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The origin, founding and development of Bergen. What happened – when – and who made it happen?

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Introduction

Bergen emerged as a town during the 11th century. This presentation of the origin, founding and development of the town covers the centuries before and after the first regulation of the land took place by the Vågen bay. With 150 years of excavations the archaeological sources are rather abundant, whereas contemporary written sources are sparse prior to the 12th century. The paper is based on a broad study of early Bergen, where archaeological sources dating to between the 9th century and c. 1170 – as well as topographical and contemporary historic sources were drawn upon (Hansen 2005).[1] Data from 46 sites, including monuments and churches were studied. Here results from this study are presented within a chronological framework of five horizons; horizon 1: c. 800 - c. 1020/30, horizon 2: c. 1020/30 - c. 1070, horizon 3: c. 1070 - c. 1100, horizon 4: c. 1100 - 1120s, and finally horizon 5 that covers the period between the 1120s and c. 1170. An actor perspective is applied throughout the presentation and the origin, founding and development of Bergen is presented with a view to 'top-down' royal initiatives on one hand and 'bottom-up' activities carried out by townspeople on the other.

Topographical circumstances, geographical setting

Bergen grew around the Vågen Bay on the coast of south western Norway. Bergen could be reached by horse or on foot, but boat was no doubt the best means of transport when carrying a heavy load. The town had a central location for seagoing transport between Lofoten and Vesterålen in the north of Norway where rich fishing grounds were found. Bergen also had a central location for traffic on continental northern European harbours and across the North Atlantic. Before a town emerged here, the area by the Vågen Bay was most likely royal property and may have belonged to the royal farm at Alrekstad located 2 km south of Vågen, in the Bergen valley (Helle 1982, 71ff.).

In the years about 1000 AD, Vågen was deeper and wider than today **(Fig. 1)**. The Holmen promontory was well-suited to settlement, and building land was also found between the Veisan inlet, the Vågen shoreline and the 15 m contour of the hill Fløyfjellet. On this strip of land we find the town area here, for analytic purposes, divided into the northern, middle and the southern town areas. South of Vågen the Nonneseter and the Nordnes areas are located (Hansen 2005, 55).

Preurban settlement?

Material that has been dated to the period between c. 800 and c. 1020/30 is sparse and consists of botanical material in Veisan, the northern town area and in Vågen. In the middle town area wooden structures are found at two sites (Hansen 2005, 127f.) **(Fig. 2)**. The botanical materials, dated broadly to the 9th or 10th centuries by 14C and the presence of pollen of *centaurea cuanus* have been interpreted as remains of a settlement, most likely located at the Holmen peninsula, with its fertilised fields in the Bergen area (Hansen 2005, 56f., 67f., 100f., 127f.). It has been debated whether the available botanical material represents an urban or non-urban settlement (Hjelle 1986; 2000. Hansen 2005, 128ff.; 2008. Helle et al. 2006, 46). At the present state of research it is considered most likely that the settlement at Holmen was not urban; or at least it was not a settlement comparable to contemporary urban settlements in Scandinavia such as Kaupang in eastern Norway, Birka in Sweden or Haithabu in northern Germany. Here, crafts were important activities in and waste and blanks from the fabrication of combs, glass beads and metal jewellery are common find groups. Large burial grounds have also been identified in connection with

[1] This paper presents the results from my Dr. art. thesis (Hansen 2005). Some paragraphs will show similarities to papers with different focus (Hansen 2008; 2015).

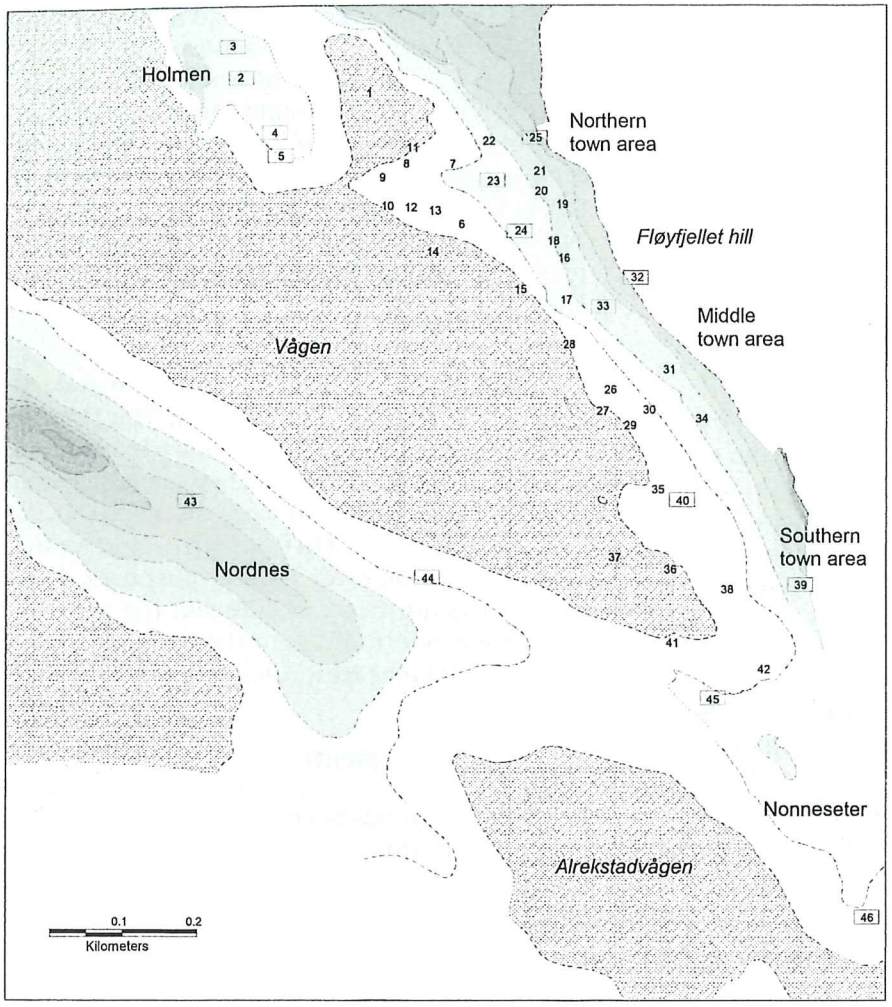

Fig. 1 The Bergen area: Natural topography about AD 1000, today's waterfront, 46 sites and monuments of relevance for the study of early Bergen. Monumental sites in boxes.

these towns (Ambrosiani/Clarke 1995. Skre 2007; 2011). The survey of finds from the Bergen area have neither produced crafts indicating artefacts that can be dated to before the 11th century nor prehistoric burial grounds. This absence of finds might be explained with references to a lack of investigations and crude excavation methods in relevant areas. Still, with the rather high density in archaeological observations in Bergen in mind, the lack of finds may also indicate that no Viking Age urban settlement resembling those at Kaupang, Birka and Haithabu was located to the Holmen area prior to 11th century (Hansen 2005, 128ff.; 2008).

