Becoming Bog Bodies. Sacrifice and Politics of Exclusion, as Evidenced in the Deposition of Skeletal Remains in Wetlands Near Uppåkra

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Introduction

At least since Glob ((1965) 2004), certain bog bodies have been understood through the writings of Tacitus. They have been interpreted either as slaves that were killed and sacrificed after having attended to the goddess Nerthus, or offenders executed and deposited in bogs, after crimes of shame. Hence, the written sources are used both to provide information on their identity as well as reasons why these depositions took place. Furthermore, the reasons given is that their killing was due to their participation in actions that was not seen as suitable for 'ordinary' humans, either they were too close to the divine or engaged in activities that broke the norms of society. More recent bog body research concentrates on analysing the deposited individuals scientifically, with interesting results (cf. Asingh 2009). Classic bog bodies such as the Tollund and Grauballe men come to us as individualized icons, both due the soft tissue preservation of their bodies and the way they are discussed.

To understand these depositions as individuals or to explain their killing as due to their deeds may overlook other processes and relationships that brought them into being. Furthermore, not all human remains from bogs have such physical integrity as the classical bog bodies, consisting merely of skeletal parts, sometimes only skulls. Here will be presented an additional part of the history of bodies in bogs, one that is about social exclusion, where these people possibly have come about through various processes of 'othering' through life – and death. There is also a need to discuss these depositions as the result of systemic actions, where not only one body, but several bodies were targeted as a group and where violence worked in more concerted ways. The research focuses on the finds of mainly human skulls from the wetlands around Uppåkra in South Sweden and presents formerly neglected archaeological material. The aim is to map some of the processes that led to these people 'becoming bog bodies' and thereby investigate their role in a situated political ecology. That is to deal with how both body- and geo-politics converge and diffract through the political ecology of the bog. This is done, in order to understand how these depositions in the wetlands may have been entwined with the rise of Uppåkra as a major central place in South Sweden.

Becoming bodies

The research in this paper, examines how bodies and bogs come about as entanglements of a variety of natural and cultural processes. One starting point is that bodies are situated 'lively materialities' that undergo change depending on what they relate to, and how they are responded to. Our bodies can be understood as localized and evolving physical archives, where both relationships during life and eventually also death are materialized and stored (cf Fredengren 2013). The body alters over the life-course, for example, dependent on what foods were consumed, what activities it was involved in and if it was tied to networks of violence and poverty, or networks of abundance and care. The body is also tied into other relations at the time of death and during processes of handling or decay and by its incorporation in its burial contexts. However, bodies and their relationships can shape differently depending on how they are captured semiotically. A particular framing into, for example, age, gender, or class categories can structure what relationships the bodies enter into. That in turn affects how the body continues to materialize. However, while the body is a co-creation of matter and meaning, it is always more than the categories it is ascribed to. For the current study, this approach to bodies leads to questions about what processes could have led to body-parts being deposited in bogs, but also what assemblages they became active in when deposited. Possibly, these persons were not only selected, but also, to some extent, 'made' for differential treatment. Hence, there could have been more than their deeds that led to them becoming bodies in bogs. This approach is inspired by the new materialist gender theories of Barad¹

¹ Karen Barad (2003, 822) proposes a 'process ontology' where relations between mattering and meaning creates a congealing of agency where both contribute to what exists in the world. In this agential realism, not only bodies, but also the world consists of ontologically inseparable intra-acting agencies, that precede their semiotic definition. They cannot be seen as separate actors (as in actor-network theory), but their classifications by, for example, scientific or humanist communities, make agential 'cuts' into an otherwise interconnected world, and separate out such actors in order to come into being as phenomena. As Barad writes, such cuts work in one move, as a cutting together-apart. These cuts (into for example male:female or nature: culture) have

(2003, 2010) and Braidotti (2013), where bodies are understood as evolving material-semiotic phenomena¹. The paper focus from these broad gender theories and investigates if bodies may have been categorized and treated differently over the life-course and exposed to what has been termed 'slow violence'. This is the type of violence that occurs gradually and with effects that can only be observed over time, often in relation to drawn-out effects of environmental challenges and hazards, malnutrition or inequalities on the body (Nixon 2011), in contrast to the 'fast violence' of sacrifice. It will also deal with how bodies were treated in death and how they may have been 'cut apart' from many of their contemporaries by a range of different othering processes, that eventually led to death. Hence the paper explores societies where some lives may have been allowed to matter more and thrive, possibly at the expense of other lives that were terminated and sacrificed, that is in how they worked within necropolitics (cf. Braidotti 2013). With this background, it will be explored how a sacrificial logic may be a part of the ethics of 'othering' and had a role in the exercise of necropolitics. It will be suggested that gender categorization mattered, but also other factors contributed to the process of becoming bog bodies in a geographically situated example. The paper examines how these deaths and the depositions can be useful in understanding wetlands as part of political ecologies (cf. Bennett 2010) where human and more-than-humans co-create the local world, with the power to affect wider areas. The paper will make use of the osteological analysis carried out by Camilla Löfqvist that records age, sex, trauma and health status in order to follow the life-and-death histories of the bodies deposited in wetlands. The osteological analysis is however folded out further and used to map what relations can be inferred from the skeletal material. For example, these bodily or vulnerability remains are used to trace out relationships between people, access to care and nurture, but also those with artefact depositions within a particular wetland. New radiocarbon dates are used to map time-relationships between the activation of various wetlands by depositions, as well as between these and Uppåkra. This research focuses on the transition between the Scandinavian Late Bronze Age (LBA c. 900–500 BC) and the Early Iron Age (EIA c. 500 BC–375 AD). It starts with an outline of the political and religious centre of Uppåkra in Scania. It then focuses on new finds of a human remains at nearby Gullåkra bog and the other human remains depositions from the vicinity. It presents the radiocarbon dates for these remains and starts to explore the relations and framings that brought them into the bog, where both body- and geopolitics come together. It then traces a variety of relations that coincides in Gullåkra bog and uses these as a lens to discuss their relation to the political ecologies around Uppåkra.

