

“Kar juxta Ludde”

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Abstract

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The harbour of Lödde quay, a kilometre off the coast from the mouth of the Lödde River, has previously been interpreted as a harbour associated with the Viking Age marketplace in Löddeköpinge. There are many questions concerning this interpretation, both in relation to ¹⁴C datings from the quay and concerning the need for such a harbour in the Viking Age. The topographical situation around the quay and the dimensions of the structure make it more likely that the quay was built for early medieval sea trading. By looking at the quay’s possible function in the 13th century the question arises whether this could be a harbour connected with changes in trade in Lund.

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Introduction

During the 1250s a conflict arose in Denmark between King Kristoffer I and the Archbishop of Lund, Jacob Erlandsson. Even before he took up his position as Archbishop, Jacob Erlandsson was known as a stubborn advocate of the power of the church. The King perceived this as a threat to his attempts to unite the kingdom, so he was prompted, at a very early stage, to try to prevent the election of the new Archbishop (Blomqvist 1951, p. 111).

The disputes between the church and Kristoffer I became more and more obvious when Erlandsson took up office and the conflicts concerned various subjects such as the naval levy (*ledung*), tax revenue, the responsibility of the church, customs rights and the rights to shipwrecks.

What captured my interest and led me to focus on this conflict and especially this era is a letter of complaint written in 1257 to the Archbishop of Lund. The letter is based on a stream of complaints from the King concerning the Archbishop’s various doings. The King rages over the

fact that the Archbishop judges the King’s men, that he refuses to provide the King with his naval levy, that he builds forts, receives foreign ships, and much more. The long list of complaints gives a detailed picture of the conflicts between the church and Kristoffer I at this time.

My interest in this document is not in the contents of the letter as a whole but in the fact that it provides the oldest source of information for the subject of this article: *Kar juxta Ludde* (Lödde quay).

The quay (*kar*) which is mentioned lies today on the bottom of the sea almost a kilometre off the coast from the mouth of the Lödde River. It is a stone formation, 160 metres long and shaped like a long crescent. What Lödde quay originally looked like cannot be established with any accuracy, but the finding of logs on the bottom leads one to assume that it was some form of gabion structure and functioned as a free-standing harbour in the sea (Lindqvist 1981, p. 32; Theander 1994, pp. 7 ff.).

Earlier interpretations

The first examination of Lödde quay was made by Per-Inge Lindqvist in the 1970s and was published in *Ale* 1976:1 and *Marinarkeologisk Tidskrift* 1981:3.

Lindqvist discusses in these articles the possibility that the quay may have been a place for reloading, connected with the trading centre which was excavated in connection with the Löddeköpinge Project. According to him, the quay was built some time between 900 and 1000 AD (Lindqvist 1981, p. 35).

Lindqvist discusses in his 1981 article how it may be difficult to understand why there would have been a need at this time to build special harbour structures. The ships used in the Viking Age and Early Middle Ages often did not need any such facilities, as they could land on shallow beaches. The natural conditions at the mouth of the Lödde River were very favourable for this, so according to Lindqvist the presence of the quay implies that there was a barrier or some other reason preventing the boats from sailing up the river (Lindqvist 1981, pp. 34 f.). According to him, one of the explanations for Lödde quay is that the goods handled there were more easily loaded straight on to the ship from a quay in open water (Lindqvist 1981, p. 35).

Lindqvist writes that the archaeological material found in Löddeköpinge cannot with certainty be associated with Lödde quay. But findings from the "seasonal marketplace in Löddeköpinge" imply lively international trade, which could have been so extensive as to need a quay of this size (Lindqvist 1981, pp. 35 f.).

In his articles on Lödde quay Lindqvist mentions the letter of complaint to Jacob Erlandsson. In *Ale* 1976 he says that the King rebuked the Archbishop "in harsh terms" for the poor maintenance of "Kar juxta Ludde" (Lindqvist 1976, p. 21). In *Marinarkeologisk Tidskrift* 1981 he does not discuss the contents of the letter but instead declares that it does not exclude the possibility that the quay was founded in the Viking Age (Lindqvist 1981, p. 33).

Tom Ohlsson mentions the quay in conjunction with the Löddeköpinge excavations. He is more careful in his dating of the quay and says that it is doubtful whether it can be related to the Viking Age. As an argument against dating it back to the Viking Age he says that the need for a quay is difficult to explain from the technical perspective of Viking Age shipbuilding. The Viking Age vessels had such a shallow draught that they could easily be rowed to the beach and be pulled up on to land (Ohlsson 1973, p. 35).

In 1990 Gad Rausing brought up the quay for discussion. Like Lindqvist, Rausing wanted to connect the quay to the marketplace in Löddeköpinge. His opinion is that the structure was built at the end of the 11th century or the beginning of the 12th, as a result of the area behind the quay silting up (Rausing 1990, p. 146).

What function the quay would have had in the middle of the 13th century Rausing does not discuss. He mentions that in 1225 the quay was in a state of "sad disrepair" and this shows that the quay was at this time quite old (Rausing 1990, p. 146). (The year 1225 must be a typographical error in the article as the letter from 1257 is the oldest source.)

A royal complaint

The letter from Kristoffer I to Jacob Erlandsson is an important source as it is the only written evidence we have concerning Lödde in the Middle Ages.

