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## Gudme-Lundeborg on Funen as a model for northern Europe?

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*Abstract: The settlement complex from the Iron Age at Gudme on Funen is one of the largest in Scandinavia. Through its long existence from AD 200 and into the Medieval Period the settlement can be divided into three main phases reflecting the social and economic development of the site. Phase 1 – 200–600 AD a manorial residence with indications on religious activities is surrounded by a large number of smaller workshop farms characterized by large amounts of Roman gold, silver and bronze objects. A number of sacral place names perhaps reflect the important religious function of the site during the period. Phase 2 – 600–1000 AD the manorial residence seems to disappear and is perhaps moved to another site in the area. At the same time the number of farms is radically reduced. However, the workshop activities are still present at the site in a more limited scale. Phase 3 – in the 11<sup>th</sup> century the settlement area is abandoned and the farms probably moved to the present day village of Gudme.*

The Gudme-Lundeborg complex on Funen belongs to an exclusive group of settlements with clear indications of having functioned as an important regional centre of both secular and religious power, with control over production and trading activities. In addition to Gudme, Boeslunde and Sorte Muld in Denmark, Uppåkra and Helgö in Sweden and perhaps Avaldsnes in Norway can also be assigned to this group (BENDIXEN et al. 1990; ADAMSEN et al. 2009; LARSSON 1998; LARSSON/LENNTORP 2004; HOLMQVIST 1961; HOLMQVIST/ARRHENIUS 1964; ZACHRISSON 2004b). To these can be added a number of similar but smaller sites that display comparable features and functions on a lesser scale, for example Stentinget in northern Jutland (NILSSON 1992).

Apart from Helgö in Mälaren, Gudme is so far the only large site where substantial excavations have been carried out – approximately 30,000 m<sup>2</sup> have been investigated to date, although the total settlement area is about 100 hectares. At Uppåkra and Sorte Muld only limited excavations have been undertaken. Furthermore, these sites are complicated by the fact that they also contain massive settlement remains from the early Iron Age, resulting in vast accumulations of cultural layers – probably due to the earthen-wall construction of the houses in that period. The most important period for the main settlement areas at Gudme and Helgö, on the other hand, only started around AD 200, after the introduction of a different method of building houses without the extensive use of earthen walls. Consequently, it would be extremely costly to replicate the structural and functional investigations conducted at Gudme by archaeological excavations at, for example, Uppåkra and Sorte Muld. However, it seems more than plausible that the structural layout of at least Gudme, Uppåkra and Sorte Muld are similar, and that Gudme could thus be a model for the interpretation of the structure and

organisation of these other sites, which are primarily known from the huge numbers of metal-detector finds from the top soil. For example, a simple comparison of the distribution patterns of the various metal finds would probably assist greatly in determining the structure and organisation of sites like Sorte Muld and Uppåkra.

So far, the archaeological evidence indicates that the settlements at Gudme, Sorte Muld, Uppåkra and Helgö (and probably Boeslunde on Zealand) consist of a large number of craftsmen's farms that are subordinate to a dominant chieftain's manor. In many ways, the organisation of these Scandinavian centres resembles the Roman settlement clusters of specialized craftsmen found in the Roman provinces (JØRGENSEN 1994). While this applies to the period after AD 200, it is not certain whether it also is valid for the early Iron Age.

#### GUDME AND ITS HINTERLAND

Although the central settlement at Gudme first developed around AD 200, the region as a whole demonstrates continuity of its special status from the late Pre-Roman Iron Age onwards, as is also the case at Uppåkra and Sorte Muld. A few kilometres to the north of Gudme, at Langå, one of Denmark's richest cemeteries from the period around the time of the birth of Christ has been excavated, including a number of cremation graves containing, among other items, a chieftain's wagon, late Etruscan bronze vessels and weapons (SEHESTED 1878). The associated settlement has not yet been localized. In the eastern part of the Gudme area, which Sehested described as 'Måltidspladserne', and immediately to the west of the cemetery at Møllegårdsmarken, a more ordinary settlement was established at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (SØRENSEN 2006). The establishment of this settlement corresponds to the first burials at Møllegårdsmarken, and it seems to be the precursor of the large main settlement just to the east of the present Gudme village, to where it was probably moved in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century. At the same time, perhaps, the chieftain's family moved from Langå to Gudme and founded the central manor. However, this suggestion is still highly speculative.

The Gudme-Lundeborg project started around 1980 as the result of a number of new metal-detector finds in the settlement area just to the west of Gudme (NIELSEN 1994). Investigations have since been conducted by the regional museums of Odense and Svendborg. Today, the hinterland of Gudme is quite well known, thanks to the archaeological focus adopted by the museums. The large coastal trading place at Lundeborg was excavated by Per Orla Thomsen from the Svendborg museum and is now near final publication. Both Gudme and Lundeborg were most active in the period from the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the 6<sup>th</sup> century. The two sites form two aspects of one and the same system: Gudme as the centre of power, religion and production, with Lundeborg as the gateway for exchange and communication by sea.

The Gudme-Lundeborg complex is situated in quite an isolated area of southeast Funen (Fig. 1). The Gudme area is clearly separated from the rest of Funen by an area of high ground, rising above 80 m, that was probably forested in the Iron Age. The same can be observed in the centre of western Funen where the high ground also lacks archaeological finds from that period. Recent research by Mogens Bo Henriksen demonstrates that the currently known distribution of archaeological finds seems to mirror the actual settlement situation from the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the 7<sup>th</sup> century (HENRIKSEN 2009, 307ff.).

