

# ACROSS THE NORTH SEA

## LATER HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY IN BRITAIN AND DENMARK, C. 1500-2000 AD

*edited by* Henrik Harnow, David Cranstone, Paul Belford and Lene Høst-Madsen



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– LATER HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY IN BRITAIN AND DENMARK C. 1500-2000 AD

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The dock at Esbjerg with a view of Fanø and towards the North Sea and Britain 2008

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# INTRODUCTION

Paul Belford, David Cranstone, Henrik Harnow, Lene Høst-Madsen and Anders Myrtue ACROSS THE NORTH SEA – AN INTRODUCTION.....	9
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## SECTION 1 – OF DENMARK, BRITAIN, AND ARCHAEOLOGY

Paul Belford HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL PRACTICE IN BRITAIN .....	25
Lene Høst-Madsen and Henrik Harnow HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL PRACTICE IN DENMARK...	39
David Gaimster DEALING WITH THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE MODERN WORLD IN NORTHERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE: PAST EXPERIENCE AND FUTURE PROSPECTS .....	51

## SECTION 2 – CURRENT APPROACHES IN DENMARK AND BRITAIN

Anders Myrtue THE APPROACH TO MATERIAL CULTURE IN DENMARK - AN OVERVIEW .....	63
Dave Hooley ENABLING THE CHARACTER OF ENGLAND'S PAST TO SHAPE ITS SUSTAINABLE FUTURE .....	73
Mark Dunkley REFORM OF HERITAGE PROTECTION IN ENGLAND: INNOVATIVE APPROACHES TO MARINE HERITAGE MANAGEMENT.....	85
Michael Lewis LEADEN DOLLS, BOOKS AND SEALS: FRESH INSIGHTS INTO POST-MEDIEVAL MATERIAL CULTURE PROVIDED BY FINDS RECORDED THROUGH THE PORTABLE ANTIQUITIES SCHEME .....	93
Ebbe Hædersdal ON BUILDINGS ARCHAEOLOGY IN DENMARK (AND SWEDEN).....	105
Per Grau Møller POST-MEDIEVAL RURAL HERITAGE – RESEARCH AND MANAGEMENT – SOME REFLECTIONS .....	119

Mette Svart Kristiansen	
FARM STUDIES AND POST-MEDIEVAL RURAL ARCHAEOLOGY IN DENMARK: COMMENTS ON THE PAST, THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE.....	131

Frank Meddens with Peter Moore and Russel Coleman	
MOVING MOUNTAINS: METHODS AND APPROACHES IN THE EXCAVATION OF URBAN INDUSTRIAL LANDSCAPES.....	145

## SECTION 3 – ACROSS THE NORTH SEA

David Cranstone	
THE PANHOUSE AS CRADLE OF INDUSTRY: COASTAL SALTMaking AND THE ‘LONG INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION’ .....	159

Símun V. Arge and Natascha Mehler	
ADVENTURES FAR FROM HOME: HANSEATIC TRADE WITH THE FAROE ISLANDS.....	175

Liv Appel	
THE SCOTTISH AND ENGLISH CITIZENS IN ELSINORE FROM THE 16TH TO THE 18TH CENTURY – AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL APPROACH.....	187

Jette Linaa	
IN MEMORY OF MERCHANTS; THE CONSUMPTION AND CULTURAL MEETINGS OF IMMIGRANTS IN EARLY MODERN ELSINORE .....	195

David Higgins	
THE TRANSMISSION OF GOODS AND IDEAS IN THE POST-MEDIEVAL WORLD – EVIDENCE FROM THE CLAY TOBACCO PIPE INDUSTRY .....	209

Frank Allan Rasmussen	
PREDATOR AND PREY – THE TRANSFER OF TECHNOLOGY BETWEEN DENMARK AND BRITAIN 1790-1860 .....	225

René Schrøder Christensen	
DANISH PORTS – A GATEWAY TO ENGLAND.....	241

Morten Pedersen	
THE DANISH CEMENT INDUSTRY 1840-1930: INDUSTRIAL LANDSCAPES AND TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER.....	255

## SECTION 4 – SOCIETY IN DENMARK AND BRITAIN

Trine Louise Borake

CLOTH AND CLOTHING. 18TH-CENTURY TEXTILES FROM A LANDFILL IN  
COPENHAGEN, DENMARK – AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE.....269

Rikke Simonsen

THE NORTH GATE MAIN BRIDGE – AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATION IN  
THE BASTIONED FORTIFICATION OF COPENHAGEN..... 279

Christopher Grønfeldt Petersen

WHERE PEOPLE TREAD YOU DO NOT BURY YOUR DEAD!.....287

Lise Harvig & Niels Lynnerup

THE ETHICS OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL ANALYSES OF HUMAN REMAINS .....297

CONTRIBUTORS.....305

BIBLIOGRAPHY ..... 313

## ADVENTURES FAR FROM HOME: HANSEATIC TRADE WITH THE FAROE ISLANDS

The Hanseatic League was the major economic force in Northern Europe in the late Middle Ages. However, during the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century its power progressively declined, and at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century the League found itself in a weaker position than it had ever known. One of the reasons for this was that some individual cities of the League had started to put self-interest before their common Hanse interests and they started to trade with foreign nations on their own. It was now the North Atlantic islands that came into their focus (Dollinger 1998, 364 ff.), and Iceland and Shetland experienced considerable trade with German merchants. However, little is known about the role of the Faroe Islands, located roughly between Iceland and Shetland, within the Hanse network.

Trade with the North Atlantic islands had previously been prohibited: from 1284 onwards merchants were banned from trading with other sites north of Bergen, their main staple port for the North and home of one of their four *Kontors* (major Hanseatic enclaves in non-Hanseatic cities, controlling Hanseatic trade within their region), and this ban included Iceland, Shetland and also the Faroe Islands. But at the end of the Middle Ages, German traders went north and the Faroe Islands took up a special role due to their location.

Travelling to Iceland, Shetland and the Faroe Islands were mainly ships from cities of the so-called Wendish Quarter (eg. Lübeck, Hamburg, Rostock) and the Saxon Quarter (Bremen) (Friedland 1973; Dollinger 1998, 318; Mehler 2009, 90, 95). The abundance of stockfish, dried cod ready for export, attracted merchants and vessels from those cities in great numbers and it was the fish that assured high profits. The vessels sailing to the North Atlantic islands were of smaller size than those used for traffic closer to mainland Europe. Most of them probably belonged to the *Holk* or *Karacke* type or similar vessels, and usually transported a cargo of 60 to 100 *last* (1 *last* = approx. 2 tons). The ships left the German ports in March or April for their journey north. The voyage to Iceland, now a major destination, took about four weeks (Gardiner & Mehler 2007, 403; Krause 2010, 150). The Faroe Islands are situated more or less in the middle of that distance and provided a fine stop-over. The islands were an additional market for their trade business and in case of storms offered a safe and most welcome shelter.

