Pots, Pipes and Plates

An Archaeology of Consumption in 17th and 18th Century Iceland

Jakob Orri Jónsson

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Steinunn J Kristjánsdóttir

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Doktorsnefnd:

Gavin Murray Lucas, leiðbeinandi

Audrey Horning

Guðmundur Jónsson

Timo Ylimaunu

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ORCID 0000-0001-5100-2004

Abstract

In Europe and North America, the Early Modern Period – or more specifically the 17th and 18th centuries – are characterised as seeing the consumer revolution, the rise of consumer society and consumer goods replacing a more subsistence-based approach. In Iceland, however, that same period has been seen as a time of economic stagnation and material impoverishment, a part of a 'Dark Age' between the glory of the Icelandic Commonwealth and Settlement Periods and the affluence of an independent post-Second World War Iceland.

This view places Iceland at odds with much of Europe and this thesis will explore the tension between these views of a local 'Dark Age' trajectory and the global trajectory of economic growth and consumer revolution, questioning whether either view properly captures the specific conditions of Iceland in the Early Modern Period. This will be achieved through the study of archaeological data, addressing issues of whether Iceland in the 17th and 18th centuries can be considered to have been or become a consumer society. The objective is to focus on two categories of material culture which had a connection to consumer goods; clay tobacco pipes and pottery. Previously, only a small handful of studies have been done on the subjects of pipes and pottery in Iceland but these have been primarily focused on revealing trade relations in the form of provenancing and on the objects as markers for dating. The primary goal of this thesis, however, is to explore the relative presence and frequency of these goods in archaeological assemblages in Iceland from the 17th and 18th centuries, examine how and when they enter Icelandic assemblages, and how they spread through Icelandic society by socio-economic standing and market acces. These consumption profiles will be compared and contrasted to consumption profiles from sites in north-western Europe. These patterns will also be used in seeking to understand the local meanings and uses of these luxury goods in Iceland and in what ways the notions of a consumer revolution or consumer society has relevance or whether there are other ways to view such consumption.

Ágrip

Í Evrópu og Norður-Ameríku er árnýöld, og sérstaklega 17. og 18. öld, séð sem upphaf neyslubyltingarinnar (e. the consumer revolution), neytendasamfélags (e. consumer society) og umskipta frá varning úr sjálfsþurftarbúskap til neysluvarnings frá verslun. Á Íslandi er þetta tímabil hins vegar oft séð sem tími efnhagslegrar stöðnunar og almennrar fátæktar, hluti „niðurlægingartímabils“ milli dýrðar landnáms- og þjóðveldisalda og ríkidæmis hins sjálfstæða Íslands eftir lok seinni heimstyrjaldar.

Þessi sýn er á skjön við algenga evrópska sýn á þetta tímabil og þessi ritgerð mun kanna togstreituna milli hinnar íslensku hugmyndar um „niðurlægingartímabilið“ og hinnar hnattrænu hugmyndar um efnahagslegan vöxt og neyslubyltingu, og hvor sýn nær betur utan um aðstæður á Íslandi á árnýöld. Þetta mun vera gert með fornleifafræðilegum rannsóknum, sem kanna hvort 17. og 18. aldar Ísland getur talist neyslusamfélag eða á leið að verða slíkt samfélag. Markmiðið er að einblína á tvo flokka efnismenningar sem höfðu tengsl við neysluvarning; þ.e. tóbakspípur úr leir og leirker. Hingað til hafa aðeins örfáar rannsóknir á krítarpípum og leirkerjum farið fram á Íslandi og þær rannsóknir sem hafa verið gerðar hafa einbeitt sér að verslunar tengslum með rannsóknum á uppruna þessara gripa og nýtingu þeirra til tímasetninga. Aðalmarkmið þessarar ritgerðar er, ólíkt fyrri rannsóknum, að kanna tilvist og fjölda þessara gripa í fornleifafræðilegu samhengi á 17. og 18. aldar Íslandi, athuga hvernig og hvenær þeir koma inn í íslenska fundaflóru og hvernig þeir dreifast eftir félagslegri og efnahagslegri stöðu og aðgang að mörköðum. Þau neyslumynstur (e. consumption profiles) sem verða til úr þessum rannsóknum verða borin saman við neyslumynstur frá Norðvestur Evrópu. Þessi mynstur verða einnig nýtt til að nálgast skilning á þýðingu og nýtingu lúxusvarnings á Íslandi og hvort, og að hvaða leiti, hugtökin neyslubyltingin og neyslusamfélag eru eiga rétt á sér á þessum tíma á Íslandi eða hvort það eru aðrar leiðir til að skylja slíka neyslu.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

In Europe and North America, the Early Modern Period, or more specifically the 17th and 18th centuries, are characterised as seeing the consumer revolution, the rise of consumer society and consumer goods replacing a more subsistence-based approach. In Iceland, however, that same period has been seen as a time of economic stagnation and material impoverishment, a part of a 'Dark Age' between the glory of the Icelandic Commonwealth and Settlement Periods and the affluence of an independent post-Second World War Iceland.

This view places Iceland at odds with much of Europe and this thesis will explore the tension between these views of a local 'Dark Age' trajectory and the global trajectory of economic growth and consumer revolution, questioning whether either view properly captures the specific conditions of Iceland in the Early Modern Period. This will be achieved through the study of archaeological data, addressing issues of whether Iceland in the 17th and 18th centuries can be considered to have been or become a consumer society. The study will explore whether such a change takes place, how it appears in the relative frequencies of two categories of goods which were imported into Iceland, or whether a different approach and understanding of this period may be applied.

Archaeological studies of the Early Modern Period in Iceland are, however, rare, and archaeological investigations into Early Modern remains have traditionally been of limited interest to archaeologists working in Iceland, though interest in this period has begun to increase in the past couple of decades. It still remains that the majority of archaeological research excavations on Early Modern remains are undertaken as a precursor to investigations on remains dating to the Middle Ages or the Viking Age as there has been a great continuity in the location of Icelandic farms and their structures from at least the Middle Ages onwards. This has resulted in the formation of mounds, known as *bæjarhólar* in Icelandic, which contain significant amounts of archaeology from all, or most, periods of settlement in Iceland. As a result archaeologists wishing to investigate the Middle Ages must often excavate later remains first, which has resulted in a significant grey literature on Early Modern archaeology in the form of excavation reports and both undergraduate and graduate dissertations (Lucas, 2012). An increased interest in the Early Modern Period in the past couple of decades has begun to rectify this, however, with archaeological research projects focused on the Early Modern Period and an increase in the number of published articles on the subject (e.g. Bolender, Johnson, & Bello, 2020; Edwald Maxwell, 2019; Mehler, 2004; Pálsdóttir, 2016; Sveinbjarnardóttir, 1996).

The number of sites from the Early Modern Period targeted for research has slowly increased through time, though their number can only be said to have increased significantly in the last couple of decades, with the majority of investigations being the result of rescue excavations or in connection with

planned construction. A few research excavations have been undertaken on Early Modern remains, though, aside from a handful of sites, these have primarily been focused on sites of perceived high status individuals such as bishops, priests, high ranking government agents, and local leaders. Other archaeological research projects which investigate this period tend to focus on sites which have some claim to the extraordinary, e.g. the investigations at Strákatangi where the remains of a Basque and, later, Dutch whaling site were under investigation (Edvardsson & Rafnsson, 2011).

In the broader context of European historical archaeology the situation in Iceland is similar to that of other Nordic countries, with the majority of Early Modern archaeology originating with excavations undertaken as a precursor to construction projects with an emphasis on analyses on ceramic material (e.g. Reed, 1990). These investigations are largely focused in urban areas and their results tend to be discussed through the lens of Nordic trade contact with the rest of Europe, often in an attempt to show that the Nordic countries were not peripheral to Europe or how they moved from the 'margins' to a more integrated cultural participation with other European countries (Courtney, 2009, pp. 176-178; Herva, Naum, Nordin, & Ojala, 2018).

This pattern of urban excavations and focus on artefactual analyses with an emphasis on ceramic material is repeated throughout Europe, particularly in centres of ceramic productions like England, Germany – especially the Rhine Valley – and the Netherlands. In these areas these investigations have been largely focused on cataloguing the extensive material, mapping sites of ceramic production, identifying individual ceramic producers from the historical record as well as creating extensive and intricate typologies of pottery and clay pipes (e.g. Bartels, 1999; Duco, 1981; Gaimster, 2006).

Adding to the corpus of pottery analyses was not, necessarily, one of the main aims of this study but doing so was, nevertheless, necessitated by the approach employed. In gathering information for this study it quickly became apparent that there were few published analyses of Icelandic pottery and clay tobacco pipe material available which could be directly utilized in the kind of comparative study which is employed here. Further it became apparent that there did not exist many artefact assemblages which had both the amount of material needed for a comparative study and were dated to the Monopoly Trade Period. In order to make up for this lack of material three new sites were investigated archaeologically in 2016-2017 specifically in connection with this study, and pottery and clay tobacco pipe finds from a further five sites were analysed, with other sites either already having been analysed or being analysed from secondary sources.

For large parts of Europe, however, the very concept of Early Modern archaeology is a contradiction in terms and anything younger than the Middle Ages is not considered archaeology, even the Middle Ages themselves only barely qualify in most Central European countries. This view on archaeology is most notable in state legislation and university courses, where Medieval and Post-

Medieval archaeology are relatively recent subjects, if they are taught at all, and the range to which Medieval and later remains enjoy legal protection are extremely varied (Mehler, 2013). Indeed, when I attended a year of Erasmus exchange studies for my Masters' degree in Graz University in Styria, Austria, in 2010-2011 there was only one course taught in Medieval archaeology and none at all on later periods. From this it is clear that the archaeology of the Early Modern Period can still be considered a young discipline, which has grown from being 'Recent Rubbish' which the archaeologist must excavate to get to the really interesting things below, to a legitimate subject of research in a very short time. While, it may be argued, this growing interest in the archaeology of periods closer to ourselves in time has been spurred by American and British archaeology, approaches to the material are deeply rooted in national traditions of thought and theory (Courtney, 2009). While some appear to despair at the varied approaches, calling for a unified approach across Europe, others appear to delight in the many differing views afforded by this emerging discipline. What proponents of both delight and despair agree on is that increased international cooperation, sharing of ideas and theories, the acceptance of traditions from other disciplines, history and anthropology being the most commonly mentioned, and the freedom to dissent are increasingly important as the discipline of Post-Medieval Archaeology continues to grow (e.g. Courtney, 2009; Mehler, 2013).

This study is a part of that growth and while the focus is on the local, namely Iceland, the underlying spirit is inherently international. The view employed here is of Iceland and the Icelandic material as part of a wider world, not through the lens of a singular entity, an independent nation since that was not the case. During the 17th and 18th centuries Iceland was a part of a larger whole, a province within the larger state of the Danish-Norwegian Union. Furthermore, and as will be discussed further in later chapters, Iceland was deeply entangled in trade networks, immediately spanning Northern Europe and more distantly the whole world.

1.1. Aims

The aims of this thesis are to examine the consumption of imported consumer goods in Iceland during the 17th and 18th centuries and compare when and how these imports were adopted in Iceland. These consumption profiles will then be used to situate Iceland within a wider context of European consumption through a comparison with material from contemporary sites in north-western Europe.

These aims will be achieved by employing a statistical approach, comparing and contrasting relative frequencies of pottery and clay tobacco pipes between Icelandic sites and sites in north-western Europe, examining how these change through time, by socio-economic standing and market access. The results of these comparisons will be interpreted through the lens of the concepts of the consumer

revolution, luxury, and capitalist markets, especially as they concern Iceland and its relative place within north-western Europe.

The aims of this thesis can be divided into several objectives. The first, the identification of consumption profiles of imports into Iceland in the 17th and 18th centuries, and examining how consumption patterns change through time, especially as it concerns the adaptation of consumer goods and goods with an association to the concept of luxury, can be divided into a) an attempt to discern how quickly imports enter into, or vanish from, consumption patterns and become a fixed part of household consumption, b) whether there is any significant variation between sites of different socio-economic status, and c) attempt to address issues of the social meanings of certain categories of artefacts and practices associated with them.

The second aim, situating these profiles within a broader contemporary European context in effort to explore how the Icelandic profiles align, or do not align, with the perception of the Monopoly Trade Period in Iceland as a 'Dark Age' as might be seen through a comparative dearth of luxury and consumer goods in Iceland, can be divided into a) providing new data for the discussion of how deeply entrenched Iceland was in international trade networks, b) to what extent Icelanders were able and willing to engage with those networks, and c) questions of the consumer revolution, to what extent that notion has relevance to consumption in Iceland, whether a consumer revolution can be said to have taken place in Iceland or what other ways there may be to view consumption in Iceland. Achieving these objectives allows for other questions to be broached, such as d) questions of the place of Iceland within the Danish-Norwegian Union, and e) more broadly Europe.

1.2. The Early Modern Period

The Early Modern Period was a time of influx of new things and ideas into Europe with the expansion of European power and influence across the world both in terms of access to new areas of the globe and innovation within Europe so that new technologies, modes of thought, ways of living, and goods to meet previously unknown wants and needs began to change the world from what is often considered 'pre-modern' to 'modern'.

This change, that is the process of becoming modern is the central topic of interest for many who study later historical archaeology, or "modern-world archaeology" (Orser, 2014), a term created to remove any ambiguity around the term historical archaeology, which may refer to the study of any literate society and not only the post-1500 world, which is the subject of modern-world archaeology. Since historical archaeology became a field of study the theoretical approaches to it have changed with the times but the focus of the field has consistently been on what Charles E. Orser Jr. (1996) calls the

"four haunts" of the modern world. These are colonialism, capitalism, eurocentrism, and racialization (Orser, 2014, p. 4). Orser acknowledges that different studies focus on these haunts to different degrees and that not all studies need to address them directly, though they are connected to each other to such a degree that to study one is to address each of the other in some way.

In the case of Iceland, it is questionable to what extent issues of eurocentrism and racialization apply and no studies focusing on these subjects have been undertaken within archaeology in Iceland. Anthropologists in Iceland have, however, begun to engage with these issues (e.g. Loftsdóttir, 2012, 2016) in ways which may guide archaeologists and historians to engage with them in the future. Issues of colonialism and capitalism have, however, been studied extensively.

Being a part of the Danish-Norwegian Union, which was a colonial power with colonies in Africa, the Caribbean and India (Gunnarsson, 2019, p. 183), colonialism is a background issue in all discussion of the Early Modern Period within its borders, including Iceland. The issue of colonialism in Iceland, however, tends to be framed through the question of whether Iceland and Icelanders can be considered to have been colonised by the Danish, or, more recently, by other parties, such as the Hansa merchants during the 16th century. While the idea that Iceland was a 'Danish colony' is widespread in popular Icelandic culture whether that term is strictly applicable is debatable (Gardiner & Mehler, 2019, pp. 19-21; Lucas & Parigoris, 2013).

Those issues which are most tightly bound up in colonialism either do not come up in the case of Iceland or are only very minor in nature. By and large, the Crown Authority of the Danish-Norwegian Union appears to have left Iceland to its own devices, not attempting to press Danish culture on Icelanders and thus 'turn them into Danes', nor displace the Icelandic population in favour of Danish citizens as it did to the Sami people in northern Norway, nor to take a direct hand in very many affairs within the island at all, except as it related to trade. The Danish-Norwegian Union was made up of several different ethnicities or cultures, Danes, Norwegians, Icelanders, and Faroese, along with German speaking groups in southern Jutland, and indigenous peoples in northern Norway and Greenland. This is, perhaps, where one might argue that racialization comes into play, with the Crown Authority considering its white Nordic language speaking population as a whole but treating its non-white population differently. This question, however, falls outside this study and my field of knowledge.

Questions of the colonial status of Iceland may best be considered a powerful rhetorical device that can stimulate a discussion on the place of Iceland within the space of the Danish-Norwegian Union, Europe, and the world at large. Whether a careful examination of either or both the history and archaeology of Iceland can be said to support a view of Iceland as colonial or colonised is questionable. The view taken here is that Iceland was a possession, a province, of the Danish-Norwegian Union, more

akin in its status towards the Crown as was the peninsula Jutland, western Norway, or the Faroe Islands, than to its colonies in India, Africa or the Caribbean.

The last of Orser's haunts is capitalism, which can be defined as the system under which those who own capital (which generally refers to money but can also refer to those things, from tools to land, used in the production of goods) control the production of goods, and an economic system defined by a workforce that sells their labour in exchange for wages (Orser, 1996, p. 72 and references therein). By this understanding Iceland can hardly have been said to have been a capitalist country in the 17th century, though by the end of the 18th century the Icelandic economy had begun to change to a capitalist one (Johnson & Bolender, 2019; Lucas & Hreiðarsdóttir, 2012).

At the beginning of the 17th century reliance on imports was limited, with an emphasis on timber for construction, metals, tools and grain. Other goods were either limited in number or not imported at all. There was some specialized workshop production in Iceland, notably stone, e.g. stone hammers (Mímisson, 2020) and quernstones (Guðmundsdóttir Beck, Forthcoming), and wood objects, but largely Iceland seems to have been a subsistence based economy with households producing for their own needs. It is perhaps in the sphere of the fishing that capitalism can be said to have been felt earlier than in other spheres of life, as men, and sometimes women, would hire themselves on open row-boats with the boat's owner getting a larger share of the catch than the others on board. While it appears that most of those who owned boats owned only one and took part in crewing them, there are some, like the farmer at Hólahólar in Snæfellsnes (see Chapter 4) who owned more than one.

While the definition of capitalism presented above has been widely accepted recent studies have begun to show that capitalism is not a "system that operates in the same way across time and space" (Leone & Knauf, 2015, p. 4). While capitalism is still defined by the emphasis on private ownership of capital, studies which emphasise the social relations of capitalism and explore the different ways it manifests across time and space have begun to emerge.

With that in mind, Early Modern Iceland can perhaps not be said to have been a capitalist society, but it did exist on the margins of such societies and as capitalist production increased the amount of goods available those same good began to spread to Iceland through the merchants of the monopoly trade and those Icelanders who went abroad who would have been introduced to the new and emerging goods circulating in places less peripheral than Iceland and the ways to consume them. These people would then have brought these goods, which they had become used to, with them to the island, further introducing those Icelanders who did not travel abroad to the goods.

This, it has been argued is one way in which capitalism is introduced into non-capitalist societies, slowly and over time (Horning & Schweickart, 2016; Lucas & Edwald Maxwell, 2015), the introduction

of new goods pushing for innovation and introduction of new technologies which change the established structure of labour in order to generate capital which can then be expended on these new goods. These are some of the characteristics of capitalism as identified by Leone and Knauf in the introduction to the second edition of *Historical Archaeologies of Capitalism*, neatly summed up in the sentence; "The capitalist system relies on the expansion of production to produce increased profits" (Leone & Knauf, 2015, p. 6).

Having discussed Orser's four haunts it seems clear they cannot be applied uncritically to the Icelandic Monopoly Trade Period. In recent years reconsidered and more nuanced approaches to the emergence of capitalism in areas of the early modern world outside of the sphere of influence of England and the Netherlands have begun to emerge, revealing the ways in which capitalism existed alongside earlier forms of economic practice (Mrozowski & Horning, 2018; Nordin, 2020; Pezzarossi, 2019). Acknowledging this, Mrozowski and Horning have suggested the adoption of a broader concept of political economy, the investigation of the intersection of economics, politics and government, as a way to transcend colonialism, consumerism, urbanization, industrialization and modernity, "while at the same time shedding new light on the operation of those processes" (Mrozowski & Horning, 2018, p. 1). All this serves to say that while the concepts discussed above are useful analytical categories, attempting to adhere to them strictly can limit the possible discourse.

A focus on the ways in which Icelanders made, traded, understood, used and discarded these new goods, the way they *consumed* them, may then be a fruitful way to approach the question of how changes in the material world of Icelanders in the Early Modern Period took place.

1.3. Consumption

To the earliest scholars studying consumption it was considered a phenomenon unique to 20th century Western societies arising out of increased production and connected to the rise of the 'consumer society' (Sassatelli, 2007, pp. 9-13; Trentmann, 2004, pp. 376-380). While there is no denying that consumption in the 20th century is of a different scale than consumption in earlier centuries, with the term 'mass consumption' sometimes applied to post-Second World War consumption, the idea that consumption is unique to the 20th century and a reaction to the increase in the supply of goods, the 'productionist' view, was challenged by scholars in the 1970's and 80's (Sassatelli, 2007, pp. 13-15).

These 'anti-productionist' studies pushed the beginnings of consumer society back into the 17th or 18th centuries, or even earlier, and showed that it was the desire for goods and not increased production that was the driving force behind the birth of the consumer society. Most of these studies tended to focus on a single aspect of consumption in their critique. In her book, *Consumer Culture*, Roberta Sassatelli

discusses three examples of this anti-productionist view, what she considers the "consumerist", the "modernist" and the "exchangist" theses, put forward by, respectively Neil McKendrick, Colin Campbell, and Jan De Vries (Sassatelli, 2007, p. 15).

