

In quest for the lost gamers

An investigation of board gaming in Scania, during the Iron
and Middle Ages

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Author: Oskar Spjuth
Supervisor: Anders Ödman
Examiner: Mats Roslund



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Abstract

Board games has to a large degree, been studied based on historical sources. Ironically, this is true even for prehistoric games, where the Icelandic sagas have been used as a starting point for a deductive hunt for the mysterious game Hnefatafl. Later studies of gaming have to a large extent been transferring older research results. According to the author, this has created a rather skewed picture of historic games, which he means to problemise.

The author of this thesis will use gaming material from Scania as a starting point for an inductive study. Both archaeological and historical sources will be used as a basis for the results, but due to the over-representation of historical studies on the subject, the archaeological material will be given far more room in this study.

For the analysis of the Scanian material, studies from the whole Scandinavia will be used as a comparison material. The objective of the thesis will be to connect gaming items to their user, and to shed some light on what made persons of the past take up gaming.

The author manages to deconstruct many of the widely accepted interpretations about historic and prehistoric gaming. Checkered gaming boards from the Iron Age cannot be accepted without question as being used for Hnefatafl, Chess was not a game for knights alone, and women and children might have had an even bigger part of the evolution of board games than previously acknowledged.

Contents

| | |
|--|----|
| 1. Prologue..... | 7 |
| 1.1. Introduction..... | 7 |
| 1.2. The gamers as actors..... | 8 |
| 1.3. Methodological perspective..... | 9 |
| 1.4. Research background..... | 10 |
| 2. The historic board games..... | 13 |
| 2.1. Scandinavian board games..... | 13 |
| 2.2. Gaming boards from Northern Europe..... | 16 |
| 2.3. The gaming pieces..... | 19 |
| 3. Case study 1: Uppåkra..... | 23 |
| 3.1. Uppåkra..... | 23 |
| 3.2. The excavations of Uppåkra..... | 23 |
| 3.3. The Uppåkra gaming material..... | 24 |
| 3.4. Analysis of the Uppåkra material..... | 24 |
| 4. Case study 2: Lund..... | 26 |
| 4.1. Lund..... | 26 |
| 4.2. The archaeology of Lund..... | 26 |
| 4.3. The Lund gaming material..... | 30 |
| 4.4. Analysis of the Lund material..... | 33 |
| 5. Case study 3: Royal Castles of Scania..... | 34 |
| 5.1. The castles..... | 34 |
| 5.2. The Castle gaming material..... | 34 |
| 5.3. Analysis of the castle sites..... | 35 |
| 6. Comparison sites..... | 36 |
| 6.1. Scandinavian Iron Age burials..... | 36 |
| 6.2. Norwegian town studies..... | 38 |
| 6.3. Swedish Cistercian monasteries..... | 41 |
| 7. The gamers in art and historical sources..... | 43 |
| 7.1. The gamers in medieval laws..... | 43 |
| 7.2. The gamers in letters of will..... | 43 |
| 7.3. Other historical sources..... | 44 |

| | |
|---|----|
| 7.4. The gamers in art history | 45 |
| 8. The Agency of gamers | 46 |
| 8.1. Games and gamers | 46 |
| 8.2. Social structures and gamers | 48 |
| 8.3. Agency and gaming | 49 |
| 9. Epilogue | 51 |
| 9.1. Further research | 51 |
| 9.2. Summary..... | 51 |
| 9.3. Acknowledgements..... | 52 |
| 9.4. Literature..... | 52 |
| Appendix 1 - Find list from Uppåkra..... | 59 |
| Appendix 2 - Find list from Lund | 60 |
| Appendix 3 - Find list from Castles | 71 |

List of figures

| | |
|--|----|
| Fig. 2. Board for Duodecim Scripta..... | 13 |
| Fig. 3. Board for Ludus Latrunculorum..... | 13 |
| Fig. 4. Hnefatafl board..... | 15 |
| Fig. 5. Mill board..... | 15 |
| Fig. 6. Chess board..... | 15 |
| Fig. 7. Board for Games of Tables. T..... | 15 |
| Fig. 8. Board for Alquerque..... | 15 |
| Fig. 9. Piriform gaming piece of category B1..... | 20 |
| Fig. 10. Double piriform gaming piece of category B2..... | 20 |
| Fig. 11. Category C1. Possible Hnefatafl king..... | 21 |
| Fig. 12. Category C2. Abstract Chess piece in Arabic style..... | 21 |
| Fig. 13. Gaming disc of horn..... | 21 |
| Fig. 14. Category H4, spinning die..... | 22 |
| Fig. 15. Exquisitely decorated disc of bone found in Lund..... | 31 |
| Fig. 16. Amount of gaming pieces from Lund in different categories..... | 31 |
| Fig. 17. A board for Games of Tables..... | 32 |
| Fig. 18. Fragment of a possible Chess board..... | 32 |
| Fig. 19. A possible gaming board for Mill..... | 32 |
| Fig. 20. Amount of gaming pieces from Scanian castles in different categories..... | 35 |
| Fig. 21. Amount of gaming pieces from Trondheim in different categories..... | 39 |
| Fig. 22. Amount of gaming pieces from Bergen different categories..... | 40 |
| Fig. 23. Amount of gaming pieces from Swedish monasteries in different categories..... | 42 |

1. Prologue

1.1. Introduction

I have been interested in board games for a long time. In my family and amongst my friends a common way to socialize is to spend some time together over a thrilling game. The games we play today are of course not entirely the same as those played a thousand years ago. My interest for historical games was awakened in 2009, when I wrote a thesis about board games in medieval Scania¹, during my second semester of historical archaeology (Spjuth 2010). I then came up with the subject by chance when I saw a picture of some medieval gaming pieces on the cover of a book (Mårtensson 1976). During this first thesis I had difficulties in finding enough literature, and also had trouble getting a comprehensive overview of the subject. I therefore decided to write my thesis as a research review. The thesis focused mainly on Swedish research, and how board games had been dealt with, what kind of finds had been made and how they had been interpreted. By the end of my thesis the research had awakened a lot of questions, some of which I will deal with in this work.

1.1.1. *Problem formulation*

The research on the topic of Scandinavian board games is limited. Most of the research questions are based on the types of board games that have been found, and how they have been played. In my view some of the results in this research also seem to be quite speculative. There is, for example, still uncertainty and disagreement about what gaming pieces were used for which game. However, my interest is not primarily to know which games were played and what rules were used, actually, for our understanding of the past such information is of little use, even if it is indeed very interesting. For me it is not only the larger social structures that are interesting. I find it more relevant to know what kind of people played games and why. My interest lies with the single individual, in this case the gamers. My objective is to get beneath the skin of the historic gamers. Who were they? What motivated them to play certain games? What really interests me is who the actual actors behind the board games were. Most researchers have some ideas about who the past gamers were, but it has seldom been the object of an investigation and they therefore have quite a small basis for their results. Some researchers have portrayed board games as a male hobby, but is there any reason to believe this, or were females just as engaged? Moreover was it a hobby for adults, perhaps even restricted to elders? Were specific games exclusive for different social classes?

In order to reach the persons behind the board games I will first of all have to make a typology of some of the gaming pieces. For example, if I want to know whether the common people played Chess during the Middle Ages, I first have to know what pieces belonged to Chess and which did not, and in what social contexts that the gaming pieces are found. I will also have

¹ Scania (Sw. Skåne) is the most southern part of modern Sweden. Scania was a part of the Danish realm during the Middle Ages.

to know from which period a find belongs in order to know when a specific game was common in different social classes. A side objective of this thesis is to create a catalog of the Scanian gaming material and bring it into the research discourse, and to make the Scandinavian research discourse available in English.

1.1.2. A brief presentation of the source material and limitations

Gaming pieces comprise a large material and there are finds in this category from almost every large town excavation. Collecting all archaeological material from Scandinavia (Sweden, Norway and Denmark) will be a far too large project for this Master's thesis, therefore, I will make three case studies. I will analyze the gaming material from the prehistoric settlement of Uppåkra and from the medieval town of Lund. I will also study the material from a two Scanian castles to see whether the gaming material differed between social spheres. For breadth I will compare my results with other studies of gaming material from Iron Age burials in Sweden and Norway, from the Norwegian medieval towns of Bergen and Trondheim, and from Swedish monasteries.

I will also read a large amount of Scandinavian literature on the subject of board games, as well as foreign literature in order to be able to grasp the full research discourse. To get a better view of the dating of gaming pieces, I will also study archaeological reports from relevant excavations.

For the study I'm largely going to limit myself to historical sources and gaming pieces from Scandinavia. But examples from other countries, such as Germany and Great Britain will be used as comparison material.

1.2. The gamers as actors

When gaming has previously been studied a large focus has been given to the rules of the games and the practice of gaming, but the practice of gaming requires an actor (Barrett 2001: 148). Gaming has also previously been mainly dominated by structural perspectives. The gamers are seen as parts of a larger network, and have seldom been acknowledged as independent actors with minds of their own. It is not just the larger social structures that are interesting, but also the individual actors (Hodder 2004: 32). This is what I want to question using an Agency perspective. It might be argued that archaeological remains are not the best way to find the individuals, but the archaeological finds are remains from human actions, and these actions were made by human actors (Johnson 2010: 224). An actor is a social being with individual beliefs and desires. My interest is what these beliefs and desires could have been and how it motivated individuals to play games. For the purpose of this thesis the gamers will be treated as the actors. The social structures can be seen as a framework in which individual can act in different manners. Different games were available to different actors depending on their position within the social framework (Callinicos 2006: 275, Gardener 2008: 95).

Without individuals, there will be no agency, but actors can not only be seen as individual actors. They are defined by their actions, and their actions are always made in interaction with others and in relation to social structures (Gardener 2008: 100). There exists no historic game made for one person. In this sense the actors are not only actors but social actors, also referred

to as agents (Cowgill 2000: 52). The object of the thesis will be to find out what drove actors to gaming. Was it the knightly ideal? Did actors have too little to do during their spare time? Or might there be other reasons?

To know why certain persons played games, I will first have to know who they were. The gamers of the past, the actors or agents, were no empty shells. All individuals have an individual agency, but groups of similar agents may have more in common (Cowgill 2000: 54). It will be important to differ between groups of gaming agents. What kind of gamers were there? Old and young, men and women, rich and poor, celibate or sexually active (Dobres & Robb 2000: 11, Gero 2000: 38, Johnsson 2000: 213-214, Joyce 2004: 82). A gender perspective will be especially important due to the androcentric studies of the past. As gender is difficult to differentiate from biological sex in the archaeological material, no difference will be made between the two.

The general agency is not constant and the reasons for gaming might not have been the same in the Iron Age and in the Middle Ages, nor as today (Johnsson 2000: 213). Martin Wobst (2000) means that artefacts are not only the remains of human actions, but are also an indication of the actor's will to change (Wobst 2000: 41-42). By introducing new board games or keeping to the old ones, the gamers show their desire for change or a comfort in traditions.

1.3. Methodological perspective

It is important to look at all available sources for historic board gaming. Much research has focused only on one kind of source material, such as the historical sources; by doing so, the possibility to reach a believable picture of the past is reduced (Moreland 2010: 48).

To eliminate the risk that a false assumption is passed on from one source to the next, I think it is of utter importance to have an empirical study material of my own, and also to keep a critical view towards earlier researchers. I will therefore personally study gaming material from a choice of sites in Scania, namely the Iron Age settlement of Uppåkra, the medieval town of Lund, and the castles of Lindholmen and Skanör. The town of Lund, has a long history of excavation and its large body of material will be the core of my study, the much smaller assemblages from Uppåkra and the castle sites will be used as comparisons to give a larger chronology and social spectrum. I will first collect and make a catalog of all the finds of gaming items from the Scanian sites. From this material I will make an inductive analysis of the archaeological material from the Scanian sites. It may also be used as a base for further research.

The results from my own investigations will then be compared with other sites already studied by other researchers, for which there has been a large amount of well investigated board game material. The different sites will be compared with respect to spatial, chronological, social and gender differences. Material from Scanian sites will be compared to material from the following sites: Iron Age burials in Norway and Sweden, the medieval towns of Bergen and Trondheim in Norway as well as Alvastra monastery with comparisons to other monasteries.

To get an as wide view of historical gaming as possible I will also look at written sources and art from the Middle Ages. Due to the limited size of this thesis, I will not examine historical sources or art myself, but will rather be using the material presented by previous researchers. Sadly there exists no study of gaming in art, which would have been of great assistance.

1.4. Research background

This chapter follows a summary of the most prominent gaming researchers in board game research, with focus on a Scandinavian research discourse.

1.4.1. Iron Age gaming research

Scanian gaming material from the Iron Age has lain in shadows. Berta Stjernquist wrote a small passage about gaming objects in her work about the grave field in Simris (Stjernquist 1955: 124-126), but it contains only brief information about gaming items in Scanian graves. For Denmark Karsten Kjer Michaelsen (1992) has summarized the prehistoric gaming, the work is quite general, and the references few. It gives no mentions of Scanian material.

The Scandinavian research discourse was damaged at an early stage when the Chess historian Harold Murray released his book about Chess (1913; next chapter). His book featured a chapter about the game Hnefatafl found in Icelandic sources. By a mention in Carlus Linnaeus travels, Murray combined the rules for Hnefatafl with the game of Tablut (Murray 1913: 445-446). Since then a large part of the Iron Age board game study has been enthralled with locating Hnefatafl pieces. An example of this is Lars Berglund (1971) who wrote an article about the gaming pieces from Björkö, and how the gaming pieces from graves were similar to those in Tablut, this is however only true for one grave, in which the number of pieces are the same as in Tablut with the difference of one odd piece (Berglund 1971: 88).

A very good qualitative article with a clear theoretical perspective was written by Martin Rundkvist and Howard Williams (2008). It discusses board games, their purpose in the prehistoric graves of Scandinavia in relation to amber gaming pieces found in Skamby, Östergötland. Their conclusion is that graves did not contain a complete set of gaming pieces, like assumed by Berglund, but only the pieces used by a single player.

Malin Lindquist has studied gaming on Gotland in two articles published in *Gotländskt arkiv* (Lindquist 1991, 1992), one about prehistoric gaming and one about historic. The articles are kept quite general, and with a certain focus on gaming pieces from Gotland.

The Norwegian graves were part of an earlier large scale investigation of social status, spatial differences and gender in graves from Norway by Jan Petersen (1914). He studied 58 graves from the Early Iron Age (Roman Iron Age and Migration Period) containing gaming items, and 46 from the Late Iron Age (Merovingian and Carolingian Period). The largest focus in his study was differences between types of gaming pieces, how they evolved and in what areas different types were most common. Petersen's study was complemented by Bergljot Solberg (2007), who linked the graves with gaming objects to a religious genderless class (Chapter 6.1.).

1.4.2. The histories of Chess

The research on Chess is mainly made up of research on historic sources. The first of note is Willard Fiske's *Chess in Iceland and in Icelandic literature* (Fiske 1905). Fiske was an American scholar educated in Scandinavia, who had written articles for a Chess journal for many years during the 19th century but today is most famous for his research on Chess in Iceland. In his famous work he goes through all the references for Chess in Icelandic medieval literature, but the book is hard to follow and is mainly made up of stray notes on different historical games.

A name even more prominent than that of Fiske is Harold James Ruthven Murray with his groundbreaking study *A History of Chess* (Murray 1913). It is a tome with nearly 900 pages about the development of Chess and how it changed over time. Murray's work is partly based on earlier German research on the topic of Chess but he has also gone through a vast number of sources from Chess libraries across the world, including hundreds of texts from the European Middle Ages. Murray's book is an attempt to write the history of Chess and he has focused on literature about Chess. Murray's interest is linguistic, and his study is based on the spread of Chess in relation to the names used for different Chess pieces. He therefore seems a little blindfolded when making social interpretations and interpretations about other board games such as Mill and Games of Tables. Murray's interpretation is based very much on his own "common sense" and his interpretations are sometimes contradictory. For example, he says that Mill was seen as a child's game (Murray 1913: 438-439), then in another sentence states that the famous Chess player, Duke Charles of Orleans in France, played not only Chess but also Games of Tables and Mill (Murray 1913: 431). Even so, he made a huge pioneering study, and almost every researcher to my knowledge has at least one reference to Murray's work.

A much later attempt to write the history of Chess was made by Richard Eales (1985). He corrects many of Murray's errors, for example that Chess was by no means without competition when it arrived to Europe, nor did it compete with the other games. Variants of Games of Tables were both of earlier date and more popular throughout the Middle Ages (Eales 1985: 49).

Peter Carelli, a Swedish archaeologist, wrote a brief article on the subject of medieval Chess in Sweden published in the yearbook of the museum of Kulturen in 1998 (Carelli 1998). It is mainly based on older research with some examples of Chess pieces from the exhibitions at Kulturen in Lund. But he has also gone through historical material from Sweden and Denmark, where he found some interesting letters of will (Chapter 7.2.).

Marilyn Yalom is a feminist historian who got interested in the gender roles behind Chess and ended up writing a book about it (Yalom 2004). The book focuses on the queen piece and how it was converted from the Arabic piece *vizir* to the European queen, and how it was transformed from one of the weakest pieces in the game to become the strongest. She writes about this evolution in relation to powerful queens all over Europe.

1.4.3. *The histories of board games other than Chess*

In *Middelalderske Byfund fra Bergen og Oslo*, Sigurd Grieg writes about games in medieval Oslo (1933). Grieg makes the assumption that the discs found in historical sites were related to the game Drought. Today most researchers agree that the discs are from Games of Tables. In the part about board games, Grieg writes exclusively about Chess and Drought. Grieg is of the opinion that the holes in some of the discs were made when the gaming pieces were remade into spinning whorls (Grieg 1933: 258).

Harold Murray, who continued to investigate the history of board games for a long time, has also written a small article focused on Games of Tables (1941). His main interest is in the different names of the games, and no more focus has been put on social aspects, apart from a mention that Games of Tables were played by all social layers and both genders (Murray 1941: 57). Murray is also famous for his work *A History of Board Games other than Chess* (Murray

1952). This book is about pretty much every other known historical game except for Chess. This could have been used to reinterpret the role of Chess, in relation to other board games, but here Murray shows no interest in the social roles of gaming. The vast number of games makes the room for every individual game quite slim. There are only a couple of pages for each of the medieval games, and there are no social interpretations.

1.4.4. Student papers on board games

Only a few pure archaeological studies are made on gaming material from Scandinavia. These are mainly Bachelor and Master level theses. These will only be described briefly in this chapter as they will be very important for my own study and with the exception of Dahl (2003) the results will be analyzed in further detail in chapter 6.

The first one is Christopher McLees (1990), who wrote his master's thesis about the gaming material from a large excavation in Trondheim, Norway. The work is very methodically advanced and he makes analysis from both a spatial and chronological perspective. McLees invented a system of categories to be able to separate between gaming pieces, and connect them to different games.

The second, Anna Bergman (1993) wrote her bachelor thesis about gaming at Swedish monasteries. She used Alvastra monastery as the basis for her study, but also compared the results with gaming pieces from three other Cistercian monasteries. As this is only a Bachelor thesis it is quite brief and the method is to a large extent inspired by McLees. Amongst Bergman's results is the connection between gaming pieces and the infirmary.

Martin Sandberg (1994) wrote his master's thesis about Iron Age graves in Sweden. He criticized the view that gaming objects are only found in rich male's graves, and showed with his studies of 181 graves that gaming objects is also common in female graves, and in graves without rich items.

Another master's thesis from Norway is Anette Dahl's *Tafl emk Ôrr at efla...* (2003), a study of the social roles of gaming based on Icelandic and Norwegian sources.

Guro Koksvik Lund (2010) wrote her master's thesis about gaming in the medieval town of Bergen, Norway. Her study is similar to that of McLees, but Koksvik Lund has invented a different system of categories to better suit her purposes. Her objective was to investigate the social aspects of gaming in a relation to the town.

2. The historic board games

2.1. Scandinavian board games

To be able to follow the thesis it is important to have some brief knowledge of the relevant board games discussed. The following chapter will present the games played during the relevant time periods.

