

**Peter Norman**

## **OUTER ARCHIPELAGO FISHING AS A RESOURCE IN THE SOCIETIES OF THE LATE IRON AGE AND MIDDLE AGES**

In the outer archipelago of the province of Södermanland in the east of middle Sweden, the remains of fishing camps are frequent. The remains consist of hut ruins, jetties and places where the fishermen dried their nets. The oldest fishing camps of this type are dated to the Viking Age or just before. Although the changes in society during centuries influenced the economic conditions for fishing, the kind of fishing that people were practicing in the outer archipelago, was almost the same until the beginning of the twentieth century. The fishing camps arose in a system of a manor economy where the aim was to supply the household of the manor with fish. Gradually this redistributive economy was changed into a market economy. The changes in the economy system influenced also the outer archipelago fishing. Anybody was able to fish. The only demand was that the fishermen had to pay a tax to the Crown or the nobleman who controlled the fishing camp.

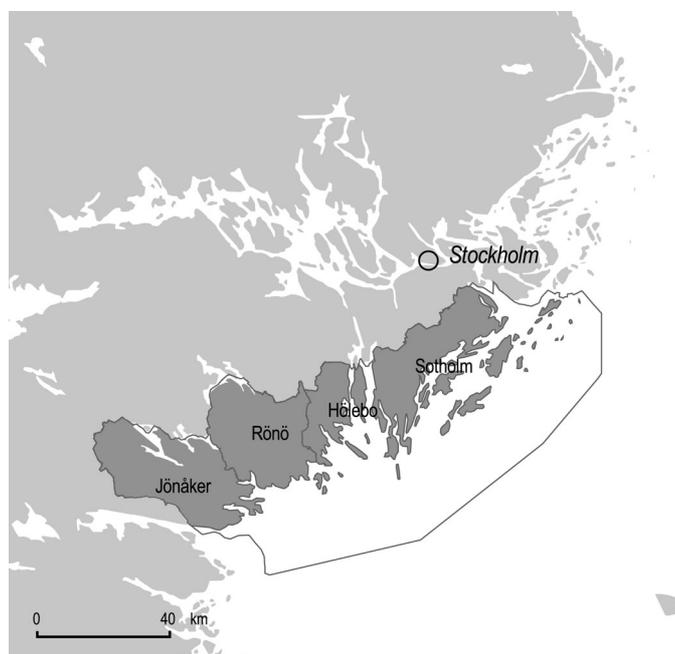
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### **Introduction**

This article is a short presentation of the results from an on-going research for the project “Premodern Coastal Environments” at the University College Södertörns Högskola in Sweden. The project places natural processes against changes in society in an attempt to understand the interplay between man and environment (Lilja 2006, 7). This can be studied in shorter and longer perspectives. In shorter perspective Sven Lilja has, among others, for the project localized local climate crises on the coast of Södermanland utilizing initially “one-tenth lists” or “tithelists” from around the year 1600 (Lilja 2006, 95 ff.). The longer perspective can be described by slow changes in the local society. Tradition was strong and did not mostly break off, even when radical changes were introduced (Granlund 1958, 111; Löfgren 1973, 30 ff.).

This article is an example of that. My starting point is the abundant fishing camps in the outer archipelago. Here one finds the remains of huts, jetties and places where the fishermen dried their nets. The aim is to put the outer archipelago fishing area in its social context over time, from when the fishing camps were used for the first time in the Viking Age or just before, until the late Middle Ages, when the earliest known written Swedish sources concerning the outer archipelago fishing appear. The overall question is: who was the fisherman and why did he fish?

To answer the questions I have in a previous article, related to the project, made an overview of the settlement development in the investigation area – east Södermanland – from the late Iron Age to the sixteenth century by analyzing the spatial spread of ancient monuments, mostly graves of the late Iron Age, place names, charters from the Middle Ages and fiscal sources from the 16th century (Norman 2006) (Fig. 1). The overview resulted in a number of issues concerning the settlement development and use of natural resources in the area. The issues are presented in two hypothetical models. In my opinion the models are general and applicable to most areas with similar geographic, economic and social conditions. According to the first model, there are three different geographic zones for the settlement development:



**Fig. 1.** The research area consists of the archipelago of the province of Södermanland including the hundreds of Jönåker, Rönö, Hölbo and Sotholm.

1. In the Viking Age the permanent settlements were concentrated on the fertile areas of the mainland and the big islands in the inner archipelago.
2. The less fertile islands beyond the mainland were used as grazing land during the summer. This part of the archipelago was colonised by peasants from the centuries after 1000 AD.
3. The outer archipelago has never been inhabited. Throughout history the outermost archipelago has been used for seasonal fishing and hunting.

According to the second model, the people who used the natural resources were hypothetically of different kind and belonged to different spheres of society:

1. A local sphere, consisting of peasants living in the archipelago, and using the archipelago for farming, grazing and fishing.
2. A regional and urban sphere, consisting of a) the authorities (the nobles, the Crown and the church) who taxed the farmers and b) peasants and burghers from outside the archipelago who were fishing in the outer archipelago during the fishing season.
3. An interregional sphere consisting of the shipping that crossed the archipelago, having neither embarkation nor destination there.