The consumerist view sees the beginning of the consumer society with the increase in social mobility among the bourgeoisie, in their desire to emulate the nobility through 'conspicuous consumption', expanding upon the work of Thorstein Veblen (1994) and his study on what he termed 'the leisure class', in order to advance in social status and among entrepreneurs who fostered that desire through shrewd sales techniques. This view does not give much credit to cultural factors with regards to what is acceptable behaviour in relation to the emulation of higher classes and the display of objects associated with them. It removes agency from the bourgeoisie who are seen as driven, if not outright manipulated, to emulate those of higher status and to display their status through material possessions. It also does not address what factors drive the nobility to consume in a way that can be considered noble and worthy of emulation (McKendrick, 1982). McKendrick's work, focused as it is on the latter half of the 18th century in Britain, also assumes a degree of social mobility which was not present in all societies, as evidenced by, for example, sumptuary laws, which limited what people were allowed to own and wear to certain social classes (Berg, 2005, pp. 28-30).

Campbell, in an attempt to discover what is specifically "modern" about modern material culture and the attitudes towards it, dismisses emulation and conspicuous consumption, the purchase and display of commodities which are expensive or perceived as high-status, as having primacy in the rise of consumer society and instead focuses on the search for novelty and a kind of "mentalistic hedonism" (Sassatelli, 2007, p. 17). This modernist view sees the beginnings of consumer society in the late 18th and early 19th century and de-emphasises physical objects, instead placing the importance on the symbols, social and personal meanings attached to the physical objects. The consumer attaches meaning to an object, then "unhooks" that meaning from the object as soon as it is acquired and attaches meaning to a new object. In this way, Campbell argues, the consumer is ever driven to acquire new goods in order to satisfy a desire for novelty which can never be satisfied (Campbell, 1987; Sassatelli, 2007, pp. 16-18). The modernist view is not, however, an individualistic one but emphasises social and cultural changes which enable mentalistic hedonism. Specifically, Campbell places the ethics of Romanticism as enabling this approach to material culture, demonstrating how changes in society and culture influence changes in consumption patterns, which in turn influence changes in culture and society (Campbell, 1987, 1994; Sassatelli, 2007, pp. 16-18). This approach does not consider that such consumption can be found in most urban communities of certain size and wealth, and that it is as much as about the construction and renegotiation of identity and self, as it is about society at large (Sassatelli, 2007, pp. 18-19).

Finally, the exchangist view sees an increase in available goods in the 17th century as an incentive for families to work longer hours to be able to afford those goods. This increased work then led to an increase in the availability of manufactured goods, demonstrating that production and consumption are not distinct and independent of each other but are intimately and inseparably connected, or, in Sassatelli's words; "social actors chose to act as producers for the market in order to become consumers of goods" (Sassatelli, 2007, p. 19). De Vries called this change in approach to work the "industrious revolution" which "preceded and prepared the way for the Industrial Revolution" (De Vries, 1993, p. 107). The problem with the exchangist view is, however, that this view reduces consumption to monetary exchange and maintains that the value of goods is equal to its monetary value, disregarding any social, cultural, or personal value it may have (Sassatelli, 2007, p. 19).

This quick rundown of three anti-productivist views illustrates different approaches and important theories regarding consumption and consumer societies. However, when discussed together they do highlight a problem which they do not address in isolation. Namely, that each of these different approaches to consumption seeks an all-encompassing explanation, a 'magic bullet', which provides a simple, straightforward answer to what is a complex problem that, given the varied definitions and approaches addressed so far, may not have a single definite answer (Mullins, 2011, p. 4). Instead, consumption is seen as "a *long-term phenomenon* with *multiple geographies* and a variety of particular *object histories*" (Sassatelli, 2007, p. 20, original emphases) and as a "material social practice involving the *utilization* of objects (or services), as opposed to their production and distribution" (Dietler, 2010, p. 207, original emphasis).

Most early archaeological studies on consumption tended to concern themselves with status symbols and conspicuous consumption of wealth to create stratified systems of 'status'. While ethnicity and identity were aspects of the interpretation of these systems they did tend to take a backseat to forming rigid castes, groups into which all consumers fall and cannot escape, except perhaps through copious amounts of emulation (Mullins, 2011, pp. 16-17). Through the 1980s calculations on the market exchange value of pottery allowed studies of the disposable income of households in the late 18th and the 19th centuries, in large part based on Miller's (1980) ceramic classification indices. Such studies largely circumvented interpreting this in the context of society, culture, ethnicity, and race, instead equating status with wealth (Mullins, 2011, pp. 20-21). While the problems with this approach were recognised already in the 1980s it was not until the 1990s that they were addressed in greater detail, for example by taking into account not only the wealth expended on such ceramics but also questions of market availability, the desirability of certain types of pottery according to locality, different understanding of status through time, and various other factors. Alongside this development came the realisation that the kind of conspicuous consumption as described by Veblen and expanded upon by

McKendrick refer specifically to a class of people in the late 19th, and early 20th, century and that projecting this concept into the deeper past will always be problematic (Mullins, 2011, pp. 21-26). Such a "competitive materialism" and a "permanent capitalist consumer pattern" (Mullins, 2011, p. 26) is at odds with the material realities apparent in both archaeological contexts and historical ones (Dietler, 2010, p. 213; Mullins, 2011, p. 26).

Studies of material status have mostly concerned themselves with consumption as a way to reinforce established social order or as an attempt to emulate higher status individuals in an effort to climb the ladder of a hierarchical society. In this way most archaeological studies of consumption have revolved around the construction of identity and questions of agency. Yet these studies often do not consider that the social mobility required for such emulation may not have been present in past societies, and that even if it was, many people, even those possessed of the wealth to do so, may not have had, or wanted, the possibility to participate in such competitive displays (Dietler, 2010, p. 215; Mullins, 2011, p. 25).

On the other hand, such status displays are often linked specifically with a group of goods which are perceived as luxury goods, rather than everyday items, where such luxuries are defined as goods which are in opposition to 'necessities'. Necessities being those goods which are required for subsistence and survival, while luxuries are 'superfluous' goods which are desired for their aesthetic qualities, providing stimulating experiences or a sense of novelty (Berg, 2005, pp. 31-37). As such they have served as the primary indicator of conspicuous consumption and emulation practices in archaeological studies. Maxine Berg (2005, pp. 15-16) introduces a third category between luxuries and necessities in her study of *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, that she calls 'semi-luxuries'. While she isn't explicit about what exactly she considers to be the dividing line between semi-luxuries and true luxuries, the concept, as it is applied in Berg's book, can be understood to be those things which are luxurious but are within reach of non-elites. Semi-luxuries provide an interesting angle on the study of luxury consumption, opening the door for an object to be both necessary and a luxury, what might be termed a 'decency,' a middle ground between survival and opulence. As an example, a porcelain teacup in the 17th or 18th century might be construed as a pure luxury, fragile, aesthetically pleasing vessel from which to enjoy tea, while a stoneware cup might bridge the gap between that luxury and the utilitarian, being more durable, and not being used exclusively for the drinking of tea or coffee but also being used to drink more common beverages, such as water or milk, or even an alcoholic drink.

The study of luxury provides an adaptive framework for approaching consumption in the past, challenging the simple division of things into the categories of necessities or luxuries. With the inclusion of Berg's concept of semi-luxuries, from here on referred to as 'decencies', an object can belong to one or both categories, showing that the division is constantly being renegotiated and redefined.

Acknowledging the complexities of consumption in the archaeological context, studies on English colonies in 17th century North America have shown that consumption may not always be an 'other-directed' activity, but rather a way for a household to establish and reinforce its own identities and cultural values to itself, and not as a display for others (Gibb, 1996). They have also displayed the complexities of interpreting the material present, with the same material inspiring scholars to argue for a colony's poverty (Horn, 1988), for its disconnect from broader markets (Pendery, 1992), of a moral stance against materialism (Deetz, 1996, p. 82), for consumption directed through mechanism of sumptuary laws (Hooper, 1915), or for cultural preference for vessels made of more perishable materials, metals or organics, rather than ceramics (Deetz, 1996, pp. 73-74). These different stances towards the same material illustrate the problematic nature of interpreting consumption and the importance of regarding many sources of material when doing so, including material from excavations, probate inventories, and historic accounts of societies and cultural values, and to accept that there is likely no single answer to questions of consumption but a range of factors which influence consumption at any given time and place.

Considering these sources scholars have identified 'the consumer revolution' occurring in Britain and the American colonies through the 17th and 18th centuries. The concept of the consumer revolution largely originates in a refinement of the exchangist view, divesting the neo-liberal economic theories inherent in the exchangist view and instead placing the emphasis more on the changing ways in which people consumed, considering the growing amount and range of goods available for consumption, their social and cultural meanings and the ways in which these new things influenced changes in social and cultural meaning (Berg, 2005, pp. 9-10; Fox, 2016, pp. 123-126). The vast majority of studies on the consumer revolution focus on England and the colonies in America, with some studies done on the Netherlands. The situation in these states, Britain and the Kingdom of the Netherlands, which were at the centre of global trade networks and European expansion into the rest of the world, cannot be said to be typical of Europe in general, if such a thing as 'Europe in general' can be said to have existed at all before the 20th century.

The consumer revolution presupposes a degree of freedom on the part of the consumer, that they had the ability to increase their income through workshop production or the sale of their labour, that they had money, or at least access to credit, to purchase goods, and that they had choice in whether to purchase one thing or the other, whether to invest in necessities, decencies, or luxuries (Fox, 2016, pp. 123-126). Without even one of these a society cannot have a consumer revolution. We must then question whether the consumer revolution can be applied to all places within Europe in the 17th or later centuries – and in the case of this thesis, Iceland in particular – or if it is a unique feature of British, or possibly only English, and North American society. With that in mind, drawing up the background of Icelandic society in this time period is in order.

1.4. Historical Background

The 17th and 18th centuries, or more specifically the period 1602 to 1787 AD, are known as the Trade Monopoly Period in Iceland, after the arrangement of trade between the island and the rest of the world. During this period Iceland was a part of the Danish-Norwegian Union which saw the Kingdoms of Denmark and Norway unified under a single king through a personal union of the two royal families. This union ruled over the modern day countries of Denmark, Norway, Iceland, the Faroe Islands and Greenland, along with other possessions some of which were won and lost during this time, including areas in modern Sweden and colonies in Africa, the Caribbean and India (Gunnarsson, 1983, pp. 54-55, 120; 2019, p. 183; Róbertsdóttir, 2008, p. 41).

The trade monopoly for which the period is named was an arrangement by which only citizens of Copenhagen, and for the first two decades citizens of Elsinore and Malmö, could acquire licences to trade in Iceland. The merchants, or merchant companies, that acquired these licences would send ships to Iceland each year to trade with the inhabitants. For the majority of the monopoly trade period the merchants were not allowed to own properties in Iceland, so the trade was largely conducted directly from the ships themselves or from temporary or semi-temporary structures known as *búðir*, though it is well known that this prohibition was not absolutely respected, or indeed in force throughout the whole period, so merchants would often have warehouses with stocks stored over the winter to be sold when the stores opened again in the summer (Aðils, 1919, pp. 318-321).

Money was relatively rare in Iceland in this period and there is some evidence that merchants were reluctant to bring to currency to the island, preferring to operate through a credit system. An Icelander would bring the goods they had for sale, the largest by both weight and value were dried fish and live sheep which the merchant was responsible for slaughtering and preparing for transport back to mainland Europe, and would gain credit which they then spent on anything they needed and which could not be produced in Iceland, the most important categories being timber for construction, grain and metal tools (Aðils, 1919, pp. 436-513; Gunnarsson, 1983, pp. 47, 120; 1987, pp. 177-182).

For those that did not go to the trade ports there were other possibilities to acquire goods. Special orders could be made with the merchants, though the degree to which this was open to the general population is not certain but Icelandic officials, clergy and, in the late 18th century, the merchant staff made use of this possibility, ordering goods they desired which the merchants might otherwise not stock or stock in limited quantities (Aðils, 1919, pp. 469-473; Róbertsdóttir, 2012). *Landprang* was a practice of ‘door-to-door’ sales, where an Icelander – most often a *lausamaður*, an individual with legal exception from being bound to live and work on a farm – would purchase goods from the merchant and go on to travel between farms and *thing* sites, places of seasonal gatherings which in this time largely operated

as courts rather than legislature, to sell those goods. The practice was disliked by officials who often claimed it was detrimental to the moral character of the population as those engaging in *landprang* were often accused of emphasising the sale of alcohol and tobacco over necessities (Aðils, 1919, pp. 552-560, 570-573).

A last source of goods into the island was illicit trade with unlicensed merchants, most of whom were sailors aboard English, German, French, and Dutch fishing vessels operating in the seas around Iceland. There exists a fair amount of historical evidence for illicit trade, though the true extent of the trade is uncertain (Aðils, 1919, pp. 573-580; Gunnarsson, 1983, pp. 49-50).

Iceland in this time period was decidedly rural, though there is an argument to be made for some sort of proto-urbanisation at certain trade ports, such as Arnarstapi where in the 1703 census 148 people are registered as living and working (*Manntal á Íslandi árið 1703*). The majority of Icelanders, however, lived on individual farmsteads, each built some distance from the other and inhabited by a single family, parents, children and sometimes grandparents as well, and often a worker or two in addition. Those households which exceeded 10 in number appear to have been exceptions and include the two bishop's seats of Skálholt and Hólar and sites like Arnarstapi and Bessastaðir which were centres of secular power. The farmsteads would sometimes be owned by the farmers themselves, but more commonly farmsteads were in the possession of individuals who owned many farmsteads or else they were owned by the church or the Crown who would rent them out. This system of tenant farmers emphasised an agricultural economy centred around the husbandry of sheep with fishing and other activities relegated to those time of the year when less labour was required for this traditional farming. (Gunnarsson, 1983, pp. 13-21). In Iceland this societal structure, with its lack of, and resistance to, urbanisation, emphasis on shepherding and the farmstead as the basic unit of society, is commonly known as the 'Old Farming Society' (is. *Gamla bændasamfélagið*).

This period of Icelandic history tends to be viewed as a 'Dark Age' in the history of Iceland, though that and other associated phrases such as 'the Age of Humiliation' (*is.* niðurlægingartímabilið) and the ideas which describe the reasons for this period are commonly known as 'the degradation theory' (*is.* hnignunarkenningin) (Kristinsson, 2018, pp. 8, 27). This 'theory' has, however, rarely, if ever, been put forward as an actual cohesive theory but rather exists as part of an implicitly understood and undeclared understanding of the history of Iceland among Icelanders, perhaps more so than among Icelandic scholars (Kristinsson, 2018, p. 8). This does not stop the 'degradation theory' from evolving and the reasons for this Dark Age by any other name have changed through time. For early scholars it was a time during which foreign powers oppressed the Icelandic population, holding it back and maintain the population as destitute, starving, and ignorant (e.g. Aðils, 1919; Gunnarsson, 1983, 1987; 2017, pp. 209-210; Sigurðsson, 1843, 1862). This view, deeply rooted in nationalist ideals of the importance of

Icelandic independence, remains a feature of the popular view of Icelandic history (e.g. Fontaine, 2018), though it has been largely abandoned by modern scholars. Instead, the reason for this Dark Age are now often placed at the feet of nature, or disease, or a conservative elite, or a conservative working class, to name a few potential culprits (e.g. Gunnarsson, 2017, pp. 209-210; Kristinsson, 2018; Þorláksson, 2003, pp. 295-322).

Throughout these claims, however, a careful observer will note that the comparison to earlier or later times is always implicit, never explicit. The question 'A Dark Age compared to what?' is never addressed. However, from the discussions of those who maintain this Dark Age view, it appears that the comparison is usually being made between the 17th/18th century Iceland and 20th century Iceland, although there is also a long history of contrasting the period under scrutiny with the 'Golden Age' of the Settlement and Commonwealth Periods. Such comparisons are obviously problematic, and this has been increasingly pointed out in since the beginning of the 21st century (e.g. Kristinsson, 2018; Róbertsdóttir, 2008).

This issue is one which has informed the inclusion of the comparison of Icelandic sites with sites in north-western Europe in the last chapters of this thesis, as outlined in the following section.

1.5. Chapter Breakdown

This thesis is divided into the following eight chapters:

Chapter 1: Introduction has laid out the aims and objectives of the thesis, as well as briefly touching on several issues of the archaeological study of the Early Modern Period in general and as it concerns Iceland in particular.

Chapter 2: History of the Monopoly Trade offers an overview of the Trade Monopoly Period, addressing both the different perspectives taken by Icelandic historians, as well as the documentary data on trade, imports and their use in the Icelandic context.

Chapter 3: Methodology provides a discussion of the methodology used in subsequent chapters, discussing issues of pottery and clay tobacco pipe analysis, as well as well as laying out the analytical categories through which statistical data will be interpreted.

Chapter 4: Icelandic Assemblages introduces the assemblages used for analysis in later chapters, with a discussion of each assemblage, introduction to the data from each site and a discussion of that data.

Chapter 5: Imported Goods to Iceland will introduce the analysis of the archaeological data from the assemblages in Chapter 4 through the lenses of changes through time, socio-economic standing and market access.

Chapter 6: European Assemblages introduces assemblages from sites in North-Western Europe in much the same way as the Icelandic assemblages were introduced in chapter 4, with a discussion of each assemblage, the reasons for their inclusion, introduction ot the data from each site and a basic discussion of that data.

Chapter 7: Consumption Profiles in North-Western Europe looks at and analyses the data presented in the previous chapters, comparing and contrasting data from Europe and Iceland in order to contextualize the Icelandic dataset.

Chapter 8: Discussion provides a discussion of the data as provided in chapters 4 through 7, how they compare to the aims and objectives laid out in chapter 1 and how they reflect on consumption in the 17th and 18th centuries both within Iceland and compared to European consumption.

Chapter 2: History of the Monopoly Trade

In the year 1602 AD the Crown Authority of the Danish-Norwegian Union instituted a monopoly in trade with its possession of Iceland. At this time the Danish-Norwegian Union, a personal union between the Kingdoms of Denmark and Norway, encompassed the modern countries of Denmark, Norway, the Faroe Islands, Greenland, Iceland and areas in modern Sweden, and would, through the 17th and 18th centuries include possessions in the Caribbean, Africa and India (Gunnarsson, 1983, pp. 54-55, 120; 2019, p. 183; Róbertsdóttir, 2008, p. 41). Similar systems of monopoly trade were in effect with different parts of the Danish-Norwegian Union through this period, though mostly with those areas which might be considered 'peripheral', Iceland, the Faroe Islands, Greenland and Northern Norway, in addition to colonial possessions in other parts of the world. Under the monopoly trade arrangement only licenced Danish merchants were permitted to trade in Iceland, an arrangement that continued, with few adjustments, for close to two hundred years, until 1787 (Karlsson, 2000, p. 139).

2.1. Brief History of Trade with Iceland before the Monopoly

From the settlement of Iceland in the 9th century until Iceland became a possession of the Kingdom of Norway in 1262 control of trade appears to have largely been decentralised and in the hands of individuals who owned or operated ships with the control over trade moving to local chieftains who came to dictate the trade in the late 12th century (Þorláksson, 2017, pp. 33-40, 49-55). From 1262 and on into the 16th century trade with Iceland was exclusive to merchants from the city of Bergen with any Bergen merchant allowed to participate in this trade. During the 14th century the Hanseatic League gained control of the trade coming through Bergen and thus, indirectly, the trade with Iceland (Gunnarsson, 1983, p. 52; Karlsson, 2000, pp. 89-110; Þorláksson, 2017, pp. 125-128). Over the course of the 15th century English involvement with Iceland increased to a point where that century is known as 'The English Century' in Iceland, during which English ships would sail to fish in Icelandic waters and trade directly with Icelanders, essentially cutting the Bergen merchants out entirely (Karlsson, 2000, pp. 118-122; Þorláksson, 2017, pp. 143-157). This – along with, at least perceived, mismanagement of the trade by the Bergen merchants – led to the exclusive trade privileges being granted to merchants of the Hansa cities of Hamburg and Bremen in an effort to keep the English from taking absolute control over the fishing areas around Iceland (Gunnarsson, 1983, pp. 52-54; Þorláksson, 2017, pp. 159-166).

This attempt was successful in that English interest in Iceland diminished significantly, though it was perhaps more prompted by the discovery and exploitation by English sailors of the extensive fisheries in the New World after circa 1500, and an epidemic which raged in Iceland in the late 15th

century potentially reducing the amount of goods available for export. The Hansa merchants retained their privileged status through the 16th century whereafter the Crown Authority of the Danish-Norwegian Union became concerned with attempting to increase the profits from its possessions as well as the further unification of the kingdom, which culminated in the institution of the monopoly trade in 1602 (Gelsinger, 1981, pp. 193-194; Gunnarsson, 1983, pp. 52-54; Karlsson, 2000, pp. 124-127; Þorláksson, 2017, pp. 167-177, 193-198).