2.1.1. *Duodecim Scripta*

Duodecim Scripta, also known as Alea or Tabula, is a Roman racing game, similar to modern backgammon, played with 15 pieces each, and with two or three dice. The game was played along two sides of the board, where 12 circles or semicircles on each side marked the available areas where the pieces could move (fig. 2). Boards with three rows of circles are also known. (Murray 1952: 30-31)

2.1.2. *Ludus Latrunculorum*

Ludus Latrunculorum, like Duodecim Scripta, was a popular Roman game and was especially favoured by the soldiers at the Roman frontier. The game was played on the intersections of a latticed board with variable size (fig. 3). The game was played between two evenly matched teams. An opposing gaming piece is removed from the game if two friendly pieces are placed to either side of the opponent's piece. The game was played on a grid of 18 x 18 squares according to Susan Youngs (1983: 862), but according to Malin Lindquist it was played on a grid of 8 x 8 squares (Lindquist 1980: 97). The players usually used 30 of 60 gaming pieces each.

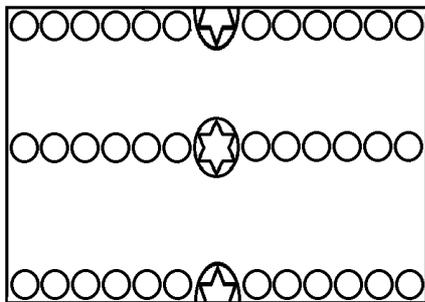


Fig. 2. Board for *Duodecim Scripta*. The game was played on the circles to the top, middle and bottom.

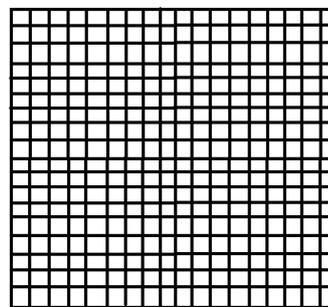


Fig. 3. Board for *Ludus Latrunculorum*. The game was played on the intersections of the grid.

2.1.3. *Hnefatafl*

The name of Hnefatafl is taken from medieval Icelandic literature. The game seems to have disappeared during the 12th century and no name of the game in Swedish or English has survived to this day (Murray 1952: 56). The game has been argued to have a varying number of squares, from 7 x 7 squares based on a gaming board from Ireland, 11 x 11 from a game called Tawlbwrdd in Wales (Riddler 2007: 256) to 11 x 11 and 13 x 13 squares (fig. 4) found in Norway (Chapter 2.2.). A gaming board of 18 x 18 squares is shown in an Irish 11th century

manuscript but its connection to Hnefatafl has been doubted (Riddler 2007: 256). No rules for the historic game exist today, but Harold Murray managed to apply the rules for a Saami game called Tablut to the historic gaming boards and pieces of this type. Tablut was described by Linnaeus during his travels through Sweden in the 18th century and is played on a board of 9 x 9 squares (Murray 1952: 63-64). The king piece is the most important piece and is placed in the middle of the board. The king piece is surrounded by eight defenders with the purpose of defending it. Along the edges of the board the sixteen attacking pieces are placed. All the pieces are moved in the same way as the Chess rook. All pieces except the king are taken in the same way as in Ludus Latruncolorum. The defending side wins if the king is moved to one of the corners of the board, and the attacker wins if the king piece is captured; this is achieved by surrounding it on all four sides. Hnefatafl is commonly referred to as a battle game, and it is not uncommonly only associated with the Late Iron Age male warriors culture (Whittaker 2006).

The rules for Tablut should not be uncritically transferred to Hnefatafl. The board has shifted in size, and the rules probably differed from place to place. Recent research has shown that Hnefatafl is largely inspired by the roman game Ludus Latruncolorum. It is not unlikely that Hnefatafl had more similarities with Ludus Latruncolorum than with Tablut. Some researchers suggest that Hnefatafl was played with three dice (Persson 1976: 379). This is because they are sometimes found together. The dice may however have belonged to a second board game on the back side of the board. The gaming sets may even have belonged to games entirely unknown to us. Ian Riddler (2007) has shown that gaming sets in England are too easily interpreted as Hnefatafl sets, and this is certainly true for Scandinavia as well.

2.1.4. Mill

Mill (Sw. Kvarnspel) is a kind of three in a row game, but of a more advanced type (fig. 5). It is sometimes referred to as Nine men's morris due to the nine pieces used by each player in the version played in medieval Europe. Different kinds of the game were played worldwide. When a player manages to place three of her gaming pieces in a row, she is allowed to remove one of the opposite players pieces. The game ends when one player has less than three pieces left. (Murray 1952: 43-47).

2.1.5. Chess

Chess is first mentioned in written sources from Europe in 990 AD, in a poem written in a Swiss monastery. During the course of the 11th century Chess is known in sources from Italy and Spain (Eales 2007: 164). When Chess was introduced to Scandinavia is debated. The possibility that Chess reached Sweden from the Iron Ages routes through Russia is a possibility, but the Scandinavian names for Chess (Dk. Skak, No. Sjakk & Sw. Schack), shows a close link to the Germanic language, and that the widespread introduction of Chess into Scandinavia came from central Europe is beyond doubt (Eales 2007: 164-165). McLees places the introduction of Chess in Norway to the 12th century (McLees 1990: 166-167). The game came to Europe from the Arabic world. The game rules looked quite similar to today's Chess. It was played between two players on a checkered board (fig. 6), each having 16 Chess pieces (One king, one queen, two bishops, two knights, two rooks and eight pawns). The goal of the game is to kill the opposite

players king. About the game play it can be said that the king was more free in its movement during the Middle Ages and that the queen was a lot more restricted (Yalom 2004: 17).

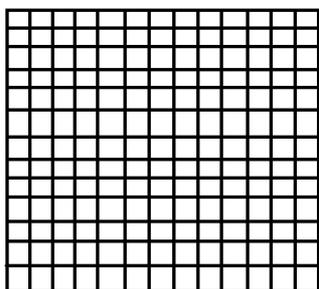


Fig. 4. Hnefatafl board. The boards had either 11 x 11 or 13 x 13 squares.

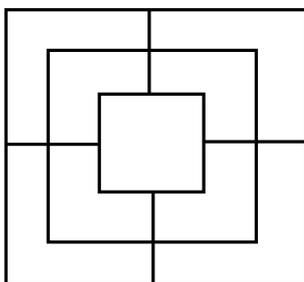


Fig. 5. Mill board. Sometimes four diagonal lines were drawn between the corners.

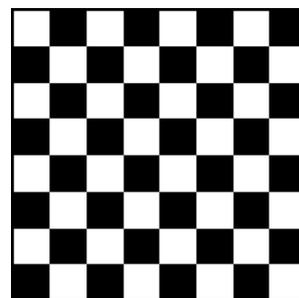


Fig. 6. Chess board.

2.1.6. Games of Tables

The Games of Tables (Sw. Bräde) are a number of games developed from the antique game Duodecim Scripta, and was played on boards similar to modern Backgammon boards (fig. 7). At least 20 different sets of rules have been described from historical sources in England and France (Watkins 2007: 239), and 25 in the whole of medieval Europe. (Murray 1941: 60). The Games of Tables were all different kinds of racing games, where a number of discs are moved through the board. The most common number of discs for each player is twelve or fifteen. Two or three dice were used to see how far they could be moved. The game seems to have been one of the most common games during the Middle Ages, but it has still been very neglected in research.

2.1.7. Alquerque

Alquerque is played on a board with five times five points, each connected to a number of other points by lines. Each player has twelve gaming pieces. The pieces are moved along the lines, enemy pieces are taken by jumping over them to the point beyond (Murray 1952: 65). Alquerque was developed in Spain, and quickly spread across Europe. No mention of the game is found in Scandinavian sources, but at least one gaming board for Alquerque is found in Norway dating to the 16th century (McLees 1990: 36).

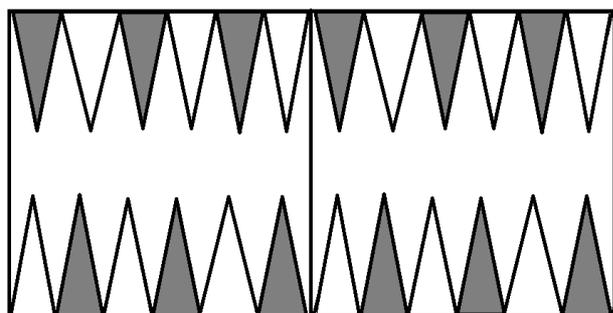


Fig. 7. Board for Games of Tables. The “points” can have a varying style. They can also be rounded or five-cornered

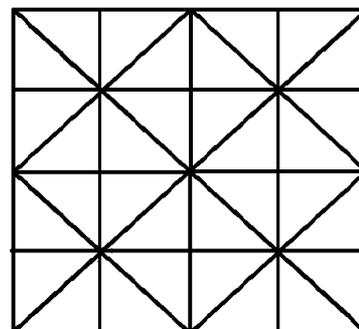


Fig. 8. Board for Alquerque.

2.1.8. Drought

Alquerque later evolved into the game Drought (Sw. Damspel), a game played on a similar board as Chess, but only played on every other square, either the black ones or the white ones. The gaming pieces were moved diagonally over the board (Murray 1952: 72-73). However most researchers seem to agree that this game was introduced in Scandinavia some time after the Middle Ages (McLees: 1990: 35). The game uses the same gaming board as Chess (Fig. 6), and the same kind of gaming pieces as those used for Games of Tables (Chapter 2.3.4.). The game is therefore invisible in archaeological material, and it is possible that it actually did reach Scandinavia during the Middle Ages, but no further analysis of the game is possible.

2.1.9. Fox-and-Geese

Fox-and-Geese (Sw. Rävspel) was possibly played in Scandinavia during the Iron Age, but I have not been able to find any actual proof for the existence of this game during the relevant time period. Some researchers want to connect Fox-and-Geese to a game called Halatafl in the Icelandic sagas (McLees 1990: 27, Koksvik Lund 2010: 9), neither very convincingly. Fox-and-Geese has also been interpreted as similar to Hnettafl, which is debatable (Koksvik Lund 2010: 9), Hnettafl could also be another name for Hnefatafl. Apart from the references to Halatafl in the Icelandic sagas there is only one reference to Fox-and-Geese before the 17th century, and that is in England during the War of the Roses (Murray 1952: 102). Some researchers have argued that Fox-and-Geese might be one of the inspirations for Hnefatafl, but it seems more likely as Eales (1985: 50) suggests that Fox-and-Geese was evolved from Hnefatafl, after the former game lost it's popularity.

2.1.10. Dice

There are also a lot of mentions in the historic sources of people playing with just dice. Most of them seem to have the single goal of rolling the highest number on a varying number of dice, usually two or three. Dice seems to have been used for wagering with high amounts of money or other possessions. Dice gaming is named in many medieval laws, with restrictions on the amount of money that it is allowed to play be bet, or sometimes when or if it is allowed at all.

2.2. Gaming boards from Northern Europe

As most gaming boards can securely be connected to a specific game, gaming boards gives the most reliable information about historic games. As there are relatively few gaming boards preserved, gaming boards from all over Northern Europe will be included in this chapter, and not just gaming boards from the case studies.

2.2.1. Iron Age gaming boards

In a bog at Vimose on Fyn, Denmark, four gaming boards were uncovered. The boards had a pattern for Duodecim Scripta on one side, and a grid of 18 x 18 squares for Ludus Latrunculorum on the other (Engelhart 1869: 11, Youngs 1983: 862-863). The squares had a size of 13-31 mm.

The boards were found with two oblong Roman dice, four square ones, and 80 gaming pieces of bone, amber, burned clay and black and white glass pieces (Engelhart 1869: 11).

There are many suspected gaming boards from Iron Age burial mounds in Scandinavia where the gaming boards have decayed and only some parts of a metal frame exists. For example in Simris, Scania (Stjernquist 1955: 125-126), Björkö, Uppland, where traces from at least three board games have been found (Arbman 1940-43, Selling 1940: 135-141), in Valsgårde, Uppland (Arwidsson 1954, 93-94), in Skamby, Östergötland (Rundkvist & Williams 2008) and at the Ladby ship burial on Fyn, Danmark (Thorvildsen 1957: 86). From Årby, Uppland, a Mill board was found in a grave (SHM inv.nr 21062), but the grave could not be gendered (Arbman 1936a: 249, Lindquist 1992: 96, Sandberg 1994). Another grave, from Löta, Södermanland (SHM inv.nr 13974), included about 30 fragments of wood, interpreted as the remains of a gaming board (Sandberg 1994). Gaming boards have not only been found in graves. From a cave at Stora Karlsö, a charcoal grid of 13 x 13 squares was drawn on a stone (Selling 1940: 142-143).

From Norway only one preserved gaming board has been found. The board was found in the Gokstad ship burial, showing a Mill pattern on one side and a grid of 13 x 13 squares on the other, for some variant of Hnefatafl or Ludus Latrunculorum. The board, found with a single gaming piece of horn, was buried with a male older than 50 years (Nicolaysen 1882: 46-47, 75). As all the Scandinavian gaming boards for Hnefatafl have 11 x 11 or 13 x 13 squares, it seems farfetched to connect the boards from Vimose, Denmark to Hnefatafl as Michaelsen (1992: 43) and Dahl (2003: 22) suggests, and I agree with Youngs (1983: 862) that these are indeed Roman gaming boards.

In Bornstien, Germany, close to the Danish border, a similar decayed board as the Swedish ones was found together with 24 gaming pieces of black glass and 18 pieces of white glass, dating to Roman Iron Age (Steinert 1968: 4-5). Similar German finds were made in Gommern (Becker 2001: 158-159), and in Leuna (grave 3, 1926), from around 300 AD. In Leuna 29 black and 30 white glass pieces were found together with a gaming board for Duodecim Scripta and Ludus Latrunculorum. The gaming pieces was formed along one border with 18 pieces in a row, with three pieces of each colour placed together, a probable setup for Ludus Latrunculorum (Schulz 1953: 63-65, Youngs 1983: 862).

A preserved gaming board from the 10th century York, England, had 15 squares in a row (Hall 1984: 114-115). There are british cases too where only a metal frame is found. At Stanway, Colchester, England, a metal frame was found with gaming pieces set up as for play around the edges. The board was found in a grave together with surgical equipment, and was interpreted as made for two games, when though the wood had decayed (Hall & Forsyth 2011: 1327-1328).

The gaming board from Gokstad, Vimose and Leuna had gaming patterns on both sides, it is likely that this was the case also in the decayed Iron Age gaming boards from Sweden.

2.2.2. *Gaming boards from medieval towns*

From the town of Lund, Scania, three gaming boards have been found. Two made of stone, one with squares and one with an incomplete Mill pattern, and one made of wood with a pattern for Games of Tables on one side and a small Mill pattern on the other. These boards are part of my case studies and will be analyzed further in chapter 4.3.2.

From Århus, Denmark, there is a Mill board carved into a plank from a ship. The plank was later used to build a well (Skov 2005: 32). Pieces of gaming boards have been made in the trading place at Hedeby, Denmark (Michelsen 1992: 51, 54).

From excavations in Lödöse, Sweden, there is a gaming board for Mill made on what seems to have been a basket. The pattern was too small for gaming discs to be used. The text describes finds of other Mill boards from Lödöse, as well as boards for Games of Tables (Ekre et al. 1994: 116).

From the town of Trondheim, Norway at least four gaming boards have been found. Two of the boards have a Hnefatafl pattern on one side and Mill on the other. They both date from the first half of the 12th century. The first with two thirds of the boards remaining had edges of 375mm. The Hnefatafl board had a grid of 11 x 7 squares, with four rows missing along one edge. The other board was only a fragment and shows at least 10 squares. Two gaming boards were carved into everyday objects dating from the 13th century. The first with a Mill game carved into a seat, with a playing area of 155 x 165mm (McLees 1990: 241-243). The second was an Alquerque pattern carved into a barrel lid (Lundström 1977: 18-19, McLees 1990: 36).

From Bergen in Norway a total of seven gaming boards are found, five of them used for Mill. The size of the gaming boards make it unlikely that discs have been used to play on them. One of the Mill boards also includes a surface for Hnefatafl on the other side, and is notably larger. Apart from the Hnefatafl board on the back side of the Mill board, there is one other Hnefatafl board. This one is slightly larger and the whole board is preserved, but in two pieces. Both boards have a grid of 13 x 13 squares. The last board found is a board for Chess. It is broken but probably had 8 x 8 squares. The squares are rather large with sides of 40-50mm (Koksvik Lund 2010: 25-27).

Patterns for Mill are also found carved on everyday objects in Oslo, Norway and Söderköping and Nyköping in Sweden (Lundström 1977: 20). In Novgorod, Russia, Mill boards are preserved in 13th and 14th layers, and can be connected to trading with central Europe, mostly from, Gotland in Sweden and Northern Germany (Rybina 1992: 173).

From the Lübeck, Germany, a similar basket bottom as the one from Lödöse was excavated, showing an Alquerque pattern 8 x 8cm large. Pieces from a board for Games of Tables was also found, apparently one where it was possible to open and close (Falk and Mührenberg 1995: 107-110). Lübeck was a merchant city and part of the Hansa network and had lots of contacts with Scandinavian towns.

Combined boards for Chess, Mill and Games of Tables were often used in Europe from the 14th century (Caldwell et al. 2009: 180, Murray 1952: 44).

2.2.3. Gaming boards from castles

From the Norman castle in Gloucester, a board for Games of Tables including gaming pieces, was found (Stewart & Watkins 1984; Stewart 2007). The board was found in a deposit pit in the outer bailey, dating from 1070-1100 (Darwill 1988: 15). The board was exquisitely made, its base material wood, but decorated with thin strips of horn. It was found with a complete set of 30 gaming pieces. The gaming pieces were circular discs of skull-bone and horn, 15 of each. All pieces were carved with an individual mythological picture, for example a centaur (Darwill 1988: 31-35). The size of the board was 600 x 450mm, giving room for little less than 50mm for each “point” on the board, which fits well with the size of these and comparative gaming discs.

2.2.4. Gaming boards from sites

There are many examples of gaming boards from ecclesiastical sites. Hovedöya monastery has a carved Mill board, as do St. Bendt’s church in Ringsted and the monastery in Västerås. (Lundström 1977: 20).

A gaming board of stone, combining a pattern for Games of Tables and a pattern for Chess sits in the wall at Povls church in Bornholm, Denmark (Vellelev 1988: 10).

From Lübeck a Mill board is found in Saint Johannis monastery and in Lübecker Burgkloster there is a sculpture of a woman and a man playing an odd board game (Falk & Mührenberg 1995: 105). There are also several patterns for Mill carved in British churches and monasteries (Murray 1913: 44).

2.3. The gaming pieces

I have divided my material into different categories similar to the system made by Christopher McLees (1990). The system made by McLees was based on his specific material, and a few changes have been made due to my different material, and my interpretations of it. Another system has been used by Guro Koksvik Lund (2010), but her system is very clearly defined by the pieces available to her and it did not suit my material particularly well. In the end the gaming pieces have been divided into the following categories:

2.3.1. Category A

Category A is used for prehistoric gaming pieces. A few attempts have been made at dividing this material into categories. An example is the division between shapes of hemispherical pieces. My material is very small and would hardly benefit from such a division. Instead the material has been divided into three subcategories depending on the material.

Category A1 represents circular pieces of Roman type, made of glass and often coloured in black or white. These pieces have probably been used for the Roman games Ludus Latruncularum and Duodecim Scripta, a connection made already in 1833 (Petersen 1914), but possibly also for Hnefatafl and Mill.

Category A2 is used for Hemispherical pieces of bone, horn or ivory. This subcategory is to a large extent similar to McLees category A (McLees 1990: 38-39). These pieces date from the Roman Iron Age until the 11th century and are usually connected to Hnefatafl and

sometimes Mill. From the Vimose find we can also see that they have been used for the Roman games Ludus Latruncularum and Duodecim Scripta, perhaps as replacement for lost glass pieces.

Category A3 is similar in shape to the previous categories but represents gaming pieces made of stone or amber, and have likely been used for the same games.

2.3.2. Category B

Category B is sometimes similar to the hemispherical pieces of category A2, but with an extended upper part, creating larger piriform and double piriform pieces. Category B is divided into two subcategories; Category B1 for single piriform pieces (Fig. 9.), and B2 for double piriform (Fig. 10.). These cannot be connected to any specific game. McLees (1990) and Koksvik Lund (2010) have interpreted them as possible pawns for Chess, an interpretation which I do not agree with. They do not look similar to any known Chess pieces. Also a similarly shaped piece from Gotland dating to the 10th century predates any known Chess pieces from Scandinavia (Lindquist 2001: 12-13). They might on the other hand have been used for Mill. Mill probably used the same gaming pieces as Hnefatafl during the Iron Age, but after the Hnefatafl boards and pieces become unpopular, boards for Mill can still be found.