Uppåkra, bogs and river systems

Uppåkra has been understood as a major political and religious center in Scania and consists of settlements and cultural layers, with a rich artefact collection. The main activity dates to c. 100 BC–1000 AD, however there are also two barrows, and a possible third, ploughed out one, that indicates activity on the site in the Bronze Age and earlier (Helgesson 2002; Hårdh and Larsson 2007). Human and animal bones have also been found at a ceremonial house on the site that was in use from the Roman Iron Age into the Viking period (Larsson and Lenntorp 2004). These are interpreted as evidence of ritual killings and sacrifices connected with a dryland weapon deposition and particularly connected with layers that date to c. 350–550 AD, the Late Roman Iron Age and Migration periods (Magnell 2011). The main part of the Uppåkra settlement is located on elevated ground (Hårdh and Larsson 2007). This place has been described as convenient for communications, being on the main route from Lund to Trelleborg and also located by the Höje River (Stjernquist 1994, 108). The river runs some 35 km in a north-westerly direction, making its way through the fertile soils of Scania. It is located on the eastern and northern sides of Uppåkra and the river exits to the sea at the bay of Lomma. Another river system, that of Sege River, can be found to the south of Uppåkra. It is possible that these areas consisted of more open water in the past, indicated by differences in vegetation, however the water levels may have been similar to those of today (Hårdh and Larsson 2007, 97).

Gullåkra bog is located about 2 km south of Uppåkra settlement. The place name contains the element gull that may refer to gold. Hårdh and Larsson (2007) suggest that name also reflects the richness and productivity of the surrounding lands. However, it may also be linked to the treasures found in the bog from time to time, as discussed by Stjernquist (2001, 6). The source of the stream that feeds Gullåkra bog, was in latter days used as

both material and immaterial consequences and bring together ontology, epistemology and ethics and works to present material possibilities. To carry out an agentialcut is to bring in issues of ethics and responsibility towards 'mutually constituted excluded others' (Barad 2010, 253). In other words, both intra-activity and agential-cuts have real material effects, with ethical consequences.

a healing well (Stjernquist 2001, 6; Hårdh and Larsson 2007, 95). Gullåkra, Brågarp and Vesum bogs join up and their waters lead to Høje River through a stream called Dynnbäck. A variety of artefacts have been retrieved from here in connection with peat cutting. The artefact depositions in the bog and their role in private and official cults has been dealt with before (cf. Stjernquist 1998, 2001). Horns and other skeletal parts of the now extinct aurochs (*Bos primigenius*) and other animals derive from Gullåkra (Liljegren 1975). These wetlands may have been surrounded by water-meadows which attracted grazing animals, some of whom died and became a part of the bog matrix.

Figure 1. GIS-map of Uppåkra, depositions of human remains, Sege and Høje River, Scania.

The bog had also received a variety of artefact depositions (Table 1) such as a stone axe; and a period III bronze lur, allegedly found together with bones of a large animal and the remains of a boat (Oldeberg 1947; Stjernquist 2001, 7). The deposition of the lur drew the bog into relations with ceremonies and landscapes of sound, which as well as the boat, links into travels over distances and practices that were recognized in and connected to areas remote from Uppåkra. As indicated by Earle et al. (2015) material signatures of bronze age artefacts give evidence for contacts across central Europe and the Atlantic sea. The composition of bronze artefacts such as the lur would have drawn on these networks.

A Bronze Age period V axe from Gullåkra ties in other relations to the bog, linking these wetlands into practices of cutting wood and forestry. This type of axe occurs in the Mälaren Valley, almost directly across Sweden and over to Jutland (Badou 1960: map 13). A period V tanged sword from the bog draw in relations to warriors, battle and violence. The type has been found in Öland, Scania, Westcoast Sweden, Danish Isles, Jutland, Northern Germany and Poland (Badou 1960: map 3). Hence these depositions were dependent on, and played a role in, wider artefact networks that lead in other directions compared to those of the bronze lur and axe, and these networks coincide in the bog. Furthermore, the bog received a torc. A date around 200 BC is suggested for this type (Moberg 1954, 32–33, 43). Two ball torc terminals were also found at the Uppåkra settlement. They have parallels in torcs from graves in Västergötland that date from 150 BC (Helgesson 2002, 47). However, as Kaul (2007) argues, while the ball torques make use of a Celtic art-style, well known on the continent, these may have been produced in Scandinavia and have a specific distribution in east Denmark (Sealand), Sweden and Norway. While they are mainly found in bogs in Denmark, torcs more often occur in dryland graves in Sweden. This deposition may be seen as a continuation of the practice of depositing neckrings in wetlands, that has been observed in a wider area during the LBA and EIA (cf. Badou 1960). This particular deposition at Gullåkra ties into practices of artefact networks in Denmark and is used in similar wetland contexts. The depositions in Gullåkra bog continued in the Late Roman Iron Age/Migration period, where spears/lance-heads have been retrieved from the bog (Stjernquist 2001). What is interesting is that human and animal bone-depositions have also been found at a ceremonial house at Uppåkra, that was in use from the Roman Iron Age into the Viking period (Larsson and Lenntorp 2004). These are understood as the remains of ritual killings and sacrifices associated with a dryland weapon deposition, that derive from layers that date to c. 350–550 AD, that is, the Late Roman Iron Age and Migration periods (Magnell 2011).

