2.4.1. The Åkarp find

Located directly to the west of the former Gullåkra-Vesum area, lies the Åkarp area. Here, in a waterlogged zone, the human remains of a young adult male was found, consisting of the skull and postcranial parts. Supposedly, this individual had suffered some blunt force trauma before death. This individual dates to the early iron age, with a radiocarbon dating of 120-330 AD (Ua-48750, 1800 ± 32 BP), more accurately placing the individual in the later part of the Roman Iron Age (Fredengren 2018:6ff).

2.5.The Hyby-Hässleberga-Tejarp area

2.5.1. The Hyby find

Not far from the Gullåkra-Vesum bog system, approximately 10 kilometres to the southeast, another small collection of human remains was found, consisting of the skull of that of a middle-aged male, also found at an unknown date. The find circumstances and the of this find too, are rather unclear, although we know that this individual is represented by the skull and some postcranial pieces, which likely belonged to a middle-aged male. What is clear however is that these remains show some ante-mortem trauma to the head, as well as signs of periostitis and even a benign tumour of the skull. Some post-mortem cut marks and possible blunt force trauma were also noted. With a radiocarbon date of 375-195 BC, (Beta445783, 2210 ± 30 BP), these remains date to the Pre-Roman Iron Age (Fredengren 2018:6,8f, Van Beek 2023).

2.5.2. The Hässleberga find

Located approximately a further five kilometres to the east from Hyby lies Hässleberga, where the remains of a further four individuals were found in Hässleberga bog, also at an unknown date. Fredengren has previously noted the apparent imbalance of mainly male bodies being deposited in and around the Uppåkra vicinity (Fredengren 2018:8f, Storå 2020, Fredengren 2022:149), however, she also notes that the case of Hässleberga bog diverges from this pattern. Here, the remains of a possible middle-aged female individual have been found, constituting of the skull and postcranial remains. The remains of the other three individuals constitutes of varying pieces of cranial and postcranial fragments, belonging to that of a juvenile and two young adults (Fredengren 2018:6,9). Again, the find circumstances in this case are not well

known nor described in detail, only in the case for one of these four individuals, a radiocarbon date is available, which would be in the case of the middle-aged female. This radiocarbon dating (Ua-53933, 2081 ± 29 BP) places this find in the Pre-Roman Iron Age. This specific individual show signs of having suffered from ectocranial pitting, osteo-arthritis (stiffness, swelling and ache) and possibly *cribra orbitalia* (Fredengren 2018:8, Van Beek et al. 2023). The radiocarbon dated individual, is the one which will be incorporated into this study; however, it seemed fit to mention the presence of the other three individuals found here.

2.5.3. The Tejarp find

Another find which is surrounded by unclear find circumstances, is the Tejarp find. What is known is that in this wetland area, the skulls from four different individuals were found, each belonging to three separate middle-aged adults and one older adult. However, only one of these specimens had been provided with a radiocarbon dating, which means that this is the individual being incorporated within this study. This specific individual, one of the middle-aged adults, were provided with a radiocarbon dating of 166 BC- 48 AD (Ua-47959, 2042 ± 34), meaning this possible male belongs to the interval between the late pre roman iron age, and the early roman iron age. This individual had presented the pathological signs of *cribra orbitalia*, a benign tumour, and supposedly suffered from blunt force trauma and cuts which have been interpreted as a possible beheading ante-mortem (Fredengren 2018:6ff).

2.6. The archaeological context of south-western Scania

Since these three areas are located within just a couple of kilometres from each other, the known archaeological context of the surrounding landscape of these sites will be presented in the same section. However, it shall also be mentioned that little to no known archaeological studies of the landscape have been conducted on the closer vicinity of specifically the Hyby-Hässleberga-Tejarp area, thus making it difficult to present any particularly relevant information of the immediate surrounding landscape of these find sites, meaning that the archaeological context of the landscape discussed here will naturally focus more on what has been archaeologically studied closer to the Uppåkra-vicinity, which is unfortunate, but at the same time representative of the current level of archaeological studies in southern Scania. Even in the vicinity of the more well documented central place of Uppåkra, until quite recently, only a small number of excavations have been conducted in this space, these often lacking in interdisciplinary analysis and scientific studies such as radiocarbon dates, archaeobotanical studies and osteology

analyses. Meaning that what the surrounding cultural landscape actually looked like, have been, and still is generally unknown (Aspeborg 2021:65f,71f, Anglert 2021:15).

Håkan Aspeborg and Mats Anglert, amongst others, have in the most recent edition of a series of books called *Uppåkrastudier*, the 13th of their kind (2021), attempted to map out the archaeological context of the surrounding area of the central place of Uppåkra (Aspeborg 2021 and Anglert 2021). Although the central place was not in full use until the late Roman Iron Age, in connection to when the cult house was erected, the surrounding landscape might still give us insights into how people in this region regarded and utilized this surrounding environment. Already in the Bronze Age and early Iron Age, this landscape must have had a special meaning to the people of this time, even before the establishment of the enigmatic central place. The region during the Bronze Age was most likely characterized by treeless pastures, according to a study conducted on the landscape just to the east of where the Uppåkra central place was located. Some Bronze Age grave mounds scattered along communal routes, would also have been visible at this time, likely functioning as reminders of the past (Aspeborg 2021:67,108).

During the early Pre-roman Iron Age, the nearby landscape consisted of few dispersed farmsteads or settlements, usually lasting approximately a generation, meaning that the landscape was most likely not very densely populated at this time, or even during the Bronze Age. These farmsteads were stationary, and new buildings were created when new households were formed. The dispersal of these farmsteads tells us that they most likely are single farmsteads, and not the beginning stages of village formations. However, Aspeborg notes that this interpretation may likely be due to the scale of examination being too small (five kilometres in diameter, with the centre located at the Uppåkra site) to notice any other kinds of settlement patterns. He continues to state that it is much more likely that the situation would rather be that of very sparse unregulated villages. This settlement pattern also seems to be the norm in the rest of Scania during this time (Aspeborg 2021:75,79f,104,111).

From the second half of the Pre-Roman Iron Age and into the early Roman period, the number of settlements increased significantly. Several farmsteads and buildings were now stationary, and probably inherited and rebuilt around this time. And in addition, the overall size of the settlements increased, and the villages got more densely packed. Farms and villages were likely of varying sizes at this time (Aspeborg 2021:75,79,104,108,111,134, Anglert 2021:21). Also during this time, a giant building appears, approximately five kilometres southeast from the central place at Uppåkra and immediately to the south of Staffanstorp village today. This

building, stretching up to 50 metres in length, found near Önsvala village, was debated to belong to the second half of the Pre-Roman Iron Age, or early roman period. It is believed that this giant building might signal the presence of increasingly more important and wealthy inhabitants in the region. Also, at the end of the Pre-Roman Iron Age an increased density and closeness of the farmsteads can be seen, probably indicating the beginning stages of early village formation. This in turn might have been a catalyst for the creation of the central place of Uppåkra in later periods (Aspeborg 2021:79ff, Anglert 2021:21). This settlement expansion and concentration, as well as the increased place continuity can be seen to steadily increase in the following period. However, a slight decline can be noted in the younger Iron Age. It should also be mentioned that most of the examinations in the area are too small to indicate if the found evidence may indicate single farmsteads or small villages (Aspeborg 2021:86, Anglert 2021:21).

When it comes to the question of burials and grave fields in the Uppåkra-vicinity, there is still a major gap in the knowledge and research of this theme. To this day, there is little to no signs of graves and burials in the vicinity of the Uppåkra site. One of the few known burial finds in this area was discovered approximately 500 metres east of the central place, with a small number of graves found, however, neither additional metal detecting nor archaeological excavations in the area have found any indications of more burials. Although there are some theories of where this supposed major burial ground might be located, perhaps underneath the earliest Christian burial grounds in Lund (Anglert 2021:22).

Although, according to Tony Björk's dissertation from 2005, there are several burials found within and around the area of the Uppåkra central place, consisting of both inhumation graves, cremations, and urn graves. Around nine graves dating to between the Early Iron Age and the Roman Iron Age have been found within, and in the close vicinity of the central place, and some of them found in connection with modern-day grave-digging on the active graveyard. Björk references the first archaeologist excavating in Uppåkra, Bror-Magnus Vifot, who apparently noted a small prehistoric burial ground approximately 50 metres south of the smaller Bronze Age burial mound called "Lillehög" (RAÄ Uppåkra 4:1), where supposedly the remnants of small pottery vessels were found, perhaps urns (Vifot 1936:100, Björk 2005:198). Although, Björk also mentions that in connection to the graves found underneath the modern-day graveyard, that these cannot with complete certainty be considered graves at all, since no actual human remains were found in connection to these findings (Björk 2005:198). Additional graves dated to the various stages of the Iron Age have also been found in the close vicinity of

the central place, in the modern village of Hjärup, consisting of mainly inhumation graves (Björk 2005:199).

And lastly, it should be mentioned that in Christina Fredengren's study from 2018, she mentions that the remains of supposedly sixteen individuals have been found in the wetlands and bog complexes around the area of the Iron Age central place of Uppåkra (Fredengren 2018:6f). However, as already discussed above, due to the lack of dating information available for these finds, as well as some of these being found in moving waters, only a select few of these specimens are being incorporated in this study, nonetheless it is very interesting to note this.

2.7.The Österlen area

2.7.1. The Östra Vemmerlöv find

Over a century ago, a rather sizeable and unique collection of skeletal remains were found in connection with peat cutting in a bog in Östra Vemmerlöv, south-eastern Scania, in the idyllic area of Österlen. This find, first discovered in 1918 and later complemented with a secondary discovery in 1927, consists of 42 human skeletal parts from seven individuals in total. In addition to these, the remains of several animals such as dogs, red foxes, cattle, sheep, horses, red deer and wild boar were found. This unique find was once deposited in three separate pits in the same bog, called pit A-C. However, please note that were only human remains found in pit B and C (von Post 1919:161, Storå et.al 2020, Van Beek et.al 2023).

Pit A and Pit B were situated 30 respectively 50 metres from the edges of the bog. The two pits, which were discovered and excavated in 1918, were most likely located in the southern part of the bog, in the areas where deeper waters had collected, whereas Pit C was discovered further out in the wetland, in 1927, circa 40 metres from Pit B. Reportedly, the three pits contained dense concentrations of both human and animal bones without any discernible order (von Post 1919:161,163, Storå et.al 2020, Van Beek et.al. 2023). And in addition, a large number of pebbles were also found in connection with these bone-layers. In pit C, these formed a bottom layer, followed by the bones in an approximately 0.5-metre-thick layer, which were in turn again followed by an additional layer of pebbles (Storå 2020, Van Beek et.al. 2023). Another interesting find here at this site was the presence of upright posts, with the general thickness of an arm, sharpened in one end and pushed down in the clay at the bottom. These seemed to have been enclosing the pits, which led to the original excavator to interpret that the pits at the time of use were most likely visible from the bogs edge. Some smaller branches might even have been used as a wattle in between these posts, and in a way these constructions most likely

functioned as enclosures very similar to wells (von Post 1919:161,163 Storå 2020, Van Beek et.al. 2023).

In addition, Pit B, measured up to 10 square metres in size, making it the largest one, thus making Pit A with its bottom diameter of circa two metres come in second, and lastly, Pit C was estimated to have a bottom diameter of around one metre. In Pit B, the largest pit, four individuals were found, originally labelled Cranium 1-3 (von Post 1919, Storå et al. 2020, Van Beek et al. 2023), however, here all included individuals will be labelled “Individual” rather than “cranium” et cetera (see Appendix II for complete table).

A complete osteological study of these remains, as well as a radiocarbon dating of the material was conducted in 2019-2020, by Storå and colleagues. This examination concluded that several body parts seem to be missing from these human individuals, there are no vertebral fragments and only a few small bones from the hands or feet are present. Most of the teeth from the adult individuals in Pit B had been lost post-mortem, and likely after deposition. The same goes for the single mandible in Pit C, which also lacks a few teeth. The complete collection of human remains found were that of five adults, three of which are females of different ages. The two other adults cannot with much certainty be gendered, and the last two individuals are un-gendered children. The adults are mainly represented by cranial remains, with some additional skeletal parts, but in general these individuals are not very well complete. Whereas the two children, aged 10-12 and 2-3 respectively, were found in a more complete anatomical representation, possibly suggesting that these might have been deposited in the bog while there was still soft tissue left on the bodies, holding the skeletal parts together (Storå et al. 2020, Van Beek, et al. 2023). There are rather limited evidence pointing at the handling practices of the skeletal remains at Östra Vemmerlöv, however, the pathological study indicated possible cut marks and fractures on some bones, although, it is possible that these were created at the recovery of the individuals, or in associations with the peat cutting (Storå et al. 2020). However, some taphonomic signs were found which pointed to that of pre-depositional handling of the bodies. Some of which were likely deposited when the bones were dry (exposed of soft tissue), and in other cases when soft tissues were still present (Storå et al. 2020, Van Beek et al. 2023).

In addition to these finds, red deer antler, a few wooden artefacts, and a Viking Age bone comb with copper-alloy nails were also discovered in the same bog (see images below). The beforementioned wooden artefacts are of particular interest, since these have previously been

interpreted as possible clubs. Unfortunately, these wooden objects are missing today (von Post 1919:162,171, Storå et.al 2020, Van Beek et al. 2023).



Figure 4: Wooden clubs and Viking Age comb found at the Östra Vemmerlöv site.

As for the zoological remains, these are made up of a total of 786 skeletal parts, from at least 42 individuals, 4 cattle (*Bos taurus*), 2 horses (*Equus caballus*), 4 red deer (*Cervus elaphus*), 6 sheep (*Ovis aries*), 21 dogs (*Canis familiaris*), and 5 red foxes (*Vulpes vulpes*). The original excavator, Lennart von Post, had also reported a cranium of wild boar, however this specimen could not be located by Storå and his colleagues. Pit A (the smallest pit) contained the bones from a minimum of 4 zoological individuals, while the larger pits, B and C, held respectively 32 and 13 individuals. Again, note that the bones were all jumbled together in homogenous layers (Storå et.al 2020, Van Beek et.al. 2023).

And for the dating, the original excavators dated this find to the early bronze age, however, the radiocarbon dating conducted by Storå and colleagues in 2019/2020, could more precisely place the date to between the very latest Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age (c. 750-250 BCE), with the probability of the find belonging to the later part of this interval much more likely. This thus places the find in a much later period than what was first determined at the initial examinations in 1919/1927. From Storå and colleagues examinations, it became further evident that two major separate depositional events have likely occurred here at this site in the early part of the Pre-Roman Iron Age (Pit B and C) and one event slightly later during the Pre-Roman Iron Age (Pit A), with one additional later deposition within pit C, consisting of bones or body parts of sheep, during the 7-8th centuries CE, and a Viking Age comb in the 9-10th centuries CE (von Post 1919, Storå et al. 2020, Van Beek et al. 2023).

The individual radiocarbon dating for the specimens presented above is as follows in chronological order; *Individual 1* dates to 755-409 BCE (Ua-36739, 2445 ± 35 BP), *Individual 2* dates to 748-398 BCE (Ua-36740, 2410 ± 35 BP), *Individual 7* dates to 728-399 BCE (Ua-63130, 2396 ± 28 BP), *Individual 3* dates to 511-380 BCE (Ua-63126, 2355 ± 29 BP), *Individual 4* dates to 511-380 BCE (Ua-63129, 2351 ± 28 BP), *Individual 5* dates to 471-260 BCE (Ua-63128, 2326 ± 28 BP), and finally, *Individual 6* dates to 482-209 BCE (Ua-36742, 2310 ± 40 BP). This essentially dates all these individuals to the Pre-Roman Iron age, and they all died and were deposited within a span of 135 years.

2.8. The Archaeological context of south-eastern Scania

Surrounding the site of Östra Vemmerlöv and the Österlen area, there are several contemporaneous sites and archaeological remains visible in the archaeological material, such as excavated traces of settlements and cremation burials at the nearby village of Sofielust, located approximately two kilometres northeast of the key site. Here at Sofielust, cremation graves and urns were found covered by barely visible low stone settings on the ground, dating back to the late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age. In addition, ceramic urns containing cremated human remains have also been found in Vemmerlöv village, Vemmerlöv farm, Risbjär, and Karlaby estates (Björk 2005:217, Storå 2020). According to Storå and colleagues, approximately a kilometre northwest of the find place, a massive, twisted neck ring was found, and two others like it were also found at Tommarp, located circa six kilometres to the southeast. Both finds can be typologically dated to period VI of the Bronze Age, 700-500 BC. Another essential archaeological find in the vicinity of Östra Vemmerlöv is that of the rock carvings at Järrestad, located approximately four kilometres to the southeast of the find site. As Storå points out, the exact dating of these rock carvings is not easy to estimate, however they seem to have been created during the greater part of the Bronze Age, and possibly even continuing into the Pre-Roman Iron Age. The Järrestad rock carvings are the most well-preserved rock carvings in Scania, and some of the largest rock carving sites in southern Sweden, containing 1200 individual carvings. One of the more interesting images is that of a human, in what some people argue, the shape of a bird, often interpreted as a shaman. Other images found here are that of humans riding horses, circles, spirals, weapons, animals, bronze lures, wheel crosses and footprints. These footprints are reportedly carved in the direction going downwards the sloping rock, which gives the impression of these continuing down into the wetlands below. Storå points out the fact that this site was likely well known by the people residing around the area of Östra Vemmerlöv (Storå et al. 2020).

Storå and colleagues continue to remark on the ritual aspect of the entirety of this surrounding area. Which they describe as a hidden place, located at the lowest part of the landscape, closely surrounded by tall grass, bushes and trees. This site was undoubtedly surrounded by prehistoric remains, however the closest hills and slopes surrounding the find area seem to be lacking in such remains, although phosphate values indicate activities even here. The creation of Olof Arrhenius, an old phosphate map from the 1930's of Scania, originally intended to be used by beet farmers, quickly became a staple in archaeology when it was discovered that areas with heightened phosphate content might indicate human activity. And as noted by Storå, the soil on the long ridge immediately to the west of the wetland, as well as in a few minor areas to the north, south and east exhibits a high phosphate content, compared to that of the surroundings in the region. Even though no historic farms have been documented in these areas, this does not exclude the possibility that prehistoric activities could have taken place this close to the bog, however theories like these cannot be explored without excavations, which have been generally lacking in the area (Storå et al. 2020). Storå suggests this "empty" area as having functioned as a transit zone to and from the bog, remarking that people travelling to this place would have been seen from a long distance when entering and leaving this ridge. Monumental Bronze Age mounds are also located on top of the hills surrounding the bog, which probably functioned as obvious reminders of the past to the people passing through and residing in the area. Connected with these barrows is a metal deposition which was found just 450 metres west of the find area (Storå et al. 2020).

Before moving on, it shall also be mentioned that even during the younger Iron Age, this *Österlen Area* shows signs of continued importance, through the central places of Järrestad situated just outside this selected area, approximately 4 kilometres southeast from the key site, and even Ravlunda, located approximately 10 kilometres north from the key site. The Järrestad central place is dated to the period around c. AD 500-1050, and Ravlunda dates to approximately 400-1050 AD (Helgesson 2002:68f, Söderberg 2003:283f,288,293,302, Riddersporre 2003:144ff, von Heijne 2004).

3. METHODOLOGY

The methodology used in this study is primarily the spatial perspective, which is originally a way of thinking about how and why certain physical features are placed in certain geographical places. However more specifically in this study, the focus will be put on why specific processes, actions or events have occurred in certain geographical spaces, in relation to a few selected

areas of interest. Meaning that the relations between the archaeological remains of these actions or events, will be examined and analysed as compared to the bog skeleton find locations.

The majority of the data management for this study was conducted in GIS or Geographical Information System, more specifically ArcGIS pro. GIS has been described as the most powerful technological tool to be applied to archaeology since the invention of radiocarbon dating, and it is presently considered one of the most influential technologies in which to spatially manage and analyse archaeological information. GIS is currently used in many countries as a standard for archaeological documentation and analysis. One of the greatest strengths of the use of GIS in archaeology is its diversity, with several areas of use, namely data acquisition, spatial data management, database management, data visualisation and spatial analysis. It is a software which provides a tool to help people interact with, and better understand spatial information (Conolloy & Lake 2006:10f, Dell'Unto et.al 2016:75). The shapefiles of the archaeological remains were downloaded from *Fornsök*, a database provided by *The Swedish National Heritage Board*, which is Sweden's central administrative agency regarding cultural heritage. Within GIS, these were then sorted, studied, and manually dated. Furthermore, these were finally placed onto a georeferenced map, in order to better apply the spatial perspective by comparing and associating the different find sites with all the relevant archaeological remains within the selected areas.

Unfortunately, while collecting and analysing the material needed for this study, it soon became clear that there is a major gap in the accuracy and availability of data surrounding these key sites and the nearby archaeological remains. In general, there were little available information regarding the dating of these remains, and therefore I have had to cross-reference older literature and studies dealing with the same issues, in which these authors have had to date these archaeological remains by themselves, from the descriptions provided of these features. These are the dates I will utilize in my study, when none other are available through the *Fornsök* website, in addition to having to date some archaeological remains of my own ability when information and descriptions of dateable artefacts was available. However, please note that when no dateable descriptions were available, it was impossible to set a date to some of these remains, thus some of these remain undated and excluded from this study. To be specific, 89 archaeological remains out of a total 416, or approximately 20% of the selected archaeological remains were not possible to date. Such a high amount of unusable material is of course not ideal, and there may be a possibility that these remains, if dated, would be able to influence or even shift the results entirely.

As for the method of choosing the selection of material incorporated within the study, regarding first specifically the bog skeleton material, I believe that by only selecting a set of material dated to a specific time period in a smaller geographical area, this may provide a slightly higher chance that the results may be able to lead to an actual generalisation or better understanding of the phenomenon, as opposed to if a material with a wider dating span was incorporated, at least in a study of this size with a restricted time frame. And as for the choosing of the selected areas studied, the reasoning behind the six-kilometre radius, was that after a quick glance at the *Fornsök* website surrounding these key sites, it became obvious that this area size, and the high number of archaeological remains within these, seemed simultaneously small enough to be able to analyse during the predetermined time schedule of this study, and also big enough that it would be possible to see if there are any patterns visible in the surrounding landscape of each key site. However, please note that no pilot study of any kind was carried out before hand, only a few random samples of archaeological remains within these areas were looked at before creating the actual project within GIS. This random sampling was enough to understand that the large amount of the approximately 600 (before the sorting out of relevant remains) archaeological remains would have to be manually dated before the analysis. Additionally, even though the size of these selected areas were calculated as being six kilometres in radius with each key site in the centre, some of the selected areas did come to be much larger in the end. This because many of the key sites were located rather close to each other, and thus some areas may contain several key sites at once.

It shall also be mentioned here that there are no coordinates available for any of these find locations, meaning that I have had to essentially estimate where exactly to place these key sites of mine. However, with the find location in the Österlen area, this one was easily found since it was marked on the *Fornsök* website. It was rather easy to locate the specific bog-areas for the Gullåkra-Vesum area as well since these were well marked in digital maps. Although, I experienced some problems regarding the actual find sites or the relevant bog-areas for both the Hyby find and the Hässleberga find, since these finds were in general very badly documented, no specific bog area nor even a specific find year was available for these finds. After studying the digitalized geological maps of this area (SGU - *Sveriges Geologiska Undersökning*), there were several small bog areas surrounding these villages, so in order to be able to actually get on with the work, I simply chose to utilize the closest bog area to where the actual village was located, since these finds often are named after the closest villages of the find

sites (Van Beek et al. 2023). Similar circumstances were also surrounding the Åkarp and Tejarp site.

4. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

The theoretical framework may at first seem rather excessive. However, in order to actually understand not only the spatial perspective of this study, by examining the possible spatial relations of the material, but also what these spatial relations may say about the bog body material and the phenomenon itself, I needed to incorporate a larger set of theoretical perspectives. Specifically aimed at understanding the spatial relations of this thesis, is the utilization of the liminality perspective as well as using landscape archaeology as a theoretical perspective. Regarding the deeper understanding of the bog body material and the phenomenon, the ritual perspective will be utilized, although the liminality perspective will serve as the main theoretical perspective of this thesis and will thus be additionally be used here. And as for the entanglement theory, some aspects of this perspective will aid all throughout the analysis.

4.1.Liminality

The ideas about liminality were first developed by Arnold van Gennep within the realms of social anthropology. In his work on the meanings of different rites of passage, such as birth, coming of age, death and marriage, Van Gennep argued that before an individual could be regarded as having completed such a transition, three steps had to be taken. The first step was the *separation* of the individual, the second was their *transition*, and the third was their *incorporation* into a new state of being. This second stage, Van Gennep had termed *the liminal phase*, after the Latin word *limen*, meaning threshold or gateway (Turner 1977:94, Mulk & Bayliss-Smith 2007:111, Bigger 2009). Inspired by these ideas in Van Gennep's work titled *The Rites of Passage*, Victor Turner majorly developed the idea of liminality through his work on the rituals which accompanies rites of passage in African tribal societies, with a main focus on liminal persons, those who have entered the state of liminality (Turner 1977:94, Liebler 1995:117, Mulk & Bayliss-Smith 2007:111, Tomassen 2012:22).

Turner explained that something liminal, he uses the example of liminal entities, “are neither here nor there, they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial. As such their ambiguous and indeterminate attributes are expressed by a rich variety of symbols in many societies that ritualise social and cultural transitions” (Turner 1977:95, Mulk & Bayliss-Smith 2007:111). Turner goes on to explain that

the symbols used to represent liminality often relate to death, dissolution, decomposition, and foetal loss, or to their opposite states, gestation, birth, suckling etc. (Liebler 1995:117, Turner 1967:96, Mulk & Bayliss-Smith 2007:111, Thomassen 2012:23).

Turner is mainly addressing liminal people and he identifies certain occasions as being specifically liminal, such as rites of passage for example. However, he pays less attention to liminal spaces and places. Although, he notes that liminality is regarded as a time and place of withdrawal from normal modes of social action (Turner 1977:167). He gives the example of the initiation rites of North American Indigenous people, which involved going out alone into the wilderness to fast and pray. Thus, we can decode the sacred landscape of such societies if we can reconstruct sites of perceived anomaly and liminality in the landscape (Liebler 1995:117, Mulk & Bayliss-Smith 2007:95, 111, Bigger 2009).

