

## Chapter 10

# Norwegian Face-Urns: Local Context and Interregional Contacts

*Malin Aasbøe*

**ABSTRACT** Face-urns are containers for burnt human bones and are predominantly dated to the Late Bronze Age in Northern Europe. Mainly found in Norway, Denmark, Northern Germany, Poland and Etruria, a few have also been located in Sweden. Though the use of face-urns spans a large area, their distribution shows that they tend to concentrate in specific regions. Despite the relatively high concentrations of face urns in these specific regions, their local distribution, form, and deposition suggest that they have been used for a small percentage of the population. Face-urns from Poland and Etruria have been associated with the aristocracy or an elite. Looking at their form and deposition, Norwegian face-urns show a striking resemblance to face-urns from the Legnica area in Poland. This article examines the local context of the Norwegian face-urns, the connection to the continent, and why a face-urn was chosen as a container for the remains of certain people.

Face-urns are defined by Broholm (1933:202) as “... *an urn which portrays a human face, parts of a human face (eyes or nose) or parts of a human body (hands or genitals)*” (author’s translation). Pots with a more or less stylized human face are known from different prehistoric periods and different European countries. In Denmark pots with faces are known from Neolithic times, and both Denmark and Norway have yielded pots with both stylized and plastic face decor from the Early Roman period. What distinguishes pots with facial features from the Late Bronze Age is that these were made specifically for use as cremation urns, while pots with face decor from other periods were used as grave gifts (Haavaldsen 1985, Lund 1990). In Norway pots with face decor from the Late Bronze Age have not been found in any other context than as cremation urns.

There are currently seven known face-urns from southwestern Norway (Haavaldsen 1985:25-33). All were found in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, but until now they have never been the focus of extensive study. The face-urns date to the Late Bronze Age, and appear contemporary with similar urns found in Denmark and northern Germany, Poland and Italy (Etruria) and one or two examples found in Sweden. In Denmark and the north of Germany about one hundred face-urns have been found (Broholm 1948), approximately 2000 in Poland (Kneisel 2005), and several in Etruria. In Norway, face-urns are known from only two districts (Rogaland and Aust-Agder), while in Denmark and Poland they are spread over a larger area. However, in Denmark there tends to be a concentration to Jylland, and in Poland there is a marked concentration in the Danzig area. In Etruria the face-urns or “canopic urns” are mainly found in the area of Chiusi (Banti 1973, Haynes 2000). The form of the Norwegian face-urns has previously been regarded as

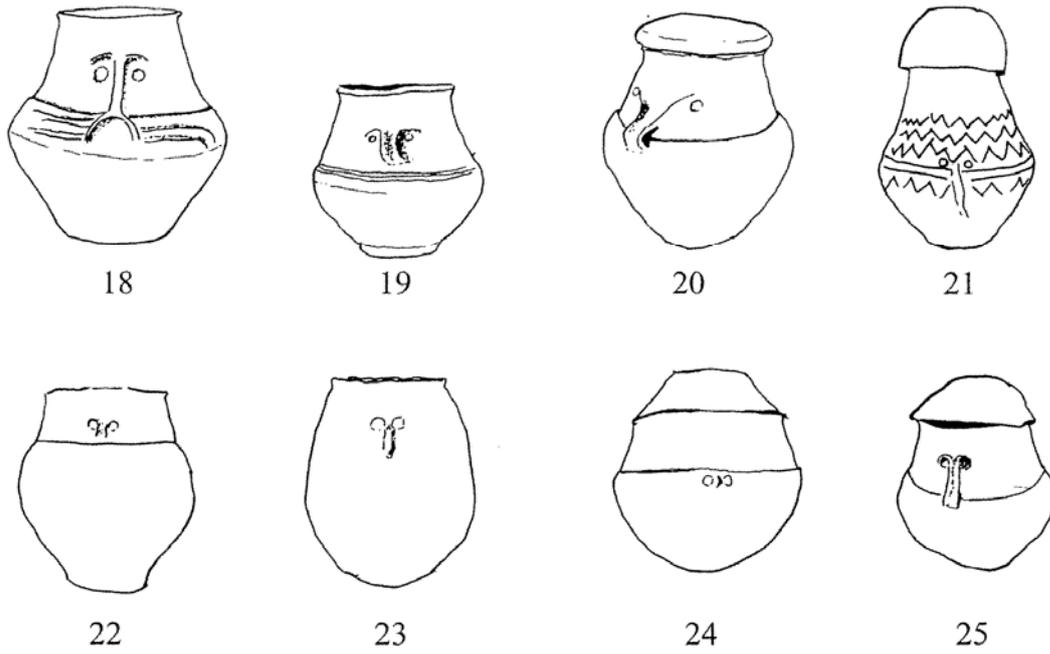
primarily influenced by the type extensively found in Denmark. However, in studying and comparing the Norwegian material and pictures of Danish and Polish urns, it became clear that examples from one specific area in Poland more closely share the features found on the Norwegian urns. Those that bear strong similarities to the Norwegian urns were found along the river Oder, in the Legnica area of southern Poland.