In articles about Lödde quay the letter is mentioned at regular intervals but with different contents. Sjöstedt writes that the Archbishop was ordered by the King "to repair the construction Kar juxta Ludde which for some reason had been damaged" (Sjöstedt 1951, p. 171). Per-Inge Lindqvist writes about the harsh words of the King to the Archbishop concerning "the poor maintenance" of "Kar juxta Ludde" (Lindqvist 1976, p. 21). Gad Rausing mentions that the quay in 1225 (1257?) was in a state of "sad disrepair" (Rausing 1990, p. 146). Finally,

the letter is mentioned in an essay by Jonas Eckerbom and Jesper Norberg (1994, p. 29). Here we read that the letter describes a rebuke of the Archbishop for the poor maintenance of the quay, “later on the letter states that the quay should be repaired”.

To clarify what is actually written in the text, I have had the letter translated from Latin into Swedish. The translation of the passage below was done by Arne Jönsson at the Department of Classical Studies at Lund University. The sections of the letter that I have had translated are published in *Acta processus Litium inter regem Danorum et archiepiscopum Lundensem* (APL).

I have decided to show the entire translation, now in English, together with a transcript of the original text. The text is divided into paragraphs which are not mutually related. As I have not had all the paragraphs on pages 30 and 31 translated, the paragraph number is placed at the side. The comments shown in connection with the translation are the translator’s comments, not mine.

§4: Item quod episcopus debet reconciliare cimiterium violatum, quandocunque requiritur, in expensis propriis, nec a delinquente recipere nisi tres marcas et nichil a parrochianis.

§5: Item de domo Aas, quam dicit stare non posse defossato Flikingi de fundamento turris Lundis; item de Kar juxta Ludde.

§6: Item de eo, quod archiepiscopus licenciat suos homines ad expedicione et non sustinet regem judicare super residentes, et quod receperit homines de navigiis alienis, et quod prohibet homines respondere coram rectoribus domini regis.

§15: Item dicit, quod minus servit ei in expedicione quam predecessores sui parentibus suis.

§16: Item quod non admittit soluciones Coggon in civitatibus pertinentibus ad ecclesiam.

§4 Likewise the bishop (or a bishop) should reconsecrate a desecrated churchyard, whenever he is asked, at his own expense, and only three marks should be required of the guilty party and

of the parishioners nothing.

The next paragraph is hardly interpretable, which is presumably due to errors in the copy of the transcript. Professor Birger Bergh has also read the text but even he did not find it interpretable (written report by Arne Jönsson).

§5 This also concerns the house of Ås, which he states will not stand; *defossato Flikingi* can mean “since it was dug in Flikingi”; *de fundamento turris Lundis* can mean “from the foundations to the towers of Lund”; *item de Kar juxta Ludde* means “the same concerning Kar beside Ludde”. The fact that this paragraph in the printed text refers to the same paragraph as the previous one does not necessarily mean that it originally belonged there. It can nevertheless provide a parallel between *de fundamento turris Lundis* and *de Kar juxta Ludde*.

§6 Likewise the fact that the Archbishop was releasing his men from the naval levy and not allowing the King jurisdiction over the residents, and that he receives men from foreign ships (or ships that belong to others) and that he prevents (his?) men from answering in front of the King’s officers (*rectores*).

§15 Likewise he states that he receives less help with the naval levy than his predecessor received from his forefathers.

§16 Likewise he does not allow tax to be paid for cogs in towns which belong to the church.

The above text has previously been used as an argument to prove that Lödde quay in 1257 was in a state of disrepair. Through this it has been possible to connect it to Löddeköpinge and to pinpoint the date as earlier. As the translation shows, one can nevertheless conclude that these arguments are based on the wrong facts. This is a basis for starting a discussion of when Lödde quay actually functioned.

Questions

The questions that I intend to work with are all tied to Lödde quay. By relating to places in western Scania which can be connected in one

Table I. Radiocarbon dates from Lödde quay.

Lab no.	Calib. 68.2% confidence	Calib. 95.4% confidence
Lu-1159*	1022–1186 AD	1000–1220 AD
Lu-1466*	996–1151 AD	980–1188 AD
Lu-1467*	1035–1213 AD	1004–1260 AD
LuA 4639	1040–1090 AD (0.15) 1120–1280 AD (0.85)	1010–1300 AD
LuA 4640	890–1160 AD	780–1220 AD

way or another to the quay, I will try to see what party lay behind the building and above all the use of Lödde quay.

My interest will mainly focus on the function of the quay during the time when it was mentioned in the letter of complaint to the Archbishop in 1257. My reason for focusing on this period is primarily that we are not sure when the quay was built. A discussion of the importance of the quay in the Viking Age/Early Middle Ages risks becoming too hypothetical. Nevertheless, I am going to devote part of the study to the Viking Age and the Early Middle Ages, to relate to the earlier interpretations of Lödde quay.

Topographical placing

A look at present-day nautical charts shows that the location of Lödde quay is well chosen for a reloading harbour for deep-draught vessels. North of the quay is a sailing channel which continues past the quay and into the Lödde River.

The quay lies on the bottom at a depth of 4 metres. Just behind the quay it quickly becomes shallow: 1.5 to 2 metres deep. As regards the topographical conditions in Lomma Bay as a whole, the beaches are very shallow. In most places one has to go at least half a kilometre from land before one reaches a depth of 3 metres. This means that a deep-draught vessel such as the cog, which was used by the German Hansa in the 13th century, could not get close to land.

The North Sea vessels which were used at this time and earlier should not, however, have had the same problem as their draught was often less than 1.5 metres.

Dating

The quay has been dated using five ¹⁴C tests (Table 1). Three of these (marked with *) are presented in Tom Ohlsson's article (1980, p. 71). The calibrated figures for these three datings are taken from Ljungkvist 1994, because Ohlsson gives only uncalibrated figures.

The source from 1257 functions as a dating of the quay, to the extent that it proves that the construction existed at this time. As regards the dating of the foundation of Lödde quay, it could have been built much earlier or just before the letter was written.

