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The Neolithic of South Sweden

TRB, GRK, and STR



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dently the same at the transition from Fagervik I to II. In Sweden as a whole, and in the individual provinces, the transition from TRB to GRK was a slow process, but less so at the individual settlement sites.

To determine in which part of the Mälaren area the transition from TRB to GRK began would require further research, and above all even more C-14 dates than the considerable number already existing (Olsson and Edenmo 1997, pp. 182 ff., Figs 5:32 and 5:46). There is a great deal to suggest, however, that the transition from TRB to GRK began in Södermanland. There the TRB was well established in the EN, but there are no megalithic graves and none of Southern Scandinavia's MNA pottery. The settlement sites of Häggsta (Botkyrka par.) and Björkторp (Huddinge par.) with Fagervik I pottery are dated between 4930 ± 100 and 4545 ± 65 b.p., and Brunn (Ösmo par.) with Fagervik II pottery is dated between 4700 ± 65 and 4660 ± 65 b.p., thus covering virtually the whole EN. The oldest GRK sites in Uppland, Närke, and Västmanland are slightly later. There the TRB probably continued till the end of the EN, as it no doubt did in certain parts of Södermanland as well. Botkyrka and Huddinge are in the coastal area of the Neolithic landscape, where fishing was the natural basis for the economy. During the MNA the entire Mälaren area switched to the GRK, with no remains of the TRB, and this new culture was then spread to the Åland islands and Southern Norrland.

3.3.2 The Alvastra pile dwelling

Geographically speaking, the Alvastra pile dwelling (Västra Tollstad par.), Östergötland, is in eastern Götaland, but for several reasons it deserves separate treatment. The unusually well preserved structure has artefacts of both TRB and GRK character, and may with good reason be attributed to both cultures. The site shows great similarities to the places of assembly and cult of the TRB, but the pottery mainly belongs to the GRK. The boundary between TRB and GRK, as has been pointed out several times above, is diffuse as regards both artefacts and economy, and the relation between the two cultures can best be described as a polarization.

The topography is important for our understand-

ing of the pile dwelling. It is about 2 km east of the large lake Vättern ($1,900 \text{ km}^2$), and some 500 m east of the foot of Omberg, a horst about 10×3 km with steep slopes down into Vättern and on the landward side. The site is on slightly undulating terrain, about 12 m above the level of the lake, and the top of Omberg is a further 165 m higher (Malmer 1977, p. 206; Browall 1986, pp. 9 ff.; Göransson 1988, Fig. 5). Four kilometres north-east of the pile dwelling is the shallow lake Tåkern (40 km^2), continuing to the south-west as a bog, Dags Mosse, which was a bay of Tåkern during the Neolithic. To the south of this bay a spring mire was formed as water from subterranean springs overflowed the gently sloping shore. It was in the middle of this spring mire, which is about 200 m wide from east to west, that the pile dwelling was built.

The central parts of Östergötland consist of flat, fertile agricultural land running from the Baltic in the east to Vättern in the west (Göransson 1988, Fig. 2). Since the Neolithic until the present day, the province has been one of the richest and most densely populated in Sweden, a centre of political and ecclesiastical power (Malmer 1986a, p. 93). The people living in the pile dwelling had an extremely favourable economic situation for Sweden north of Skåne, comparable with that in Denmark, with optimal conditions for both hunting/fishing and farming. Systematic surveys have revealed a large number of Stone Age settlements in the vicinity of the pile dwelling, especially around Tåkern, including one with TRB pottery from the EN/MNA transition (Browall 1986, p. 145 and Fig. 65; 1991, p. 130 and Fig. 15; 1997). The presence of TRB in the area is also demonstrated by a damaged megalithic grave, probably a dolmen, the most north-easterly example in Sweden, located only 1,500 m west-south-west of the pile dwelling, at the south tip of Omberg. It is C-14-dated to 2540 ± 95 b.c. and contained MNA I pottery consistent with this date (During 1983; Janzon 1984, p. 362, Figs 243–249).

The fact that the pile dwelling was built in a mire that was damp in summer and under water in winter, rather than on one of the moraine heights on either side of the mire, has given rise to the hypothesis that the pile dwelling was a defensive structure (Frödin 1910, pp. 39 and 76; Bagge 1945, p. 48). However,

anyone who tried to defend himself here would have been in a highly unfavourable position since the pile dwelling is lower than the land around the mire. Built of wood and surrounded by the inflammable tussocks of reeds in the mire, it could moreover have been burnt down easily. Alvastra is instead evidently a variant of the kind of assembly and cultic places exemplified by the TRB sites of Sarup, Stävie, and Hindby Mosse (2.2.1, 2.5.3). One reason for placing the pile dwelling in the mire may have been to mark the affinity between the settlement on either side. There may also have been irrational reasons, however, in the form of unusual natural phenomena. The water from the subterranean springs purls out over the surface of the bog, like small fountains, and Omberg dramatically dominates the view of the bog and the lakes. The name *Omberg* is thought to mean 'the mist-covered mountain'. In certain types of weather a mist is formed over Vättern and carried by westerly winds over the crest of the mountain to flow down, white and billowing, into the valleys and crevices on the east side of the mountain. This striking phenomenon may also have been taken as a sign of the special character of the place, its sanctity.

The wooden material for the pile dwelling probably covers an area of about 1,000 m² and consists of vertical and horizontal logs (Figs 39–40; Malmer and Bartholin 1983, pp. 19–25; Malmer 1984b, Figs 254–255, and 1987, pp. 5–7; Browall 1986, Pl. 1 and Figs 15–22), and in the horizontal plane also of large quantities of branches and twigs. Almost 800 m² of the pile dwelling has been investigated in the excavations of 1908–1919, 1928–1930, and 1976–1980, and just over 200 m² remains to be investigated. In the excavated part, up to 900 vertical piles have been registered, and in many cases it has been possible to date them by dendrochronology, especially when they are made of oak (Bartholin 1978 and 1987).

In the pile dwelling it is possible to discern an inner and an outer part (Malmer and Bartholin 1983, p. 19; Browall 1986, Pl. 1–2). The *inner part*, roughly 450 m², is surrounded by the oldest dendrochronologically dated palisade, which forms two squares of approximately the same size: one to the east, oriented NW–SE, and one to the west, running WNW–ESE. The squares thus meet in an oblique line (marked by a row of piles), which modifies the rec-

tangular shape they would otherwise have had. In both squares there are several smaller rectangular areas, densely laid with parallel logs, alternating with other rectangular spaces which did not have such log floors.

The *outer part* of the pile dwelling, approximately 600 m², has a more dispersed spread of worked horizontal timber quite far outside the oldest palisade. It is not certain that the excavations reached the outer edge of this horizontal timber at any point. Mostly it was not in any systematic order, at least not in rectangular areas of parallel logs as in the inner part. On the other hand, the outer part of the pile dwelling has more rows of piles, outside and parallel to the oldest palisade of the pile dwelling.

Roughly half-way along the southern gable of the pile dwelling comes a *walkway*, made of a few logs laid side by side (Malmer and Bartholin 1983, p. 19). About 25 m of it has been excavated. It no doubt connected the pile dwelling to the moraine land east of the spring mire. It would then have been roughly 75 m long. It is reasonable to suppose that a counterpart connected the west side of the pile dwelling with the western edge of the mire. Some timber was found, but it did not make up any clearly distinguishable walkway (Browall 1986, Figs 11–12).

Dendrochronology is an important basis for an understanding of the pile dwelling (Bartholin 1978, and 1987). Samples were taken from a total of 856 vertical piles (Malmer and Bartholin 1983, p. 23), 203 of which were of oak (Bartholin 1987, Fig. 1) and of these, 193 could be dated in relation to each other. The oak trees that had been felled in the winter in year 0–1 (in the pile dwelling's own chronology) make up the palisade enclosing the two squares (Fig. 41:1). In year 2 the whole pile dwelling was ravaged by fire. The following year the western, northern, and eastern side of the eastern square were given new rows of piles, from trees felled in the autumn and winter of year 2–3. In spring of year 11 the southern row of piles was replenished, and in spring of year 12 once again the western, northern, and eastern rows (Fig. 41:2). During these ten years of reinforcements of the south-east square, the western square remained burnt down.