Researchers have, with the place name Bjorgvin as a point of departure, discussed the presence of a farm with this name located in the area around Vågen, the farm may have been royal property. The Bjorgvin name may belong to a group of vin- names, which had already been introduced at the beginning of the Viking Age (c. 800) (Helle 1982, 71ff. Hansen 2005, 23ff., 130). Such a date is not inconsistent with the wide dates provided in the botanical material. It is tempting to suggest that the proposed settlement at Holmen was the Bjorgvin farm. Until more firm archaeological evidence is available from the area, however, this proposal must be considered merely as a hypothesis.

The wooden structures in the middle town area consisted of a 2 m wide jetty extending into the Vågen bay and dated by dendrochronology to about 900. In addition three posts further up on the shore may be contemporary with or perhaps somewhat later than the pier. Since the pier is probably not older than c. 900, it may predate the botanical material discussed so far. With the broad dates of the activities represented by the botanical material, it cannot, however, be excluded that the pier and posts, and the suggested settlement at Holmen were in use at the same time (Hansen 2005, 128).

The pier itself must have functioned as a landing-place for goods and people carried by boat, the post-construction further up the shore could have been almost anything, perhaps a shed or a boathouse? The character of the activity is difficult to grasp, the constructions being few in number and no culture layers having been asso-

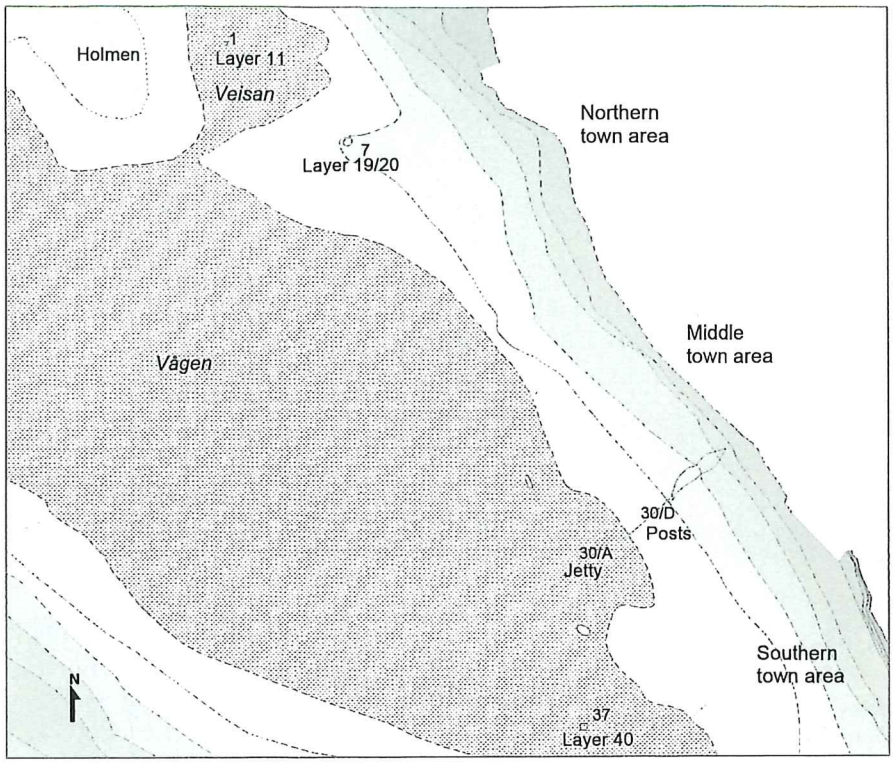

Fig. 2 Bergen. Structures and layers assigned to horizon 1: c. 800-c. 1020/30 (modified from Hansen 2005, Fig. 23)

ciated with the structures. There is no evidence of contemporary activity at sites surrounding the pier/posts. The pier and the post-construction were apparently not part of a densely built-up settlement prior to the 11th century (Hansen 2005, 130).

The pier was located about 350 m east of Holmen with ample possibilities for a much closer landing-place for the suggested Holmen settlement. The royal estate at Alrekstad must have had a landing-place for goods and people and with enough space for boathouses. The location of such a landing-place has been discussed over the years and Vågen has been favoured as a candidate for strategic and climatic reasons (Koren-Wiberg 1921. Lorentzen 1952, 47. Herteig 1969, 134ff. Helle 1982, 74f.). Alrekstad was frequented by King Harald Hårfagre (-932) and may thus have been a royal estate already by the end of the 9th century (Helle 1982, 72. Hkr 1893-1901, I 155). Since the area around Vågen, as already mentioned, most likely was royal property before a town emerged here, Alrekstad may have been free to establish a landing-place within the Vågen area. These circumstances do not prove that the pier and associated structures in the middle town area represent Alrekstad's landing-place but they certainly do not contradict such an interpretation (Hansen 2005, 130f.).

To sum up, traces of occupation that can count as evidence of an urban settlement comparable to known urban Viking Age settlements such as Kaupang, Birka or Haithabu, have not been documented in the Bergen area. The pier in the middle town area was not part of a wider built-up area. The botanical finds from Veisan and the town area are best explained as representing a settlement where agricultural activities were carried out, it may have been located at Holmen and probably had fields in the Bergen area.

The founding process(es) and early urban development

According to the Kings' sagas written in the 1220-30s, a town was founded in Bergen during the reign of Olav Kyrre (1066-1093). The Heimskringla saga specifies that Olav Kyrre founded the town (*setja* kaupstad) (Helle 1982, 86f.). The Old Norse verb *setja* is, however, used in differing ways in the written sources. It is used in the sense that something is founded juridically: an established settlement was given jurisdiction or was demarcated topographically. But the verb is also used when something was actually founded on a virgin site like a building, a church or a town (Bjørgo 1971, 69ff, Helle 1982, 87ff.). The sagas are in other words ambiguous when describing

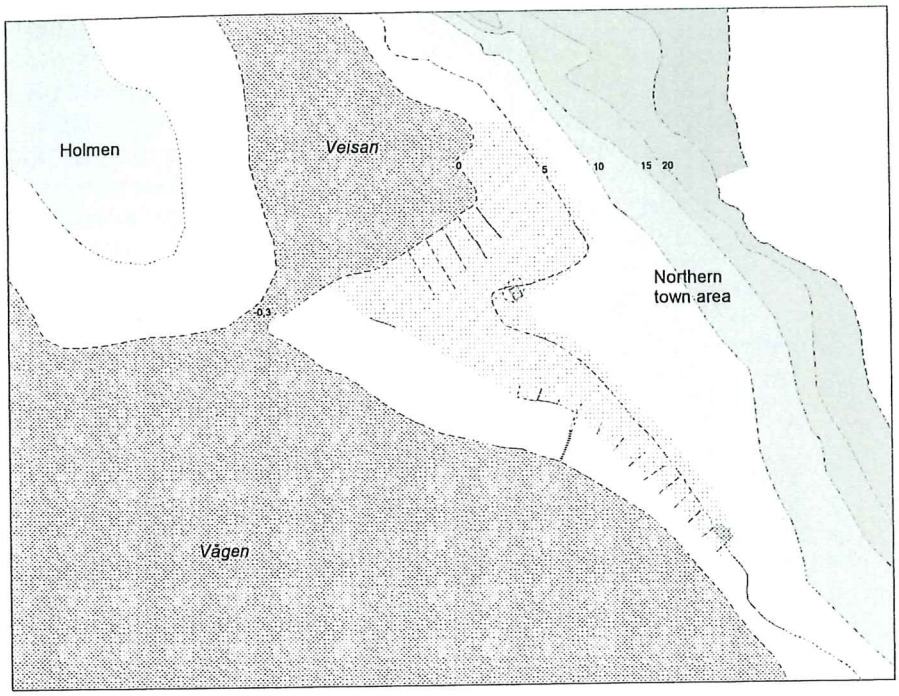

Fig. 3 Bergen. The area covered by the regulation implemented about 1020/30. Full lines: documented fences, dotted lines: reconstructed boundaries (modified from Hansen 2005, Fig. 28 and 35).

