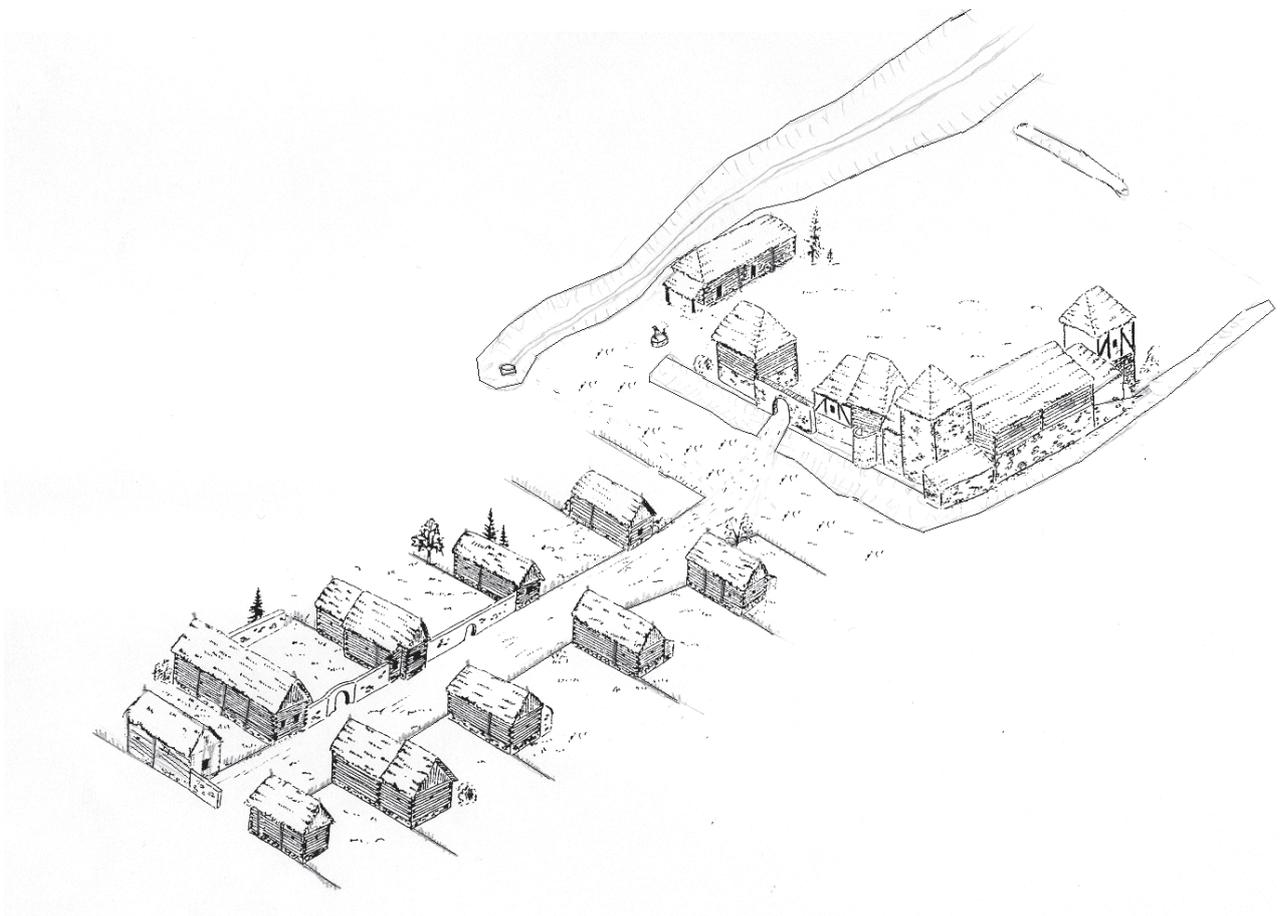


# RURALIA IX

**Hierarchien in ländlichen Siedlungen**

**Hierarchies in rural settlements**

**Des hiérarchies dans l'habitat rural**



**Götzis**

**26 September - 2 October 2011**

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Organized by the national representatives of Austria (Sabine Felgenhauer, Claudia Theune, both Vienna), Germany (Heiko Steuer, Freiburg i. Br.) and Switzerland (Michael Schmaedecke, Liestal), with additional support of the Universities of Vienna and Freiburg and Archäologie Baselland.

**Venue:** Bildungshaus St. Arbogast, Montfortstraße 88, A-6840 Götzis, Tel. 0043 5523 625010, mail: [arbogast@kath-kirche-vorarlberg.at](mailto:arbogast@kath-kirche-vorarlberg.at)

Cover illustration: reconstruction of the medieval village and manor at Hard, Lower Austria (© Sabine Felgenhauer).

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## Programme of the conference

### Monday, 26<sup>th</sup> September

19.00           Arrival of participants and registration during the afternoon  
Dinner

### Tuesday, 27<sup>th</sup> September

9.00-9.30       *Haio Zimmermann & Claudia Theune*  
Welcome and introduction  
*chair: Claudia Theune*

9.30-10.00      *Paolo de Vingo*  
The hierarchy of power in early medieval villages in central Southern Piedmont

10.00-10.30     *Jorge A. Eiora Rodríguez*  
Hierarchies in the rural settlements of South Eastern al-Andalus  
*break, opening of poster session*

*chair: Haio Zimmermann*  
11.00-11.30     *Juan Antonio Quirós Castillo*  
Hierarchies in early medieval settlements in the North of Spain

11.30-12.00     *Édith Peytremann*  
Identifier les résidences des élites au sein des habitats ruraux du VI<sup>e</sup> au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle  
dans la moitié nord de la France  
*lunch*

*chair: Mark Gardiner*  
14.00-14.30     *Bert Groenewoudt*  
Private and shared water facilities in rural settlements and small towns. Archaeological and historical evidence from the Netherlands regarding the medieval and post-medieval period

14.30-15.00     *Jan van Doesburg*  
The plough and the sword: the role of castles in medieval rural society in the Netherlands

15.00-15.30     *Michel Lascaris*  
Gräben als strukturierende Elemente innerhalb hochmittelalterlicher Dörfer im Süden der Niederlande (1050-1250)  
*break*

*chair: Hans Wilhelm Heine*  
16.00-16.30     *Rainer Schreg*  
Allmende, Genossenschaft und Gemeinde - archäologische Aspekte zu einer aktuellen Diskussion (The archaeology of Medieval Land Property)

16.30-17.00     *Claus Kropp & Thomas Meier*  
Historical models in archaeological contexts: identifying Carolingian manors in rural settlements

17.00-17.30     *Stefan Krabath & Sonja König*  
Herrschaft im ländlichen Raum Mitteldeutschlands. Mittelalterliche Siedlungsstrukturen geprägt durch Repräsentation, Fortifikation oder wirtschaftliche Aspekte

17.30-18.00     *Heiko Steuer*  
Siedlungen im südlichen Schwarzwald: Burg und Bergbau  
*break*

19.00           Evening lecture  
*Matthias Moosbrugger*  
Controlling the periphery in medieval Vorarlberg. The development of structures of power from an ideology of settlement

20.00           Dinner

Wednesday, 28<sup>th</sup> September

- 9.30-18.00 Excursion to the valley of Montafon, Vorarlberg; supervisors *Andreas Rudigier* (Vorarlberger Landesmuseum) and *Harald Rhomberg* (Stadtarchiv Dornbirn)
- 19.00 Dinner at Götzis and meeting of the RURALIA committee

Thursday, 29<sup>th</sup> September

- 8.30-9.00 *chair: Michael Schmaedecke*  
*Heinrich Stiewe*  
Hallenhäuser als Herrenhäuser
- 9.00-9.30 *Benno Furrer*  
Auch in der Wiege der Demokratie waren nicht alle gleich. Hierarchien in Dorfschaften der Schweizer Alpen
- 9.30-10.00 *Sabine Felgenhauer*  
Die Präsenz von Herrschaft im Dorf anhand von Beispielen aus Ostösterreich
- 10.00-10.30 *Herbert Knittler*  
molendinum & villa. Überlegungen zu Mühlenstandorten im nördlichen Niederösterreich vom 13. bis 17. Jahrhundert
- 10.30-11.00 *Jan Klápště & Tomáš Klir*  
Socio-economic structure of rural settlements in medieval Bohemia - revisited  
*break*
- 11.30-12.00 *chair: Eva Svensson*  
*Miklós Takács*  
Settlement and hierarchy in the Early Medieval Carpathian Basin - Traces of many different models connected with even more unsolved problems
- 12.00-12.30 *Csilla Zatykó*  
Appearance of social hierarchy in village structures
- 12.30-13.00 *Zoltán Soos*  
Manor house, church and society. The case study of three settlements in 14<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> century Transylvania  
*lunch*
- 14.30-21.00 Excursion to Vaduz (Liechtenstein), visit of the "Liechtensteinisches Landesmuseum" with lecture "Archäologie im Alpenrheintal" (*Martin Schindler*) and to Werdenberg (Switzerland), visit of the town and castle (*Peter Albertin, Peter Semadin, Ursula Wyssen*); reception at Werdenberg castle; supervisor *Michael Schmaedecke*
- 21.00 Dinner at Götzis

Friday, 30<sup>th</sup> September

- 9.00-9.30 *chair: Jan Klápště*  
*Sergey Chernov & Ekaterina Ershova*  
International colonisation in Russia during the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries: three villages of the pre-manorial period
- 9.30-10.00 *Nikolaj Makarov*  
Archaeological identification of social elite at the rural sites of the Suzdal region, North-Eastern Rus
- 10.00-10.30 *Sergey Zakharov*  
Rural settlements of Northern Rus' periphery: hierarchy and artefact collections  
*break*

- chair: Niall Brady*  
 11.00-11.30 *Linda Shine & Terry Barry*  
 Granny castle and its dependent manors: a case study of late medieval manorial organization  
 11.30-12.00 *James Bond*  
 The hierarchy of medieval settlements in West Somerset  
 12.00-12.30 *John Hines & Alice Forward*  
 Cosmeston, Vale of Glamorgan, Wales: multiple narratives of rural settlement and power  
 12.30-13.00 *Jill Campbell*  
 Exterior design principles in late-medieval manor houses, located in, or near, English rural settlements

*lunch*

- chair: Ingvild Øye*  
 14.30-15.00 *Mette Svart Kristiansen*  
 The medieval farm in Denmark – a study in size and morphology  
 15.00-15.30 *Torun Zachrisson*  
 Property and honour - settlement change in Middle Sweden 200-1000  
 15.30-16.00 *Anders Håkonsson*  
 Hierarchies in rural medieval settlements in Southern Sweden  
 16.00-16.30 *Frode Iversen*  
 Postholes in social contexts – the case of Vestfold, eastern Norway

*break*

- chair: Natascha Mehler*  
 17.00-17.30 *Frans-Arne Stylegar*  
 Medieval settlements in SW and W Norway – aspects of social variation  
 17.30-18.00 *Vibeke Vandrup Martens*  
 The magnate farm of Åker  
 18.00-18.30 *Mogens Skanning Høegsberg*  
 Social hierarchies in Norse Greenland  
 18.30 Summary (*Jes Martens*) and closing words (*Haio Zimmermann*)

*break*

- 19.30 Conference dinner by invitation of the governor of Vorarlberg *Herbert Sausgruber* and of the market town of Götzis (mayor *Werner Huber*)

#### Saturday, 1<sup>st</sup> October

- 8.00-18.00 Optional excursion to the Lake Constance, Reichenau, St. Gallen; supervisor *Heiko Steuer*  
 19.00 Dinner at Götzis

#### Sunday, 2<sup>nd</sup> October

- 9.00-20.00 Optional excursion to the Swiss open-air museum of Ballenberg; supervisor *Michael Schmaedecke*  
 20.00 Dinner at Götzis

#### Monday, 3<sup>rd</sup> October

End of conference and departure of participants



## Abstracts of the papers

### Granny castle and its dependent manors: a case-study of late medieval manorial organisation

*Linda Shine & Terry Barry, Trinity College Dublin*

The manor of Granny in south county Kilkenny provides an interesting case-study of hierarchy in rural settlement. Although the manor of Granny is located within the barony of Overk, it appears to have been the head manor of an independent group of manors. Granny's position as the head manor of this area is evidenced by the presence in the manor of a large castle complex, which includes a tower house, a hall and substantial water front defences on the north bank of the River Suir. This castle appears to have been a residence of the Butler Earls of Ormond and a stone carving of their coat of arms is located on a window, in the remains of the hall. A carving of the figure of justice, holding a scales and a sword, also in this hall suggests that this was the seat of local justice, further cementing its pre-eminent position among its neighbouring manors.

The early 20<sup>th</sup> century antiquarian Canon Carrigan was the first to suggest that Granny was the head manor of an area that included at least four other manors and more recently Edwards has suggested that it was the administrative centre for much of the barony of Overk. This paper will examine the archaeology of Granny and the surrounding manors, to assess the degree to which the hierarchy noted in the documentary sources is reflected in the surviving archaeological remains and the landscape in which they are contained. It will also attempt to investigate how these manors would have been organised and interacted with each other.

### The hierarchy of medieval settlements in West Somerset

*James Bond, Clevedon*

The concept of settlement hierarchy will be explored within the context of a study area comprising two of the medieval hundreds of west Somerset (Carhampton and Williton/Freemanors). This area spans a wide range of natural topography, including the upland moors of Exmoor and the Brendon Hills and more fertile coastal lowlands such as the Vale of Porlock and the Washford and Doniford valleys. It displays a corresponding variety of settlement forms and land use patterns. The medieval rural settlement hierarchy within this area will be discussed with reference to five main criteria:

- 1) Settlement size (quasi-town, nucleated village, hamlet, single farmstead);
- 2) Tenurial status (feudal estate centre, manor, sub-manor, unmanorialised holdings);
- 3) Wealth and social character of settlements (as revealed by taxable capacity and evidence of surviving domestic buildings);
- 4) Ecclesiastical status (early minster centre, proprietorial & parish churches, sub-parochial chapelries; and
- 5) Economic function, including evidence for settlement specialisation (agricultural centres, pastoral centres, fishing communities, industrial settlements, ports, embryonic market/trading centres).

Both archaeological and documentary evidence will be employed in the investigation. Evidence for the rise and fall of rural settlements within the hierarchy will be explored (new settlements, settlement decline and desertion) in relation to the economic resources offered by the varied local topography and the initiatives taken by landholders.

## Exterior design principles in late-medieval manor houses, located in, or near, English rural settlements

*Jill Campbell, Queen's University Belfast*

The paper will look at a range of manorial sites from across England dating to the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Manor houses and settlements have been much discussed over the years in terms of their relationship with each other. However, little attention has been paid to the siting of these buildings in terms of a design perspective. This paper will build on the results in the recent article by McDonagh (2007) which explored the geographical relationship between manors, churches and rural settlements, and demonstrate that late medieval manor houses were designed to impress those approaching the building. It will also investigate whether this also included those who lived in neighbouring settlements. It will look at the relationship between manorial sites and the settlements from a design perspective. All buildings have a setting, but were settlements considered a part of this setting or thought of as separate, and, deliberately not included? Buildings were a medium through which the elite had a means of indicating status, the size of their estate and their financial resources as well as expressing the latest architectural fashions. Those who could afford to invest in buildings did so, and used deliberate architectural devices to create a façade to demonstrate their wealth and status to those around them, including those in neighbouring settlements.

### *Bibliography*

McDonagh, B., 2007, 'Powerhouses' of the Wolds Landscape: Manor Houses and Churches in Late Medieval and Early Modern England, In: Gardiner, M. and Rippon, S., *Medieval Landscape: Landscape History after Hoskins Vol 2*. Macclesfield: Windgather Press, pp. 185-201.

## Internal colonization in Russia during the 13<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> centuries: three villages of the pre-manorial period

*Sergey Chernov & Ekaterina Ershova, Institute of Archaeology Moscow*

Owing to the Radonej project, three settlement patterns and models of elite presence in the countryside of the Principality of Moscow have been described. In 1150-1250 the settlements (each with their own small barrow cemetery) were situated near the rivers. Elite, as a rule, lived near the fortresses (0,5-1,5 hectare), and collected the tribute for princes in the small fortresses (0,4 hectare). The internal colonization started at 1250 - 1350. The groups of the small settlements (a village consists of 1-3 farms) (*derevnia*) appeared amidst the watersheds. They concentrated around the large settlements (1-3 hectare) (*selo*) with churches and grave yards. Elite lived in these large settlements, collected the tribute for princes and administered justice (*kormlenie*). In 1350-1500 internal colonization embraced the watersheds completely. A lot of manors appeared in the virgin lands. The manors included the above-named settlement pattern, but with manor house in the large settlement.

This report is intended to make the results of the archaeological and palaeo-landscape studies of the three abandoned villages of pre-manorial period (1250-1350) available for the scholars: *Gorbovo-3* – apiculture farms in lowland, *Leshcovo-4* - tillage farms in highlands, *Protasovo-2* - apiculture farms at the boundary of these landscapes. The excavations demonstrate that all this farms belong to the same type: dwelling houses with stove, barn and stable. The material culture is not rich: the things used in everyday life, agricultural implements, pectoral crosses and one Russian coin, dated 1389-1425. No weapons were found at the sites. In *Gorbovo-3* German knives (blade and handle made from one piece of iron) were found. In *Leshcovo-4* lead seals were found. The seals of that type can certify extracts from the trial decisions, or the landowner documents. The large settlements of the pre-manorial period have not been excavated. At the same time, we know the type of orthodox church grave yards situated near these large settlements, in the groves, with the boulders on the graves, named *Calvary* (14<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries) (Radonej, Beli, Teschilov, Mikulskoe na Prujenke). The third element of the settlement pattern of the pre-manorial period is marked by small cloisters-almshouses. They appeared at some distance (2-3 km), upstream of these settlement group.

