



VÄGSJÄL

ARKEOLOGI LÄNGS VÄG 117 I HALLAND

UTSKRIFT 15

UTSKRIFT 15

VÄGSJÄL

Arkeologi längs Väg 117

Red. Per Wranning



Vägsjäl tillägnas minnet av Magnus Svensson och Tore Artelius.

Utskrift ges ut av Stiftelsen Hallands Läns museer, Kulturmiljö Halland

Detta är nr 15 i en löpande serie

Postadress: Kulturmiljö Halland, Bastionsgatan 3, 302 43 Halmstad

Telefon: 035-19 26 00

E-post: kansli@kulturmiljohalland.se

Hemsida: www.kulturmiljohalland.se

Form och Layout: Anders Andersson

©2019 Kulturmiljö Halland och författarna

ISBN 91-85720-61-5

Tryck: Åbergs tryckeri AB, Tomelilla 2019

Innehåll

LENNART CARLIE:

Väg 117 – en gammal väg i ny tappning 13

OLA KADEFORS:

Stenålder vid Ebbarps hög 33

TORE PÄSSE:

Pollenanalytiska resultat från Årnabergasjön 41

MAGNUS SVENSSON:

What time is it? – Being Mesolithic during the Neolithic 45

LINN NORDVALL:

Hus med nedsänkt golv – funktion eller tradition? 71

CAROLINE ARCINI, TORBJÖRN BRORSSON & PER WRANNING:

Tjärby Norra – Ett förromerskt gravfält med ovanliga traditioner 97

TORBJÖRN BRORSSON:

Människor från andra sidan havet – den förromerska keramiken från
gravfältet i Tjärby Norra 129

PER WRANNING:

Mikroregional byggnadstradition under romersk järnålder 153

ANDERS HÅKANSSON:

Skogaby under den tidigmedeltida agrara expansionen 179

ANDERS HÅKANSSON:

En Alsengem i Skogaby 209

Magnus Svensson:

What time is it? – Being Mesolithic during the Neolithic

Abstract:

In the county of Halland; archaeological investigations and findings amounts to a picture of an early neolithization in keep with the general South Scandinavian sequence. However, in spite of a seemingly updated Neolithic material culture the area exhibits few or even no traces of actual farming. The sites from the first half of the 4th millennium BC are rather of a Mesolithic character and their localization suggests an economy based on foraging, fishing and hunting. It may be argued that the meagre evidence in each and every case depends on bad preservation; however, the overall picture remains.

Drawing primarily on some previous excavations and a recently investigated site called Nolshögen, I suggest that the apparent changes during the time-period wasn't due to the introduction of farming.

Introduction

As repeatedly noticed, within the archaeological discourse the term *Neolithic* signifies a time-period as well as a certain kind of society, a way of life, certain habits or set of beliefs contained within the actual time-period (Bradley 1993; Hodder 1990; Thomas 1991, 1996; Larsson 1997). Interestingly, during vast amounts of time, the phenomenon, though regarded as an over-arching similar one that to a certain degree supposedly was constituted by the same recurring features, was not synchronous along its distribution. As an archaeologist you are familiar with the general view, as far

as Europe is concerned; the Neolithization beginning as a slow northwest bound spread in the Balkans and Greece only to reach Scandinavia several thousands of years later, after some remarkable leaps and standstills (Bogucki & Grygiel 1993; Whittle 1996; Price 2000; Fischer & Kristiansen 2002; Whittle & Cummings 2007).

In the Northernmost part of continental Europe and Southern Scandinavia the initial Neolithic, according to the conventional stance, were carried forward by people, whose material culture by archaeologists have come to be labelled the *Funnel Beaker Culture* (FBC). Disregarding the unanimous opinions regarding the broad chronological framework there have been considerable controversies on events at a more detailed regional level. Controversies between proponents of acculturation and proponents of models where the first farmers were immigrants have long been a major issue. It has been debated whether the material culture connected to FBC occurred alongside Ertebölle-material during some time or whether the shift was rather immediate. Anyhow, there seems at present to be agreement that from some time during the first century of the fourth millennium and onwards, FBC is the sole adequate label to designate the material culture of Southern Scandinavia. Regarding the West Coast of Sweden and Southern Norway it was within this framework that the Neolithization supposedly spread. Accordingly, occurrences of funnel beakers and, to a lesser degree, polished flint-tools have been taken to imply a Neolithized society (Boaz 1998:43pp).

Regarding Funnel Beaker Culture, the histories of research and the cultural historical framework, have previously been described and recently discussed at some depth (Midgley 1992; Andersson 2004; Gill 2003; Koch 1998:16pp; Petersson 1999, 2007; Runcis 2002:95pp; Strinnholm 2001:11pp). The concept of *archaeological cultures* have been thoroughly criticised but many archaeologists choose to reproduce the term in some instrumental respect. *Culture* is then stated to be a mere assemblage of things that indicate a common economy as recently discussed by, amongst others, Håkan Petersson (2007:261pp). Since the proposed spread of the concerned culture, FBC, in main remain the same as when culture meant a certain people, either they were regarded as biologically or socially constituted, a difference that in itself isn't very clear-cut, this approach must be scrutinized with great care. It may actually be regarded as a most dangerous prerequisite to research: over-rating our ability to work with old entities but then supposedly in a new sense. We cannot avoid being influenced by pre-understanding and expectations (Hodder 1999).

Time and chronology

The common usage of the term *Neolithic* is by and large two-folded. On the one hand, the term is used in a chronological sense to describe a certain period of time; on the other as a shortening for a wide range of phenomena or features that are supposed to evolve or occur particularly frequent during a process that may coincide with the actual time-period in the first sense. However, in the later definition the Neolithic phenomena may occur before as well as after the period considered in the chronological sense. Very few perspectives or theoretical models are exclusive, though; most archaeologists pragmatically use the label in both senses. In a conventional sense then *Mesolithic* represents gathering, hunting, fowling, mobility, lack of domesticates (apart from dog and possible mending of hazel) while *Neolithic* is animal husbandry, crop-farming, decorated ceramics and ground flint-tools. The presence of a Neolithic material culture is repeatedly taken to imply farming and the two phenomena are often used interchangeably like: *Traces of the first farmers...* when actually just some items dateable to the fourth millennium BC have been found.

In several instances the way of reasoning reveals a conception where events are envisaged as if they were influenced by something that actually took place several hundreds of years later. The problem is inherent in cultural historical approaches. Events and historical processes during considerable time are treated as moments, arbitrarily delimited as typologically defined



Figure 1. The picture shows some typical items from one of many previously unrecorded collections kept at the farmsteads in the vicinity of Nolshögen in the parish of Veinge. These particular items have been collected from the same small arable field.

entities. As discussed previously by for instance Karl-Göran Sjögren; typology divides and defines the concerned assemblages but it does not give us absolute age of single items and as long as it is used as a means to dating, the undivided flow that really constitutes historical sequence is obscured (Sjögren 1991:30).

There are, compared to Denmark and Scania, in general few radiocarbon dates from previous excavations on Neolithic sites in Western Sweden. Yet another problem is that many older dates should be abandoned since they are methodologically flawed. Today, for instance, we know from experience that you cannot date several pieces of charcoal together and use the mean value since you have no idea whether the pieces were contemporary. The outcome is a value but the concerned feature or event does not become dated. Such dates should be singled out and dismissed, they were and they remain worthless. The value of accelerator mass dates from small amounts of charcoal or macro-fossils determined to species cannot be overestimated.

More seriously, a lot of old misunderstandings regarding radiocarbon dates still abound. Magnus Andersson, in his dissertation, draws attention to a discussion where the Early Neolithic period is supposedly prolonged when calibrated dates are used (2004:43). This is not the case and the matter is since long settled (cf. Renfrew 1976:76pp). Non-calibrated radiocarbon dates give a mere value – perhaps a bit unfortunate expressed as years BP. Today it should be clear, though, that the unit “radiocarbon years” is not equal to calendar years and as such doesn’t tell us age unless it is calibrated. The Neolithic period have, if we for a moment take the archaeological period for granted, always had the same duration though archaeologists until recently were unable to know.