2.2. The Monopoly, 1602-1787

The establishment of the monopoly, whereby only merchants who were citizens of the cities of Copenhagen, Elsinore and Malmö could acquire licenses to ply the trade with Iceland, was not unique within the Danish-Norwegian Union and similar systems were in place for the Faroe Islands, Greenland and Finnmark in northern Norway during the same time period as the monopoly trade in Iceland. These monopolies were established with the aim of stimulating trade, expanding knowledge of seamanship and to unify the realm against foreign influence (Gunnarsson, 1983, p. 53).

From the establishment of the monopoly trade in 1602 to 1619 the trade with Iceland was in the hands of supposedly independent merchants, who were, however, generally seen as lackeys to the same Hamburg and Bremen merchants who had controlled the trade directly until 1602 (Aðils, 1919, pp. 89-92; Gunnarsson, 1983, p. 53). In an effort to gain a better control of the trade, the Crown instituted two major changes to the monopoly in 1619, with a third major change in the organization of trade within the Danish-Norwegian Union already having been made in 1616 with the establishment of Glückstadt on the Elbe river which quickly became a centre of trade, in direct competition with the Hanse cities further up the river (Aðils, 1919, p. 80; Gunnarsson, 2004, p. 50). The first change was the introduction of price lists, setting market prices for goods both sold and bought in Iceland, determining which had previously been the duty of bailiffs (is. *sýslumenn*). The second was the establishment of a new trade company, The Iceland, Faroe and Northland Company (dk. *Det islandske, færöiske og nordlandske Kompagni*), also known in Icelandic scholarship as the first or oldest Iceland Company or the Iceland Trade Company (Aðils, 1919, pp. 92-93). The Iceland, Faroe and Northland Company seems to have been organised largely as a medieval trade guild, rather than a strictly capitalist for-profit company. The shareholders were known as ‘brothers’, who formed a tight group closed to outsiders and no one could enter the company who was not in some way related to one of its ‘brothers’ nor without their backing (Aðils, 1919, pp. 93-94).

During the Thirty Years’ War the Kingdom of Sweden warred with the Danish-Norwegian Union which lead to the Iceland Company losing money and being replaced by four groups of merchants which

Date	*Organisation*
1602-1619	Independent Traders
1619-1662	The Iceland, Faroe and Northland Company
1662-1684	Four Merchant Groups
1684-1732	Separate Trade System
1733-1742	The Second Iceland Company
1743-1759	Hörkræmmerlaget / Chandler's Guild / Flax Trader Company
1759-1764	Royal Trade Company
1764-1774	The General Trading Company
1774-1787	Second Royal Trade Company

Table 2.1. Organisations in charge of the Icelandic monopoly trade through time. Translations of the names of organisations according to Gunnarsson (1983)

aided the king in introducing absolute rule in the Danish-Norwegian Union (Gunnarsson, 1983, p. 55).These groups were in charge of the monopoly trade until 1684 when the Danish Crown decided to alter the trading arrangement. This was done by changing the trade's price list and reorganizing it so that instead of bidding for a general licence to trade within Iceland merchants now were buying licences for individual ports, as had been done before the beginning of the monopoly (Gunnarsson, 1983, p. 55; Karlsson, 2000, p. 138). At the same time laws were put in place within Iceland that obliged products to be sold at the trade port within the district of production. This meant that farmhands that travelled across trade district lines to fish, for example, were not allowed to bring the worked fish home. This arrangement has been called the Separate Trade system and was much maligned for the first half of its lifetime or until c. 1702 when some of the penalties involved in crossing district lines with produce for sale were diminished, changing a possible prison sentence into a relatively a small fine. This made trading outside the producer's district a viable option despite the penalties involved (Gunnarsson, 1983, pp. 55-54; 1987, pp. 80-82).

From 1733 onward the trade with Iceland would be in the hand of a single company at a time that gained a licence for trading at all Icelandic ports, rather than bidding for individual ports. The degree of continuity between the merchants of the Separate Trade System and the Second Iceland Company (dk. *Det Islandsk-Finnmarkske Kompagni*) which took over in 1733 was great, given that its founding came by the repeated requests of, at least, some of the Separate Trade merchants, most of whom sold their inventories and properties in Iceland to the new company, and the new company was led by those merchants who had the most experience with the trade (Aðils, 1919, pp. 176-180). The company seems to have been well liked by Icelanders and run its trade reasonably well (Aðils, 1919, pp. 178-186;

Gunnarsson, 1983, pp. 84-88) but the company came to an end following an auction for the Iceland trade held in 1742, where *Hörkræmerlaget* – variously translated as the Chandler's Guild (Gunnarsson, 1983) or Flaxmonger Company (Karlsson, 2000) but here referred to as the Flax Trader Company – won out over its competitors (Aðils, 1919, p. 186; Gunnarsson, 1983, p. 91).

Following financial losses and allegations of bad produce being brought to Iceland the trade was taken from the Flax Trader Company by the Crown in 1759. The merchants of the Flax Trader Company were primarily concerned with their trade within Copenhagen and appear to have lacked experienced merchants to operate the trade in a profitable manner, emphasising the import of mutton for the market in Copenhagen and caring much less for the fish trade than their predecessors. This disregard for the fishing export is what is generally cited as the cause of the Flax Trader Company's financial losses and the animosity which grew between their merchants and their Icelandic customers (Aðils, 1919, pp. 186-209; Gunnarsson, 1983, pp. 90-118). After the Crown revoked the Flax Trader Company's licence it attempted to auction off the licences again but failed to receive bids it considered satisfactory. The decision was then made that the Crown Authority would operate the trade itself, founding the Royal Trade Company. The Royal Trade Company operated the Iceland trade for five summers until the licence was sold to the General Trading Company (Aðils, 1919, pp. 209-234; Gunnarsson, 1983, pp. 119-120). The circumstances of this transfer between the Royal Trade Company and the General Trading Company are somewhat interesting, given that the director of the Royal Trade Company from 1760 on, a man named Niels Ryberg, was also a major shareholder of the General Trading Company. During his time as director of the Royal Trade Company, Ryberg would often despair over the losses and difficulties of the trade (Aðils, 1919, pp. 231-234) and yet, in 1768 after the General Trading Company had held the licence for four years, he "described the Iceland Trade as a profitable business" (Gunnarsson, 1983, p. 120).

The General Trading Company, which had previously handled trade with other Danish possessions, took over the Iceland trade in 1764 when it also took over the trade with Finnmark. The trade outside Greenland, Iceland and Finnmark appears not to have brough financial profits to the General Trading Company and its taking over of the trade in those provinces from the Royal Trade Company has been seen as an effort to rescue the General Trading Company from bankruptcy. At this point in time the market for Icelandic fish in Catholic Germany are commonly considered to have been lost, usually blamed on the Flax Trader Company's mismanagement of the fish trade, but there do appears to be evidence that this 'loss' may have been overemphasised and Icelandic fish continued to be imported to Central Europe (Gunnarsson, 2004, pp. 72-73). In any case, the General Trading Company managed to find new markets for fish in Southern Europe. Shortly after taking over the trade in Iceland and Finnmark the General Trading Company began, at the demand of Niels Ryberg, to extricate itself from the

Figure 2.1. Niels Ryberg (1798). By Jens Juel - Bruun Rasmussen, København, 6 June 2012, lot 830/107, Public Domain, Wikimedia Commons

financially detrimental triangular trade it had been involved in between Denmark, Africa and the Caribbean to focus on the North Atlantic Trade (Gunnarsson, 1983, pp. 120-130).

No sooner had the company ratified this new organisation than the Crown showed interest in taking over the North Atlantic trade again. The shareholders of the General Trading Company seem to have seen this interest as a sign for supporting the company further and are assumed to have used some creative accounting to undervalue the company's worth in an effort to show that it did indeed need support from the Crown. The Crown, however, used the undervalued accounts as the General Trading Company's actual worth and bought all its holdings for just above that price (Aðils, 1919, pp. 245-249; Gunnarsson, 1987, pp. 175-176).

One of the main differences in the way the first and Second Royal Trade Companies were organised was that while the first Royal Trade Company had been run directly off the king's accounts, the Second Royal Trade Company was an independent company in royal possession (Gunnarsson, 1983, p. 139). The Second Royal Trade Company was expected to be a profitable institution and to this end activities that had previously been illegal were now permitted. Permanent buildings were erected for the trade, where previously this was either illegal, or legal but discouraged, the trade largely taking place from temporary camps (is. *búðir*) or directly off the ships, and a small fleet of decked fishing ships was established. One of the most drastic changes came in 1777 when merchants involved in the Iceland trade were not only allowed but obliged to live year-round in Iceland. Previously this has been strictly forbidden, as has been mentioned, but in the decades leading up to the change in laws, winter stays of merchants had become increasingly common, apparently with little resistance (Gunnarsson, 1983, p. 140; 1987, pp. 187, 191).

The Second Royal Company seems to have been one of the most financially profitable ventures in the history of the Icelandic monopoly trade until 1783 (Gunnarsson, 1987, pp. 191-192), but the events of that year seem to have been the catalyst for its abolition four years later. The end of the American Revolutionary War allowed for renewed trade between North America and Europe but during that war export from North America was absent which led to a significant rise in the price of fish in European markets and the reintroduction of American fish led to a price drop. That year also saw the beginning of a volcanic eruption in Iceland known as Skaftáreldar, which lasted for about six months and spread vast amounts of volcanic ash into the atmosphere which devastated Iceland. The Móðuharðindi, as the period following Skaftáreldar is known, was caused by the volcanic ash as it killed vegetation, and as a result

the greatest portion of the country's food animals (Gunnarsson, 1983, pp. 144-146; 1987, pp. 191-196). Estimates from historical sources have it that up to 75% of all sheep in Iceland died as a result of the Móðuharðindi (*Hagskinna*, 1997, pp. 277, 279; Rafnsson, 1984, p. 168). This led to famine on the island and it has been estimated that up to 20% of the population died of starvation during the following years. In 1786 a smallpox epidemic swept across the island reducing the population further (Gunnarsson, 1987, pp. 197-198). All of this led to drastic losses for the Second Royal Trade Company and to the Crown Authority to, once again, revisit the organisation of the trade.

After 1787 any citizen of Denmark-Norway could partake in the Icelandic trade without needing a special licence and prices were no longer determined by the Crown but rather that a negotiating detail left to the merchants and their customers. The idea was that making the trade 'free' in this manner would encourage competition which would lead to fair prices for all involved. The reality, however, proved different, as the Iceland trade did not prove as popular as anticipated and, especially for ports in the north and east of Iceland, merchants ran market monopolies which kept the prices favourable to them (Agnarsdóttir, 2017, pp. 289-306). This was opposed by Icelanders, apparently to little effect (Andrésson, 1981, p. 123). During the Napoleonic Wars trade between Iceland and Denmark seems to have come to a halt and been replaced by English merchants (Agnarsdóttir, 2017, pp. 309-335). After the end of the war the trade between Iceland and Denmark resumed and remained in the hands of Danish nationals, that is Danish and Norwegian merchants, until the trade was opened to all nations in 1854 (Gunnarsson, 1983, p. 149; Kjartansson & Bjarnasson, 2017, pp. 29-32, 337-343).

2.3. Opportunities and Obligations

The monopoly trade operated by special license of the Crown, where those without a licence were not allowed to trade in Iceland and for most of the nearly 200 years of the monopoly trade only citizens of Copenhagen had the opportunity to acquire such a licence. While there were great opportunities associated with acquiring a trade licence, there were also significant obligations.

From 1619 onwards, the Crown decided market prices in Iceland (Aðils, 1919, pp. 91, 357-406) meaning that traders knew what they would have to pay for exports from Iceland and the prices they would get for their imports. The risk for the merchants lay in getting a price for the resale of the exports which met costs, and in that at times of crisis in Iceland the amount of export commodities would plummet and with them, the merchants' financial profits, as happened during the Thirty Years' War and after 1783 (Gunnarsson, 1987, pp. 195-198).

The main exports from Iceland, and the commodities which were most valued by merchants, were fish, mutton and woollens, while smaller amounts of various fish, whale, shark, and seal oil, roe,

Figure 2.2. Image of the trade harbour at Vopnafjörður, eastern Iceland, in the late 18th century (plate between pages 30-31 in Løvenørn, 1821)

eiderdown, feathers, sulphur, horses, walrus ivory, whalebone, and live falcons were also exported. While many of the items on the list of smaller exports are high priced luxuries they were also often highly restricted in who could acquire them, as decided by royal decrees, and are likely to have been exported in small enough quantities that they constituted a profitable side-line rather than any significant amount of the merchant's trade, though this, of course, varies through time (Aðils, 1919, pp. 473-513; Andrésson, 1981, p. 123; Karlsson, 2000, p. 140).

The Icelandic fish was considered a high quality product and fetched a high price in markets in Catholic Europe (Gunnarsson, 2004, p. 26; Magnússon, 1944, p. 66), and later in Mediterranean markets (Gunnarsson, 1983, p. 120; 1987, pp. 177-182). Woollen products seem to have been the least financially profitable of all exports and the Danish Navy had first rights to buy the mutton brought from Iceland. The Navy seems to have bought mutton either at or under cost and the rest went to market in Copenhagen where it was bought by the poorer inhabitants (Gunnarsson, 1983, pp. 46-47, 75-76; 1987, p. 113).

Meanwhile, the imports to Iceland do not seem to have brought much in the way of profits to the merchants involved and consisted largely of staples, grains, timbers and tools, alongside clothing, salt, tar, coal, alcohol, tobacco, coffee, and sugar. Of these the merchants involved in the Iceland trade were required to import enough grains and timber to meet demand (Aðils, 1919, pp. 436-473; Gunnarsson, 1983, p. 47; Róbertsdóttir, 2008, p. 41).

For the merchants involved in the monopoly maximising their financial profits, as well as fulfilling the obligations of the trade contract, meant acquiring the goods they would import to Iceland at as low a cost as possible. Taking the example of the grain trade the merchants were obliged to buy Danish grain, which meant they bought the cheapest, and as a result, lowest quality product they could find, in a market already known at the time for poor quality grains (Gunnarsson, 1983, pp. 40-42). Despite this the import of grains was not financially profitable for the merchants who would have preferred to import more luxuries for which they got higher prices, yet the amount the traders were allowed to import were limited

by the Crown, in an effort to keep the Icelandic worker from overindulgence and to maintain productivity (Gunnarsson, 1983, p. 47). An additional complication was that the holder of the trading licence was obliged to make, at the least, a single voyage to Iceland each summer whether it would prove financially profitable or not (Gunnarsson, 1983, p. 28). Going by complaints lodged by Icelandic officials concerning low quality goods being imported and the low number of ships arriving with goods, there does not, however, seem to have been much in the way of penalties for merchants who failed to fulfil their obligations (Aðils, 1919, pp. 612-614).

For most of the monopoly trade the merchants' representatives were not allowed to overwinter, that is to keep their stores open throughout the whole year, though until 1682 merchants were allowed to leave behind one or two representatives (is. *eftirlegumenn*, dk. *Efterliggere*) to look after their holdings until next summer, nor were they allowed to invest in any way in Iceland which made it difficult for the merchants to secure profits from the trade. Yet it is known that some did make attempts at doing so, with the representatives getting involved in the fishing trade, which invariably caused local leaders to complain to the Crown and to initiate legal proceedings, leading to a total ban on winter stays in 1682. That ban would be repealed in 1701, then reinstated in 1706. The main reason cited for this ban was to protect the Icelandic population from the merchants who, according to those landowners and officials who were at the forefront of getting the ban in effect, were selling exorbitant amounts of alcohol, making the local labour into drunken louts. Whether the concern for their workers' wellbeing was genuine or not, it shows the concern local landowners had that investment in the fisheries would come at the expense of farming as the labour would be drawn to the well paid fishing (Aðils, 1919, pp. 318-321).

Although it would appear that the landowning class of Iceland attempted to curb most attempts at innovation or investment in specialised industries, whether fishing or workshop manufacture (Aðils, 1919, pp. 318-320; Gunnarsson, 1983, pp. 23-25), by the mid-18th century ways to improve and diversify the Icelandic economy were beginning to be taken more seriously by both the Crown Authority and Icelanders educated abroad, perhaps the most notable of whom is Skúli Magnússon. The number of trade ports was decreased, though temporarily, exports were diversified and the main Icelandic export sector, the fishing sector, was provided with supported and expanded. The Icelandic Privileged Company (is. *Hið íslenska hlutafélag*), under the leadership of Skúli Magnússon, had a big hand in these changes. The Icelandic Privileged Company was a company founded by Icelanders in 1750, while the Flax Trader Company was still in control of the Iceland trade, with the aim to introduce new methods of production and teaching Icelanders professional skills in weaving and spinning, as well as doing research and experiments in agriculture. The latter half of the 18th century also saw the introduction of new, decked ships for fishing and transport within Iceland, but previously Icelanders had fished almost exclusively using small, open rowboats (Gunnarsson, 1983, p. 169; 1987, pp. 229-233; Róbertsdóttir, 2008, p. 29).

During the time of the General Trading Company, 1764 to 1774, the restrictions placed on merchants began to be relaxed and in 1777, at which time the Second Royal Company had taken over the trade, the law was altered so that merchants involved in the Iceland trade were obliged to live in their respective trade ports all year, causing some employees of the Royal Company to abandon the Iceland trade rather than relocate to the island. The remaining merchants built houses, employed Icelanders and invested in the economy, most notably by the import of 50 decked ships for fishing and transport, all of which had previously been illegal (Gunnarsson, 1983, pp. 139-140).

Figure 2.3. Statue of Skúli Magnússon at Fógetagarðurinn, downtown Reykjavík. By Geraldshields11 - Own work, CC BY-SA 4.0, Wikimedia Commons

From the surviving evidence it would seem that most of the companies involved in trade with Iceland during the Monopoly Trade Period went under due to crises within Iceland. Yet, the trade seems to have been worth the risk, for the most part, as in years without crises the profits were large. The Crown made a great deal of profits through both the auction of trade licences and customs, while the Danish-Norwegian Union and, in particular, Copenhagen, being the centre of the trade, benefited through the trade which employed many people both directly and indirectly, with one estimate that half the craftsmen in the city would lose their livelihood should the trade vanish, and Niels Ryberg, estimated that around 2000 people were employed in the trade. The trade fed Danish farmers, figuratively through the sale of their grains, and common Copenhagen citizens, literally through the import of Icelandic mutton. While the companies involved in the trade may have been dismantled because of losses suffered during crises, those that owned and ran the trade companies benefitted immensely through both high wages and gifts from the company's own stores (Gunnarsson, 1983, pp. 155-162).

2.4. Illicit Trade

During the period when merchants from Bergen, Norway, had exclusive licence to sail to and trade in Iceland they sometimes proved either unable or unwilling to sail to Iceland. This lack of trade from outside the island did not go unnoticed and English merchants would often sail to Iceland instead. When word of trading between Icelanders and English merchants reached Bergen the merchants there were

outraged and charged Icelandic officials with preventing this trade which was a clear violation of laws. Icelanders replied by saying that if the Bergen merchants did not deign to honour these laws, they had no qualms about breaking them either (*DI IV*, 1897, p. 268; Gelsinger, 1981, pp. 189-192). This account may very well be the first account of illicit trade in Early Modern Iceland but is certainly not the last.

During the monopoly Danish merchants often complained about Icelanders trading with foreign merchants and sailors and it is well known that illicit trade did take place. Many English, French, German and Dutch ships fished and whaled off the coasts of Iceland (Aðils, 1919, pp. 573-580; Gunnarsson, 1983, pp. 49-50), in addition to crewmen on legitimate ships who took part in trade which was, strictly speaking, illegal but tolerated as it allowed the crewmen to increase their income without the ship's owners paying a higher wage (Blakemore, 2017, p. 1178; Thomas, 1935, p. 98). In response to those foreign ships, the Crown despatched warships to guard the merchant vessels, keep foreign merchants away from the island and capture and detain any foreign ships and their crews that conducted trade (Aðils, 1919, pp. 595-613; Gunnarsson, 1983, p. 49; 1987, p. 72). Despite this, relations between Icelanders and these foreign merchants seems to have been mostly amicable and profitable (Aðils, 1919, p. 606). According to many contemporary sources trade with foreign merchants was much more profitable for the Icelanders than the trade with monopoly merchants (Aðils, 1919, pp. 610-611). When Icelandic officials were tasked with stopping this illicit trade they generally made light of it, saying that it only took place on a small scale and the best way to uproot it would be for the monopoly merchants to provide better goods, comparable to the goods on offer through illicit means (Aðils, 1919, pp. 612-614).

