

THE RURALIA XV CONFERENCE

Farmers' trade and markets

Social and economic interaction in the medieval and early modern European countryside



Fredrikstad (Norway)
4th – 10th September 2023

RURALIA

European Association of Medieval and Post-Medieval Rural Archaeology

The RURALIA XV conference in Fredrikstad, Norway is organized by Marie Ødegaard, Kjetil Loftsgarden, Catarina Karlsson, Claudia Theune and Mark Gardiner. A special thanks goes to Peter Hinterndorfer, University of Vienna, for his constant help.

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NOTES

About the Conference

RURALIA is an international association for the archaeology of medieval settlement and rural life. It provides a European-wide platform for the scientific exchange on current problems in rural archaeology in order to strengthen comparative and interdisciplinary studies. The conference covers the period from the Early Medieval to the Early Modern periods. The conference language is English.

RURALIA XV will take place in Fredrikstad, a city located in southeast of Norway. The theme is: 'Farmers' trade and markets. Social and economic interaction in the medieval and early modern European countryside'. In addition to the papers, one full day and one half-day excursion and an optional two-day field trip to sites in southeast Norway and eastern Sweden will be offered.

Rural market- and meeting places, both periodic (fairs) and perennial (markets), were of great importance for social interaction and communication on a local and regional scale. It was essential for diffusion of innovations and ideas. The landscape, its prerequisites and possibilities, shaped people and technical systems to form a working combination. Interaction at meeting places shaped cultural norms, thoughts and identities, including norms for material culture.

Markets and informal trading places were parts of a larger economic and social whole, including trade and barter of goods, crafts and production ranging from artisans making jewellery to people making food and bread, accompanied by drinking, dancing, competitions and fights. In rural areas there was a massive production of non-agrarian goods which made it possible for people to invest in surplus production and commodities. The elite was dependent on supply of resources, from agriculture as well as the outfield. An essential part of society was the command of resources, claimed through the organisation and control of trade routes and markets, and by alliances and social ties. Human activity is linked to social relations, and the exchange of goods and services is integrated in cultural patterns and social strategies. It is also a part of the mechanisms of regionalization and the formation of a common culture and identity in the medieval and early modern period. We want to emphasise that we want to discuss non-urban markets.

Papers will address some of the following questions:

How were the rural market- and meeting places organised and by whom?

Which economic and social relations can be identified at market sites?

Can we identify local, regional, trans-regional or even global exchange?

How did trade and movement to markets among people shape the rural landscape?

What were the non-economic aspects of the meeting- and marketplaces?

What were the social significance of such sites, on a regional and inter-regional level?

Further themes are:

Uncovering the sites. How to find small-scale market- and meeting places, using archaeological and historical sources, place-names, etc.

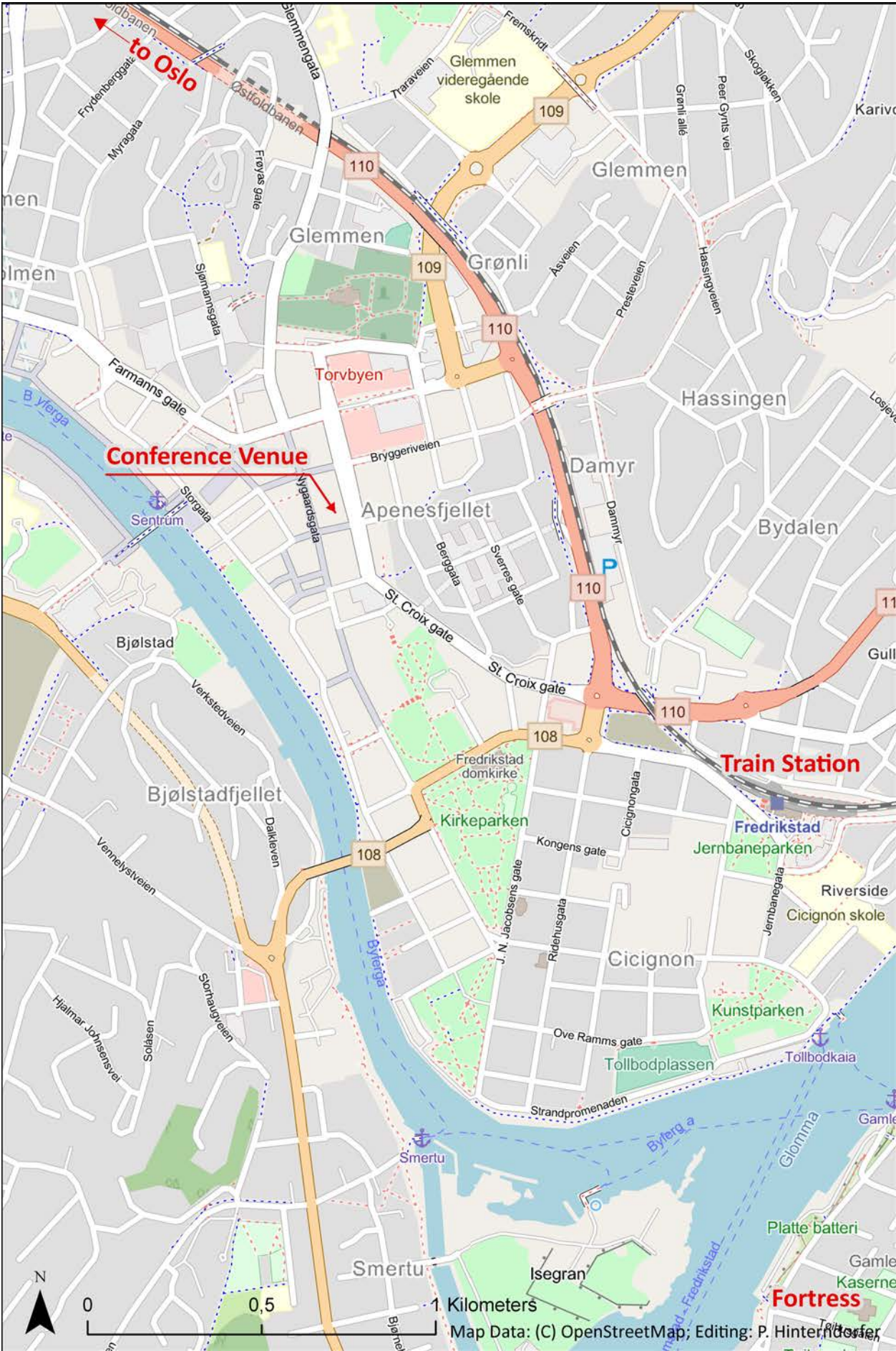
Traded goods. What goods were traded at the sites?

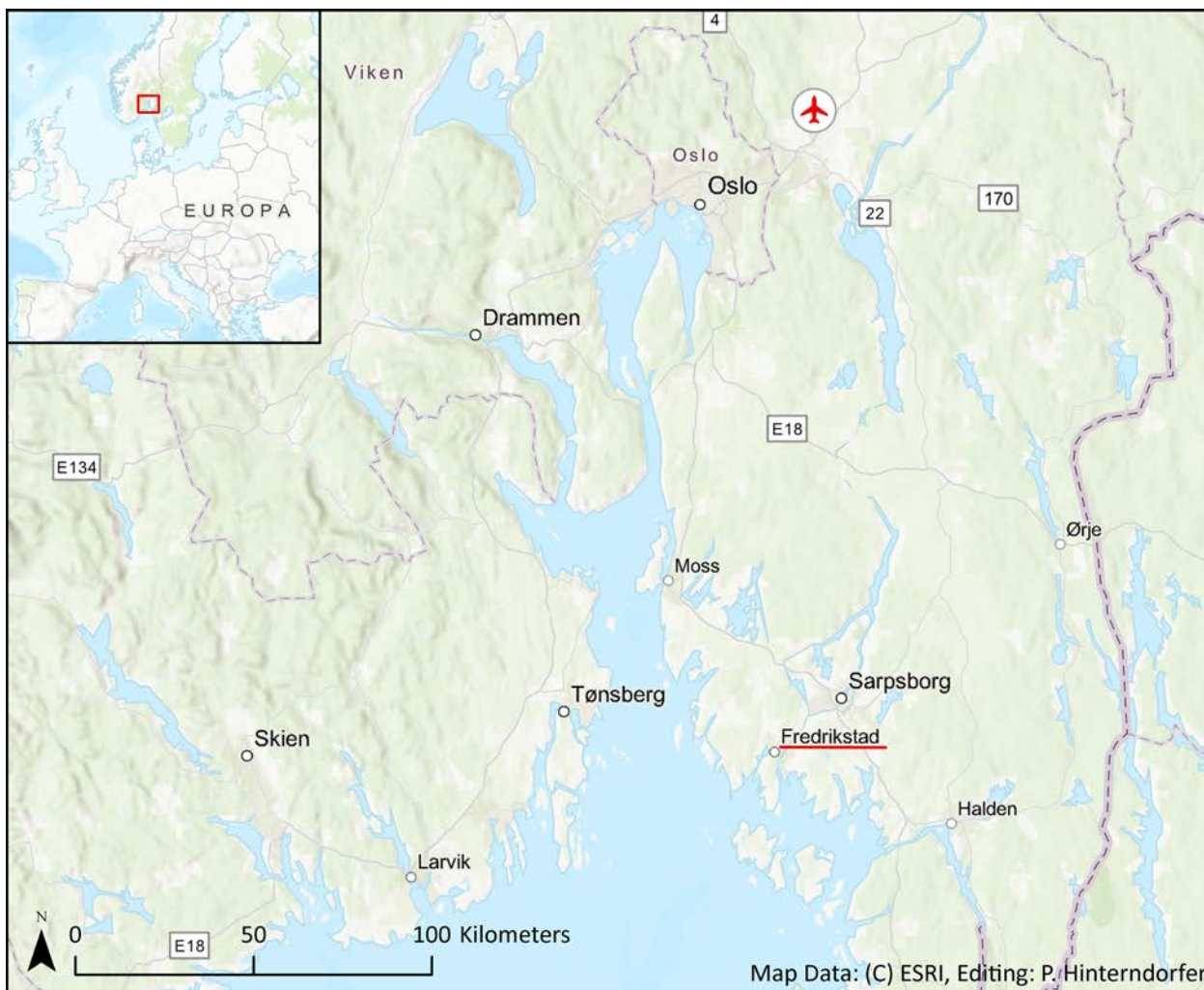
Barter, credit, silver and coinage. How was the rural trade organised, and what were the practicalities of trade and exchange?