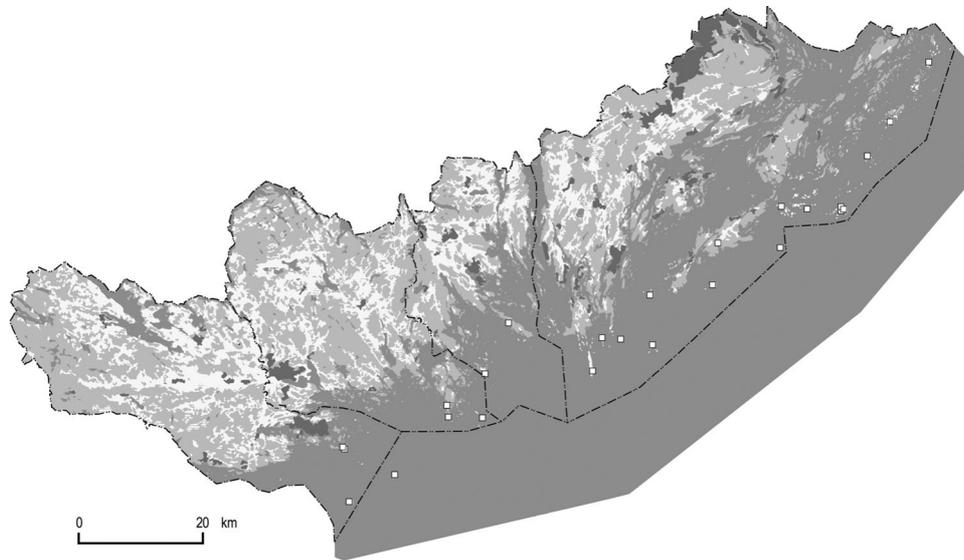
In a second article I reported the results from the archaeological researches of the last decade, made by the University College Södertörns Högskola in the outer archipelago of Södermanland, under the lead of project member Johan Rönnby (Norman 2008). These researches dealt mostly with the fishing camps.

A third article, written in cooperation with project member Bengt Windelhed, dealt with the development of an agrarian settlement in the inner part of the archipelago (Norman & Windelhed 2008).

### **Earlier knowledge about outer archipelago fishing**

There are at least 25 places in the outer archipelago of Södermanland where the major fishing catch was herring (Fig. 2). To a lesser extent cod was also caught. In most of these places there are remains of small huts or house foundations (Figs 3 and 4). In some cases there are also small cairns, used as foundations for poles where the fishermen hung their nets to dry, and jetties. Since the buildings were small, built in a simple way, and due to climatic reasons it is probable that the fishing was going on only during the warmer part of the year. This opinion is supported by written sources and traditions that tell about the fishing during the spring, summer and autumn (Norman 1993, 84).

Despite the exposed location in the outer archipelago the fishing camps were well sheltered along small coves. Most of them consist of groups of buildings, but also single hut remains occur. <sup>14</sup>C analyses and shore displacement calculations indicate that the oldest fishing camps are from the Viking Age or just before. The shoreline 1000 years ago was approximately between 3.75 m (Nyköping) and 4.75 m (Stockholm) above the present level. Archaeological researches,



**Fig. 2.** The white squares on the map show places containing physical remains of fishing camps or places mentioned in documents about fishing camps.



**Fig. 3.** The ruins of a hut in a fishing camp in the archipelago. Typically of this kind of simple buildings, the ground was used as a floor.



**Fig. 4.** The remains of a house in a fishing camp in the archipelago. In the picture one can see a part of the foundation and some stones belonging to the stove.

old account books and other written sources support the theory that the fishing connected to these fishing hamlets had been continuous until the twentieth century.

The outer archipelago fishing industry was not operating for direct consumption. The catch was preserved and stored (Norman 1993, 76 ff.). When the fishing season was over the fish was transported from the camp. One question is why this kind of fishing was started at the time the  $^{14}\text{C}$  analyses indicate? What made the fishing possible? Which were the socioeconomic incentives? Another question is how the socioeconomic structures changed over time.

Earlier I had studied this kind of outer archipelago fishing, over a long span of time, along the whole Swedish east coast, but with the northern part of the Kalmar Strait as the central research area. The oldest outer archipelago fishing camps in the Kalmar Strait have been dated to c. 1000 AD. At this time probably no permanent settlements had been established in the archipelago. The fishermen must have come from somewhere else (Norman 1993, 184). A possible interpretation is that this kind of fishing can be connected to another phenomenon which emerged in the Kalmar Strait area around the same time, namely trade

with staple goods in a place set aside for that purpose. A trading place of this sort was established in Köpingsvik on the Island Öland at the end of the 10th century.