## **The plough and the sword: the role of castles in medieval rural society in the Netherlands**

*Jan van Doesburg, Cultural Heritage Agency, the Netherlands*

In the Middle Ages the Dutch countryside was dotted with castles. A limited number of these castles had a pure military function but most of them were embedded within the rural society. Many of the castles functioned as manors, representing part of the widespread system of rural lordship. Most were also centres of the management of a wide range of agricultural resources and labour. The rural castle has been described by Chapelot and Fossier (1985, 147) as a “mother economical cell”: a central place in the medieval landscape where agricultural surpluses were gathered and work distributed. Also matters related to the economic administration of the manor and regulations of labour services by the tenants were settled here. In this context it is not surprising to find a close relation between the castle and other features within the rural landscape, such as villages, hamlets, farms, roads and field systems.

This paper will address the topic of the place of castles within local settlement patterns in the Netherlands. Special attention will be paid on the role castles played in the medieval rural society and the roots of these castles.

### *Bibliography*

Chapelot, J. & R. Fossier, 1985: *The Village and House in the Middle Ages*, Berkeley.

## **Hierarchies in the rural settlements of South Eastern al-Andalus**

*Jorge A. Eiroa Rodríguez, University of Murcia*

Taking as an example some rural medieval sites of the regions of Almería and Murcia, the hierarchies within the network of villages in the 10<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries will be analysed. Special attention will be paid to the social organization of the space within the rural settlements, focusing on communitarian buildings (form, dimensions and structure). The importance of the size of the settlements, especially in relation to the dependent peasant workspaces, will be analysed, in connection with the concept of carrying capacity.

## **The presence of power in the villages of Eastern Austria**

*Sabine Felgenhauer, University of Vienna*

Lower Austria, the region at the Danube in the east of Austria, was after the wars against the Hungarians cultivated in an intensive way, especially from the 11<sup>th</sup> to the 13<sup>th</sup> centuries. The earliest settled area, with traditions of Carolingian settlements, is the part along and south of the Danube until the Wienerwald. Here one can find hamlets and dispersed settlements, while in the south-eastern parts and in the northern regions, called *Waldviertel* and *Weinviertel*, regular settlements are dominating (*Straßendörfer*, *Angerdörfer*). Especially in the case of these exactly regulated villages a heavy manorial influence is assumed, but not visible today. Therefore, the question of a direct presence of power is to a great extent unsolved. Courts or manors that are closely connected to the villages have disappeared and are mostly to be found only through written sources or place names.

The archaeological evidence of manorial structures is quite diverse and can be explained with social and structural differences in the High and Later Middle Ages. Hierarchies also existed within the villages. The development and the effect of the so called *Dorfgemeinde* upon others can be questioned, especially when seen in the light of the dualism of manorial presence and structural organisation within the villages.

## **Auch in der Wiege der Demokratie waren nicht alle gleich. Hierarchien in Dorfschaften der Schweizer Alpen**

*Benno Furrer, Archiv für Bauernhausforschung Zug*

In einem Querschnitt durch die Alpen (Appenzell - Zentralschweiz - Berner Oberland - Wallis) möchte ich „Aspekte der baulichen Hierarchie in ländlichen Siedlungen“ darstellen. Dabei geht es einerseits um einen kurzen Hinweis darauf, dass die einzelnen Betriebe vertikal in Stufen gegliedert sein können (Talstufe- Maiensäss - Alp). Die Bauten in der Hauslandschaft bilden auf diese Weise eine betrieblich-wirtschaftliche Hierarchie. Andererseits konzentriere ich mich auf einen Vergleich der jeweiligen „Hauptstufe“ mit dem Wohnhaus als prägendem Hauptbau. Im Vergleich verschiedener Schweizer Regionen mit grundsätzlich ähnlichen natürlichen, klimatischen und wirtschaftlichen Voraussetzungen ergeben sich ganz prägnant unterschiedliche Präsentationen der Wohnbauten in Bezug auf Volumen, innerer Gliederung und Ausstattung sowie in der Fassadengestaltung. Für solche Unterschiede in der Erscheinung müssen soziale und/oder rechtliche Erklärungen in Betracht gezogen werden.

## **Private and shared water facilities in rural settlements and small towns. Archaeological and historical evidence from the Netherlands regarding the medieval and post-medieval period**

*Bert Groenewoudt, Cultural heritage Agency, The Netherlands*

Water is a basic necessity for life. Therefore it is hardly surprising that in many cultures water plays a dominant role in the way man communicates with the supernatural. All around the world, rivers, springs, wells etc have or had important ritual and social meanings. Although within the medieval context ritual and profane meanings and motives can hardly be unravelled the emphasis of this paper will be on the way in which day-to-day, practical uses of water express themselves spatially on a) isolated farms, b) in rural villages, and c) in small towns. How are wells situated in relation to (farm) houses and work places and what is the logic behind observed spatial relations? How to explain diversity and changes? Subsequently the focus will be on shared water facilities such as communal wells, watering places and fire ponds. Where exactly are these situated within settlements? When and why do they appear? By whom were they used? Their social importance and the way these facilities structured (post) medieval communities will be addressed as well. Archaeological and historical data will be used.

## **Cosmeston, Vale of Glamorgan, Wales: multiple narratives of rural settlement and power**

*John Hines & Alice Forward, Department of Archaeology, Cardiff University*

When the Ruralia conference was held in Cardiff in September 2007 and the delegates visited the partially reconstructed heritage centre of Cosmeston Medieval Village, our Cosmeston Archaeological Project was newly launched, and work on the site had only begun the task of assessing the records, finds and results of the excavations conducted in the 1970s and 1980s. The Project has moved steadily ahead as planned, with trial excavations of both limited and more extensive scale in 2008 and 2009 respectively, and larger, open-area excavations planned for 2010 and 2011. Full-time research on the site and its contemporary context in coastal South Glamorgan is being undertaken by Alice Forward as an AHRC-funded collaborative doctoral award student in partnership with the Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust, the original excavators of Cosmeston.

A critical evaluation of the archaeological approaches to Cosmeston over the past 35 years reveals substantial and informative changes of objectives and perception. Initially, the site was regarded almost exclusively as a classic example of the “deserted medieval village”, and even explicitly thought of as the

“next Wharram Percy”: a counterpart that could, however, be reconstructed as a heritage model and experimental centre. Concurrently, the emphasis was primarily upon the evidence for *la vie quotidienne*, and excavation concentrated upon what were identified as the peasant buildings and tofts. The reconstruction now presents these as a village that flourished, after Norman settlement, in the High Middle Ages, before suffering a dramatic shrinkage and effective end in the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century.

A series of key features of the contemporary approach to the site, a set of research and excavation agenda conditioned by changing views and the benefits of hindsight, will be introduced, explained and illustrated:

- 1) The origins of the settlement. Why is it precisely where it is in the landscape? How far may explanations be found in the pre-Norman landscape of this district (including the major sites at Dinas Powys and Llandough), and to what extent might such evidence then adjust our interpretation of the character of Cosmeston in the High Middle Ages?
- 2) The importance of the medieval manorial centre. We now postulate that this is crucial to understanding and characterizing the function and development of the settlement. Its changing nature and history are being explored through excavation of the remarkably well-preserved remains, showing a sequence that continues to the 18<sup>th</sup> century but even, tantalizingly, includes re-deposited Roman pottery in the detritus. Functional diversity can be seen within the large central manorial site, and this may provide a framework for re-interpreting the settlement as whole. Historical evidence for the changing power of feudal seigneurs, great barons and rural gentry from the High Middle Ages to the Early Modern Period proves vital in understanding the site fully.
- 3) The chronological complexity of the circum-manorial settlement: phasing of the previously excavated agrarian settlement (whether we characterize that as a “village” or not) shows its development to be considerably less simple than previously believed.

Topographical questions, such as the importance of the lanes and roads, and the influence on the character and function of Cosmeston of its proximity both to the coast, on the Bristol Channel, and the urban centre of Cardiff, apparently earmarked as a Norman bastion as early as the reign of William the Conqueror, are also key research agenda for the project, but the primary focus of our presentation on this occasion will be “hierarchy in a rural settlement”.

The nature of the Cosmeston Archaeological Project as a community and public archaeology initiative remains a key aspect of the practical approach to the site which we shall of course be willing to discuss with colleagues at the conference. Our conference presentation would concentrate, however, on explaining, illustrating, and inviting comments upon, the academic agenda and issues listed above.

## Hierarchies in rural medieval settlements in Southern Sweden

*Anders Håkansson, University of Lund*

What groups of people lived in the countryside during the period 1000-1350 A.D? Did it only contain aristocracy and farmers or was it more complex? Through archaeological excavations we know that the size and morphology of medieval farms and buildings varies. Equally, the artefacts vary on these sites, from simple ceramics to gilded objects. The premises in my PhD studies is that variation in material culture, architecture and settlement structure can be used for studying social hierarchies. In this paper I will discuss methods, material and show some results of my work in progress. Hopefully the archaeological material will unfold a more detailed story of medieval villagers in south west Sweden.

## Social hierarchies in Norse Greenland

*Mogens Skaaning Høegsberg, University of Aarhus*

Establishing criteria for discerning the social hierarchy between farms in Norse Greenland is an important part of Norse Greenlandic archaeology. Unlike Iceland where much information about the relationships between farms and between farmers can be gleaned from written sources, all such information about Norse Greenland must be derived from archaeology. An understanding of the social standing of individual farms in relation to others is the key to understanding how Greenland was settled, how the settlement pattern developed over time, how the settlements were ruled and how the ruling class secured and consolidated their power.

Over the years a limited number of status indicators, first and foremost church buildings, have been used to identify high status localities, but today we can supplement this with a number of other possible indicators of status – the setting of the farm in relation to its economic potential and routes of communication, certain other building types on the farms (e.g. warehouses in connection with foreign trade), the composition of animal stock on the farm and the artefactual assemblage.

The paper proposes to present the *Stand der Forschung* as regards the social hierarchies of the dispersed settlements of Norse Greenland – a concise overview of what we know today – as well as outline methodological pitfalls and possible new avenues of investigation.

## Postholes in social contexts – the case of Vestfold, eastern Norway

*Frode Iversen, University of Oslo*

This paper concerns land use and peasant society with regard to power and development of hierarchies in rural settlements, based on spatial landscape studies with a focus on recent archaeological results from eastern Norway. A central question related to rural settlement structure and social organization in the early Middle Ages concerns the origin and development of medieval estates, as political and economic power seems to have been based on control over land, including people, land, and estates.

Traditionally, Scandinavian and Norwegian research on early settlements and farmscapes have been based on fossilized house-foundations and field systems, usually from deserted settlements preserved in “marginal” environments. In recent decades this has changed, largely due to the methodology of mechanical topsoil stripping. As a consequence of extensive development of land and infrastructure surrounding the expanding towns of southern Scandinavia, there has been a significant increase in rescue excavations.

The largest archaeological excavations in Norway have been carried out in the central rural areas of eastern Norway. Almost 150 sites with 400 houses and buildings have been excavated during the last 20 years. The bulk of the material is dated to the period 400-600 AD, and c. 20 sites to 600-1000 AD. The material has so far only to a limited extent been discussed and incorporated in a “social landscape” perspective, with emphasis on the development of rural hierarchies. This paper will give an overview and discuss this material, in particular excavations close to historically known centres of power in the county of Vestfold, including the royal farm/villa Sem, which is still the largest farm of Norway (Jarlsberg). Here, recent large scale archaeological excavations have provided material that shed new light on the development of hierarchies in rural settlements in Norway.

## Socio-economic structure of rural settlements in medieval Bohemia - revisited

*Jan Klápště & Tomáš Klír, Charles University Prague*

The aim of the paper is to analyse the archaeological evidence of the socioeconomic structure of rural settlements in Bohemia during the 11<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> centuries especially. The results of the current archaeological excavations and geodetical-topographical survey will be accentuated. The specific archaeological

testimony, finds and features as well will be compared with the written sources and ethnographical records on the background of the general historical concepts.

### ***Molendinum & villa. Considerations about locations of mills in northern Lower Austria, 13<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> centuries***

*Herbert Knittler, University of Vienna*

Starting point of this paper will be the following two considerations:

- 1) Both quarters in northern Lower Austria vary with regard to the number of watermills located there. A mill inventory that was created for tax purposes in 1661 counts 674 units for the *Waldviertel* (W) and 277 for the *Weinviertel* (E). While the West possesses more advantageous morphological conditions for the generation of energy, the East is leading with regard to the climatic conditions that are favourable for the cultivation of grain (and winegrowing). Different ruling structures and rural habitat from the High Middle Ages onwards will need to be considered as further parameters for the development of varying milling regions.
- 2) Written records concerning the corporate and authority-defined customary law have been increasing since the 15<sup>th</sup> century, revealing a dualism between village and mill, in particular regarding the maintenance of brooks and artificial watercourses. Late Mediaeval records illustrate that the rights of ownership of mills have increasingly (but not continuously) been endowed, sold or awarded independently of those from the neighbouring village. In this case specific sovereign rights over watercourses and milling sites could be responsible. Approaches for a monopoly of milling (*Mühlenzwang*) can only be identified during the course of the 16<sup>th</sup> century in context with the entry of demesnes into commercial processes.

In summary one has to assume that a variety of requirements were determining the implementation of a regional milling law, the defining elements of which will have to be considered and discussed in more detail.

### **Seignory in rural areas of central Germany. Medieval settlement structures characterized by representation, fortification or economic aspects**

*Stefan Krabath (Landesamt für Archäologie mit Landesmuseum für Vorgeschichte Dresden)  
& Sonja König (Ostfriesische Landschaft)*

Seignory in rural areas doesn't have direct impact on building structures. Currently there are too few completely excavated settlements to get an overall impression of the varieties of settlements and the basis of their manorial requirements and organization as well as the conversion of these hierarchic assignments. On the basis of isolated cases from all over the middle German and neighbouring regions considerably more variation of rural settlements can be gathered than was shown before. The following variances are to be checked according to the attributes:

1. Structure of the excavated settlement
2. Differences of the settlement to "standard" settlements
3. Variation of the settlements structure according to economic aspects
4. Variation of the settlements structure according to representative aspects
5. Variation of the settlements structure according to fortificatory aspects
6. Fortificatory installations nearby settlements
7. The fortificatory character of the site of the settlement
8. Disadvantageous location of settlements due to nearness/ proximity to manorial infrastructure
9. Density of settlements of different specifications (to each other)
10. Location of settlements of different specifications (to each other)
11. Location of the settlement differing from the standard in spatial relation to manorial infrastructure

12. Principles of sovereignty, trade and economic systems in time in relation to the settlement types. There are two focal points in the examined area. These are the Lausitz in Saxony and the area around Harz region in Lower Saxony and Saxony-Anhalt. The settlements in the Lausitz are especially applicable for these reflections, because due to the open-cast mining of lignite large interrelated areas could be examined. The existing settlements were excavated on large scale. In this area not only the characteristics of single settlements but also the relations of settlements and settlement clusters can be examined. The advantage of surveying the region around the Harz is on one hand the nearness of medieval manorial infrastructure. Especially in the Harz region the systematic founding of farmsteads between the 9<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> century without any direct spatial relation to manorial infrastructure but in direct dependency of soccage is evident. The great number and especially the concentration of singular construction types namely the so called pit-houses for textile manufacture is laid-out for non-local persons. Changes in economic- and sovereignty-systems in the 12<sup>th</sup> century lead to changes in the economic basis and with it to the modification of the farmsteads. Therefore here it needs to be differentiated between manorial domicile, palatinate, settlements which are part of the general contribution and villication-system and "ordinary" rural settlements. Next to the two before characterized regions, significant settlement excavations in other Middle German areas will be included and considered.

### **The medieval farm in Denmark – a study in size and morphology**

*Mette Svart Kristiansen, University of Aarhus*

Archaeological excavations, written records and historical maps of settlements show a variety in shapes and sizes of the Danish farm in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period. This paper proposes to present an overview of different layouts and furthermore discusses the methodological difficulties in offering explanations for similarities and differences such as economy, social status, time and regionality.

### **Historical models in archaeological contexts: identifying Carolingian manors in rural settlements**

*Claus Kropp & Thomas Meier, University of Heidelberg*

The medieval manorial system ("Grundherrschaft") is a modern concept developed during more than a century of still ongoing discussions. It is solely based on the interpretation of written sources and widely used as an open concept in historical studies to classify legal matters, personal bondage and property rights between landlords and peasants. Without much exaggeration the manorial system can be regarded as the all encompassing system of the medieval rural society. However it is neither an archaeological concept, nor has it had much influence on archaeological research so far. In our paper we consider how medieval archaeology could benefit from the historical concept of manorialism, how archaeology could contribute to develop and to modify the existing concept by transforming it into a new, interdisciplinary one.

