

THE MYTHICAL FORGE AND THE HOLY CHAPEL

From paganism to Christianity at the manorial farm in Lockarp, Scania

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Several archaeological investigations have taken place in the village of Lockarp, just south of Malmö, Scania. These investigations have revealed the remains of a large Viking Age and early medieval farm, or manor. The aim of this article is to discuss the transition from paganism to Christianity on the basis of two buildings in the Lockarp manor that are interpreted as a forge and a chapel. The buildings were situated inside a courtyard, in what was interpreted as the private, innermost area of the manor. The author describes the manor's social status and the location of these two buildings, and discusses whether the buildings are visible signs of the religious transition.

Key words: aristocracy, chapel, forge, hall, manor, medieval time, Viking Age

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, the interest in aristocratic locations and central places from the Late Iron Age has increased among scholars within Iron Age research. A number of these locations have been examined archaeologically and thus the knowledge of these places has grown and the results have been published. Now the remains of yet another aristocratic location, a manor that was established in the tenth century, have been excavated. The site of the excavation is Lockarp, just south of Malmö in Scania, Sweden (Heimer *et al.* 2006; Heimer & Persson 2007; Björhem

et al. 2008; Heimer 2009). The remains of the manor revealed different social environments, such as a workshop area, a possible garrison, and a residence suitable for an aristocrat. In the middle of the residence were traces of a forge and a chapel. The aim of this paper is to discuss the manor at Lockarp and the transition from paganism to Christianity in the light of these two centrally placed buildings.

TOPOGRAPHY AND STRATEGIC LOCATION

The manor was located on the western side of a ridge approximately 39 metres above sea level (fig. 1). During the Early Middle Ages the ridge was probably more dominant than today, but having been used for hundreds of years as a sand-pit it has diminished substantially. Despite this, the area, with its height, stands out rather well in the landscape even today. The manor was situated along the road running between Oxie, the royal estate where the thing council was held, and the

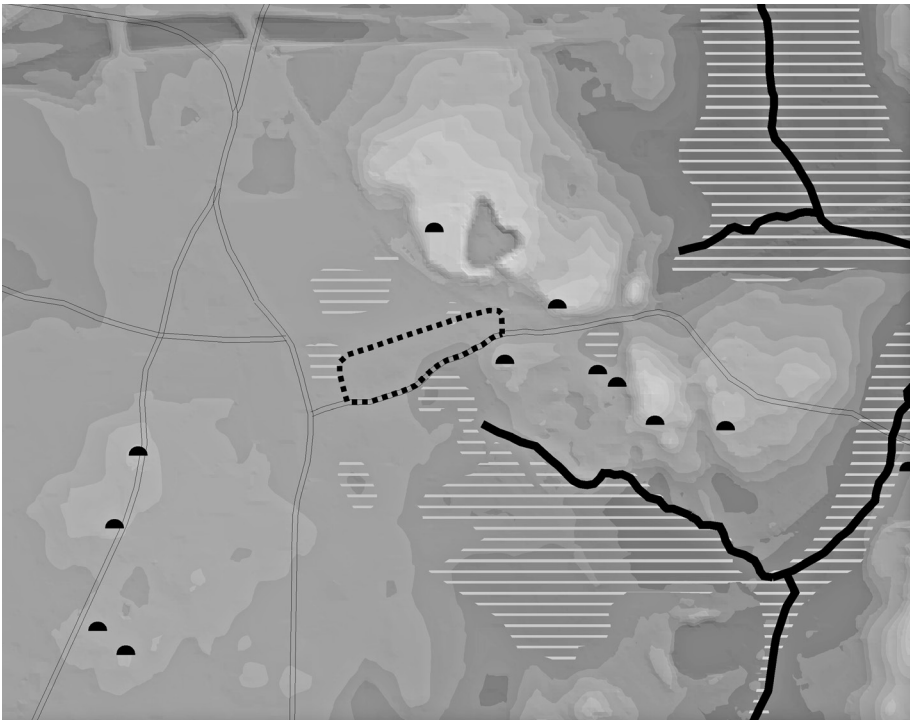


Figure 1. The map shows the topographical location of the manor in Lockarp. Semicircles mark burial mounds. Roads, the stream Risebergabäcken, meadows and wetlands (hatched) are digitalized from historical maps. Modern disturbances are visible in the form of highways and railways. Directly north-east of the manor the ridge has been used as a sand pit. Scale 1:20 000.

market place at Hököpinge. One of the intentions with the location of the manor could have been to supervise this road.

The topographical location is central to the discussion of the manor, and it is worth looking closer at the social importance of the manor and its more or less command-post-like location. From this position, the manor dominated the visual landscape west of the ridge. Such arrangements were typical for many central places. The strategic location was primarily a means to gain control, as access and movement within the settlements could be monitored from this position. The central places were often separated from the other settlements and lay in connection to important communication routes (Thomasson 2005:85f). To emphasize that one entered a central place, certain elements were placed along its boundaries, its entrances and exits. The link between the manor and intersections was most likely an important strategy (Lundqvist 2000:20f). It is noteworthy that the Lockarp manor was located by the road leading to the ford or bridge over Risebergabäcken.

