

The Street as Monument

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Abstract

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Our study involves an attempt to apply some models influenced by the concepts of Torsten Hägerstrand's time-space geography in archaeological analysis. The research project was initiated by an excavation at Stortorget, Stora Södergatan, and Kyrkogatan in Lund 1993. The project is still in its infancy so the presented results are preliminary, but at least some problems that have been encountered will be brought to light and a few tentative hypotheses will be formulated.

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Trajectories, projects, stations and domains

This study will be an attempt to apply a time-space geographical perspective in archaeological analysis. The perspective we have chosen to use is inspired by Torsten Hägerstrand's ideas. Hägerstrand's models for time-space geography have been used in many studies with varying interpretative and theoretical slants (Åquist 1992, pp. 104 ff.).

A term which is frequently used in Hägerstrand's reasoning is "trajectory" and this word might require some explanation. Hägerstrand uses the term trajectory to describe movements of people or individuals in time and space. These trajectories can be described in a diagram where one axis shows time and the other axis space. (Hägerstrand 1970; Hägerstrand 1974a, pp. 26 f.). In other words, a trajectory can describe how people dispose activities in time and space. Trajectories can be used to describe several different levels of movements. It can be used on a very low level, from the description of an individual's movements in an office during an hour, as well as for studies with a wide perspective, perhaps of

migrations of people over a continent during a century. The question of how people dispose their activity is central in archaeology as well as in history.

Another term used by Hägerstrand is project (Hägerstrand 1974b). The term project describes activity. It can be the activities of a group of people or of an individual. Projects require some form of organization and coordination in time as well as in space. The individual is an active agent in the structuring of these projects, and thus are the projects also under constant restructuring.

The different projects of man are set in space and they therefore require a certain amount of room as well as time. A project takes thus both time and space in requirement. Hägerstrand has called this time-space unit for "station". The patterns of a trajectory describe the movements between various stations. A central question in interpreting the patterns of trajectories is therefore who controls the stations and the projects. This is a question of "domain". The patterns of a trajectory are determined by varying domains.

The street as monument

How can we find spatial limits for various stations in an archaeological investigation? This question is dependent on what focus we set in the research. If we study a larger area, we could define a city as a station. If we had studied a farmstead, then a house or a field could be considered as stations. Our investigation concerns the city of Lund. The activities on the streets in Lund can be said to form a station within the city. The streets have a special importance as well. They can be described as material constructions that has determined and directed public trajectories in Lund. The streets are indeed the constituents of the public trajectories in Lund, as in all cities. In this sense a street can be seen as a monument, a monument delimiting stations but also connecting them. Monuments can be of central importance for the structuring of space and a monument is a manifestation in time as well, since it must fill a certain requirement of permanency.

Cretating a room, or the actual delimiting of space can be connected with the construction of a monument. The definition of a monument is closely tied to problems of perception. What shall be considered as a monument? One could try to define it as a construction located at a specific place in space and which structures human trajectories. This definition is very broad; a garden shed could by that definition be regarded as a monument. A monument must therefore be public, public in the sense that it must have a point of reference in the common mind of the people who perceive it. It must be remembered that the meaning of a monument is not fixed and absolute, it can transform through time. One can not even ascribe a definite meaning for a monument within a limited timespan. This of course adds to the complexity surrounding trajectories.

Trajectories can follow the very same spatial pattern but the human projects which determined the structuring of them can shift. It can

therefore be useful to compare different levels of trajectories with each other. For example, changes in small-scale trajectories, which can be suggested by excavations on single stations, can, when compared with results from other excavations, indicate important changes in the general, or large-scale trajectories in society. However, this requires careful and detailed observation, since the location of the various stations might be unchanged. The location of the station might be static, but the projects performed in these stations can shift through time. The changing trajectories could be interpreted as a shift of domains and this could in turn have involved a change in social organization, but it could also imply a change of perception involving a transformation of the common outlook on the surrounding world.

It could be useful in an archaeological analysis to compare the changes in two different stations with each other. In the present study, it is useful to compare the results of a street excavation with the excavation of a neighboring house-lot. The house-lot can therefore be considered as another station, differing from the street. The house-lots in Lund have often been static and permanent in their spatial relation to the streets. *Stora södergatan* and *Kyrkogatan* in Lund, however, first deserve a closer presentation.

The origins of Lund have often been a point of discussion (Stjerna 1909; Schück 1926; Blomqvist 1951, pp. 9 ff.; Cinthio 1975; Holmberg 1977, p. 63; Andrén 1985). A common view held today is that the city was founded in order to serve as administrative headquarters of a central and super-regional authority. The foundation of Lund in the early high Middle Ages can be seen as a manifestation of a domain controlled by king and church. It is in this context and from this perspective interesting to note streets and the topography of Lund, because it is in a sense the streets that set the stage for Medieval Lund.

The city is situated on the westernmost slopes of the Romeleåsen ridge. The topographic levels