## **Gräben als strukturierende Elemente innerhalb hochmittelalterlicher Dörfer im Süden der Niederlande (1050–1250)**

*Michel Lascaris, Cultural Heritage Agency, the Netherlands*

Die Topographie einer agrarischen Siedlung lässt sich umschreiben als eine Infrastruktur aus linearen Elementen wie Straßen und Gräben mit dazwischen bzw. daneben liegenden Bauernhöfen. Über einen längeren Zeitraum gesehen kontrastiert die feste Lokation der Infrastruktur zumeist mit den sich ändernden Stellen von Haus, Brunnen und Nebengebäude innerhalb der individuellen Höfe. In diesem Paper zeige ich, dass dieses Bild einer relativ statischen Infrastruktur gegenüber einer deutlich größeren Dynamik innerhalb der Bauernhöfe nicht ganz auf die Situation in den hochmittelalterlichen Dörfern im Süden der Niederlande zutrifft. Mehrere solcher Siedlungen sind in den letzten 25 Jahren fast vollständig ausgegraben worden, so dass inzwischen eine solide Datenmenge vorhanden ist. Es stellt sich die Frage, ob die Änderungen der Infrastruktur innerhalb der hochmittelalterlichen Siedlungen Folge oder Ursache von Änderungen auf den Höfen sind. Welche Komponenten einer Siedlung dieser Zeit waren wirklich festgelegt, welche nicht, und welche Erklärungen hierfür gibt es?

## **Archaeological identification of social elite at the rural sites of the Suzdal region, North-Eastern Rus'**

*Nikolaj Makarov, Institute of Archaeology, Moscow*

The Suzdal Opolie region is known as the core area of North-Eastern Rus', Rostov-Suzdal principality, which emerged in the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century as a new powerful centre, claiming for dominant position in Rus'. Aristocracy and noblemen at princes service were important actors on the political scene of Rostov-Suzdal principality and the driving forces of its political and military expansions. The accepted concept of the social history of Rostov-Suzdal land in the 12<sup>th</sup> and the early 13<sup>th</sup> century is a concept of the struggle between the prince and the high-status aristocracy for the political domination, the struggle, in which the prince power promoted the formation of a strata of low-status noblemen, which got land possession for their military service and thus constituted its main social basis. Written sources produce reliable evidence that Rostov-Suzdal Rus' was the society with strong social stratification, where the position of different groups of elite was definitely determined. However, we have no documents which can clarify the details of this stratification, the real social status of different groups mentioned in the documents, their legal position, their functions on the military service and civil administrations, and, finally, location of their estates and households.

Intensive field investigations conducted in Suzdal Opolie region in 2001-2009, yielded extensive archaeological material, which can shed light on various aspects of medieval landscape, economy and culture, as well as on the social organization and the character of the social elite. Field investigations included surveys and mapping of medieval rural sites of the Viking Age and Medieval period – all in all 224 sites at an area of 280 km<sup>2</sup> – and excavations at 7 dwelling sites. Dense settlement network can be regarded as the archaeological evidence of the special status of this territory, Suzdal hinterland, its rapid development in the Viking and Post-Viking time.

As the great majority of the sites of Suzdal Opolie region had no fortifications now visible on the surface and the structures of the dwelling sites can not be revealed without large-scale excavation the only realistic approach to identification of the rural settlement connected with the social elite at a moment is the analysis of the find collections from the sites. Besides collections from the excavations with about 3700 artefacts we have at our dispose collections from the surface surveys, which comprise over 3900 medieval finds. Collections from 7 rural sites comprise from 50 to 100 artefacts, collections from 7 sites – from 100 to 400 artefacts. Potential of this data is decreased by the fact that many sites suffered from illegal metaldetectorism and many finds, which could be regarded as indications of wealth and high rank, were extracted from the cultural deposits before we started our surveys. Still it has great value as the source material.

Special categories of find material which could be connected with social elite, indicating its lifestyle and high level of consumption include lead seals and personal stamps, metal fastens from the books,

metal styles for writing on the wax and birch-bark, objects produced of precious metals, fragments of amphora pottery, weapons, details of armour and horse riding equipment, objects of Christian worship with complicated religious symbolism (reliquary crosses, amulets with Christian composition and the Medusa figurine on the reverse side). Attribution of a number of the categories as the indicators of the elite can be argued, as they could belong to the persons of different status and could be deposited in the cultural layers under different circumstances. However, it is obvious, that these artefacts are the markers of a certain level of prosperity and special activities, which were not common for the greater part of the rural population, and thus their distribution should be the subject of detailed analysis. Artefacts, which can be interpreted as the indicators of the persons of high rank or professional warriors, were identified in the collections from 30 dwelling sites dating to the 11<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> centuries.

### **The magnate farm of Åker**

*Vibeke Vandrup Martens, Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage Research (NIKU)*

In southern Norway, the site of Åker (Hamar, Hedmark county) has a very special status. Through archaeological investigations, a settlement continuity dating back to at least the third century AD and until the present has been documented. Åker is one of few rural sites in southern Norway that may be classified as farm mounds, meaning that the settlement history is also indicated through preserved archaeological deposits or cultural layers. Spectacular finds, particularly from the Merovingian period, underline the special status of the farm in a social hierarchy. Its indication of social stratification makes it stand out in the archaeological settlement investigations. Åker farm is positioned at the lake Mjøsa, providing nautical transport possibilities south and north, and at two land crossroads, the old King's road from Oslo in the south, to the north through Gudbrandsdalen, and the road to Østerdalen (east-west). This paper intends to focus on the social position of the farm within the village during the Roman period, the Merovingian period, and during the Middle Ages, and its relation to the developing medieval town of Hamar. Another important part will be the study of methods for recognising magnate farms with preserved archaeological deposits.

### **Identifying elite houses within rural settlements from the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 11<sup>th</sup> centuries in Northern France**

*Édith Peytremann, INRAP Strasbourg*

Depuis une dizaine d'années, sous l'impulsion des historiens médiévistes, les élites sont un objet de recherche en vue. À leur tour, les archéologues médiévistes se sont emparés de la thématique en s'intéressant notamment à "l'habitat des élites" sans pour autant reprendre l'étude des mottes<sup>1</sup> et des maisons fortes, objet de recherche à la mode à la fin des années 1970 et durant les années 1980. Si dans la littérature archéologique, un certain nombre d'habitat des élites sont ainsi publiés, les critères d'identification demeurent à ce jour encore peu étudiés<sup>2</sup> et leur chronologie particulièrement floue. Aussi cette communication souhaite faire le point sur les critères d'identification des résidences élitaires retenus jusqu'à présent en s'appuyant sur les dernières recherches et en mettant l'accent sur le développement chronologique. Dans une première partie, les critères d'identifications des résidences élitaires des VIe-VIIe siècles sont étudiés, tout comme la place de la résidence au sein de l'habitat. La deuxième partie est consacrée aux résidences élitaires des VIIIe-IXe siècles tandis que la troisième partie fait état des éléments distinctifs des résidences élitaires des IXe-XIe siècles. Une dernière partie est réservée à la discussion sur la validité des critères retenus et à l'analyse des changements perceptibles dans les résidences des élites.

Loin d'être une entité inamovible, les résidences des élites du premier Moyen Âge peuvent être considérées comme des témoins particuliers des changements qui affectent les classes dirigeantes

d'une société en pleine mutation. L'identification de la présence d'une ou de résidence (s) élitaires (s) au sein des habitats ruraux du premier Moyen Âge doit par ailleurs apporter des éléments supplémentaires à la lecture des hiérarchies dans l'habitat rural médiéval.

- 1) Les recherches sur la motte de Boves (P. Racinet 2010) constituent une exception dans le paysage archéologique français
- 2) Les articles de É. Peytremann (2002), J. Burnouf (2007), F. Gentili et A. Valais (2006) et de L. Bourgeois (2009) peuvent être cités.

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## **Hierarchies in early medieval rural settlements in the North of Spain**

*Juan Antonio Quirós Castillo, University of the Basque Country*

In this paper, there will be analyzed the rural settlement organization and hierarchization forms of the North of the Iberian Peninsula among the 6<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries. The studied territory will be the High Ebro, which includes the Old Castile, the current Basque Country and its surroundings. Specifically, we will study the transformations that took place between two periods, the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries and the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries from a triple perspective: the inner transformation of the rural settlement (form, dimensions and structure); the organization of the peasant production and the agrarian spaces; and the emergence of central places and territorial powers, paying special attention to the churches and castles.

## **Allmende, Genossenschaft und Gemeinde – archäologische Aspekte zu einer aktuellen Diskussion (The Archaeology of Medieval Land Property)**

*Rainer Schreg, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz*

Spätestens mit den Arbeiten von K. S. Bader und den Beiträgen des Konstanzer Arbeitskreises gilt die Gemeindebildung als ein Phänomen des Hochmittelalters und frühere – oft politisierte – Vorstellungen von einer Markgenossenschaft wurden zurückgewiesen. Inzwischen wird die Frage von historischer Seite erneut diskutiert. Die Archäologie kann zu diesem Themenkreis um die Bedeutung von Allmende, Genossenschaft und Gemeinde gewichtige Denkanstöße geben, wenn auch diese rechtshistorischen Kategorien in den materiellen Quellen allenfalls indirekt fassbar sind. Der Vortrag geht der These nach, dass die ländliche Gemeinschaft auch im frühen und hohen Mittelalter einen hohen Stellenwert und eigene Handlungsspielräume hatte – mithin die Rolle der Herrschaft im Dorf allzu leicht überschätzt wird. Regionaler Bezugspunkt sind archäologische Befunde aus dem westlichen Mitteleuropa mit einem Schwerpunkt in Südwestdeutschland.

## **Manor house, church and society. The case study of three settlements in 14<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> centuries Transylvania**

*Zoltán Soós, Mures County Museum Romania*

The research area is located in mid-eastern Transylvania in the vicinity and within the Szekler and Saxon region. The three cases revealed different patterns of the medieval social development. In the first case in the village called Magyarzsákod (Jacodu, Ro.) at the excavation of the medieval parish church we have identified a group of graves that were separated from the rest of the burials. The position of the graves and the small items that we found here compared with the few written sources revealed an interesting situation of a landlord family which very probably perished in a plague. As a result the village, a private property before, became part of the Szekler military society transforming the social status of the villagers.

In the second case in the village of Disznajó we have a manor house and the church built by the landlord and a few historical data regarding the development of the settlement that reached at a certain point the level of a market town. Later the settlement status declined and became a simple village, but it preserved the social structure. The third case of Erdőszentgyörgy is within the Szekler privileged area. Here we have a late medieval manor house and its landlord church but here we have a constant development as the settlement became a market town and then later a town.

The comparison of the three cases will describe the development opportunities and the social connections of the late medieval Transylvanian society.

## **Siedlungen im südlichen Schwarzwald: Burg und Bergbau**

*Heiko Steuer, University of Freiburg i. Br.*

Bei Siedlungen in Erzrevieren handelt es sich im eigentlichen Sinne nicht um Dörfer, sondern um spezialisierte Gewerbesiedlungen. Dennoch haben sie – da im ländlichen Raum gelegen – auch jeweils eine ländliche Komponente.

Am Beispiel von Bergbausiedlungen im südlichen Schwarzwald ( St. Ulrich – Bollschweil, Sulzburg und weitere Orte), in denen einige archäologische Ausgrabungen durchgeführt worden sind, sollen die Hierarchien der Anwesen in diesen Siedlungen beschrieben und bewertet werden: Häuser der einfachen Bergleute, Verwaltungsgehöfte, technische Einrichtungen wie Mühlenstauwehre, Burganlage innerhalb der Siedlung und Kirchenzentrum. Nicht alle Elemente sind in der einzelnen Ansiedlung archäologisch erfasst worden, aber durch die Zusammenschau der Befunde – zugleich mit der Bewertung des Fundstoffs – in den verschiedenen Siedlungen ergibt sich ein aufschlussreiches Gesamtbild.

Die Zeitspanne reicht von der Jahrtausendwende bis ins 14. Jahrhundert; der Bergbau geht auf Silber (und Blei). Außer dem archäologischen Befund stehen zeitgleiche Schriftquellen zur Verfügung, die bei der diachronen Betrachtung der Geschichte der einzelnen Plätze ergänzende Informationen bieten. Die Situation im südlichen Schwarzwald wird weiterhin verglichen mit den Ergebnissen in anderen Bergbaurevieren, um die Frage nach den Hierarchien im wirtschaftlichen und herrschaftlichen Bereich zu verdeutlichen.

## **Hall houses as manor houses**

*Heinrich Stiewe, Landschaftsverband Westfalen-Lippe Open-Air-Museum, Detmold*

The Low German hall-house as traditional form of rural building in north western Germany was not restricted only on the rural population. Even on numerous feudal manors and civic estates hall-houses were built as combined dwelling and economical buildings in early modern times (16<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> centu-

ries) and were assumed to be fitting to the social rank and economical efforts of their builders. Beside hall-houses with conductor's dwellings on the economic courts of castles (in the Münsterland called *Bauhäuser*) numerous hall-houses were also inhabited by their feudal or civic owners themselves.

By examples from Westfalen-Lippe and Northwestern Germany the building patterns of manors with hall-houses will be shown, as well as the building and functional structures of feudal and civic hall-houses and the differences to common rural hall-houses. The examples reach from a hall-house dated 1550 on the former manor von Exterde in Ahmsen near Bad Salzuflen (Kreis Lippe), the Valepagenhof near Delbrück dated 1577 (now in the LWL Open-Air Museum at Detmold), the "Oldenburger Haus" in Altlüneberg (1671, Cuxhaven) up to the moated manor "Haus Rüschaus" near Münster, built 1745-49 by the building officer and famous baroque architect Johann Conrad Schlaun for himself.

## Medieval settlements in SW and W Norway – aspects of social variation

*Frans-Arne Stylegar, Vest-Agder County Archaeologist*

Based on evidence mainly from SW and W Norway (Setesdal, Sogn og Fjordane and Vest-Agder), this paper discusses the structural and architectural aspects of settlement hierarchies in these regions in the period c. 1000-1350.

Judging from written sources and historical geography, there are several noticeable differences between the medieval settlement structure in Eastern and Western Norway. The way of partitioning farms in Eastern Norway led to a relatively dispersed settlement structure, while the partitioning system in the western districts led to clustered settlements. However, within each region, the social differentiation between different types of settlements is as pronounced as the common traits separating the "typical" settlement in one region from the "typical" settlements in others.

Some of the smaller farms in Western Norway were registered to no more than 2-3 *månedsmatbol*, while the larger ones were more than 120. Knowing that a "one man's work" (*mannsverk*) in the pre-1350 period amounted to 9-10 *månedsmatbol*, it is obvious that a substantial number of farms were too small to support a household, while many farms obviously needed much more manpower than one family could supply. This indicates that a highly hierarchical settlement structure was established in the Late Viking Age and Early Middle Ages in Norway.

In recent years, archaeology has contributed immensely to the understanding of these hierarchies. Settlement archaeology has played an important role, and is now beginning to show how these social differences are visible in the archaeological record, not least in house types and architecture.

## Settlement and hierarchy in the Early Medieval Carpathian basin – Traces of many different models connected with even more unsolved problems

*Miklós Takács, Archaeological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences*

The Carpathian Basin lies on the main EW and SE-NW routes of Europe which were used also in the period of the Great Migration. There are two points to be stressed out on the issue of the history of archaeological researches of this époque. The archaeology of the period of the Great Migration was founded and remained in the region as an "archaeology of graveyards". The excavations of settlements begun much later and remained on a small level until the period of the great rescue campaigns after 1990. The paper tries to use both of these databases, with the aim to reconstruct the settlement history.

There are several settlement models to be registered in the Early Medieval Carpathian Basin. The geographical terms are used to show the possible connections of the different models towards neighbouring regions.

1. 455-568; period of the Germanic Gentile Kingdoms; Central European settlement model; settlement types such as nucleated settlements and village-like settlements to be traced from

- archaeological findings, as well as the residencies of Gepidic kings in two abandoned Roman cities. Traces of hierarchy were found in graveyards surrounding all three settlement types.
2. From 568 till the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century; period of the Avar Kaghanate I-II; settlement model deriving from the Eurasian steppes with ongoing modifications; settlement types to be traced from archaeological findings are nucleated settlements, village-like settlements (!), and settlements of specialized craftsmen. Traces of hierarchy in the grave goods are not to be connected with any of this settlement types.
  3. From the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> to the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> centuries; period of the Duchy of Moravia in the N-NW parts of the Carpathian Basin; east European settlement model; settlement types to be traced from archaeological findings: village-like settlements, earthen forts; traces indicating hierarchy were found mainly in earthen forts.
  4. From the beginning till the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century; period of the Khanate of Bulgaria in the S-SE parts of the Carpathian Basin; settlement model most likely deriving from the Balkan Peninsula; there are only few graveyards in S Transylvania with archaeological traces to be connected with the presence of the so called First Bulgarian State. These lay all in the vicinity of former Roman settlements, abandoned in the earlier periods of the Great Migration.
  5. From the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> to the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> centuries; period of the Hungarian Conquest; settlement model deriving from the Eurasian steppes, with considerable modifications, towards a central European model after the foundation of the state; settlement types to be traced from archaeological findings: nucleated settlement, village-like settlements, settlements of specialized craftsmen, residencies (in the period of the state formation). Traces of hierarchy in the grave goods date to the period of the Conquest and are not to be connected with any of this settlement types.

