

Who Wants to Live in a Bishop's Town?

On Archaeology and Change in Linköping

BY GÖRAN TAGESSON

Abstract

Tagesson, Göran. 1997. Who Wants to Live in a Bishop's Town? On Archaeology and Change in Linköping. Lund Archaeological Review 3 (1997), pp. 105–119.

How important were the church and the bishops for medieval urbanization in Sweden? How were relations between the ecclesiastical institutions and the secular society in towns dominated by the church? These questions are discussed in this article, dealing with the archaeological record of the diocesan centre of Linköping, Östergötland. Changes in the urban settlement are easily recognized in the archaeological excavations, although not previously seen in historical research. This initiates further questions about late medieval urban development in Sweden, previously almost totally neglected by archaeologists, and questions about the relation between history and archaeology.

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One cannot mention Swedish urban archaeology and at the same time hope to be off the beaten track! Swedish medieval archaeology was almost identical with urban archaeology in the 1970s and 1980s. Medieval archaeology underwent almost uncontrolled growth during the clearance of city centres in those days, and in its wake followed intensive debate and research about the concept of urbanization, the growth of urban centres and their physical appearance.

As a first step to structuring the rather drowsy urban archaeology, the Central Board of National Antiquities started the project "The Medieval Town" in the mid 1970s. More than a decade after its completion, this pioneering effort of sampling and presenting the historical and archaeological situation in the 76 medieval towns of the present-day Sweden and Finland still stands out.

The project leader Hans Andersson presented a nowadays almost classical urban definition in three parts. The division of the urban centre into functional, topographical and administrative/legislative criteria provided archaeology with a method for problematizing the growth of the urban centres in a very fruitful way (Andersson 1979). Today we recognize the process of urbanization as a very lengthy story. The function of "town" is different in different historical situations.

A historical approach including the aspect of a discontinuous development of the urban concept has been emphasized in Lund, for example by Andrén (1985) in his survey of Danish medieval towns, and Ersgård (1988), concerning the two specific towns of Skanör and Falsterbo. In their analyses the urban centres and their relations to the medieval society and its actors over

a longer period of time are brought into focus. The town and its functions become a part of a greater totality and with a greater emphasis on the aspect of change.

In central Sweden the interest in urban archaeology has so far concentrated largely on the act of urbanization, that is, the question of when, how and why the urban centres arose. Today we have a good knowledge of how the townscape developed during the 13th century. Many of the towns had early geographical, administrative and economic functions. In towns with a good archaeological record (e.g. Söderköping) it has been possible to study closely the development from a pre-urban centre to a densely populated town. Traces of laid-out plots and streets in accordance with historical records are considered to be a very deliberate process, when a nobleman or king had the need to assemble different central functions in one place (Hasselmo 1987, 1992).

Although the interest has been focused on the making of the towns, the long perspective of the change of townscapes during the Middle Ages and later on has not been studied as intensively in central Sweden. From an archaeological point of view the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance period have been treated in a more summary fashion. The project "The Medieval Town" viewed the late medieval towns as inferior to the high medieval towns, and stressed that the newly founded towns in the 15th century were either an expression of a specific historical event (such as the monastic town of Vadstena) or were only important to the local surroundings (such as Eksjö, Gävle, Vimmerby, etc.) (Andersson 1979, pp. 32, 1990, p. 67).

In her article in 1992 Birgitta Broberg emphasizes the importance of the late medieval towns as a research object and points out that 50 per cent of new towns were founded in the period 1350–1550. The continuity with the High Middle Ages is stressed, and she sees the new towns as being incorporated in the total high medieval urban topography (Broberg 1992). It is

very typical that the late medieval townscape is discussed in terms of the urban newcomers, while the internal development in the older towns is not mentioned. Andrén, on the other hand, has emphasized the internal development and the change towards increased independence and greater differences between the town and the countryside during the same period in Denmark. The new towns are founded in marginal areas, which indicates an expansion outside the old urban area (Andrén 1985).

Urban research has as yet been fully concentrated on the town as a structural phenomenon, while the internal content has received less attention. This is somewhat of a paradox, since the possibilities of the archaeological record are at the micro-level. The investigations in the towns often yield rich and manifold material that could be used for discussions and interpretations of the medieval town at many different levels. Already in 1981 the project "The Medieval Town" declared that the most important task for the future urban archaeology was to see the town as an example among others of the development and changes of the society in the Middle Ages. As an example of what has to be done, the importance of studying ecological conditions and the professionalization of handicraft is emphasized (Andersson & Redin 1981, pp. 65 ff.). We could also add to the agenda the changes in the material culture of the households, the difference between private and public in the towns, with the overall purpose of studying the changes in the settings of the town in relation to its different functions in the society.

The medieval town of Linköping

Linköping, situated centrally in the province of Östergötland, was an ancient central place in the province and the diocese. The town was one of two Swedish towns neglected in the "The Medieval Town" project. Its role in Swedish medieval archaeology has not been very distinguished, and if a report on Linköping had been published in