In connection with a research project, Mogens Bo Henriksen collected all the available data from Funen (HENRIKSEN 2009). His survey demonstrates that the distribution of cemeteries from the late Roman period, the gold hoards – mainly from the Migration Period – as well as other archaeological finds from the 2<sup>nd</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, clearly define an area of about 100 km<sup>2</sup> that is distinctly separated from inland Funen (Fig. 1). The excavations seem to indicate that the settlements and cemeteries surrounding Gudme reflect other forms of economy and perhaps other social groups. The settlements are of a more simple agrarian type, although there was metal working on some sites. The cemeteries do

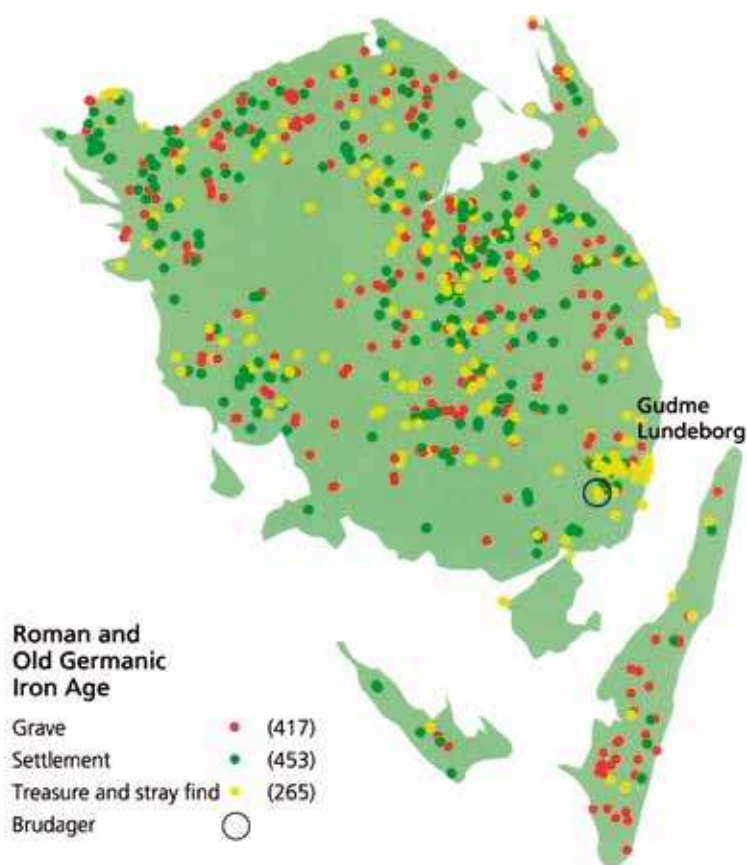


Fig. 1. Distribution of settlements, graves, hoards and single finds from the 2<sup>nd</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> century AD. Note the marked concentration around Gudme-Lundeberg in southeastern Funen (after HENRIKSEN 2009).

not have the numbers of Roman imports found in the large Møllergårdsmarken cemetery at Gudme. The present picture of the Gudme area seems to indicate a society of craftsmen grouped around a magnate's residence, surrounded in the hinterland by agrarian primary producers and other types of craftsmen.

The extent of the political influence and control exerted by the Gudme complex is quite another question. It is possible that, geographically, domination by Gudme was limited to the area already outlined by the archaeological evidence with isolated settlements, graves and hoards distributed within an area of 10 x 10 km. The dominion of the magnate controlling Gudme and Lundeberg could well have been far from that of a 'petty king of Gudme', as has been proposed from time to time. However, high-status contemporaneous grave finds such as those from Hågerup, Sanderumgård and Årslv, and gold hoards like those from Brangstrup and Boltinggård, prove that prominent persons or families also resided at least in the central area of Funen as well as at the main Gudme settlement. This is in agreement with the idea proposed by Callmer in the 1990s that it is wrong to assume that magnates' residences indicate that this power system covered the whole of society. Instead, Callmer thought that authority in those days took the form of islands of power in a sea of powerlessness (CALLMER 1997, 15). The Gudme area could represent such an island of power.

#### THE GUDME COMPLEX

To many, the Gudme complex is known for its accumulation of gold hoards from the Migration Period. Several hoards within an area of 25 km<sup>2</sup> contain a total of no less than 8 kg of gold. That is almost 20% of the total amount of gold from the Migration Period found in Denmark.