### THE HANSE AND THE FAROE ISLANDS

In defiance of the 1284 ban, we hear of direct Hanseatic trade with the Faroe Islands for the first time in 1416 (Friedland 1973, 68). However, written documents strongly indicate a Hanseatic interest in the Faroe Islands even earlier (Mortensen 2006, 98-99). This interest is evident with the installation of German bishops on the Faroe Islands, one of several possible



linkages between the Hanseatic League and religious institutions and churches known from other places such as Bergen. Vikbold Verydema, a German, became bishop of the Faroe Islands (1391-1408), and he was succeeded by Johannes Theutonicus, who was bishop from 1408 to 1431 (Mortensen 2006, 105; Mortensen 2008, 10, 15). The explanation for the extensive building activities at the Faroese bishop's see at Kirkjubøur during the early 15<sup>th</sup> century might be found in the great European economic interests in the rich fish-resources of the North Atlantic and in the waters around the Faroe Islands in which the Hanse no doubt were involved (Mortensen 2008, 17-19).

The Faroese bishopric, established early in the 12th century, was centred at the village of Kirkjubøur on the island of Streymoy (Fig. 1) and became the cultural centre for the islands throughout the Middle Ages until its abolition in 1557. Its historical remains give an impression of wealth and activity and illustrate the importance of foreign influences. The physical remains which can be seen today include the whitewashed parish church, often referred to as the Olavs-church, apparently built during the 13th century and the only Medieval church building still in use in the islands. Next to it stands the ruin of the impressive cathedral of St. Magnus, erected c. 1300. The architectural characteristics of this Gothic cathedral are of a high standard, linking to the contemporary west Norwegian church building tradition.

At the cliff-edge further east in the village the remains of a smaller, heavily eroded church building are visible, surrounded by a churchyard. This is possibly the church mentioned by bishop Johannes Theutonicus in a diploma from 1428, which was under construction at that time and dedicated to St. Brendan (the Irish saint of seafarers). The adjacent bay is called the bay of Brandansvík. According to bishop Theutonicus the building activity at the diocesan centre at this period also included a chapel, remains of which have apparently been found as an addition at the north side of the parish church. Besides the three churches here are also found the remains of a quite extensive bishop's residence. All the buildings are built in stone laid in lime mortar, in contrast to the traditional timber buildings of the islands (Arge 2008).

In order to understand these building activities and the foreign influence that developed on a society of only c. 5000 inhabitants we need a better understanding of the period around 1400. Regarding the general political situation, no doubt the unstable situation in Scandinavia at this period had decisive consequences for the Norwegian tributary countries, of which the Faroe Islands were a part. A relatively weak royal representation in the North Atlantic brought new actors onto the scene, including foreign traders.

Other indicators of foreign influence and commercial activities can be found within medieval Faroese society. During the later Middle Ages measuring units and calculation systems of value changed. Earlier, the value of land property was based on an old system, where cloth was related to silver. This changed now to guilder, *Gulden/Gylde* – a monetary value not of Norwegian but of Rhenish origin. During the 14<sup>th</sup> century some cities of the Wendish Quarter (see above) agreed on the general use of the so called Lübeck Gulden, which became the most important currency in the Hanse area under discussion. It was seemingly also adopted in the Faroe Islands. Furthermore a new unit of linear measurement was introduced, the Hamburg ell instead of the traditional Norwegian ell, again a clear sign of the strong influence of the Hanseatic League. This new ell was later called the Faroe ell or *stikka*, and was officially in use until 1684 when it was replaced by the Danish ell, though in practice it remained in use much longer (Thorsteinsson 2002; Mehler 2009, Fig 1; North 2006). The alteration from a Norwegian to a Hanseatic value system might indicate that the



*Fig. 1. Map of Faroese places mentioned in the text (map by Department of Prehistory and Historical Archaeology, University of Vienna).*



Faroe trade with Norway in this period was less important than the commercial ties with the North Sea region. Also the introduction of the guilder indicates that the main export products changed from agricultural products to those traded in guilders, apparently fish (Thorsteinsson 1993; Mortensen 2006). Further, this trade political situation also explains the presence of a St. Brendan cult in the Faroe Islands in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. A new church was consecrated to this saint, and a figure of St. Brendan was centrally positioned amongst the depiction on the fine church furniture from Kirkjubøur, the so-called 'Kirkjubøur chairs', which date from this period. It was in the High Medieval Period that St Brendan, who was born in Ireland in 483, got a renaissance in the Northern German area (Krogh 1991).

However, the Hanseatic past of the Faroe Islands is hard to grasp because only few facts are handed down in written sources. What we know is that in 1509 merchants of Bergen complained about merchants from Hamburg pushing them aside from trading with the Faroe Islands, Shetland and Orkney (Nolsøe & Jespersen 2004). Twenty years later the Hamburg merchant Thomas Koppen was awarded a trade monopoly. A letter issued in Schleswig in 1529 states that Frederick I of Denmark-Norway (1471-1533) has "*forleentt Thomis Koppenn vdi Hamborg met Ffeerøe*" (feoffed Thomas Koppen from Hamburg with the Faroe Islands) (DN: 12/452). Two years later, in 1531, he shared this monopoly with the Hamburg merchant Joachim Wullenwever, brother of the Lübeck mayor Jürgen Wullenwever (Helle 1995, 832).<sup>1</sup> What had happened to Wullenwever afterwards we do not know but it seems that Thomas Koppen continued the monopoly alone from 1533 until 1553 (West 1972, 34). It is unclear what had happened between 1416 - the first reference - and the first Hamburg monopoly in 1529; the Faroe Islands have almost no written sources to help us and historians have yet not looked into the matter. But we can assume that trade continued over these years. Reincke (1925, 31) writes that after 1470 the council of Hamburg brought direct trade with Iceland, the Faroe Islands and Shetland into being; this probably refers to a more regular trade than before. In 1486 we hear of Danzig merchants sailing to the Faroe Islands (Friedland 1973, 71).

During Thomas Koppen's monopoly the broader Faroese trade monopoly started, lasting from 1535 until 1709. In the course of its existence this monopoly was in the hands of various nations; it was granted to several individuals or companies, usually for a fixed annual payment to the Danish king. The rules by which the monopoly was conducted are recorded from 1597: according to this, the monopolist had to keep the islands well supplied and was only allowed to buy and sell at the customary prices (West 1972, 34). After Thomas Koppen, another Hamburg merchant held the monopoly; Joachim Thim is mentioned as monopolist from 1573 to 1579 (Debes 2005, 163). However, he continued to sail to the Faroe Island in 1584 and 1585 (HF: Islandfahrer 612-2/5, nr. 37-39) and even in the subsequent years two to three ships from Hamburg sailed annually to the Faroe Islands until 1593 (HF: Islandfahrer 612-2/5).