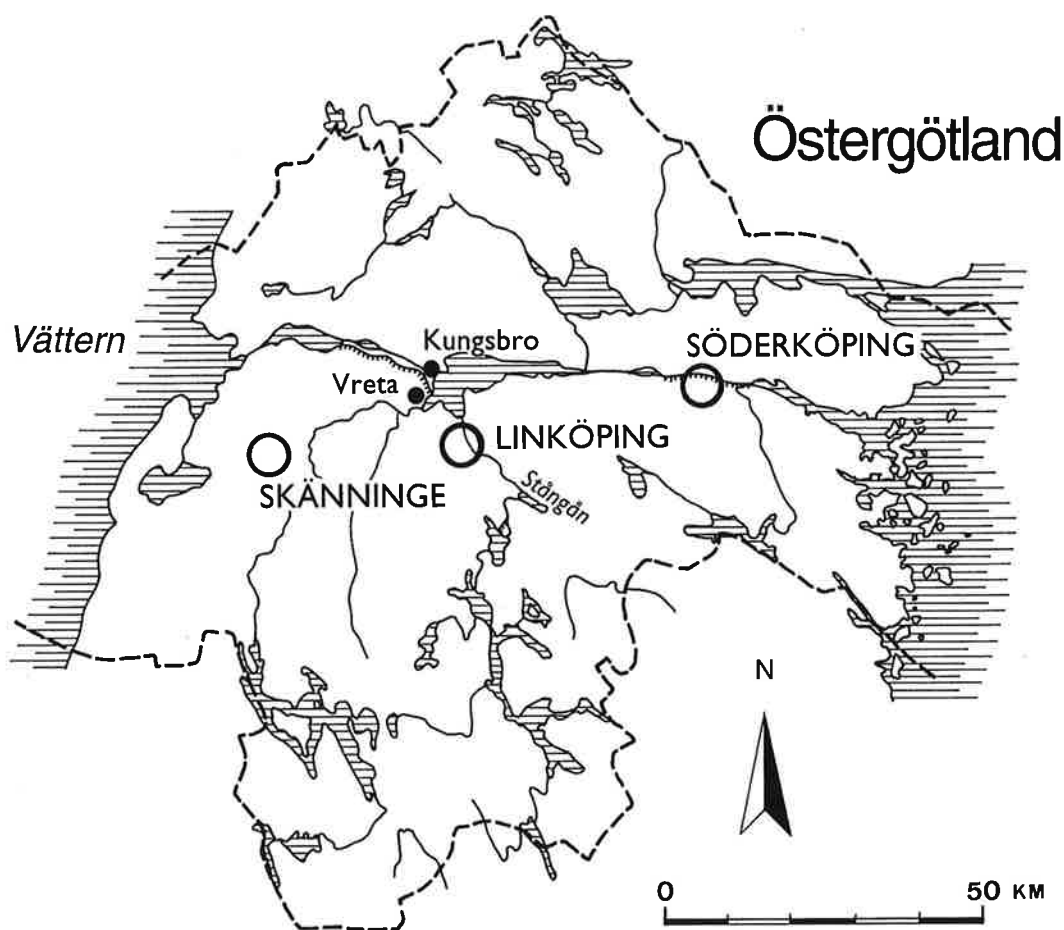


Fig. 1. Linköping and the province of Östergötland, drawing by Mari-Anne Grönwall.

the project it would certainly have been structured as follows.

Linköping is conceived as a central place in Östergötland, in the middle of a wealthy and fertile plain. If we look at the prehistoric monuments, the place is situated on the border between an inhabited area and a forested area which was colonized in the Early Middle Ages.

The town is said to have arisen at an ancient district court-site and market-place, a place where the road between Söderköping and Skänninge (*Erikskatan*, the route of the king's progress) crossed other important roads. At the old Stångebro on the north-eastern outskirts of today's Linköping, the road crossed the river Stångån. Runic

stones have been found at this spot, and archaeological excavations have unearthed prehistoric cemeteries and settlements, as well as the biggest stone ship in Östergötland (Helander & Zetterlund 1995; Borna Ahlqvist & Tollin 1994). This important place near the ford and the bridge over Stångån may have been the oldest court- and market-place in the district.

Later on the market-place was situated at the present market-place, Stora Torget, at the cross-road that became the later town centre (Eriksson 1987). This place is situated on the northern part of a prominent gravel ridge. To the east of the market-place the church of St Lars (Lawrence) was situated, a stone church, probably built at

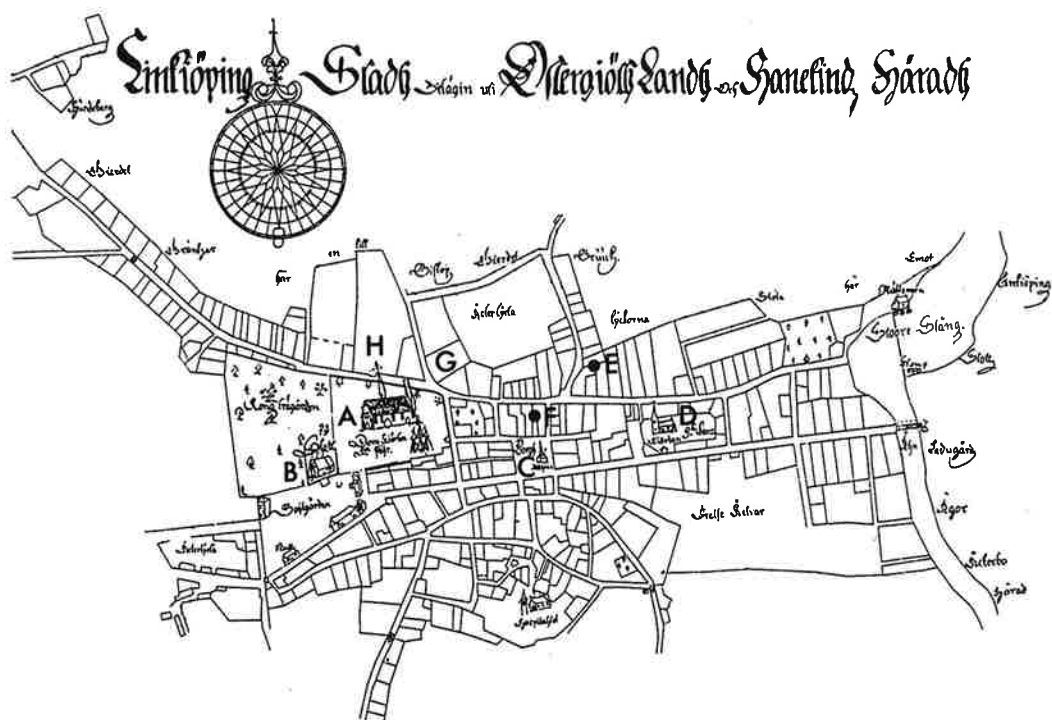


Fig. 2. Linköping 1696. A couple of years before the disastrous fire in 1700, the town still has its medieval character. The picture is, however, a result of hundreds of years of efforts and desires from different actors. A- Cathedral, B- Bishops residence, C- Market place and town hall, D- S Lars church, E- Excavation site at the Brevduvan block, F- Excavation site at the Basfiolen block, G- Vicars residence, the so-called Rhyzeliusgård, H- Franciscan convent.

