

# Contents

	Editor's preface .....	7
Chapter 1	Introduction ..... <i>Jette Linaa</i>	9
Chapter 2	The archaeology of Early Modern Aalborg, c. 1450-1650..... <i>Christian Vrangmose Jensen</i>	25
Chapter 3	The immigrants in Aalborg 1550-1650 .....	39
	<i>Jakob Ørnbjerg</i>	
Chapter 4	Using plant remains to identify diaspora communities in Late Medieval and Early Modern Aalborg .....	75
	<i>Peter Mose Jensen</i>	
Chapter 5	The archaeology of Elsinore and the Sand .....	95
	<i>Liv Appel</i>	
Chapter 6	The townscape of Elsinore .....	119
	<i>Liv Appel &amp; Jette Linaa</i>	
Chapter 7	The making of diaspora communities. Networks of origin, credit, religion, marriage and spiritual kinship among migrants and Danes in Elsinore 1550-1660.....	151
	<i>Jette Linaa</i>	
Chapter 8	The materiality of longing and belonging: Diaspora communities reflected in probate inventories.....	191
	<i>Jette Linaa</i>	
Chapter 9	Plant resources in Elsinore in Early Modern times as revealed by archaeobotanical analyses .....	239
	<i>Sabine Karg &amp; Christian Flensborg</i>	
Chapter 10	Faunal remains from the 16 <sup>th</sup> -17 <sup>th</sup> -century settlement at the Sand, Elsinore .....	253
	<i>Inge Bødker Enghoff</i>	
Chapter 11	Stove tiles as a source of information about daily life in migrant households in Aalborg and Elsinore .....	307
	<i>Rainer Atzbach</i>	
Chapter 12	Pottery in Elsinore and Aalborg.....	331
	<i>Jette Linaa</i>	
Chapter 13	Migration and immigrants in Nya Lödöse 1473–1624.....	377
	<i>Daniel Larsson &amp; Christina Rosén</i>	
Chapter 14	Traces of a foreign kitchen .....	421
	<i>Jens Heimdahl</i>	
Chapter 15	Identity expressed through fish consumption.....	447
	<i>Emma Maltin</i>	
Chapter 16	Pottery from Nya Lödöse in a diaspora perspective.....	473
	<i>Kristina Carlsson</i>	
Chapter 17	The rise and fall of diaspora communities in Denmark and Sweden .....	495
	<i>Jette Linaa</i>	
	Sources.....	510



**Figure 1.1.** The double kingdom of Denmark-Norway (yellow signature) and the kingdom of Sweden (white signature) at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Septentrionaliv regionvm Svetiæ Gothiæ Norvegiæ Daniae et terrarum adiacetium recens exactaque descriptio. *Speculum Orbis Terrarum* pl. 29. Illustration: Gerard de Jode, Antwerp, 1578. Royal Danish Library.

## Chapter 1

# Introduction

*Jette Linaa*

*This is a book about the rise and fall of diaspora communities, written as the final publication from the Collective Research Project 2 “Urban Diaspora – Diaspora communities and materiality in Early Modern urban centres”, funded by the Danish Council for Independent Research/Humanities in 2014-2018. The spatial framework is Scandinavia, exemplified by two Danish and one Swedish town: Elsinore, Aalborg and Nya Lödöse, and the chronological framework for the rise and fall is the period between 1473, when the migrant-dominated town of Nya Lödöse was founded, and 1658, when the diaspora neighbourhood in Elsinore was destroyed during the Second Nordic War, never to rise again. This introductory chapter aims to present the context and background for the project, which is firmly rooted in historical archaeology but has been undertaken by a cross-disciplinary research group. In this chapter, the research landscape of which our project is a part, as well as its research questions, basic concepts and theoretical and methodological approaches, will be introduced. Finally, the contributions and contributors to this book will be presented.*

### *Concepts and content*

This is a book about the rise and fall of diaspora communities. The title “Urban Diaspora” was chosen because the human movements targeted in this book were to urban centres. The Danish towns of Elsinore and Aalborg and the Swedish town of Nya Lödöse were legally defined as towns in the past, with the special legal, political and economic privileges that adhered to such entities during in the period in question. This explains the inclusion of the term “urban” in the title: Movements to rural areas are not addressed. The term “diaspora” was chosen because this is a book about migrants and migration, and there are plenty of sources on migration in the past: Early Modern sources reveal that town councils, kings and ordinary inhabitants quite unapologetically addressed the inhabitants of these towns as Danes, Swedes, Scots, Dutchmen or Germans, so the question of descent was never far from their thoughts (Chs. 7 and 13). The group of migrants addressed in this book encompasses many anonymous people, as well as some well-known

figures such as the artist Pieter Isaacsz, the architect Hans van Steenwinckel and the artisan Caspar Fincke. The fact that these people were migrants, or of migrant descent, has never been concealed through history, but they are frequently highlighted as individuals, while their position within the greater diaspora communities has been less well understood. We aim to correct this stance.

The term “diaspora” is applied in accordance with sociologist Robin Cohen and defined as referring to groups that spread from an area of origin.<sup>1</sup> These groups include: 1. victim diasporas (e.g. classic diasporas forced into exile from a homeland, such as the Jewish or African diasporas), 2. labour diasporas (e.g. mass migration in search of work and economic opportunities; could also be referred to as “proletarian diasporas”) and 3. trade diasporas (e.g. artisans and merchants). Victim, labour and trade diasporas were at the forefront in this project and will be presented in the individual chapters: Victim diasporas primarily in the form of refugees from the Dutch wars of independence who settled

in Elsinore from the 1560s onwards; trade diasporas in the form of merchants and artisans who settled in Aalborg and Nya Lödöse, and labour diasporas in the form of soldiers and young single women who are especially visible in the sources from Elsinore. The term diaspora is useful because it enables us to consider a community that was dispersed from a homeland to a host land, and to examine how this community was transformed in the process.

Robin Cohen<sup>2</sup> has proposed several characteristics of diaspora movements, some of which, but not all, may apply to the diaspora communities in focus in this book. Cohen's list of criteria centres on the following themes: dispersal from a homeland, collective memory of the homeland, identification with the ancestral home, return movements, strong ethnic group conscience and a troubled relationship with the host land. Although perhaps difficult, it is certainly possible to address and discuss these criteria in terms of the archaeological, written and scientific records at the heart of this study, and this will be undertaken throughout this book.

### *Communities*

The Early Modern period is known as the time of modernity, when the concept of individual, as we now know it, was formed. The period was characterised by the onset of globalisation, which meant the development of global economies, global empires and global cultural exchange, as well as large-scale migrations that affected just about every corner of the world, including Scandinavia. The resulting upheavals tested the resilience of more traditional structures such as families and kinships, religious communities, neighbourhoods and so forth, and we aimed to examine how these fared and were transformed. Our perception of communities owes a great deal to the concept of emotional communities developed by the historian Barbara H. Rosenwein.<sup>3</sup> Rosenwein sees feelings as biological and universal and stresses that emotions – culturally adapted feelings – are shaped, identified, evaluated and expressed within a collective, thereby forming emotional communities. It is emotional communities of this kind, created and recreated through shared emotions of longing and loss, or of disappointment, that are at the forefront in this book. But emotional communities could and did overlap with other communities, centred on for example occupation, age, class and descent, and examples of these also feature here.

The Early Modern period saw tensions between communities and individuals, between the local

and the global – with the migrants frequently epitomising the global initiatives against the local traditionalists.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, migrant women and men occasionally embodied a rebellion against traditions that were long gone in their homeland but had become fossilised in the diaspora communities, thereby demonstrating the consequences of the ongoing individualism, while also exposing the fossilising effects of exile (Ch. 7). All through this book we will see that host-homeland interactions were heavily involved in the rise of the diaspora communities, as testified by numerous examples of chain migration and endogamous marriages between host- and homeland (Chs. 3, 7 and 13). Fittingly, the rise of individualism is linked to the fall of the diaspora communities, where elite diaspora community members increasingly sought out alliances with elite members of the native community, thereby breaking old bonds and forming new alliances based not on origin but on class, which were to leave deep mark on the towns in the centuries that followed. The fact that the old diaspora communities were able to transgress class divides was one of their more notable characteristics (Chs. 6, 7 and 13).

### *Chronology*

In its title, the book takes its starting point in the time we prefer to call the Early Modern period, defined as c. 1450-1750 in the British tradition and c. 1450-1789 in the German tradition. Like all classifications, this comes with some challenges. The book's timeframe extends from the foundation of Nya Lödöse in 1473 to the destruction of the diaspora neighbourhood, the Sand, in Elsinore in 1658, thereby placing itself securely within the Early Modern period. Danish and Swedish traditions, however, normally fix the transition from the Medieval to the Early Modern period as 1536 and 1520, respectively. But as this book is aimed at both an international and a national audience, we found that the simplest solution was to define the timeframe as generally within the Early Modern period overall and forgo the small, initial "Medieval" part, as this matters very little in the grand overall picture.

### *Geographical borders*

The title mark out the book's geographical area as Denmark and Sweden, and this is true since the towns of Elsinore and Aalborg were and are integral parts of the kingdom of Denmark, just as Nya Lödöse was, and its successor Gothenburg is, an integral part of the kingdom of Sweden, even though the



**Figure 1.2.** *The locations of Aalborg, Elsinore and Nya Lödöse. Map: Moesgaard Museum.*

borders of both kingdoms were very different in the Early Modern period from those of the present (Figs. 1.1-1.2). The towns of Aalborg, Elsinore and Nya Lödöse were chosen for this study because they all border on the same body of water – the Kattegat, and they were all dependent on the same maritime connections. This means that the mechanisms leading to the rise and fall of diaspora communities in the towns could be compared. Furthermore, because two towns were Danish and one was Swedish, and because they were founded in very different landscapes, this means that the diaspora communities in each of them formed and became rooted in a very specific set of geographical, geopolitical, political and historical circumstances, which, to various degrees, influenced the rise and fall of these communities in the towns, as we will see throughout this book. Geographically, the three towns were chosen because they were all ports that acted as gateways to hinterlands of varying size and resources, which influenced the potential of newcomers to make a

living in various ways. As we will see in Chapters 2 and 3, Aalborg had a vast hinterland encompassing extensive meadows and the Limfjord, and from the Middle Ages onwards the town was a hub for the export of oxen and herring to the European market. Elsinore, on the other hand, was a Medieval town that was revived by King Eric of Pomerania (1396-1439) in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, when it became the centre for the Sound Toll: A fee for passage through the the Sound that had to be paid by ships from 1429 until 1857. The fact that ships passing through the the Sound to and from the Baltic lands were required to stay over in Elsinore transformed the town into a major hub for trade and shipping, and numerous foreigners, especially many migrants from the Netherlands, settled there. But Elsinore had a very modest hinterland on what is now the Danish side of the the Sound and a larger one in the landscapes of Scania and Halland: Areas that were lost to Sweden in the Second Nordic War of 1657-1660, in dramatic events that profoundly altered the character of the town.

Unlike the Danish towns, which both had their roots in the Middle Ages and were partly revived during the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Nya Lödöse was decidedly a political project, founded in 1473 as Sweden's port to the west, located in a corridor between two areas, Halland and Bohuslän, that were both under Danish control. The town was established in a border zone, and conflicts and warfare between Sweden and Denmark had profound effects on its development and its communities. Founded in 1473, the town was burnt down and relocated in 1547, only to be moved back again in 1570 and subsequently relocated yet again to present-day Gothenburg in 1612 (Ch. 13). These events are partly visible in the archaeological record, and bear witness to the remarkable resilience of the townspeople in the face of such upheavals. The towns were, however, not only affected by local developments but also those on a European and even a global scale. The consequences of events on a European scale are evident in Elsinore, as the Eighty Years' War, from 1568 to 1648, sent waves of refugees to the town. Some of these were active participants in the Dutch Revolt of 1566-1567, even taking part in the iconoclasm themselves, who gained asylum in Scandinavia, while others were refugees from the southern Netherlands seeking a new place to live. The effect of this influx of refugees on developments in the town, and in the Danish kingdom, whether economical, industrial, architectural, cultural or associated with the arts, can hardly be overestimated, and the results of their actions still line our streets and fill our museums. New waves followed in conjunction with the Thirty Years' War, and as the European economic climate worsened, the diaspora community declined dramatically as a result. The end came with the Second Nordic War, which led to the bombardment of Kronborg castle and the destruction and subsequent demolition of the Sand, the diaspora neighbourhood in the vicinity of the castle and the richest and most splendid of all the neighbourhoods in Elsinore (Chs. 5 and 6). Even though the events of the war itself have not been analysed in this chapter, its effects are clear for all to see in the remains of demolished buildings and in rising death tolls due to battle and illness, as will become evident throughout the following chapters. European events are also visible in Aalborg, especially in the 1620s, when the Danish king, Christian IV, intervened in the Thirty Years' War – with disastrous results. The subsequent occupation of Jutland in 1627 is an undercurrent in this book, especially visible as one of

the main factors behind the decline of the diaspora community in Aalborg (Ch. 3). So even though we do not analyse the actual wars and unrest, or the grand political schemes that have been addressed by so many other volumes, to a significant degree we assess their effects as we perceive them in the archaeological, written and scientific records, and examine their effects on the rise and fall of the communities.