TO BE CLOSE TO THE MYTHICAL ANCESTORS

The location of the farm can also have been influenced by the earlier use of the area. Remarkable is that part of the manor was established on a Bronze Age burial ground. Whether the graves were in some way marked above ground and visible when the manor was found can of course be discussed, but it is not likely. Three burial mounds, however, were clearly visible on the ridge north and east and south of the manor, two of them still visible today. Just south of the manor lay yet another mound that is now destroyed due to modern agriculture. Thus, when one passed the manor in the Early Middle Ages, there were burial mounds on both sides of the road (figs. 1, 2.). The establishment of a manor on an ancient burial ground can be interpreted as an important link between the aristocrat and his or her ancestors. In examined materials of large farms with halls, there is a tendency for them to be established at places linked to older sacrificial practices and to graves. By building a hall at a place connected to an older cult, a link was established to the actions of the cult that were associated with extraordinary qualities. In that way the aristocracy was connected to a traditional ritual praxis (Söderberg 2005:191f).

FROM A FARM TO A MANOR

During the Viking Age, around AD 900, the area that would later be-



Figure 2. The burial mound Skrivarehög located just east of the manor.
Photo: Olle Heimer.

come the manor site was occupied by a single, large farm (fig. 3A.). The farm differed from those in other surveys in Denmark, for example Vorbasse and Sædding on Jutland where the farm structure consisted of a relatively loosely grouped settlement (Roesdahl 1980:67f; Ethelberg 2003:353f). The farm in Lockarp seems to have formed a U-shaped structure, where the buildings lay grouped around an open place, an architectural unit. This was a relatively large Viking Age farm with a workshop area placed to the west of the main buildings. In the workshop area there was a forge as well as sunken dwellings for handicraft (Heimer & Persson 2007; Björhem *et al.* 2008). Around AD 950–1000, extensive changes took place in Lockarp (fig. 3B). From having been a relatively large farm, suitable for a Viking Age chieftain, the settlement now become an aristocratic manor with more prestigious buildings such as a hall, residential buildings, a forge, stables, barns, and other farm buildings. The main house of the farm moved approximately 200 metres to the east and was established on an ancient burial ground. During the Early Middle Ages, around AD 1000–1100, the manor was consolidated and strengthened (fig. 3C). The old hall was torn down and replaced with a new and larger building. South of the hall, four buildings were built to create an almost rectangular block with a forge placed in the courtyard. During the later part of the phase the work-

shop was replaced with a chapel (mentioned below in the sections “The mythical forge” and “The holy chapel”). Around AD 1100–1200 the farm underwent further changes (fig. 3D). The previous manor was divided into what later would become the historically known farms in Lockarp, but the previous hall area was still distinguished by its position and prestigious architecture.

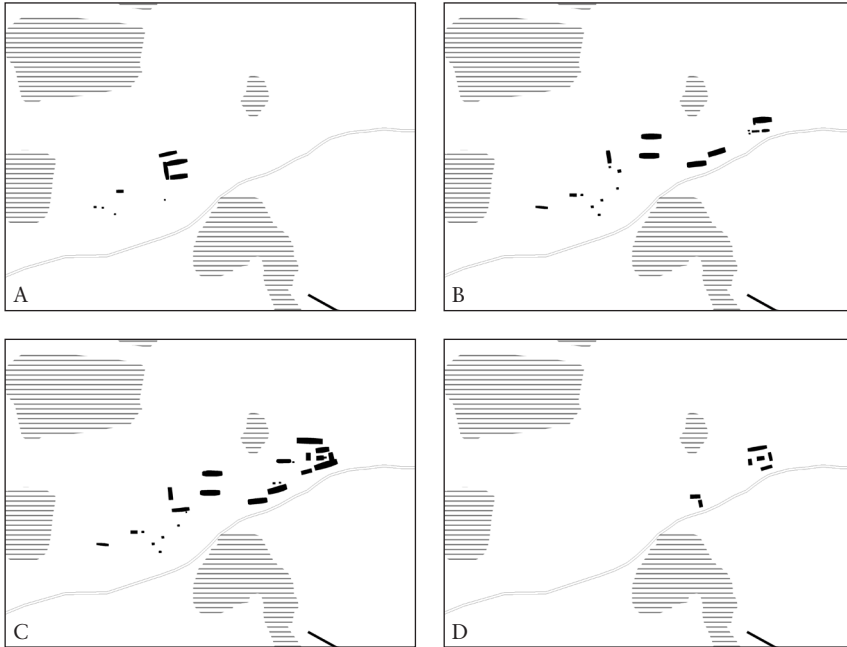


Figure 3. The figure shows the development of the farm in Lockarp from around AD 900 to 1200. A. around AD 900, B. around AD 950–1000, C. around AD 1000–1100, and D. around AD 1100–1200. No scale.

THE RULER’S RESIDENCE AND THE EXCLUSIVE ARCHITECTURE

The residence consisted of three elements: the main building with the hall, a fence with a stockade in the eastern part, and the residential buildings that formed a closed unit, almost a square, with a smaller house in the middle. The small house was initially a workshop or a forge but later was rebuilt to serve as a chapel (fig. 4).