According to the dating, the outer archipelago fishing increased during the 12th and 13th centuries. During this period the Crown strengthened its control in the Kalmar Strait area, but also in the rest of Sweden. Towns were established and castles were built. The areas beyond the central farming districts were colonised permanently. In this colonisation probably both the Crown and the highest ranks of nobility were involved. If this was the case, the Crown and the nobility ought to have had interests in the outer archipelago fishing industry.

Then, in 1993, according to the knowledge of that time, the oldest outer archipelago fishing camps in the province of Södermanland were dated to the 13th century. This corresponded to urbanisation activities in the area. The importance of the towns for the outer archipelago fishing is related to the fact that a growing part of population did not take part in the production of provisions. According to written sources from late Middle Ages and the 16th century, this group of people partly bought their food from the market. The theory is that an expanding market for daily supplies in the 13th century is supported by the increasing monetization in the same century. The interpretation that the contemporary fishing camps in the southernmost part of the Baltic had a close connection to the market for staple goods also supports this (Ersgård 1988, 183 ff.).

In the 15th and 16th centuries the first outer archipelago fishing camps along the coast of Norrland (northern part of Sweden) were established. The interpretation is that their origin is connected to the increase in consumption in southern Sweden.

### **The outer archipelago fishing in the province of Södermanland**

The knowledge about the outer archipelago fishing camps that has been added since 1993 indicates that the earliest development of the outer archipelago fishing was different than described in 1993. Firstly, the earliest fishing camps are older than we thought in 1993. Secondly, we have a better knowledge of the spatial structures. The question is how this new knowledge influences the theories of the origin of the outer archipelago fishing industry?

In this context it is important to emphasize that, according to earlier research, there is a close relation between 1) the level above the shore line of the fishing huts, 2) the dating of the fishing huts and 3) the land upheaval (Norman 1993, 61 ff.).

In the outer archipelago of Södermanland there are at least four places with groups of fishing huts that are situated more than five metres above today's sea level. According to <sup>14</sup>C dating and land upheaval calculations, the conclusion is that these fishing camps are from the Viking Age or just before.

In some other places there are single hut ruins situated approximately on the same level as the groups of hut ruins mentioned above. However, not one of these has been excavated archaeologically, but according to their topographical position (situated at the shore of sheltered small coves) and due to morphological reasons they ought to be connected to fishery and contemporary with the others.

A third group consists of abandoned groups of house foundations situated much lower in the terrain and closer to the shore.<sup>1</sup> Most of these places are known as fishing camps in written sources. According to archaeological results and land upheaval calculations these places are dated to the Middle Ages or later. The places with hut ruins are thus older than those with house foundations.

Finally, a fourth group consists of single house foundations situated just a couple of metres above the present shore line. The buildings in this group are also late in relation to the buildings situated more than five metres above today's shore line.

Of this description it is possible to make the conclusion that the fishing from these fishing camps in the outer archipelago in Södermanland has been going on continuously from the Viking Age or just before, until the 20th century. The fishing camps are divided into two groups. One group consists of groups of hut ruins or house foundations and the other group consists of single hut ruins or house foundations. According to the first group one can make the hypothetical conclusion that some kind of organisation was necessary. Hut ruins or house foundations at the same place may have been used at the same time and many fishermen and fishing teams indicate co-operation within the fishing areas. The presence of single hut ruins or house foundations indicates the opposite.

### Written sources

From the late Middle Ages, there are written sources that tell us about the conditions in the fishing camps. Special regulations and legal decisions indicate that the outer archipelago fishing was desirable and a matter for concurrence (Norman 1993, 78). For example, in 1454 the burghers of the town Trosa on the coast of Södermanland received the right to fish from the fishing camps in the archipelago and in a law court decision, 1579, the peasants at the Island Singö in Uppland (the province close to Stockholm northwards) claimed their right to the fishing at the Island Måsesten in opposition to the burghers from the town Östhammar (Herlitz 1927, 124; Jansson 1962, 112 ff.).

To regulate the conditions at the fishing camps there were special regulations from the late Middle Ages, known as *hamnordningar* (fishing regulations), where the size of the catch quota to the Crown was stated. The fishing regulations also

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<sup>1</sup> A house foundation is the remains of a more developed building than a hut ruin is. The house has had a floor made of boards and a stove consisting of a rectangular construction built of stones. In the hut you used the ground as floor and also the fireplace was situated on the ground.

served as regulation for law and order for those who stayed at the fishing camps. The Swedish fishing regulations often seem to have had their prototypes in the Danish and German fishing regulations (Schäfer 1887, 79; Sjöstedt 1951, 88; Granlund 1961, 103). These may in their turn have their prototypes in the organisation of the international Champagne fairs (Christensen 1976, 140). These kind of periodic trade fairs appeared in several places from the 12th century (Braudel 1986, 113 ff.).

### **The society behind the outer archipelago fishing**

From that time – middle of the 14th century – when written sources about the outer archipelago fishing in Sweden first appeared, it is obvious that the Crown (mainly) and the highest ranks of the nobility had ambition to gain control over the fishing industry. Later, during the 16th and the 17th century the Crown was successful in this (Rothlieb 1925, 151; Bergström 1957, 11; Plaenge Jacobsson 1978, 15). However, in the 18th and 19th century the Crown was forced to give up the control over fishing (Rothlieb 1925, 160; Bergström 1957, 11; Plaenge Jacobsson 1978, 23, 146).