Afterwards, from 1597 to 1619, trade was conducted from Bergen, and in 1620 the so-called Icelandic Company, a company of Danish merchants based in Copenhagen and founded to run the trade with Iceland and the Faroe Islands, took over the trade until 1662 (West 1972, 14-15).

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<sup>1</sup> West (1972, 34) and Debes (H.J. 1995, 172) do not mention the partnership with Joachim Wullenwever. Nolsøe & Jespersen (2004, 233) refer to Wullenwever as sharing the monopoly with Koppen but give no reference to that. Only Helle (1995, 832) gives references and he, as well as the quoted document, makes clear that Thomas Koppen was first rewarded with the monopoly.

## THE WIDER CONTEXT: ICELAND AND SHETLAND

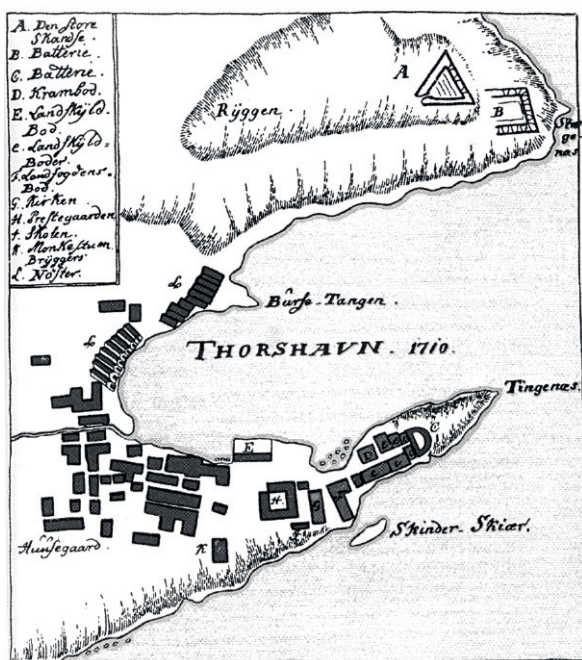
A look at the adjacent islands of Iceland and Shetland can help to understand the operation of Hanseatic trade in the Faroe Islands. Iceland and Shetland experienced considerable exchange with the Germans for about two centuries and both show a dense pattern of German trading sites. More than 30 larger and smaller harbours in Iceland were regularly frequented by German vessels, and in Shetland the number is only slightly lower. In Iceland, some of them developed into small settlements, others were taken over by the Danes during the period of the Danish trade monopoly, and some of them were deserted after the Hanse stopped sailing to Iceland (Gardiner & Mehler 2007, Figs. 4-6 and 8-9; Mehler 2009, Fig. 9).

Many German trading stations in Iceland and Shetland consisted of one or two buildings only, solely used for the storage of goods. The crew slept on board their vessels. The buildings were simple, usually erected in local building traditions. After leaving their home ports the merchants arrived in late April or May, remained on the islands for a couple of weeks or months and left in late August at the latest. The next summer the traders returned to their station and repaired what was left of their simple buildings. Locals then came to the site to exchange their stockfish for goods such as meal, beer or tools. Both in Iceland and Shetland the traders were not allowed to stay over the winter and we can assume that this was also the case with the Faroe Islands (Gardiner & Mehler 2007, 403).

German trade with Shetland lasted at least until the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, and with Iceland probably to the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Mehler 2009, 97). Trade was conducted by the so-called *Islandfahrer* (Iceland-farers) brotherhood, of which the *Shetlandfahrer* and *Färöfahrer* were a part (e.g. Koch 1995, 5). This indicates that the Faroe trade was strongly connected to the trade with Iceland and Shetland. Of great importance is the so-called *Lizenzhandel* (licence trade) that applied to Iceland and in parts also to the Faroe Islands. The Danish king sold licences for Icelandic harbours to German merchants, with the result that permissions were continually issued to trade at specified Icelandic harbours or landing places. This system led to rivalries between merchants from different cities, for example when a merchant from Bremen claimed to have the licence for a port also claimed by a merchant from Hamburg (Baasch 1889, 43 ff.; Gardiner & Mehler 2007, 403). In 1553 King Christian III of Denmark and Norway (1503-1559) introduced the *Lizenzhandel* for the Faroe Islands and the monopoly of Thomas Koppen from Hamburg ended. Seemingly, this caused many Hanseatic traders to move on to Shetland and do their business there (Friedland 1960).

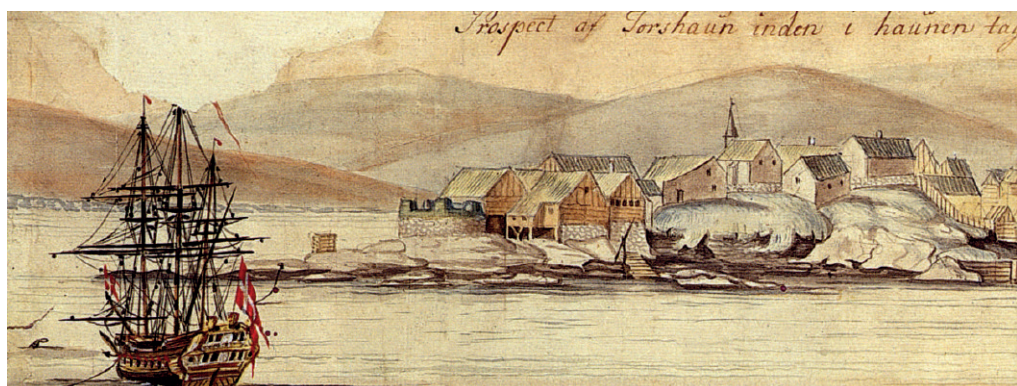
## TÓRSHAVN

At some point, not yet closely dated, at least one, possibly two apparent German trading sites emerged on the Faroe Islands. Their main station was situated in the present capital of Tórshavn, at Tinganes, the headland protruding into Tórshavn harbour (Figs. 2 and 3). The Danish vicar Lucas Debes was the first to report this, in his description of the Faroe Islands published in 1673. According to oral tradition, so he says, Hamburg merchants were the first to have their warehouse here, and after them came traders from Bergen (Debes, L, 1673, 277). In 1580 the warehouse was raided by pirates and immediately after that the first fortification in the Faroe Islands was built in Tórshavn. It was erected by Magnus Heinason, a Faroese merchant, who had the trade monopoly from 1579 onwards (West 1972, 30). Later, after the known attack in 1629 by Turkish raiders on the village of Hvalbøur, Suðuroy, a new



◀ Fig. 2. Tórshavn, as drawn by Rasmus Juel in 1710. The warehouse (D) and Thing site was located at the headland of Tinganes (from Debes 1995, 10).