The architecture in Lockarp had several aristocratic key signatures. Houses with outer rows of supporting posts, so-called Trelleborg-type



Figure 4. The residence in Lockarp during the Early Middle Ages, c. AD 1000–1050. Scale 1:1000.

houses, can be interpreted as an expression of the proprietor's status and strong connection to the Danish royal power. Houses with outer rows of supporting posts were built in south Scandinavia more or less directly after the rise of the circular fortresses in the late 10th century. Thus, it was probably natural and desirable for the local chieftains to elucidate their own position by using the design of the royal power and building their houses according to the new ideals (Wranning 1999:48). It is possible that the foundation of the manor in Lockarp was inspired by these circular fortresses. In the fortress of Trelleborg on Zealand and that of Fyrkat on Jutland the buildings were constructed with the same ground plan, arranged in a square with a smaller house in the middle (Nørlund 1948:90f; Roesdahl 1977:176ff; Wulff Andersen 1998:19). The manor in Lockarp can also be compared with other excavated Viking Age farms in south Scandinavia, such as Ösarp in Halland. The remains of the farm in Ösarp were interpreted as a large estate from the late 11th century (Viking & Fors 1995:73ff; Carlie 1999:136). As in Lockarp, the farm at Ösarp consisted of several farm buildings, all built in the same way as in Lockarp, with outer rows of supporting posts. In addition to these buildings a structure interpreted as a forge

was excavated. The forge shows similarities to the forge in Lockarp (mentioned below in the chapter “The mythical forge”). The buildings were complex constructions that demanded great craftsmanship and large amounts of building material. These buildings were probably built with oak in the supporting construction. The walls were not of wattle and daub but of oak planks, and the roof was made of wooden chips and not of straw, which probably was the more common material. The choice to use oak timber as building material was something that marked the economic strength of the property developer. Building in this material demanded great access to timber. The enclosed manor in Lockarp was the embodiment of social power. The building with outer rows of supporting posts was a signal of the owner’s identity as a member of the aristocracy and the close contact with the royal power.

According to the Norwegian professor in architectural history and theory Thomas Thiis-Evensen, there are six elements that run through the buildings of power in history. These are *seclusion*, *massiveness*, *size*, *distance*, *symmetry* and *verticality* (Thiis-Evensen 1998:6ff). Not all of these six elements have to be present to give a place or a building the impression of being powerful. It can be enough that a small building is placed higher than the surrounding buildings to create an impression of power. A massive castle does not have to be symmetrical to express power (Thiis-Evensen 1998:13; Hed Jakobson 2003:43f).

The enclosed part of the manor in Lockarp, however, shows all six elements presented by Thiis-Evensen:

- It was *secluded* in the way that it was enclosed. Only invited persons had access to the closed part of the manor.
- The buildings with outer rows of supporting posts (so-called Trelleborg-type houses) and the enclosure were associated with something firm, *massive*, impregnable and permanent.
- The *size* makes power visible in Lockarp. It was the hall building and the enclosed compound with the chapel that showed aristocrats the possibilities to build in grand style. The building complex must have been imposing to those who passed the manor, and the chapel was probably visible over the edge of the stockade to show the power of the new religion.
- To build the enclosed part of the manor in the eastern parts, the mounds nearby created a *distance* to other parts of the manor and to its visitors.
- The *symmetry* in which the buildings were planned showed some-

thing that was not common in the landscape – something that probably was borrowed from the ring forts of the Danish king.

- In the manor the enclosed part with the hall building and the chapel was built to show power. The gables of these buildings together with the enclosure were probably high to demonstrate the importance of building *vertically*.

THE DIFFICULTY OF ACCESSING GLORY AND DEMARCATION AGAINST OTHERS

The enclosed area with the hall was placed in a prominent position in the eastern part of the manor. It was visible from all directions except for the east, where it was well embedded in the undulating landscape. If one approached the hall area from the west or the east, it was the enclosure with the large buildings with their gables raised to the sky that could be seen. They were the dominant features in the landscape.

The enclosure could be followed both in the west and the north of the manor. The boundaries to the south were constituted by the buildings placed beside the road. The enclosure was made of large posts, sparsely placed and linked by smaller posts that did not leave any traces. It is not possible to calculate the height of the stockade, but it was likely high enough that no one could see what was going on inside the enclosure. If the desire was to strengthen the impression of the enclosed part, it was no doubt important to create a sufficient barrier that prevented a view of the inside. The enclosure was probably intended not only as a defensive structure but also as an administrative border and possibly above all as a symbolic boundary.

THE ADJACENT ANCESTORS

In the eastern part of the enclosed area, approximately 20 metres east of the main hall, the remains of a stockade with a rampart were found. The remains consisted of parallel ditches and postholes and above these a layer of soil with fire-affected stones. This is probably the remains of a construction that enclosed the eastern part of the manor. The remains show similarities with a stockade at Guldborg, located in Langeland, Denmark. Guldborg was built in the early 12th century as a refuge against raiders. During the excavation of Guldborg a ditch with postholes, remindful of the one in Lockarp, was documented. The interpretation is that the posts served as a support for the stockade and the rampart on which the defenders were placed (Skaarup 2005:112, 345).

Enclosed farms from the Viking Age and Early Middle Ages are well known, and among the most famous are the royal estate of Lejre and the large farms at Tissø, Vorbasse and Lisbjerg (Hvass 1981; Christensen 1991; Jørgensen 2002; Jeppesen 2004; Christensen & Andersen 2008).

To indicate that one entered a farm, or an area, controlled by the elite, certain elements were placed at its boundaries, its entrances and exits (Lundqvist 2000:21). This could be what the enclosure in Lockarp was, that is, a physical boundary that excluded those who were not invited to the hall. Frands Herschend has shown that the older halls were localized to the farm's outer borders, which is seen as an expression of the hall's function as a point of contact between the hall's owner and his visitors (Herschend 1998:20ff). It is possible that the stockade should be seen as a procession path for the aristocratic owner and the invited guests. They entered through a gate in the stockade and then were directly escorted into the hall. It is possible that the hall in Lockarp, despite being a few hundred years younger than the examples provided by Herschend, should be seen as a counterpoint between the hall area and the rest of the farm. The stockade could also have been a border against the old – the mounds and the old burial ground. The stockade can therefore also be seen as a symbolic boundary.