Table 1 Bronze and Iron Age finds from the wetlands of Gullåkra, Brågarp and Vesum bog complex.

Human remains in bogs

What was not known previously is that Gullåkra bog held the remains of a human being (Figure 2). It was a part of a natural collection, that of the Zoological Museum in Lund, rather than a cultural one and did not make it into the history writing of Gullåkra until now. Attached to the cranium is a label reading: ‘13. Funnen i Gullåkra mosse på 2 alns djup no 7 i “Diverse” 1900’. This text establishes find place and context but, this deposition was not a singular occurrence in the wider region. What is new to research is that human remains have been retrieved not only from this bog, but from a number of other wetland areas in the vicinity. There are human skeletal remains of at least 16 persons from wet contexts around Uppåkra, including the skull from Gullåkra (Table 2). Mattisen (2000) and Lagergren-Olsson (2001) mention that skull fragments and arm bones from at least two humans were found in the upper part of the bog layers around Torreberga stream, that is, in the upper parts of the Sege river system, where animal bones and flint flakes were also found. However, these were not available for study. A LBA PVI neckrings have been found in the area, such as LUHM 12851 from Sege River at nearby Önsvala. Furthermore, two period VI bronze rings were found at a depositional spot at Torreberga stream. These belong to a rather unusual type that occurs mainly on Öland and in Scania (Badou 1960, 58–59, 323, no. 24, Öland F). Another skull has been found in the wetlands at Lindegården in Hyby

parish. From the same parish are also four skulls from the wetlands of Hyby bog and Tejarp². These are wetlands along Klågerupsbäcken that is an upper tributary to Sege River. Remains of four individuals have also been retrieved from Hässelberga bog. Another skull is from Wallby bog – when retrieved in 1865 it was thought to be the remains of a migrant sales-person of modern date. There are also human remains from the wetlands and water-stretches that are connected to Høje River, that borders Uppåkra to the east and north. Besidesthe skull from Gullåkra, there is a mandible from a clay pit located at the edges of Vesums bog, which is a part of the same bog system. A skull derives from Västra Prästberga further down on Høje River.

Figure 2. Human skull from Gullåkra bog, Scania.

Table 2. Human remains from wetlands within a c. 10 km area of Gullåkra.

Provenance	Date	Lab.no/age	Parts present	Age	Sex	Pathologies	Trauma	Comments
Wallby Sk. 91	ENJMN 3632-3096	Ua-49070 4612±85	Skull fragment	YAd	F?	Mild pitting	Bluntforce	AnM
Høje River Sk. 52	LBA/EIA 790-410	Ua-50241 2492±33	Skull fragment	YAd	M?	Cribra, Porotic hyperostosis	Bluntforce? Cut?	AnM
Lindegården Sk. 89	LBA/EIA 780-410	Ua-47958 2481±50	Skull fragment	MAd	M	Cribra, Perioritis	Cut?	PeM/PoM, Taphonomic?
Vesum Sk. 25	LBA/EIA 748-386	Ua-49069 2386±42	Skull fragment	YAd	M?	Infection, Pos mild perioritis	-	Pos gnawing
Gullåkra bog Sk. 16	LBA/EIA 726-391	Ua-46203 2376±31	Skull fragment	YAd	M?	Cribra, ectocranial pitting, perioritis	Cut	PoM, Shaped?
Hyby bog Sk. 87	EIA 375-195 BC	Be14445783 2210±30	Skull + postcranial	MAd	M	Perioritis, benign tumour	Bluntforce, cut	AnM, PeM/PoM
Hässelberga bog Sk. 27	EIA 189-4	Ua-53933 2081±29	Skull + postcranial	MAd	F?	Cribra?, ectocranial pitting, Osteoarthritis		
Hässelberga bog Sk. 28	-	-	Skull frgt+ postcranial	YAd	M	Perioritis, Osteochondritis diosceans		PoM damage
Hässelberga bog Sk. 29	-	-	Postcranial frgt	Juv	-	-	-	-
Hässelberga bog Sk. 26	-	-	Skull+ postcranial	YAd	M?	Cribra, ectocranial pitting, infection, Osteo Arthritis	Blow, Cut	Anm, PeM
Tejarp Sk. 24	EIA 166BC-48AD	Ua-47959 2042±34	Skull fragment	Mad	M	Cribra, benign tumour	Bluntforce, cut	Pos beheading, AnM
Tejarp Sk. 21	-	-	Skull fragment	Mad	M?	Perioritis, benign tumour, Osteomyelitis	Blow to head	AnM?
Tejarp Sk. 22	-	-	Skull fragment	Oad	M	Porotic hyperostosis		
Tejarp Sk. 23	-	-	Skull fragment	Mad	M	Pitting	Bluntforce	Blow to skull
Åkarp Sk. 17	EIA 120-330AD	Ua-48750 1800±32	Skull + postcranial	Yad	M	Cribra	Blunt force	AnM
Torreberga stream Sk. PH	-	-	Skull + postcranial	-	-	-	-	-