I will now turn to some evidence from Halland in particular. Evidence to a Neolithic economy during the first half of the fourth millennium is weak in spite of a material culture that may be regarded as – Neolithic. It is possible that farming was introduced to the area and that the economy may have been of Neolithic character. Such an interpretation, however, rather depends to a substantial share on circumstantial reasoning and analogies from other areas. The lack of evidence to farming and a Neolithized economy in Halland necessitates argumentation *ex nihilo*. The evidence there is actually indicates a quite different situation than the one in Denmark and Scania.

Halland during the first part of the fourth millennium

The area of Halland during a loosely defined Late Mesolithic Period between 5 000 and 4 000 BC is, possibly due to little research, often characterized as a transition zone between the more well-defined and well-researched inventories of Ertebölle to the south and Lihult-culture to the north (Jennbert 1984; Sjögren 1991; Nordqvist 1997a; Klassen 2000). Later, from the beginning of the fourth millennium BC, Halland is regarded as within the sphere of the Funnel Beaker Culture, if this entity is defined as an assemblage of things. Not that the particular items necessarily dominates the find-material but they were obviously at hand. During the onset of the fourth millennium, as well as in the rest of Southern Scandinavia, settlement-structure in Halland are supposed to become more dispersed but at the same time the single sites were more permanently used. The change towards a more sedentary way of life is supposedly due to a change towards a *Neolithic* societal and economical structure. Per Persson has suggested a system where shore bound and not shore bound settlements were established during the Early Neolithic in western Sweden, he put emphasis on farming's limited importance but states that "*society's social-economic base still were of a Neolithic type...*" (my translation, Persson 1991:175). Bengt Nordqvist, in his survey of the sites on the Swedish west-coast (Nordqvist 1997b:103) furthers the model by Persson and since this model hasn't been challenged. Results from Western Scania (Andersson 2004) lends some weight to Persson's model as a general and probable one but, as mentioned, evidence from Halland and further up north along the Swedish West Coast is scarce.

In Halland most excavated sites from the first part of the Early Neolithic were shore bound during their time of use. They are characterized by cultural layers containing an abundance of transverse arrowheads and sometimes also huge amounts of ceramic vessels. In Halland the sites at Slottsmöllan (Westergaard 1998a), Mursjökulle (Jonsäter 1984; Källström 1996) and Tröingeberg C (Carlie 2004) may be regarded as typical. If we are to interpret these sites from a utilitarian point of view as the result of subsistence, the localization at shores, close to estuaries and river-mouths rather suggests an economy based on foraging, fishing and hunting. This pattern is not in keep with what one would expect if farming were introduced to any serious extent.

Previous to the excavation at Nolshögen (see below) the character of any substantial inland-site from the first half of the fourth millennium in Halland was unknown. Some inland-sites giving evidence to activity during the centuries between 4000 and 3500 BC have previously been touched

upon within contract archaeological projects but often just as single features that happened to give a radiocarbon date to the period or as a few finds within sites dominated by remains from other periods. Some excavations have yielded rich ceramic finds from a few pits but not much else to give away the character of the site.

Transverse arrowheads are typical to the South Scandinavian Ertebölle-sites but are not common to Western Swedish Lihult-sites (Sjögren 1991). So, if we characterize the concerned sites by the transverse arrowheads they share this trait with the South Scandinavian ones from the last part of the fifth millennium. The particular instances discussed here occur, during the fourth millennium, however most frequently north of the area previously dominated by Ertebölle-inventories. In Halland, as well as further up the Swedish West Coast and in southern Norway, the use of these shore-bound sites peak (interpreting available radiocarbon dates and the rate of accumulation at face value) during the first half of the fourth millennium. The differences between the Late Mesolithic and the Early Neolithic sites are subtle since they in all respects remain localized in the same manner. At some sites there is evidence indicating a continuous, or repeated, use during the last centuries of the fifth and the first of the fourth millennium. At none of the sites there have been identified any house-remains.

If the sites in southern Norway and the northern part of the Swedish West Coast are compared to the ones to the south in Halland, like Slottsmöllan and Tröingeberg C, there are some differences that may be explained in terms of geography. The rate in sea level change and the regional topog-

raphy ruled how long each and every site was available (or favourable). The steeper the slopes and the faster the sea withdrew (or the land rose) the shorter time the sites were shore bound. Generally the sites to the north, accordingly, were used for shorter time and accumulation lesser. The apparent differences between sites within Halland are to some degree source-critically explained and probably rather due to the time spent and what share of the total site that were excavated at each place. Some differences, though, must be due to in what kind of wider societal setting the sites were established and used. We may thus expect chronological as well as regional differences. At a detailed level, contemporary sites lying close to each other may have been utilized in different ways. To the concerned people, they have taken on different and alternating meanings during any given period of time. This particular kind of sites have as yet not been thoroughly investigated or discussed, accordingly profound differences may be concealed beneath their apparent similarity.