#### *Archaeology, history and science*

The final part of the book's title: "archaeology – history – science" mark out the disciplines involved in this study. The project itself is firmly rooted in historical archaeology. As such it draws upon the methodology known as "Ethnographies of place", whereby studies of material culture, i.e. artefacts and archaeological features, are combined with research into documentary sources and, in this case, analyses of biofacts, to transgress the limitations and bias inherent in all these sources, but especially in the documentary evidence. As such, we aim to embed the archaeological remains, whether buildings/structures, artefacts or biofacts, among the individuals, households and neighbourhoods to which they belonged, thereby revealing the multifaceted experience of life in a diaspora community.<sup>5</sup> It takes its starting point in archaeological excavations undertaken in the three towns. The project grew out of collaborations centred on the archaeological excavations in Elsinore, and from there we decided to include Aalborg, which had a remarkable archive of archaeological excavations and a written record to match. As for the Swedish element, Nya Lödöse was the only viable option on the west coast of Sweden: The location of the largest archaeological excavation in western Sweden, still ongoing as we wrote, and with a deeply interesting written and scientific record. These choices meant that the project became transdisciplinary and transnational, involving 14 researchers who represented three Countries, three disciplines and ten institutions. A study of this kind is ambitious in scale and scope, and the task of collaborating across institutional, scientific and national borders was anything but simple. Nevertheless, we have reached the conclusion that the very diversity of the research group, in its disciplines, traditions and nationalities, was not a hindrance but an advantage. During the course of the project, the goals, and the definitions, were uniformly applied, which means that every identification has been discussed, and every definition agreed upon. The basic concepts

were therefore the same, and the analytical procedures, as well as the results they generated, are directly comparable. This is also why great care has been taken to present and describe recovery methods in all the chapters, down to the very detailed information on mesh size involved in the recovery of archaeozoological remains. From this it follows that both the project and this book have been organised with a multiscale approach in mind, extending from the high-definition analysis of biofacts to the broadly overarching conclusions about community formation in the three towns. And its geographical scale ranges from in-depth analysis of single structures to large-scale analyses across and between townscapes. This multiscale and transdisciplinary approach gives the project a multidimensional quality that no written account in any one of the individual disciplines could have achieved alone. This is because our analyses of documentary sources, together with the archaeological, archaeozoological and archaeobotanical remains, each reveal different aspects of truth. Sometimes they speak in unison, sometimes they disagree. Nevertheless, an individual truth is revealed in each case, and all have the effect of deepening our understanding of these sometimes intangible communities.

### *Contents*

This book contains 15 chapters, in addition to this introduction and a conclusion, which collectively constitute efforts to investigate, unravel and present the archaeology and history of migration at several scales, from individual immigrants and their families to overarching studies of immigrant communities, and to study how the identities of these immigrants were negotiated in encounters with the natives and with each other. We have chosen to organise the chapters on the three towns in sections, as we believe this is easiest for readers. From this it follows that Aalborg is the subject of Chapters 2-4, Elsinore of Chapters 5-10 and Nya Lödöse of Chapters 13-16, while Chapters 11 and 12 revolve around two or more towns.

The Aalborg section includes an introduction by curator Christian Vrångmose Jensen, Department of Archaeology, Historical Museum of Northern Jutland, on the history and archaeology of the town, including a presentation of the main archaeological sites upon which the analyses are based (Ch. 2). This is followed by a large-scale study by Dr Jacob Ørnbjerg, Danish Centre of Urban History, of the diaspora communities in Aalborg, based on

a prosopographic analysis of several named immigrants (Ch. 3). There then follows an in-depth analysis by curator Peter Mose Jensen, Department of Archaeological Science and Conservation, Moesgaard Museum, of the biofacts recovered from specific excavations in the town, which provides new insights into the diet and resources of the immigrants (Ch. 4).

The section on Elsinore is introduced by curator, mag. art. Liv Appel, Department of Archaeology, Museum of Northern Zealand, who presents the history of Elsinore and its archaeological practices, followed by an analysis of the main archaeological sites forming the basis of our insight into the town (Ch. 5). This is followed by an account of the population development and townscape by Liv Appel and Dr Jette Linaa, curator of Historical Archaeology at Moesgaard Museum and external associate professor at Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies, Aarhus University. The chapter includes a reconstruction of the Sand, the diaspora neighbourhood that was destroyed and demolished in 1658 (Ch. 6). The next chapter by Dr Jette Linaa (Ch. 7) analyses the structure of the diaspora community in Elsinore, based primarily on church records, probate inventories and tax lists. While the next chapter (Ch. 8), also by Dr Jette Linaa, analyses the materiality of migrant possessions, with a focus on Elsinore's probate inventories, supplemented by corresponding sources from Aalborg. The following chapter (Ch. 9) is an in-depth analysis of the archaeobotanical remains recovered from selected archaeological excavations in Elsinore by Dr. rer. nat. Sabine Karg, Communicating Culture, and cand. mag. Christian A. Flensburg. This is followed by a further scientific contribution, from Dr. scient. Inge Bødker Enghoff, Natural History Museum of Denmark, University of Copenhagen (Ch. 10), who presents a large-scale analysis of the archaeozoological remains recovered from selected excavations in Elsinore and reaches conclusions about the insights into diaspora communities potentially obtainable from such sources. After the section on Elsinore comes a chapter by Dr Rainer Atzbach, associate professor at the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies, Aarhus University, which compares and contrasts the use of stove tiles in Aalborg and Elsinore, providing a telling insight into the different religious and cultural interests in the two towns (Ch. 11). There then follows a chapter by Dr Jette Linaa on the use of pottery in the three towns, with an emphasis on Aalborg and

Elsinore. This concludes with considerations on how the social practices revealed by this material can provide an insight into community formation and recreation.

The third section, on Nya Lödöse, begins with a chapter by Dr Christina Rösen, Arkeologerna, National Historical Museums, Sweden, and the senior associate professor Dr Daniel Larsson, Department of History, University of Gothenburg, which presents their analyses of the archaeology and history of the town, including its diaspora communities, and reached conclusions about the potential of such studies in relation to modern archaeological practices (Ch. 13). The next chapter (Ch. 14) by Dr Jens Heimdahl, Arkeologerna, National Historical Museums, Sweden, is an in-depth study of the use of plants at Nya Lödöse, based on the archaeobotanical record, with special reference to the possibilities for identifying diaspora communities inherent in this approach. Chapter 15 is yet another in-depth study of the potential for identifying diaspora communities through scientific analysis, presented by archaeozoologist Emma Maltin, Bohusläns Museum, now Department of Archaeology and Classical Studies, University of Stockholm: The focus here is on archaeozoological remains of fish species. The penultimate chapter in the book, by Dr Kristina Carlsson, Arkeologerna, National Historical Museums, Sweden, presents the pottery in Nya Lödöse as a source relative to studies of consumption in diaspora communities. While the final chapter is a conclusion, which sums up the various insights obtained during this project and examines future research directions.

During the duration of this project, from 2014-2018, numerous papers on various aspects of immigrant identities in the towns have been published by the participants, and these are drawn on extensively in the following chapters.<sup>6</sup> From the outset, however, this book was planned as the main publication of our results. Even so, three of papers can be perceived as chapters of this book, but are printed elsewhere. One is an analysis of religious practices in Elsinore, a town that housed a considerable Calvinist minority, which was not tolerated, but suppressed, by the authorities.<sup>7</sup> The second is an analysis of the fate of the poor immigrants, i.e. sailors, soldiers and servants, in the same town, which counterbalances any dominance of affluent inhabitants in this volume,<sup>8</sup> while the third is an account of how the diaspora communities navigated the Danish-dominated laws, courts and legal system.<sup>9</sup>

## *History of research*

The individual chapters all include the history of research within their own disciplines, so the aim of this short section is merely to present a few approaches and works that have been of importance in shaping this project. The literature on mobility in the Early Modern period is vast – and rapidly increasing: So vast that this section cannot possibly do justice to it all. It is clear, however, that migration and migrant communities in Europe have been the subject of archaeological research for decades, and that the discipline has moved on from Gustaf Kossina's studies of material culture as evidence of German migration at the turn of the century<sup>10</sup> to become a discipline that draws conclusions from material culture about movements of people of different ethnicities. The development of New Archaeology in the 1960s resulted in the demise of migration as an explanatory model for change.<sup>11</sup> It was not until the 1990s that the theme of migration regained momentum in archaeology, featuring especially in prehistoric archaeology.<sup>12</sup> A decade later, migration research had reached Scandinavian historical archaeology, and one of the first studies evolved around a settlement of industrial workers originating in Germany; workers who were employed in the Swedish military industry in the 1640s.<sup>13</sup> An approach centred on the study of material culture recovered from plots owned by people whose migratory status is known from documentary sources is quite typical for not only Scandinavian but also European historical archaeology.<sup>14</sup> But it has the potential drawback of masking or blurring other explanatory models, such as those centred on class, gender, age or occupation; a disadvantage we will try to avoid throughout this book.<sup>15</sup> In this we are greatly aided by cooperation with the related project "Diaspora and Identity", a NWO Humanities open competition funded project at the University of Amsterdam, which centres around 'archaeological understandings of the material expressions of ethnicity, status, gender, and religious beliefs in relation to the Sephardic and Ashkenazi Jewish inhabitants and other residents of the Vlooienburg'.<sup>16</sup>

Although migration has been a popular research topic in Scandinavian historical archaeology since at least 2003,<sup>17</sup> it took a decade before the first paper on migration was published in Danish historical archaeology.<sup>18</sup> Two interlinked factors seem to have contributed to this situation. Firstly, the discipline



of Medieval archaeology, which later developed into Danish historical archaeology, was only founded in 1972, a decade later than in Sweden, and it naturally takes some decades for a discipline to mature into addressing more complex research questions. Secondly, the discipline was founded less than 30 years after the end of the Second World War, when Denmark was occupied by German troops, and only 50 years after the country's reunification with South Jutland, i.e. North Schleswig, in 1920: The province was lost to Prussia in 1864 along with South Schleswig and Holstein, but was reunited with Denmark following a referendum. It took a great deal of maturity on the part of archaeologists who had lived through these events to reconcile memories of recent conflict and loss with a historical past that included vast numbers of migrants from the very areas that later became core parts of Germany. Furthermore, since the political dangers inherent in the use of material culture in studies of migration, studies misused by the Third Reich, were clear for all to see, such hesitation is all the more understandable.<sup>19</sup> But as Scandinavian historians, including those in Denmark, had been aware for half a century of the presence of large numbers of migrants from areas in what is now Germany,<sup>20</sup> the silence in archaeological research gave rise to a paradox that has only recently been resolved. Denmark is, of course, not the only country where archaeology has struggled with the events of the recent past: Such struggles are very much a European phenomenon.<sup>21</sup>

As Scandinavian historical archaeology has attempted to develop its theoretical foundation in recent years, colonial studies and the adjacent colonial theory have been a major source of inspiration. One of the most influential studies is Diana DiPaolo Loren's work on material expressions and negotiations of identities in the encounter between Native Americans and European colonisers.<sup>22</sup> Another is *Archaeologies of Mobility and Movement* edited by Mary Beaudry and Travis Parno, who are both well-known for their extensive body of research related to the role of consumption in cultural meetings.<sup>23</sup> This book deserves special mention because it contains chapters on Scandinavian settlers in America, written by the Scandinavian scholars Magdalena Naum and Visa Immonen, both of whom are active in studies of cultural encounters in Scandinavia.<sup>24</sup> They, and their contemporary Jonas M. Nordin, take inspiration from colonial theory and transfer this the-

oretical framework, characterised by the cultural processes of hybridisation, creolisation and cultural transfer, to Scandinavia in the past. The theory has so far been applied to the Hansa-dominated towns of Stockholm, Kalmar and Tallinn in the eastern Baltic: Even though these were not formal colonies, they can nevertheless be classified as colonial projects, reflecting the uneven power balance that characterises formal colonies and, as such, colonial theory is appropriate and successful in its application. Colonial theory is applied by Jonas Nordin in his studies of meetings between Sami and Swedes in Sapmi.<sup>25</sup> Magdalena Naum and Jonas Nordin edited a volume dedicated to colonialism in Scandinavia, while Magdalena Naum and Fredrik Ekengren published *Facing Otherness in Early Modern Sweden – Travel, Migration and material Transformations 1500-1800*, a multifaceted contribution on the effects and influences of encounters in Scandinavia.<sup>26</sup> It is evident that colonial theory is thriving in Swedish archaeology – and being used with success. It is, however, difficult to apply to Early Modern Denmark and Sweden in areas where the meetings between natives and migrants were more entangled and less materially clear-cut. We lack the unambiguous otherness, as well as the explicit power imbalance that lies at the root of colonial theory and characterise the cases where it has been applied successfully in Scandinavia. It is evident, however, that colonial theory is thriving in Swedish and, more broadly, in Scandinavian archaeology, and that it is being applied with success in studying meetings between Sami and Swedes and between Hanseatic migrants and natives in Swedish and Baltic Medieval towns.

