Kapitel 5

Navigation and shipping in the Sound during the Middle Ages

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Abstract

The Sound had and partly has until today many different functions. On the one hand it is connecting Scania and Zeeland and creates by this an own inner Danish and Scandinavian landscape. Secondly the Sound was in the Middle Ages Europe's and Scandinavia's most important fishing area for herring and thirdly the Sound was and is an important international waterway. This short paper sketches some of the main points of these functions, mostly from the Middle Ages up to the 16th century.

The Sound (Oresund), the narrow strait dividing the Danish island of Zealand from the Scanian peninsula, now part of Sweden, has had two major functions since time immemorial: First and foremost, it was and is the primary link between these two important parts of the Danish kingdom and southern Scandinavia. But the Sound was and is also one of the (now four) main connections between the Baltic and the North Sea. Because of this, its function has always been twofold: connecting the region and linking it to European markets and waters.

The Sound and its geography

The Sound is the easternmost link between the Kattegat and the Baltic. The westernmost connection is now the Kiel Canal, completed in its current form in 1914. Between the two lie the Great Belt and the Little Belt, the two other natural straits connecting the Kattegat with the Baltic. Together with the latter, the Sound has been deemed an international waterway since the Copenhagen Convention of 1857.[1] The Sound extends from a line running between Gilbjerg Hoved (west of Gilleleje in Zealand) and the tip of the Kullen peninsula, north of Helsingborg in nowadays Sweden, in the north, to a line running between Stevns lighthouse and Falsterbo, in the south. It is 118 km long and has a width of between 4 and 28 km. Its mean depth is around 11 m, reaching a maximum of 40 m around Helsingborg. The name 'Sound' or 'Oresund' means a 'small strait with a stony fairway'. The southern part of the Sound, around the Halør peninsula (nowadays known as the Skanör-Falsterbo peninsula), south of Falsterbo, is one of the most dangerous waterways in Scandinavia.[2] These waters, and the Falsterbo reef around Halør, were called *Skaðinaujō*, 'damage island', in Old Norse. They were so hazardous that they became eponymous with Scandinavia as a whole and have been known at least since Pliny the Elder:

[1] Andersson: *The Baltic Straits*, 1982, pp. 67ff. Ahonen: 'Den dansk-amerikanske strid om Øresundstolden', 2010, pp. 527-568.

[2] See Jahnke: *Das Silber des Meeres,* 2000, pp. 66ff.

"Leaving these however, we come to the nation of the Ingævones, the first in Germany; at which we begin to have some information upon which more implicit reliance can be placed. In their country is an immense mountain called Sevo, not less than those of the Riphæan range, and which forms an immense gulf along the shore as far as the Promontory of the Cimbri. This gulf, which has the name of the "Codanian", is filled with islands; the most famous among which is Scandinavia, of a magnitude as yet unascertained: the only portion of it at all known is inhabited by the nation of the Hilleviones, who dwell in 500 villages, and call it a second world: it is generally supposed that the island of Eningia is of not less magnitude."[3]

And further on:

"There are writers also who make mention of some other islands, Scandia …, Dumna, Bergos, and, greater than all, Nerigos, from which persons embark for Thule."[4]

Fig. 1. The Sound, map by Gurstaf Klint, *Karta öfver sundet emellan Sverige och Dannemark med närgränsande delar af Östersjön och Kattegat*, Stockholm 1804. Royal Library Copenhagen, the Map Collection 7153,7-1-1804/1.

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[3] Pliny: *The Natural History*, 1855, Lib. IV, chap. 27. Plinius: *Naturalis Historia*, 1906, Lib. IV. chap. 39: '*incipit deinde clarior aperiri fama ab gente inguaeonum, quae est prima in germania. mons saevo ibi, inmensus nec ripaeis iugis minor, inmanem ad cimbrorum usque promunturium efficit sinum, qui codanus vocatur, refertus insulis, quarum clarissima est scatinavia, inconpertae magnitudinis, portionem tantum eius, quod notum sit, hillevionum gente quingentis incolente pagis: quare alterum orbem terrarum eam appellant'.*

[4] Pliny: *The Natural History,* 1855, Lib. IV, chap. 30. Plinius: *Naturalis Historia*, 1906, Lib. IV., chap. 41, '*sunt qui et alias prodant, scandias, dumnam, bergos maximamque omnium berricen, ex qua in tylen navigetur'.*

The Sound as a line of communication between Zealand and Scania

A central function of the Sound was in connecting Scania, one of the most important parts of the Danish realm throughout the Middle Ages, with the island of Zealand, which was increasing in importance by the 14th and 15th centuries.[5]