the character of Olav's foundation of the town and the question of what actually happened in Olav's days has been a recurring issue in studies of the origin of Bergen (Hansen 2005, 23ff.).

The archaeological sources show that during the early 11th century plots were laid out in the northern town area; wooden fences were rammed down to demarcate oblong plots c. 11,5 m wide (**Fig. 3** and **Fig. 4**). The plot boundaries were respected in the years to come, implying that the layout of the northern town area was considered as an act of a fundamental character by contemporary users of the Bergen area. The verb *setja* denoting the act of founding something from the ground and thus applies well to the act of laying out the northern town area (Hansen 2005, 23, 221).

Land parceled into plots is commonly interpreted as an indicator of the founded town or marketplace, the latter being characterised by occasional as opposed to permanent settlement (Hansen 2005, 19ff., 33). It cannot be determined whether the initiator of the layout of the northern town area had a town or a seasonal market place in mind when regulating the land. However, because Bergen in time developed into a permanently settled urban center, it is most likely that the initiator had plans for a town and not a seasonal marketplace when laying out the land. It is thus suggested that when plots were laid out in the northern town area the idea of a town was materialised and a town was founded from the ground in the Bergen area (Hansen 2005, 222).

Who did this planning? Due to ownership to the land it is likely that only the king could possess the authority to divide the land into plots. Furthermore the plots seem to have been laid out according to an overall plan reflected in the regularity of the plot-widths. Both these factors suggest that a central authority – the king – should be seen as responsible for the layout of the northern town area. The plot system is dated indirectly through activity on two of the plots; a gangway connected with one of the plots was dated by dendrochronology to shortly 'after 1029', and a 14C sample dates a building close to the Veisan inlet to the 1020s at the latest. A fact that strengthens the rather tentative date of the regulation is that the planks that demarcated plots were found under constructions, that based on, among other, dendrochronology dates to horizon 2: c. 1070 - c. 1100 (Hansen 2005, 222).

With a c. 1020/30 date of the regulation both the Norwegian king Olav Haraldsson and the Danish/English king Knut den Mektige are possible founder-candidates. No decisive arguments can be presented pro or contra Olav or Knut through the kings' historical contexts and the relatively wide date of about 1020/30 for the earliest documented activities on the plots can-

not settle the question. What is the essence here is then, that the plan – probably for a town – was materialised, and Bergen was probably founded by a king. According to the most plausible interpretation of the sources, this most likely happened one or two generations before Olav Kyrre's reign (Hansen 2005, 222ff.)

A hypothesis that the king gave plots to influential people in return for their loyalty finds some empirical support and it is suggested

Fig. 4 Bergen. Palisade built fence rammed down to demarcate boundaries in the plot system laid out in the northern town area about 1020/30 (photo: A. Larsen, ©University museum of Bergen).

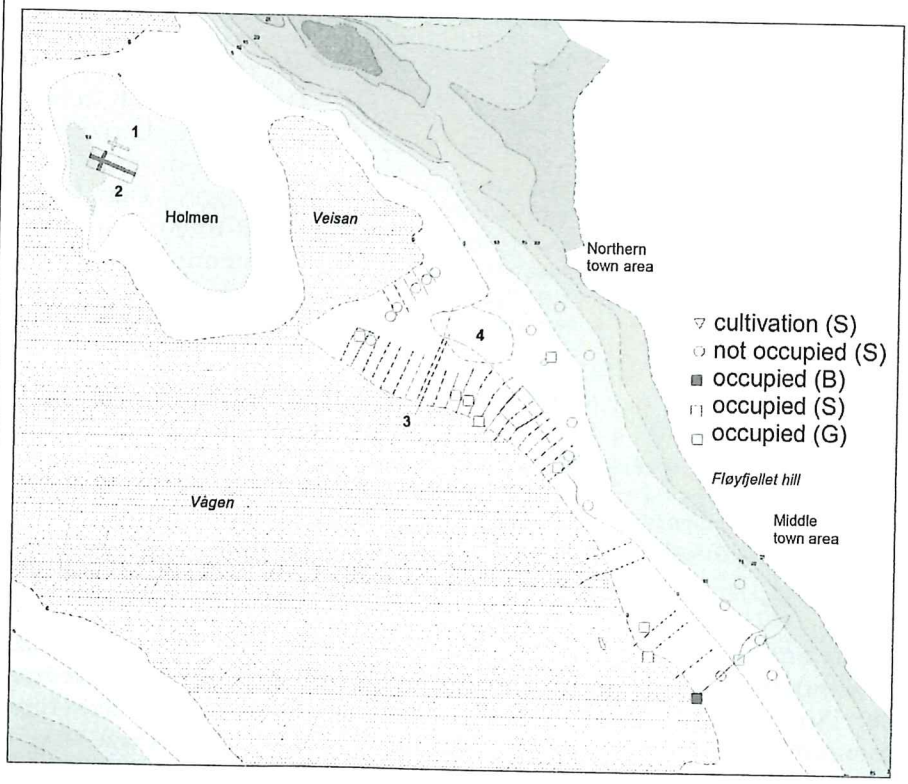

Fig. 5 Bergen. Plot systems and churches initiated by the king, traces of activity on the town's plots during horizon 3: c. 1070- c.1100. The symbols show the character of activities documented: (B) – Basic sources are well dated, (S) – Supplementary sources are less well dated, (G) – General background sources are tentatively dated. 1 Christchurch Minor, 2 Christchurch Cathedral, 3 Space for a road? 4 Space for a church (the later St Mary's?) (modified from Hansen 2005, Fig. 37).

that the townspeople of early Bergen were magnates or their representatives. The king may have wished to found Bergen as a central staple in western Norway for goods disposed by magnates and the king himself. The plan may have been that goods were to enter a national and international trading network from the new planned town. The king's motives for the foundation may perhaps have been to collect dues on trade or on the protection of market peace (Hansen 2005, 239).

How did the people that were given land here receive the king's idea of a town? Traces of occupation were found on a few plots only and pressure on building land was altogether low.