Organising the rural market. How were the markets and market places organised. Who benefitted and who controlled the trade (if any)?

Meetings, markets and the social impact. The non-economic side of meeting- and market places.

The papers will present a multitude of perspectives from across the whole breadth of Europe from the Arctic to the Mediterranean from the Early Middle Ages to the Modern Times.





Venue

The main conference will be based at the:

SCANDIC CITY HOTEL, GUNNAR NILSENS GATE 9, 1607 FREDRIKSTAD

<https://www.scandichotels.com/hotels/norway/fredrikstad/scandic-city>

Getting to Fredrikstad

Fly to Oslo Airport Gardermoen, located c. 135 km north of Fredrikstad. There are two options to get to Fredrikstad by public transport:

1. Train from Oslo Airport to Fredrikstad station. You need to change train in Oslo. When you get to Fredrikstad station, there is c. 11 minutes' walk (900 m) to the hotel (Scandic City Hotel) or take a taxi (telephone + 47 02600 / Taxisentralen). Book at tickets: <https://www.vy.no/en> or in ticket boxes at the airport / train station

2. Airport express buss (FB11) from Oslo airport to Fredrikstad. The bus stops 140 m from the hotel. <https://www.vybus.no/flybuss/fredrikstad-fb11/#/>

Remember: it is cheaper to buy the tickets before you enter the train / busses.

Bus and train take appr. 2 hours from Oslo Airport to Fredrikstad.

	Morning	Lunch	Afternoon	Evening
Monday 4th Sept.	Arrival and Registration	Arrival and Registration	14.30: Welcome 15.00: Introduction and Lectures	20.00: Dinner
Tuesday 5th Sept	8.30: Lectures	12.30: Lunch	13.30: Lectures 15.00: Tour Old Fredrikstad and Wine Reception	19.00: Dinner 20.30: General Meeting
Wednesday 6th Sept	9.00: Full-day excursion in Norway and Sweden: Gjellestad (viking ship), Opstadfletet (Iron Age burial site), Tanum rock carvings (World Heritage site), Tanum church and Greby (Iron Age burial site)			
Thursday 7th Sept	8.30: Lectures	12.30: Lunch	13.30: Lectures	19.30: Conference Dinner
Friday 8th Sept	8.30: Lectures Final remarks Main conference ends	12.30: Lunch	14.00: optional Trip to Isengran Fort	
	9.00: Departure for Post Conference Excursion in Sweden			
Saturday 9th Sept				
Sunday 10th Sept	9.00: Departure for Post Conference Excursion in Norway		15.00: Arrival at Oslo Airport Gardermoen	

PROGRAMME

MONDAY 4TH SEPTEMBER

Morning	Arrival and registration (12.00)
14.30–15.00	Welcome Fredrikstad's mayor: <i>Siri Martinsen</i> the President of RURALIA: <i>Claudia Theune</i> the Organising Committee: <i>Marie Ødegaard</i>
15.00–16.00	Introduction paper to the theme 'Farmers' trade and markets' Chair: <i>Claudia Theune</i> <i>Jan van Doesburg and Bert Groenewoudt (The Netherlands)</i> Meeting in the Dutch Lowlands. The search for rural markets and other open-air sites of assembly in a north-west European context
16.00–17.00	Panel 1: Overviews of rural markets in selected regions of Europe Chair: <i>Marie Ødegaard</i> <i>Rainer Schreg (Germany)</i> Local rural markets in preindustrial southern Germany <i>László Ferenczi (Hungary)</i> Rural markets in medieval and early modern Hungary
17.00–17.30	Coffee break
17.30–19.30	Chair: <i>Csilla Zatykó</i> <i>Uglješa Vojvodić (Serbia)</i> Medieval and Ottoman market-places in the Raška Basin <i>Mette Svart Kristiansen (Denmark)</i> Market-places and trade in the medieval and early modern Danish countryside <i>Tuuli Heinonen (Finland)</i> But where are all the market-places? Southern Finland as an example of medieval and early modern rural trade in Finland <i>Niall Brady (Ireland)</i> Rural markets in medieval Ireland
20.00	Dinner

TUESDAY 5TH SEPTEMBER

- 8.30–10.30 **Panel 2: Markets in small towns in central Europe**
Chair: Catarina Karlsson
- Tomáš Klír and Ivo Štefan (Czech Republic)*
 Origin and development of the trade and market centres in the medieval countryside. The case of the Czech lands (1000–1400)
- Claudia Theune and Ute Scholz (Austria)*
 The market-place of Langenlois, Lower Austria
- Ronald Salzer (Austria)*
 Lower Austrian market towns from a bird's eye view at around 1700
- Paweł Duma (Poland)*
 How much do we know about medieval rural market in Silesia (Poland)?
- 10.30–11.00 Coffee Break
- 11.00–12.30 **Panel 3: Production and markets at the periphery of Europe – the Scottish Northern Isles**
Chair: Kjetil Loftsgarden
- Mark Gardiner (United Kingdom)*
 From seasonal shore market to town: the emergence of Lerwick in Shetland (Scotland) in the seventeenth to eighteenth century.
- Sarah Jane Gibbon (United Kingdom)*
 Foreign strangers, merchants and others': identifying Orkney's seventeenth-century trading landscape
- Jen Harland, Ingrid Mainland and Julia Cussans (United Kingdom)*
 Produce from the isles: the production and export of later medieval and post-medieval foodstuffs in Orkney and Shetland
- 12.30–13.30 Lunch
- 13.30–14.30 **Panel 4: Approaches to the identification of markets and trade**
Chair: Rainer Schreg
- Sven Olofsson (Sweden)*
 The birth of business – risk management and social relations among farmers in Jämtland and traders in Trondheim and Bergslagen 1700-1850
- Ragnar Orten Lie (Norway)*
 Fairs and markets identified by metal-detector finds in Eastern Norway
- 15.00–18.30 **Tour to Old Fredrikstad town and fort with wine reception**
- 19.00 Dinner
- 20.30 General Meeting

WEDNESDAY 6TH SEPTEMBER

- 9.00 **Full-day excursion in Norway and Sweden. Included for all conference participants.** We visit: Gjellestad (viking ship), Opstadfeltet (Iron Age burial site), Tanum rock carvings (World Heritage site), Tanum church and Greby (Iron Age burial site)

THURSDAY 7TH SEPTEMBER

- 8.30–10.30 **Panel 4 continues: Approaches to the identification of markets and trade**
Chair: *Claudia Theune*
- Therese Nasset (Norway)*
 Identifying different networks of trade
- Bianca Kovács (Hungary)*
 Many little finds go a long way – trade in late medieval countryside of Central Transdanubia (Hungary) in the light of archaeological finds
- Jesús Fernández Fernández (Spain)*
 Archaeological record of trade networks, markets and socio-environmental interactions in late medieval rural settlements. A case study in the north-west of the Iberian Peninsula (Asturias, Spain).
- Athanasios Vionis (Cyprus)*
 The village markets of early medieval Byzantine Cyprus and Greece
- 10.30–11.00 Coffee break
- 11.00–12.30 **Chair: *Catarina Karlsson***
- Christian Rødsrud (Norway)*
 New sites of trade and production in the Oslo-fjord region. The organisation of a tradescape.
- André Schoellen and Jean-Paul Stein (Luxembourg)*
 Luxembourg: fairs and markets in the medieval and post-medieval periods
- Kjetil Loftsgarden and Marie Ødegaard (Norway)*
 Rural trade and markets in medieval Norway – its organisation and socio-economic significance
- 12.30–13.30 Lunch
- 13.30–15.00 **Panel 4 continues**
Chair: *Niall Brady*
- Kristian Reinfjord (Norway)*
 Rural building stone trade in eastern medieval Norway

Bianca Zerobin (Austria)

The trade of garnets. From a rural mine in Tyrol out into the world

Andreas Hennius (Sweden)

Gaming pieces as an indication of whale hunting and trade in the early medieval period

15.00–15.30 Coffee break

15.30–17.00 *Yannick Signer (United Kingdom)*

This little potter went to market

Monika Maleszka-Ritchie (United Kingdom)

Novel notes: examples of commodity money and fiat money in the Viking Age and the implications for the social organisation of trade and exchange

Murray Andrews (United Kingdom)

Gold for the...peasants? Markets, fairs, and the circulation of gold coin in the English and Welsh countryside, c.1350-1550

17:00-18:30 **Panel 5: Mining, metal production and markets – the evidence from Sweden**
Chair: Tomáš Klír

Lena Berg Nilsson (Sweden)

Silver from Sala silver mine – controlled trade or shadow market?