Bengt Nordqvist has briefly discussed the concerned type of sites from

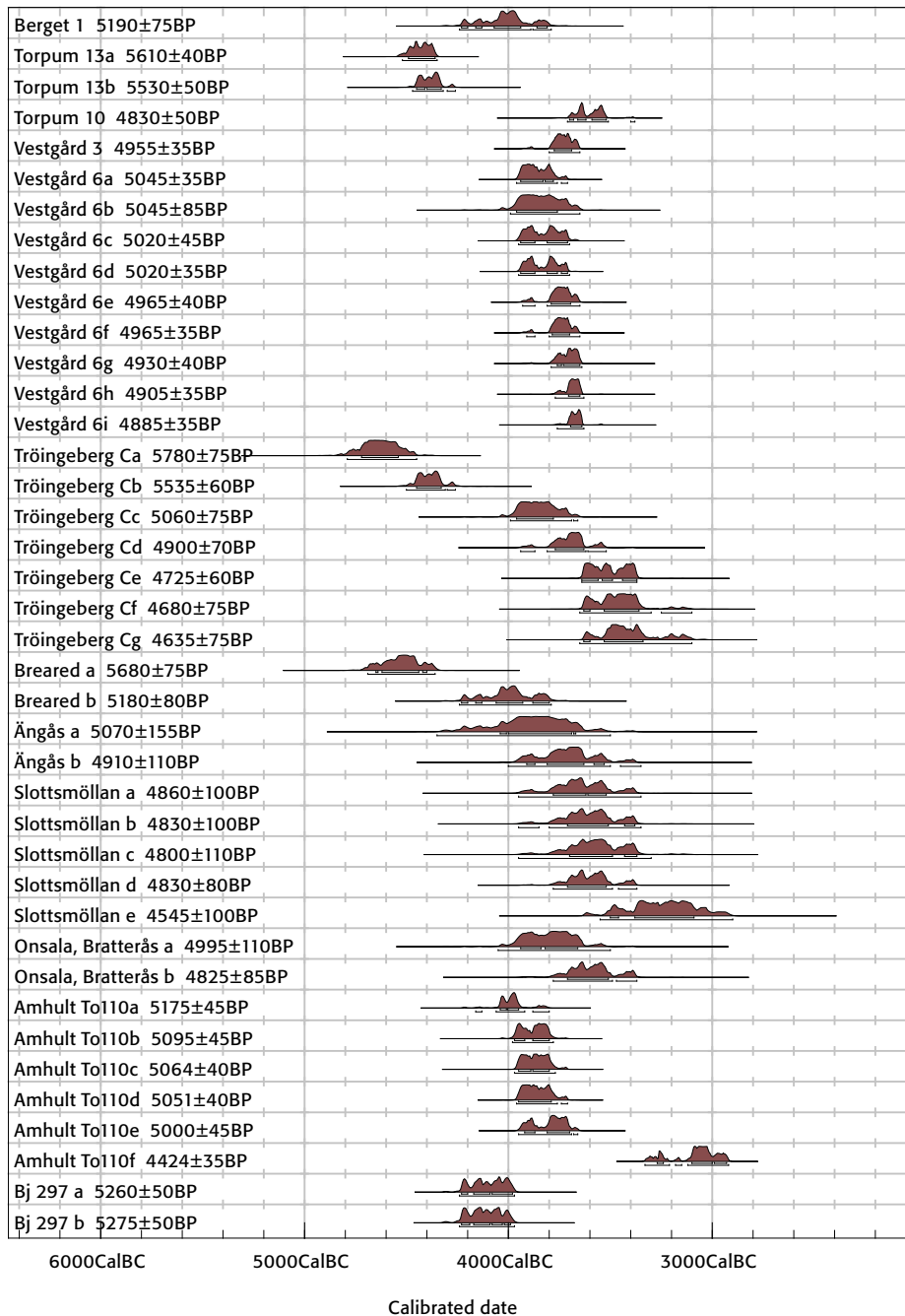


Figure 2. Radiocarbon dates from the fifth and the fourth millennium from some of the shore bound sites mentioned in the text. References are given in the text.

the late Mesolithic and the Early Neolithic in Western Sweden excavated by the National Heritage Board up until the mid 1990's (1997a:43pp; 1997b:100pp). He refers to Mats Jonsäter's (1984) opinion that the occurrence of transverse arrowheads is contemporary with the introduction of a Neolithic economy. According to Nordqvist, the oldest phase is instead the final part of the late Mesolithic, a view that finds support in some radiocarbon dates. From Halland, radiocarbon dates from the late Mesolithic are however few. Dating the introduction of the transverse arrowheads at sites that were continuously used is difficult since later settlement remains from the Early Neolithic are easily confused with older remnants as most sites appear as open layers. There is as usual a problem to tie the single pieces of dated charcoal to the intended event.

One of Nordqvist's examples is particularly revealing to my discussion since the site in question first is regarded as late Mesolithic with a radiocarbon analysis suggesting a date at about 4000-3800 BC. The same site is later branded as belonging to the FBC/transverse arrowhead complex at the onset of the Neolithic in figure 4:16 and 4:17 (Nordqvist 1997:103f). The beginning of the Neolithic isn't well defined. We constantly deal with a slip between the Neolithic as time and the Neolithic as content. The difficulty to single out the Neolithic from the late Mesolithic activities is of course in itself a sign of noteworthy continuity that should stir some attention.

Looking at some evidence further north from the island of Hisingen outside Gothenburg, the result from the excavated site Torslanda RAÄ 107 indicate a shift in material culture during the last centuries of the fifth millennium. In a homogeneous flint-assemblage typical Lihult-artefacts were few in numbers while blades and micro-blades were numerous. Transverse arrowheads were totally missing. Charcoal from a hearth was radiocarbon dated to 5485 ± 60 (Ua19267; at 2 sigma 4460-4230 cal BC). The date may according to the excavator indicate an approximate time for the final phase before transverse arrowheads appears (Swedberg 2005). Dates from the nearby site Björlanda RAÄ 297 are shown in figure 2 as Bj 297 a and b at the bottom of the graph. At this site there actually were some transverse arrowheads, however few. Accordingly the dates are younger and may thus be from the onset of the particular phase discussed here. Another instance is Skrea RAÄ 191 where a cultural layer contained a huge flint-material with 37 transverse arrowheads as well as core-axes, two Lihult-axes and a flake-axe of Havnelev-type. Charcoal from a pit that cut through the layer (and thus was younger) was dated to 5260 ± 70 BP (at 2 sigma 4260-3950 cal BC; Westergaard 1998b). Clearly indicating a significant rise in the number of transverse arrowheads at the single sites during the onset of the

fourth millennium is the 626 ones from Amhult Torslanda RAÄ 110 (Filipsson, Olsson & Swedberg 2005) and the 179 ones from Bratterås at the Onsala peninsula (Westergaard 2004). Relevant radiocarbon dates from these later sites are shown in figure 2 (as Amhult To110a-f and Onsala, Bratterås a-b respectively).

In southern Norway the oldest instances of these particular sites during the final part of the Mesolithic have been labelled *Phase 4* or *Kjeøy* (Glørstad 2004, 2007). The younger sites of this type with funnel beakers and polished flint-tools (or rather flakes from polished flint-tools) are regarded as Neolithic. Within the recent Svinesund project some such typical transverse arrow-sites were investigated. At Berget 2 eleven transverse arrowheads were found as well as parts of a funnel beaker but none of the radiocarbon dates were in keep with the expectations (Tørhaug 2002). At Torpum 13 ten transverse arrowheads and two tanged points were found (Jaksland 2003). The largest number of arrows from a site without ceramics, with a noteworthy late and accordingly unsecure radiocarbon date, was collected at Torpum 10 where 86 had transverse edges and 31 were one-edged. Two tanged points were found as well (Glørstad 2003). At Vestgård 8 twenty-five transverse arrowheads were found but no radiocarbon dates is at hand (Johansen 2004a). Clearly displaying the increasing number of arrows at the single site after 4000 BC are the localities Vestgård 3 and 6. At the first one 85 transverse and 21 one-edged arrowheads were found together with 8 tanged A-points and shards from several decorated ceramic vessels (Johansen 2004b) while excavation at the second generated 458 transverse and 146 one-edged arrowheads. There were also 27 tanged points of type A and shards from ceramic vessels (Jaksland & Tørhaug 2004). The increasing number of transverse arrowheads is not due to an overall increasing amount of flint at the sites since arrowheads constitute successively a greater share of the total inventory as well. We thus face a sequence similar to the one at the Swedish west coast.

At this point we may consider the possibility to date these sites with the aid of changing sea level and the withdrawing shoreline after the post-glacial transgression. The method depends on the supposition that the settlements have been shore-bound, thus creating a pattern where the younger settlements are found at a lower height than older ones. In spite of some minor discrepancies, the method seemingly generates relative dates compatible with radiocarbon ones. There have been attempts to refine the chronological accuracy but the method is with necessity a bit crude, sometimes probably due to the size of the sites and difficulty to find and delimit the actual settled area (Persson 1991; Åkerlund & Nordqvist 1997; Påsse 2003; cf. Munkenberg 2007). Interesting as this is, the question emerges, if people

were farmers and depended on arable fields why did they move that eagerly with the shore?

We would expect the earliest Neolithic settlements, successively further inland to remain in use and since we find the settlements as they were during their shore-bound phase of use we ought to find the succeeding phases at the same sites (Persson 1991). There are some such instances that may be cases in point like Bratterås at the Onsala peninsula in Halland (Westergaard 2004), but the distance in time between the Early Neolithic shore-bound transverse arrowhead-phase at the site and some Middle Neolithic cereals is considerable. It is from what is published as yet hard to judge whether this particular site was continuously settled during the entire period.

Radiocarbon-dates from some of the above-mentioned sites are shown in figure 2. There is seemingly a bias due many dates from a few excavations. The picture isn't seriously altered though by using only the median value from each and every site, actually it would put an even greater emphasis on the centuries between 4000 and 3600 BC. A few dates are from food-crust on ceramic vessels but they are in the single instance not the oldest at each site. Dates from the Norwegian sites are on charcoal or burnt bone; all dates from Amhult are on charcoal. It is also obvious that radiocarbon dates give a better idea of the chronology than typological dating that would merely wind up in just two entities, the Late Mesolithic or the Early Neolithic I. Whether the sites were in use continuously or seasonally, or perhaps repeatedly with hiatuses, people kept returning to them during several generations. The sites must have been an integrated part of a settlement system and they were no less durable than any permanently settled inland-sites.