Category B1 is similar to McLees category B. Category B2 is in McLees study included in the category for undefined gaming pieces.

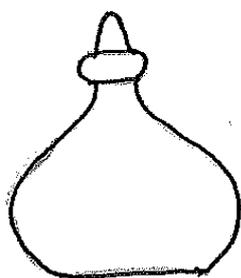


Fig. 9. Piriform gaming piece of category B1. Drawn after find KM 38419: 98b.

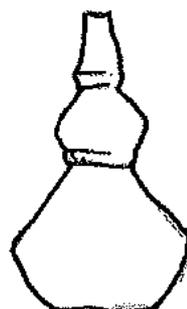


Fig. 10. Double piriform gaming piece of category B2. Drawn after find KM 20281: VB10.

2.3.3. Category C

This category includes Chess pieces and hnefatafl kings of differing materials. This group is divided into four separate sub-categories. C1 is used for hnefatafl kings (Fig. 11).

The Chess piece has gone through a series of styles. When it reached Europe in the 10th or 11th century it had an abstract style used in the Arabic world, this style was still in use when Chess reached Scandinavia and pieces of this type is referred to as category C2 (Fig. 12).

Category C3 is used for medieval pieces of figurative style. This figurative style was evolved in Europe with very detailed pieces of kings and queens on fashionable thrones, knights on horses etc. The most famous of the figurative Chess pieces are probably from a find made at the North West coast of Scotland, the gaming pieces are usually referred to as the Lewis Chess pieces.

Category C4 is used for turned Chess pieces, in a new abstract style that emerged during the Late Middle Ages.



Fig. 11. Category C1. Possible Hnefatafl king. Drawn after find KM 38252.

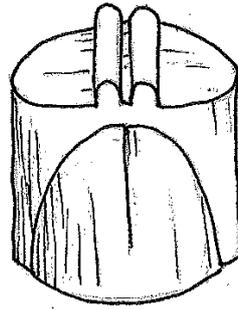


Fig. 12. Category C2. Abstract Chess piece in Arabic style. Drawn after find KM 38315: 76b.

2.3.4. Category D

Category D represents discs of bone or horn, the most common group of gaming finds. These gaming pieces were most likely used for playing Games of Tables. As seen in the Bergen material, they are too big to have been used for any of the gaming boards found there (Koksvik Lund 2010), and the find in Gloucester comprising a gaming board for Games of Tables and circular gaming discs shows an indisputable connection (Stewart & Watkins 1984, Stewart 2007). Many of the pieces have a hole made in the middle which has caused a debate about if they are gaming pieces or spinning whorls. For this purpose category D, has been divided into two subcategories; D1 for gaming discs of bone and horn without a central hole (Fig. 13) and D2 for discs of bone and horn with a central hole.

The size and decoration of gaming discs with or without holes are very similar and they were probably made for the same purposes. From a find in Malmö with 20 discs of horn, some of the pieces with holes, are interpreted as a gaming set (Öhnegård 1984: 41). Also the find contexts of discs with and without holes look very similar. It is my belief that hole or not, these discs were still used as gaming pieces. If the pieces were not painted, this might have been a way to tell the two players' pieces apart.

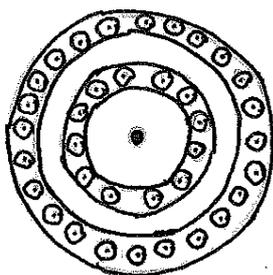


Fig. 13. Gaming disc of horn, decorated with the common concentric circles and circle holes. Discs of this type are referred to as category D.

2.3.5. Category E

Category E is made up of discs of stone. This is a quite small finds category. They can perhaps be seen as a kind of poor cousin to category D. In some cases these pieces have been interpreted as rough materials for spinning whorls, and there may be some truth to that.

2.3.6. *Category F*

This category looks very much the same as category D, with the exception that these are made of wood instead of bone or horn. This find category is much smaller in Lund than in Trondheim (McLees 1990) and Bergen (Koksvik Lund 2010). This might be either due to the higher amount of wood in Norway or to the better preservation of wood in the Norwegian soils. The larger amount of wooden Chess pieces found in Norway suggests the latter.

2.3.7. *Category G*

This Category is for gaming pieces that cannot be defined as any specific kind. Some of them might not even be gaming pieces.

2.3.8. *Category H*

This category is used for all kinds of dice. The earliest kind of dice was made from the knucklebones of sheep. These were used widely in the antiquity, and are found in prehistoric graves, but their uses in Scandinavia have not been further researched (Lundström 1977: 3). The first dice found in Scandinavia are of Roman type. The Romans used both cubic dice, and oblong dice with numbers on only four faces (Lindquist 1980: 97). None of these early styles of dice are registered as gaming objects in any of my case studies.

The Roman dice were later exchanged to almost cubic dice of quite large proportions used during the Late Iron Age (Lundström 1977: 4), these are referred to as category H1.

During the Middle Ages, cubic dice were used, with sides of around 10mm or 15mm. The smaller ones are referred to as category H2 and are made in a solid piece of bone or horn. The larger dice are referred to as category H3 and are pierced by a small hole, sometimes refilled.

A type of eight-sided dice were also used, these had a stick penetrating two of the sides, making it possible to spin the die around so any of the other six sides came to be on top (Fig. 14). These are referred to as category H4.



*Fig. 14. Category H4,
spinning die.
Drawn after KM 20344: 8*

2.3.9. *Category I*

This category is used for gaming boards for all games, Hnefatafl, Mill, Games of Tables etc. Most of them are made of wood, or carved into stone.

3. Case study 1: Uppåkra

3.1. Uppåkra

Uppåkra is one of Scandinavia's largest Iron Age settlements (over 40 hectare), with continuity from before the Birth of Christ until the Viking Age. Uppåkra has mainly been excavated on a small scale for the past two decades, compared to the large size of the settlement, therefore this case study should only be regarded as a starting point for board game research in Uppåkra. The coming years of archaeological excavations will surely yield a greater number of gaming pieces. The finds from Uppåkra indicate a high social ranking, and Uppåkra is nowadays seen as a major central place within the Scanian Iron Age context. Gaming pieces are not entirely uncommon in settlements or trading places from the Iron Age. There are, for example, gaming pieces found in some Danish settlements: Hodde in Sdr. Ravnstrup, Lundeborg on Fyn and in Hedeby (Michaelsen 1992: 37-38, 46-48, 50-51). The studies of material from settlements with accidentally lost gaming pieces are surprisingly few. Most studies on Iron Age material are based on material from consciously made deposits such as graves or bog deposits. Therefore the material from the Iron Age settlement of Uppåkra will make a very interesting comparison to other Iron Age materials and to material from medieval towns.

3.2. The excavations of Uppåkra

Uppåkra was first excavated in 1934 by Bror-Magnus Vifot. He found a small building with ceramic finds dating to Late Roman Iron Age and Early Migration Period (Hårdh & Larsson 2007: 5). The place was not excavated seriously again until 1996, when the Uppåkra-project started, a project with focus on Southern Swedish Iron Age. The investigations started with metal detections and a few smaller excavations.

The first large excavation was in 1999, this was made up of long trenches in order to find the layout of buildings (Lenntorp & Lindell 2001: 7). An area in the centre of Uppåkra was chosen in 2001 for a more in-depth investigation. The layouts of several buildings were found, and a few of them became subject to smaller excavations (Lenntorp & Lindell 2001: 12). This was the first time that the finds from Uppåkra were registered digitally in a program called Intrasis (Lenntorp & Lindell 2001: 48). This makes it very easy to collect finds of specific categories and connect them to exact locations.

The building excavated with a start in 2001 had a very specific structure with huge wall trenches and post holes for a building of only 13 x 6,5 meters. The finds suggested a very specific religious use of the building, probably with a temple function (Hårdh & Larsson 2007: 45-53). The yard around the building was filled with bones, and to the north and south two weapon deposits were excavated, with deposited weapons from Roman Iron Age until the Carolingian Period and a continuity of at least nine building phases (Lenntorp & Piltz-Williams 2002: 9-12, Lenntorp 2006: 2). The excavations yielded several finds, most famous perhaps, hundreds of small gold foil figures.

From 2006 onwards, the excavations in Uppåkra have been limited to small-scale

excavations for educational purposes. The excavations have focused on the buildings in the close vicinity to the temple.

3.3. The Uppåkra gaming material

There are a total of 18 gaming pieces registered from Uppåkra (Appendix 1). Of the eight pieces of glass found, I have only been able to examine six, three of them black, one red, one white and one white-greenish. One of the unexamined pieces is described as white.

There are three pieces of stone registered as gaming pieces. One of them looks very similar to a find (LUHM 31251: 935) registered as “Glättsten” and is probably not a gaming piece as such, but might have been used as one. One is spherical, larger than the other gaming pieces, about the size of a sling stone, but flatter. The last stone has not been put at my disposal.

Seven pieces of bone or horn found have been interpreted as gaming pieces. Five of them is exhibited at Lund University Historical Museum, and has not been measured or studied in detail. They are all made of bone or horn in roughly hemispherical shapes. The last two were similar to what McLees called category A; hemispherical pieces (McLees 1990: 40-43). One of them was fragmented, and the other was decorated with small circles. One other piece hemispherical piece of horn was found (LUHM 31251: 1925), but a hole drilled in one corner caused it to be interpreted as a pendant.

3.4. Analysis of the Uppåkra material

The result of the Uppåkra material will be very biased due to the selective excavations made so far. The excavations have focused on the central buildings, with a great hall and a temple. The finds made can therefore be expected to represent the upper classes in Uppåkra.

3.4.1. Finding contexts

Of the gaming pieces of glass, six were found in the temple, most of them in layers used to refill holes made for roof posts and walls, similar contexts as the famous gold foil figures (Hårdh & Larsson 2007: 44). One gaming piece of glass was found in a weapon deposit north of the temple. The use of ritualistic deposited gaming pieces can be seen in several Iron Age bog finds, not the least in the Vimose find, referred to above. The last glass gaming piece was found in an undefined layer.

Of the three stones, only one was found in the temple, and that one is only doubtfully a gaming piece. The second was found in an undefined layer. The third was found within a weapons deposit, together with one gaming piece of glass, hundreds of spear points and fragments from shields, making it a possible sling stone. In the weapon deposit, another seventeen sling stones were found, with a diameter of between 22 and 42 mm (Helgesson 2010: 104).

Five gaming pieces of bone and horn were found in the Temple, one in a mud layer (Sw. svämlager), and two from undefined contexts outside the buildings.

3.4.2. *Spatiality*

All the gaming finds are concentrated to an area around the centre of Uppåkra. This is to be expected since it is the main area to have been investigated archaeologically. A large majority are found within the boundaries of the temple. The great hall neighbouring the temple, shows indications of high status, and more gaming pieces could have been expected to be found here. This building is however not yet fully excavated, and this analysis will probably come to change. In fact a new gaming piece of burnt horn was found during the last stages of writing this thesis, however it has not yet been registered and are therefore not included in this work.

3.4.3. *Chronology*

No certain chronology can be made from this small material. A majority of the pieces are found in undated and mixed layers. From the temple building, for example, some pieces were found in the filling from the postholes, and some finds are made in one of the weapon deposits. However gaming pieces are found in different phases of the ritual building, and it seems that gaming was known in Uppåkra from at least the migration period until the last intact layers of the temple during the Late Iron Age. As similar gaming pieces are known from Early Middle Age, it is likely that games were played in Uppåkra for as long as Uppåkra remained a central place.

4. Case study 2: Lund

4.1. Lund

Lund makes a perfect object of study for any medieval material. It is one of the oldest towns in Scandinavia dating from the late 10th century. It has contained a royal residence and a mint, a bishop's castle and several other church institutions, and therefore covers a great variety of social levels.

There has never been any compilation of the archaeological gaming material from Lund. I have contacted the museums that have been excavating in Lund. The two relevant museums are Kulturen and Lund University Historical Museum (LUHM). Kulturen have excavated in Lund for over a hundred years and keep over a million medieval finds in their stores. The finds at Kulturen have never been collected into any electronic database, but I have received help from the museum with finding the relevant material through their manual catalogue system. LUHM keep only a few items from Lund.

Lund was an important town in the Danish realm during the Middle Ages and has been excavated for over a hundred years. A large amount of gaming finds can therefore be expected to have been found, and this will make up the biggest part of my study.

4.2. The archaeology of Lund

4.2.1. *The archaeology of Lund up to 1960*

The development of archaeology can be divided into three general stages. The first, from the end of the 19th century until around 1960, started by Georg Karlin the Founder of the museum of Kulturen (Larsson 2000: 165). There was no real archaeology to speak of, but artefacts were found by chance when digging out new sewer systems or foundations for buildings, and were collected at the museums. Only limited documentation was made on what archaeological contexts the finds were made in. Medieval artefacts could easily get into the hands of private collectors, as is the case with several of the gaming pieces found in Lund. The finds with ID-numbers starting with 'LUHM 11028' were all found between 1881 and 1883, when some workers had nothing to do and decided to dig for human bones at Pennegatan in southern Lund:

"Alla under detta nummer upptagna föremål äro hittade på en vid västra sidan af Pennegatan i sydöstra delen af staden Lund belägen; Lunds Hospital tillhörig tomt. Några arbetare, som saknade sysselsättning, förotogo sig nämligen vintern 1881-2, samt i början af 1883 att å nämnda tomt gräfva efter gamla ben och funno inte blott hvad de sökt, utan äfven en hel mängd af menniskohand [gjorda?] föremål..." (Notes from LUHM's archives)

These finds were later bought by the LUHM, as is the case with Find 'LUHM 12591 XV' and 'LUHM 12828'. Sixteen finds with an ID number ranging from 'KM 38312' to 'KM 38456,'

were bought by the museum of Kulturen in 1936-37. Most of the finds still have a note on the finding quarter, but a couple is only registered as found in Lund.

The lack of documentation before 1960 makes it very difficult and time consuming to get any knowledge of the finding context besides what quarter or which street they were found at. This includes close to hundred gaming objects, more than a third of the full material from Lund.

4.2.2. *The large excavations in the 1960's, -70's and -80's*

The archaeology of Lund improved gradually during the first half of the 20th century, under the lead of Ragnar Blomqvist (Larsson 2000: 191). Starting in 1961 the archaeology of Lund entered a new phase. Anders W. Mårtensson had gotten employed by Kulturen, and five large scale excavations with decent documentation methods revolutionized the archaeology (Larsson 2000: 205). At this time no reports were filed in connection to the excavations. However a project was held in 2007 to write reports for old excavations based on notes and diaries from the field. The time was limited and these reports are very brief. To analyse the larger excavations I have studied detailed finding lists at the archives of Kulturen.

Starting the new wave was an excavation in quarter Färgaren nr 22 (Blomqvist 1963: 14). When the excavation started cellars from the 19th and 20th centuries had already been dug down through the soil to a level of 2,25 meter beneath the surface, and thus the greater part of the layers from the 14th century onwards were gone (Blomqvist 1963: 10). During the excavation six gaming pieces were found (KM 53436); one die, two discs of wood, two pieces interpreted as Hnefatafl pieces, one hemispherical (category A2) and one hnefatafl king. Also one piece is now missing and has not been analysed. The excavation results were published in a book (Blomqvist 1963), but at the time of publication all the finds were not yet fully preserved and the gaming finds were not analysed. I have looked at some of the documentation done in the field without any further results.

The second large excavation was at quarter S:t Botulf nr 12 in 1964-65 (Gardelin 2007h). Thirteen hundred square meters were excavated. The excavation is described as confusing, it was divided into two parts, one east and one west, and buildings from different phases were excavated simultaneously. No remains from later than 14th century were excavated (Gardelin 2007h: 3). The finds made indicate remains from the production of combs and shoes, as well as remains from bronze casting and tanning (Gardelin 2007h: 10). Eleven gaming items were found (KM 57135). The first is a gaming board for Games of Tables and Mill. Two pieces were of category B from the western side of the street. Four of category D evenly spread over the whole area. Two discs of wood, category F were found in the same area in the western side. Finally two undefined pieces were found, one of wood and one small piece made of stone (KM 57382: 372) similar to Roman gaming pieces.

The large scale excavations continued in 1974-75 at quarter S:t Clemens nr 8. The excavation took place in the south-east of the quarter and mostly focused on the different churches in the area. Because of this priority the two most recent meters of cultural layers were removed without documentation, and no layer dating to after the 13th century was analyzed (Mårtensson 1976: 13). The excavation covered an area of 1200 square meters dating from the

founding of Lund in the late 10th century until late 13th century (Gardelin 2007i: 2, 7). The excavation yielded 32 gaming items (KM 66166), some of them published in connection to the excavation (Person 1976). Some of the gaming pieces and dice were of Iron Age style and could be connected to buildings from the first half of the 11th century. Some of the ornamented discs were from after 1150, and cubic dice from after 1100 (Persson 1976: 379).

The first large excavation in quarter Apotekaren was made in 1979-80 at Apotekaren nr 4 (Gardelin 2007a). The excavation was close to the main road leading up from the central square. The area contains both secular buildings on the inner part of the area and workshops closest to the street. It had a building chronology dating from the end of the 10th century until year 1410 (Gardelin 2007a: 3-16). The excavation was quite big, covering 222 square meters. (Gardelin 2007a: 17). The material contains 24 gaming pieces (KM 70361). 7 dice, 11 discs of wood, 3 discs of bone/horn. Three pieces cannot be securely defined as gaming objects. The gaming pieces were evenly spread out over the excavated area and it appears that for the matter of gaming, the secular buildings and the workshops were of a similar context.

The last large excavation was made in 1982-84 at S:t Clemens nr 9. The excavated area covered 3800 square meters with cultural layers from 900-1300 (Gardelin 2007j: 3, 14). Focus was on finding the monastery of S:t Drotten and the oldest cemetery. 3056 graves were excavated, but in the northern part of the trenches, secular buildings from the 11th to 14th centuries were located (Gardelin 2007j: 2, 7). It seems that most of the gaming pieces were found in this secular area: "I områdena med profana lämningar påträffades en stor mängd föremål knutet till vardagen i hushållen. [...] tärningar, spelpjäser [...]" (Gardelin 2007j: 12). Due to the confusing notes made during the excavation no gaming pieces can for sure be connected to the monastery, though some seems to have been found in this area. One gaming piece (KM 71839: 2074) was found inside the church itself, but could come from a period when the church was not part of the monastery.

4.2.3. *Smaller excavations in the 1960's, -70's and -80's*

During the same time period, a lot of smaller excavations were made. As these do not contain a large find material this study is only based on the reports written in 2007. These reports make it possible to get some information without deeper archive studies, and they will be presented here.

Three discs of wood, one die, one piriform, and one undefined gaming piece (KM 59126) were found at Glambeck nr 4 in 1966. Soil younger than 1200 was removed with digging machinery, so all the finds date from 1000 to 1200. The area contained remains from the production of bone and horn throughout the period (Gardelin 2007g: 6-7).

Five gaming pieces (KM 62892) were made at quarter Svartbröder nr 23 in 1971 and 72. (Karlsson 2007g). The area contained buildings, but no good documentation was made. The excavation was very rich in finds, 4004 in total.

One die from the High Middle Ages and 18 decorated fragments of wood (KM 70917), interpreted as a gaming board, were found in an area of quarter Färgaren nr 25 in 1980. There was an economic building in the area (Karlsson 2007a: 3).

Quarter Färgaren nr 28 was excavated in 1981 (Karlsson 2007d) on an area of 2100 square

meters. Four pieces have been found, that are interpreted as gaming pieces, none completely convincingly. Two are made of wood, but slightly bigger than the ordinary gaming discs, one is missing, and the last one was made of an uneven stone with drilled circles.

S:t Mårten, nr 28 was excavated in 1981-82. 6 finds (KM 71570) were made of which two are now missing. A total of 5600 square meters was removed but only 215 with precision. The area included house remains from 1000-1225. For the eleventh century the finds included remains from a bone and horn workshop (Carelli & Lenntorp 1994: 15-16 and Karlsson 2007f).

In quarter Gråbröder nr 32, one die (KM 71719: 38) was found in 1983, at area containing a graveyard and a small pond (Karlsson 2007e).