Catarina Karlsson (Sweden)

Iron, trade, landscape and society

Gert Magnusson (Sweden)

The Influence of mining work and economy on regional and transregional exchange in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period

19.30 Conference Dinner

FRIDAY 8TH SEPTEMBER

8.30–10.30 **Panel 6: Transport and trade – connecting producers and markets**
Chair: Catarina Tente

Rowin van Lanen (The Netherlands)

Looking for exchange

Jaap Abrahamse and Rowin van Lanen (The Netherlands)

Following the herd. Cattle trade and breeding in the Netherlands as an example of rural-urban synergy in the late medieval and early modern periods

Margarita Fernández Mier, Pablo López Gómez and Elías Carballido González (Spain)

Livestock trails and cattle fairs in the north-west of the Iberian peninsula in medieval and post-medieval times

Csilla Zatykó and Máté Stibrány (Hungary)
Forgotten trade, forgotten villages

10.30–11.00 Coffee break

11.00–12.30 **Panel 7: Trade transport routes and trade**
Chair: Mark Gardiner

Adrienn Papp (Hungary)
Movement to the centre – rural life around Old Buda

*Anna Stagno, Giulia Bizzarri, Andrés Menéndez Blanco, Chiara Molinari,
Alessandro Panetta, Valentina Pescini, Catarina Piu and Riccardo Santeramo
(Italy)*

Charcoal roads: environmental resources in south European mountains between
19th and 20th centuries.

General discussion

Main conference ends and departure

12.30–13.30 Lunch

14.00–17.00 **Optional trip to Isengran fort**

Evening Free evening in Fredrikstad

SATURDAY 9TH SEPTEMBER

9.00 **Departure for post-conference excursion in Sweden**

SUNDAY 10TH SEPTEMBER

9.00 **Departure for post-conference excursion in Norway**

15.00 **Arrival at Oslo Airport Gardermoen**

ABSTRACTS

INTRODUCTION PAPER TO THE THEME 'FARMERS' TRADE AND MARKETS'

Meeting in the Dutch Lowlands. The search for rural markets and other open-air sites of assembly in a north-west European context

JAN VAN DOESBURG AND BERT GROENEWOUDT (THE NETHERLANDS)

As elsewhere in the medieval countryside of what is now the Netherlands, people gathered outdoors in specific places for a variety of reasons, whether at set times or occasionally. In our paper, we explore this diversity, addressing function, organisation, manifestation, landscape setting and identification. In doing so, we include data from neighbouring countries. We distinguish 1) informal trading places; 2) rural markets and fairs; 3) court- and meeting places (in the sense of places where meetings took place at local or supra-local level), and 4) 'courts of fealty' ('honour courts'). We exclude forms of assembly that did not take place repeatedly in a specific place over an extended period of time. In many cases, the presence of sites of assembly is difficult to prove from material remains. Indicative finds and structures are scarce and difficult to identify as well. Few sites of this kind have been subjected to targeted archaeological research and this also applies to the relatively 'new' phenomenon of the 'productive site'. However, place-name evidence is available, a limited number of historical records, and some research into the landscape setting. For the sake of identification, we will try to identify general characteristics of various types of assembly sites. Subsequently we will look at boundary conditions and drivers that may explain spatio-temporal variation.

PANEL 1: OVERVIEWS OF RURAL MARKETS IN SELECTED REGIONS OF EUROPE

Local rural markets in preindustrial southern Germany

RAINER SCHREG (GERMANY)

Archaeological studies on the Swabian Alb showed the huge potential of an analysis of toponyms for understanding economic structures. Recent research started a systematic analysis of toponyms and field structures at a larger scale. The best data comes from cadastral maps and detailed landscape descriptions of the mid-19th century just before industrialisation took off. There is a huge number of local markets, not only situated in towns but also in villages or sometimes even in the "middle of nowhere". The paper will use some case studies at the Swabian and Franconian Alb (Baden-Württemberg and Bavaria) to analyse the historical and topographical preconditions of these markets.

Rural markets in medieval and early modern Hungary

LÁSZLÓ FERENCZI (HUNGARY)

Research into the problem of medieval inland trade traditionally focuses on the economic and social history of urbanisation and the emergence of market towns, while the role of village industries and rural market-places remains an elusive subject. From a material culture point of view, the paucity of research can be explained by the general lack of archaeological evidence – assemblages known to be relevant in this context are few. The contribution of medieval archaeology to the study of this subject is mostly based on excavations in urban space, where market-places were identified, dating from the 14th and 15th century, or – indirectly – industrial production sites in rural milieux (cf. Ruralia vol 6). Our presentation focuses on a spatial-topographical approach; it

is a large-scale study of rural markets in the medieval settlement network, based mainly on data from the late 15th and early 16th centuries, and a spatial-topographical analysis of this group of settlements. Relying on place-name data and topographical case studies, and a comparative, spatial statistical analysis, the earliest (pre-13th century) layer of rural market-places (weekly markets) will be also discussed, illustrating their economic function and historical ecological situation within the settlement network as a whole.

Medieval and Ottoman market-places in the Raška Basin

UGLJEŠA VOJVODIĆ (SERBIA)

During the medieval period, the Raška Valley represented the central area in which the Serbian state of the Nemanjić Dynasty was founded. Despite the modest number of written sources and archaeological excavations, the existence of few major market-places in the Raška Basin has been either assumed or uncovered in previous decades. Unfortunately, the reasons for their establishment remain incompletely examined and solely occasionally mentioned in the previously conducted research. In surviving medieval charters, a few types of markets are mentioned within the Serbian medieval state. A distinction can be made in regard to the way of their occurrence and development in rural areas, within monastery properties, mining cantres, etc. This paper seeks to explore the reasons behind the appearance of these market-places in chosen locations, bearing in mind that the Raška River Basin was the central place of medieval Serbia, with a significant number of existing rural settlements, monasteries, and mines established by rulers of the Nemanjić Dynasty. It looks at their mutual economic relations, with the aim to perceive the reason of their rise and fall during the medieval and Ottoman period. The research is based on data from written sources, remains of material culture, and spatial analysis of the Raška Basin.

Market-places and trade in the medieval and early modern Danish countryside

METTE SVART KRISTIANSEN (DENMARK)

In the 12th and 13th centuries the network of Danish towns grew so dense that almost all peasants could reach a town and its market and return in one day. However, written records give an insight into an extensive trade that, legally and illegally, bypassed the towns. They also show how the towns during the late Middle Ages tried to assert a monopoly on trade and tried to control, for example, the direct trade between peasants and North German Hanseatic towns, and peasants shipping their surplus on own barges from 'illegal ports'. There were market-places in the countryside. With the exception of the international herring fairs at the shores of Øresund, we have limited knowledge of the regional and local market-places. Some fairs at monasteries and sacred springs are known from written records, others can be identified by detector finds, but the sites have not been subject of detailed archaeological investigation, and we know little of site structures, involved actors and their networks. This presentation will give an overview on the research, its various sources and approaches to future research.

But where are all the market-places? Southern Finland as an example of medieval and early modern rural trade in Finland

TUULI HEINONEN (FINLAND)

Currently, the register for ancient monuments in Finland only includes 19 rural market-places, with many of them listed as tentative sites. Even so, it is well known that Finnish farmers were not completely self-sufficient in the medieval or early modern period but used to purchase a variety of goods ranging from everyday necessities such as foodstuffs to crafted objects, or even imported ceramics. Traded goods are regularly found on excavations at medieval and early modern sites,

even though the market-places themselves are mostly missing from the record. In this paper, I discuss the ways rural trade was organised in the coastal area of southern Finland in the late medieval and early modern periods. With the example offered by the area, I will consider some of the possible reasons why medieval and historical market-places are not currently often found or recognised archaeologically in Finland. In southern Finland, much of rural trade happened through personal networks, with some of the farmers specialising in trade both in their home parishes, as well as overseas. This system of networks probably reduced the need for common market-places, but likely did not replace the market-places completely.

Rural markets in medieval Ireland

NIALL BRADY (IRELAND)

While the market is well known among historians in Ireland, archaeological enquiry grapples with a sense of material invisibility. This is especially true for the later medieval period. We can reflect on traded goods and objects, and we can discuss the importance of the rural borough in terms of legal and economic status, but finding physical remains is another matter, and may explain why archaeologists in Ireland have not ventured into the discussion with confidence. This general overview paper will suggest that the Deserted Medieval Village may hold a key worth exploring. The two case studies being examined by the presenter will serve to illustrate both the challenges and the possible outcomes.

PANEL 2: MARKETS IN SMALL TOWNS IN CENTRAL EUROPE

Origin and development of the trade and market centres in the medieval countryside. The case of the Czech lands (1000–1400)

TOMÁŠ KLÍR AND IVO ŠTEFAN (CZECH REPUBLIC)

The traditional narrative of Central European historiography postulates that early medieval exchange was based primarily on redistribution, with a marginal role for the market and a monetarised economy. However, this system gradually eroded from the late 11th century onwards, but was not yet followed by the establishment of institutionalised towns. Archaeological and written evidence document a number of rural sites that were located at important communication nodes and became natural meeting and trading places (*villae forenses*). From the 13th century onwards, these settlements were often granted market or even full urban privileges. Due to the dynamic demands of market exchange, topographical shifts were quite frequent. This created a system characteristic of the High Middle Ages, i.e. a very dense network of market centres at various levels, from market villages to 'institutionalised' towns. Each peasant could reach the nearest market within 2–3 hours. We will focus on the dynamics of the monetarisation of the medieval countryside, the emergence of market-places in the period of transformation in the 12th to 13th centuries, and the archaeology of market villages in the High Middle Ages in the Czech lands.