the beginning of the 12th century and succeeding a wooden church from the 11th century. This wooden structure has not yet been found, but early Christian graves and parts of monuments with runic inscriptions indicate its existence.

The Romanesque church of St Lars was probably erected by a local nobleman or the king in the early 12th century, indicated by both a northern and southern portal and a later western tower. From the 14th century there are written hints about the royal manor of Stång. Its exact situation has not been localized, but it was probably in the Stångebro area, on the other side of the river.

Almost at the same time Linköping became the centre of one of the greatest and most prosperous dioceses in Sweden. In the year 1120 Lin-

köping is mentioned in a list of the dioceses in Sweden (the Florence Document) and in the year 1151 one of the most important ecclesiastical meetings in medieval Sweden took place here. The cathedral of St Per (Peter) was erected at the beginning of the 12th century, placed on the dominant ridge, at the highest point of the later town-area. The foundation of the Romanesque cathedral is still under the present floor and has been investigated and documented several times (Cnattingius *et al.* 1987).

In the 13th century the erection of the present Gothic cathedral was begun and at the same time a chapter – a college of priests – was founded at the cathedral. Every ministry, whether prelate or canon, had its own prebend, i.e., a property or the tithe drawn from it, as its economic base.

Gradually, many clerical residences for the members of the chapter were established in the town, often with stone houses. The establishment of the chapter was a very important step for the church to become independent of the secular power and to have more elaborate services in the cathedral. Most of these foundations were established by the élite, by both secular and clerical noblemen (Schück 1959, pp. 399 ff.).

Linköping is considered to have grown to a densely populated area by the end of the 13th century, the period when most of our medieval towns were founded. The founding of the Franciscan friary in 1287 is strong evidence for this. Friaries are commonly seen as having been placed in an urban context, and there is strong evidence of growth in population and structure at that time (Tagesson 1987). Archaeological evidence for this is sparse, however, which has been explained by the small and qualitatively poor record.

According to the written sources, we can state that the legislative and administrative functions of the town were highly developed about 1300. In the year 1300 there is mention of the assembled urban people and the town seal, in 1303 of the town bailiff, town council and magistrate, and in 1309 of the parish constable (*fjärdingsman*) (Kraft 1975, p. 160).

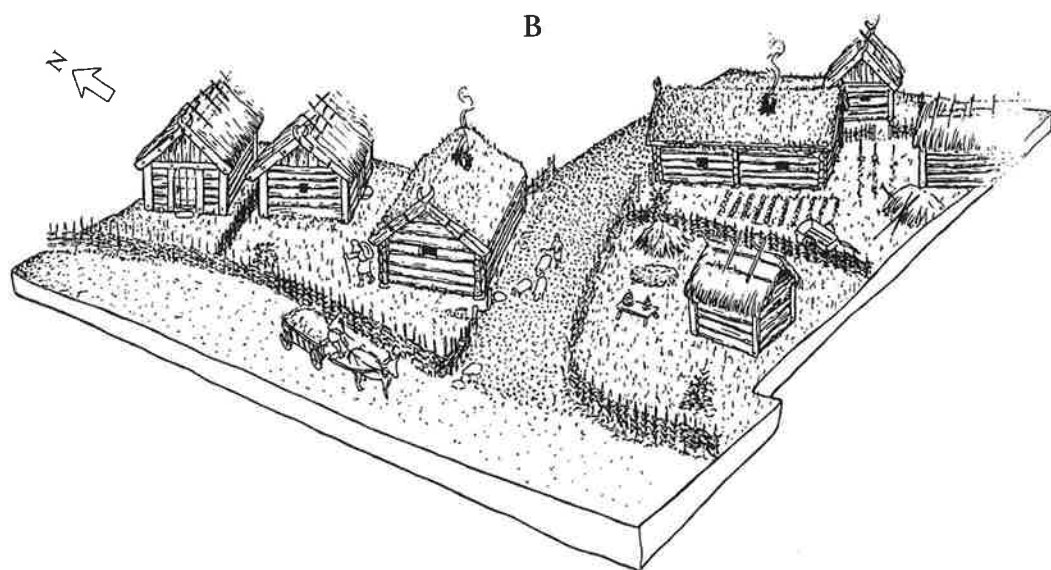
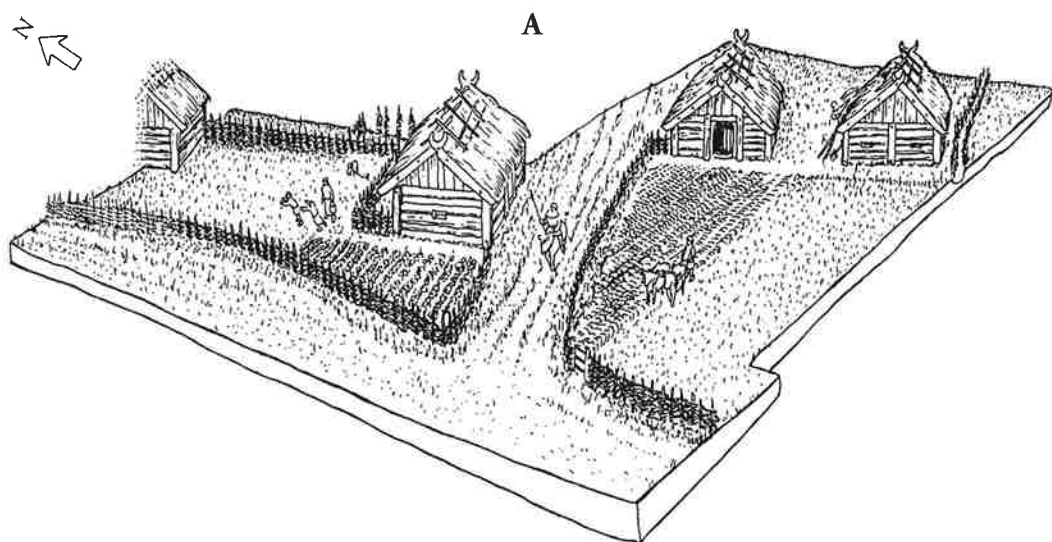
To sum up, almost all scholars seem to agree that the town of Linköping arose out of an ancient central place in Östergötland with roots in prehistoric times, with a market-place and a site for a legal assembly at the crossing of important water and land routes. The place grew to become an ecclesiastical central place, with the presence of the royal power, reflected in the historical records of a royal manor and the still existing church of St Lars. The bishop's church was built and in its shadow an urban community grew up in the 13th century. It is stressed, however, that the development of Linköping is later than other comparable towns and that Linköping continued to be a tiny and unimportant town throughout the Middle Ages.