With piles felled in the spring and summer of year 15, a three-year period of lively building activity be-

gins at the pile dwelling. In the first year the activity still concerns the eastern square: rows of piles were set 2–3 m outside all the sides of the older square. In year 17 roughly half of the western square is again incorporated in the pile dwelling, and at the same time a dense group of piles is placed south of the southern gable of the pile dwelling, on either side of the walkway. In year 18 yet another row of piles is placed on the west side of the eastern square, 2–3 m outside the one from three years before. The row of piles from year 18 consists of oaks felled in the spring and summer of year 17, plus some from the spring of year 18 (Fig. 41:3); the paths left by larvae under the bark of the former trees show that they had been seasoned over the summer in year 17 (Bartholin 1987, p. 123). After these 18 years of relatively constant building activity came a pause of just over 20 years. Then, roughly in years 40–42, a row of piles was set up diagonally across the south-east corner, thus following a completely different plan from the original (Fig. 41:4).

A minority of piles are sunk deep in the mire, but the majority are very shallow, often no more than half a metre. In addition the piles are often widely spaced. The palisades were thus not intended for defence; they had a symbolic meaning and they kept outsiders from looking in.

Apart from oak, a number of other deciduous trees (but no conifers) are represented in the vertical timber. Alder, apple, aspen, elm, and lime were used to supplement the oak piles in the palisades around the pile dwelling. The slender hazel sticks in the interior of the pile dwelling (Malmer and Bartholin 1983, p. 23) must have been used for supports, screens, dividing walls, and the like.

The species of logs and twigs used for the horizontal timber have been identified (Bartholin 1983b, 1987), but this timber has rarely been suitable for dendrochronological dating. The walkway from the eastern side of the mire continues through the pile dwelling, from the south gable to the north. On either side of this continued walkway there are a number of rectangular arrangements of logs, which may be called 'rooms' or 'houses' but which were not surrounded by palisades, possibly by wattle walls. The logs in the 'rooms' were laid either parallel to or at right angles to the central walkway. At several

places the floor is double, the probable interpretation of which is that an older floor was considered inadequate, for example, because it had mouldered, and a younger one was placed on top of it. 'Rooms' without regularly laid floors also occur. There are eight rectangular 'rooms' in either square, plus an irregular one in the angle between the two (Browall 1986, p. 52 and Fig. 29). The average size of the 'rooms' is just over 20 m².

In the excavated part of the pile dwelling there are no less than a hundred hearths, mostly built of limestone. They occur both in 'rooms' with log floors and in those without (Malmer and Bartholin 1983, p. 19), and they often consist of a flat, thin limestone slab, 50–80 cm in diameter, generally lying on a layer of clay. Around the horizontal slab there are often smaller limestone flags standing on edge to prevent the embers from falling out on to the log floor (1983, p. 19, bottom).

The many hearths are obviously not all contemporaneous. In several cases there are indications that a 'room' originally had a single hearth, which probably was normally—although not always—in the middle (Browall 1986, p. 38). The fire on the limestone slab often caused it to split, and a new hearth was then sometimes built on top of the old one. In many cases, however, a new hearth was built just a few metres from the old one, often using pieces of limestone from an older hearth.

All over the area of the pile dwelling there are, besides the limestone hearths, other stones, the function of which cannot always be determined, but which were of course brought to the mire by human hand. Along roughly half of the outer edges of the pile dwelling there is a 'border' of paving just over a metre wide, of uncertain function. Beside some of the hearths, however, there are small heaps of fire-cracked stone, which must have been used for cooking: the stones were heated in the fire and then placed in the liquid to be boiled or beside the food to be grilled.

Thanks to the favourable preservation conditions, the artefacts from the pile dwelling comprise a rich stock of both organic and inorganic material, in fact the majority of the GRK types and many of the TRB types.

The pottery is almost all GRK in its forms and

decoration, mainly belonging to Fagervik III, but also with elements of Fagervik II and IV (Fig. 24:1 and 4). All the pottery is solid, not tempered with limestone. A minority of the pots have decoration with TRB-influenced motifs (Kaelas 1957, Fig. 8:2, Fig. 9:3, 5–6, Fig. 10 bottom right; Browall 1991, Figs 2–5, nos. 1, 5–8, 12, 18–19; Hulthén 1998, Fig. 31). The forms and size of the vessels are virtually always what is typical of GRK and TRB storage vessels. Occasionally there are elements of TRB ceramic design, for example, a funnel-shaped neck or an everted rim (2.4.1; Hulthén 1998, Fig. 31:a-b). As is common on GRK sites, the amount of pottery is considerable. In the eastern trench, which comprises about 15 m² in the northernmost part of the pile dwelling's eastern square, for example, some 7,500 g of pottery was found, a density of 500 g per m².

Objects of *flint* are much more frequent at Alvastra than on other GRK sites in the Mälaren area and eastern Götaland, a sign of close connections with Skåne and the west coast. The eastern trench contained over 1,600 g of flint, or more than 100 g per m². One third has been damaged by fire, which was no doubt involuntary, caused by the many hearths, but the possibility that flint was also sacrificed by being thrown into the fire cannot be ruled out. Slightly more than half of the flint consists of whole or fragmentary objects of classifiable types. The proportion of waste or flakes, in other words, is much smaller than in Skåne, where it is often 90–95%, but also smaller than in the Mälaren area and the rest of eastern Götaland (1.4.6, 3.1.7). This means that only very limited flint knapping must have been done in the pile dwelling.

There are no whole polished *flint axes*, but there are many very small and slightly larger fragments, a total of 140 in the eastern trench. In the whole pile dwelling there are just one or two undamaged flint axes. In most cases the classifiable axes are thick-butted of A-type, that is, with unpolished narrow sides (Fig. 28:2 and 2.4.2, 3.1.2). Occasional re-knapped thin-butted axes have also been noted (Fig. 28:1). The larger fragments are often damaged by fire and were possibly sacrificed by being thrown in the fire, as the case seems to be at TRB sites (2.5.5). The very small fragments almost always have a fine-

polished surface which shows that they were flaked from the edge of an axe; on the other hand, they are not burnt. In all probability they arose when the pile dwelling was being built, especially caused by blows against the hard oak logs. Other traces of building work were the many shavings from the logs.

The *rock axes*, unlike the flint axes, are mostly intact. They are usually straight-edged and thick-butted, occasionally transverse-edged (Frödin 1910, Figs 8–10). Four were found in the eastern trench. Two of them were at the same level, parallel and with the edges facing in the same direction. They were thus in all probability sacrificed, which may be the case with the others too (Carlsson 1985).

While the eastern trench held 11 *transverse arrowheads*, there were only 2 *blade arrowheads*, which testifies to the relatively early age of the pile dwelling and its distance from areas with flint (Fig. 28:3–6). All the blade arrowheads in the pile dwelling are of A-type. *Flake scrapers* are twice as common as *blade scrapers* (in the eastern trench 39 as against 21), which is probably because flake scrapers, unlike blade scrapers, can easily be made from damaged flint axes. As proof of this, a large proportion of the blade flake scrapers have polished surfaces. The number of whole or fragmentary *blades* is just 17, for which a possible explanation is that not much practical work was carried out in the pile dwelling once it was built. The rest of the flint inventory is presented in the survey of GRK weapons and tools (3.1.7).

The eastern trench also yielded a *slate arrowhead*, no doubt imported from the north. The fact that it has no barbs is probably an early feature. Slate is a common feature at GRK settlement sites, especially in the Mälaren area (Taffinder 1998, Fig. 5:26).

An otherwise rare type, but common in Alvastra, is the *strike-a-light* of quartzite which was struck against a *ball of sulphur pyrite* and the resulting spark caught in a piece of *tinder fungus* (Fig. 34; Frödin 1910, Figs 56–59). The number of strike-alights in the whole pile dwelling is about 1,000 (Browall 1986, Fig. 41), or roughly 10 per hearth. Like all types of artefacts, they are much more frequent in the eastern square, of course because this was used throughout the existence of the pile dwelling, whereas the western square was burnt

down for 15 years. In the eastern trench, with its area of 15 m², there were seven hearths, some 40 strike-a-lights of quartzite, and 19 whole or fragmentary balls of sulphur pyrite (Carlsson 1985). These many fire-making tools reinforce the impression also conveyed by the many hearths, namely, that Alvastra functioned as a place of assembly, where cooking and feasting were of great importance. At the same time, it seems unreasonable that so many strike-a-lights and balls of sulphur pyrite would have been deliberately lost or discarded. The fire-making tools should therefore be interpreted as offerings to higher powers.