The market-place of Langenlois, Lower Austria

CLAUDIA THEUNE AND UTE SCHOLZ (AUSTRIA)

In 2007, extensive structures of a late medieval-early modern market-place were excavated in the small town of Langenlois. The town originally consisted of two small rural cores, the so-called Oberen Eigen in the west and the Unteren Eigen in the east (Nydern or Obern Aygen), which lie on both sides of the Loisbach. In the course of the early modern period, both parts of the village grew together. Geographically, the village is located about 15 km north of the European west-east traffic axis, the Danube. Another important factor is its location at the southern mouth of the

Kamp Valley, an important connecting route to the north, and finally to Moravia. At the beginning of the 14th century, Unteren Eigen was granted market rights. In addition to a weekly market for agricultural and handicraft products, there was also a timber market. At the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century, the village was granted the right to hold two annual markets in November and February. During the excavations, two important structures were excavated that can be associated with these market activities. Of importance is the documentation of a stone (market) hall in the west of the square with a length of about 17 m, which was divided into three rooms. At the eastern edge of the market there was a series of ovens, which may be connected with fairground activities outside of the commercial trade itself. Fairs were always social gatherings where people eat and drink. The ovens could have been used for the production or processing of food (cooking, baking, simmering, brewing).

Lower Austrian market towns from a bird's eye view at around 1700

RONALD SALZER (AUSTRIA)

Lower Austria has a high density of market towns dating back to the Middle Ages, which is unique compared to neighbouring regions. In spite of their ubiquity, market towns, as transitional spaces between towns and villages, are subject to many problems of definition and a lack of historical and archaeological research. In the absence of excavations, the analysis of historical visual sources can provide new insights. An excellent example of this is a series of *urbaria* commissioned by Count Leopold Joseph of Lamberg (1653/54–1706) around 1700 to document his Lower Austrian possessions. The special feature of these registers is that they contain watercolours of many Lambergian estates, painted by the Tyrolean artist Johann Paul Faistenberger (1654–1705), which provide a fascinating and authentic glimpse into the life of Count Lamberg's subjects. The views of four market towns included in the *urbaria* are not only by far the oldest pictorial records of these places, but also give an insight into the remarkable variety of market settlements in terms of size, development, house types and their specific legal, social and economic dimensions. The market squares depicted there particularly show elements of market infrastructure that are difficult for archaeology to trace: apart from the more often – although rarely in situ – preserved stone pillories, which were not only sites of lower jurisdiction, but also signified market freedoms, there are for instance wooden meat stalls identifiable thanks to the mention of Lambergian privileges in the *urbaria*, surrounding artisans' houses, whose appearance was not always very different from that of farmhouses, and wells. Such findings prove how beneficial a multidisciplinary approach involving archaeological, written and pictorial sources can be for a comprehensive understanding of market towns.

How much do we know about medieval rural market in Silesia (Poland)?

PAWEŁ DUMA (POLAND)

Most information about medieval rural markets comes from historic sources. It is very limited, primarily describing the central role of strongholds in the early medieval period and documenting the slowly changing character of settlements caused by the inflow of German-speaking settlers in 12th and 13th century. We do not have any archaeologically-confirmed examples of rural markets. One pre-urban market active during the early settlement of Wrocław was excavated from 2010 to 2017. Its finds add richness and detail to our understanding of early (12th-century) market activity. Specific artifact concentrations indicate social as well as exchange activities at the site. Ceramic finds, including small mugs, confirm intensive fluid consumption – probably beer. Preserved wooden remains indicate that the market was located on a wide, well-constructed road that was lost in 13th century as the city developed. The discussed finds represent the period before urban development when it served as a growing regional market for the surrounding villages. The role of market in this period was more spontaneous and depended on the presence of important roads and river crossings controlled by the duke.

PANEL 3: PRODUCTION AND MARKETS AT THE PERIPHERY OF EUROPE – THE SCOTTISH NORTHERN ISLES

From seasonal shore market to town: the emergence of Lerwick in Shetland (Scotland) in the seventeenth to eighteenth century.

MARK GARDINER (UNITED KINGDOM)

The arrival from 1550 onwards of Scots merchants and those from Germany seeking grain and dried fish stimulated larger-scale production of commodities in the North Isles of Scotland (Shetland and Orkney). However, it was the arrival of large numbers of Dutch fishing vessels in Shetland from around 1600 which had a particularly dramatic effect. Ships anchored in Bressay Sound and the crews came onshore before the start of the fishing season on 24 June. Two or three hundred and perhaps as many as 500 vessels anchored there and a market developed. A decree was made in 1615 to prevent the sale of beer and food to the Dutch. A further decree made in 1625 when trade was again forbidden at Lerwick indicates how difficult it was to repress this. Archaeological testpits excavated in Lerwick confirmed that the market was established on empty site, but during the seventeenth century permanent settlement developed, and the hillside behind the bay began to be cultivated. A thick, humic soil developed, formed from waste from the settlement. This work has demonstrated the way in which a seasonal market might grow into a permanent and thriving town.

‘Foreign strangers, merchants and others’: identifying Orkney’s 17th century trading landscape

SARAH JANE GIBBON (UNITED KINGDOM)

Contemporary accounts often list the range of goods exported from Orkney in the early modern period, but none provides detailed information on the infrastructure of trade within this archipelago situated off the north coast of Scotland. Orkney had a small burgh town and commentators went no further than to say this, and yet place-names, historical sources, indicate trade was taking place in the parishes and islands beyond the main trading centre. As a starting point for identifying the places where people were trading and thinking about the materiality of that trade, this paper will map merchants’ properties (farms, booths), storehouses, and the locations of markets/fairs to help visualise the mechanisms of trade in a rural archipelago as it became increasingly involved in global commercialisation.

Produce from the isles: the production and export of later medieval and post- medieval foodstuffs in Orkney and Shetland

JEN HARLAND, INGRID MAINLAND AND JULIA CUSSANS (UNITED KINGDOM)

The North Atlantic archipelagos of Orkney and Shetland were known historically to produce and export surplus animal products and cereals, both regionally (e.g. grain, butter) and inter-regionally (e.g. fish, some grain and butter). As part of the AHRC/DFG ‘Looking in from the Edge’ project, our recent excavations on both island groups have produced copious quantities of material remains of later medieval and post-medieval date, including imported goods and well-preserved environmental evidence. This includes animal bone, from which we can infer how animals were being used, the relative importance of dairying vs meat production, and butchery/preservation methods for both mammals and fish. This paper will explore the two strands of evidence we have for food production and export during this time, comparing and contrasting the archaeological sources with the detailed historical accounts for the region. Can we identify regional and inter-regional trade using both strands of evidence? Our excavations encompass both urban Lerwick and Kirkwall, and rural sites in more remote areas. We will be investigating the different nature of the archaeological assemblages at each site type, exploring how trade goods reach rural areas, and how surplus products may have been collected together and subsequently exported.

PANEL 4: APPROACHES TO THE IDENTIFICATION OF MARKETS AND TRADE

The birth of business – risk management and social relations among farmers in Jämtland and traders in Trondheim and Bergslagen 1700-1850

SVEN OLOFSSON (SWEDEN)

From the beginning of the 18th century farmers in some villages in the county of Jämtland were more dedicated to trade than others. The structural foundation was established in the 17th century when the trade was facilitated by the Crown giving farmers in the region opportunities to gain from delivering goods between the fairs in Trondheim and Levanger in Norway and the industrial areas in central Sweden, especially the iron works in Bergslagen and the copper mine in Falun in Dalarna. The aim of this paper is to discuss the dynamics behind the birth of the “trading system of Jämtland”, and how farmers and traders living far apart used different tactics to deal with risk and uncertainty in long-distance trade. Key issues were the availability of commercial information, the capacity to offer goods in demand and transport, and the personal ability to carry risk. How important was the socio-cultural background in Jämtland, the annual trips to different fairs and the importance of learning how to conduct business from an early age – to be born into entrepreneurship?

Fairs and markets identified by metal-detector finds in Eastern Norway

RAGNAR ORTEN LIE (NORWAY)

A well-known problem is how to identify periodic and smaller meeting places/trading places in the archaeological material, as such places often leave few traces. Metal detectors came into private use in the 1990s in Norway, and in about 2013, the number of finds submitted to the archaeologists in Vestfold and Telemark counties in Eastern Norway exploded. Despite the fact that this is a challenging material to research, it has great potential for identifying new key locations and, in many cases, changing older images of an area. With around 4000 new finds, we can illuminate new issues. Among these, the many coins and weights in particular have the potential to study trade, gift networks and also the smiths. Thus, the trade footprint is significantly greater in metal-detected finds than in finds from traditional archaeology. In the past, weights, dirhems and other coins were known especially from the fixed trading places with well-known international contacts, such as Kaupang and Heimdal, other farms in the surrounding areas of the trading places now appear in the material. Coins and weights are clearly not just an urban feature. Some farms have such a large numbers of weights and coin finds that we can probably see local trade, gathering places, transport routes and production sites. What was the relationship between the more well-known market-places with international contacts versus the smaller meeting places (fairs) that have appeared in the material in recent decades from metal-prospected discoveries? How were these smaller trading places organised and what was traded in the places?