Unfortunately, due to the acetous soil in Halland we are in main left without any preserved bones. The few small pieces of burnt bones that have been recovered are from cultural layers and since they haven't been directly dated their association with the rest of the material at each and every site remain uncertain. If anything at all should be made of the small amounts of bones it is that when they occur they do indicate an economy oriented towards hunting and fishing, in keep with what one could expect just looking at the sites' localization.

Other circumstances, though, than purely nutritional ones, like possibility to fast communication, may have made a shore-bound establishment favourable. Exposure to the sea may have been advantageous but must not imply a heavy reliance on marine resources. As more indirect signs of Neolithization, we would however expect durable settlement sites away from the shores, were farming actually the dominant subsistence strategy.

We would expect to find, if not in abundance, at least serious numbers of harvesting and manufacturing tools like sickles and millstones. We would expect sheen, use wear from cutting silica-containing stalks, on sickles or knife-edges. During the first five centuries of the fourth millennium, though, the sites in Halland are rather characterized by the total lack of such implements.

There are a few early dates on actual cereal grains from Halland. One of them is from an excavation just outside Laholm in the early 1990s. This particular grain could have been very interesting indeed since it gave one of the oldest direct dates (Beta-71658 5200 ± 60 BP) of evidence to farming from the Swedish mainland (disregarding whether it was harvested locally or not). However, it wasn't determined to species and was obviously found out of its original context in a posthole from an Iron Age-house and therefore of limited value. At the site a concentration of Early Mesolithic flints was found as well as a broken Late Neolithic dagger and a Middle Neolithic hollow-edged adze in diabase. No other finds or features from the Stone Age were identified (Viking & Fors 1995).

Colleagues have also drawn my attention to some recently reported excavations from the middle part of Halland where cereal grains actually gave dates to an early part of the fourth millennium BC. An occurrence with bearing to the discussion regarding the relation between farming, funnel beakers and pitted ware vessels is a radiocarbon-dated wheat kernel (*Triticum cf. spelta/dicoccum*) from Veddige along the river Viskan in central Halland. The grain was found in a soil-sample from a small pit that also contained a few ceramic shards, a flint flake and a piece of burnt flint. The scorched grain was dated to 4750 ± 50 (Ua27592; cal. 2 sigma 3640-3490 and 3460-3370 BC) (Ryberg 2006). This is quite an old date in a Western Swedish context but what is really interesting is that the grain was found in a pit with ceramic vessels of pitted-ware type.

The shard with incised lines from Veddige is actually one strong indication of early Pitted Ware-vessels in Halland since the date from the pit is from a scorched grain, a kind of material that is without any at present known methodological errors, though one of course may question the association between the dated grain and the ceramic shard. The date is in keep with the dates on food-crust from the above mentioned Pitted Ware-vessels (terrestrial $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ -values) from Olas (Persson 2000, 2005, 2007) situated just a few kilometres to the west of Veddige at a level corresponding to the supposed Early Neolithic sea-shore. The dates from Olas have previously stuck out as too early but this opinion may have to be revised. Anyhow it is noteworthy that one of the earliest direct dates on wheat from Western

Sweden is associated, not with funnel beakers but pitted ware vessels. As usual every single instance may be dismissed and far-reaching conclusions ought to wait. In my opinion, though, the content in the above-mentioned pit adds to the increasing amount of evidence that necessitates that claims about what material culture that is associated with early farming needs to be substantiated.

Thus, we face a situation where FBC in parts of its spread were not very Neolithic while the one Neolithic culture that by almost everyone has been regarded as dependant on hunting and fishing, the PWC, occurs with cereal crops. Evidence, however sparse, has to be dismissed if the current interpretation, i.e. that FBC with necessity is associated with farming, is sustained. To summarize, the typical site from the first half of the fourth millennium in Halland display evidence of fishing and hunting. Though the material may be heavily biased due to our means to excavate (Clarke 1978:7pp), the sea-bound character of the groups inhabiting the Swedish West-coast and southern Norway during the first half of the fourth millennium remains obvious. Evidence of other kind of settlements from the early part of the fourth millennium is mainly missing. There are no serious differences between the character of Mesolithic and Early Neolithic sites. The known inland-sites were small, almost ephemeral, but in continuous use from the fifth millennium until the end of the fourth. We do not know whether people stayed at these different sites all year round or if they are traces of mere temporary gatherings. At most of the sites just stone, flint and ceramics are preserved. Bengt Westergaard has laconically caught the problem concerning Skrea RAÄ 191: "*The intensive flint-knapping at the site didn't generate significant amounts of archaeobotanical material*" (my transl.; Westergaard 1998b:150). Later, during the centuries around 3300 BC, substantial inland-sites appear at the same time as there is evidence to a shift in material culture at the shore bound sites as well.

New investigations to throw light on the topics discussed so far are badly needed. During the autumn of 2006 I had the opportunity to participate in a contract archaeological excavation that contributes with some interesting evidence. The investigation concerned is called Nolshögen (Veinge RAÄ 334).

Nolshögen

In the wider landscape the site Nolshögen is situated some ten kilometres from the coast in a gently undulating terrain. To the southwest and northwest we face some of the heaviest recorded concentrations of Neolithic



Figure 3. Two views of Nolshögen. Top: The plateau where the Early Neolithic longhouse and the hearths were found, towards west. Below: The onset of the excavation at the valley floor before the topsoil was removed. The cultural layer was situated between the small tree in the middle and the trench with the archaeologists. The photo was taken towards west from top of the slope at about the spot where the dumper is at the picture at the top.

antiquities and finds in all Halland (Björk 1987; Svensson 2006). Part of the settlement were found during test-excavations at a plateau close to the slope of a 12 meters deep and 500 meters wide valley that cuts in a north to the south direction. Torrents quite different from the small stream that finds its way at the valley-floor today must have shaped it during earlier ages. At the foot of the eastern slope, close to were the stream confluence with a larger brook; the other part of the settlement was found (figure 3). Interestingly there was evidence of a continuous use of the upper as well as the lower part of the site during the end of the fifth millennium as well as recurrently during the fourth. Confirming a general pattern in western Sweden, there seems to have been a certain hiatus during the centuries at about 4000 BC. Out of almost 40 relevant radiocarbon dates that might have been from the period just one gave a value corresponding to the centuries between 4000 and 3700 BC. As usual there is a certain bias in what was chosen for dating purposes and some charcoal was selected due to questions concerning matters that didn't belong to this particular phase. Most of the features, though, could have generated any Late Mesolithic or Early Neolithic date and the number of analysed samples therefore lends some significance to the spread of values.

As standard proceeding demands within contract archaeology, we brought in soil samples from postholes and pits. Out of twenty-four analysed samples just three of them contained macrofossil plant remains: shells from hazelnuts and pinecones... Not really what one hopes for though the general scarcity of archaeobotanical material from the Neolithic is a familiar phenomenon. The lack of cereal-grains may as usual depend on poor preservation or pure chance in what we investigated. Charcoal was abundant, though, and a total of 8 samples were dated to the centuries previous to 4000 BC while 22 different samples were dated to the period between 3900 and 2900 BC (figure 4). There is, as I mentioned above, due to questions regarding specific features a certain bias in the selection of analysed samples. However, in the present discussion the importance lies in the even spread of the values. It may be noted that the youngest dates previous to 4000 BC are from hearths. A feature called A8368 was dated twice (charcoal from birch and lime respectively) to avoid the risk of drawing too far-reaching conclusions relying on a single radiocarbon date. Both A8368 and the other late Mesolithic hearth were situated in the ravine; A8368 was actually in the middle of the cultural layer that contained a substantial part of the Neolithic findings.