Quarter Drotten, nr 6 & 7 was excavated in 1984. This was an excavation of a stave church and 133 graves. 550 square meters were dug by hand (Gardelin 2007e: 2-6). Only one die (KM 72552: 92) was found, possibly from one of the graves that date from 1050 to the beginning of 12th century.

Quarter Fiskaren, nr 14 was excavated in 1984. Only 17 square meters were excavated, and the soil was removed until the layers from 13th century were reached. The area contained ordinary buildings, where one die and a disc of horn (KM 72354) were found (Gardelin 2007f).

Billegården has only been the subject of one large excavation. This took place in 1984-85. Most of it was removed using digging machinery. Only two areas of 130 square meters each, were dug by hand (Gardelin 2007d). The archaeologically excavated areas were dominated by the remains from the production of combs. According to the excavation report a lot of dice and gaming pieces were also found (Gardelin 2007d: 4-6), but only two dice and a fragment from a Chess piece in Lewis style (category C3, KM 72550) are known to me.

One disc of bone/horn was found at quarter S:t Mikael in 1985. The area contained a richer milieu with houses of stone and brick, and coins in the finding list (Gardelin 2007c).

165 square meters were excavated in quarter Själabodarna nr 11 in 1985 (Gardelin 2007b). The area contained buildings from 11th – 17th century with usual household find. (Gardelin 2007b: 2-6). One gaming piece from category B (KM 72804: 22) was found.

An excavation in Gyllenkrok nr 29, 1989 yielded one potential gaming piece of wood. But it could not be dated or related to any particular building (Karlsson 2007b: 3), and a gaming board of stone with small squares on it, possibly used for Chess (KM 76123).

The area excavated at Gyllenkrok nr 30 in 1992, had workshop status during Early Middle Ages and a high status in Late Middle Age (Karlsson 2007c). No clear context can be connected to the two dice and wooden disc found (KM 77655). In layers from the Early Middle Ages a small gaming board of stone was found (KM 77655: 518).

4.2.4. Modern Archaeology in Single Context

At the start of the 1990's the archaeology of Lund developed into its current stage. The method of digging in *single context* was introduced, making it possible to connect all the finds to exact locations and contexts.

In Glambeck nr 4, 1990-91 (Carelli 1992) two gaming finds were made; One undefined piece (KM 76579: 16) from 1175-1200, the second of type D (KM 76579: 135) was from the end

of 12th century until 13th century. During the relevant time period, the excavated area contained buildings with clay floors, used for human activities, either as houses or storages.

Gyllenkrok 3, 4 and 5, 1991. Five finds were made. Two gaming pieces of category D were found in layers from 1150-1225, perhaps together with a die. The most impressive piece from the Lund material is a Chess king made of crystal (KM 76420: 113). It was apparently found in one of the ovens from 1225-1400. The ovens have not been connected to any particular building, but a brick floor might suggest they are from a high status mason (Carelli 1991: 13-15, 22). It was found in the same context as a pointy piece of horn (KM 76420: 185), perhaps used as a replacement for a pawn in the same game.

Quarter Myntet, was excavated in 1992. Five gaming pieces were found (KM 77714). The area contained a stone building, but no function was identified. Only three of the gaming pieces were included in the report, all dating from the 14th century (Larsson 1993).

In S:t Mårten nr 25 & 26, 318 square meters were excavated with precision in 1993 (Carelli & Lenntorp 1994). Three gaming finds were made, all of them discs of bone/horn (KM 78367). One of the gaming pieces was found in a grave (Grave 68).

Stortorget, year 1993. The excavation was made by opening a total of 10 trenches. From the southern part of Stora Kyrkogatan to the northern part of Stora Södergatan. (Eriksdotter 1994). 8 gaming pieces were found (KM 78415), of which two are missing. The finds were two dice, one disc of bone/horn, two discs of wood and one undefined piece. The finds were made in mixed layers of clay and soil, filled with rest products of straw, leather and brick fragments, used to stabilize the sunken areas of the main square.

Tegnér nr 1, 1994. (Carelli 1996). Three pieces were found, of which one seemingly lost (KM 79551). A die was found in a layer dating to the 13th century. This phase was represented by a high amount of discarded bone and horn from a workshop (Carelli 1996: 32-37, 113-114). A disc of bone/horn dating to 14th century (Carelli 1996: 25-26) was found in an elevation layer. It appears that the layer originated from of a high ranking residence.

A disc of bone/horn (KM 85 986: 14a) was excavated in a hearth from the first half of the 14th century in quarter Myntet, nr 9 in 2002-03. The building was interpreted as a workshop for noble metals (Karlsson 2004).

An excavation was made in quarter Blekhagen in 2003 at nr 10, 11, 12. In this excavation two discs of horn were found. The quality of the excavation makes it possible to locate the exact places where the finds were made. The first gaming piece (KM 86581: 1154) was discovered in a tanner's farm dating from 1400-1420. The gaming piece was found in a well filled with layers from the garden. The other find (KM 86581: 1762) was made at tanner's farm from 1320-1350. This one was located in the remains of a burnt down house (Ericsson et al. in print).

4.3. The Lund gaming material

There are 238 finds of gaming items excavated in Lund (Fig. 16). But there is some difficulty in defining which pieces were actually used as gaming pieces (Appendix 2).

4.3.1. Gaming pieces and dice

The largest find category from Lund is by far circular discs of bone and horn (Category D) (Fig. 15). This category is followed closely by dice (Category H). Discs of wood (Category F) are also common. All these categories may have been used for Games of Tables. The finds categories are spread out evenly in the town, with a higher density to the centre. It therefore appears that Games of Tables was the most common game in Lund during the Middle Ages, and that it was played by most of the social layers. Discs of stones were probable also used for Games of Tables but very few of them have been found, most of them from the same excavation (S:t Clemens nr 8, 1974-75). Chess pieces (Category C) and piriform pieces (Category B) are uncommon. Quite a lot of pieces are still undefined, and if these can be connected to specific games, the balance might shift slightly.



Fig. 15. Exquisitely decorated disc of bone found in Lund. Drawn after KM 23445.

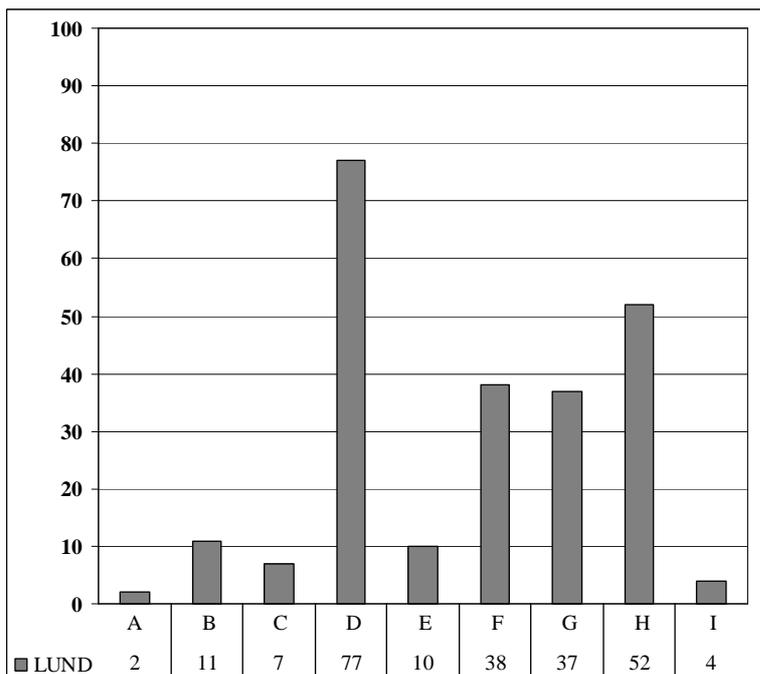


Fig. 16. Amount of gaming pieces from Lund in different categories. A, hemispherical pieces. B, piriform and double piriform. C, hnefatafl kings and Chess pieces. D, discs of horn and bone. E, discs of stone. F, discs of wood. G, other. H, dice. I, gaming boards.

4.3.2. Gaming boards from Lund

There are four potential gaming boards from Lund. The first board was found in quarter S:t Botulf in 1964. It was a fragment of wood. On one side were the remains of rounded points used for Games of Tables (Fig. 17). On the other side small lines carved to shape the pattern for Mills can be seen. The pattern for Games of Tables is much larger than the Mill pattern, with room for gaming disc up to about five centimeters. It is probable that the Games of Tables board first got

broken, and that the board got a secondary use for Mill.

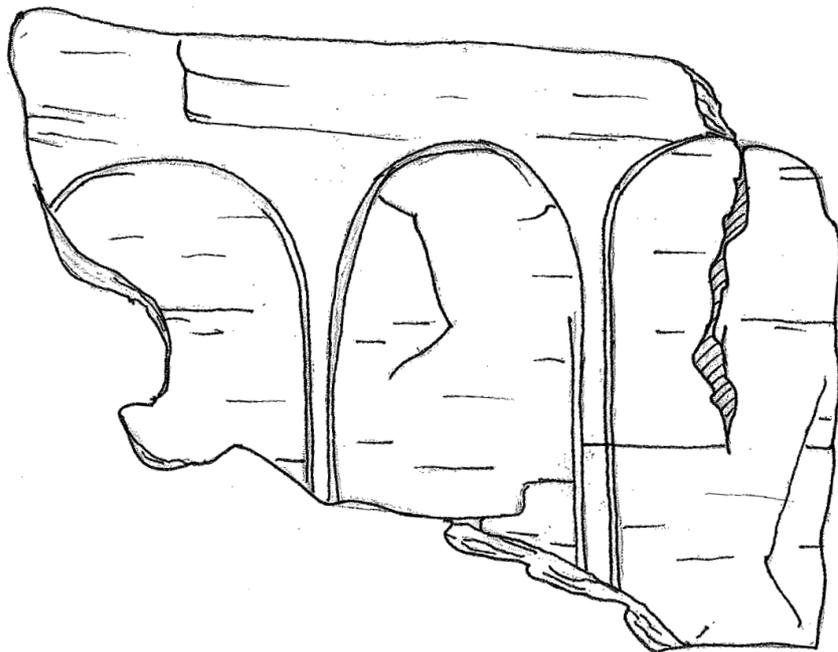


Fig. 17. A board for Games of Tables, on the back side there are traces of a pattern for Mill. Drawn after KM 57135: 1229.

From the quarter of Gyllenkrok there are two possible gaming boards made of stone. The first one with squares (Fig. 18). The squares are a bit uneven and do not resemble the gaming boards for Chess found in Norway. It is possible that the squares are only part of a decoration.

A gaming board for Mill, was made by a similar type of stone as the previously mentioned. The Mill pattern comprises only two squares (Fig. 19). It was either a less complicated variant of Mill or the pattern was never finished. None of the excavated gaming pieces from Lund would have been small enough to use on the pattern.

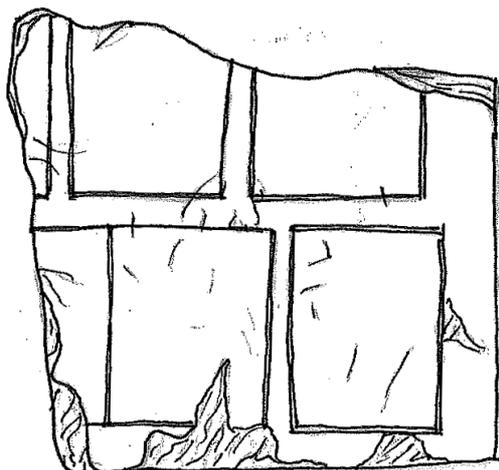


Fig. 18. Fragment of a possible Chess board. Drawn after KM 76123: 84.

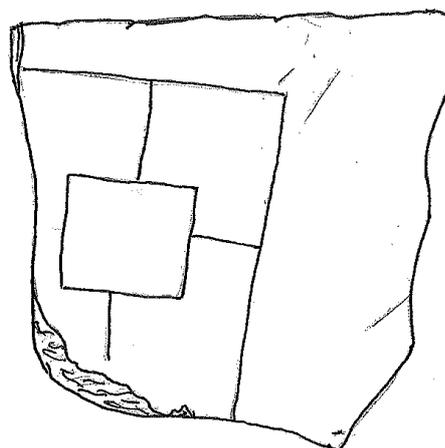


Fig. 19. A possible gaming board for Mill. Drawn after KM 77655: 518.

The last potential gaming board was probably not a gaming board at all (KM 70917: 215). It comprises 18 decorated fragments of wood.

4.4. Analysis of the Lund material

4.4.1. Finding contexts

Most of the finding contexts are rather vague, but there are gaming finds made in both high ranking mansions and from commoners workshops.

4.4.2. Spatiality

The gaming items from Lund are spread over the whole medieval town, but with a rapidly increasing number the closer to the centre one gets. The outermost quarters include no, or only a single gaming piece, and the quarters closer to the center includes higher numbers. This is the expected picture due to the density of the population being higher closer to the centre. The simplest pieces such as dice and discs of bone are spread out quite evenly over the town. This shows that games were played in all corners of Lund, probably in proportion to the number of inhabitants in the different quarters.

The quarter Gyllenkrok close to the south of Lund breaks this pattern. Here eleven gaming items were found compared to none or one in the surrounding quarters. This find includes some of the most interesting pieces from Lund, a crystal Chess king in Arabian style (Category C2), and two gaming boards of stone (Category I).

The medieval town of Lund had a higher population density closer to the centre, and a lower in the outskirts. This view has been highly overrated in the larger part of the 20th century, with the result that the central quarters were carefully excavated in large scale. The antiquarian value of the outer quarters was therefore not considered high, and many parts have been dug away without any archaeological excavation. To an extent the spread of gaming finds are in relation to the amount and detail of the excavations made. An example of this can be seen in that the two most well excavated quarters, Apotekaren and S:t Clemens close the central square have about 70 gaming pieces together, which is almost a fourth of the entire gaming material from Lund.

4.4.3. Chronology

Any good estimation of the chronology of gaming is very difficult to make based on the material from Lund. The dated pieces are few compared to the large amount of undated pieces. There is also a problem that in most of the larger excavations the layers from later than 13th century were removed before starting the actual digging.

Gaming pieces of category A and H1 can only be connected to the very first stage of Lund, dating to prior 1050. The crystal chess piece from quarter Gyllenkrok (KM 76420: 113) is dated to between 1225 and 1400, which shown that Chess pieces where used for a long time and cannot reliably be dated by their style. Gaming discs of bone, horn and wood are found in layers from at least the 12th century until 14th century. The gaming boom described by McLees (1990) can so far not be either proven or disproven in Lund. A similar dating as for the discs is true also for the small cubic dice (Category H2).

5. Case study 3: Royal Castles of Scania

5.1. The castles

The town of Lund gives a wide variety of social layers, but the nobles are missing. To get this social group into the spectrum, the gaming material from a two castle sites will be analyzed. To study all castles in Scania is not possible here and since the status of castles have varied a lot, I have chosen to only study the royal castles. From written sources we know of five Medieval royal castles in Scania, these are: Beritsholm, Falsterbohus, Helsingborg's castle, Lindholmen and Skanör's castle (Carelli 2007: 46). This is where the top nobles had their seats and ruled as castellans. The castles were also visited by the royal court from time to time.

Beritsholm was owned by the Danish king from 1363 and until 1526. It is untouched by archaeological excavations (Ödman 2002: 46-49).

Falsterbohus and Skanör's castle were built during the 13th centuries to control the herring markets in Skanör and Falsterbo. Falsterbohus was burned down in the 14th century, but rebuilt as a strong castle with twin moats. It was excavated in 1887-1891 and 1907-1911, without any report written. It was left for the archaeologist Ragnar Blomquist to summarize the results in 1950 (Carelli 2007: 169-171). Skanör's castle was ceded to Falsterbohus around 1425 and left to deteriorate. It was excavated by Otto Rydbeck in 1907-1911, with what was for the time, very good methods and the results were published in a book (Rydbeck 1935).

Helsingborg's castle was a large fortification in the north-west of Scania. The first tower was built in the 12th century but new parts of the defense were added until the 14th century. Helsingborg's castle was excavated in the 1930's, but smaller excavation has been made more recently (Carelli 2007: 103). No gaming items from Helsingborg castle have been published, and there have not been time for any further investigation in this thesis.

Lindholmen was built in the beginning of the 14th century as a strong brick castle in the centre of Scania, supposedly built there to keep order among the local nobles (Reisnert 1995: 71). Lindholmen was first excavated in the 1930's, but was excavated by archaeology students in the 1990's, when well documented excavations were made (Augustsson 1995: 11).

5.2. The Castle gaming material

The gaming material from Lindholmen has been studied by Helen af Geijerstam (1995). According to her there were 13 gaming pieces found, most of which were circular discs of bone or horn, and few turned pieces for Chess, as well as 15 dice, of which two were spinning dice (af Geijerstam 1995: 201). The material from Lindholmen was very hard to get access to. Of the 28 gaming items that were found, only six seem to be left at the Lund University Historical Museum, of which three are missing. Two can be said to definitely be gaming pieces. They were of type D (Appendix 3).

The material from the castle in Skanör is much larger; a total of 33 pieces, however three were missing from LUHM's stores. Of the 30 pieces that I have looked at, 22 were dice, four were of type D and four are undefined. One of the unidentified pieces may have belonged to

Chess, but the others are probably not gaming pieces at all (Appendix 3). Otto Rydbeck, who was responsible for the excavation, interpreted the dice as a way for the soldiers encamped in one of the buildings to pass time (Rydbeck 1935: 168).

A Chess rook in Late Medieval abstract style (Category C4), made of ivory had been found in the moat of Falsterbohus. The piece which was turned, dated from 13th – 14th century (Ferm & Tegnér 2005: 34).

Other castles have been interpreted as built at royal command. For example the castles of Loshult and Vittsjö in the Northern Scanian forests, possibly built to protect the Danish production of iron and tar. From Vittsjö's castle, a single die was found close to the hearth in the main hall (Ödman 2002: 163).

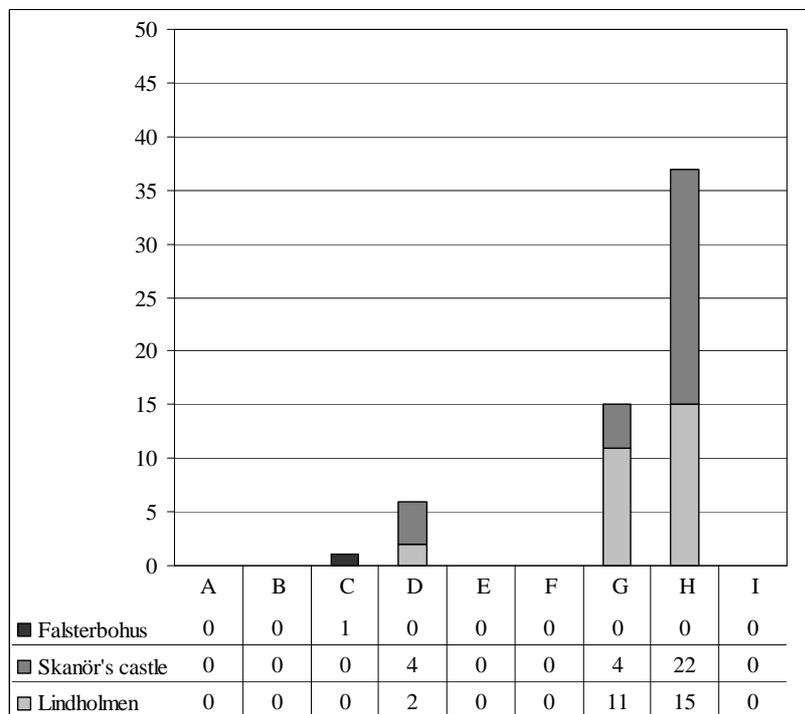


Fig. 20. Amount of gaming pieces from Scanian castles in different categories. A, hemispherical pieces. B, piriform. C, Chess pieces. D, discs of horn and bone. E, discs of stone. F, discs of wood. G, other. H, dice. I, gaming boards.

5.3. Analysis of the castle sites

The most common gaming items in castles seems to be dice. Rydbeck's interpretation that this was due to all the soldiers getting bored and taking up dice play is a possibility. A few pieces from Lindholmen have been interpreted as Chess pieces, and none from Skanör. One Chess piece has been found in the moat of Falsterbohus, but it is not connected to any larger gaming context, and other gaming items were most likely used in the castle. Chess is seemingly more common in castles than in towns, but the items used for Games of Tables are still in majority. The lack of Chess pieces at Skanör's castle might be due to the earlier dating.