Looking at the local context of the Norwegian face-urns, it seems that they were used for the burial of the cremated remains of individuals with a specific function in Late Bronze Age society. They all have individual features, and are stylized in a manner that seems to portray the individual in an idealized way. Italian face-urns of this period are generally associated with the aristocracy or an elite. A sherd of a face-urn bearing a striking resemblance to the Italian form has been found in Norway. This article proposes the theory that the Norwegian face-urns were used by and for individuals with interregional contacts. The face-urns represent an everlasting idealized body for persons of importance and/or status in the local community. They may also be regarded as living ancestors in accordance with Helms’ theories about the importance of long distance contacts and the knowledge about what lies beyond the known world.

### Dating

The dating of these urns has been debated for a long period, both in connection to the “cultural archaeology” and later in connection with the center-periphery model (Broholm 1948:162pp; Haavaldsen 1985:28p, Johansen 1986:84, Oestigaard 1999:345-364).

A SELECTION OF FACE-URNS FROM DENMARK



A SELECTION OF FACE-URNS FROM POLAND

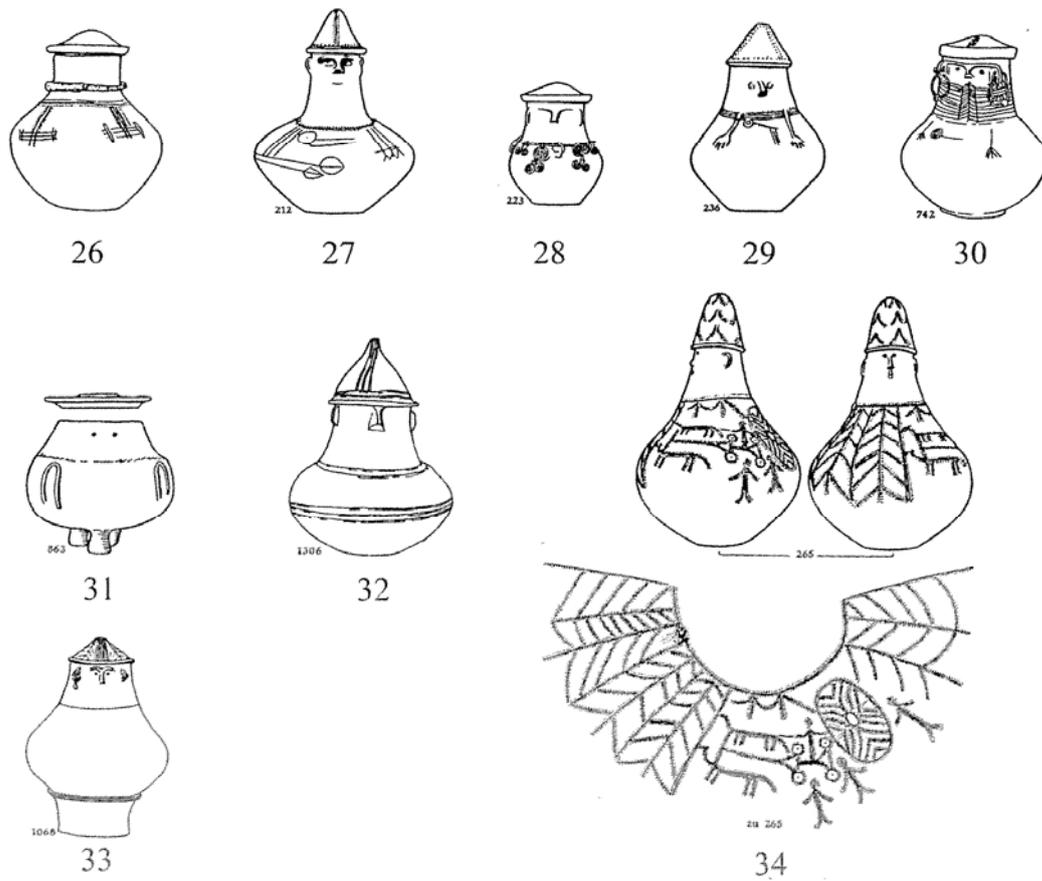


Fig. 1. A selection of face-urns from Denmark and Poland (from Aasbøe 2006).