▼ Fig. 3. Tinganes, the headland at Tórshavn, as drawn by N. C. Hals in 1709. Lítli Skansi, the fort, is located at the tip, and a Danish vessel is moored with iron rings (from Nolsøe & Jespersen 2004, 274).



fortification, *Stóri Skansi* (the Big Fort), was built at Stangarnes in Tórshavn to defend the warehouses on Tinganes. In the following years another fortification was erected across the headland of Tinganes as a protection from the landside, as well as a third one, *Lítli Skansi* (the Little Fort) on the tip of the headland itself (Fig. 3) (West 1972, 31; Thorsteinsson 1986; Michelsen 2006, 28-31). In 1709 (and therefore after the end of the Hanseatic period) the station consisted of five warehouses, a brewery, two dwelling-houses, four boat-houses and a lock-up. The buildings were all made of timber (West 1972, 36).

We do not know exactly where the Hanseatic warehouse was located at Tinganes. However, archaeological investigations over the years have produced evidence of the contacts locals had with the outside world. Rhenish stoneware fragments such as Siegburg, Raeren and Westerwald sherds found at Tinganes can clearly be attributed to Hanseatic activities at the site (Arge & Michelsen 2004; Michelsen 2006) (Fig. 4). Unfortunately, no traces of a Hanseatic building have been identified at Tinganes so far, since the area is heavily disturbed and has been redeveloped many times.





Fig. 4. Fragments of a Siegburg Schnelle found during excavations at Tinganes, Tórshavn (Helgi D. Michelsen phot.).

## KRAMBATANGI

Another trading site, possibly frequented by Hanseatic merchants, developed quite far away from Tórshavn, on the southernmost island of the Faroes, at Suðuroy. Local tradition has it that it was the Hansa and/or the Dutch who had a *krambod* – a retail shop – here on this site, hence the placename *Krambatangi*, meaning the headland with the shop or booth (Fig. 1). It is, however, uncertain when this happened. In 1913 an elaborate wooden figure of Christ, once part of a crucifix, apparently of 17th century Dutch style, was found by chance during the collection of stones for ballast at the beach close to the site (Brev-Kopibog for Suderø Syssel, Nr. 150-818, 1913). This was taken as an indication of the foreign activity in the area seemingly verifying the legends and oral traditions.

The site is located on the south side of Trongisvágssfjørður, the deepest and best protected fjord on the island of Suðuroy – a fine little natural harbour, very suitable for larger vessels. Its surroundings are not only referred to in oral tradition, but often occur in written records from the late 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards. Both the authors and vicars Thomas Tarnovius (1644-1684) and Lucas Debes (1623-1675) write in the 17th century that the bays by the fjord of Trongisvágur are excellent places for boats to be laid up for the winter (Tarnovius 1669; Debes 1673; Hamre 1950).

How long the site had been frequented by German and/or Dutch merchants, and when it was founded, escapes our knowledge. Some are of the opinion that in 1656 trade stopped at Krambatangi when the Icelandic Company (see above) established a new trading station nearby, either in the neighbouring site of Trongisvágur (Nolsøe & Jespersen 2004, 235, 249) or in the village of Hvalbøur (Andersen 1895, 4-55, note 2). However, there is no known primary evidence for this, though it is obvious that quite an activity took place at this period to secure the island of Suðuroy for the supply of goods. Krambatangi was repeatedly attacked by pirates which might have been another reason to abandon the site (Andersen 1895, 55, note 2).

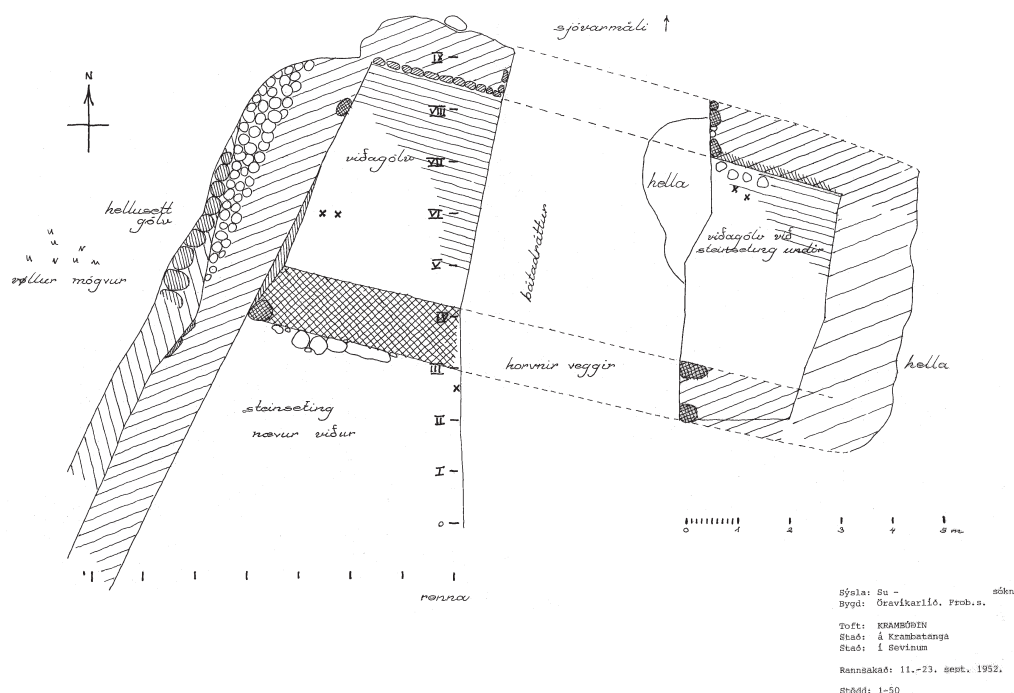


*Fig. 5. The site at Krambatangi during excavation in 1952. Photograph by Sverri Dahl, Føroya Fornminnisavnn.*

Today the site is clearly visible as a ruin or structure consisting of a grass-grown mound. The ruin had been damaged previously, for instance in 1932, when a shipowner and merchant in Tvøroyri on the opposite side of the fjord had a storehouse built. On that occasion fragments of redware pottery were found. Again, in 1944, when another owner of the site – a local boatbuilder – made a passageway for a new-built boat some 40 yellow bricks were found. Finally, in 1952, the boatbuilder had to widen the passageway which was cut right through the ruin. Now the National Museum in Tórshavn was informed and Sverri Dahl (1910-1987), then State Antiquarian, got the opportunity to act in the case by undertaking a minor excavation in September of that year, revealing a ruined building and a few artefacts. The excavation was never published and the material never analysed or put into a context.