In the pile dwelling there were more than 40 double-edged battle axes, all but one unfinished and fragmentary workpieces, and all evidently intended to be of B-type (Fig. 29:1–2 and 2.4.3; Kaelas 1957, Fig. 7). Such a large number of battle axes at one find-spot is unique in the Swedish (and no doubt also North European) Neolithic; at other Swedish settlement sites there are just occasional examples. It is thus possible that large-scale, almost industrial, manufacture of battle axes was carried on in the pile dwelling. A more likely interpretation, however, would be that the battle axes were brought to the pile dwelling in an unfinished or fragmentary state solely to be sacrificed. The manufacture of flint objects, as we have seen, was of limited scope in the pile dwelling, and it seems improbable that a lot of time there would have been devoted to the making of battle axes. It is in no way unique for axes to have been sacrificed unfinished or fragmentary. Throughout the history of votive offerings, two attitudes have existed in parallel: an aspiration to sacrifice particularly expensive or at least flawless objects, and the reverse tendency, to offer defective or unfinished objects (4.6.2; Forssander 1933b, p. 41). In the eastern trench there were four unfinished and more or less damaged battle axes. Two of them were high and two were low in the occupation layer, and the offering of battle axes presumably went on all through the time of the pile dwelling (Carlsson 1985).

There is a large number of *hammerstones*, or rather *crushing stones*, of rock, of which about 15 were found in the eastern trench, mostly with a weigh of about 400 g, but in one case up to 1 kg

(Carlsson 1985). They were probably used to crush vegetables or bone.

From the eastern trench there are 80 or so small fragments of *grindstones* of sandstone, which usually weigh less than 30 g (Carlsson 1985). They were presumably used to grind objects of bone and wood, for example, the numerous bone points.

The fact that the *bone and antler industry* is richly represented in Alvastra is perhaps mostly due to the lime-rich mire, which is excellent for preserving bone, but no doubt also to the plentiful supply of bone from both wild and domesticated animals. The tool types have been listed above in the survey of GRK artefacts of bone and antler (3.1.8). The *bone chisel* (Fig. 36) cannot have been used for harder material than soft wood and meat. For the numerous *bone points* (in the eastern trench alone there were over 50), many different uses can be envisaged, but since they are often short (less than 6 cm long) and above all needle-sharp, it is possible that they were tattooing needles. *Bone points with many notches* on either side may perhaps have had a function in costume. Only a few *flint flakers* of deer antler (Frödin 1910, Fig. 65) have been found (a single example in the eastern trench), yet another sign that flint knapping rarely occurred in the pile dwelling. It is noteworthy that there are no *harpoons* and *fishing spears*, although bones from at least eight fish species have been found (During 1986a, p. 53).

A couple of small *fish-hooks*, only about 3 cm long, cut from the enamel side of a boar tusk, may possibly have been of practical use for catching some small species of fish, but it seems equally as possible that such fragile hooks had a symbolic meaning as votive gifts. Evidence for the latter hypothesis comes from the absence at Alvastra of fish-hooks cut in the normal way from much stronger tubular bones (1.4.7, 3.1.8).

The small *spoon of wood* (Fig. 32) is unique in the Swedish neolithic material, but there are parallels in Denmark.

Tooth beads and *tubular bone beads* are found in the same shapes as elsewhere in the GRK (3.1.5; Frödin 1910, Figs 45, 48–50). A number of *double-axe-shaped amber beads* were found in the pile dwelling, for example, in the eastern trench (Fig. 29:3–4). They evidently constitute a tradition from

the TRB, for in the GRK they are otherwise rare (3.1.4). It seems obvious that they were not just jewellery and status markers but also had a symbolic role in connection with the many double-edged stone axes at Alvastra.

A very large group of finds in the pile dwelling is the *ecofacts*, which are well preserved thanks to the virtually perfect conditions. The osteological material has been published in detail (During 1986a), as has the biological material. Besides the vertical piles and horizontal log floor, the latter consists of multitudes of twigs and charcoal, as well as fruit and seeds.

Of the *fruit and seeds*, both burnt and unburnt, about 60 species have been identified (Berggren 1956; Browall 1986, p. 24; Göransson 1988, 1995a). Ten or so of these are regarded as cultivated or collected (1995a, pp. 19–37). The most plentiful are *barley* (*Hordeum vulgare*), mostly four-row and naked, and *emmer wheat* (*Triticum dicoccum*). Both grains and various parts of the ear occur in thousands of examples, mostly carbonized. The grains may possibly have been charred by the fire in year 2 of Alvastra's chronology, or by having been roasted over excessive heat or—perhaps most likely—by having been sacrificed by fire.

Shells of *hazelnuts* (*Corylus avellana*) occur in large masses all over the pile dwelling, but especially in the eastern trench, often lying in layers of nothing but nutshells, several centimetres thick, beside the hearth. Also common are carbonized *apples* (*Malus silvestris*), usually cut into halves or quarters (Frödin 1910, Fig. 61) and dried, no doubt to serve as winter food (Dahl 1945). The purpose of dividing the apples was to facilitate drying. In the 15 square metres of the eastern trench alone there were roughly 40 whole or divided apples. The probable reason for the carbonization is that the apples were sacrificed by fire. An assemblage of seeds of *bird cherry* (*Prunus padus*) is best explained by collection for food; frostbitten bird cherries are edible or even delicious (Göransson 1995a, p. 36). Among the many species of weeds and other wild plants there are also large amounts of the small nuts of *fat hen* (*Chenopodium album*), which were no doubt collected as food (Berggren 1956, p. 107; Göransson 1995a, p. 41).

Of the twigs lying horizontally, about 4,000 samples have been examined (Bartholin 1987). Of roughly 1,700 from the 15 m² of the eastern trench, more than 350 have been identified as *willow* (*Salix* sp.). The twigs are known to have come from willow bushes, the stumps and roots of which were found in the eastern trench and have the same dendrochronological age (Bartholin 1987, Figs 13–17). The pile dwelling was thus unused at least for some of the years without building activity, as shown by the chronology of the oak piles. When people planned a year of building and festivities, they started, usually early in the year, by chopping down the willow bushes that had grown up since the last time. The chopped-off branches were left to lie roughly where they fell, forming a layer which gave protection against the damp of the mire. Also contributing to this protective layer were many twigs of *hazel* (*Corylus avellana*), *alder* (*Alnus* sp.), *lime* (*Tilia* sp.), and *elm* (*Ulmus* sp.). The same species of wood are represented among the vertical rods and piles, which means that the trees were probably not lopped of their twigs before they were brought to the pile dwelling. Of *oak* (*Quercus* sp.), on the other hand, there are only a few twigs, suggesting that oak trees were lopped when they were felled for piles.

More specific explanations are required for the occurrence in significant numbers of certain rare species. Especially remarkable is the presence of more than 100 twigs of *mistletoe* (*Viscum album*), which has attracted attention throughout the ages because of its peculiar parasitic manner of growth and its evergreen leaves. In addition, mistletoe, fresh or dried, has been considered to have medicinal effects, chiefly against high blood pressure and cancer (Sandberg 1982, p. 210). Even more common, with over 300 twigs, are *Pomoideae*, probably mainly *crab-apple* (*Pyrus malus*), and possibly also *hawthorn* (*Crataegus monogyna*) and *rowan* (*Sorbus aucuparia*). There are three alternative explanations for the apple twigs: they were either brought to the pile dwelling while flowering or bearing fruit, or else they are traces of pruning with the aim of improving seed-setting (Bartholin 1983a, p. 27). The many carbonized apples also testify to a considerable interest in the fruit. Leaves, flowers, and fruit of *hawthorn* have medicinal uses: they expand the blood vessels

and improve the functioning of the heart. *Rowan* contains ascorbic acid and prevents scurvy. *Alder buckthorn* (*Frangula alnus*), which also occurs in fair numbers, is a laxative, but the bark and fruit are also used for dyeing textiles, giving a yellow colour. The Swedish name of the bush, *brakved* or ‘crack-wood’, indicates yet another property, namely, that it crackles in fire. Some twigs of *honeysuckle* (*Lonicera*) also occur; in ancient Egypt it was thought to have antiseptic and astringent properties (Sandberg 1982, p. 280).

It is only a hypothesis that these plants were used for medical or magical purposes in the pile dwelling. However, the evidence in favour includes not just the historically known uses of the plants but also the quantitative circumstances: in the eastern trench, for example, there were more twigs of mistletoe than of aspen, birch, and lime-tree together (Bartholin 1985).

Identification of the species of more than 6,000 pieces of charcoal from the eastern trench shows quite different proportions: aspen, birch, and lime together account for over 950 pieces of charcoal but mistletoe for only nine (Bartholin 1985). The charcoal mostly comes from the hearths, and the most common kinds of tree are hazel and alder, which presumably grew near the mire.