While Danish historical archaeology has been hesitant to embrace migration, Danish and Scandinavian historians took up the topic more than 50 years ago. Immigrants and migrants have received significant attention from historians in Sweden,<sup>27</sup> while Norwegian research has even produced a history of migration, and migration to Denmark has been addressed by historians, too.<sup>28</sup> The chapters of this book that are based primarily on written sources (Chs. 3, 6, 7, 8 and 13) have their own history of research, but it is relevant to highlight that the migrants in Early Modern England have also been well-researched by both historians and historical archaeologists,<sup>29</sup> as have migrants in the Netherlands,<sup>30</sup> Germany<sup>31</sup> and the Mediterranean region.<sup>32</sup> Recent inspiration for this project has been provided by Rheingard Esser's

papers on migrants in England and by *Diversity and Difference in Early Modern London*, written by Jacob Selwood, which focuses on occupation and economic differences. The study establishes that migrant status in England was dependent on descent, not birth, meaning that descendants could be perceived as immigrants rather than native English for generations.<sup>33</sup> A survey of the legal system's attitude to immigrants is presented in a paper by Matthew Lockwood on immigration and criminal law in Early Modern England, which portrays Danish practice in an unfavourable light.<sup>34</sup> The best-researched topic within this major body of literature is without doubt "the Dutch in the world", which has received considerable attention from especially historians and art historians for decades, concentrating on the movement of arts and artists, cultural connections and global ties.<sup>35</sup> The specific Dutch history of migration and exile can be followed in recent papers by historians Geert Janssen, Leos Müller and Jelle van Lottum.<sup>36</sup>

But even though the Dutch connections have been subject to largest body of research, Scottish and German diasporas have received considerable attention, too for example in the studies by W. Douglas Catterall on Scots in the North and by Leos Müller on immigrant merchants in Stockholm<sup>37</sup>

### *Research questions, hypotheses, limitations and definitions*

After having introduced the contents of this book, and its various sections, it is time to take a closer look at some of its central concepts. The book is firmly rooted in the discipline that is historical archaeology and, as such, questions about materiality are never far from our hearts. Since materiality constitutes our main source of information, in the form of evidence held in either written texts (Ch. 8), archaeological structures and artefacts (Chs. 2, 5, 11, 12 and 15) or biofacts subjected to scientific analysis (Chs. 4, 9, 10, 14 and 15), methodological questions relating to archaeology came to the fore. The first basic question we must address is how we can identify diaspora communities in the archaeological record in the first place. Diaspora communities in a colonial setting appear obvious due to their distinct otherness, but their European counterparts are less distinct, as these diaspora communities formed in host lands with a cultural framework similar to their own homelands.<sup>38</sup> Consequently, great efforts will be aimed at addressing four questions:

- *What are the cultural and material markers for diaspora communities?*
- *What were the backgrounds for these diasporas, and how did these impact on identities expressed in materiality?*
- *How did diaspora identities transform over time, and how is this reflected in the material culture?*
- *How did the diaspora communities relate to their homelands and their fellow diaspora communities in other urban centres, and how is this reflected materially?*

To address these questions, it was necessary for the project to be cross-disciplinary, encompassing both history and science, in addition to archaeology. As a result, the methodologies applied or developed in this book constitute a catalogue of ways in which we can illuminate the ties that bind people together. The archaeologists involved in this project investigate the material remains of people, the remnants of their houses and dwellings and the items they touched, while the scientists examine the food they ate and the beer they drank. Both the archaeologists and the historians study the written sources that tell us about their families and business networks, their finances and their debts, their social networks, and how they acquired their goods. Both also study early maps, which tell us about people's neighbourhoods, the streets they walked down and the houses they shared. We also consider their friendships, their choice of spouse and their choice of godparents, and all of this was undertaken to discover how they positioned themselves in the world. This book does, however, come with one hindrance: No letters from the hand of private citizens in the three towns have so far been identified, and no diaries survive. As a consequence, we are not able to ask them how they saw themselves in the world, but we can study how they actively positioned themselves in this world: not through what they said, but through what they did and how they did it. And what we gain as a result is another truth, and perhaps a wider one. One complaint throughout this book is that most of our sources are written from a legal or administrative point of view, which rarely gives a voice to anyone outside the urban elite. Archaeology, on the other hand, can be perceived as the ultimate democratic discipline, as even the poorest, at least in theory, leave behind a material mark. That is why we will, as far as possible, link the material culture recovered through archaeological excavations in the towns with owners and occupants of known origin, based on maps, censuses and tax records. As this book will demonstrate, however, our source material has been filtered by taphonomic processes, and what

remains must be carefully analysed in its geographical, political and historical context to make sense at all. Which is precisely why the book focuses on an analysis across and between townscapes, instead of on one or two single plots, and also why great efforts have been invested in the contextualisation of the archaeological record throughout.

### *Hypotheses*

From the outset, the Urban Diaspora project was aimed at transgressing current national borders and engaging in international research questions. We took our starting point in three townscapes that, according to Gert Oostindie and Jessica Vance Roitman, can be termed nodal points, i.e. geographical spaces in which connections, intersections and interactions can be analysed, and we aimed to investigate our subjects as thoroughly and in as targeted a way as possible.<sup>39</sup> Collectively, these chapters constitute efforts to investigate, unravel and present the archaeology and history of migration at several scales, from individual migrants and their families to overarching studies of migrant communities, and to study how these communities were continually negotiated and recreated in encounters with the natives and with each other.

Our main hypothesis is that immigrants were subjected to increasing social and economic marginalisation in their host communities and that the migrating people displayed resilience through the formation of active, coherent communities transgressing the geographical and/or social borders that were prevalent in their homelands. Our second hypothesis is that the political and social background of members of the communities, as well as the political situation in the host community, had a marked impact on migrant trajectories.

Central to our hypotheses are the concepts of resilience and marginalisation. Resilience, a term for the robustness of systems faced with challenges, is employed in research into climate change but has also been successfully applied to studies of historical populations.<sup>40</sup> According to this, social, economic and geographical marginalisation constitute a resilience strategy applied by a settled, sedentary elite that is characterised by concentrations of capital and opportunity hoarding, and aimed at immigrants, usually the migrating poor.<sup>41</sup> There is an analysis of how migrants and natives position themselves within the social, economic and cultural borders through their social practices.<sup>42</sup> There is then collective evaluation of these practices and

a well-executed practice leads to an accumulation of social capital, while a failed practice leads to marginalisation. Our use of materiality is based on Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social practice and Bruno Latour's theory of actor networks, whereby materiality is a non-verbal discourse chosen and activated by some social groups to approach or distance themselves from others.<sup>43</sup> Through this work, the much-debated model of representation, i.e. that certain artefacts or biofacts represent certain people, will be nuanced and supplemented by a model of agency rooted in social practices.

### *Definitions*

The main problem is how to define a migrant? This book focuses on people who were, to a significant degree, engaged in constant migration, without a defined end goal. The Early Modern period saw large-scale and ever-increasing mobility and, according to Leo Lucassen and Jan Lucassen, especially the 17<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries saw a rapidly increasing migration rate, from 15% in the 17<sup>th</sup> to 30% in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>44</sup> But these people included a significant number of seasonal migrants, usually farmers and labourers. These seasonal migrants are rarely addressed as a separate group in this book, since some form of permanence is a prerequisite for leaving behind traces in the records, but they are targeted in the related paper on non-permanent migratory groups in Elsinore.<sup>45</sup> But it is undoubtedly possible to target seasonal labourers and other highly mobile groups in archaeological studies, given the right circumstances, as has been demonstrated on several occasions: Whaling camps on Svalbard being only one of several possible examples.<sup>46</sup> The question is how we define a migrant in this book. According to the United Nations, an international migrant is defined as 'any person who changes his or her country of usual residence'.<sup>47</sup> In this context-dependent project, which deals with an historical period before the nation state, we refrain from applying the term "international migrant", which is preferred in sociology, and favour the broader "immigrant". Immigrants are consequently defined as people born outside the past borders of Denmark and Sweden. This means that people born outside the double kingdom of Denmark and Norway, with its affiliated areas, primarily the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, are defined as immigrants, as are people born outside Sweden's borders as they were during the reign of Gustav II Adolf in 1654. Since a good many of the migrants in the past originated in areas that have subsequently

changed nationality, some explanation is called for. The regions of Scania, Halland and Blekinge, in present-day Sweden, were an integral part of the kingdom of Denmark until 1658. Consequently, inhabitants originating in these areas are grouped under the term “Danes”, which was the term also applied to them in the past. Throughout this book, the term native refers to people who were born in the town in which they live. Internal migrants, on the other hand, are people who have moved or migrated to different towns or areas in Denmark or Sweden from their town of birth. In this definition, movement from the place of birth is consequently the defining factor. An immigrant can move to one town in Denmark or Sweden and from there to another town: He or she will still be perceived as an immigrant in this book. For analytical purposes, however, we have to establish separate categories for people who were born in Denmark but were of immigrant descent. People born outside Denmark or Sweden are therefore defined as first-generation immigrants, while the persons who were born in Denmark or Sweden, but with one or more parents born outside these two Countries, are defined as second-generation immigrants. Those who were born in Denmark or Sweden to parents born in these two Countries, but with two grandparents who were born outside them, are termed third-generation immigrants. Since immigrant status has been defined as a matter of ancestry and place of birth, not previous location, it is entirely possible for an immigrant to move to one town in Denmark and then on to others: He or she will still be an immigrant. But, as previously noted, migration rarely has an end goal, because people moved frequently. And, as we will see later, we can say that many immigrants, as well as the internal migrants, lived almost constantly on the move, while our sources only permit us glimpses of their movements, rarely revealing the total displacement during their lifetimes.

The task of classifying people in the past according to their place of birth is challenging. Neither Denmark nor Sweden kept the stranger lists that we are familiar with from such as British sources,<sup>48</sup> so any identification of immigrants has to rely on other means. The definitions applied here are unapologetically based on documentary sources, so we need to study how people on the move were addressed. On a local level, the people we define as immigrants were referred to as foreigners by the municipalities in the towns (see Chs. 7 and 13). Occasionally, immigrants had to state their place of origin to the local clergyman, and here they refer to regions such as

Scania or Pomerania, or towns such as Hamburg or Gdansk, but they do not identify themselves as either Swedes or Germans – they were simply not asked that question (Ch. 7). In daily speech, individuals were frequently given, or had adopted, a byname that indicated a town or a province, such as in Johan van Geldern or Gert van Groeningen: both are locations in the Netherlands. We regularly hear about people referred to as “Hans Tysk” (German Hans), or “Gertrud Hollænder” (Gertrud the Dutch), and other individuals were referred to as “A woman from Halland”, and so forth. But groups of people were, on the other hand, never addressed by their towns or regions of origin, but always referred to as Hollanders, Scots, Englishmen or Germans, by municipalities, kings and neighbours, and by themselves. This leaves the impression that the inhabitants, as well as the municipalities, the government and perhaps even the immigrants themselves, had a perception of being subdivided into coherent communities of people unified by a common and specific geographical origin, while people born in Denmark were called Danes, and those from Sweden, Swedes. The areas of origin of the immigrants could be kingdoms, such as England or Scotland, political units, such as the Netherlands, or geographical regions such as present-day Germany. These units are in no way to be confused with current nation states, even though many of them share their names and sometimes their borders: They were pre-nation state units, whatever their names, and the fact that these units were activated as denominators of people tells us that they were significant and meaningful in the eyes of everyone – from paupers to kings.