But how was the situation before the middle of the 15th century? There are only few written sources concerning the outer archipelago fishing in Sweden before this time (Norman 1993, 79). However, in the German and area of today's Baltic countries the fishing rights in the Baltic Sea belonged to the Crown, at least from the 13th century (Jagow 1915, 40; Hasslöf 1949, 444). In the east part of Denmark the sea fishery was connected to the mercantile development dominated by the king as early as in the 12th century (Ersgård 1988, 53 ff., 186 ff.). However, in Norway the fishing in the sea has been free for everyone, at least from the early Middle Ages (Hasslöf 1949, 447).

To answer the question of who had the right to fish in the outer archipelago (or who claimed the right to fish) it is necessary to have an informed opinion about the society and how it was organised. An earlier article in the project deals with the settlement development in the eastern part of Södermanland during the late Iron Age and the Middle Ages. During the late Iron Age, the settlements in eastern Södermanland were concentrated in the fertile areas a short distance from the coast. These areas are the same as the central farming districts of today. From the central areas the settlements were spread into the surrounding woodlands, but also into the archipelago. This colonisation was made in stages. The first stage was an extensive development, for instance pasturing and fishing. Permanent settlements were established in these areas from the beginning of the early Middle Ages. This hypothesis is supported by older research of the settlement development in the region north of Södermanland, but also by the archaeological and historic geographical research made for the project "Pre-Modern Coastal Societies" at the Island Rågön 2005 (Broberg 1990; Windelhed 1995; Norman & Windelhed 2008).

Rågön is situated in the inner part of the archipelago. Today there is one farm on the island but according to written sources from the end of the 14th century there have been two farms. <sup>14</sup>C dating of charcoal from clearing cairns supports the interpretation that the island has been used for agrarian purposes since the Viking Age or just before. However, there are no prehistoric graves on the island and this indicates an absence of a domiciled settlement before the Middle Ages (e.g. Larsson 1997, 13).

It seems that the nobility and the Crown had a great influence on the colonisation of the less fertile land beyond the central farming districts in the eastern part of Södermanland. According to written sources from the *hundred* of Sotholm and some parishes in the *hundred* of Rönö, dated to the later part of the Middle Ages and the 16th century, the nobility and the Crown were the dominant landowners in these areas (Norman 2006, 69 ff.). Free farmers occurred only in the central areas. This picture of land ownership probably goes back to the time of colonisation (Ferm 2002, 85 ff.; Selinge 2002).

More indications of that the nobility of the Middle Ages had its roots in late Iron Age are big mounds and the remains of monumental profane buildings, runic stones and the character of the place names. Besides, most scholars support the hypothesis of a stratified society with an advanced organisation in the Viking Age (Hyenstrand 1974; Wijkander 1983; Larsson 1997).

However, dependent only on ancient remains, the picture of the late Iron Age society is not complete. One reason is that such remains are missing on several manors. The historic geographer Johan Berg shows a more nuanced picture when he discusses the topic on a lower spatial and social level (Berg 2000, 152; 2003). Berg considers that central places existed and power was exercised on different levels in society but it was within the local society where the physical control and the power was created, reproduced and manifested. He does not deny the importance of the symbolic expressions of big mounds, rich graves, rune stones and others. However, there is more than one example of land owing going back to prehistoric times, not expressed in archaeological monuments. In one case Berg claims that the topographic and geographic position of the manor was important for the control of the area (Berg 2000, 160).

The archaeological sources, just as the written sources, have been interpreted to show that there have always existed free peasants. In the northern part of Sweden, northward from northern Uppland, it seems that free peasants dominated the society. The archaeologist Anders Broberg wrote that the *landnam* in the Viking Age and early Middle Ages in northern Uppland seems to have occurred in an egalitarian society of farmers (Broberg 1990, 188). It is probably the same with the areas north of the province of Uppland. According to the medieval law of the province of Hälsingland, the cultivation of new land was almost free (Holmbäck & Wessen 1940, 377; Myrdal 1999, 25). In the south of Sweden, cultivation of new land was encouraged, but not without restrictions (Holmbäck & Wessen 1933, 177–216; Myrdal 1999, 25). This difference probably reflected

the real circumstances. When the medieval province laws were written the cultivation of new land beyond the more fertile central farming districts had been going on for centuries. When it comes to the circumstances of land owning later in the Middle Ages, there are big differences between Norrland – including the north part of Uppland – and the provinces in the south. In Norrland the domination of free peasants was total (Lindkvist & Ågren 1985, 31; Blomkvist 1986, 49).

The free peasants in the coastal *hundreds* of Södermanland did not seem to have taken part in the colonisation of the less fertile areas beyond the central parts of the parishes. In the middle of the 16th century the free peasants' farms were concentrated to the central parts of the parishes and probably this is the same picture as earlier during the Middle Ages.