The even spread of features dated to the Early Neolithic phase indicates that a huge area have been in use, so as a *site* Nolsjögen must be described

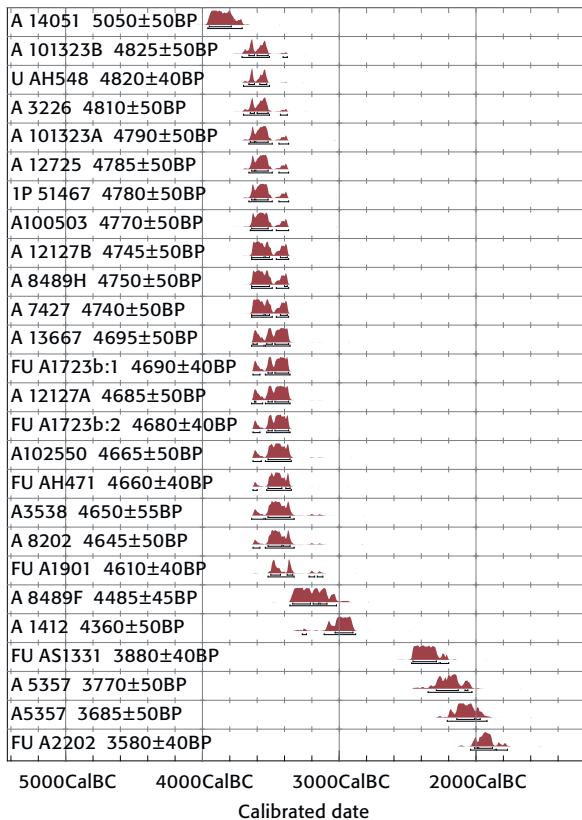
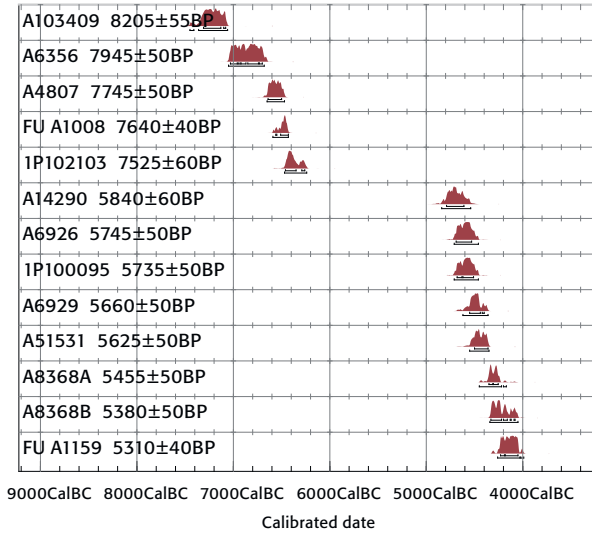


Figure 4. Radiocarbon dates from the Mesolithic and the Neolithic phases at Nolsjö. Dates are on charred wood, determined to species and with low apparent age, or nutshells. “U” in front of the feature’s ID means preliminary archaeological survey (Sw.: utredning) and “FU” means that the date is from the special survey (Sw.: förundersökning).

as a large one, probably covering several hectares. The brook had heavily eroded the settlement at the valley floor and its original extent is unknown. On the plateau, several hearths that were dated to the centuries between 3700 and 3400 BC as well as a small longhouse give evidence to the permanency of the activities. One of the hearths was found in a pit within the limits of the longhouse (figure 5) but otherwise these features weren't connected to any obvious house or structure from the period. The hearths may have been used at different occasions but still within what may be considered as one larger settlement area. The numerous pits indicate repeated activity; the primary purpose of the single feature, though, remains as usual hard to determine.

Finds were scarce and the flints amounts to just 620 worked pieces weighing about 1 500 grams. Flakes and waste dominated the assemblage and few regular tools were found. A few items were made of high-quality flint, but most pieces were struck from small glacially transported boulders, probably collected locally from till or beaches. This kind of raw material is typical to Halland and the bulk of worked flints from the Stone Age in the area are of similar provenience. Ceramic vessels were also few, a significant share was from just two vessels that were found as concentrations of shards in the layer at the valley floor. The vessels were made of a coarse ware with smoothed, leather-like, surface. None of them could be reconstructed to full size and their original shapes are uncertain since the shards were heavily eroded and deformed. Anyhow, there is, when compared to other dateable finds from Halland, little doubt that they were Early Neolithic funnel beakers. Some other ceramic shards were dissolved to the degree that they could neither be collected nor securely determined to type. These vessels must have been burnt at a low temperature even if a harsh chemical environment probably had affected them as well.

Some key artefacts may be dated with some accuracy but regarding most of the flints there is no way to distinguish the late Mesolithic from the Early Neolithic material, an unknown share of it may have been deposited during either period. What's interesting is that the character of the settlement and the activities at the site apparently were the same during both the fifth and the fourth millennium. If it weren't for the radiocarbon dates there would have been little possibility to distinguish the late Mesolithic presence from the Neolithic one.

Flint-tools and flint-flakes from Nolshögen were analysed regarding use-wear by Anders Högberg at Malmö Kulturmiljö (Högberg 2007). The analysis indicates that several different tasks were carried out. No difference between the finds from the plateau and the finds from the cultural layer at



Figure 5. Bettina Schulz Paulsson is standing within the limits of the Early Neolithic house that was investigated at Nolsjögen. The house was built and used approximately at about 3600-3500 BC. The hearth in the house was dug into the pit on Bettina's lefthand side. Some of the postholes in the structure are marked with stake-poles. The house may have been rebuilt and it was hard to determine which postholes belonged to each phase. For instance, the two postholes without stake-poles in the front were later included.

the valley floor could be established, in part since not very many edges had identifiable wear. Identifiable wear was from scraping hides, cutting meat or possibly fish, work bone and in one instance from contact with wood. No sheen from cutting cereals or alike were identified. Had the flint-edges been in contact with silica-containing plants it would probably have been noticed since this type of wear form quite rapidly and is highly lustrous (Högberg pers.comm.; Knarrström 2007:102).

In a small pit that was dug within the part of the settlement situated at the floor of the ravine were found five transverse arrowheads. Charcoal from the pit was dated to 4610 ± 40 BP (Beta-198031; with 87 % confidence 3520-3330 cal BC) thus indicating a late occurrence of transverse arrowheads of this particular kind, made of flakes with retouched concave sides. The pit had been dug into the subsoil through the culture layer surrounding the hearth A8368. The flint material from the pit was homogeneous and no signs of disturbance were observed. Since the date was the youngest from this particular part of the excavated area and there was not found any other transverse arrowheads in the immediate vicinity, the dated charcoal and the content of the pit may be regarded as closely related.

The number of features, especially hearths, differ Nolshögen from most previously excavated Early Neolithic sites in Halland. The results are noteworthy since Neolithic hearths, confirmed by radiocarbon dates (in the instance of Nolshögen all dates are from AMS-analyses on charcoal), at previous excavations have been few and far between. Previous attempts to date hearths even at sites with an abundance of Early and Middle Neolithic finds have more often than not given results indicating later activities during the Bronze and Iron Ages. The big size of the site in its entirety should also be emphasised. Due to the extension and oblong shape of the investigated area we were able to discover both the house and the hearths at the plateau as well as the cultural layer at the valley floor.

Nolshögen was obviously a kind of settlement site previously not excavated in Halland. Whether this general scarcity is real or depend on that similar remains previously have remained undetected is hard to determine. The site differ from the abovementioned shore-bound sites with transverse arrowheads where hearths are few. As mentioned above, an opinion furthered by amongst others Persson (1999:162) is that the number of inland-sites increased and became more permanently settled during the Early Neolithic. The occurrence of these kinds of sites would imply farming, since they occur at a time when farming supposedly is introduced. The change in subsistence, from a Mesolithic procurement-strategy depending on marine resources to a Neolithic food-producing strategy, would explain the changing settlement-pattern. Nolshögen may have been the type of permanent inland-settlement that Persson has suggested. We should however note the strong presence at the site during the final part of the fifth millennium and that there is seemingly no great divide between the Mesolithic and the Neolithic activities. Nolshögen was a node in an ancient cultural landscape already previous to, and during the onset of, the Neolithic. We found no mill- or grind-stones, no sickles nor any other signs of harvesting or processing cereal crops.