FROM A MYTHICAL FORGE TO A HOLY CHAPEL

In a dissertation Anna Hed Jakobsson discusses the connections that probably prevailed between specialized craftsmanship, central places and political authority during the Late Iron Age (Hed Jakobsson 2003). She gives an example that is of interest for the discussion of the manor in Lockarp. It concerns the spatial relation between forges and chapels on Iceland, and the changes that took place in connection with the Christianization of Iceland. On several farms private chapels were built around the year 1000. Archaeological excavations have shown that at least five out of nine investigated chapels were built on the same place as an older forge (Hed Jakobsson 2003:31f; Söderberg 2005:222). One interpretation is that the change from a forge to a chapel was purely practical. The buildings had no symbolic value, and the change was merely a practical solution; it was easy to replace an existing building that possibly was used periodically. Another interpretation is that the building of the chapel was an expression of cult continuity, a symbolic action that expressed a contradiction between the smith, who represented the old pagan beliefs, and the Christian church that stood

for the new beliefs. The old pagan knowledge possessed by the smith should be relinquished to the new Christian rulers and the priests of the church (Hed Jakobsson 2003:272).

THE MYTHICAL FORGE

In the forecourt of the manor, in a central position, there was a building measuring 11 by 7 metres, which was interpreted as a workshop or forge (fig. 5). The building had slightly convex sidewalls. The gables differed from each other. The western gable was closed and consisted of six postholes, while the eastern gable was open. There were no traces of inner walls, but a clay floor in the western part makes it plausible that the building had two rooms. In the western room traces of a hearth were found, which could be the remains of the forge. In the same area the floor consisted of a large amount of charcoal, burnt silt and white sand that showed traces of fire. During the excavations the white sand was interpreted as sand used to put out the fire. The white sand was probably quartz sand that was used during forging. It was used partly to protect the iron from oxidising, and partly during the smithery when the blacksmith put together several layers of iron or steel, so-called welding; the sand improved the conglutination between the different layers (Grandin *pers. comm.*). In the floor layer in the western room, several tools were found that indicate handicraft in leather and wood. No tools associated with metalwork were found inside the building. However, burned and melted clay from the walls of the hearth, as well as parts of a smith's tong, billets and slag, were found in the vicinity of the forge indicating metalwork in the forecourt.

The location of the forge in the middle of the manor is interesting, since forges, because of the fire risk, were usually placed far away from the main buildings. That the forge was placed in the vicinity of the dwellings and the hall can be an indication that the location was important in the sense that the aristocrat wanted to control the forge in troubled times. A forge situated in the outskirts was an easy target. It can also be explained as that the smith became part of the organisation around the manor and thereby was further controlled by the aristocrat.

The social status of the craftsmen and the smiths has probably changed during history. Many times the archaeological material indicates that the smith was unfettered, at the same time as there are theories advocating that he was tied to the social elite that consisted of an aristocracy and their farms. Skilful smiths that could produce the status

objects of the time, and the magnificent and powerful weapons, were obviously connected to central places and manors. Traces of specialized handicraft such as forging and casting are often visible in the environments of the elite (Ljungkvist 2006:90). Sources from the Continent mention that the most skilful craftsmen moved among the different Germanic courts and were even exchanged as gifts. There are different opinions whether these craftsmen were slaves or free men. Rich graves containing tools of smiths have been taken as a pretext that they were free men. At the same time the laws of the time mention that all craftsmen were not free men (Grandin & Hjærtner-Holdar 2003:313).

The concept of the smith is a strong generalization. A goldsmith in the service of an aristocrat cannot be compared to a blacksmith, but some common denominators appear to have existed. Some form of dependency, possibly with different levels of freedom, seems to have been common. At the same time blacksmiths have been regarded as persons with extraordinary powers (Hed Jakobsson 2003:161). The mere fact that the smithery was concentrated to the aristocracy, cult centres and trading places is a sign that the smith was an important person. The blacksmith was considered to be in communication with supernatural powers; forging was considered a skill linked to the supernatural (Burström 1990). In the myths it was the dwarfs that controlled the metals gold, silver, copper and iron. The two dwarfs Sindre and Brock were considered to have forged the greatest possessions of the gods, such as the hair of Siv, Gollinburste (*Gyllenborst*) the boar and Skidbladner the ship, both of which belonged to Frey, as well as Oden's ring Draupner and his spear Gunger, and Thor's hammer Mjölner (Holtsmark 1992:56).

The location of the forge in the enclosed part of the manor can be discussed on the basis of the concept *deepest space*. *Deepest space* describes a kind of spatial environment considered characteristic for sanctuaries and other buildings intended for religious practices (Hillier & Hanson 1984:180f; Söderberg 2005:209). In this context the forge centrally placed in the forecourt was probably the least accessible building in the manor. It was probably only the owner and his household, his manager, and the persons he invited that had access to this area and the building. On the basis of that, the building in Lockarp should be seen as a forge (or workshop) with a cult function and not just as a regular forge.