According to the description of Kalmar Strait above, the urban development has played an important role in the outer archipelago fishing. In the investigation area in east Södermanland there are two medieval towns. Firstly, Nyköping where there has been an urban settlement at least since the 12th century, and secondly, Trosa that received its town rights in 1383. However, it seems that the town has had a semi-urban prehistory that at least could be of the same age as the town of Nyköping. Close to the investigation area there is the town of Södertälje. As Trosa, this town received its town rights in the 14th century but its urban history is probably much older. Södertälje is mentioned in an urban context in 1070 AD (Adam of Bremen 1984, 228). The position at the narrow strait that connected the Baltic to the southern outflow of Lake Mälaren, was very strategic. At the eastern outflow of the lake Mälaren Stockholm is situated and its prehistory seems to begin in the 11th century, even if there was no urbanisation before the 13th century.

In Mälaren, a short distance north of Södertälje, was the Viking Age town Birka. The distance from Birka to the outer archipelago fishing camps was not more than one day's sailing. Not far from Birka is Sigtuna and this town was established at the end of the 10th century.

The conclusion is that the society in eastern Södermanland – when the first outer archipelago fishing camps were established – was a stratified society. The settlement development that involved the use of extensive natural resources – as pasturing and outer archipelago fishing – begun during the Viking Age or just before, and was ruled by a group of people whose descendants should be the first nobility. The interpretation is, according to written sources from the Middle Ages and fiscal sources from the 16th century, that their dominance together with the Crown was total, concerning colonisation of the land beyond the central farming districts. The Crown's part in this colonisation, probably started in the beginning of the Middle Ages, had developed from the endeavours of the nobility. A general opinion of the Crown properties is that they originate from confiscated nobility properties in early Middle Ages (Hyenstrand 1989, 20; Larsson 1997, 183).

### **Who was the fisherman and in what socioeconomic context did he live?**

From the time before the end of the Middle Ages there are no written sources about the fishermen's geographical and social background. However, in the end of the Middle Ages and the following centuries, the fishermen in the outer archipelago were mostly peasants from the archipelago, but also peasants from the land inside the archipelago, and burghers (Norman 1993, 77 f.). Sometimes the sources tell us about employed fishermen. For example one source from the early 16th century tells that the bishop of the town Linköping had two fishermen at the Island Håradsskär in the archipelago of the province of Östergötland. In the middle of the 16th century Gustav Vasa established a fishery at Simpevarp in the Kalmar Strait northern archipelago (Arnell 1904, 123; Fürst 1985, 16).

But who was the fisherman during the Viking Age and early Middle Ages? Was he a peasant who was fishing for the household, was he a burgher from one of the towns in the area or a peasant who fished for profit, or was he a rich farmer or a nobleman's farmhand? Before we discuss these questions I will present some models:

1) Noel Broadbent has conducted archaeological research in small hut ruins along the coast of Norrland. These huts were used by seal hunters in the period from the Roman Iron Age till the early Middle Ages. With a historic parallel Broadbent connects the hut ruins to hamlets on land behind the coast. One example is from the parish of Lövånger in the province of Västerbotten where Broadbent connects known fishing camps and seal grounds, documented in the 16th century, to certain hamlets. The small hut ruins are almost always situated in groups on different levels above the sea. Broadbent writes that – if you take the land upheaval and the size of the group of hut foundations on each level in consideration – there is firstly evidence for a hamlet organisation beyond the seal hunting in the Iron Age and secondly, you get the size of each hamlet in the region. Broadbent also writes that the seal grounds were owned (Broadbent 1991, 223).

According to his model he supposes that the society in the province of Västerbotten during the late Iron Age constituted of free peasants in the same way as in the 16th century. The farmers were organised in cooperatives. This model also corresponds to what some scholars have told us about a less stratified society in Norrland. Moreover, using archaeological sources it is possible to support the hypothesis of a more egalitarian society in the northern part of Sweden than in the south. The number of ancient monuments and finds that indicate social stratification decreases the farther north you go in the country.

2) Knut Odner has described the Norwegian society in the Migration period and a couple of hundred years later (Odner 1973). Odner uses archaeological sources and Norse literature in his research. He assumes that the Icelandic society in its socioeconomic structure as it is described in the literature is the same as it was in Norway before the country was united in the Viking Age.

Norway, before the country was united, consisted of small chiefdoms. It was a society without a common legal or religious organisation. People were divided into small groups related to local chiefs. In the small chiefdoms there were big central farms with a broad base of food supply but there were also small extensive ones where the base of food supply was rather unbalanced. Odner's example of such small units are places along the coast where the only outcome was from fishing, sealing and fowling. Archaeological finds indicate that these places were inhabited the whole year round. According to Odner, people in such places could not exist on their own because the society in the Migration Period was a society without a market for food supplies. The extensive farms could only exist in a large economic and redistributive system. According to Odner the chief sent people to live close to the fishing and hunting areas and let them exploit the natural resources. The chief took part of the catch and in exchange he provided the hunters and fishermen with food supplies they could not produce on their own. The system was the same in other ecological niches, for example, mountains and river mouths (Odner 1973, 114–150).