6. Comparison sites

For a wider discussion about board games in Scandinavia, I will here present a few studies made by other researchers in the field.

6.1. Scandinavian Iron Age burials

6.1.1. Iron Age gaming in Scania

In 1955, Berta Stjernquist wrote that there are only four excavated graves with gaming pieces from Scanian Iron Age. One grave in Hammenhög included gaming pieces of bone (Category A2) and two dice of Roman style. From Hagestad, four pieces of bone were found. From Simris gaming items were found in two graves, grave 41 and 54. Grave 41 included 58 gaming pieces of glass (Category A1), of which 29 were white and 29 black. Grave 54 included 56 gaming pieces of bone (Category A2) and the remains of a gaming board where the reinforcing parts were made of bronze (Stjernquist 1955: 109-110, 124).

6.1.2. Swedish Iron Age burials

Martin Sandberg wrote his master's thesis on the subject of gaming pieces deposited in burials during the Iron Age (Sandberg 1994). The aim was to see if the graves with gaming finds did indicate a high ranking male person, as has often been argued (Sandberg 1994: 5). His argument against this hypothesis is that it almost always is based on rich male graves (Sandberg 1994: 11). To try this hypothesis Sandberg went through all graves with gaming equipment acquired by the National Historical Museum in Stockholm, Sweden, between the years 1891 and 1983. A total of 181 graves from Sweden were analyzed with respect to the gender and social status of the graves.

As gender was the focus for Sandberg's study rather than actual sex, the genderization has been made using archaeological data rather than osteological (Sandberg 1994: 14-15). The gender of the graves was analyzed by the grave goods with the result of 33 female graves from the entire Iron Age, 69 males and 79 undefined. Sandberg's results shows that both rich and poor were buried with gaming objects as well as both men and women.

From the Early Iron Age a total of 16 graves were analyzed, eight were analyzed as male graves, and only one as female, and seven ungendered (Sandberg 1994: 56-60). From the Late Iron Age 58 graves were analyzed, 18 defined as male graves and 18 as female, 22 remained undefined (Sandberg 1994: 56-60). From the Carolingian Period seven graves were gendered as male and 14 as female, with ten unspecified.

It seems that gaming pieces were found in graves from a larger variety of social groups during the Late Iron Age than during the Early Iron Age (Sandberg 1994). Perhaps the games were introduced by the rich male individuals, but were later adopted in other social layers and amongst females.

6.1.3. Björkö, Vendel and Uppsala

Three of the most famous burial areas from Sweden were not used in Sandberg's main study; the burial mounds from Uppsala, the graves in Valsgärde and the Björkö burials. (Sandberg 1994: 62). Björkö has been excavated over a long time period. There are gaming pieces found in 18 graves from Björkö, half of them from cremation graves and the others from inhumation graves. Of the inhumation graves six were gendered as male, one female and two were double graves (Arbman 1940-43, Lindquist 1984: 215), this has been used to argue that gaming was a male habit during the Viking Age. According to Martin Sandberg, there are another seven graves with gaming equipment from Björkö, of which three can be gendered as male graves, two as female and two double graves (Sandberg 1994: 63). At least three of the graves include gaming boards, however only parts of an iron frame remained, and no wood. It is therefore impossible to see what games they actually belonged to. It is not unlikely that the boards originally had patterns for two games, one on either side, like the one found in the Gokstad ship burial in Norway. Some of the gaming pieces excavated in Björkö were very exquisite pieces of glass. Similar pieces were found in Långtorna, Uppland (Arbman 1936b: 95-97).

Amongst the large grave mounds in Uppsala, Uppland, one grave (grave 1) contained 23 gaming pieces of bone. The grave belonged to a man in the age of 35- 45 years (Nordahl 2001: 16, 18).

6.1.4. Norwegian Iron Age burials

Jan Petersen (1914) examined 104 Iron Age graves from Norway containing gaming items. Of the 58 graves from the Early Iron Ages, 16 belonged to male graves and 10-12 to female graves. Of the 46 graves from the Late Iron Ages 27 graves were male and three graves were female.

Bergljot Solberg (2007) has written an article of the updated material from burials with gaming pieces or dice from the Norwegian Iron Age. Her material includes 141 graves; 85 from the Early Iron Age and 56 from Late Iron Age.

From Solberg's material only 13 graves from the Early Iron Age could be gendered since most of them were cremation burials, and few contained any gender specific grave goods. Of these graves seven were males and seven female. The last grave was a double grave with both a man and a woman. About half of the graves included rich grave gifts, and half of them, barely any gifts (Solberg 2007: 266).

From Late Iron Age it was possible to gender 34 graves, 32 of them male, with weapons and riding equipment as grave gifts and only two female. That many of the graves were large burial mounds or ships burials indicate a high social ranking of the deceased persons (Solberg 2007: 266-267).

Solberg want to connect gaming in graves to a genderless social elite, that was believed to have magical powers, a social group of heathen priests. This should also be strengthened by the deceased being buried with golden arm rings and necklaces. Birds and horses in the grave symbolises an ability to speak with these animals, and the gaming boards should be connected to a sort of divination (Solberg 2007: 268).

6.1.5. Comments on the Iron Age material

From studying two spatially different materials, Sandberg (1994) and Solberg (2007), have managed to describe the introduction of board games into Sweden and Norway respectively, in two entirely different ways. Sandberg has described board games as, introduced by a small group of high ranking males, and later spreading down to less rich individuals and females. Solberg on the other hand, shows a picture of how board games started out as a genderless habit, and later came to be connected to an elite male social group, with unnatural powers. Solberg's view on gaming in Late Iron Age is similar to the analysis made by Malin Lindquist on the Björkö material (Lindquist 1984: 215-218).

Neither Sandberg nor Solberg have any large material from the Early Iron Age, and these interpretations should be taken cautiously. If seen in the light of the other, I think that the material from Early Iron Age looks rather similar in the two studies, neither material has many gendered burials and a large part of them are from cremation graves. Sandberg's view that gaming was a male activity during the Early Iron Age is based on only eight male graves of 16 analyzed (Sandberg 1994: 43-44), and it is very possible that a similar picture as that in Norway would be visible if a large material from the period was gendered.

The variety in the materials show that interpretations based on the four graves found in Scania from the Iron Age (Stjernquist 1955: 124) could give a very skewed result, and have a little reliability.

6.2. Norwegian town studies

The results from excavations in two Norwegian towns have been carefully investigated by two Norwegian researchers. They will be presented here mainly as a comparison to the material from Lund.

6.2.1. Trondheim

The archaeological material from Trondheim has been analyzed in *Games People Played* by Christopher McLees (1990). It is a very ambitious report. The work is based on an excavation made in the 1970's and early 1980's, on the so called Library site. The excavation is very large and performed with high standards which make it a wonderful base for McLees work. He makes spatial, chronological and social analysis. He has divided the board game finds into nine different categories. From these categories he is analyzing where and when these games were played.

There are a total of 470 gaming pieces excavated at the Library site in Trondheim (Fig. 21). Of the material about half (229 pieces) are made of stone. All of these pieces have been added to category E, but not all of them are circular discs. The next two large groups of gaming pieces are discs of wood and bone/horn. Compared to Lund, there is a surprisingly small material of dice found. Some small changes has been made to fit McLees' material with my study, for example two of the pieces McLees interpreted as Chess pieces (Category C) have been moved to category B. McLees' contextual study shows that gaming pieces are mainly found just outside the buildings, possibly due to the cleaning inside, where the pieces are swept outside (1990: 163-164).

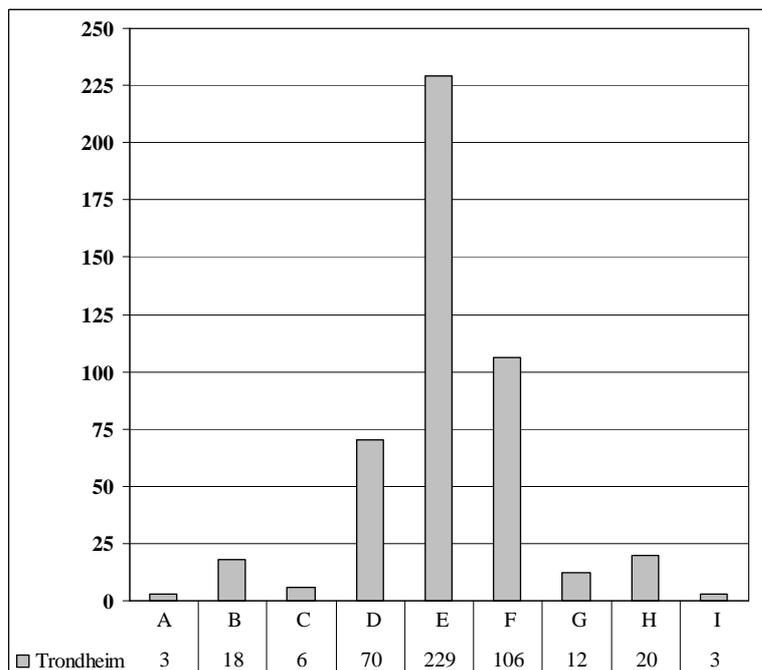


Fig. 21. Amount of gaming pieces from the Library site in Trondheim in different categories. A, hemispherical pieces. B, piriform and double piriform. C, hnefatafl kings and Chess pieces. D, discs of horn and bone. E, discs of stone. F, discs of wood. G, other. H, dice. I, gaming boards.

6.2.2. Bergen

The gaming material from Bergen has been studied by Guro Koksvik Lund (2010) in her master's thesis. The work has lot similarities to my own. She studied how gaming has differed between different social classes (Koksvik Lund 2010: 2-4), though she has a different time span for her study (1120-1702).

There are 1068 pieces from Bergen interpreted as gaming pieces (Fig. 22). They are made of bone, horn, wood, stone, ceramics and metal. Koksvik Lund, has developed a categorisation system of her own, but to be able to compare it with the results from other sites, I have made an attempt to convert it into my own. The material contains a single hemispherical piece, 15 piriform or double piriform pieces and 34 Chess pieces. 215 pieces are discs of bone or horn, while 424 pieces are discs of wood. The size varies a lot and some were probably not gaming pieces at all. 289 pieces are discs of stone. 45 of the pieces have odd shapes and got defined as category G. There are a total of 30 dice excavated. Seven gaming boards were found as discussed above (Koksvik Lund 2010: 28-50).

Koksvik Lund is criticizing the interpretation of gaming as spare time habit, as spare time is a modern construction (Koksvik Lund 2010: 88-89). To support this Koksvik Lund had to know who played. 80% of the material from Bergen was excavated in an area called Bryggen during the 1950's and 1960's, and the possibility to study the contexts and dating of the pieces are limited. Bryggen was an area with a large social diversity, and gaming was seemingly popular amongst various groups of people. The material is vague, but it is likely that gaming was equally common amongst both genders (Koksvik Lund 2010: 85-86, 93).

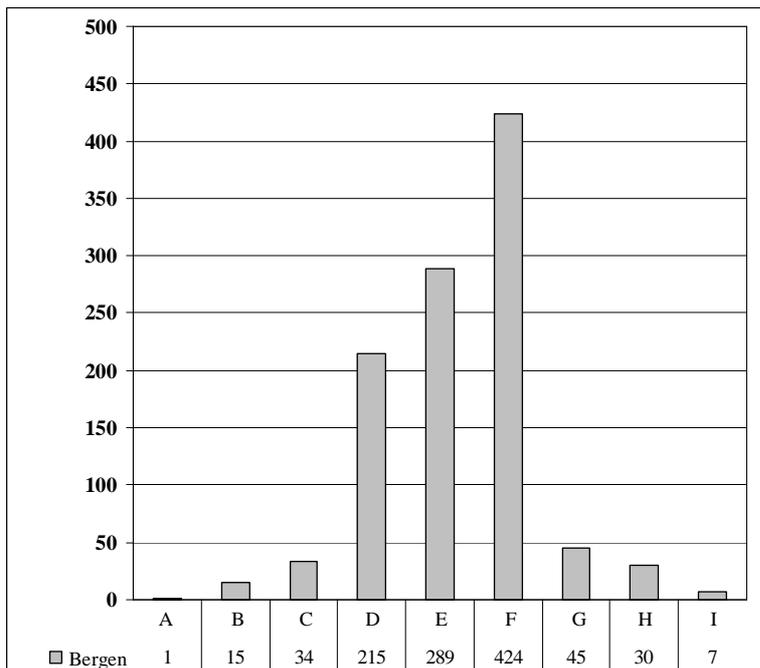


Fig. 22. Amount of gaming pieces from Bergen different categories. A, hemispherical pieces. B, piriform and double piriform. C, Hnefatafl kings and Chess pieces. D, discs of horn and bone. E, discs of stone. F, discs of wood. G, other. H, dice. I, gaming boards.

6.2.3. Comments on the Norwegian town material

The material from Norway shows both distinct similarities and differences from the material in Lund. The circular discs are overwhelmingly the largest find category in all three towns. The difference here is that the two Norwegian towns contain a very high proportion of wooden discs and stones. The lack of stones in Lund could be due to excavation praxis and the lack of wood due to poor preservation of wood in Scanian soil. It could therefore be expected that a higher number of discs of stone, and discs of wood actually were used in Lund during the Middle Ages.

Compared to Lund, very few dice are found. Even though the material is much larger, they contain less dice, however, I am not sure how this should be interpreted. Lund was to a large extent an ecclesial town, and dice games should have been prohibited, but this does not seem to have been the case.

Finds from category A, B and C are low in all three towns. This means that games like Hnefatafl never had any large foothold in the medieval towns, and neither did Chess.

6.3. Swedish Cistercian monasteries

6.3.1. *Alvastra, Östergötland*

Alvastra monastery was built in 1142 by the Order of Cistercians by royal initiative. Through donations the monastery soon became very rich, owning land in many parts of Sweden. Alvastra monastery was excavated between the 1920s and 1953 by Otto Frödin, but no academic report was made (Bergman 1993: 1). However Anna Bergman has been going through diaries, sketches and find list from the excavation, and written a thesis with a focus on gaming. Her research is mainly spatial, by connecting the finds to the different buildings she wanted to know who played games, where and what.

In the original finds list made during excavation, a total of 82 finds from games were included. Bergman managed to find 50 of these; 22 gaming pieces and 28 dice. Of the gaming pieces 10 were interpreted as Chess pieces by Bergman, two in Arabic abstract style (Category C2). All were made from horn, bone or ivory. Two gaming pieces could have been used for Games of Tables. The rest were undefined but have probably been used for Chess or Mill. Most of the finds were made outside the buildings; this also goes along well with McLees' interpretation that people were careful with the cleaning inside. Probably the small gaming pieces were swept outside during cleaning. A majority of the gaming finds were found around the infirmary for sick and elder monks (Bergman 1993: 25).

6.3.2. *Other monasteries*

Bergman has also compared the results from Alvastra briefly with three other Swedish monasteries belonging to the Order of Cistercians. They were all fully excavated in the beginning of the 20th century, with worse methodologies than the Alvastra monastery. Very little can therefore be said about the dating of the gaming pieces.

The first one is Varnhem, Västergötland (1160-1527), a monastery for monks. 21 gaming related finds were made (Bergman 1993: 26).

The second, Gudhem, Västergötland (1150-1527), was a Nunnery. Two dice and one disc were found.

And lastly, from Vreta, Östergötland (1160-1527) two dice, three Chess pieces and one disc of stone have been found. Vreta was built as Benedictine Nunnery but was converted to the Order of Cistercians in 1160.

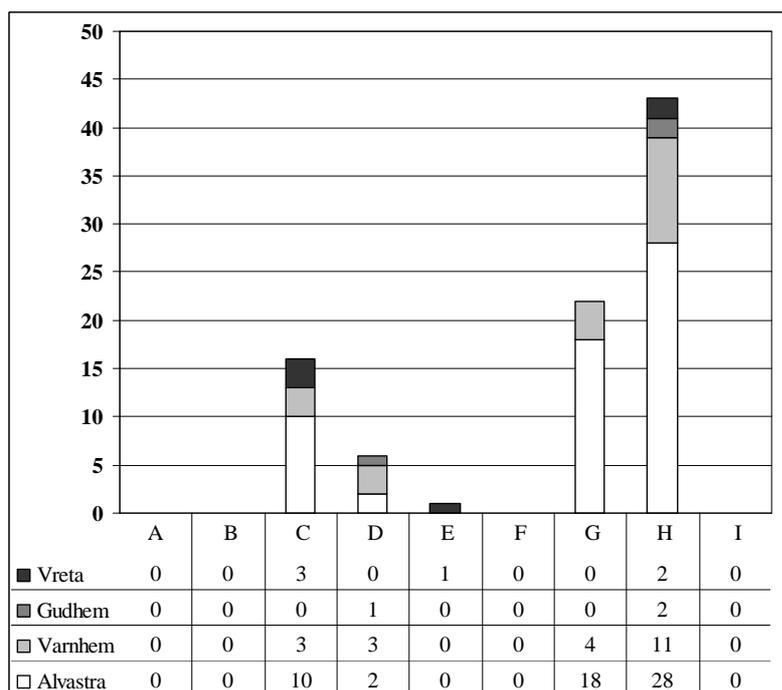


Fig. 23. Amount of gaming pieces from four Swedish monasteries in different categories. A, hemispherical pieces. B, piriform. C, Chess pieces. D, discs of horn and bone. E, discs of stone. F, discs of wood. G, other. H, dice. I, gaming boards.

6.3.3. Comments on the monasteries

Bergman's studies shows that games were a fairly common sight in monasteries of the Middle Ages. Compared to other sites, Chess is highly overrepresented in monastic sites, which supports the thesis that Chess is a game for the higher, well educated classes. Most gaming finds were made in relation to the infirmary; gaming might therefore not have been clashing with the ordinary duties. While the amount of Chess pieces are high, the discs for Games of Tables are very few. It appears that the church law forbidding gaming was much stricter where Games of Tables was concerned, than with Chess. A lot of dice were also found and perhaps these were perfect for smuggling in a pocket to play in secret. A few of the dice were found in the cemetery. Similar finds are made in Lund, and it appears that it was not an uncommon ritual to be buried with a single die.

In Russia the Arabic influenced abstract gaming piece style seems to have endured throughout the whole middle Ages (Kolchin 1989: 204). Maybe that can be true to some extent in Sweden as well where abstract Chess pieces in Arabic style seem to remain at Alvastra after 1400 (Bergman 1993: 15).

Gaming is mostly connected to male monasteries, but the material presented so far is rather small and gaming pieces have been found on all monasteries investigated.

One Cistercian Monastery was located in Scania. The Herrevad monastery built in 1144 was the first monastery of the order in Scandinavia. It has been excavated seasonally, but no report has been published. This monastery could give some new clues to monastic gaming.

7. The gamers in art and historical sources

To complement the archaeological material and to give and as wide picture of historic gaming as possible, games in historical sources will be presented in this chapter.

7.1. The gamers in medieval laws

There were several laws trying to restrict the playing of games during the Middle Ages. One of them was the Church, forbidding bishops to play any kind of board or dice game. There are also examples of town laws forbidding gaming for a certain amount of money or during a certain time of the day. In one law from the continent, apprentices had to keep away from Chess and Games of Tables, and in universities, knightly occupations, including Chess and games of chance, were prohibited (Murray 1913: 440-441).

From the coopers' guild in Malmö, at that time part of Denmark, gaming with dice was dealt with harshly. The first time a member was caught playing the participant was fined 3 Scanian marks, 9 the second time, and the third meant exclusion from the guild (Öhnegård 1984: 40). Copenhagen's town law under Christopher of Bavaria said that if someone killed another while gaming for money, the killer was condemned to death (Lindquist 1992: 60).

The town law of the Swedish king Magnus III "Ladulås" disallowed gaming with "under aged persons" or gaming with people with no possessions. It was also forbidden to play for more than the value of one mark, or with goods belonging to a company where a third person was part owner. In Magnus' household law it was forbidden to gamble with a horse or weapon at stake, and gambling after the king went to bed was not allowed. In the law of Gotland (Gutalagen) it was completely forbidden to gamble. (Lindquist 1992: 60).

Olaus Magnus writes that youths playing with dice or cards for money should be put in irons on the square (Lindquist 1992: 61).