The recurring themes in the debate have been which face-urns came first, who influenced who and what kind of relationship there was between the areas in which you find these urns. The Norwegian and Danish face-urns have been proposed to be both early examples of the phenomenon (Gjessing 1925, Bjørn 1926) and late examples (Broholm 1948:162) based on their simple decor. The research history will not be attended in this article, but for those interested, a more thorough study of the theme is presented in “*Sørnorske ansiktsurner – Et studie av lokal kontekst og interregionale kontakter*” (Aasbøe 2006).

There is, at present, insufficient evidence to categorically state which type of urn came first or where the face-urns originated. It is however more interesting to emphasise the fact that these urns are used in a similar way at the same time over a large area. Looking at the total number of face-urns and their wide distribution, it becomes clear that this type of urn has been the privilege of a small number of individuals in their respective local communities. Face-urns from Denmark, Poland and Etruria have been dated on typological grounds to the transition between Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age. Carbon dating of the burnt bone from two of the face-urns found in Norway has been possible. The results date

the face-urns to around 950 BCE (pers. com. Joakim Goldhahn 28.10.05).

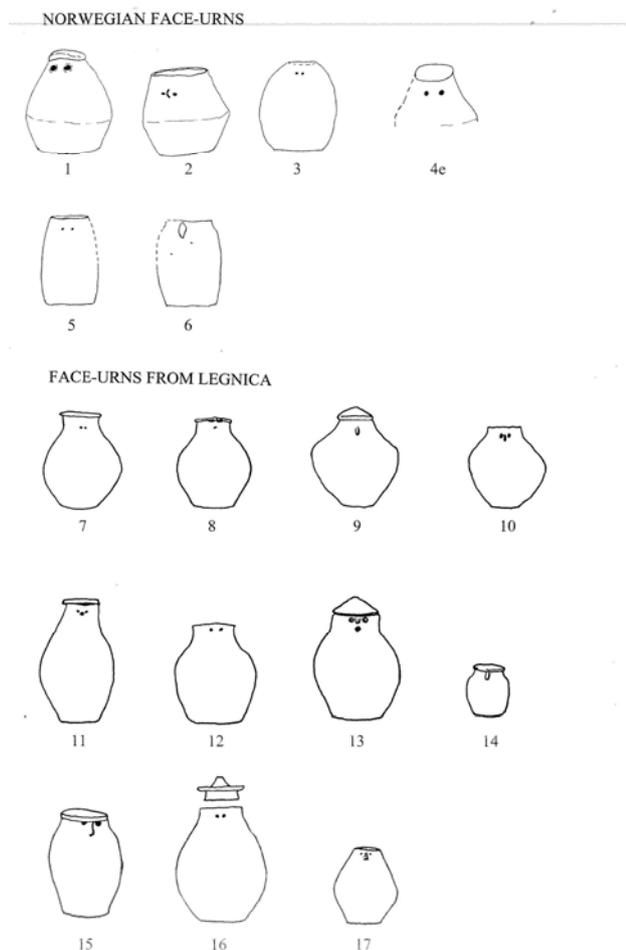
### Form, decor and material

The Norwegian face-urns are biconical. This means that the top and bottom of the urn are smaller in diameter than the widest point of the ‘belly’ of the urn. The point, where top and bottom can be said to meet, usually lies just below the middle of the pot, but in some cases it is located above the centre. Face-urns from Denmark, Poland and Etruria can also loosely be characterized as biconical. Looking more closely at the form, examples from one particular area in Poland show the closest resemblance to the Norwegian face-urns, while those from Denmark, the rest of the Polish examples and those from Etruria differ in a number of ways. The most notable difference can be seen in the transition from the neck of the urn to the belly. The face-urns from Poland (especially those from around the Danzig area) and those from Denmark, often have a narrowing between neck and belly marked by a groove or furrow (fig. 1). This makes them look more like vases than the face-urns from Norway and Legnica. The Norwegian face-urns and the face-urns from Legnica lack this type of marked transition from neck to belly.

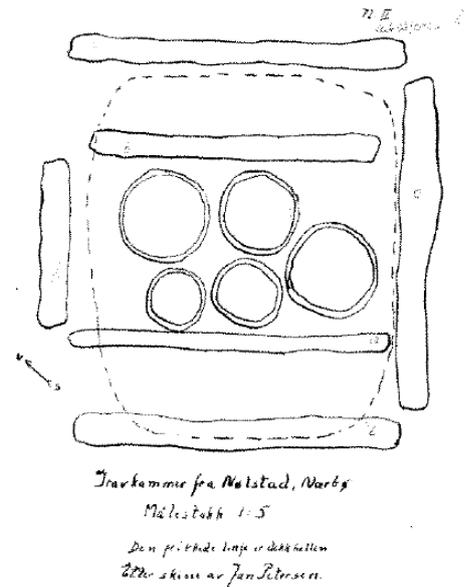
With the exception of one of the Norwegian face-urns all have eyes in the form of pierced holes. These holes are located quite close together, just a few centimetres below the pot’s rim. Except from the eyes, the only decor found on Norwegian face-urns are noses, and only in two cases is there evidence of these. It was not possible to locate face-urns with eyes in the form of pierced holes from the literature regarding Danish face-urns (Broholm 1948).