The calcareous mire has preserved bone very well, and of all the Neolithic find-spots in Sweden, Alvastra has one of the richest assemblages of animal bones, with approximately 700 kg from the entire structure. From the eastern trench alone, there is 42 kg, or almost 3 kg per m². Almost half of the quantity, about 18 kg, consisting of some 4,400 fragments, allowed the identification of species and bone type (During 1986a, p. 8).

There are 26 species of *mammals* in the pile dwelling, of which only four (cattle, sheep, goat, and dog) are domesticated. Against these there are 20 wild species (Tab. 8, from During 1987). As regards weight and number of fragments, however, the domesticated animals predominate, and *cattle* alone accounts for almost half the number of fragments from the eastern trench, over 2,100. Among the wild species, *red deer* is most numerous, with about 320 fragments. Next to cattle, *pig* is the most common, with almost 1,000 fragments. It shows features of

Tab. 8. Number of fragments of different species of mammals in bone samples from the eastern trench, Alvastra pile dwelling

<i>Species</i>	<i>Number of fragments</i>	<i>Species</i>	<i>Number of fragments</i>
Cattle	2 146	Badger	36
Aurochs	—	Wild cat	26
Sheep	263	Brown bear	4
Goat	—	Wolf	6
Sheep/Goat	—	Otter	—
Dog	3	Lynx	2
Red deer	327	Beaver	6
Elk	38	Mountain hare	12
Roe deer	15	Red squirrel	—
Pig	937	Hedgehog	—
Wild boar	—	Ground vole	22
Domestic pig	—	Field vole	8
Pine marten	115	Common shrew	1

wild boar, which probably means that both wild and domesticated pigs, and crosses between the two, were found in the area. For both domesticated and wild animals, the bones come from all parts of the animal’s body (During 1986a, Figs 11-15). It is thus likely that the bodies were brought whole to the pile dwelling.

Of the wild mammal species, besides wild boar and red deer, only *pine marten* is represented by more than 100 fragments. Other fur-bearing animals, such as *badger*, *wild cat*, *beaver*, *wolf*, and *brown bear* occur in only a small number of fragments. These animals were obviously hunted for their furs, although brown bear, badger, beaver, and *mountain hare* also give good meat (During 1986a, p. 74). *Elk* and *roe deer* are more richly represented than the fur-bearing animals, and generally speaking the animals in the pile dwelling seem to have primarily served as food.

Almost all mammal bones have been fragmented by human activities: flaying, butchering, and extraction of marrow. Some fragments also show gnawing and chewing marks left by animal teeth. Some 60% of the material is not burnt, 40% is damaged by fire or more completely burnt (During 1986a, Tabs 2-5), and the reason may have been that the bones ended up in the fire accidentally or were part of a fire-sacrifice ceremony; alternatively, they have simply been used as fuel.

Among ten fish species, *bream* and *pike* predominate, followed by *perch* and *whitefish*—all good fish

for eating. As for birds, seven species have been noted in the eastern trench and 16 in the entire pile dwelling (During 1986a, p. 81). The most common are *teal*, *wild goose*, and *capercaillie*, decidedly edible species. There are isolated examples of *golden eagle*, *crane*, *heron*, and other beasts of prey, and here we may suppose that the hunting had a cultic or magical purpose (Møhl 1962, p. 908).

To sum up, one may say that the botanic and zoological ecofacts, by virtue of their excellent state of preservation, fully confirm what can be deduced from the local geological and geographical conditions. Barley and emmer wheat were cultivated on the fertile plain in the middle of which the pile dwelling is located, and there was good grazing for cattle and sheep in wooded meadows and on shores. Omberg and the woods to the north and south of the plain were ideal habitats for red deer, wild boar, and other game animals, and also good for collecting nuts and crab-apples. Lakes and rivers a short distance from the pile dwelling gave ample opportunity for fishing and fowling. Osteological data show that hunting and slaughtering took place during the summer and autumn (During 1986a, pp. 125 f.), and the same naturally applies to harvesting and the collection of vegetables. Also, it was only during the summer that the pile dwelling was habitable. This of course does not mean that it was in fact continuously occupied for half a year or more. It is just as possible that people assembled here for feasts—or deliberations—several times during the summer, but on each occasion only for a short time. Evidence for the latter alternative comes from the small quantity of waste from practical work such as flint knapping and the manufacture of bone objects, and from the large amount of animal bones, remains of feasting on meat of the best kinds. The various signs of sacrifice by fire are equally compatible with normal occupation as with festive occasions, but the quantity of fire-making tools and unfinished double axes suggests that offerings played a major role. The quantity of charred cereal grains indicates feasts in the late summer or autumn, and the animal bones can be plausibly explained in terms of a high season for feasting in conjunction with the autumn slaughtering and hunting. The same season is also suggested by the

apples and hazelnuts. As regards other vegetables, the amount of medicinal plants is striking, particularly the number of mistletoe twigs, which are also compatible with a religious-magical interpretation of the pile dwelling.

Quite a large amount of human bones have also been found: over 10 kg in the whole pile dwelling. Of them, about 16% are fire-damaged or totally burnt, thus a smaller proportion than for the animal bones, for which the figure is 40%. Another difference is that human bones lie on average higher in the occupation layer than animal bones. In the eastern trench, bones are distributed through 46 cm of the occupation layer, from 98.76 to 98.3 m a.s.l. Human bones lie from 98.76 to 98.56 and animal bones from 98.7 to 98.3 m a.s.l. The median value for human bones is 98.63 and for animal bones 98.57 m a.s.l. All the human bones are thus at levels above the median value for animal bones. In view of the disturbances that have happened in the wet, soft occupation layer in the form of building activity and treading feet, these differences in level should be regarded as significant. The human bones thus belong to a late stage in the history of the pile dwelling. A third difference between the animal and human bones is that the former are usually crushed, cut, or broken, but never the remains of human skeletons.

According to preliminary analysis, the skeletal remains in the pile dwelling come from about 45 individuals. The distribution of age and sex is remarkable: about 20 are men, just one may be a woman, at least ten are teenagers, and less than ten are children under the age of ten. This dominant—and perhaps exclusive—masculinity may hypothetically be assumed to have applied to access to the pile dwelling while it was in use. The hypothesis is corroborated by, among other things, the pile dwelling's uniquely large number of double-edged battle axes.

Only one exception has been noted to the rule that human bones are not damaged. This is a skull, complete with lower jaw, which was found just beside the entrance in the south gable of the pile dwelling, where the walkway touches (Frödin and Fürst 1920, Figs 1–3). The skull, which belonged to a man in his twenties, is very well preserved but has horizontal cut marks on the forehead, undoubtedly cut with a sharp flint edge (During and Nilsson 1991, Figs

2–17). According to osteological experts, the cut marks can hardly be understood in any other way than that the man was scalped. The case is so rare that the interpretation is highly uncertain. The only possibility seems to be to rely on modern parallels, for example, among the American Indians, and the hypothesis then is that the scalped man was a victim of martial violence and that his enemies were the people who held the pile dwelling. The skull has been dated by C-14 to 4870 ± 95 B.P.

All the other skeletal remains, in contrast, should be interpreted as traces of a mortuary practice typical of the GRK (but not the TRB), whereby the body was not buried in the ground, which was not possible in the wet mire. Several facts may be hypothetically interpreted as showing that the body was placed on a wooden frame raised above the surface of the mire. Some of the more slender vertical piles may have had this use. The exposure of the dead, as an alternative to burial, occurs in many parts of the world, in both prehistoric and historical times (Ovesen 1992). A very similar form of exposure is the placing of the body in dolmens and passage graves, where it is not thought to have been normally covered by any layer of soil. The fact that the human bones (like the animal bones) have bite marks of animals is yet another sign of exposure in the open air.

Graves or scattered human bones are common in occupation layers on GRK sites (3.2.2, 3.3.3). This has sometimes been interpreted as showing that the body was buried at a functioning settlement site, or even under the floor of an occupied hut (e.g. Stenberger 1964, p. 99). The stratigraphy of Alvastra seems to prove the existence of a difference custom in the GRK, namely, that an *abandoned* settlement (or place of assembly and cult) could be used for the burial or exposure of the dead. The change from a habitation to a burial place seems natural and human, but for a place to have both functions simultaneously seems unnatural and improbable.