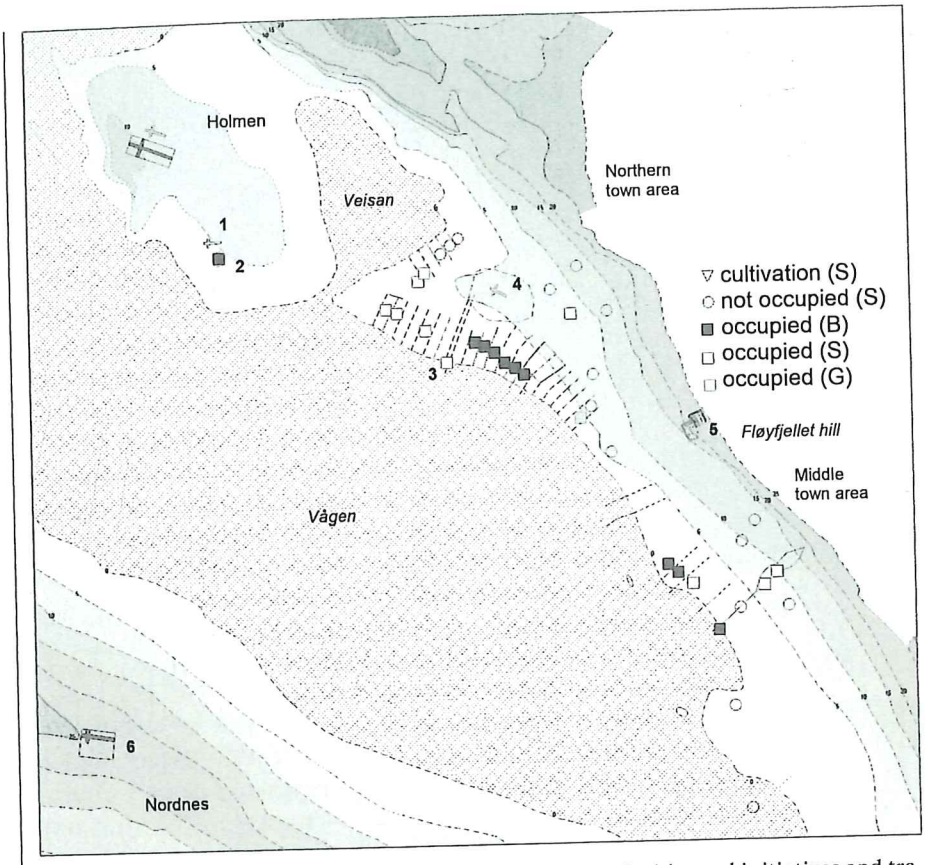

Fig. 6 Bergen. Monuments and infrastructure associated with royal initiatives and traces of activity on the town's plots during horizon 4: c. 1100- the 1120s. The symbols show the character of activities documented: (B) – Basic sources are well dated, (S) – Supplementary sources are less well dated, (G) – General background sources are tentatively dated. 1 St Apostles, 2 Great Hall, 3 A pier that ended up in a thoroughfare, the later Dreggsalmenning, 4 St Mary's, 5 St Nicholas, 6 Munkeliv Benedictine abbey (modified from Hansen 2005, Fig. 38).

The scarce sources indicate that after the foundation little activity was carried into life by the townspeople. The king's plans were apparently not well received (Hansen 2005, 223ff.).

A new major initiative, horizon 3: c. 1070 - c. 1100

The story of how, when and by whom Bergen was founded does not end here. Some years later, a new plot system was introduced in the northern and middle town areas **(Fig. 5)** The dating evidence is not firm, but assigning the new plot system to the period between c. 1070 and c. 1100 represents the best-sustained suggestion at the present state of research (Hansen 2005, 140, 225).

The middle town area now seems to have been parceled into plots of irregular width. In the northern town area the existing plots were extended lengthwise and focus shifted towards the Vågen Bay. The new town plan may perhaps have included space for a church where St Mary's was later built and for a thoroughfare in the northern town area, but this is not so well substantiated and should merely be considered as a hypothesis (Hansen 2005, 225). Again, due to landownership a king should be seen behind the initiative in the middle town area. The time span represented by horizon 3 corresponds well with the reign of Olav Kyrre (1066-1093). As already mentioned written sources relate that Olav Kyrre founded Bergen *(sejta)*. The archaeological sources suggest that Olav did not found the town from the ground, but rather invested further in Bergen when parceling out and including yet a piece of land in the townscape. Olav also built Christchurch Minor and founded the Christchurch Cathedral at Holmen, thus including this area in the town (Hansen 2005, 225ff.).

Olav may, as suggested for his predecessor, have donated plots in Bergen to allies. According to Snorre, Olav gave land in Bergen to his entrusted man Skule Kongsfostre. This land stayed in Skule's family for years to come (Hkr 1911, 511. Holtsmark/Arup Seip 1975, 584. Helle 1982, 105). This lends support to the suggestion that Olav gave away land in Bergen to allies. The king planned to develop Bergen into an ecclesiastic and perhaps also a royal administrative center.