Instead they had impressions and, in rare cases, modelled eyes or eyes carved in the clay. Among the face-urns from Legnica seven out of twelve have pierced holes as eyes. Three descriptions lack information about the eyes’ appearance, and two have eyes in the form of impressions. The Legnica face-urns sometimes have a little nose and more seldom a tiny mouth. Other decor is absent. Apart from the Legnica finds, eyes in the form of pierced holes are rare and only found in areas with a large number of face-urns (LA Baume 1963:151-184). The face-urns from Poland and Denmark often have decor in the form of grooves and pictograms, unlike the Norwegian face-urns and the face-urns from Legnica (fig. 2).

There is no information about ceramic analyses of the face-urns in the literature. This is a source of information not yet explored. However, the structure and surface of the materials suggest that the Norwegian face-urns could have been locally made. Legnica is an area along the river Oder in the south of Poland and a strategic place to get even further south on the continent.



**Fig. 2. The Norwegian face-urns and face-urns from Legnica, Poland (from Aasbøe 2006).**



**Fig. 3.** The stone coffin to the left is the one in which two of the face-urns from Rogaland, Norway, were found (Njølstad, a sketch made by Jan Petersen. From the archives at Archaeological museum in Stavanger). The stone coffin to the right is from Zawory, Chmielno in Poland (Kneisel 2005:640).

Following the Oder River further south one gets to the Moravian pass with a connecting river to Donau. Pydyn (1999:62) has suggested a similar route between eastern Jutland and southern Sweden and the Lusatian culture further south, based on the Italian and Alpine imports and other cultural elements.

Like their Norwegian counterparts, the Legnica face-urns often have two holes resembling eyes, and in a few cases a little knob symbolizing a nose. They all seem to be imbued with restrictions connected to their look, and it must have been important to show the connection between these specific areas.

Not only does the look of the Norwegian face-urns share similarities with southern Polish examples, the conditions of deposition do as well. In several cases face-urns have been deposited in stone chambers of similar construction, such as the two face-urns found in the same chamber at Jæren, and also together with other urns lacking face decor (Aasbøe 2006). Møllerop (1987:38) has also noticed the coherence between the chambers in which the face-urns from Norway and Poland are found (fig. 3).

Osteological analyses of cremated bone from both Poland (in Kneisel 2005) and Norway (Holck 1983, 1997, Sellevold 2002) show that persons of both sexes and all ages could get a face-urn, except for face-urns with pictograms of military equipment (see Kneisel 2005 for further explanation). The deposition and the osteological analysis of the bones found in Polish urns has led Kneisel

(2005) to think of face-urns as possibly restricted to a person with a certain position, or abilities, from each generation.

In Rogaland there are fragments from a face-urn with a striking resemblance to urns of Etruscan type. It comprises a small number of potsherds with a small amount of associated burnt bone, but no other details of the find context are known. This face-urn is exceptional however, as the urn's decor is more plastic than stylized. The bones found together with this urn belonged to a girl who was around the age of 12 years when she died (fig. 4).

The face-urns from Etruria can, like the ones from Poland, be more or less stylized. But many of the Etruscan face-urns share the same features even though they all show individualistic characteristics. They often have almond shaped eyes, thin lips, high cheekbones and a slim, straight nose. Some of them tend to have a "Mona Lisa-smile" on their lips. It could be that these features are a result of an idolization or an idealization. One can draw a simplistic analogy to the portraits of the nobility from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, displaying almost enigmatic or expressionless characters.



**Fig. 4. Norwegian face-urn found in Rogaland (from the archives at Archaeological museum in Stavanger).**

**Fig. 5. Female head from a face-urn found in Chiusi (Banti 1973: planche 75a).**



### The local context of the Norwegian face-urns

The seven face-urns from Norway are, as earlier mentioned, all found in the southern part of the country, in the counties of Rogaland and Aust-Agder. Three of the four face-urns from Rogaland County were found relatively close together at Jæren within an area no greater than about 5 km in diameter. Two of these were found together in a stone chamber with three additional urns *without* face décor. The picture is somewhat similar in Aust-Agder County where three urns were found at Fjære within an area no more than 4 km in diameter. Two of the urns from Fjære were also found together in a stone chamber.