Johan Berg has a similar model for a redistributive economy from the late Iron Age in the middle of east Sweden (Berg 2000, 162, 203, 238). Berg refers to later Norwegian researches than Odner's. In Norway remains from the 6th century AD have been found, indicating structures corresponding to a medieval manor (Iversen 1995). The hypothesis is that outlying farms were settled by freed slaves and servants from a big centre. Since many of these outlying farms were situated in environments with one-sided ecological prerequisites, there was much need for exchange of food supply. This took place in a redistributive system where the chief at the central farm was the ruler (Iversen 1995). A similar example is the spatial structure that occurred when Iceland was colonised. When the Norwegians occupied the island, the chiefs let their people settle on the properties at a distance from the manor (Berg 2000, 164).

According to Odner this structure of society dissolved when the power was centralised later in the Iron Age (Odner 1973, 150). The redistributive economy was replaced by a market economy. In Tore Iversen's opinion a system built on personal relations between the tenant/peasant and the chief changed into a system built on economic relations in the 12th century (Iversen 1995, 176 ff.). According to Iversen, there were two explanations for the change: the establishment of the monasteries and the introduction of economic contracts between tenant and landowner. In Sweden Berg has suggested a successive changeover from a redistributive system built on personal relations between tenant and landowner to a system built on contracts. According to Berg this reform was not fully carried out until the end of the Middle Ages (Berg 2003, 240 ff.).

Apart from landowners and tenants there were free farmhands and slaves. With a starting point in Norwegian medieval provincial laws, but also Swedish medieval provincial laws, archaeological researches etc., Iversen has studied slavery

in Norway during the Middle Ages (Iversen 1994). He says that slavery primarily occurred within average and big farms, but sometimes even small farms could keep slaves (Iversen 1995, 189, 238). Iversen considers that the slave system occurred in the late Iron Age. The slaves did the hard work at the farm; agriculture, clearing of fields, cattle breeding etc. This kind of work had low status and was beneath the free labour. These people instead took part in hunting and fishing. However, according to Iversen's interpretation slaves in some cases could also take part in such extensive activities (Iversen 1994, 205 f.).

Broadbent and Odner among others describe different systems of society. According to Broadbent, Norrland in the Iron Age was a society of free peasants living in a kind of hamlet community where the members owned and used some resources together. Odner and others describe a redistributive economy where the resources were used by tenants, farmhands and slaves, but were controlled by one person, a chief. Later, in the early Middle Ages, a changeover occurred to a system built on contract between the tenant and the landowner. At this time also the market economy emerged.

### Conclusions

How does the above reasoning relate to the outer archipelago fishing in the society of the late Iron Age and Middle Ages in the province of Södermanland? An earlier hypothesis was that the outer archipelago fishing had a strong connection to the market for staple goods. Dating the outer archipelago fishing camps along the Swedish east coast corresponded to the development of this market. The oldest date from the Kalmar Strait area corresponded to the establishment of market places in the area. A need for a market for staple goods arose together with a growing group of people who did not take part in the food production. Further interpretation of the dating of the oldest outer archipelago fishing camps in Södermanland stated that it corresponded to the urban development in the area – the 13th century. This economic model also corresponded to the role of outer archipelago fishing as it is described in written sources in the late Middle Ages and the following centuries. However, the results from researches made during the last decade in the outer archipelago of Södermanland, point in another direction. The oldest outer archipelago fishing camps date to the early Viking Age or earlier, before a market for staple goods emerged.

The oldest date of the outer archipelago fishing camps is contemporary to the oldest date of clearing cairns in the inner part of the archipelago in the same area. This date also corresponds to the common interpretation of a time for expansion in society (Larsson 1997, 158). The number of farms seems to increase and the utilization of extensive resources grows in several areas in the north of Europe during this time (Svensson 1998; Emanuelsson 2001; Lagerstedt 2004).

Several of the oldest hut ruins in the outer archipelago are situated in groups. This could be interpreted in the same way as later in history, i.e. there was co-operation in fishing. In that case there was a need for some kind of organisation, just as it was in the late Middle Ages and later.

The outer archipelago fishing emerged in a system of a manor economy similar to what Odner and others had described as a model for the Norwegian society in the late Iron Age. A farm, situated in one of the Iron Age districts in the east of the province of Södermanland, had the right to utilize natural resources extensively, among other things, for cattle breeding, hay-making and fishing. It is possible that this land was available for all people at the beginning but afterwards in late Iron Age the rights were regulated. At least according to the outer archipelago fishing there are indications that regulations were necessary in the late Iron Age.

At the beginning all activities were carried out from one place, the farm. During the warmer part of the year people were sent to the archipelago for cattle breeding, hay-making and fishing. There could be members of the family, free farmhands or slaves. In the early Middle Ages, the place for cattle breeding and hay-making was inhabited and people there became tenants. However, the outer archipelago fishing camps never became settled during the Middle Ages.