However, in more recent publications, the term *liminal place* has become more prominent. Trubshaw focused more on liminal places, describing them as boundaries of place, which could incite inspiration or enchantment, perhaps even fear, or respect (Trubshaw 1995, Mulk & Bayliss-Smith 2007:112). More recently, Hazel Andrews and Les Roberts compiled a collection of discussions on liminality and places, or rather liminal landscapes, in their book *Liminal landscapes - travel, experience and spaces in-between*. Here, several authors describe and discuss liminality in connection to places and the landscape. Firstly, Andrews and Roberts explain these liminal places or landscapes as being found in the borderlands, at the fringes, or at the limits of “the centre”. However, they also note that there is more to it than this, had they only been discussing the peripheral, or the “far-away”, they would simply be dealing with marginality, and not liminality. The difference here is that marginality is that which is the furthest away from centre, and liminality on the contrary is that which is located in-between different spaces. The liminal can be seen as a boundary, a border, or a transitional landscape. Seasides and beaches are examples given of typical liminal landscapes (Andrews & Roberts 2012:1, Thomassen 2012:21). More relevant for this study, bogs, fens, mires, and other wetlands have long been considered as liminal places, by being seen as not fully water, nor fully solid ground (Monikander 2010:75,91,93, Pungas & Võsu 2012, Moen & Walsh 2022:498). This view on such places has in history and prehistory often been associated with danger, mystery, and the supernatural, perhaps even places where it was possible to commune with the gods (van der Sanden 1996:134, Monikander 2010:75, Moen & Walsh 2022:498).

Turner had previously stated that liminality refers to any “betwixt and between” situation or object, and this very understanding opens for possible uses of this concept of liminality, even beyond Turners own suggestions. Bjørn Thomassen, one of the authors included in the Andrews and Roberts volume, uses this insight to his advantage to further evolve the aspect of liminality. Thomassen claims that liminality can also be applied to single individuals, larger groups, or whole societies and even entire civilizations (Thomassen 2012:23f). Meaning that the whole concept of liminality is flexible enough for it to be used in several different areas of study, including landscapes and places. In other words, as long as something, be that an individual or a place, is in a state of “betwixt and between”, it is considered liminal. More importantly, Thomassen explains that liminal places can be either specific thresholds, or even extended areas, like borderlands or even whole countries, again, as long as these are located “in-between” (Thomassen 2012:26).

In addition to this, included in another chapter of the same book, authors Pungas and Võsu, explains that one way to conceptualize boundaries in culture is through the means of liminality, which is a spatial term referring to a threshold. Pungas and Võsu defines a liminal place as being situated in between two or more distinct environments, yet it cannot be identified with either one of these. They also note here that not all liminal places, especially those created in certain rituals, are socially marginal, and not all socially marginal places are liminal, which further adds to the flexibility of the term (Pungas & Võsu 2012:87f).

From the anthropological viewpoint, liminality means “being on a threshold”, it is a state which is “betwixt and between” the normal, day to day cultural and social states, getting and spending, law and order (Turner 1977, Bigger 2009). And according to this view, a liminal place exists only inasmuch as it is related to particular cultural practices, like different kinds of initiation rituals or rites of passage for example. These practices and values are related to liminal places, they are clearly distinct from the routines and rules of everyday life (Pungas & Võsu 2012:87)

4.2. Landscape archaeology as a theoretical perspective

Landscape archaeology is not only a certain field of archaeological research, but it can also be seen as a theoretical tool for conducting such research. A main definition of landscape archaeology is the analysis, through material culture, of the spatial dimension of human activity. Or in other words, exploring how human communities have related to a geographic space through time, in terms of how they utilized this certain space, and/or transformed its appearance

through work, and how they might have transformed its significance through cultural practices (Parcero-Oubiña et.al. 2014:1). A certain aspect of landscape archaeology which will be of use for this study, is to focus more on how these perspectives, meaning how the relationships between the man-made material culture still left and visible within the selected areas, may connect to the social and cultural perspectives.

4.3.Ritual, ritualization, and ritual practice

Catherine Bell is perhaps best known for her work on *ritualization*. She argues that there is never going to be an agreement on a definition of *ritual*, because ritual has too many functions and meanings. Instead, she suggested that one should rather look at what ritual *does*, instead of what it *is*. Bell thus turns to ritualization and defines this as a way of acting which essentially is designed and orchestrated in order to distinguish itself from other, usually more mundane activities. Meaning that ritualization is a matter of different culturally specific strategies, or certain social actions, which are used for setting certain activities apart from others, used to strategically distinguish between the sacred and the profane (Bell 1992:8,74,89f,103f, Bradley 2003:12, Verhoeven 2011:116,122f, Verhoeven 2015:29).

Based on Bell's definition of ritual and ritualization, Marc Verhoeven defines rituals as performances which are distinguished in both space and time, marked by explicit material and immaterial symbolism, which is often but not always related to the supernatural. He continues, and further defines ritual as something in which behaviour is guided and restricted by tradition, rules, and repetition. He notes that this definition only regards the form of rituals, and with regards to the function and meaning of ritual, he proposes that these are practices in which symbolic communication serves to establish relationships between humans and/or supernatural beings (Verhoeven 2011:118).

In her work, Bell found six basic categories of ritual action, which are the following: rites of passage, calendrical and commemorative rites, rites of exchange and communion, rites of affliction, rites of feasting fasting and festivals, and finally, political rituals (Bell 1997, Verhoeven 2011:118). Below, I shall briefly present three of these categories which, from understanding the previous theories behind the bog body phenomena (see below), may prove to be useful in my analysis.

Rites of passage, or so-called life-cycle rituals marks an individual's transition from one point in their life to another, from one social stage to another. For example, birth, death, puberty or marriage. Again, according to van Gennep all rites of passage are made up of a tripartite

structure, consisting of separation, transition, and incorporation, although Turner is perhaps the person best known for his work on the transitional, or liminal, stage, marked by ambiguity and anti-structural traits (Turner 1977, Verhoeven 2011:118). *Political rituals*, are practices which specifically construct, display, and promote the power of political institutions, such as king, state, or the village elders. Such political power is often established by using symbolism to inflict a notion of social cohesion based on shared norms and values (Bell 1997, Verhoeven 2011:121). Perhaps most relevant for this specific study are the *rites of exchange and communion*. These expresses and symbolises human-divine interactions, with the human expectation of receiving something in return for their gifts and offerings given to the supernatural beings. Such ritual acts of exchange often establish intricate and mutual dependencies between the natural and the supernatural, with the purpose of ensuring the prosperity of both. Offerings to the gods are the most straightforward examples, and sacrifices are special forms of offerings. In sacrifices, the specific offerings (objects or materials acting as gifts to the divine) are often sanctified, meaning that they are made holy, often by being destroyed in some way. Objects can be burned or broken in order to transfer them to the gods, or food can be eaten as a way to share it with them (Verhoeven 2011:120).

4.4. Entanglement

Taking inspiration from Bruno Latour with colleagues' *Actor Network Theory* (ANT), Ian Hodder's Entanglement can be seen as a simplified and perhaps a more complete way of thinking regarding the relationships between humans and things. Entanglement is explained as the dependences, dependencies and entrapment between humans and things (HT), things and things (TT), things and humans (TH) and humans and humans (HH). Entanglement is simply the addition of these four sets of dependences and dependencies, visualised by Hodder as the following equation: Entanglement = (HT) + (TT) + (TH) + (HH) (Hodder 2012:88f,98,103,112, Harman 2014:43f). The defining aspect of entanglement is that humans often get caught in a double bind, meaning that they depend on things which in turn depend on humans. Since things which we want rarely possesses the ability to reproduce themselves, so in our dependence on them, we become entrapped in their dependence on us. Hodder states that ANT clearly misses the importance of entrapment, and here his Entanglement is seen as more complete (Hodder 2012:88,91,93,98,103,112, Harman 2014:45). Hodder describes how this thing-dependence on humans entraps us into investment and care, this only because humans are so utterly dependent on things to begin with, and this entrapment is thus further amplified because things depend on other things. Meaning that there thus exists a dialectic relationship between dependence (often

productive and enabling), and dependency (often constraining and limiting). Humans and things, things and things, humans and humans all depend on each other, they rely on each other, and produce each other (Hodder 2012:88,98,103,112, Harman 2014:45).

Entanglements can sometimes be difficult to understand and control because they are not contained, and additionally they are difficult to predict because of the many “strands” of dependences and dependencies, which seem to spread out everywhere. Entanglements can be both practical involving real forces, as well as imagined. Meaning that entanglements are related to belief and the supernatural as much as any material *things*. They are in continual movements as events happen unexpectedly and they are multiplied in their effects along these complex heterogeneous strings and pathways (Hodder 2012:108,110). However, this complexity does not have to imply that the entanglement perspective is more complicated to work with, instead this means that it is more adaptive and user-friendly in several different research areas. That is why, the most important aspects of this theory I will utilize within this study, is the idea of how everything, humans, the landscape, and the material remains left in the landscape, are all connected, entangled, and dependent on each other. Hodder even clarifies that society appears to be made up of such interactions, between humans, things, and even cultural and social structures. In addition, it has long been accepted that material things are involved in this process, essentially assisting in the exchange of matter, energy, and information. However, these material things do more than just facilitate, they connect the paths and webs of interaction and communication with dependence and dependencies (Hodder 2012:59,111).

5. RESEARCH BACKGROUND

5.1. Wetland depositions

Water, wetlands, and waterlogged grounds have long represented an arena where, to us, particularly peculiar activities took place in prehistory. The remnants of which are visible today by the objects left behind in these places by our ancestors. The specific actions I am referring to are of course the fascinating wetland depositions. This phenomenon, having a long continuity of almost 10,000 years, is a varied and continuous tradition, with its roots stretching at least as far back to the Mesolithic. During long periods of our prehistory, people have deposited things, materials and sometimes even other people in wetlands and bodies of water, perhaps without the intention of ever returning to retrieve these again. Even to this day, we continue with similar actions by tossing coins in fountains or wishing wells (Fabech 1989:301, Berggren 2010:19,23f, Menotti 2013, Johannessen 2016:13, Eriksen 2017:343, Van Beek et.al 2023).

The deed of depositing something, object or otherwise, most likely served varying purposes during this long period. These actions might even have obtained varying meanings within the different regions of this wide area in which depositions like these commonly appear, in southern Scandinavia and large parts of northern Europe. From Neolithic depositions of magnificent flint axes to large Iron Age weapon depositions, and even medieval coins tossed into natural springs, all these examples most likely require different interpretations and explanations. And although there is a large variation of interpretations for such depositions through time, such as objects having been lost or hidden, there is a general trend in explaining such finds as offerings of some sort (Fabech 1989:301, Berggren 2010:19ff, Menotti 2013:11,16, Johannessen 2016:11).

Some of the reasons as to why wetland depositions often are interpreted as being sacrifices are firstly, that many of the objects found in these ways, unlike artefacts typically connected to burials, will usually display signs of intentional destruction. Some types of artefacts might even solely be found in cases like these, like the iconic Bronze Age lurs for instance. Although, since the recoveries of these artefacts typically occur in connection with peat cutting, some of the above-mentioned destruction may be the results of this (Johannessen 2016:8ff). Since the very early stages of studying this phenomenon, there have been varying emphasis and trends in use, with some researchers focusing on specific objects, and others on certain geographical areas (Berggren 2010:20).

Charlotte Fabech (1989), for instance, argued that depositional finds were sacrificial and divided these up into three categories, namely *fertility sacrifices*, represented by pottery, food offerings, metal vessels, sacrificed animals, bronze ornaments etc, *booty sacrifices*, represented by items from the equipment of an Iron Age army, performed after a military victory, and lastly, *human sacrifices*, obviously represented by human beings being deposited in the wetlands. This third category will be further presented below (Fabech 1989 301ff, Johannessen 2016:7f).

Whereas Berggren (2010) takes a more environmental approach and argues for the fact that the surroundings where the depositions took place was of particular significance, and that the physical environment was an underlying part of that which created the importance and meaning of these acts. Berggren continues and refers to natural springs, which seem to have been a magnet to such depositions, specifically springs with reddish water. Perhaps the actual running water itself might at times have played a specific role when choosing the place for depositions. There are even some instances where light phenomena are said to appear above bogs and mires, like at Martebo mire, on Gotland for example (Berggren 2010:26ff). Fredengren (2022) have

provided an interesting comparison with these reddish iron rich springs being used for depositions, by likening this red water with the use of red ochre in skeletal burials in soil (Fredengren 2022:143).

Perhaps one of the more surprising types of wetland depositions would be that of the several instances where something called *bog butter* have been found, most commonly in Ireland and Scotland, in a number now exceeding 500 findings in Ireland alone. Bog butter, rather self-explanatory, is just that, lumps of butter sometimes wrapped in animal skins, tree bark, or found in other types of containers, most commonly deposited in bogs. The oldest dated bog butter was previously believed to date to the Iron Age, but now there have been examples found to date to the early Bronze Age. Researchers have been theorizing that these butters were deposited specifically to be preserved and stored long term, which has led to further theorists claiming that the ancient peoples must have known of the incredible preservative qualities of these unique environments (Mattiangeli et.al 2020).

To conclude this section, I would like to emphasise that wetland depositions did not only take place in one kind of place, nor in any specific kind of waterbodies, like running water, or still waters. Thus, there is a possibility that in some areas where these actions took place, water might have been visible only at certain times of the year, meaning that depositions have also been made in areas of accumulated vegetation and peat, hence bogs and mires, without water being visible at the time of deposition. There are several examples of things being deposited in pre-dug pits in such areas (von Post 1919, Glob 1965, Berggren 2010:29, Ravn 2010:111, Ravn 2011, Johannessen 2016:14, Storå et al. 2020, Fredengren 2022:154, Van Beek et al. 2023).

5.2.The bog body phenomenon

Arguably some of the most well-researched group of finds encountered in wetlands, or more specifically bogs, are of course the bog bodies. These human remains found in waterlogged areas across large parts of northern Europe have been known and studied since the 18th century. However, this find group most commonly encountered by peat diggers or field workers were rarely appropriately excavated or documented early on. Many of these earlier finds were simply noted down in private records and exist now only as “paper bodies”, with the actual remains often disposed of by being buried in local cemeteries or returned to the peat. Additionally, rarely were these individuals ever found in company of other finds, making them hard to date, and in turn the phenomenon hard to interpret. However, in later research, from the 19th century and onwards, it has been proven that many of these bog bodies belonged to the late Bronze Age and

the Early Iron Age. Although this is a phenomenon which have been present since at least the neolithic and well into modern times, with some even claiming that certain finds can be dated back to the Mesolithic (Fabech 1989:301, Ravn 2011, van der Sanden 2013:403,406, Menotti 2013:19, Johannessen 2016:12f, Nielsen et.al. 2020:1,8,10).

Most often what comes to mind when we think of bog bodies, are the spectacularly preserved Danish individuals, like that of Tollund man and Grauballe man. This is completely understandable, since these naturally mummified remains looks as if they had died barely a short time ago, despite being thousands of years old. Since the first discoveries of this kind, there have been a multitude of studies carried out on such remains, however most of the focus has been placed on the most spectacular of finds, like the ones mentioned above. Although, there are in actuality different kinds of bog bodies. In addition to the bog mummies there are also the bog skeletons, and these skeletons have unfortunately not received the same amount of attention and dedicated studies as the better-preserved bodies. These individuals have often even been completely excluded in the discussion of why people were deposited in bogs during prehistory. This is for obvious reasons incredibly problematic, mainly because the primary distinction between these two categories of human remains is solely due to the geo-chemical and bog-geological conditions present in the individual bogs where these individuals were once placed (Fabech 1989:301, Ravn 2010:106, Ravn 2011, Johannessen 2016:12ff, Moen & Walsh 2022:483).



Figure 5 & 6: The faces of Grauballe man (left) and Tollund man (right).

5.2.1. Low bogs and high bogs

The chemical processes which occur in the bog will affect the preservation of the archaeological material found, and therefore, also affect our interpretations. Low bogs, or fens, are very

calcareous and rich in nutrients, and thus alkaline. This essentially means that there are plenty of nutrients accessible for the bacteria which will break down the soft tissues of the bodies. Meaning, skin, hair, internal organs, and possible clothing pieces will completely vanish in low bogs. However, the high content of lime present, ensures that the skeletal parts are preserved. Thus, it is in low bogs we find bog skeletons (Fabech 1989:301, van der Sanden 1996, 16,18, Fischer 1999 Ravn 2010:107, Ravn 2011, Johannessen 2016:13). These fens, or low bogs, are generally more reliant on groundwater, which explains the nutrient rich environment (van der Sanden 1996:21f).

High bogs, or raised bogs on the contrary, relies on heavy rainfall and thus contains poor mineral values, and are instead very acidic, meaning they inhibit a low pH-value. This acidity starts a tanning process, where skin, nails, hair, and other soft tissues are preserved. Additionally, this same process is dependent on both the speed in which an oxygen-poor environment is created in the bog, as well as the temperature at the time of the deposit. Although, the main reason behind this natural mummification process, is a specific kind of moss - sphagnum moss. Within the cell walls of this peat moss, a long molecule - a polysaccharide, can be found. This molecule contains a series of monosaccharides, which are slowly released when the sphagnum moss dies. This substance, *Sphagnum* as it is called, can bind calcium and nitrogen, meaning that it will extract calcium from the bones, which in turn leaves the skeletons of these bog mummies soft and rubbery. Naturally, bones in this consistency can easily become deformed due to the immense pressure of the overlying peat above. Therefore, we must keep this in mind when interpreting the breaks and deformities found on the bog bodies as signs of trauma and violence. In addition to all this, *Sphagnum* also starts the tanning process of the soft tissues and hair, which results in a melanin reaction, and this occurs in the interaction between the *Sphagnum*, amino acids and ammonia, which also binds nitrogen, again further resulting in the halting of bacterial growth, and aiding in the mummification process (Fabech 1989:301, van der Sanden 1996:16,18,21f,25, Fischer 1999, Ravn 2010:107, Ravn 2011, Johannessen 2016:13, Nielsen et.al. 2020:2).

As evident from the previous paragraphs, there are general differences between the types of bog bodies found in different kinds of waterlogged grounds, and generally, the raised bogs do provide the best preservative qualities. Although this does not necessarily mean that all bodies found in such bogs are in great condition. The preservation conditions may vary greatly within a single bog, meaning that the placement and location of the body within said bog may determine in which condition it may survive in. It has been noted that bodies found closer to

the edges of bogs, were in generally worse shape than those found further in the middle of a bog. In some cases, it has also been noted how the down facing side of the body have been better preserved (van der Sanden 1996:16).

5.2.2. The changing bog-landscape

Something which should be noted in addition to the presentation above, is just how much bogs and wetlands may change over time. Whether it be the size of the bog, or the general shape and the edges of said bog, these unique environments tend to develop and evolve naturally on its own, and even secondarily through the interference of humans. Depending on the landscape in which a certain bog may be located, it may change with different speed through different times, all due to the environmental factors present in the said landscape, which means that the different preservative qualities of the bog may also change over time (Zein-Elabdin 2019:168f, Fredengren 2022:143). See Zein-Elabdin's dissertation (2019) for an in-depth example of such a study, centring around the Danish Bjældskovdal bog and the English Lindow moss. Even the specific bogs included in this study will likely have changed greatly through time, even before and after the individual acts of deposition. However, unfortunately this specific thesis will not focus on this aspect of the bogs, even if this factor may have affected the structure of the landscape, as well as the interpretation of the spatial relations. This aspect has not been possible to incorporate here since in order to understand just how a specific bog may have evolved through time, several core samples would have been needed to be collected and analysed, which was simply just not within the framework for this study, nor could I find any previous analyses of this kind already being conducted on the bogs included here.

Plunkett and colleagues (2009), provides an excellent example of what the paleoenvironmental samples of a bog and its surrounding landscape may produce, in terms of information regarding the surrounding landscape. By analysing pollen, microfossils, amoebae, and the like, from the bog in which the Oldcroghan Man was discovered, the authors were able to essentially reconstruct the ancient landscape and its evolution around the time of the deposition. Interestingly, the results of this study indicated that the Oldcroghan Man was deposited at a time when increased human activity was noted in the area surrounding the bog. In addition, the pollen analysis may indicate that this individual was deposited at a time associated with the landscape clearance of trees, which according to the authors corresponds well with landscape clearance of trees and thus the cultural change which accompanied the start of the Early Iron Age in Ireland (Plunkett et al. 2009:265f,275)

5.2.3. Theories behind the bog body phenomenon

Since the very first bog bodies surfaced already in the 17th centuries, this phenomenon had been known to people well before the onset of archaeology as a discipline. Therefore, already since the infancy of the discipline, there have been a multitude of different theories arguing for the reasons behind why these individuals ended up deposited in bogs like this. One of the earliest theories was first coined in the 18th century by professor of archaeology and history, Johanna Mestorf, who connected the then twelve known bog bodies with the descriptions of executed criminals by Publius Cornelius Tacitus, in his *Germania*. By 1907 the number of known bog bodies had now increased to fifty-two, and the leading theory was still that of these individuals being executed criminals. There are still researchers today who subscribe to this theory, generally pointing to evidence such as exaggerated violence, nakedness, restraints with poles and branches, as well as bogs being an unusual grave location, in support for these claims. Although restraints with poles and sticks may simply be a kind of general protection against ghosts and ghouls, not necessarily something only reserved for criminals (Glob 1965:60ff, Monikander 2010:77, Ravn 2010:107ff, van der Sanden 2013:403f, Johannessen 2016:12f, Moen & Walsh 2022:487). And with regard to the nakedness, it should be mentioned that at the time of Ravn's study in 2010, 34% of the then 560 known Bronze Age and Iron Age bodies were not naked, and instead it is believed that this number in actuality is greater. This because the clothing may have deteriorated in the bog, as mentioned previously, depending on the material of such items of course (Ravn 2010:107ff, van der Sanden 1996:127f, Johannessen 2016:12f, Nielsen et al. 2020:9).

However, signs of exaggerated violence may not necessarily be a sign of punishment either, as previously stated, it might as well be connected to the pressure put on the remains of the overlying turf, or perhaps the results from the modern-day treatment at the time of discovery. Such signs of exaggerated violence, which are sometimes coined *the overkill theory* may even be a sign of ritualistic sacrifice. This overkill theory is often seen and described as an individual enduring several, often three or more, forms of violence in connections with their deaths, with each of these being brutal enough to lead to death (Fabech 1989:301, Ravn 2010:107ff, Ravn 2011, Johannessen 2016:12ff, Nielsen et al. 2022:2). For instance, the Grauballe man had been interpreted as being victim to this theory, by enduring stabbing, severe skeletal fractures, and a cutthroat, deep enough to almost separate the head entirely from the body (Glob, 1969:37, Fischer, 1999). Contrary to this overkill theory, Fredengren has recently launched a new term and theory regarding the pathological signs of diseases and even malnourishment seen in some

bog bodies, specifically those present surrounding the Uppåkra vicinity (see Fredengren 2018 and 2022). Fredengren claims that signs of such ailments may be evidence of these individuals living in rather challenging life situations, which she suggests may be interpreted as a *slow violence*, which may be interpreted as a different sacrificial aspect of the phenomenon. Fredengren claims that these pathological signs may be interpreted as these individuals and their life stories of suffering and vulnerabilities may have been a part of the process of how these eventually were selected and deposited in bogs (Fredengren 2022:146,149).

The sacrificial theory was first advocated for in the 1950's, by archaeologist Elise Thorvildsen. She was the first to connect these bog-remains with the sacrificed inanimate objects in the bogs. Archaeologist Peter Vilhelm Glob was quick to accept this theory of sacrifice. Glob even divided the bog bodies up into three categories: accidental deaths, murdered, and sacrificed, however he emphasised that bog bodies should primarily be regarded as sacrificial gifts to a deity, possibly Odin or Nerthus – Mother Earth, and only a few of the bodies should be regarded as accidental deaths or murder victims (Glob 1965:120,123f, Fabech 1989:301, Ravn 2010:110, van der Sanden 2013:406). Most researchers today support the sacrifice theory. However, there is still a debate regarding to who, or what, exactly they were sacrificed to. In the late 1970's, archaeologist Christian Fischer presented the idea of bog bodies serving as thank-you-offerings to the god or gods that may have felt violated or insulted by the digging for turf or bog-iron ore. Fischer even suggested that the bog bodies which were determined to have died of hanging were specifically sacrificed to the God of the hanged, a predecessor to Odin (Fischer 1979:43, Ravn 2010:110, Van der Sanden 2013:409, Johannessen 2016:12f). Even the act of drowning someone might have served a secondary function as an offering to the gods. Tacitus' *Germania* has been referenced to in this argument, where it is described how the Germanic people punished cowards, criminals, and deserters by submerging these individuals into the slimy bog, and later covering them with branches and sticks, securing their place in the mud below (Tacitus 1970:12, van der Sanden 2013:404,406, Johannessen 2016:13, Moen & Walsh 2022:487).

The first bog bodies discovered in The United Kingdom were found in the 1980's, when three bodies surfaced in the Lindow Moss, near Manchester. Due to pollen from the toxic mistletoe found in the intestines of the individual called Lindow II, combined with the excessive violence these individuals had endured, as well as the blue dye found on two of these bodies, these were interpreted as having been sacrificed (van der Sanden 2013:407). It was not until the early 2000's the first Irish bog bodies were discovered, when two male bodies were found in 2003, the Clonycavan Man and the Oldcroghan Man. These men have also been interpreted to serve

as ritualistic killings, more interestingly, they had arguably been of higher status, and deposited in bogs near ancient barony boundaries. Leading archaeologist Eamonn Kelly to believe that these individuals might have been ancient kings or rulers, sacrificed in connections to failing harvests, and thus placed in these specific areas, since boundaries were connected to the territorial earth goddess, which was someone who the ancient kings supposedly were deeply connected to. Similarly, he found that other sacrificed objects connected to kingship, harvests and fertility had been deposited in bogs at boundaries (Kelly 2006a;2006b;2012). Very few studies have been conducted on this relationship between bog bodies and ancient boundaries, or even the surrounding landscape at all, however, outside of Ireland, similar patterns have also been noted in the Netherlands (van der Sanden 2013:412f).

Also, in the early 2000's, historian Allan A. Lund published his interpretations on the phenomenon. Lund viewed these individuals as social outcasts and witches. The unusual burials, the mistreating of the bodies, and the restrictions of these, were all evidence which were referenced to in order to prove his theory. Lund, amongst others believes that the preservative effects of the bog were generally known to the people at the time, and he claims that this preservation might have led the people of the past to believe that the deposited individuals would be secured in a condition, or position, between the living and the dead (Lund 2002:76ff, Ravn 2010:110).

Another theory behind this phenomenon put forward by Morten Ravn, would be that of these bog people simply dying of natural causes, and then being buried in an unusual burial custom. For example, socially important individuals like political leaders or healers might be buried differently than normal, or perhaps the deviant burial practice, could simply be the result of the dying individual's specific last wish (Ravn 2010:110,112). For instance, in the Danish material, where we find some of the most well-preserved individuals, several bog bodies have been found placed in excavated pits lined with sprigs of heather, cotton grass and pieces of birch bark. Within these burials there are artefacts found which can be interpreted as grave gifts (however, these objects are not specified by Ravn). Even considerable care for the deceased seems to have taken place in some of these examples, which is seen in the form of the individuals being enveloped in textiles and fur. Specifically, the bog bodies dating back to the Roman Iron Age seem to have been buried with this amount of special care, and thus it should be noted that the grave customs and probably also the sacrificial traditions were heavily influenced by the Roman Empire at this time, which can be seen in the imported grave gifts. Ravn notes that the declining number of bog bodies in the Roman Iron Age could be due to an ideological influence from the

Roman Empire. Human sacrifices were heavily frowned upon by the romans and may thus have been gradually replaced by anthropomorphic idols. Interestingly, the declining number of bog bodies at this time, coincides rather well with an increase in the number of anthropomorphic wooden figurines found in bogs dating back to this period (Lund 2002:47, Ravn 2010:111, Ravn 2011).