Due to the narrowness of Sound at Elsinore/Helsingborg, with only 4 km separating Zealand from Scania,[6] this was and is the natural crossing point. The course of the Medieval roads in the later Helsingborg,[7] and the location of Helsingborg Castle, Kärnan, bear witness to the former importance of the route. Adam of Bremen, a late 11th century chronicler, mentions this passage as being the most favourable,[8] and by 1414, at the latest, the king urged the town of Helsingborg to keep its Sound ferries in a constant state of readiness.[9] The crossing was so important that, in 1561, the town was able to impose an extra tax on all those using its ferry quay.[10]

But the Helsingborg-Elsinore crossing was not the only option, as Adam of Bremen noted.[11] When the Roskilde bishop, Jacob Erlandsen, gave the town of Copenhagen its charter in 1254, he ordered that:

"…whenever the bishop is to travel on official business from Zealand to Scania, the town of Copenhagen must provide him with a ship and a crew of twelve men at its own expense."[12]

This paragraph is the second of 14 specified by the bishop, thereby clearly demonstrating the importance of the Sound's connecting function. The number of ferry ports located on the Sound in the Middle Ages has not been ascertained until now. Christian II's Sound ferry act of 1522 mentions only three: Copenhagen, Malmö and Landskrona. The first two ports were to have eight ferrymen, and the latter only two.[13] The act required towns to make ferries available, equipped with oars,[14] and in 1519 the Malmö treasurer paid for a boat and two oarsmen to row the city-messenger to Copenhagen.[15]

As is also the case today, these ferry ports were used as checkpoints, and they were also important information channels. During the crisis of 1534, Copenhagen therefore blocked the ferry link to Malmö,[16] and in 1557 the king ordered the councillors of Helsingborg, Landskrona, Malmö, Elsinore and Copenhagen to check every foreign passenger on their ferries, to obtain a better overview of their activities.[17] Ferries are and were the chokepoints for all traffic in the kingdom of Denmark.

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[5] Riis: 'Hvorfor blev København Danmarks hovedstad?', 1994, pp. 73-80.

[6] Adam of Bremen, Lib. II, Chap. 40.

[7] See Thomasson: 'Helsingborg - var fanns den äldsta staden?', 2021.

[8] Adam von Bremen, Lib. IV, Chap. 7: '*A Seland in Sconiam traiectus multi, brevissimus in Halsingpurg, qui et videri potest*'.

[9] *Danmarks Gamle Købstadslovgivning* (*DGKL*), Helsingborg, no. 2, § 8, 160. See also no. 3, 13 Dec. 1440, § 8, 161.

[10] *Kancelliets Brevbøger (Da. Kac. Brev.*) III, 62f., 1561 14 Aug.

[11] Adam von Bremen, Lib. IV, Chap. 7.

[12] *Københavns Diplomatarium (KD)* I, no. 16, § 2, 18.

[13] *Den Danske Rigslovgivning*, no. 12, Christian IIs Bylov, 6 January 1522, § 78, 125f.

[14] *Den Danske Rigslovgivning*, no. 12, Christian IIs Bylov, Koncept, 6 January 1522, § 78, 75.

[15] *Lyder van Fredens Kämnärsräkenskaper för Malmö (KR)*, fol. 98r.

[16] *KD* IV, no. 463, pp. 486f.

[17] *Da. Kac. Brev.*, Vol. II, 64, 29 Jan.1557. See Bååth: *Helsingborgs historia*, 1933

The number of ferries was normally restricted to a minimum. In Helsingborg, for example, only two ferries were permitted to cross the Sound, with the same impacts on the traffic-flow as today. In the late 15th century, when exports of Danish oxen reached new heights, farmers in Scania also raised cattle, which had then to be driven to the European cattle market at Ribe, in Jutland.[18] As a result, thousands of these beasts thronged the streets of Helsingborg, because they had to wait 14 or more days for their passage:

"Because those, who wrangle the oxen in the autumn or at Eastertide from Scania, have to wait up to 14 days or three weeks, because there are only allowed two ferries at this town…[19]"

As an example, the ferry tariffs for crossings between Copenhagen and Malmö, Landskrona and Helsingborg in a ship able to transport eight to ten horses were regulated as follows in 1590:

> *"- For the whole ship 6 marks (1 mk. = 16 shillings à 3 albus à 4 pennies)*
> *- For a horse and a man 8 shillings*
> *- For a pedestrian 2 shillings*
> *- One ton of goods 2 albus*
> *- One barrel of wine 2 shillings*
> *- One pack of cloth 12 shillings"[20]*

Hiring the entire ferry cost as much as a whole ox,[21] so crossing the Sound officially was not a cheap undertaking. But the price was variable, and if we examine the expenses of the Malmö town council between 1517 and 1518, for example, a broad range of prices is observed:[22]

Year	From Malmö to	Who/What	Shipper	Price
1517	Copenhagen	Anders Bysvend	Stye Fergemand (the ferryman) in his ferry	24 sh.
1517	Copenhagen	the King's Knights	Marinus Brun in his ferry	24 sh.
1517	Kastrup	Anders Bysvend	Laurent Jepsen	3 sh.
1517	Copenhagen	6 pounds of malt		6 sh.
1517	Copenhagen	a royal letter	4 oarsmen	2 mk
1517	Landskrona	the king's armour	Peer Torbjörnsson and Lasse Tömmermand with their ship and 4 men	2 mk

[18] See in general Enemark: *Dansk Oksehandel,* 2003, especially pp. 137ff.