#### *Diaspora identities*

Quite a few of Cohen’s aforementioned characteristics of diaspora movement centre around identity formation, including idealisation, memory and group consciousness. It must be stressed, however, as recently observed by Cohen, that diaspora movements – a term that has now gained widespread acceptance – are neither static nor absolute: They can be internally heterogeneous and differentiated through borders based on class, gender and, at times, race and sexuality. To quote Cohen, this renders ‘the diaspora community contingent, fluid and open to negotiation between the social actors’.<sup>49</sup> We therefore aimed to study how, if at all, the migrating people, regardless of origin, expressed a diaspora identity. Consequently, our aim in this book is to analyse how a range of social practices relates to the origin of the participants and, since we are studying a large

group of people gathered together in the townscapes, these analyses are all on a large temporal and spatial scale. We will not presume that people of immigrant origin in the three towns had a diaspora identity. But we will investigate if and how origin mattered in relation to the formation of social networks, and how diaspora communities were created through a range of social practices, and how the same social practices can be activated in a study of migrants and natives alike. We will therefore analyse how common origin relates to choice of godparents at baptisms, the selection of a marriage partner, the establishment of business and credit relations, the choice of dwelling and its location in the towns, as well as the choice of occupation. We will, of course, also investigate how origin relates to the ownership of specific items of material culture, and how foodways and practices relate to origin, too. Furthermore, we will correlate all this with information on wealth, real and fictive kinship, marriage partners, business associates, occupation and religion to see how these relate collectively to origin, and analyse the implications of this for expressions of diaspora consciousness and identity. Moreover, we will investigate how all these factors may create diaspora identities and, as a paper on religion written within the framework on this project has shown, this could happen in ways that are unexpected and even unintended.<sup>50</sup> This, of course, demonstrates that diaspora identities, like other identities, could be created or enforced not only through conscious efforts, but also by unconscious movements, failed practices, unexpected outcomes and sheer coincidence,<sup>51</sup> of which we will see numerous examples throughout this book. A study of diaspora identities also touches upon ethnic identities. Fredrik Barth has defined ethnicity as 'the social identification of cultural difference, composed of elements as language, culture, knowledge, beliefs, customs and everyday practice'.<sup>52</sup> Sian Jones<sup>53</sup> defines identity as 'that aspect of a person's self-conceptualization which results from identification with a broader group in opposition to others based on perceived cultural differentiation and/or common descent'. These and other scholars state that ethnicity constitutes an assemblage of recognised cultural differences and similarities. Ethnic identities are consequently not static but fluid, being created and recreated, and the outcome varies depending on the context. Ethnic identity is therefore the result of a two-way process, arising through self-identification and identification of the self of others. Due to the character of the sources employed here, most notably the absence of letters and diaries, we do not

have any firm information on the self-identification of any of the immigrants. Nowhere do we have a letter in which an immigrant declares that they see themselves as an immigrant or a Dane. But we do have an abundance of sources which clearly state that everyone in two of the three towns identified one another as either immigrants of various origin, or as Danes or Swedes: There is no doubt that something allowed kings, councils and urban inhabitants to classify their fellows as either Danes or immigrants. Nevertheless, the analysed sources reveal constant negotiations of identity between and within communities; negotiations that had different outcomes depending on the context. Previous investigations of the religion of the immigrants in Elsinore have revealed that the Dutch immigrants had a dual identity: Publicly, they conformed to the demands of the faith of the king and town council, while privately they maintained their customary religious practices.<sup>54</sup> Due to the nature of the sources employed in this study, many of the documentary records provide a view of the immigrants from the perspective of the Danish authorities, while the question of the self-identification of the immigrants will be addressed primarily through an investigation of the material culture and a study of how they formed their social networks.

How we actually study diaspora identities, including specific analysis of various sources, will be addressed by the authors of the individual chapters. Each of the sources we build upon has advantages and limitations, which call for careful consideration. No matter how inclusive the written source material, the most significant problem encountered in studies based upon them is, in this respect, firstly that large parts of the population go unmentioned and, secondly, that most of the available sources mirror the world view of the municipalities, focused on taxation and property. This means that women, servants and the poor – i.e. partly overlapping groups – tend to be alienated or rendered invisible. In certain cases, however, tax records provide an insight into the composition of the households in the town; an insight that allows us to study for example asymmetrical power relations within the household.

### *Materiality*

A book rooted in archaeology would be incomplete without a section in the introduction addressing materiality: Materiality is the primary source of evidence in archaeology. Most is recovered through the specialised practice that is the archaeological excavation. In the present case, these were primarily rescue excavations, which do not usually permit the

investigation of complete entities, but only of what ever lies within the boundaries of the construction site or development. Discussions of individuals are difficult under such conditions: Only very rarely are we able to attribute artefacts to specific individuals. What we recover are the material remains of a household, of a home, which we must interpret in the light of the social and, at times, ethnic segregation within this household (the segregated household is analysed in Chs. 7, 8, 12 and 13). What we find in archaeological excavations are the remains of artefacts and objects, resources and things that were once activated in social practices by one or more of the household's members. These objects and resources were usually produced by some, acquired by others, then sold, pawned, inherited to be used by yet others and finally, after complicated cycles of exchange, discarded or lost.

Materiality brings many advantages to a study of immigrants. First and foremost, taking materiality into account involves studying assemblages of objects and things and how they are involved in the social practices of humans and act as negotiators of identities. Moreover, materiality encompasses everyone: While documentary sources for example usually relate to specific parts of the population, everyone is engaged in materiality and can therefore be addressed through studies of materiality, given that our methods and theories are sufficiently fine-tuned. Materiality has a further, rather banal and yet frequently overlooked advantage: It is not perceived through sight alone, but also through touch, smell, taste and sound. And, of course, materiality affords an insight into periods for which no written sources exist and into groups that have remained severely under-documented. But this is not its primary advantage: Materiality provides alternative insights and data that can supplement, complement or contradict the documentary evidence and add depth and detail to our understanding of the past, and it is in this way that materiality will be engaged in this study.

### *Social practice, social capital*

The term social practice is used frequently throughout this book, as it is in many other archaeological studies. The term is applied here in accordance with Pierre Bourdieu's *Outline of a Theory of Practice* from 1977 and *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement and taste*, first printed in 1984,<sup>55</sup> as well as *The Dynamics of Social Practice: Everyday life and how it changes* by Elisabeth Shove, Mika Pantzar and Matt Wilson.<sup>56</sup> Social practice is defined here as routinised types of behaviour, characterised by elements

of material, meaning and knowledge – also called competence. Materials are objects, structures and artefacts: All elements that afford themselves to archaeological studies and change from context to context depending on availability, which, in turn, depends on local resources, modes and conditions of exchange etc. Meaning, as a concept, addresses both the social and the symbolic significance of the practice, while competence/knowledge addresses comprehension of the practice and the skills required to execute it. In the specific chronological and geographical context of this analysis, social practices were fluid. Materials were traded or exchanged, partly on the open market and partly through modes dependent on personal networks. Similarly, in the virtual absence of recipe books or behavioural manuals, knowledge was transferred primarily through human contact, such as apprenticeship, employment or supervision: For example between mothers and daughters or mistresses and servants in a household, with the meaning being situational and fleeting (this aspect will be addressed in Chs. 7, 8 and 12). In the words of Pierre Bourdieu, however, practices are 'classified and classifying, rank ordering and rank-ordered'.<sup>57</sup> This means that social practices are performed collectively and evaluated by a collective in what is essentially a power relation, with the powerful in the role of judges of the practice. A well-conducted practice accumulates social capital, and the importance of social capital in the three towns will be addressed in several chapters. A failed practice, on the other hand, leads to exclusion. The practice targeted in this book through the medium of materiality is primarily consumption, and, within this, specifically food, foodways and table culture, simply because materiality related to such practices dominates the relevant archaeological material (see Chs. 2, 5 and 13). To some degree, these practices dominate the documentary sources, and Chapters 8 and 12, in particular, will provide many examples of shared and special practices among immigrants and Danes in the towns. One of the models for identifying immigrants in the archaeological record we propose in the conclusion (Ch. 17) includes the detection of such practices.

### *The home and the household*

The household is the building block for the archaeological analysis in this book, and it is therefore frequently the smallest unit that can be addressed. The household is taken to represent a home (see Chs. 8 and 11) and is considered to be the scene for the

negotiation of many of the diaspora identities we will meet in this book. The household is addressed as the primary unit throughout, simply because the archaeological excavations have not revealed large-scale production units, religious institutions or public buildings, but homes. The excavated home does, however, have its limits, and it does not represent, but reflect, a household. An obvious limit is imposed by the methodological challenges involved in distinguishing between those objects that were involved in social practices within homes and those that relate to the strata between the occupations (see Ch. 11). A further constraint is that, in this case, the excavations related exclusively to demolished buildings: Standing buildings have not been investigated and, consequently, the crucial vertical structuring of people and space cannot be addressed. On the other hand, the excavations have provided ample information on the horizontal structure of people and spaces through their location in the townscape, the materials applied, their location on the streets and alleys etc., and also on repairs, divisions and extensions, which reflect a household undergoing rapid transformation.<sup>58</sup> And this information will be analysed. The family can be considered as a community with a shared social practice that involves both objects and architecture. But even though the family appears to be a community, as revealed through our archaeological excavations, it was by no means an egalitarian one. As we will see, the family was socially stratified and strictly organised, usually under a housemaster, i.e. a man. Consequently, it was a sphere in which gender and class were negotiated within a power structure, which becomes evident in several chapters of this book (Chs. 6, 7, 12 and 13).

### *In the Early Modern world*

This project is based in the Early Modern period, a term usually applied to the period c. 1500-1800: in the midst of a time of rapid growth and expansion in Europe. A period that saw the onset of colonisation, when global connections propelled ideas, commodities and, to some degree, even people, into the North. This globalisation and its consequences in Europe, in general, and Scandinavia, in particular, has been the subject of a rapidly growing body of research. A period commonly known as the Dutch Golden Age, the seemingly glorious 17<sup>th</sup> century when the world was dominated by Dutch economic powers, and when the Dutch *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC) extended its network around the globe. The flow of global goods – mainly spices,

silk and porcelain – fuelled an emerging consumer culture: A culture characterised by commercialisation, commodification and mass consumption. At first, these products trickled into the very apex of society, but subsequently transformed into a veritable flood which flowed down into the middle classes, and even on to the lower classes, rapidly and irreversibly changing the European lifestyle, habits of socialising, spending habits, daily life and worldview, opening the door to consumerism; a consumerism that has been the subject of a huge body of research.<sup>59</sup> As remarked by Martin Pitts, it has frequently acted in confirmation of Norbert Elias' civilising process: the gradual trickle-down of manners, habits and, indeed, material objects from the upper to the lower layers of society.<sup>60</sup> The question then is whether this road to modernity followed a straight line, or whether it curved, divided, came to a halt, deviated or got lost in the wilderness along its way. The possible role of immigrants as agents of modernity will also be in focus in this project, and will be discussed in depth in Chapter 8.

The analyses of the spread of consumerism are linked to studies of the poor. Interest in poverty studies is sharply on the increase in Scandinavia, fuelled by rapidly growing attention from European archaeology and history. A large body of research undertaken by, in particular, economic historians has addressed this poverty: Within this, a fascinating analysis of the migrating poor in England and the Netherlands by Patricia Fumerton and Anne E. McCants attracts particular attention.<sup>61</sup> Archaeologists have also addressed the subject of poverty in recent years.<sup>62</sup> Even though the poor of the Early Modern period are particularly well-known from Scandinavian historical research,<sup>63</sup> the topic has only recently been cultivated in Scandinavian archaeology.<sup>64</sup> The poor also receive considerable attention in current research networks and research projects, for example "The archaeology and heritage of the subalterns", a network led by the Scandinavian archaeologists Eva Karlsson, Martin Hansson and Pia Nilsson, and "The perils of poverty", a research project led by the present author and funded by the Danish Agency for Culture and Palaces. There is little doubt that low-agency labour migrants, i.e. the poor, will become a major subject in the future, and the poor are directly addressed in Chapters 6, 7, 8, 13, 14 and 15.

This brief introduction demonstrates that this book is only one step in a large and rapidly growing body of research targeting migration on a local, regional, national and international level. When

we began in 2014, migration was considered a controversial theme by some. It is not anymore, and we hope archaeology will be flexible enough to embrace further, potentially controversial, themes in the years to come.