Human remains from wetlands within a c. 10km area of Gullåkra. Key: M: male, F: female, YAd: Young adult, MAd: Mid adult, OAd: Old adult, Juv: Juvenile, AnM: ante-mortem, PeM: peri-mortem, PoM: post-mortem. Osteological analysis by Camilla Löfqvist to be reported in full in a future publication Sk. numbers refer to that catalogue. PH refers to that the remains have not been physically located. Radiocarbonates calibrated with Oxcal 4.3, to a probability of 95,4%.

Of these individuals, nine were radiocarbon dated. There are also remains from several locations at Sege River that surrounds the central place to the south and west. Many of these, as well as other depositions of human remains in Scania have been assumed to be of late Neolithic dates (cf. Karsten 1994). However, the radiocarbon dating of carried out by the project show that these finds of human remains in wet contexts, do not solely belong to that period. A significant part (8/9) of the dated human remains in this paper belong to the

² There is a reference in Engström (1927, 55) to how a Bronze Age period VI, twisted neckring (LUHM 2987; see Badou 1960, 252. No. 63, type XVI D3) was found on a skeleton in a bogtrench at Hyby. Engström questions if this really was a human skeleton with an argument that the burial custom of this time was cremation. While the skeleton may well have been of a human being, as burials of uncremated bodies in bogs during this period are an exception to the cremation norm, it is still unclear if the neck-ring should be connected to the PRIA skeleton from Hyby mosse or if there is yet another skeleton from here.

general period that is the later part of the Scandinavian Bronze Age, here LBA (Period V and VI, 900–500 BC) or the Early Iron Age, EIA (500 BC–375 AD), that both have their sub-divisions. If the dates are broken down further, four can be placed in the broader transition period between the LBA and the EIA. These are from Høje River, Lindegården, Vesum and Gullåkra. However, with a 93.9% probability the Gullåkra dates narrow down to the period 541–391 BC and the date from Vesum to 556–386BC with an 80% probability. Hence it is quite likely that they belong to the first part of the Pre-Roman Iron Age PRIA (500 BC). Further, three dates are placed clearly within the PRIA. These are from Hyby bog, Hässleberga bog and from Tejarp. In the latter case, the date stretches into the following sub-period, the Roman Iron Age (1–375 AD). The date from Åkarp fall into the later part of RIA. The dates are rather consistent with each other and many of these human remains are related to each other in time. If compared to the dates of Uppåkra, these depositions are slightly earlier than the known date-start of the node, that is, the early part of the PRIA, but also seem to continue during the period of its establishment during the later part of the PRIA and EIA.

The Danish material offers comparable data, where Ravn (2010, 113) show that 145 of Denmark's c. 560 bog bodies date to the LBA and EIA, most belong to the PRIA. The Danish dates are however published with calibrated ranges to one standard deviation only. What is clear however, is that the bodily remains from wetlands around Uppåkra in Table 2 fall into the general time-period of most Danish bog bodies or skeletons. Hence, their deaths may be tied into the more wide-spread bog body phenomena evidenced in the Danish material, however, this material from Scania has a number of more situated, local traits, as will be expanded upon below.

Bodies cut-together-apart

During the LBA/PRIA most burials were cremations and placed in pits on land at collective burial grounds with or without a stone-setting. Sometimes these were retained in urns and some were only token burials, where a select part of the remains were placed in a grave (cf. Björk 2005; Ragnesten 2007). Björk (2005) has no published information on the ratio of females to males in the Scanian material for the PRIA, but in west-Swedish burials the proportions between the sexes are quite equal and child burials are rather frequent (Ragnesten 2007, 102) and it is often argued that the PRIA was a period of more gender equal burial patterns.

The osteological analyses of the material from the wetlands around Uppåkra show a distinctly gendered pattern that seem to differ from common burials on dryland areas. Whereas, the female remains from Wallby dates to the Neolithic period, bodyparts with traits captured as male were selected for depositions in wetlands during the LBA/EIA. Hence, the focus on depositions of males in the wetlands around Uppåkra during these times, distinguishes it from the more gender balanced norms for burials on land elsewhere in the wider region. One deposition, that at Hässleberga Bog, diverges from this pattern, with bones from one female individual, and a juvenile (aged 10–24). A majority of the skeletal remains bear evidence for some sort of trauma that would have altered these bodies both during the life-course, antemortem (AnM) and perimortem (PeM). It is important to bear in mind that it is sometimes very hard to distinguish between these and post-mortem trauma (PoM) and that wetlands may keep bones soft for a longer period of time, which may lead to a longer PeM phase. The skull from Høje River, Sk. 52, has a possible AnM trauma to the head, sustained at a young age. The one from Lindegården, Sk. 89 has several cuts to the occipitale, some that may be due to processes within the wetland environment, and others that may have been caused by human hand when the bone still was soft. The skeletal remains from Hyby, Sk. 87 has evidence for AnM trauma to the head. Skull and mandible from Tejarp, Sk. 24 show several injuries. There are ante mortem fractures to the skull and mandible that are well healed. There is also evidence of possible traces of beheading at the time of death or just after. Skulls Sk. 21 has what can be interpreted as a well-healed AnM trauma. One skull from Tejarp, Sk. 23 has a trauma from a blow to the head from the top, most likely post-mortem, but at a time when the bone still was soft. The skeletal remains from Åkarp, Sk. 17 has AnM trauma to the head. Common indicators of sacrifice include evidence for PeM violence, together with deposition in a 'special' location, but these matters are rather complex. While some of these bodies display such violence, it is clear that a majority of bodies also received skeletal injuries during life. Some bodily remains also seem to have been exposed to trauma or alteration after death.