Urban settlement

What about the archaeological situation in Linköping today? In connection with a research project about medieval Linköping, all archaeological excavations – numbering more than 270 – have been collected and analysed. Activity has been continual since the 1920s, but it was not until 1960 that more extensive excavations were carried out, occasioned by the building programme in the town centre. Before that, and even later on, stone houses and cellars, wells and street pavements were the most frequent objects to be documented. Even if the early excavations used a fairly good methodology, it was not until 1975 that a more modern method of documentation was used, and not until the late 1980s that a proper stratigraphical method came into use.

In the late 1980s some larger excavations were carried out. In the Brevduvan block a 1000 m² large area on the outskirts of medieval Linköping was excavated in 1987 and 1989. The settlement comprised two almost totally uncovered town plots (*gårdar*). They were laid out on a small lane, connected to Gamla Stångsgatan, the main road from the ford/bridge at Stångebro to the market-place and the cathedral. The oldest street can be dated to the 13th century, but it was not until the mid 14th century that the oldest settlement structures were established.

At the end of the 14th century the former extensive settlement structure was altered and two more well-built plots were established. The change can be seen in the appearance and construction of the houses, the establishment of a clearer settlement structure with dwelling-houses along the lane and outbuildings in the yards behind. After this late medieval structure the settlement was followed by a period of stagnation in the late 16th century. When the settlement was about to expand around 1600, the structure of the settlement was completely altered, with the dwelling-houses lying along the main street and the little lane coming out of use (Feldt & Tagesson 1996).



The tendencies from the Brevduvan block may be explained as due to its site on the periphery of the town. At the same time, however, settlement expansion can be seen in other excavations in the centre of the town. In the Basfiolen block, excavations were conducted in 1979 and 1987 on two plots, both showing a more extensive settlement in the 14th century, later followed by a regulation of the plots and settlement expansion at the end of the 14th and beginning of the

15th century. The establishment of the oldest structure in at least one of the plots could be dated as early as the first half of the 14th century. But the reorganization seems to be a parallel phenomenon on all the properties. Even at this central place the change is revealed in changing building techniques and the establishment of a regulated and denser structure (Tagesson 1996).

Earlier excavations give us even more material that could be interpreted in the same way,

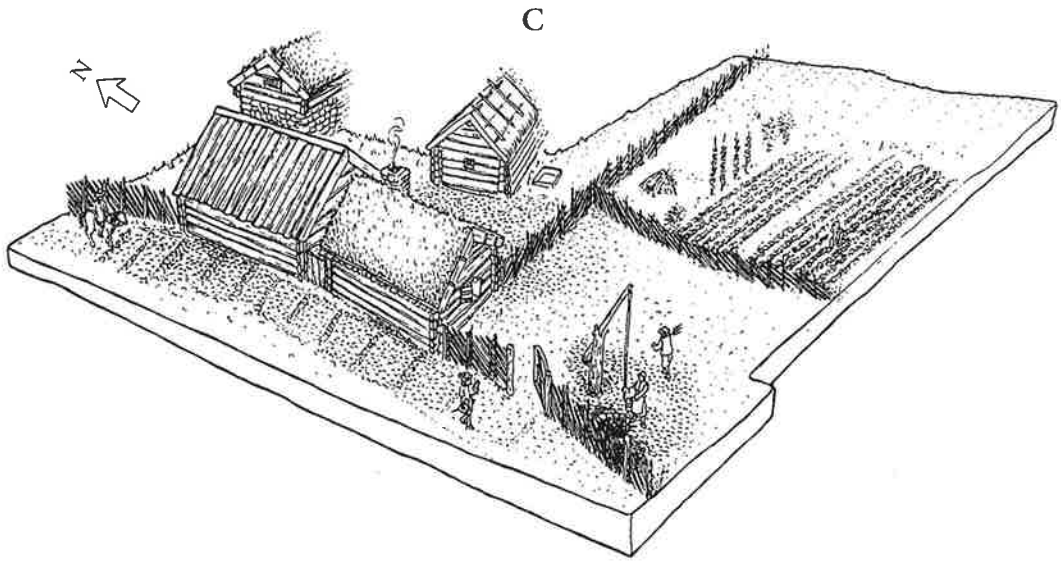


Fig. 3. Different aspects of urban settlement. The Brevduvan block investigated in 1987 and 1989, reconstructions by Mats Gilstring. A: Semi-urban plots in the latter half of the 14th century; B: urban expansion with two urban plots in the 15th century; C: a new layout after the Reformation period ca. 1600.

even if this material is more difficult to use and these tendencies have been neglected until now. In 1961 a small plot in the southern part of the market-place was excavated. The chronology is not clear, but the tendencies towards an extensive settlement in the 14th century followed by an intensive period in the 15th century are still there. We could also mention the Apoteket block, excavated in 1970, with building structures along the former main street near the market-place, and the Däckeln block excavated in 1975, along the main road to the south-east, with tendencies in the same directions.