The goods being traded by foreign merchant seem to have been largely the same as by monopoly merchants, fish and woollens for grains, tools and luxuries such as clothes, fabrics, tobacco and alcohol (Aðils, 1919, pp. 590, 598, 603, 611; Gunnarsson, 1983, pp. 49-50), though with an emphasis on luxuries and decencies, as evidenced by a pricelist from Dutch traders active in Iceland in 1659 (K. Martin, forthcoming). Attempting to discern those things imported into Iceland illegally and which survive archaeologically is complicated by the fact that these smugglers importing not only the same types of goods but often goods originating from the same areas as those imported legally. Distinguishing between a smuggled and legally traded pot or pipe is then almost impossible, though one might argue that any such goods of English manufacture may be the result of smuggling.

Illicit trade and its scale is difficult to determine. Historical sources are not particularly useful, aside from identifying that it took place and, perhaps, where it was most prevalent, with its scale hidden by its nature in Iceland as elsewhere in the world (Hartnett & Dawdy, 2013, p. 42). The most promising avenue of inquiry into smuggling in the Early Modern Period lies with archaeology, attempting to identify the remains of those things which may have been imported illegally or, as Hartnett and Dawdy (2013, p. 43) note, "modest households with a significant percentage of exotic goods."

2.5. History of Research

The history of research into the Monopoly Trade Period is limited. While the Monopoly Trade Period is, of course, mentioned in any text on Icelandic history, comparatively little has been written about the trade in particular. Three scholars have created the most influential works in the study of the Monopoly Trade Period and although this period has been revisited by scholars since the beginning of the 21st century, their studies remain the most important on the subject. The three scholars are Jón Sigurðsson, Jón Jónsson Aðils, and Gísli Gunnarsson.

2.5.1. Jón Sigurðsson

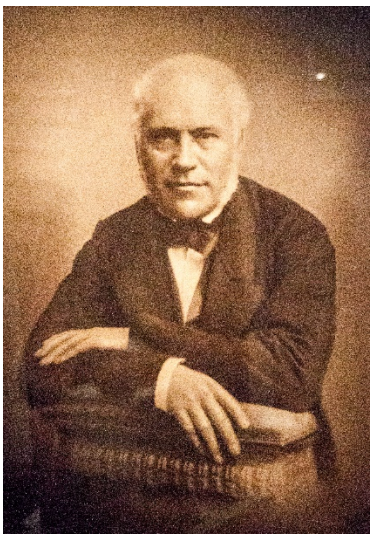


Figure 2.4. Jón Sigurðsson. Photograph in the National Museum of Iceland, Public Domain, Wikimedia Commons

Commonly known in Iceland as "Jón Forseti", “President” Jón, Jón Sigurðsson was one of those most active in working towards independence for Iceland in the 19th century. Jón Sigurðsson wrote a number of articles on trade and the monopoly, mostly published in a periodical which he himself had a hand in founding, *Ný Félagsrit* (Sigurðsson, 1843, 1862). Following his work in a committee in 1861 and 1862 on the possibilities of economic separation between Iceland and Denmark he used his research to demand reparations from Denmark for the monopoly trade. According to Gísli Gunnarsson (1987, pp. 243-246) Jón Sigurðsson used secondary data to arrive at his conclusions regarding the monopoly trade, used 19th century exchange rates to calculate the trade's worth rather than contemporary 17th and 18th century rates, and even wilfully ignored certain data if it contradicted his agenda. From Jón Sigurðsson's work on the monopoly trade it is clear that his agenda was focused on getting the Danish authorities to increase their expenditure in Iceland or else letting the island have its independence. This agenda colours all his work on the subject, to the extent that even though he is working only 50 to 70 years after the end of the monopoly his work is of dubious value when discussing the monopoly trade. These reparations were denied outright, apparently without comment, but the attempt and the high amount demanded show well his negative attitude towards the monopoly trade and Danish authority (Ólason, 1945-1946, pp. 297-298).

It is interesting to note that while the most commonly accepted dates for the monopoly trade are 1602 to 1787, Jón Sigurðsson considered the monopoly trade to have continued until 1854, when trade between Iceland and the rest of the world was opened to merchants of all nationalities (Sigurðsson, 1862, p. 77), which has inspired some later writers to adhere to the same dates while noting that little changed

in practice although it did in theory (see for example discussion in Agnarsdóttir, 2017). While Jón Sigurðsson may not have been prolific in his writing on the subject, he is one of the most influential writers and tied the issues of the monopoly trade, in particular, and the period entire, generally, with issues of independence and nationalism, a bond that has yet to be broken in the popular culture of Iceland.

2.5.2. Jón Aðils

Between circa 1900 and 1920, Jón Jónsson Aðils held a series of lectures in Iceland and wrote a number of books, after his return from studying in Copenhagen (Gunnarsson, 1987, p. 247). His lectures and his books judged the monopoly harshly, calling it a "great burden of slavery" and an effort to decimate Iceland and keep its population impoverished to the benefit of the monopoly merchants and the Crown (Aðils, 1922, pp. 163-168). In 1911, Aðils published a book on Treasurer Skúli Magnússon, where he made much of the man at the expense of his contemporaries, especially his main Icelandic opposition Ólafur Stephensen, framing them as conservatives working for the good of the wealthy landowners and officials, rather than the good of the Icelandic population as Skúli Magnússon himself did.

The views expressed by Aðils after his return to Iceland from Copenhagen are imbued with nationalism, not dissimilar to that of Jón Sigurðsson and for much the same reasons. In the early 20th century activists were still campaigning for Icelandic independence from Denmark and Aðils made his living taking part in this campaign by showing how detrimental it had been for Iceland to be a part of the Danish-Norwegian Union. That Aðils takes this stance after his first published work from 1895 was, in most ways, a defence of the monopoly trade, making light of or claiming that previous understanding of the period was marked by politics, thus obscuring the truth of the matter is very interesting (after Gunnarsson, 1987, p. 247; A. J. Jónsson, 1895, p. 610). Whether his change in attitude between 1895 and returning to Iceland three years later is evidence of a mercenary nature in Aðils or true conversion cannot be known but his work sheds important light on the period, on the person of Skúli Magnússon in particular and on the monopoly trade in general.

In 1919, a year before his death, Aðils published his seminal work on the monopoly trade. That book does not overtly contain much of the nationalism displayed in his previous work, though it is by no means absent, with the book mostly being a collection of historical sources on the monopoly trade, apparently an attempt to let the material 'speak for itself' rather than passing judgement on the quality of the monopoly trade. While Aðils appears to have had a similar agenda to Jón Sigurðsson, namely the independence of Iceland from the, by this time, Danish Kingdom, Aðils seems to have been much more concerned with scholarly integrity than Jón Sigurðsson. Jón Aðils collected a great deal of historical material in the writing of his 1919 book but did not select his data to only support his view and also

included data which either contradicts or does not directly support a nationalist view. It is for these reasons that to this day *Einokunarverzlun Dana á Íslandi 1602-1787* remains the definitive source on the Monopoly Trade Period, a century after its publication.

2.5.3. Gísli Gunnarsson

Gísli Gunnarsson's doctoral thesis, published in 1983 and expanded on in Icelandic translation in 1987 provided a novel approach to the monopoly trade at the time. In it he employed a statistical analysis of account books for the trade in an attempt to draw conclusions about the financial impact of the monopoly on Iceland, whom it benefitted and who lost from it. To achieve this Gísli Gunnarsson attempts to approach the monetary value of the trade through time, adjusting for change in price of fish and grain through time in Europe and comparing that to the reported amounts being brought out of and into Iceland, respectively. From pairing the monetary loss or gain from the trade of these commodities with the price the merchants paid for the right to trade in Iceland, Gísli Gunnarsson draws conclusions about the financial viability of the trade, the effects it had on the economy of Iceland and hinting at what might have been had Iceland been a free market economy.

In drawing these conclusions, he does not appear as unbiased as he would have liked to think. As an example, the name of the thesis, *Monopoly Trade and Economic Stagnation*, immediately forms a negative association with the monopoly and his conclusions largely follow the same lines as those of his predecessors; that the monopoly trade was a negative thing, detrimental to the health of the Icelandic economy at the time and all of Icelandic society. While he does acknowledge the fact that the trade and administrative arrangement in Iceland was not unique for the 17th and 18th century, he chooses not to discuss that fact further, ignoring it in subsequent discussion. Instead he argues for how Icelanders resisted innovation (Gunnarsson, 1983, pp. 168-170), leading to “technological decline” (Gunnarsson, 1983, p. 170), how merchants used their influence and power to maintain the fixed price lists and attempt to keep the Icelandic population in debt by arranging for the availability of credit in lean times and expensive luxuries when there was surplus commodities (Gunnarsson, 1983, pp. 170-175), as well as discussing how the entirety of the trade arrangement from the side of the Crown Authority was conducive to the maintenance of the social and economic status quo (Gunnarsson, 1983, pp. 175-176). All this, eventually, serves to allow Gísli Gunnarsson to argue for the superiority of neo-liberalist free market economies by making claims such as that there “was always a queue foreign fishermen-merchants who were ready to step into the trade […]” (Gunnarsson, 1983, p. 176), while at the same time arguing, however indirectly, for the importance of Icelandic independence as it was Danish rule that implemented the harmful monopoly trade system (Gunnarsson, 1983, pp. 176-177).

Gísli Gunnarsson even follows in Aðils's footsteps of shining a positive light on Treasurer Skúli Magnússon, while painting his opposition as conservatives or even reactionaries (Gunnarsson, 1987, p. 237). He was also very taken by any effort made by Niels Ryberg, proclaiming him a great innovator while at the same time making light of the, rather fierce, animosity between Ryberg and Skúli Magnússon (Gunnarsson, 1983, pp. 119-120, 123, 125). Despite detailing a long list of grievances that Icelanders had against the General Trading Company, Gísli Gunnarsson is loath to put it in the same category as, what he calls, the "wily" trade companies, such as the thoroughly vilified Flax Trader Company, seemingly only because of Ryberg's involvement with the General Trading Company (Gunnarsson, 1983, pp. 127-128). Despite these seeming inconsistencies in his attitude, and the critical tone of his work, the data that Gísli Gunnarsson produces is invaluable and his work is, without a doubt, one of the most important and in-depth sources for the historical study of the monopoly trade available today.

Gísli Gunnarsson (2004) has also written about the trade in Icelandic fish, from its being caught and prepared in Iceland until it ended up on the table of Catholic monks in markets as far away as modern Austria and the Czech Republic. Throughout his career he continued to publish on subjects relating to the monopoly trade. In 2017 *Líftaug landsins*, a two-volume work on trade between Iceland and the rest of the world from 900 to 2010, was published and in which Gísli Gunnarsson contributed the chapter on the Monopoly Trade Period. The chapter was, as he himself points out in his introduction, largely a compilation and republication of his earlier works from 1987 and 2004, with few additions and the same conclusions (Gunnarsson, 2017).

2.5.4. Other Scholars

Together the two scholars, Jón Aðils and Gísli Gunnarsson and their works, form the most comprehensive works available about the monopoly trade to this day. A number of other works were produced in the twentieth century, mostly on specific chapters of the monopoly trade, as remarked on in 1984 by the historian Harald Gustafsson (1984, p. 271). Harald Gustafsson himself has written such articles, for example he has published an article on a specific issue about the governance of fishing resources from 1762-1763 and the ability of the local officials to effect policy change as it concerned Iceland (Gustafsson, 1981). The Icelandic historian Björn Teitsson (1976) had also demonstrated this ability of the Icelandic population, and not only the officials, to effect policy change as it regarded both social and economic matters. From these two articles it is clear that the Icelanders were not the utterly defenceless victims of tyrannical foreign authority that some have claimed, although any change took a

long time. Gustafsson has written a number of other works concerning Iceland in the 18th century, in particular as it concerns political power (e.g. Gustafsson, 1985, 1994).

Aage Rasch (1964) has written the biography of Niels Ryberg but, to quote Gísli Gunnarsson (1983, p. 119), a "description of the trade during [the period 1760-1774] is largely a biographical note of Ryberg." S.R. Christensen (1979) has written an article on the Royal Trade Company, Jón Kristvin Margeirsson (1978) has done the same for the Second Iceland Company and P.P. Sveistrup (1943) again for the General Trading Company, focusing on its affairs in Greenland.

Books and articles have been written on various subject that do not have direct relation on the monopoly trade but can give a view of the 16th through the 18th centuries that may be beneficial in understanding the monopoly trade, its policies and effects on Iceland and the Icelandic people, and vice versa. There are books and articles on the pedagogical values of the 18th century (Guttormsson, 1983), on the question of why Iceland didn't acquire significant fishing fleets before the late 19th century (Eggertsson, 1996) and the view on magic in the 17th and 18th centuries (Guttormsson, 1998) to name a few. Especially many books and articles have been written on the ventures of the Icelandic Privileged Company, in particular as it relates to Treasurer Skúli Magnússon and the 'New Enterprises' (is. *Nýju Innréttingarnar*) that are, conventionally, seen as the basis from which the modern Icelandic capital of Reykjavík grew (e.g. Aðils, 1911; Clausen, 1971; Valdimarsdóttir, 2018). Lýður Björnsson, in particular, has written a both books and articles as it relates to the New Enterprises (e.g. Björnsson, 1974, 1998), as well as writing general histories and teaching material touching on this period in Icelandic history (e.g. Björnsson, 1973, 2005).

National Archivist Hrefna Róbertsdóttir published her doctoral dissertation, titled *Wool and Society; Manufacturing policy, economic thought and local production in 18th century Iceland*, in 2008 which explored the institution of the Icelandic Privileged Company and its efforts to bring change to the economic situation in Iceland, in particular as it relates to the use of wool but, unlike her predecessors, she does not limit her view to Reykjavík. Whereas previous scholars had largely assumed the company and its efforts to have been a failure because it was never as large as its main proponents had hoped, it never managed much of a profit and thus a prime example of the detrimental effects of foreign involvement in Icelandic markets, Hrefna Róbertsdóttir demonstrates that the company, instead, was intended as a school for Icelanders to learn useful trades that could fit in with and complement the conventional structure of Icelandic society, as well as being a kind of research centre exploring new possibilities for exploiting the resources of the island to the benefit of its inhabitants. She points out that the various components of the Icelandic Privileged Company's enterprises lasted for decades after the abolishment of the monopoly trade and had far-reaching societal influences, giving people new means

of sustaining themselves beyond what had been possible previously, as well as subtly altering the perception of what constituted "male" and "female" professions (Róbertsdóttir, 2008, 2014).

Hrefna Róbertsdóttir (2012) has also written on the special orders which could be placed with merchants during the Monopoly Trade Period, and uses the example of the surviving register for the year 1784 to show that a great deal of various luxuries were being brought into Iceland in the last decades of the monopoly trade. In that year only 69 people who put in special orders are identified by name, though it is apparent that more people did put in such orders, without being named. Of those 69, 36 people are without title and thus, presumably, represent the general population. While this large percentage of untitled Icelanders in the special orders register might seem to go against the assumption that special orders were only available to high ranking members of society, examining the orders they did make reveals that many were ordering their own commodities, shipping wool to Denmark to be coloured and then shipped back to Iceland (Aðils, 1919, pp. 469-473; Róbertsdóttir, 2012, pp. 100-107). This would seem to indicate that while special orders were open to anyone, those Icelanders of high status in society dominated when it came to the ordering of luxuries.

The Monopoly Trade Period is, of course, discussed in all general histories of Iceland, though discussion on the period tends to be limited and tinged with the same nationalism that originated with Jón Sigurðsson. In his review of Gunnar Karlsson's *Iceland's 1100 Years: History of a Marginal Society* (2000), Harald Gustafsson points out how the five and a half century long period from when Iceland comes under Norwegian rule to the end of the 19th century is all clumped together in one chapter titled "Under Foreign Rule, 1262-c. 1800" which is just over a hundred pages long (Karlsson, 2000, pp. 89-194) in a book containing 365 pages (Gustafsson, 2002, p. 254). That is half of Iceland's history in a third of the pages. Gustafsson is, however, not surprised by this and rightly concludes that this has less to do with the conventional historical approach to Iceland's past and more to do with the fact that these five and a half centuries, and in particular the period from c. 1500 to c. 1800, are some of the least represented in the study of Iceland's past. The weight each period of time is given in Karlsson's book is representative of the research that has taken place on each period (Gustafsson, 2002).

Begun in relation to the celebration of a thousand years since settlement in 1974 and concluded in 2016 the ambitious 11 volume *Saga Íslands* is a complete general history of Iceland, from settlement to Icelandic independence in 1944. Three volumes cover parts of the Monopoly Trade Period, two written by Helgi Þorláksson (2003, 2004) and one by Lýður Björnsson (2005). By and large the discussion on the Monopoly Trade Period is somewhat more optimistic here than with earlier scholars, though the discussion is based heavily on the work of both Jón Aðils and Gísli Gunnarsson. The period is still identified as a period of decline and hardship, though with nature as the main culprit, rather than foreign influence (Þorláksson, 2003, pp. 295-322). Two important points made by Helgi Þorláksson in his

discussion on the monopoly trade in these volumes is, firstly, that the monopoly itself is rather a nebulous concept (Þorláksson, 2003, p. 306), how it is defined appears entirely arbitrary, its beginning is defined as the institution of trade licences, although such licences have been associated with the Icelandic trade since 1262, as discussed in section 2.1., and its end is defined as the abolishment of the royal price lists, while the trade remains restricted by nationality until 1854. Secondly, he acknowledges the power of the Icelandic customer to choose what they purchased from the merchants, when he comments that Icelanders chose not to buy more than a certain amount of grains (Þorláksson, 2004, p. 59).

2.5.5. Contemporary Sources

Not yet discussed are sources contemporary to the monopoly trade. Such sources are numerous from the 18th century, particularly the latter half of the century, but much less so for the 17th century. The most common sources from the two centuries are various official documents including letters of purchase, laws, policy documents, merchant account books, various other documents from the merchant companies, probate inventories, church annals and other church documents (e.g. *DI I*; Hinriksson, 1912; M. Jónsson, 2015; *Lovsamling for Island*; Róbertsdóttir, 2001, pp. 203-204). Unfortunately, many of these sources for the 17th century are lost, for instance the only remaining examples of merchant account books are from the two Royal Trade Companies, thought mostly the first one (Róbertsdóttir, 2001, p. 190). Of special note for such official documents is a large project, undertaken in the beginning of the 18th century, to register all farmsteads in Iceland was undertaken. The land register, commonly known in Icelandic as *Jarðabók Árna Magnússonar og Páls Vídalín* after the two men who lead the project, contains information on every legal farm in Iceland at the time, with the number of animals at each farm, the benefits each farm enjoyed, from fisheries to driftwood to turf fields to the presence of fields of berries, the taxes and tithes due, where they were paid and how, the names of the owners of each farm and who lived there. In conjunction with creating the land register, the first official census of Iceland was done (*Manntal á Íslandi árið 1703*).

With the advent of periodicals in Denmark and Iceland a few officials of the time became active in voicing their opinions, for example Treasurer Skúli Magnússon (1783, 1784, 1944), his rival Ólafur Stephensen (1786a, 1786b), and the director of the Second Royal Trade Company, Carl Pontoppidan (1787-1788, 1792-1793).

In connection with this study probate inventories and account books for two sites, Hólahólar and Miðvellir, excavated as a part of this study were examined and will be discussed in detail in the relevant sections of chapter 4. People living on both sites can be found in the account book from 1763 and later, with earliest probate inventories dating to 1807 for Hólahólar and 1833 for Miðvellir. While there are

known examples of probate inventories, lists of the possessions and their value at the time of an individual's death, in the 17th century they remain quite rare through the 18th century. There is evidence that such inventories were, perhaps, not uncommon, the issue, however, is that it was the relatives of the deceased who kept the documentation with the result that most probate inventories have been lost (M. Jónsson, 2015, pp. 12-13).

While there is a great deal of information left untapped in contemporary historical sources of the 17th and 18th century this study has relied primarily on secondary historical sources, such as those collected by Jón Aðils (1919), as this study is not a historical one but an archaeological one, where the archaeological data takes primacy with historical sources being used to inform and situate the discussion of the archaeology.

2.6. Summary

The conventional, popular view of the history Iceland from the 15th century through the 18th is one of a Dark Age between the glory of the Commonwealth and that of the modern age. Little has changed in this view since the nationalism of Jón 'Forseti' Sigurðsson but as Harald Gustafsson has pointed out the Danes or the influence of other foreign people are no longer seen as the main culprit for this Icelandic Dark Age; now it is nature, climate change and epidemics (Gustafsson, 2002, pp. 256-257). Yet, new research has been done that shows this need not be the case (e.g. Róbertsdóttir, 2008) and some have even gone a step further, like Axel Kristinsson (2018) who in his book *Hnignun, hvaða hnignun?* (en. *Decline, what decline?*) questions the whole idea of a Dark Age. The book addresses, in turn, each of the ideas commonly put forward about the Icelandic Dark Ages that were the Early Modern Period and rebuts one, coming to the conclusion that each is put forward to serve some purpose, political, social or economic and that the reality of the historic sources is that they do not indicate that things were any worse during this time than any other or in any other place, and possibly Icelanders were better off than many of their contemporaries elsewhere in the world.