[19] *Da. Kac. Brev.* II, 65f., 6 February 1557. *Fordi de, som uddrive Øxne om Høsten eller Fasten fra Skåne, tit må vente 14 Dage eller 3 uger i Helsingborg, da det kun tillades de to Færger ved byen.*

[20] *KD* II, no. 547, here § 30, p. 444.

[21] Enemark, *Dansk Oksehandel,* 2003, pp. 531-537.

[22] *KR*, passim.

Year	From Malmö to	Who/What	Shipper	Price
1517	Copenhagen, Landskrona	Knud Fynbo to Copenhagen, horses and stones to Landskrona	Jens Kieldsen	9 sh.
1518	Copenhagen?	Syward van Melen and his men	Peer Setil	2 mk.
1518	Dragør	Jacob Nickelsen, mayor, Morten Krämere, Anders Iwersen, Hans Byskrivare and Anders Bysvend	Niels Starre	2 ½ mk.
1518	Copenhagen	Hans Wedderstrup, Carnelis and his men	Mickild Nielsen	3 mk.
1518	Copenhagen?	two cannons	Bertil Fergemand	8 sh.
1518	Copenhagen?	crossbows	Hans Lalandsfar	6 sh.
1518	Copenhagen?	11 horses, bought by the king's equerry	Niels Starre and Peer Fynbo	28 sh.
1518	Copenhagen	one cannon	Hans Brun	24 sh.

Tab. 1

For a closer look at one of the Malmö ferrymen of the time we can take Peer Setil as an example. Although never mentioned as an official ferryman (*fergemand*), he and his ferry and crew were often used by the town administration. In 1517, he was paid for journeys to Copenhagen and Dragør,[23] in 1518 he received 9 mk for seven journeys to the same destinations[24] and in 1519 he made eight journeys for the town council.[25] He lived in a small house owned by the town in the Færgestræde (i.e. 'Ferry Road'), close to most of the other town ferrymen;[26] his house was renovated by the council in 1519.[27] He also rented three huts on the shore, close to the ferry port.[28] Peer Setil is clearly a typical example of a Late Medieval urban ferryman. He could make a living from his job and, judging from his tax records, he did quite well, compared to his neighbours.[29]

But people wishing to cross the Sound were not limited to the official ferries. From time immemorial, farmers on both sides of the Sound had crossed the waters: They made the entire Sound area one great melting pot, but usually without leaving any significant traces in the written sources. In the late 15th and early 16th century, however, the Danish kings began to combat these illegal crossings, and in 1522 Christian II drew up a list of the illegal harbours on the Scanian coast:

[23] *KR*, foll. 25v., 27v.

[24] *KR*, foll. 67r. and 72v.

[25] *KR*, foll. 98r., 102v. and 105v.

[26] *KR*, foll. 12v., 53v. and 86r. regarding Færgestræde, now known as Frans Suellsgatan, see Ljungberg, *Gatunamnen i Malmö*, 1960, s.v. Frans Suellsgatan, 48f. I am grateful to Catharina and Anders Ödman for this reference.

[27] *KR*, fol. 107v.

[28] *KR*, foll. 16r. and 58r.

[29] *KR*, foll. 12v., 53v. and 86r.

"These are the illegal harbours on the Scanian side: from the Kullen and Råå to Helsingborg, together with Glumslöv, Barsebäck, Lyddeå, Lomma, Limhamn, Hellestedbo, Porsehavn, and some more."[30]

The Sound was the connecting element for all inhabitants on both sides.