Gradually, at the beginning of the late Viking Age, a market for staple goods was established. This corresponds approximately with the time when the relationship between landowners and tenants was changing from personal relations to contracts (Iversen 1995, 176 ff.; Berg 2003, 238 ff.). The dissolving of personal relationship between the landowner and his labourforce may have influenced the social structure at the fishing camp. It might have happened then that others, not only people belonging to the owner of the fishing camp, got the chance to fish in the outer archipelago. By paying a charge or giving away a part of the catch, everyone could fish at the places that belonged to a certain fishing camp. It could be free farmers or burghers. The catch was taken from the fishing camp and sold on the market.

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Peter Norman

**KALASTAMINE VÄLISSAARESTIKUS KUI HILISRAUAAJA JA  
KESKAJA ÜHISKONDADE ELATUSALLIKAS**

*Resüme*

Artiklis on käsitletud ühiskondlikke muutusi pikemas ajalises perspektiivis, lähtudes rohketest kalastuslaagritest Södermanlandi välissaarestikus Kesk-Rootsi idaosas. Seal võib leida kalamehehüttide ja paadisildade jäänuseid ning tuvastada kohti, kus kalurid oma võrke kuivatasid. Artikli eesmärgiks on vaadelda välissaarestikus kalastamist ühiskondlikus kontekstis alates viikingiajast või sellele eelnevast perioodist, mil kalastuslaagrid esmakordselt kasutusele võeti, kuni hilise keskajani, mis ajast on Rootsis teada esimesed välissaarestikus kalastamist kajastavad kirjalikud allikad. Artiklis käsitletavat peamised küsimused on: kes oli see kalamees ja miks ta seal kalastas?

Olen oma varasemates artiklites andnud ülevaate arheoloogiliste kaevamiste tulemustest nii Södermanlandi välissaarestikus kui ka saarestiku mandrilähedasse ossa jäävatel agraarsetel asulakohtadel. Olen esitanud ka omapoolse nägemuse asustuse arengust uurimispiirkonnas – idapoolses Södermanlandis – alates rauaaja hilisemast perioodist kuni 16. sajandini (joon 1 ja 2). Selleks olen analüüsinud arheoloogiliste muististe, peamiselt kalmete levikut nooremal rauaajal, toponüüme, keskaegseid ürikuid ja 16. sajandi majanduslikku dokumentatsiooni. Nende andmete põhjal on üles kerkinud mitmed probleemid, mis on seotud asustuse arengu ja looduslike ressursside kasutamisega antud uurimispiirkonnas.

Eelneva uurimistöõ põhjal võib esitada kaks hüpoteetilist mudelit. Minu arvamuse kohaselt on tegemist üldistavate mudelitega, mida võib rakendada enamikule piirkondadest, kus on täidetud samad geograafilised, majanduslikud ja ühiskondlikud tingimused. Vastavalt esimesele mudelile võib asustuse arengus eristada kolm geograafilist vööndit:

- 1) viikingiajal paiknes asustus peamiselt maismaal või rannalähedase saarestiku suurematel saartel viljaka mullaga aladel;
- 2) vähem viljaka mullaga rannalähedased saared olid suviti kasutuses karjamaadena. Talupojad asusid sinna püsivalt elama II aastatuhande esimestel sajanditel;
- 3) välissaarestikku ei asustatud püsivalt kunagi, kuigi seda on läbi ajaloo kasutatud hooajaliseks kalastamiseks ja küttemiseks.

Vastavalt teisele mudelile olid inimesed, kes neid loodusressursse kasutasid, arvatavasti erinevad ja kuulusid tõenäoliselt erinevatesse ühiskondlikesse sfääridesse:

- 1) kohalik sfäär, mis koosnes saarestikus elavatest talupoegadest, kes kasutasid saarestikku põlluharimiseks, karjakasvatuseks ja kalastamiseks;
- 2) regionaalne ja urbanistlik sfäär, mis koosnes: a) võimuesindajatest (rüütelkond ning aadlikud, kuningas ja kirik), kellele talupojad makse maksid, ning b) saa-

restikust väljaspool elavatest talupoegadest ja linnaelanikest, kes kalastushooajal saarestikus kala püüdsid;

- 3) regioonidevaheline sfäär, mis koosnes kaubalaevadest, mis läbisid küll saarestikku, kuid nende lähte- ja sihtkoht asusid väljaspool seda.

Arheoloogiliste uurimistööde põhjal välissaarestiku kalastuslaagrites võib teha järelduse, et kalapüük sellistes laagrikohtades on toimunud hooajaliselt alates viikingiajast või sellele vahetult eelnenud perioodist kuni 20. sajandini välja. Kalastuslaagrid võib jagada kahte tüüpi. Neist esimene koosneb tervest rühmast kalamehehüttide või majade jäänustest, teise puhul on aga tegu vaid üksiku hüti või majakesega (joon 3 ja 4).<sup>1</sup> Esimese tüübi puhul võib oletada, et hoonete kooskõlastamiseks oli vajalik mingisugune organisatsioon. Lähestikku ehitatud hütte ja majakesi kasutati tõenäoliselt üheaegselt ning paljude kalameeste ja paatkondade koosviibimine peaks viitama koostööle konkreetsetes kalastuspiirkonnas. Kui tegu on üksiku kalamehehüti või majakesega, viitab see vastupidisele.