Coupled with the way the Monopoly Trade Period is represented in general history books, there is clearly a skewed view on Iceland's past in its historical scholarship; the period from Settlement through the Middle Ages is well represented as is the modern age from and including the 19th century but the period in between is severely under-researched in comparison, though work done in the past couple of decades has begun to recognize and address this issue.

It is interesting to note that before Hrefna Róbertsdóttir wrote her doctoral thesis in 2008 virtually no detailed research had taken place on any produce except fish in relation to the Monopoly Trade Period. The production and export of woollens and mutton is noted but usually dismissed as being of little

importance. That Iceland produced and exported a wide variety of other goods, as noted in section 2.3., is well documented, yet these are hardly ever mentioned and reading any general history of Iceland one might be excused in thinking that only fish, woollens and mutton were exported. In his extensive financial analysis of the monopoly trade Gísli Gunnarsson hardly ever mentions any produce other than fish and when he does it is usually only to dismiss them or show that they brought only financial losses.

The same applies to the imports but perhaps to a greater degree as few have discussed them in any depth beyond the mention of grain, which occupies the same place in the discussion of imports as the fish does in that of exports, timber, tools and the general category of 'luxuries', which is hardly ever differentiated further than into the two categories of tobacco and alcohol, which can be subdivided into beer, wine and liquor, each of which can be further subdivided into various types of these beverages. Again, the import of a variety of other wares, including ready-made clothes, silk, tea, coffee, various spices, sweet baked goods, supplies for fishing, tar and clay tobacco pipes, among others (e.g. Aðils, 1919, p. 436-473; Róbertsdóttir, 2008, p. 365), is well documented, yet hardly ever mentioned. Interestingly, according to Aðils ceramics and glasswares weren't imported at all before the 18th century (Aðils, 1919, p. 450), though this is clearly contradicted by archaeology.

It is worth mentioning that the 'fish' for export and 'grain' for import are themselves general categories which encompass a number of different products that convention has lumped together. In fish there are a variety of different production methods, but generally only the expensive, high quality dried cod, the so called '*platfisk'*, is under discussion. Other types are considered inferior and *platfisk* seems to have been the largest part of the Icelandic fish export during the monopoly trade (Gunnarsson, 1987, pp. 106-112). Grains could include milled or unmilled wheat, rye, oats and barley but the word '*mjöl'*, meaning milled grains, is the one commonly used when discussing the import of grains to Iceland, both in contemporary and later discussions (Aðils, 1919, pp. 438-443).

One of the major issues with the study of the monopoly trade has been that scholars have tended to use modern economic ideals as the basis for judging the trade companies of the past, when they need to be examined in the light of contemporary thinking. Gísli Gunnarsson is especially guilty of this and all his research on the financial profit and loss of the monopoly trade companies is based on the assumption that they functioned as modern for-profit companies. As Aðils pointed out in the case of the Iceland, Faroe and Northland Company it was run more as a merchant guild (for more on merchant guilds see Ogilvie, 2011) rather than what the modern reader might recognise as a company or corporation. The monopoly trade companies were formed with the idea of controlling a sector of the economy of the Danish-Norwegian Union and excluding foreign merchants and merchant guilds from influencing that same sector. While financial profits were a concern, and one that grew more important as time went on, they were secondary to the actual control of the trade. For the Crown Authority the

benefits of forming closer ties between disparate parts of Denmark-Norway, improving the productivity and resource exploitation of Iceland through the pedagogical influences of the merchants on the Icelanders, tasked as the merchants were with assuring that the goods they bought off the Icelanders were of sufficient quality and limited as they were in the import of 'unnecessary' or 'harmful' commodities such as alcohol and tobacco, outweighed financial gain. For the merchants, total control of the resources of the island meant they could largely dispose of them as they pleased, rather than having to be concerned with competition on the market which would force them to maximize their exploitation and profits on those resources they would manage to control. This kind of monopoly differs from the modern idea of the market monopoly that aims at maximising financial profits by controlling a sector of the economy, through efficient exploitation and price fixing. The market monopoly views the economy as a separate sphere and is only concerned with financial gain, while the kind of monopoly practiced during the Monopoly Trade Period has far broader aims, entangling the economy within broader contexts of culture, social order and morality.

Chapter 3: Methodology

As stated in chapter 1 the main aims of this thesis are to attempt to discern how consumption patterns change in Iceland through the 17th and 18th centuries, how quickly imported consumer goods enter into, or vanish from, those patterns and become a fixed part of household consumption. This includes examining whether there is any significant variation between sites of different socio-economic status, and how this Icelandic consumption differs or does not differ from consumption at contemporary European sites.

Since the advent of post-processual archaeology statistical approaches have been, rightly, heavily criticised. It is a truism that statistics lie, and it is certainly a simple matter to over- or underemphasise certain aspects of statistical data to draw out predetermined results. Such approaches were also perceived to remove the human element, reducing human culture and societies to numbers. This has led some to overcorrect and claim that positivist methodologies have little or no utility in archaeology (e.g. Symonds, 2011). I consider this akin to a carpenter swearing off hammers after missing the nail and hitting their finger. While utilising statistical approaches can be tricky, and the pitfalls for such approaches in archaeology are many, the potential is also there for results which cannot be obtained through other methods. While I have to agree with Symonds (2011, p. 72, original emphases) that attempts to create an "*aggregated view*" results only in "a synthetic, and frankly, meaningless, *average household*" that does not mean that a statistical model does not have something to offer. Interpretive approaches, such as Symonds advocates for, are sometimes set up in opposition to positivist approaches, such as statistics, yet they work best when combined and informed by other sources. A good recent example is Bolender et al. (2020)'s study on sites in Skagafjörður, northern Iceland, where they examine density of pottery sherds by m^3 to explore questions of impoverishment in Iceland in the 18th and 19th centuries.

The approach taken here relies heavily on statistics to create datasets for different sites which can be used for comparison with datasets from other sites, both within Iceland and Europe. In the creation of these datasets and while doing comparisons I am careful to note the context of each dataset, and the limitations and advantages of the comparisons made. Through such contextualised comparisons it is possible to employ an interpretive approach (Wilkie, 2009) informed by statistical data and other sources to create nuanced narratives of the past.

3.1. Consumer Goods

Two categories of material culture which had a connection to and were themselves consumer goods will be examined. These are pottery and clay tobacco pipes. These two categories were chosen for several

reasons. There was no local production of either in Iceland, meaning that they are clear indicators of imports. These two object categories are likely to occur in high frequency and can be considered, depending on their use and typology, luxuries, decencies, or necessities, they can be dated typologically, and preserve well in the archaeological record. The study of these two categories will enable an attempt to understand the local meaning and uses of pottery, clay pipes and their associated uses, e.g. food preparation, eating, drinking, and smoking. These uses are likely to have been unfamiliar to Icelanders who relied primarily on animal products for food and drink, fish, meat and dairy products, most commonly served cold in wood vessels made to be held in one's lap and consumed using wood utensils (Jónasson, 1934; G. Jónsson, 1997; Lucas, 2010).

Before we can begin to understand how Icelanders used pottery vessels and clay tobacco pipes, we need to know how common they actually were. How likely was a household to own and use such items? How did this vary between households and over time? What kind of vessels specifically were being used? Here we might turn to historical sources, import statistics and merchants' accounts. However, these sources are very sporadic in the 17th century and even for the 18th century they only become common after the middle of the century, making it difficult to acquire a fully formed image from these sources. Additionally, pottery and, especially, clay tobacco pipes are rarely mentioned in import statistics, and only slightly more frequently in merchants' accounts, a fact which led Aðils (1919, p. 450) to comment that pottery did not enter Iceland before the 18th century. Other luxuries and decencies fare little better with data on import statistics for most categories being quite fragmented according to *Hagskinna*, a work of Icelandic historical statistics, with the exception of data on alcohol which is reported in import accounts for every available year from 1630 (*Hagskinna*, pp. 435-443). Further, these sources often do not include purchases made through special order, which it is how many of the, mostly more expensive, pottery vessels and pipes entered Iceland, nor do these sources tend to differentiate between ware types or vessel forms. There is also the illicit trade to be considered, the vast majority of which does not end up recorded in historical sources, and certainly not in enough detail to account for. Historical sources are then, unfortunately, of limited use to approach these questions.

This is where an archaeological, statistical approach can provide the basis from which to develop more interpretive readings. For each of the selected sites the minimum number of vessels (MNV) and pipes (MNP) was calculated with each identified pottery vessel being analysed according to ware type and vessel group. MNV is used here rather than other metrics, such as sherds or Estimated Vessel Equivalents (EVE) as MNV "yields more accurate archaeological evidence, and better represents and interprets the actual use of the artifacts" (Voss & Allen, 2010, p. 8), in addition to being well suited to comparative studies (Voss & Allen, 2010).

From the relative frequencies of each ware type and vessel group it is then possible to synthesise a profile of the consumption of each at each site. Comparing these profiles allows for an examination of how the consumption of pottery and clay pipes changed through time as well as seeing how various other factors, such as geographic location and socio-economic standing, affect consumption patterns. By employing an interpretive approach to these statistics, aided by written sources, it is possible to begin to approach an understanding how of pipes and pottery were used, by whom, and how this changes through the 17th and 18th centuries.

While other methods may be employed to seek the same understanding of the consumption of pottery and pipes, the statistical approach employed here allows for the creation of a dataset which can be employed in comparative studies both within Iceland and without, as well as with data from different time periods. Such a statistical method is heavily dependent on there being large amounts of data to work with, which is not the case for all sites presents. While low numbers of pipes or pottery on sites can itself be very informative it complicates statistical comparisons as interpretations on their usage tend to be skewed; they all but vanish in comparison to sites with larger numbers or over emphasise the small dataset in relative comparisons. There is also the danger of over-interpretation of, and over-emphasis on, such datasets.

Working with statistical data of this kind it is easy to forget that it is only one set of data within the larger data structure which forms all the information on each site, and that within all the statistical work that might be done this study only examines two groups of artefacts.

Making the comparison between the Icelandic dataset and datasets from the countries in North-Western Europe which had the closes contact, both culturally and through trade, with Iceland at the time allows for an examination of how consumption of pottery and pipes differed or did not differ from consumption in Europe. While the same questions may be asked of these datasets as those from Iceland alone, and the same limits exist, the focus here is on Icelandic consumption in the context of broader European patterns. Given the emphasis of early Icelandic historians on the Monopoly Trade Period as a Dark Age in the history of Iceland, a detailed statistical approach which allows a direct comparison between Icelandic and European material is of enormous interest and value.

3.1.1. Pottery

In 17th and 18th century Europe pottery can be said to have been essential, as it was required for cooking, drinking, storage and eating, alongside wooden, metal and glass objects, many of which served a similar or the same function (Gaimster, 2006, pp. 135-136). Why people chose objects of one material over

Kitchenwares	Cooking pots, pipkins, skillets, pans, colanders
Tablewares	Dishes, plates, cups, mugs, teapots, saucers, platters, tankards, jugs, beakers, bowls, porringers
Storage/utility vessels	Bottles, jars for ointment, medicine, syrup, salt, etc.

Table 3.1. Examples of vessel forms for each vessel group.

another has not been extensively studied but is presumed to be based on factors like access to objects of differing material, aesthetic considerations, and cost.

Gaimster's (2006) study of pottery use in the Lower Rhineland since the 15th century, revealed changes in ceramic assemblages that reflected changing eating and drinking habits which continued to change and adapt through the following centuries, with the introduction of Chinese porcelain revealing a demand for fine pottery, designed and created as much for its aesthetic quality as its utility which was soon emulated and reproduced in Europe with the introduction of tin-glazed whitewares and, later, refined earthenwares and European porcelain (Gaimster, 2006, pp. 137-144).

In this study pottery is analysed according to two primary criteria, the ware type and vessel group. Vessel groups are divided into three groups, kitchenwares, tablewares, and storage/utility vessels, based on the intended use for each vessel. Kitchenwares encompass those vessel forms involved in the preparation of a meal. Cooking pots, most of whom are tripod pipkins, are the single most common vessel form in this ware group and appear alongside other forms, such as skillets and colanders. Tablewares are those vessel forms associated with serving, eating and drinking. Dishes, plates, cups, mugs, teapots, and saucers are all examples of tablewares. Tablewares can be subdivided into teawares, dining wares, and drinking wares, where dining wares consist of plates, dishes and other vessels associated with food service, while teawares and drinking wares are both associated with drinking, the former with the drinking of hot drinks, such as tea, coffee and hot chocolate, and the latter with cold drinks, usually but not exclusively alcoholic drinks such as beer. Storage/utility vessels are those vessels associated with the storage of food and drink, most of which are made more for their utilitarian value than for aesthetic considerations. Jars and bottles form the largest part of this category, though bottles might be considered tablewares rather than storage/utility vessels depending on their use.

Many studies of pottery employ typologies based heavily on the provenancing of different wares, referring to 'Weser', 'Werra', 'Staffordshireware', or 'Trønder' type pottery for example. These typologies are often held to be self-evident and are based on a localized understanding of ceramic traditions. The four different types of pottery named above, for instance, are all examples of pottery vessels made of red coloured clay, decorated with thinned, coloured clay known as slip and covered, partly or wholly, with a lead-based glaze. Each type employs the same techniques and decorative motifs,

meaning that identifying a sherd of pottery as one or the other is largely based on geography. A sherd found in England might be called 'Staffordshireware', while a sherd found in Norway might be called 'Trønderkeramik' with little in the way of visual difference. Through time scholars have attempted to refine this typology, with the different types having slight differences in colour and physical shape (e.g. Gaimster, 2006, pp. 52-61, 77).

This kind of typology is unnecessarily obtuse and can easily lead to misunderstanding and misattribution, as the types are used as both provenancing information and physical description, sometimes interchangeably, despite it being established that other areas of the world produced similar or possibly even identical pottery types. This has led scholars to become increasingly wary of this kind of typology and increased their reliance on chemical analyses (ICP analysis) to provenance ceramics. In relation to this project several sherds of pottery were sent for ICP analysis, the results of which indicate that pottery found in Iceland was commonly produced in the Netherlands, Germany, and Denmark (Brorsson, 2019).

The method employed for this thesis utilises a simplified typology based on pottery technique, clay colour and decoration, identifying eight ware types. These are unglazed earthenwares, undecorated lead-glazed redwares (ULR), slipwares, lead-glazed whitewares, tin-glazed earthenwares (TGE), stonewares, refined earthenwares, and porcelains.

Unglazed earthenwares are any ceramic vessels which have not had any glaze applied to them, with the most common forms being vessels like flowerpots, most of which are redwares. Unglazed earthenwares generally do not have a relation to foodways, though there are some exception, such as unglazed cooking pots like the distinctive greyware pots known as 'jydepot' or 'Jutishware' (Schia, 1981). Broadly speaking 'redware' can be applied to any and all pottery made of red clay, or fabric, both glazed and unglazed, but unglazed redwares are rare as kitchen- or tablewares after the 15th century (Gaimster, 2006, pp. 81-82).

Figure 3.1. A greyware 'Jydepot' from Arnarstapi, find # 2017-27-1 (Lucas et al., 2020)

Lead-glazed redwares were made in a wide variety of vessel forms, mostly associated with foodways, whether tableware, kitchenware

or storage vessels. These were largely utilitarian but the variety in appearance of glaze – from transparent to greenish to brownish or black, representing different amounts of metals in the glaze – may represent a deliberate choice to increase the marketability of the redwares, but may just as well be a product of the location where the material for the glaze was harvested (Gaimster, 2006, pp. 82-84). Such undecorated redwares were not all simple utilitarian objects with monochrome glaze. Redwares were made with polychrome glaze, mostly jugs, but these seem to have remained mostly a local manufacture, never able to properly compete with stonewares in markets further afield (Gaimster, 2006, pp. 84-85).

Figure 3.2. Slipware fragment from Aðalstræti, find # 2003-55-1525 (Lucas et al., 2020)

Slipwares are vessels decorated with slip, a thinned clay applied to the vessel as a wash, covering either or both the inside and outside of the vessel in a thin layer, or piped on in 'sliptrail' to form decorative patterns, often embellished with polychrome glaze. Slipwares are mostly redwares and appear most commonly as tablewares but also exist as kitchen wares, such as tripod pipkins (Gaimster, 2006, pp. 85-87). These slipware vessels are typically recognized as 'display wares', decorated vessels intended just as much for decoration as for utility by mounting the vessel on the wall or display on shelves or cupboards. However, it has been observed that in contemporary graphical sources from the Netherlands that such dishes are shown with the decorated side facing to the wall, and thus hidden from view. This, as Gaimster (2006, p. 142) notes, would have reduced the risk of mould growth on the vessel.

Lead-glazed earthenware with a white fabric are known as whitewares and are most commonly covered in a green or clear/yellowish glaze (Gaimster, 2006, p. 78). These lead-glazed whitewares should not be confused with refined earthenwares, which may also be referred to as 'whitewares'. Beginning in the 14th century beakers, money boxes, jars, tripod pipkins and deep bowls are all known to have been made in whitewares. Also made in whiteware were tablewares which seem to have been made to compete with contemporary stoneware tablewares, but the most common types during the 15th century were kitchenwares (Gaimster, 2006, pp. 77-78). By the 16th century whiteware kitchenwares become less common, in favour of tablewares. Cups, plates, dishes, and bowls being most common, though tripod pipkins and colanders are also well documented (Gaimster, 2006, pp. 78-79). Whitewares tend to be more delicate than redwares, with bright glaze, both monochrome and polychrome, with one colour on the outside and another on the inside. This, along with the relative difficulty in production are likely

Figure 3.3. Tin-glazed earthenware, Faience plate from the Melckmeyt shipwreck in Flatey, Iceland, find # 1993-62-18 (Lucas et al., 2020)

to have made whitewares more expensive than redwares in a market setting, as well as possibly making them more desirable than the strictly utilitarian undecorated redwares (Gaimster, 2006, pp. 78-80).

Tin-glazed earthenware is divided into maiolica and faience with both being vessels with a white fabric and painted decoration under tin-glaze. The two are distinguished by maiolica having tin-glaze on the inside only, with lead-glaze on the outside, while faience is tin-glazed on both sides and tends to have a more smooth and glossy glaze (Gaimster, 2006, pp. 95-96; Wilson, 1987, pp. 12-14). For both faience and maiolica tablewares, particularly plates, dishes, and teawares, form the majority of vessel shapes, though other forms, such as porringers, drug jars, floor and hearth tiles can all be found in archaeological contexts in the Netherlands (Gaimster, 2006, pp. 95-97).

The majority of tin-glazed earthenware is decorated to same degree, the earliest maiolica is decorated with polychrome paints, while decorations after circa 1600 are very influenced by the decoration of Chinese porcelain, with the colour palette generally becoming limited to white and blue (Gaimster, 2006, pp. 95-97). The decoration motifs come in many forms, from geometric patterns, to Mediterranean styles, to floral patterns, to armorial designs, to imitations of motifs from Chinese porcelain (Gaimster, 2006, pp. 95-97). Many of these motifs are analytically relevant and tin-glazed earthenwares are generally noted to be particularly sensitive to prevailing fashions (Blake, 1980; Gaimster, 2006, p. 96; Orton, 1985).

Stoneware vessels come in a huge variety of form and decoration, with fabrics in shades of grey or buff, and a salt glaze ranging from orange-brown to grey to cream (Gaimster, 2006, pp. 57-59). Stonewares became more popular and intricate from the 15th century onward and were mostly used for storing and serving liquids in bottles or jugs, but also for drinking, with cups, mugs, beakers and, by the 18th century, object forms associated with hot beverages, tea, coffee, and chocolate, such as teapots. Various other object forms were made of stoneware as well, including tableware and kitchenware (Gaimster, 2006, pp. 91-95, 137-138).

The ware type here referred to as refined earthenware encompasses a range of pottery that began to spread across Europe around the middle of the 18th century from the production

centres in England. The fabric of these wares was fired at a high heat, making it very hard, almost as stonewares, and is predominantly white or cream in colour, with transparent glaze and a variety of decorative methods. These wares are often referred to as 'whiteware', which should not be confused with lead-glazed whitewares, 'industrial wares', 'finewares' or 'English ware', and include 'creamwares'. The spread and success of refined earthenwares in Europe is often attributed both to their industrial scale manufacture bringing the price down and to the shrewd business practices of one of the first producers of refined earthenwares, Josiah Wedgewood (Gaimster, 2006, p. 99; McKendrick, 1982, p. 137). This ware type was produced as an affordable alternative to porcelain vessels associated with tea drinking, cups, saucers and teapots, but the production expanded and all kinds of tableware vessels are made in refined earthenwares, though they tend to be less common as kitchenwares (Gaimster, 2006, pp. 99-100).