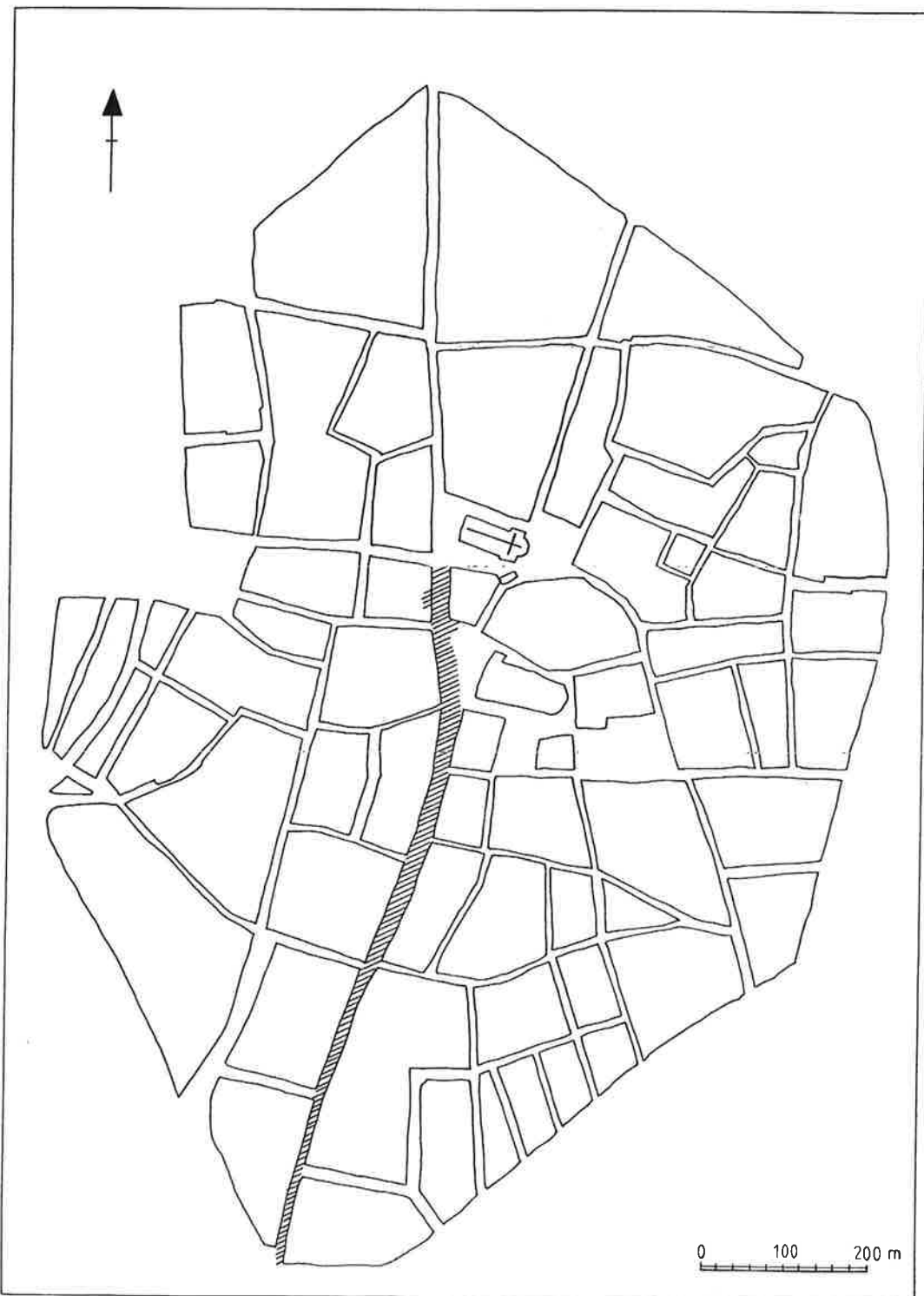


Fig. 1. Plan displaying the modern street grid of Lund. The shaded area marks Stora Södergatan-Kyrkogatan and the medieval house-lot in the Apotekaren quarter.

of Lund vary dramatically. The main street in Lund, Stora Södergatan, runs steeply uphill from the south. It meets Stortorget, the main market square, and continues north; just south of the cathedral, it changes name to Kyrkogatan. The course of the modern street does not deviate to any great degree from the medieval street (Andrén 1980, Map 16). Södergatan appears to have been of central importance also during the early phases in medieval Lund. The medieval street stopped, however, when it encountered the cathedral area. The cathedral itself is situated on a plateau that originally was several meters higher than the area immediately south-west of the church (Andrén 1980, Map 7). The original local topographic conditions must have contributed to the monumental impression of edifices built on this plateau.

The remains of a comparatively large house built of stone dated to the 11th century has been found lying at right angles to Kyrkogatan south-west of the cathedral. It has been suggested that this house have belonged to the king (Andrén 1980, pp. 71 f.). Södergatan must at least have stopped in front of this building. It lies close at hand to assume that Södergatan was perceived as monumental during the early phases of the high Middle Ages. At this time the pavements in Södergatan and Kyrkogatan seem to have been quite elaborate, at least in the vicinity of the cathedral, which would underline the monumental character of the street. According to the results of the excavation in 1993, large parts of Stortorget, Stora Södergatan and Kyrkogatan were covered with timber pavement in the latter part of the 12th century (Eriksdotter 1994, pp. 45 f., 60 f., 68 ff.).

The course of the street could have described a passage from the valley to the mountain, where the edifices belonging to the king and the church gave a concrete material manifestation of their authority. The foundation of Lund on a slope seems logical if we consider aspects of perceiving monuments. It might, however, be too simplistic and one-dimensional to interpret monumental constructions only from a perspective focusing on demonstrations of power. A monument is also an

expression of an outlook on the world. The references to a monument can be equivocal. It can be interpreted as a material manifestation of references to ideological concepts. In a theological treatise which has been attributed to Anselm of Aosta, Archbishop of Canterbury in the 12th century, it is claimed that; "vallis est hic mundus, mons est cælum" (the valley is this world, the mountain is heaven) (Lidfors 1903, p. 4). The foundation of Lund and the layout of the streets can probably not be explained from a single set of determining factors. Geographical-topographical factors relating to the socio-economic status of the city have most certainly played an important role in determining the specific situation of Lund, but one should not underestimate the monumental perception as an element which could have had an influence on the decision to choose this location to found an urban centre.

Lund could in the initial phase of its origins be described as a royal-ecclesiastical domain. The streets structured the city and linked the different stations with each other. The streets were to continue linking the stations together, yet we can perhaps detect a changing perception of the street and a changing function. The streets and the house-lots may have been permanent in their spatial situation, but the projects assigned to these stations may have shifted. These varying-activities have left material remains in the archaeological record. The stratigraphy of the street levels and the differing street pavements through time (could) could be seen as an example of this. An analysis of these archaeological observations can serve as a foundation for an interpretation of the possible changes of perception and outlook on the world. If we want to study these possible transformations more closely, though, we must turn and examine another station than the street.

The house-lots and the street

The changes in the street can be seen in relation to the changes on the house-lots bordering on the

street. The street and the house-lot describe different stations. The projects that have taken place on the house-lot differed from those in the street. They must still inevitably have formed closely interrelated patterns on the trajectories of the inhabitants in medieval Lund. One can regard the street and the house-lots as two domains, with the street being a public domain and the house-lot a private. This question deserves a closer discussion, though, and it brings us to the question of who was actually in control of these domains. The division between public and private domain is more difficult to distinguish than it might first appear. If a detailed study of the house constructions, finds and spatial organization of a house-lot was compared with the results from a street excavation, it might show interesting aspects of the complex urban developments in medieval Lund.

A number of house-lots bordering on the research trenches in Kyrkogatan were excavated 1979-80. The excavated surface is situated west of Kyrkogatan in the Apotekaren quarter. It had an area of 242 m², and a volume of 1200 m³, and dissected several medieval house-lots. The house-lots were situated in the immediate vicinity of the medieval main street and market square, and were only a small distance away from the cathedral and the King's house and courtyard (Fig. 2).