## Notes

- 1 Cohen 2008: 18.
- 2 Cohen 2008: 17.
- 3 Rosenwein 2015; Broomhall 2017; Lynch 2017.
- 4 Parker & Bentley 2007.
- 5 Owens et al. 2010 with reference to Mayne & Lawrence 1999; Mayne & Murray 2001.
- 6 Carlsson et al. 2018; Cornell & Rosén 2018; Heimdahl 2018; Jensen et al. 2017; Kruse et al. 2017; Linaa 2018; 2019a; 2020a; 2020b; 2019b; Maltin & Jonsson 2017; Rosén & Larsson 2018; Ørnbjerg 2016; 2017; Ørnbjerg et al. 2016.
- 7 Linaa 2019a.
- 8 Linaa 2020b.
- 9 Linaa 2020a.
- 10 Arnold 1990; Arvidsson 2006; McSparron, Donolly, Murphy & Geber 2020; Mehler & Brooks 2017.
- 11 McSparron et al. 2020.
- 12 Anthony 1990.
- 13 Karlsson & Tagesson 2003.
- 14 E.g. Linaa 2011; Owen & Jeffries 2016; Parker 2013.
- 15 Linaa 2016: 20.
- 16 Directed by Professor James Symonds, with the assistance of Professor Jerzy Gawronski. <https://www.uva.nl/en/discipline/archaeology/research/diaspora-and-identity/diaspora-and-identity.html>; Stolk 2018.
- 17 E.g. Immonen 2007; 2013; Karlsson & Tagesson 2003; Naum 2005; Ekengren 2018; Nordin 2018a; Naum & Nordin 2013; Salmi et al. 2014.
- 18 Linaa 2012.
- 19 Arvidsson 2006; McSparron et al. 2020; Mehler & Brooks 2017.
- 20 E.g. Feldbæk 1991a; 1991b; Østergaard 1983.
- 21 Mehler & Brooks 2017.
- 22 DiPaolo Loren 2015.
- 23 Beaudry & Parno 2013; White & Beaudry 2009; Whyte 2011.
- 24 Immonen 2007; 2013; Naum 2013a; 2013b; 2015.
- 25 Nordin 2015; 2018b.
- 26 Ekengren 2018; Nordin 2018a; Naum & Nordin 2013.
- 27 Andersson 2018; Dalhede 1998; 2001; 2009; 2018; Mispelaere & Lindström 2015; Müller 1998.
- 28 Brochmann & Kjeldstadli 2008; Kjeldstadli et al. 2003; Parby 2015; Poulsen 2013.
- 29 Bratchel 1984; Goose & Luu 2013; Owens et al. 2010; Jeffries, Owens et al. 2015 2015; King & Sayer 2011.
- 30 Lesger & van Leeuwen 2011; van de Pol & Kuijpers 2005; Sommerseth et al. 2016; Stolk 2018; Winther & de Munsk 2016.
- 31 Studemund-Halévy & Koj 1994.
- 32 Trivellato 2009.
- 33 Selwood 2010.
- 34 Lockwood 2014; Linaa 2019a.
- 35 E.g. Baer et al. 2015; Goldgar 2007; Jardine 2009; Noldus 2004; Oostindie & Roitman 2012; Schama 1987; Vries & Woude 2015.
- 36 Janssen 2017; Lottum 2007; Müller 2017.
- 37 E.g. Catterall 2004; Dixon et al. 2009; Grosjean & Murdoch 2005; Jahnke 2014; Müller 2017; Poulsen 2013; Riis 1988.
- 38 Naum & Ekengren 2018.
- 39 Oostindie & Roitman 2012: 129.
- 40 Anderies & Hegmon 2011; Brewington 2016.
- 41 Fumerton 2006; Lucas & Edwald 2015; Symonds 2011b.
- 42 Shove et al. 2012.
- 43 Bourdieu 2006; 2010; Latour 2005.
- 44 Lucassen & Lucassen 2019.
- 45 Linaa 2020b.
- 46 Albrethsen 1985.
- 47 Recommendations on statistics of international migration. Revision 1. 1998. [https://unstats.un.org/unsd/publication/seriesm/seriesm\\_58rev1e.pdf](https://unstats.un.org/unsd/publication/seriesm/seriesm_58rev1e.pdf)
- 48 Esser 2007; King & Sayer 2011.
- 49 Cohen & Fischer 2018: 7.
- 50 Linaa 2019a.
- 51 Christophersen 2015.
- 52 Barth 1998.
- 53 Jones 1997: 15.
- 54 Linaa 2019.
- 55 Bourdieu 1977; 2010.
- 56 Shove et al. 2012.
- 57 Bourdieu 2006; Shove et al. 2012. See also Linaa 2016a: 26-28 for a longer account of this specific application of social practice in archaeology.
- 58 Tagesson 2018; 2019.
- 59 Brewer 2015; Brook 2013; Douglas & Isherwood 1996; Finlay 2010; Pitts 2017; Schama 2015; Venborg Pedersen 2013.
- 60 Pitts 2017 with references.
- 61 Fumerton 2006; McCants 2007; 2008.
- 62 Fumerton 2006; Giles & Jones 2011; McCants 2007; Orser 2011; Riis 1981; Symonds 2011a; Walker et al. 2011.
- 63 Degn 1981, 1996; Henningsen 2005; Jensen et al. 1979; Petersen et al. 2010; Selch Jensen 2004.
- 64 Hansson et al. 2019; Linaa 2020b; Nordin 2018b.



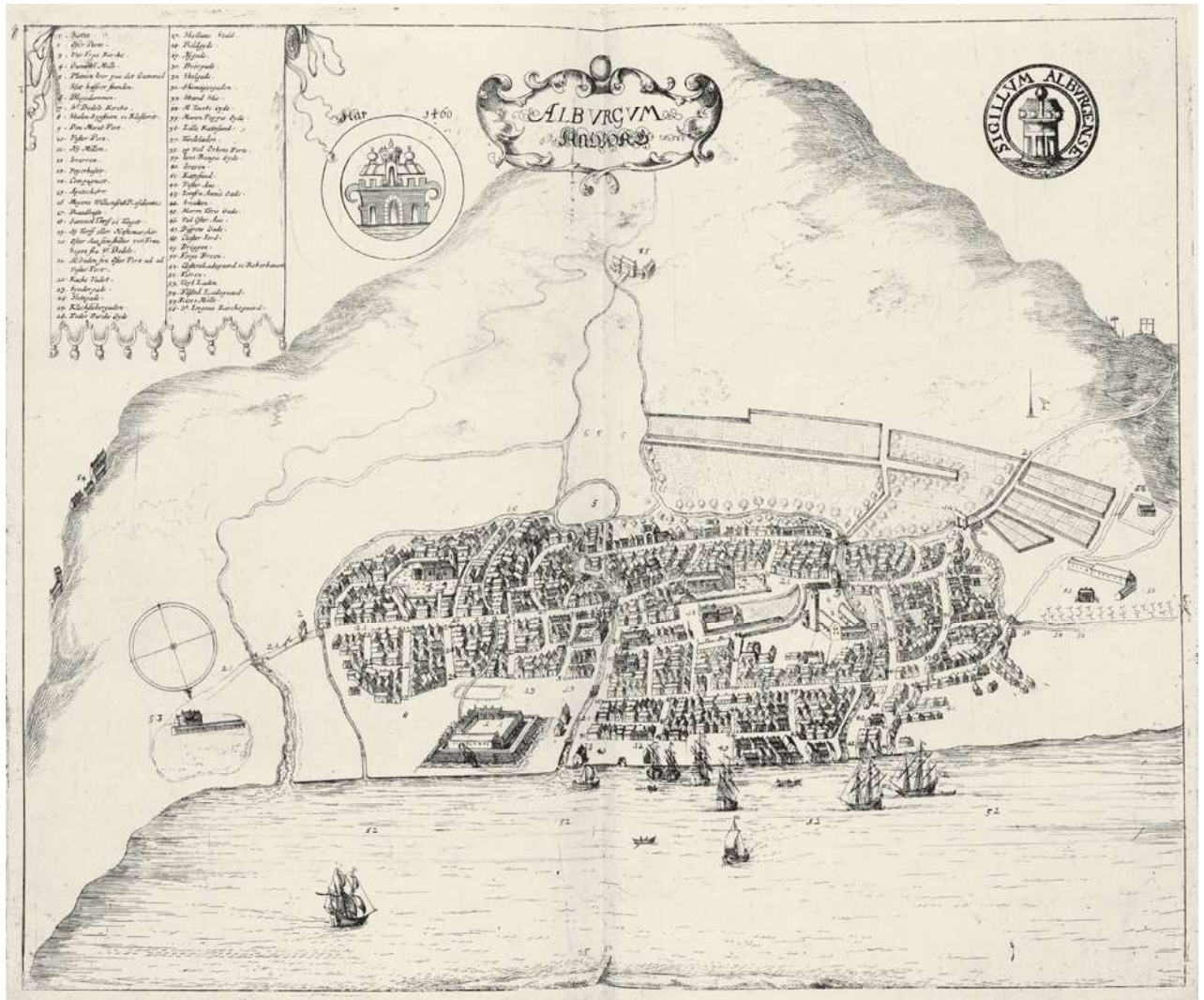


Figure 2.1. Aalborg 1677. Peder Hansen Resen, (Ax) Petri Resenii Atlas Danicus dicatus augustissimo Monarchæ Christiano V. anno M.DC.LXXVII. - Haffniæ, 1677. Royal Danish Library.

## Chapter 2

# The archaeology of Early Modern Aalborg, c. 1450-1650

*Christian Vrængmose Jensen*

*In the Early Modern period, Aalborg was the second-largest town in Denmark and the centre of commerce in the northern part of Jutland, dominating trade with Norway. Documentary sources for Aalborg tell of large numbers of migrants in the Early Modern town (Ch. 3) while many imported artefacts are evident in the archaeological record (Ch. 12). This chapter will present the most important excavations undertaken in the town, both old and new, as a framework for interpretation of the archaeological and historical sources.*

### *Introduction*

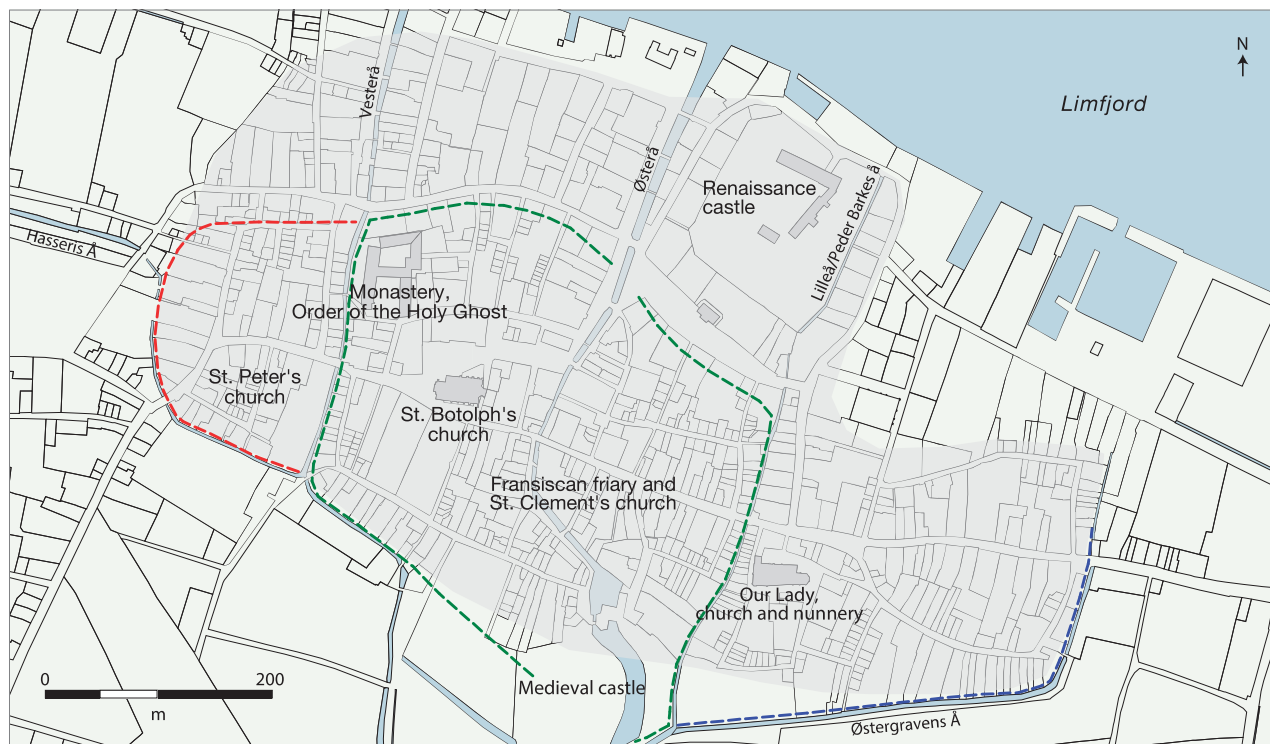
The presence of foreigners and migrants in Early Modern Aalborg (c. 1450-1650) is well documented in written sources but are they also visible in the archaeological record for this period? A variety of imported goods from the time have undoubtedly been found over the years at numerous sites in the town, with perhaps the most prominent of these being the pottery (Ch. 12). While this group of finds will be presented elsewhere in this book, the following is an account of some of the most important excavations that produced them.

#### *Topographical developments before c. 1450*

Aalborg is located directly on the shore of the Limfjord, on a narrow sandy strip that runs along the coastline (Fig. 2.1). The immediate hinterland of the early town consisted of marshy meadows, which were dominated by the small river Østerå and its tributaries. Restricted by the fjord and the river, the town grew along the shore, and expansion outside this area demanded extraordinary efforts.<sup>1</sup> The town was bisected by Østerå, from which several minor millstreams and moats divided the urban area into smaller units. The earliest traces of settlement, known from archaeological excavations on the eastern side of Østerå, mainly consist of sunken-feature buildings (SFBs) from the 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>2</sup> From the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century onwards, Aalborg can be described as a fully-developed town with permanent dwellings.