### **The hierarchy of power in the early medieval villages of central-southern Piedmont**

*Paolo de Vingo, University of Turin*

In this contribution the author analyses the characteristics of the post-Roman rural settlements in central-southern Piedmont following the end of Roman political power. The collapse of the political structures in northern Italy would not seem to have led to a generalised economic involution and in fact the palaeo-botanical data instead indicate that the quality of cultivated grains remained rather constant. One of the most interesting features of the area examined is the diversification of the countryside. Perhaps this differentiation always existed, even if prior to the 5<sup>th</sup> century it was subordinate to the regular spatial division of the network of rustic villas distributed over the area. Three main types of settlement structures were present in this part of Piedmont after the 5<sup>th</sup> century. The first was based on a continuation of the scattered hierarchy of medium-sized farms and rural residences, similar to the situation in the imperial age. With the second type, the countryside began to be divided around concentrated villages that sometimes co-existed with smaller farms. The third type marked a complete breakdown of the settlement hierarchies and an initial demographic movement toward hillside communities. Settlement distribution and transition or co-existence modalities between various forms of populations are the cornerstones of an analysis that through a comparison of historical and archaeological data will shed light on the factors that led to such diversified types of settlements and, above all, may explain why they varied so greatly over both time and space.

### **Property and honour – settlement change in Middle Sweden 200-1000**

*Torun Zachrisson, Stockholm University*

Ownership of land is of great importance for our understanding of the Nordic societies during pre-Christian times. Changes in property rights are seldom used to explain settlement change. During the

period 500-600 AD large-scale settlement changes and desertions occur in many parts of Europe. The reasons for this are complex. Different causes have been pointed at: political change, an epidemic plague, as well as a cosmic catastrophe in the year 536 and several following years. The debate must be conducted against a European background, but the understanding is looked for in the Nordic area.

Studies in Sweden and Norway show that many farms that lay dispersed, often in the form of an unregulated village, were deserted from 500 AD. Instead the farms moved to the building-lot that would form the historical village. This could be due to a different view on property rights, i.e. *odal* right. The settlement that the farms moved to had fulfilled the new conditions, the deserted farm-lots did not. My aim is to create a new understanding for the changes in settlement and society during the Iron Age in Middle Sweden, against a Nordic background. In Middle Sweden a clear change in the settlement pattern occurs 400-600 AD. In the region there are many well-documented excavations of settlements and graves, as well as a well-preserved cultural landscape with runic inscriptions from the eleventh century that discuss inheritance and ownership. This forms the basis for my study.

### **Rural settlements of Northern Rus' periphery: hierarchy and artefact collections**

*Sergey Zakharov, Institute of Archaeology RAS, Moscow*

During the last 10 years archaeological excavations of rural settlements were carried out on the territory of Beloozero region at the northeast periphery of Rus'. The excavations were undertaken on various status settlements. Among them there are not only large settlements, with the area of about 1,5-2 hectares, but also small ones with a size less than 0,15 hectares. Distinctive features of these archaeological excavations were wide scale water-sieving of the cultural layers. As a result, a huge number of artefacts was collected, representing the material culture of the investigated settlements.

The detailed analysis of this collection has allowed to reveal significant features of similarities in material culture of all settlements in question, caused by a generality of economic structure. This economy based on a combination of fur- and meat-hunting, fishing, agriculture, animal husbandry and the development of wide-scale trade and craft. At the same time it is possible to reveal the precise distinctions caused by the different social status of investigated rural settlements. These distinctions become especially visible by comparison with artefact collections from the central point of region, the town of Beloozero and a number of rural settlements from other Rus' areas.

### **Appearance of social hierarchy in village structures**

*Csilla Zatykó, Archaeological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences*

Through the examination of village structures including the inner area and the outskirts of two settlements, the study makes an attempt to cast some light on the relations between settlement structure and social status of the community. Inhabitants of medieval Csepely were peasants, while a significant part of the population in Szakácsi belonged to lower nobility. The paper aims to demonstrate different features of the village structures in general (street system, polyfocal settlement, isolated farmsteads within the township), the plot-systems (size, arrangement) and land parcels (size, zones of cultivation, types of landholding) that not only represent the structural hierarchy of the settlements but also express the differences in social hierarchy of the two villages.



## Abstracts of the posters

### Hierarchie in den mittelalterlichen ländlichen Siedlungen der Tiefebene (Ungarn)

*Mária Béres, Koszta József Muzeum Szentes*

Wir können die Rolle der politischen Macht (ein Aspekt von Hierarchie) in der Struktur der dörflichen Siedlungen in Ungarn im 10. bis 13. Jahrhundert kaum greifen. Dies lässt sich in erster Linie mit der Kargheit an Schriftquellen, mit der Lückenhaftigkeit der auf Keramik basierenden, feinen Chronologie, sowie mit der geringen Zahl der vollständigen Erschließungen von einstigen Dörfern erklären. Die Spuren der Gewalttätigkeiten könnte man theoretisch durch die Dokumentierung der Zerstörungsschichten leicht verfolgen. Wir verfügen aber z. B. im Falle der erschlossenen Dorfteile noch immer nicht über einem einheitlichen Zerstörungshorizont, der durch den Mongolensturm 1241–1242 sicherlich verursacht wurde.

Die Herausbildung gewisser Elemente des Siedlungsnetzes im 10. bis 12. Jahrhundert ist deutlich erkennbar: Das Zustandekommen der Komitatssitze und der Gutszentren der verschiedenen Geschlechter (Herrensitze), die Adelssitze im Spätmittelalter, und mit diesen parallel der Einrichtung der Kirchen, der Ausbau der kirchlichen Organisationen bzw. der kirchlichen Zentren – all dies sind Zeugnisse der Wirkung der politischen Macht. Hierin scheint eine Hierarchie erkennbar zu sein. In meinem Poster – nach einem forschungsgeschichtlichen Überblick der Ergebnisse der archäologischen Siedlungsforschungen in Ostungarn – möchte ich die Herausgestaltung der kirchlichen Organisation in Südostungarn darstellen, sowie diejenige Vorgänge im Spiegel des archäologischen-schriftlichen Quellenmaterials veranschaulichen, die im betreffenden geographischen Areal durch die Errichtung von Dorfkirchen gewisse Änderungen auf die innere Struktur der Dörfer und auf die Siedlungsnetze ausgeübt haben: Wie wurden die Siedlungen an einen Ort gebunden? Wo lagen die Zentren, wo die Peripherie, usw.?

### A deserted medieval village in Co. Carlow, Ireland

*Niall Brady, The Discovery Programme Dublin*

The poster presents the study of a deserted medieval village in County Carlow, the site of a manor or Forth, where geophysical survey is revealing considerable detail, and discusses the challenges that Irish archaeologists face when trying to deal with the issue of recognizing social hierarchy within settlements of the Anglo-Norman period.

### Medieval clay sling projectiles. The discovery of a sizeable assemblage from Eastern Croatia

*Maja Bunčić, Archaeological Museum Zagreb*

A small settlement, radiocarbon dated to the 10<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries, was excavated in 2008 at the site of Jurjevac-Stara Vodenica, on the Đakovo-Osijek section of the 5C Highway. This time frame has been corroborated by a preliminary analysis of ceramic finds. Except medieval period finds, the remains of the Eneolithic Lasinja culture were also discovered on the site, as well as two pits from the Middle Bronze Age.

The site is very specific due to a very large amount of clay balls found in the medieval features (pits). Such a rich collection of those finds is more valuable if we compare the quantity of clay balls (and fragments thereof) and ceramic fragments, whose numbers are approximately equal.

The primary aim is to analyse the distribution and quantity of those finds within specific features and to compare their relationships with other finds in the settlement. It is also important to pay atten-

tion to their characteristics as well as to carry out a statistic analysis in order to record the minimum and maximum values in terms of weight, diameter etc., with the goal of detecting possible regularities.

Dominance of clay balls and low share of other finds on this site probably gives the answer about the economic character of this settlement. However, only once that all aspects of the settlement have been considered will it be possible to ascertain the precise character of the site, i.e. to prove or disprove the seasonal or year-round use of the settlement, its predominantly working or residential character etc. This specific site would thus be the starting point for discussing the body of issues pertaining to the interpretation of clay balls. The paper will refer to the existing theories about their usage, but in addition to this, on the basis of some new data and more detailed analyses certain answers will be put forward. It is also important to collect all available data about their presence, frequency and context of finds in other settlements in nearby areas as well as in the wider region.

### **Sozialer und wirtschaftlicher Strukturwandel sowie innere Gliederung im mittelalterlichen Marktflecken Mohi vom 13. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert (Gehöfte, Hausbau und Fundmaterial)**

*Tamás Pusztai*

Zwischen den Jahren 1995 und 2007 wurde in Mohi im Nordosten Ungarns die größte Marktfleckenausgrabung des Karpatenbeckens durchgeführt. Die um 1600 zerstörte Siedlung wurde in der Neuzeit nicht weiter bewohnt und aufgelassen. Das Gebiet von Mohi ist heute Acker, daher war es möglich, die ganze Siedlung archäologisch zu untersuchen. Mohi sieht aus wie eine mittelalterliche Tellsiedlung, in der durch die vom 13. bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts überlagerten Schichten die Veränderungen der materiellen Kultur und Wohnkultur untersuchbar sind.

Das Poster stellt dar, welcher soziale und wirtschaftliche Strukturwandel innerhalb von vier Jahrhunderten durch die archäologischen Funde und Befunde nachweisbar ist, und wie die Gehöfte rekonstruierbar sind. Ferner soll dargestellt werden, wie sich die Bebauung der Wohnflächen durch die Zeit und abhängig von ihrer Lage wandelte.

### **Characteristics of the structure of Árpáadian-era settlements in the central areas of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom**

*Tibor Ákos Rác*

Excavations conducted over the past ten years in the county of Pest offer new archaeological information of the rural surroundings of the Royal centre of Buda. The construction of motorway M0 and other large projects of building industry were preceded by explorations on large surfaces, which permit us to examine the internal structure of a great number of medieval rural settlements. According to the data of the approximately 25 archaeological sites the settlement structure, just like the social organization, underwent great changes during the 10<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The village of Dabas, populated in the 12<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> centuries and destroyed by fire, is an outstanding example to observing these changes. We unearthed the nucleus of the village with houses partly dug into the ground and partly built on surface. Since we know exactly the location of the temple (also destroyed) and the cemetery too, we can reconstruct the internal structure of the settlement and even the hierarchy of the dwelling structures of different architectural solutions and with different finds.

## Excursions

### Wednesday, 28<sup>th</sup> September 2011, excursion to Montafon, Vorarlberg

Andreas Rudigier, Claudia Theune

Topic: Medieval and post-medieval mining and settlement in the valley of Montafon

9:30 Departure Götzis

10:30 Introduction at the **Bergbaumuseum Silbertal**

The Alps belong to the border areas of human settlement activities. There are different reasons for this such as ecology, climatic conditions, an increase in population, changes in economic systems (e.g. Alpine pasture farming), including the mining of the raw materials deposits which lead to the settlement of this area. The raw materials deposits of the Alps are relatively small compared to global standards. Despite this, mining played an important role for a very long time. Since prehistoric times people run the mining of gold, copper and salt in open pit mines and in deep mining. The economic meaning of the Austrian raw material deposits reached a climax in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century the mining lost its importance, with a few exceptions.

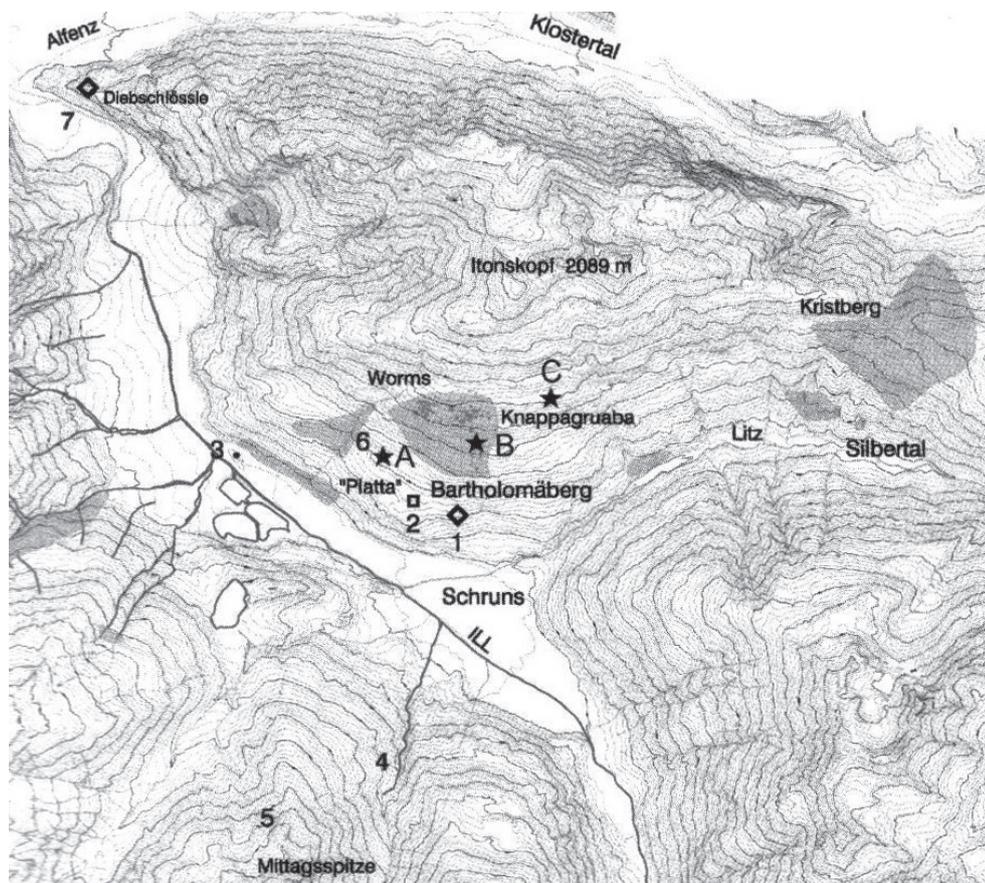


Fig. 1 Map of sites in the Silberberg region.

A number of raw materials (salt and minerals) were mined since Neolithic times. First it was copper, salt and gold, then later silver, iron, quicksilver, lead and other materials. Mining in Montafon is mentioned already in the Carolingian Period, the document records eight furnaces. Drilling profiles date to the same time. Excavations have also recovered mining relicts from late medieval and post medieval periods such as mining waste and adit entrances. On the site of the so called Panoramahof relicts of silver

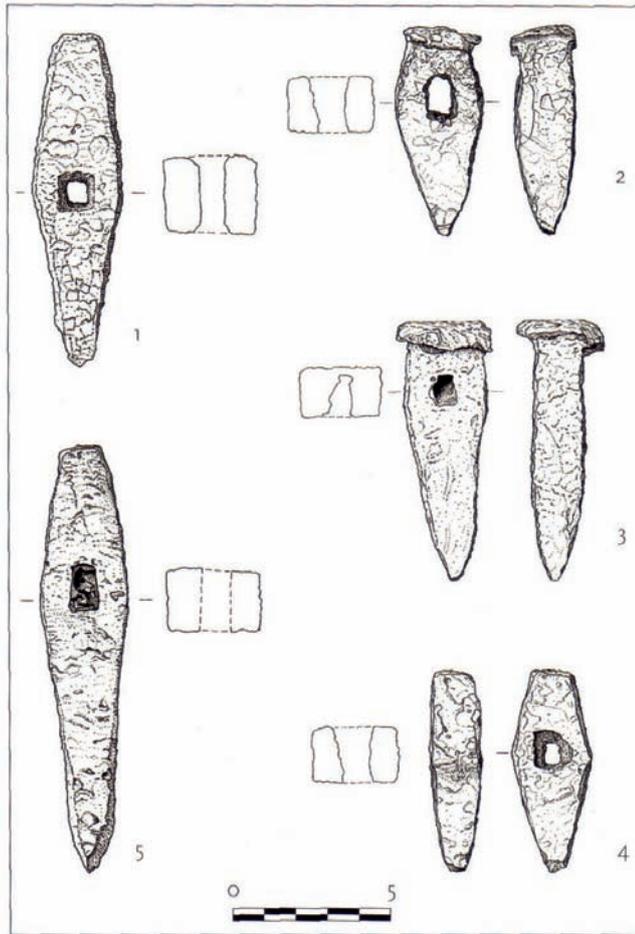


Abb. 17: Bartholomäberg und Silbertal: Gezähe von verschiedenen Fundstellen des mittel- und spätmittelalterlichen Bergbaus (vgl. Katalog Nr. 12.1 bis 12.5).

mining and settlement structures of the time around 1300 were found.

The Montafon Mining Museum was opened in 1996 and is one of four museums in the Montafon region. The museum draws attention to one important aspect of the Montafon history, the mining in the area of the Bartholomäberg-Silberberg-Kristberg. There are still preserved adits (galleries) and the special outline of the villages and churches is worth mentioning.

Fig. 2 Tools found at Bartholomäberg and Silberberg.

11:30 **Miners church St. Agatha**, walk to the anticline



Fig. 3 The miners church St Agatha, Kristberg, the oldest church in Montafon.

The miners church St. Agatha on the Kristberg is one of the few Gothic churches in the state of Vorarlberg. The construction of the church is directly related to the mining industry on the Kristberg. An inscription hints to Master Kaspar Schop as constructor of the church in 1507. It is a simple rectangular hall building with a polygonal choir, an additional a tower in the south, a porch and a sacristy. The church has a late Gothic appearance. Two altars, dating to the late 15<sup>th</sup> century and dedicated to St. Nicholas and the Saint of the Walser St. Theoduln, can be found in the choir. The decline of the mining in the post-medieval period and the depopulation of the Kristberg lead to the good preservation of this church.