In Norway and Iceland no laws against gaming appeared until the middle of the 13th century, when suddenly a pair of different laws was issued by King Magnus IV "Lagabøte" Håkonsson (Dahl 2003: 70-78).

7.2. The gamers in letters of will

Chess starts to show up in letters of will in Spanish sources from early 11th century. The first from Count Ermengaud of Barcelona, dating from 1008 (Murray 1913: 405-406), describes how a Chess set was donated to a convent. The second dating from 1058 and is found in Countess Ermessind's letter of will, 40 years after the death of her husband Raymond Borel, who was also brother to Ermengaud. This second will is also a donation of Chess pieces, apparently made of crystal, to the very same convent, Saint Giles (Murray 1913: 406).

Peter Carelli (1998) names a couple of wills where Chess boards were left to others in Denmark and Sweden. When the Danish archbishop Jens Grand died in 1327, a Chess board was amongst his possessions (Carelli 1998: 138-139). From Denmark Chess is named in three different wills before 1450. In the first Bennike Henriksen from Åhus and cantor of Lund left two Chess boards to two fellow priest colleagues in 1358, one to Sir Niels, a provost in Lund,

and one to Sir Jens, who was archdeacon. Archbishop Niels, had been given a Chess board by the Norwegian queen, which he left to the wife of a Jens Ulf in 1379. The canon of Ribe, also priest in Ål, Ebbe Jensen left his Chess board in 1408 (Carelli 1998: 138).

In Swedish medieval sources, Chess is named in a few letters of will. The canon Henrik in Uppsala left a Chess board to Sir Jacob of the Westland (a parish in Uppland) in 1346. In the will of Arvid Karlsson, son of Karl Elinasson, castellan in Kalmar, a Chess board was named (Carelli 1998: 139).

Due to historian's interest in Chess, these studies give a very biased towards Chess. No games other than Chess are mentioned in the literature I have been studying.

7.3. Other historical sources

Chess is first named in Swedish sources in 1330, from the Chronicles of Duke Eric of Södermanland (Sw. Erikskrönikan). It tells of how Queen Sofia was playing Chess while her husband King Valdemar was defeated by his brother Magnus at the battle of Hova in 1276 (Ferm & Tegnér 2005: 34)

The Gotlandic Noble, Sir Ivar Axelsson Tott, was playing "wortaffwel" and lost money on at least two occasions in 1485-86 (Lindquist 1992: 59). Wortaffwel means something similar to dice board game, probably one of the different Games of Tables.

A large ivory Chessboard was found in the treasury of the Swedish king Magnus VII Eriksson (Carelli 1998: 139) and from an inventory made at the Castle Bohus in Östergötland an ivory Chess board is named in 1340 (Ferm & Tegnér 2005: 35).

There are a couple of sagas in Icelandic medieval literature that includes references to gaming. They are usually used as sources for all the Nordic countries, but due to the source critical aspects involved when referring to Icelandic sagas, which often take place long before the text were written, I will not use them to any larger extent. One interesting passage is however when the Norwegian king Knut was playing Chess with his second in command, Jarl Ulv:

“När de nu lekte schacktavel [Chess], kung Knut och Ulv jarl, då gjorde kungen ett svårt feldrag, och jarlen schackade av honom en löpare. Kungen flyttade då tillbaka taveln och sade att man skulle ta till ett annat spel. Jarlen vart vred, slog ned pjäserna, reste sig och gick.” (Olav den heliges saga, quoted through Carelli 1998: 138).

This may not represent an actual story but it shows how even a king after a loss at Chess wanted to take up another less royal game instead. For further discussions of games in the Icelandic sagas see, Fiske (1905), Berglund (1971) and Dahl (2003).

7.4. The gamers in art history

7.4.1. Prehistoric art

On the Gallehus horn from Denmark, there is a picture of two persons playing a game engraved into one of the gold bands. The two gamers each hold a drinking horn and beneath the table a dog sits looking up at the game. The game depicted shows circles along all the edges of the gaming board, probably some sort Roman game such as Duodecim Scripta or Ludus Latrunculorum is suggested but the arrangement of the gaming pieces similar to those in the Leuna find (Youngs 1983: 861-862).

The now lost Ockelbo runestone in Gästrikland, depicts two men playing a game reminiscent of Hnefatafl, while each holding a drinking horn. The picture is made in a style very similar to the one on the Gallehus horn, except for the game depicted (Lindquist 1991: 96-97).

7.4.2. Medieval art

There are paintings of gaming in three medieval churches from Sweden; the Täby, Eskilstuna and Råda churches. The Täby church features a noble playing Chess with Death. In the wall painting at Eskilstuna church a woman and a man are shown playing dice, there are a lot of coins on the table between them and something has gone awry because both the man and a man beside him have drawn their daggers. A third man behind the gambling man is pulling the gamers hair and seems to be aiming at his head with a bottle. At Råda church in Värmland two men are playing dice. Here too one of the participants has a knife drawn, and securing the money with his other hand (Öhnegård 1984: 40-42). These three are clearly used as propaganda or warnings against gambling. These paintings are likely inspired by real events and might give a clue as to why gaming was prohibited in laws.

From Norway there is a church painting in the Ål stave church. The painting depicts Adam and Eve naked beneath a tree. The picture is quite confusing, and they could be interpreted either as eating fruits or as playing a board game (Dahl 2003: 67).

From the continent games are depicted in a large amount of codexes. The most famous is probably *The Book of the Games of Chess, Dice and Boards [Games of Tables]* written in 1283 by decree from king Alfonso X of Leon and Castile. The book is filled with Chess problems and descriptions of fifteen different variants of Games of Tables (Watkins 2007: 239). In the book board games are described as especially fitting for women, elderly persons, prisoners, slaves and sailors (Yalom 2004: 57). The book contains beautifully illustrated pictures of high ladies, nuns and children playing Chess (Yalom 2004: 59, 60, 166).

8. The Agency of gamers

This thesis has tried to sum up relevant sources for prehistoric and historic games, and to connect them with their contexts, which can tell us something about the users, the gamers. So who were the actors responsible for leaving all the gaming material behind and what were their motives?

8.1. Games and gamers

8.1.1. Players of Roman gamers

Very little can be said about the first gamers in Scania, the import of games might have come from other Germanic peoples in contact with the Romans, rather than directly from the Roman Empire. Few gaming boards for Roman games are preserved in Scandinavia, the only actual find being that in Vimose, Denmark. Roman gaming pieces are difficult to separate from those used for Scandinavian games such as Hnefatafl. No clear indications can be found of Roman games after the Vimose find, around 300 AD, and no gaming boards are represented from medieval towns. The dice found at Björkö and other Late Iron Age burials suggests that games similar to Duodecim Scripta were played still during that time (Youngs 1983: 863). It seems reasonable to draw the conclusion that the Roman games lost their popularity sometime during the Late Iron Age.

8.1.2. Hnefatafl gamers

Hnefatafl is often connected to the warrior culture of the Iron Age. A battle game only fit for warriors who roam the seas and plunder lesser nations. However the fact that similar games can be found in a variety of places, shows that the gamers did not only enjoy the warfare but also sat down with the “enemy” to learn new games. None of the preserved gaming boards from the Iron Age contain only a Hnefatafl pattern, but also included a pattern for Mill, the game which Murray thought was only fit for children (Murray 1913: 438-439), which means that the warriors who played Hnefatafl also played Mill. There is no certain link between the battle game Hnefatafl and a warrior culture. The interpretation that Hnefatafl was used as a method of grooming great strategists must be considered hypothetical.

We should also consider that the gaming pieces might not all have been intended for Hnefatafl. Boards found on Björkö in combination with only one type of gaming pieces and a king or two, might not have been used for Hnefatafl, but maybe for Roman games still played in Scandinavia. As in England a much more varied picture of which games were played in Iron Age Scandinavia must be considered (Youngs 1983: 864).

Hnefatafl seem to lose its popularity during the 11th century. However since it still can be seen in a slightly different shape among the Saami during the 18th century it must still have been played in some groups.

8.1.3. Chess gamers

Harold Murray is clear in his interpretation that Chess kept a unique position as a game for the higher classes and that is kept this ranking without competition (Murray 1913: 429). He also states that it was not probable that Chess reached the lowest levels of society, but still refers to sources claiming that “the plain ploughmen, were skilful at Chess play” (Murray 1913: 441), and Chess seems to have been fairly common in taverns. Murray also mentions that children are playing Chess in several sources (Murray 1913: 433).

It seems to me that Chess was not a game limited to the higher classes. It was merely priced as a game requiring a higher level of intellect. As such the game could probably be found among skilled gamers in a variety of social classes. The limited spread of Chess might be due to the simple fact that the Chess rules was more difficult to learn than those for other games. It was therefore a necessity to learn it from an already skilled player or read it in a document, which of course was only possible for higher classes.

As shown, Chess also seems closely linked to the ecclesial part of society (chapter 6). This goes well with Richard Eales description of Chess’s introduction into Europe as part of the Arabic learning (Eales 2007: 166). This way of spreading Chess in the world of learning seems to have remained even when Chess reached Scandinavia.

8.1.4. Games of Tables gamers

In the same quotes where Murray describes the social role of Chess as a game for the higher classes, Games of Tables are almost always named as well. There are several examples where Games of Tables is played by kings, queens and other prominent individuals. The vast amount of gaming pieces from Games of Tables found in towns and their contexts shows that Games of Tables was played by all sorts of townspeople. Games of Tables was played by all: rich and poor, old and young, sick and healthy, male and female.

8.1.5. Mill gamers

It appears that Mill was not always the children’s game it later became. During the Iron Age, Mill seems to have high status, to later dwindle as more advanced games became popular.

The medieval Mill boards found are often carved on ordinary objects. The fact that Mill boards outnumber the boards used for Games of Tables indicates that Mill might have been an even more popular game than Games of Tables. However it is likely that Mill was played with small rocks or other small objects of similar plainness as the gaming boards and that the pieces used for Mill therefore not are found or recognized during excavations.

8.1.6. Dice gamers

Dice is used in combination with gaming boards from the time when board games are first played in Scandinavia. Like Games of Tables, dice have spread widely across social layers, probably even wider, as dice is found in high amounts also at Castles and monasteries. As the number of dice used to play, the numbers of dice are quite large in comparison to other gaming equipment.

8.2. Social structures and gamers

8.2.1. Social difference

Gaming in Uppåkra can so far only be connected to the elite, working in the ritual centre. Seen together with Dahl's study (2003) connecting Hnefatafl with Old Norse religion and Solberg's (2007) interpretations of gaming as a part in heathen priesthood, Iron Age gaming can be connected to a social religious elite. The same can be said for Chess which is frequent in priest letters of will and at monasteries. Thereby games have over a thousand year connection to religious elites. This does not however imply that the games themselves were used as tools for divination. These individuals represent persons with good connections to the surrounding world and a high level of learning and social status. These are the actors with the strongest position within the social structures and with the best means to change society, and it is not surprising that gaming is found in association with these individuals.

Gaming was not restricted to any social group. From boards found with a combination of Chess, Mill and Games of Tables, it is fairly obvious that the higher classes played all kinds of games. The diversity of gaming objects, from mere shaped rocks and gaming boards on barrels, to the exquisite manufactured gaming pieces of glass, show that gaming was common through the social layers from the 13th century onwards. The means available to different individuals may have restricted what games could be played. But the simplest games were popular throughout society.

8.2.2. Gender differences

During the Iron Ages the connections between gender and gaming have been described in different ways. A common belief is that gaming can be connected to a male elite, this is however based of very deductive studies with a small number of examples as basis for the results. Larger studies show that gaming during the Iron Ages can also be to a large degree connected to females and at least to some extent to middle class gamers. However, there seems to be some regional differences. In Norway gaming is associated with both genders to an equal amount during the Early Iron Age, to become more dominated by males in the Late Iron Age. Swedish material shows a different picture with male dominance in the Early Iron Age and female dominance during the Carolingian Period. There have surely been regional differences even within the countries, for example, Björkö, Sweden, was still dominated by male gamers during the Carolingian Period.

In medieval sources both females and males are named in association with different games from when they are first introduced.

Gaming has been described as an effective way for young females and males to get to know each other better. An innocent game could easily be arranged, and gaming is common in romantic tales from the Middle Ages. But games were not only used by the sexually active, even celibate monks could be deeply involved in strategies of game play.

8.2.3. Age differences

The matter of children playing games is a contradictory one. On one hand we see sources prohibiting under aged people from gaming, and on the other it is encouraged as a means to develop an intellectual mind. It is obvious that games were to at least some extent played by children during the Middle Ages. The age differences during the Iron Ages are even more confusing, since the skeleton is often decayed, or no age analysis has been published. A German grave from Bonn, containing an 8-10 years old girl and gaming pieces of glass, dating to the 3rd century AD, implies that gaming were common for children already from around the time when it were introduced (Haberey 1961: 319-320, 327-330).

8.2.4. Health and gaming

Gaming seems to have been common in relation to sickness and death. From the Iron Ages, gaming items are common finds in graves, and during the Middle Ages, a single die could still be deposited with a deceased person. From one of the hospitals in Lund there is a cluster of gaming pieces found at the end of the 19th century, from Alvastra monastery in Östergötland, the gaming pieces were closely related to the infirmary, and in Malmö, Scania, gaming pieces have been found close to the hospital (Carlberg-Kriig 2002: 63-65). In the Spanish king Alfonso's book of board games (Yalom 2004: 57), gaming is named as particularly well suited for old persons and individuals with bad health. Surgical equipment are found at the temple of Uppåkra as well as in the weapon deposits (Frölich 2007: 59-60), the same contexts as the gaming items, continuity between gaming and illness can possibly be found across a long time span. It seems that gaming was used as a way to ease the time spent in sickbed.

8.2.5. Chronology

A shift in traditions can be seen during the 11th and 12th centuries when the older games of Hnefatafl or Roman games are replaced by Chess. Perhaps there is also an earlier break when Hnefatafl was introduced and Roman games abandoned. These breaks can be seen both from a larger structural perspective, but also in the small scale of individual actors. As Dahl (2003: 56-57) has tried to link Hnefatafl to the heathen religion and Solberg (2007) interpreted gaming as a shamanistic action.

8.3. Agency and gaming

I have now gone through the groups of gamers and the social spectrum. However in such summaries it is easy to forget the individuals. As I stated in chapter 1.2., the categories and trends pictured are based on material culture created by the individuals. It is individuals that are responsible for all the historical and archaeological material. Single actors represented in the material are not always acting in the same course as the general trends. The first gamers were acting against the social structures, and created a new paradigm.

Even when the gamers are divided into larger groups, these are not representative for the individuals in the groups. The reasons behind gaming cannot be described in general terms, as has been done by archeologists with a more structural perspective. Simple explanations of how

there is one reason for gaming is not likely. It was not the boredom in the higher classes that made gaming popular, but an individual desire for something new and different from the traditional ways of life.

From my study I think it's apparent that there was a will to play games through all social levels. Old or young, rich or poor, woman or man, all were potential gamers. What seem to have been decisive for whether someone was playing this game or that game are simply their boundaries within the larger social framework. A poor man did not have the means to get a Chess board, or to learn the rules.

The older ideas that games were played amongst the nobility because of a lack of things to do can be discarded. The nobility did not necessarily have more spare time than any other social class, and the vast amount of gaming pieces found in Lund, Trondheim and Bergen, clearly shows that the townspeople had plenty of time for games. The fact that games can also be found amongst the monasteries, whose days were scheduled from daybreak until nightfall, shows that time was not the decisive matter for gaming.

The picture of Chess as the knightly game is not unproblematic. The nobility was not restricted to playing Chess, but had the means to play any game they wanted, and so they did. Gaming as a part of the knightly virtues should not be taken as a wall between knights and commoners, but rather shows how popular gaming became throughout the social levels.

9. Epilogue

9.1. Further research

In hind sight this thesis feels too small to comprise the whole material I have been studying; only the most relevant aspects of gaming research have been presented. There is still a lot of smaller topics that I wish I had more time to analyse. The study on gaming material from Iron Age settlements is very brief, and further investigations might give lots of new information's about the prehistoric gaming.

There is still a lot to learn about gaming both by the study of historical sources and archaeological material as well as board games in art.

Many large Swedish towns, for example Lödöse and Stockholm, have yielded large number of gaming artefacts that have never been analysed in any larger study. An attempt has been made in this thesis to summarize as many gaming boards as possible, but there is probably more hiding in the large stores of Scandinavian museums.

The relationship between nobles and games are very brief in this thesis, and a larger study on board games in connection to castles and the finding contexts within the castles would be interesting.

9.2. Summary

This thesis has summarized most of the relevant research done in the gaming topic. This research has been used as basis on which to relate my own study of gaming material from Lund and Uppåkra. The gaming material has been treated as remains of actions made by individual actors.

An introductory chapter has been made to give the reader a general overview of prehistoric and historic board games, as well as a summary of the gaming boards and gaming pieces found in Scandinavia.

In my studies I have gone through the excavated material from the Iron Age settlement of Uppåkra, the medieval town of Lund and the castles in Skanör and Falsterbo. An attempt has been made to connect the gaming finds to a context. From Uppåkra there is a clear connection between the gaming pieces found and the religious elite. This might however be due to the so far very small scale excavations made. From Lund there is a large material of gaming items. They are found from the whole medieval period and in a wide variety of social contexts.

These studies have been connected to studies by other researchers and historical sources. The material from medieval towns in Norway shows a similar pattern as the material from Lund. As the archaeological material often is difficult to connect to specific actors or users, historical material has been used as a complement. As the historical material often is used in deductive studies with the purpose of highlighting the role of Chess during the Middle Ages, a critical perspective has been applied.

The combined results show that gaming was a habit for the whole social spectrum. From the introduction of board games to Scandinavia, gaming pieces can be connected to both genders. The Iron Age grave material can be connected not only to rich graves but also less affluent

people. During the Middle Ages gaming can be connected to all social levels of the town life, from those without any possessions to the wealthy merchants and high ranking priests. The reasons for gaming presented by previous researchers should not be accepted without question as the gaming individuals of the past all had different lifestyles and desires.

9.3. Acknowledgements

First of all I'd like to give a great thanks to Gunilla Gardelin at the museum of Kulturen for putting all the gaming pieces from Lund in their stores at my disposal, and also for helping me sieve through all the archaeological reports made on the same material.

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Appendix 1 - Find list from Uppåkra

Most of the pieces from Uppåkra are of the roman type that predates the town of Trondheim, and only a few pieces of this kind were therefore represented in the system made by McLees (1990). Instead McLess category A, has been widened, and separated the gaming finds from Uppåkra has been divided into three subcategories, divided by the material the pieces were made of.