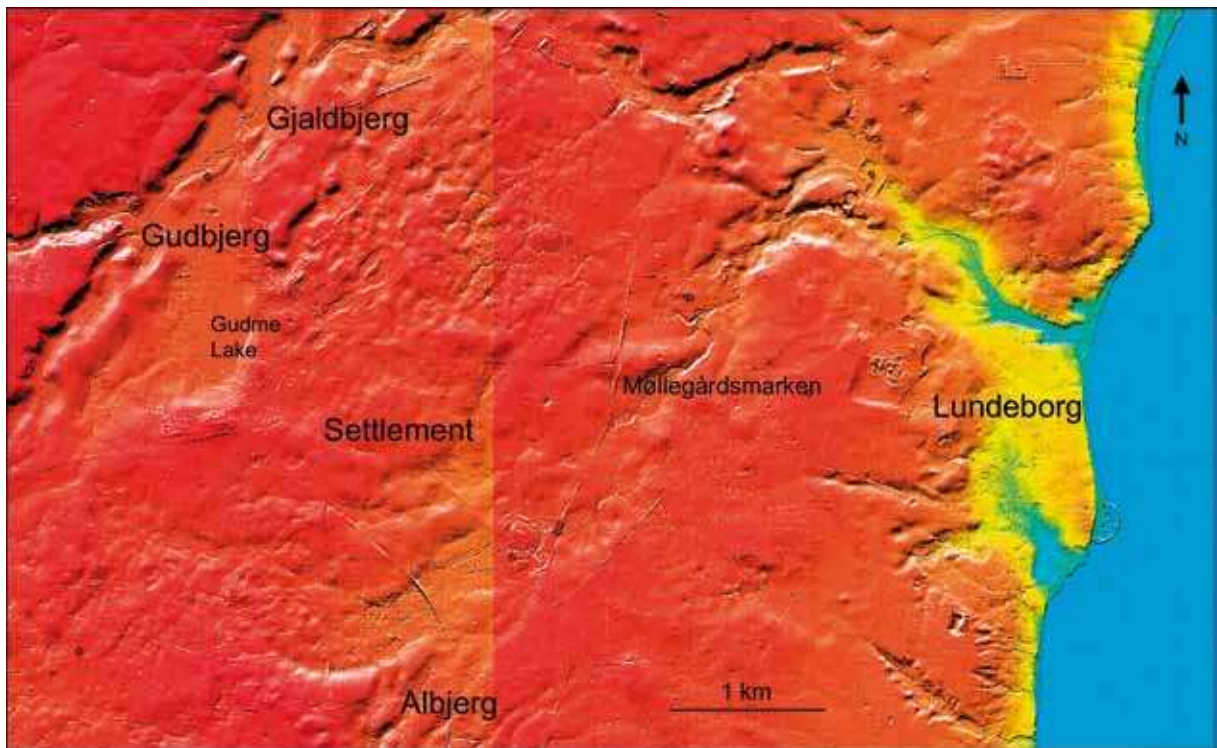
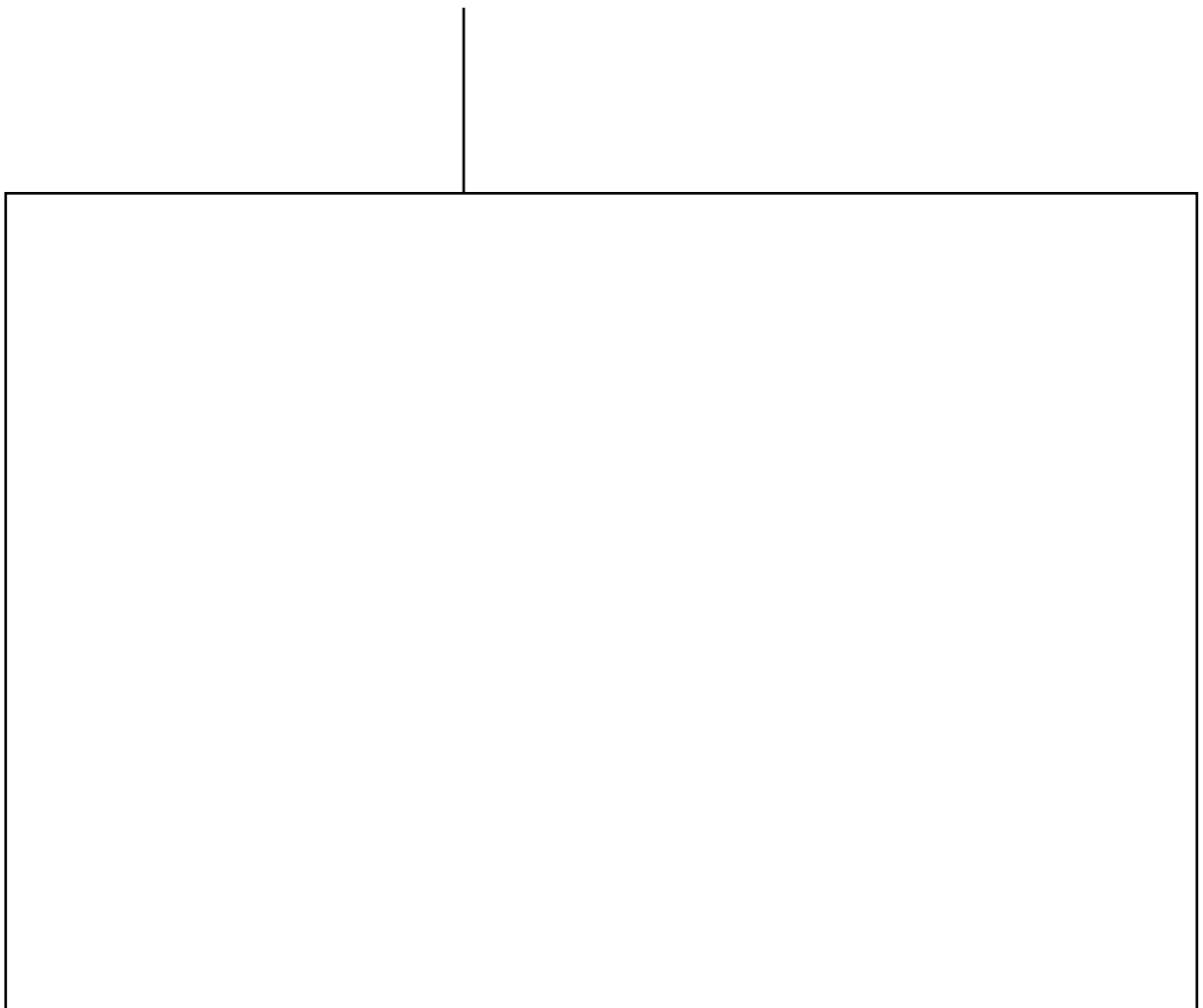


Fig. 2. Lidar-scanning of the Gudme area. The archaeological sites and place names are shown.

The name Gudme is traditionally interpreted as ‘home of the gods’ and the large settlement is encircled by three hills with presumably sacred place names such as *Gjaldbjerg* (the sacrificial hill), *Albjerg* (the sacred hill) and *Gudbjerg* (the hill of the gods), indicating that in pre-Christian times Gudme must have been an important religious centre (Fig. 2; KOUSGÅRD SØRENSEN 1985). Lotte Hedeager has proposed that the Gudme complex could be a parallel to Asgard of Norse mythology, and some of the archaeological evidence indicates that this idea perhaps has an element of truth (HEDEAGER 2001; cf. also discussion by SUNDQVIST in this vol.). The growing number of archaeological sites associated with pre-Christian religious activity indicates that important sites controlled a system composed of several different ritual sites. The Viking centre at Lake Tissø illustrates how a prominent manor seems to have organized an almost ritual landscape (JØRGENSEN 2009; cf. also BRINK 1996 for Swedish models). However, more sites are still needed in order to verify such a model.

A number of large excavations in the central settlement area have revealed a structure that, due to the topography, consisted of a complicated patchwork of several smaller settlement areas separated by wetlands (Fig. 3). On one of these settlement islands in the northern part a presumed magnate’s residence with two buildings of quite unusual dimensions has been investigated. To the west, a larger excavation area revealed several smaller farms, and additional farms have also been documented in the areas only covered by trial trenches. Unlike the ‘wandering farms’ known from Jutland, the farms at Gudme remained on the same spot for several centuries, again as a result of the topography. Several farms can be followed through 10 phases, i.e. for a period of up to 500 years. Because of the stable settlement pattern it has been possible to calculate the likely number of contemporaneous farms at Gudme as shown in the example in Fig. 3. In the late Roman and Migration Periods Gudme seems to have consisted of as many as 40–50 farms – giving a total population of 300–500 inhabitants. However, it has to be stressed that this calculation is based on the hypothesis that the distribution of surface finds around Gudme represents permanent settlement. Theoretically, the finds could just as well be



*Fig. 3. The central settlement area of Gudme. Excavation areas and wetlands. The extent of the wet areas in the Iron Age has been reconstructed in the central area (lighter shade). Map and data P. Ø. Sørensen (after JØRGENSEN 2009).*

material from temporary workshops and market areas, such as at Lundeberg, or from trading sites of the late Iron Age and Viking period.