Additionally, Ravn proposes another interpretation of the supposed violence seen in these bodies, where he explains that the individuals showing these signs of violence may possibly still have died of natural causes, meaning that this violence could have occurred post-mortem as a form of destruction of the bodies. Which according to Ravn, is something that seems to have been an important aspect of the transition between the living and the dead. Whether cremating, skeletonising, removal of limbs, or other kinds of violence, Ravn implies this destruction would release the soul from the body and simultaneously make it impossible for the dead to return to the world of the living (Ravn 2010:112, Ravn 2011). He also refers to the Celtic cosmology, where bogs and lakes were believed to possess healing and life-giving properties, which could be a possible explanation as to why these areas might have been used as burial places, to pass some of these characteristics on to the person who died, so that they might arrive healthy and healed in the afterlife. Artefacts found together with some of the bog bodies seem to support this theory, namely that of large stones which according to old superstition, also had a healing effect. However, caution should be taken when linking superstitious thinking from the 18th and 19th centuries back to the customs of the early Iron Age, even if such connections are very interesting (Ravn 2010:113, Ravn 2011). Although, it should be mentioned that this explanation of bog bodies as being the results of alternative burials has been rejected by most researchers (Johannessen 2016:13), however at this present level of research, this explanation seems as likely as any.

More recently, Wijnad Van der Sanden, amongst others, has emphasised that it is difficult to generalise about the bog body phenomenon, he states that these individuals should not simply be regarded as the results of one single specific action, such as sacrifices within a fertility cult, but could just as easily have been sacrifices in connection to military victories and the like. However, in general, Van der Sanden, as most researchers today, believes that the majority of these individuals were sacrificed. The current main argument for the sacrifice theory is that in prehistory, bogs were regarded as sacrificial sites, probably shrewd in mystery, and thus the bog bodies must be regarded as sacrificial objects, just like the rest of the things found in similar contexts. As will be further presented below, the normative burial custom in use during the Pre-

Roman Iron Age was cremation, whereas sacrifices were associated with bogs and water, however this does not prove that a different burial in water must be exclusively connected to sacrifice. Again, another piece of evidence which is central to the sacrificial theory is the signs of violence seen in several of the bog bodies. This has often been interpreted as “ritual destruction” of the sacrificed “object”, likened to that of intentionally destroyed wetland depositions, however as presented earlier, this “violence” might be the result of other variables (Glob 1965:121, Monikander 2010:91, Ravn 2010:110, Ravn 2011, van der Sanden 2013:406, Johannessen 2016:12f).

To anyone studying the bog body material, it soon becomes clear that there is not really any one common denominator between all these unique individuals. The material is rather varied, comprising of both women and men in all different ages, additionally, there are no indications of any other outlying characteristics, like only tall or short people, nor only people who are disabled. Thus, what can be concluded regarding this phenomenon so far, is that not one single reason, tradition or ritual seem to be the sole underlying explanation as to why some individuals were deposited like this. What seems to be evident is that during the long period in which acts like these were carried out, from the neolithic and well into the medieval period, some individuals may have been sacrificed, and others might have been accidental deaths or murdered. Some may even have died of natural causes and wished for a unique final resting place, there is, at this time, truly no generalisation regarding the bog body phenomenon (Ravn 2010:111,113, Ravn 2011, van der Sanden 2013, Johannessen 2016:12f). Although I do agree with Van der Sanden and others above, that a majority of these individuals seem to have been deposited in a sacrificial sense, even if some few specimens may have ended up in similar contexts for other reasons.

5.2.4. Bog skeletons

Now for the often-neglected group of finds, the bog skeletons. Although making up the majority of the bog body finds, this subcategory has been subject to so very few studies, compared to their better-preserved counterparts. This has resulted in there being very little literature written on these individuals, and only very recently have researchers begun to pay some attention to these remains (see e.g., Fredengren 2018, Nielsen et.al. 2020, Moen & Walsh 2022 or Van Beek et.al. 2023). Although, it comes as no surprise that these skeletons have been largely overlooked in research, since the lack of soft tissue makes it difficult to properly analyse these remains, to assess cause of death, their final meal, etc. Not to mention, these remains are rarely ever able

to capture the curiosity and compassions of people in the same way as the more well-preserved individuals (Van der Sanden 1996:16, Ravn 2011, Nielsen et.al. 2020:1,8, Moen & Walsh 2022:483).

In a study from 2020, Nielsen and colleagues analysed ten Danish bog skeletons, all ranging in date from the Neolithic to the Roman Iron Age. The findings emanating from this study were interesting to say the least. Nine out of the ten individuals showed strontium isotopic values indicating a local origin, however one female individual was presumed to have a non-local origin. In addition, palaeopathological results indicated that two out of the ten individuals presented gross pathologies in the lower limbs, not resulting from birth defects but rather disease or injuries later in life. This meant that their mobility must have been affected, possibly resulting in these individuals standing out as “different” in their societies. Although, based on the osteological examination showed no signs of peri-mortem trauma or signs of violence. Interestingly, the above-mentioned female is one of these two individuals. Thus, this probable mobility issue, coupled with her potential status as an “outsider”, could support the hypothesis that such individuals were more likely to be selected as sacrifices, claims Nielsen and colleagues, with these specific characteristics perhaps being interpreted as being “touched” or “favoured” by the gods, and therefore viewed as an appropriate gift to be returned to the supernatural world via the bog. However, death by natural causes followed by a later burial in a bog cannot be completely ruled out (Nielsen et.al. 2020:1,10). This seemingly complete contradiction to previous ideas regarding bog people not standing out as an abnormality in the contemporary society, further proves the importance of incorporating the bog skeletons into the complete discourse surrounding the bog body phenomenon. Although some common denominators can be found with both the skeletons and with the mummified remains, namely the overkill theory may in many cases be disregarded, meaning that most skeletal injuries are probably due to the pressure of the overlying peat. Another thing the two find categories have in common is the apparent peak in bog body numbers dating back to the late Bronze Age and the early Iron Age, which would possibly indicate a higher societal need or desire to conduct such offerings (Nielsen et.al. 2020:2,10).

A rather different approach was taken in a Swedish example, in Fredengren’s 2018 study. Here, the author mapped some of the processes which led to these specific people to become bog bodies, by investigating their role in the contemporary political ecology. Inspired by gender theory and the way in which it reconfigures the analysis of the bodies and the environment, the relationships entangled in wetlands and bogs via depositions are in focus. Here Fredengren

highlights that there seemed to be a number of different processes which led to the becoming of bog bodies in the area surrounding the Iron Age central place of Uppåkra, namely gender, class politics, sacrificial logic, and the workings of necropolitics. This examination of care and neglect in the south Swedish bog depositions also highlighted the issue regarding the assumptions that human remains naturally signify a sacrificed “person”. What she suggests is that, by noting a pattern of mainly male individuals being deposited here, there may have been concerted and systematic actions that produced what would be termed a *sacrificeable masculinity*, rather than simply a human being. She also highlights the fact that the depositions which occurred in this area might be a local manifestation and transformation of the more universal bog body phenomenon (Fredengren 2018:1,16, Fredengren 2022:146,149,). Fredengren has also argued that the killing of these individuals may likely have taken place elsewhere, since this specific set of material mainly contains the skulls of the individuals (Fredengren 2022:146). However, as will be discussed in my analysis below, this is not necessarily the only interpretation.

In a more recent publication, Moen and Walsh, applies a similar perspective to these lesser-known skeletal remains. Here the selected remains are put in a wider theoretical framework of sacrifice and personhood, while the authors examined whether or not the assumption of personhood rests in a human body when confronting ancient human remains and what this may imply for interpretations of human bodies in votive settings (Moen & Walsh 2022:483,495). The authors concluded that some human lives as offerings were likely more or less valuable than others, depending on several different factors regarding the victims, their relationship to their sacrificer, the underlying reasons for the ritual, and its intended results, hence, the sacrificial offerings reflect an entanglement of lives, values, personhood, relationships, and cultural context, which all together created their meaning. In addition, Moen and Walsh claim that we need to further consider how human remains relate to personhood in a context wider than just requiring a complete human body. Portions or fragments of bodies deposited into these waterlogged areas may even have been understood to represent entire kin groups or communities, because they were disarticulated and removed from the normative burial praxis. Furthermore, these watery locations and the remains placed in them might impose a kind of ontological or existential entanglement, between the observer and the observed. Thus, the wetland as a sacred landscape might invoke in the Iron Age observer a sense of communication and exchange with the transempirical, made stronger through the investment of material remains (Moen & Walsh 2022:497). Additionally, they hypothesised that perhaps very young

children had a lower social value, and thus by “sacrificing a child, something technically proper (a human life), but of lower social value, the necessary exchange could have been made without undue social stress” (Moen & Walsh 2022:498).

This relational study thus places bog skeletons and disarticulated human remains in a framework which explores the understandings of past personhood as not limited to, nor necessarily contained in, the human body. In other words, even though these skeletal remains may represent sacrificed human remains, this does not necessarily make them human sacrifices. Meaning that a complete bog body, to us, the present-day observers, represents a person from the past, but to the contemporary observer, and in the context of conditional or relational personhood, this is not so simple. To conclude, these authors claim that seeking answers in the relations may be the key to better understand the varied logics at play within the bog body phenomenon (Moen & Walsh 2022:493,495,498f).

5.2.5. Bog bodies seen through a wider lens

Not until very recently there have been steps taken to apply a spatial, or landscape archaeological perspective, on the bog body material. However, these publications, and their results, briefly presented below, show just how important it is to apply such a wider lens to this material, because by doing this, we are able to get completely new insights into this phenomenon.

Stevens and Chapman’s publication from 2019 is a study which focuses on the regional patterns and the distribution of bog bodies, based on a case study from the United Kingdom. Their paper presents the results from examining all the known bog bodies found across England, Wales, and Scotland, which argues that a geographical approach to this material provides a very different outcome as opposed to only focusing on single individual-based research. Interestingly, these authors arrived at the conclusions that there exist significant sub-regional patterns of the distribution of these bog bodies, and in addition they note an apparent peak of signs of violence present with specifically the Iron Age bog bodies (Stevens and Chapman 2019:131). The evidence presented in this publication additionally points to the many different traditions which may explain why certain individuals ended up deposited in bogs. And this range of different categories of human remains deposited as well as interpreting these as a single archaeological entity, is highly problematic. The authors press that the only actual common denominator between many of these finds is that they all happened to be buried or deposited in the same kind of waterlogged environment (Stevens and Chapman 2019:150).

Zein-Elabdin's dissertation from 2019 is yet another example of how research has recently started to view the bog body material through a wider perspective. This dissertation examines the wider landscape archaeology of this material, specifically through a case study of Lindow II and Tollund Man. Here, the author studied the surrounding archaeological traces, as well as how these specific landscapes did evolve into the bog landscape. Furthermore, the specific positions and locations of these two famous bog bodies were assessed in order to spatially explore the relationship of these locations and the edges of the bog. This investigation did show how there was an absence of "cultural archaeology" surrounding the deposition locations of these individuals, of circa a 1.9-kilometre circumference (Zein-Elabdin 2019).

In the very recent Van Beek et al. study from early 2023, we can see the first example of a study including not only bog mummies *and* bog skeletons but taking an even further step in including *all* known northern European bog bodies to date. In this study, based on a database made up of 266 sites and over a thousand bog bodies, which the authors differentiate and define as bog mummies, bog skeletons and disarticulated or partial skeletal remains. The analysis within the study demonstrates fluctuating depositions of human remains between the early neolithic and early modern times, with significant and spatial clustering as well as variations in site characteristics. These results showed previously unidentified activity phases and highlight issues with categorising finds around ritual violence (Van Beek et al. 2023).

Thus, with these recent publications briefly presented above, we can finally see how researchers are beginning to utilize the full potential of the bog body material, and arguably move in the "right direction" of this research. Meaning that by incorporating more bog bodies, skeletal parts and mummified remains, more questions surrounding this subject may get answered. In addition, by not only including all different bog body categories in research, but also by analysing the setting in which these acts took place, will lead to many new important insights.

5.3.Human remains in a historical context

5.3.1. The historical treatment of human remains within research

In the Scandinavian countries, there have long existed a great interest in human anatomy. Specifically in Sweden, this was represented by Carl von Linné's excavation of a prehistoric grave on Öland, in the mid 1740's. Which, after examining the skeletal remains, supposedly led him to estimate the individual to measure a staggering 2,38 meters tall. Not long after, the tomb of the Swedish King Karl XII was opened, and the remains examined with curiosity, trying to determine if indeed the King had been shot by enemy forces, or if he was assassinated

by his own men. This specific grave was opened several times throughout the 1700s, and the following centuries, indeed demonstrating the importance placed in Sweden on human bodily remains and their capacity to solve historical and scientific questions (Ahlström & Arcini 2012).

Although, throughout Scandinavia already from the middle of the 17th century, anatomical dissections were regularly conducted for personal curiosity and interests, and soon the study of human anatomy from a medical perspective was introduced. This growing knowledge of the human anatomy became the foundations of the interest in mankind's physical variations, or so-called "races", and eventually, in the human evolution. Additionally, there had also long been an interest in curating and creating anatomical collections, first simply as the results of personal interests, which later resulted in the creation of academic disciplines, such as osteology and paleopathology (Bennike et al. 2008:459, Ahlström & Arcini 2012). This interest resulted in people specifically collecting and studying human craniums. It was through these craniums, early researchers later begun their studies on human anatomies and evolution (Bennike et al. 2008:460).

It was during the first half of the 19th century, when our prehistory was first defined and divided into the three main divisions as we know them today. Based mainly on artefact studies which identified the use of three main raw materials, our prehistory was thus divided into the stone-, bronze-, and iron age. This was conducted by Danish Christian Jørgensen-Thomsen. Also at this time the earliest analyses of Danish prehistoric skeletal remains were conducted, although still only focusing on the craniums (Bennike et al. 2008:460). And thus, finally in the early 1900s, the interest in prehistoric human skeletons were growing, and the first attempt at categorizing the then all known prehistoric Danish skeletal remains from the early archaeological excavations were made, an effort which was soon followed by the other Scandinavian countries. It was also at this time when the bigger anatomical collections were established at museums and varying university institutions (Bennike 2008:463ff).

Thus, what is made clear is that there has long been a tendency to collect and care for human craniums in osteological and anatomical interests, unfortunately leading to ignoring and discarding the rest of the skeletal remains. And, as we already know, this non-interest, was also seen in the bog body material early on, when the earliest bog bodies found, were simply left in the bog, or buried at a nearby cemetery, and then simply noted down on a piece of paper, if even that. This seen from the perspective of the peat diggers was the logical choice, since if

local police had been called, and an investigation had been opened, this would halt the work and lead to a loss of time and money (van der Sanden 1996:20).

Additionally, we know that many of the bog bodies ever found, were found during the infancy of the discipline, during the peak of manual peat digging, or even earlier, meaning that people either did not care, or did not know what to do, or how to properly care for and preserve these bodies, which sadly resulted in many of these drying out and soon deteriorating. That is why so very few of these specimens still exist today, with the more well preserved, unique, and famous individuals on display at museums around Europe. Whereas the bog skeletons and the other “less exciting” individuals which managed not to completely turn to dust, are stored in cardboard boxes somewhere in museum storage facilities (van der Sanden 1996:20), or they may perhaps be included in an osteological collection somewhere, with their stories just waiting to be told.

Since much of the bog skeleton material included in this study was discovered around a century ago, and some possibly even before that, as is the possibility in the cases which we do not know when these were even found, I feel it is important to get acquainted with how human remains have been handled within the world of research through time. By understanding how in times, only specific skeletal parts held any significance at all to researchers, this may indeed open for the possibility that the selected material for this thesis may be interpreted in different ways, as opposed to earlier research which have worked with the same set of materials.

5.3.2. The Iron Age burial praxis

It is to no surprise that the burial practises of Iron Age Scandinavia varied to some degree during its approximately 1500-year long continuance. From mounds and stone settings to inhumations and cremations, there are several timely and regional differences in use during this time period. As for the relevant period for this study, namely the Early Iron Age, there seems to be a general trend in use throughout Scania, namely that of cremations (Helgesson 2002:78, Björk 2003, 2005, Ravn 2011, Harvig et.al 2014:3,6,15, Moen & Walsh 2022:487,493). Tony Björk conducted a regional study of Iron Age burials in Scania for his dissertation in the early 2000’s (see Björk 2005:52, and for preliminary conclusions see Björk 2003), in which he noted certain regional patterns in the grave material.

Already when entering the Early Iron Age, the custom of cremating the dead had long been in use, and this continued to be the most common way in which people cared for their dead, even well into the early stages of the Iron Age. Approximately 95% out of all the graves with accurate

dating to the Pre-Roman Iron Age are cremation graves (brandgravar). From the Early Roman Iron Age and into the Merovingian period, cremation graves and inhumation graves appear side by side in the material, with a steady decline being seen in the relation between these two types. In the early roman iron age, the cremation graves make up 55% of the total material and the inhumation graves make up 45%. In late roman iron age, the cremation graves make up 38% of the material and the inhumation graves 62% (Björk 2003, 2005:52,54). If we were to look at the total material in a geographical distribution, it is possible to see a rough geographical trend, with the inhumation grave custom far more common in the southwest of Scania, already at the time of the early Roman Iron Age, compared to other areas of the region. Whereas the cremation custom was the norm in the northern and inland part of the region, as well as to the east. This regional division is especially visible during the early roman iron age, and the Late Roman Iron Age (Björk 2003:235ff,238, 2005:54,100).

It should also be noted here that there are specific grave forms which appears solely in southern Scania, that of larger coherent burial grounds with many buried individuals, dated to the early iron age. This is most likely the result of this southern area being the most archaeologically examined and excavated in the entire region. This could possibly also indicate that these areas were subject to larger populations at that time, compared to other areas of the region (Björk 2005:99). Specifically, the south-eastern area of Scania exhibited the most complex picture, with a large variety of grave forms being present all throughout the period of the Early Iron Age. Additionally, it was relatively common for graves in this area to be marked with mounds, stone settings, erected stones, and megaliths. Another unique feature only visible in this area is that of non-cremated individuals being buried in hefty megalith coffins, a grave custom which is essentially lacking in the rest of Scania at this time (Björk 2003:238, 2005:100). It should be noted that the southwest and southeast area of Scania noted by Björk, coincides with the Gullåkra-Vesum area, Åkarp area, Hyby-Hässleberga-Tejarp area and the Österlen-area respectively.

5.3.3. Deviant funerary practices

In addition to these more traditional and normative funerary rites, there were also different ways to bury the dead during this time. Aside from a few individuals being deposited in bogs, parts of human remains have also been found in the foundations of buildings and in settlements (Carlie 2004, Eriksen 2017;2020, Moen & Walsh 2022:487).

A phenomenon frequently appearing during the Scandinavian Iron Age was to place the remains of children in the foundational elements of buildings, however even the remains of adults, or parts of adults could be deposited or buried in connection with entrances, doors, and the walls of buildings. Sometimes adult human remains have even been found in connection with the central hearths. However, the burial specifically of children in these contexts seem to make up a significant and not uncommon tradition throughout the first millennium CE. Beginning in the Early Iron Age, singular infants were deposited at settlement sites (Eriksen 2017:343, Eriksen 2020:104f).

Eriksen published in 2020 a particularly interesting article in which she argues that the societies of Iron Age Scandinavia were particularly preoccupied and fascinated by heads and skulls. Something which is supposedly evident through the infrequent, but persistent, traces of the removal, reworking, displaying, and meticulous treatment specifically of cranial remains. These craniums required separate and peculiar treatment in the mortuary process, meaning that some could be carved with runes (only one specimen known), buried in the domestic space, or deposited in wetlands (Eriksen 2020:103ff). Eriksen points to the unfortunate earlier standard of handling and documenting human remains within the archaeological field. Many cases of this calibre were likely dismissed, included only in unpublished reports, or perhaps never even identified, since excavators generally never expect to find human remains in settlements. In addition, osteological analyses were not always standard practice. And even though these cranial finds were minimally discussed and documented, perhaps under the assumption that these simply represented random inclusions, or perhaps the incorporations from older burials, Eriksen suggests that these were intentional depositions. She even concluded that two concentrations of cranial depositions seem to appear, during the Pre-Roman Iron Age and the Roman Iron Age, respectively. Furthermore, Eriksen points to the wetland depositions of cranial remains, and she specifically references the Fredengren 2018 study, addressing nine crania deposited in wetlands in southern Sweden, dated to the Pre-Roman Iron Age, several of these showing trauma and pathologies, some even being interpreted as shaped as bowls (Fredengren 2018, Eriksen 2020:105,108f). Again, when basing studies on human skulls it is important to either know, or openly discuss, the find circumstances in which these were found, if they were found isolated or in connection to the rest of the skeleton, otherwise studies like these may be completely misleading.

And thus, by placing the selected bog skeletons in the overall context of the Early Iron Age funerary practice, we should be able to theorize and understand if, how and why this practice

of depositing human remains in bogs are actually different or unique, and by understanding these acts of depositions within this context, we can attempt to better understand the phenomenon in its cultural and social context.

5.3.4. Bog mummies, bog skeletons, or human remains?

What should be clear is that throughout the research history surrounding this subject, researchers generally agree on the fact that there exist two categories of bog bodies - bog mummies and bog skeletons. However, recently, as seen in the study by Van Beek et al, amongst others, a third possible category, or perhaps sub-category, has surfaced, namely the disarticulated human remains briefly mentioned above (see for instance Fredengren 2018, Van Beek et al. 2023). The two prior categories seem clear and easily distinguished from one another, but what exactly differentiates this third category of remains?

As evident from Eriksen's 2020 study, this difference can be summed up as these separated human remains simply having undergone separate and specific treatment in the mortuary process, meaning that there may have been buried in specific places (bogs), or perhaps "adjusted" in ways, for instance carved with runes (see Eriksen 2020) or "shaped" post-mortem into functioning as possible bowls (see Fredengren 2018 and Eriksen 2020). In addition, this way of differentiating between the various categories of bog bodies may as well apply to the scenario of differentiating between bog bodies and other human remains, meaning that essentially the difference lies in the specific treatment of the said human remains. Although, to further evaluate the different categories of bog bodies, this definition leads us to the issue of the above-described Östra Vemmerlöv find, in which all the skeletal remains, animal and human, were found jumbled together in thick layers. This example also shows a specific treatment, probably indicating that these individuals had been laid out exposed, to decay and for animals and bugs to devour the soft tissues, before being deposited into the bog, although, this example does not seem to involve disarticulated, or "amputated" remains, but rather more complete skeletons, which simply appear to have been collected together with the animal remains and then deposited into the bog.

Another way to view these disarticulated remains may be inspired by Morten Ravn, who briefly touched upon this issue. Ravn states that there is a clear predominance of corpses which has been deposited in an intact state, he even points out that some of these disarticulated finds, or "stray finds" as he calls them, may even have been intact at the time of deposition. This is supported by examples of modern-day criminal cases which demonstrate how bodies float

around on the surface of a lake or a bog, and slowly becomes disarticulated as they decompose, and when this process has progressed far enough that none of the soft tissues hold the skeletal parts together, these sink down to the bottom. And since the decomposition and thus the disarticulation does not happen all at once, or at the same rate, different skeletal parts can sink to the bottom at various places in the bog or lake (Ravn 2011). However, Ravn does not entirely dismiss the theory of some remains being interpreted as this so-called sub-category, as he references some indigenous peoples in Australia and West Africa. The traditions of the Worora people from western Australia include the placing of their dead out in the open so that wild animals and other scavengers can remove all the meat from the bones. Following this destructive process, the bones of the deceased are then collected and buried (Ravn 2010:112;2011). In addition, the indigenous peoples in West Africa considers a person's head to be the seat of the soul, therefore, the heads of important individuals undergo special rituals after their deaths. In some instances, the head is even dismembered from the body, and sometimes it is buried alone. Ravn also hypothesises that find sites where many individuals are found may be perceived as offerings, or offering sites, whereas those find places with a single deposited body might instead be interpreted as a deviant burial of an individual which died of natural causes (Ravn 2011). These above examples may thus indicate that there might be other underlying reasons as to why some bog people become skeletons, and others remain almost perfectly preserved for centuries. However, caution should also be taken here when applying modern anthropological observations or ritual beliefs from far away continents as explanations of Iron Age actions.

Thus, even these categories and sub-categories may be something which is hard to generalize. It may even be something which varies from time to time, and even through the regions, just as we have seen with the bog body phenomenon in general. Fredengren's 2022 publication may thus add to this section by stating that the possible gnaw marks and the interpreted exposing of the remains may be viewed as such specific post-mortem care which may be the key to differentiating between these categories (Fredengren 2022:144,149). Thus, in my study, the selected material seems to be represented not only by *bog skeletons*, but also of *disarticulated human remains*. Two categories of bog bodies which seem to have undergone different treatment before the final stage of the act of deposition itself, some seemingly having been deposited in a complete state, and others going through a seemingly longer mortuary process of possibly having been disarticulated and/or left to decompose before the deposition. This will

most certainly add to an interesting discussion and analysis, and it is through these two categories from which I shall proceed from in the following sections.

6. SOURCE CRITISISM

Unfortunately, there are some issues regarding source criticism with this thesis, where the main issue is most certainly the lack of available information, and specifically dating information of all the archaeological remains present within the selected areas. With many of these original excavations sometimes dating back several decades, in several instances these have not been documented or described in a standard which is the norm today. This in combination with the information being recently relocated to a recently re-created and updated Fornsök website, have resulted in some documentation even going missing. That is why in some instances I have had to rely on the available descriptions when dating these archaeological remains myself, and even sometimes dismissing some features at times, since there were not any available data at all. Fortunately, as previously stated, some previous authors have been struggling with the same issue before, and as in my case noted the hardships which would result from this (e.g., Aspeborg 2021:69). Thus, by understanding how these previous authors treated the same issue, as well as by cross-referencing older literature describing some of the archaeological context within these areas, and many of the same archaeological remains in question, I was able to date most of these archaeological remains and use in my analysis (see Appendix II for dating etc.). Although, had the approximately 20% (89 out of 416) of the relevant archaeological remains selected for this study been accurately dated, there may have been a possibility that this would have affected the result. A possible solution to this problem would be to expand the selected material, which will be suggested in the future research section below. An additional attempt at eluding this issue of precise dating, I incorporated a wider time span in the analysis of the archaeological remains, meaning that I analysed the spatial patterns visible over time, and not only the ones present during Early Iron Age patterns, since by understanding how the activities and utilization of the surrounding landscape of the key sites have changed through time, would allow for a better perception of how the landscape within the selected areas was utilized at the times of deposition as opposed to before and after the fact.