Identifying different networks of trade

THERESE NESSET (NORWAY)

The preserved material culture at medieval farms in the western Norwegian coastal and fjord districts suggests that farmers and tenants visited places where trade was conducted. Soapstone, iron, soapstone vessels, bakestones, hones, and imported pottery is common types of raw materials and objects found at farms and represent different provenance and networks. By studying the material culture, the likely surplus production at the farms which made trade possible, and their geographical, social, and cultural positions, the paper wishes to discuss possible types of market-places farmers and tenants could have visited. Historically documented post-medieval sites for trade, such as trading posts, that were widespread in this district will be used for comparison: what was traded at these

sites, who visited, how, and by whom were they organised? Could these sites have roots in medieval society, or do they represent a product of a later socioeconomic rural landscape? What does the medieval material culture found at farms suggest? The period in focus is c. 12th-15th centuries. A possible change in available goods in rural areas has been observed during this period. This will also be addressed more closely in the paper, as part of the discussion of the types of market-places peasants visited and whom they met on their way and thus got their cultural impulses from.

Many little finds go a long way – trade in late medieval countryside of Central Transdanubia (Hungary) in the light of archaeological finds

BIANCA KOVÁCS (HUNGARY)

Central Transdanubia is one of the regions of present-day Hungary. In the Middle Ages. This area was located in the immediate vicinity of the central areas of the Kingdom of Hungary, and was crossed by several trade routes to the west. Recently, I have processed several late medieval (mainly ceramic) assemblages of multiple sites from this area. To investigate these, I also examined finds from a number of other sites of similar date for comparison. Although the market-place of rural settlements has not yet been archaeologically identified in most of the studied region, the finds recovered from excavations provide a wealth of information on the trade of the period. The spread of products to local and regional markets can be well identified. Furthermore, we can also examine that how did the proximity of long-distance trade routes affected the settlements of the region, whether the transregional and global trading goods could get to the locals. My presentation will focus how an extensive study of sites and artefacts can provide data for investigating these questions, using the example of the mentioned region.

Archaeological record of trade networks, markets and socio-environmental interactions in late medieval rural settlements. A case study in the north-west of the Iberian Peninsula (Asturias, Spain).

JESÚS FERNÁNDEZ FERNÁNDEZ (SPAIN)

Fourteenth and 15th centuries were a complex crossroad when both crisis and growth joined to result in a higher integration of markets on a regional scale with significant implications for urban and rural centres. Late medieval urban archaeology has analysed how local exchange networks adapted and persisted in this background of change. However, we have fewer archaeological records from rural contexts, a key element in understanding the integration of late medieval trade networks. Here we show some results of the archaeological research carried out in a late medieval rural settlement in the north-west of the Iberian Peninsula (Asturias, Spain). Material culture show that the late Middle Ages represent a time of major site transformation, with changes in building construction, agrarian management and peasant wealth: coins and craft products from nearby markets increased in the archaeological record. This research allows us to discuss this set of transformations from a material viewpoint, evaluate the role that commerce networks played and understand better the characteristics of these markets: the archaeology of rural settlements is fundamental to achieve these aims. Overall, observations show how these rural communities actively transform their environments contributing to the general change rather than remaining a passive agent under structural forces and crises.

The village markets of Early Medieval Byzantine Cyprus and Greece

ATHANASIOS VIONIS (CYPRUS)

Landscape archaeology in Cyprus and Greece has revealed an astonishing growth in the countryside, and a dense and organised network of settlement, from emporia and agro-towns

to market villages. These testify to the successful land-use practices of peasants and their engagement in wider networks of exchange at the beginning of the Byzantine era in the 6th-7th centuries AD. The present contribution explores archaeological evidence from Boeotia in central Greece and the Xeros River valley in Cyprus in order to examine the degree to which such second-rank settlements – market villages and agro-towns – participated in the economic success of the period as 'local centres', controlling production, transport and exchange on sub-regional level. The construction of basilicas at such village markets, imported and local ceramics (from nearby rural workshops), storage strategies, carrying capacity, their location in proximity to resources and the road network, and, in some cases, their administrative functions reveal their central role in local market and exchange. The period of transformations in the 8th-10th centuries is also reviewed here in order to trace the fate of such local and regional centres, examining how the presence of the church and pilgrimage shaped rural settlement, land supervision and village markets.

New sites of trade and production in the Oslo-fjord region. The organisation of a tradescape.

CHRISTIAN RØDSRUD (NORWAY)

Advances in archaeological methodology over the last 20 years have changed the prerequisites for our understanding of the way market and meeting places were organised. Kaupang in Vestfold is no longer the only site from the Viking Period in Norway, as others, like Heimdalsjordet near Gokstad, and potentially Hjelmungen near Gjellestad have surfaced in the wake of the use of ground penetrating radar and not least organised metal detecting campaigns. This paper aims to shed light on the newly discovered sites in eastern Norway, and how the landscape of trade and production was organised in the Oslo-fjord region. Are there regional features or are we rather looking at strong leaders building their own more short-lived markets? Are there differences when it comes to which goods were traded, and can we differentiate between local, regional, and global exchange at the sites? The paper will also identify what other features in the landscape might have governed the choice of locations for the market-places in play. Did for example well-defined older features in the landscape dictate the choice of sites, or was strategic positions just as important?

Luxembourg: fairs and markets in the medieval and post-medieval periods

ANDRÉ SCHOELLEN AND JEAN-PAUL STEIN (LUXEMBOURG)

The present study re-examines from an archaeological point of view the theme of fairs and market in the area of the present-day Grand Duchy of Luxembourg. It covers a detailed inventory of all the known sites in the Luxembourg area. The systematic prospection through metal-detection of two fair sites provided an abundance of numismatic finds – coins of bronze, pieces of silver and gold, as well as coin-weights dating from a period of half a millennium. One of the case studies is the assembly mound of Helperknapp, a vast multi-layered site dating from antiquity, including a miraculous spring, a pilgrimage site, a parish church which served the three surrounding villages, a nearby hermitage and a probable medieval fortification. These archaeological and geophysical markers allow the identification of a medieval settlement around the church which began in the High Middle Ages (Carolingian brooches). The fair was moved to Finsterthal in the 19th century. The other fair site, that of Mersch-Enelter, was situated in open countryside, close to a chapel which began as a hermitage in the 12th century, and has similarly produced a large number of coins.

Rural trade and markets in medieval Norway – its organisation and socio-economic significance

KJETIL LOFTSGARDEN AND MARIE ØDEGAARD (NORWAY)

Less than seven percent of the Scandinavian towns lay in medieval Norway; it was a distinctly rural society. Consequently, rural market- and meeting places were all the more vital for trade and social interaction. Yet, we know hardly anything about these important socio-economic hubs in the medieval society. We will explore these sites, beginning with geolocating them, and investigate how and by whom they were organised. Subsequently, will study the regional and inter-regional significance of these places, both from an economic and social perspective. We approach this complex of issues from multiple angles. We will map certain archaeological objects that may point to the existence of a market-place, such as weights and coins. Metal detecting during the last decade has led to a substantial increase of this type of finds, but this have so far hardly been activated in archaeological research. Archaeological data will be analysed in relation to place names relating to trade or meetings. Historical sources are important insofar as they are available. This triangulation of sources will grant us new insights into the prevalence and the importance of farmers' trade and markets. As well as provide a bottom-up understanding and knowledge of an important, but hitherto overlooked aspect of medieval Scandinavia.

Rural building stone trade in eastern medieval Norway

KRISTIAN REINFJORD (NORWAY)

In medieval Norway stone building was part of regional interactions between raw material suppliers, stone masons, and rural building sites amongst others. As new evidence on building, raw material extraction and stone exchange suggests, social interaction can be witnessed on local, regional, and transregional scales as part of this endeavour. Quarries and building stone are potent archaeological sources for rural trade and markets. The products can be associated with several actors, such as the seller, user, and buyer. Also, where, and how the traded product is used can be identified. This sheds light on the social interactions of rural trade and market. Based on a provenance study of raw materials (quarryscapes and buildings) and toolmarks, the paper shows how stone trade was of essence to rural stone building. Moreover, it is argued that there was a building-stone market through which private church builders bought crafts and stones in social and economic interactions. Markets and exchange in the rural landscape of eastern Norway are addressed by the Hamar diocese building lodge use and trade with local limestone (mjøskalk), and its use in parish and private churches. Such building projects can be identified throughout both Oslo and Hamar dioceses in the 12th and 13th centuries.

The trade of garnets. From a rural mine in Tyrol out into the world

BIANCA ZEROBIN (AUSTRIA)

From its origin to the finished piece of jewellery, the red gemstone, garnet underwent a journey from small-scale mining in the Zillertal Alps to the gemstone-cutting workshops of the Habsburg Monarchy, mainly in Bohemia, and the jewellery trade in Europe and overseas. Within the project launched in 2021 and funded by the ÖAW (Austrian Academy of Sciences) "Garnets from the Zillertal. Cultural heritage of an East Alpine precious stone industry as reflected in interdisciplinary research", scientists from the fields of archaeology, history and mineralogy are dealing with the topic of garnet and its sphere of influence. The supra-regional trade in the garnets on the one hand and the jewellery on the other can be illustrated through various historical records or sources. Based on archaeological finds, written documents (letter correspondence preserved by descendants of the garnet trader families) and the mineralogical analyses of the garnets, it is possible to reconstruct the far-reaching trade network from small-scale mining claims to the

jewellers of the Biedermeier and Art Nouveau periods from the 18th to the beginning of the 20th century.