From the pile dwelling we have quite a large number of C-14 dates of different kinds of material, of which just over 20 samples from horizontal and vertical timber, from nutshells and hearths have been published hitherto (Browall 1986, p. 26). They are distributed from 4600 ± 100 to 4090 ± 230 b.p., a time difference of 510 years. Such a long period of use

for the pile dwelling is not compatible with the dendrochronologically determined period of 42 years' use. Nor is half a millennium a reasonable period of use in view of the small typological variation in the artefacts. In the choice between the two scientific dating methods, we should therefore give preference to dendrochronology here, at least for the present, since its results are based on uniform material consisting solely of oak piles. The C-14 dates, in contrast, were arrived at by different laboratories in the course of more than twenty years, and above all analysing heterogeneous material. Moreover, the high lime content in the mire must be a source of error. It is also worth observing that almost two-thirds of the C-14 dates, 13 in number, fall between 4600 and 4405 b.p., or only 195 years. The median value of these 13 dates is 4490 b.p. and for all the dates together 4415 b.p.

If the C-14 dates for three important units at Alvastra are expressed in calibrated calendar years, we obtain the following figures: the sole date from the megalithic grave, c. 3120 B.C., the median value of the dense concentration of 13 oak datings from the pile dwelling, also c. 3120 B.C., the median value of all the oak datings, c. 3060 B.C., and the dating of the scalped skull in the pile dwelling, c. 2920 B.C. While awaiting the publication of further dates, especially from the megalithic grave and the human skeletal remains in the pile dwelling, we should thus not attach too much importance to these figures. However, they agree fairly well with current ceramic chronology and with stratigraphic data. The pottery from the megalithic grave probably belongs to the MNA I. The typologically oldest pottery in the pile dwelling has pronounced features of the TRB in its decoration and especially in the form of the vessels, which mostly resemble TRB storage pots, but are also in a few cases like funnel beakers, which should belong to MNA I-II. The GRK pottery mainly belongs to Fagervik III, but also Fagervik II and IV. The human skeletal remains are stratigraphically later than at least the majority of the settlement material.

The megalithic grave and the not much later pile dwelling, located only a kilometre and a half from each other, thus seem to be related to each other roughly as the dolmen in Hindby, Fosie par., Skåne, is related to the place for feasting and assembly 400

m from it in the bog Hindby Mosse (2.2.1). Both Alvastra and Hindby are surrounded by a number of small settlement sites, which may be assumed to have been permanently inhabited. At least Alvastra pile dwelling was occupied only during the summer half of the year, and perhaps even then only periodically. The transition from the TRB to the GRK at Alvastra is not very dramatic as regards the artefact evidence. Pottery shows a gradual cessation of TRB ornamentation and angular, ceremonially charged vessel forms, and finally all that remains are the large and sparsely decorated storage and cooking pots. The other artefacts do not undergo any change to speak of during the time of the pile dwelling. The economy is unchanged from the TRB to the GRK, a combination of agriculture and hunting/fishing. All practical work must thus have been done from the small permanent settlement sites, and the animal bodies and other raw materials were brought to the pile dwelling. The purpose of this must have been social solidarity, feasting, and worship. The palisades were not intended for defence but for practical and symbolic seclusion and community. The participants in the feasts and ceremonies, judging by the skeletons from the last years of the pile dwelling, were men. The reason for locating the feasting place in a mire must have been privacy, but above all the dramatic topography and the unusual natural phenomena.

The latest palisade, which was probably added in connection with the switch from a feasting place to a burial place, was built following a different plan from the previous one, but it was built using the same technique. In economy, artefacts, festive food, sacrifices, and pile-building technique, then, there is continuity from the TRB to the GRK. Whether the pile dwelling's function as a burial place followed immediately on that of the megalithic grave may possibly be established with the aid of more C-14 dates. Perhaps the burials in the megalithic grave at Omberg continued until the pile dwelling had begun to serve as a burial place.

3.3.3 Eastern Götaland apart from Alvastra and Gotland

Sweden's largest known concentration of GRK settlement sites is in the Mälaren area (the province of

Södermanland) and eastern Götaland (the province of Östergötland). There is a particular density of settlement sites in the border zone between the two provinces, on the steep northern shore (the Kolmården ridge) of the narrow bay of Bråviken, which runs east-west about 50 km inland from the Baltic Sea. These settlement sites include the two on which the GRK ceramic chronology (3.1.1) has been based: Säter (Kvarsebo par.), Södermanland, and Fagervik (Krokek par.), Östergötland, which are only about 10 km removed from each other (Åkerlund 1996, Fig. 3:2, p. 166, Tab. 1). Recently conducted surveys have significantly increased the number of known Stone Age sites. Far from all have proved to contain GRK pottery, but the stone artefacts are of a similar kind as on the ceramic sites (Åkerlund 1994). The newly found sites are further from the present shore than the previously known ones, but often no doubt on the shore as it was when they were inhabited. The situation is the same with the also newly resurveyed peninsulas of Södertörn, furthest east in Södermanland, and Vikbolandet, south of Bråviken (Åkerlund 1996, Figs 3:18, 5:14, 5:15, 5:25). The difference between large and small sites, with or without pottery, can be interpreted in different ways, but the only sure conclusion must be that the country was by no means as sparsely populated as one might easily suppose from the relatively few settlement sites with pottery.

The excavation of the huge Fagervik site has yielded no less than 170,000 potsherds, of which just over 45,000 are decorated. This suggests that it was occupied over a very long time, which is proved by the long pottery sequence, beginning with the mainly TRB-style Fagervik I at the highest altitude above sea level and ending with the STR-influenced Fagervik V at the lowest altitude (3.1.1; Bagge 1951, Tab. 1). In contrast to this, the amount of stone artefacts is small and there are virtually no flint artefacts (Bagge 1951; M. Larsson 1995c, p. 14). Details of structures are sparse. At a central location in the settlement area, a presumed hut was excavated, measuring approximately 7 × 4 m, covered with white sea sand (Bagge 1937, Fig. 1; Kyhlberg 1995a, p. 160). The sand was overlain by a black, fat occupation layer with large quantities of pottery of Fagervik III type, and large amounts of animal bones. These have

Picture credits

Fig. 1. After M. Larsson and E. Olsson (eds) 1997, Fig. 4:3, with additions.

Figs 2–3. After M. Larsson and E. Olsson (eds) 1997, Fig. 7:7–8.

Figs 4–5. Photo: R. Czulowska, Malmö Museum.

Fig. 6. After L. Larsson 1992b, Fig. 8.

Figs 7–9. After Strömberg 1968, Abb. 4, 85 and 91.

Fig. 10. After Althin 1946, Fig. 1.

Fig. 11. SHM. Småland, find-spot not known. Photo G. Hildebrand, RAÄ.

Fig. 12. After M. Larsson 1984, fig. 135.

Fig. 13. After M. Larsson 1992, Fig. 48.

Figs 14–16. After Strömberg 1971b, Abb. 21, 6 and 29.

Fig. 17. After M. Larsson 1992, Fig. 28.

Fig. 18. SHM. Photo G. Hildebrand, RAÄ.

(1) Råbelövssjön, (Fjälkestad p.), Sk.

(2) Passage grave, Viktorshög (Glumslöv p.), Sk.

(3) Passage grave, Fjälkinge no. 9 (Fjälkinge p.), Sk.

(4) Passage grave, Viktorshög (Glumslöv p.), Sk.

(5) Passage grave, Örenäs (Glumslöv p.), Sk.

(6) Passage grave, Fjälkinge no. 9 (Fjälkinge p.), Sk.

Fig. 19. After Burenhult 1999, Fig. 89. Photo G. Burenhult.

Figs 20–21. After L. Larsson 1992c, Fig. 17 and 14.

Fig. 22. SHM. Photo G. Hildebrand, RAÄ.

(1) Norra Åby (Västermo p.), Sö.

(2) Povenance unknown.

Fig. 23. SHM. Photo G. Hildebrand, RAÄ.

Fig. 24. SHM. Photo G. Hildebrand, RAÄ.

Fig. 25. After Bagge and Kjellmark 1939, Pl. 30.

Figs 26–27. After M. Larsson and E. Olsson (eds) 1997, Fig. 5:30:1–23.

Figs 28–30. SHM. Photo G. Hildebrand, RAÄ.

Fig. 31. After Burenhult 2002, Fig. 109:8–11, 13. Photo G. Burenhult, drawing S. Österholm.

Fig. 32. SHM. Photo G. Hildebrand, RAÄ.

Fig. 33. SHM. Photo H. Andersson, ATA.

Figs 34–37. SHM. Photo G. Hildebrand, RAÄ.

Fig. 38. After Janzon 1974, Pl. 15.

Fig. 39. After Malmer 1983, Fig. 1.

Fig. 40. After Malmer 1984b, Fig. 254.