Suurte hauakäabaste, silmatorkavate profaanehitiste, ruunikivide ja kohanimedega põhjal võib sotsiaalse ülemkihi olemasolust antud uurimiskiirkonnas rääkida juba nooremal rauaajal. Enamik uurijaist toetab seisukohta, et viikingiaegne ühiskond oli hierarhiline ja sotsiaalselt hästi organiseeritud. Selle käsitluse kohaselt määras asustuse arengu nooremal rauaajal ja keskaja algul, kaasa arvatud eemalasuvate loodusressursside kasutuse karjamaaks ning kalastuseks, mis algas viikingiajal või vahetult enne seda, rühm inimesi, kelle järeltulijaist sai kohalik rüütelkond. Nagu võib otsustada keskaegsete allikate ja 16. sajandi majanduslike dokumentide põhjal, oli kesketest põllumaadest eemalasuvate alade koloniseerimine täielikult kas maaomanike või kuningavõimu kontrolli all. Kuningavõimu osa selles kolonisatsioonis lähtus ilmselt rüütelkonna taotlustest ja sai alguse keskajal. Üldise arvamuse kohaselt said otseselt kuningale alluvad valdused alguse neist maadest, mis konfiskeeriti kohalikult ülemkihilt keskaja algul.

Keskaja lõpu varasemast perioodist puuduvad kirjalikud andmed kalameeste geograafilisest ja sotsiaalsest taustast. Keskaja lõpul ja järgnevatel sajanditel olid välissaarestikus kalastavad inimesed siiski peamiselt sama saarestiku talupojad, kuid ka saarestikulähedase maismaa talupojad või linnaelanikud. Mõned allikad mainivad ka palgalisi kalamehi.

Aga kes ikkagi oli välissaarestikus tegutsev kalamees viikingiajal või keskaja algul? Kas ta oli talupoeg, kes püüdis kala enda tarbeks? Kas ta oli mõne ümbruskonna linna elanik või kalur, kes tahtis kala müüa? Oli ta ehk rikas talumees või kohaliku maavaldaja sulane?

Kalastamine välissaarestikus sai tõenäoliselt alguse naturaalmajandusliku mõisamajanduse tingimustes. Södermanlandi idaosas paikneval talul oli õigus kasutada oma maad intensiivselt, sealhulgas karjakasvatuseks, heinateoks ja kalastuseks. Võimalik, et algselt võisid selliseid alasid kõik inimesed vabalt kasutada, kuid

<sup>1</sup> Hüti ja maja vaheliseks erinevuseks on siinkohal loetud seda, et maja puhul on tegemist komplitseeritumate arheoloogiliste hoonejäänustega kui hüti puhul. Majaks peetakse hoonejäänust, kus on olnud laudadest põrand ja kividest ehitatud neljakandiline ahi. Hüti oli vaid muldpõrand, millel oli tulease.

õigusi nendele aladele hakati reguleerima rauaaja lõpul. Vähemalt välissaarestiku kalastuslaagrite puhul võib oletada, et selline regulatsioon oli vajalik juba viikingiajal.

Algselt toimus peaaegu kogu põllumajanduslik tegevus ühes kohas, s.o ühe talu lähikonnas. Soojemal aastaajal saadeti osa elanikest saarestikule karja hoidma, heina tegema või kala püüdma. Need inimesed võisid olla nii perekonnaliikmed, vabad sulased kui ka orjad. Keskaja algul jäid inimesed karjapidamiskohtadele või heinateolaagritesse elama ja neist said rentnikud. Kaugemal välissaarestikus paiknevaid kalastuslaagreid keskajal siiski püsivalt ei asustatud.

Juba viikingiajal sai alguse olulisemate toodete turu järkjärguline väljakujunemine. See toimus enam-vähem samal ajal, kui maavaldajate ja renditalupidajate vahelised suhted muutusid personaalsetest lepingulisteks. Maaomaniku ja tema heaks töötavate inimeste vaheliste isiklike sidemete lagunemine võis mõjutada ka kalastuslaagrite sotsiaalset struktuuri. Ilmselt just sel ajal said peale otseselt kalastuslaagri omaniku majapidamisse kuuluvate inimeste ka väljastpoolt tulijad võimaluse välissaarestikus kala püüda. Rahalise tasu või osa saagi eest võis igaüks kalastada piirkonnas, mis kuulus ühele või teisele kalastuslaagrile. Sellised kalamehed võisid olla vabad talupidajad või linnaelanikud. Kalastuslaagritest viisid nad oma saagi turule müügiks.