Gaming pieces as an indication of whale hunting and trade in the early medieval period

ANDREAS HENNIUS (SWEDEN)

Museum collections in Scandinavia hold thousands of gaming pieces, primarily retrieved from graves and urban deposits dating from between AD 200 and AD 1200. Some are made from a wide variety of exclusive or eye-catching materials such as glass, amber, ivory, or horse teeth. However, the most prevalent materials are bone or antler, mostly not clearly identified as to species. Through a combination of ocular examination and chemical analysis, the species used for bone gaming pieces have now been determined. The analysis shows that, from the middle of the 6th century, most gaming pieces were made from whalebone, and then almost exclusively from the North Atlantic right whale, indicating active hunting for this specific species. The hunting grounds, and production areas were most probably situated along the north Norwegian coast, and from there gaming pieces was distributed as refined, serial and mass-produced items around the Baltic. The geographical distribution suggests a land-based trade across the Scandinavian Mountain Range, acting as a complement to maritime transport. Gaming pieces can thus be used to trace distribution networks and trade across Scandinavia in early medieval period, connecting the Arctic north with the Continent well before the Viking Age emporias. The study also shed light on resource exploitation and large-scale hunting of marine mammals, as well as the anthropogenic impact on the marine ecosystems in prehistory.

This little potter went to market

YANNICK SIGNER (UNITED KINGDOM)

From the 12th century onwards, the number of rural markets being established in Yorkshire increased rapidly, accompanied by a general rise in rural production and activity. However, the importance of these markets in relation to the increase in rural pottery production, whilst generally acknowledged, has not yet been studied comprehensively at a landscape-scale. This is unfortunate as pottery can (1) provide a chronology for such socio-economic developments; (2) reveal local and regional trading dynamics and (3) inform our understanding of changing consumption and usage practices. By studying the emergence of rural markets and the production and use of pottery through a series of landscape-scale case studies, this paper considers the wider socio-economic impact of rural markets from the 12th century onwards. It highlights how such an approach can be used to better understand how the emergence of rural markets influenced the local production of material culture and contributed towards the establishment of a medieval rural identity. As such, this paper provides a novel approach for integrating existing archaeological evidence into the narratives concerning the development of rural society, whilst the focus on potters (who are largely absent from historical documents) contributes an often untold perspective.

Novel notes: examples of commodity money and fiat money in the Viking Age and the implications for the social organisation of trade and exchange

MONIKA MALESZKA-RITCHIE (UNITED KINGDOM)

This paper will explore the archaeological and historical evidence for the development of 'commodity money' and 'fiat money' at early medieval market-places and their rural hinterlands in the Viking Age. Commodity money comprises objects that have an intrinsic value or use in themselves, such as gold and silver, as well as their value in buying goods. Fiat money is a type of currency that is not backed by a commodity, such as gold or silver, and which derives its value

from having been established as money by agreement. Fiat money has value only because the individuals who use it agree on its value and trust that it will be accepted by others. Examples of commodity money include the flat axe-shaped iron Grzywna (from Poland and the Czech Republic), Silesian iron plates, and Danish axe shaped iron vaerjern. Examples of fiat money include Eastern Slavonic and Bulgar squirrel pelts and Western Slavonic linen handkerchiefs. The practicalities and implications of both commodity money and fiat money will be set within the context of early systems of standardised measurements in the Viking Age. The wider socio-economic implications for organized trade and exchange will be discussed, and comparisons and contrasts highlighted.

Gold for the...peasants? Markets, fairs, and the circulation of gold coin in the English and Welsh countryside, c.1350-1550

MURRAY ANDREWS (UNITED KINGDOM)

The two centuries after the Black Death were a period of dramatic monetary change in England and Wales, and witnessed the transformation of an established monometallic currency of low-value silver pence into a bimetallic system dominated by high-value gold coins. While the rise of gold and ensuing 'crisis of small change' hindered urban commerce, the impact on rural trade seems rather more equivocal. Drawing on a corpus of more than eight hundred coin finds, this paper examines the circulation of gold coin in the late medieval English and Welsh countryside, and considers how the institutional traits of rural markets and fairs – in particular, their periodicity, commodity specialisms, and social role as venues for settling debts – might have encouraged farmers and peasants to transact goods and services through the medium of high-value gold currency.

PANEL 5: MINING, METAL PRODUCTION AND MARKETS – THE EVIDENCE FROM SWEDEN

Silver from Sala silver mine – controlled trade or shadow market?

LENA BERG NILSSON (SWEDEN)

Sala silver mine was historically the largest and most important silver mine in Sweden with its heyday in the 16th century. At least since the charter of 1512, Salberget was mined by both the Crown and the peasant farmers, but the Crown had the right to every tenth 'stretcher' of ore mined by peasant farmers and also the right to buy all produced silver for minting – i.e. a controlled trade. The silver was produced in simple furnaces scattered around the countryside until the Crown urged the miners to smelt their ore at Crown works instead. But did this transition from peasant farmers own rural smelting to the more controlled smelting of the Crown also affect the receiver of the silver and the Crown's right of acquisition? Identified archaeological remains of presumably "illegal smelting places" around Sala indicates the peasant miners were reluctant to follow the royal decree. As a result, the crown demanded centralisation to one new silver work at Sala in the mid-1500s. However, the king kept lamenting the waste of silver since it continued to "disappear". But how did it disappear? How did the trade take place? Was there a shadow market with informal trading places?

Iron, trade, landscape and society

CATARINA KARLSSON (SWEDEN)

How did trade of iron and movement between production areas, markets and rural homesteads change and shape the rural landscape? Iron altered the rural landscape in more ways than one. During the Swedish late medieval economic expansion increased population, production and

consumption as well as a growing market were changes that made great impact on society. In Sweden, this crucial process was characteristic mainly of the 12th and 13th century. Though the rapid emergence of industrial production in Bergslagen was vital, the foundation was rural economy and agrarian production. The rural progress and expansion of arable land was dependant on a steady supply of iron. Through archaeology we know that there were no farms without iron during this time. During the 14th century at least two hundred blast furnaces were active in the mining districts of Sweden. The production increased from nothing to approximately 300 tons of pig iron a year. Changes in consumption, production and economic practice demanded innovative thinking. The rise of iron production created new market-places and altered both the rural and the mental landscape in the medieval society. An operational trading system was essential for producers and consumers to meet and for society to evolve.

The Influence of mining work and economy on regional and transregional exchange in the Middle Ages and Early Modern period

GERT MAGNUSSON (SWEDEN)

The paper discusses how the powerful economic development in the mining areas in Sweden was deeply dependent on even far-distant trade. The transport of goods was dependent on different kinds of roads for summer and winter, which opened up rather isolated villages. For example, the people living in the provinces of Härjedalen and western Hälsingland were exporting oxen to the mining district of the Great Copper Mine in Falun. These animals were an important source of the ropes that were used for lifting the ore from lower parts of the mine. In a case study from the small village of Ängersjö, I present the reach of the inhabitants and their geographical relation to the mining areas. Their travels to the markets needed an organisation with different sites for overnight stays where the animals could rest – a network of communications. Through an archaeological excavation of a smithy for blacksmithing, it is possible to present equipment as well as trading objects for and from the mining districts. The trade moved objects in both directions, to the mines and back to the peripheral land.

PANEL 6: TRANSPORT AND TRADE – CONNECTING PRODUCERS AND MARKETS

Looking for exchange

ROWIN VAN LANEN (THE NETHERLANDS)

Located in north-western Europe, large parts of the Netherlands are best described as a low-lying estuary of two major European rivers: the Rhine and Meuse. Throughout the Holocene, marine and fluvial influences have greatly defined this dynamic landscape. The vicinity to rivers and sea greatly impacting both geomorphological development as well as flooding events. The general wet conditions made many parts of the landscape inaccessible and uninhabitable. However, these same rivers and sea facilitated long-distance transport of peoples, ideas, and goods and are often regarded as “highways of the past” in elaborate exchange networks. In this paper I will focus on reconstructing transport networks and rural markets in the river-dominated central Netherlands during the first millennium AD. It is a period characterised by little urbanisation and a densely populated rural landscape in which rural markets are difficult to locate. By using the spatial distribution of mundane goods (mainly pottery and stone household goods) as a proxy, I will show that: (1) “rural” markets (including later medieval counterparts) can be located based on network positioning, (2) import/export ratios are crucial for understanding rural exchange, and (3) accessibility to transport routes and landscape conditions are crucial for possible market occurrence.

Following the herd. Cattle trade and breeding in the Netherlands as an example of rural-urban synergy in the late medieval and early modern periods

JAAP ABRAHAMSE AND ROWIN VAN LANEN (THE NETHERLANDS)

The wetlands of the western Netherlands are quite an exceptional and highly complex landscape in terms of agriculture, settlement patterns, and infrastructure. Medieval peatland reclamation resulted in highly-organised agricultural landscapes, owned by individual farmers. Subsequent soil subsidence caused severe hydrological problems – and the construction of an intricate network of drainage canals. These proved an excellent water infrastructure when arable farming became impossible, forcing farmers to switch to animal husbandry, and grain and livestock to be imported via ever longer supply lines. The resulting market economy had a substantial impact on the landscape of Holland, transforming agricultural areas into parts of an integrated urban/rural economy in which the largest town (Amsterdam) was the main hub for the cattle trade. Perspectives increasingly shifted from local to (supra)regional. In this paper, we will look at the spatial structure of cattle trade and breeding using a systemic approach. By using both traditional research and multi-layered digital spatial data, we will reconstruct the production, supply lines, and exchange points of (both young and fattened) livestock and the production and exchange of dairy and meat. We will show how a large part of north-western Europe was involved in feeding Holland in the late medieval and early modern periods.