The Sound as Europe's great fishing area

There is another activity where we can trace shipping links associated with both sides of the Sound: the great herring fisheries of the Scanian markets.[31] The farmers of the Sound area had used marine resources as a winter provisions since time immemorial. By the 11th century at the latest,[32] we can trace rural fishermen who moved into temporary settlements along the coast of the Sound, so-called *fiskelejer*, in the autumn. The Danish chronicler Saxo Grammaticus describes just such a large gathering of temporary fishermen on the shore at Helsingborg in 1180.[33] International markets later developed in some of these places, firstly in the form of an internal Scandinavian market at Halör, later as a truly European markets at Skanör, Falsterbo, Malmö, Landskrona and Dragør.[34] From the 13th to the 16th century, merchants came to the Sound from across Europe to buy herring and to sell their goods to the region's consumers, and to other merchants. Herring fishery was, as such, a traditional side-line for the farmers of the Sound,[35] and because of the shallow waters, no explicit training in catching fish was required. Four to six men normally made up one fishing group, a *notlag*, equipping a small boat with nets and other gear.[36] Up until the 14th century, most of these *notlag* were made up of people from the Sound area. But the merchants from the Netherlands or Germany began to bring their own fishermen too, who were then in direct competition with the Danish fishers.[37] When the French traveller Philippe de Mézières sailed through the Sound in 1380, he claimed to have counted about 40,000 fishing boats at Skanör and Falsterbo alone.[38] This is definitely an exaggeration, but it can be assumed that at least about 10-20,000 boats were employed here in the Scanian herring fisheries at this time.[39] In 1523, the Lübeck reeve (i.e. representative) in Falsterbo counted exactly 7,515 fishing boats at Falsterbo alone,[40] and this was just one place of many. During the Scanian market season, from August to November, the Sound was a unique fish-production area and one of the most important trading centres in Europe. The possibilities of the herring fisheries clearly demonstrate the Sound's connecting function. Farmers and people along the coasts were accustomed to using the Sound as a source for winter stocks and as a means of transport, for both goods and information.

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[30] *Den Danske Rigslovgivning*, 1991, no. 12, Christian IIs Bylov, 6 January 1522, § 55, 119.

[31] See in general Jahnke: *Das Silber des Meeres*, 2000 and Jahnke: 'The Medieval Herring Fisheries in the Baltic Sea' 2009, pp. 170-178.

[32] Ersgård: *Vår Marknad i Skåne*, 1988, pp. 37.

[33] Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum*, 2005, Lib. XV, IV,14, pp. 490f.

[34] Jahnke: *Das Silber des Meeres*, 2000, passim.

[35] Stoklund: *Bondefiskere og strandsiddere*, 2000, pp. 72-125.

[36] Jahnke: *Das Silber des Meeres*, 2000, pp. 180f.

[37] Jahnke: *Das Silber des Meeres*, 2000, pp. 178-192.

[38] Jorga: *Philippe de Mézières*, 1896, p. 284, translation in Etting, *Queen Margret I*, 2004, p. 39.

[39] Jahnke: *Das Silber des Meeres*, 2000, pp. 180f.

[40] Register over de danske Slotte, 1836, p. 313.