Later research has shown that, in the Late Iron Age manors, there

were small buildings in the vicinity of the hall buildings. Known as “side buildings”, they are often found to the southwest of the hall and are relatively small rectangular buildings, sometimes surrounded by a fence or a stockade. Small side buildings have been excavated on sites such as Tissø and Lejre on Zealand, Järrestad in Scania, Borg in Östergötland, and possibly Sanda in Uppland (Christensen 1991; Lindeblad 1996; Åqvist 1996; Andrén 2002; Jørgensen 2002; Söderberg 2005). The function of these buildings and the area surrounding them seems to have been ritual (Andrén 2002:315). It has been suggested that the buildings represent the concept of the *Harg* (cult centre) in the Nordic saga literature. In the side building in Järrestad there were several iron artefacts that indirectly link the building to metalwork, including an anvil and a smith’s hammer. In addition an axe and a large iron ring were found. The location, close to the hall, strikes a discordant note in a possible interpretation of the building as a forge. Instead the finds and other observations indicate that the building should be associated with forging on a more symbolic level (Söderberg 2006:158ff). Also at Borg the building was used in some kind of cult. Just outside the building, two pits were excavated. These pits are probably the remains of two furnaces used in the cult, connected with forging (Hed Jakobsson 2003:112). Just outside the forge in Lockarp were the remains of two furnaces, just like at Borg. In these furnaces, parts of blast nozzles were found which indicates some kind of metalwork. The resemblance to Borg is obvious. Is it possible that the two furnaces in Lockarp were used in the cult? In the discussion concerning the building in Borg, a quotation from the Poetic Edda is used (Lindeblad 1996:68). Maybe the same quotation can be used about the forge and the two furnaces in Lockarp.

“The Aesir met at Idavall,
They timbered tall cult centres and
houses for sacrifice,
Forges were set up, and jewellery
was hammered,
Forge tongs were forged and tools
were crafted.”

“Asarna möttes på Idavall,
Timrade höga harg och blothus,
gjorde smideshärदार, hamrade
smycken,
smidde tänger, slöjdade redskap.”

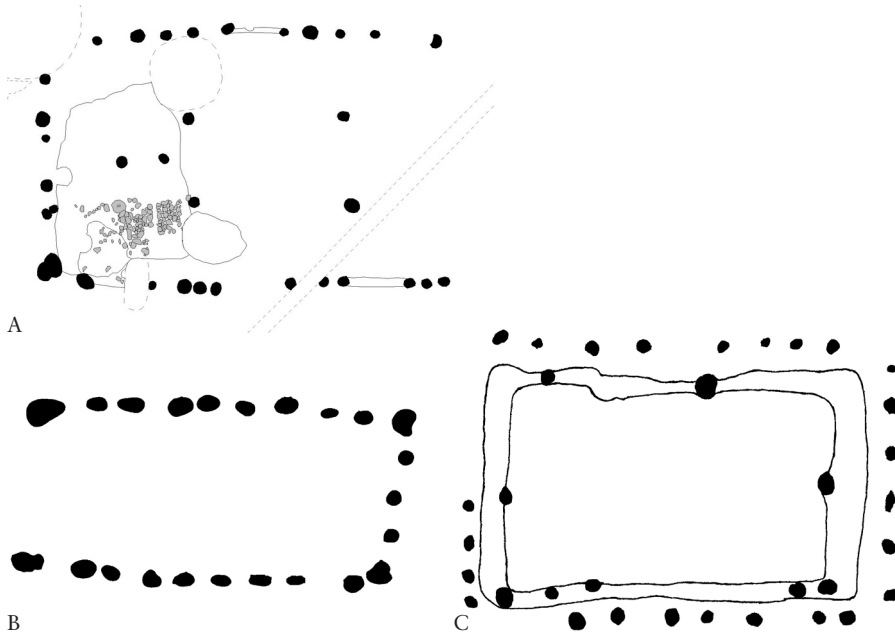


Figure 5. The forge at Lockarp compared with other interpreted forges. A. Lockarp, Scania. B. Ösarp, Halland. C. Fyrkat, Jutland. Note that the plans are rotated to show the similarities. Scale 1:200.

Parallels to the forge in Lockarp have been found at, among other places, the large farm in Ösarp in Halland, Sweden, in the ring forts at Fyrkat on Jutland and Trelleborg on Zealand, and at the manorial farm at Vorbasse on Jutland, Denmark (Heimer 2009). Ösarp is interpreted as a large farm, possibly a manor, from the Late Iron Age (Viking & Fors 1995). Ösarp was, like Lockarp, located just a few kilometres from a market place, Köpinge (Bjuggner & Rosengren 1999:94). At Ösarp a small building was excavated and interpreted as a forge (Carlie 1999:136). The forge was placed approximately 15 metres from a dwelling house of “Trelleborg-type”, just like in Lockarp. At Fyrkat there was a small building, 10 by 5 metres, situated in the forecourt of house group 2. Inside the building were parts of crucibles indicating gold, silver and bronze casting. A possible hearth was also excavated. The finds can be seen as indirect evidence that the building had been used as a workshop (Roesdahl 1977:153ff.). In addition, two smaller buildings with similar location were excavated in Fyrkat, but their function is unclear (Roesdahl 1977:159, fig 223). The interpretation of the building in Trelleborg is uncertain, but it has been suggested that

it was used as a house for a chieftain. However, there were no finds in the building to support this assumption (Wulff Andersen 1998:19). The similarities to the houses at Fyrkat, and the fact that the ring forts were such uniform creations, makes it more likely, in my view, that the building in Trelleborg as well as at Fyrkat was used as a workshop of some kind. In the building at Vorbasse, which lay approximately 33 metres south-east of the main farm building – a “Trelleborg-type” house – two phases could be observed. In the early phase the building was used as a shed for domestic animals, and in the later phase the building was changed into a forge (Hvass 1981:158ff).