Another source of uncertainty when it comes to the collection of the material used, is the lack of documentation accompanying many of the selected bog skeletons, leaving me without both additional information such as time and place of discovery, possible associated artefacts, and

thus the proper coordinates to properly pinpoint the key sites onto a map and into GIS. This uncertainty is mainly present with the Hyby, Hässleberga, Tejarp and Åkarp finds, which as I have explained earlier, I had to essentially estimate where these might have been discovered, by cross-referencing SGU-maps as well as the find site map from Fredengren 2018. However, it shall be mentioned here that despite the apparent lack of information available for these finds, Fredengren does not, to my knowledge, explain how she arrived at the conclusion to place her relevant find sites exactly where she did. And by comparing her map, with mine, and the SGU-map, some sites did coincide better than others did. Firstly, the presence of peat at the SGU-map coincided well with Fredengrens placement of the Gullåkra, Tejarp and Hyby site, as well as the Vesum site, despite not properly coinciding with the placement of my sites. However, the sites which would coincide best with my placed sites from my method, was that of Gullåkra and Hässleberga, which also coincided with the placement of peat. Although, the complete lack of peat-presence on the SGU map around the Åkarp site placed by Fredengren, led me to simply adopt the same placement as Fredengren had utilized, since it was impossible without any signs of peat areas to otherwise guess a rough placement of this site on my own map. In addition, regarding the available material, it seems rather strange how some of the bog bodies discussed in Fredengrens 2018 study were not included in the Van Beek et al. database from 2023.

Finally, it should also be pointed out here, how previous researchers have failed to discuss the fact that many of these “disarticulated remains” may in fact have been deposited as more complete bodies, which have due to the environment, the decomposition process, or the early disinterest and lack of knowledge within the scientific field, survived as these incomplete fragments we know of today. This largely since in the infancy of the discipline, such discoveries were rather mistreated, and possibly the earlier fascination by craniums, may explain why some of these individuals are represented solely by these parts today, whereas the rest of the remains upon discovery may indeed have been redeposited in the bog.

7. RESULTS

Here I shall present the results from the study I have conducted, and to be as clear possible, the results will be presented both as GIS-maps and descriptions of these. The GIS-generated maps will represent all the relevant archaeological remains, present within the four selected areas, throughout time, divided up into the different temporal periods of the *Stone Age*, *Bronze Age*,

Early Iron Age, and (late) Iron Age periods. Within these maps the key sites, or the discovery locations of the selected bog skeleton material will be marked by red stars.

These relevant archaeological remains constitute of the dated grave-type and settlement-type remains found within the four selected areas. Grave-type remains are essentially just that, documented graves of different kinds and burial grounds, whereas the settlement-type remains are archaeological traces documented as settlement sites or dwelling areas. In a few cases, there have been certain archaeological remains containing characteristics of both graves and settlements, registered as “burial grounds *and* settlement sites” (grav- och boplatsområden), which essentially implies that these remains probably contain graves within a settlement area. These remains only make up for approximately 6% of the settlement-type remains (15 of 230) and circa 7% of the grave-type remains (15 of 196). Originally, I was quite uncertain of how to treat these types of remains within this study, however I finally decided on incorporating these within both categories of maps, since they did in fact represent both categories.

Again, regarding the dating of the archaeological remains, and the division of these in the different period-maps, it shall be clarified here that with the dating issue discussed above, some archaeological remains, which have been unable to date, have been excluded from these maps. Additionally, regarding the dating of archaeological remains of the Iron Age, since the Early Iron Age is the specifically relevant time period for this study, with the selected bog bodies having been deposited at this period in time, it is of utmost importance to attempt an accurate dating of the Iron Age remains, thus, I have divided these up into maps showing the *Early Iron Age* and the *(late) Iron Age*. However, some remains which have not been able to get a more precise dating than simply belonging to the Iron Age, have been included here in this latter category, although the archaeological remains included here is mainly of the kind dated to the late iron age.

7.1.The Gullåkra-Vesum area

With the first area, the Gullåkra-Vesum area, we can quickly see a clear trend with a higher presence of settlement-type remains as opposed to the grave-type remains, this pattern is visible all throughout the time periods in this area. The second most obvious thing of note here is the rather obviously larger concentration of the amount of settlement-type remains present specifically during the Stone Age and the (late) Iron Age. Admittedly it was rather unexpected to see this peak of settlement-type remains specifically during the Stone Age, however, this was not entirely unexpected to see during the (late) Iron Age. This peak during the late Iron Age is

essentially thought to represent the general population growth as well as the start of village formation, this specific subject is discussed by Aspeborg regarding the vicinity of Uppåkra (see Aspeborg 2021). And thus, another noteworthy characteristic of this area is the much lower amount of archaeological remains here during the Bronze Age, and the Early Iron Age.

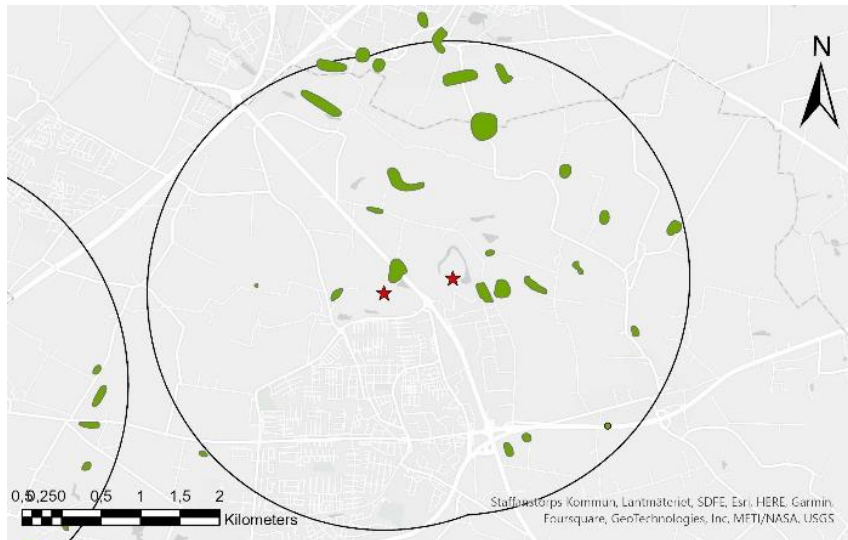


Figure 7: The Stone Age settlement-type remains of The Gullåkra-Vesum area.

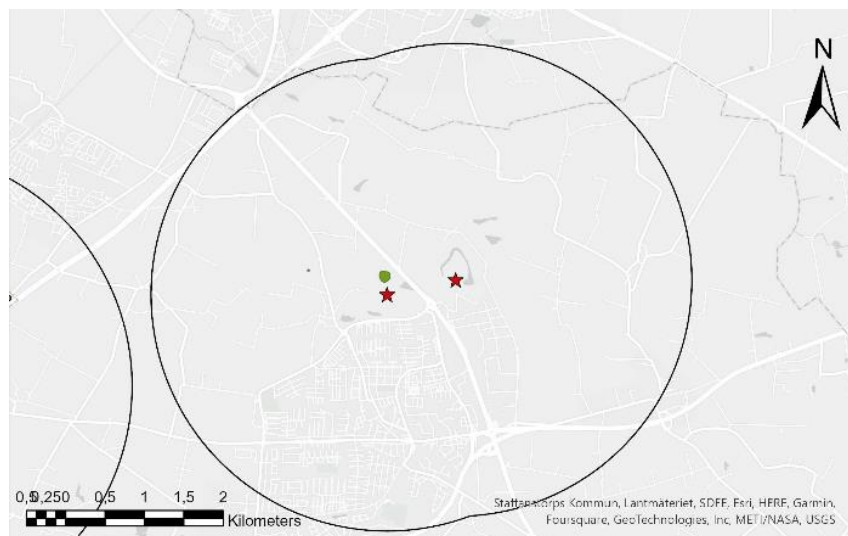


Figure 8: The Stone Age grave-type remains of The Gullåkra-Vesum area.

When it comes to the proximity of the archaeological remains in relation to the key sites, it also becomes clear that during the Stone Age, there is a much higher amount of presence of remains closer to the key site. However, this is not to say that this placement of the Stone Age archaeological remains has affected the use of, and location of, the key sites in the later periods. Furthermore, in the following period, In the Bronze Age, there are still a few remains closer to the key sites. This pattern can still technically be seen in the Early Iron Age, however, with a

very low number of archaeological remains present near the key sites. At this time, only two documented features can be found near the key sites, however these belong to the same archaeological remains, of the same late Bronze Age – Early Iron Age settlement-type area. And again, during the (late) Iron Age this is still visible, again with a higher amount of remains present in closer proximity of the key sites, as opposed to the number present during the Bronze Age.

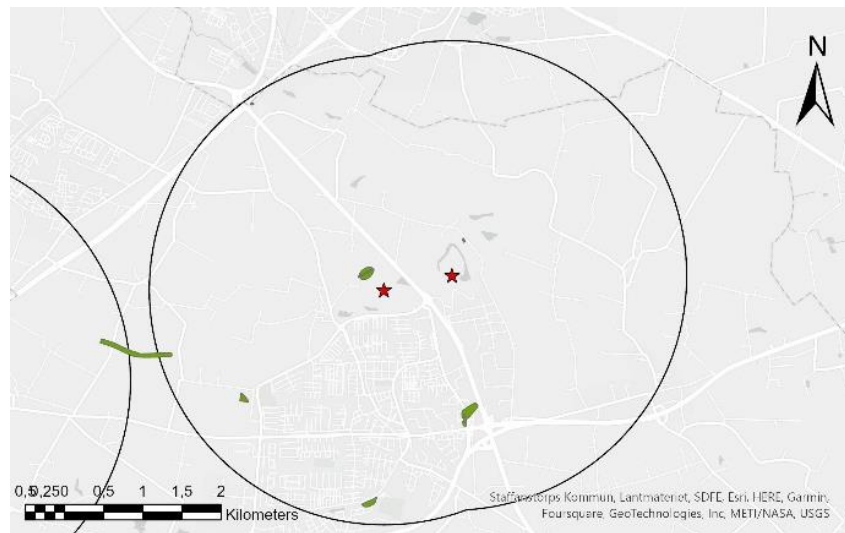


Figure 9: The Bronze Age settlement-type remains of The Gullåkra-Vesum area.

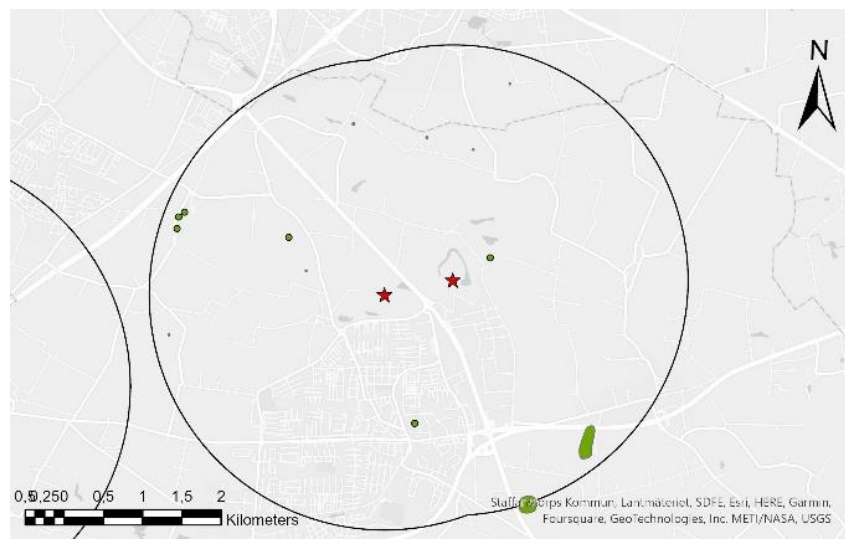


Figure 10: The Bronze Age grave-type remains of The Gullåkra-Vesum area.

This set of archaeological remains mentioned above, with the closest proximity to the key site during the Early Iron Age, of approximately 90-140 metres from the bogs edge, documented as RAÄ Brågarp 4:1 and 4:2 in *Fornsök*, are as already stated part of the same set of archaeological remains. These remains are described and documented as a settlement, or a dwelling area

(boplats), which is only partially excavated, with an estimated size of 200x125 metres in total area. Within an area of approximately 200x15 metres in this settlement area, some pits, post holes and hearths containing charcoal and burnt bones were found. Additionally, within this area some flint objects were also discovered, mainly flakes (avslag) some which had been adjusted/modified (med retusch), and one was a flint bore/drill (borr). This settlement area was dated by the excavating archaeologists to the late Bronze Age or the Early Iron Age. Additionally, another archaeological remains which should be mentioned in connection here is that of L2021:6497 (no available RAÄ number), which is another settlement-type set of remains, located just outside the edge of the Vesum bog, approximately 120 metres from the bog's edge, this is described as an area measuring 45x20 metres, consisting of nine pits, (varav fem gropsystem?), as well as one hearth and one post hole. Additionally, skeletal finds from cattle, pig and sheep/goat were found, as well as that of the upper extremities of a human. Some battered (rabbad) ceramics were also discovered here. These sets of archaeological remains were dated to the late Bronze Age – Early Iron Age.

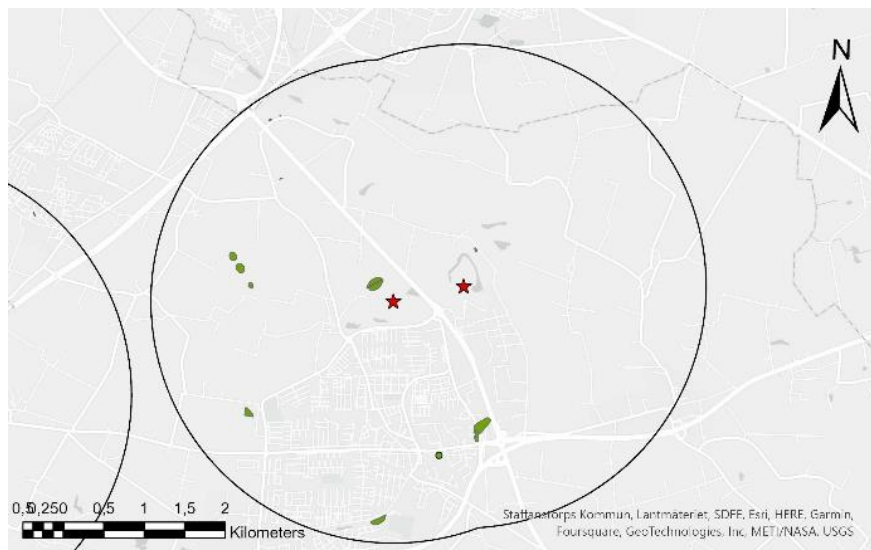


Figure 11: The Early Iron Age settlement-type remains of The Gullåkra-Vesum area.

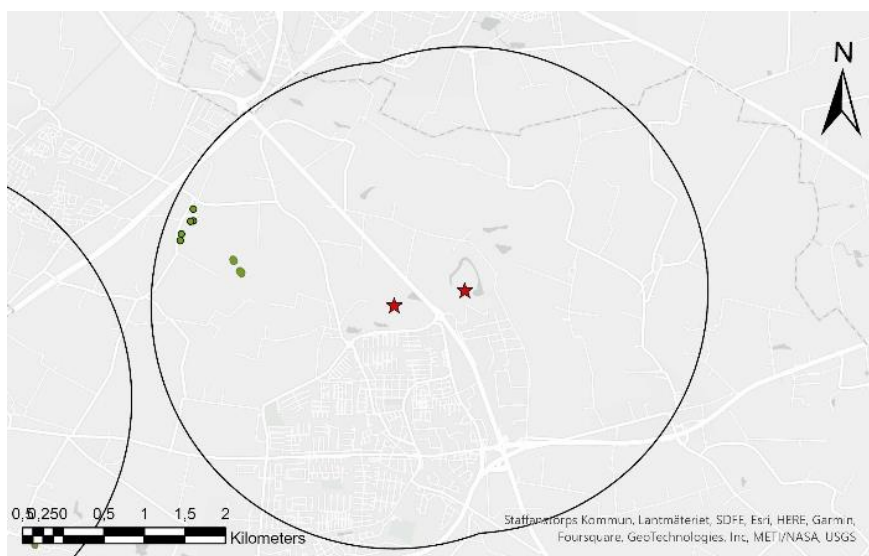


Figure 12: The Early Iron Age grave-type remains of The Gullåkra-Vesum area.

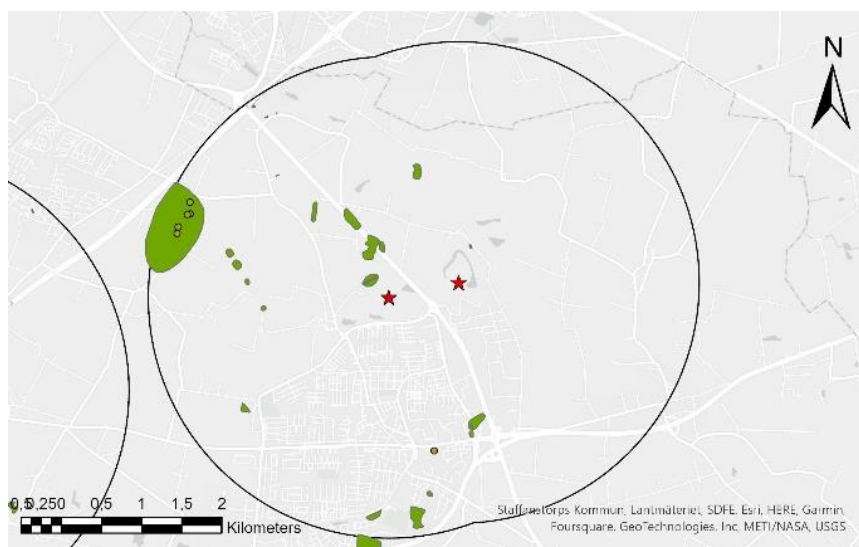


Figure 13: The (late) Iron Age settlement-type remains of The Gullåkra-Vesum area.

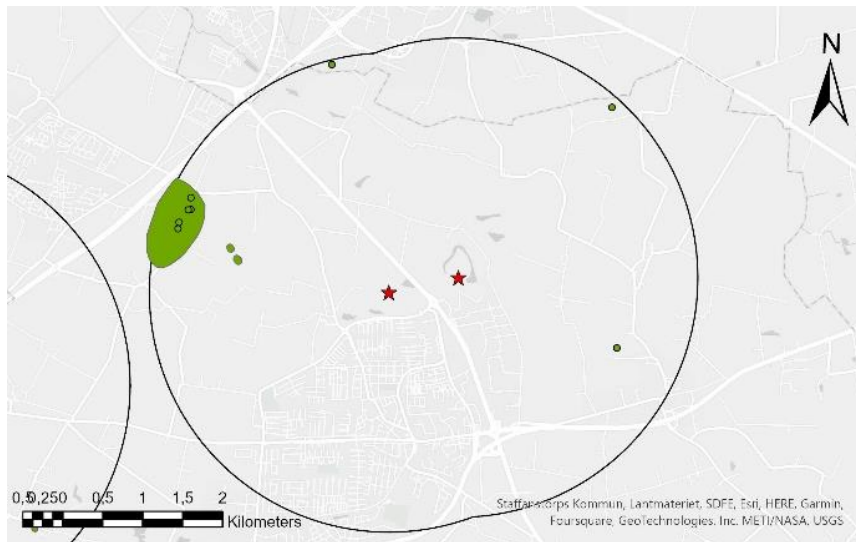


Figure 14: The (late) Iron Age grave-type remains of The Gullåkra-Vesum area.

Additionally, within the Gullåkra-Vesum area, there were a few archaeological remains which may be mentioned here as areas of special interest. Meaning that these can be connected to the bog, the wetland deposition tradition, or the bog body phenomenon. Of course, these areas or more accurately, find locations are those of the well-known bronze lur (RAÄ Brågarp 3:1), the bronze torque neck ring (RAÄ Brågarp 12:1), both found in Gullåkra mosse, and the bronze axe (hålcelt) (RAÄ Brågarp 13:1), found within the same bog complex, but technically Brågarps mosse, just to the south of Gullåkra mosse. Finally, another archaeological remain worth mentioning here is that of RAÄ Brågarp 19 (the polygon pictured in the image below), deemed a sacrificial depositional site, which had been found containing several flint objects, namely that of a middle-neolithic flint axe, amongst other flint objects. These were found in connection with a small concentration of red dirt, just north of the modern-day Staffanstorp village, in connection to the bog complex.

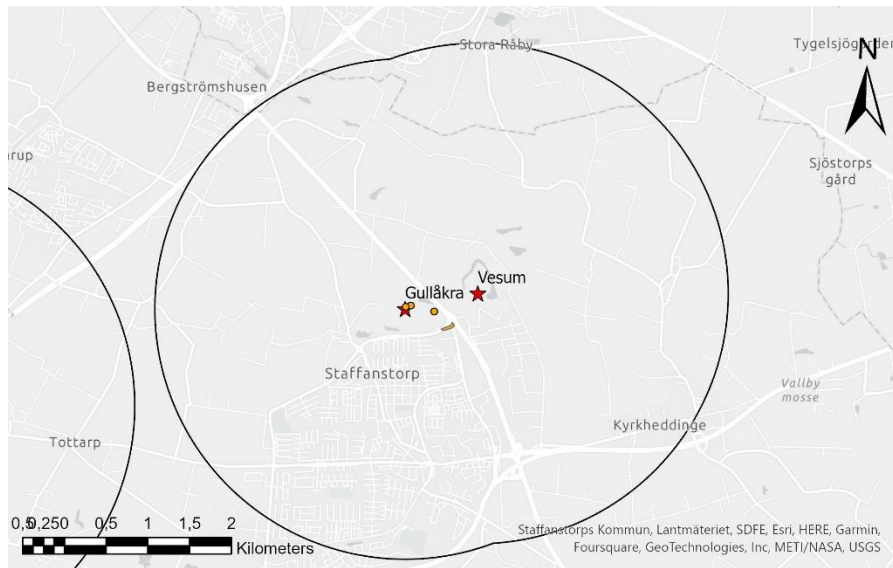


Figure 15: The archaeological remains of special interest within The Gullåkra-Vesum area.

7.2. The Åkarp area

Not surprisingly, the same overall trends and patterns can be seen in the closely located Åkarp area, found just to the west of the previously described area. Here again, we can note the pattern of a higher presence of archaeological remains during the Stone Age, and the (late) Iron Age. The same goes for the higher amount of settlement-type remains as compared to the lower amount of grave-type remains present, throughout all the periods. One exception to this, however, can be seen during the Bronze age, where there is a slightly higher number of graves present in this area, rather than the settlement-type remains.

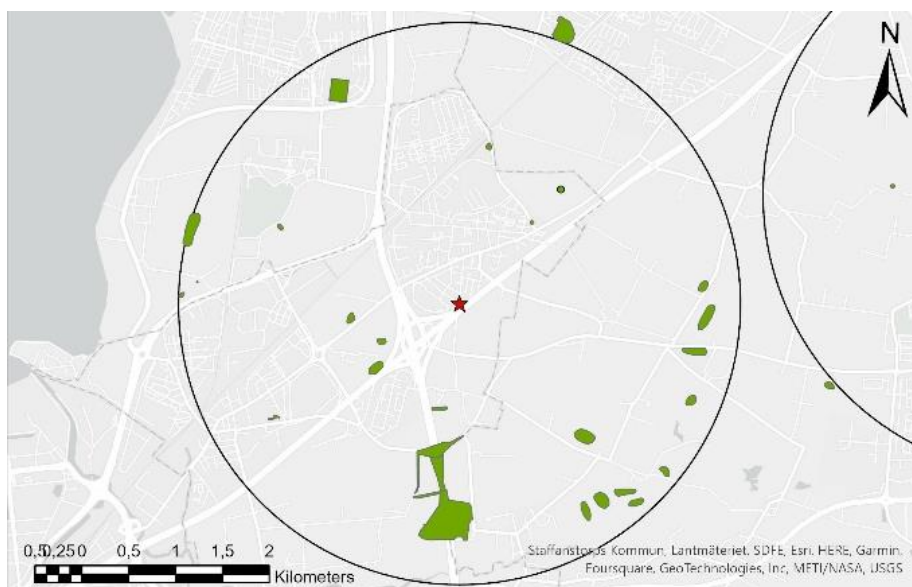


Figure 16: The Stone Age settlement-type remains of The Åkarp area.

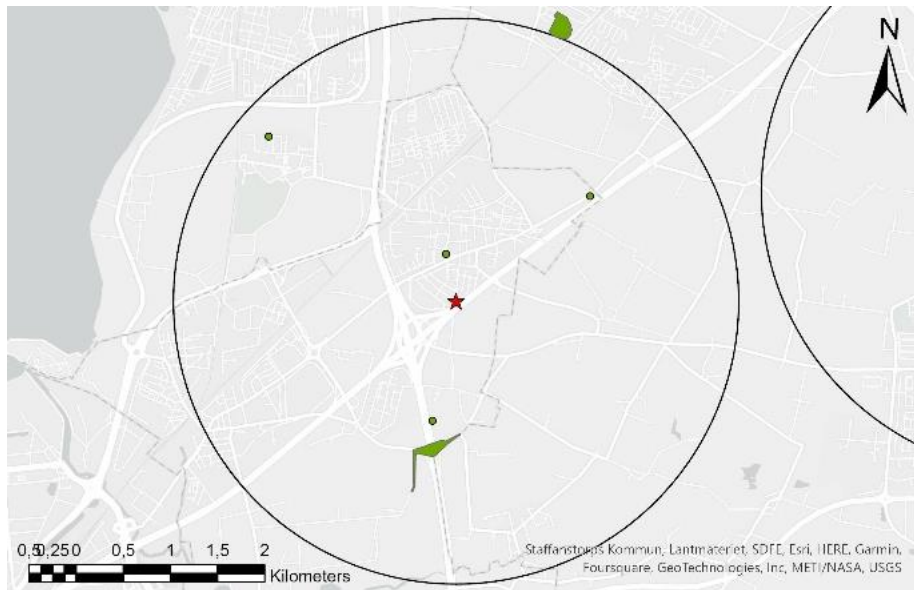


Figure 17: The Stone Age grave-type remains of The Åkarp area.