Livestock trails and cattle fairs in the north-west of the Iberian peninsula in medieval and post-medieval times

MARGARITA FERNÁNDEZ MIER, PABLO LÓPEZ GÓMEZ AND ELÍAS CARBALLIDO GONZALÉZ (SPAIN)

The rich pasture zones of the Cantabrian Mountains are marked by communication routes that connected the Atlantic coast with the inner plateau areas of the Peninsula. At the end of the summer several cattle fairs were organised, related to the transhumant practices of these territories and coinciding with the descent of the cattle from the grazing areas in the mountains to the lower villages. Some of these locations became central places to which different kinds of religious buildings, events and festivities were associated and that are used to analyse the local, regional and trans-regional commercial routes. We are going to focus on a specific case, El Camín Real de la Mesa, a route of Roman origin that was in use until the 19th century, studying the different livestock fairs that were celebrated along its way and paying attention to the central place of Cueiro. We are now starting an investigation of this site through the use of place names, written sources, archaeological records and the oral tradition, something that allow us to give a complex view of the diversity of economic and social interests that intersect on these spaces, considering specially the late Middle Ages and the Early Modern period.

Forgotten trade, forgotten villages

CSILLA ZATYKÓ AND MÁTÉ STIBRÁNY (HUNGARY)

In the economy of medieval rural areas it was not only the local markets that played an important role, but also the major trade routes which influenced the economic and social network of nearby villages. The presentation focuses on the interdependent relationship between villages and roads: the role that villages could play along the trade routes (supplying traders, control of routes) and the impact of long-distance trade on rural settlements and on local market conditions. How might changes in relocation of trading centres, markets and staples, or the changing function and significance of trade routes affect the rural landscape and settlement pattern? What factors may have played a role in the capacity of some villages to adapt to the transformations, while others were deserted? The questions raised will be discussed by presenting the historical and archaeological results of a case study of a forgotten route in Fejér county, Hungary, where the long-distance trade route to the southern part of the Kingdom (Baranyai nagyút) lost its former significance and withered to oblivion during the 13th

century, due to a shift of change at the royal seat (and the commercial rights) from Esztergom to Buda. Examining the changes of settlement pattern along this forgotten road can help us understand the significance and effects of the constant flow of people and commerce in a landscape level.

PANEL 7: TRADE TRANSPORT ROUTES AND TRADE

Movement to the centre – rural life around Old Buda

ADRIENN PAPP (HUNGARY)

In this presentation I will describe a micro-regional case study, part of Budapest, the capital of Hungary. It is the 3rd district of the city, but in the Middle Ages it was divided into small villages (villa in the medieval written sources) and agricultural fields. The landscape is determined by three main elements: the Danube river, the surrounding hills, and thermal sources. Marshlands and ancient Roman ruins made it more diversified. Recently, the total area has been incorporated into the city itself, thus our knowledge about the landscape is known from historical maps, written sources and fragmentary archaeological data. We can well define some of the settlements and their territories on the 18th-century maps, but others are known only from archaeological excavations. Written sources inform us about how the goods were produced and sold, such as grape production or fishing the great sturgeon, and mills can also be well defined. The last really interesting excavated element was a segment of the Roman road where it was proved that the road was used and kept in proper condition in the medieval and post-medieval times. A wooden structure was built in the Roman period to control waters with a culvert, and this structure was repaired in the mediaeval ages. In my presentation I will summarise the knowledge about this district, and how the landscape was changed by producing goods for markets (roads and mills), and how we can research rural life in modern urban situations.

Charcoal roads: environmental resources in south European mountains between 19th and 20th centuries.

ANNA STAGNO, GIULIA BIZZARRI, ANDRÉS MENÉNDEZ BLANCO, CHIARA MOLINARI, ALESSANDRO PANETTA, VALENTINA PESCHINI, CATERINA PIU AND RICCARDO SANTERAMO (ITALY)

This paper focuses on trail and road networks connected to charcoal production and trade, as traces of long- and short-distance social relationships, discussing case studies from the mountains of southern Europe between the 19th and 20th centuries. The analysis reflects on changes in the organisation of infrastructure, paths and road networks in the Ligurian Apennines and in the Basque mountains, focusing on the relationship with demographic dynamics and the organisation of the productive space. In this period, as revealed by textual and field sources, the production of charcoal intensified and took on a commercial role that it did not have before. The investigations of the Laboratory of Archaeology and Environmental History of the University of Genoa show that this production – which left visible traces on the slopes (i.e. charcoal kiln sites) – while hinting at the emergence of charcoal as a new economic resource, often went hand in hand with the disappearance of multiple uses of wooded spaces (shifting from wooded pastures to coppice woods). Charcoal production and its commercial cycle bring into play several actors (entrepreneurs, charcoal burners, merchants/traders, etc.) and places of exchange, designing different geographies and networks, from the productive areas to the market sites. This discussion tackles how charcoal production contributed the redefinition of market-places and commercial nodes involving inland areas, and to which extent they correspond to (or are reflected by) the road network transformations. The study analyses changing infrastructure and how it connected inland areas to the markets where these products were traded, both in big cities (domestic and industrial use) and in the smaller towns of the mountains and Apennines themselves (retail sales and at fairs and markets), while also investigating how the production of charcoal was related and influenced the other economic activities and exchange dynamics in inland villages, hamlets and communities.



EXCURSIONS

TUESDAY 5TH SEPTEMBER

15.00–18.30 Tour to Old Fredrikstad town and fort with wine reception

Old Fredrikstad town and fort

The Old Town is the oldest part of Fredrikstad, founded in 1567 after the town of Sarpsborg was attacked by the Swedes and burned during the “Northern Seven Years’ War”. The Old Town is considered Northern Europe’s best-preserved fortress city. Fredrikstad is often characterised as Norway’s first Renaissance city, with regular street plans in quarters. The fortress originates mainly in the 17th century. The town initially had a more medieval character, with longitudinal streets parallel to the river and narrower roads. The fortification of Fredrikstad was extended after Norway lost the area of Båhuslen to Sweden in 1658. The city became an important military support point and depot for the Norwegian army. Redoubts were built at both Isegran and Cicignon in the 1670s and 1680s (see map). Kongsten fort was built to the east of the Old Town in 1677–85. Some of the city residents moved to the area of Vaterland south of the fortress in the 1660s. This was a poor district, housing sailors and craftsmen.



Map of Fredrikstad, Norway, 1776 (Norwegian Mapping Authority, No Copyright)



Fredrikstad Old Town seen from the air. (Xalzlos, Wikipedia.CC BY-SA 4.0)

WEDNESDAY 6TH SEPTEMBER

9.00 Full-day excursion in Norway and Sweden.

Gjellestad, viking ship and burial mound

In 2018 a ship burial was discovered at Gjellestad. This was a world sensation and prompted the first Viking ship excavation in over hundred years. The Viking ship burial site is located next to the Jell Mound, one of Northern Europe's largest burial mounds. This monumental mound dominates the landscape with its location beside the E6 highway near Halden. The mound was probably built in the 6th century, about 300 years before the burial of the Gjellestad ship, marking Gjellestad out as a long-lasting regional power centre.



The excavation of the Gjellestad Viking ship. (The Museum of Cultural History, UiO/CC BY-SA 4.0.)

Opstad, Iron Age burial site

One of the largest burial grounds in Norway are located at Opstad, consisting of approximately 150 burial mounds, three stone settings, a number of memorial stones and several hollow roads. The sites contain burials from the Bronze Age to the Viking Age.

Opstadfeltet. (Unimus. CC BY-SA 4.0)



Tanum rock carvings (World Heritage site)

The rock carvings in Tanum, located in the northern part of Bohuslän province in western Sweden (Västra Götaland County), are a unique artistic achievement for their rich and varied motifs (depictions of humans and animals, weapons, boats, and other symbols), and for the cultural and chronological unity they express. They reveal the life and beliefs of people living in the Nordic region of Bronze Age Europe and are remarkable for their large numbers and outstanding quality. This is a cultural landscape with a continuity in settlement and consistency in land use that spans more than eight millennia. The area is rendered outstanding by its assemblage of Bronze Age rock art. (<https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/557/>)



Tanum rock carvings. (VGR Creative Commons erkännande)

Tanum church

The church in Tanum was built in the 1820s on the site of a previous medieval church. It has recently been restored to its original neo-classical style. The triumphal crucifix placed on the southern wall is a reminder of the old church. Outside the church stands a runestone, which has been moved to its present site. The stone is unique with its very old inscription which has not been satisfactorily interpreted. It has been dated to 400/375-160 BC and belongs to the oldest category of Scandinavian runestones.

Greby (Iron Age burial site)

The Iron Age burial site at Greby, close to Grebbestad, is the largest prehistoric burial site in Bohuslän. You can count up to 200 graves, but the total amount is probably much greater. A special feature is the large stone slabs, raised as markers on about 40 of the graves. Most of the other graves are mounds or flat stone-settings. A broad dating of the site is 600-200 BC but only a few graves have been excavated, and that happened as far back as 1873, so Greby probably has many secrets left.