Jæren and Fjære are at present some of the best agricultural areas in their respective counties. These areas are both coastal and have a long tradition associated with seafaring, fishing and overseas contact. They also have access to inland resources such as game, fur, timber, and minerals. Soapstone quarries (probably already in use during the Bronze Age) are recorded near both areas. Several monumental mounds are found in these areas, and the areas show a large number of registered prehistoric finds and sites for all of the Norwegian prehistoric periods in the respective counties. These areas also show some of the richest concentrations in the country of imported artefacts and artefacts associated with the elite strata of prehistoric society.

Monumental mounds, imported goods, the resources of the area and their coastal location has led archaeologists to think of the Jæren and Fjære areas as possessing the potential for long distance trade contacts and likely locations for the concentration of power during the prehistoric period (Gjessing 1990, Myhre 1996 et. al.). One thinks of the social organization of society in the Bronze Age as hierarchical in the sense that some families had the possibility to acquire resources and goods that exceed what is necessary in daily life, and seek to accumulate power and gain prestige through redistribution of goods. In this hierarchical society the development of specialized production of different types of goods form the basis of an exchange system that included large areas. Metal artefacts and knowledge about metal production are assumed to be resources that generated long distance trade. So did trade with amber and glass.

For these families, or social strata in the society, long distance contacts and prestige goods are regarded as other important aspects in the strategy of gaining and retaining power. Prestige goods expressed social relations and status, and the gift/exchange economy was dependent upon social contexts such as feasts, marriage alliances and other organised social happenings (Cunliffe 1994:325).

## Grave goods

There have been very few elaborate finds dated to the Late Bronze Age in Norway. Archaeological evidence seems to suggest that the building of large burial mounds stops, but a few exclusive items still appear among more modest grave goods. These items are often associated with personal hygiene, and are things like razors and tweezers. Among the grave goods found together with a Danish face-urn are some of the earliest objects in iron, a knife and a pin (Broholm 1948:156ff).

Some of the Polish face-urns have earrings, both of bronze and iron, with small pearls of amber or blue glass attached. Blue glass-beads and kauri-shells are imports from the north and central Italy that seem to replace bronze as prestige goods during the transition from Bronze Age to Iron Age (Pydyn 1999: 63). Amber is more seldom used in the area where it is produced, while in Southern Europe it is found in large quanta in rich graves. This has led to the assumption that amber had a symbolic value in the Nordic and Baltic region (Pydyn 1999:64, Jensen 2000: 78).

There have been only two documented cases of grave goods found together with face-urns from Norway. Together with the two face-urns found in the same chamber at Fjære there was a bronze knife. The face-urns found together in the same chamber at Jæren yielded a piece that probably belongs to the mouthpiece of ritual horse gear.

One speaks of an elite as already established and consolidated in this period, and the demands for elaborate grave goods and display may have been unnecessary. Instead the elite downplayed its wealth, power and the growing focus on the individual. Whilst society was probably rigidly hierarchical, the leading families may have tried to give an illusion of a more collective society (Larsson 1989, Vevatne 1996, Goldhahn 1999:158-163). Nevertheless, it was still necessary to separate a few special persons with dignified status from the commoners, and it was equally important, as Helms (1998) points out, to show off status among the elite itself. The display of dignified status was perhaps connected to the display of objects where the knowledge of how to make them, how to use them, and what they represented was more important than materialistic value.

## Local context – The mound as “stage of reflection” and face-urns as “objects of reflection”

The most common grave finds from this period are cremated bones buried underground with no currently visible marker. The cremation residue was placed in a household pot, a wooden box, or a piece of fur or fabric. Only a very few burials were in funerary urns made exclusively for burial purposes, such as the face-urns

(Broholm 1933:156). The face-urns are all found in connection with larger grave mounds, either as secondary burials or, as in one case, an assembly of under level graves where a mound was constructed at a later date. This mound is placed directly upon the under level graves in such a way that the people who constructed it must have known about them (Aasbøe 2006). They were probably the reason the mound was erected at this specific place. These mounds as monuments appear to represent places important for the living and the dead. They act as a place connecting the past and the future to the present. They are a meeting point for the living and the dead.