Using both historic and archaeological evidence, I believe that it is possible to reach a more accurate assessment of the date than the one presented by the ¹⁴C analysis.

Löddeköpinge

Löddeköpinge, lying roughly 3 kilometres up the Lödde River, is one of the eight *köpinge*-sites along the coast of Scania. These sites have long been a subject of discussion, as they have been seen as filling various common criteria. First and foremost, the place-name element *köpinge* has aroused interest, as the word can be derived from the Old Norse *kaup-angra*, which can be trans-

lated as "field where buying was done" (Schück 1926, pp. 146 f.). Other traits which these communities have in common is that they lie a few kilometres inland, and lie right beside rivers and watercourses.

When discussing Löddeköpinge, it is difficult from an archaeological perspective to detect any interlinked village formation. In conjunction with the excavation that has been done in and around Löddeköpinge, various habitation quarters have been found both inside the medieval village area and in an area approximately one kilometre south-west of Löddeköpinge village. The habitation areas south of the village are only from early in the Viking Age and a long way into the Middle Ages. In my report on Löddeköpinge I have chosen to report on each area separately. I have divided them according to Tom Ohlsson's articles from the excavations in Löddeköpinge. Löddeköpinge I refers to the settlement south-west of Löddeköpinge village. Löddeköpinge II refers to the settlements in or on the outskirts of the Löddeköpinge village site.

Löddeköpinge I

During the 1960s an excavation was carried out approximately one kilometre south-west of Löddeköpinge centre. A total of 54 foundations were discovered and interpreted as sunken-floor huts. The dates show a relatively short period of occupation from the beginning of the 9th to the beginning of the 10th century.

A large proportion of the sunken-floor huts which were examined showed clear occupation layers alternating with sterile sand, which Ohlsson interprets as evidence that the area was only used seasonally (1976, pp. 91 f.). Since it was only used seasonally and since it was located beside the Lödde River, which at this time was "the only navigable river in western Scania", Ohlsson interprets the area as a seasonal marketplace (1976, pp. 92, 150). As another argument for the area having been a marketplace, Ohlsson refers to the place-name itself, which implies

trading, as well as the fact that the habitation site was not near fertile land (Ohlsson 1976, p. 150). The goods that were bought, according to Ohlsson, would primarily have been agricultural products, but these were not preserved in the archaeological material (1976, p. 156).

Löddeköpinge II

There are many divergent opinions as to what function Löddeköpinge II had and how long the village was important as a central community. Schück writes that the village was one of Scania's local marketplaces. Erik Cinthio's opinion is that *köpinge*-sites existed as centres for large farming markets between each county's borders. The *köpinge*-sites did not develop into towns, which can be explained with reference to royal power; in his aspiration for a united kingdom, the King took the initiative to form new centres which primarily exercised control over the local economy. Cinthio (1975, pp. 9 f.) implies that these new towns, of which Lund is a typical example, could have impeded the development of the *köpinge*-sites. According to this hypothesis, Löddeköpinge was a major marketplace up to the middle of the 11th century. Nevertheless, at some point around 1050 the trading activities ceased and Löddeköpinge became a village (Cinthio 1975, p. 4).

The interpretation of Löddeköpinge II as a marketplace turns up in Tom Ohlsson's description of the village complex. In contrast to Löddeköpinge I, the settlements in Löddeköpinge were interpreted as forming a permanent marketplace (Ohlsson 1976, p. 155). From the artefacts and from building remains he believes that the importance of the village was dramatically reduced after c. 1100 (Ohlsson 1981, p. 27).

The dates yielded by the excavation of Löddeköpinge stretch from the 9th century to the 14th century. The material is dominated as artefacts from the 10th and 11th centuries, while there was much less material from the 12th century. As regards the material which

could be dated to the 13th and 14th centuries, it is represented by a brooch and 44 pieces of BII pottery. Finds from the 13th and 14th century indicate a settlement at this time, but it cannot be connected to any constructions (Ohlsson 1980, p. 111).

Johan Callmer is more doubtful of the interpretation of Löddeköpinge as a marketplace. He states that, from a geographical perspective, the location would have been optimal, giving reasons why it would be possible to imagine the development of a marketplace equal to those in Åhus, Ystad and Trelleborg. The reason why this did not take place is presumably the establishment of the administrative centre in Lund, which resulted in a change of power centres in the region (Callmer 1992, pp. 43 f.). In a previous article Callmer writes about Löddeköpinge and the community's function in Scania in the Middle Ages, and how the *köpinge*-sites may have constituted the Archbishop's villages. The evidence for this is the uniform geographical location which the *köpinge*-sites have, which is evidence for a synchronous plan rather than spontaneous development. In addition to this, the *köpinge*-sites all lie within the archdiocese of Lund, which may also support this interpretation.

If royal power had been behind the foundation of the *köpinge*-sites, we would find the same phenomenon in Zealand (Callmer 1984, p. 70).

Lödde quay, Löddeköpinge's harbour?

The most obvious argument for Lödde quay being connected with the settlements in Löddeköpinge is based on the extent of trade during the Viking Age and the Early Middle Ages. However, there are arguments against the quay constituting Löddeköpinge's harbour. If one discusses a connection between the quay and Löddeköpinge I, from a dating perspective it is difficult to draw parallels between these two complexes. According to calibrated ¹⁴C tests from the oldest logs, with a standard deviation of 1 sigma, the quay was built some time be-

tween 890 and 1160 AD. This means that the earliest possible dating of Lödde quay falls into the latest period of Löddeköpinge I.