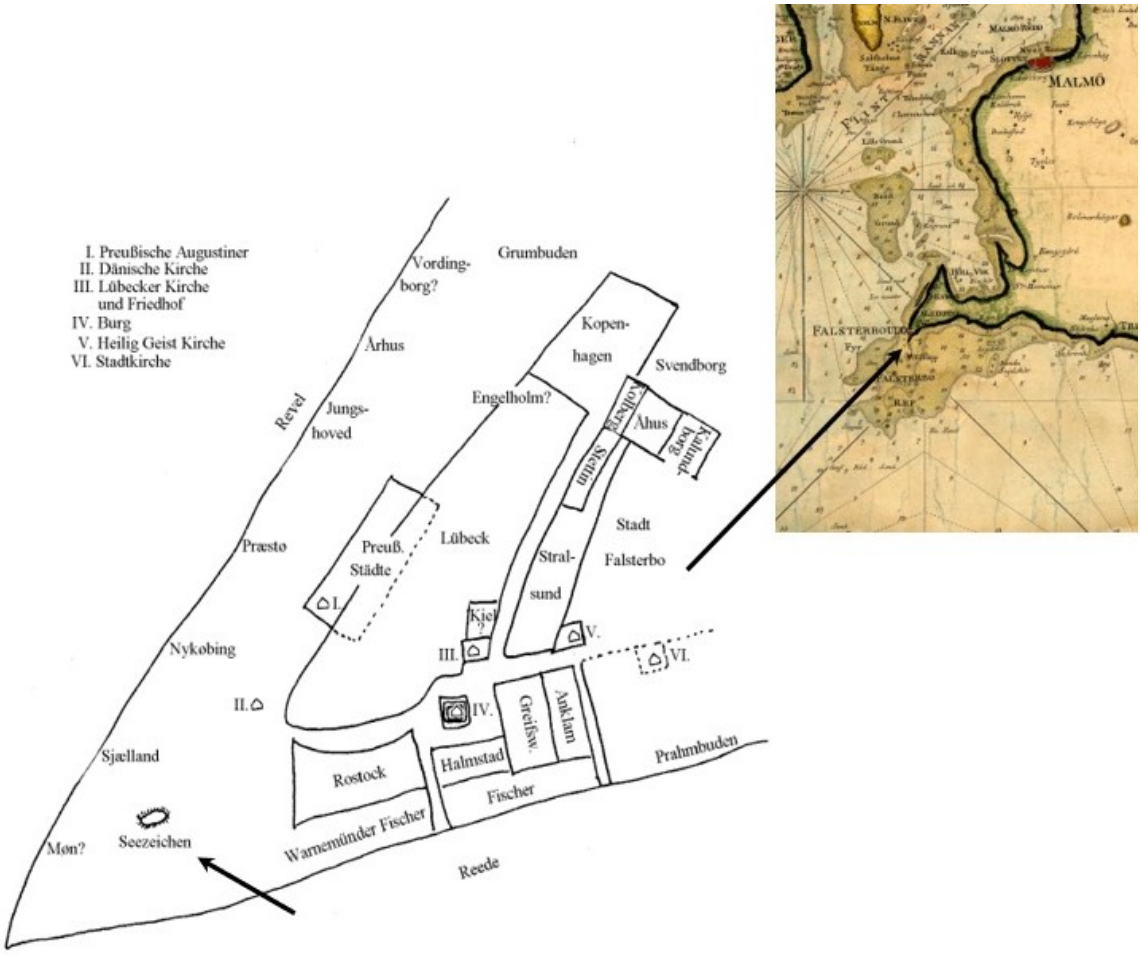

Fig. 2. The position of the Falsterbo bascule light (Seezeichen). After Jahnke, Das Silber des Meeres, 2000, s. 123.

The Sound as an international waterway

But the Sound was more than just shallow fishing waters; the strait was and is one of the most important access routes to and from the Baltic Sea. Already in the times described in the 13th century sagas, the Sound was the access route to the East, mostly in connection with the markets in Halör or raiding expeditions.[41] But the route through the Sound was also hazardous, not least because of the Falsterbo reef. It was an adventure for the Scandinavian sailors who came from Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Sweden or Gotland. But when, in the early 13th century, increasing numbers of inexperienced Saxons from the southern coast of the Baltic voyaged to the Scanian markets,[42] this adventure became too dangerous. The Lübeck merchants therefore asked the Dominican brethren in their town to intervene with the Danish king.[43] They were successful in their endeavours and between 1229 and 1241 King Valdemar 2 (the Victorious, 1202-1241) authorised the raising

[41] Jahnke: *Das Silber des Meeres*, 2000, pp. 64-67.

[42] Jahnke, 'merchant seafaring in Danish waters', 2015, pp. 17-38.

[43] See the regestum of this document in *Diplomatarium Danicum (Dipl. Dan.)* I.6., no. 102.

Fig. 3: Reproduction of a bascule light on the Kullen. Photo: Carsten Jahnke.

of the first navigation mark in Denmark, and in the entire Baltic area: the Falsterbo beacon.[44] This took the form of a bascule light, and the king granted the right to take wood from his own forests as fuel for its lighting. The privilege does not clearly state who should maintain the fire and where the keeper of the bascule light should live. Given that the original document was written in Lübeck, then taken to and kept in the archives

[44] *Dipl. Dan*. I.6., no. 102.

of the town council, it seems logical to assume that the people of Lübeck tended the bascule light, but no hint to this has so far been found in the Lübeck sources.

The Falsterbo bascule light is oriented towards the south, as its installation was initiated by merchants from Lübeck, providing them with security on their voyages from the Baltic into the Sound. But from the early 13th century, increasing numbers of merchants from England, the Zuiderzee and the North Sea area also sailed to the Scanian markets and from there on into the Baltic too. In 1251 they were granted a privilege for their voyages, in which their route is described in a single word: They were sailing *ummeland*, meaning around the Skaw (Skagens Odde).[45]

In the Middle Ages, skippers in northern Europe tended to avoid long passages across open sea. They mostly sailed along the coast or in waters where they were able to check the depth of the seabed. At the same time, Medieval ships were extremely dependent on the wind regime. Many ships could not sail against the wind as they had problems tacking and could therefore not beat upwind. Medieval sailing routes were therefore slightly different from those that we would take today.

We have a northern European sailing handbook from around 1470, the so-called *Seebuch*, where we can find detailed instructions on how to sail from the West (todays North) Sea to the Baltic Sea:

> *"Item, from the Skagen reef to [the island of] Laesø, SE, 2 kennings.*
>
> *Item, from Laesø, reef to [the island of] Anholt, SE, 2 kennings.*
>
> *[fol. 31r.]*
>
> *Item, from Anholt to Kullen, that is three kennings, that course is SSE.*
>
> *Item, from Kullen to Lappesand, SExE and then sail to your mark.*
>
> *Item, hold Helsingborg off the land so that you do not founder on the Svinbådan.*
>
> *Item, watch out for Lappesand, a tower stands there on the SE; and off Helsingør stay in the shelter of the castle so that you do not sail down to the sand.*
>
> *Item, from Helsingør to [the town of] Dragör it is two kennings and from the Dragör reef to the Falsterbo reef it is one kenning; that course is SxW.*

Item, when you cannot see between that house and the church, then you are on that shallowest part of the reefs.