13:00 **Lunch** at the Panoramagasthof Kristberg (family Zudrell)

15:00 **Walk to Innerberg**

The walk focuses on the so called MaisäÙe, a very special and characteristic type of economic structure in the Montafon area (transhumance system). The name refers to an economic zone of 1200-1600 m above sea level, which can be farmed from the end of May onwards. There are still areas deforested in the forest zone, with a few huts and stables surviving. It is an intermediate station between the valley and the mountain pasture. Only in recent years has the importance of these areas increased again.

16:00 **visit of the parish church Bartholomäberg**



Fig. 4 The parish church of Bartholomäberg, 1187 m above sea level, is perhaps the most beautiful church in Vorarlberg, owing its richness to the preferred location and historical position of the site. The oldest church is recorded from the High Middle Ages, probably founded in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. The present building dates from 1732 and its late Gothic miner-altar is medieval age. The late Gothic and Baroque phase can be seen in some details in the decoration and architecture.



Das spätromanische Vortragekreuz vom Bartholomäberg, veröffentlicht nach einer Zeichnung von Josef Bucher in Bergmann 1853.

Fig. 5 Last but not least, the Romanesque procession-cross of the Bartholomä-berg church is to mention (58 cm high). The wooden core is gilted with copper plates with enamel, precious stones and glass beads. The center on the front site shows crucified Christ with a crown of lilies in typical Romanesque style. In addition there are three persons to be seen, inter alia Mary and St. John. The back shows Christ as ruler of the world, accompanied with four winged creatures. Such procession-crosses were used to celebrate Mass or during procession. This fine piece of art was produced French Limoges. It remains unknown how the cross came to Montafon.

## Thursday, 29<sup>th</sup> September, Vaduz (Liechtenstein) and Werdenberg (Switzerland)

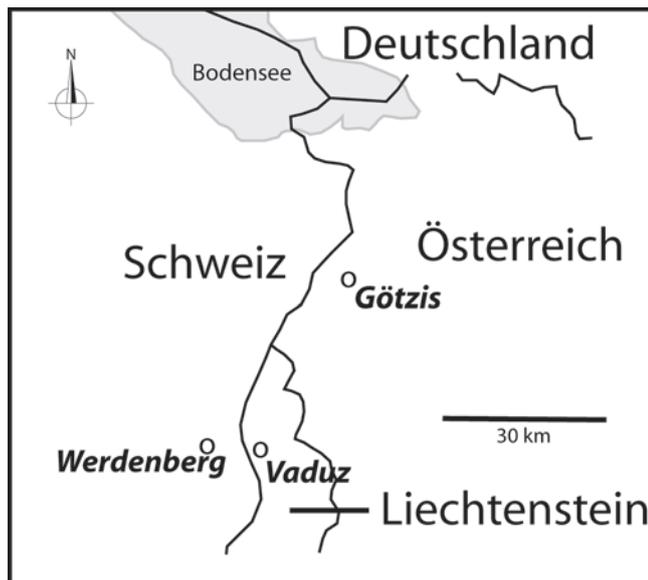


Fig. 1 Schematic map of the excursion area.

14:15 Departure from Götzis

15:00 Arrival at the **National Museum of Liechtenstein**, Vaduz

15:10 Welcome and guided tour through the museum by *Hansjörg Frommelt*, director of Liechtenstein archaeology

Lecture by *Martin Schindler*, director St. Gallen archaeology: "Archaeology in the Alpine Rhine Valley"

16:00 Individual visit of the museum, with coffee-break (audio guides in English and French available)

17:00 Departure to **Werdenberg**, Switzerland

17:30 Arrival at Werdenberg

17:45 Guided tours through the town and the castle by *Peter Albertin* (German), *Peter Semadin* and *Ursula Wyssen* (English)

19:15 Aperitif by invitation of the archaeology of the canton of St. Gallen

20:00 Return to **Götzis** and dinner (c. 21:00)

### The principality of Liechtenstein

The 160.475 km<sup>2</sup> (about 61.7 square miles) large principality has about 36.200 inhabitants (33% foreigners) and is a constitutional hereditary monarchy on a democratic and parliamentary basis. It was created in the 18<sup>th</sup> century by the union of the County of Vaduz and the dominion territory of Schellenberg, which were acquired by Prince Hans Adam of Liechtenstein. With the founding of the Rhine Confederation in 1806, Liechtenstein became de facto independent. Since 1923 it is administratively and economically closely connected with Switzerland. After the Second World War, Liechtenstein has developed into an important economic and financial centre.

## Vaduz

Vaduz (about 5.000 inhabitants) is the seat of government of the Principality of Liechtenstein. The name is mentioned first in 1150 and goes back either to the Roman word "avadugt" = "aqueduct" or "Valdutsch", from Latin vallis (= valley) and Old High German "diutisk" (= German). The Vaduz Castle, situated above the village, was built in the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, probably by the Counts of Montfort. It was expanded in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and extensively remodelled from 1904 to 1914 in the style of romantic castles. Today, the castle is the residence of the princely family and not open to visitors.

## Vaduz, National Museum

The Liechtenstein National Museum was founded in the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and newly opened in 2003. It presents the natural and cultural history of the Principality and the region. The museum is spread over three connected buildings (tavern and customs station - oldest parts 1438, Verweserhaus - oldest parts 12<sup>th</sup> century, extension building 1999-2003). The collections include archaeological finds, ethnographic and natural history objects, which present the cultural history of the region thematically.

## Werdenberg (community Garbs), Switzerland

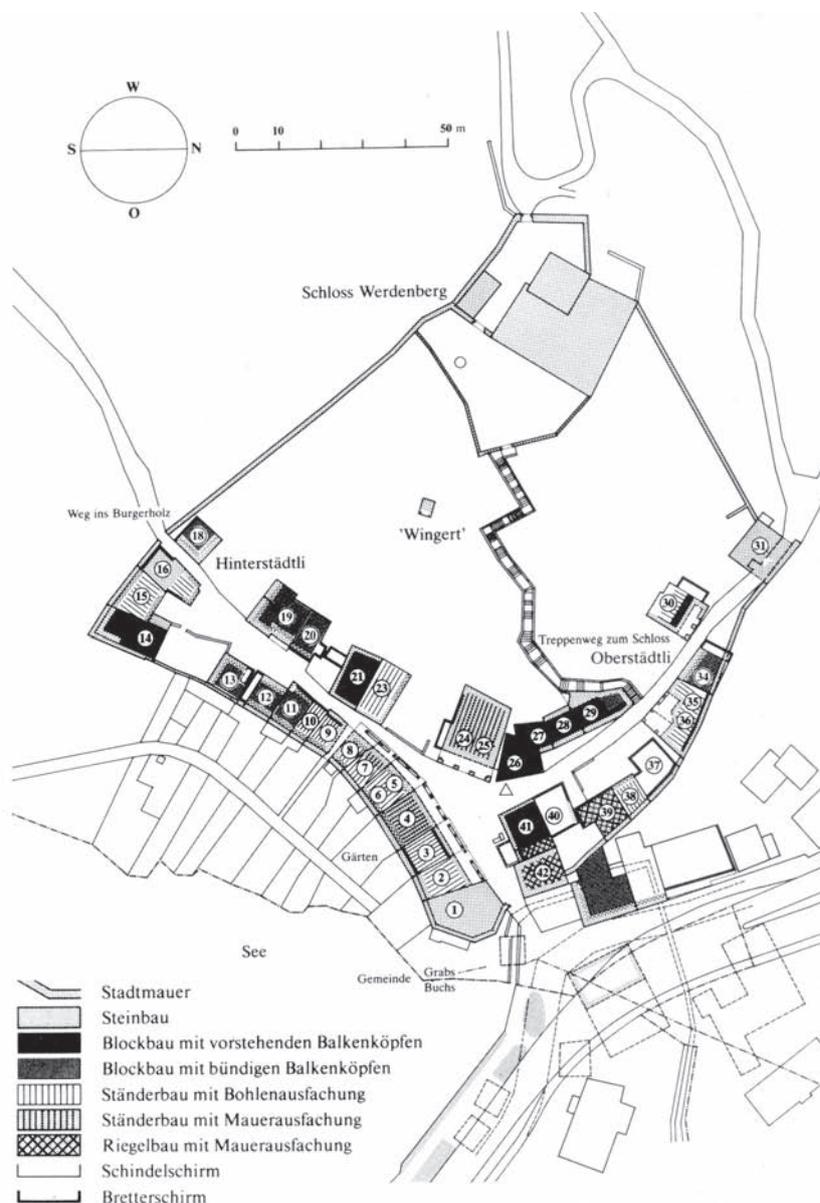


Fig. 2 Werdenberg. Plan with house types (Albertin 2000, Figure 2).

Werdenberg is located at the border of the floodplain of the Rhine, at an important crossroad of a main traffic artery from the north, leading to Chur and to Milan, and a route connecting Innsbruck with St. Gallen. The town, first mentioned in 1289, is surrounded by a wall, which has approximately the shape of a square of 100 meters by 150 meters. The front and rear gates were demolished in 1830. Two lanes provide access to the city: the "Obere Stadtgasse" (upper town street), as the main street, leading from the Rhine in the NE to the field SW of the city. In a right angle the "Schlossgasse" (Castle Street) meets the castle and leads further west in the direction of St. Gallen. The main street is characterized by the arcades.

In contrast to other places in the vicinity, Werdenberg was not a settlement provided with fortification walls and market privileges, but has arisen with the construction of the castle and its extensive wall system. The houses did not grow from the lanes against the backyards and the walls, as elsewhere, but from the city wall to the lanes. This raises the question whether Werdenberg is a village remaining in its initial development or rather a part of the castle with buildings for tradesmen and service people (*Peter Albertin*).

Werdenberg was spared from wars and fires and cut off of the economic development in the modern era so that the medieval structure of the town has survived to this day, as a fine example of a timber town with an urban character in Switzerland. The houses are of different types: massive stone, timber framing and log constructions. Many of the 36 houses (in 2000 just under 60 inhabitants) date back to about 1260. The oldest fully preserved houses date back to the year 1342. Since 1960 systematic restorations of the buildings took place and from 1992 onwards methodical investigations of the buildings were executed. However, only a few archaeological excavations have been carried out.

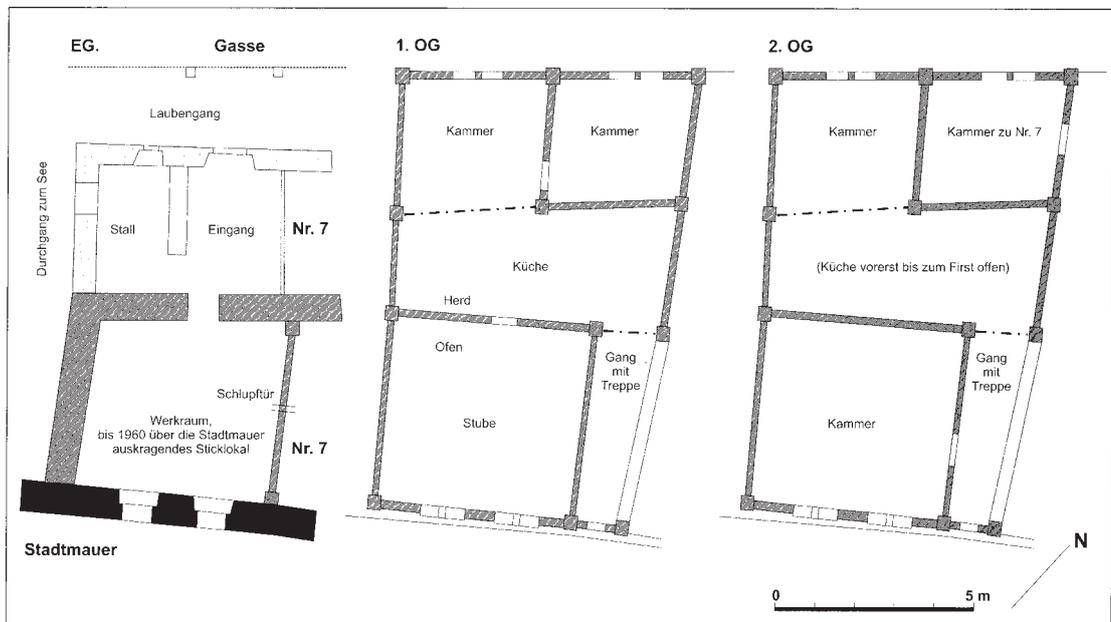


Fig. 3 Werdenberg. House No. 8 Floor Plans (*Albertin 2000*, Figure 10).

The row houses on the SE city wall present a regular pattern. The cellar is accompanied by a room used as entrance and barn and an arcade to the street. Living room, kitchen and bedroom, placed at the first floor, follow this tripartite division, as well as the chambers on the second floor. The kitchen located in the middle of the house was originally open towards the roof space.

The stone basements date from the period around 1260. The ground floor and the following floors were erected in timber, but later partially built with stone. The largest part of the buildings are post constructions, reaching back as well into the 1260ies. Since the 16<sup>th</sup> century the post constructions were replaced by log constructions.

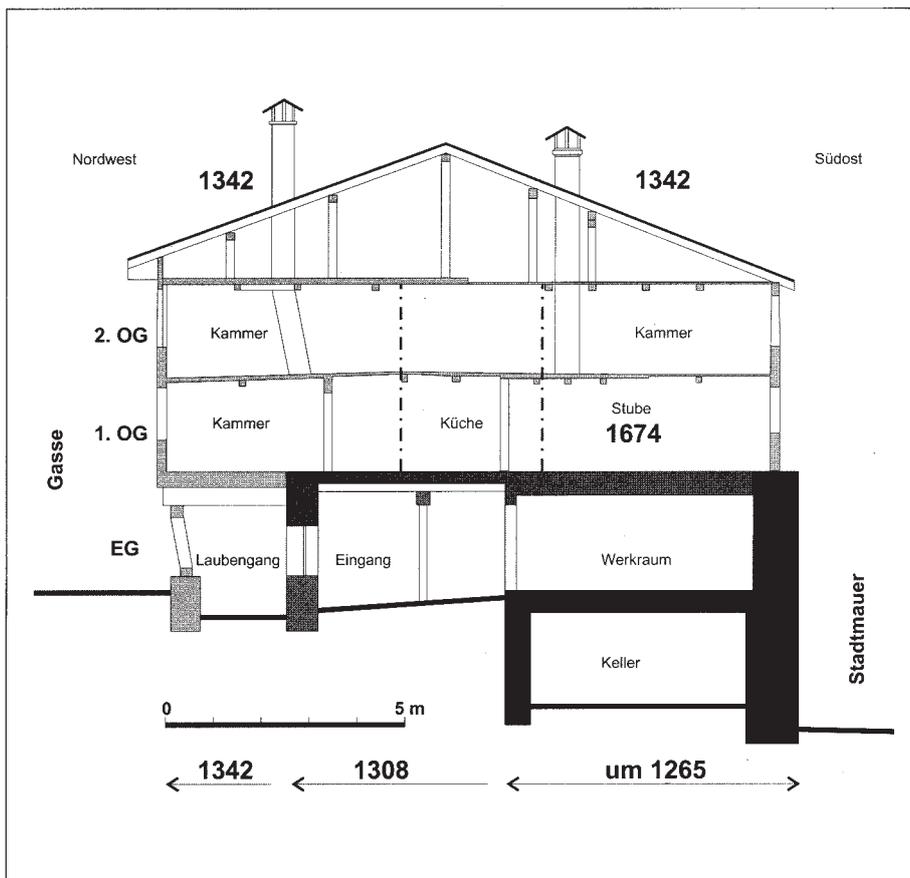


Fig. 4 Werdenberg. House No. 5 / &. Cross section (Albertin 2000, Figure 7).

## Castle

Located above the city, the castle is one of the most impressive and best preserved castles in the canton of St. Gallen. The trapezoid-shaped castle complex consists of a keep in the western corner, of the residential apartments in the north, the so-called "Glarnerbau" in the southwest and the both connecting staircase tract and the surrounding walls.

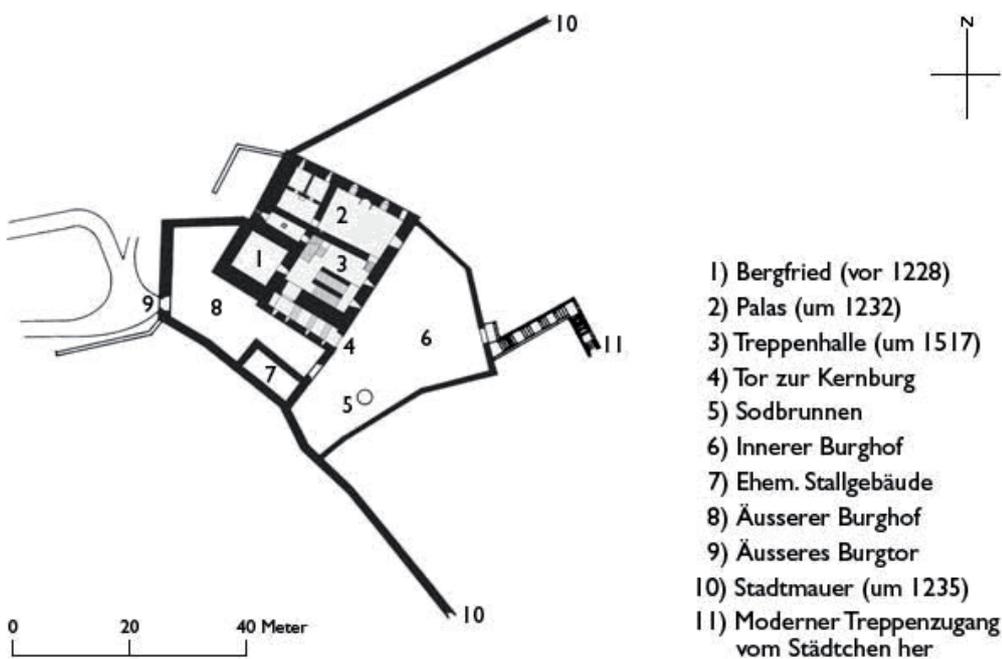


Fig. 5 Werdenberg. Plan of the Castle ([www.dickemauern.de/werdenberg/gr.htm](http://www.dickemauern.de/werdenberg/gr.htm)).