Category A1 represents gaming pieces of glass.

| Find nr. | ID | Diam. (mm) | Height (mm) | Find place and year | Dating | Comments |
|------------------|--------|------------|-------------|----------------------|--------|--------------------|
| LUHM 31251: 1062 | 201153 | - | - | Stora Uppåkra, 2002. | | Unsupplied. |
| LUHM 31251: 1063 | 201154 | 18 | 7 | Stora Uppåkra, 2002. | | Red. |
| LUHM 31251: 3059 | 203180 | 12 | 6 | Stora Uppåkra, 2002. | | Black. |
| LUHM 31251: 3776 | 203923 | 11 | 6 | Stora Uppåkra, 2002. | | Black. |
| LUHM 31251: 4381 | 204535 | 12 | 7 | Stora Uppåkra, 2002. | | White. |
| LUHM 31251: 7776 | 207981 | - | - | Stora Uppåkra, 2005. | | White. Unsupplied. |
| LUHM 31251: 7860 | 208066 | 14 | 7 | Stora Uppåkra, 2005. | | Greenish. |
| LUHM 31251: 9613 | 209910 | 16 | 7 | Stora Uppåkra, 2007. | | Yellow? |

Category A2 represents gaming pieces of bone and horn.

| Find nr. | ID | Diam. (mm) | Height (mm) | Find place and year | Dating | Comments |
|------------------|--------|------------|-------------|---------------------------|--------|----------|
| LUHM 31251: 980 | 201069 | 17 | 10 | Stora Uppåkra, 2001. | | |
| LUHM 31251: 1834 | 201939 | - | - | Stora Uppåkra, 2002. | | |
| LUHM 31251: 1925 | 202031 | 26 | 9 | Stora Uppåkra, 2002. | | Pendant. |
| LUHM 31251: 1962 | 202069 | - | - | Stora Uppåkra, 2002. | | |
| LUHM 31251: 4079 | 204226 | - | - | Stora Uppåkra, 2002. | | |
| LUHM 31251: 6692 | 206891 | - | - | Stora Uppåkra, 2003-2004. | | |
| LUHM 31251: 6840 | 207040 | 22 | 7 | Stora Uppåkra, 2003-2004. | | |
| LUHM 31251: 7775 | 207980 | - | - | Stora Uppåkra, 2004-2005. | | |

Category A3 represents gaming pieces of stone.

| Find nr. | ID | Size (mm) | Height (mm) | Find place and year | Dating | Comments |
|------------------|--------|------------|-------------|---------------------------|--------|--------------|
| LUHM 31251: 820 | 200866 | 16 x 19 | 10 | Stora Uppåkra, 2001. | | Small rock. |
| LUHM 31251: 1579 | 201679 | - | - | Stora Uppåkra, 2001. | | Unsupplied. |
| LUHM 31251: 6780 | 206980 | 34 x 34 | 16 | Stora Uppåkra, 2003-2004. | | Sling stone? |

Appendix 2 - Find list from Lund

Category A

Category A is made up of hemispherical pieces of any material. The pieces from Lund include only pieces of bone (Category A2) and amber (Category A3). These pieces are mainly from the Iron Ages, and are considered as used for Hnefatafl. But they have most likely been used also for other prehistoric games, such as Mill, Ludus Latrunculorum and Duodecim Scripta.

| Find nr. | Height (mm) | Diam. (mm) | Dek. | Finding place and year | Dating | Comments |
|----------------|-------------|------------|------|-------------------------|------------|----------|
| KM 53436: 245 | 18 | - | - | Färgaren 22, 1961. | 1000-1050. | Amber. |
| KM 66166: 2330 | 18 | - | - | S:t Clemens 8, 1974-75. | 1000-1050. | Bone. |

Category B

Category B consists of pieces with a rounded body and an extended upper part, so called piriform and double piriform when the upper part also has a rounded shape. They are all made of horn or walrus tooth. Eleven finds have been made from this category, one with a secondarily made central hole. What games these were used for is not known, some have suggested that they were used as Pawns in Chess. The category has been divided into two subcategories; B1 for piriform pieces and B2 for double piriform.

There are nine gaming pieces from Lund categorized as B1. Six of them are piriform and three has more of a conical shape.

| Find nr. | Height (mm) | Diam. (mm) | Dek. | Finding place and year | Dating | Comments |
|----------------|-------------|------------|------|-------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|
| LUHM 11028 CXV | - | 25 | - | Pennegatan, 1881-1883. | - | Central hole. Spinning whorl? |
| KM 21029 | 37 | - | - | Apotekaren 5. 1910. | - | Conical |
| KM 38419: 98b | 33 | - | - | - | - | Bought 1936. |
| KM 57135: 108 | 30 | - | - | S:t Botulf 12 Ö. 1964. | 11-14th century. | |
| KM 57135: 1084 | 37 | - | - | S:t Botulf 12 Ö. 1964. | 11-14th century. | |
| KM 59126: 455 | 22 | - | - | Glambeck 4. 1966. | 11-13th century. | |
| KM 66166: 2198 | 37 | - | - | S:t Clemens 8. 1974-75. | 1150-1300. | Conical. |
| KM 66166: 2606 | 28 | - | - | S:t Clemens 8. 1974-75. | 1150-1300. | Conical. |
| KM 72804: 22 | 33 | - | -- | Själbodarna 11. 1985. | - | |

Category B2 is used for double piriform pieces. Two pieces from this category has been found.

| Find nr. | Height (mm) | Diam. (mm) | Dek. | Finding place and year | Dating | Comments |
|----------------|-------------|------------|------|------------------------|--------|----------|
| Unmarked | 46 | - | - | - | - | |
| KM 20281: VB10 | 29 | - | - | Apotekaren 5. 1910. | - | |

Category C

Category C is made up of pieces that were likely used as Chess pieces or Hnefatafl kings. In difference to McLees (1990) study this category does not only include pieces of wood, but also pieces of bone, horn and a piece of glass. To differ between the Hnefatafl pieces and Chess pieces of different styles, the category has been divided into four sub categories: C1 Hnefatafl kings, and C2 abstract Chess pieces in Arabic style, C3 figurative Chess pieces and C4 Late Medieval abstract Chess pieces.

Category C1 includes two pieces, one conical made of wood and one figurative made of walrus ivory.

| Find nr. | Height (mm) | Diam. (mm) | Dek. | Finding place and year | Dating | Comments |
|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------|-------------------------------|---------------|--------------------------|
| KM 38252 | 47 | - | Yes | Kulturen 25, 1936. | - | Walrus tooth. |
| KM 53436: 770 | 69 | 27 | - | Färgaren 22, 1961. | 11th century | Hnefatafl king? Wood. |

Category C2 includes three pieces in Arabic abstract style, of which two are made of wood and one of crystal.

| Find nr. | Height (mm) | Diam. (mm) | Dek. | Finding place and year | Dating | Comments |
|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------|-------------------------------|---------------|---|
| KM 38315: 76b | 28 | 31 | - | Apotekaren 5. | - | Arabic Chess king/queen. Wood. Bought 1936. |
| KM 71839: 831 | 20 | - | - | S:t Clemens 9 mfl., 1982-84. | - | Arabic Chess pawn. Wood. |
| KM 76420: 113 | 26 | - | - | Gyllenkrok 3,4,5, 1990. | 1225-1400. | Arabic Chess king/Queen. Crystal. |

Category C3 includes one piece is made in ivory in Lewis style.

| Find nr. | Height (mm) | Diam. (mm) | Dek. | Finding place and year | Dating | Comments |
|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------|-------------------------------|---------------|----------------------------------|
| KM 72550: 45a | 28 | 28 | - | Billegården 49, 1984. | - | Fragment of Chess knight. Ivory. |

Category C4 includes one Chess rook is made of horn in late medieval abstract style.

| Find nr. | Height (mm) | Diam. (mm) | Dek. | Finding place and year | Dating | Comments |
|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------|-------------------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| KM 77714: 490 | 27 | - | - | Myntet 3,4,5, 1992. | 14-15th century. | Chess rook. |

Category D

Category D represents the most common group of finds. It includes 77 gaming pieces in the shape of discs of bone or horn. These gaming pieces were most likely used for playing different kinds of Games of Tables. Many of the pieces have a hole made in the middle which has caused a debate about whether they are gaming pieces or spinning whorls. Category D is therefore divided into two sub categories, D1 gaming discs of bone or horn without a central hole, and D2 gaming discs of bone or horn with a central hole.

Category D1 includes 47 finds, of which 38 are decorated. Five of the pieces are very rough and are probably raw material for the making of gaming pieces.

| Find nr. | Diam (mm) | Height (mm) | Dek. | Finding place and year | Dating | Comments |
|-------------------|-----------|-------------|------|--------------------------------|-----------------|---------------|
| LUHM 12828 | 40 | - | Yes | Sewer excavation 19th century. | - | Broken. |
| KM 6236 | 37 | 4,5 | Yes | S:t Jakob 8, 1891. | - | |
| KM 6237 | 45 | 9 | Yes | Gråbrödersgatan, 1891. | - | Broken. |
| KM 12924 | 44 | 15 | - | Skomakaregatan, 1902. | - | Raw material? |
| KM 16704 | 40 | 13 | Yes | S:t Mikael 7, 1906. | - | |
| KM 20311b | - | - | Yes | Apotekaren 5, 1910. | - | |
| KM 20346 | - | - | Yes | Apotekaren 5, 1910. | - | |
| KM 20433 | 43 | 10 | Yes | Apotekaren 5, 1910. | - | |
| KM 21663 | 40 | 8 | Yes | Labratoriegaten 6, 1911. | - | Raw material? |
| KM 22752d | 43 | 14 | - | S:t Laurentius 1-2, 1913. | - | Raw material? |
| KM 22813 | 36 | 15 | - | Stortorget, 1913. | - | Raw material? |
| KM 23445 | 35 | 5 | Yes | Själbodarna 1, 1914. | - | |
| KM 23577 | 45 | 8 | Yes | S:ta Maria Minor 6. | - | |
| KM 32935 | 23 | 2 | Yes | S:t Mikael 5, 1927. | - | |
| KM 34502 | 45 | 8,5 | Yes | Tegnér 1 and 8, 1929. | - | |
| KM 35472 | 47 | 11 | Yes | Galten 17, 1931. | - | Half. |
| KM 35860 | 41 | 12 | Yes | Paradis 44, 1932. | - | |
| KM 38343: 2 | 43 | 10,5 | Yes | S:t Maria Minor 2. | - | Bought 1936. |
| KM 38343: 23 | 40 | 10 | Yes | S:t Maria Minor 2. | - | Bought 1936. |
| KM 38344: 4 | 44 | 5 | Yes | Stora södergatan 3. | - | Bought 1936. |
| KM 41043a | 39 | 10 | Yes | Kulturen 24. 1941. | - | |
| KM 41312 | 46 | 10 | - | Glädjen 8. 1942. | - | |
| KM 49185: 422-423 | 44 | 11 | Yes | S:t Jörgens Hospital, 1934-45. | - | |
| KM 49326: 120 | 54 | 9 | . | Stortorget, 1954. | - | Raw material? |
| KM 57135: 78 | 42 | 12,5 | Yes | S:t Botulf 12, 1964. | ca. 990-1300. | |
| KM 57135: 347 | 46 | 9 | Yes | S:t Botulf 12, 1964. | ca. 990-1300. | |
| KM 57382: 214 | 41 | 7,5 | Yes | S:t Botulf 12, 1964. | ca. 990-1300. | |
| KM 62892: 274 | 45 | 4 | Yes | Svartbröder 23, 1971. | 14-15th century | |
| KM 62892: 891 | 37 | 9 | Yes | Svartbröder 23, 1971. | 14-15th century | |
| KM 66166: 878 | 34 | 9 | Yes | S:t Clemens 8, 1974-75. | ca. 990-1300. | |
| KM 66166: 1302 | 32 | 11 | . | S:t Clemens 8, 1974-75. | 1150-1300. | |

| Find nr. | Diam. (mm) | Height (mm) | Dek. | Finding place and year | Dating | Comments |
|----------------|------------|-------------|------|----------------------------------|--|--------------------|
| KM 66166: 1390 | 36 | 9 | Yes | S:t Clemens 8, 1974-75. | ca. 990-1300. | |
| KM 66166: 1594 | 54 | 6 | Yes | S:t Clemens 8, 1974-75. | ca. 990-1300. | Made of a Scapula. |
| KM 70361: 154a | 39 | 7 | Yes | Apotekaren 4, 1979-80. | 13-14th century | |
| KM 71570: 14 | 61 | 8 | | S:t Mårten 28, 1982. | - | Too big! |
| KM 72354: 3 | 45 | 8 | Yes | Fiskaren 14, 1984. | - | |
| KM 73504: 196 | 44 | 9 | Yes | S:t Mikael 5, 1986. | - | |
| KM 76420: 376 | 41 | 9 | Yes | Gyllenkrok 3,4,5, 1990. | ca. 1150-1225. | |
| KM 76579: 135 | 42 | 8,5 | Yes | Glambäck 4, 1990-1991. | 12-13th century | |
| KM 77714: 129 | 42 | 7 | Yes | Myntet 3,4,5, 1992. | 14-15th century | |
| KM 78367: 712 | 38 | 9 | Yes | S:t Mårten 25 and 26, 1993. | 12-13th century | |
| KM 78367: 458j | - | - | Yes | S:t Mårten 25, 26, 1993. | 13 th – 15 th century. | Horn. |
| KM 78415: 66 | 45 | 22 | . | Stortorget, 1993. | 1250-1300. | |
| KM 79551: 59e | 40 | 11 | Yes | Tegnér 1, 1994. | - | |
| KM 85986: 14a | 36 | 10 | Yes | Myntet 9, 2002-2003. | 1300-1350. | |
| KM 86581: 1154 | 39 | 10 | - | Blekhagen 10, 11, 12, 2003-2004. | 1400-1420. | Raw material? |
| KM 86581: 1762 | 34 | 9 | Yes | Blekhagen 10, 11, 12, 2003-2004. | 1320-1350. | |

Category D2 is made up by 30 finds, 24 of them decorated. Category D2 is the same as D1 with the exception that in D2 all the gaming pieces have a hole drilled through the middle of the disc.

| Find nr. | Diam. (mm) | Height (mm) | Dek. | Finding place and year | Dating | Comments |
|------------------|------------|-------------|------|-------------------------|---------------|----------------------|
| LUHM 11028: 110 | 40 | 9 | Yes | Pennegatan, 1881-1883. | - | |
| LUHM 11028: 111 | 32 | 8 | Yes | Pennegatan, 1881-1883. | - | |
| KM 8529 | 40 | 9 | Yes | Kiliansgatan, 1893. | - | |
| KM 10978 | 36 | 8,5 | Yes | Adelgatan, 1899. | - | |
| KM 12793 | 32 | 11 | Yes | - | - | Bought 1902. |
| KM 13187 | 33 | 8 | Yes | - | - | Bought 1902. |
| KM 16703 | 40 | 9 | - | S:t Mikael 7, 1906. | - | |
| KM 17992 | - | - | Yes | Södertull 6, 1907. | - | |
| KM 22621 | 37 | 10 | Yes | S:t Clemens 6, 1913. | - | |
| KM 22743: K 9-10 | 42 | 12 | Yes | Stortorget, 1913. | - | Worn hole. |
| KM 23122a | 37 | 8 | Yes | Agardh 4, 1913. | - | |
| KM 31585: 16 | 29 | 10 | Yes | Fiskaren 8, 1926. | - | |
| KM 38315: 64 | 37 | 10 | Yes | Apotekaren 5. | - | Bought 1936. |
| KM 38315: 65 | 38 | 4 | Yes | Apotekaren 5. | - | Bought 1936. |
| KM 49326: 55 | 46 | 5 | Yes | Stortorget, 1954. | - | Secondary made hole. |
| KM 57382: 640 | 40 | 13 | Yes | S:t Botulf 12, 1964-65. | 11th century | |
| KM 66166: 596 | 32 | 9 | Yes | S:t Clemens 8, 1974-75. | ca. 990-1300. | |

| Find nr. | Diam. (mm) | Height (mm) | Dek. | Finding place and year | Dating | Comments |
|-----------------|------------|-------------|------|------------------------------|-----------------|-------------|
| KM 66166: 946 | 46 | 9,5 | - | S:t Clemens 8, 1974-75. | 1150-1300. | Small hole. |
| KM 66166: 1311 | 38 | 12 | Yes | S:t Clemens 8, 1974-75. | ca. 990-1300. | |
| KM 66166: 1323 | 36 | 7,5 | Yes | S:t Clemens 8, 1974-75. | ca. 990-1300. | |
| KM 66166: 1647 | 42 | 10 | - | S:t Clemens 8, 1974-75. | ca. 990-1300. | |
| KM 66166: 2637a | 42 | 14 | - | S:t Clemens 8, 1974-75. | 1150-1300. | |
| KM 66166: 2745 | 30 | 11 | Yes | S:t Clemens 8, 1974-75. | 1100-1150. | |
| KM 70361: 477 | 35 | 17 | Yes | Apotekaren 4, 1979-80. | 13th century | |
| KM 70361: 483 | 35 | 9,5 | - | Apotekaren 4, 1979-80. | 13th century | |
| KM 71570: 24 | - | - | - | S:t Mårten 28, 1982. | - | |
| KM 71839: 347 | 29 | 7 | Yes | S:t Clemens 9 mfl., 1982-84. | - | |
| KM 76420: 384 | 48 | 5,5 | Yes | Gyllenkrok 3,4,5, 1990. | ca. 1150-1225. | |
| KM 77714: 911 | 39 | 12 | Yes | Myntet 3,4,5, 1992. | - | |
| KM 78367: 237 | 40 | 9 | Yes | S:t Mårten 25 and 26, 1993. | 11-15th century | |

Category E

Category E is made up by discs of stone. This is a quite small finds category. Ten pieces have been found, only one of them decorated with small concentric circles. It can perhaps be seen as a kind of poor cousin to category D. In some cases these pieces have been interpreted as rough materials for spinning whorls, and there may be some truth to that. One of the stone discs has a central hole, which make the resemblance to spinning whorls closer. This category is made up of quite few finds, especially considering the huge group of finds belonging to this category from Trondheim and Bergen. The reason for this may simply be that stones have not been considered finds in the many old excavations of Lund. Half of the finds comes from the same excavation in the quarter S:t Clemens.

| Find nr. | Diam. (mm) | Height (mm) | Dek. | Finding place and year | Dating | Comments |
|-----------------|------------|-------------|------|----------------------------|------------|---------------|
| KM 16429 | 35 | 18 | - | Klostergatan, 1906. | - | |
| KM 20556 | 43 | 14 | - | Kulturen 25, 1910. | - | |
| KM 25567 | 50 | 18 | - | S:t Mångsgatan 248D, 1917. | - | Half. |
| KM 35827 | 42 | 17 | - | S:t Clemens, 1932. | - | |
| KM 66166: 1313 | 39 | 12 | - | S:t Clemens 8, 1974-75. | 1150-1300. | |
| KM 66166: 2067 | 37 | 10 | - | S:t Clemens 8, 1974-75. | 1150-1300. | |
| KM 66166: 2493 | 34 | 8,5 | - | S:t Clemens 8, 1974-75. | 1150-1300. | |
| KM 66166: 2635 | 29 | 8 | - | S:t Clemens 8, 1974-75. | 1150-1300. | |
| KM 66166: 2637b | 31 | 8 | - | S:t Clemens 8, 1974-75. | 1150-1300. | |
| KM 77714: 1123 | 47 | 13 | Yes | Myntet 3,4,5, 1992. | - | Central hole. |

Category F

Category F is made up of wooden discs. The shape of the finds from this category is similar to those from category D. The category consists of 38 pieces, of which four have some kind of decoration. Three of the pieces had a central hole, similar to those in category D2.

| Find nr. | Diam. (mm) | Height (mm) | Dek. | Finding place and year | Dating | Comments |
|--------------------------------|------------|-------------|------|-------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| Unmarkt find. Ev. 37297-37366. | 51 | 13 | - | Apotekaren 4. | - | |
| KM 20311a | - | - | - | Apotekaren 5. 1910. | - | Central hole. |
| KM 20530: 2 | 26 | 3 | - | Apotekaren 5. 1910. | - | |
| KM 22606: 6-8 | 49 | 9 | - | Stortorget, 1913. | - | Broken. |
| KM 22743: 59-60 | 37 | 11 | - | Stortorget, 1913. | - | |
| KM 22743: 9 | 36 | 12 | - | Stortorget, 1913. | - | |
| KM 22743: 9-10 | 37 | 11 | - | Stortorget, 1913. | - | |
| KM 22783a 6-7 | 51 | 12 | - | Stortorget, 1913. | - | |
| KM 37488 | 55? | 15 | Yes | Avlopp, 1935-36. | - | Fragment. |
| KM 44479: 38 | 31 | 5 | - | S:t Clemens, 1946. | - | |
| KM 52131: 153 | 37 | 11 | - | Kiliansgatan, 1959. | - | |
| KM 53436: 369 | 35 | 9 | - | Färgaren 22, 1961. | 13th century. | |
| KM 53436: 1063 | 45 | 3 | - | Färgaren 22, 1961. | - | Two pieces. |
| KM 57382: 827 | 42 | 10 | - | S:t Botulf 12, 1964-65. | 11-14th century. | |
| KM 57382: 877 | 41 | 7,5 | - | S:t Botulf 12, 1964-65. | 11-14th century. | |
| KM 59126:3 | 47 | 7 | - | Glambeck 4, 1966. | 11-13th century. | Broken. |
| KM 59126: 341 | 53 | 6 | - | Glambeck 4, 1966. | 11-13th century. | Oval-shaped. |
| KM 59126: 767 | 40 | 2 | - | Glambeck 4, 1966. | 11-13th century. | Broken. |
| KM 66166: 675 | 49 | 9 | - | S:t Clemens 8, 1974-75. | ca. 990-1300. | |
| KM 66166: 1326 | 44 | 5,5 | Yes | S:t Clemens 8, 1974-75. | 1100-1150. | |
| KM 66166: 1480 | 53 | 18 | - | S:t Clemens 8, 1974-75. | ca. 990-1300. | Not a gaming pieces? |
| KM 66166: 2731 | 40 | 9 | - | S:t Clemens 8, 1974-75. | 1100-1150. | |
| KM 70361: 338 | 30 | 7 | - | Apotekaren 4, 1979-80. | 14-16th centuries? | Fire damaged. |
| KM 70361: 365 | 50 | 9 | Yes | Apotekaren 4, 1979-80. | 14-16th centuries? | Central hole. Five fragments. |
| KM 70361: 397 | 48 | 8 | - | Apotekaren 4, 1979-80. | 14-16th centuries? | |
| KM 70361: 414 | 41 | 9 | - | Apotekaren 4, 1979-80. | 14-16th centuries? | |
| KM 70361: 460a | 52 | 7 | - | Apotekaren 4, 1979-80. | 14-16th centuries? | |
| KM 70361: 460b | 47 | 10 | - | Apotekaren 4, 1979-80. | 14-16th centuries? | |
| KM 70361: 496 | 53 | 10 | - | Apotekaren 4, 1979-80. | 14-16th centuries? | Broken. |
| KM 70361: 536 | 46 | 13 | - | Apotekaren 4, 1979-80. | 14-16th centuries? | |
| KM 70361: 585 | 48 | 14 | - | Apotekaren 4, 1979-80. | 14-16th centuries? | Half. |
| KM 70361: 797 | 48 | 11 | - | Apotekaren 4, 1979-80. | 14-16th centuries? | Fire damaged. |
| KM 70361: 1139 | 49 | 6 | - | Apotekaren 4, 1979-80. | 14-16th centuries? | Two fire damaged pieces. |

| Find nr. | Diam. (mm) | Height (mm) | Dek. | Finding place and year | Dating | Comments |
|----------------|------------|-------------|------|------------------------------|--------|---------------|
| KM 71075: 708 | 55 | 13 | - | Färgaren 28, 1981. | - | Half. |
| KM 71839: 792 | 43 | 15 | Yes | S:t Clemens 9 mfl., 1982-84. | - | Central hole. |
| KM 77655: 65 | 39 | 7 | - | Gyllenkrok 30 (5), 1992. | - | |
| KM 78415: 103a | 49 | 8 | - | Stortorget, 1993. | - | Half. |
| KM 78415: 117 | 28 | 5 | - | Stortorget, 1993. | - | |