> *Item, from Falsterbo to [the island of] Bornholm, that is 14 large weke zees, the course is ExS."*[46]

[45] *Dipl. Dan.* II.1., no. 50 & 52.

[46] http://www.dsm.museum/seebuch/, (23.06.2020) foll. 30v.-31r.

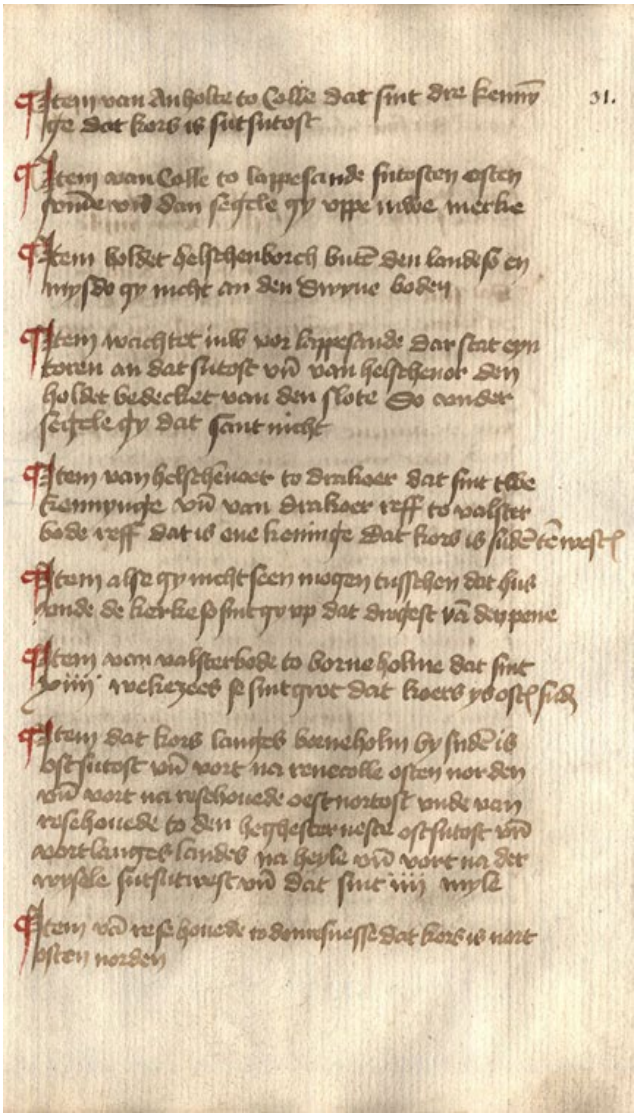

Fig. 4. Folio 31r. of the Seebuch, starting with the route from Anholt to the Kullen.

The route from east to west was hazardous and, up until the 19th century, the waters around the Skaw and the Skaw reef were some of the most dangerous in Europe, with many strandings, i.e. vessels going aground: But the difficulties did not cease there: The Læsø reef was almost as dangerous as the Skaw, and a sailors' saying warned:[47]

Lassoe / Nidung vnd Anholt	Læsø / Niding and Anholt
Maecken dat menigh Stuyrman niet wert oldt	Keep the common steersmen from getting old

[47] Coldingensi & Pontano: *Chorographica DANIÆ*, 1629, 59. From 1522, Jon Jensen Kolding/Jonas of Kolding was headmaster of the grammar school in Kolding; see Fabricius, *Abriß einer allgemeinen Historie der Gelehrsamkeit*, 1754, 79. Kolding's book was first printed in Frankfurt, in 1594. https://www.kulturarv.dk/mussam/VisGenstand.action?genstandId=3919868. (23.06.2020)
The Niding is a bank and a reef at the entrance to the port of Kungsbacka in Halland.

Even after Læsø the dangers were far from over; there then followed the reefs at Anholt and smaller reefs at Elsinore and Helsingborg, Svinebåden and Lappsand. Yet this dangerous route was still the best option for Medieval ships, and it is also a reasonable, if we are not thinking in oriented maps:

Fig. 5. Map of the Skagerak and the Kattegat from the Scaw to the Sound. After Joannes van Keulen, Pascaert van Schager-rack, de Belt en de Orisondt, tot in de Oost Zee, c. 1680. Royal Library Copenhagen, the Map Collection 2-222.

Coming from the West Sea, driven by prevailing western winds, the Sound is the natural, but also a hazardous, entrance to the Baltic.

Some navigation marks would have been useful to minimise the danger, but the people of Lübeck, and the inhabitants of towns in the Wendic region (Wismar, Stralsund, Rostock, Greifswald, Anklam, Demmin) were not really interested in foreign traffic between west and east. It was to their favour to keep the western competition out of the Baltic. This can be seen, for example, in the introduction of the Sound Toll in 1429. The fact that the duty was collected at the northern end, at Elsinore/Helsingborg, was perhaps to allow the

Lübeck merchants to sail in and out of the Sound without paying duty.[48] The western Baltic towns were also definitely not interested in making routes to the Sound safer, even when their own ships also sailed in these waters.