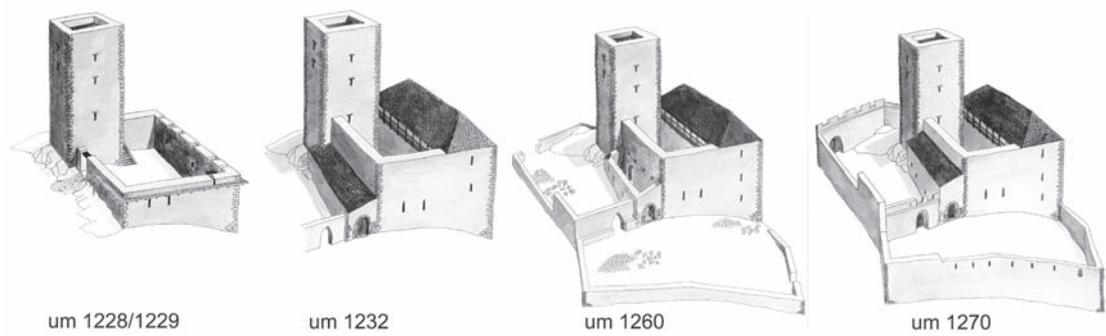


Fig. 6 Werdenberg. Castle building development in the 13<sup>th</sup> century (Išler 2011).

The castle was built by the Counts of Montfort. After several changes of ownership and modifications from 1517 to 1798, it served as the seat of the bailiff of the dominion of Werdenberg and Wartau. After a fire in 1695 the castle was rebuilt. Transferred into private ownership in 1835, it was equipped with purchased furniture. In 1956 it was given to the canton of St. Gallen and is used as a museum since then.

In 2005 and 2009 building historical investigations were carried out (Lukas Högl, Peter Albertin) which yielded important results, in particular from dendrochronology.

The keep (11.5m x 11.0m) and the surrounding wall are of the oldest parts of the castle and can be dated to the years before 1228. The battlements and the tent roof with a baroque-onion-dome are from the 15<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century. In 1232 and 1235, hence a little later than the keep and the wall, the residential apartments and the outer ward were built. The three-story residential apartments are more than 20 meters long, the chemise-like west wall is about 2 m thick. The outer ring wall was built after 1250 and by 1270 the outer ward was increased. The inner castle gate was built in 1272. In 1369 the residential apartments and the keep were connected with and the stair hall was built in 1517. 1695 followed the so-called Glarnerbau.

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This Išler, Burg Werdenberg 1200 bis 1280 (Werdenberg 2011)

<http://www.geschichte.schloss-werdenberg.ch/Schlossgeschichte/BaugeschichtlicheUntersuchungen/tabid/240/Default.aspx> (last accessed 12 September 2011)

## Saturday, 1<sup>st</sup> October 2011, optional excursion to the island of Reichenau (Germany) and St. Gallen (Switzerland)

Heiko Steuer

8:00 Departure, travel time c. 1,5 hours

Our tour leads us from Götzis to lake Constance, following the southern shore to Constance and the island of Reichenau. We will visit two UNESCO World Heritage Sites of major importance for Central European monastic culture of the Carolingian and Ottonian period (9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries). Several churches and monasteries as well as book illuminations belong to the cultural heritage.

### Island of Reichenau / Lake Constance (9:30-14:30)

#### *The Island*

Geologically the island had emerged as a flat elevation on the moraine of the lake Constance glacier. Since 1838 the Island is connected with the mainland by an artificial embankment. The island is 4,4 km long and up to 1,5 km wide. The highest point is 43 m above lake level. At the end of the embankment is the ruin "Schiopfen" of a fort of the monastery Reichenau of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

The first monastery was founded in 724 which soon became a center of the Benedictine order. The buildings represent high medieval monastic architecture and reflect the great religious and cultural significance of that era. In November 2000 the island became World Heritage Site.

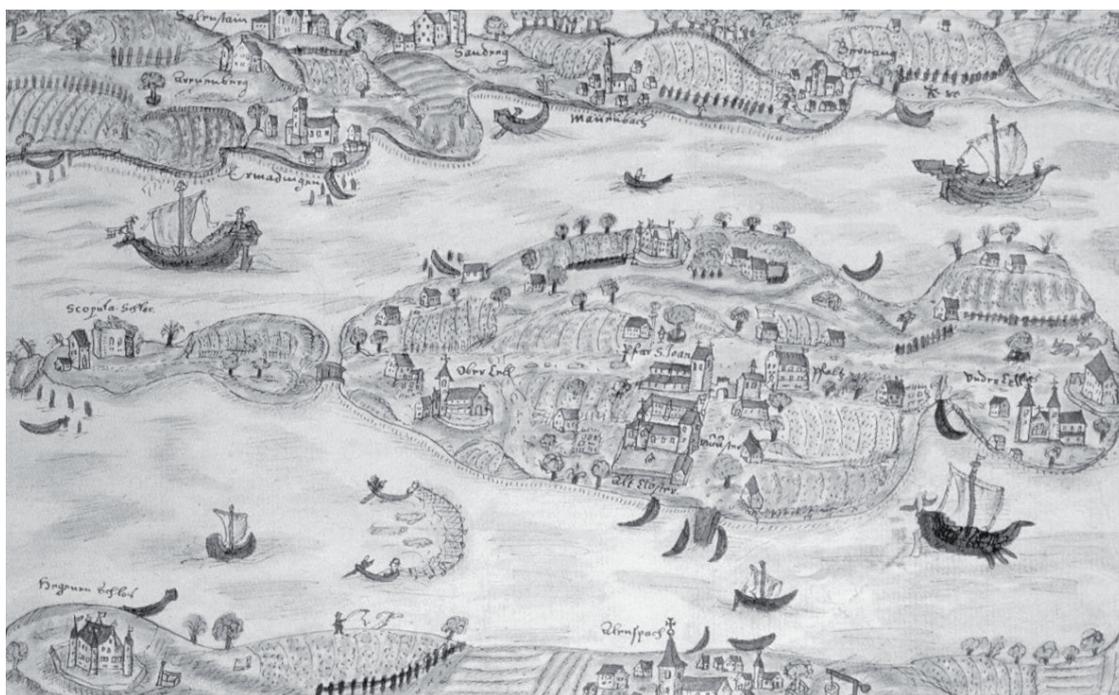


Fig. 1 Island of Reichenau: left Oberzell, center: Mittelzell, right Niederzell (after: Denkmalpflege in Baden-Württemberg, Nachrichtenblatt 33, Heft 3, 2004, p. 156).

#### *The minsters*

The island consists of the three core areas Ober-, Mittel- and Unterzell with the major monastery buildings. The churches are not isolated, but part of architectural and landscape structures which is one of the characteristics of the medieval monastic life. The monastery consists of the administrative buildings, the houses in the area of the so called Ergat, a former meeting place for the so called Ammann (today town hall with museum) and large open areas between the three districts that were used for agriculture. Hence, the island is an excellent example of a typical early medieval form of settlement and land use.

During the middle ages more than 20 churches and chapels were located on the island. Today, the three most important romanica churches form the 9<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries are preserved. The carefully restored mural paintings belong to the 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> century.

In 724 bishop Pirmin founded the first monastery on the island which had been uninhabited until that. The place name derives from *Reiche Au*, meaning rich wetlands/meadow (church Marienmünster in Mitterzell). The later glory of the convent school and the library dates from Abbot Waldo (786-806). Abbot Heito I. built the abbey church in the 9<sup>th</sup> century which shows influences from byzantine church buildings. In the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries the Abbots Walafrid Strabo (808/809-849 (Abbot 842-849) and Hatto III. (888-913) had great influence and political power, the latter being guardian of King Louis the Child, the last East Frankish-Carolingian king. Together with the diocese of Constance the monastery belonged to the royal monasteries of Charlesmagne, funded by the Frankish-Alemannic nobility and queen Hildegard.

The most important books that were made on the island are the so called *Reichenauer Verbrüderungsbuch* containing about 40 000 names of friars from more than 50 monasteries (824/25); the famous plan drawing of St. Gall (ca. 830), an ideal plan of a Benedictine monastery; *de cultu hortorum* or *Hortulus* of Walafrid Strabo, the first European book on horticulture, dealing with medical plants of the monastery garden and their use. About 40 manuscripts from the so called *Reichenau School of Illumination* are scattered around the world.

The religious decoration of the monasteries on the Reichenau Island was continued by the bishops Egino and Ratold of Verona who came from the Alemannia. They founded the monasteries Niederzell on the Westside of the island and Radolfzell on the mainland. Abbot Hatti III donated the church of St Georg in Oberzell.

After a crisis in the 10<sup>th</sup> century the monastic culture reached a high point again. Abbot Alawich II got the market rights for the monastery in 998. In 810, the number of the friars was 90, 112 in 824, 134 in 850, 96 in 940, but in 1000 there were only 20-30 friars left. The economic and monastic decline started in the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

#### *Oberzell – St Georg*

On the eastern tip of the island, on a hill, lies the small former monastic church of St Georg, founded in the 9<sup>th</sup> century. The archbishop of Mainz and abbot of Reichenau Hatto III (888-913) had donated the church to St. Georg as a Memoria grave and grave for himself. The original building today is unknown (up to now there was no excavation), after building changes being undertaken, probably due to the acquisition of relics of St Georg by Hatto III. The columned basilica got its name in 896, after Hatto had been given the head of St Georg by the Pope.

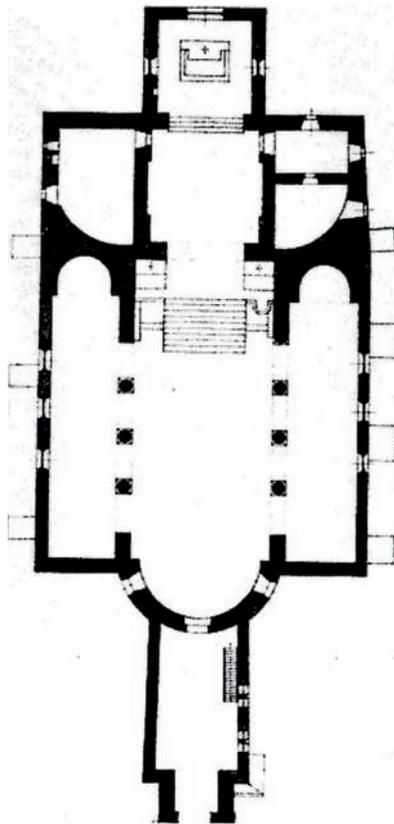
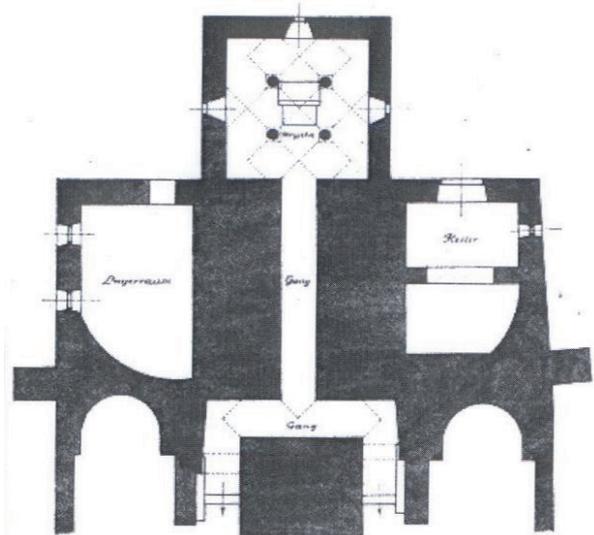


Fig. 2 Floor plan of the church Oberzell.

Fig. 3 Crypt of the church Oberzell.



The basilica (Fig. 2) has a central tower and low transepts; the square chancel is in the east, the rounded apse in the west with a two-storeyed porch from the 11<sup>th</sup> century. At the eastern end of the aisles are small apses situated; stairs are leading to the crossing and the choir. Below is one of the oldest German hall crypts (Fig. 3), where the old cella of Abbot Hatto III is located. Most famous are the monumental Ottonian mural paintings from the 10<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 4), providing a vivid impression of a fully painted high medieval church. The paintings are the only surviving examples of church paintings north of the Alps from the time before 1000 AD.



Fig. 4 Wall paintings in St Georg at Oberzell.

Depicted are the miracles of Jesus Christ (from left to right): the healing of the demoniac in Jerash, the healing of the dropsy, the stilling of the storm and the healing of the blind man. At the south wall from east to west: the healing of the leper, the revival of the youth Naim and the daughter of Jairus, the healing of the women who had a flow of blood, the raising of Lazarus. The pictures are framed by fret lines and in the corners are medallions depicting abbots; between the windows are medallions of the Apostles. The paintings at the triumphal arch were amended in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. On the west apses you can see probably the oldest surviving painting of the Last Judgment. On the wall next to the choir is a painting of the garrulity of women. In the crypt is the painting of a crucifixion with adoring saints, which is not much younger than the cycle in the nave.

#### *Mittelzell – Marienmünster/Minster St Mary and Marcus*

The church St Mary at Mittelzell was a former monastery church of the Benedictine Abbey of Reichenau. The first church was built by bishop Pirnim in 724 who was on the island in the years 724-726. The entire island belongs to the monastery district. Between 1980-1983 excavations took place within the cloister during which the first wooden monastery was discovered. Many wooden posts were preserved, allowing dendrochronological dating of the building just after 722 +/- 10. The square cloister and the regular living quarters of the friars belong to the first monastery phase. A new minister was constructed under Abbot Waldo (786-806) and Hatto I (806-823).

The hall church of the 9<sup>th</sup> century (St Mary, St Peter and Paul) was replaced by abbot Hatto I who built a cross-shaped church afterwards (consecrated 816). The oldest parts are still visible today, e. g. the crossing and parts of the east transept. During the excavations the floor heating of the 9<sup>th</sup> century was found, built in ancient traditions and technology as depicted on the plan of St. Gall.

In 830, abbot Erlebald added a west transept and a double towered facade. The nave was built in 990 by abbot Witigow and the open roof also dates to this period. This second west transept with a massive west tower was consecrated in 1048 under Abbot Bern (1008-1048). Another new nave was built in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. At the end of the tower is the apses, the St Mark's choir of abbot Berno. The first floor hosts the emperor loge, the second floor the chapel of St Michael. The oldest structure is the so called Witigow-column from 990. The late gothic tower in the east was built during 1447-1477 at the site of the romanic double apses.

Today the church appears as a basilica with a huge open roof as it was in 1236/37. The rich treasure chamber is worth mentioning. On the north site of the minster is the monastery and the cloister.

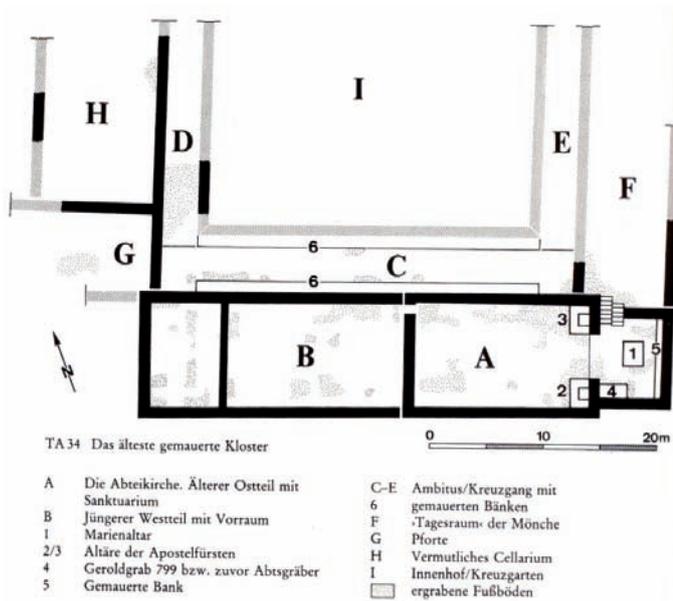


Fig. 5 The oldest monastery in Mittelzell (after Zettler 1988, p. 172).