This excavation has supplied a rich material, which from our first preliminary observations so far seem to be promising. The find material or stratigraphy has not been subjected to any close analysis; only the main stratigraphic levels and major constructions have been briefly described. A more sophisticated reconstruction of the topography and stratigraphy of the area is impossible since the site was excavated with the planum method, which means that a predetermined amount of debris is taken away with no close regard for the sequence of layers. The excavation of Stora Södergatan/Kyrkogatan performed in 1993 according to the Harris's matrix method, can therefore come to play an important role in the understanding of the stratigraphy and habitation

levels in the Apotekaren quarter. During the excavation of Apotekaren, certain consideration was taken of habitation levels, since the remains of constructions were extremely well preserved. These levels were also documented in plan. Fifteen different habitation levels, mostly with wooden house constructions, have been identified. A closer examination of these levels would most likely show a more complicated development of the habitation.

In this article shall we only present a few of these levels. The changes in habitation and constructions should therefore not be regarded as being as abrupt as they might seem. These changes took place successively. We should not forget that a study focusing only on the house itself is not sufficient if the aim is an interpretation of the house-lot as a domain. Other components such as courts, depots, latrines and wells are also important objects to be studied if we want to find stations constituting the trajectories. House archaeology deals with how houses and the surrounding space are used. Bailey uses the concept "house" in a sociological context and tries to differentiate between social and material context by showing the ambivalent references to houses (Bailey 1990, p. 23). Bailey argues that the houses can be studied in a social context if we study how the proprietor perceived his or her domain.

In this article we will concentrate on the material context of the houses and only briefly discuss the social contexts. The aim is of course that the complex and rich find material from the Apotekaren quarter will be subjected to closer analysis in the future, aiming at an interpretation of the dialectics between stations, projects and domains and the perception of the active human agents living in this environment.

A concentrated study of the house constructions and how they are spatially organized within the house-lot could reveal how function, building technology and choice of construction material have shifted. The relationship to bordering areas such as other house-lots, market place and streets must be examined more closely as well. It

would thereby also be a study of how the movements of people in a restricted and comparatively small area have changed through time. The transformation of people's everyday trajectories could

be analysed through an examination of the habitation and construction levels. The function and activity that took place within these house constructions can be seen as stations for varying sets

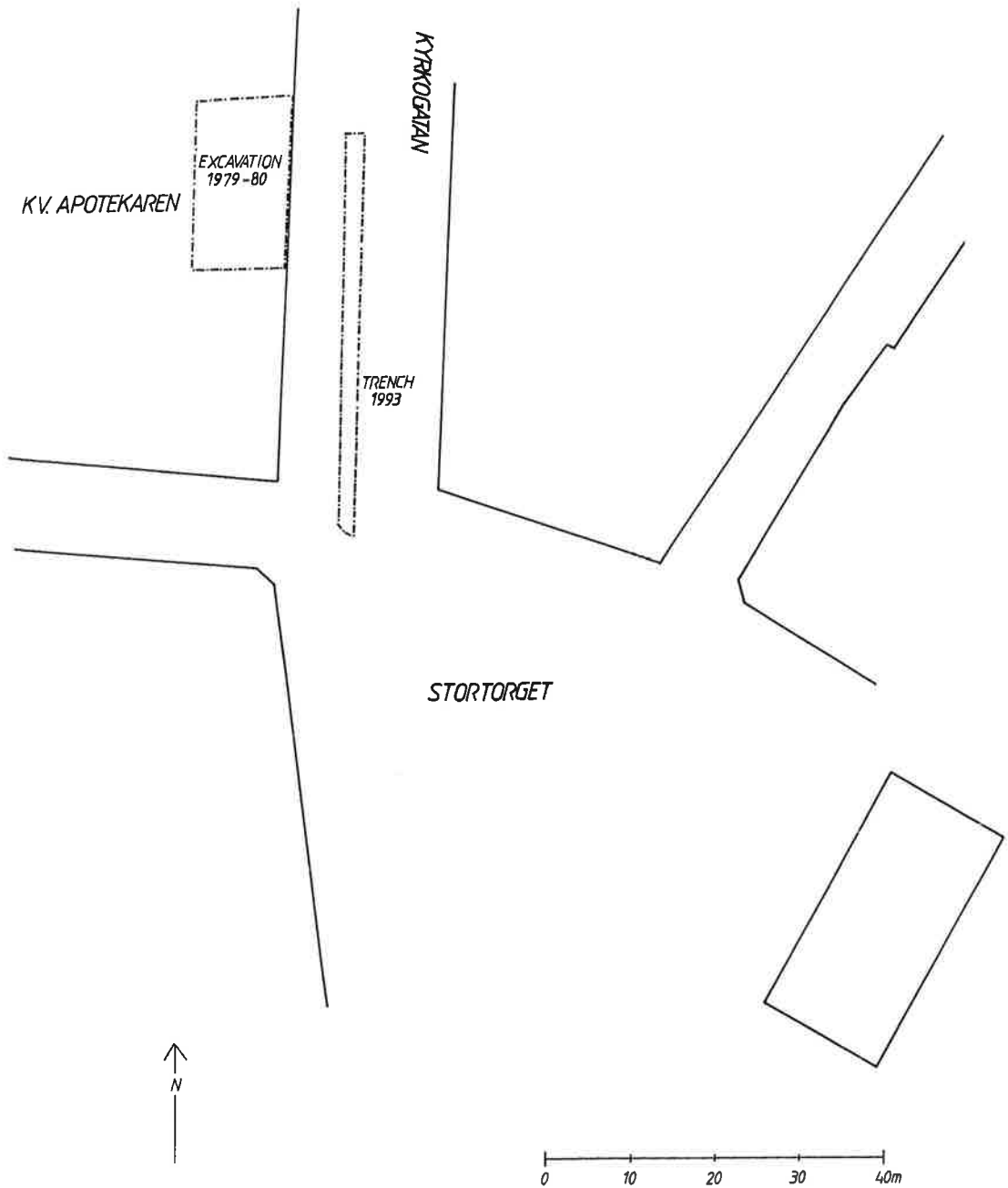


Fig. 2. Plan showing the excavated area in the Apotekaren quarter 1979-80 and the trenches excavated Kyrkogatan and Stortorget 1993.

of projects. A house would then represent a station for specially designated projects that required both time and space. A systematic registration and investigation of all the remains from construction of houses with the purpose of getting a deeper sequence of the habitation development could provide material for such an analysis. We have not yet had the means in time to perform such a detailed study, but a tentative comparison between habitation levels and street levels can be suggested.

The stratified habitation levels from the house-lots have been compared with the stratigraphy of the street levels detected during the excavation 1993. The excavation in 1993 was occasioned by changes to drainage system. The depth of the trenches was therefore restricted and it was not possible to excavate down to sterile levels. The oldest street level which could be documented can be dated to the beginning of the 12th century. The oldest habitation levels from the house-lots which have been dated to the end of the 10th century and the 11th century can therefore not be linked directly with the street stratigraphy. The layout of the house-lots from these early levels seem to be related and determined by the street, however. There is no reason to assume that the house-lots have preceded the street. It can still be interesting and important to describe the organization of the house constructions on these early habitation levels in order to compare them with younger levels.