Figure 3.4. Fragment of a stoneware jug of the 'Westerwald' type from Lækjargata, find # 2015-10-599 (Lucas et al., 2020)

Porcelain was imported from China and Japan into Europe during the 17th and 18th centuries, mostly as teawares, though other tablewares are not unknown. During the 18th century Europeans learned to produce their own porcelain, though this does not appear to have led to any significant change in the vessel forms being produced, with teawares still being the most common. Porcelain is invariably decorated, with painted images or designs and embellished decorative forms. The distinction between European and Oriental porcelain is not of primary importance for this study and so the two will not be differentiated in the following analyses. Of greater importance is the knowledge that both historical and archaeological data tends to agree on porcelain vessels being expensive luxury goods, strongly associated with the practices of drinking tea and coffee (Gaimster, 2006, pp. 98-99).

Figure 3.5. Chinese porcelain tea-bowl and saucer from Skálholt, find # 2006-64-10645 (Lucas et al., 2020)

As mentioned in the beginning of this section, pottery is analysed through the use of MNV, where multiple sherds may be assigned to a single vessel based on either qualitative or quantitative assessments (Voss & Allen, 2010). The approach to MNV analysis employed for this study was primarily quantitative, with a particular focus on rim sherds, but also employed some qualitative analysis, primarily focusing on glaze colour.

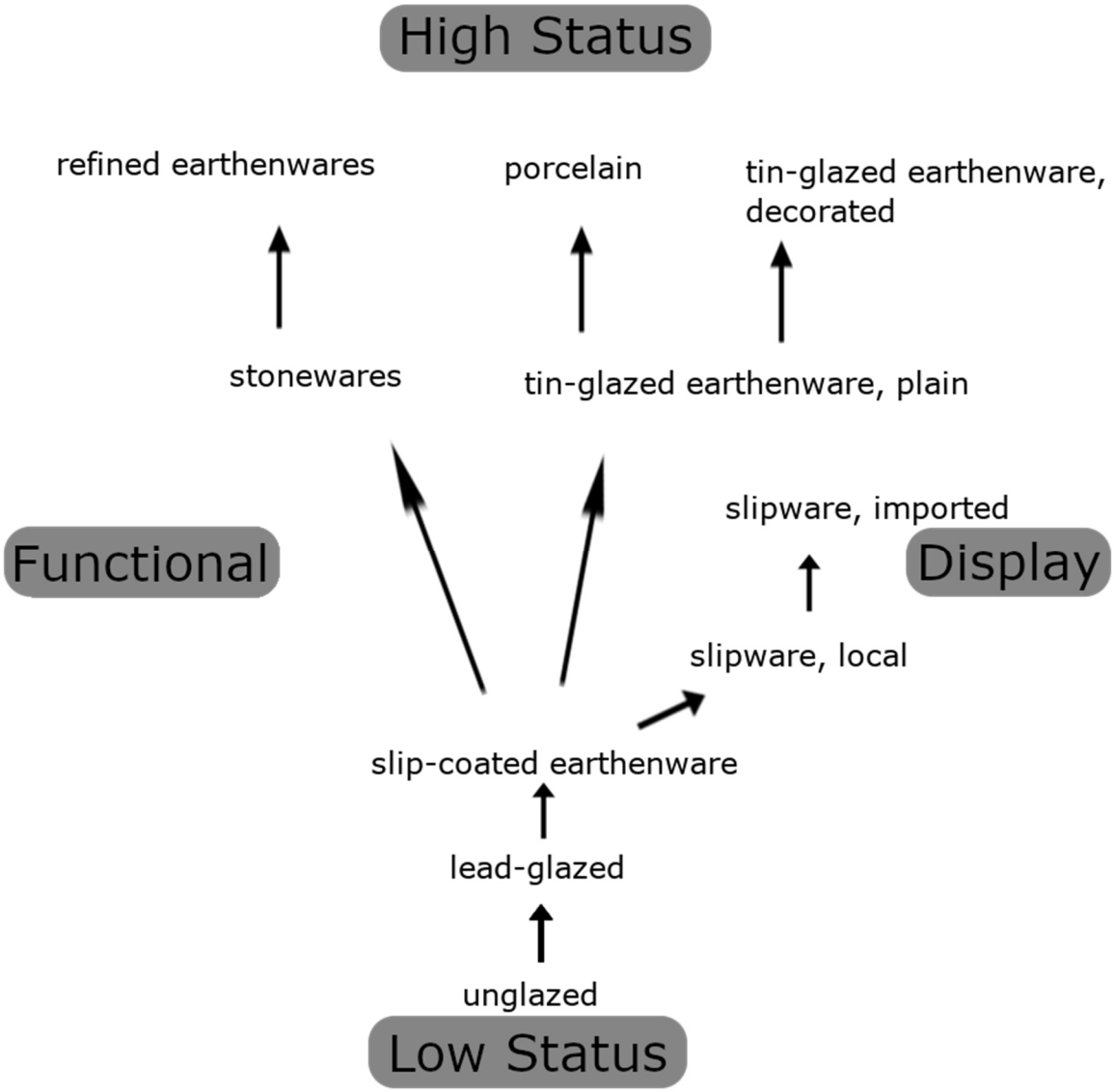


Figure 3.6. Hierarchy of potting technologies (after Gaimster, 2006, p. 145)

Having analysed the pottery by ware type and vessel group statistically, there remains the issue of interpreting the data. Previous analyses of pottery have focused on identifying the market value of ware types and to associate a status with each ware type. Under this system unglazed earthenwares are at the lowest end, graduating through glazed, slip-coated, and sliptrailed, followed by stonewares, TGE, refined earthenwares, and finally porcelains as the highest status wares. This status based order has been contrasted with a question of vessel utility on a 'functional-display' axis, where stonewares are of high functionality, and slipwares of high display with TGE and porcelains falling between them (Blake, 1980; Gaimster, 2006, pp. 144-145; Orton, 1985). This interpretation of pottery value is useful when attempting to discern the relative expenditure of wealth on pottery between sites. However, of equal interest is the 'functional-display' axis, but the analysis of vessels by that metric may reveal something of the usage and social practices associated with pottery.

3.1.2. Clay tobacco pipes

Tobacco made its way to Europe in the 16th century from the colonies in the Americas, where its consumption began as a New World novelty but morphed into a popular decency in the 17th century as prices plummeted due to abundance (Fox, 2016, pp. 12, 30-31). Populations native to the Americas had been consuming tobacco for centuries before the arrival of Europeans and did so in a variety of contexts and in a variety of ways. European explorers noted that natives might smoke tobacco, either in pipes, made of stone or wood, or rolled into something like cigars, as well as 'inhaled' as snuff. Natives would often mix the tobacco leaf with other plants to provide different sensations, tastes and smells (Fox, 2016, pp. 18-21).

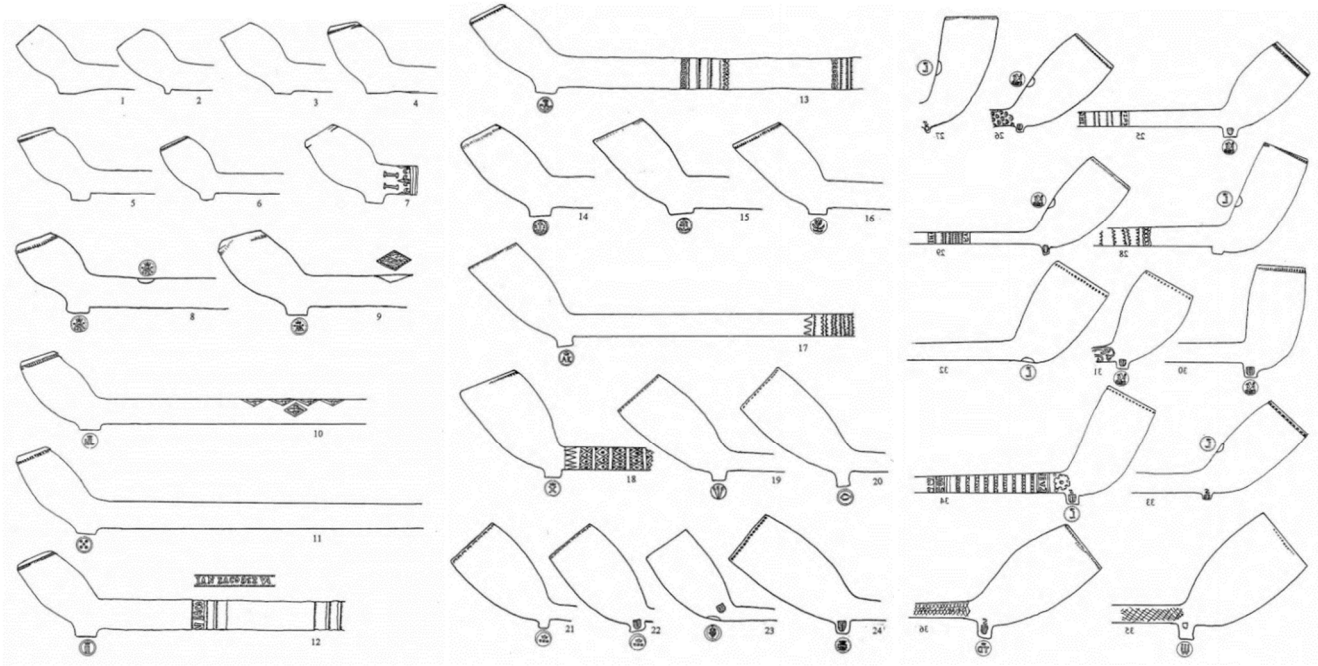


Figure 3.7. Typology of pipes from Gouda, the Netherlands (images copied from van der Meulen, 2003, pp. 13-17)

As tobacco dropped in price in the early 17th century it became cheap enough that almost anyone could afford to smoke. With this democratization of tobacco came new social practices associated with its consumption. Georgia Fox argues for a new sociability in British America associated with the increase in consumption of 'intoxicants,' including tobacco, tea, coffee, and alcohol. The places associated with these things, bars, taverns, and cafés, provided meeting places for people of different genders, classes, and ethnicities to mingle, with the sharing of tobacco for smoking and spending time enjoying the narcotic effects in a communal setting acting as a 'social lubricant' which allowed those different people to renegotiate their roles, the establishment of 'civilized' behaviours, a sharing of ideas across groups which would otherwise have little interaction, and with the introduction of ideas of connoisseurship in the selection of the quality of tobacco (Fox, 2016, pp. 128-133).

Attitudes towards tobacco consumption varied through the 17th and 18th centuries, though tend to be largely viewed as an action belonging in the public sphere as an inherently social act. While some viewed smoking as vile, noting among the other effects of tobacco the bad smell of the smoke, to most others it was an enjoyable activity. Whether it was socially acceptable for women and children to partake in tobacco consumption varies, but there are indications that upper class women popularised snuff in Europe in the 18th century. While men dominate accounts of tobacco consumption, there are a few Dutch paintings that show women and children smoking, indicating that it may have not been considered fully acceptable, but it may not have been uncommon for women and children to smoke (Fox, 2016, pp. 50-58).

With tobacco came smoking paraphernalia, most notably the white clay pipes which, already in the early 17th century, were mass-produced, with some estimates putting the production of a single workshop with six workers at over 8000 pipes per week (Fox, 2016, p. 43). These clay pipes were, by and large, cheap, though decoration could push the price up, and were widely available in the cities of Europe (Fox, 2016, p. 44). The clay pipes being produced in such large numbers and used, it is estimated, only a few times before being discarded makes them "one of the first truly disposable items in human history" (Fox, 2016, p. 40). Studies on clay tobacco pipes from Tornio in Finland, indicate, however, that they may not have been viewed as such easily disposable items everywhere in the world. In Tornio there were many pipes which had significant marks of both reforming and wear. As stems broke, they might be reformed into mouthpieces or so that a detachable mouthpiece could be added and, bowls might be reformed so that a new stem could be attached, or the rim of the bowl might be altered to ensure the even burning of tobacco but reducing the amount of tobacco which might be smoked in the pipe. Reforming the pipes in this way would extend their usage beyond disposability and indicates, alongside wear marks such as extensive sooting and teeth marks on stems, that many pipes were not disposable in the way we today might think of such objects (Nurmi, 2011, pp. 100-103).

Clay pipes are, by far, the most common type of object associated with tobacco consumption in the 17th and 18th centuries, but others do exist. For example, pipe tampers, parts of non-clay pipes, such as metal bands, cigar or cigarette holders, snuff boxes, and stoneware spittoons (Bradley, 2000, pp. 122-125; Dixon, 2005, pp. 117, 119-120; Fox, 2016, p. 50). These are, however, rare in the archaeological record, which may indicate that the clay pipe was the preferred method of tobacco consumption, though it may also indicate that other methods of tobacco consumption rarely make it into the archaeological record. Either they are not preserved, such as the remains of cigarettes or cigars, or that they are preserved outside the archaeological record, such as the many snuff boxes which tend to survive as antiques rather than artefacts (Fox, 2016, p. 50).

Clay tobacco pipe production in Europe began in the last decade of the 16th century in England but during the reign of James I many Catholic pipe makers relocated to the Netherlands, setting up workshops there (Mehler, 2004, p. 131; van der Meulen, 2003, p. 12).

Figure 3.8. Clay tobacco pipe fragments from Hólahólar on Snæfellsnes, find # 2016-52-10. Photograph by Jakob Orri Jónsson

These two countries quickly became the largest producers of pipes in the world and from them the pipes spread across the globe, though local manufacture remained important in the Americas, and began to appear in the 18th and 19th centuries elsewhere in the world, for example in modern Germany and Scandinavia (Deetz, 1996, pp. 27-29; Fox, 2016, pp. 39-44; Higgins, 2012; van der Meulen, 2003, p. 12).

In the early 17th century producers began to include maker's marks on their pipes, often with other decoration and the crest of the city of production. Those pipes that include maker's marks can often be dated quite accurately as well as attributed to a specific workshop through the use of catalogues (e.g. van der Meulen, 2003). Unfortunately, the decoration found on clay pipes is often non-distinctive, with the same patterns in use for as long as clay pipes remained the popular way to consume tobacco and used by all producers. Such decorations include banded decorations, raised dots, and the Tudor rose to name a few, which are most often found on the stem of the pipe but can also be on the bowl (Mehler, 2004, p. 132; van der Meulen, 2003, pp. 18-27).

Typologies have been well established for clay tobacco pipes. There were broad, common trends from small bowls to large, spurred by the drop in tobacco prices. The stem changed as well, with the thickness of the pipe stem becoming less broad through time, while the smoke channel became wider and more on centre, but the smoke channel tended to be very off centre in the thick stems of the earliest pipes. While it has been shown that by analysing large assemblages of pipe stems from pipes made in the modern United States and England it is possible to use them for dating. However, pipes made outside those areas, in the Netherlands for example, do not appear to follow the same trend and have not been shown to be useful for such analysis. Instead, analysis of bowl fragments is used almost solely in clay

pipe identification, provenancing and dating (Deetz, 1996, pp. 27-29; Fox, 2016, pp. 45-48; Harding, Marlow-Mann, & Wrathmell, 2010, pp. 215-216; van der Meulen, 2003, pp. 12-17).

The Minimum Number of Pipes (MNP) was established for each site by a quantitative method whereby only bowl fragments were considered. The advantage of this method is that in most cases only a single bowl fragment survives from each pipe, or else the fragments obviously fit together, making identification a relatively simple matter. Dating the pipes from the Icelandic assemblage was done primarily from maker's marks, where present, but also from general pipe typologies.

3.2. Icelandic Sites

During the Monopoly Trade Period Iceland was, as previously mentioned, a part of the Danish-Norwegian Union and as such ruled from Copenhagen. The highest secular office in Iceland during the 17th and 18th centuries was the diocesan governor (is. *stiftamtmaður*; dk. s*tiftamtmand*) and while it remained so it was rivalled in importance, if not in actual authority, by the office of the Treasurer (is. *landfógeti*) who was mainly responsible for tax collection, after its establishment at the end of the 17th century. Below the diocesan governors were governors (is. *amtmaður*, dk. *amtmand*), then the bailiffs (is. *sýslumenn*) who were responsible for administrative regions known as *sýsla*, and finally *hreppstjórar*, responsible for *hreppur*, which might be translated as county and commune, respectively. Both *sýslumenn* and *hreppstjórar* acted with judiciary and executive power (Hreinsson, 2005, p. 228). On the ecclesiastical side, the island was divided into two bishoprics, Skálholt and Hólar, with church parishes covering the same area as a *hreppur*. Churches were integrated with the farmsteads and priests acted as the heads of household.

Aðalstræti in Reykjavík
Arnarstapi in Snæfellsnes
Bessastaðir in Álftanes
Búðarárbakki in Hrunamannahreppur
Gilsbakki in Hvítársíða
Hólahólar on Snæfellsnes
Hólar in Hjaltadalur
Kópavogsþingstaður
Miðvellir on Snæfellsnes
Naust in Akureyri
Reykholt in Borgarfjörður
Sandártunga in Þjórsárdalur
Skálholt in Biskupstungur
Skútustaðir in Mývatnssveit
Stóraborg by Eyjafjöll
Vatnsfjörður by Ísafjarðardjúp

Table 3.2. List of Icelandic sites in alphabetical order

In the absence of any significant urbanization, the basic household and production unit, was the farmstead. Many farmsteads were owned by either the Crown, the church, or a small number of landholding individuals, with very few sites being owned by the local farmer. The majority of farmers

Site	*Investigation Method*	*Excavated*
Aðalstræti in Reykjavík	Open Area – Extensive	Structure
Arnarstapi on Snæfellsnes	Open Area – Limited	Structure
Bessastaðir in Álftanes	Open Area – Patchwork	Structure
Búðarárbakki in Hrunamannahreppur	Open Area – Extensive	Structure
Gilsbakki in Hvítársíða	Trenching	Midden
Hólahólar on Snæfellsnes	Trenching	Midden
Hólar in Hjaltadalur	Open Area – Extensive	Structure
Kópavogsþingstaður	Open Area – Extensive	Structure
Miðvellir on Snæfellsnes	Trenching	Midden
Naust in Akureyri	Trenching	Midden
Reykholt in Borgarfjörður	Open Area – Extensive	Structure
Sandártunga in Þjórsárdalur	Open Area – Limited & Trenching	Structure
Skálholt in Biskupstungur	Open Area – Extensive	Structure
Skútustaðir in Mývatnssveit	Open Area – Extensive & Trenching	Structure
Stóraborg by Eyjafjöll	Open Area – Extensive	Structure
Vatnsfjörður in Ísafjarðardjúp	Open Area – Extensive	Structure

Table 3.3. Types and extent of archaeological investigations at comparison sites

were tenant farmers with their families and paid labourers. Life at the farms was highly seasonal with the majority of the year occupied with sheep farming and the winter months with fishing, during which the men of the household, though some women as well, would relocate to fishing camps, known as *verbúðir*, often travelling clear across the island to reach these camps (Gunnarsson, 1983, p. 18).

The Icelandic farmstead forms a discrete unit of consumption which can be examined archaeologically. As discussed in chapter 1, excavations on Early Modern Period remains in Iceland have largely been undertaken as part of work focused on other periods or in connection with construction. This has provided a good amount of material with which to work, yet not all material is suited to the study at hand. In preparation for this study, I examined the data from a little over 75 sites in Iceland which included material dated to the Early Modern Period. The majority of these were very small in scale or did not produce much artefactual material. Sifting through these sites 13 were selected to be included in the current study based on the completeness of their archives, the amount of relevant finds material, their spread across Iceland, and across the social spectrum, which was determined using contemporary sources.

Even from these 13 sites the data is somewhat limited, mostly due to an overemphasis on sites perceived to be of a high status, church sites and 'chieftain' sites. With this in mind the decision was made to investigate two new sites of lower perceived status specifically as a part of this thesis in order to acquire a better image of the spread of consumption practices across the social range in Iceland. During the process of selecting appropriate sites to investigate, an opportunity became apparent to investigate two farmstead sites on the peninsula Snæfellsnes in west Iceland and the trade port where

they would have conducted their trade with the licenced merchant. These investigations were undertaken in 2016 and 2017 on the sites of Arnarstapi, Hólahólar and Miðvellir.

Each site will be discussed individually in chapter 4 and the analysis of their data will be discussed in chapter 5. This section will focus on characterising the nature of the 16 sites in relation to the impact this nature might have on the analysis of their assemblages. Three features in particular, the extent of excavation, type of site, and dating, are discussed below in terms of how these constrain, and inform, my comparative analysis.