The building that came to light is c. 10m long and 4m wide and had 1-1.5m broad walls built of stone and gravel, preserved to a height of c. 0.5m (Figs. 5 and 6). Through the centre of the building runs the truncation of the 1944 boat passageway. The floor of the building consisted of wooden planks over a stone base. Clearly there were other structures attached to the building, but they were neither excavated nor interpreted. From the archive material it is obvious that another excavation season was planned, but this never happened, explaining why the ruin was left open and not backfilled as can be seen today. A trading place consisting of one or two buildings only might seem unusual but many German stations in Iceland and Shetland were of the same size. The buildings operated only in the summer during trading season and were mostly used as warehouses while the crew stayed on the ship (Gardiner & Mehler 2007; Gardiner & Mehler 2010).

The excavation generated only a small amount of artefacts (Fig. 7). Amongst them are four bars of schist for the preparation of whetstones, two fragments of gunflint, two lead



▲ Fig. 6. Plan drawing of the house discovered during the excavation at Krambatangi in 1952 (drawing Rúni H. Øster after Sverri Dahl's measurements; copyright Føroya Fornminnissavn).



◀ Fig. 7. Selection of artefacts found during the excavation at Krambatangi in 1952: Werra ware fragment, touchstone and schist bar; length of schist bar ca. 20 cm (Natasha Mehler phot.).

bullets, one of them having being fired, and eight large brick fragments. Three ceramic fragments were found, two of them stemming from redware pots with brownish glaze, and one fragment of a fine and small slipware bowl of Werra Ware, showing the date 16. The production of Werra Ware in Germany came to an end during the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) and it is thus justified to date the fragment to the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The most interesting find is probably the complete touchstone used for assaying precious metal alloys, mostly gold and silver. It has a finely grained surface on which soft metals leave a visible trace, as can be seen with the scratch marks on three of its sides.

All of those finds are evidence of trade taking place at the site. None of the artefacts is made of an indigenous raw material and all are imported. The schist bars most likely originate in Norway. During the late medieval and early modern period this kind of raw material



was part of the multilateral Hanse trade, the bars being bought by Hanseatic merchants and then distributed further (Mehler 2009, 100 ff.). The pottery fragments are difficult to interpret. The origin of the redware fragments is not known exactly, but it is most likely that they were produced in either Denmark, Northern Germany or The Netherlands. Werra ware was exported from the Werra area in present Lower Saxony, Germany, to the Netherlands in great quantities and the bowl could thus have been transported to the Faroe Islands by either the Germans or the Dutch (Mehler 2009, 95 and fig. 3). The brick fragments could be of Dutch or German origin. The occurrence of a touchstone at the site is truly remarkable. It is a merchant's tool, often carried in a bag or purse at the belt, sometimes fastened in a sheath (Broockmann 1994, 107). Its origin and date are unknown but it must have belonged to a merchant who used it for assaying the metal value of coins he got in exchange for his goods.

With the exception of the Werra ware and redware fragments all other artefacts are hard to date. However, they point to a main occupation period of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century, the 16<sup>th</sup> century being the main period of the Hanseatic activities on the Faroe islands, and the lead bullets could be witnesses of the many pirate raids that the trading site seemingly was exposed to during its existence. We need to bear in mind, however, that the excavation from 1952 uncovered only the occupation layers from the latest use of the warehouse. Thus, the construction date of the building and the first phase of use still needs to be verified and investigated by another excavation.

Further remains deriving from the trading activity on the site are still visible in the surroundings. On the site as well as on a small holm just off the coast and on a small skerry iron rings of various sizes used for mooring boats and ships still exist today. Similar iron rings are preserved on Tinganes in Tórshavn (see Fig. 3).

## TRADING SITES AND THING SITES

The two trading sites of Tórshavn and Krambatangi are in several ways closely connected to Thing sites. The Tinganes peninsula at Tórshavn was not only the main centre for trade but also the meeting place of the *Lawting* of the Faroe Islands. As part of the Kingdom of Denmark-Norway the Faroe Islands applied the *Norske Lov*, the Norwegian Code (Debes 1673, 262). The Faroese Lawting, coming together for a couple of days each summer, was held

either outdoors at the tip of the peninsula, or indoors in one of the buildings located there (e.g. Thorsteinsson 1986, 4). At the same time traders offered their goods in the warehouse at Tinganes, and thus trade and jurisdiction took place only a few metres apart.

The operation of the exchange of goods benefitted from this spatial arrangement. Besides their duties at the Thing, the Lawmen also had to control the goods offered for sale at the nearby warehouse. Both quality and correct weight of food such as meal and grain was checked, and the provisioning of the people needed to be ensured. Many complaints brought before the Lawting were concerned with such regulations. In 1615, for example, Lawman Zacharias Thormodssen claimed that a ship from Bergen brought grain and meal of bad quality, or, in another case from 1619, the barrels of grain and meal brought from Bergen were not filled correctly (Joensen 1953-56, 20 and 113).

The Thing was also responsible for the accurate application of measurements and the providing of the necessary measuring units. A source from 1617 reports that during a

meeting of the Bailiff and the Lawmen scales, ells and measuring units used in the warehouse were controlled and deemed in order. The document goes on with: *And the Lawman promised that he would have made an ell made of iron which shall hang in the council room together with a scale and other measuring vessels and that a measuring ton should be made in Bergen and should be fitted with iron bands* (own translation) (Joensen 1953-56, 39)<sup>2</sup>. Amongst the measuring units controlled, as stated in this document, was also a *Rostocker Thynde* (a Rostock ton) used as *Maaletyhyndenn* (measuring ton). This is obviously a reference to the so-called *Rostocker Band*, a measuring unit in use in the Hanseatic world from the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century onwards (Witthöft 2006, 745). Interestingly, this decree accords closely with a custom applied to in Lübeck, where “*there were hanging four iron barrel rings at the guildhall; with those all [wares] have been measured*” (own translation)<sup>3</sup> (Witthöft 2006, 745).

The Krambatangi trading site at Suðuroy is located near the Thing site of *Uppi millum Stovur* in the outfield of the village of Øravík, the only Thing site on that island. It is one of the six Spring Assembly sites of the Faroe Islands (Debes L J 1757/1995, 49) (see Fig. 1), and the trading station is situated at the best natural harbour closest to that assembly site. Hence, people coming by boat could also exchange their fish for goods from the warehouse while on their way to the assembly. However, in this case, there seems to be no other connection between the trading site and the assembly site than the close spatial arrangement. The written evidence indicates that cases related to trade were only brought forward to the Lawting at Tórshavn and not to the spring assemblies on the individual islands.