End of the 10th century and the 11th century

The habitation levels from the 10th and 11th centuries are characterized by the fragmented remains of wickerwork structures. It has been difficult to discern the various floor levels in these constructions. One of the reasons for these fragmented remains could be that these houses were built with the intention that they would be easy to tear down if new houses were to be built. The houses are also dispersed over the whole house-lot and they seem to have functioned both as workshops and as living quarters.

This organization of the house-lots and how they appear to have functioned show similarities to the results from other excavated early medieval house-lots in Lund.

The size and the function of the house-lots from the late 10th century and the early phase of the 11th century in the Apotekaren quarter are similar to those from the PK-bank tomten in Lund excavated 1974-75 (Mårtensson 1976, pp. 15 ff.). The smaller huts were here centered around one or two larger more massive houses. This way of organizing stations within a domain shows clear similarities to the structure of early medieval rural sites. However, a similar pattern of organizing the house-lots is also found in other urban environments in the 10th and 11th centuries, for example in Hedeby and York (Hall 1994 ; Fehring 1991). Early medieval Lund has been described as a congested rural settlement (Andrén 1985, p. 41).

This brings us again to the question of the foundation of Lund. The spatial organization of the house-lots in Lund shows clear rural traits. This could be interpreted as if the house-lots in Lund represented domains partly controlled by a group of people with strong links to a rural environment. A rural elite in clientship to the king can have played an important role as Lund was founded. The early urbanism in medieval Europe shall perhaps not be seen in contrast to rural development, but as being interrelated with it. An elite that sometimes has been interpreted as being rural may have maintained important interests in the towns as well (Hermelin, in press). If there was a dichotomy between city and countryside at this early phase, it must have been very complex, and the relationship between urban and rural environment must most certainly have undergone important changes during the Middle Ages.

Early medieval Lund may therefore in our eyes appear as an enlarged rural village, but it is of course too hasty to assume that Lund has been perceived as a village during this period. The density of the house-lots that were linked with a street grid, still represent something quite new

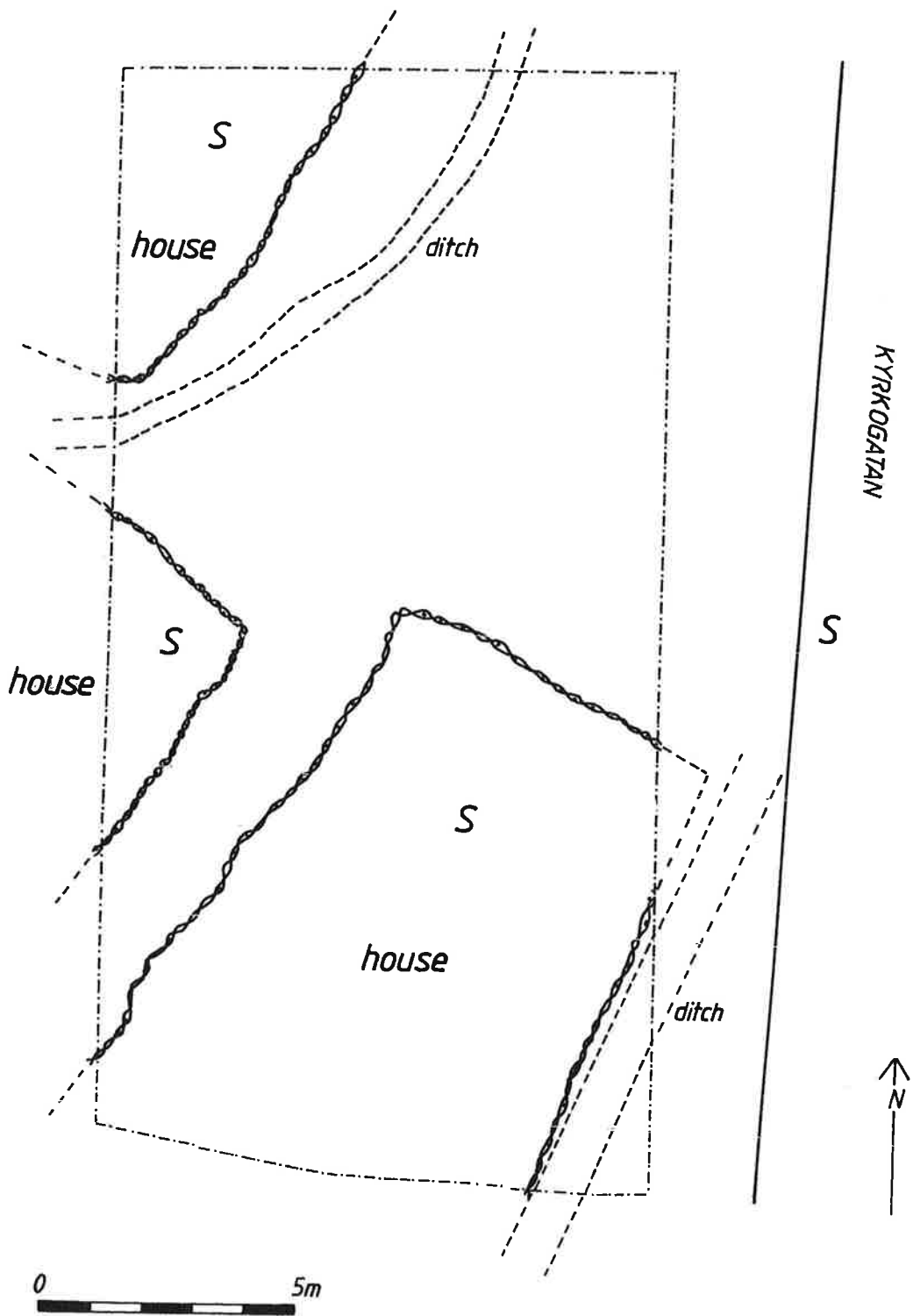


Fig. 3. The Apotekaren quarter in the 10th–11th century. Plan showing a reconstruction of the dispersal of structures on the house-lots. (The letter S shows a spatial unit which we have designated as Station)

and quite different in its time. This specific structuring of the settlement must have had consequences for the everyday trajectories. The trajectories in Lund have differed from those in a rural village, and it is plausible that these created the foundation for an "urban" perception.