One of the possible functions of the quay is as a reloading harbour for ships which could not sail into the Lödde River. From the point of view of Viking Age shipbuilding and the topographical relationship with the Lödde River, there is no plausible explanation as to why the quay was needed, regardless of whether we are referring to Scandinavian or Slavic ships.

Lindqvist (1981, p. 35) discusses the possibility that the river was blockaded. The idea is not impossible, with the evidence of the mention of possible "barriers" by the river mouth (Sjöstedt 1951, p. 170). What speaks against a blocked river mouth, if one starts with the evidence from Löddeköpinge I, is the find of iron nails and washers, which can be interpreted as remains from a shipyard beside the habitation area (Lindqvist 1981, p. 36). The presence of a shipyard on the river must be seen as a strong argument for the Lödde River having been navigable at this time.

The relationship between Lödde quay and Löddeköpinge II is not as easy to explain. First and foremost, the dates of the quay fall within a period which is represented by the finds from Löddeköpinge II. Also, the dates of Löddeköpinge II range over a period which involved major changes in shipbuilding.

If the Lödde River had been closed, or for one reason or another had not been navigable, it is possible, Lindqvist says, to imagine that a form of anchorage point for ships was located, not on the river but outside the estuary (Lindqvist 1981, p. 35). Given the cultural contacts that have been traced in the Löddeköpinge evidence, it is still difficult to understand why an anchorage would have been built nearly one kilometre from land and at a depth of four metres. The ships represented by these cultural contacts should have had greater need of a quay close to or beside land.

The cog, first developed during the mid-12th century, had a draught of up to 3 metres

and required an anchorage in deep water. The cog was presumably developed in Frisia, but quickly became the normal cargo ship for the north German Hansa. There is no evidence of any trade between Löddeköpinge and Hanseatic merchants which could form a link between the quay and Löddeköpinge.

The evidence that was found in Löddeköpinge is spread through the 13th and 14th centuries, but does not show any evidence of trading activities.

In view of the location out to sea, it is difficult to see any direct connection between the quay and the archaeological material from the Viking Age and Early Middle Ages which was found in Löddeköpinge.

My main question is: if we look at the purpose of the quay around 1250 AD, a connection between Lödde quay and Löddeköpinge is seen to be impossible, as the material that has been found from the 13th century cannot explain a harbour of this size. If one is to understand the quay at this time one has to look at alternative features in the hinterland of Lödde quay.

Lomma

Our knowledge of Lomma and the community's function in the early medieval urbanization process is unfortunately very fragmentary. To a large extent this can be explained by the fact that no major archaeological excavations have been carried out in Lomma. The majority of the information that we have about the development and function of Lomma comes from a few mentions in written medieval sources.

It is important to know what qualifications Lomma had as a harbour, as well as how the community developed during the Early Middle Ages, if we want to understand the relationship to Lödde quay and the places with which the quay may have been connected. Lomma's relationship to Lund, as well as its chronological relationship to Malmö, are also important so that we can understand how it functioned as a part of the urbanization and displacement of

political power that took place during the Early and High Middle Ages.

Lomma, from town to farming village

The first evidence of Lomma's existence is in Knut the Holy's donation charter of 1085, which enumerates the gifts granted by the King to the church of St Lawrence in Lund. From the charter we learn that Lomma owes ground tax to the King, which at this time was only paid by two other places: Helsingborg and Lund (Skansjö 1980, p. 8).

Knut the Holy's charter has been highly significant in the interpretation of Lomma. Despite the lack of archaeological material, both the charter and the location of the community at the mouth of the Höje River have led to Lomma being interpreted as an early medieval town with a marketplace and harbour.

Sture Bolin calls Lomma "Lund's natural harbour", and says that, alongside Lund and Helsingborg, it should be counted as one of Scania's towns at this time (Bolin 1933, p. 196).

Ingvar Andersson describes Lomma as one of Scania's oldest towns and says that, like Helsingborg, it was founded, either in part or as a whole, upon royal initiative. According to him, the place functioned as a harbour, which soon sunk into obscurity, as a result of competition from Helsingborg (Andersson 1974, pp. 6, 74, 268, 301, 317, 454 f.).

Sven Nordgren is more careful in his interpretation of Lomma. He acknowledges that it "might be thought" that Lomma during the Viking Age could have functioned as a marketplace with a regional character, but he also emphasizes that there is a lack of archaeological proof. He believes that the argument in favour of Lomma as a marketplace is its position on the coast. Like many other important Viking Age marketplaces, Lomma would have been accessible for the shallow-draught vessels of that time, and it would also, because of its position, have been easy to defend (Nordgren 1973, p. 12).

Aksel E. Christensen (1977, p. 318) gives a similar picture to Bolin's of Lomma as "Lund's sea town".

A more detailed description of Lomma is found in Rikard Holmberg's thesis on the medieval history of the Scanian coast. Like many of the above authors, Holmberg thinks that Lomma should be viewed as an early medieval town. According to him, it ceased to function as such some time between the 13th and 14th century. During the 13th century the harbour in Lomma was surpassed by the open beach at Malmö (Holmberg 1977, pp. 75 f., 132, 148, 152).

The chronological relationship between Lomma and Malmö is examined in depth in Sten Skansjö's article on Malmö's early medieval predecessors. The starting point of his reasoning is the reference to ground tax for Lomma in Knut the Holy's donation charter of 1085, which should be seen as proof that Lomma was seen as "a town in the contemporary sense" (Skansjö 1980, p. 10). He believes that the reasons for Lomma's early loss of its status as a town are given as evidence in the sources from the later Middle Ages which discuss Lomma and the 27 marks of ground tax assigned to the canons in Lund.