In the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the significance of the town is further underlined by the presence of a royal mint. The earliest known coins were minted during the reign of Harthacnut (1035-1042). On his coins, the name of the town, in the form of *ALEBU* or *ALABU*, enters the records for the first time. No coins from the succeeding kings are known from Aalborg until the end of the century, when coins were struck by Harald Hen (1074-1080), Cnut the Holy (1080-1086), with the mint name *ALEBUR(H)*, and by Eric the Good (1095-1103). The mint or mints of the 11<sup>th</sup> century have yet to be located within the settled area, which extended c. 575 m along the shore of the Limfjord.

In the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, four churches were built on this central axis running along the coast (Fig. 2.2). Ranging from west to east, these were St. Peter's, St. Botolph's, St. Clement's and Church of Our Lady, which probably all served as parish churches in the 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>3</sup> The Our Lady's church was part of a nunnery. Excavations in the present-day street of Nørregade, together with the location of the four churches, indicate that the town extended about 630 m along the coastline. In the 13<sup>th</sup> and the 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, the townscape changed dramatically. In the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century, a Franciscan friary was founded east of Østerå, on the southern side of the main street of Algade. The presence of graves, and even architectural details predating the friary, indicate that it was constructed near the earlier St. Clement's church. The street layout was dominated by the



**Figure 2.2.** Aalborg in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (grey) and its fortifications: Medieval moat (green), Medieval moat? (red) and Medieval or Early Modern moat (blue).

main street of Algade on the east-west axis of the town. The street now called Adelgade ran parallel to this to the north. The Medieval market square was situated on the western side of Østerå, south of Adelgade. Early in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the town was fortified with a moat and ramparts made of soil with wooden structures. Traces of the fortifications have been uncovered at several locations, and their layout is known in some detail.<sup>4</sup> Written records and recent excavations suggest that the layout of the town defences was altered, or perhaps even reduced, already in the 14<sup>th</sup> or 15<sup>th</sup> century – a matter that is also addressed in the following.

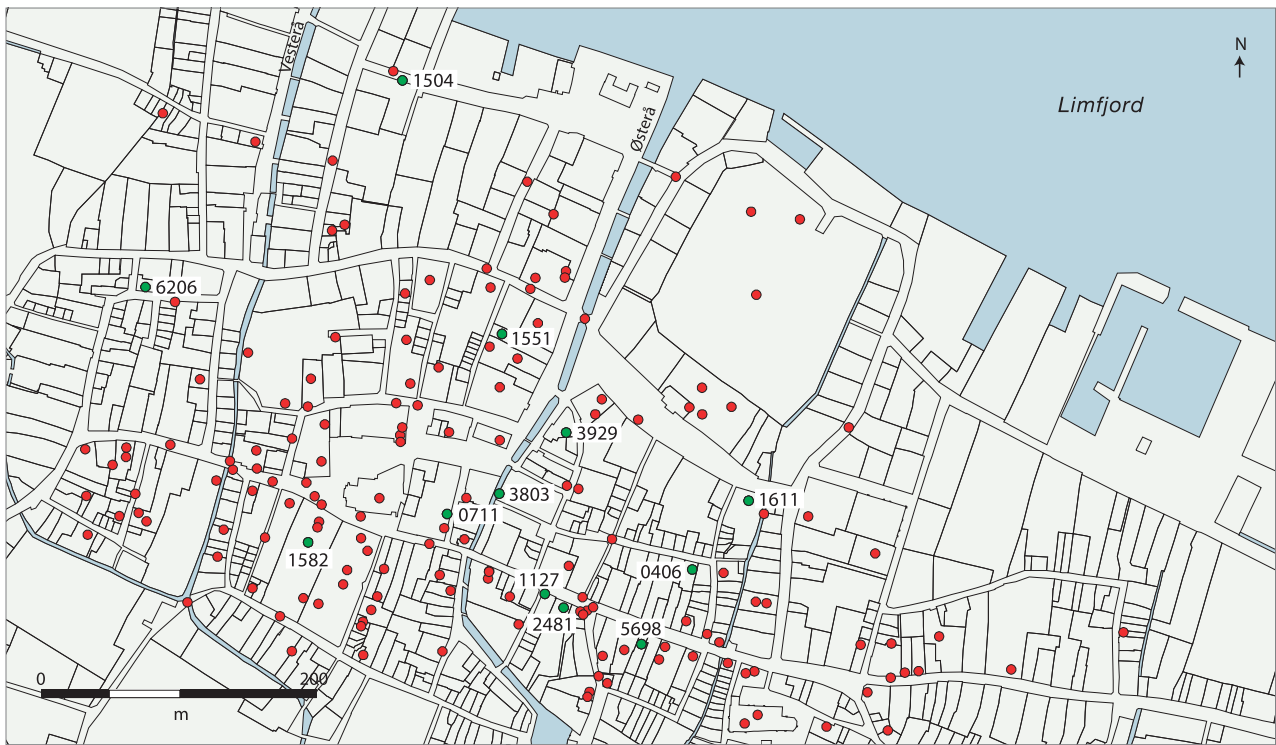
#### *Topographical developments c. 1450-1650*

The exact layout of the town defences and boundaries in the 15<sup>th</sup> century is still unknown. However, in general, the overall size of the settlement seems to have remained relatively unchanged during this period. In 1431, a secular hospital was founded in the westernmost part of the town. Only 20 years later, in 1451, the same hospital became the town's third monastery as a full member of the Order of the Holy Ghost. During its short lifespan, before its dissolution at the Reformation in 1536, it became a wealthy monastery that entirely dominated the northwestern part of the town. The claustral buildings still survive almost to their full extent, only

lacking the church, which was demolished in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The area beyond the town boundaries was also heavily dominated by this institution. It was here that its demesne lands, grange and barns were located. Written records also mention fishponds, kitchen gardens (kale and hops), a windmill and a brick kiln in the same area.<sup>5</sup>

The areas immediately to the west of the monastery lay mostly open in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. In the eastern parts of the town, the nunnery at the Church of Our Lady dominated the area just outside what is thought to be the 15<sup>th</sup> century moat by the watercourse Lilleå.<sup>6</sup> The nunnery buildings were not the only ones located outside the eastern defences. A considerable part of the Medieval town also existed at Bredegade and Nørregade, just north and east of the nunnery. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the eastern boundaries of the town were to be found at the moat, Østergravens Å, so the nunnery and the adjacent parts of the town were included at that time. Excavations suggest that Østergravens Å may have been constructed in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>7</sup> Documentary sources support this conclusion, with vacant plots in the area being referred to as 'outside the town, but within the town moat' already in 1540.<sup>8</sup>

In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the townscape changed once more: The old Medieval castle just south of the town was abandoned and replaced by a new royal



**Figure 2.3.** Excavated archaeological sites and single finds in Aalborg dating from c. 1450-1650. Numbers refer to sites mentioned in the text. Map: Historical Museum of Northern Jutland.

castle on the coast to the north of the town in about 1535. At this time, considerable areas north of the town were reclaimed from the Limfjord by massive landfills. As a result, an entirely new quarter was added to the town, north of the Medieval moat at Bispensgade, between the watercourses of Vesterå and Østerå. This new quarter, together with those at Østerå and Vesterå, became a hub for affluent merchants and positively the wealthiest part of the town. Less land was reclaimed east of Østerå, probably due to its proximity to the new castle. The old Medieval moat in this area was filled and built on before 1600, and a new market square, Nytorv, was constructed just south of the new castle in 1604.<sup>9</sup> On the western outskirts of the town, progress seems to have been more modest, but new quarters appear to have developed here around 1600.<sup>10</sup> Towards the east, the town never exceeded the boundary at Østergravens Å at this time, and this was also the case to the south.

By the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Aalborg covered an area of roughly 0.35 km<sup>2</sup> and now extended c. 870 m along the shore of the Limfjord. It had a population of c. 5000 and was one of the largest towns in the Danish kingdom, rivalled by less than a handful others. It was a centre of commerce and the leading royal power base in the northern part of the Jutland peninsula, and especially in the Limfjord area.

### *Archaeological traces c. 1450-1650*

In the following, the most significant archaeological remains from c. 1450-1650 will be presented, together with a few later finds (Fig. 2.3). Particular attention will be focussed on the latrines, widespread features in Aalborg relative to other Danish towns,<sup>11</sup> which have yielded significant assemblages of artefacts (Ch. 12). The latrines are sturdily-constructed timber boxes of varying size. They appear to have been introduced around 1600 and, consequently, nearly all the latrines presented below date from the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The account is organised by town quarters as outlined in headings. Firstly, two of the most recent excavations at Algade 9 and Vesterbro 68 will be presented.

#### *The excavation at Algade 9 (ÅHM 5698)*

In 2007, one of Aalborg's oldest houses, probably dating from 1574, was demolished in Algade 9.<sup>12</sup> It was the main building on a narrow plot, where it was gabled to the street. Excavations were carried out mainly on the site of the demolished house, but also less intensively in the 19<sup>th</sup> century rear building and the small backyard at its side. The intensively excavated part covered c. 135 m<sup>2</sup>, out of the total plot area of c. 331 m<sup>2</sup>. The deposits on the site had a thickness of c. 4 m, representing the period from the 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> century AD to c. 1574.



◀ **Figure 2.4.** *Algade 9. Excavated parts of a house (A55) dated to c. 1475. Map: Historical Museum of Northern Jutland.*

Sieving was only employed when excavating the earliest layers from the Viking Age.<sup>13</sup> The remains of more than 18 houses were recorded, all of which were timber-built structures.<sup>14</sup>

The earliest buildings on site were four sunken-floored buildings (SFBs) from the 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> century. These were superseded by regular townhouses and dwellings, dating from the period c. 975-1574. The modern plot boundaries emerged around 1400. The house built at this time (house A221) was 17 m long, 5.5 m wide and, as a characteristic feature, it had a cellar in the rear end of the building, facing towards the yard (Fig. 2.4). No traces revealed how the house was constructed, but it was probably a timber-framed building of sturdy oak timber, resting on a few stones and wooden piles, like a house from c. 1424 that was excavated in nearby Algade 5.<sup>15</sup> The position of the kitchen suggests that the house had two storeys. In the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the two-storey timber-framed house was the prevalent building type in the main street of Algade. The supposed kitchen area had clay floors, which were reddened by heat in the central part. Exactly what kind of fireplace produced this heat is unknown. Four sherds of grey-fired pot-shaped stove tiles were found in the cellar fill.<sup>16</sup> Although the tiles were found in a secondary deposit, they suggest that the building was fitted with a stove, in which case this would be the earliest example in Algade 9. The kitchen was separated from the cellar by a narrow room, the eastern part of which had a wooden floor made from split logs. The cellar, which measured 3.8 x 5.5 m and was 70 cm deep, was timber-built like the rest of the house. It had a clay floor which was cobbled in the central area. The finds from the house include a pilgrim badge, found on the cellar floor, parts of a crossbow and imported stoneware and drinking glasses.<sup>17</sup> Parts of barrels and planks from a ship were also found. Collectively, they appear to indicate that the inhabitants of the house were wealthy and possibly had means of transportation.

Just west of the house from c. 1400 (house A221), the remains of a neighbouring building (house A71) were uncovered. This was probably only slightly later than the building from c. 1400, and they both appear to have been demolished when the next house was built in c. 1475. This neighbouring house had clay floors and timber-framed walls, built on a massive stone sill. Fragments

of heated bricks and the reddened patches on the floor suggest that this was also a dwelling of considerable size. The finds include both local and imported pottery, including German stoneware. The layout of the house from c. 1400 (house A221) was repeated in almost every detail when the succeeding house was built in c. 1475 (house A55). The later house was slightly longer, c. 19 m, but its width was still 5.5 m. It was divided into three or four rooms by three transverse walls. The kitchen area, with a large clay- and brick-built stove and internal chimney, was constructed in the second room in from the street. Three sherds of glazed pot-shaped stove tiles were found in the adjacent room, indicating a certain level of comfort. The finds from the house (house A55) include sherds of German stoneware, local wares, fragments of window glass, a sewing needle, a thimble and a nut from a crossbow, which indicates a high level of comfort and perhaps also wealthy owners.

The timber-built (half)cellar in the rear end of the building from c. 1475 could be accessed either from within the building or from outside through a door in the southwestern corner. The internal door in the centre of the northern wall was well preserved. Even the lower parts of the door and the wooden staircase survived. Both doors had handle-less locks and were locked with a latch, meaning that they could only be opened with a key. The importance of the cellar and its contents is stressed by this arrangement, whereby only the keyholder(s) of the household could gain access. The steps by the internal door indicate that the cellar was shallow, only 62 cm deep. The floor was neatly cobbled in the central area, which was clearly the area of most traffic. The areas along the outer walls were probably occupied by storage.

The timber-built cellar excavated in Algade 9 is the only one observed in the town. On two occasions, "earth cellars" are mentioned in documentary sources, although it is not clear whether these were timber-built.<sup>18</sup> Stone-built cellars, on the other hand, are quite common, and more than 13 have been recorded on the southern side of Algade, in the area of Algade 9: Algade was the main street in the Medieval and Early Modern town. The location of the cellars on the plots seems to vary with time. Before c. 1536, cellars were placed in the rear parts of the houses, or at least away from the street. After c. 1536, they were positioned immediately by the main street, under the fronts of the houses, allowing direct access from the street.