THE HOLY CHAPEL

Sometime during the second half of the 11th century the forge or workshop at Lockarp was replaced with a new building measuring 15 by 7 metres. This building was constructed in the same way as the large hall building, with outer rows of supporting posts resembling a “Trelleborg-type” house (fig. 6A). The building consisted of at least two rooms, possibly three. The western room was approximately 10 by 4.5 metres, and part of it was three-aisled with roof-supporting posts at the far west, while the roof in the eastern part was supported by the walls. In the south long wall there was an opening in the wall trench that indicated a door. In the eastern part of the building, postholes were found that formed a small expansion in the gable, their breadth and placement corresponding well to the placement of the roof truss in the western room. The eastern room was approximately 4 by 2.5 metres. The east-west orientation of the building together with the east expansion, which is remindful of a chancel, suggests that the building served as a chapel.

Early churches have foremost been identified by the presence of graves and their locations under existing stone churches (Anglert 1995:67f; Roesdahl 2004:201ff). But there is one example of an early church in Scania that lacked graves and that was not replaced with a younger church. It was found and excavated in a profane farm environment just 40 kilometres north of Lockarp, in Särslöv (fig. 6B). It was centrally placed in the farm and consisted of a robust three-aisled construction. Like the building in Lockarp, the eastern part of the Särslöv building had roof-supporting posts, forming a three-aisled room. In the middle of the building, the roof was supported by the walls. In both long walls there were entrances, of which the southern one had salient door posts. In the eastern part of the building, postholes were found

that formed a small space in the gable, whose breadth and placement, just like the building in Lockarp, corresponded well to the placement of the roof truss in the western room. On the basis of the central location of the building, its unique and robust construction and the ground plan, with a presumed nave in the western part and a chancel in the east, the building is interpreted as a chapel (Kriig & Thomasson 2000:20; Thomasson 2005:113; Anglert 2006:83f, 99).

In an attempt to locate chapels in the Viking Age settlement at Omgård, Jutland, the archaeologist Leif Christian Nielsen set up the following criteria (Nielsen 1991:258):

- The building ground plan should correspond to the Romanesque stone churches with a nave and a chancel.
- The building should have a relation to an older, presumed, pagan cult complex.

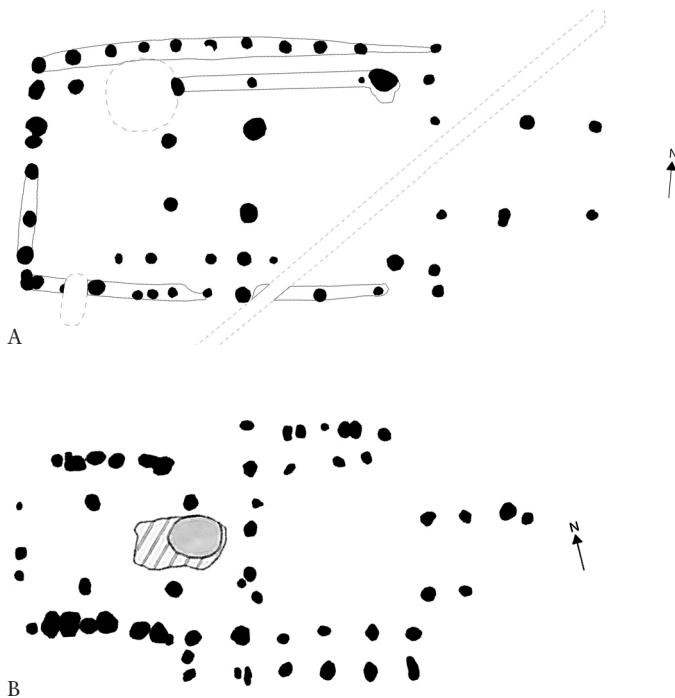


Figure 6. Example of an early Christian chapel from Scania compared with the chapel in Lockarp. A. Lockarp, Scania, middle of 11th century. B. Särslöv, Scania, end of 11th century (after Kriig & Thomasson 2000:20, fig. 17; Heimer et al. 2006:80, fig. 64). Note that the plans are rotated to show the similarities. Scale 1:200.

- The building should be placed centrally on a farm.
- The building should be on the property of a lord or magnate.
- A direct connection through a gate to the main building of the farm.

A majority of these criteria can be applied to the building in Lockarp:

- The ground plan consisted of a presumed nave with a chancel in the east.
- The spatial connection with an older forge that could have served in the pagan cult.
- The building was centrally placed in the forecourt, which should be regarded as both the architectural and spatial centre of the manor.
- The building is placed on a manorial farm and was the property of a lord or magnate.

The direct spatial link between the forge and the chapel, and the fact that both these buildings constituted the architectural and spatial centre of the manor, shows that they had a central function within the manor. The chapel was a direct link to the social elite. An important part of the Christianization of Scandinavia was the aristocracy that built private churches on their farms (Sanmark 2004:83ff). Something that speaks against the interpretation that the building served as a chapel is the lack of graves. Leif Christian Nielsen meant, however, that it was not necessary to have a burial place in connection with the churches placed on manorial farms. The Christian cemetery could have been located someplace else before it was moved to the church, or perhaps the church was moved to the cemetery (Nielsen 1991:260).