It was not until 1533 that the councillors of the Danish realm (rigsråd) authorised the town of Copenhagen to lay out some buoys at Middelgrunden, a sandbank between Rævshalen and Kongedybet, on the sailing route into the town.[49] Copenhagen town council was allowed to claim some recompense for this operation, but was then forced to share the sum with the toll keeper in Elsinore.

It seems clear that the initiative for the laying out of the buoys came from the town council, who waited until king Frederik I's death to seek permission. The reason also seems clear: to promote maritime traffic into the town's harbour. The results showed skippers in the Sound that it was possible to improve safety in these waters. They took their wishes before king Frederik 2 (1559-1588),[50] and after many years, on 8 June 1560, he ordered the town of Copenhagen to lay out some buoys in some hazardous parts of the Sound, the banks at Falsterbo and Dragør.[51] Two years earlier, the Copenhagen burgher Rasmus Ollufsen had requested, and received, the right to set up a lamp, *blusseriet*, at Dragør during the herring fishery season in the autumn.[52] In 1560, this right was also approved for Copenhagen burgher Hans Lauritzøn.[53]

At the same time, the skippers complained to the king that there were far too few beacons and buoys on the dangerous route from Skagen to the Baltic.[54] In April 1560, he therefore ordered further buoys to be laid out at Læsø and Anholt Reef, and in the Sound at the Falsterbo reef and at Dragør Strømme.[55] Then, in June 1560, he ordered beacons to be set up at the Skaw, on the island of Anholt and on the Kullen peninsula, at the northern entrance to the Sound.[56] He also commanded a large buoy with a bell to be placed by the island of Læsø, identified as the best place by mariners.[57] In December 1560, the king made his order more precise: "*The beacons at the Skaw, Anholt and on the Kullen should be bascule lights with an iron basket, 1½ ells* [c. 90 cm] *in width, on a crane made of oak timber and with a height of 20 ells* [12 m]." (Authors translation) They should be lit from 1 March to St. Martins Day (11 November) each year.[58] In February 1561, the customs officer in Elsinore was ordered to inform western towns – in particular Amsterdam, Enkhusen, Stavoren, Kampen, Bremen, Hamburg and Emden – that these beacons and buoys had now been established.[59]

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[48] Hørby, 'Øresundstolden og den Skånske Skibstold', 1966 pp. 245-272.
[49] *KD* I, no. 261 pp. 381-382.
[50] *Da. Kac. Brev.* II, 110, 13 June 1557, and 409, 8 June 1560
[51] *KD* IV, no. 582, 571.
[52] *Da. Kac. Brev.* II, 167, 16 March 1558.
[53] *Da. Kac. Brev.* II, 413, 17 June 1560.
[54] *Da. Kac. Brev.* II 409, 8 June 1560.
[55] *Da. Kac. Brev.* II, 390, 22 April 1560.
[56] *Da. Kac. Brev.* II, 409, 8 June 1560.
[57] *Da. Kac. Brev.* II, 410, 8 June 1560.
[58] *Da. Kac. Brev.* II, 474, 16 December 1560.
[59] *Da. Kac. Brev.* III., 12, 3 February 1561.