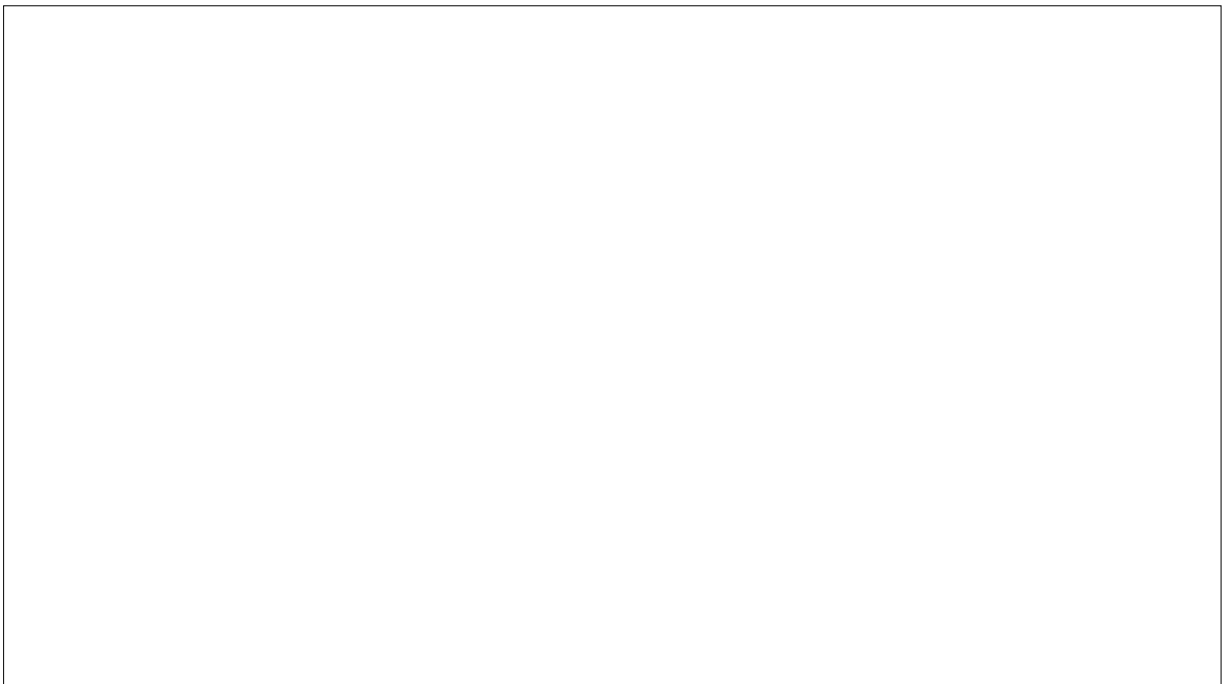
#### THE WORKSHOP FARMS

From the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the 6<sup>th</sup> century, Gudme was divided into two main areas: the magnate's residence, and a vast area with groups of smaller farms and a certain level of craft production. The excavations and metal-detector surveys have yielded more than 6000 metal objects from the top soil: these include brooches, pendants, beads, strap mounts, weapons, tools, weights, ingots, coins, fragments of Roman objects and waste metal from craft production. The distribution of the metal finds seems to confirm that many of the farms were specialized, especially in metal-working. Gold and silver smiths as well as bronze casters worked on farms in the southern part of the settlement. Among the finds are crucibles, as well as gold, silver and bronze hoards, which also contained fragments of Roman bronze statues. A small but very special group of finds consists of semi-finished gold rivets for the costly almandine inlay on the gold sword pommels of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Gold sword pommels of this type have not previously been found in Denmark, and these were probably manufactured on the site by craftsmen from one or two of the farms (Fig. 4).

If we compare the many metal-detector finds from the top soil with the results so far from the excavations, it is possible in many cases to assign specific crafts to specific areas or farms. For example, the distribution of silver ingots or hack silver, the raw material for silversmiths in the 4<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> century, is concentrated in the southern part of the settlement (Fig. 5).

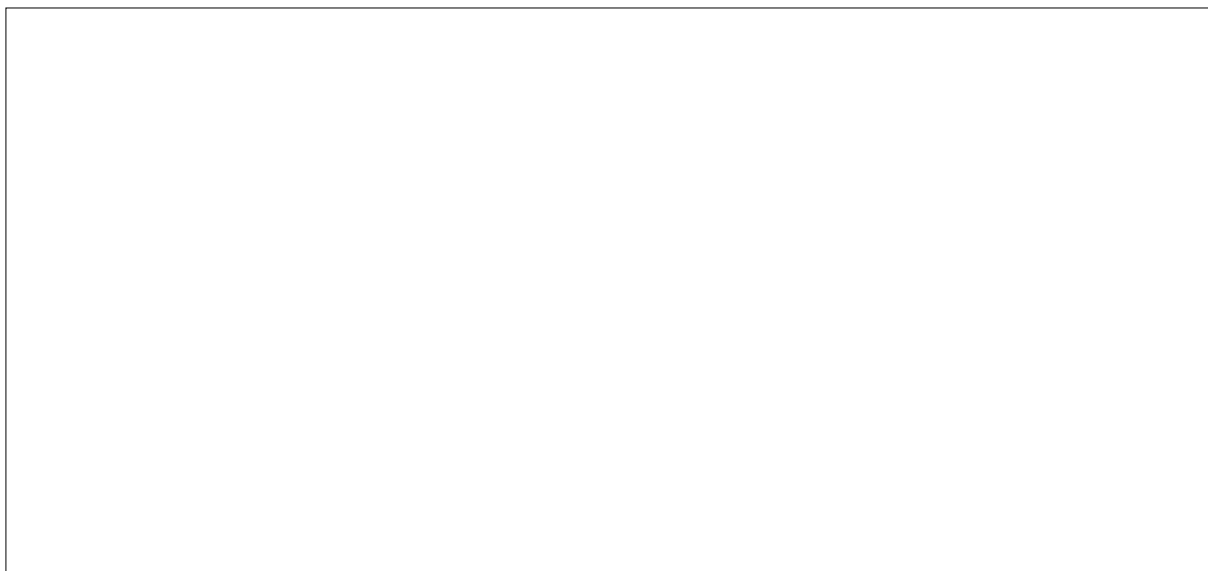
In large parts of the northern settlement area there are far fewer finds. Thus, in general, 3<sup>rd</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> century workshop material is concentrated in the southern settlement areas while the northern areas are comparatively poor in such material.