Discussion

Results from pollen analysis have for a long time been an integrated part in the discussion regarding the earliest farming in Southern Scandinavia (Jennbert 1984; Welinder 1998). Interpretations drawing on pollen-analysis abundance and they are still today, though they are of limited value to the questions we are concerned with here, back-bones in many arguments concerning the presence of an Early Neolithic farming society. I will not discuss the results from each and every pollen-analysis at depth but mere refer

to previous papers on the problems involved and the difficulties to interpret such data (Persson 1998; Sjögren 2003; Björkman 2009). It is, regarding Halland, a simple fact that there is no pollen-analysis with convincingly dated layers that indicates farming during the fourth millennium.

The archaeobotanical evidence from an area to the south of Halland may be of interest. The results from the contract archaeological project the West Coast Line by the National Heritage Board UV Syd in South-western Scania have recently been published and may be compared to the evidence hitherto discussed. Very few substantial signs of actual farming were found, neither in soil-samples analysed for macrofossils nor in pollen-analyses from wetlands and bogs close to the investigated Neolithic sites (Regnell & Sjögren 2006). This may, as in Halland, be source-critically explained and due to a lot of circumstances. Anyhow, the results are published in an almost apologizing way where an obvious disappointment is at hand. The conclusion is that something must have gone wrong when sampling and the results are totally dismissed – since we supposedly know that farming were established during the period. One may wonder, why invest that much research into investigating something that is so well known that when contradictory results are at hand they are discarded? The authors seem reluctant to seriously ponder over that the results may be mirroring a real situation, meaning that domesticates actually may have played a minor role in subsistence. How come? I can only find one plausible explanation: it is because it is Neolithic times and during that period, if funnel beakers were at hand, the concerned people should be farmers.

In a recent paper by Kristine Beate Johansen (2007), two of the above-mentioned sites from the Svinesund project, Vestgård 3 and 6, are discussed. According to previous interpretation, farming was introduced to the south-eastern part of Norway during the first centuries of the fourth millennium. As Johansen shows, such an interpretation depends on a long line of reasoning that must be regarded as circumstantial and without dates and finds to support it. What is possibly dated is the decline in elm-pollen frequency but the rest is mere speculation. Again, it is obvious how features that do not belong together previously have been treated as a synchronous Neolithic package; events from the earliest Neolithic were connected to several hundreds of year's later megalithic graves (that neither with necessity must be accompanied by farming even though it may be probable that they were). Johansen's conclusion is that there, in spite of funnel beakers and polished flint tools, is no evidence of farming in the South-eastern part of Norway at the time earlier proposed, i.e. the first part of the fourth millennium. This is in keep with some previous research concerning southern

Norway were apparent variability regarding the relative importance of food production is stressed (Prescott 1996; Boaz 1998:48pp).

As I have tried to show, today we know, thanks to radiocarbon dates that some previously referred evidence actually post-date the concerned time-period with several hundred years. We must abandon the misconceptions of a Neolithic where almost half a millennium is treated as an instance and even early Middle Neolithic evidence is brought into the discussion regarding Early Neolithic events. There may very well be a systematic association between the dolmens and passage graves of Southern Scandinavia and cereal crops. However, there is no evidence of megalithic graves until, at the earliest, the middle of the fourth millennium (Dehn & Hansen 2006; Sjögren 1998, 2003). This particular grave custom is accordingly not inherent in or explained by some *Funnel Beaker Culture* since the one could exist without the other. Notwithstanding the role of long barrows; for perhaps as much as half a millennium funnel beakers were at hand before the first megalithic graves were raised and the phenomena is accordingly irrelevant to any discussion regarding the first centuries of the fourth millennium BC.

To sum up: there are really no evidence that *excludes* a Neolithic economy during the fourth millennium in Halland, but – and this is my main point – neither, are there any substantial positive evidence to a Neolithized society. The shore bound sites may very well have been temporary hunting- and fishing-sites within an otherwise neolithized society but there are not many traces of such a greater community. Permanent inland-settlements may be envisaged but, again, Nolsjögen and Stafsinge are the only inland-sites so far and there we didn't encounter any signs of farming.

As Persson states (it is some years ago but the evidence haven't seriously been altered): "*Up until now there are no direct or substantial evidence that farming was practiced in the area during early- and the middle Neolithic*" (Persson 1998:77p, my transl.). In this case the concerned area in particular is the large island of Hisingen off the Swedish West-Coast but it is obvious from the line of reasoning that a greater part of western Sweden is concerned. Repeatedly authors claim that initially the yield from farming and cattle herding played a minor role and contributed to subsistence to a small degree. We must now ask how likely the presence of a Neolithized society and economy is really if we cannot find any signs of it. There are tremendously few signs of either farming or a shift in settlement pattern and thus few signs of a different societal organisation during the period called the Early Neolithic in a large part of Southern Scandinavia.

The very definition of the Early Neolithic Funnel Beaker Culture as farmers depends on Danish and North-European finds. If sites from western or

the middle part of Sweden had been excavated previous to the Danish ones we would perhaps have dealt with a different definition and division. In my opinion, we can expect any group of people; however we define it, to rather hastily switch between different modes of subsistence or economy to survive or to benefit. It is also possible to any group of people to participate in the exchange of certain things or to adopt a particular material culture without profound changes in societal organization.

The point I have been trying to make is that the awareness of what time it is may actually be an obstacle to our interpretations, and prevents investigation of the excavated material in its own right. The cultural historical approach, where farming were carried on by a *people* labelled Funnel Beaker Culture, have not really been abandoned or replaced by explanatory models substantiated by current anthropological or sociological frameworks. I have contested the supposed homogeneity of the groups living in Southern Scandinavia during the fourth millennium BC and I would like to stress possible regional deviances. I do not doubt that farming and cattle herding may have been the main nutrition source from the onset of the fourth millennium in parts of Denmark and parts of Southern Sweden. What I have pointed at is a different, quite complex, situation along the Swedish West Coast and in Southern Norway.

From my line of reasoning I would like to stress two implications. There never was any homogeneous all-embracing *Funnel Beaker Culture* during the Early Neolithic of Southern Scandinavia. Similar vessels and flint-tools may have occurred in culturally and economically quite disparate settings. There were obviously contacts between groups and any single group of people or individual may have travelled far. Affinity or division, though, may have cut through our materially defined entities in quite an unexpected way. The other implication is the non-existent relationship between Funnel Beaker Culture and Pitted Ware Culture. Different groups of people have departed, co-existed and merged in ways not necessarily shown by any present division of the material culture they left behind. Funnel Beaker Culture may seem a useful abstraction to account for a complicated situation. In my opinion though, a far too excessive use blurs the actual historic sequences. To make the different trajectories during the fourth millennium BC intelligible we must scrutinize the evidence from each and every region as the unique outcome of unique historic situations.

Before I finish, I must make a statement about some crucial concepts that occur in my discussion. I do recognize the need to substitute the labels *the Mesolithic* and *the Neolithic* (Jennbert 2005). Part of my aim is really to point at the problems involved when delimiting time and historical process

by using these denominations for the concerned periods of time. However, in the present paper I have used them, and when I did it was in a conventional sense. To discuss time and chronology and to make my point understandable, I do recognize the power of conventional language and accordingly used the two labels as convenient reductions. In the long run though, I as well as many others, find it urgent to substitute these labels with more well defined entities regarding chronology and historical sequence.

I have addressed how time is conceived and treated by archaeologists. In my opinion a lot of confusion lies inherent in the very term *the Neolithic*. Since it signifies a time as well as a lifestyle and a certain economy, all the more confused since post-processual archaeology brought in the suggestion that the Neolithic should be regarded as a conceptual shift and a new way to comprehend the surroundings (Thomas 1991; Larsson 1997:97pp), the meanings have become intertwined to the degree where it is very hard to establish in what sense the one or the other are used. Thus my question concerning what we really do mean with the Mesolithic and the Neolithic. Was it possible to be Mesolithic during the Neolithic or were people with necessity Neolithic, regardless of lifestyle, if they lived during the fourth millennium BC?