The streets could be an expression of this. There are no signs that the houses were deliberately situated along and facing the street. However, the house-lots appear to have been laid out parallel and in accordance with the street from the beginning. The borders between the house-lots were marked by shallow trenches. The border between the street and the house-lot was also indicated by a trench. The areas on both sides of Stortorget and along Stora Södergatan seem to have been planned and settled at least before 1020. The street functioned as a central axis for this settlement and may have done so for the assumed habitation in the late 10th century as well. Stora Södergatan have from early on functioned as fairway to the south. The excavation of the street in 1993 did not allow an investigation of the earliest levels of the street. These levels lacked paving according to Andrén.

The beginning of the 12th century

The earliest street levels which could be documented during the excavation in 1993 can be dated to the beginning of the 12th century (Fig. 4). This street level consists of a stone pavement covered by a lime-mortar layer which can be tied to the construction of the Cathedral. This level can be linked to other excavations, for example an excavation conducted 1913 in the S:t Laurentius quarter on the eastern side of Kyrkogatan. Here the remains of a massive stone edifice were found situated in the western part of the house-lot. The stone surface in Apotekaren appears here too, but a part of the street in this area seems to have functioned as a courtyard for the stone house. The settlement on the house-lots seems to have shifted during this phase. In the northern part we still find wickerwork constructions. A house built with pallisade walls,

placed on a wooden sill beam on top of a preserved stone sill, had been built on one of the house-lots. This building technique differs from earlier construction methods. The vicinity to the Cathedral, the king's house and the arch-bishop's castle may have influenced the new character of the settlement.

The stone-paved street was almost free of artefacts, and it seems as if there were specific efforts to keep the street area clean. Stortorget and Södergatan-Kyrkogatan may have been covered in large parts with this stone pavement, according to Andrén (Andrén 1980, p. 56). These areas have been kept open and free from settlement. The stone pavement, the open character of the street and the triangular square contributed to the monumental impression. The building of a major cathedral in stone and the stone paving of the streets could be interpreted as an attempt to emphasize and increase the monumental and urban aspects of Lund. It is at this time that Lund becomes the centre of an archdiocese.

The latter half of the 12th century

The pavement of the streets was changed in the middle of the 12th century. During the excavation of 1993 remains of large wooden structures were found on a stratigraphic level above the stone pavement from the early part of the 12th century. These wooden structures consisted partly of massive beams. Similar beams have been found in earlier excavations on Stortorget and were then interpreted as the remains of market huts. The results from the excavation of 1993 established that these wooden constructions are more likely the remains of a timber paving that covered both Stortorget and Stora Södergatan. The timber paving can be dated to the latter half of the 12th century. The streets and the square, in other words remained open, but the pavement have changed. The surface of this street level has not rendered many finds, so it seems as if the interest in keeping the street clean persisted. The remains of the timber pavement are mainly oak,

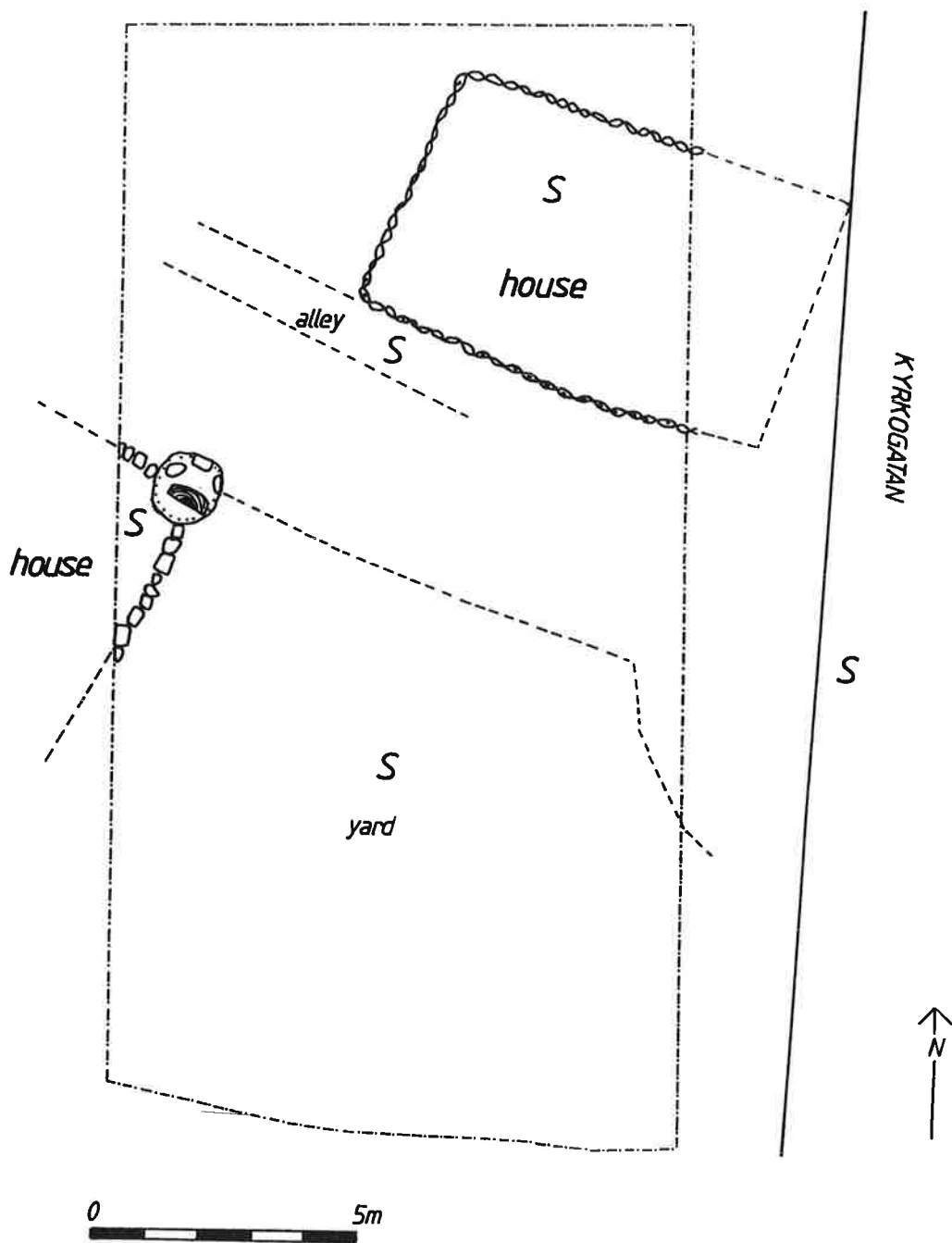


Fig. 4. The Apotekaren quarter in the first half of the 12th century. Plan showing a reconstruction of the dispersal of structures on the house-lots. (The letter S shows a spatial unit which we have designated as Station)