Material culture and household economy

From the Brevduvan block an analysis of the ceramic material has been made, which indicates that the sherds of pottery were very scarce throughout the 14th century. In the first half of the 14th century the area was used for agriculture and in these cultivated layers a great many artefacts

have been found. It is likely to be part of the manure or rubbish-heaps from the centre of the town which was transported to the fields on the outskirts as soil improvement. The ceramic material may be an indirect indication of the pottery used in the town centre in those days.

When the oldest settlement was established in the middle of the 14th century the amount and combination of different pottery types was not altered. It was still rather tiny and dominated by imported stoneware. It is not until the end of the 14th century that the amount of sherds starts to increase, which is of course due to the establishment of the two properties with their functional households. The amount of pottery sherds continues to increase even in the 15th century and the first half of the 16th century. In the middle of this century we see a marked decrease, followed by an increase when the settlement was newly structured in the 17th century (Feldt & Tagesson 1996, pp. 68 ff.).

The pottery finds seem to support the general picture of change in the settlement pattern at

the end of the 14th and in the second half of the 16th century. It is natural to find changes of this kind in an area on the outskirts of the medieval town, but the same tendencies can be seen in the more centrally located Basfiolen block. An interpretation could be that the use and the supply of pottery were subject to a major change at the end of the 14th century.

It is, however, too simplistic to say that the pottery material is just a simple illustration of the general settlement situation. The change is not only a quantitative increase but also a qualitative change. The material is dominated in the oldest period by imported semi-stoneware and stoneware, but later on the redware starts to dominate from the end of the 14th century. The function of the different pottery types is different. The stoneware represents finer tableware and the redware represents to a greater extent kitchenware, such as vessels for cooking and storage (i.e. tripod pots). There is still discussion as to whether the redware is local produce or not, but its abundance and widespread use could at least in the 16th century be part of the explanation.

If we look at the find material from the Brevduvan block there are other significant differences between the 14th and 15th centuries, that could be part of the discussion of the changes in the material culture. The distribution of window-glass and tiles is especially interesting. These find groups are not represented at all in the 14th century, but begin to appear in the layers from the 15th century. It is not until the end of the 15th century, however, that they appear to be common in both the plots. Common artefacts like iron nails are at the same time more widespread in both plots, even increasing from the 14th to 15th century. The examples of wicker rings (*vidjeringar*) which indicate the presence of fences are on the contrary more abundant in the earlier phases, which may reflect the pre-urban environment and its greater need for physical borders.

Traces of handicraft are left in the waste products from bone and antler. These are abun-

dant in the 14th century, but in its later part they are totally concentrated in the northern property. During the 15th century the finds are more evenly spread in the area. Waste products from metal production, such as slag, have been found concentrated in a place in the northern plot during the 14th and 15th centuries.

Also in the Basfiolen block some tendencies in the find material could be stressed, although the material is less abundant. Objects connected with the household and activities on the plots show an even distribution indicating that the properties were ordinary households before and after the settlement regulation at the end of 14th century. The indications of handicraft show deviations, however, suggesting that metal production was more common in the 14th century than later.

In Linköping some osteological analyses have been carried out. These analyses have been compared to each other in an attempt to discern similarities and deviations between different plots in the town and during different periods. There has been considerable discussion as to whether changes in the settlement pattern are reflected in the osteological material. The results show that the differences between the plots in the Brevduvan block in the 14th and 15th centuries do not seem to be significant as regards the distribution of species or the relation between offal and food remains, although the plots are subject to a major shift in the settlement pattern (Tagesson & Wigh 1994).

There are tendencies over time to an increase in pigs and a decrease in cattle, which could indicate a growing town, with increasing difficulty in keeping bigger animals. The relation between offal and food remains shows that the food remains from cattle decrease while the amount of remains from pigs and sheep/goats is due to variations in the plots. One would have expected an increase in food remains that would show that a larger amount of meat was produced and slaughtered in the countryside and then transported and sold in the town in a period of urban

expansion. On the contrary, the analyses seem to indicate an increasing urban production of meat and at the same time variations between different plots in the town.

These tendencies in the urban environment could be compared to two bishops residences, in Linköping and in Bro (present-day Kungsbro) in Vreta Kloster parish, some ten kilometres north-east of Linköping. In Bro an osteological analysis from a rubbish heap dated to the 15th and 16th centuries shows an inverted result compared to the Brevduvan block. The tendencies show a preponderance for offal, which indicates that the farm produced more meat than it could consume. This could be an example of the relationship between the town and the surrounding countryside (Wigh 1996; Tagesson 1997).

A body of osteological material which can probably be connected to the bishop's residence in Linköping shows an even relation between offal and food remains, which may indicate that the farm was self-supporting with cattle, whether it was produced on the town farm or brought as tithes to the residence (Sten 1991; Tagesson & Wigh 1994). It is especially interesting to compare the sizes of animals in town and countryside in this case, since the size of the cattle in the town residence in Linköping seems to be comparable to that of the cattle at the residence of Bro, while the cattle in the secular plots in the Brevduvan block are significantly smaller. These results show very clearly that it is risky to equate the economy of the bishop and the church with the economy of the town.