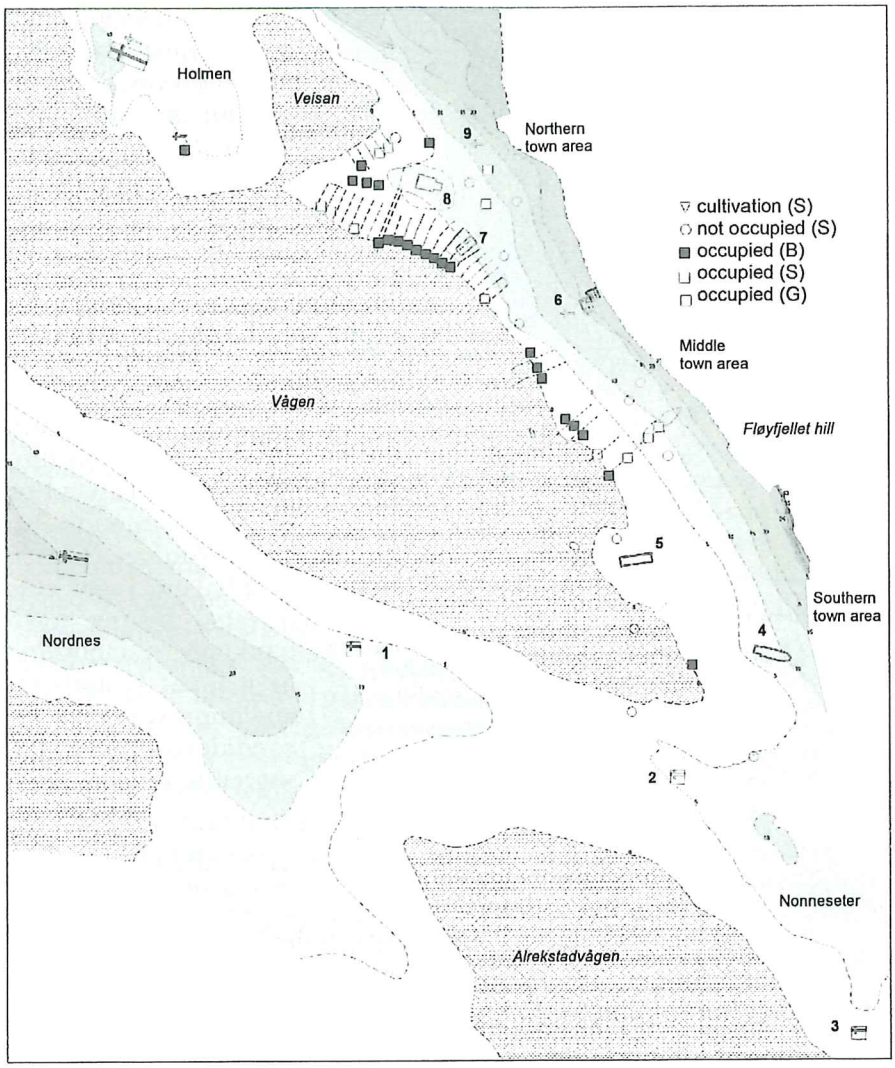

Fig. 7 Bergen. Monuments and infrastructure associated with royal initiatives and traces of activity on the town's plots during horizon 5: the 1120s- c. 1170. The symbols show the character of activities documented: (B) – Basic sources are well dated, (S) – Supplementary sources are less well dated, (G) – General background sources are tentatively dated. 1 St Johns Abbey, 2 All Saints, 3 Nonneseter convent, 4 St Olav's in Vågsbunnen, 5 St Cross, 6 St Columba, 7 St Peter's, 8 St Mary's, 9 St Olavs in the Hills (modified from Hansen 2005, Fig. 39).

He may also have had plans for the town as a central staple for goods in the hands of magnates and himself (Hansen 2005, 231ff.)

How did the townspeople receive Olav's plans for the town? Again only sparse activity has been documented on the town plots and one is left with the impression of little initiative from the townspeople. It seems that the king's plans were not very well received by those that were given a plot. With the king's investments at Holmen and his division of the middle town area into plots, the main activities in the new town were apparently by the hands of the king (Hansen 2005, 225).

Horizon 4: c. 1100-1120s

The period covered by horizon 4 coincides well with the reign of the joint Kings Øystein Magnusson (1103-1123) and Sigurd Jorsalfar (1103-1130) and several large building enterprises can be associated with royal initiatives. At Holmen Øystein founded the Church of the Apostles and a large timber hall, at Nordnes he founded the Munkeliv Benedictine abbey **(Fig. 6).** He is also seen as the possible founder of the church of St Nicholas in the middle town area. With the foundation of Munkeliv the Nordnes area was now added to the townscape. A possible predecessor of the standing St Mary's and a pier in the northern town area are tentatively associated with royal initiatives. St Nicholas', the pier and the possible predecessor to the standing St Mary's are not very well dated, however even if one or all of these sources are erroneously assigned to horizon 4, it is still well-documented through the remaining sources that further investments in monuments, institutions and on the infrastructure of the town were made in Bergen on the king's initiative (Hansen 2005, 225f.). Øystein planned to strengthen Bergen as a royal and ec-

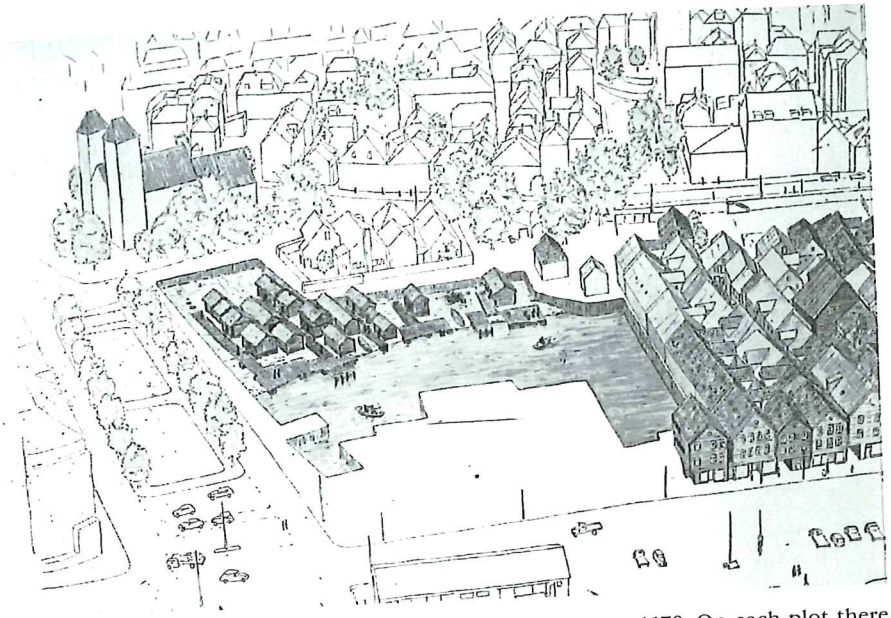

Fig. 8 Bergen. Settlement in the northern town area about 1170. On each plot there are most often two rows of buildings with a passage – a gangway – in the middle, leading from the waterfront to the rear of the tenement. In the background we see St Mary's in its high- and late medieval form. To the right, the early 18th-century buildings at the German Wharf *Bryggen* are illustrated. The boundaries between the 18th-century tenements are the same as those first documented in the 11th century (drawing: E. Reimers and P. Bækken, University Museum of Bergen).

clesiastic administrative centre. He may also have invested in the town as part of a plan to influence and control the trade in stockfish from northern Norway to Europe and he may have wished to direct the surplus from royal and other manorial dues through the town and into a trading system (Hansen 2005, 233).

Regarding the townspeople's activities, some plots along the shore of Veisan were now occupied, and along the Vågen shoreline there's settlement on most plots. In the northern town area buildings were all confined to the area above the tidal zone or had just barely crossed into the tidal zone; there was apparently low pressure on building space. In the middle town area structures are expanding into Vågen, perhaps indicating more pressure on building land here. Along the Vågen shoreline improvements of working conditions on the beach were carried out, and in some places walk ways – passages – extending from the rear of the plot to the shore, as well as quay structures were built. Along the foot of Fløyfjellet, there was still ample building space. Well-established households of a permanent character were now documented on several plots. Trade was the only recorded activity that may have served as an economic basis for the town. This corresponds well with the king's assumed plans for the town area (Hansen 2005, 233).

Summing up, the king now invested further in Bergen, founding ecclesiastic institutions and expanding the townscape to include Nordnes. Townspeople on their side invested in the town plots by establishing permanent households and improving working conditions by the Vågen shoreline and trading.

Horizon 5: 1120s - c. 1170

The period between the 1120s and c. 1170 falls more or less within the time of the civil wars in Norway, where joint kings and claimants to the crown fought each other. When discussing the initiatives of the king in the following it is only possible to pin a name on the king in a few cases.