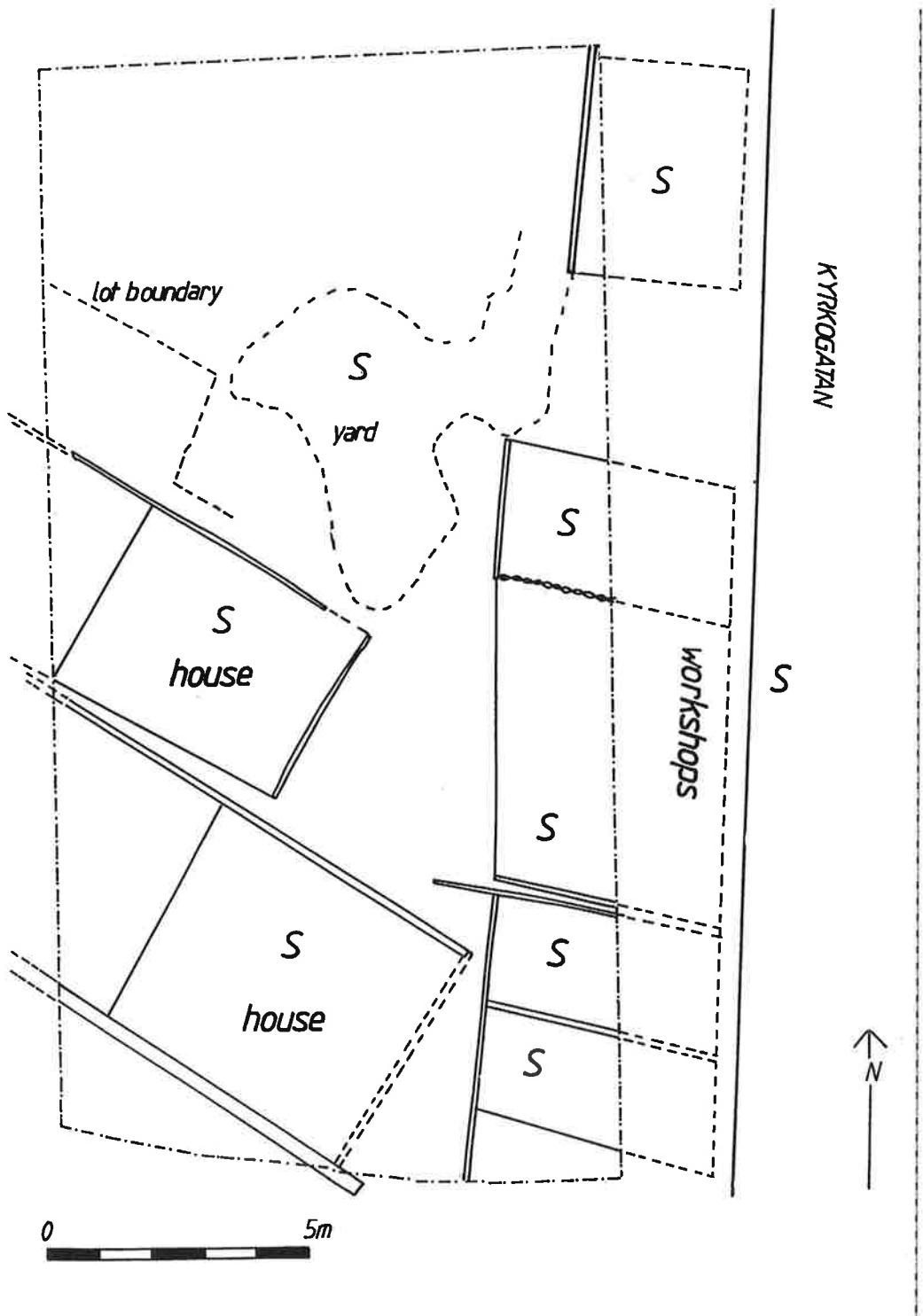


Fig. 5. The Apotekaren quarter in the latter half of the 12th century. Plan showing a reconstruction of the dispersal of structures on the house-lots. (The letter S shows a spatial unit which we have designated as Station)

and the use of this material, which we can assume was becoming scarce at this time, appears to have maintained the monumental aspect of the street.

The settlement structure on the house-lots changed radically during this phase, however. We have reason to believe that the organization of the stations on the house-lots transformed. This may have caused new patterns of trajectories, but also a changing perception. Workshops and market stalls were now situated along and facing the street. It had become important to expose the buildings towards the street. Along the street we now find houses built in standing timber technique. This probably reflects the initial phase of the intensified craft production during the high Middle Ages.

The different stations on the house-lots are more carefully planned, and the new organization of production was to involve a competition of space. The area facing the street became of an increasing interest. An element in the urban environment was to involve a certain scarcity of space. This successively influenced the activities and maintenance of the street. The street environment in the immediate vicinity to the house-lots show signs from deposits of craft refuse. It does not seem as if the area with workshops along the street was marked with any delimiting constructions, unlike the habitation area behind. The house-lots from this phase were divided into long narrow units divided by trenches running east-west.

The 13th century

Craft activities increased during the 13th century and during this phase the street pavement was changed once more. The new street level was paved with slag, presumably a by-product of the craft activity. This slag, however, must first have been stored somewhere on the house-lots. These depots of by-products, or of refuse, can be regarded as stations in the domains of the house-lots. We could thereby discern a number of varying stations which all are interrelated, the workshops, the depots, the living quarters and

the street. A closer stratigraphic analysis of the site formation could shed light on this. The separation between workshops and living quarters could depend on the risk of fire. Many of the workshops show traces of fire and of rebuilding. The competition for space and activities transformed the structuring of stations and thereby also the trajectories. This is on the other hand founded on what seems to be a demand for increased production. The perception of the street seems to have changed as well. The monumental aspects do not seem to have been as important any more. The finds of artefacts and refuse on this street level are plentiful. Efforts to keep the street clean and free from refuse appear to have become less ambitious. The function of the street is closely intertwined with the activity on the work shops and house-lots.

This brings us once again to the question of domains. Who controls the activity on the street and in the workshops? Does the street and the workshops constitute a common domain or are they separate? How does the living quarters relate to the work shops and are they within the same domain? Is there any dichotomy between these domains? A closer study of the artefacts found in Kyrkogatan could shed a light on this. The artefacts prove to be related to weaponry and horse equipment. One could very well imagine that the workshops have supplied goods demanded by a central authority needing equipment to maintain an armed force. The interdependent relationship between the central authority and those performing and organizing the craft can have created a complex composition and hierarchy of domains.