In addition, the pattern of archaeological remains being present in higher numbers, in closer proximity in the earlier periods, namely the Stone Age and the Bronze Age, can be seen here too. In this area we are also able to see a lower presence of archaeological remains near the key site during the Early Iron Age, with the amount of remains in this immediate proximity displaying an increase again during the (late) Iron Age, even if only a slight one. However, there is one noteworthy grave present within a closer proximity to the key site within this area. This grave, RAÄ Burlöv 15:3, dates to the younger Roman Iron Age, and it shall be noted that it is at least of 500 metres, or half a kilometre, from the key site.

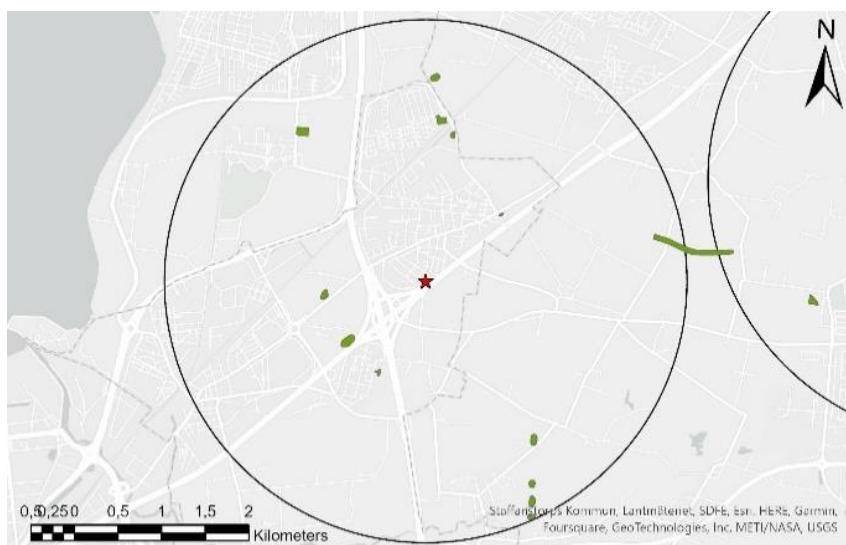


Figure 18: The Bronze Age settlement-type remains of The Åkarp area.

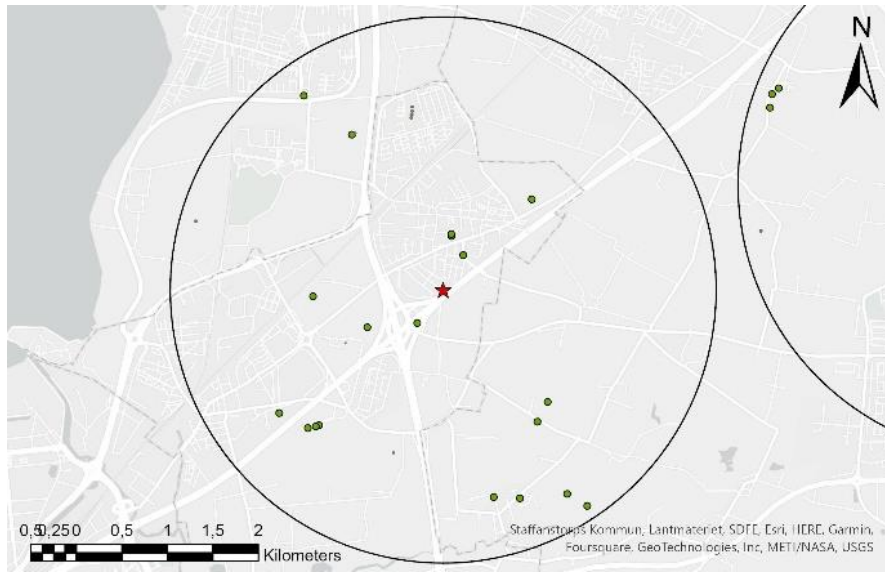


Figure 19: The Bronze Age grave-type remains of The Åkarp area.

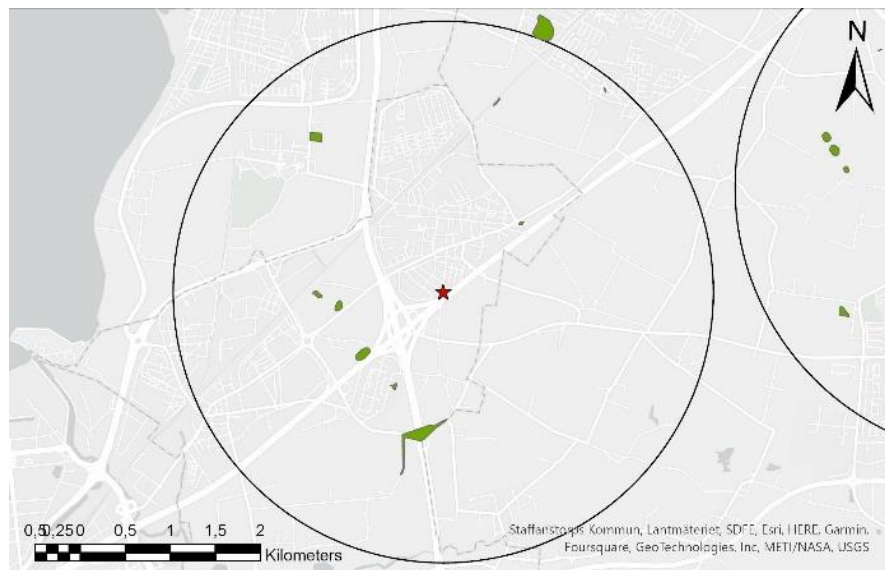


Figure 20: The Early Iron Age settlement-type remains of The Åkarp area.

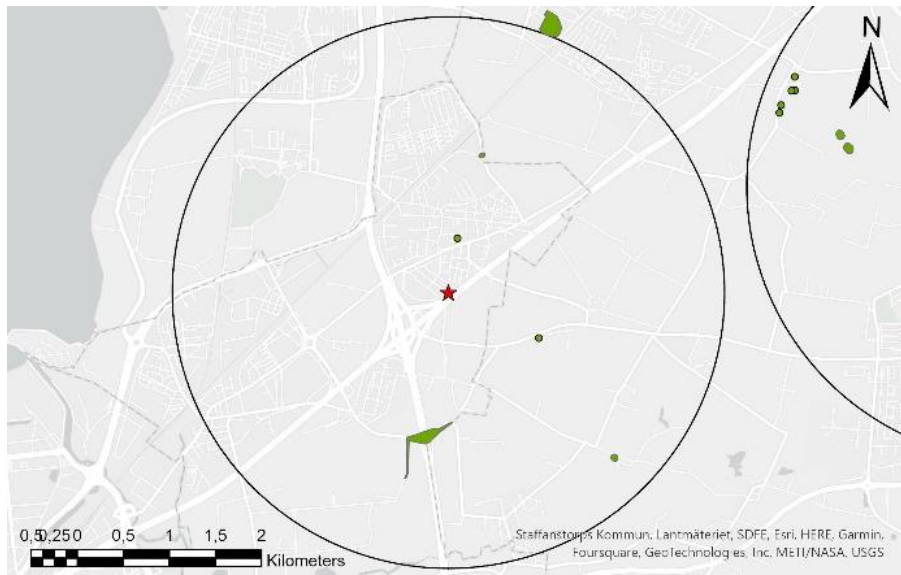


Figure 21: The Early Iron Age grave-type remains of The Åkarp area.

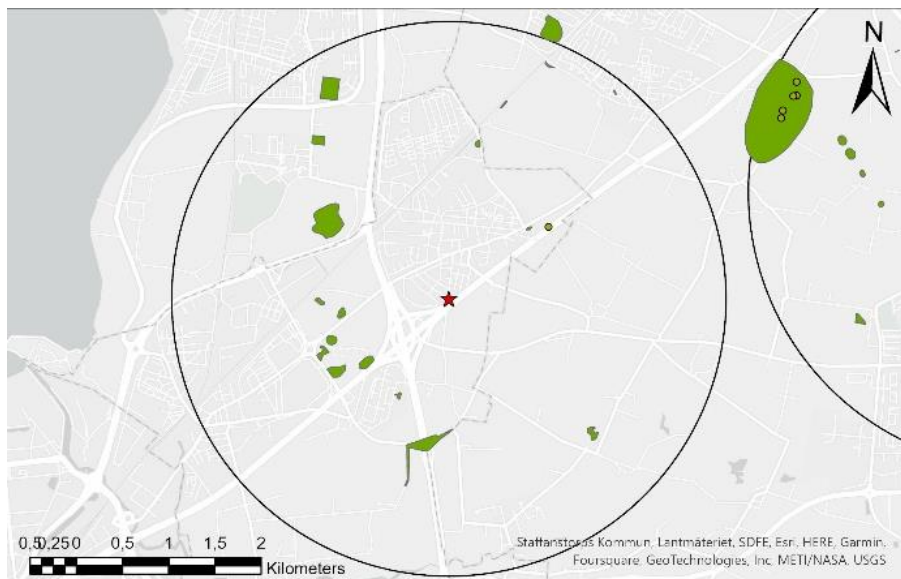


Figure 22: The (late) Iron Age settlement-type remains of The Åkarp area.

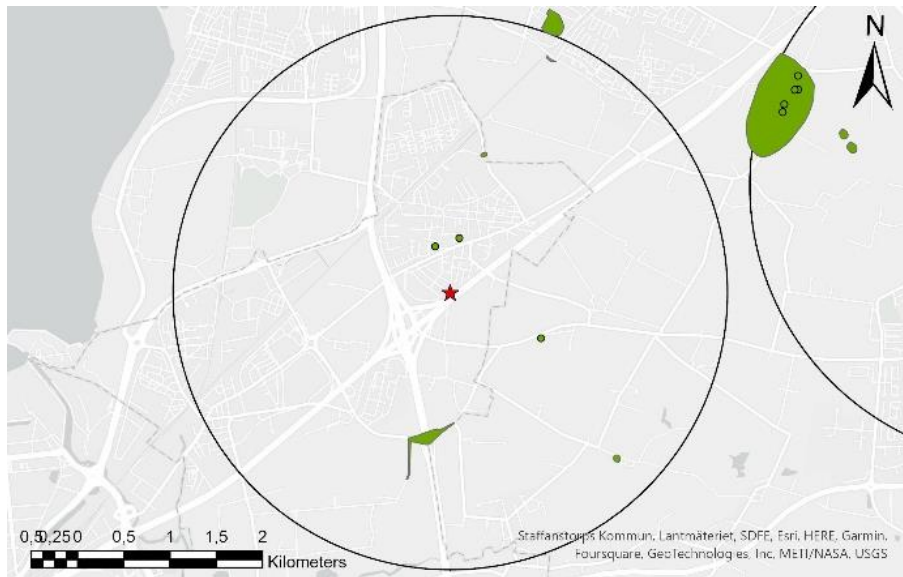


Figure 23: The (late) Iron Age grave-type remains of The Åkarp area.

Even within this area, there are some archaeological remains present of special interest, and worth mentioning here. Firstly, RAÄ Lomma 54, located near the area border to the west, is described as a find place for animal skeletal remains which were found in a turf layer in the early 2000's. Secondly, and perhaps more interestingly, is the RAÄ Burlöv 123 (the point closest to the key site pictured in the figure below). A site registered as a place of sacrifice. This sacrificial site with an unknown dating, was discovered at a depth of 2 metres, containing the skeletal remains of an approximately 25-year-old woman. Her skeleton was covered by stones, and her skull had been crushed by a large rock. Around her, the bones and teeth of different animals were found, as well as ceramic shards. It shall also be mentioned here that another closely located grave, RAÄ Burlöv 16:1 (the point located furthest to the north from the key site in the figure below), with the rather unprecise dating of simply belonging to the Iron Age, was also found covered by stones. Although this has not been registered or described as a sacrificial site.

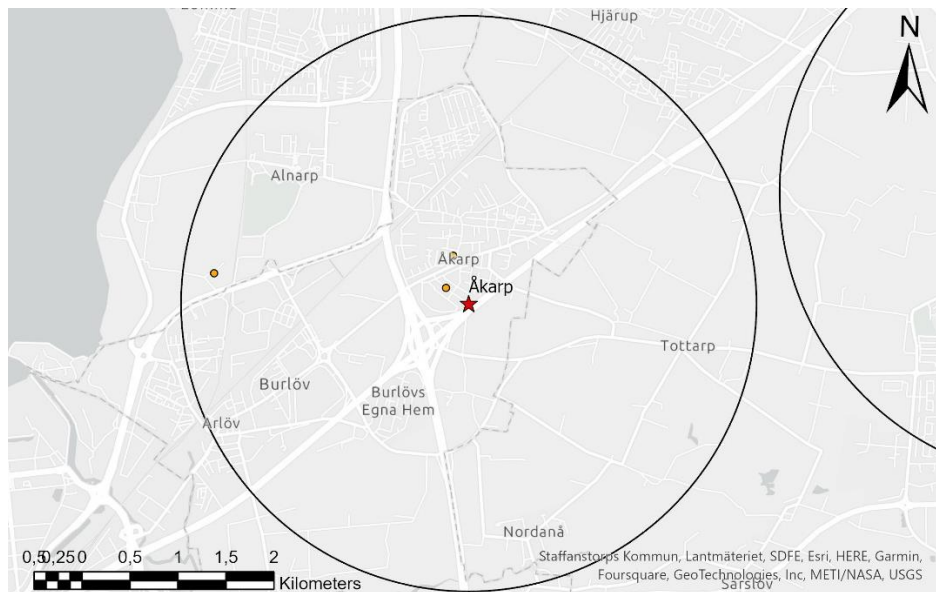


Figure 24: The archaeological remains of special interest within The Åkarp area.

7.3. The Hyby-Hässleberga-Tejarp area

The Hyby-Hässleberga-Tejarp area, is the first area to more majorly deviate from the previously noted patterns described. Firstly, this area is obviously not as well excavated or investigated archaeologically as the two other areas described above. At first glance, this fact was thought to negatively impact and complicate the analysis of this area, both regarding the spatial and temporal relations. However, it was still possible to note a slightly higher number of archaeological remains present within this area during the Stone Age, as with the above-described areas. However, during the Bronze Age, here we see a slight deviation from the overall pattern, with a slightly higher presence of grave-type remains present during this period. Additionally, during the (late) Iron Age, here we can again see a slight deviation from the same pattern, with a slightly higher presence of grave-type remains present in the area at this time. However, there are still archaeological remains located rather close by, in relation to the key sites at these times. Whereas during the Early Iron Age period, there are barely any archaeological remains present in this area, especially not near the key site.



Figure 25: The Stone Age settlement-type remains of The Hyby-Hässleberga-Tejarp area.

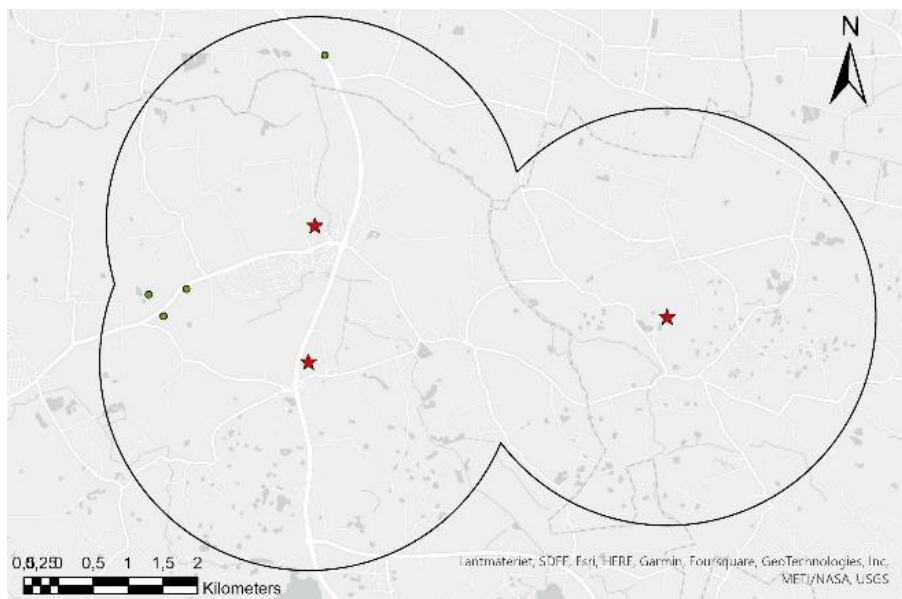


Figure 26: The Stone Age grave-type remains of The Hyby-Hässleberga-Tejarp area.



Figure 27: The Bronze Age settlement-type remains of The Hyby-Hässleberga-Tejarp area.



Figure 28: The Bronze Age grave-type remains of The Hyby-Hässleberga-Tejarp area.



Figure 29: The Early Iron Age settlement-type remains of The Hyby-Hässleberga-Tejarp area.

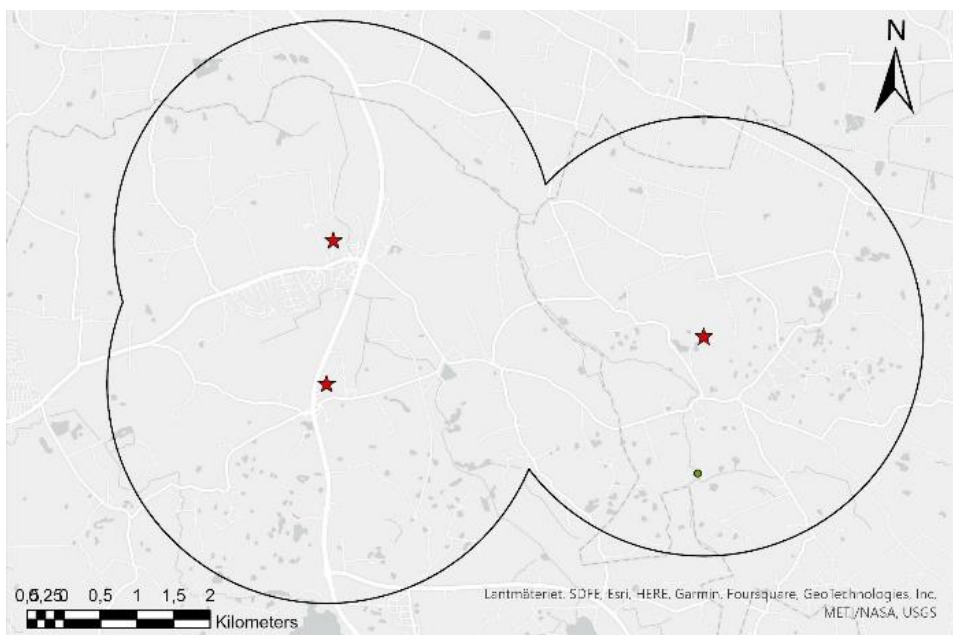


Figure 30: The Early Iron Age grave-type remains of The Hyby-Hässleberga-Tejarp area.

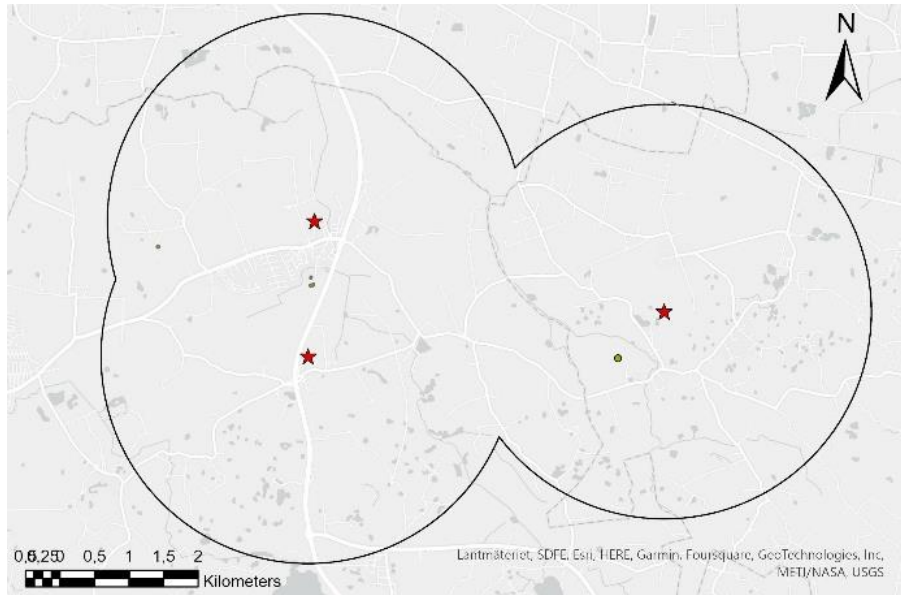


Figure 31: The (late) Iron Age settlement-type remains of The Hyby-Hässleberga-Tejarp area.

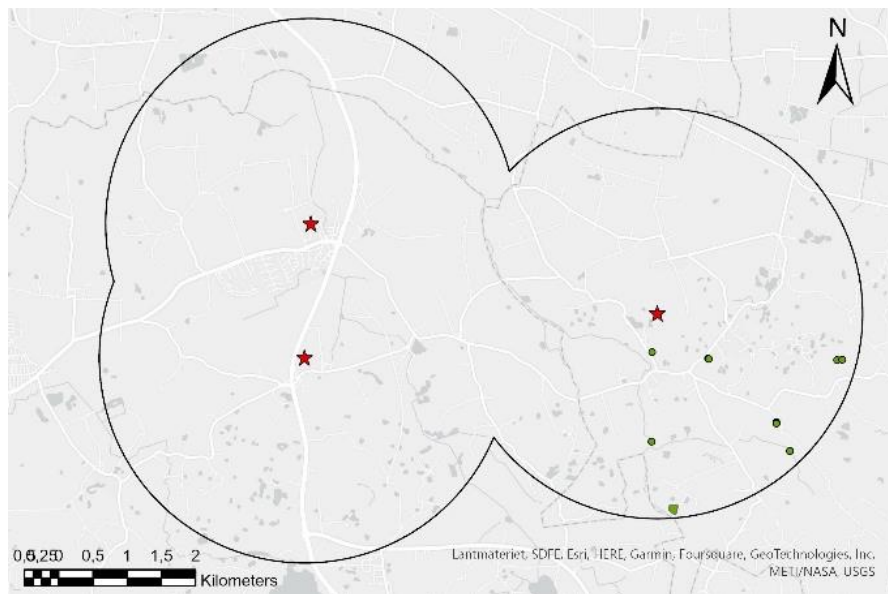


Figure 32: The (late) Iron Age grave-type remains of The Hyby-Hässleberga-Tejarp area.

Also, within this area, there are a few remains of special interest, which seem fit to mention. Firstly, RAÄ Lyngby 20:1, located to the immediate east of the key site of Hässleberga (see image below), is described as a natural spring with a local tradition, or a sacrificial spring, with iron-rich waters exuding from the ground. I believe that this site may indicate additional support for my estimated choice of where the Hässleberga key was located. Secondly, RAÄ Hyby 95:1, located near the southern most border of this area, documented in *Fornsök* as a Find location, where supposedly the cranial part of a woman was found when digging to create a new fishing

pond. When cross-referencing this location with the SGU- map, it became clear that this find was discovered in a peat layer. Until now, I had not come across this specific cranial find in any previous bog skeleton research, it was not mentioned in Fredengren’s 2018 article discussing all bog skeleton finds in the Uppåkra vicinity, nor was it included in the Van Beek et al. 2023 database of the northern European bog bodies. However, after some additional research, I believe I’ve found this find described in a short article by Stig Welinder, from 1976, in the *Ale* publication. According to Welinder, this cranial piece is actually from a male, and he places the act of depositing this individual sometime around 5000-2000 BC, or the late Mesolithic or early Neolithic (Welinder 1976). This cranial fragment is, according to the information available at *Fornsök*, housed at the school museum of Torup today. For a full description of this find see Welinder 1976.

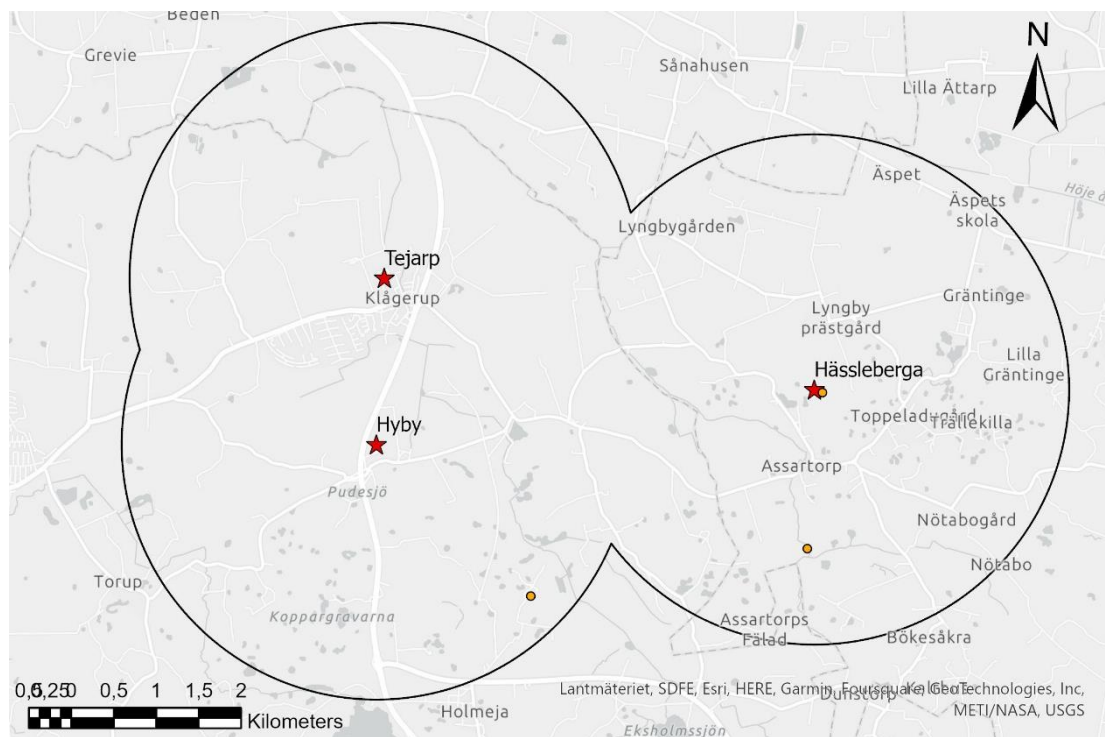


Figure 33: The Archaeological remains of special interest within the Hyby-Hässleberga-Tejarp area. The Hyby 95:1 find can be seen to the far southeast of the Hyby key site and the Lyngby 25:1 find can be seen further to the east.

Perhaps even more interestingly, is the rather unexpected find of yet another bog discovery. Much like the previously mentioned find, this discovery, has largely evaded the eyes of researchers in this field until today. This find, which will soon be described more in detail, I have not been able to find in any recent publications, not the Fredengren 2018, nor the Van Beek et al. 2023 publications. Additionally, it was rather difficult to find any information about

this find at all. But, nonetheless, after some investigative research, a huge amount of luck, and the assistance of the very skilled staff from Lund University's Biological institution and Antikvariska-topografiska arkivet (ATA), it was possible to find some additional information on this re-discovery.

