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



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.

The conference is jointly organized by Marie Ødegaard, Kjetil Loftsgarden, Catarina Karlsson, Frode Iversen†, Mark Gardiner and Claudia Theune; with the support of Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo, Jernkontoret and Fredrikstad county.

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Jernkontoret







NORSK ARKEOLOGISK SELSKAP

RURALIA

European Association of Medieval and Post-Medieval Rural Archaeology

http://www.ruralia.cz

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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.

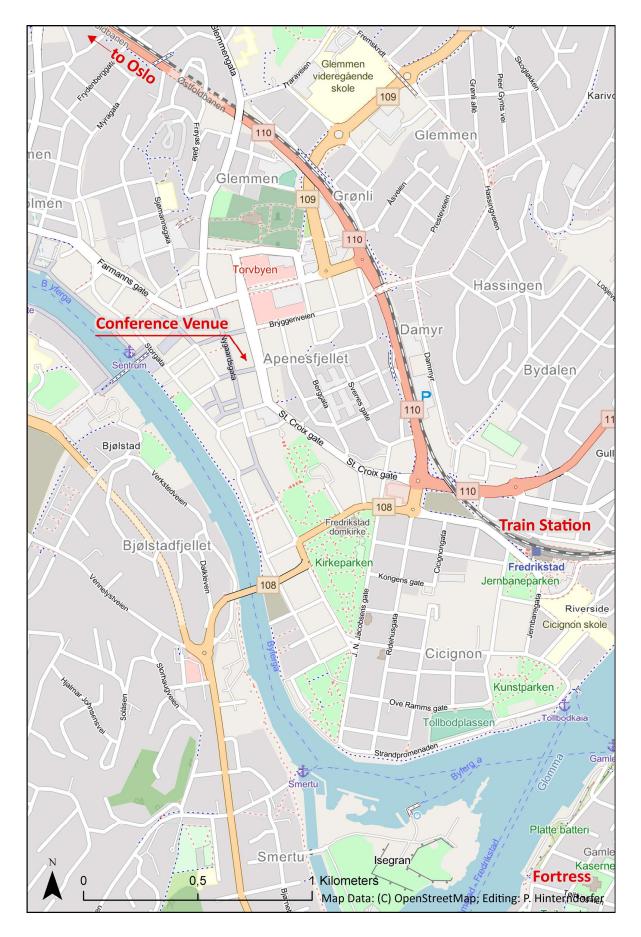
Traded goods. What goods were traded at the sites?

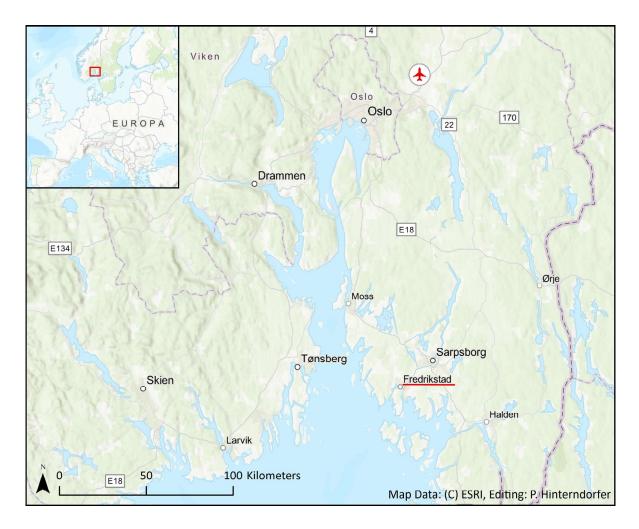
Barter, credit, silver and coinage. How was the rural trade organised, and what were the practicalities of trade and exchange?

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 breath 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.vybuss.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.

PROGRAMME OF THE RURALIA XV CONFERENCE

Friday 8th Sept 8.30: Lectures Final remarks Main conference ends 12.30: Lunch 14.00: opti	Saturday 9th Sept 9.00: Departure for Post Conference Excursion in Sweden	
14.00: optional Trip to Isengran Fort		3

PROGRAMME

MONDAY 4TH SEPTEMBER

Morning Arrival and registration (12.00)

14.30-15.00 **Welcome**

Fredrikstad's mayor: Siri Martinsen

the President of RURALIA: Claudia Theune the Organising Committee: Marie Ødegaard

15.00-16.00 Introduction paper to the theme "Farmers' trade and markets"

Chair: Claudia Theune

Bert Groenewoudt and Rowin van Lanen (The Netherlands)

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: Marie Ødegaard

Rainer Schreg (Germany)

Local rural markets in preindustrial southern Germany

László Ferenczi (Hungary)

Rural markets in medieval and early modern Hungary

17.00-17.30 Coffee break

17.30-19.30 Chair: Csilla Zatykó

Uglješa Vojvodić (Serbia)

Medieval and Ottoman market-places in the Raška Basin

Mette Svart Kristiansen (Denmark)

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

Tuuli Heinonen (Finland)

But where are all the market-places? Southern Finland as an example of

medieval and early modern rural trade in Finland

Niall Brady (Ireland)

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 17th century trading landscape

Jen Harland, Ingrid Mainland and Julia Cussans (United Kingdom)

Produce from the isles: the production and export of later medieval and postmedieval 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 Nesset (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 Bradv

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 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 Gonzaléz (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

BERT GROENEWOUDT AND ROWIN VAN LANEN (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,