Category G

Category G is for gaming pieces that did not really fit into any of the other categories. It includes about 37 pieces of different types.

| Find nr. | Size (mm) | Height (mm) | Dek. | Finding place and year | Dating | Comments |
|------------------|-----------|-------------|------|---------------------------|------------------------------|--|
| LUHM 11028: 132b | 25 | 12 | Yes | Pennegatan. 1881-1883. | - | Chess pawn? |
| LUHM 11028: 109 | - | - | Yes | Pennegatan. 1881-1883. | - | Piece of bone. |
| LUHM 12591: 15 | 38 | 11 | Yes | Stora Kungsgatan. | - | |
| KM 16553 | - | 16 | - | S:t Mikael 7. 1906. | - | Horn. |
| KM 20468 | 23 | 68 | - | Apotekaren 5, 1910. | - | Wood. Hnefatafl king? |
| KM 31581: 9 | 36 | 3 | Yes | Gråbröder 21, 1926. | - | Weaving tablet. |
| KM 36941: 16 | 43 | 13 | - | Gråbröder 26. 1934. | - | Humerus/femur head. |
| KM 38317: 7 | 45 | 21 | - | Blekhagen 1. | - | Burned clay. Bought 1936. |
| KM 38419: 98 (a) | - | 21 | Yes | - | - | Horn. Bought 1936. |
| KM 39018 | - | 15 | - | Glambeck 2. 1938. | - | Burned clay. |
| KM 41043 (b) | - | 19 | - | Kulturen 24. 1941. | - | Amber. |
| KM 49326: 56 | 39 | 7,5 | - | Stortorget. 1954. | 1100-1150. | Raw-material of bone. |
| KM 53436: 770 | 27 | 69 | Yes | Färgaren 22. 1961. | 11 th century. | Hnefatafl king? Wood. |
| KM 57382: 313 | - | 33 | - | S:t Botulf 12 V. 1964-65. | 11-14 th century. | Wood. |
| KM 57382: 372 | 18 | 10 | - | S:t Botulf 12 V. 1964-65. | 11-14 th century. | Stone similar to A1. |
| KM 59126: 358 | - | 40 | - | Glambeck 4. 1966. | 11-13 th century. | Wood. |
| KM 62892: 2578 | - | 26 | - | Svartbröder 23. 1971. | 1300-1400-tal. | Wood. |
| KM 66166: 1690 | 19 | 9 | - | S:t Clemens 8. 1974-75. | ca. 990-1300. | Small stone. |
| KM 69497: 39 | 58 | 11 | - | S:t Peter. 1978. | 13-16 th century. | Two fragments. Hardly a gaming piece. |
| KM 70361: 154b | - | - | - | Apotekaren 4. 1979-80. | 13-14 th century. | |
| KM 70361: 204 | - | 7,5 | - | Apotekaren 4. 1979-80. | 13-14 th century- | Piece of horn. |
| KM 70361: 1102 | 41 | 25 | - | Apotekaren 4. 1979-80. | 14-16 th century | Humerus/femur head. |

| Find nr. | Size (mm) | Height (mm) | Dek. | Finding place and year | Dating | Comments |
|----------------|-----------|-------------|------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| KM 71075: 142 | - | - | Yes | Färgaren 28. 1981. | ca 1150-1200. | Slate. |
| KM 71075: 691 | 58 | 13 | Yes | Färgaren 28. 1981. | - | Wood. Hardly a gaming piece. |
| KM 71570: 28 | 36 | 14 | Yes | S:t Märten 28. 1982. | - | Humerus/femur head. |
| KM 71839: 283 | - | 10 | - | S:t Clemens 9 mfl. 1982-84. | - | Horn. |
| KM 71839: 328 | 41 | 6 | Yes | S:t Clemens 9 mfl. 1982-84. | - | Button? |
| KM 71839: 585 | - | 10 | - | S:t Clemens 9 mfl. 1982-84. | - | Horn. |
| KM 71839: 1074 | - | 17 | - | S:t Clemens 9 mfl. 1982-84. | - | Horn. |
| KM 71839: 1210 | 36 | 18 | - | S:t Clemens 9 mfl. 1982-84. | - | Humerus/femur head. |
| KM 71839: 1561 | 18 | ? | - | S:t Clemens 9 mfl. 1982-84. | - | Bottom of a gaming piece? |
| KM 76123: 172 | - | 23 | - | Gyllenkrok 29. 1989. | - | Wood. |
| KM 76420: 185 | - | 40 | - | Gyllenkrok 3,4,5. 1990. | 1225-1400. | Horn. |
| KM 76579: 16 | 20 | 65 | - | Glambäck 4. 1990-1991. | 12 th century. | Conical piece, penetrated by a pin. |
| KM 78415: 133 | - | - | - | Stortorget, 1993. | - | Four fragments. |
| KM 80545: 14 | - | - | - | Paradis 51, 1996. | - | Bone. Base from a Chess piece? |
| KM 82609: 28 | - | - | - | Apotekaren 7, 1999. | - | |

Category H

Category H is made up of dice. Most dice is made of bone or horn, but there is also one made of amber and one of clay. The category includes 52 dice. The dice have been divided into four different sub categories depending on their style.

Category H1 represents large slightly oblong dice. Dice of this kind are connected to the Late Iron Age, and can be found in burials from that period. Two dice of this style are found in Lund, one with and early dating, and one with a very vague dating.

| Find nr. | Size (mm) | Finding place and year | Dating | Comments |
|----------------|--------------|-------------------------|---------------|----------|
| KM 66166: 1869 | 18 x 18 x 16 | S:t Clemens 8, 1974-75. | ca. 990-1300. | Half. |
| KM 66166: 2898 | 17 x 17 x 29 | S:t Clemens 8, 1974-75. | 1000-1050. | |

Category H2 represents the largest subcategory for dice. It is small dice made in one piece, usually with sides of around one centimeter. The dice are all made of bone, except for one made in ivory, one in amber and one in clay.

| Find nr. | Size (mm) | Finding place and year | Dating | Comments |
|-----------------|------------|------------------------|--------|----------|
| LUHM 11028: 117 | 9 x 9 x 9 | Pennegatan, 1881-1883. | - | |
| LUHM 11028: 118 | 9 x 9 x 10 | Pennegatan, 1881-1883. | - | |

| Find nr. | Size (mm) | Finding place and year | Dating | Comments |
|-------------------|--------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| KM 20348: XII D8 | 11 x 11 x 11 | Apotekaren 5, 1910. | - | |
| KM 22768 | 12 x 12 x 12 | S:t Laurentius 1-2, 1913. | - | |
| KM 22792 | 8 x 8 x 8 | S:t Laurentius 1-2, 1913. | - | |
| KM 22824 | 8 x 8 x 8 | S:t Laurentius 1-2, 1913. | - | |
| KM 38331: 19 | 9 x 9 x 9 | Grynmalaren 23. | - | |
| KM 38355: 4 | 8 x 8 x 8 | S:t Botulf 3-4. | - | |
| KM 38419: 9 | 10 x 10 x 10 | - | - | Walrus Ivory. |
| KM 38419: 96 | 7,5 x 7,5 x 7,5 | - | - | |
| KM 53436: 200 | 8,5 x 8,5 x 8,5 | Färgaren 22, 1961. | - | |
| KM 59126: 695 | 11 x 11 x 11 | Glambeck 4, 1966. | 11-13 th century. | |
| KM 62892: 241 | 10 x 10 x 9 | Svartbröder 23, 1971. | 14-15 th century. | |
| KM 66166: 678 | 9 x 9 x 9 | S:t Clemens 8, 1974-75. | 1100-1300. | Amber. |
| KM 66166: 812 | 8,5 x 8,5 x 8,5 | S:t Clemens 8, 1974-75. | 1100-1300. | |
| KM 66166: 1700 | 6,5 x 6,5 x 6,5 | S:t Clemens 8, 1974-75. | 1100-1300. | |
| KM 66166: 2347 | 22 x 18 x 20 | S:t Clemens 8, 1974-75. | ca. 990-1300. | Burned clay. |
| KM 66166: 2675 | 10,5 x 10,5 x 10,5 | S:t Clemens 8, 1974-75. | 1100-1300. | |
| KM 66394: 25 | 9 x 9 x 8 | Kattesund 1974. | 11-13 th century. | |
| KM 69023: 333 | 8 x 8 x 8 | Repslagaren 23-24, 1977. | - | |
| KM 70361: 154c | 10 x 10 x 10 | Apotekaren 4, 1979-80. | 13-14 th century- | |
| KM 70361:265 | 12 x 12 x 9 | Apotekaren 4, 1979-80. | 13 th century. | |
| KM 70361: 298 | 10 x 10 x 8 | Apotekaren 4, 1979-80. | - | Nr 3 & 4 are missing. |
| KM 70361: 320 | 8 x 8 x 8 | Apotekaren 4, 1979-80. | 13 th century. | |
| KM 70361: 329 | 9 x 9 x 9 | Apotekaren 4, 1979-80. | 13 th century. | |
| KM 70361: 330 | 10 x 10 x 10 | Apotekaren 4, 1979-80. | - | |
| KM 70361: 896 | 11 x 11 x 11 | Apotekaren 4, 1979-80. | - | |
| KM 70917: 87 | 8 x 8 x 8 | Färgaren 25, 1980. | “High Middle Age” | |
| KM 71570: 106 | 5 x 5 x 5 | S:t Mårten 28, 1982. | - | |
| KM 71719: 38 | 9 x 9 x 9 | Gråbröder 32, 1983. | - | |
| KM 71839: 44 | 8 x 8 x 5 | S:t Clemens 9 mfl., 1982-84. | - | |
| KM 71839: 129 | 9,5 x 9,5 x 9,5 | S:t Clemens 9 mfl., 1982-84. | - | |
| KM 71839: 2074 | 10 x 10 x 10 | S:t Clemens 9 mfl., 1982-84. | - | |
| KM 72354: 10 | 10 x 10 x 10 | Fiskaren 14, 1984. | - | |
| KM 72550: 45 b | 9 x 9 x 9 | Billegården 49, 1984. | - | |
| KM 72550: 47 | 10 x 10 x 10 | Billegården 49, 1984. | - | |
| KM 72552: 92 | 15 | Drotten 6, 1984 | - | |
| KM 76420: | - | Gyllenkrok 3,4,5, 1990. | - | |
| KM 77655: 345 a | - | Gyllenkrok 30, 1992. | - | |
| KM 77655: 345 b | - | Gyllenkrok 30, 1992. | - | |
| KM 77714: 61 | 9 x 9 x 9 | Myntet 3,4,5, 1992. | 14-15 th century. | |
| KM 78415: 103 b | 8 x 8 x 8 | Stortorget, 1993. | 1300-1350. | |
| KM 78415: 153 | 10 x 10 x 10 | Stortorget, 1993. | 1250-1300. | |
| KM 79551: 379 g/h | 12 x 12 x 12 | Tegnér 1, 1994. | 13 th century. | |

Category H3 represents slightly larger dice made of bone. These are made from bone pipes where the marrow cavity has been refilled.

| Find nr. | Size (mm) | Finding place and year | Dating | Comments |
|-------------|--------------|--------------------------------|--------|----------|
| KM 15243 | 18 x 18 x 16 | Thomander 22, 1905. | - | |
| KM 22752 d | 15 x 15 x 15 | S:t Laurentius 1-2, 1913. | - | |
| KM 38411: 7 | 15 x 15 x 15 | S:t Peters kloster's cemetery. | - | |
| KM 38456 | 16 x 16 x 15 | S:t Peters kloster's cemetery. | - | |

Category H4 represents eight-sided dice. Two of the sided have been penetrated by a pin, making it possible to spin them into motion. Only one of the two dice found in Lund still has its pin in place.

| Find nr. | Size (mm) | Finding place and year | Dating | Comments |
|-------------|--------------|------------------------|--------|----------------------|
| KM 20344: 8 | 41 x 18 x 18 | Apotekaren 5, 1910. | - | With pin. |
| KM 38312: 3 | 15 x 18 x 18 | Altona 2. | - | No pin. Bought 1936. |

Category I

Category I is used for gaming boards. Only fragments from four potential gaming boards have been found in Lund. The first is a fragment of a wooden board for Games of Tables, with a small Mill pattern carved on the back side. The second is made up by 18 fragments of wood, with decorations. The other two are both made of stone and found in quarter Gyllenkrok, one has what seem to be an incomplete pattern for Mill and the other parts of a grid.

| Find nr. | Size (mm) | Height (mm) | Game pattern | Finding place and year | Dating | Comments |
|----------------|-----------|-------------|------------------------|------------------------|--------|-----------------------------|
| KM 57135: 1229 | 170 x 125 | - | Games of Tables & Mill | S:t Botulf 12, 1964. | - | |
| KM 70917: 215 | 190 x 90 | 13 | - | Färgaren 25, 1980. | - | Gaming board? 18 fragments. |
| KM 76123: 84 | 52 x 54 | 18 | Chess? | Gyllenkrok 29, 1989. | - | Fragment of stone. |
| KM 77655: 518 | - | - | Mill? | Gyllenkrok 30, 1992. | - | Fragment of stone. |

Other

The following items have not been available to me, and further interpretations based on this material have not been possible.

| Find nr. | Category: | Size (mm) | Finding place and year | Dating | Comments |
|-----------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|---|-----------------------|
| KM 62892: 400 | - | - | Svartbröder 23. 1971. | 12-13 th century | |
| KM 66166: 950 | - | - | S:t Clemens 8. 1974-75. | ca. 990-1300. | |
| KM 70361: 208 | H | - | Apotekaren 4. 1979-80. | 13 th - 14 th century | |
| KM 70361: 548 | H | - | Apotekaren 4. 1979-80. | 12 th century | Raw-material for die. |
| KM 70361: 653 | H | - | Apotekaren 4. 1979-80. | 12 th century | Raw-material for die. |
| KM 70361: 720 | - | - | Apotekaren 4. 1979-80. | - | |
| KM 70361: 836 | H | - | Apotekaren 4. 1979-80. | 12 th century | |
| KM 71075: 710 | - | - | Färgaren 28. 1981. | - | |
| KM 71570: 77 | - | - | S:t Mårten 28. 1982. | - | |
| KM 71570: 14 | - | - | S:t Mårten 28. 1982. | - | |
| KM 78415: 63 | - | - | Stortorget, 1993. | 13-14 th century | |
| KM 78415: 169 | - | - | Stortorget, 1993. | End of 12 th century – ca. 1250. | |

Appendix 3 - Find list from Castles

Lindholmen

Of the gaming pieces found at Lindholmen, I have only been able to examine a few. A total of 13 gaming pieces, and 15 dice were found.

| Find nr. | Category: | Size (mm) | Height (mm) | Dek. | Comments |
|------------------|-----------|-----------|-------------|------|---------------------------|
| LUHM 30563: 226 | G | 46 | 12 | Yes | Hardly a gaming piece. |
| LUHM 30563: 233 | D | 37 | 4 | Yes | Circles also on the edge. |
| LUHM 30563: 249 | D | 37 | 6 | Yes | |
| LUHM 30563: 251 | - | 14 | 19 | - | Lost? |
| LUHM 30563: 347 | - | 23 | 7 | - | Lost? |
| LUHM 30563: 2812 | - | 34 | 55 | - | Lost? |

Skånör's castle

Find list from Skånör's castle. The majority of the finds are made up by dice. A few pieces were used for Games of Tables, and some are undefined.

| Find nr. | Category: | Size (mm) | Height (mm) | Dek. | Comment |
|-------------------|-----------|-----------|-------------|------|------------------------|
| LUHM 17300: 278 | G | 37 | 13 | - | Two fragments. |
| LUHM 17300: 279 | G | 34 | 7 | - | Bottom? |
| LUHM 17300: 280 | - | - | - | - | Lost? |
| LUHM 17300: 282 | G | - | 2 | - | Small fragment of ben. |
| LUHM 17300: 283 | H | 7 | 7 | Yes | |
| LUHM 17300: 283 | H | 8 | 8 | Yes | Broken. |
| LUHM 17300: 508 | G | 21 | 27 | Yes | Flute? |
| LUHM 17300: 760 | - | - | - | - | Lost? |
| LUHM 17300: 761 | D | - | 3 | Yes | Fragment. |
| LUHM 17300: 923 | G | 40 | 8 | - | Spinning whorl? |
| LUHM 17300: 924 | D | 28 | 5 | - | Central hole. |
| LUHM 17300: 925 | - | - | - | - | Lost? |
| LUHM 17300: 926 | H | 8 | 8 | - | |
| LUHM 17300: 927 | H | 9 | 9 | - | |
| LUHM 17300: 928 | H | 8 | 8 | - | |
| LUHM 17300: 929 | H | 7 | 8 | - | |
| LUHM 17300: 930a | H | 15 | 16 | - | |
| LUHM 17300: 930b | H | 15 | 16 | - | |
| LUHM 17300: 931a | H | 9 | 9 | - | |
| LUHM 17300: 931b | H | 9 | 9 | - | |
| LUHM 17300: 931c) | H | 8 | 9 | - | |
| LUHM 17300: 931d | H | 9 | 9 | - | |
| LUHM 17300: 931e) | H | 6 | 7 | - | |

| Find nr. | Category: | Size (mm) | Height (mm) | Dek. | Comments |
|------------------|------------------|------------------|--------------------|-------------|-----------------|
| LUHM 17300: 931f | H | 7 | 7 | - | Fragment. |
| LUHM 17300: 931g | H | 8 | 9 | - | |
| LUHM 17300: 931h | H | 8 | 8 | - | |
| LUHM 17300: 931i | H | 7 | 7 | - | |
| LUHM 17300: 931j | H | 9 | 9 | - | Fragment. |
| LUHM 17300: 932 | H | 10 | 8 | - | Fragment . |
| LUHM 17300: 933 | H | 11 | 11 | - | |
| LUHM 17300: 1083 | D | 33 | 4 | Yes | Fragment. |
| LUHM 17300: 1084 | H | 3 | 8 | - | Broken. |
| LUHM 17300: 1085 | - | - | - | - | Lost? |
| LUHM 17300: 1086 | H | 8 | 8 | - | Unmarked. |