During the later phases of the Middle Ages living quarters and larger houses were also built along the streets. This again show a new perception of the street. The living quarters were to face the street in the late Middle Ages. The pavement on the street was to change again. More artefacts coming from the private household are found on these street levels. The streets in the 14th century were also to be fully paved with another type of

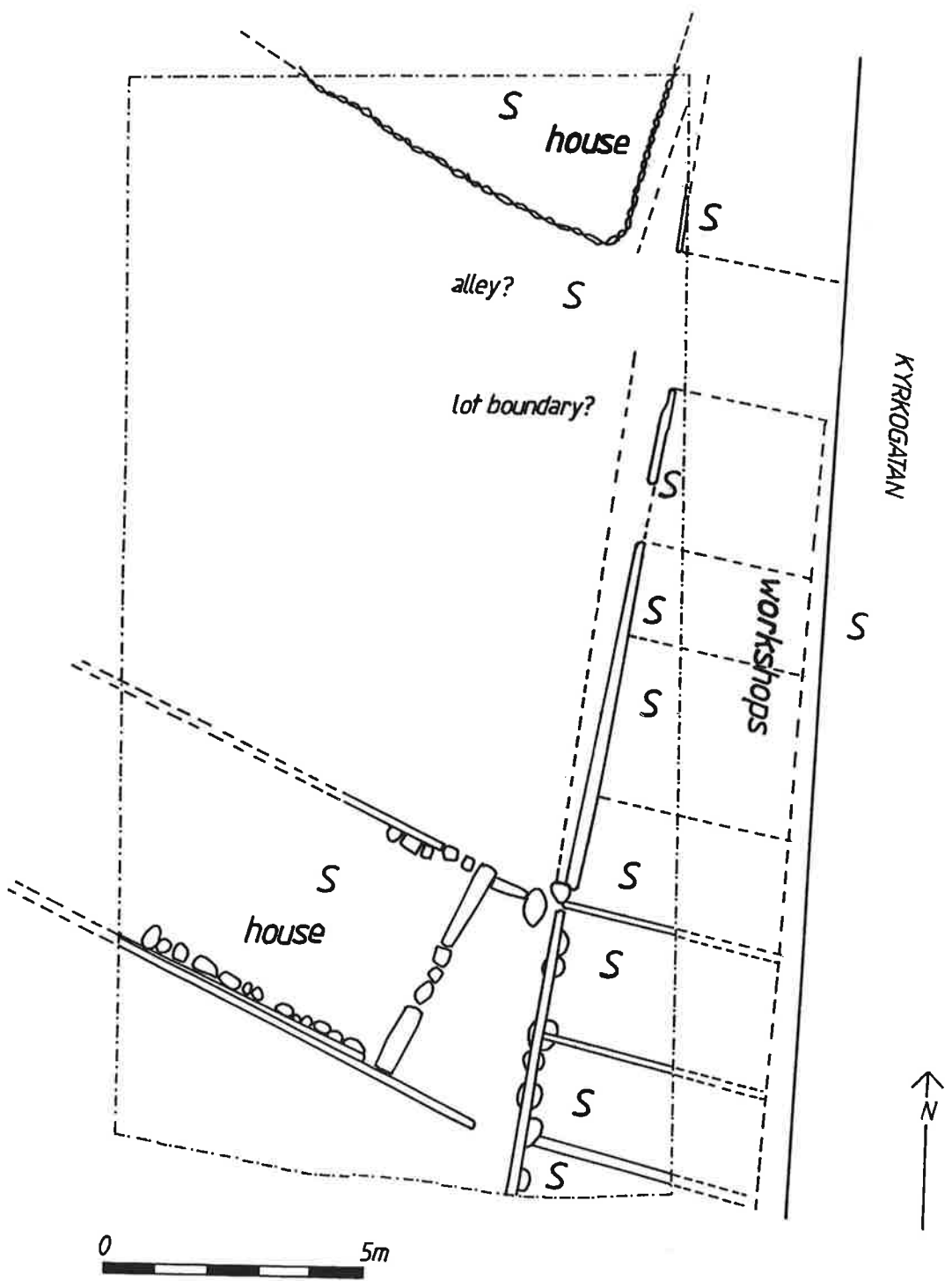


Fig. 6. The Apotekaren quarter in the 13th century. Plan showing a reconstruction of the dispersal of structures on the house-lots. (The letter S shows a spatial unit which we have designated as Station)

refuse: leather. These layers consisting of cut-off leather are massive and thick. A closer and meticulous analysis of the pottery found on the street can, however, give us a more detailed idea of the street maintenance and the control of domains in the late high Middle Ages and late Middle Ages.

A detail analysis of medieval pottery found on Kyrkogatan in Lund

An analysis of the pottery discard found in the research trench dug in Kyrkogatan in 1993 show interesting results. One trench, which was designated H, bordered on the house-lots in the Apotekaren quarter, excavated 1979-1980. Most of the pottery analysed dates to the late High Middle Ages in the 13th century and to the late Middle Ages, 14th to 15th centuries. Specific attention was brought to cross-fitting sherds in the analysis. The trench was documented with help of Harris's matrix and the context numbers refer to the excavation report (Eriksdotter 1994).

It was noted, as the potter from trench H was being examined, that there was a large amount of cross-fitting sherds and that many of these sherds came from the same vessels. The two types of

cross fits have been treated as being equivalent, even if there are certain differences in source value, and they will be described below as "connections". One sherd unit designates sherds with the same find code, with technical specifications which show that they are of the same fabric and sherdthickness. Out of 2003 sherds, 556, or 27 per cent, accounted for 162 different connections. Whether this is a high or a normal level is difficult to say, since no similar systematic analysis has been done on material from Lund.

We worked only within the limits of the trench when we tried to do a primary reconstruction of the distribution pattern. The size of the trench was, as always in the case of rescue archaeology, determined by non-archaeological factors. Archaeological investigations are therefore hampered by modern technical and administrative conditions. These conditions can affect our perception of the archaeological context and thus also our interpretation in a way that we are unaware of.