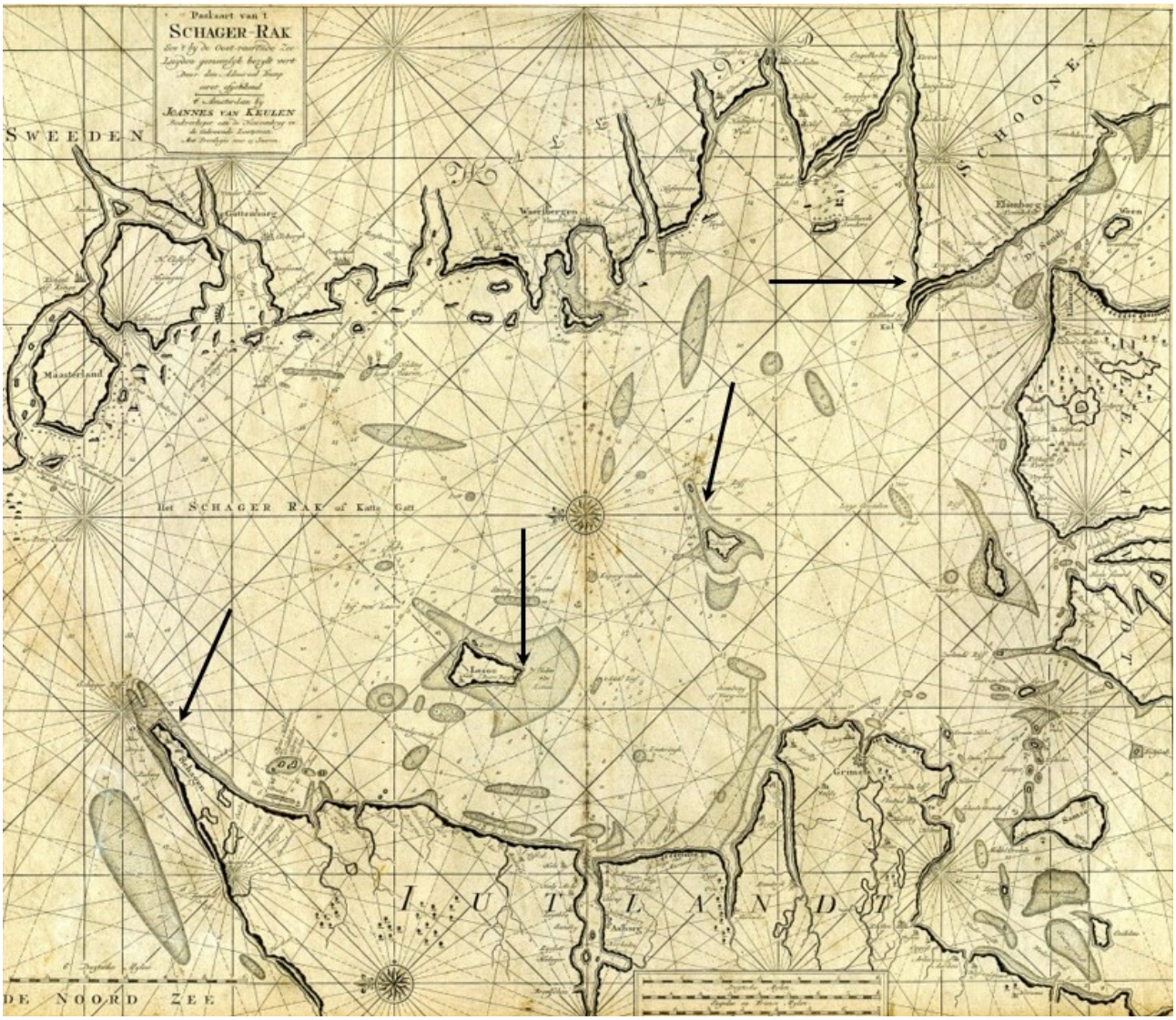

Fig. 6. The position of the new navigation mark in 1560. As for the beacon at the Skaw, the position of the first bascule light may have been on the western side of the peninsula. Henningsen, *Papegøye og Vippefyr*, 1960, p. 9.

On Kullen, the *Kol*, by the Sound, a bascule light apparently proved to be impractical, or the plans were changed shortly thereafter. Specifically, it can be seen that the king ordered some payments to Jost and Villum Blytækkere (i.e. plumbers – literally 'leaders of roofs') in the summer of 1564, for their work on the tower on Kullen.[60] It is this tower that features as a pictogram on the map in Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitatis Orbis Terrarum*, which was in the care of the famous Tycho Brahe.

Already in 1563, the lighting of the tower was franchised to Jørgen Berger, who promised to perform the duty in this year from start of July to St. Martins Day for 30 fl. He was obliged to make 12 large beacons to set up in the tower, and then to light them every day from sunset to sunrise.[61]

[60] *Da. Kac. Brev.* III, 478, 22 July 1564.

[61] *Da. Kac. Brev.* III, 300, 30 July 1563.

Fig. 7. Freti Danici or Sundt accuratiss Delineatio, Interior Arcis magnificentia, Nobilissimum Daniae Fretum der Sundt, c. 1588. Royal Library, Copenhagen.

Navigation and shipping in the Sound

The Sound constituted both an internal Danish connection and an international maritime thoroughfare, and both functions were of enormous importance. As the easiest and shortest way between two vital parts of the Danish kingdom, it was navigated by many sailing boats and ships engaged in coastal shipping. The connections through the Sound shaped an own landscape between Zealand and Scania. For the many fishers at the time of the herring fisheries, the Sound was an enormous resource of pan-European importance, but it was also an information channel and connecting hub, given that many of these fishers came from abroad. Last but not least, the Sound was and is one of the most important international maritime thoroughfares in northern Europe. It is the link connecting east and west or, as Jonas of Kolding states:

"Through this strait, which is called Øresund, all major ships-traffic of Europe, which by reason of commerce had to go to Sweden or the Eastern Sea, is forced to pass [*coguntur transire*]. "(Authors translation)[62]

In the Middle Ages, sailing on the Sound was an everyday activity, both for the farmers living along its coasts and for the international sailors who gave names to the towns around this strait, and the banks and reefs in its waters.

[62] Coldingensi & Pontano: *Chorographica DANIÆ,* 1629, pp. 72f.

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