3.2.1. Issues of Archaeological Comparison

When comparing archaeological data, it is important to be aware of the methods employed in the investigations they derive from to determine the extent to which their data can be compared and contrasted. Of the 16 sites four were investigated only through trenches with the remaining 12 all having been investigated through open area excavations. Of all the open area excavations only Arnarstapi, Bessastaðir, and Sandártunga cannot be considered to have been extensive, and Sandártunga can be considered as having been investigated both through an open area excavation and trenching, owing to a re-examination undertaken in 2017.

Sandártunga and Arnarstapi were both only partially excavated during their open area excavation. For Arnarstapi only a portion of the uncovered structure was excavated and in the case of Sandártunga the entire structure was uncovered, but the floors and whatever structures potentially lie underneath were not examined. Bessastaðir was investigated in a patchwork fashion, with a series of extensive excavations in limited areas, as was required by renovation work.

The remaining sites where open area excavation were undertaken were all excavated extensively, with structures uncovered and investigated thoroughly, though the types of structure varies. At Búðarárbakki the home of a cottager was investigated along with an associated structure, most simply interpreted as a workshop, while at Reykholt, Sandártunga, Skútustaðir, Stóraborg and Vatnsfjörður the homes of farmers were under investigation. At Gilsbakki, Hólahólar, Miðvellir, and Naust no structures were investigated, instead middens were the remains of focus.

At the remaining sites of Aðalstræti, Bessastaðir, Arnarstapi, Hólar, Kópavogsþingstaður, and Skálholt different types of structures were the focus of investigation. For Aðalstræti this was the factory of the New Enterprises, for Hólar and Skálholt these were structures associated with the bishop's seats and activities associated with them, at Kópavogsþingstaður the structure in question was a local parliament with associated middens, at Arnarstapi a structure associated with the king's agent, and at

Site	*Site Type*	*Church Site*
Aðalstræti in Reykjavík	Factory	No
Arnarstapi on Snæfellsnes	King's Agent's Seat / Farmstead	No
Bessastaðir in Álftanes	Treasurer's Seat / Farmstead	Yes
Búðarárbakki in Hrunamannahreppur	Single Occupant Home / Workshop	No
Gilsbakki in Hvítársíða	Farmstead	Yes
Hólahólar on Snæfellsnes	Farmstead / Fishery	No
Hólar in Hjaltadalur	Bishop's Seat / Farmstead	Yes
Kópavogsþingstaður	Court & Local Parliament	No
Miðvellir on Snæfellsnes	Farmstead	No
Naust in Akureyri	Farmstead	No
Reykholt in Borgarfjörður	Farmstead	Yes
Sandártunga in Þjórsárdalur	Farmstead	No
Skálholt in Biskupstungur	Bishop's Seat / Farmstead	Yes
Skútustaðir in Mývatnssveit	Farmstead	Yes
Stóraborg by Eyjafjöll	Farmstead	Yes
Vatnsfjörður in Ísafjarðardjúp	Farmstead	Yes

Table 3.4. Site types based on Árni Magnússon's and Páll Vídalín's Land Register

Bessastaðir structures associated with the Treasurer. All these sites, excepting Kópavogsþingstaður, have a domestic element to them, but are also unique in their most pronounced element.

Looking at the types of sites under investigation, the majority of the sites are farmstead, with only Aðalstræti, Kópavogsþingstaður, and Búðarárbakki having no farming associated with them. These three are internally varied as well, with Aðalstræti's factory, Kópavogsþingstaður's legal associations, and Búðarárbakki's single occupation phase. Of the farmsteads, Arnarstapi and Bessastaðir are set apart by their association with secular power, while Hólar and Skálholt are associated with ecclesiastical power. Several of the sites are noted to be church sites as well as farmsteads and church sites are commonly perceived to be somewhat wealthier than other sites, as well as being sites of local power. Church sites are the sites to which nearby populations had to gather for church activities as well as being 'beneficii', the sites at which nearby farms belonging to the church would pay their rents. Of the 16 sites under investigation five sites are farmsteads without a church. Of those five, none have been extensively investigated.

While investigations at most of the 16 sites have revealed archaeology that cover the majority of the Monopoly Trade Period, some do not. Notably, Búðarárbakki, Arnarstapi, Hólahólar, and Sandártunga revealed little or no 18th century material. It is known that the sites of Búðarárbakki and Sandártunga were abandoned in the late 17th century but for Hólahólar it seems that while the site is

Site	*Period*
Aðalstræti in Reykjavík	1752 to Modern
Arnarstapi on Snæfellsnes	17th century
Bessastaðir in Álftanes	Medieval to Modern
Búðarárbakki in Hrunamannahreppur	Mid-17th century
Gilsbakki in Hvítársíða	Medieval to Modern
Hólahólar on Snæfellsnes	17th century
Hólar in Hjaltadalur	Medieval to Modern
Kópavogsþingstaður	15th to 19th century
Miðvellir on Snæfellsnes	17th to 19th century
Naust in Akureyri	Viking Age to Modern
Reykholt in Borgarfjörður	Medieval to Modern
Sandártunga in Þjórsárdalur	17th century
Skálholt in Biskupstungur	15th century to Modern
Skútustaðir in Mývatnssveit	Viking Age to Modern
Stóraborg by Eyjafjöll	Medieval to 18th century
Vatnsfjörður in Ísafjarðardjúp	17th century to Modern

Table 3.5. Site period dating.

known to have been occupied into the 19th century the investigated area only revealed material from the 17th century. The archaeological site of Arnarstapi is known to have been occupied much longer and there are still active farms in the area of Arnarstapi, but the investigated area revealed material from the late 17th century, with some material possibly overlapping into the very early 18th century. In the same way Aðalstræti does not include material from the 17th century. The factories at Aðalstræti, however, are well documented as being opened in 1752.

That the sites have not all been examined to the same degree can make it difficult to justify a direct comparison. How can we compare a site that has only been trenched to one that has been fully excavated? How can we compare a site where only the midden has been investigated to one where the farmhouse is the focus of investigation? Such comparisons will, of course, be somewhat different than if all sites were investigated in the same ways. However, the picture provided in this way is likely to be one of scale, rather than composition. While we may underestimate the amount of material present at a site, it may be possible to get an accurate picture of the site's relative consumption profile. In the same way the presence or absence of material between the two centuries makes it difficult to compare certain sites through time, but the material present at these sites may be used in the synthesis of a consumption profile for its century, relative to other sites within the same time period. One method of controlling for these uncertainties is by calculating each site's Abundance Index.

The Abundance Index attempts to determine the rate of discard of one group of artefacts by comparing it with the rate of discard of a group of artefacts whose discard rate is constant and stable (Galle, 2017, p. 163), according to the formula: Abundance Index = (Artefact Group 1) / (Artefact Group

1 + Artefact Group 2). Artefact Group 1 represents the group whose variations are being calculated and Artefact Group 2 the group of stable discard (Galle, 2017, p. 175). The main flaw with this approach lies with identifying this stable group, as Galle (2017, p. 176) herself points out in her discussion of the Abundance Index. She lists most artefact types which are commonly found during archaeological investigations and briefly dismisses each of them before deciding on one group (glass bottles) to use in her example, demonstrating that although there are no perfect solutions there are some artefact groups which are better suited to this than others.

In the end, even if the data available is not perfect, it provides a place to begin, to start the discussion and from which to draw conclusions, even if those may be shown to be incorrect following future studies.

3.2.2. Chronological Analysis

Of the 16 sites, five include material from only one of the two centuries under study. While this does limit the direct comparison which it is possible to do within a single site it does not mean that data from these sites cannot be used at all. Instead, they may be used in more broad analyses which examine the changes in number of vessels, both by vessel group and ware type.

A greater concern are the ways in which sites dating from this period have been phased. Phasing and dating from different sites do not correlate to each other directly, as might be expected, but many of the sites lump parts of the 17th and 18th centuries together in phases extending two or three centuries backwards or forwards in time. This means that similar material may be lumped into a phase extending from the 17th century through the 19th century at one site and from the 15th century through the 17th at another site. Other sites have a much higher resolution in their phasing, sometimes down to the decade.

For the discussion here it is necessary to attempt to unify the phasing to allow for comparisons. The approach chosen is to divide the period into the two centuries, the 17th and the 18th. This treads the line between the more common broad period phasing and less common and situational narrow period phasing but does mean that a judgement decision has had to be made about the dating of certain pottery finds and whether or not to include them in the comparison. This may lead to some material of earlier or later date to be included, especially from those sites with broadly dated phases. Re-examination of material from phases which are dated outside the 17th and 18th century has led to reconsideration of some sites' phasing, as discussed for individual sites in chapter 4.

Site	*Internal Phase*	*Phase Dating*
Aðalstræti in Reykjavík	5	1500-1750
	6	1752-1764
	7	1764-1790
Gilsbakki in Hvítársíða	T1.9 / T2.6	1600-1675
	T1.8 / T2.5	1675-1750
	T1.7 / T2.4	1750-1790
Reykholt in Borgarfjörður	4	1500-1700
	5	1600-1900
Skútustaðir in Mývatnssveit	5	1477-1717
	6	>1717
Stóraborg by Eyjafjöll	2	1600-1700
Vatnsfjörður in Ísafjarðardjúp	5 & 9	<1750
	4 & 8	1750-1830/1840

Table 3.6. Sites with phases which cover relevant periods and their dates. Sites which are not divided into discreet phases are excluded. Also excluded is Skálholt, as its phasing differs slightly between investigated structures but is of a high resolution, generally no more than half a century to each phase.

3.2.3. Socio-Economic Standing

It is an archaeological truism that a site's 'status' affects the amount and type of finds recovered and thus a site's status is often determined from the finds recovered archaeologically, with high number of finds and high perceived value of finds being indicative of high status, while few and low value finds are interpreted to indicate low status. Understandably, this idea has been criticised, yet it cannot be denied that social and economic status in past societies are deeply intertwined (e.g. Orser, 2010, pp. 125-131). The social status of the inhabitants living on the site, the power they can wield and the wealth they can bring to bear are all aspects which can affect the ways a household consumes. Instead of employing a vague status model this study will utilize a standing model where a site's standing represents its economic and social status and will be synthesised through studying a site's history, and later refined through examination of the site's archaeology. The simplest method of synthesising site standing might be to examine the site's tax value (is. *dýrðleiki*) in hundreds as shown in land registers such as the one compiled by Árni Magnússon and Páll Vídalín in the early 18th century and the one compiled by Jón Johnsen and published in 1847.

The system of tax value in hundreds in Iceland is an ancient one, estimated to have originally come into use in the 10th or 11th centuries and to have been based on the number of animals a farmstead could viably sustain (Gunnarsson, 2002; Lárusson, 1967, pp. 32, 371-373). When Árni Magnússon and Páll Vídalín compiled their register one of their tasks was to re-evaluate the tax value of farmsteads, which they did to an extent, defining the property a farmstead needed to hold to be considered of a given value in a long and complex document (*Íslendingur*, 1862; Gunnarsson, 2002; *Jarðabók XIII*, pp. 13-30). The

Site	*Value in Hundreds;* **Jarðabók** *1702-1714*	*Value in Hundreds; Johnsen 1847*
Aðalstræti in Reykjavík	Not valued	Not included
Arnarstapi on Snæfellsnes	13 (40 with fisheries)	12
Bessastaðir in Álftanes	12	12
Búðarárbakki in Hrunamannahreppur	Not Valued	Not included
Gilsbakki in Hvítársíða	20	Not valued
Hólahólar on Snæfellsnes	16 (40 with fisheries)	16
Hólar in Hjaltadalur	Not valued	Not valued
Kópavogsþingstaður	Not included	Not included
Miðvellir on Snæfellsnes	16	16
Naust in Akureyri	40	20
Reykholt in Borgarfjörður	20	20
Sandártunga in Þjórsárdalur	Not valued; 13 1/3 in Lárusson (1967, p. 108)	Not included
Skálholt in Biskupstungur	Not valued	19 2/3
Skútustaðir in Mývatnssveit	30	30
Stóraborg by Eyjafjöll	23 (40 with subdivided farms)	23 1/3
Vatnsfjörður in Ísafjarðardjúp	Not valued; 24 in Lárusson (1967, p. 209)	24

Table 3.7. Site tax values based on Árni Magnússon's and Páll Vídalín's Land Register (*Jarðabók*) and the Land Register by Johnsen (1847), with Sandártunga and Vatnsfjörður's values being calculations by Björn Lárusson (1967) based on a 1686 manuscript.

basics of the system, however, calculate tax value from the number of cows which can be fed over one whole year at each farmstead, with formulas and stipulations for how many of these must be bulls, calves, how to convert a certain number of sheep to cow value, based on how many rams there are versus yews and lambs, etc. Further, each farmstead must have a certain number and type of structures present to qualify for a certain tax value, which was further modified by the size of these structures. Other resources available to each farmstead would finally further modify the tax value, resources such as driftwood, fisheries, berries and mountain grasses.

As an example, their basic measurement appears to be a farmstead valued at 20 hundreds, which should include enough feed for five cows, a single young bull, 12 lambs, five horses, 50 ewes. Houses should include a sleeping hall with four beds, a pantry, a kitchen, a common room, a byre that can accommodate six cattle, a sheep house which can accommodate 30 sheep, and an outbuilding. Each of these buildings should be of a certain size which is specified in the document (*Íslendingur*; *Jarðabók XIII*, 1990, pp. 13-14).

Site	*Value in Hundreds;* **Jarðabók** *1702-1714*	*Site Type*
Aðalstræti in Reykjavík	Not Valued	Factory
Arnarstapi on Snæfellsnes	13 (40 with fisheries)	King's Agent's Seat / Farmstead / Fishery
Bessastaðir in Álftanes	12	Treasurer's Seat / Farmstead / Church
Búðarárbakki in Hrunamannahreppur	Not Valued	Single Occupant Home / Workshop
Gilsbakki in Hvítársíða	20	Farmstead / Church
Hólahólar on Snæfellsnes	16 (40 with fisheries)	Farmstead / Fishery
Hólar in Hjaltadalur	Not Valued	Bishop's Seat / Farmstead
Kópavogsþingstaður	Not Valued	Court & Local Parliament
Miðvellir on Snæfellsnes	16	Farmstead
Naust in Akureyri	40	Farmstead
Reykholt in Borgarfjörður	20	Farmstead / Church
Sandártunga in Þjórsárdalur	Not Valued; 13 1/3 in Lárusson (1967, p. 108)	Farmstead
Skálholt in Biskupstungur	Not Valued	Bishop's Seat / Farmstead
Skútustaðir in Mývatnssveit	30	Farmstead / Church
Stóraborg by Eyjafjöll	23 (40 total with subdivided farms)	Farmstead /Church
Vatnsfjörður in Ísafjarðardjúp	Not Valued; 24 in Lárusson (1967, p. 209)	Farmstead / Church

Table 3.8. Site types and tax values based on Árni Magnússon's and Páll Vídalín's Land Register (*Jarðabók*), with Sandártunga and Vatnsfjörður's values being calculations by Björn Lárusson (1967) based on a 1686 manuscript.

The remainder of the document includes information of the same type for farmsteads valued both higher and lower. From these elements the tax value in hundreds was calculated, or at least that was the intention. Some have claimed that rather than calculate the tax value for each site the pair relied on ancient calculations instead and it is certainly true that they did not visit each and every farmstead to measure out the structures or the farmsteads' feeding capacity, but rather took the word of locals for these factors (Gunnarsson, 2002; *Jarðabók XIII*, pp. 13-30).

This methodology to calculate tax value would seem to make it less reliable for use when comparing farms, especially as it was in farmers' interest to have as low a tax value as possible since the tax value in hundreds formed the basis from which farmers' taxes and tithes were calculated. Looking at table 3.7. it becomes clear that this is true, as the estimated tax value of a site does not change overly much through time. In his land register, Johnsen (1847) did not recalculate the tax value but based them on older estimates, which only further informs the limited value of using tax value as a metric for comparing the relative wealth of sites. Only Naust has a significant change, decreasing in value by half. There is, however, no reason for this decrease in value given in Johnsen (1847), though it may be connected to the expansion of the trade harbour at Akureyri into a town.

Site	*Owned by*	*Number of Inhabitants*	*Sheep*	*Cattle*	*Horses*
Aðalstræti in Reykjavík	Icelandic Privileged Company	-	-	-	-
Arnarstapi on Snæfellsnes	The Crown	14	105	9	11
Bessastaðir in Álftanes	The Crown	24	0	3	3
Búðarárbakki in Hrunamannahreppur	Occupant	-	-	-	-
Gilsbakki in Hvítársíða	The local church	14	204	12	19
Hólahólar on Snæfellsnes	The Crown	13	91	5	3
Hólar in Hjaltadalur	Bishop at Hólar	91	0	0	0
Kópavogsþingstaður	The Crown	-	-	-	-
Miðvellir on Snæfellsnes	The Crown	4	67	3	0
Naust in Akureyri	Occupant	13	134	8	9
Reykholt in Borgarfjörður	The local church	20	217	34	23
Sandártunga in Þjórsárdalur	Bishop at Skálholt	-	-	-	-
Skálholt in Biskupstungur	Bishop at Skálholt	74	150	15	19
Skútustaðir in Mývatnssveit	Private landowners	9	162	6	6
Stóraborg by Eyjafjöll	Private landowners	17	64	11	11
Vatnsfjörður in Ísafjarðardjúp	The local church	17	62	9	2

Table 3.9. Site ownership and number of animals at each site c. 1707 (*Jarðabók*), and number of inhabitants according to the 1703 census (*Manntal á Íslandi árið 1703*). Excluded are inhabitants of sub-divisions in a farm and from Skálholt the 32 schoolboys.

Cross referencing these values with a site's type (table 3.8.) it becomes clear that there is no direct correlation between tax value and site type. As if to underline this, Bessastaðir, the seat of the highest secular office in Iceland, is the lowest valued site. However, Bessastaðir's tax value is specially noted to be based on an ancient estimate, as is the tax value for Reykholt, and the tax value for Gilsbakki is an estimate as the site did not pay church tithes (is. *tíund*). Therefore, these tax values do not necessarily represent the sites' actual values.

Out of the 16 sites, five do not have a listed value. Búðarárbakki was abandoned before Árni Magnússon's and Páll Vídalín's land register was compiled and the site never paid taxes or rent, so its tax value was never calculated. Kópavogsþingstaður and Aðalstræti were not farmsteads and not subject to taxes and tithes in the same way as farmsteads and thus their tax value was never calculated. The other sites with no tax value are Skálholt and Hólar, both bishop's seats. Vatnsfjörður, a church site, and Sandártunga, which was both abandoned before the register was compiled and under the direct control and ownership of Skálholt so that it did not pay tithes or taxes do not have tax values listed in *Jarðabók* but their tax values have been calculated by Björn Lárusson (1967). These sites, as well as Bessastaðir, Gilsbakki, Reykholt, and Arnarstapi did not pay taxes, the estimate of Arnarstapi's value being that of the farmstead, excluding the king's agent's seat. These facts, the broad range of tax values with no correlation to a site's function, and the lack of calculated tax values for many sites make comparing

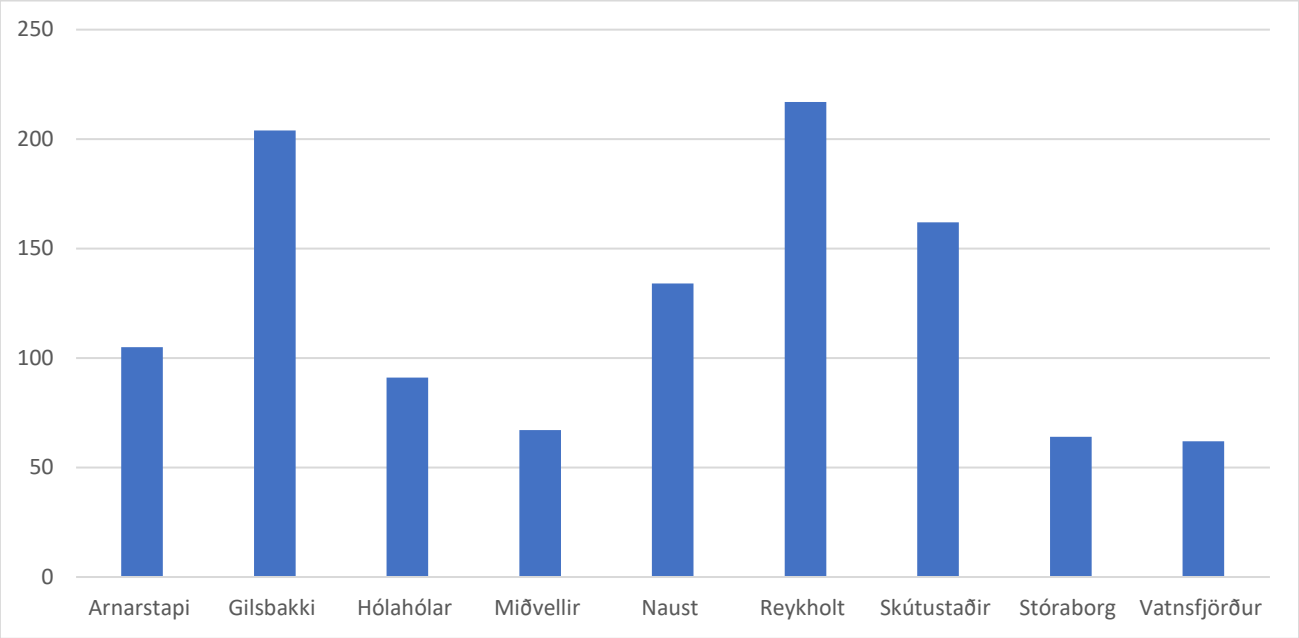


Chart 3.1. Number of sheep per site according to Jarðabók.

these sites directly from the historical record of tax values problematic. There are, however, other values which may be employed in synthesising standing.