While several of the bodies have suffered injuries during their life-time, most bodies in Table 2 have skeletal evidence for pathologies that may be due to stress, particularly during childhood (e.g. caused by infections or malnourishment). The presence of these marks could also be an indication that the bodies were resilient enough to recover from challenges. The connection between cribra orbitalia, porotic hyperostosis and

irondeficiency anaemia has been debated, but recent research has led to a reappraisal of the link, but also a refinement of the discussion (cf. Walker et al. 2009; Rivera and Mirazon Lahr 2017). Skull Sk. 21 also had a severe infection that destroyed parts of the maxilla, which according to the osteological analysis may have contributed to death.

Trauma during life and other types of stress, which contributes to the slow grinding down of bodies, could be captured under Nixon (2011) term 'slow violence'. The term can be usefully applied to discuss bodily vulnerabilities in the past, where lack of inclusion in caring and feeding networks may have been a part of producing bodies of precariousness that affected how they were handled further on in life, but also to capture the slow working of violence on bodies through unhealthy environments. Here, the osteological analysis of the bodies from the wetlands around Uppåkra show a combination of the more immediate 'fast' violence in a traditional sacrificial situation; and slow violence that may be caused by infection, starvation and malnutrition in combination. It is clear that exposure to such violence has configured many of these bodies. Whilst these persons must have experienced hardship during life, it is hard to prove that they were more exposed to illness, violence and malnutrition than others. As mentioned above, most bodies were cremated after death which means that the traces might not be as easily read and that the analysis is more complicated to do. Hence, there is very little other relevant and contemporary osteological material for comparison. The argument must be based on other factors, which makes these discussions somewhat speculative. Still, it is valuable to raise issues about inequality and bodily vulnerability from this material as it points to othering in more than one aspect, albeit on circumstantial evidence.

One circumstance is that the fertile soils and favorable environments of the area around Uppåkra would have had the potential to nurture these bodies to a larger extent than what is evidenced in their bodies. Also, the power node, that eventually was established at Uppåkra suggests that there may have been agricultural surplus. However, considering how their skeletons changed during their life course and the evidence for stress, there is reason to believe that these people were not particularly well tied into, and constituted by, flourishing food-networks to any greater extent, although this might have been the case also for larger parts of the population. Another circumstance is how these remains from bogs compare to other burials and if the indications for stress is exceptionally high. Liebe-Harkort (2012) have worked with slightly later material and show that the RIA burial site at Smörkullen in Co. Östergötland with a 78% rate of Cribra Orbitalis for subadults and 36.6% for adults is very high compared to many other materials from Sweden, which could be interpreted as indicating a population with very poor living conditions. With this as a background and comparison, the results from the Uppåkra wetlands material may point in a similar direction. Furthermore, the configuration of the bodily remains from around Uppåkra, could be contrasted to those of classic bog bodies. However, this is a complex issue, and furthermore, analyses are not yet all completed. For example, the Grauballe Man has been understood as a noble person, as his fingers showed no signs of manual labor. Lynnerup (2015, 1011) has critiqued this and suggested that the smoothness of the hands may be due the agency of the bog, that would have dissolved the epidermal layers of the hands. Here, Lynnerup also points out that there are many uncertainties as to whom was selected for depositions in bogs and if these were in any way different from the general population in the Iron Age. There are also problems with both sex and age determination of both skeletal remains (from land) and bog bodies from this period. The classic bog bodies are preserved as soft tissue, and skeletal traces may not be as visible. Hence, the skeletal bodily remains analyzed in this paper give access to another type of information.