Fig. 41. After Malmer 1987.

Figs 42–53. Pottery. After Malmer 1962. Drawings E. Wilson. Grave numbers and Site numbers refer to Malmer 1962, Tabs 100–101, pp 914–941.

Fig. 42. (1) A:1, Grave 64, Sösdala (Norra Mellby p.), Sk. – (2) A:2, Grave 172, Strömsnäsbruk (Traryd p.), Sm.

Fig. 43. (1) B:1, Grave 19, Rötved (Fjälkestad p.), Sk. – (2) B:2, Grave 235, Borgebund (Råde p.), Østfold, Norway.

Fig. 44. C, Site 11, Kvarnby (Malmö), Sk.

Fig. 45. (1) D:1, Grave 18, Rötved (Fjälkestad p.), Sk. – (2) D:2, Grave 19, Rötved (Fjälkestad p.), Sk. – (3) D:2, Site 5, Håslöv (Gustav Adolf p.), Sk.

Fig. 46. (1) E:1, Grave 136, Olovsholm (Borås), Vg. – (2) E:2, Grave 166, Os (Gällaryd p.), Sm.

Fig. 47. (1) Grave 81, Hyltarp (Svedala p.), Sk. – (2, 7, 8) Grave 52, Lilla Bedinge (Lilla Bedinge p.), Sk. – (3) Grave 69, Åraslöv (Nosaby p.), Sk. – (4, 6) Grave 111, Augerum (Augerum p.), Bl. – (5) Grave 51, Lilla Bedinge (Lilla Bedinge p.), Sk.

Fig. 48. (1) F:1, Grave 148, Vagnshed (Långared p.), Vg. – (2) F:1, Grave 188, Bördstorp (Regna p.), Ög. – (3) F:2, Grave 1, Ugglarp (Anderslöv p.), Sk. – (4) F:3, Grave 218, Sävsta (Västra Vingåker p.), Sö.

Fig. 49. (1) G:1, Grave 120, Björketorp (Listerby p.), Bl. – (2) G:2, Grave 51, Lilla Bedinge (Lilla Bedinge p.), Sk. – (3) G:2, Grave 77, Skepparslöv (Skepparslöv p.), Sk. – (4) G:3, Grave 52, Lilla Bedinge (Lilla Bedinge p.), Sk. – (5) G:3, Grave 125, Måstad (Tving p.), Bl. – (6) G:4, Grave 161, Räppé (Bergunda p.), Sm.

Fig. 28

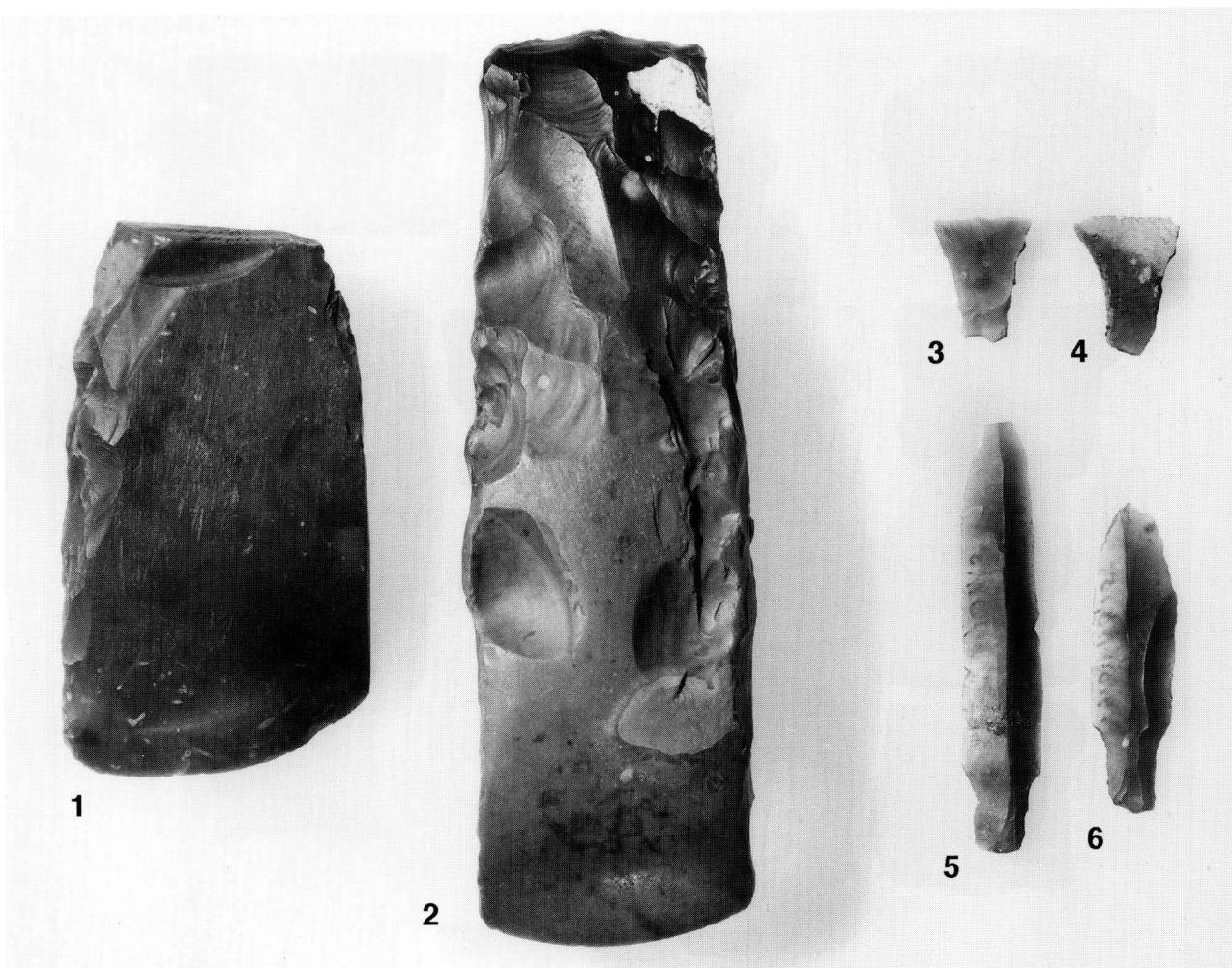


Fig. 28. GRK. Alvastra pile dwelling (Västra Tollstad par.), Östergötland. (1) Thin-butted flint axe, reknapped. (2) Thick-butted flint axe. (3–4) Transverse arrowheads. (5–6) Blade arrowheads. Scale c. 9:10.

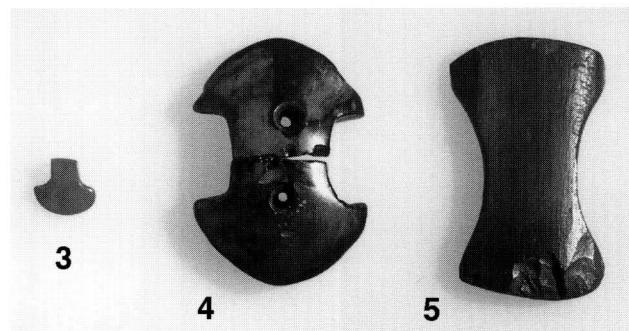


Fig. 29. GRK. Alvastra pile dwelling. (1) Double-edged battle-axe. (2) Double-edged battle-axe, unfinished. (3-4) Double-axe-shaped amber beads. (5) Bone object of a shape similar to a double-edged axe. Scale c. 9:10.



Fig. 32. GRK. Alvastra pile dwelling. Spoon blade of wood. Scale 1:1.