To sum up, we have obtained a picture of the material culture that differs somewhat from the picture of a dramatic change in the urban settlement. The material reflecting the content and function of the household shows that the plots in the Basfiolen block were normal households both before and after the settlement expansion, but with more indications of handicraft in the 14th century. In the Brevduvan block, the increase in find material between the 14th and 15th centuries shows the establishment of households at the end

of the 14th century, but with certain internal differences. The northern plot is a typical handicraft plot, while the southern plot has a somewhat upper-class profile, with finds of window-glass and tiles, especially in the 15th century. In the 16th century the plots seem to be more socially equal.

The study of the household economy and the patterns of consumption on the plots in the Brevduvan block shows a rather complicated and composite pattern. Some tendencies show changes due to settlement change, such as the decrease in the amount of cattle and the increase of meaty parts of pigs and sheep/goat. At the same time, the amount of food remains of cattle decreases, which may indicate that the cattle bones found on the plots really were produced and held at the plots. The distribution of offal and food remains on the plots seems to indicate that the urban farms had different consuming habits and different economies.

The osteological material shows on the whole that the changes in keeping of animals on the plots and the consumption patterns were not subject to the dramatic changes seen in the settlement patterns and regulations. Obviously settlement underwent a structural change, while the keeping of animals and the consumption patterns changed much more slowly.

Bishop and town

From the previous analyses we learn that archaeology gives us greater opportunities to study the process of urbanization in detail. There are differences between the plots in the town on different structural levels. There are also differences between written sources and archaeology. How can this be explained and how can we obtain a new and more differentiated picture of the medieval town of Linköping?

The question of the urban development has to be connected and compared to the development of the institutional structure and economy of the church. The history of the church and the

diocese has been scrutinized in a dissertation by Professor Hermann Schück entitled *Ecclesia Lincopensis* (1959). The history of the ecclesiastical institutions is penetrated as well as the history of the individual bishops. The spiritual significance of the town should also be mentioned in this respect. Anders Fröjmark (1993, pp. 129 ff.) has studied the promotion of Bishop Nicolaus Hermanni and the efforts to have him canonized, and then make Linköping into a centre for pilgrimage in the 15th century. This may be compared to the progress of the building of the cathedral.

The agrarian crisis and the Black Death in the middle of the 14th century brought about a decline in Linköping, which is easy to read in the history of the building of the cathedral. The huge construction programme initiated at the beginning of the 13th century was stopped in the middle of the 14th century. The work was not taken up again until the first decades of the 15th century, during the reign of Bishop Knut Bosson. It was not until the reign of Bishop Henrik Tide-mansson (1465–1500) that the cathedral was completed (Cnattingius 1987, pp. 242 ff.).

Another phenomenon underlining the expansion of the late medieval period in Linköping is the great amount of stone houses and stone cellars, most of them probably built during 15th and 16th centuries. The history of some of the buildings has been investigated, such as the cathedral school and the bishop's residence. The majority of the buildings, however, are more anonymous, with their chronology being a hard problem to solve.

In the written sources there is a clear tendency towards concentrations of ecclesiastical resources in the centre of the diocese during the Late Middle Ages. The number of ecclesiastical institutions was continually increasing throughout the Middle Ages and culminated in the 15th and early 16th centuries. The bishop's table (the economy of the bishop's office) was changing from the high medieval structure with a large number of administrative farms and residences around the large

diocese for collecting rents and tithes, to a late medieval structure with fewer but bigger residences. The administration was rationalized and taxes were increasingly paid in cash. A very clear concentration on the residence in Linköping can be seen (Schück 1959, pp. 375, 386 ff.). A similar tendency to growing importance for the see and the town can be read in the ecclesiastical institutions. The dependence of the city on the neighbouring countryside is also reflected in the nearest bishop's residence in Bro, as the osteological material mentioned above (Tagesson 1997).

There may seem to be a simple relation between the urban expansion and the building of stone houses and the cathedral, but still the relationship between the economy of the town and the church is very unclear. The interdependence may be much more intricate. On the other hand there are signs of polarizations between the secular and the ecclesiastical parts of the town. From the 14th century there are written sources mentioning prebendal institutions owning properties and plots at the market-place and in other central parts of the town. The expansion of the secular part of the town seems to be concentrated in the east and north, while the ecclesiastical sphere seems to be concentrated in the area around the cathedral. The distribution of the stone houses seems to be clearly concentrated in the western part of the town. Many of these stone houses are likely to be the main house at these prebendal sites.

Another sign of growing differences between the ecclesiastical and the secular world in the town are two major institutional buildings. The town hall seems to have been built at the end of the 15th century, placed at the market-place as a symbol of the secular and independent town. The other building was found by chance in 1988, lying just north-east of the cathedral, inside the wall of the cemetery. On the basis of two different masons' signs in a staircase leading from the ground floor to the cellar, the house can be dated as contemporary with the completion of the Late