As Björk (2005, 52) notes, in Scania, 95% of PRIA bodies were burnt and with a few exceptions, the practice of burying unburnt remains was introduced at the beginning of the RIA. The osteological material accounted for here, therefore, represents an exception to this norm and would have worked as a differential treatment towards some bodies. Possibly the placing of unburnt remains in bogs can be considered as an early re-introduction of the practice of leaving the body unburnt in the LBA/EIA. The practice of cremation or leaving the body unaffected by fire has been tied to issues around social class belonging, partly based on evidence from classic bog bodies. Here, Hedeager (1992, 2011) and Randsborg (2015) have built their interpretations around classic bog bodies such as the Tollund and Grauballe men. Hedeager (1992, 151) suggests that inhumations were associated with a new elite that emerged in the Roman Iron Age and that handling of the body would connect to class identity. Randsborg (2015, 19–20) has argued contrarily that the bog bodies' lack of cremation primarily in PRIA, would have been considered shameful and an offence to bodies thought to be identifiable as upper-class hostages. Kelly (2013) has argued that certain Irish bogbodies are the remains of

privileged kings that for some reason or other had failed in their task. Besides that the status of some of the classic bog is not totally clear, there is a dissonance between these interpretations. Furthermore, neither of them fully fit the bodily remains from the wet-contexts near Uppåkra. Here, also the skeletal material from bogs offer additional insights to the life-and-death histories of those deposited in bogs. As above, the osteological analysis from the study area shows that many of these bodies bear traces that may signal stress, malnutrition, disease and trauma during life. This points to the fact that these people may not have been a part of an elite (or what we would today consider to be elite), and that there may have been locally distinctive processes that guided who was to become a body in a bog.

One possible interpretation is that they may have been warriors or scapegoats (cf. Aldhouse Green 2002, 144–145). However, such interpretations can mainly be supported by, for example, documentary sources. The current discussion is more focused on the history that can be read from the archives of the physical remains of these bodies (cf. Fredengren 2013). Hence, the stories that are folded out from the osteological analysis provides another type of information. As indicated, the process of becoming bog bodies in the study area may have involved several steps of othering. First of all, many of the body parts seem to bear evidence that they were shaped by hardship and stress in life, which may have come about through a variety of power-relations that exercised slow-violence on their bodies. Also, a majority of bodies or body-parts selected for deposition in wetlands in this area are determined as male. Their depositions in watery places were geographically set apart from the normal burial practices on land where commonly bodies of both men and women were represented, furthermore the body parts are unburnt. As they may not have been tied to particularly nurturing and caring networks, these were lives that may have been made and considered disposable when alive, and to a certain extent already sacrificed during their life-time. They suffered slow violence and their ability to flourish and thrive were to some extent restricted, producing these material bodies that were later to be deposited in bogs but as if they were selected in advance.

Furthermore, these acts combined, performed gender- and welfare related agential cuts (to use Barad's term) with both material and ethical consequences, as they were so to say at the same time 'cut-together' and 'set apart' from other bodies. Their bodies may have been captured in complex politics of exclusion that had real material and personal effects and that also may have managed their death. They may have been systematically bracketed off from other bodies, and relationally joined together, which produced a particular type of geographically situated 'sacrificeable masculinity'. Some particular bodies were also rendered as 'kill-able' and could have played a role in the necropolitics of the time. These were bodies produced through specific relations during their life-time, where emerging social and material powers may not only have managed if others were to live well, but also if they were to die.

Blurring the boundary between bodies, bogs and things

However, the process of becoming bog bodies in the study location continued beyond the process of othering described above. On many occasions, parts of bodies, particularly skulls, rather than full bodies (see Table 2) were retrieved from the wetlands. Skull fragments were found at all depositional places accounted for here. While skulls are more visible and prone to be collected in wetland contexts, this may be a pattern worth noticing. It could signify an increasing importance of this body part during certain time-periods, such as the transition between LBA and EIA in this area. There are however exceptions to this pattern in the finds from Torreberga, Åkarp, Hässleberga- and Hyby bogs that also contain postcranial remains. The remains from Hyby date to the EIA and the finds from Torreberga are undated. At Åkarp, to the southwest of Uppåkra, skull and postcranial remains were retrieved in more intact anatomical order from under stones in a wet hollow, together with animal bones and pottery. This body also dates somewhat later than the rest of the group, to the Roman Iron Age. Elsewhere in Sweden, for example, at Torresta in Uppland, cranial and postcranial remains retrieved from wetlands, date to this period (Fredengren 2015). There might be a slight pattern in the material that points towards a change in depositional practices during the EIA, where there might have been a focus on keeping the body's integrity in the deposition beneath some type of platform or fixture of stone or wood. Elsewhere, skull depositions are interpreted as connected to headhunting (cf. Armit 2012). One possibility is that headhunting was also practiced in Scania, but there is more to this material than that. The presence of these body parts in the wetlands also allow thought on how the bodies could have been processed before deposition. For example, it is likely that some of these persons died or were killed elsewhere. The bodies must have been divided up or decayed in some location for different body parts to separate and for the skulls to be deposited as parts. The remains from Lindegården Sk. 89 show possible PeM cuts to the skull. The skull from Tejarp, Sk. 24 show signs of beheading. There is also evidence that skulls were handled after death. The jaw