*Fig. 4. Gold rivets. Probably used to assemble the pommels on gold sword hilts (photo John Lee).*



*Fig. 5. Distribution of hack silver, ingots etc. from the late Roman and early Migration Periods.*

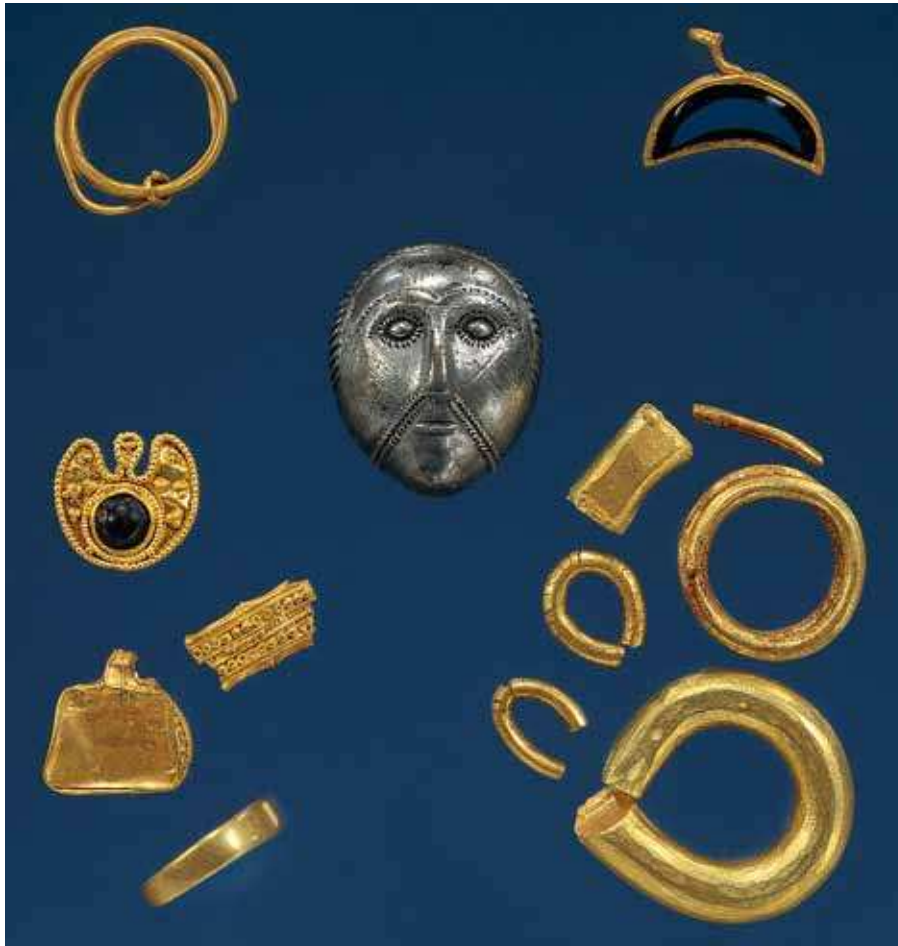
The predominant residence is situated in the centre of the settlement (Fig. 6). The main house is a building measuring almost 500 m<sup>2</sup>, and is thus the largest of this period in Denmark (cf. SØRENSEN 1994; 2010; SØRENSEN in press). Near the large hall is a smaller hall with a floor area of 200–250 m<sup>2</sup> that can be traced through five phases. This complex was established in the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. Later, in the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, the large hall was replaced by a smaller hall situated 30 m further to the east. However, the old smaller hall continued in use and the complex still consisted of only two buildings. The residence was abandoned in the early 6<sup>th</sup> century and probably moved to another location in Gudme. An ordinary farm took over the old manorial area.



*Fig. 6. The main residence at Gudme. The great building and the series of minor buildings to the south are the only contemporaneous buildings in the complex. The large building was succeeded by the N-S oriented building to the east. The ordinary longhouse between the two was built after the manor.*

In terms of both location and construction, the large residence would have appeared monumental, differing clearly from the far smaller craft farms. The hall buildings are of extremely solid construction and well built. The find material from the main building area is valuable: Roman hack silver, bronze and glass objects, gold-ornamented silver neck rings, silver figurines and more than 115 *denarii* have been found. Furthermore a small gold treasure, fragments of imported Roman silver, bronze and glass objects, 115 *denarii*, silver figurines, pieces of silver neck rings with gold foil and southeast European gold jewellery. On the other hand, the amount of material from metalworking activities is limited. In the most recent of the sequence of smaller hall buildings, dating to the late 5<sup>th</sup> or beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, a small gold hoard and a silver 'face' were found in the post-holes (Fig. 7).