References

- Andersson, M. 2004. *Making place in the landscape*. National Heritage Board.
- Björk, T. 1987. *Neolitikum i södra Halland – Tönnersjö och Höks härader*. Seminarieuppsats i arkeologi vid Lunds Universitet.
- Björkman, L. 2009. Vegetationsutveckling och markanvändning vid Käringsjön i Halland från neolitikum till tidig medeltid. I: *Utskrift* 9.
- Boaz, J. 1998. *Hunter-Gatherer Site Variability: Changing patterns of site utilization in the interior of eastern Norway, between 8000 and 2500 BP*. Universitetets Oldsaksamlings Skrifter 20. Oslo.
- Bogucki, P. & Grygiel, R. 1993. The First Farmers of Central Europe: A Survey Article. I: *Journal of Field Archaeology*, Vol. 20, No. 4.
- Bradley, R. 1993. *Altering the Earth*. Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Edinburgh. (Monograph Series Number 8).
- Carlie, L. 2004. *Rapport från den arkeologiska undersökningen av tvärpilsboplatsen RAÄ 127:2, Vinbergs socken, Halland*. Hallands läns museer och Riksantikvarieämbetet (Landskap i förändring volym 5).
- Clarke, D. 1978. *Mesolithic Europe: the Economic Basis*. Duckworth, London.

- Dehn, T. & Hansen, S.I. 2006. Birch bark in Danish passage graves. In: *Journal of Danish Archaeology vol. 14*.
- Filipsson, E-B, Olsson, L. & Swedberg, S. 2005. Fornlämning Torslanda 110. In: Olsson, L. & Swedberg, S. (eds.) *Boplatser i Ambult. Del 1 Tekniska Rapporter*. Göteborgs Stadsmuseum (Arkeologisk Rapport 2005:45).
- Fischer, A. & Kristiansen, K. (eds.) 2002. *The neolithisation of Denmark – 150 years of debate*. Sheffield.
- Gill, A. 2003. *Stenålder i Mälardalen*. Stockholms Universitet. (Stockholm Studies in Archaeology 26).
- Glørstad, H. 2003. Torpum 10. In: Glørstad, H. (ed.) Svinesundsprojektet Bind 2. *Varia* 55.
- Glørstad, H. 2004. Kjeøyfasen 5800 til 5000 BP. I: Glørstad, H. (ed.) Oppsummering av Svinesundsprojektet Bind 4. *Varia* 57.
- Glørstad, H. 2007. Svinesundsprojektet – arkeologiske undersøkelser ved Svinesund. I: *in Situ – Västsvensk Arkeologisk Tidskrift 2004-2005*.
- Hodder, I. 1990. *The Domestication of Europe*. Cambridge.
- Hodder, I. 1999. *The Archaeological Process – An Introduction*. Oxford.
- Högberg, A. 2007. *Rapport av analysarbete av flintmaterial från slutundersökning, Nolsjögen Veinge sn RAÄ 334 & 335*. Malmö Kulturmiljö.
- Jaksland, L. 2003. Torpum 13. In: Glørstad, H. (ed.) Svinesundsprojektet Bind 2. *Varia* 55.
- Jaksland, L. & Tørhaug, V. 2004. In: Glørstad, H. (ed.) Svinesundsprojektet Bind 3. *Varia* 56.
- Jennbert, K. 1984. *Den produktiva gåvan – tradition och innovation i Sydskandinavien för omkring 5 300 år sedan*. Bonn/Lund.
- Jennbert, K. 2005. Sites and the Mental Landscape. Stone Age in the Kullen district, North-western Scania, Sweden. *Lund Archaeological Review* 11-12 (2005-2006).
- Johansen, K.B. 2004a. Vestgård 8. In: Glørstad, H. (ed.) Svinesundsprojektet Bind 3. *Varia* 56.
- Johansen, K.B. 2004b. Vestgård 3. In: Glørstad, H. (ed.) Svinesundsprojektet Bind 3. *Varia* 56.
- Johansen, K.B. 2007. Vestgård 3 og Vestgård 6, to tidligneneolittiske boplasser. In: *in Situ. Västsvensk arkeologisk tidskrift 2004-2005*. Göteborgs Universitet.
- Jonsäter, M. 1984. Äldre och yngre stenålder. In: Furingsten, A., Jonsäter, M. & Weiler, E. (eds.) *Från flintverkstad till processindustri – De första 9000 åren i Västsverige speglade av UV Västs undersökningar 1968-1980*. Riksantikvarieämbetet. Kungälv.

- Klassen, L. 2000. *Frühes Kupfer im Norden*. Moesgård Museum/Jysk Arkæologisk Selskab. Århus.
- Knarrström, B. 2007. Boplatsaktiviteter belysta genom flintstudier. In: Artursson, M. (red.) *Vägar till Vaetland – en bronsåldersbygd i nordöstra Skåne 2300-500 f.Kr.* Riksantikvarieämbetet, Stockholm.
- Koch, E. 1998. *Neolithic Bog Pots*. Det Kongelige Oldskriftselskab. København. (Nordiske Fortidsminder Serie B Volume 16.)
- Källström, L. 1996. *Mursjökulle – en lokal i norra Halland med libultmaterial och tvärpilar*. Fornlämning 90, Ås socken, Varbergs kommun. Riksantikvarieämbetet. (Arkeologiska Resultat UV Väst Rapport 1996:11)
- Larsson, M. 1997. Neolitiseringsen i Syd- Väst- och Mellansverige - Skåne. In: Larsson, M. & Olsson, E. (eds.) *Regionalt och Interregionalt – Stenåldersundersökningar i Syd- och Mellansverige*. Riksantikvarieämbetet (Arkeologiska undersökningar Skrifter nr 23).
- Midgley, M. 1992. *TRB Culture – the First Farmers of the North European Plain*. Edinburgh.
- Munkenberg, B-A. 2007. De gropkeramiska boplatsernas miljö. In: Lönn, M. & Claesson, P. (eds.) *Vistelser vid vatten*. Riksantikvarieämbetet och Bohusläns museum. (Arkeologiska Undersökningar Skrifter 69).
- Nordqvist, B. 1996. *Några av många. Projekt Västgas 1 – stenålders- och bronsåldersundersökningar längs västgasledningen genom Halland*. Riksantikvarieämbetet. (UV Väst Rapport 2002:19).
- Nordqvist, B. 1997a. Regionalitet under mesolitikum – Västkusten. In: Larsson, M. & Olsson, E. (eds.) *Regionalt och Interregionalt – Stenåldersundersökningar i Syd- och Mellansverige*. Riksantikvarieämbetet (Arkeologiska undersökningar Skrifter nr 23).
- Nordqvist, B. 1997b. Neolitiseringsen i Syd- Väst- och Mellansverige - Västsverige. In: Larsson, M. & Olsson, E. (eds.) *Regionalt och Interregionalt – Stenåldersundersökningar i Syd- och Mellansverige*. Riksantikvarieämbetet (Arkeologiska undersökningar Skrifter nr 23).
- Persson, P. 1991. Inte bara Pilane och Lundane. Om tidigt mellanneolitiska boplatser i Bohuslän. In: Browall, H., Persson, P. & Sjögren, K-G. (eds.) *Västsvenska stenåldersstudier*. Göteborgs universitet Institutionen för arkeologi (GOTARC Serie C. Arkeologiska skrifter No. 8).
- Persson, P. 1998. Gropkeramikfenomenet på den svenska västkusten. In: *in Situ*. Västsvensk Arkeologisk Tidskrift. Göteborgs Universitet.
- Persson, P. 1999. *Neolitikums början*. Ph. D. dissertation 1998. University of Gothenburg. (Coast to coast-book 1/GOTARC serie B. nr 11).
- Persson, P. 2000. *Olas, en gropkeramisk boplatz i Halland*. Rapport från en arkeologisk undersökning av Värö socken RAÄ nr 202, 1 maj 2000. Institutionen för arkeologi, Göteborgs universitet (GOTARC Serie D, Arkeologiska rapporter No 49).