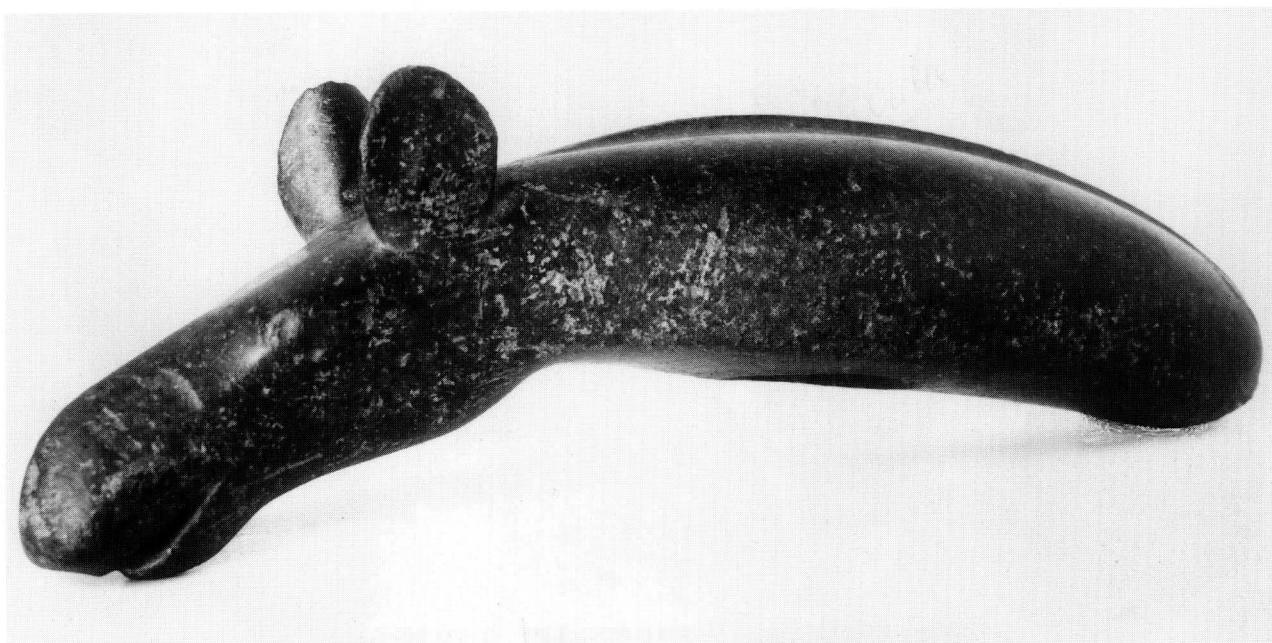


Fig. 33. GRK. Ceremonial elk-head weapon of stone. Norr-Lövsta (Alunda par.), Uppland. Length 21 cm.

Fig. 34–35

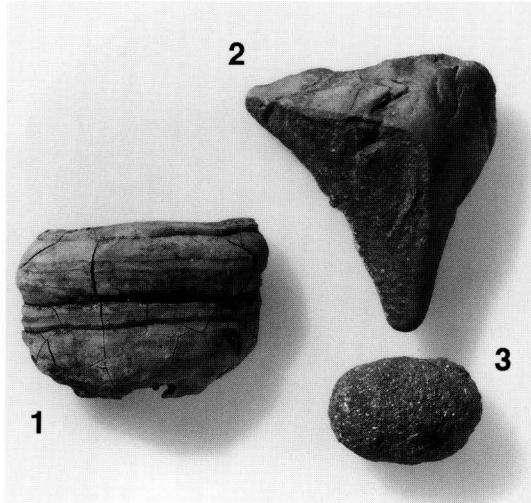


Fig. 34. GRK. Alvastra pile dwelling. (1) Tinder fungus. (2) Strike-a-light of quartzite. (3) Ball of sulphur pyrite. Scale 1:2.



Fig. 35. GRK. Chopping weapons of deer antler. Västerbjers cemetery (Gothem par.), Gotland. Scale c. 1:2.



Fig. 36. GRK. Bone chisels. Alvastra pile dwelling. Scale 3:5.

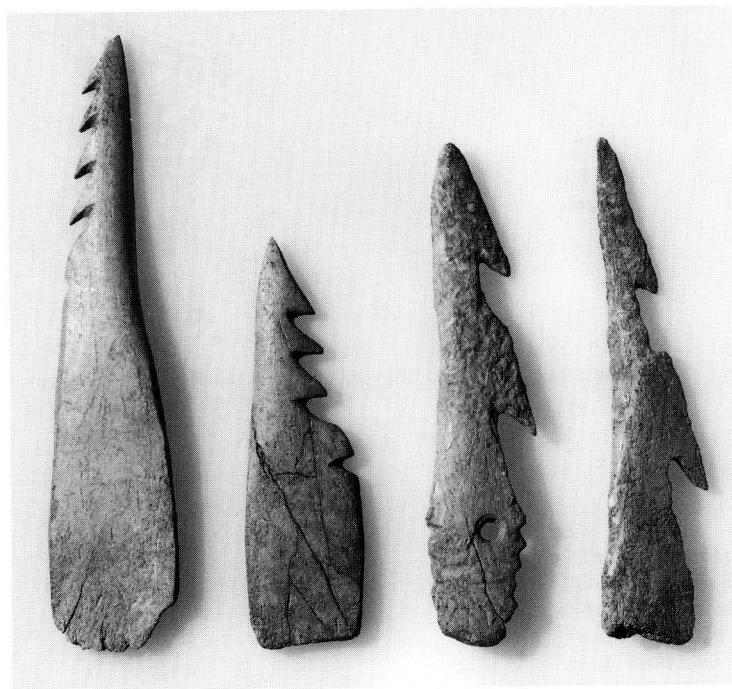


Fig. 37. GRK. Large-barbed harpoons. Västerbjers (Gothem par.), Gotland.
Scale c. 1:2.

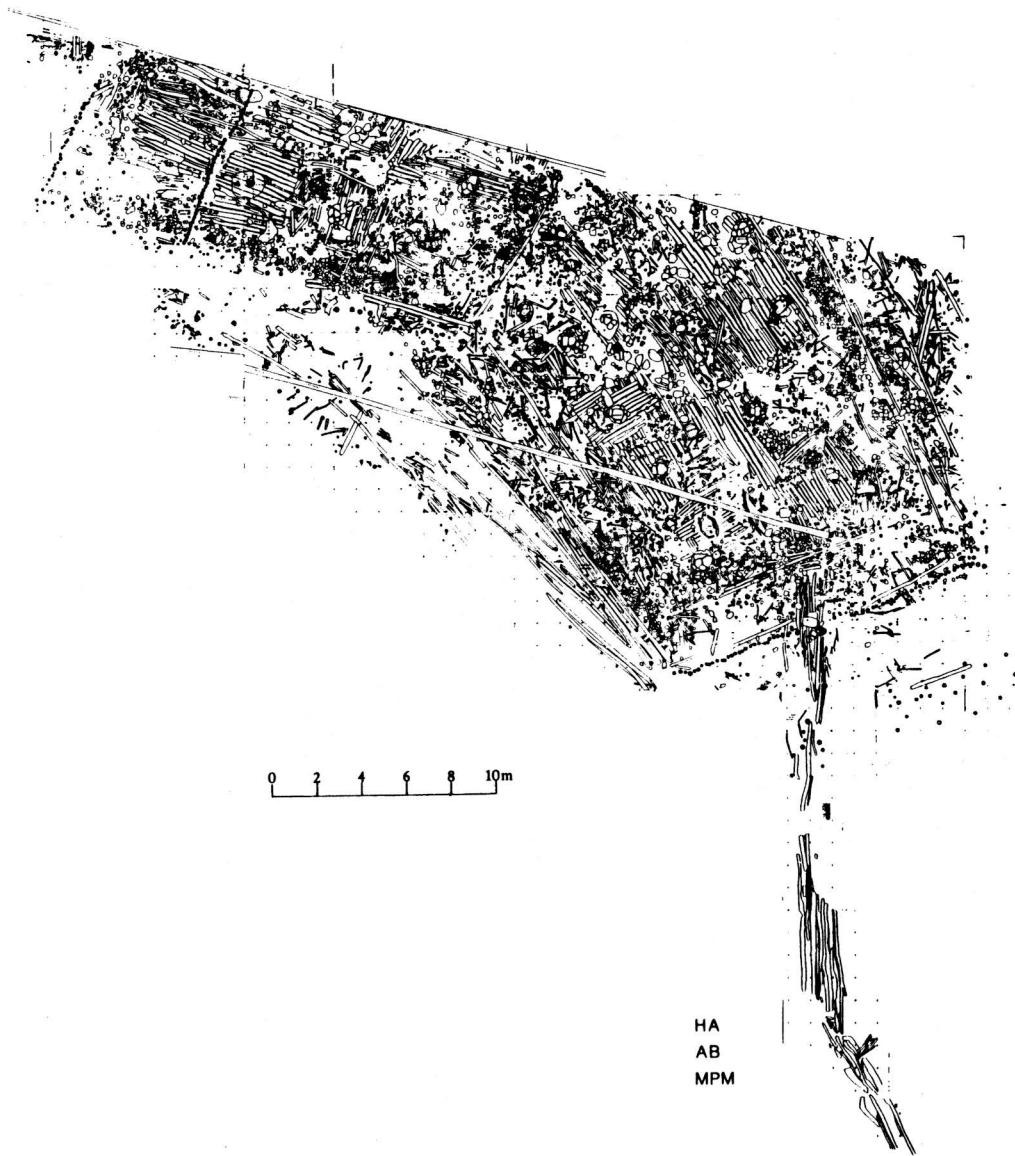


Fig. 39. GRK. Alvastra pile dwelling (Västra Tollstad par.), Östergötland. Horizontal timber, piles, hearths, and stone paving.