from Vesum, Sk. 25 has signs of gnawing that show that the body was left exposed to animals for some time. As identified in the osteological analysis, Sk 16, the skull from Gullåkra bog has a possible post-mortem cut at the edges. The right ala major on the sphenoid is fractured; the bone in this area is quite thin and the fracture is straight and the edges are rounded, suggesting that this is a post-mortem trauma that happened in antiquity. The cranium has scratch-marks on the frontal bone, but these may be recent. Furthermore, the occipital and parts of left parietal bone has dark staining from the bog. These areas are also more deteriorated and of a lighter color than the other parts of the skull. This suggests to the osteologist that the cranium was placed upside down on the surface of the bog and exposed to the air at some stage in its history. Here it is necessary to recall that the cranium was retrieved at a depth of c. 1.5 m of the bog. The color of the skull suggests it may have been deposited and exposed at the surface and later become buried in the bog. Hence it would have transformed from being materially visible at the surface, to becoming a more integrated part of the bog matrix over time. Hence, it mattered in new ways. The skull may even have worked as a container, collecting liquids like rainwater or libations. Here we can remind ourselves that the Gundestrup Cauldron was exposed on the bog surface before it eventually became a part of the bog (Kaul 1991, 14). Taken together, these material remains suggests that some of these bodies were altered, curated and in circulation, for some time after death and before their wetland deposition. Such traces of handling could suggest that these human remains were particularly charged before their deposition in bogs. Also, the fact that they remained uncremated, at a time when cremation was the norm, may have linked them to a particular superstition or belief. At the stage of deposition, these body parts had thus undergone a chain of transformations, as they were 'threading in and out' of a variety of relationships.

The bodies may in this procedure have changed ontological status, turning them more into 'things' and thereby something different, possibly more equal to other artefacts in the bog, as compared to who they were during their lives as humans. Hence, these body parts may even have worked as 'thingified' relics when they were left to the wetlands, but they were also materialities where for example histories of vulnerability, and social exceptions merged, adding to the complexity of these depositions. Bennett (2010, 6) writes about the power of things as: '... the curious ability of inanimate things to animate, to act, to produce effects dramatic and subtle'. As such things, both bones and artefacts, may have had a particular vibrancy, that made them work as more than objects. Here it is worth noting that these bones intermingled in the bogs with other things, in places that on many occasions had previously received depositions. Also, these may have been particularly charged and their placing in the bog may have been a way to deal with this 'power-overload'. Hence, to 'become a bog body' in these areas also involved being drawn into earlier processes and relations of depositions in wetlands and to hence become a part of earlier depositional traditions.

Necropolitics and sacrificial logic

Stjernquist (1998, 176) explains that sacrifices in bogs (making no distinction between things and living beings) were spiritual activities that would have worked to give humans a way of controlling their life-situation and to give a sense of safety. However, while acknowledging this interpretation, the material above also points to the fact that these depositions did not only create safety and good luck. They also involved rather violent practices that drew on and effectuated gender-structured politics of exclusion, where certain selected others were singled out for separate treatment and death as they were drawn into practices that may have been ruled by 'sacrificial logic'. As described by Reinert (2015), sacrificial logic has deep historical roots which can, in short, be understood as the rationality in something being given up for a higher good. In these cases, humans with all their liveliness and networked potential to matter in a variety of ways, alongside fine artefacts, even treasures, were given to the wetlands. Furthermore, the deposition of bodies followed on from a tradition where artefacts with all their network relations were also drawn into this practice of terminating and ending. If the depositions of human remains are understood as sacrifices it means that a particular person's life is surrendered for the benefit of something larger. A sacrifice, where something is given up in the present could also be a way of engaging with the luck and fortune of those whom live on, projecting into the future. It is a particular technique of dealing with intra-generational deliberations of justice and care. Here a variety of social, bodily and artefact network were drawn upon, deposited, terminated and forged anew through these sacrifices. If this is interpreted within a sacrificial logic: this giving up of life is done so in order for something else to prosper. Here, sacrificial rituals may have worked to dramatize issues around this exchange, between life and death, prosperity and poverty, where a variety of connections were invested in and given up for a higher cause. They may even have been of importance as a process for establishing the fact that there was a joint goal to work for. The act of sacrifice can in this sense be understood as a 'managed' death, where some

powers are in control over the life and death of another being, thereby exercising necropolitics that in turn may have been crucial for a movement towards centralization in this area.

Sacrifices could also, as argued by Giles (2015), have had far-reaching emotional effects. If these killings were ‘official’ acts, they may have created ruptures in the social fabric of the communities, but also invoked feelings of horror and fear in the population. Furthermore, in the case of the area around Uppåkra this type of direct violence may have covered over the workings of slow violence that affected particular parts of the population and which was evidenced in many of the bodies analyzed in this paper. Such violence may have worked to formalize exceptions in society and set in place practices that produced particularly ‘excluded others’. In this case-study, these were persons with male characteristics that were situated outside immediate networks of care. It is not possible to say that these acts were carried out by people located at Uppåkra (some of the dates are slightly earlier than the known date start of Uppåkra), or at some other center, such as for example around Tejarp. Here these bodies, as evidenced through their malnutrition and ill-health, may in fact point towards the fact that resources were diverted elsewhere. It is worth noting that these depositions of human remains date to the transition between the LBA and EIA, which would have been a crucial time, just before and during the early formation of the political node.

The political ecologies of bogs

As outlined in this paper, by using new materialist gender theory, there were a number of processes that could have led to the deposition of body parts in bogs, as if they to some extent these people were not only selected due to their deeds, but also to some degreemade. Either the general population was exposed to hardship during life, or some part of it was left outside networks of care and hence in a more vulnerable position. What is clear is that some male others were treated differently in death. They were not handled according to the more common burial traditions, hence not cremated or placed together with bodies of women and children. There are examples of direct violence at the time of death, that may imply sacrifice. Some of their bodies were also divided up, possibly handled and curated and made into ‘things’ before their deposition in bogs.