The first reconstruction of the distribution pattern is shown in fig. 7. The sherds were assumed to have been distributed along the trench, very much in a similar way the modern traffic runs along Kyrkogatan. The trench was also dug along the modern street. However, a

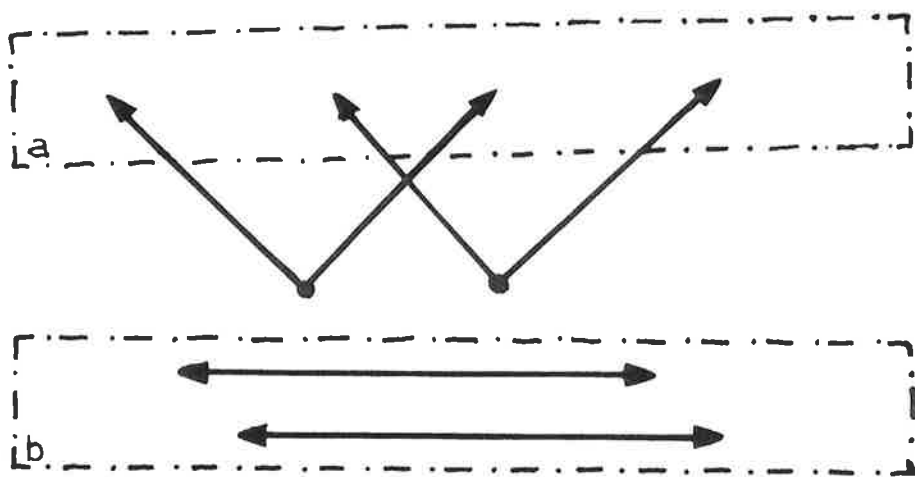


Fig. 7. A model showing how the distribution pattern of medieval pottery found in the street was perceived after the first preliminary observations.

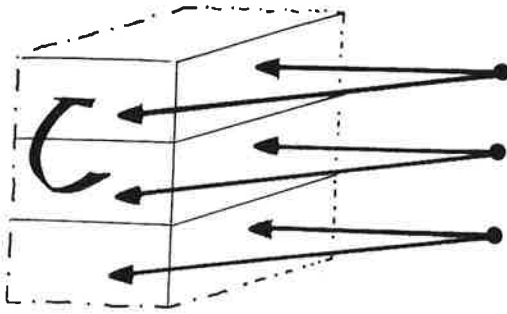


Fig. 8. A model showing how the distribution pattern of medieval pottery found in the street was interpreted after a second more detailed and revised analysis.

secondary, more thorough analysis, made us reconsider this primary reconstruction of the distribution pattern and another model of interpretation was constructed. The continued analysis showed that the sherds most likely came from the house lots bordering on the street and that the pottery had purposely been put on the street in a series of separate events. The second revised reconstruction of the distribution pattern is shown in fig. 8.

We find this second model more convincing on basis of the following arguments: The majority of the material consists of large sherds with sharp fractures. Studies of the pottery from Västra Mårtensgatan show that material from street environments, which accumulated over longer periods, show a high degree of wear and fragmentation. This is not the case in Kyrkogatan.

Only small quantities of pottery were found in the southernmost part of trench H. This part of the trench is situated in a section where Kyrkogatan and Klostergatan cross. There are no house-lots directly bordering on this area, and it can be considered as more pure street ground, which can explain the small quantity of pottery. Nineteen units, or less than 1 per cent, of the pottery come from this area of the trench. A closer study of the connections indicates that the pottery was deposited as a series of separate events, and not as a gradual accumulation on the find spot.

A number of possible interesting interpretations and hypotheses can be put forward on the basis of this preliminary analysis of pottery sherds. The sherds show a low degree of wear, which indicates that the pottery was not object to wear or redeposition before it got on the street. We can assume that the time interval between breakage and deposition have been short. The pottery is also very coherent as regards types and dating, consisting mainly of local glazed jugs and pots and stoneware from the Rhineland and Lower Saxony. If we do not take in account that the pottery might have been broken on a large scale just before the deposition, then we can assume that the sherds were in some manner protected as they were deposited. This implies that the sherds have been gathered on purpose to be used for a reconstruction of the street. A possible function for this may have been drainage.

This pottery discard was most likely regarded as a resource, in accordance with the purpose of its use. This discard would have been regarded as a resource, in the same manner as the various kinds of craft refusal, such as slag and leather, which were also used for street construction.

There is a possibility that the material we perceive as waste, was resources being stored. It can therefore not be fitted on a simplistic scale of pure and impure, and therefore becomes a factor which increases the complexity of the spatial analysis of house lots. The presence of such specifically stored "waste" have just recently been brought to attention in Lund. The presence of reused tiles, used for stabilizing purposes, found at the excavation of the Myntet quarter can be seen as an example giving further support to this hypothesis. The traces of erosion at Myntet show that the tiles were stored for a longer period before they were reused (Larsson 1993, p.155).

Another possible conclusion is that the reconstruction of the street was the responsibility of the proprietors of the house-lots along the street. This implies a difference from the original construction of the square and the neighboring streets, which can be assumed to have been

directed by a central command, since these works must have required large amounts of released surplus resources.

Is this change also a change of meaning? Could it be the expression of a meaning created within a more commercial secular context, rather than being formed within a regally or ecclesiastically dominated society? The changes at least indicate a changing perception of the street, a changing perception of the world.

Conclusion

It is suggested that an important measure of symbolism may have played a central role for the layout of the streets in medieval Lund. This symbolism may have been based on a need to demonstrate the authority of the church and the king. However, it should not be forgotten that this symbolism is also an expression of a general outlook on the world. An outlook which was to influence the general perception of the world, meaning also the everyday perception of space.

The concepts private and public are sometimes discussed in the analysis of domain control. However, we do not necessarily have to assume that it has existed a dichotomy between private and public in the Middle Ages. Indeed, the present modern connotations of concepts such as private and public might not be adequate when we discuss the control of domains in the Middle Ages. The complexity of this question is shown when one tries to interpret the changes of trajectories in Lund.

The archaeological material shows the intricate relationships between the house-lots and the street. Should we define the house-lot as a private domain or a public? Is the street public or private domain? The answer to these questions naturally depends on how we define the concepts public and private. Was there even a distinction between what we consider private and public in medieval time? We must perhaps consider the matter from another aspect. The central authority of church and king created the conditions for

the rise of what we could call the merchant. The domains of the central authorities of king and church were tightly intertwined and interdependent with those of the merchant.

The question we actually discuss may therefore not be whether the street is a public or a private domain. What we maybe should ask ourselves instead is how the street was perceived from another point of view. In the early phase as the city was founded, the central authority found it of importance to display itself monumentally. This manifestation may not only have been a demonstration of power, it can also have been an expression conveying references to new ideological concepts. These political and ideological references might have been less important to emphasize once they had been fully internalized and accepted in a later part of the Middle Ages. The authority of the Christian ideology probably constituted a natural part of the common outlook on the world.

This outlook may have influenced the unconscious perception of the world, which in turn might have constructed a merchant mentality. It is then not unrealistic to assume that the original symbolic monumental aspects of Stora Södergatan faded in the later medieval periods because it was becoming more secular. This does not have to be interpreted as a reflection of a power conflict between public and private, between a central authority and merchants. It could instead imply a general shift in perception, in which all members of society took part, more or less consciously, but as active agents. The street was no longer perceived as a monument dedicated to the heavenly Jerusalem and a holy king, but it was perceived by both princes, priests, and merchants alike as a strip dedicated to industry and profit.

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