Registered as RAÄ Lyngby 25:1, this find was simply documented as a "grave of unknown type" in *Fornsök*. It was further described as a find site of a skeleton which was discovered in connection with peat digging in 1944, and that these skeletal parts had supposedly emerged one by one with the shovel, and the peat diggers had also reported a noose or rope around the neck. After some deep diving research, and the much-appreciated ideas of my supervisor and the assistance of the staff at ATA, the original report was finally found and sent my way. In this report, Carl-Axel Althin stated that Lund University Historical Museum was notified on the 18th of July 1944 that a skeleton had emerged in Hässleberga bog within Lyngby parish (Althin 1947).

This bog skeleton had reportedly been discovered at a depth of 1,8 metres, and had emerged in separate pieces, one by one, with the peat diggers shovel. When the cranium had emerged the peat digger had noted a noose or a rope surrounding its neck. With the arrival of Althin at the site, there had been attempts to drain this area for additional excavation and archaeological work, but this attempt failed. Despite this, Althin himself managed to find a vertebra embedded within the turf wall and decided to collect a turf-sample of this specific area. This sample was later sent to a laboratory worker by the name Mohrén for further analysis and dating. The skeleton was sent to the Anatomical Institution for additional analysis and documentation, conducted by a professor C.H. Hjortsjö (Althin 1947). And till this day, the primary results of this pollen analysis have yet to be published, however, the results found by Mohrén are supposedly included in a publication written in German from 1947, by Rolf Blomstrand, with the title *Anthropoloisher Bericht Uber Menschliche Skelettfunde in Moor Hällseberga mosse*. Unfortunately, this title I am still unable to find. As for the noose, measuring approximately 12 centimetres long and 5 millimetres thick, it had unfortunately dried out before Althins arrival, and with the attempts to preserve this artefact, it had sadly crumbled into pieces (Althin 1947).

I do believe that it was the intentions of Althin to further publish this discovery and the additional findings made during the actual analyses of both the skeleton and the sample, however, at this time, his Doctorate position at Lund University and funding had run out, and he had to find other work outside of the archaeological field, which sadly resulted in the second

volume of his work on the Scanian prehistory never being published (Strömberg & Ambatsis 1985).

Thus, since the 1940's, this find has, according to my research and the assistance of previously mentioned persons, only been mentioned two more times since. First, in a publication from 1975 by Ronny Liljegren, who briefly mentions this find as "a skeleton found with a noose around its neck, in the Hässleberga bog in Lyngby parish". According to Liljegren this find is dated by Mohrén, by means of pollen analysis, which can be found in Blomstrand 1947:192. And he mentions that this find might possibly date to the Early Iron Age (Liljegren 1975:128). The last time this bog body was mentioned in any publications was in the previously referenced publication by Welinder, where he very briefly mentions in passing, the discovery of this skeletal find in Hässleberga bog, and that it was found with a rope around its neck (Welinder 1976).

Unfortunately, with the specific dating information not available, in combination with this find being re-discovered so late in this process, I am sad to have to exclude this find from my own research. However, I'm glad to be able to shed some new light on this forgotten individual, which might one day, lead to their story being told.

7.4. The Österlen area

Lastly, for the final area, the Österlen area, another region which has not been subject to as many excavations and investigations as the two areas first mentioned. This general lack of archaeological excavations is something which is also evident in the results here, with a rather low amount of archaeological remains registered and documented here, however not as few as in the Hyby-Hässleberga-Tejarp area. The results here are also very clearly following the same general patterns as the previous areas, with a slightly higher presence of archaeological remains, mainly settlement-type remains, during the Stone Age.

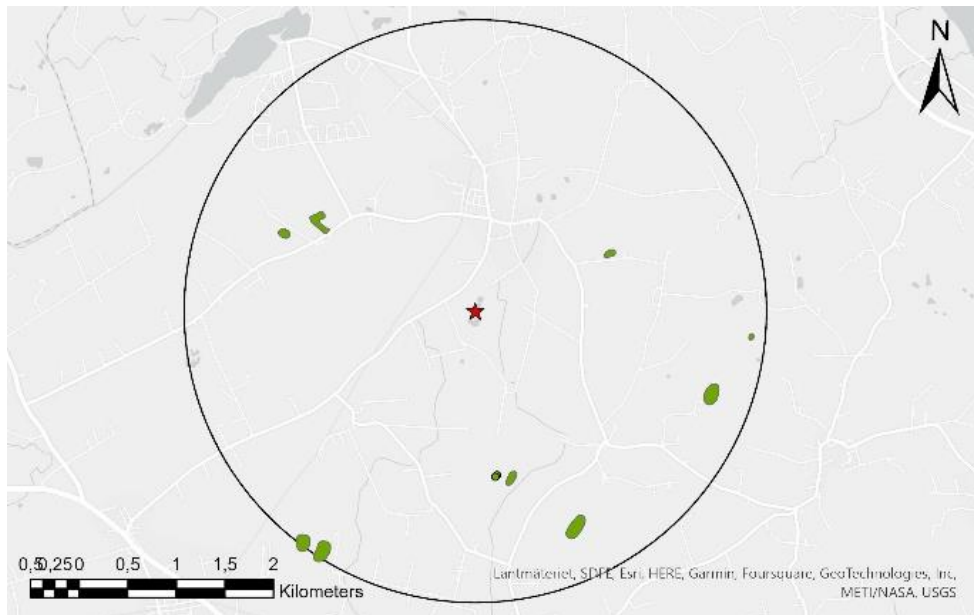


Figure 34: The Stone Age settlement-type remains of The Österlen area.

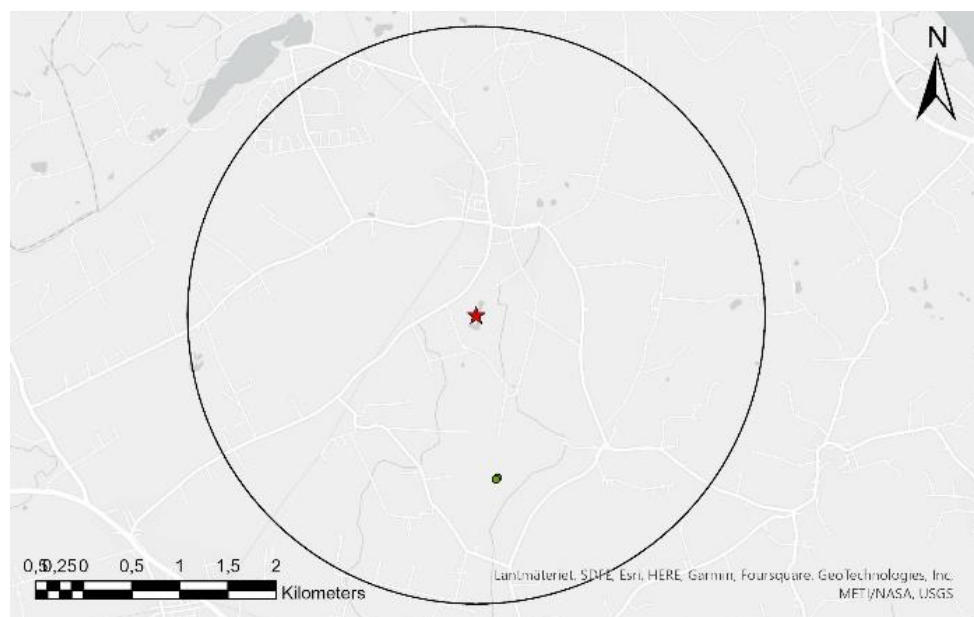


Figure 35: The Stone Age grave-type remains of The Österlen area.

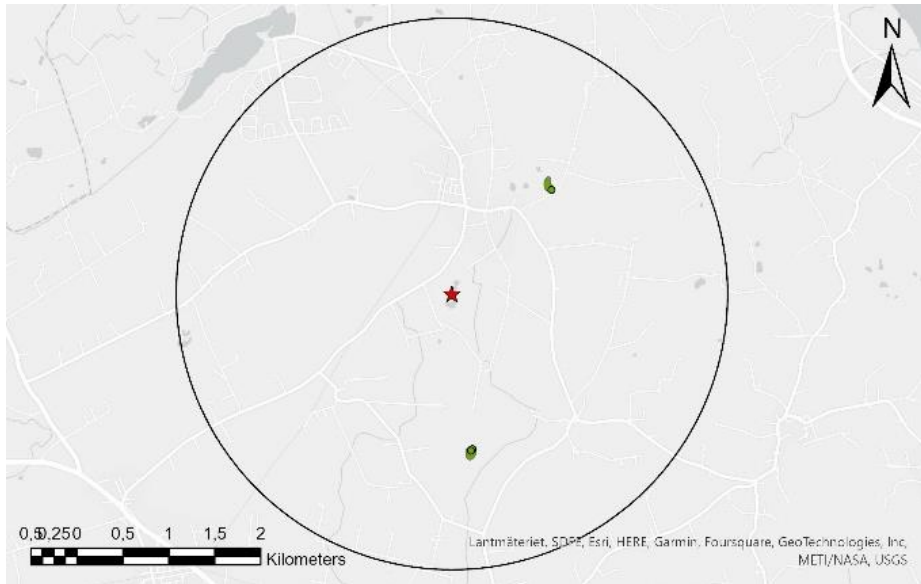


Figure 36: The Bronze Age settlement-type remains of The Österlen area.

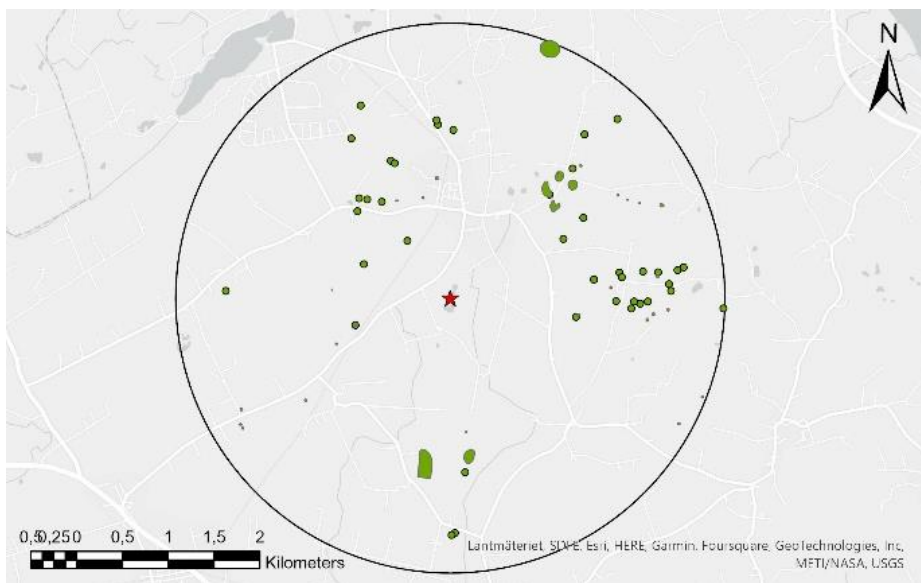


Figure 37: The Bronze Age grave-type remains of The Österlen area.

Although, this site deviates from the other areas in a way where during all the periods, there are no archaeological remains in close proximity to the key site, apart from during the bronze age, which is the period with the most archaeological remains present within this area. With the grave-type remains being the closest in proximity with the key site throughout all the periods, the closest remains are still not closer than half a kilometre. And as evident by the illustrations, there is a very low amount of Iron Age archaeological remains present in this area, with the few present remains actually concentrated around the very outskirts of this area.

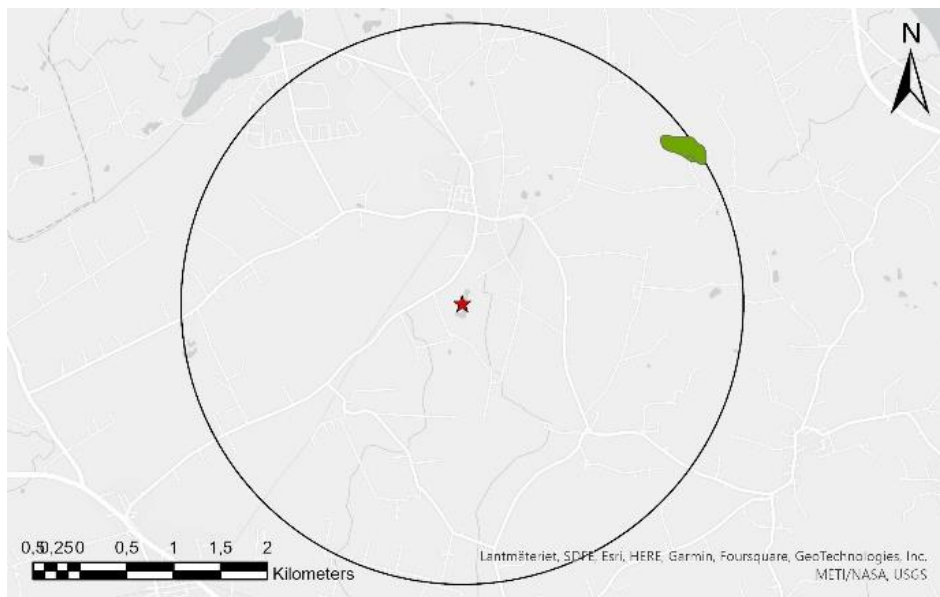


Figure 38: The Early Iron Age settlement-type remains of The Österlen area.

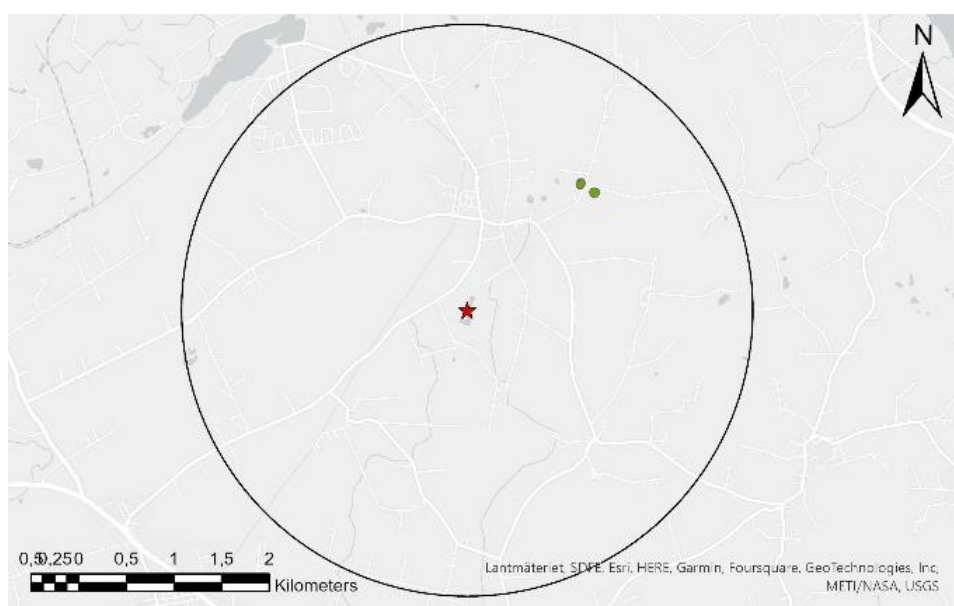


Figure 39: The Early Iron Age grave-type remains of The Österlen area.

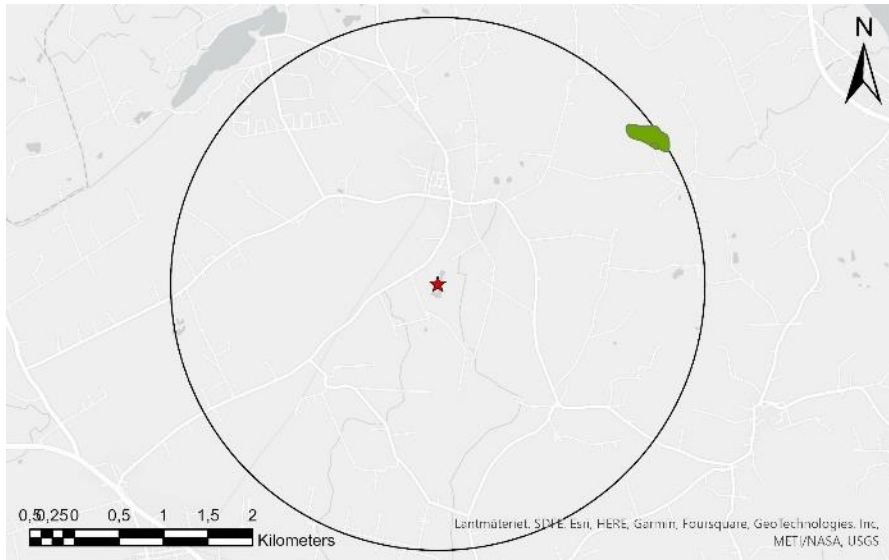


Figure 40: The (late) Iron Age settlement-type remains of The Österlen area.

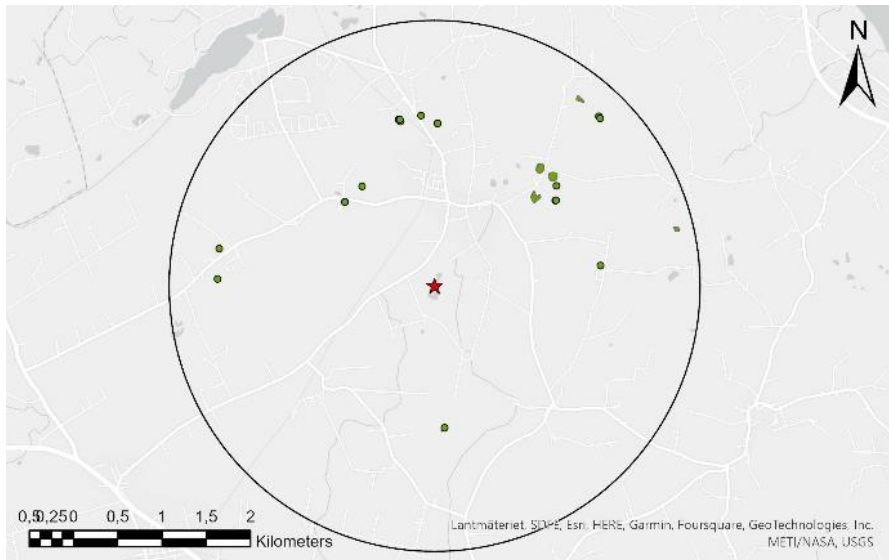


Figure 41: The (late) Iron Age grave-type remains of The Österlen area.

Also, within this final area, there were certain finds noted which seem fit to mention here. Namely RAÄ Östra Vemmerlöv 48:1 (centered polygon in the figure below), which is the actual bog and key site in which the seven individuals described above were deposited. And RAÄ Östra Tommarp 15:1 (point in figure below) has been documented and described as a find site, where a bronze sword and a bronze axe was found. These objects were discovered in 1900, within a layer of turf.

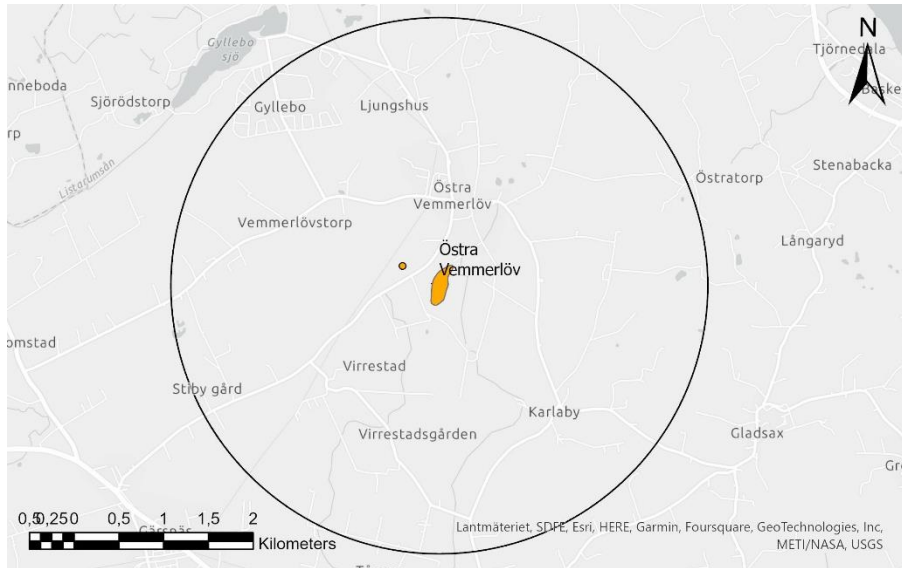


Figure 42: The archaeological remains of special interest within The Österlen area.

7.5. Summary of the results

So, to summarize the results presented above, it seems that there is a generally bigger *amount* of archaeological remains present in all of the areas during the Stone Age, which gradually diminish in number and proximity through the Bronze Age, eventually experiencing an all-time low during the Early Iron Age, for it to finally experience another increase again during the later Iron Age. The general pattern is also suggesting that the settlement-type remains are higher in number in total, through all the areas, with a few exceptions with the grave-type remains existing in higher numbers during the Bronze Age in the Österlen area as well as the Hyby-Hässleberga-Tejarp area.

The general *closeness to the key sites* of the archaeological remains through the areas and the time periods also follow the same general spatial pattern throughout, with a higher amount of remains, closer to the key sites, in the earlier periods, experiencing a steady decline, with fewer remains further away from the key sited in the later periods, with an all-time low, and the biggest distance to the key sites during the Early Iron Age. Even with the closeness of the archaeological remains we see a slight increase with this pattern during the later Iron Age. During the Bronze Age and specifically during the Early Iron Age, there are no archaeological remains, of any type, closer to the key sites than 600 metres (slightly over half a kilometre), apart from one exception, in the Gullåkra-Vesum area, with a settlement-type remain dating to the late Bronze Age – early iron age, just a few metres away from the key site.

8. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Now for the following section, the analysis and discussion will be presented interwoven together with the research questions.

1. How does the seven selected find sites, or the key sites, relate to other archaeological remains found in the surrounding landscape, meaning the selected areas of each site?
2. Are there any spatial patterns visible in these areas, if so, do these change over time?

As seen and presented above, the spatial relations between the seven key sites and the archaeological remains in the surrounding landscape (meaning the selected areas), presented some clear spatial patterns, which indeed varied over time. What was seen was a higher presence of archaeological remains during the Stone Age, which gradually diminished during the Bronze Age, and reached an all-time low during the Early Iron Age only to showcase a new increase again during the (late) Iron Age. In addition, an overall longer distance was seen between the archaeological remains and the key sites during the Early Iron Age, with a distance of at least half a kilometre, as compared to the much shorter distance between the same variables during both earlier and later periods. Interestingly this result corresponds well with the similar results noted by Zein-Elabdin in her dissertation (2019) of the absence of “cultural archaeology” in close proximity with the find locations of Tollund Man and the Lindow II individual.

Additionally, these patterns interestingly coincide with the documented peak in bog body depositions, not only in southern Scania, but all throughout northern Europe. Meaning that when people were deposited in these areas, during the Pre-Roman Iron Age (Gullåkra-Vesum, Hyby-Hässleberga, Östra Vemmerlöv) and the early Roman Iron Age (Åkarp and Tejarp), there was a significantly lower presence of active and/or contemporary archaeological remains, of both settlement-type areas, and grave-type areas. Now, the fact that these spatial patterns coincide so well with the peak of bog body depositions is intriguing and exciting to say the least, since this may indeed point to the fact that the contemporary people of these areas did view these places with some special regard, fear, or perhaps respect for these deposited individuals or the supernatural entities possibly believed to reside there. However, a much broader set of material, including a control material, would be necessary in order to actually state with complete certainty that these spatial patterns are unquestionable, which would then suggest that these kinds of views and opinions of these landscapes would have been a possible

explanation for them. Unfortunately, this wide of a material would not have been possible to process within the timeframe of this study.

The only set of archaeological remains which may break this observed pattern is the previously mentioned set of settlement-type remains, RAÄ Brågarp 4:1 and 4:2, located near the Gullåkra key site, with the distance of approximately 90 – 140 metres from the bogs estimated edge. As well as the remains registered as L2021:6497, located at approximately 120-130 metres from the Vesum bog's edge. These obviously much shorter distances to these bogs and key sites, in combination with the descriptions available of these remains, leads me to think that these may not necessarily have been typical settlement areas during this time, and should instead be interpreted as some sort of archaeological remains connected with the actual depositions themselves. Perhaps these areas acted as some sort of preparation-areas, connected with the possibly ritual and/ or sacrificial acts taking place in connection with the depositions of these individuals and/or other artefacts. Either that, or these specific archaeological remains may instead indicate that the other selected areas might produce similar settlement-type remains close to the key sites, after further excavations, since this Gullåkra-Vesum area is one of the more well-excavated and investigated areas out of all seven of them. However, any more specific interpretations of these circumstances would require absolute dating of these L2021:6497-remains, as well as further excavations in the area. Fredengren (2022) seem convinced that the killing of the deposited individuals around the Uppåkra vicinity may have been killed elsewhere, due to these only being represented by skulls and some post-cranial bones. However, when considering the fact that many of the find circumstances of these individuals are largely unknown, combined with the fact that solely the skulls were of main interest earlier within the research community, this gives further arguments that these beforementioned archaeological remains may indeed be some kind of preparational areas. Additionally, let us for the time being assume that this theory may be possible, perhaps the discovery of the human bones in L2021:6497, may indicate that some preparations on the later deposited individuals took place right next to the site of the actual deposition. Again, it would be of very high interest to date these remains more accurately, and perhaps conduct further osteological analyses to see if these human remains could possibly belong to the same individual as the one deposited in the nearby Vesum bog.

Even though the find circumstances of all the west-Scanian individuals are rather uncertain, the fact that they were only represented by skulls, mandible, or postcranial bones, could however still point to a possible unique ritual tradition of only depositing the skulls of people, in this

specific area of Scania, much like Fredengren have argued (2018, 2022). However, there is still a possibility that such a local tradition required a certain “preparational act” to isolate the parts meant for the actual deposition, which may be supported by some of the individuals showing signs of possible cutmarks, and even one case of a possible beheading (Tejarp). Such preparations may still have taken place near to where these were to be deposited, within the areas which were likely regarded in a distinct way, rather than in any other “more common” place.