## DISCUSSION

The chronological dimension of the Hanseatic past of the Faroe Islands starts slowly to emerge, as well as various aspects of the character and operation of German-Faroese trade. However, written documents still need to be systematically analyzed and old excavations revisited in the light of this emerging Hanseatic element. In addition, Faroe Islands late medieval and early post-medieval finds assemblages need to be re-evaluated to identify the elements with underlying Hanseatic value and meaning.

The Faroe Islands exchanged goods with Hanseatic traders from 1416, at the latest, to 1593 at least. In 1617 Hanseatic measuring units were officially still applied. Trade was conducted largely with Hamburg, but also Bremen and Danzig, while Lübeck merchants concentrated their business on Bergen. During those years the islands seemingly were home to only one, possibly two Hanseatic trading sites, which in regard to Iceland and Shetland is comparatively few. It seems as if Hanseatic trade was directed mostly towards Iceland and Shetland, and relatively few vessels went to the Faroe Islands. Political reasons are most likely responsible for this. In 1469 Shetland, previously a part of Norway, was pawned to Scotland and Hanseatic traders could by-pass the licence trade that applied to the islands of Iceland and Faroe which still were part of the kingdom of Denmark-Norway. Iceland was

<sup>2</sup> Original text: „Och laugmanden loffuede att hand schulde lade giöre en Iernn Alln som schulde henges Ind paa Raadstoffuenn Sameledz Enn byssmere och andenn Maale Kiörellder Och att lade giöre en maal-ethynde I bergen, beslagen meth Iernn bond.“

<sup>3</sup> Original text: “also hangeden dar 4 iseren bande an dem rathuse; war worden se alle na gemeten”.

far away from Denmark and it seems that the Faroe Islands were easier to obligate due to their smaller population and shorter distance to Copenhagen. In the later part of the 16<sup>th</sup> century German trade with Iceland was at its height. At the same time, the trade monopoly of the Faroe Islands was mostly in the hands of Danes and Norwegians, which could give the misleading impression that Hanseatic trade played only a minor role during that period. However, written evidence makes clear that vessels from Hamburg continued to sail to the Faroe Islands even in times when the monopoly was controlled by merchants from the crown countries. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century the influence of the Hanse was still palpable in the Faroe Islands, with measuring units introduced during the Hanse period still in use afterwards.

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# CONTRIBUTORS

**Liv Appel** gained her MA in prehistoric archaeology from the University of Copenhagen in 1992. She is head of the archaeological apartment at Gilleleje Museum in Northern Zealand, where, as a representative of the county cultural council, she has participated in the planning of a new national park in North Zealand. In the period 1992-2001 she worked as curator in Vest-Agder County in the southern part of Norway. Lately she has been in charge of the large excavations in Elsinore in the area near the royal castle Kronborg, which is on the UNESCO World Heritage List. She has also conducted and published articles on surveys of Renaissance fishing sites along the coast of Øresund and the Renaissance glass production in the forests of Northern Zealand

**Símun V. Arge**, born in Tórshavn, the Faroe Islands in 1948. Educated as a medieval archaeologist at the University of Aarhus, DK, 1986; is deputy director of the National Museum of the Faroe Islands and head of the archaeological department. Has been involved in the archaeology of the islands since 1970, both as a student and as a curator and later as head of the department at the museum, dealing with all periods of the islands' history from Viking to Post Medieval periods. Has been involved in Nordic as well as international projects dealing with settlement archaeology and cultural landscapes.

**Paul Belford** BSc MA FSA MIfA is a field archaeologist who has worked on sites of all types and periods around the world – in recent years specializing in historical and industrial archaeology (including the archaeology of buildings) in the UK. Paul is currently Principal at Nexus Heritage and a Teaching Fellow at the University of York; from 2000-2010 he was Head of Archaeology and Monuments in the Ironbridge Gorge World Heritage Site. His research interests include early industrialization, iron and steel making, landscape archaeology, archaeological method and practice, and early colonialism. Paul has an extensive record of international publications and conference presentations; he was also Assistant Editor of the journal *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, and is currently on the editorial board of the *Historic Environment* journal. Paul has served for many years on the Councils of the Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology and the Institute for Archaeologists, and is currently Chairman of the Historical Metallurgy Society.

**Trine Louise Borake** has a degree from the University of Copenhagen in combined history and archaeology and an MA in medieval archaeology from the University of Glasgow. Trine currently works as a curator at Sydvestsjællands Museum and has ten years' experience as a field archaeologist, project manager and researcher. With a background as a tailor specializing in historical costumes, Trine has a particular interest in textiles. She is however preoccupied with historical archaeology generally, with a focus on material culture and its relation to the contemporary society. She has published several articles and edited a book on the topic. Trine is Chairman of the Association of Archaeologists in Denmark.

**René S. Christensen** MA is a PhD student in history at Odense City Museums and the University of Southern Denmark. He has published books and articles on industrial and

landscape history. René participated in a survey on the history of Danish ports during their industrialization c. 1840-1970. He is currently working on a research project on Odense Steel Shipyard, and is a co-editor of *Fabrik & Bolig* (Factory and Dwelling – The industrial heritage of the Nordic countries).

**David Cranstone** MA (Cantab), FSA, MifA is one of the UK's best-known archaeologists of industrialisation. Following a mis-spent youth as a prehistorian, his work as an independent consultant has included coverage of many industries for the English Heritage Monuments Protection Programme, and varied projects on the iron and steel industries, saltmaking, and industrial landscapes, linking these to broader theoretical debates on Post-Medieval and Industrial archaeology, power and identity, and evolutionary approaches to technological development. He is a former Secretary of the Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology, current Secretary of the Historical Metallurgy Society, and holds honorary fellowships at the Universities of Exeter and Newcastle upon Tyne.

**Mark Dunkley** BA MA MifA is a Maritime Designation Advisor at English Heritage. He is a maritime archaeologist with expertise in marine designation and project management, and has worked at English Heritage since 2004. Before this he worked for Wessex Archaeology for seven years, latterly with responsibility for research and technical reporting in support of offshore and nearshore development. Prior to this he worked for the Museum of London, and Newham Museum Service. He has made numerous contributions to UK historic environment policy in regard to the marine and maritime environments.

**Dr. David Gaimster** PhD FSA AMA MifA is currently the Director of the Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery in Glasgow, the oldest public museum in Scotland, founded in 1783. David was previously General Secretary and Chief Executive of the Society of Antiquaries of London. From 1986 to 2001, he was Assistant Keeper in the Department for Medieval and Later Antiquities at the British Museum in London, and from 2002 to 2004 he served as Senior Policy Advisor in the Department for Culture, Media & Sport (DCMS) in London. He has published widely on medieval to early modern European archaeology and material culture, and on international cultural property policy issues.