Two monasteries and a church were founded in the Nordnes and the Nonneseter areas and settlement was now documented in the southern town area **(Fig. 7)**. These three areas were thus included in the townscape. Further six churches were built or rebuilt between the 1120s and c. 1170. As in the northern and middle town areas it is likely that the king owned the Nonneseter area and the land in the southern town area, and should be seen behind the inclusion of these areas into the townscape. The church of St Olav on the Hill was built by King Harald Gilchrist (1103-1136) (Hansen 2005, 91). Regarding the initiators behind the remaining monumental constructions the sources are vague, but some

suggestions can be made: Due to later medieval land ownership, the Nonneseter convent may have been founded by royal initiative (Helle 1982, 140). St John's abbey at Nordnes may have been founded as a support for the Christchurch Cathedral at Holmen (Helle 1982, 142). Thus, since the Christchurch Cathedral was under construction due to royal initiative, it would seem likely, that the king was also involved in the foundation of St John's (Hansen 2005, 226ff.).

Based on the size of churchyard and -buildings it has been suggested that the king, in collaboration with the townspeople founded (the standing) St Mary's and St Cross (Lidén 1993, 78). I have argued that space for a church where St Mary's was later built may have been part of Olav Kyrre's town plan/- the plot system introduced in horizon 3. This suggestion is not so well-founded empirically, but would certainly support the notion that the king was somehow involved as an interested party when the standing St Mary's was erected. The correct east-west orientation of St Cross implies that the church was constructed while there was still ample space for the building and its churchyard, and this may perhaps suggest that St Cross was part of a superior town plan when the southern town area was included in the townscape. If so, this may support the idea that the king was involved also as a founder of St Cross. Along the same line of thinking the orientation of St Olav's in Vågsbunnen might indicate that the church was part of an initial plan for this town area. Therefore, if the town area, as suggested here, was included in the townscape by initiative of the king, the king might well be associated with this church. The fact that the king was probably still the owner of the area around St Olav's in the high and late Middle Ages (Ersland 1994, Fig. 12, 75ff. Helle 1982, 78) may support this notion. In addition, data from a nearby site suggest that the area by St Olav's was used under strict control; no garbage was dumped here during the first phases on the site. Furthermore, a piece of jewellery made of cut quartz crystal and found on the site in layers of the phase following horizon 5, may have belonged to a person of high social status (Komber et al. 1994, 216). All in all, the sources may imply that St Olav's in Vågsbunnen was founded involving royal initiative. All Saints in the Nonneseter area is tentatively dated to horizon 5, it is mentioned as a royal chapel in later sources (Helle 1982, 145) and may have been founded on royal initiative, perhaps as early as horizon 5 (Hansen 2005, 226ff.).

With the name of the patron saint for St Columba and the incorrect orientation of St Peter's it has been suggested that St Columba and St Peter's were built as corporate churches (Lidén 1993, 79). The circumstance that St Peter's apparently was built on two 'model plots' in the northern town area (Hansen 2005, 138ff.) shows that the church was not part of the plot system initially laid out in horizon 3 by royal initiative. This may give additional support to the hypothesis that this church had one or more 'private' founders. Neither St Peter's nor St Columba's are firmly dated to the period at hand and the question of the founders of the churches cannot

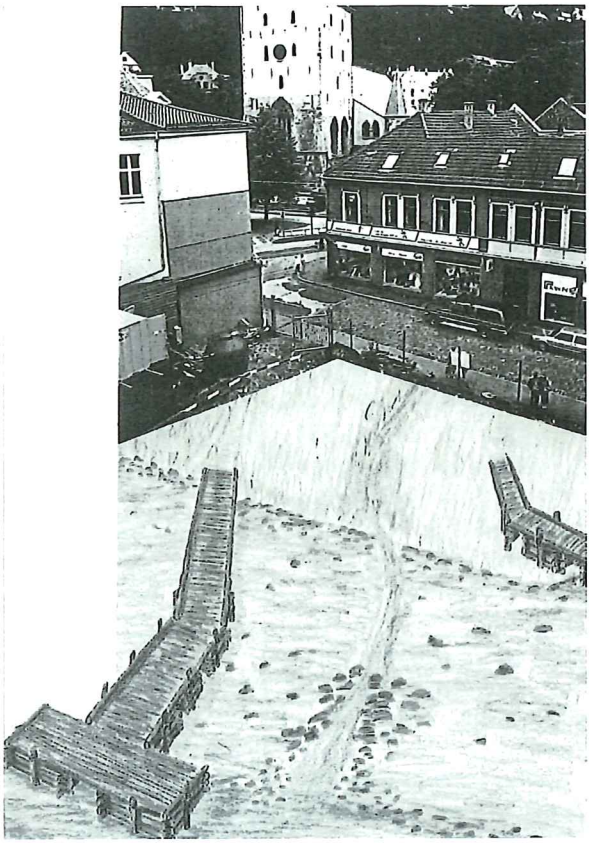

Fig. 9 Bergen. Settlement in inner part Vågen by the southern town area about 1160. In the background we see today's cathedral, located at the site of 12th-century St Olav's in Vågsbunnen (drawing: E. Jensen, University Museum of Bergen).

be settled on firm evidence, thus no strong conclusions can be made regarding the erection of 'private churches' during horizon 5.

Even if some of the initiatives ascribed to the king above were not actually associated with the king, but rather were a result of townspeople's initiatives it ought to be a trustworthy conclusion that considerable royal investments were made in the town between the 1120s and c. 1170. Initiatives with a connection to the king may thus be argued for the inclusion of new land into the townscape and for the foundation of several of the monuments known from the period. And 'private' founders may perhaps be seen behind at least two of the churches. The kings' investments in the many ecclesiastic institutions may have been aimed at showing off the respective kings' social capacity and at strengthening the town as a staple (Hansen 2005, 226ff., 236).

From the hands of the townspeople occupation is now found along the Vågen shore on almost all the investigated plots/sites in the northern and middle town areas. Wooden buildings in long parallel rows stretching from the back of the plots to the shoreline characterise the layout of the plots **(Fig. 8)**. In some places settlement had expanded into the Vågen basin seeking deeper water and achieving new building space. At the foot of Fløyfjellet, in the vicinity of the churches of St Nicholas and St Columba areas were still vacant. In the southern town area settlement was only documented at one site **(Fig. 9)**. The archaeological sites in this part of town are rather few and even if data holds high quality, the representativity of the sites is not really satisfactory so it is difficult to make strong conclusions regarding the settlement here (Hansen 2005, 106). Still, the orientation of the churches St Olav's in Vågsbunnen and St Cross may indicate that the area was not densely built out when the churches were established. This may in turn suggest that there was not much pressure on building land, but the indications are admittedly vague. It seems safe to conclude though that well-established households of a permanent character were established in the southern town area, the same applies to the northern and the middle town areas (Hansen 2005, 227ff.). The townspeople thus invested more intensively in their plots and perhaps also built churches. Trade had become a more visible part of the townspeople's strategy for using the town. Furthermore new urban service-related trades that covered a wide spectre of activities now took place here. Also, a spectre of most likely ambulating artisans now found their way to Bergen (Hansen 2005, 236).