Fig. 40

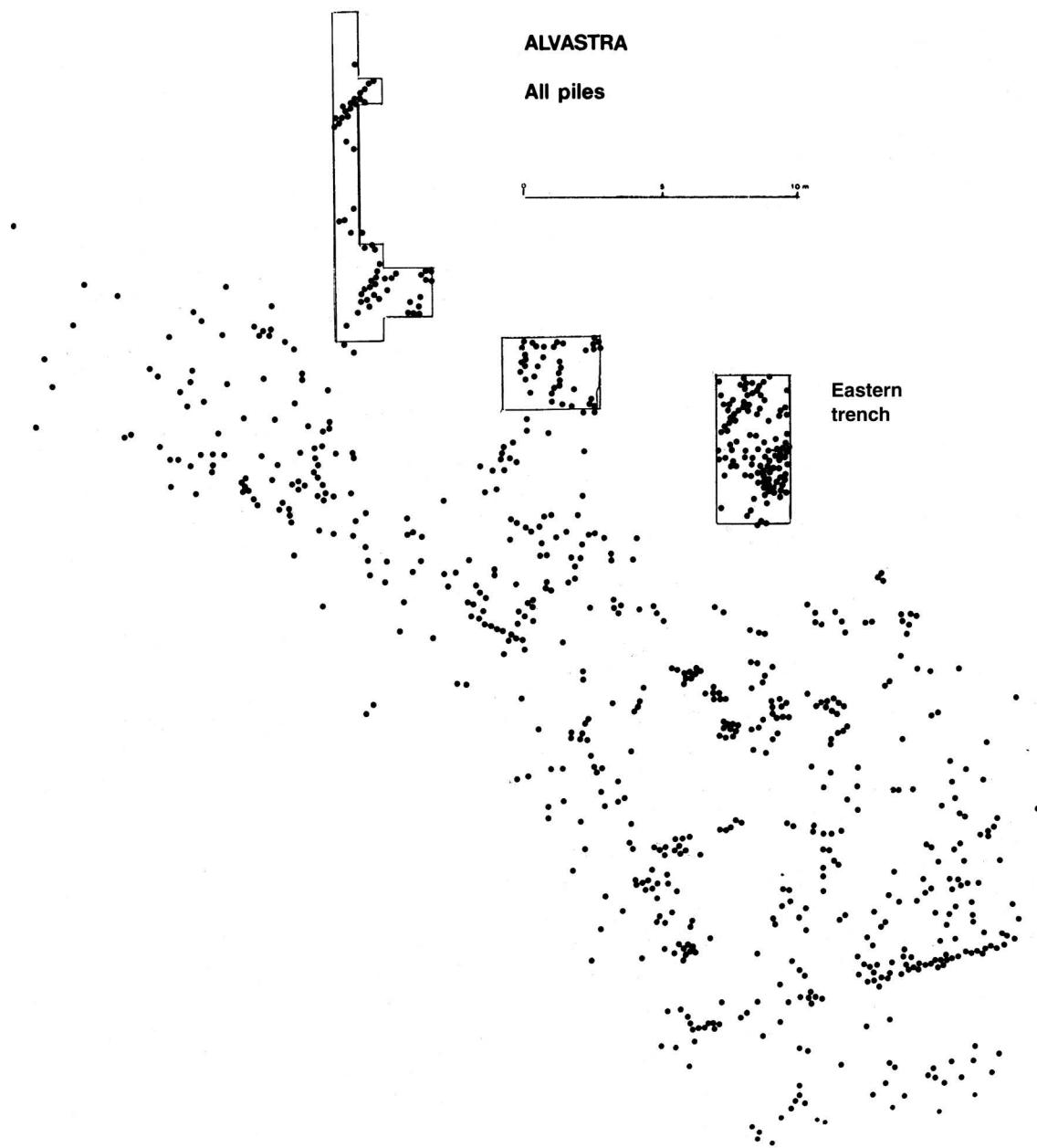


Fig. 40. GRK. Alvastra pile dwelling. All the vertical piles.

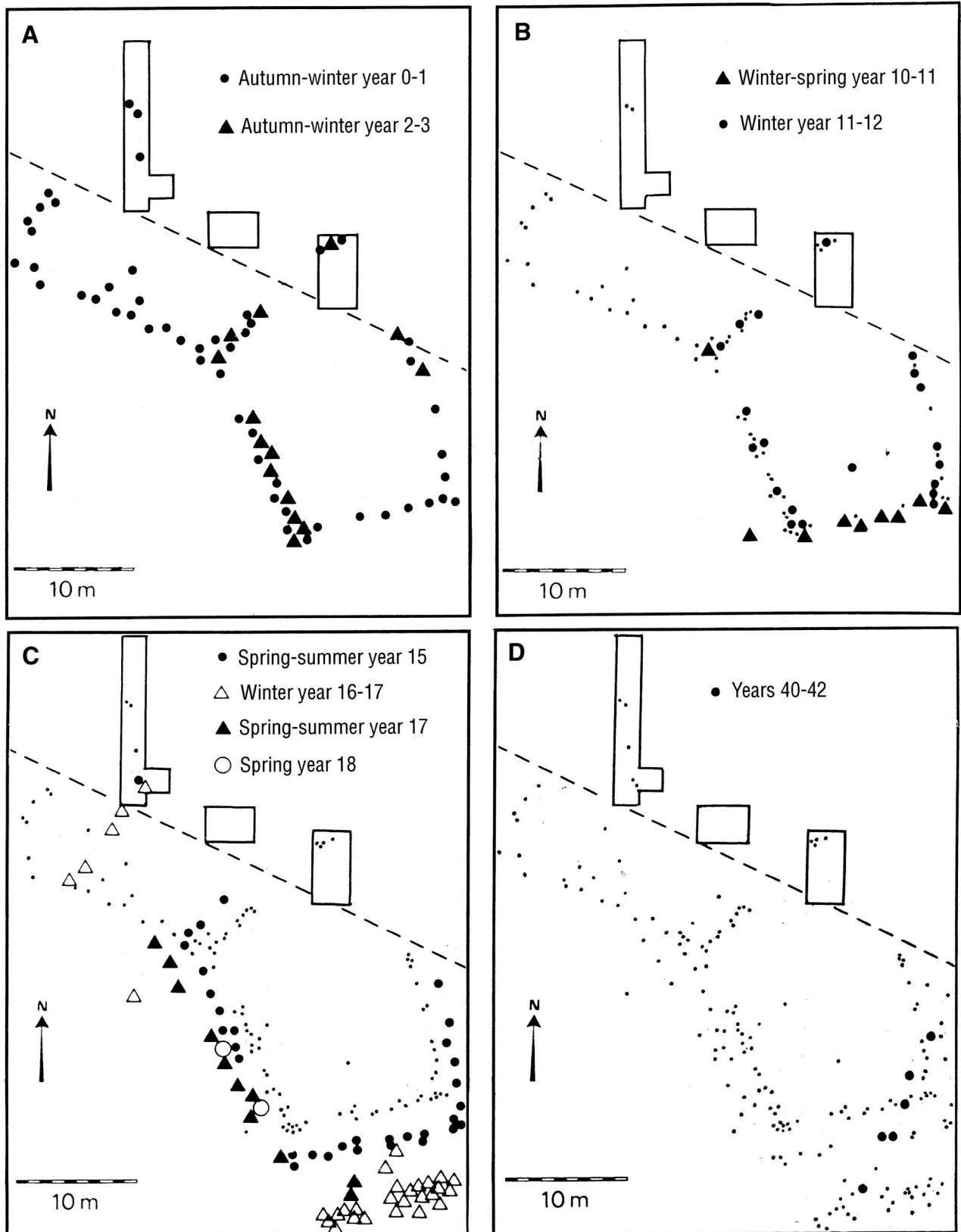


Fig. 41. GRK. Alvastra pile dwelling. (A) Piles dendrochronologically dated to autumn-winter year 0–1 and autumn-winter year 2–3. (B) Piles dated to winter-spring year 10–11 and winter year 11–12. (C) Piles dated to spring-summer year 15, winter year 16–17, spring-summer year 17, and spring year 18. (D) Piles dated to years 40–42.

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