The magnate's residence enjoyed a special position in the large settlement. During its whole lifetime it consisted of only the two large buildings, and apparently had no utility buildings. The larger building was probably the residence whereas the minor adjacent building probably functioned as a ritual building, comparable to the spectacular 'cult house' at Uppåkra (cf. LARSSON in this vol.). No food production or crafts can be firmly associated with the large residential complex. However, there are several features or activity areas which indicate that a range of ritual functions was associated with the residence. In the area immediately east and southeast of the two hall buildings was a concentration of pits and cultural layers that contained finds far beyond the usual 3<sup>rd</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> century types: gold and silver



*Fig. 7. Ritually deposited objects from the magnate's residence at Gudme, 4<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> century. Top: Gold ring and glass-inlaid pendant from the cultural layer to the southeast of the hall. Bottom left: Objects from the ploughed layer and cultural layers to the southwest of the hall. The silver mask (height: 2.9 cm) and gold objects to the right were from post-holes in the final hall c. 500 (photo Kit Weiss/National Museum).*

objects, Roman *denarii*, jewellery and fragments of jewellery (Fig. 7). These objects are unlikely to have been accidentally lost, but seem rather to have been deposited deliberately in the low-lying area to the southeast of the buildings. They include exclusive items of jewellery and precious metal, and both pits and cultural layers must be the result of special depositions. There are several possible explanations of the deposition process and for the type of objects. On the one hand, they may represent primary offerings/depositions of valuables at this particular spot; on the other hand, they could be a secondary deposition of the remains of banquets and objects from rituals held in the hall buildings. This cannot be determined directly, but the presence of similar features, finds and find situations at several other Scandinavian sites of the same character suggests that these are genuine feature types that are not simply due to the casual deposit of cultural refuse, but should possibly be explained in terms of sacrificial rituals and related activities at the elite residence complex (JØRGENSEN 2009).

It thus appears that, in the 3<sup>rd</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> centuries, Gudme was perhaps the residence of a magnate whose wealth was based on the levying of tribute. The large complex of the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries consisted of only two large hall buildings at a time, with no trace of true utility buildings, smaller dwellings or workshops. The tribute possibly consisted not only of payment in kind from the dependent settlements but also, to a great extent, of crafted items, precious metals, etc., from the large number of workshops controlled by the magnate, as well as duties on the activities of the nearby trading place on the coast near Lundeberg.

The manor was abandoned early in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, when it was probably moved to another part of Gudme. In view of the treasure hoards from the late 5<sup>th</sup> and early 6<sup>th</sup> century, it is perhaps possible to



localize the subsequent manor in the northern part of the settlement, where there is also only a limited amount of contemporaneous craft material associated with the hoards. However, further excavations are needed in order to verify this assumption.

There are no large gold finds dated later than the 6<sup>th</sup> century, but that is not a reason to assume that Gudme had totally lost its importance – a decrease in the amount of gold was a widespread feature in much of Europe. Exclusive finds from the Viking Age reveal that an aristocracy was present on the site in that period, too: silver hoards, pieces of silver, brass-inlaid stirrups and gilded spurs have been found. The equestrian equipment, in particular, is of a quality that so far has only been found in the richest Danish graves. Cf. Figs. 8–10 for the development of the size of the settlement over time.

At the time of the transition from the Viking Age to the medieval period, most of the settlement was abandoned and the farms moved to the present village of Gudme (Fig. 10). Medieval Gudme also had a relatively prominent position; as the county town it was the administrative centre of the district. Furthermore, a large Romanesque church was built and there were two manors: Broholm and Egsmose. However, the two manors are only mentioned relatively late, in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, and neither can be seen as the medieval successor to the earlier seat of power. Here, a closer look should perhaps be taken at Hesselagergård in a neighbouring parish. Both Gudme and Hesselager are located within the same main watershed, and this was probably far more important in the early Middle Ages than the parish boundary, which was probably first established in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Hesselager/*Hæsleakær* was mentioned in the main section of the Danish Census Register of King Valdemar (KVJ) of around 1231, on the same list as other sites on Funen such as *Hægnæzholm* (Hindsholm), *Nyburgh* (Nyborg), *Twywath* (Tvevad), *Kyarby* (Kærby), *Munkæboth* (Munkebo), *Kyælteburgh* (Ørkil), *Kobiærgh* (Koborg) and *Hælghænæs* (Helnæs)<sup>1</sup>. The entry seems to be a list of estates on crown land that had a special status.