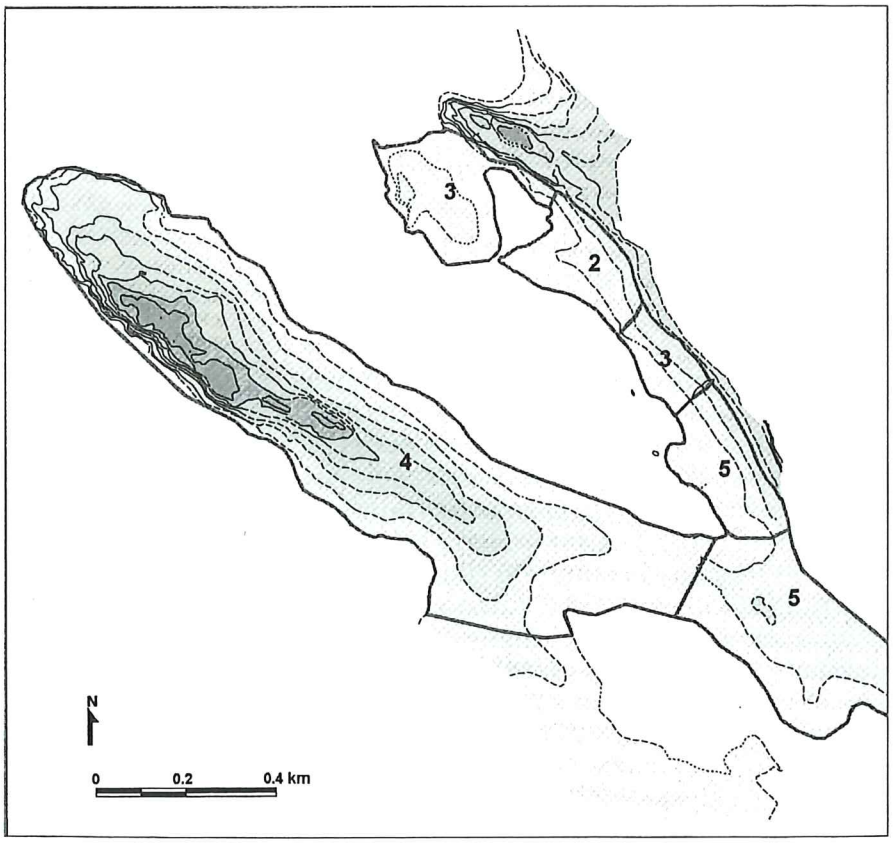

Fig. 10 Bergen. Areas included in the townscape from about 1020/30 to c. 1170. The numbers denote horizons 2-5 (after Hansen 2005, Fig. 60).

To sum up, the king(s) seem to have invested further in Bergen by adding still new areas to the townscape and founding several ecclesiastic institutions. The townspeople now invested more extensively in their town plots and perhaps also in churches. These factors show that Bergen had begun to live a life of its own and had developed into a diversified, living, urban community.

Conclusions

The story of how, when and by the initiative of whom Bergen became a town contains a successive chain of major events and daily activities; Bergen was probably founded through royal initiative on land where agricultural activities were carried out. This happened when plots were laid out in the northern town area, most likely in the years around 1020/30. The idea of a town was, it seems, not well received by the 'townspeople' – probably magnates – who were given plots in the planned town. Between c. 1070 and c. 1100, during the reign of King Olav Kyrre, the northern town area was redesigned, yet an area was regulated into plots and monuments were initiated at Holmen, the townscape thus expanded. The new plots were probably given to allies of the king, but again the king's idea of a town was apparently not so well received. During the years between c. 1100 and the 1120s, King Øystein Magnusson built a royal hall at Holmen, founded several ecclesiastical institutions and expanded the townscape further. Townspeople were now getting more active and settlement of a permanent character was established on many plots. Between the 1120s and c. 1170 the townscape was further expanded, two monasteries and perhaps as many as seven churches were built or rebuilt, the king should be associated with most of these initiatives. The townspeople invested more intensively in their town plots and perhaps also built churches. It is interesting to notice how the town grew in steps and expanded physically, as still more areas were included in the townscape **(Fig. 10)**. The study of the sources through an actor based approach has thus provided a nuanced and varied picture of dynamics involved while Bergen emerged as a town. The process of urban development was slow and involved royal investments as well as investments from the hands of the townspeople. In this interplay between actors from different levels of the social hierarchy and their wider historical context, Bergen in time developed from a materialized idea into a living urban community.

Zusammenfassung

Auf der Grundlage umfassender Studien zeigt der Beitrag, wie, wann und auf wessen Initiative sich Bergen als Folge herrschaftlicher und privater Aktivitäten zur Stadt entwickelte. Es begann mit der Anlage von Grundstücken um 1020/30 im nördlichen Stadtgebiet. Zwischen 1070 und 1100, etwa zur Regierungszeit König Olav Kyrres, wurde die nördliche Stadtregion überplant. In einem weiteren Bereich wurden Grundstücke festgelegt, das Stadtgebiet wurde erweitert und der Bau von Gebäuden im Gebiet Holmen begonnen. Die neuen Grundstücke wurden wahrscheinlich an ansässige Adlige oder Gefolgsleute des Königs gegeben. Zwischen 1100 und 1120 ließ König Øystein Magnusson einen Königssaal in Holmen errichten, gründete mehrere kirchliche Einrichtungen und dehnte das Stadtgebiet weiter aus. Die Bewohner wurden nun aktiver und viele Grundstücke wurden dauerhaft bebaut. Zwischen 1120 und 1170 dehnte sich die Stadt weiter aus, zwei Klöster wurden gegründet und etwa sieben Kirchen gebaut oder wieder errichtet. Die Entwicklung Bergens und die Ausdehnung der Stadt sowie die königlichen Investitionen und wechselnden Aktivitäten der Bewohner als Antrieb zur Stadtbildung können in verschiedenen Stufen nachvollzogen werden.

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Zum Geleit

In den vergangenen Jahren stand die Lübecker Archäologie ganz im Zeichen der umfangreichen Grabungen im Gründungsviertel. So war es geradezu konsequent, das Tagungsthema des 10. Kolloquiums zur Stadtarchäologie im Hanseraum 2014 dem Thema der Wurzeln, der Gründung und der Entwicklung der mittelalterlichen Stadt in ihren ersten Jahrhunderten zu widmen. Diesem für jede Stadt wichtigen Thema folgten wieder über 50 Teilnehmerinnen und Teilnehmer aus 14 Ländern Nordeuropas, so wie schon in den vergangenen Jahren seit 1995. Es ist Prof. Manfred Gläser abermals gelungen, die wichtigsten Vertreter der Stadtarchäologie der teilnehmenden Städte nach Lübeck-Travemünde für einen Vortrag zu holen und diesen dann auch in der hier vorliegenden Publikation zu veröffentlichen. Es war die letzte Tagung, die Prof. Gläser in seiner Funktion als Bereichsleiter der lübeckischen Archäologie und Denkmalpflege vor seinem Eintritt in den Ruhestand initiierte und leitete. Er hatte diese Reihe 1995 ins Leben gerufen und über viele Jahre mit seinem Team erfolgreich ausgebaut und organisiert. Dafür meinen besonderen Dank!