**Figure 2.5.** *Algade 9. Well-preserved parts of a house from c. 1574, demolished in 2007. Door in upper storey leading to side building. Photo: Historical Museum of Northern Jutland.*

In 1573 or 1574, the now recently demolished timber-framed house was built on the plot.<sup>19</sup> In many ways this building can be regarded as a quintessential Algade house of the late 1500s. It was roughly the same size as its Late Medieval predecessors (15.8 x 6.15 m) and was a timber-framed, two-storeyed building, still gabled to the street. Unlike its Medieval predecessors, its cellar was in the front of the building. It was built of fieldstones and this, together with its position by the street, is a typical feature of the cellars in Algade around 1550-1650 (Fig. 2.5).

In the interior of the house, a board bearing painted writing was found nailed to a post in the upper storey. It read ...*OffNVNG* (separator) *GLAVBE* (separator) and, though not in situ, it probably shows that the house was originally equipped with a living room saloon with decorated wooden panels (towards the street), perhaps by a German-speaking owner who wanted to mark his Christian faith. Elaborate panelled living room saloons were quite common in 17<sup>th</sup> century Aalborg, and examples still survive in both the National Museum in Copenhagen and in Aalborg Historical Museum. The original owner of the house is unknown, but the earliest known resident of Algade 9, mentioned in 1682, was a gunsmith by the name of Hollen, who may have been a tenant.<sup>20</sup>

#### *The excavation at Vesterbro 68 (ÅHM 6206)*

Vesterbro 68 lies on the northwestern margin of Aalborg,<sup>21</sup> as depicted on Peder Hansen Resen's prospectus from 1677. The excavation trench had an area of c. 106 m<sup>2</sup>. Substantial cultural deposits, dating especially from the 16<sup>th</sup> century and without identifiable structures, were dug by machine. Widespread use was made of a metal detector during the investigation, and substantial amounts

of soil, especially from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, were wet-sieved. The investigation revealed that the area was not built upon until the 14<sup>th</sup> century, when the town's fortifications were established there. Between c. 1350 and 1457, several fences, of various kinds, or lightly constructed buildings were erected. In addition, large, neat rectangular pits with a flat base were dug, partially on the area of the back-filled moat. The function of these pits remains unknown despite their contents being subjected plant macro-remain analysis.

In the period c. 1457-1530, the area belonged to the nearby Monastery of the Holy Ghost. Wattle-built fences followed what are now today's property boundaries. A documentary source from 1521 refers to part of this area to the west of the Monastery of the Holy Ghost as a "kaleyard", i.e. a vegetable plot,<sup>22</sup> while a later source from 1535 also mentions a hop garden.<sup>23</sup> Much suggests, therefore, that the monastery had some form of kitchen garden in this area. Perhaps this is reflected in the wattle-fenced area discovered in the excavation, with willow trees growing alongside the road – the road, which also led out the monastery's fields and farm buildings to the southwest of the town. When analysing the plant macro-remains from this phase, an attempt was made to trace the monastery's horticultural activities, and the presence of many cultivated plants was also demonstrated (Ch. 4). But there was no evidence of either kale (cabbage family) or hops.

The period c. 1530-1575 saw a marked shift in the use of the area. There was a striking accumulation of cultural deposits in the form of refuse, which means that the area can now best be described as a midden, or at least an area for the disposal of waste. To the east of the plot, the refuse achieved its greatest thickness of 70-80 cm. Its garden-like function had clearly been abandoned, and this phase presumably represents the time after the dissolution of the Monastery of the Holy Ghost, which, after 1536, continued as a secular hospital. The midden consisted of organic waste, of which some should certainly be assumed to be dung and other stable/byre waste from farm animals. A large proportion was, however, household refuse, including animal bones from food waste. In the earliest deposits there were also large quantities of animal hair, which shows that tanning must have taken place there, or somewhere close by. The midden contained several date-conferring artefacts from the early to the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century. Coins that were found could be assigned to, respectively, Eric of Pomerania (1396-1439), Frederik I (1523-1533) or perhaps Christian III

(1534-1559). Other finds have also provided good dates: A fragment of a relief tile bears a portrait of Johann Frederick I, Elector of Saxony, which is modelled on a medal from 1532, and must therefore originate from the time after this.<sup>24</sup> One of eight cloth seals recovered during the excavation comes from Hamburg and has the date 153? on one side. The seal is almost identical to another more commonly occurring seal type from Hamburg which has the date 1535. The other seven cloth seals could unfortunately not be identified. A small bone handle is marked with initials, trademarks and the date 1553. Dendrochronological dates from the subsequent phase suggest that the deposition of refuse perhaps continued until about 1575.

The table culture of the 16<sup>th</sup> century is represented, in particular, by shards of drinking glasses, i.e. "pass glasses", which must have been imported from northern Germany or the Netherlands. These are glasses with an angular cross-section, many of which have an obliquely-fluted vessel side, a so-called optical structure. A few shards do not have this feature and could therefore come from other types of glass. Some of the glasses also had decorative elements, such as animal heads in blue glass, in contrast to the otherwise greenish-coloured glass. They were presumably all tall, slender glasses which fall into the common category of "stangen glasses". The modern table customs of the time are also represented by two slender table knives. Three other knives from the midden are slightly larger and perhaps functioned more as kitchen knives used in food preparation.

The conditions for preservation in the midden were good for organic material, as reflected in the recovery of pieces of leather shoes, woollen cloth and silk. Among these was a complete shoe, which was remarkable in that it was made from a single piece of leather and thereby of a type referred to as "carbatine"/"pastalas". This type was more common in the Baltic area, where the shoe perhaps originated. Around 1575, a smithy was built on the eastern part of the plot. This measured c. 5.5 x 5.5 m and had an extension to the north, which was probably used as a kind of cart shed for repair work and the shoeing of horses. In the smithy, the blacksmith had a working area of c. 30 m<sup>2</sup>, in a building that was half-timbered with wattle-and-daub panels. The roof must be presumed to have been of red pantiles and the floor was bare earth. Dendrochronological samples could be taken from the preserved timber sill beam, which showed that the smithy had been built, at the earliest, in the period 1557-1572. It ap-

parently only had a relatively short lifetime because in around 1600 it was replaced by a dwelling house.

Around 1600, the earliest actual dwelling house was constructed on the plot. It was built on the site of the smithy and coincided almost exactly with the latter's footprint. Like the smithy, the dwelling house was a half-timbered construction – virtually the universal building type in Aalborg at this time. It must be presumed to have had a wattle-and-daub finish, although this cannot be securely determined. The floors were of chalk and clay and the roof was apparently of red pantiles. The windows had leaded panes. The house on the site of the smithy had its short gable side facing southwards towards the former street of Vestergade and was, accordingly, oriented as a gable house (Figs. 2.6 and 2.7). The entrance from the street was in the gable, at its eastern corner. From here, people stepped into a passage that led into the middle of the house, where the kitchen area was located. Alongside the passage in the front part of the house was a living room which was probably the house's finest and most presentable room. The rearmost, northerly part of the house lay outside the excavation trench. Observations in the drain ditch to the north of the excavation trench suggested, however, that the northern part of the building was divided into two rooms, with a partition wall running longitudinally.

At approximately the same time as the house on the smithy site, or shortly afterwards, an almost identical dwelling house was built immediately to the west of it. This too appears to have had an entrance hall or antechamber, a flanking passage leading from the entrance in the gable, a central kitchen area and a bipartite northern end. The house was similarly oriented with its gable to the south, towards Vestergade. The two gable houses were separated by a c. 2.5 m wide, stone-paved alley or passageway. They were heated by tiled stoves (Ch. 11), which probably stood by the wall, up against the kitchen's brick-built hearth, from where they could be fired as jamb stoves from the kitchen side of the wall. The stoves were built up of so-called pot tiles of grey-fired or red-fired clay, most often internally glazed. In addition, a few sherds were also found of rectangular, green-glazed relief tiles. It is though doubtful whether this, the most typical type of glazed tile in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, had been part of the stoves. It was most probably part of the eastern house on the smithy site, while this is more doubtful for the western building. In the latter, a





**Figure 2.6.** Vesterbro 68. Excavated parts of dwellings on either side of a cobbled alley, c. 1600. Map: Historical Museum of Northern Jutland.



**Figure 2.7.** Vesterbro 68. Remains of a dwelling and cobbled alley, c. 1600. Excavated in 2013. Photo: Historical Museum of Northern Jutland.

small tiled area was seen which, at a late stage in the house's lifetime, was established in the floor of the entrance hall, by the wall against the flanking passage. The tiling could represent a door opening or perhaps – more likely – a base for an iron stove as a replacement for the room's previous heat source, a tiled stove.

The archaeozoological material recovered from the two gable houses has been analysed by Susanne Østergaard.<sup>25</sup> The results show that the main suppliers of meat were cattle, sheep/goats and pigs, in that order. As for fish, remains were found of cod-fish (*Gadiformes*), herring and flatfish, as well as a single bone of a salmonid. Poultry were represented by geese and hens. Based on the faunal analyses, it

seems that the social status was relatively higher in the later house to the west than the house on the smithy site to the east. This is evident from a large proportion of meat from large mammals in the house to the west, while the people in the house to the east had, to a greater degree, managed on cheaper marine fish species.

In the alley between the two houses, a small shard was found from a glass vessel made in filigree technique – *à la façon de Venise*. It was probably made at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century in the Netherlands or northern Germany. It is also evident that tobacco was smoked in clay pipes in the western house. Unfortunately, the finds do not reveal who lived in the houses at Vesterbro 68, or their occupation or subsistence base. The two gable houses cannot be precisely identified in the 1682 tax assessment of the town's plots, but an idea is given of who could have lived there, as well as an impression of the quarter's residents. The latter included at least two ropemakers, a hatter, a weaver, two coopers, a pewterer, a mason, a baker and a clergyman. In most cases, however, the occupation is not mentioned. The two gable houses dealt with here must be among the final properties referred to along this stretch, in the vicinity of the street Graven(sgade). Two neighbouring properties are mentioned here of the same size, and these could correspond to the excavated buildings. They were owned by Hans Mikkelsen and Hans Simonsen. The house of the former was rented out to Søren Ferslev, but unfortunately there is no mention of either a title or occupation for him or the owners. Both properties were assessed at 10 rigsdaler, which is one of the lowest rates for the quarter, where the average was c. 15 rigsdaler, and the most expensive was 35 rigsdaler. In comparison, a house of 11 bays and with a first storey in the centre of town, at Algade 9, was assessed at 21 rigsdaler, while the town's most expensive properties at Stranden and Østerå were assessed at up to 300 rigsdaler. The smaller tenancies had much lower assessment, some as low as 1 rigsdaler. Under any circumstances, the two houses at Vesterbro 68 should probably be perceived as small but nevertheless independent properties that were not divided up into smaller tenancies.

The dating of the two dwelling houses to the time around 1600 suggests that the fully-developed urban settlement, suggested for the area on both Resen's prospectus of 1677 and in the land value taxation of 1682, was a late phenomenon. The northwestern quarter of the town at Vesterbro 68 seems, accordingly, to have been built later than



**Figure 2.8.** *Strandstien*. Timber-built rubbish pit from the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Excavated in 1957-1958. Photo: Historical Museum of Northern Jutland.

the northern quarter between the watercourses Vesterå and Østerå.

*The St. Botolph's quarter (west of Østerågade, between Skolegade and Adelgade) (ÅHM 0711)*

In 1957-1958, Aalborg Historical Museum undertook an excavation at Strandstien, directly east of St. Botolph's church.<sup>26</sup> The investigation was the museum's first actual urban archaeological excavation. The 128 m<sup>2</sup> excavation trench uncovered the remains of a metalworker's workshop from the 13<sup>th</sup> century (Riismøller 1960) as well as a large wooden refuse container (Fig. 2.8), dated to the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Johansen et al. 1992: 240; Riismøller 1958). The box measured c. 2 x 3 m, and had a depth of c. 1.8 m; it was set back on the plot relative to the nearby street of Algade. The box was built of 11 posts made from small virtually unworked tree trunks, with the box's horizontal planking of re-used timber securely nailed to the back of them. The box contents included mixed faeces and refuse, in which were found stave beakers and turned wooden bowls. There were also sherds of Rhenish stoneware which were crucial to dating the box to the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Ch. 12). The box was not assigned to the buildings that were found.