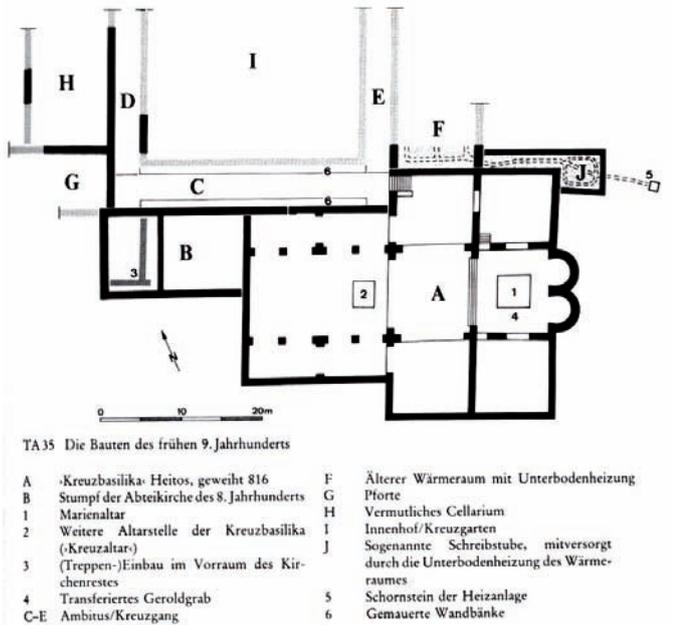


Fig. 6 The buildings of the early 9th century (after Zettler 1988, p. 175).

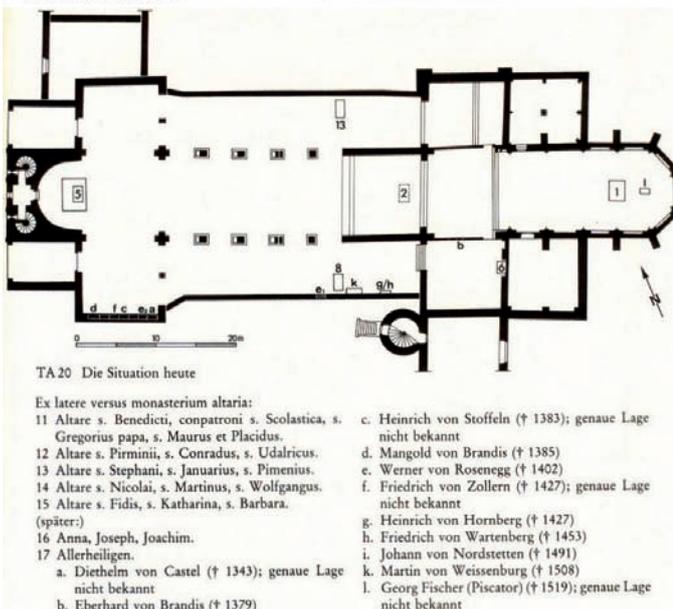


Fig. 7 The present day floor plan of the minster of Mittelzell (after Zettler 1988, p. 95).

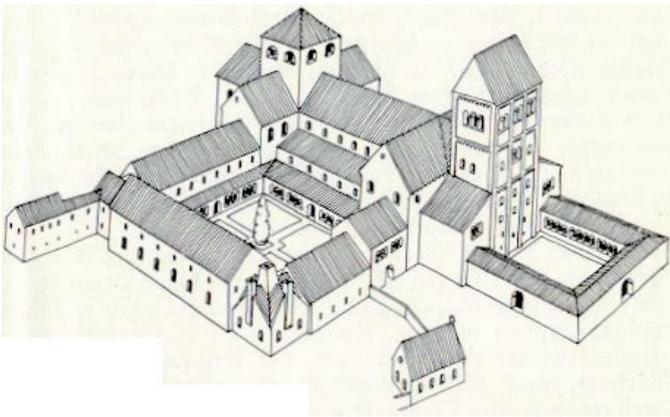


Fig. 8 Monastery of Mittelzell at about 1000 (after Reclams Kunstführer Baden-Württemberg, 1979, p. 535).

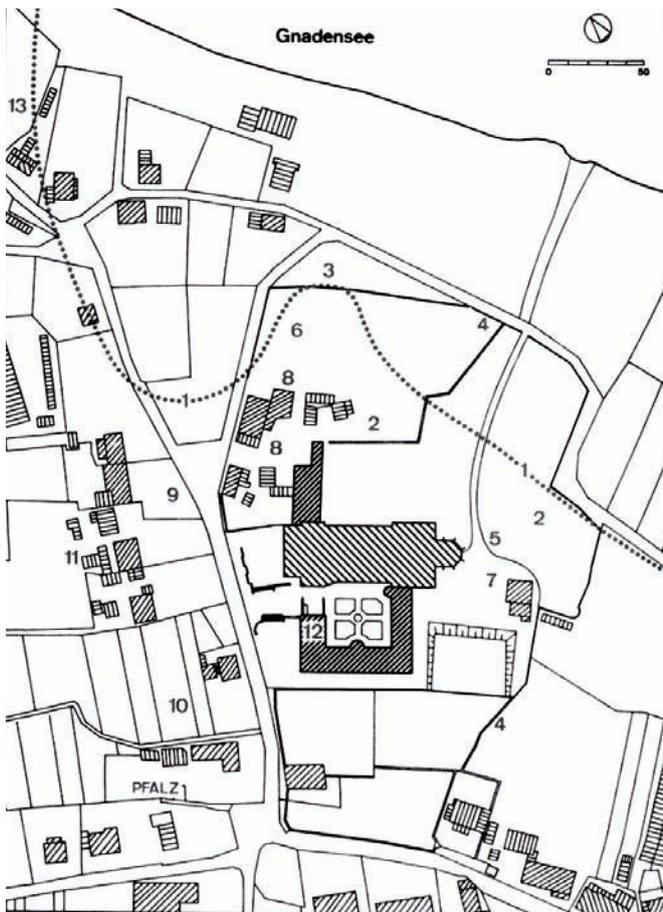


Fig. 9 The monastery Mittelzell with the old shore line and the harbour (after Zettler 1988, p. 138).

A 23 Das frühmittelalterliche Ufer

- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| 1 Uferlinie (Rekonstruktionsversuch) | 8 Wirtschaftshof, nachweisbar seit dem Spätmittelalter      |
| 2 Auffüllgelände des 8. Jahrhunderts | 9 Burg  |
| 3 Älteste klösterliche Schiffslände  | 10 Abtshaus/Pfalz des früheren Mittelalters                 |
| 4 Klostermauer des 15. Jahrhunderts  | 11 Spätmittelalterliche Herrenhöfe, Sitze der Klosterherren |
| 5 Urnenfelderzeitliche Funde 1981    | 12 Konversenhospital, bezeugt im 13. Jahrhundert            |
| 6 Schiffsländennotgrabung 1981       | 13 Weiler der Kloster- oder Gotteshausleute                 |
| 7 Mönchsfriedhof                     |   |

### Niederzell – St Peter and Paul

The former minster at the northwest tip of the island was founded by the Alemannic duke bishop Egino of Verona (died 802) who built his cell here which was consecrated in 799 and later became his funerary place. At the western porch you can see the cushion capital. The present church was constructed as a basilica with columns in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, like the one in Oberzell. The two towers and the nave were added in the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The Rococo decoration was consecrated after 1757.

As late as 1900 romanian wall paintings from the 12<sup>th</sup> century were found in the apses. Christ is depicted as well as the symbols of the Evangelists, the two church patrons and two Cherubim. In two arcades are the prophets and the apostles. Slightly younger are the scenes of Passion of the Egino-chapel from the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

From 1970 to 1977 archaeological excavations took place in the church. A large hall-church with rooms at both sides was discovered and it became evident that a small monastery was added in the north later on. The artifacts date to the Carolingian period (mural paintings and decorated choir screens). Unique is the altar stone with about 400 inscribed names.

### *Museum Reichenau*

The World Heritage Site hosts several museums, one beneath every church and another one is located in the so called old city hall.

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## **St. Gallen (15:30-17:00)**

The monastery of St Gall became a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1983. Today the monastery library with the Baroque hall and the lapidary with the Baroque minster in the basement are open for visitors.

The former monastery of the Benedictian order at St Gallen is one of the oldest in south-west Germany. It's beginnings date to the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries. The hermit Gallo (Gallus) became eponymous for the monastery and the town. Gallo was a fellow of monk Columbanus and originally came from Ireland. In 720, priest Otmar built a monastery at the place where Gallo had died and it soon became a Benedictian order (in 747). A number of documents are preserved from this period. Later Emperor Louis the Pious granted abbot Gozbert (about 816-837) the immunity for the monastery, hence the monastery was separated from the diocese of Constance. Abbot Gozbert built a new church (835/37) which clearly shows the influences of the Plan of Saint Gall. This unique plan, a red ink drawing on parchment consisting of five pieces, was created under abbot Gozbert and his nephews as a floor plan of an ideal monastery. It is an example of how a royal monastery should look like. There are 222 inscriptions on the plan to designate the buildings and facilities and the plan's style indicates that it was produced in the Reichenau monastery.

Under abbot Grimald (841-872) the monastery became independent from the diocese of Constance (in 854). Grimald was Lord Chancellor for King Louis the German and thus an important statesman. During his reign St Gall reached the zenith of its importance. At this time about 100 friars lived in the monastery.

New churches were built later on and paintings, calligraphy and illuminations were promoted. Abbot Notker (971-975) completed the wall around the dwelling and the monastery. However, in the late 10<sup>th</sup> century the decline of the monastery started, but the rise of the city began. Today the minster has a status of a cathedral of the bishop of Chur and St Gall.

From an archaeological point of view the early churches are unexplored but there are evidences of wooden buildings and stone fragments from the 7<sup>th</sup> century (so called Gallus horizon) from the time of Otmar (Fig. 10).

The Gozbert cathedral (consecrated in 835/37) was a basilica with a straight east and west end connected by an atrium with the Otmar's church in the west. A crypt is preserved with a rectangular chamber beneath the altar with a view to the grave of St Gall. The gothic choir, built in 1438-1483 contained spoils from the Gozbert minister. The present building was constructed under Peter Thumb and his son in 1749-1757. One year later the library was planned. The Baroque interior dates to 1768.

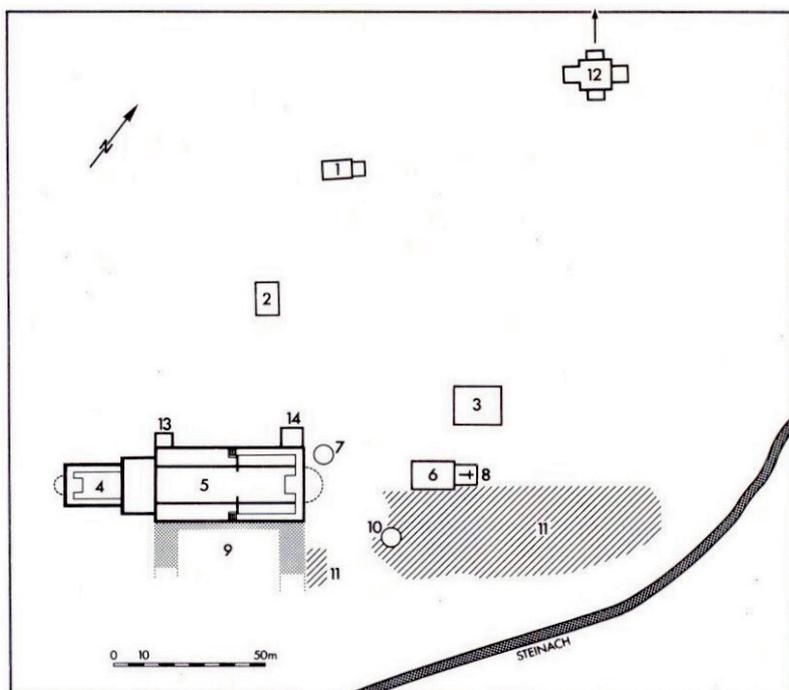


Fig. 10 The early medieval monastery St Gall (after Zettler 1988, p. 75).

- 1 St. Laurenzen, Kirche des 9./10. Jahrhunderts
- 2 Vermutlich ein frühes Oratorium
- 3 Abtshaus/Pfalz, seit dem mittleren 9. Jahrhundert bezeugt
- 4 Kirche des hl. Otmar von 868 mit Krypta wohl des späteren 10. Jahrhunderts
- 5 Abteikirche des Abtes Gozbert seit 830, geweiht dem hl. Gallus 835/37 mit ursprünglicher Krypta
- 6 Kirche St. Peter, wohl spätes 8./frühes 9. Jahrhundert
- 7 St. Ulrich und Heiliggrab
- 8 St. Katharina
- 9 Frühmittelalterliches Klausurum, vermutlicher Standort; Größe und Kirchenanschlüsse ungewiß
- 10 Abt Purchards I. Gallus-Oratorium an der Stelle des Dornbusches, über den der Eremit gestrauchelt war, mit der Bestattung des Bauherrn vor der Schwelle, um 971
- 11 Bereich des Mönchsfriedhofes, genauere Ausdehnung unbekannt
- 12 Abtbischof Salomos III. St. Mängen- und Hl.-Kreuz-Kirche, um 898
- 13 Sog. Schulturm, 9./10. Jahrhundert
- 14 Turm unsicherer Zeitstellung

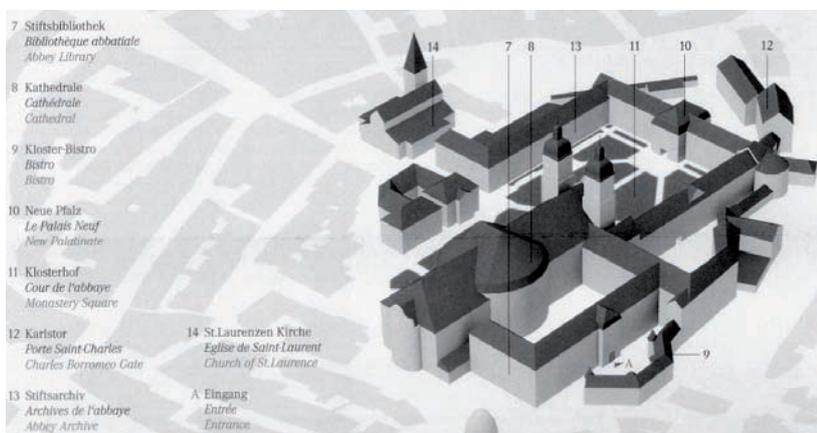


Fig. 11 Plan of the monastery of St Gall (after Informationsblatt 2010 zur Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen).

Nearby are the foundations of the churches of St Laurenzen and St Mängen. The library hosts miniatures of the Golden Psalter of St Gall (860/900), ivory book covers of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, the oldest Lord's Prayer in German language in the Abrogans-manuscript from 790 and many other important manuscripts.

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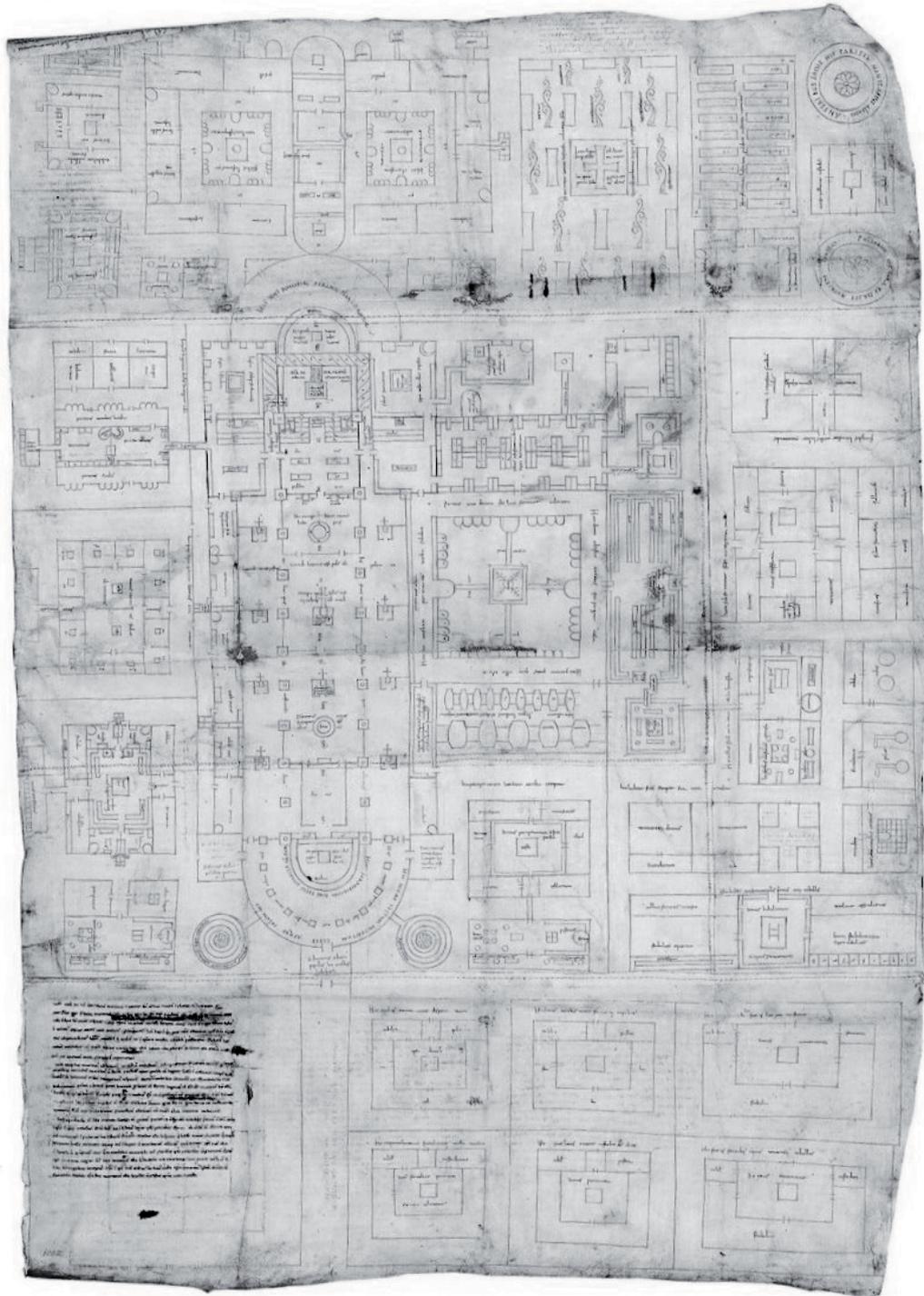