In the charters of confirmation written in 1185 AD by Knut Valdemarsson and in 1203 by Valdemar Sejr, the decisions from the donation charter of 1085 AD are confirmed. The charters, which are identically worded, both demand that the "old custom" of paying town fees of 27 marks for the plots in Lund should persist. What is interesting is that neither Lomma nor Helsingborg is mentioned in the charters, so that Lund appears to have taken over the payment of 3 + 3 marks from these towns. Skansjö interprets this as showing that Lomma had lost its status as a town before 1185 (Skansjö 1980, pp. 10 f.).

In King Valdemar's cadastre from c. 1230 AD, five towns from Scania are mentioned from this time: Vä, Tommarp, Skanör, Lund and Helsingborg. That Lomma is not mentioned Skansjö interprets in two ways. Either the town had ceased to function as a town, or it had been donated to the church, which is why it is not

mentioned in the King's protocol. The evidence for the first interpretation is a document from 1256–57 where Kristoffer I aims many complaints at the Archbishop, for judging the King's villagers in Skanör, Lomma and Säby (Skansjö 1980, pp. 11 ff.). The document shows that the King at this time had a significant ownership influence, which is evidence for the closure of Lomma as a town before 1230.

If Skansjö's interpretation of Lomma is true, this means that Lomma would have lost its importance before the appearance of archaeological material from Malmö. This also means that Holmberg's interpretation of the harbour in Malmö, as a direct successor to Lomma's harbour, does not fit into the chronological sequence. Skansjö's interpretation of Lomma also has an influence on our understanding of the relationship between Lund and Lomma. If Lomma was "Lund's harbour" and was therefore a link between Lund and Öresund, why did the importance of this town cease at the same time as there was an increase in local and international trading in Lund?

One of the explanations for this is that the harbour in Lomma was too shallow to accommodate changes in sea traffic with new types of ships. The coast outside the mouth of the Höje River is shallow and stony and does not provide an ideal harbour for large vessels. This argument is supported by Gerhard Buhrman's map of the coast of Scania from the 1680s, which was reconnoitred from a military point of view (KrA: Kungsboken no. 5). Lödde quay is clearly marked on this map as a harbour, with the detail that there was room for 7–8 vessels. Lomma is not marked as a harbour but as a coastal village, which can be taken as evidence that the harbour was too shallow to be of military interest at this time.

Malmö, from village to market town

In contrast to Lomma, our knowledge about the different phases in Malmö's development are relatively extensive. The first time the town is

mentioned is in the Lund capitulary book, the *Necrologium Lundense* from 1170 AD, where a prebend with its associated property in Malmö is mentioned as being “less than half a hide”. The use of the word hide (*bol*) shows that Malmö at this time must have been an agrarian village and not a town (Rosborn 1984, p. 8).

The next source comes from a paragraph from the Icelandic *Hákonar saga*, which was most likely written at the beginning of the 1260s. Here an episode is described where Hákon outside *Malm-hauga* takes a cog belonging to the Archbishop’s brother (Tomner 1971, p. 180; Rosborn 1984, p. 8).

The earliest account of Malmö as a town is in a charter from Bishop Peder of Roskilde to Copenhagen in 1275. Everyone who sailed over to Malmö was to be free from all form of customs on the understanding that the same applied to citizens sailing from Malmö to Copenhagen. That Malmö was a town is understood by the fact the citizens are described as *cives*. This shows that the community was viewed at this time as a *civitas* (Tomner 1971, p. 181).

In *Erikskrönikan* Malmö is named as a town in 1260, but the source is unreliable as the chronicle was not written until after 1322 (Tomner 1971, p. 182).

The historical evidence concerning Malmö cannot substantiate that the community was a town before 1275. The market had already attained a certain importance at this time, and it is therefore likely that the town had existed since the middle of the century (Tomner 1971, p. 187). Even when the town was newly founded, Malmö enjoyed economic growth, as a result of which it overtook the previously established market towns on the Öresund coast by 1300 (Rosborn 1984, p. 13).

Contacts between Lund and Malmö during the first decades of Malmö’s existence as a town are difficult to clarify from available documents. Ragnar Blomqvist discusses the possibility of a movement from Lund-Lomma to Lund-Malmö. He acknowledges that “the Germans” travelling to Lund in the olden days most likely travelled

via Falsterbo or Lomma. Later they started to travel to Lund via Malmö. As an argument for the latter Blomqvist refers to a written complaint from 1375 in which traders from Lübeck, Wismar and Rostock in Malmö complain to the Archbishop that they have to pay a customs charge of 5 Lübeck coins for every cart of goods which was transported from Malmö to Lund (Blomqvist 1951, p. 295). That the Hansa traders travelled to Malmö at this time and from there traded with the citizens of Lund is not difficult to understand, as Malmö in the 1370s was south-west Scania’s most important trading town. It is not certain that the document should be seen as proof that the traffic from Lund went through Malmö, as soon as Lomma ceased to exist as “Lund’s harbour”, since the document cannot be seen as representative of a change that took place some time in the middle of the 13th century.

With the knowledge that Lomma might have declined into a village before 1230 and the knowledge that Malmö cannot be expected to have started functioning as a town until after the middle of the 13th century, it is therefore necessary to look at alternative explanations of communication from Lund to the coast during the 13th century. We cannot say that communications from Lund were directed towards Malmö immediately after the place was given the status of a town. Against this background it is interesting to see what role Lödde quay could have played as an alternative harbour.