Only a small percentage of the population was buried in mounds, and even fewer people were buried in mounds in which are found rock-art carvings on stone slabs (Syvertsen 2003). In the same mound as the two face-urns found together in the same chamber from Jæren, Rogaland, a stone slab with eight cup marks was also found. Jellestad Syvertsen (2003) regards rock-art in graves as being exclusive and carefully chosen for the occasion. She sees the carvings as metaphors representing a liminal and ambiguous state. As symbols they are suitable for expressing particular situations and conditions that are difficult to express by conventional means (Syvertsen 2003:78). Such a situation could be the death of a person who knew the “sacra” – secrets. Ingrid Fuglestad (1999:26) writes that the communication of “sacra” could be done in three ways. To display different objects is one of them. These objects are often figures with over- or under dimensioned bodyparts, they are bisexual or combining human and animal features. Turner (1967:103) calls such figures “objects of reflection” and they often play a role in the liminal stage in a certain situation. This then becomes a “stage of reflection”. The mound represents the final “resting place” for the Norwegian face-urns. Further the act of depositing the urns in the mound can be said to represent a “stage and reflection”. Burial mounds have been interpreted as material symbols of immortality (Nordenborg Myhre 1998:22) and through secondary burials, or other rituals connected to the mound, a connection is maintained with the ideal of the mythical past and ones aristocratic ancestors (Syvertsen 2003:125).

Objects of reflection can be seen as sacred or communicating sacred knowledge. They become a materialisation of human thought trying to transcend (Turner 1967:105). Syvertsen also sees rock art in graves as objects connected to persons with esoteric knowledge. The face-urns can be seen as such objects of reflection. They are immediately associated with the human body, even though they differ anatomically. The Norwegian face-urns are without gender, and seem to follow strict rules about how they should be portrayed. As mentioned they are in one case found in the same mound as a stone with cup marks, which strengthens this hypothesis further.

Death is the inevitable conclusion to human life, and represents the greatest threat to the ideas of continuity and order (Berger 1993:19f, Bloch and Parry 1982:21, Turner 1999). A person may be biologically dead, but not socially, therefore he or she may stand outside constructed categories that structure the society. Different individuals' death generates different kinds of crises (Hertz 1960:76f, van Gennep 1999:104). Persons who played a particular role that are not easily replaced, or those who had a more official role in the society expose society to a greater risk of chaos at their death and this influence may extend to persons beyond just the closest relatives. It is important to secure such a person's departure, and make sure it is done in the right way, perhaps to a higher degree than for a person who is not regarded as privileged (Berger 1993:18, 41).

It was probably also important to secure the continuity of such a person's function. This could be done by introducing a replacement. One, or perhaps an additional, way, of solving this, could be to regard the deceased person as still a member of the society and to secure the continuity by giving him or her a new everlasting body and a "home" that could be visited. Face-urns can be said to represent such everlasting new bodies. These new bodies could also be said to be idolized, or to have assumed the authority of ancestors.

The chambers containing more than one face-urn in both Rogaland and Aust-Agder were made of stone and placed in a mound that contained older graves. Fredrik Svanberg (2005) sees a pattern concerning aristocratic graves. They are often placed in chambers made of wood or stone, and seem to symbolise the house. This house-grave cult may have started with the constructions of real houses in connection with grave rituals. Post-holes have been found under mounds that appear to support this theory. The houses may have functioned as a "lit de parade". Svanberg sees this tradition as becoming more and more symbolically expressed, hence the chambers of stone or wood. The house-grave could have had some of the same significance as a heroon, a grave that separates itself from others as a result of visitors coming with offerings and gifts to the grave, and which are connected to a cult of heroes. The house-urns found in almost the same period as the face-urns, but in slightly different areas, have also been interpreted as representing houses with a more official or a special function and as urns for elite individuals.

All of the Norwegian face-urns are found in connection with a burial mound with more than one grave. Raimond Thörn is an archaeologist who sees the connection between ancestors and the ownership to land (Thörn 2005:340). Hornstrup sees the mounds in the Bronze Age as bearers of the people's religion, myth and history (2005:288). Myth and ritual are important aspects when society needs to be stabilized. Myth explains the society's construction, and reflects a constructed "reality" (Berger 1993:41f). Myth is communicated through actions and

rituals and at the same time legitimizes these rituals and actions. Rituals and actions include persons and objects "performing" the myth. Myths legitimising ritual can therefore also be said to legitimise persons and objects closely related to, or being a part of, the myth.