Nicht zuletzt durch diese Kolloquiumsreihe steht Lübeck im Zentrum eines wissenschaftlichen Netzwerkes der mittel- und nordeuropäischen Mittelalterarchäologie. Es ist den beiden Herausgebern gelungen, alle Beiträge in einem Buch zusammenzuführen. Mein Dank gilt dabei der bewährten wissenschaftlichen Redaktion und den Übersetzungen durch Claudia Kimminus-Schneider, Alfred Falk, Dirk Rieger und Dirk Simonsen. Der Band ermöglicht jetzt überregionale Vergleiche der frühen Stadtentwicklungsphasen und wird damit sicherlich zu einem Standardwerk zu diesem Thema.

Es bleibt zu wünschen, dass die erfolgreiche wissenschaftliche Reihe fortgesetzt werden kann, auch wenn die guten äußeren Bedingungen am alten Tagungsort nicht mehr gegeben sind. Neue Rahmenbedingungen und Konzepte müssen gefunden werden. Die Hansestadt Lü-

Preface

During the last years Lübeck's archaeology was characterized by extensive excavations in the Gründungsviertel – the town's oldest quarter. Consequently the 10th "Kolloquium zur Stadtarchäologie im Hanseraum" in 2014 had to deal with geneses, foundations and developments of medieval towns as well as their first centuries. Being sensible of the topic's importance, more than 50 participants from 14 different North European countries followed – as usual – Manfred Gläser's call. Again he succeeded in inviting famous archaeologists of all involved towns to give papers at the conference in Lübeck-Travemünde and to publish their articles in this current volume. It had been his last conference in function of Head of Department of "Archäologie und Denkmalpflege" before being retired. He originated this series in 1995 and managed it very successfully for several years together with his staff. Therefore I would like to express my gratitude.

Not least because of this colloquium's series, Lübeck stands at the centre of a research network of Middle- and North European archaeology of the Middle Ages. Both editors accomplished in combining all papers in one book and I would particularly like to thank the established team of Claudia Kimminus-Schneider, Alfred Falk, Dirk Rieger and Dirk Simonsen for editing and translating. This volume allows to give trans-regional comparisons of early towns' geneses and will surly become a standard reference.

We can only hope that this successful series will be continued even though the outstanding conditions of the former conference site do not longer exist. New basic conditions and parameters have to be invented. The Hansestadt Lübeck and its "Fachbereich Bildung und Kultur" put great store on continuing scientific and historic researches and their contacts.

I also would like to thank the authors as well as all involved of the "Bereich für Archäologie und

beck mit dem Fachbereich Kultur und Bildung legt großen Wert auf die Kontinuität wissenschaftlicher Forschungen und Kontakte.

Mein Dank gilt den Autorinnen und Autoren sowie allen Beteiligten im Bereich Archäologie und Denkmalpflege. Dem Buch und dem Kolloquium wünsche ich in der Zukunft viel Erfolg!

Herzlichen Dank!

K. Weiher

Kathrin Weiher
Senatorin für
Kultur, Bildung, Jugend und Sport
der Hansestadt Lübeck

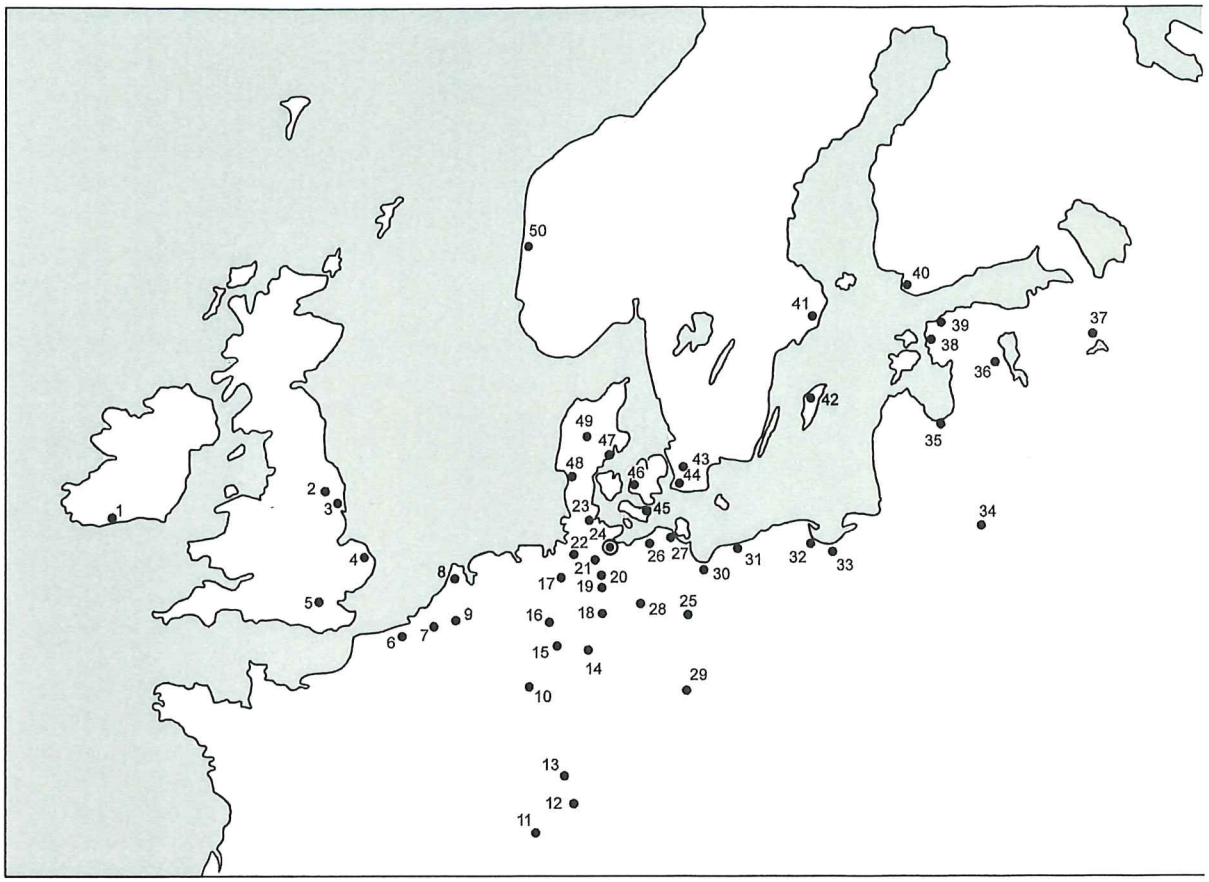
Denkmalpflege". I wish the book and the colloquium success for the future!

Many thanks!

K. Weiher

Kathrin Weiher
Senator for
Culture, Education, Youth and Sports
Hanseatic City of Lübeck

Die Teilnehmer am X. Kolloquium



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