No Viking Age graves have been found in Lockarp. In pre-Christian time the nobility in Lockarp probably buried their dead in the burial ground at Ljungbacka, just one kilometre north of Lockarp (fig. 7). During excavation of the burial ground, several graves dated to the Late Iron Age were examined; two of them have been identified as warrior graves, with equipment such as a battle axe and spurs (Samuelsson 2003:91f). Maybe these graves are the reminiscence of the aristocracy in Lockarp. Christian Adamsen has presented a hypothesis when it comes to connecting a burial ground to a settlement. In his view, one could search for Viking Age burial grounds on the other side of a stream, opposite the settlement (Adamsen 2004:20ff). He gives several examples from southern Scandinavia and mentions that it was

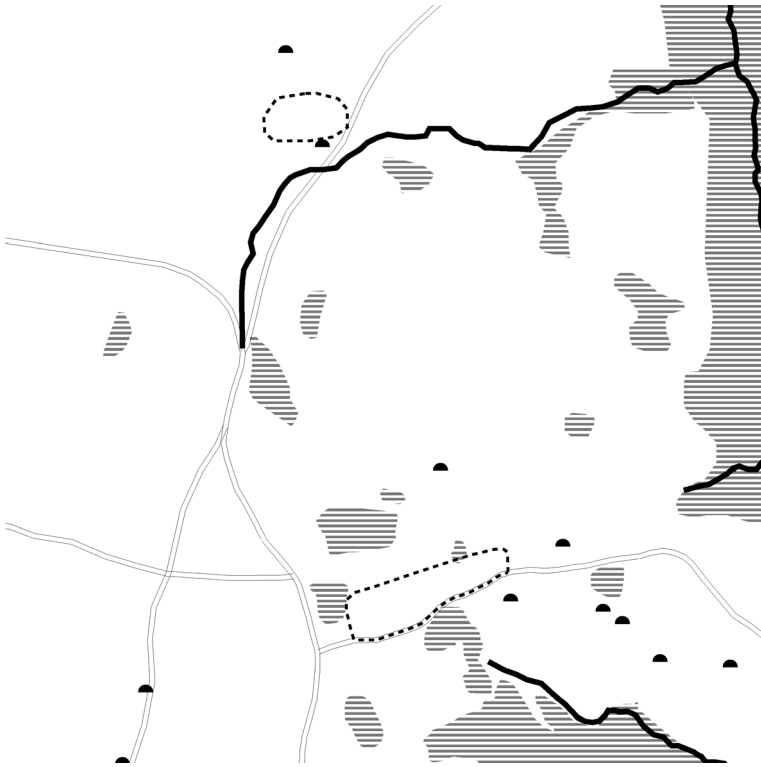


Figure 7. The map shows the boundaries (dashed) of the manor in the south and the Ljungbacka burial ground in the north. The boundaries of the burial grounds are approximate. Semicircles mark burial mounds. The roads (hollow lines), the stream and Risebergabäcken (solid lines), meadows and wetlands (hatched) are digitalized from historical maps. Scale 1:20 000.

important to cross water, perhaps via a bridge or a forge, Gjallarbro, to the underworld when burying the dead. On a Scanian survey map from 1812–1820 (Sw. *Skånska rekognoceringskartan*) a watercourse is visible just south of the Ljungbacka burial ground, about one kilometre north of the manor in Lockarp (fig. 7). Is this the stream that can be interpreted as the river of the dead, the stream one had to cross via Gjallarbro, on the way to the burial ground?

If the aristocracy in Lockarp did not bury their dead at Ljungbacka, one must seek their burial ground in another place. In that case one should, perhaps, look for their graves on the other side of Risebergabäcken and the ford called Galljevad, in a burial ground that has not yet been discovered. The ford Galljevad is marked on an 18th-century map as the name of the nearby field that is called Galljevadsåkra. The

name is generally interpreted as the ford on the way to the Gallows (Sw. *Galje*), in Oxie (Persson 2008:9). Boldly put, maybe this should be reinterpreted as the Gjallarbro, the bridge to the underworld.

When the nobility in Lockarp became Christian, they probably buried their dead in a new cemetery. There are no known graves from that time in Lockarp and therefore one has to search elsewhere. The present church was built in 1885–86, on the same site as a medieval church. The medieval history of the church is for the most part still unknown. The church is, however, known in the mid-17th century as a rather small parish church without a tower or apse (Kling *pers. comm.*). Since the nobility in Lockarp at that time was probably closely connected to the king, it is likely that we would find their graves in a cemetery at the new Christian centre of Lund. In his study on the number of dead buried in the oldest cemetery in Lund, Peter Carelli found that the number of burials was about 7–9 times higher than in the slightly younger cemeteries in Lund, and up to 20 times higher than in, for example, the rural cemetery of Tirup on eastern Jutland. He suggests that the cemetery in Lund formed an early Christian necropolis for Scania (Carelli 2004:254ff). This might explain the lack of graves in Lockarp.

A SECOND CHAPEL

In connection with the excavations, traces of several, large, stone impressions were documented, in younger layers, above the chapel (fig. 8). The building measured 12 by 6.5 metres and is probably a rebuilding of the older chapel. It had the typical shape of a chapel with a nave and was almost of the same proportions as the older chapel. There were no traces of a chancel, but from a source-critical perspective it can be noted that several layers of clay were documented in the area where the chancel could have been located. These layers were interpreted as belonging to other buildings, dated to about AD 1150–1250. It is therefore possible that one could search for the chancel in these layers. The building had the same east-west orientation as the old chapel, with a slight shift. The size of stone impressions implies that the construction was large.