Thoughts about Lund

Questions about Lund’s possible harbour have been a subject of speculation for a long time. It has been suggested that Lund had a harbour at Källby, and that it was possible to sail the whole way from the Öresund coast, via the Höje River, up to Lund. These ideas have been rejected by later writers with the argument that the Höje River has never been navigable, or, as Ragnar Blomqvist puts it, at least not for commercial traffic. To further underline the impossibility of

the Høje River constituting Lund's harbour, it has been pointed out that Lund actually lies two kilometres north of the river and not on the river (Norborg 1990, p. 33; Blomqvist 1951, p. 14; Holmberg 1977, p. 64; Kroon 1994, p. 9).

A common hypothesis has instead been to see Lomma as the junction between the inland and the Öresund coast. Blomqvist and Skansjö discuss in general terms the advantages of Lomma as a natural harbour and its importance as a coastal market town, while Bolin and Christensen speak explicitly in terms such as "Lomma, Lund's natural harbour" and "Lomma, Lund's harbour town" (Bolin 1933, p. 196; Christensen 1977, p. 319).

Blomqvist writes about possible crossing points between Scania and Zealand during the early Middle Ages. According to him, there were two possible alternatives for travelling from Lund to the coast. One way would be to go from Värpinge to Lomma and the other alternative would be via Fjelié and the Lödde River to Lödde quay (Blomqvist 1951, p. 14).

However, the discussion of Lödde quay as a possible harbour in connection with Lund died before it had even started. The structure is not mentioned in any later publication in connection with the research that has been done about Lund and its history. One of the explanations for this is that the quay has been "forgotten", and simultaneously the crossroads theory (that Lund was placed at the meeting point of the Scanian network of roads from east to west), which is the basis for Blomqvist's placing of Lund, was abandoned. Another explanation may be that Lomma's role as a harbour has been too uncritically evaluated, so that alternative explanations have not been sought. The third explanation may be found in the more general changes in the views of Lund's foundation and function. Blomqvist emphasizes the commercial market as well as the King's efforts to control it, as the driving force behind the urbanization process in Lund. According to Blomqvist, Lund in the 11th century was already a market town with trade activities which had their roots in the area

around Lund long before the town was founded (Blomqvist 1951, pp. 28 ff.). Christophersen, like Anders Andréén, plays down the commercial function in early medieval urbanization. They underline that towns like Lund and Roskilde as coining places were administrative centres for the "regal economy", and that craft and trade would have been of secondary importance (Christophersen 1980, pp. 116 f.; Andréén 1985, pp. 76 ff.).

The early medieval economic community suggested by Christophersen and Andréén may be an explanation for the failure to discuss a foundation such as Lödde quay in connection with Lund.

As a phenomenon of the Early Middle Ages, there was no need for Lödde quay, from a trading perspective, at least not in the 13th century. That the quay became anonymous even in discussions about Lund's high medieval market squares cannot be understood from the above argument.

Lund's development as a market town

Views of Lund's development and the function of the town during the Early Middle Ages vary between different scholars. One of the questions which is debated is whether the driving force for the growth of the town came from royal power and its foundation of the town as a purely administrative centre, or whether trade was of central importance for Lund at an early stage.

If one looks at the research situation today, there is a general opinion that trade, as the driving force for the oldest phases of Lund's history, should be toned down in favour of other interpretations of the town as having been founded for more administrative reasons.

Ragnar Blomqvist's interpretation of the foundation of Lund is that the town arose on the basis of old institutions in the area. He believed that Lund's foundation can be explained by the fact that Knut the Great placed a mint in Lund to create a source of income for the crown, on

the basis of the nearby "marketplace of the three mounds". The marketplace was then moved towards the royal demesne and the mint, and the establishment of Lund as a market town was completed (Blomqvist 1951, pp. 28 f.).

That Lund was primarily a market town in the 11th century is seriously questioned by later scholars. Axel Christophersen and Anders Andrén, who have both done extensive research on Lund, cannot find a basis for any expanding trade in Lund before the middle of the 12th century. Christophersen, in his thesis on antler and bone crafts in Lund, divides the craft development into three phases:

1000–1020/1030: this period was characterized by production aimed at satisfying the household's own needs. The town did not have any production activity and instead it survived by using resources and energy from the surrounding countryside.

1020/1030–1150: this phase saw the emergence of "professional" craft, first practised by itinerant craftsmen. The work, which gradually acquired a more permanent character, was aimed at a "limited consumer production".

1150–: according to Christophersen, this period was dominated by market production. He emphasizes that this term should not be connected with a market economy in the capitalistic sense, but instead should be seen in connection with a changeover to mass production aimed at an "anonymous" market, with an indirect relationship between the producer and consumer (Christophersen 1980, pp. 204 ff.).

According to Christophersen, bone and antler crafts underwent a structural reorganization around 1200, towards profit-oriented product turnover. The surrounding countryside at this time had been subordinated to the town's production and had become gradually more dependent on the town as a centre for local and international trade (Christophersen 1982, p. 29).

According to Andrén, the waste from craft shows that production must have been much smaller during the first half of the 11th century

than later, and that the only craft that could be reckoned as mass production was leather craft during the 13th and 14th centuries. That Lund would have constituted an international marketplace during the first half of the 11th century, Andrén sees as unlikely in view of the town's position far from navigable water (Andrén 1980, p. 82). Like Christophersen, he argues that trade and craft work in this period were of secondary importance beside the agricultural surplus which was collected in the town (Christophersen 1980, pp. 216 ff.; Andrén 1985, p. 76). It was only during the first half of the 12th century that the square was given clear commercial functions, which can be traced in the booths built around the sides of the square (Andrén 1985, pp. 80 f.).