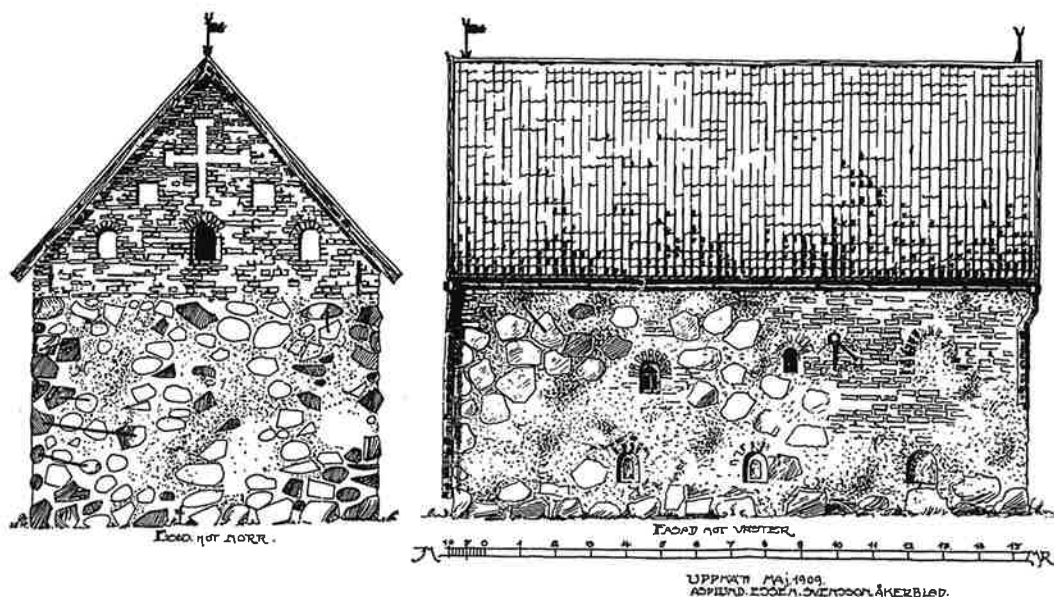


Fig. 4. Rhyzeliusgården, one of the best preserved stone buildings in Linköping, probably 15th-century and a good representative of the plentiful late medieval stone buildings in the bishop's town.

Gothic eastern chancel of the cathedral in the 1490s. This building has left no written hints about its use, but it is likely to suggest that it is the special building of the chapter (Tagesson 1991). Both town-hall and chapter-house seem to have been built at the same time at the end of the prosperous 15th century and may be seen as manifestations of the power and independence of the two parts of the town.

In several studies the historian Göran Dahlbäck has analysed the cathedral and the ecclesiastical economy in Uppsala. In an article in 1986 he was able, with the aid of a remarkable written source, to reconstruct the accounts and the economy of the cathedral (*fabrica*) for the year 1497. In his study he shows that the cathedral, and probably other ecclesiastical institutions, did not play a major part in the economy of the town of Uppsala. The church's purchases mostly profited the merchants in Stockholm, because of their dominant role in long-distance trade. It was just fresh goods that were bought in Uppsala, and the domestic merchants accounted for only

about 10 per cent of the business of the cathedral each year (Dahlbäck 1986).

For the case of Linköping, the same situation may be reflected in the osteological analyses, where the urban material shows a dependence on agrarian production and the countryside. At the same time, the size of cattle from an ecclesiastical consumption milieu differs somewhat from the size of cattle in secular plots in the town. The cattle in the bishop's residences may be of the same kind, while the cattle in the secular environment seem to be of another kind (Wigh 1996).

History versus archaeology?

The relation between history and archaeology is sometimes described as complicated but seldom problematized. Earlier research about Linköping claims to treat the town on the basis of different source materials, but if we read between the lines we can easily discern that the written sources dominate completely, as in the first edition of the

history of Linköping from 1945, or indirectly, as in the second edition (Kraft 1975). Ljungstedt gives a survey of the archaeological knowledge in this second edition and describes the streets, houses, churches, cemeteries and other official institutions (Ljungstedt 1975). Archaeology has contributed material about the appearance and content of the town, and has been made into an illustration of the history of the town based on the written sources.

This situation is scarcely unique. The urban research agenda has long been dominated by historians. "The Medieval Town" project, whose objective was to summarize and evaluate the status of local urban archaeology, was likewise dominated by written sources. The threefold urban concept is based on criteria from the historical records. It has been stated that only urban churches have a good distribution that allows us to compare the towns with each other on a larger scale (Andrén 1985; Andersson 1992). The archaeological record is argued to be too scanty and uneven, too badly reported and analysed to play any role in the historiography of the towns. There is a general theoretical scepticism about the archaeological record, as regards the questions of representativeness and problems of interpretation (Andrén 1989).

Other scholars have tried to treat the archaeological record as an independent source with its own potential. At the Institute of Archaeology in Lund, Christophersen (1980) and Ersgård (1988), among others, have shown that the archaeological material is able to give an independent view of the historical development, which may be a complement to the historical records. In the continuing work with archaeology from historical periods, the development of an independent methodology must be given highest priority. Archaeology must come of age and find its own record, method and theory in order to make an independent contribution to the history of the studied period. Hopefully, this picture may later be fruitfully confronted with other disciplines on equal terms.

The different variables of written sources and material culture that could possibly be used in the case of Linköping are:

Structural changes, referring to changes in the settlement pattern in the town, as shown in house constructions, plot structure and plot regulations, the town plan and the street grid and changes in these, and showing expansion and stagnation at all these levels.

Material culture, referring to changes in all find categories, concerning both amounts and internal relations, showing handicraft and other activities, imports and social differences and the dynamics in these.

Consumption patterns and household economy, referring to the individual households and their material culture, including animal bones, food remains and offal, the equipment in the household and the use of resources.

Institutional buildings, referring to the churches, abbeys, town halls, the bishop's residence and others which could be connected with certainty to official institutions. Other stone buildings may also be a part of this, possibly reflecting a special social group connected to the prebendal offices in the chapter.

Administrative and legal structures, referring to all documents about the government of the town, administration and legal transactions.

The economic structure of the church, referring to the growth and development of the chapter, the bishop's table and *fabrica*, its structure of land properties and economic base of taxes and tithes.

Ecclesiastical politics, referring to material concerning the church as a political force and its relations to town and state.

Spiritual and mental structures, referring to the town as a centre of the diocese for spiritual life, learning and pilgrimage.