**Christopher Grønfeldt Petersen** (1978-2011) MA was at the time of his untimely death working as a curator at Sydvestjyske Museer, where he participated in the major cemetery excavations south of the Ribe Cathedral. Despite his young age, Christopher managed to gain an impressive record of field experience, including managing the extensive excavation at Klosterkirken (the Franciscan Monastery Church) in Horsens – some of the results from these excavations are discussed in his paper. He was a student at Aarhus University where he developed a special interest in medieval pottery, and on the basis of a longer study in Spain he completed his Masters' degree with a dissertation on Iberian ceramic material in Scandinavia. Christopher was an active member of the Medieval Pottery Research Group (MPRG), and thanks to him the Danish Medieval Archaeological Pottery Research Group was revived in 2011.

**Dr. Henrik Harnow**, PhD is a historian and head of the department of Cultural Heritage at Odense City Museums. In 1988 he visited the Ironbridge Institute and Birmingham

University as a Carlsberg scholar. His PhD was on the history of the engineer in 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century Denmark. He has also published articles and books on historical and industrial archaeology. In 2006-08 he headed a research project on the history of Danish ports during industrialisation c. 1840-1970. In 2011 he published the first overview of Danish industrialisation focusing on the physical impact on landscapes and cities, *Danmarks industrielle miljøer*. He is presently heading a research project on the history of Odense Steel Shipyard – the last of the large European shipyards. Henrik is also the editor of *Fabrik & Bolig* (Factory and Dwelling – The industrial heritage of the Nordic countries).

**Lise Harvig** MA is currently a PhD student at the Laboratory of Biological Anthropology, in the Department of Forensic Medicine at the University of Copenhagen. She has a particular interest in burial ethics, but is otherwise engaged in prehistoric cremation research, which her PhD examines. She has written and co-edited on issues within archaeology and ethics since 2005. She has comprehensive field experience within all archaeological periods from the Palaeolithic till the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Her particular research interests lie within burial archaeology and osteology.

**Dr. David Higgins** BA MA PhD FSA MifA is one of the world's leading experts on post-medieval clay tobacco pipes. He is currently a Research Fellow at the University of Liverpool. After graduating from the University of Leicester, David spent many years working on industrial sites in the Ironbridge Gorge, before moving to Liverpool to complete his postgraduate studies. David's enthusiasm for clay pipe studies has taken him around the world on a variety of projects, and he is highly regarded and highly sought after for his expert advice and experience in this specialist area. He has published extensively on the manufacture, distribution and consumption of clay tobacco pipes and their related artefacts; he has also presented papers at conferences around the world.

**Dave Hooley** BA MifA is an Inspector of Ancient Monuments with English Heritage. Following work with the University of Leicester and York Archaeological Trust, he joined English Heritage in 1990 as an Archaeologist, reviewing the coverage of monument protection in Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly. In 2002, Dave became a founder member of English Heritage's Characterisation Team, developing and promoting comprehensive map-based approaches to understanding the historic character of the present landscape. Much of Dave's work has involved developing and implementing 'Historic Seascape Characterisation' (HSC), extending historic characterisation principles to coastal and marine contexts. His management of projects building a national HSC database covering all of England's coasts and seas will continue in his new role in English Heritage's Heritage Protection Department.

**Dr. Ebbe Hædersdal** has an MA in medieval archaeology, and was educated as an architect at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts, Architectural School in Copenhagen; he is also a Licentiate of Engineering and a Doctor of Philosophy of Engineering, Lund University in Sweden where he taught courses in buildings archaeology and surveying for 11 years. He is Senior Lecturer at the Vocational College of Southern Denmark, Department for Heritage Building Restoration until 2012, and is currently preparing research projects. He is the chairman of the Nordic Forum for Buildings Archaeology - an organisation



of all professionals and researchers with an interest in buildings archaeology in the Nordic Countries. He is co-founder, co-editor and copublisher of the Danish journal *Bygningsarkaeologiske Studier* (Studies in buildings archaeology), established with some colleagues in 1984. He is also the owner and editor of the website: [www.buildings-archaeology.net](http://www.buildings-archaeology.net).

**Lene Høst-Madsen** MA is currently Curator in Archaeology at the Museum of Copenhagen. During the last ten years Lene has conducted large scale excavations in Copenhagen. Lately she has been in charge of the Metro excavations which is considered the largest excavation ever to have taken place in Denmark. Her research interest lies within post-medieval and later historical archaeology, with special interest in the material culture. She has published numerous international articles regarding this theme, and is an editorial advisor for the Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology. Lene is also the Head of the Danish Cultural Heritages Agency's Archaeological Advisory Board.

**Dr. Michael Lewis** PhD FSA MIfA is Deputy Head of the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS), based at the British Museum. He has a particular interest in medieval and post-medieval small finds, but has also written widely on the Bayeux Tapestry; his PhD examined the archaeological authority of the Tapestry (2004) and he also co-edited (with Gale Owen-Crocker and Dan Terkla) *The Bayeux Tapestry: new approaches* (2011). He edits the PAS and Treasure annual reports and (following the death of Geoff Egan) the PAS contribution to *Post Medieval Archaeology*. Michael is also an Advisor to the All Party Parliamentary Archaeology Group (APPAG).

**Dr. Jette Linnaa** BA PhD is currently Senior Researcher at Moesgaard Museum. Jette was previously Associate Professor at Roskilde University 2006-2009 and External Associate Professor at University of Southern Denmark 2004-2005. She has fifteen years experience as an external pottery and artefact specialist on a number of projects all over Denmark. Jette's research interests include the role of consumption in cultural meetings in urban and rural settings and among groups of immigrants. Jette has published extensively on Danish medieval and post-medieval material culture.

**Niels Lynnerup** is an M.D. from the University of Copenhagen. He has worked as a forensic pathologist for two years before becoming involved full-time in forensic and physical anthropology. His PhD thesis was based on an analysis of skeletal remains of the Norse Vikings in Greenland. He is currently Professor and Head of the Laboratory of Biological Anthropology at the Department of Forensic Medicine at the University of Copenhagen. Niels' research mostly focuses on the analysis of human skeletal remains both in archaeological and forensic contexts. He works extensively with CT-scanning and advanced three-dimensional visualisation. Current projects also include stable isotope analyses and involvement in ancient DNA extraction from Danish and Greenlandic skeletal material. He has also worked on paleodemographic issues, including mathematical modelling. He is author and co-author of numerous journal articles and book chapters.

**Dr. Frank Meddens** BA PhD FSA MIfA is currently Director & Post-Excavation Manager at Pre-Construct Archaeology. He has been responsible for the management of the post-

excavation aspects of Pre-Construct Archaeology's operations since 1997. Frank is also responsible for PCA's Health & Safety and Environment practice and policy. Frank is also a Research Fellow at the Geography Department of Royal Holloway and the Institute of Andean Studies in Berkeley. He has published extensively on British archaeology, including papers on Bronze Age and Roman remains, Medieval and Post-medieval ceramics as well as Andean prehistory.