From the first half of the 13th century we see signs of the rapid growth of leather waste in Lund's occupation layers. Andrén interprets this as an indication of a large expansion of trading at this time (Andrén 1980, pp. 56, 90). Leather production would have been primarily based on animal husbandry in nearby areas, and the products may have been intended for an international market. That trade was seen to increase around precisely this time Andrén sees as connected to the expansion of international trade in the Baltic area (1980, p. 90). He nevertheless points out that this "new" trade with the Baltic countries did not have any great significance for Lund, in contrast to coastal towns such as Malmö (1980, p. 90).

In his doctoral dissertation (1985), Andrén's interpretation of the 13th-century international trade connections is more cautious. In addition to the Scanian market in Skanör, he believes that for the period 1200–1270, there is direct evidence of an international market only in the towns of Ribe and Schleswig, while for the remainder of the Danish towns only indirect indications of international trade can be traced (1985, p. 92).

There are a great many indications to show that Lund had a commercial market trade during the 12th century. The question is who it was aimed at. In connection with this it is interest-

ing to see whether Lund had any trade with the Hanseatic merchants. The first sign of German traders operating in Denmark comes from 1165 (Christensen 1976, p. 196). But it is not until the beginning of the 13th century that German traders began to trade extensively in Denmark, and then it was mainly to pursue trade at the Scanian market in Skanör (Andrén 1985, pp. 91 f.). In Lund there is no direct evidence that German traders frequented the town from the beginning of the 13th century. The first direct evidence of German traders in the town comes from the middle of the 13th century. Heinrich Warendorp from Lübeck died in Lund in the winter of 1266. That he died in winter and not during the season of the Scanian market may be seen as evidence that his trading activity was aimed directly at Lund (Skyum-Nielsen 1994, p. 96). The commerce between German merchants and traders from Lund was partly done at the Scanian market in Skanör. We know from a letter of 1310 written by Archbishop Esger Juul that German merchants also traded in Lund. For German “guests” and “sleepers” (*liggare*) in Lund, who did not “live on their own farms or hired farms from others, but instead lived in sheds or hired houses on other’s farms”, it was stipulated that they should, following old tradition, continue to visit the church of St Lawrence (Blomqvist 1951, pp. 293 f.). In 1361 it was decreed in Valdemar Atterdag’s charter for Lund that the German merchants were not allowed to trade directly with the farmers, but should instead deal with the burghers of Lund. Likewise, the German merchants were not allowed to buy hides except in amounts of ten, and meat and butter only in salted forms (Blomqvist 1951, p. 294; Wahlöö 1990, pp. 77 f.).

From the written sources one cannot prove that German merchants frequented Lund before 1266. Nevertheless, the changes from the early 13th century, which can be traced in the increased amount of leather waste in Lund, may be connected with the expanding international Baltic trade.

Shipbuilding technology

If one looks at shipping to and from Lund, from the foundation of the town until the middle of the 12th century, there was hardly any large-scale sea trading. With our knowledge of the types of ship which were employed throughout this period, there is moreover no reason to doubt that they could have used the shallow harbours on the coast. Both indigenous vessels and ships from other areas around the Baltic Sea generally had a shallow draught.

When the Hanseatic towns started to trade with Denmark, the situation changed, as Denmark came into contact with a new type of ship: the cog. This has been viewed as being of great importance as a cargo ship in the German trade with Denmark during the High Middle Ages. As a battleship the cog was likewise regarded as better in many ways than the Nordic ships. The Danish navy, which during the 13th century had been based on one thousand longships, changed to the cog from 1304 onwards, and Zealand, which had previously accounted for the manning of 120 longships, from this year instead equipped 5–10 cogs (Crumlin-Pedersen 1974, p. 191). That the navy changed to cogs so early should be seen as a response to the fact that there already was wide-ranging sea traffic with cogs in Denmark at this time. The use of cogs in our waters in the 13th century is also related in *Hákonar saga*, as we saw above. In the letter from Kristoffer I to Jacob Erlandsson from 1257, the cog is also mentioned. The King complains that “he does not allow tax to be paid for cogs in towns which belong to the church” (APL: 31 §16).

From the development outlined above, communication between Lund and the Öresund coast can be divided into three periods:

Period 1 includes the time from the foundation of Lund until the middle of the 12th century. Craft work increased during this time and the marketplace was given commercial functions. There is nevertheless nothing to indicate mass production or international trade connections on any great scale. Whether one talks about

domestic communication or international connections, there was nothing to prevent the ships of the day from communicating with Lund via a harbour like Lomma. There is also a possibility that other small harbours in Lomma Bay were used during this time.

Period 2 can be defined on the basis of a change in craft during the middle of the 12th century. Craft now seems to be geared to market production for an anonymous market (see above). The period can also be defined by Hanseatic merchants who now start to trade with Denmark. As regards Lund's need for a harbour, there is not much change during this time. There is no evidence of increasing international trade in Lund, and there is no evidence of direct trade contacts with German merchants during this period.

Period 3 is difficult to define accurately. From the beginning of the 13th century we see a transition to mass production in leather craft in Lund. What lies behind this change is as yet unknown, but the increasing international trade in the Baltic area is a plausible explanation. The change in leather craft precedes more certain proof of international trade in Lund. As mentioned earlier, it is not until 1266 that German traders can be proved to have been in Lund.

On this basis it should be possible to see a change in communications with Lund which started some time between the beginning of the 13th century and 1250/1260.

One can hardly believe that German cogs lay like a rosary off the coast. There is hardly any archaeological evidence in Lund to support this suggestion. It is nevertheless plausible that during the first half of the 13th century a change occurred which required new harbours to meet new needs. It is here that Lödde quay is most interesting, since at this time it is the only known harbour which could accommodate deep-draught ships. Instead of a development whereby Malmö during the 13th century took over the function of harbour previously performed by Lomma, one could see Lödde quay as an important communication point between Lund and the Öresund.