To further add to this, I believe that it would be more likely to find some archaeological remains which had been connected to the depositions in some way, rather than such remains not existing at all. This simply because it seems as if any preparational and/or ritual activities were to take place in connection with the depositions themselves, which in turn might have involved certain tools, or perhaps props or anything to the like. It simply seems the most logical choice to carry these acts out near the site of deposition, in an area possibly regarded in a special way, rather than in any other more common place, further away. Additionally, if these acts would require the use of certain tools or props, and especially if these human beings were killed with the final goal of depositing these in a bog, it would seem more logical to have these individuals walk on their own, carrying their own body weight, rather than having someone else carrying all that dead weight. However, further archaeological excavations would be needed to examine the areas immediately surrounding these bogs, in order to certainly conclude if any preparational acts may have taken place close by.

Although, this theory regarding special places meant for preparations, may just as easily be explained away with the same piece of evidence. Again, since these western examples were all simply represented by a few skeletal parts per case, these may have easily been carried to the site of deposition, without much physical strain. Additionally, the fact that the Vesum mandible showed signs of possible gnaw marks, combined with how at least five of the seven individuals found at Östra Vemmerlöv, the eastern most site, were interpreted as most likely having been laying out to be naturally stripped of the soft tissues before deposition, may also indicate that no so-called “preparational areas” were needed nor utilized. However, it shall also be mentioned here, the fact that this Östra Vemmerlöv site is located almost 57 kilometres away from the nearest key site (Hässleberga) and may therefore not have been included within the same “depositional traditions” as the other five more closely located sites. Additionally, so far most of what is known about these Östra Vemmerlöv individuals, have been majorly divergent from the rest of the individuals in this study. At the Östra Vemmerlöv site, the interpretation is that

two of the individuals (the children) may have been deposited while soft tissues were still present on the bodies, although the five adults, together with the 42 animal individuals have likely been exposed to the elements before being collected and then deposited in homogenous bone layers in the different pits. This diverging treatment of these bodies, as well as the inclusion of such a vast zoological material and layers of pebbles surrounding the bone layers points to the Fredengren (2018,2022) theory that a unique sacrificial tradition was present in the Uppåkra vicinity, which the eastern parts of Scania were not part of.

Again, with the lack of information regarding the find circumstances, and thus the time of discoveries in the western cases, in addition to the possibility that the discoverers may only have collected some of the skeletal pieces and simply left the rest in the bogs, combined with the fact that researchers during the infancy of archaeology more commonly only saved the craniums of any skeletal finds, may indeed point to the possibility that these western cases might have been deposited in a more complete state. Moreover, when consulting the modern forensic evidence presented by Morten Ravn (2010,2011) previously described, this may indeed put some weight to the hypothesis that these western disarticulated remains may have been deposited in a complete state, but after naturally decomposing and floating around the bog or waterlogged area, these pieces may have dislodged one by one, and fallen to the bottom of the bog. Which would naturally be even further corroborated by the re-discovery of the bog skeleton RAÄ Lyngby 25:1, since this specimen was found in a more complete state, and in near connection to the rest of the western examples. The Lyngby skeleton was found during the summer of 1944, some decades after the discovery of the Gullåkra-skull (1900).

To further discuss the findings of this study in regard to the bog body phenomenon being of possible ritual nature, I would first like to once again direct your attention to the noted spatial patterns presented above. Which, at the time of these specific depositions, displayed such a low and sometimes completely absent presence of archaeological remains, in comparison to the much higher presence during both earlier and later periods. These patterns could thus point to the possibility that these Early Iron Age individuals held these areas of the southern Scanian landscape in special regard, since these same areas were evidently used by people during both earlier and later periods. This apparent lack of activity or presence during the Early Iron Age may thereby either point to the possibility that the people of this time did regard these places in a specific way because they might associate them with the depositions of human remains which had or would take place there. Again, more accurate and precise dates of the used material would be of great use for producing more accurate theories. Or perhaps, these same spatial

patterns may instead be explained by these immediate surroundings possibly being wetter during the Early Iron Age, and that might be why no graves or apparent buildings were erected here at this time. Or the lack of archaeological excavations may be another possible explanation to why so little archaeological remains were found in these areas.

To further elaborate on this ritual aspect, when specifically applying the liminality perspective on these findings, I claim that this study may indeed strengthen the hypothesis of bog bodies being of sacrificial nature. In the earlier stages of writing this thesis, before having had the chance to even study the spatial relations of the key sites and the archaeological remains within GIS, and thus way before I was even able to note any spatial patterns, I believed that I would be able to see how these key sites were generally located closer to one type of archaeological remains rather than the other, either the settlement-type remains or the grave-type remains, however this proved to not be the case, in any of the areas or during any of the periods. Instead, this distance of a minimum of half a kilometre between the key sites and the rest of the archaeological remains appeared. Thus, what these results showed, in my eyes, were that these places were simply located in a “place in between”, not at the margins of any discernible settlement areas, nor any grave sites. But rather at a distance from, and simultaneously, surrounded by, both the world of the living and the realm of the dead, hence a *place betwixt and between*. With this in mind, the supposed liminal status of these locations, the bogs, and how the Early Iron Age people must have regarded these areas as such liminal places, I started to view the selected bog skeleton material through the liminality lens as well, leading me to ask the question below.

What if by being deposited in these liminal places, seen as neither belonging to the living nor the dead, but rather the unknown or the supernatural, these individuals took on a *liminal role* as a mediator or conduit between the two worlds, by being suspended in a “place in between”? Think of it this way, many of these bogs had already previously been used as sacrificial spaces, during the bronze age, and the neolithic, with the depositing of beautiful flint tools, and bronze treasures. And if these artefact depositions are seen as gifts to the gods, deities, or some other mystical beings believed to reside there, then the idea of these later deposited human individuals acting in this liminal role, within the social and/or cultural or mythological dimension, is just as likely and plausible of a theory as others. At the very least, this interpretation seems a plausible secondary function of these deposited individual, apart from simply serving as sacrificial gifts on their own.

Now, you may remember that, in at least the case for the Gullåkra bog and the Östra Vemmerlöv bog, we know that artefact depositions took place there even well into the iron age, such as the Viking Age comb found at Östra Vemmerlöv, and spearheads in Gullåkra. Additionally, the Gullåkra bog were even used as a depositional area during the neolithic and the bronze age. Even though these artefact finds may in some ways weaken this theory, by placing some ritual and/or sacrificial value on these places even when an apparent abundance of archaeological remains were present in the areas, there is still a distance of approximately 300 - 500 metres between the nearest archaeological remains and the key sites, in all areas, at these earlier and later periods, except for in the case of the remains already discussed above (the RAÄ Brågarp 4:1, 4:2, and L2021:6497). However, I believe that the fact that depositing human remains may hold a different meaning, or impact, within the social and cultural dimension, rather than an inanimate object, like a flint axe or a bronze lur. Even the deposition of animal bones may not hold the same meaning as that of human remains, regardless of if there was a masculinity-sacrificial tradition present around Uppåkra or not, like what Fredengren hypothesises (2018,2022). By referencing Moen and Walsh's (2022) claims of human lives being of very high social status and value, as specifically sacrificial gifts, then perhaps this new theory may explain partly why human lives held this high value as sacrificial "objects". Thereby, by viewing these individuals as messengers or conduits of sorts, between two worlds, then this must simply mean that they indeed acted (at least) a secondary part of symbols, for the living to express their religious or mythological beliefs, as communication-mediators between the living and the dead and/or the supernatural and divine.

In addition, I would also like to point out the fact that this view aligns very well with the *rites of exchange and communion*, described by Catherine Bell. Where she describes how objects, or in these specific cases human beings, may be subject to intentional destruction to get sanctified before being deposited. Now, the intentional destruction of humans may be easier to note in the mummified remains, with the *overkill theory*, however, the apparent intentionality behind leaving these corpses out to be eaten by wild animals, in order to get rid of soft tissues, to me this seem a lot like some sort of intentional destruction, much like the one seen in the bog mummies or many of the deposited artefacts found in similar contexts. By categorizing these depositions as this kind of rite or ritual, would thus further imply that the Early Iron Age humans living in these areas would expect something in return for these offerings, which again leads me back to the theory presented above, meaning that what these Early Iron Age people might

have wanted in return for these high-value sacrifices, was a way to communicate with the divine, mystical or supernatural realm.

3. What can the older, respectively the younger, archaeological remains within these areas, tell us about how the Early Iron Age people viewed this landscape, regarding the bog body phenomenon?

Another possible spin on this above mentioned theory of these deposited individuals functioning as links between two realms, would be that of these possibly being supposed to act as links to the ancestors, which could be strengthened by the earlier archaeological grave type remains in the areas, such as the many Bronze Age monumental mounds and even some megalithic tombs, which would essentially be the only traces still visible in the terrain from the earlier periods. However, I believe that this theory would be more believable if these key sites were more closely surrounded by a higher amount of such remains. Again, perhaps there is no way of generalising this phenomenon, and in some cases, this theory may hold as much potential as any other, for instance in the Österlen area, with such a heavy presence of Bronze Age mounds.

4. From these patterns, what can be said about the role of the bog body phenomenon within the social and/ or cultural dimension or the cultural landscape?

I believe that this absence of archaeological remains in the areas around the time of the human depositions, as well as the peak in the overall bog body material around northern Europe, may indeed tell us that these human depositions were a very important aspect of the cultural and ritual realm. Specifically, since these immediate surroundings of the key sites were much less used for “common things”, such as graves and settlements, I believe that these areas were most definitely held in a special regard, or a viewed in a special way, perhaps with respect or fear of “the unknown”. However, without the possibility to properly analyse the archaeobotanical properties of these selected bogs and the surrounding areas, as well as how these may have changed over time, a more precise conclusion or answer to this question is hard to generate. Although, the fact that the Oldcroghan Man seemingly was deposited during a time of significant cultural change during the Early Iron Age in modern-day Ireland (Plunkett et al. 2009) may strengthen the idea of even the Early Iron Age Scanian bog skeletons having been deposited during culturally significant periods of change, again, perhaps acting as possible communicators to deities during times of possible unease or hardship.

Interestingly, it seems that these areas of southern Scania, have embodied and demonstrated a powerful and important image, which likely may have influenced the use of, and the view on,

the landscape in the following time periods. From the oldest megalithic tombs, Bronze Age mounds, and the bog body depositions, which have all likely had an impact on the fact that during the Iron Age, important central places formed in close connection to these places, such as Järrestad and Ravlunda in the east, and the enigmatic Uppåkra to the west. It is admittedly rather tricky to try and say with certainty how the older archaeological remains influenced the views, movements, and landscape-utilization of these Early Iron Age people. To clarify, I do not believe that these earlier remains may have necessarily influenced these people's choices to deposit human remains in these specific bogs, however, I absolutely believe that the presence of these older archaeological remains within these areas must have affected the people living there even during later periods, likely reminding them of what importance these areas have long held, even before their time.

Thus, as for the entanglement aspect of this analysis, one of the obvious dependencies of the bog body phenomenon would be on the landscape or environment, because without the right environment of such a waterlogged area, these depositions would likely not have occurred. Additionally, this may further suggest that even the people of these areas may in turn have had a dependency on this environment and landscape, since this act of depositing simply must have held a high and important purpose within the contemporary society. And this tradition must have not only affected society and culture, but also had been affected by it. This can most notably be seen with the correlation between the rapid decline of the amount of bog bodies, and the increase of deposited wooden anthropomorphic figures, coinciding with the roman influences otherwise seen in other aspects of society and culture. In addition, the peak of bog body depositions during the late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age must coincide with similar societal and/or cultural changes.

Furthermore, I will also partake further in the discussion surrounding the different categories of bog bodies, specifically the bog skeletons and the sub-category of disarticulated remains. Could an answer to the questions regarding how different categories of bog bodies are "created" lay elsewhere than specifically with what kind of bog these individuals were deposited in? Clearly, most of the individuals incorporated in this study were possibly found (and perhaps deposited) in rather incomplete conditions, however, it shall be clarified again that there is no way of knowing if all these individuals were found in more complete states or not, due to the unknown find circumstances. Although, let us for arguments sake view these in the states as we know them to be today, meaning rather "incomplete". Through this perspective, only the two juveniles found in Östra Vemmerlöv are considered to be rather complete, as compared to the

other specimens. Which again may be explained by the possibility that these might have been deposited while there was still soft tissue left on the bodies, holding the skeletons together. Although deposited in the same bog, and the same pits as the five adults, these seem to have possibly endured a different treatment before deposition. Even further, all of these eastern individuals display a different treatment before deposition, compared to all the western examples. Could this then mean that the individuals within this study, shall be considered as three separate sub-categories of bog skeletons? And should thus the actual *handling* of an individual before deposition be seen as the key in determining which category they should belong to? Or is it the opinions on these individuals put on them by the rest of society, which would finally determine their designated “categories”? Could the possible ritual and/or sacrificial act taking place before the deposition determine such a thing, or is this possible act rather determined by the intentions of the society put in these individuals? Like in the case with the Gullåkra skull, and its companions around the Uppåkra area, which according to Fredengren, may not even represent human beings at all, but rather a sacrificed masculinity? Should these then be viewed as yet another category? Would the re-discovery of the bog body of RAÄ Lyngby 25:1 contradict earlier theories, as this individual was found in a more complete state, consisting of several more parts than just the skull and some postcranial bones? Possibly.

Lastly, regarding making the decisions of where to place the key sites on the map, specifically around Hässleberga, where there were several small bog or peat collections around the village, in addition to there not being any coordinates available for this find, I had to estimate a logical placement of this key site, among others. Since the Fredengren 2018 article seemingly did not explain how the author decided on placing her find locations in the specific areas which she did, all I could do was estimate the placement of my specific locations myself. Although, the registered remains of RAÄ Lyngby 20:1, the natural spring described with a local tradition being found so close to the key site which I had decided to place there, may point to the fact that I might have made a good estimation in this decision. Although, this new re-discovered find of Lyngby 25:1, described as being found in “Hässleberga mosse” in 1944, may indeed complicate this theory. However, it is possible that there are several of these smaller bogs or peat collections around the area which may be called “Hässleberga mosse” (see image below).

This apparent bog-rich environment surrounding the Hyby-Hässleberga-Tejarp area specifically, may even further complicate the accuracy of the findings presented in this study. Could several of these bog-areas possibly contain deposited human remains? If so, how might such a possibility affect this study? Perhaps the obviously low presence of archaeological

remains within this area, might still support the claims that the contemporary people did regard the immediate surrounding areas of such bogs differently. And they would thus essentially utilize these areas differently, or not at all, by not leaving any archaeological traces of “common” acts, such as graves or settlements, even if many more of these bogs did contain deposited human remains.

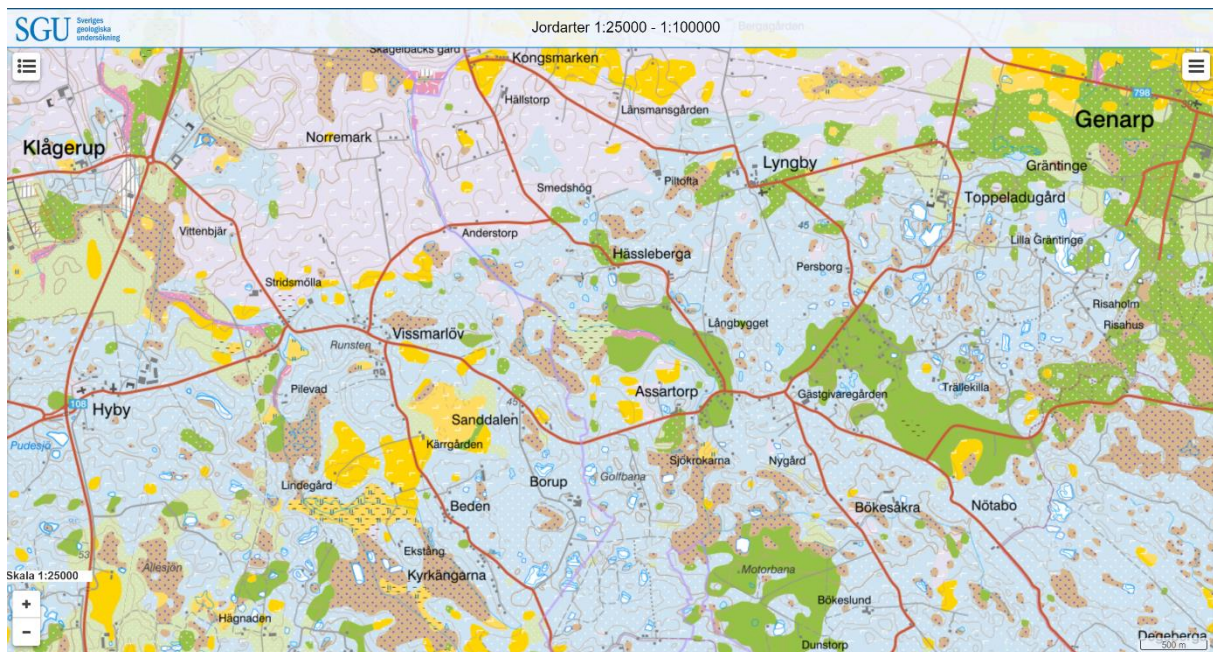


Figure 43: The different kinds of soil around the Hyby-Hässleberga-Tejarp area. Hyby can be seen to the far left, and Hässleberga near the centre of the figure. The brownish-tan colour represents peat.

9. CONCLUSIONS

Thus, to conclude this study, the spatial patterns which emerged clearly displayed that at the time in prehistory when researchers have noted a clear peak in bog body depositions throughout Scania and all of northern Europe, either a clear absence or a very low amount of contemporary archaeological remains are visible throughout the selected areas of this study. This, in combination with the fact that the closest located archaeological remains were no less than half a kilometre away from the key sites, may indicate that these places were regarded and/ or utilized in a special way by the people who lived in, and moved through these areas. Furthermore, when applying the liminality perspective on these materials and results, these key sites appear to be rather liminal in nature, due to the “in-between placement” of these surrounded by the other archaeological remains within the selected areas. This combined with the natural properties of bogs, being neither solid ground nor flowing water, point to the fact that these places were regarded as not belonging to neither the living or the dead, but rather the

“in between”, as in the supernatural or mythical realm. This then may translate into these contemporary people regarding such areas with certain respect or fear of the mystical. Which may indeed strengthen the sacrificial theories regarding the bog body phenomenon, by further applying this liminality perspective on the actual deposited individuals, in combination with the ritual perspective, I believe that these deposited individuals may have served a “liminal purpose” themselves. Possibly acting a secondary role as mediators or conduits between the different realms, second to that of sacrificial offerings to the deities or mythical creatures residing in the supernatural plane of the bogs.

Additionally, it became clear that the presence of the older archaeological remains, specifically the ones still visible long after their active use, such as Stone Age megalithic tombs and the many Bronze Age grave mounds, must have placed a special meaning to these areas of the south-Scanian landscape, which would have been evident of the people living in, and moving through, these locations long after. This importance thus seems to have been present here even all throughout the later periods in pre-history, with the creation of important central places such as Järrestad and Ravlunda to the east, and the enigmatic Uppåkra to the west.

Lastly, the analysis of the primary material of this study, indicated that there may be even further sub-categories of these bog skeletons. It was suggested that the prior treatment of these individuals before the act of deposition may play a key role in which distinct category these may come to belong.

FUTURE RESEARCH

Even though this phenomenon has been subject to research for centuries, there are still many aspects of this phenomenon left to unpack, and hopefully someday, we will come even closer to understanding this unique tradition. But to do so, I believe that we need to continue to view this material through a wider lens, connected to spatial, regional and landscape patterns.

This specific study may be viewed as a pilot study of some sort, and for future research, applying the same methods to a larger set of material would be an interesting idea. The material could include more bog bodies, larger selected areas, as well as a set of control- areas containing bogs in which there has not been any human remains found. By further testing these methods and theories on larger sets of materials with the added potential of comparing the results to a set of control-material, would truly be of high value. Such an extensive survey would truly be

able to either debunk or strengthen the results of this present study. Additionally, it would also be interesting to investigate any potential spatial relations to possible topographical and geographical characteristics in connection to bogs of interest, as well as applying the analysis of core samples and archaeobotanical results to accurately determine how the bogs and the surrounding landscape may have changed through time.

SUMMARY

The bog body phenomenon has been subject to research since the early onset of the archaeological discipline, and still many of the aspects of this tradition are left unexplained. Even though the bog body skeletons make up the vast majority of the bog body material, this category of bog bodies have up until recently, largely been neglected within the research field. Furthermore, since most of the bog body research have focused mainly on individual-centred studies, a relatively unexplored angle of approach has been to view this material through a wider lens. That is why the aims of this thesis was to investigate and examine the spatial relations between the find locations of Scanian Iron Age bog skeletons, and the archaeological remains within a selected surrounding area of each find location. This was done by answering the following questions. How does the seven selected find sites, or the key sites, relate to other archaeological remains found in the surrounding landscape, meaning the selected areas of each site? Are there any spatial patterns visible in these areas, if so, do these change over time? What can the older, respectively the younger, archaeological remains within these areas, tell us about how the early Iron Age people viewed this landscape, regarding the bog body phenomenon? From these patterns, what can be said about the role of the bog body phenomenon within the social and/ or cultural dimension or the cultural landscape?

By utilizing the method of the spatial perspective, the results did in fact show certain spatial patterns within the selected areas. Such as there being an evident all-time low presence of archaeological remains in general within these selected areas, during the time of depositions of the selected bog skeleton material. Although most importantly, this low presence was noted specifically in the closest proximity to these key sites at the time of the depositions, with the closest archaeological remains being located approximately half a kilometre away during this time period. Interestingly, this low presence coincides well with the peak of bog body depositions seen in the entirety of the northern European bog body material.

Thus, by applying my chosen theoretical framework, including the liminality perspective, entanglement theory, the ritual perspective, and landscape archaeology as a theoretical perspective, this leads to the new hypothesis that since these find locations (key sites) were located in what may be interpreted as in liminal spaces, meaning neither near the living realm (represented by the settlement-type archaeological remains), nor the world of the dead (represented by the grave-type archaeological remains), that even the bog bodies themselves being deposited in such liminal places may have served a liminal role on their own. Possibly as conduits or messengers between the living and the dead.

However, this study should be viewed more as a pilot study, since the time frame for this thesis did not allow for a deeper dive into a wider set of material. Ideally, future research would do just that, utilize a wider set of material, and more importantly a set of control-material with which one would be able to cross reference and either debunk or confirm the results emerging from this study.

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Abbreviations

ATA – Antikvariska topografiska arkivet

LUHM – Lunds Universitets Historiska Museum

SGU – Sveriges Geologiska Undersökning

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APPENDIX I: Bog body catalogue

Find site	Find year	Individual	Preserved remains	Age/age group	Sex	Calibrated age	Time period BC	Dating method	Dating material	Lab no.	RC-age (BP)	RC-error (BP)	Pathology	Associated finds	References
ÖV, Pit B	1919/ 1927	1	Partial bog skeleton	Adult	Unknown	775-409 BCE	PRIA	RC	Bone	Ua-36739	2445	35		Remains from 42 animals, wooden clubs, in Pit C – younger deposition of sheep bones in 7-8 th centuries CE, and a viking age bone comb in 9-10 th centuries CE.	Storå 2020, van Beek et.al 2023
ÖV, Pit B	1919/ 1927	2	Partial bog skeleton	Young adult	Unknown	748-398 BCE	PRIA	RC	Bone	Ua-36740	2410	35		See information above	Storå 2020, van Beek et.al 2023
ÖV, Pit B	1919/ 1927	3	Partial bog skeleton	Adult	Female	511-380 BCE	PRIA	RC	Bone	Ua-63126	2355	29	Ante-mortem tooth loss	See information above	Storå 2020, van Beek et.al 2023
ÖV, Pit C	1919/ 1927	4	Partial bog skeleton	Child, 10-12 yo	Unknown	511-380 BCE	PRIA	RC	Bone	Ua-63129	2351	28		See information above	Storå 2020, van Beek et.al 2023

Ö.V, Pit B	1919/ 1927	5	Partial bog skeleton	Child, 2- 3 yo	Unknown	471-260 BCE	PRIA	RC	Bone	Ua- 63128	2326	28	Cribra Orbitalia	See information above	Storå 2020, van Beek et.al 2023
Ö.V, Pit C	1919/ 1927	6	Partial bog skeleton	Young adult	Unknown	482-209 BCE	PRIA	RC	Bone	Ua- 36742	2310	40		See information above	Storå 2020, van Beek et.al 2023
Ö.V, Pit C	1919/ 1927	7	Partial bog skeleton	Young adult	Unknown	728-399 BCE	PRIA	RC	Bone	Ua- 63130	2396	28		See information above	Storå 2020, van Beek et.al 2023
Gullåkra	1900	8	Skull	Young adult	Male	541-391 BCE	PRIA	RC	Bone	Ua- 46203	2376	31	Cribra Orbitalia, Ectocranial pitting, Periostitis, Post- mortem cut marks – possible "shaping"	Axe, lur, and torque neck ring in bronze, allegedly the remains of a boat, and aurochs. Spears and lance heads, (no immediate association).	Fredengren 2018, van Beek et.al 2023
Vesum		9	Mandible	Young adult	Male?	556-386 BCE	PRIA	RC	Bone	Ua- 49069	2386	42	Mild periostitis, infection, gnawmarks	Bronze sword (no immediate association).	Fredengren 2018, van Beek et.al 2023
Åkarp		10	Skull + postcranial	Young adult	Male	120-330 AD	RIA	RC	Bone	Ua- 48750	1800	32	Cribra orbitalia, Ante- mortem blunt force trauma,		Fredengren 2018

Hyby		11	Skull + postcranial	Middle aged adult	Male	375-195 BCE	PR1A	RC	Bone	Beta-445783	2210	30	Periostitis, benign tumour, Antemortem blunt force trauma, Peri/Postmortem cut marks		Fredengren 2018, van Beek et al 2023
Hässleberga		12	Skull + postcranial	Middle aged adult	Female	189-4 BCE	PR1A	RC	Bone	Ua-53933	2081	29	Ectocranial pitting, Osteoarthritis, cribra orbitalia.	Remains from three other individuals	Fredengren 2018, van Beek et al 2023
Tejarp		13	Skull	Middle aged adult	Male	166 BCE-48 AD	RIA	RC	Bone	Ua-47959	2042	34	Cribra Orbitalia, benign tumour, Antemortem blunt force trauma and cut marks, possible beheading?	Remains from three other individuals	Fredengren 2018
Hässleberga	1944	14	Partial bog skeleton	Adult?	Unknown		E1A	Available description						Noose around neck	Althin 1947, Comp. info in Blomstrand 1947,

APPENDIX II: Table of archaeological remains.