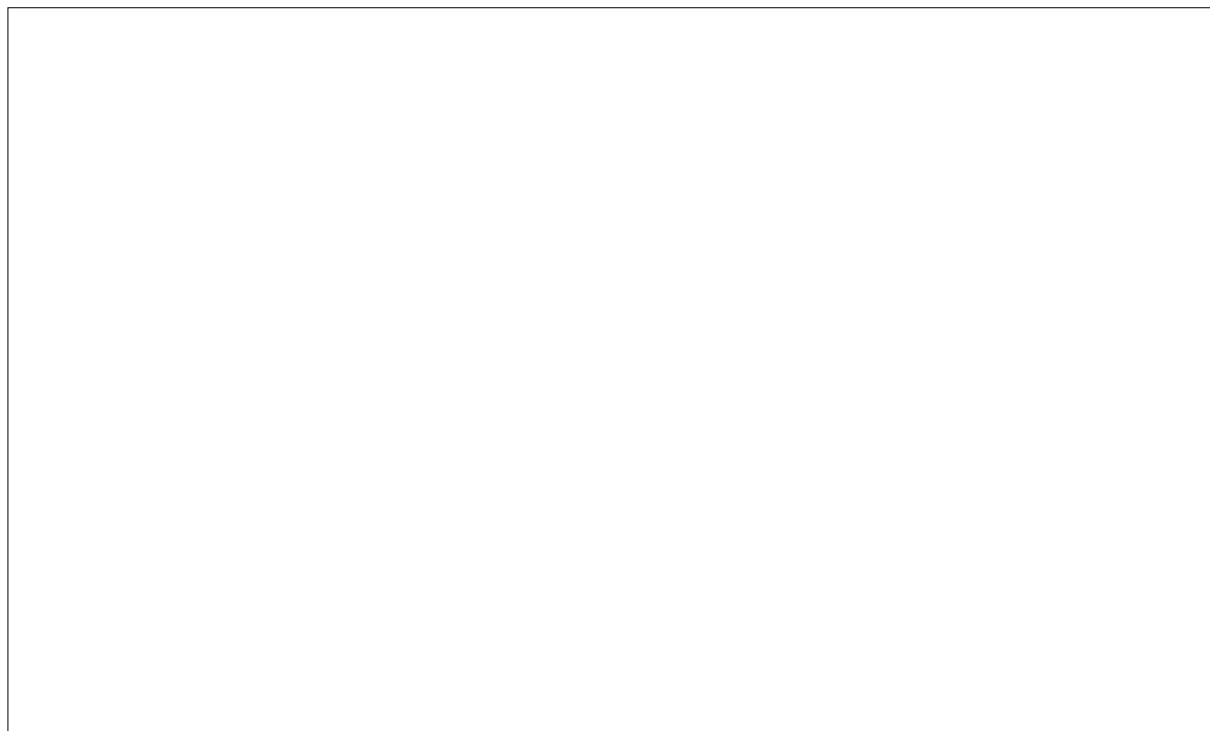
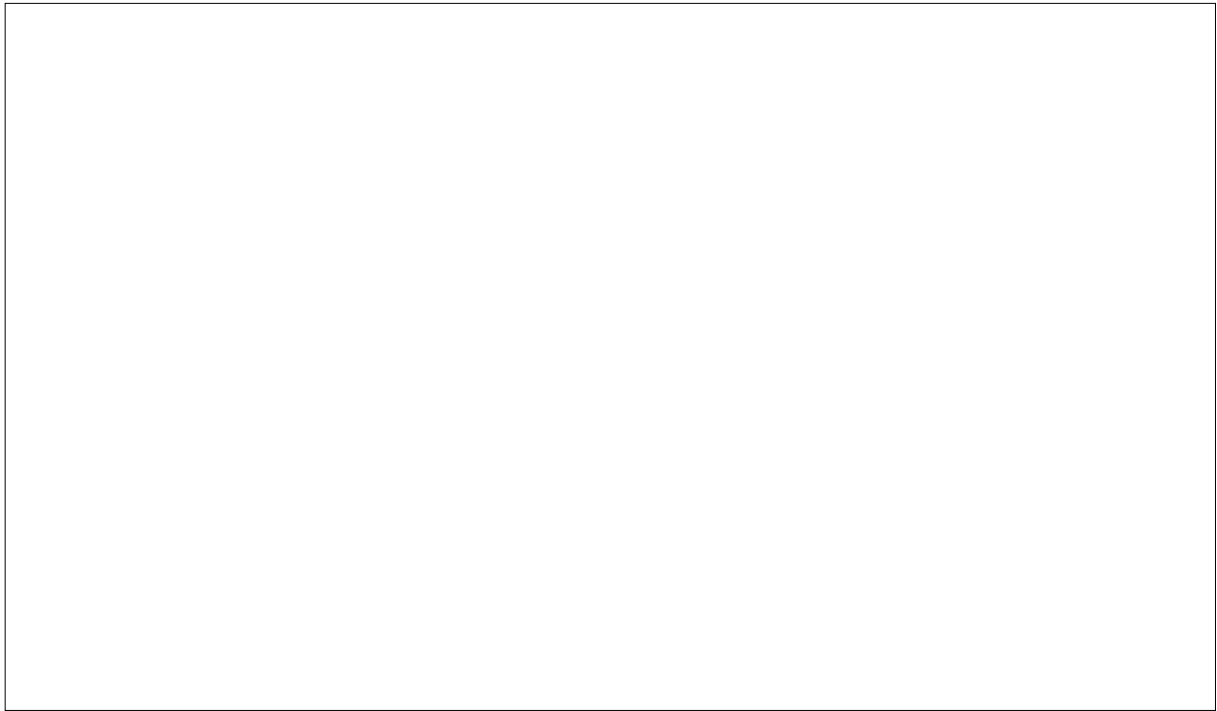
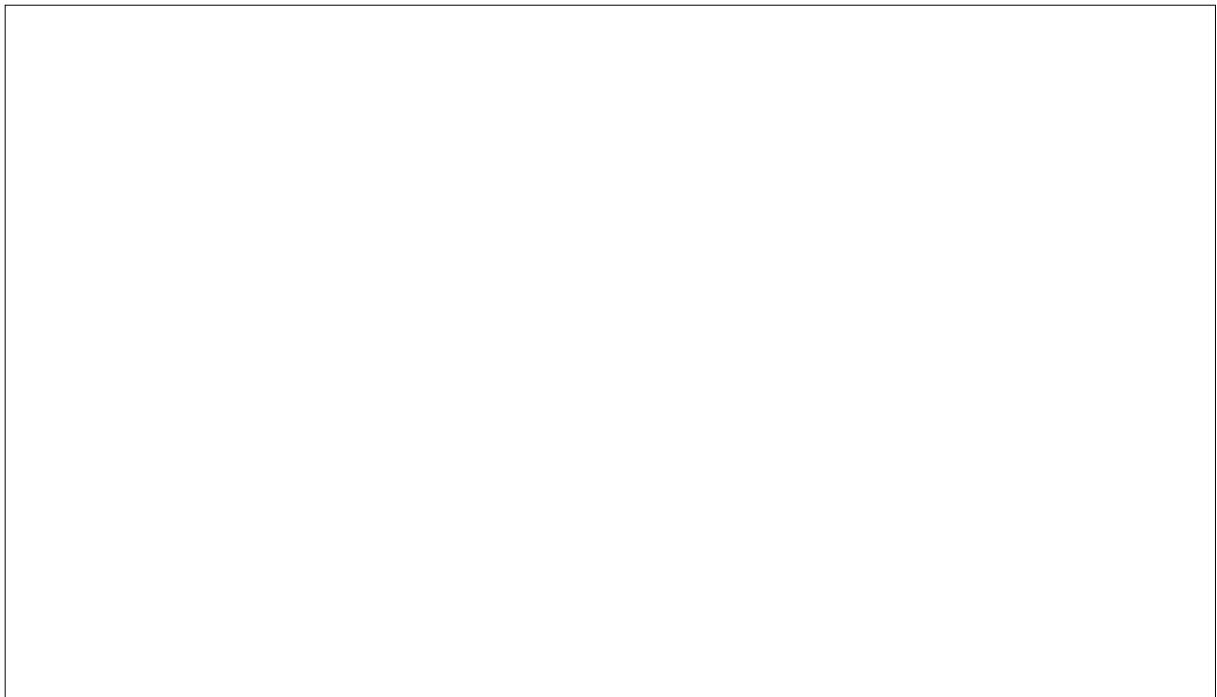


Fig. 8. Distribution of metal-detector finds from the 3<sup>rd</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> centuries.