Helms (1998:4ff) shows how the elite and aristocrats refer to myths of origin and genealogy to legitimise their status and power. They refer to knowledge about distant and unknown places and "the others" to legitimise their superiority. "The others" can be foreigners, ancestors, the unborn and the aristocracy itself. Through knowledge about "the others" and other places they are more capable to secure the continuity of social structure and order. The "world" that exists outside the close, easily recognizable social order or society, "here and now", is associated with what Mary Helms defines as the "there-and-then" and "social-cum-cosmological Others". "There-and-then" is a part of the cosmological realm and represents both geographical distant places and the sphere of the ancestors. Persons who have knowledge about "the Others" or know "the Others" will themselves be defined as both "the Others" and "Us", and therefore be regarded as individuals with transcendental qualities or even "living ancestors". Objects associated with long distance contacts are therefore important to acquire to communicate social connections with the Others and also knowledge of the use and symbolism to which these objects refer. Face-urns are such objects, and their use, restricted to the grave, makes them a powerful symbol communicating specific knowledge about, and close contact with, the Others.

## Conclusion

Based on the fact that face-urns are a phenomenon that occur over a wide area at the same time, but also because they seem to be restricted to certain people in certain areas, they can be said to symbolize contact with the outside world and the Others, and people who got such an urn could then be said to be part of "the Others". These individuals most probably represented the higher social strata in their respective communities, an aristocracy, and perhaps even living ancestors. To legitimise their status and power it would have been important to reflect a mythical origin and genealogy. By using face-urns at an official arena, as a burial, they become an official declaration – a manifest – where the users of face-urns, both living and dead, seek to be associated with other individuals using this type of urn. The face-urn is easily comprehensible as a symbol for a new body, but the more complex knowledge of these urns has probably been for only a few. Because the face-urn is so easily associated with the human body there must have been restrictions that prevented more people from using this kind of urn. In a way it could be said that this type of urn communicated different knowledge to different people. The commoners saw an idolized individual with secret knowledge, while the higher strata of the society saw close contacts with

persons of social importance outside the local community. The striking resemblance between face-urns from Norway and Legnica, and perhaps also Etruria, show that there was close contact between people from these areas. Alliances between leading families could have existed in the form of trade or marriage. As ancestors, marriage partners from outside the local community and foreigners represented, according to

Helms, "social-cum-cosmological Others". The presence of such individuals have been important at, among other occasions, funerals to demonstrate and legitimise the deceased and his/her family's status and right to authority (Helms 1998:11). This can explain the reason for the strong similarities between the face-urns in context, deposition and form.

## References

- AASBØE, M. K. 2006. *Sjønorske ansiktturner – Et studie av lokal kontekst og interregionale kontakter*. Unpublished hovedfagsoppgave in archaeology at University at Bergen.
- BANTI, L. 1973. *Etruscan cities and their culture*. B.T. Batsford Ltd. London.
- BERGER, P. L. 1993 [1967]. *Religion, samfund og virkelighet. Elementer til en sociologisk religionsteori*. Vidarforlaget, Oslo.
- BLOCK, M. & PARRY, J. 1982. Introduction: death and the regeneration of life. In Block, M. & Parry, J. (eds.) *Death and the regeneration of life*, 1-44. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- BROHOLM, H. C. 1933. *Studier over den yngre bronzealder i Danmark med særlig henblik paa gravfundene*. Det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskriftselskab. H. H. Thieles Bogtrykkeri, København.
- BROHOLM, H. C. 1948. *Danmarks bronzealder. Fjerde bind*. Nyt nordisk Forlag. København.
- CUNLIFFE, B. (EDS), 1994. *The Oxford Illustrated Prehistory of Europe*. Oxford University Press, New York.
- FUGLESTVEDT, I. 1999. Adoranten, voltigeuren og andre dødelige. In Fuglestvedt, I., Gansum, T. og Opedal, A. (eds.), *Et hus med mange rom. Vennebok til Bjørn Myhre på 60-årsdagen*. AmS-Rapport 11A. AmS, Stavanger.
- GOLDHAHN, J. 1999. *Sagaholm – hällristningar och gravritual*. Studia Archaeologica Universitatis Umensis 11. Jönköpings Läns Museums Arkeologiska Rapportserie 41. Umeå.
- HAAVALDSEN, P. 1985. Sjønorske ansiktturner – en lokal utfordring av en kontinental oldsaksgruppe. In Næss, Jenny-Rita (eds.) *Artikkelsamling I*, 25-33. AmS-Skrifter 11, Arkeologisk museum i Stavanger.
- HELMS, M. W. 1998. *Access to origins. Affines, Ancestors and Aristocrats*. Texas University Press, Austin.
- HERTZ, R. 1960. *Death and the right hand*. Cohen & West. Aberdeen.
- HOLCK, P. 1997. *Cremated Bones. A Medical-Anthropological Study of an Archaeological Material on Cremation Burials. 3. revised edition*. Antropologiske skrifter nr. 1c. Anatomisk Istitutt, UiO.
- HORNSTRUP, K.M. 2005. Kultanlæg og stenrækker – højens funktion i yngre bronzealder. In Goldhahn, J. (ed.) *Mellan sten och järn. Del I. Rapport från det 9:e nordiska bronsålderssymposiet, Göteborg 2003-10-09/12*, 279-291. Gotarc Serie C. Arkeologiska Skrifter No 59, Göteborg.
- JENSEN, J. 2000. *Rav. Nordens guld*. Gyldendal. København.
- JOHANSEN, Ø. 1981. *Metallfunnene i østnorsk bronzealder. Kulturtilknytning og forutsetninger for en marginal ekspansjon*. Universitetets oldsaksamlings skrifter. Ny rekke 4. Oslo.
- KNEISEL, J. 2005. Krigeren og præstinden? Den pommerske kulturs gravskikke. In Goldhahn, J. (ed.) *Mellan sten och järn. Del II. Rapport från det 9:e nordiska bronsålderssymposiet, Göteborg 2003-10-09/12*, 637-659. Gotarc Serie C. Arkeologiska Skrifter No 59, Göteborg.
- LA BAUME, W. 1963. *Die Pommerellischen Gesichturnen*. Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums in kommission bei Rudolf Habelt Verlag, Bonn. Mainz.
- LARSSON, T. B. 1989. Regionalitet som en produkt av samhälleliga processer. In Poulsen, J. (ed.), *Regionale forhold i Nordisk Bronzealder. 5. Nordiske Symposium for Bronzealderforskning på Sandbjerg Slot 1987*, 15-17. Jysk Arkæologisk Selskabs Skrifter XXIV.
- LUND, J. 1990. Hoveder og ansigter av ler fra ældre jernalder. *KUML 1990*. Nordisk Forlag, København.
- MØLLEROP, O. 1987. Spor i jord. In Hovland, E. Og Næss, H. E. (eds.) *Fra Vistehola til Ekofisk, bind I*. Universitetsforlaget. Stavanger.
- MYHRE, B. 1996 [1987]. Chieftains' graves and chiefdom territories in South Norway in the Migration Period. *Arkeologi grunnfag. Nordisk jernalder*, 111-131. Arkeologisk institutt, Universitetet i Bergen.
- MYHRE, L. N. 1998. *Historier fra en annen virkelighet. Fortellinger om bronsealderen ved Karmsundet*. AmS-Småtrykk 46. Stavanger.