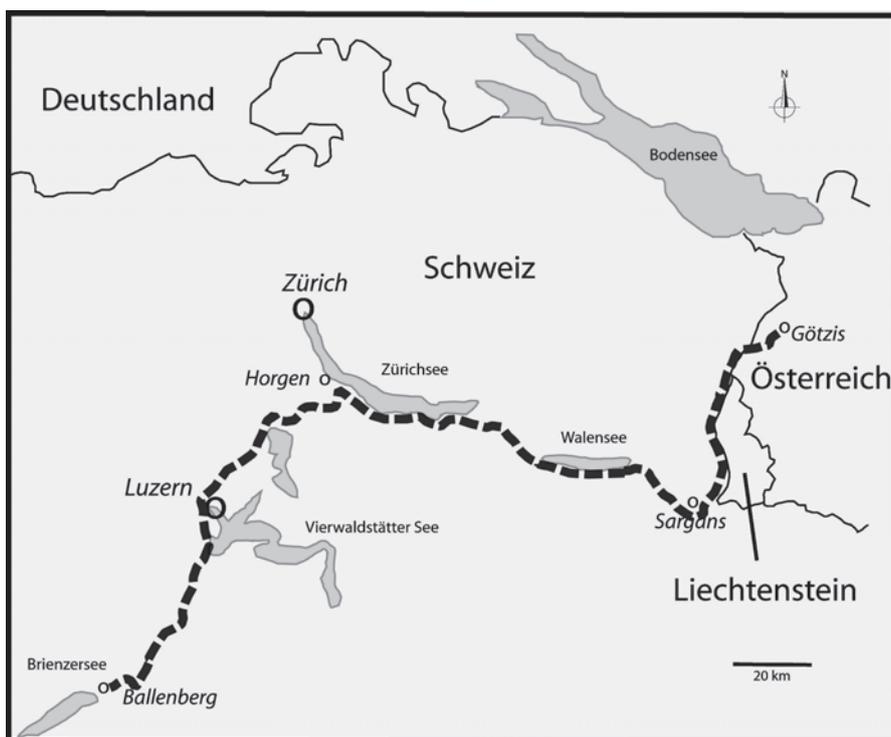
Fig. 12 The Plan of St Gall (after Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen. Ein Rundgang, 2007, p. 51).

c. 19:00 Return to Götzis and dinner at Haus Arbogast

## Sunday, 2<sup>nd</sup> October, optional excursion to the Swiss Open-Air Museum Ballenberg above Brienz

*Michael Schmaedecke*

- 9:00 Departure (distance from Götzis to Hofstetten 210 km, c. 2 h 35 min)
- 10:15 Coffee break - Motorway service area Herrlisberg North
- 13:00 Arrival and lunch (picnic), information about the museum and individual tours
- 17:00 Return
- 20:00 Arrival at Götzis and dinner



### Route description

Shortly after Götzis, we cross the border to Switzerland. The route leads first South along the Rhine. At Sargans we turn NW and soon run along the Walensee. The name “Walensee” means “lake of the Romans”, reflecting the linguistic border between the Alamanni in the West and the Romanic population in the Rhine valley, whose settlements extended into this area. The lake is about 24 km<sup>2</sup> large and about 151 m deep. On both sides the slopes rise up to 1000 m. The steep slopes reach down to the lakeshore which means that formerly no continuous road existed and goods had to be shipped between the economic and commercial centre of Zurich and the Rhine Valley until the early modern period.

We then pass the Lake of Zurich with an area of 88 km<sup>2</sup> and a length of 42 km. In 1854 the first remains of the numerous pile dwellings were found of which the one of Horgen (“Horgen culture”, c. 3400 to 2800 BC) is the best known.

Having crossed a very alpine landscape we then arrive in the flatter Swiss central midlands (Schweizer Mittelland). Lying between the Jura and the Alps, the midlands cover an area of about 30% of Switzerland where about two third of the Swiss population lives. The majority speaks (Swiss) German; in the west French is spoken. Since antiquity the flat and gently undulated midlands (between 400 and 600 m above sea level) are the most important economic region in the area of modern Switzerland. Thanks to its favourable climate and good soils in particular the western area is good farmland.

After Wädenswil, we drive SW towards central Switzerland. At Lucerne we take the route south again. Lucerne is situated at the northern end of Lake Lucerne. During the Middle Ages and the early modern period Lucerne was an important transfer point for goods transported on the lake (transit route over the Gotthard pass and road to Italy).

Soon after having passed Lucerne the Alps begin again. Just before we reach the open-air museum, we cross the pass road over the Brünig (1008 m above sea level) which connects the Bernese Oberland with central Switzerland.

### **The open-air museum**

The open-air museum Ballenberg lies in the Bernese Oberland, a popular holiday region. It extends in a hilly and woody area of 66 hectares and is surrounded by an impressive alpine panorama.

The Museum, opened in 1978 and belonging to a foundation, displays typical house types from all regions of Switzerland. 13 assemblies represent the different construction methods of the houses in the different landscapes and cultures of Switzerland.

The historical buildings could not be maintained at their original location and were, therefore, carefully dismantled and transported to the museum to be reconstructed. In addition to preserving the buildings, another aim of the museum is to retain historic crafts and customs, as well as endangered animal breeds. The museum offers courses and workshops on various craft techniques such as iron smelting, lime burning and clay building.

For details, please take a look at the leaflet and at <http://ballenberg.ch>.

## Participants

Aberg, Alan  
5 Clos y Gof, St. Fagans, GB-Cardiff CF5 4QQ  
alan.aberg@btinternet.com

Barry, Terry  
School of Histories and Humanities, Trinity  
College, IRL-Dublin 2  
tbarry@tcd.ie

Béres, Mária  
Kosztá József Múzeum, Kossuth tér 1,  
H-6600 Szentes  
mariberes@gmail.com

Bond, James  
The Anchorage, Coast Road, Walton-in-Gordano,  
Clevedon, GB-BS21 7AR North Somerset  
Jimserf@aol.com

Brady, Niall  
The Discovery Programme, 63 Merrion Square,  
IRL-Dublin 2  
niall@discoveryprogramme.ie

Bunčić, Maja  
Archaeological Museum, 19 Nikola Subic Zrinski  
Square, P.O. Box 13, HR-10000 Zagreb  
mbuncic@amz.hr

Campbell, Jill  
Queen's University Belfast, School of Geography,  
Archaeology and Palaeoecology, 42 Fitzwilliam St,  
GB-BT7 1NN Belfast  
jcampbell66@qub.ac.uk

Chernov, Sergey  
Akad. Piliugina, 26, bl.3, app 771,  
RUS-117393 Moscow  
chernovs@sumail.ru

Dixon, Piers  
Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical  
Monuments of Scotland (RCAHM), John Sinclair  
House, 16 Bernard Terrace, GB-EH8 9NX Edinburgh  
piers.dixon@rcahms.gov.uk

Doesburg van, Jan  
Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, Smallepad  
5, 3811 MG Amersfoort, NL-3800 BP Amersfoort  
J.van.Doesburg@cultureelerfgoed.nl

Eiroa Rodriguez, Jorge A.  
Departamento de Prehistoria, Arqueología,  
Historia Antigua, Historia Medieval y Ciencias y  
Técnicas Historiográficas, Universidad de Murcia,  
Facultad de Letras. Campus de La Merced,

C/ Santo Cristo, 1, E-30001 Murcia  
jorgeir@um.es

Ershova, Ekaterina  
Akad. Piliugina 26, bl. 3, App. 771,  
RUS-117393 Moscow  
eershova@rambler.ru

Felgenhauer, Sabine  
Universität Wien, Institut für Ur- und  
Frühgeschichte, Franz-Klein Gasse 1, A-1190 Wien  
sabine.felgenhauer@univie.ac.at

Forward, Alice  
University of Cardiff, School of History,  
Archaeology and Religion, Colum Drive, GB-CF10  
3EU Cardiff  
ForwardA1@cardiff.ac.uk

Furrer, Benno  
Archiv für Bauernhausforschung, Hofstrasse 15,  
CH-6300 Zug  
benno.furrer@zg.ch

Gamon, Martin  
Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte, Universität  
Wien, Franz Klein Gasse 1, A-1190 Wien  
martin\_gamon@gmx.at

Gardiner, Mark  
Queen's University Belfast, School of Geography,  
Archaeology and Palaeoecology, 42 Fitzwilliam St,  
GB-BT7 1NN Belfast  
m.gardiner@qub.ac.uk

Groenewoudt, Bert  
Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, Postbus  
1600, Smallepad 5, 3811 MG Amersfoort,  
NL-3800 BP Amersfoort  
B.Groenewoudt@cultureelerfgoed.nl

Heine, Hans Wilhelm  
Niedersächsisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege,  
Scharnhorststr. 1, D-30175 Hannover  
hans.heine@nld.niedersachsen.de

Hines, John  
University of Cardiff, School of History,  
Archaeology and Religion, Humanities Building  
4.42, Colum Drive, GB-CF10 3EU Cardiff  
hines@cardiff.ac.uk

Håkansson, Anders  
Kulturmiljö Halland, Bastionsgatan 3,  
S-30243 Halmstad  
anders.hakansson@kulturmiljohalland.se

Høegsberg, Mogens Skaaning  
Afdeling for middelalderarkæologi, University of  
Aarhus, Moesgard Allé 20, DK-8270 Højberg  
mogens.hoegsberg@gmail.com

Iversen, Frode  
Kulturhistorisk Museum, University of Oslo,  
Frederiksgate 3, PO Box 6762, N-0130 Oslo  
frode.iversen@khm.uio.no

Klápště, Jan  
Institute of Prehistory and Early History; Faculty  
of Philosophy and Arts, Charles University Prague,  
Náměstí Jana Palacha 2, CZ-116 38 Praha 1  
klapste@arup.cas.cz

Klir, Tomáš  
Institute of Prehistory and Early History, Faculty  
of Philosophy and Arts, Charles University Prague,  
Náměstí Jana Palacha 2, CZ-116 38 Praha 1  
tomas.klir@ff.cuni.cz

Knittler, Herbert  
Universität Wien, Institut für Wirtschafts- und  
Sozialgeschichte, Dr. Karl Lueger Ring 1,  
A-1190 Wien  
herbert.knittler@univie.ac.at

König, Sonja  
Ostfriesische Landschaft, Hofenstraße 11,  
D-26603 Aurich  
koenig@ostfriesischelandschaft.de

Krabath, Stefan  
Landesamt für Archäologie Dresden, Wetterwarte 7,  
D-01109 Dresden  
Stefan.Krabath@archsax.smwk.sachsen.de

Kristiansen, Mette Svart  
Afdeling for middelalderarkæologi, University  
of Aarhus, Moesgard Allé 20, DK-8270 Højberg  
markmsk@hum.au.dk

Kropp, Claus  
Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte und Vorder-  
asiatische Archäologie, Ruprechts-Karls-Universität  
Heidelberg, Marstallhof 4, D-69117 Heidelberg  
claus.kropp@zegk.uni-heidelberg.de

Lascaris, Michel  
Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, Postbus  
1600, Smallepad 5, 3811 MG Amersfoort,  
NL-3800 BP Amersfoort  
m.lascaris@cultureelerfgoed.nl

Makarov, Nikolaj  
Institute of Archaeology of the Russian Academy  
of Sciences, ul. Dmitriia Ul'ianova, 19,  
RUS-117036, Moscow,

nmakarov1@yandex.ru

Martens, Jes  
Kulturhistorisk Museum, University of Oslo,  
Frederiksgate 3, PO Box 6762, N-0130 Oslo  
jes.martens@khm.uio.no

Martens, Vibeke Vandrup  
Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage Research  
(NIKU), Postboks 736 Sentrum, N-0105 Oslo  
vibeke.martens@niku.no

Marti, Reto  
Archäologie Baselland, Amtshausgasse 7,  
CH-4410 Liestal  
reto.marti@bl.ch

Mehler, Natascha  
Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte, Universität  
Wien, Franz-Klein Gasse 1, A-1190 Wien  
natascha.mehler@univie.ac.at

Meier, Thomas  
Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte und  
Vorderasiatische Archäologie, Ruprechts-Karls-  
Universität Heidelberg, Marstallhof 4,  
D-69117 Heidelberg  
thomas.meier@zaw.uni-heidelberg.de

Mignot, Philippe  
Direction de l'Archéologie, Service Public de  
Wallonie, Rue des Brigades d'Irlande 1,  
B-5100 Namur  
philippe.mignot@spw.wallonie.be

Moosbrugger, Mathias  
Institut für Systematische Theologie, Universität  
Innsbruck, Karl-Rahner-Platz 1, A-6020 Innsbruck  
mathias.moosbrugger@uibk.ac.at

Peytremann, Édith  
Institut National de Recherches Archéologiques  
Préventives, 10 rue d'Altkirch, F-67100 Strasbourg  
edith.peytremann@inrap.fr

Pustai, Tamás  
Bányamécs u.10, H-3534 Miskolc  
pusztai@hermuz.hu

Quirós Castillo, Juan Antonio  
Departamento Geografía, Prehistoria y  
Arqueología, Universidad del País Vasco, C/ F.  
Tomás y Valiente s/n, E-01006 Vitoria-Gasteiz  
quiros.castillo@ehu.es

Rác, Tibor Akos  
Futórozsa Street 98, H-1165 Budapest  
rac.tibor.akos@gmail.com

Rhomberg, Harald  
 Stadtarchiv Dornbirn, Marktplatz 11,  
 A-6850 Dornbirn  
 harald.rhomberg@dornbirn.at

Rudigier, Andreas  
 Vorarlbergmuseum, Kornmarktplatz 1,  
 A-6900 Bregenz  
 a.rudigier@vorarlbergmuseum.at

Sárosi, Edit  
 Zrínyi u. 21, H-8175 Balatonfüzfő  
 Edit.Sarosi@koh.hu

Schmaedecke, Michael  
 Archäologie Baselland, Amtshausgasse 7,  
 CH-4410 Liestal  
 michael.schmaedecke@bl.ch

Schoneveld, Jan  
 Vledderhuizen 6, NL-9591 TK Onstwedde  
 j.schoneveld@arcbv.nl

Schreg, Rainer  
 Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz,  
 Ernst-Ludwig Platz 2, D-55116 Mainz  
 schreg@rgzm.de

Soos, Zoltán  
 Street Bulevard 1848 Nr. 24/23, RO-Targu Mures  
 sooszo@yahoo.co.uk

Steuer, Heiko  
 Institut für Archäologische Wissenschaften der  
 Universität Freiburg , Abt. Frühgeschichtliche  
 Archäologie und Archäologie des Mittelalters,  
 Belfortstr. 22, D-79085 Freiburg i. Br.  
 heiko.steuer@ufg.uni-freiburg.de

Stiewe, Heinrich  
 Landschaftsverband Westfalen-Lippe,  
 Freilichtmuseum Detmold, Krummes Haus,  
 D-32760 Detmold  
 heinrich.stiewe@lwl.org

Stylegar, Frans-Arne  
 Vest-Agder fylkeskommune, PO Box 517,  
 N-4605 Lund  
 frans-arne.stylegar@vaf.no

Svensson, Eva  
 Department of Health and Environmental Sciences,  
 Karlstad University, S-65188 Karlstad  
 eva.svensson@kau.se

Takács, Miklós  
 Archaeological Institute of the Hungarian Academy  
 of Sciences, Úri utca 49, H-1250 Budapest  
 takacs@archeo.mta.hu

Theune-Vogt, Claudia  
 Universität Wien, Institut für Ur- und  
 Frühgeschichte, Franz-Klein Gasse 1, A-1190  
 Wien claudia.theune@univie.ac.at

Ufkes, Adrie  
 Vledderhuizen 6, NL-9591 TK Onstwedde  
 adrie.ufkes@gmail.com

Vingo de, Paolo  
 University of Torino, Archaeology Specialization  
 School, Laboratorio di Archeologia Medievale,  
 I-Torino  
 pdevingo@hotmail.it

Zachrisson, Torun  
 Archaeology and Classical Studies, Stockholm  
 University, S-10691 Stockholm  
 Torun.Zachrisson@ark.su.se

Zakharov, Sergey  
 Institute of Archaeology of the Russian Academy  
 of Sciences, ul. Dmitriia Ul'ianova, 19,  
 RUS-117036 Moscow  
 zsdbook@yandex.ru

Zatyko, Csilla  
 Ostor u. 44, H-2040 Budaörs  
 zatyko@archeo.mta.hu

Zimmermann, Haio  
 Lower Saxony Institute for Historical Coastal  
 Research, Viktoriastr. 26/28,  
 D-26382 Wilhelmshaven  
 zimmermann@nihk.de

Øye, Ingvild  
 Department of Archaeology, History, Cultural  
 Studies, and Religions, University of Bergen,  
 Joachim Frieles gate 1, N-5020 Bergen  
 ingvild.oye@ahkr.uib.no