- Persson, P. 2003. Pollenanalyser och näringsfång under neolitikum på Falbygden. In: Persson, P. (ed.) *Strandlinjer och vegetationshistoria – Kvartärgeologiska undersökningar inom Kust till kust projektet, 1998-2002*. Arkeologiskt Naturvetenskapliga Laboratoriet. Göteborg. (Coast to coast-books – no. 7/GOTARC serie C, Arkeologiska skrifter, no 48).
- Persson, P. 2005. *Fortsatta undersökningar vid Olas, RAÄ 202 Värö socken*. Rapport, Göteborgs Universitet. (GOTARC Serie D: Arkeologiska Rapporter No 54).
- Persson, P. 2007. Olas och dateringen av den äldsta gropkeramiken. In: *In Situ*. Västsvensk arkeologisk tidskrift 2004-2005. Göteborgs Universitet.
- Petersson, H. 1999. Några anmärkningar kring nittioåttio år av tidigneolitisk forskning – Källkritiska resonemang och teoretiska analyser. Uppsats för fil.lic. examen. Institutionen för arkeologi Göteborgs universitet.
- Petersson, H. 2007. *Nationalstaten och arkeologin – 100 år av neolitisk forskningshistoria och dess relationer till samhällspolitiska förändringar*. Institutionen för arkeologi. Göteborgs universitet. (GOTARC Series B. Gothenburg Archaeological Theses No. 43/Coast to coast-books No. 15).
- Prescott, C. 1996. Was there really a Neolithic in Norway? I: *Antiquity* Volume 70 Number 267 Page: 77-87.
- Price, T.D. (ed.) 2000. *Europe's first farmers*. Cambridge.
- Pässe, T. 2003. Strandlinjeförskjutning i norra Bohuslän under Holocen. In: Persson, P. (ed.) *Strandlinjer och vegetationshistoria – Kvartärgeologiska undersökningar inom Kust till kust projektet, 1998-2002*. Arkeologiskt Naturvetenskapliga Laboratoriet. Göteborg. (Coast to coast-books – no. 7/GOTARC serie C, Arkeologiska skrifter, no 48).
- Regnell, M. & Sjögren, K-G. 2006. Introduction and development of agriculture. In: Sjögren, K-G. (ed.) *Ecology and Economy - in Stone Age and Bronze Age Scania*. National Heritage Board. (Skånska spar – arkeologi längs västkustbanan).
- Runcis, J. 2002. *Bärnstensbarnen – bilder, berättelser och betraktelser*. Riksantikvarieämbetet. Stockholm (Riksantikvarieämbetet Arkeologiska undersökningar Skrifter No 41).
- Ryberg, E. 2006. *Vägen till Veddige*. Halland, Veddige socken, Veddige 33:3, RAÄ 258. Arkeologisk undersökning. Riksantikvarieämbetet (UV Väst Rapport 2006:5).
- Sjögren, K-G. 1991. Om västsvensk mesolitisk kronologi. In: Browall, H., Persson, P. & Sjögren, K-G. (eds.) *Västsvenska stenåldersstudier*. Göteborgs universitet Institutionen för arkeologi (GOTARC Serie C. Arkeologiska skrifter No. 8).
- Sjögren, K-G. 1998. Nya gånggriftsundersökningar på Falbygden – några aspekter. In: *In Situ*. Västsvensk Arkeologisk Tidskrift. Göteborgs Universitet.
- Sjögren, K-G. 2003. *"Mångfaldige uhrminnes grafvar..." Megalitgravar och samhälle i Västsverige*. Göteborgs universitet Institutionen för arkeologi. (GOTARC Series B. Gothenburg Archaeological theses No 27. Coast to Coast-books No 9).
- Strinnholm, A. 2001. *Bland säljägare och fårfarmare*. Department of Archaeology and Ancient History. Uppsala University. (Coast to coast-book 4).

- Svensson, M. 2006. Neolitikum i Halland. In: *Utskrift 8. Kulturmiljö Halland*. Halmstad.
- Swedberg, S. 2005. Torslanda 107. In: Olsson, L. & Swedberg, S. (eds.) *Boplatser I Amhult. Del 1 Tekniska Rapporter*. Göteborgs Stadsmuseum (Arkeologisk Rapport 2005:45).
- Thomas, J. 1991. *Rethinking the Neolithic*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Thomas, J. 1996. *Time, Culture and Identity – an interpretative archaeology*. Routledge, London and New York.
- Tørhaug, V. 2002. Berget 2. In: Glørstad, H. (ed.) *Svinesundsprojektet Bind I. Varia 54*.
- Viking, U. & Fors, T. 1995. *Ösarp – Vikingatida och tidigmedeltida agrarbebyggelse i södra Halland*. RAÄ 197, Ösarp 1:21 och 2:15, Laholms lfs, Halland. Rapport över arkeologisk undersökning 1993. Stiftelsen Hallands läns museer Landsantikvarien. Halmstad.
- Wattman, N. 1996. *Kärragård – boplatser och centralplats från trättbärgarkultur till medeltid*. RAÄ 164, Laholms lfs, Halland. Hallands läns museer Landsantikvarien. Halmstad. (Arkeologiska Rapporter från Hallands Läns museer 2001:4).
- Welinder, S. 1998. Del 1. Neolitikum-Bronsålder. *Jordbrukets första femtusen år – 4 000 f.Kr. – 1 000 f.Kr. Det svenska jordbrukets historia*. Natur och Kultur/LT's förlag. Uppsala.
- Westergaard, B. 1998a. Slottsmöllan – en västsvensk tidigneolitisk boplatser. In: *In Situ*.
- Westergaard, B. 1998b. Skrea 191. In: Lundqvist, L. (ed.) *Bebyggelse och kulturlandskap. Arkeologi längs väg E6/E20 i södra Halland. Del II. 1993-1995 Sträckan Getinge-Heberg*. Riksantikvarieämbetet (UV Väst Rapport 1998:1).
- Westergaard, B. 2004. *Onsala, Bratterås*. Arkeologiska utredningar, förundersökningar och undersökningar. Riksantikvarieämbetet UV-Väst. (UV Väst Rapport 2004:33).
- Whittle, A. 1996. *Europe in the Neolithic - The creation of new worlds*. Cambridge.
- Whittle, A. & Cummings, V. (eds.) 2007. *Going over – The Mesolithic-Neolithic Transition in North-West Europe*. Oxford & New York.
- Åkerlund, A. & Nordqvist, B. 1997. Om strandbundenhet och strandlinjekronologi – Erfarenheter från Öst- och Västverige. In: Larsson, M. & Olsson, E. (eds.) *Regionalt och Interregionalt – Stenåldersundersökningar i Syd- och Mellansverige*. Riksantikvarieämbetet (Arkeologiska undersökningar Skrifter nr 23).

Personal communication:

Högberg, Anders

UTSKRIFT 15 är ett temanummer som belyser resultaten från de arkeologiska undersökningar som utfördes inför omläggandet av Väg 117, numera Riksväg 15, genom tre socknar i Laholms kommun.

I tio artiklar presenteras och diskuteras lämningar alltifrån mesolitikum till medeltid via neolitikum, brons- och järnålder, med fokus på Laholmstrakten och med jämförande utblickar i såväl resten av Halland som i Sydsandinavien.

Titeln **Vägsjäl** är en medveten felstavning och åsyftar till såväl vägsträckans, men också till dess närområdes själ liksom till den plats dessa tagit i våra egna själar under de femton år som löpt sedan projektet startade.



KULTURMILJÖ
HALLAND