FRIDAY 8TH SEPTEMBER

14.00–17.00 Trip to Isengran fort

Isengran

The small green island of Isengran is located in the middle of the river Glomma and in the middle of the city, and is the perfect place for food, culture and recreation. Isengran is the first place in Fredrikstad mentioned in written sources: The earl of Borgarsyssel had a small fortress on Isengran at the end of the 13th century. In the 1670s the island was fortified with a large battery platform, Isengran's tower. Isengran was until 1680 Norway's only naval port. The island also contains one of the area's oldest standing wooden buildings: the Isengran house or 'the Yellow house' built in 1730, and surrounded by a beautiful Renaissance garden. Isengran has a vibrant maritime environment with a well-known

maritime centre for building and rehabilitating wooden boats. Here you will also find Norway's only boat building line and a unique museum harbour with traditional boats. We will have a guided tour of the maritime centre.



Isengran fort viewed towards the south.

SATURDAY 9TH SEPTEMBER

9.00 Post-conference excursion in Sweden

Kungälv

For at least 1000 years the town of Kungälv has been a significant place in Scandinavian history. It is situated at the old border between Denmark, Norway and Sweden. A meeting of their three kings is described in one of the Icelandic Sagas. They declared peace, but Kungälv seldom knew peace in the following years. Bohus fortress and Ragnhildsholmen castle are proof of this warlike past. But today's Kungälv is popular among tourists, especially the Old Town with many beautiful well-kept houses, dating mainly from the 19th century.

Ytterby old church

The old church at Ytterby, close to Kungälv town, was founded in the 12th century. It was dedicated to Saint Halvard, the patron saint of seafarers and of the town of Oslo. The church was built in the Romanesque style, typical of the era. A new much larger church was consecrated in 1870 and the old church was left to decay. But the romantic ruin is well maintained and now a very popular attraction for visitors.

Bohus fortress

Bohus fortress lies along the old Norwegian–Swedish border in Kungälv, Bohuslän, Sweden. The construction of Bohus fortress began in 1308 under King Haakon V Magnuson (reigned 1299–1319). At the time Bohuslän (Båhuslen) was Norwegian territory and served as the main Norwegian defence against Sweden along the coast, as well as the strong point for the region from 1308 to 1658. Under the terms of the Treaty of Roskilde in 1658, Denmark-Norway ceded the Danish provinces of Scania, Blekinge and Halland and the Norwegian provinces Trøndelag and Bohuslän (including the Bohus Fortress).



Bohus fortress. (Idarvol , Wikipedia, CC BY-SA 4.0)

Ragnhildsholmen castle

Ragnhildsholmen is an islet in the river Nordre älv, an arm of the river Göta älv, just opposite the old town of Konghelle. Here, the Norwegian king Håkon IV Håkonsson built a castle in the 13th century, which was the most important Norwegian fortress in this area. The Swedish Duke Erik took over Ragnhildsholmen, Konghelle and part of the surrounding land from his father-in-law to be, Norwegian King Håkon V in 1304. In the power struggles of the following years, the relationship between the duke and King Håkon worsened. The king tried to capture the castle in 1308, but without success. He chose instead to build his own castle, Båhus fortress, a couple of kilometres upstream. The duke gave up the castle in 1309, and took it back in 1310, but after the peace in Oslo he had to hand it back again in 1312-15. Shortly after this, the castle was destroyed by fire, and most of the walls were demolished to be used as building stone at Båhus. Ragnhildsholmen thus had a useful life of less than 100 years.



Ragnhildsholmen. The ruins of the castle near Kungahälle in Sweden. The castle was built by the king of Norway Håkon IV Håkonsson in the 13th century . (T. Svensson, wikipedia. CC BY-SA 3.0)

Skee church

Skee church is one of Bohuslän's oldest churches. Skee church was made of granite in the 1100s and enlarged in 1794-1795. The belfry was added in 1673. The fine detail is Madonna sculpture made of black soapstone, dating from the 1200s. The altarpiece dates from 1490s and pulpit from 1671. It was a gift from Sven Ranck, the owner of Blomsholm manor. The name Skee is originally, Skediuhofi, suggesting a pre-Christian holy site. Several burial mounds in close vicinity to the church support this suggestion.



Skee church (Wikimedia commons.)

SUNDAY 10TH SEPTEMBER

9.00 Post-conference excursion in Norway

15.00 Arrival at Oslo Airport Gardermoen

Nes kirkeruin

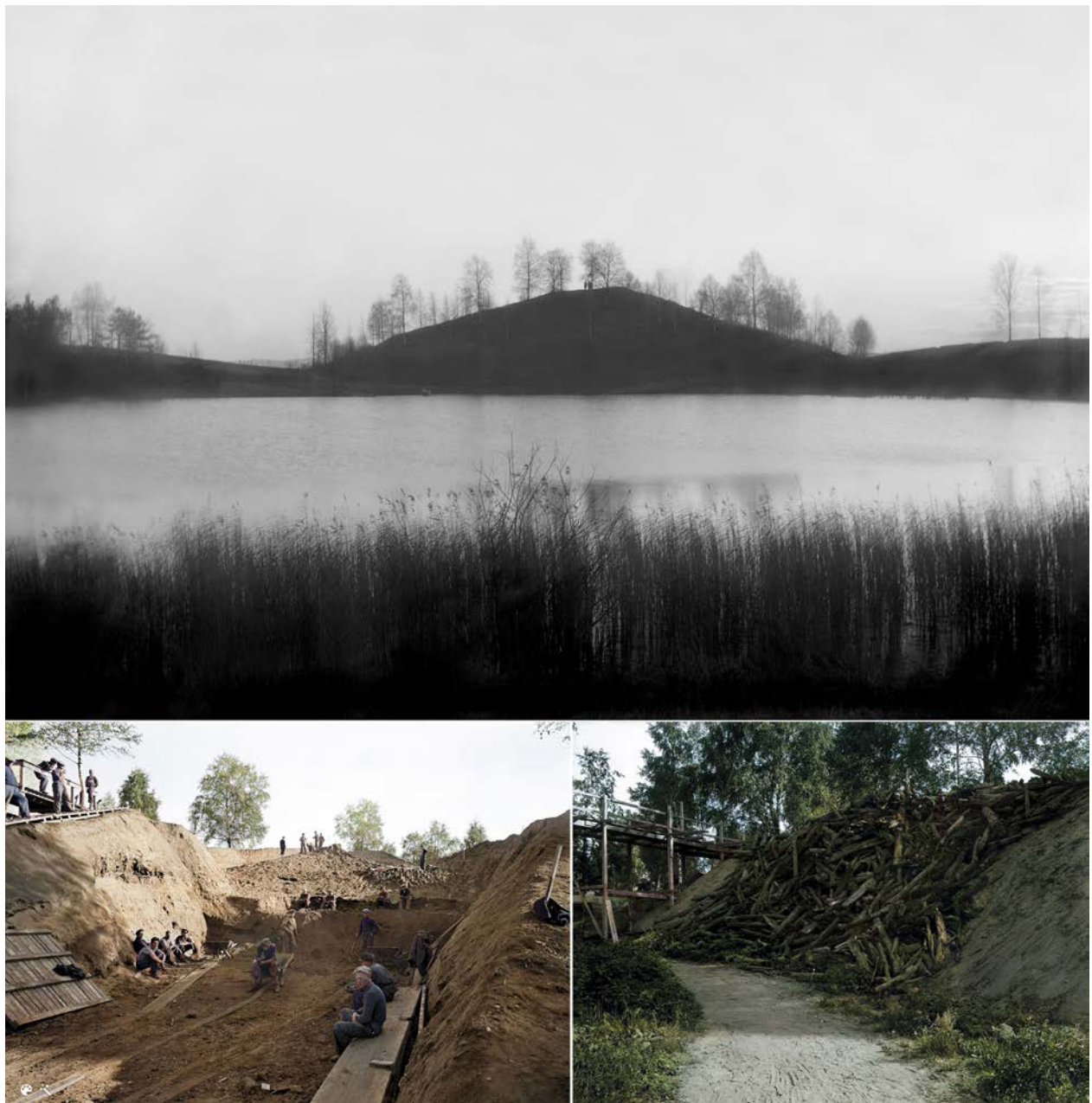
The first stone church in Nes was built on the headland between the Glomma and Vorma rivers in the twelfth century. It was burnt down in the war against Swedish in 1567 and rebuilt later. In 1697 it was transformed to a cross shape. Nes church burnt down following a lightning storm in 1854. The restoration began in 1924. The altarpiece, font and pulpit survived from fire, and were located to new Nes church in 1860s. The church is located at the farm of Ullershov. This place name, as with Skee church, indicates a pre-Christian holy site.



Nes church ruins, overlooking the headland between the Glomma and Vorma rivers (Museene i Akershus.)

Raknehaugen

In one short Scandinavian summer in the mid-6th century, more than 500 men and women toiled to create what was to become the largest built mound in Europe in the first millennium CE – the massive Rakne mound – measuring 77 m across and with a height of 15 m. The Rakne mound still towers in the flat undulating landscape of Romerike, situated about 40 km north of the Oslofjord. The tribe or people who lived here (Raumariciae) is first mentioned by Jordanes writing in the mid-6th century, contemporaneous with the building of the mound. The giant mound was an attractive object for early archaeological investigations, which found that the mound was, uniquely, constructed using thousands of logs. Yet, despite a number of excavations, no burial finds have been uncovered. This has restricted archaeological interpretations of the mound and added to the mystery of this giant monument.



Raknehaugen. Top, Raknehaugen c. 1930. Photo: B. Haugen. Bottom left, photo from the excavation in 1939. Photo: S. Grieg. Bottom right, logs cast away from the excavation. Photo: L. Smedstad. The bottom photos have been colourised. (The Museum of Cultural History, UiO/CC BY-SA 4.0.)

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