- OESTIGAARD, T. 1999. Cremations as Transformations: when the Dual Cultural Hypothesis was cremated and carried away in Urns. *European Journal of Archaeology Vol. 2 (3)*, s 345-364. London.
- PYDYN, A. 1999. *Exchange and Cultural Interactions. A study of long-distance trade and cross-cultural contacts in the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age in Central and Eastern Europe*. BAR International Series 813. Archaeopress, Oxford.
- SELLEVOLD, B. 2002. Top.Ark. ved AmS. Brev, osteologiske analyser. Stavanger.
- SVANBERG, F. 2005. Kulthus, tempel och aristokratiske husgravar. In Goldhahn, J. (ed.) *Mellan sten och järn. Del I. Rapport från det 9:e nordiska bronsålderssymposiet, Göteborg 2003-10-09/12*, 307-333. Gotarc Serie C. Arkeologiska Skrifter No 59, Göteborg.
- SYVERTSEN, K.I. J. 2003. *Ristninger i graver – Graver med ristninger. Om ristningers mening i gravminner og gravritual. En analyse av materiale fra Rogaland*. Upublisert hovedfagsoppgave i arkeologi, Arkeologisk institutt, Universitetet i Bergen.
- THÖRN, R. 2005. Att sikta på högar: några tankar om förfädernas betydelse i bronsålderns samhälle. In Goldhahn, J. (ed.) *Mellan sten och järn. Del I. Rapport från det 9:e nordiska bronsålderssymposiet, Göteborg 2003-10-09/12*, 333-343. Gotarc Serie C. Arkeologiska Skrifter No 59, Göteborg.
- TURNER, V. W. 1999 [1967]. Midt imellom. Liminalfasen i overgangsriter. In van Gennepe, A., *Rites de Passage. Overgangsriter*, 131-145. Pax Forlag, Oslo.
- van GENNEPE, A. 1999 [1909]. *Rites de passage. Overgangsriter*. Pax, Oslo.
- VEVATNE, K. 1996. *Ristninger i Etne. Ein analyse av tid og rom*. Upublisert hovedfagsoppgave i arkeologi, Universitetet i Bergen.

Cand. philol Malin Kristin Aasbøe, Rogaland Fylkeskommune, Kulturseksjonen.  
Email: Malin.Kristin.Aasboe@rogfk.no