**Natascha Mehler**, born in Bavaria in 1970, is a medieval and post-medieval archaeologist and currently lecturer at the department of prehistory and medieval archaeology at the University of Vienna. She got her MA degree in 2001 in Bamberg and her PhD in Kiel in 2008. She was previously employed at the Icelandic Institute of Archaeology (Fornleifastofnun Íslands) (2000-2002) and the German Archaeological Institute (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut) (2002-2006). Since 1997 she has been working mainly in Icelandic archaeology and expanded her research area subsequently to Faroe and Shetland.

**Per Grau Møller**, has an MA in history and medieval archaeology (Odense and Aarhus Universities, 1984), and a PhD in history (Odense University, 1988); his thesis was on the development of rural settlements on Funen 1780-1970, statistically and structurally. In 1984 he was engaged at the Cartographical Documentation Centre at Odense University (from 1998 at the University of Southern Denmark), and in 1995 he became Associate Professor in cultural historical cartography. He has been dealing with the history of the cultural landscape from the historical period – in British terms, historical landscape archaeology. He has published several papers on ridge and furrow field systems, and enclosure and its impact on landscape. The Cartographical Documentation Centre has been dealing with regional and state planning authorities on the registration of cultural historical elements and structures in the modern landscape, and the development of methods in the field of 'cultural environments'. He has published several papers on these issues, also internationally.

**Anders Myrtue** MA was employed as cultural historian, landscape interpreter and regional planner at the Funen County Administration from 1987 to 1995. He was then appointed the Head of the Department of Buildings History at Odense City Museums, and then in 1997 became Head of Department of History at Odense City Museums. From 1998 to 2000 he was a participant in the multidisciplinary research project, 'Changing Landscapes' at the University of Southern Denmark. In 2012 Anders became Senior Curator at the Department of Cultural Heritage, Odense City Museums. His main research focus has been on the relationship between humans and nature, from the earliest times to the present. This was accentuated while working with landscape and settlement history since 1987. From 1995 onwards, buildings history has played an increasingly important role, leading to an ever more holistic approach to the surroundings. Anders has published a wide range of papers on general landscape history, history of dykes and fences, farm buildings, agricultural techniques, castles and manors, regional and local history, and the managing of open air museums. He is a member of the Danish Association of Agricultural History and The Association of European Open Air Museums

**Dr. Morten Pedersen** PhD is a historian and is the curator of the Museum of Northern Jutland in Aalborg. He has specialized in the subjects of industrial history and industrial

archaeology, and has published articles and books on historical and industrial archaeology, among others, *De danske cementfabrikkers bebyggelsesmiljø* (2008)/The Industrial landscapes of the Danish Cement Industry and *Velfærdsstatens industrilandskab* (2010)/The Industrial Landscape of the Welfare State. He is presently engaged in a research project on the Danish contribution to the founding of Asia's cement industry 1897-1939. Morten is a member of the Danish national council on listed buildings and a member of the Council on History, for the Danish Agency for Culture. He is also an editor of *Fabrik & Bolig* (Factory and Dwelling – The industrial heritage of the Nordic countries).

**Frank Allan Rasmussen** MA graduated in History at Copenhagen University. He was holder of a state scholarship (1991-95) at Roskilde University. From 1995 he was a member of the staff at the National Archives in Copenhagen, and from 1998 Frank was employed as senior curator at the Royal Naval Museum. In 2002 he was appointed director of the Medical History Museum at Copenhagen University. At present he holds a position as director of the Museum of Industry in Frederiksværk. Frank Allan Rasmussen has written books and articles on maritime history, technology, industrial architecture and the early industrialisation in Denmark. He is chairman of the board of The Danish Society for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage and he is currently representing Denmark in The International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage.

**Rikke Simonsen** MA, MIKI – Master of Prehistoric Archaeology and Master of Information Technology, Cultural History and Informatics. Rikke is currently working as an archaeologist at the Museum of Copenhagen. She has substantial experience of field work on sites in many places and time periods, but above all from post medieval times in Copenhagen, for example as excavation leader at the metro excavation of the North gate metro station. Her special interests are bastioned fortifications, and the challenge of combining written and archaeological sources.

**Dr. Mette Svart Kristiansen** BA PhD is currently Associate Professor in Medieval and Renaissance Archaeology at Aarhus University. Before this she has conducted large scale excavations prior to the construction of the Metro in Copenhagen and the coast to coast route across Øresund between Denmark and Sweden (1993-1998). Mette's research interests include rural archaeology and the interaction of the house, human life and society. She has published extensively on Danish medieval archaeology and is member of several national and international committees and networks.



**Christopher Grønfeldt Petersen (1978-2011)**

Christopher was a bright young and promising archaeologist. He passed away at the age of only 33 when attending a triathlon competition in Aarhus in 2011. His work with Iberian ceramics and post medieval burials will be remembered.



**Geoff Egan (1951-2010)**

Artefact specialist, scholar, European, internationalist, world traveller, President of SPMA, good friend - Geoff was all of these things and more. In particular, we thank him for his contributions to the Conference and his wise help (sadly terminated half-way) in steering it to publication. This one's for you Geoff!

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**Nota Bene.** The bibliography is grouped into three main sections – primary sources, official publications and secondary sources. Sources in the first section are listed by institution. The second section is divided into international, Danish and UK publications. The third section – inevitably the largest – has attempted to apply a uniform Anglophone style to a wide variety of Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, Faroese, German, Dutch, Belgian, French, UK and US publications. It incorporates both published and unpublished sources (the latter including commercial reports and University theses). Most references include volume numbers, page numbers, place of publication and publisher, but it has not always been possible to obtain this information, and, inevitably, some localised citation preferences may not have survived translation. Non-Scandinavian readers should particularly note that the bibliography follows the Scandinavian alphabets. Thus the letters æ, ø, å, ä, ö come (in that order) after z. Consequently Jørgensen will appear before Jäggi, who in turn will come before Jönsson. The form ‘aa’ survives in personal names, and is treated alphabetically as å – so papers by Aagesen and Åkerhagen are listed at the end of the alphabet. In German and French the use of accents does not create separate letters. Consequently the German author Möller falls between Mogren and Mollesen, whereas the Danish author Møller appears after Myrtue. The compiler (PB, who is English and can only read French, some Swedish and a little German) offers his apologies to contributors and readers alike for any confusion, errors or omissions which have resulted, and for which he is entirely responsible. Despite the inconsistencies noted above, the resulting compilation forms an extremely useful reading list which encompasses most of the extant literature on historical archaeology in north-western Europe – reflecting the exciting and diverse collection of papers in the volume.

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