The division of the complex material into different variables is due to obvious differences in the records and to the different theoretical backgrounds of different investigations. The material culture may reflect different sides of the urban community, from a micro-level with

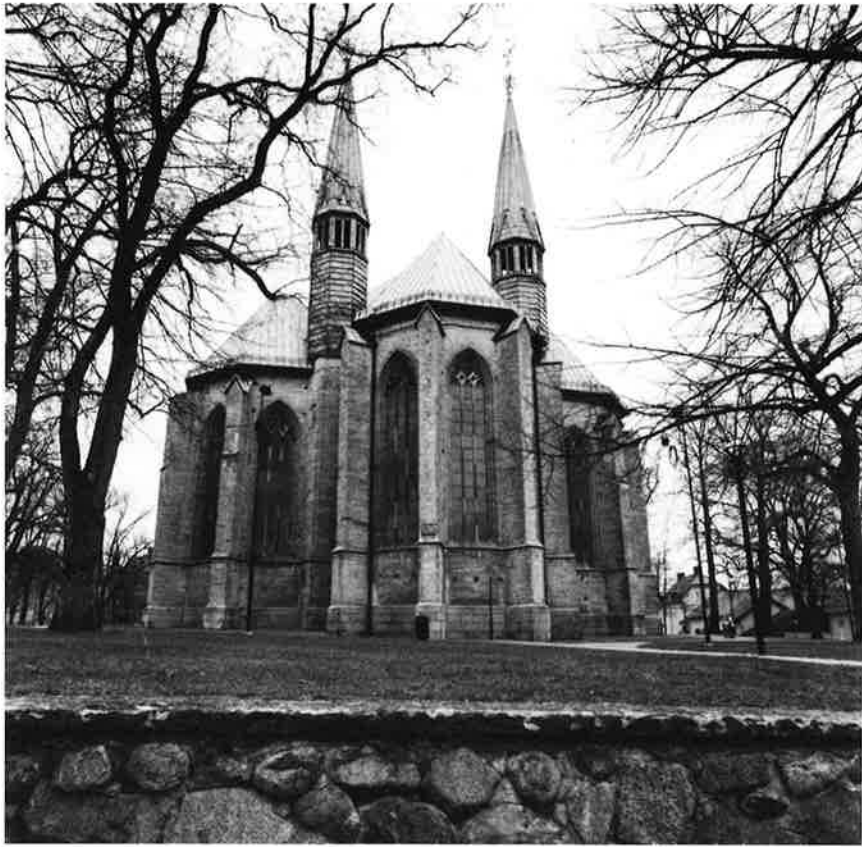


Fig. 5. The late medieval eastern chancel of Linköping Cathedral, the peak of medieval culture and a symbol of the prosperous 15th century in the town. Photo: Lars Ekelund.

individual households and the urban farm or plot as a basis, to more general changes in town planning and settlement structures on a macro-level. The written sources on the other hand may reflect different economic or political aspects of the urban society, not reflected in the material culture, and vice versa. The hypothesis is that a studied phenomenon at one level need not necessarily be reflected at another, thus reflecting the dynamics of the town.

When looking at the picture of Linköping from written sources and compared to the testimony of the archaeological records, one sees an obvious difference. If we compare the records, we get a picture of an early medieval central place with important administrative and ecclesiastical

functions. During the 13th century the ecclesiastical economy and central place is fully established with chapter and prebendal plots in Linköping, which had their economic base in the surrounding countryside. In the year 1300 there are several indications showing an administratively and judicially established urban community.

At the same time, no secular settlement has been found dating from the 13th century. The oldest buildings come from the first half of the 14th century. An urban culture was established during the 14th century, reflected in the material culture and handicraft production, which indicates the coming of a population with special demands and habits, differing from the country-

side. The settlement and the plots were still sparse and to some extent fairly agrarian.

In the late 14th and early 15th century there are signs of a settlement change, with more regulated and densely built plots. This major change has not yet been seen in the written sources. In the archaeological material it is seen as settlement regulation, expansion on the plots, changing building techniques and material culture, such as changing pottery use in the households. The period from ca. 1400 to the middle of the 16th century seems, according to these sources, to be a prosperous and progressive period but the economy of the households and consumption patterns seem to change much more slowly.

At the same time, the building programme of the cathedral was resumed and more prebendal institutions were founded. The bishop's town was made a scene for important political events during the time of the Nordic Union in the 15th century, due to the political engagements and efforts of several of the bishops. A polarization between the ecclesiastical and the secular sphere of the town may be seen in the topography.

The Reformation seems to have affected the bishop's town profoundly. There are many examples of stone houses being demolished, perhaps later used as stone quarries for the new building programme at the former bishop's residence, the coming royal castle. The period of decline is also seen in the secular part of the town, also due to town fire and enemy attacks in 1546 and 1567. With the recovery of settlement around 1600, there are clear signs of settlement regulations.

It seems to be obvious that one cannot completely equate the development of the town with the development of the church. The vigorous development of the ecclesiastical institutions in the 13th century did not automatically result in urban growth. The development of Linköping must be seen in the light of the general tendencies of urbanization in the Late Middle Ages. In Sweden this process has hitherto been studied

solely from the point of urban newcomers, but the example of Linköping indicates that it is also important to study the internal process in the old towns.

The town is not a homogeneous phenomenon, but rather a stage for many different actors. These different groups and phenomena have left different traces in different records. The relation between the representatives of the central power, the church and the secular town may be seen as actors, each one dependent on the others but with separate efforts and ways of acting. To be able to analyse the dynamics in the town, as a structural phenomenon or as a dwelling place for different groups of people, all possible and available records must be used. In trying to first isolate and refine these records and later confront them with each other, the dynamics of the town may be studied in a more fruitful way.

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English revised by Alan Crozier