1 KVJ 1<sup>2</sup>, Fol. 20<sup>r</sup>, KVJ 2, pp. 110–111, 14<sup>11–12</sup>. Svend AAKJÆR's ed. 1943.



*Fig. 9. Distribution of metal-detector finds from the 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries. Compared with Fig. 8 the settlement area is now smaller, which indicates that the number of farms has been reduced. This settlement contraction took place from the 7<sup>th</sup> century onwards.*



*Fig. 10. Distribution of metal-detector finds from the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The small number of finds indicates that the old settlement area has been abandoned and moved to present-day Gudme.*

At least two and possibly three of the sites were related to royal *birks* (market places: Hindsholm, Munkebo, and Koborg). Moreover, two or three were fortified sites of strategic importance (Nyborg, Ørkil and Tvevad). The appearance of Hesselager on such a list may not be without reason.

Hesselager is mentioned even earlier than in Valdemar's Census (KVJ). When the son of Valdemar the Great's sister, Knud Prislavsén, entered the brotherhood of St Canute's monastery in 1183, his deed of gift to the monastery was witnessed by a number of prominent persons – the third witness was the priest Robert of Hesselager (DIPL.DAN. I:3/116)<sup>2</sup>. The composition of the list clearly shows that Robert must have been a prominent person closely connected with Knud Prislavsén – it was hardly a coincidence that his residence was at Hesselager. According to Troels Dahlerup, there is much to indicate that Funen was divided into three beneficed rural deaneries (Danish: *landprovstier*): Odense, Tofte and Hesselager (DAHLERUP 1968, 215f.). These rural deaneries are clearly of ancient origin, as their deans already appear in sources from the first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century (DAHLERUP 1968, 28). However, Hesselager deanery is very seldom mentioned in the sources, and only in the period 1389–1419. Troels Dahlerup is probably right in thinking that, around 1400, Hesselager was identical to the *Guthumberet* (Gudme shire [DA: *herred*]) deanery, mentioned in 1264 (DAHLERUP 1968, 216f.). Around 1400, ownership conditions at Hesselager were such that there was no apparent justification for the deanery to be named after Hesselager rather than the shire town, Gudme: Hesselager had probably taken over long before 1419. There is much to indicate that Hesselager must have had a prominent status in the early medieval period, and was thus the natural successor to the ancient centre of Gudme as the seat of power in the area.

#### GUDME-LUNDEBORG IN CONTEXT

What led to the emergence and expansion of sites such as Gudme, Sorte Muld and Uppåkra in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries AD? Part of the explanation probably lies in the Roman Empire's growing interest in the Germanic areas to the north of the Limes, which meant that Gudme-Lundeborg expanded dramatically in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD: the coastal landing site at Lundeborg was established at this time. In the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, there was a dramatic increase in the quantity of mass-produced Roman goods in southern Scandinavia, which had obviously become an area of Roman interest. Many fragments of 3<sup>rd</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> century Roman goods from the Rhine area – glass, bronzes and terra sigillata – have been found in both Gudme and Lundeborg.

As the western Roman provinces came under pressure in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, Gudme maintained its contacts with southeastern Europe – probably via the territory that is today Poland: 4<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> century gold jewellery, glass, coins and hack silver from the East Roman and Gothic areas in the eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea have been found. Among these are pieces that are often unique in the Scandinavian context. After the decline of the Roman Empire in western Europe, there was contact with the Frankish territory in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries as shown by the discovery of Central European brooches, gold buckles and gold sword buttons.

One of the special features of Gudme-Lundeborg is the presence of gold and silversmiths as well as bronze casters who worked on farms in the southern part of the settlement. Metal ingots, scrap metal, casting waste, crucibles, tools and weights for weighing alloys confirm this production. Craft activities were not limited to just a brief period, they can be detected throughout the whole period from AD 200–1100, with a peak in the 3<sup>rd</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> centuries. Gudme was clearly not an ordinary village: it was a centre of craftsmanship for 800 years.

This craft production required metal supplies in the form of gold, silver and bronze. In the workshop area were five hoards of 4<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> century hack silver, which contained late Roman silver in the form of pieces of deliberately fragmented silver plate. Two hoards with 4<sup>th</sup> century Roman silver *siliquae* and

2 DIPL.DAN. I:3, nr. 116. The other witnesses on the deed of gift are Dean Esger (Prislavsén's priest), Doctor Henrik and Magister Hylarius, Prislavsén's three stabuli (Ubbe, Godfred and Toke), Ture Skalmesen and Peder Vagnsen.

gold *solidi*, respectively, may also represent hoards of metal belonging to craftsmen. In addition, there was a hoard of *denarii* and another with both *denarii* and *siliquae*. In yet another workshop hoard, there were several kilograms of fragments from cut-up Roman bronze statues. The supply of metal in the 3<sup>rd</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> centuries obviously included the organized import of Roman scrap metal, in particular.

The long distance contacts that supplied the craftsmen with metals were hardly in the hands of Gudme craftsmen: organization at higher level was required. The nearby landing site at Lundeberg can be seen as part of this organization and increased trading activity was one of the reasons for its construction. Lundeberg stretched nearly 900 m along the coast, and it was hardly a random gathering of traders and artisans. A site of this size required both organization and, not least, protection. Both Gudme and Lundeberg grew dramatically in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries and this growth was hardly random. Likewise, it is surely no coincidence that craft activity in Gudme and Lundeberg declined simultaneously in around AD 600.

I tend to see the expansion of craft and communication activities at Gudme primarily as the result of its proximity to the Roman Empire in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century, and the Romans' need for diplomatic alliances. The necessary contacts were already present in the shape of the chieftain's family at Langå, but the prime mover was the influx from the south. In the same period, the runic alphabet emerges, small figurines of gods and animals appear, parts of Norse mythology are probably modelled on the Mediterranean pantheon and, finally, the first unambiguous cult buildings (or temples) are erected in Gudme and Uppåkra. In my opinion, the Roman 'finger' in this development must not be underestimated.

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