The spiritual sides of these depositions would have been important, possibly promising a continued life in the otherworld for those sacrificed and prosperity for future generations. However, the current paper has added a more sinister side to the discussion. The deposited bones would have played a role in politics of exclusion and necropolitics. The analysis of the bodily remains from the study area has given evidence that some people were exposed to both slow and direct violence. These remains are mainly of masculine bodies and are tied to this particular location during the specific time-horizon of the LBA and EIA, before, and leading into the time of Uppåkra’s main flourishing. Hence, the analyses suggest that some of these bodies may have been sacrificed not only in death, but also when they were alive, captured as a ‘sacrificial masculinity’. In the studied area, during this period, gender categories mattered in the process of becoming bog bodies. What is suggested here is that, while there are similarities between practices in wider areas, this is no single explanation that will fit all bog body material. Rather, there may have been different pathways towards such sacrifices and depositions. In other places, gender may not have mattered to the same extent or there may have been particularly situated ‘sacrificial femininities’ or the focus might have been on particular species, or on other relations or factors.

Furthermore, a detailed analysis of the depositions in Sege River, might show a contrasting story. Moreover, other analyses of these bodies, such as DNA, strontium isotopes etc. may indicate other material relationalities and interchanges that mattered in the process of becoming bog bodies. What is clear however, is that the wetlands may have provided these small-scale communities with spaces at the margin where a range of different boundaries were acted out and tested, both those between communities and those between life and death, and between everyday activities and the divine. It has been argued by other researchers that the existence of Uppåkra as a central place or node relied on people performing various ritual, political and trade related functions on the site (cf. Helgesson 2002). However, the nearby wetlands and their assemblages provide additional information to this history and can be used as lenses on the political development. Here, the bodies are archives for such histories, as are the bogs and wetlands and it is of importance to outline what processes these bodies tied into and subsequently became an active part of. The bog matrix preserves evidence of past climates and land use through the palaeoenvironmental record, and it has also produced animal bones from species such as the aurochs, providing evidence of extinction histories. Furthermore, the deposition of artefacts in the bog, provides insights into a variety of activities, relations and materialities tied to the bogs. The depositions of things show that this region was already well connected to places during

the Bronze Age, with far-ranging artefact networks and potentially facilities for communications along the waterways. Here, the depositions draw on external connections that these rivers could have facilitated. It is worth noting that waterways lend themselves to being both boundaries and connectors where these depositions, working over longer periods of time, may have been efficient in renewing, firming up and extending the Uppåkra boundaries (just as argued by Kelly 2013 where later prehistoric Irish bog bodies often have been found on territorial boundaries).

With this as a background, bogs can be understood as political ecologies, where a variety of ‘natureculture’ confederations (cf. Bennett 2010) have co-worked over deeper times in the forming of place. Depositions in wetlands may on the one hand have been a way of handling and finally getting rid of things that were too charged (here it is worth noting the co-occurrence of male body-parts and torcs in bogs, in the transition between LBA and EIA). On the other hand, Bennett (2010, 5–6) notes that things rarely can be thrown away, even if they are junked, they may sooner or later re-appear in an altered shape and crave for attention and response. It was not just the finding of the skull in Wallby that provoked an explanation of its out of place location in a bog. Furthermore, it is possible, that the finding of artefacts or old skeletal remains may have inspired or suggested depositions in following periods. Various interactions with this environment, such as collecting water from the healing well, depositional activity, boating, cutting of peat (evidenced in Denmark from the EIA, see Christensen and Fidel 2003) or extraction of bog ore may have exposed both bodily remains and artefacts from earlier times and this exposure might have produced affects and material suggesting, projecting and diffracting in time, in ways that provoked further depositions. However, also the practice of depositing items or human remains informs of a particular way of relating to the wetlands, in which they were addressed as receivers and overflow vaults of society. The materials from Gullåkra weaves in and out of both natural and cultural history. In this political ecology, the bog-as-assemblage of relations between hydrology, slowly decaying matter, artefact and body depositions or extraction activities, may have worked agentially in many different ways, which will have to be explored in future research.

Conclusion

Kristiansen (1998, 289–290, 314–315) has described the period from c. 600 to 400 BC as turbulent times, with a development of new ‘tyrannies’ in Central Europe that hindered the flow of goods to north-west Europe. The following period was marked by Celtic expansions and opening up of trade-routes. Hence both the Danish bog bodies mentioned above, and most of the deposited human remains from around Uppåkra belong to the transition between the LBA and EIA, that were times of great upheaval and social change. As discussed here the deposition of bodies in bogs joined together larger parts of these areas, but they were also enrolled in situated geo-political ecologies.

This paper has mapped some of the processes of how people were ‘becoming bog bodies’ in this particular area and investigated their role in the situated political ecology of the area around Uppåkra. There were a number of different processes that led to the becoming of bog bodies in this place; gender and class politics, sacrificial logic as well as the workings of necropolitics. What is suggested here is that there were concerted and systematic actions that produced what could be termed a ‘sacrificeable masculinity’ that could have worked to create exceptions in society. If such necropolitics were carried out by a number of different communities before the establishment of Uppåkra, similar acts and processes seems to have been in place and continued in the lead up and formation of this node. The depositions of bodies here may well be a local manifestation and transformation of the more general bog body phenomena, that mattered differently here.

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