As mentioned earlier, it is possible that there

were other harbours along the coast which were controlled by different parties, so it may be interesting to see who could have controlled Lödde quay at this time.

Lödde quay and Borgeby

The earlier interpretations of Lödde quay are based to a large extent on the geographical proximity to Löddeköpinge. For the same reasons it may be of interest to see how the quay is related to Borgeby. What is of primary interest in Borgeby is that the castle there was already of political interest during the Middle Ages.

The oldest dates which one can accurately relate to the medieval castle come from excavations of occupation layers from the castle courtyard and can be traced back to before the 13th century. That the castle is older than 13th century can be supported by a historical source from 1127, where a *castra* in Borgeby is mentioned (Eckerbom & Norberg 1994, p. 29).

One question of interest, if one tries to connect Borgeby and Lödde quay, is who owned the castle. Sven Rosborn writes in his study of Borgeby castle that it was probably in the possession of the King during the 11th century, but that it was donated to the Archbishop of Lund in the Early Middle Ages. When this took place is uncertain, but he states that it is not impossible to connect the gift with the establishment of the archdiocese in 1104 (Rosborn 1986, p. 3). The first explicit information that Borgeby had been transferred to the Archbishop's possessions comes from Archbishop Karl, who died on 16 May 1334 and in his will left horses from Borgeby (Rosborn 1986, p. 4).

What evidence is there that connects the quay to the castle at Borgeby? For historical evidence one has to wait until 1658 before it can be shown that the Borgeby estate included Lödde quay (Sjöstedt 1951, p. 171). In spite of this, I believe it is likely that the quay was linked to the castle in Borgeby during the Early Middle Ages. In a comparison between Borgeby and Löddeköpinge, one can see at an early stage that

Borgeby was a community of political power. If one looks at medieval Löddeköpinge, especially during the 13th century, there is nothing to prove that Löddeköpinge was of equal importance. However, it is also difficult to see why Borgeby would have needed a harbour like Lödde quay. Bearing in mind what has been said about Lund, it may be of interest to hypothetically connect Lund, Borgeby and Lödde quay. In this case Borgeby could have functioned as the owner of the harbour and as a supervisor of the traffic which passed between Lund and Lödde quay. If Sven Rosborn's hypothesis is correct, that Borgeby had already been transferred to the archdiocese in Lund during the 12th century, then this would explain why the King turned to Jacob Erlandsson concerning Lödde quay.

Conclusion

By looking at different places which in one way or another can be linked to Lödde quay, I have tried to explain what function this harbour construction could have had, as well as who could have used it. It has not yet been possible to date the quay by dendrochronology, so we cannot say when it was founded. The five existing ¹⁴C dates show that the quay was founded at some point between 780 AD and 1220 AD (calibrated dating with 95.4% confidence from the oldest dated log). My personal opinion is that it was founded in the later part of this time scale, but without better dating support I cannot rule out the opposite. As the quay is mentioned in historical sources from 1257, and since the dating of the quay shows that it could have been built before the 13th century, I have chosen above all to focus on the function the quay might have had in the 13th century.

In my research I have concentrated on five places – Lund, Löddeköpinge, Borgeby, Lomma and Malmö – which I felt must be studied to understand the relationship of the quay to the hinterland. Löddeköpinge has primarily been of interest to me because its functioning as a mar-

ketplace has previously been interpreted as the explanation for the building of Lödde quay.

As an alternative to Löddeköpinge, I believe that it is more likely that Lödde quay during the 13th century was connected to Lund, if not directly then indirectly.

The development of craft work which can be traced in Lund shows that the town around the year 1200 had a substantial increase in leather production, which could be connected to the expansion of international trade in the Baltic Sea at this time. When the Hansa began to trade with Denmark, new types of ship with deeper draught also started to frequent Danish waters. The consequence of these contacts was that a need arose for new anchorages, since many of the old harbours were suitable for shallow traffic only. In connection with this it is interesting to look at the previously mentioned interpretation that Lomma was Lund's harbour until Malmö took over this role. The idea of continuity between these places is interesting, but the arguments are not unambiguous. If one looks at Sten Skansjö's interpretation of Lomma, it appears that it lost its status as a town at some point before 1230. On the other hand, Malmö was not founded as a town until the second half of the 13th century, which means that in this case there would be a discontinuity between these communities.

In view of Skansjö's interpretation of Lomma, questions also arise about Lomma as Lund's harbour. If Lomma provided the connection between Lund and Öresund it is interesting to see that this community declines in importance at the same time that one can see an increase in trade in Lund. One of the explanations for this could be that Lomma did not entirely fulfil the new needs resulting from the new sea traffic that arose at the beginning of the 13th century.

As Malmö did not exist at this time, I regard it as plausible that the traffic between Lund and the Öresund instead went via Lödde quay. At the start of the 13th century this quay was the only harbour which undoubtedly met the requirements for all forms of water traffic.

Who was responsible for the use of Lödde quay is difficult to say. That Kristoffer I directed his complaints about the quay to the Archbishop of Lund may indicate that the quay at this time was under the Archbishop's control. Another factor that speaks for this is that the Archbishop could have been the person who was the owner of the castle in Borgeby from the beginning of the 12th century onwards. Borgeby's role in relation to the quay could have been as the owner of Lödde quay, controlling the traffic which passed between the quay and Lund. From a geographical point of view it is not difficult to see a direction of movement between Lund and Lödde quay, passing through Borgeby. It is also not impossible that Borgeby would have been responsible for Lödde quay, given Borgeby's position close to the Lödde River.

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