To assume that the building is a second chapel is perhaps bold, but the size of the building and its location promote the interpretation of a chapel. If that was the case, that there was a second chapel, built with stone joists, then this farm was an aristocratic environment well in to the High Middle Ages. The connection between medieval chapels or

churches and manorial farms is well known in medieval Scandinavia. Sometimes these chapels and churches were developed into parish churches (Wienberg 1993:177) and in other cases they disappeared. These manorial chapels probably lacked burial rights, and therefore the absence of graves or traces of a cemetery is not remarkable (Hansson 1999:50f).

Within the same area as the chapels, several objects of religious character were found. Just north of the chapel there was a find of a small, folded, lead foil (fig. 9A). On both sides there are runes or rune-like signs. They do not provide a cohesive text, which is more the rule than an exception when it comes to inscribed objects such as this. The foil is not older than the 12th century and could well be younger since lead foil of this kind occurs during the entire Middle Ages (Snædal 2007). Similar foils, folded or convoluted, have been found earlier and are generally interpreted as amulets with a religious meaning (Gustavson & Snædal Brink 1980:229ff). West of the chapel a crucifix was found (fig. 9B). The design is typical for medieval crosses and crucifixes and can probably be dated to the 12th or 13th century. The crucifix shows Christ in “Majestas Domini” surrounded by a mandorla (a gloriole around his silhouette). Majestas Domini portrays Christ raising his hand, the image of the Lord in Majesty. When he stands with his right hand raised and a book in his left hand, it is to show the way to Saint Peter (Söderlind 2001:6f). The extension of the lower part suggests that the crucifix had been fastened to another object (Heimer *et al.* 2006:137). The upper part of the crucifix is flattened, which indicates some damage to the crucifix. It is possible that the crucifix originated from the later chapel.

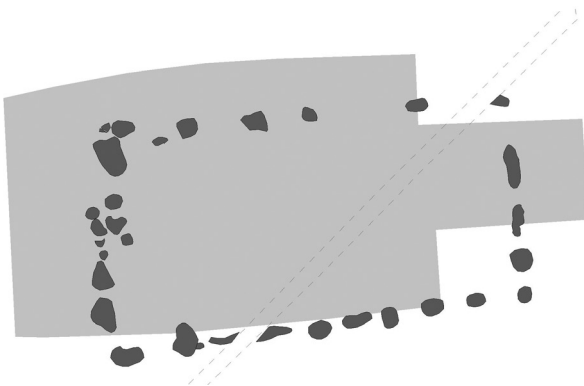


Figure 8. Dark grey shows the stone impressions from a younger chapel. Light grey shows the position of the older chapel. Scale 1:200.

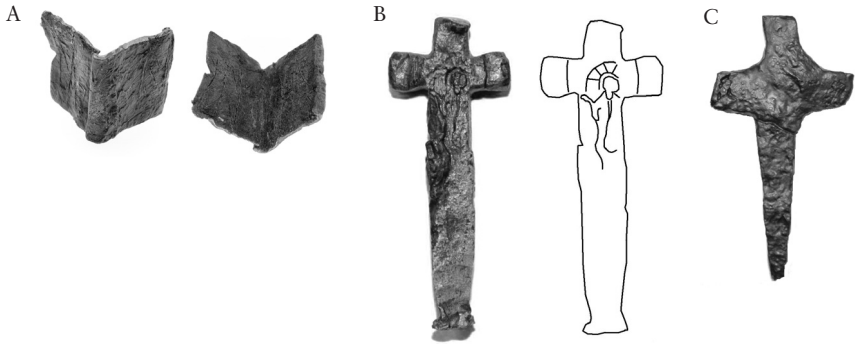


Figure 9.

A. Lead foil. Scale 1:1. Photo: Bengt A. Lundberg, Riksantikvarieämbetet, Stockholm.

B. Crucifix with interpreted embossments. Scale 1:1. Photo and drawing: Olle Heimer.

C. Iron cross from the preliminary investigation. Scale 1:2. Photo: Olle Heimer.

During the preliminary investigations in Lockarp, another cross was found (fig. 9C). It is an iron cross measuring approximately 7 by 3.5 centimetres. The cross was found in a posthole in the outskirts of the manor and could not be linked to any building or any other structure (Heimer 2002:96). The interpretation of the cross is uncertain, but it could be a preparatory work made in a forge in Lockarp.

CONCLUSION

This journey from paganism to Christianity in Lockarp is an attempt to understand the buildings that stood in the courtyard at the manorial farm in Lockarp, and what they represented. To sum up, one can say that the location is of great importance and can be discussed on the basis of the concept *deepest space*. *Deepest space* describes a kind of spatial environment considered characteristic for sanctuaries and other buildings for religious practices. Primary in this context is the forge, an important building in pagan beliefs. It was the building that could represent the cult centre (*Harg*) in the Nordic saga literature. The location of this building, in the middle of the manor, can be an indication that it was important for the aristocrat to control the cult. It can also show that it was important for the aristocrat to control the forge in troubled times. Another explanation is that the blacksmith became part of the organisation around the manor and in that way was further controlled by the aristocrat. Later on this building was replaced with a new, more impressive building. The new building was built in the same

way as the large hall, with outer rows of supporting posts resembling a “Trelleborg-type” house. The east-west orientation of the building and the east expansion, which is remindful of a chancel, imply that the building should be interpreted as a chapel. The new religion, Christianity, had arrived. Later on this chapel was replaced with a new chapel that was almost the same size but built on stone joists.

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