*ÅHM 1582*

In the 1930s, large plots to the south of St. Botolph's church were redeveloped, the buildings were demolished and a large square, Budolfi Plads, was



**Figure 2.9.** *Algade 45. "The bishop's rubbish pit" from c. 1680-1700. Excavated in 1937. Photo: Historical Museum of Northern Jutland.*

laid out in their place. The area contained cultural deposits with a thickness of 4-5 m, dating from Viking Age and all subsequent periods. More than 1.5 m of the upper layers, including remains of the earlier settlement, was removed in the process. During the clearance, important remains of the settlement were excavated, including a timber-built latrine found in 1937 on the plot Algade 45<sup>27</sup> (Fig. 2.9). No other structures were associated with the pit. The base of the pit lay at a depth of 2.25 m below ground level, and the remains of the structure itself were 60 cm deep.<sup>28</sup> It was a square construction, measuring 2.20 x 2.45 m, and built of oak planks, 30 cm wide. The planks were held in place by four corner posts with an additional post in the middle of the planks. The base was laid with smaller planks. Outside the pit, a timbered construction with two beams was found on one side. The beams were each fixed to three posts. The purpose of this external construction was not determined.

The excavators describe the contents of the pit as kitchen waste with 'plenty of cherry stones, chicken bones, oyster shells and walnuts.'<sup>29</sup> A large glass

bottle was found at its base, and a sample of the bottle contents was retained and kept at Aalborg Historical Museum. In 2016, analysis of this sample led to the identification of numerous cultural plants from the presumed kitchen and household. Other items found in the pit included bowls, a jar and a plate of Dutch faience, a sherd of Chinese porcelain, redware pottery and fragments of glass vessels and bottles (Ch. 12), as well as fragments of leather shoes or boots and parts of wooden casks. Thirty-nine glass fragments came from a large decorated, enamelled beer tankard (German *Humpe*), inscribed with the year 1667. A Dutch faience bowl was inscribed with the year 1686, providing a terminus post quem for the abandonment of the cess pit. The owners and users were most likely some of the bishops of Aalborg. The plot in question was bought by Bishop Mathias Foss (bishop from 1672-1683), and from then on it became the residence of the presiding bishop in Aalborg until 1915. The excavator suggests that the latrine was used in the period 1680-1690, and hence belonged to Bishop Mathias Foss, or more likely his successor Henrik Bornemann (bishop 1683-1693) (Riismøller 1942: 174). Another likely owner/user is Jens Bircherod (bishop 1693-1708).

*West of Østerå, between Adelgade and Bispensgade (ÅHM 1551)*

In 1941, excavations were carried out on the western parts of the plot at Østerågade 15.<sup>31</sup> Among the traces encountered here were the remains of a Late Medieval brick-built house, which was found incorporated into the existing house on the eastern part of the plot. The house was just one of several located just west of Østerå, which show that this area was already of great value in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Of further interest was the discovery of a kind of rubbish pit, of which only some of the contents were recorded. These included shards of drinking glasses, identified as Venetian imports by museum curator Peter Riismøller.<sup>32</sup> Other finds included domestic and imported pottery, "stangen glass", a stove tile, leather footwear and antlers. No soil was sieved.

*West of Østerå, between Bispensgade and Stranden (ÅHM 1504)*

In 1956, during the digging of a trench for a community heating pipe in Grotumsgade by the coast, in the central part of the town, two sunken barrels were encountered.<sup>33</sup> The latest of these was from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, while the other was dated to the 17<sup>th</sup>

century. The latter had presumably functioned as a latrine (barrel) and had ultimately been filled up with various discarded objects. Its contents included several turned wooden artefacts, a whetstone, a round-bellied glass bottle, shards of "pass glasses", a tin beaker, a tin mug, a Dutch cloth seal and a presumed Dutch clay pot. Later, in 1970, the barrel was dated to 1580-1590 and interpreted as a rubbish container associated with a merchant's house.<sup>34</sup>

#### *Algade quarters, east of Østerå (ÅHM 0406)*

In 1974, the modern department store Salling expanded its garage facilities on the plots at the corner of the streets Lille Nygade and Store Nygade.<sup>35</sup> Sadly, these entire plots were only rudimentarily excavated by digging a single trench. Cultural deposits with a thickness of more than 3 m were found here, but few dates and records resulted. The layers were generally perceived simply as fill, apart from several posts used as piling, which were attributed to an undated building. Only Store Nygade was dated to the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Few finds were recovered: locally produced and imported ceramics from the Medieval and Renaissance periods, a leather shoe, a fragment of a bone comb and a coin, possibly of Edward II (1307-1327). No soil was sieved. The excavation was clearly a missed opportunity on a plot that almost certainly contained layers from the Viking Age and subsequent early periods of the town.

Numerous excavations have been undertaken on the site of the former Franciscan friary on the southern side of the main street Algade.<sup>36</sup> The most significant of these were undertaken at Algade 21 in 1980 and Algade 19 in 1994-1995.<sup>37</sup> Not only



**Figure 2.10.** *Algade 19. Cellar walls from the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Excavated in 1994. Photo: Historical Museum of Northern Jutland.*

did these uncover substantial parts of the friary church and the eastern range of the friary, considerable remains of subsequent buildings from the Renaissance were documented. Both the church and the claustral buildings had apparently already been demolished by 1540, making way for secular buildings and plots. A typical feature of these later houses is their cellars, built of granite boulders, and these were found at both Algade 19 and 21 (Fig. 2.10). A further prominent feature is that these Renaissance cellars were in the front the buildings, immediately by the street. Examples have also been encountered at Algade 9, Algade 3 and Algade 26, and most probably at Algade 5 and 11, too.

#### *Nytorv quarters (ÅHM 1611/ÅHM 1258)*

In 1947, one of the town's best-preserved Renaissance building complexes, the so-called "Mønsteds Gård", dating from the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, was demolished at Nytorv 18.<sup>39</sup> The buildings were re-erected at a new location in Hasseris, now part of modern Aalborg. In 1950/1951, excavations were carried out on the plot, revealing a timber-built rubbish pit or latrine dating from the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 2.11). The structure was reportedly found in the middle of the courtyard, although one sketch indicates a location by the southern gable of the west wing in the Renaissance building.<sup>40</sup> Slightly later than the latrine was a wooden drain, which probably acted as a gutter from the side street of Lille Nygade, terminating at the nearby watercourse, Lille Å (Peder Barkes Å). Remains were also found of a mill, built in 1676, and of the stone-lined stream itself.<sup>41</sup> The dating of the mill provides a terminus ante quem date for the numerous finds recovered from both the latrine and the drain. The finds comprised vast amounts of pottery, stove tiles and other small finds, many of which remain unrecorded, including a range of exotic types (Ch. 12). The latrine pit was a rectangular structure, measuring 1.15 x 11.75 m (internally), and c. 1.7 m deep (Fig. 2.11). It was built of heavy pine planks, laid horizontally. The recorded part of the gutter was 2 m long and made from a hollowed-out oak beam with a pine plank as a lid.

The latrine fill comprised faeces and waste, including cherry stones, hazel nutshells and bones of poultry. In addition to a range of locally produced redware pottery, it also contained an imported faience vase and a decorated redware plate from Hessen, inscribed with the year 1615. An almost intact case-bottle of green glass and a cask head



**Figure 2.11.** *Nytorv 18. Timber-built latrine or rubbish pit. Excavated in 1950/1951. Photo: Historical Museum of Northern Jutland.*

were also found. The excavation of the drain also yielded some pottery, including sherds of German stoneware. Several more peculiar finds include a Neolithic stone axe, a wooden toy ship and a stone cannonball. The drain also contained the fragments of two gothic tile matrixes, possibly of German origin.<sup>42</sup> In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the excavated area comprised two separate plots, which were only merged shortly before 1700 by the merchant Jens Christensen Winter.<sup>43</sup> The previous owners are unknown. The plot was probably built on for the first time in c. 1604, when the new market square, Nytorv, was laid out.

#### *ÅHM 3803*

In 1998, a c. 250 m long stretch of the town's main sewer was renovated in Østerågade and some parts of Nytorv and Adelgade.<sup>44</sup> This prompted excavations which led to the uncovering of the remains of eight brick houses and one timber-built house, dating from the period 1400-1910. They all stood directly on the eastern bank of the river Østerå, part of the Medieval and Early Modern harbour which was reinforced on several occasions in the 13<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. The revetments were gradually built out into the river, adding land to the plots. Reused parts of boats or small ships were uncovered in the revetments. Parts of a wooden bridge and plank roads from the 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> century were found at the crossing of the main street of Algade. The southernmost brick house was a well-preserved undercroft, which presumably belonged to the Franciscan friary, c. 1400-1530. The house was integrated into the precinct wall and was possibly built out into the river, spanning part of it. Three Medieval burials were excavated to the south of the building. In 1682, the building was owned by

Nicolai Beidenburg, a German school teacher. The largest brick building, more than 18.5 m in length, was probably built by the nobleman Otto Banner shortly before his death in 1585. Later, in the 1660s, the house was the property of Karen Galde and Børge Rosenkrands, who were also members of the nobility. The northernmost brick house probably dates from the 15<sup>th</sup> century and presumably corresponds to a house mentioned in 1512, which belonged to the town councillor Niels Pedersen.<sup>45</sup> It may also be referred to as early as 1456, being said to belong to the Brigittine monastery in Mariager. Nevertheless, it seems clear that the owners of the plots and houses by the river generally belonged to the upper, landowning classes in society. The finds from the excavations perhaps reflect this affluent environment, although it must be admitted that many of them come from the deposits and fills in the wharves, i.e. material that could have been brought in from elsewhere. The excavations were, to a large extent, undertaken with the use of heavy machinery, and no soil was sieved.

#### *ÅHM 3929*

In 1998/1999, a trial excavation was undertaken at Østerågade 10, in advance of planned building projects which were, however, never carried out.<sup>46</sup> A 25 m long trench was dug in the middle of the plot. The results suggest that area was initially part of the shore of the Limfjord, immediately by the Østerå estuary. Landfill was added in Medieval times, behind post- and plank-built revetments, and the earliest building appeared to be a timbered house, probably from the 15<sup>th</sup> century. No traces of later buildings were found here. A photograph from c. 1880 depicts a row of half-timbered houses on the plot, probably dating from the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>47</sup> There are two inscribed beams from the neighbouring Renaissance building at Østerågade 8, bearing the dates 1601 and 1608. These probably give some idea of when building activities took place in the area. In 1682, the Østerågade 8 building was owned by a tailor called Mads, who also owned the neighbouring parts of the row at Østerågade 10. The remaining parts were owned by Mayor Mogens Willumsen, merchant Jens Mortensen and city councillors Christopher de Hemmer and Jens Christensen. They were all occupied by tenants. Despite the properties being let out, the location must be regarded as important in the riverine harbour area, which was dominated by nobles and wealthy merchants in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The artefacts recovered included potsherds, shards from a glass drinking

vessel, a hone, a fragment of a green-glazed stove tile, fragments of leather shoes and a scabbard for a sword. No soil was sieved.

## Conclusion

In Early Modern times, Aalborg was the second-largest town in Denmark, an important hub for trade in, and export of, herring, as well as for trade with Norway, which was an important part of the kingdom of Denmark-Norway at the time (Ch. 3). Excavations have been undertaken in Aalborg for almost a century, and remains of the settlement and adjoining archaeological traces have been uncovered by the Aalborg Historical Museum at least since the 1930s. The excavated structures include several townhouses from the 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, as well as numerous latrines and cess pits/refuse pits, the largest number found so far in any Danish town. The excavations were located all over the town, both in the central areas along the rivers which, according to documentary sources, were inhabited by nobility and wealthy merchants, and on the outskirts, which were primarily inhabited by artisans. One area in particular, in the western part of town, appears to have been established to accommodate the expanding population of this prosperous town in the late 16<sup>th</sup> or early 17<sup>th</sup> century. These structures and features, together with the artefacts recovered during the excavations, form the basis of our archaeological knowledge of life in the town of Aalborg.

## Notes

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7. Riismøller 1942: 76, 264; Springborg et al. 2013: 51.
8. Tvede-Jensen & Poulsen 1988: 22 with ref.
9. Tvede-Jensen & Poulsen 1988: 51.
10. Jensen C.V. 2013a.
11. Linaa 2016.
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13. Jensen & Klinge 2016.
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15. Jensen, 2006.

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22. Lindbæk & Stemann 1906: 196.
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25. Østergaard 2015. All the following results are from this report.
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27. ÅHM 1582.
28. Excavation report, ÅHM 1582 Algade 45, Aalborg sogn, Hornum hundred, tidl. Aalborg amt 1937.
29. *Aalborg Stiftstidende* 1937 Dec. 31.
30. Jensen, P. M. et al. 2017; Ørnbjerg et al. 2016; Chapter 4.
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32. *Aalborg Amtstidende* September 8, 1951
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37. Excavation report, ÅHM 1127 Algade 21, Aalborg sogn, Hornum hundred, tidl. Aalborg amt 1980.
38. Bang R. et al. 2008, ÅHM 5457, ÅHM 4769, ÅHM 5750; Holm-Rasmussen 1966: 237-239.
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47. Olesen 1976: 21.