Selected area/s	Point/polygon	Feature number/ lämningsnummer	RAÄ number	Feature type/ lämningstyp	Dating	References/ source for dating
Hyby	point	L1989:3099	Hyby 33:1	Stonesetting	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Hyby	point	L1989:3100	Hyby 34:1	Grave not visible above ground	NEO	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Hyby	point	L1989:2610	Hyby 24:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Hyby	point	L1989:2536	Hyby 71:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Hyby	point	L1989:2310	Hyby 97:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Hyby	point	L1989:3103	Hyby 37:1	Settlement	Not dated	Dating missing
Hyby	point	L1989:3037	Hyby 47:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Hyby	point	L1989:2474	Hyby 12:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Hyby	point	L1989:2388	Hyby 9:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Hässleberga	point	L1989:1711	Esarp 1:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Hässleberga	point	L1988:5815	Lyngby 37:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök

Hässleberga	point	L1988:5103	Lyngby 1:1	Grave mound	BA-IA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Hässleberga	point	L1988:5220	Lyngby 20:1	Natural spring w. tradition	NEO-IA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Hässleberga	point	L1988:5840	Lyngby 17:1	Settlement	NEO-IA	Fornsök
Hässleberga	point	L1988:4991	Lyngby 3:2	Grave marked by stone	IA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Hässleberga	point	L1988:5597	Lyngby 3:1	Grave marked by stone	IA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Hässleberga	point	L1988:5534	Lyngby 3:3	Grave marked by stone	IA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Hässleberga	point	L1988:5111	Lyngby 25:1	Bog body	EIA/PRIA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Hässleberga	point	L1988:4833	Lyngby 69:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Hässleberga	point	L1988:5292	Lyngby 52:1	Stonesetting	IA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Hässleberga	point	L1988:2321	Genarp 32:1	Stonesetting	IA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Hässleberga	point	L1988:2966	Genarp 33:1	Stonesetting	IA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Hässleberga	point	L1988:1424	Genarp 1:2	Stonesetting	IA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Hässleberga	point	L1988:1425	Genarp 1:3	Stonesetting	IA	Dated after information available at Fornsök

Hässleberga	point	L1988:1350	Genarp 1:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Hyby	polygon	L1989:2683	Hyby 120:1	Settlement	PRIA/RI A	Fornsök
Hyby	polygon	L1989:2682	Hyby 119:1	Settlement	BA	Fornsök
Hyby	polygon	L1989:2383	Hyby 2:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Hyby	polygon	L1989:374	Bara 26:1	Settlement	SA	Fornsök
Hyby	polygon	L1989:385	Bara 35:1	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Hyby	polygon	L1989:386	Bara 36:1	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Hyby	polygon	L1989:2623	Hyby 26:1	Settlement	NEO/VIK	Fornsök
Hyby	polygon	L1989:2627	Hyby 117:1	Settlement	NEO	Fornsök
Hyby	polygon	L1989:3250	Hyby 113:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Hyby	polygon	L1989:2551	Hyby 114:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Hässleberga	polygon	L1988:1127	Genarp 76:1	Settlement	SA	Fornsök
Hässleberga	polygon	L1988:1928	Genarp 77:1	Settlement	SA	Fornsök
Hässleberga	polygon	L1988:1422	Genarp 72:1	Settlement	SA	Fornsök
Hässleberga	polygon	L1988:2012	Genarp 73:1	Settlement	SA	Fornsök
Hässleberga	polygon	L1988:5397	Lyngby 70:1	Settlement	SA	Fornsök
Hässleberga	polygon	L1988:5463	Lyngby 72:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Hässleberga	polygon	L1988:6344	Lyngby 16:1	Settlement	SA	Fornsök
Hässleberga	polygon	L1989:2631	Hyby 112:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information

						available at Fornsök
Hässleberga	polygon	L1988:4629	Lyngby 50:1	Settlement	SA	Fornsök
Hässleberga	polygon	L1988:5615	Lyngby 5:1	Burial grounds	YRIA/MP	Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerlöv	point	L1990:9747	Ö.V 41:1	Settlement and burial ground	Not dated	No dateable info available
Ö. Vemmerlöv	point	L1990:9871	Ö.V 42:1	Settlement and burial ground	Not dated	No dateable info available
Ö. Vemmerlöv	point	L1989:2	Ö.V 95:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerlöv	point	L1987:2751	Ö.V 127	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerlöv	point	L1990:9947	Ö.V 84:1	Stonesetting	IA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerlöv	point	L1989:462	Ö.V 84:2	Stonesetting	IA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerlöv	point	L1990:9821	Ö.V 84:3	Stonesetting	IA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerlöv	point	L1989:384	Ö.V 38:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerlöv	point	L1990:9825	Ö.V 38:2	Stonesetting	IA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerlöv	point	L1989:171	Ö.V 69:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerlöv	point	L1990:9858	Ö.V 37:1	Grave mound	BA-IA	Dated after information available at Fornsök

Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1990:9803	Ö.V 33:1	Stonesettin g	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1989:427	Ö.V 34:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1989:1275	Ö.V 121:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1989:685	Ö.V 120:1	Stonesettin g	IA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1989:425	Ö.V 31:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1989:362	Ö.V 30:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1990:9750	Ö.V 29:1	Grave mound	BA-IA	Björk 2005
Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1989:367	Ö.V 39:1	Stonesettin g	IA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1989:1343	Ö.V 122:1	Grave mound	BA-IA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1989:426	Ö.V 32:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1989:169	Ö.V 119:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1990:9727	Ö.T 15:1	Deposited find	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1989:499	Ö.T 72:2	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information

						available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1991:9324	Gladsax 119:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1991:9185	Gladsax 131:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1991:9186	Gladsax 131:2	Stonesettin g	IA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1991:9270	Gladsax 131:3	Stonesettin g	IA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1990:9951	Ö.V 80:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1989:17	Ö.V 49:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1989:506	Ö.V 81:1	Settlement and burial ground	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1989:616	Ö.V 116:1	Stonesettin g	IA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1990:9880	Ö.V 46:2	Grave marked by stone	IA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1990:9879	Ö.V 46:1	Grave marked by stone	IA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1989:682	Ö.V 117:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1989:540	Ö.V 50:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök

Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1990:9729	Ö.V 18:2	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1989:1196	Ö.V 52:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1989:380	Ö.V 16:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1990:9784	Ö.V 17:1	Grave mound	BA-IA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1990:9930	Ö.V 1:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1990:9931	Ö.V 2:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1989:453	Ö.V 3:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1990:9933	Ö.V 4:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1989:435	Ö.V 5:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1989:519	Ö.V 9:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1990:9878	Ö.V 10:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1989:505	Ö.V 7:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök

Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1989:504	Ö.V 6:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1990:9946	Ö.V 11:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1989:360	Ö.V 12:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1991:9041	Gladsax 6:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1991:9042	Gladsax 7:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1989:365	Ö.V 20:2	Stonesettin g	IA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1990:9804	Ö.V 21:1	Settlement and burial ground	SA-BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1989:383	Ö.V 22:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1990:9751	Ö.T 68:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	point	L1990:9817	Ö.T 68:2	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1989:528	Ö.V 97:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1989:744	Ö.V 124:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök

Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1990:9952	Ö.V 92:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1989:573	Ö.V 93:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1990:9934	Ö.V 94:1	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1989:500	Ö.T 73:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1990:9666	Ö.V 25:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1989:683	Ö.V 118:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1989:323	Ö.V 24:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1990:9799	Ö.V 23:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1989:502	Ö.T 75:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1990:5964	Stiby 20:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1990:5434	Stiby 16:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1990:5500	Stiby 16:2	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1990:6040	Stiby 13:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information

						available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1990:9705	Ö.T 60:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1990:9719	Ö.T 55:1	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1989:521	Ö.V 74:1	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1990:9801	Ö.V 19:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1989:451	Ö.V 73:1	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1990:9802	Ö.V 20:1	Stonesettin g	IA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1990:9860	Ö.T 76:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1990:9804	Ö.V 21:1	Settlement and burial ground	NEO-BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1989:522	Ö.V 75:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1989:225	Ö.T 35:1	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1989:823	Ö.T 36:1	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1989:763	Ö.T 42:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1989:176	Ö.T 37:1	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available

Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1989:240	Ö.T 37:2	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1989:819	Ö.T 39:1	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1991:8971	Gladsax 62:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1991:9255	Gladsax 85:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1991:8753	Gladsax 80:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1991:8970	Gladsax 79:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1991:9254	Gladsax 69:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1989:450	Ö.T 70:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1989:363	Ö.T 23:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1990:9820	Ö.T 71:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1989:382	Ö.V 18:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1989:1122	Ö.V 51:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1990:9945	Ö.V 10:2	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök

Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1990:9882	Ö.V 78:1	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1989:452	Ö.V 48:1	Sacrificial site	IA	Storå 2020
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1991:8954	Gladsax 29:1	Burial grounds	IA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1989:1197	Ö.V 53:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1990:9932	Ö.V 76:1	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1989:430	Ö.V 47:1	Burial grounds	BA-IA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1989:506	Ö.V 81:1	Settlement and burial ground	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1989:445	Ö.V 44:1	Grave not visible above ground	YBA-EIA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1990:9875	Ö.V 43:1	Burial grounds	YBA-EIA	Björk 2005
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1990:9950	Ö.V 79:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1989:446	Ö.V 45:1	Burial grounds	IA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1991:9179	Gladsax 1:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1991:9247	Gladsax 2:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök

Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1991:9248	Gladsax 3:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1991:9251	Gladsax 5:1	Burial grounds	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1991:9058	Gladsax 51:1	Settlement	RIA	Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerl öv	polygon	L1991:8926	Gladsax 51:2	Settlement	RIA	Fornsök
Gullåkra- Vesum	point	L1986:6771	Uppåkra 49	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Gullåkra- Vesum	point	L1989:7475	Uppåkra 18:1	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Gullåkra- Vesum	point	L1988:5318	Lund 10:1	Grave marked by stone	IA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra- Vesum	point	L1988:6557	St. Råby 5:2	Grave not visible above ground	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra- Vesum	point	L1989:1595	Bjällerup 1:1	Grave not visible above ground	IA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra- Vesum	point	L1989:4956	NevisGra ve mound 42:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra- Vesum	point	L1990:9069	Knästorp 15:1	Grave marked by stone	Not dated	No dateable info available
Gullåkra- Vesum	point	L2022:4182		Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Gullåkra- Vesum	point	L1990:9066	Knästorp 12:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra- Vesum	point	L2021:6806		Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available

Gullåkra-Vesum	point	L2021:6807		Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Gullåkra-Vesum	point	L1989:7975	Tottarp 7:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra-Vesum	point	L1989:7380	Tottarp 6:1	Grave not visible above ground	RIA	Fornsök
Gullåkra-Vesum	point	L1990:8639	Kyrkh. 30:1	Grave marked by stone	IA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra-Vesum	point	L1990:9242	Kyrkh. 32:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra-Vesum	point	L1989:5484	NevisGrave mound 36:1	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Gullåkra-Vesum	point	L1989:4954	NevisGrave mound 35:1	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Gullåkra-Vesum	point	L1989:5499	NevisGrave mound 34:1	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Gullåkra-Vesum	point	L1989:4878	NevisGrave mound 32:1	Settlement	PRIA	Aspeborg 2021
Gullåkra-Vesum	point	L1989:1977	Brågarp 17:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra-Vesum	point	L1989:7467	Uppåkra 5:1	Settlement and burial ground	IA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra-Vesum	point	L1989:7469	Uppåkra 5:2	Grave not visible above ground	PRIA	Björk 2005
Gullåkra-Vesum	point	L1989:8102	Uppåkra 3:2	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra-Vesum	point	L1989:8101	Uppåkra 3:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information

						available at Fornsök
Gullåkra- Vesum	point	L1989:8103	Uppåkra 4:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra- Vesum	polygon	L1989:7467	Uppåkra 5:1	Settlement and burial ground	IA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra- Vesum	polygon	L1986:2014	Uppåkra 40	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Gullåkra- Vesum	polygon	L1986:2015	Uppåkra 41	Settlement	PRIA	Aspeborg 2021
Gullåkra- Vesum	polygon	L1986:3421	Uppåkra 39	Settlement and burial ground	PRIA-MP	Aspeborg 2021
Gullåkra- Vesum	polygon	L1986:7945	Uppåkra 51	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Gullåkra- Vesum	polygon	L1986:8814	Uppåkra 52	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Gullåkra- Vesum	polygon	L1986:8849	Uppåkra 55	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Gullåkra- Vesum	polygon	L1986:8861	Knästorp 20	Settlement	EIA/PRIA	Fornsök
Gullåkra- Vesum	polygon	L1989:8045	Uppåkra 1:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra- Vesum	polygon	L1989:7400	Tottarp 24:1	Settlement	BA	Fornsök
Gullåkra- Vesum	polygon	L1989:8121	Uppåkra 22:1	Settlement and burial ground	RIA	Björk 2005
Gullåkra- Vesum	polygon	L1989:8169	Uppåkra 23:1	Settlement and burial ground	RIA	Björk 2005
Gullåkra- Vesum	polygon	L1989:7570	Uppåkra 24:1	Settlement	EIA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra- Vesum	polygon	L1989:8187	Uppåkra 25:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök

Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1989:2052	Brågarp 18:1	Settlement	YIA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1989:2033	Brågarp 1:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1985:87	NevisGrave mound 47	Settlement	YIA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1989:1446	Brågarp 16:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1989:1355	Brågarp 4:1	Settlement	YBA-EIA	Fornsök
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1989:1425	Brågarp 4:2	Settlement	YBA-EIA	Stjernquist 2001
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1987:2449	Brågarp 19	Sacrificial site	NEO	Fornsök
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1990:9013	Knästorp 4:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1985:86	Knästorp 23	Settlement	YIA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1987:7011	Knästorp 18	Settlement	RIA-VIK	Fornsök
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1987:6863	Knästorp 17	Settlement	YIA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L2022:4183		Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1990:9638	Knästorp 9:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1986:8813	Knästorp 22	Settlement	PRIA	Aspeborg 2021
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1986:8812	Knästorp 21	Settlement	BA-IA	Dated after information available at Fornsök

Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1988:5779	Lund 186:1	Settlement	RIA	Fornsök
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1988:6570	St. Råby 12:1	Settlement	SA	Fornsök
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1988:5924	St. Råby 24:1	Settlement	SA	Fornsök
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1988:4567	Lund 10:2	Settlement	SA	Fornsök
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1990:9015	Knästorp 6:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1990:9635	Knästorp 1:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1990:9637	Knästorp 8:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1989:2065	Bjällerup 22:1	Settlement	IA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1989:1440	Bjällerup 21:1	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1989:1385	Bjällerup 23:1	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1989:862	Bjällerup 2:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1989:961	Bjällerup 3:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1989:1596	Bjällerup 8:1	Settlement	SA	Fornsök
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1988:6488	St. Råby 18:1	Settlement	SA	Fornsök
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1988:6483	St. Råby 9:1	Settlement	SA	Fornsök
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1988:7139	St. Råby 5:1	Settlement	SA	Fornsök
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1988:7124	St. Råby 6:1	Settlement	SA	Fornsök
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1988:5902	St. Råby 1:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information

						available at Fornsök
Gullåkra- Vesum	polygon	L2021:6497		Settlement	YBA-EIA	Fornsök
Gullåkra- Vesum	polygon	L2022:4181		Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Gullåkra- Vesum	polygon	L1990:9065	Knästorp 12:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra- Vesum	polygon	L1990:9245	Kyrkh. 26:1	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Gullåkra- Vesum	polygon	L1990:9244	Kyrkh. 25:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra- Vesum	polygon	L1989:1506	Bjällerup 30:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra- Vesum	polygon	L1989:1419	Bjällerup 28:1	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Gullåkra- Vesum	polygon	L1989:1459	Bjällerup 25:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra- Vesum	polygon	L1989:1505	Bjällerup 29:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra- Vesum	polygon	L1989:1458	Bjällerup 24:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra- Vesum	polygon	L2022:4178		Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Gullåkra- Vesum	polygon	L1989:2049	Bjällerup 26:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra- Vesum	polygon	L1990:9247	Kyrkh. 28:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök

Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1986:2354	Kyrkh. 36	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1986:9583	Kyrkh. 37	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1990:8617	Kyrkh. 17:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1990:8640	Kyrkh. 31:1	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1989:4891	NevisGrave mound 9:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1989:5498	NevisGrave mound 20:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1989:5497	NevisGrave mound 19:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1990:9296	Kyrkh. 35:1	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1990:9297	Kyrkh. 35:2	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1989:1431	Brågarp 15:1	Settlement	YBA-EIA	Stjernquist 2001
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1989:2034	Brågarp 15:2	Settlement	YBA-EIA	Stjernquist 2001
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1989:5549	NevisGrave mound 38:1	Settlement	RIA-VIK	Aspeborg 2021
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1987:7059	NevisGrave mound 43	Settlement	YBA-EIA	Fornsök
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1989:4892	NevisGrave mound 41:1	Settlement	PRIA-VIK	Aspeborg 2021
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1989:4943	NevisGrave mound 33:1	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1989:5537	NevisGrave mound 30:1	Settlement	YBA-EIA	Fornsök

Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1987:3306	Tottarp 26	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L2021:6817		Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L2020:5632		Settlement	YBA-EIA	Fornsök
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L2022:4184		Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L2018:1263		Settlement	NEO-BA	Fornsök
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L2022:4187		Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L2022:4189		Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L1989:7379	Tottarp 5:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra-Vesum	polygon	L2019:6971		Settlement	NEO-IA	Fornsök
Hässleberga	polygon	L1986:8634	Esarp 30	Settlement	EIA	Fornsök
Hyby	point	L1989:2931	Hyby 95:1	Bog body	MESO/NEO	Welinder 1976
Hyby	point	L1989:834	Bara 2:1	Stonesetting	IA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Hyby	point	L1989:2384	Hyby 3:1	Megalithic tomb	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Hyby	point	L1989:3101	Hyby 35:1	Megalithic tomb	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Hässleberga	point	L1988:5614	Lyngby 4:1	Stonesetting	IA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Ö. Vemmerlöv	polygon	L1989:241	Ö.T 38:1	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Gullåkra-Vesum	point	L1989:1360	Brågarp 13:1	Find site	BA	Dated after information

						available at Fornsök
Gullåkra- Vesum	point	L1989:2040	Brågarp 12:1	Find site	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra- Vesum	point	L1989:2035	Brågarp 3:1	Find site	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra- Vesum	polygon	L1989:1428	Brågarp 7:1	Megalithic tomb	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra- Vesum	polygon	L1985:471	Knästorp 24	Find site	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Gullåkra- Vesum	polygon	L1987:2449	Brågarp 19	Sacrificial site	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Tejarp	polygon	L1989:4909	Nevis 27:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Tejarp	polygon	L1989:3252	Hyby 106:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Tejarp	polygon	L1989:1772	Esarp 25:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Tejarp	polygon	L1989:2611	Hyby 108:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Tejarp	polygon	L1989:375	Bara 27:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Tejarp	polygon	L1989:3193	Hyby 115:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Tejarp	polygon	L1989:2461	Hyby 32:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök

Tejarp	polygon	L1989:4907	NevisGrave mound 25:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Tejarp	polygon	L1989:4906	NevisGrave mound 24:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Tejarp	polygon	L1989:4837	NevisGrave mound 23:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Tejarp	point	L1989:3035	Hyby 45:1	Find site	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Tejarp	point	L1989:5406	NevisGrave mound 10:1	Megalithic tomb	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L1986:8201	Burlöv 124	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Åkerup	polygon	L1986:5284	Burlöv 117	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Åkerup	polygon	L2022:676		Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Åkerup	polygon	L1989:8042	Tottarp 19:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L1989:7399	Tottarp 18:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L1989:8026	Tottarp 17:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L1989:7462	Tottarp 15:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L2022:4191		Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Åkerup	polygon	L1989:2491	Görslöv 7:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information

						available at Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L1989:2506	Görslöv 3:1	Burial grounds	EIA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L1989:3152	Görslöv 8:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L1989:5977	Särslöv 11:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L1989:5907	Särslöv 10:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L1989:2507	Görslöv 9:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L1989:3043	Görslöv 13:1	Settlement	BA	Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L1989:2983	Görslöv 12:1	Settlement	BA	Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L1989:5965	Särslöv 17:1	Settlement	BA	Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L1989:3044	Görslöv 14:1	Settlement	BA	Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L2022:4193		Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Åkerup	polygon	L1989:2509	Görslöv 11:1	Settlement	VEN	Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L1989:2508	Görslöv 10:1	Settlement	SA	Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L2022:4194		Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Åkerup	polygon	L1989:978	Burlöv 79:1	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L1989:1663	Burlöv 86:1	Settlement	NEO	Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L1989:2565	Görslöv 27:2	Settlement and burial ground	NEO/EIA	Fornsök

Åkerup	polygon	L2022:4197		Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Åkerup	polygon	L1989:945	Burlöv 62:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L1986:6424	Burlöv 119	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Åkerup	polygon	L1986:6472	Burlöv 122	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Åkerup	polygon	L1986:6058	Burlöv 118	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Åkerup	polygon	L1989:2571	Görslöv 27:3	Settlement and burial ground	Not dated	No dateable info available
Åkerup	polygon	L1989:873	Burlöv 43:2	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Åkerup	polygon	L1989:868	Burlöv 35:1	Settlement	SA	Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L1987:6405	Burlöv 105	Settlement	YBA-EIA	Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L1989:1666	Burlöv 89:1	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Åkerup	polygon	L1989:1053	Burlöv 84:1	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Åkerup	polygon	L1989:1608	Burlöv 83:1	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Åkerup	polygon	L1987:4867	Burlöv 106	Settlement	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L1989:999	Burlöv 88:1	Settlement	YIA	Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L1986:2416	Burlöv 116	Settlement	NEO-EIA	Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L1989:1515	Burlöv 21:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L1986:2415	Burlöv 115	Settlement	NEO	Dated after information

						available at Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L2020:5453		Settlement	NEO-EIA	Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L1989:944	Burlöv 47:2	Settlement	PRIA- RIA	Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L1986:8202	Burlöv 125	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Åkerup	polygon	L1987:3766	Lomma 57	Settlement	SA	Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L1987:3694	Lomma 59	Sacrificial site	NEO	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L1987:3790	Lomma 52	Settlement	SA	Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L1987:3708	Lomma 55	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Åkerup	polygon	L1987:3792	Lomma 66	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Åkerup	polygon	L1990:8908	Lomma 2:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L1990:8871	Lomma 26:1	Settlement	SA	Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L2020:1438		Settlement	IA-MED	Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L1990:8509	Lomma 28:1	Settlement	YBA-EIA	Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L1990:9330	Lomma 11:1	Settlement	NEO/VIK	Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L2021:326		Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Åkerup	polygon	L1987:3800	Lomma 53	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Åkerup	polygon	L1987:3728	Lomma 58	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Åkerup	polygon	L1990:9407	Lomma 44:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L1987:3761	Lomma 63	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available

Åkerup	polygon	L1987:3702	Lomma 62	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Åkerup	polygon	L2019:2697		Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Åkerup	polygon	L1989:7548	Uppåkra 29:1	Settlement and burial ground	MP-VEN	Aspeborg 2021
Åkerup	polygon	L1989:7551	Uppåkra 30:1	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Åkerup	polygon	L1989:7494	Uppåkra 30:2	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Åkerup	polygon	L1986:5266	Uppåkra 44	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Åkerup	polygon	L1986:2954	Uppåkra 42	Settlement	PRIA- RIA	Aspeborg 2021
Åkerup	polygon	L1986:5283	Uppåkra 45	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Åkerup	polygon	L2019:2698		Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Åkerup	polygon	L1986:5452	Uppåkra 48	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Åkerup	polygon	L1986:5286	Uppåkra 47	Settlement	EIA	Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L1986:9675	Uppåkra 54	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Åkerup	polygon	L1989:7489	Uppåkra 8:1	Settlement	BA	Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L1989:1097	Burlöv 91:1	Settlement	BA	Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L1986:5285	Uppåkra 46	Settlement	NEO-YIA	Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L1986:9632	Uppåkra 53	Burial grounds	RIA	Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L2019:2597		Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Åkerup	polygon	L2019:2611		Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available

Åkerup	polygon	L1987:3695	Lomma 60	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Åkerup	polygon	L1987:3732	Lomma 67	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Åkerup	polygon	L1989:960	Burlöv 90:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L1989:1055	Burlöv 90:2	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L1989:1056	Burlöv 90:3	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L1989:1576	Burlöv 90:4	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L1989:1051	Burlöv 82:1	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Åkerup	polygon	L1987:7405	Burlöv 109	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Åkerup	polygon	L1987:7407	Burlöv 110	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Åkerup	polygon	L1986:2020	Burlöv 114	Settlement	YBA-EIA	Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L1986:9339	Burlöv 126	Settlement	NEO	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L2022:675		Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Åkerup	point	L1990:8803	Lomma 44:2	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	point	L1990:9518	Lomma 3:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	point	L1989:5085	Lomma 39:1	Megalithic tomb	SA	Dated after information

						available at Fornsök
Åkerup	point	L1987:3707	Lomma 54	Find site	Not dated	No dateable info available
Åkerup	point	L1989:943	Burlöv 47:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	point	L1989:859	Burlöv 55:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	point	L1989:946	Burlöv 49:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	point	L1989:2054	Burlöv 11:3	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	point	L1989:1454	Burlöv 11:2	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	point	L1989:1453	Burlöv 11:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	point	L1986:6450	Burlöv 121	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Åkerup	point	L2022:4198		Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Åkerup	point	L1989:1530	Burlöv 44:1	Megalithic tomb	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	point	L1989:853	Burlöv 19:1	Settlement	SA	Fornsök
Åkerup	point	L1989:1586	Burlöv 45:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	point	L1989:1531	Burlöv 33:1	Settlement	MP	Fornsök
Åkerup	point	L1986:2019	Burlöv 113	Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available

Åkerup	point	L1989:1450	Burlöv 15:2	Grave not visible above ground	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	point	L1989:1511	Burlöv 15:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	point	L1989:1513	Burlöv 15:3	Grave not visible above ground	RIA	Fornsök
Åkerup	point	L1989:2036	Burlöv 16:1	Grave not visible above ground	IA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	point	L1989:1516	Burlöv 22:1	Megalithic tomb	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	point	L1986:8821	Burlöv 123	Sacrificial site	Not dated	No dateable info available
Åkerup	point	L1989:851	Burlöv 18:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	point	L1989:2061	Burlöv 42:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	point	L1989:8027	Tottarp 4:1	Grave not visible above ground	RIA	Fornsök
Åkerup	point	L1989:872	Burlöv 43:1	Megalithic tomb	SA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	point	L1989:2563	Görslöv 21:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	point	L1989:3207	Görslöv 22:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	point	L2022:4195		Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available

Åkerup	point	L2022:4196		Settlement	Not dated	No dateable info available
Åkerup	point	L1989:3208	Görslöv 23:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	point	L1989:3209	Görslöv 24:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	point	L1989:3134	Görslöv 2:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	point	L1989:6452	Särslöv 24:1	Grave mound	BA	Dated after information available at Fornsök
Åkerup	polygon	L1987:8097	Uppåkra 37	Settlement and burial ground	NEO/EIA	Aspeborg 2021
Åkerup	polygon	L1990:8872	Lomma 27:1	Settlement	SA	Fornsök