By looking at what Jarðabók has to say about the number of inhabitants and the number of animals at each site it may be possible to approach a better quantifiable number of the relative wealth of each site. In Jarðabók the three animals of importance which are mentioned in the entry of each farmstead are number of sheep, cattle, and horses. That order directly references the value of each animal, with sheep the most numerous and cheapest, being valued at around six sheep to one cow value, and horses the fewest and as valued as cows, being valued at one cow values (Hoff & Ketilsson, 1775, pp. 3, 8; *Jarðabók XIII*, pp. 13-30; Lárusson, 1967, p. 47).

The sites with the most inhabitants are the bishop's seats, each with a large number of workers and servants as well as people of high station, even aside from the bishops themselves. Bessastaðir has only 24 inhabitants, mostly servants to the Treasurer. Other sites have between 13 and 20 inhabitants, with the exception of Miðvellir whose inhabitants constitute only a core family of parents and two children. Generally, the inhabitants tend to include one or two core families, parents and two to five children, with workers. This seems to indicate that the number of inhabitants is somewhat stable across sites, regardless of other factors, with the sites under examination here presenting a clear threefold differentiation between, firstly, the bishop's sites, secondly Miðvellir, and thirdly, everyone else.

When it comes to the livestock, the first thing that needs to be addressed are the low numbers from Skálholt and Bessastaðir, and the absence of animals from the Hólar record. For Bessastaðir, it would appear that the farmstead fell into disuse, for a time at least, around the beginning of the 18th century and when Jarðabók was compiled there were few animals, all of them belonging to the Treasurer living there.

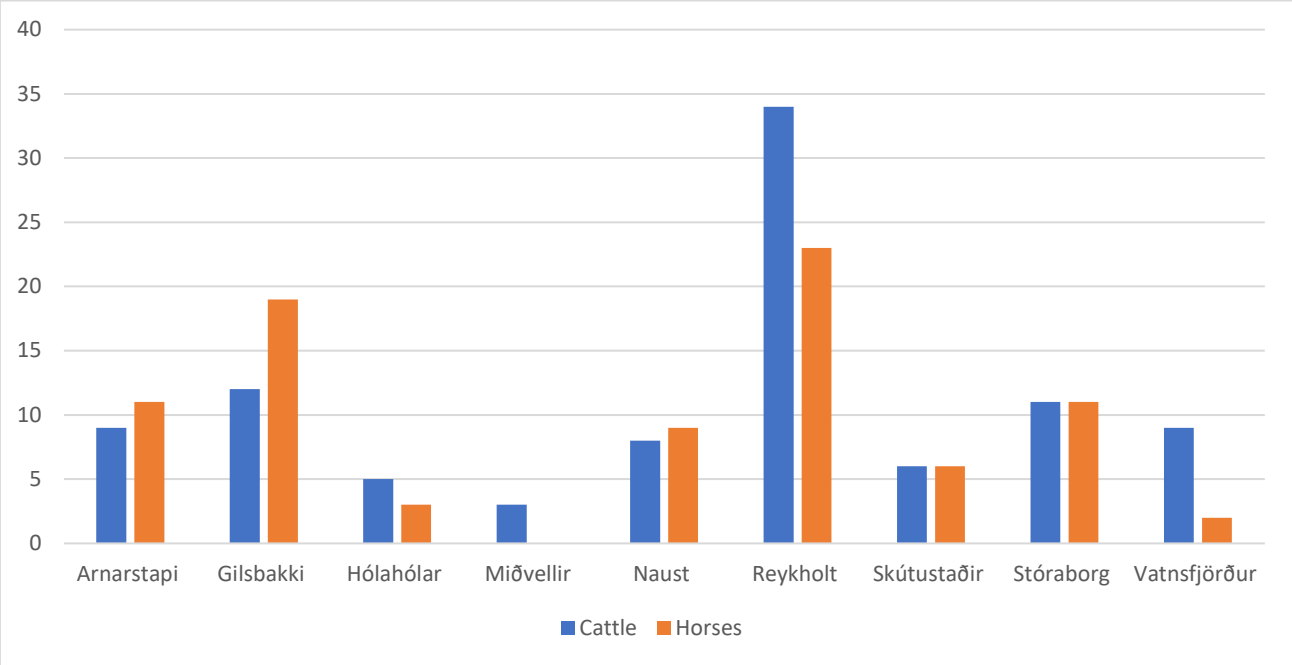


Chart 3.2. Number of cattle and horses per site according to *Jarðabók*.

While Jarðabók does not specify this, it is likely that the inhabitants of Bessastaðir relied on food received in the form of taxes or purchased from nearby farms. The bishop's seats appear to have kept few animals at the sites themselves, instead relying on the farmsteads in their possession to keep their animals for them. For those two sites, their high standing can be seen, not in their keeping many animals but their ability to call upon the resources of farmsteads in their possession (Grímsdóttir, 2006, pp. 79-134; Júlíusson, Lárusdóttir, Lucas, & Pálsson, 2020; Þór, 2006, pp. 269-277).

Of the other sites Reykholt stands out for its great number of cattle, more than twice the number of the site with the second most cattle, and horses, though Gilsbakki comes near to Reykholt in number of sheep, and its number of horses is not far behind. Nearest those two in numbers of sheep are Naust and Skútustaðir, though both of those trail behind Stóraborg and Arnarstapi in the number of cattle and horses. Given the low number of sheep at Stóraborg, especially, although one might argue for Arnarstapi as well, it is possible to make either the argument that Stóraborg, Naust, Arnarstapi and Skútustaðir have a similar standing or that Stóraborg and Arnarstapi are of slightly higher standing than Naust and Skútustaðir, based on the weight of the cattle and horses.

Vatnsfjörður has a similar amount of sheep to Stóraborg, Miðvellir, and Hólahólar and a similar amount of cattle to Stóraborg and Arnarstapi but fewer horses. This lack of horses may be down to geographical reasons rather than reasons of wealth or standing, as the site's position in the Westfjords makes overland travel a difficulty. The only farmstead site which had other livestock but no horses when the land register was compiled is Miðvellir, which also has the lowest number of cattle, and a similar number of sheep to Stóraborg and Vatnsfjörður.

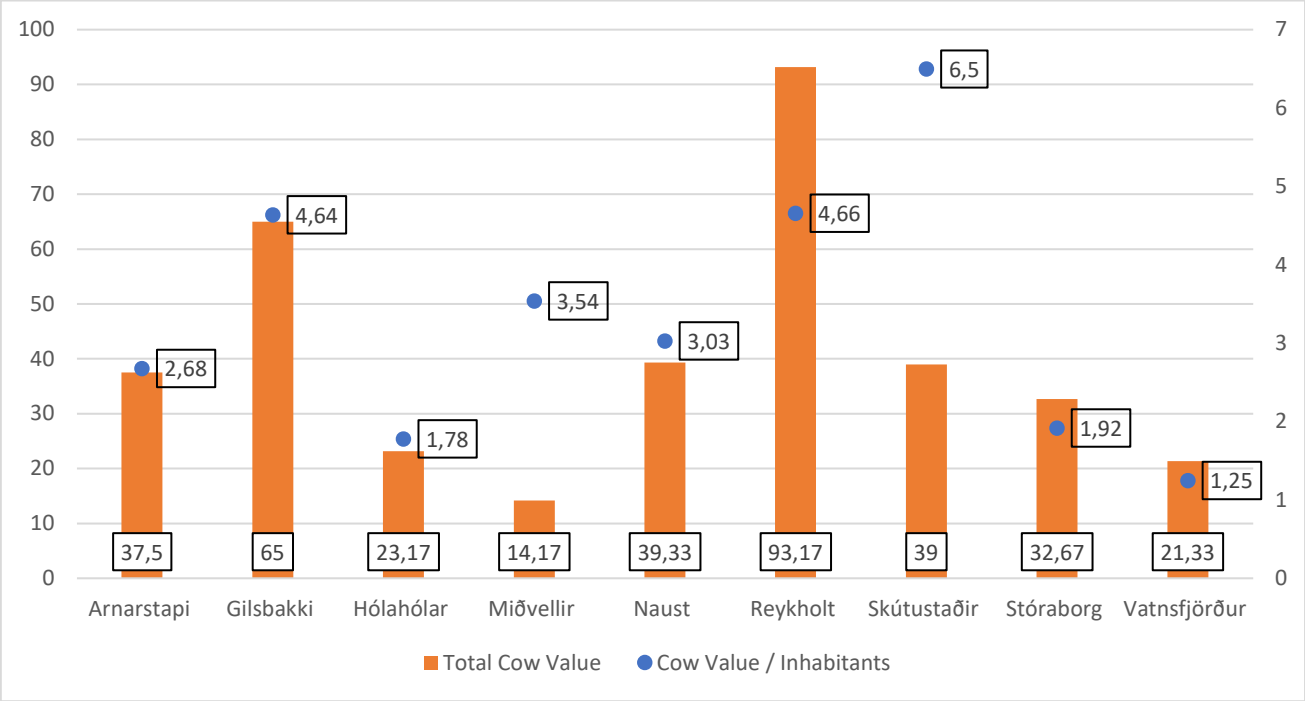


Chart 3.3. Value of livestock present at each site calculated into cow value and divided by the number of inhabitants at each site.

Those sites not yet mentioned either were not farmsteads, the factory at Aðalstræti and Kópavogsþingstaður, or which had been abandoned by the time the register was compiled, being Sandártunga and Búðarárbakki. In the register there is, however, information on how many animals could be supported by these abandoned farmsteads. The number of animals which may be supported by a farm is information which is included with most entries, and which was used in the calculation of the farm's value, as mentioned previously, but rarely coincides with the actual number of animals on the farm and thus cannot be considered a reliable metric.

Calculating the total cow value of the livestock present at each site at the time provides data which should be easily comparable between sites in order to estimate their relative standing and wealth. There are, however, some issues with this method, for instance Vatnsfjörður has the second lowest total value and the lowest value when divided by inhabitants, largely due to the few horses which were present at the farm, as already mentioned. Another issue is that of Miðvellir, which has the lowest total cow value but the fourth highest value when divided by the number of inhabitants at the site. While this latter value might be used to argue for responsible practices by the inhabitants of Miðvellir, i.e. some concept of 'living within one's means', it does serve to obscure how poor the farmstead was, with the next highest total value being a little under 10 cow values higher.

With these factors in mind, it may be possible to synthesise a system ranking the standing of the sites under examination. When discussing such a system it is important to keep in mind that it will always be highly qualitative and different scholars may produce different rankings based on the same evidence,

Site Rank	*Site*	*Church*	*Ownership*	*Total Cow Value of Livestock*	*Number of Inhabitants*
1	Hólar	Yes	Bishop at Hólar	-	91
2	Skálholt	Yes	Bishop at Skálholt	168,17	74
3	Bessastaðir	Yes	The Crown	3,50	24
4	Arnarstapi	Yes	The Crown	37,5	14
5	Reykholt	Yes	The local church	93,17	20
6	Gilsbakki	Yes	The local church	65	14
7	Aðalstræti	No	Hlutafélag	-	-
8	Kópavogsþingstaður	No	The Crown	-	-
9	Naust	Yes	Occupant	39,33	13
10	Skútustaðir	Yes	Private landowners	39	9
11	Stóraborg	Yes	Private landowners	32,67	17
12	Vatnsfjörður	Yes	The local church	21,33	17
13	Hólahólar	No	The Crown	23,17	13
14	Miðvellir	No	The Crown	14,17	4
15	Sandártunga	No	Bishop at Skálholt	-	-
16	Búðarárbakki	No	Occupant	-	-

Table 3.10. Site ranks ordered from highest to lowest. Note that in some cases, such as Aðalstræti and Kópavogsþingstaður, the site rank is more arbitrary than the grouped standing ranks.

although the attempt is made here to produce this ranking based more on quantitative evidence such as the total cow value of livestock rather than relying solely on qualitative measures of ownership, church association and social standing, thought those are, of course, still considered and included.

When attempting to create such a ranking system it immediately becomes clear that two sites, Aðalstræti and Kópavogsþingstaður, are problematic, being so fundamentally different to the other sites, all of whom are, at their basis, farmsteads. Kópavogsþingstaður has been entered into the ranking table (tables 3.10. and 3.11.) but perhaps should not, being a place of seasonal gathering with no proper independent standing of its own which can be compared to the other sites. However, its significance to the local community does warrant its inclusion, as well as for the sake of completion. The question of where in the rankings it should be entered is more difficult but has been included here in the middle as it would have attracted people of all social strata, for parliamentary hearings, the social events surrounding the same, judicial proceedings, or for a variety of other business.

Aðalstræti is less problematic, in that it, like the farmsteads, was a place of work with strong ties to its local population, even if the site itself did not include their homes. The site appears to have attracted mostly people of low to middling standing for working and studying there, many of whom would then go on to attempt their own independent operations (Róbertsdóttir, 2008). While owned by the Icelandic Privileged Company and thus associated with people of high social standing, this is unlikely to have had significant impact on the standing of the site, so the site itself has been given a middling standing.

1	Hólar, Skálholt, Arnarstapi, Bessastaðir
2	Gilsbakki, Reykholt
3	Aðalstræti, Kópavogsþingstaður, Naust, Skútustaðir, Stóraborg, Vatnsfjörður
4	Hólahólar
5	Búðarárbakki, Miðvellir, Sandártunga

Table 3.11. Standing ranks of the 16 sites, from highest to lowest

The ranking system employed here will use five ranks, with one being the highest and five the lowest. Of the highest rank are four sites, the two bishop's seats, Arnarstapi and Bessastaðir, representing centres of both secular and ecclesiastical power.

Of the second rank are Gilsbakki and Reykholt, both church sites with a large investment in livestock and chiefly associations, though in the case of Reykholt, at least, that association does seem to have faded away by the 18th century.

The third rank is the largest and includes the two sites discussed above, Aðalstræti and Kópavogsþingstaður, as well as Naust, Skútustaðir, Stóraborg, and Vatnsfjörður. Skútustaðir, Stóraborg, and Vatnsfjörður are all church sites, each with chiefly associations, though as for Reykholt that aspect does seem to have faded by the 18th century. Naust, Skútustaðir and Stóraborg were privately owned, possibly indicating a certain amount of autonomy which sites owned directly by the church or Crown did not enjoy. Skútustaðir (*Jarðabók XI*, pp. 228-230) and Stóraborg (*Jarðabók I*, pp. 44-45), while privately owned were owned by members of the clergy. Naust may be seen to be the site with the most autonomy of the sites under examination as it was owned by the occupant, had the highest tax value of all sites, and a sizable investment in livestock (*Jarðabók X*, pp. 206-207) which puts it on par with the church sites.

The fourth rank is occupied by Hólahólar alone. The difference between Hólahólar and the sites in the rank above lies in a combination of the investment in livestock, where it has spent slightly more than Vatnsfjörður, and that Hólahólar is not a church site. The difference in the number of cattle and horses possessed by Hólahólar and Skútustaðir is not great, but Skútustaðir possess far more sheep, while the reverse may be said of the difference between Hólahólar and Vatnsfjörður where Vatnsfjörður possess two-thirds the number of sheep Hólahólar does, but almost twice the number of cattle. Here it is important to note the difference between the nature of the sites, where Hólahólar, Miðvellir and Vatnsfjörður are sites in areas of Iceland not particularly suited to the kind of animal farming considered traditional for the Old Farming Society. Instead, these sites are in areas of Iceland more associated with fishing, as is borne out by the value of Hólahólar once the fishery located within its land is considered. Considering this, the line between the third and fourth rank begins to blur, but while the number of animals possessed by Hólahólar may be comparable to the sites in the rank above and its access to fisheries may increase the land value, its lack of both autonomy, being the possession of the Crown, and

a church, meaning that it is cut off from other resources which church sites may be able to call upon, relegates it to its own category.

The lowest rank contains the sites Búðarárbakki, Miðvellir and Sandártunga. Of these, only Miðvellir appears to have been a proper farmstead, although poor, as attested to by its limited investment in livestock and lack of hired workers. Búðarárbakki, as already discussed, was a cottage workshop, occupied by only one owner, and Sandártunga does not seem to have had much control over its own affairs, being directly controlled by nearby Skálholt.

3.2.4. Market Access

In the absence of direct access to the makers of various goods, access to markets is a prerequisite for the ability to acquire those goods. This statement might appear obvious and as such is often relegated to an unspoken assumption but here it is important to state this clearly, to note that most goods pass through, at least, one intermediator before arriving in the hands of those who actually use them and eventually discard the goods to be collected, tagged, archived and studied by archaeologists. The question of market access, here defined as not simply the ability to physically be in a place where exchange – the act of exchanging money, goods, services or credit in exchange for the same – occurs but also the ability to participate in that exchange, is an important one especially in the context of Iceland, where distances between farms are sometimes long and the terrain is often difficult to traverse.

All legal trade from outside the island went through the trade harbours, which formed the primary markets, and the distances those wishing to engage in trade would have to travel might be prohibitive. While considering direct distances to the trade harbours may provide a simple metric of distance between consumer site and market, it is also important to note that just as a lack of direct physical access to makers of goods does not preclude access to that maker's goods, limited access to the nearest trade harbour does not preclude access to markets. As noted in chapter 1, secondary markets were to be found at *thing* sites and in the practice of *landprang* where individuals would sell goods bought at trade harbours by traveling between farmsteads, acting as early-modern door-to-door salesmen (Aðils, 1919, pp. 552-560, 570-573). It should also be noted that access to illicit trade further complicates our understanding of the access households may have had to markets in ways that it is not possible to account for.

The degree to which different sites had access to markets is a complicated concept. Determining the true degree to which different sites had access to markets would require an intense study of historical materials on not only the sites themselves but nearby *thing* sites, an in-depth study of *landprang*, along with a study of the landscape at each site under examination to determine distances and difficulties in

Site	*Trade Harbour*	*Distance*
Aðalstræti in Reykjavík	Hólmur	1 km
Arnarstapi on Snæfellsnes	Arnarstapi	<1 km
Bessastaðir in Álftanes	Hafnarfjörður	5 km
Búðarárbakki in Hrunamannahreppur	Eyrarbakki	76 km
Gilsbakki in Hvítársíða	Straumfjörður	65 km
Hólahólar on Snæfellsnes	Arnarstapi	15 km
Hólar in Hjaltadalur	Hofsós	23 km
Kópavogsþingstaður	Hafnafjörður/Hólmur	c. 6 km
Miðvellir on Snæfellsnes	Arnarstapi	4 km
Naust in Akureyri	Akureyri	2 km
Reykholt in Borgarfjörður	Straumfjörður	50 km
Sandártunga in Þjórsárdalur	Eyrarbakki	65 km
Skálholt in Biskupstungur	Eyrarbakki	42 km
Skútustaðir in Mývatnssveit	Húsavík	55 km
Stóraborg by Eyjafjöll	Vestmannaeyjar	32 km
Vatnsfjörður in Ísafjarðardjúp	Ísafjörður	32 km

Table 3.12. Approximate distance to nearest trade harbour in kilometres.

physically accessing each market. Even then, other factors than simple physical access to markets may affect the ability to participate in the exchange taking place there, such as the ability to acquire lines of credit or to produce goods with market value in excess of subsistence needs. Given these complicated factors the current study cannot hope to provide a fully accurate picture of market access but will make use of simple straight-line distances, as summed up in table 3.12. Looking at that table there is no clear way to easily categorise the sites, though three groupings seem to appear. These groupings are 1 to 6 km, 23 to 32 km, and 50 to 76 km. Two sites, however, fall roughly between these groupings, Hólahólar at 15 km and Skálholt at 42 km.

To contextualize these distances in terms of time, it is useful to draw on Orbis, the Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World (Scheidel & Meeks, 2012) which assumes a pace of 30 km per day on foot, and a little under twice that on horseback, at 56 km per day. The three groupings above fit nicely with speed on foot, with the first group being within an hour or so from the nearest trade harbour, the second group, including Hólahólar, within a day, and the third, including Skálholt, more than a day's walk away. On horseback, the first group remains the same, but the second group now includes all sites between 15 and 55 km from the nearest trade harbour, and the third group being sites 65 km and further away.

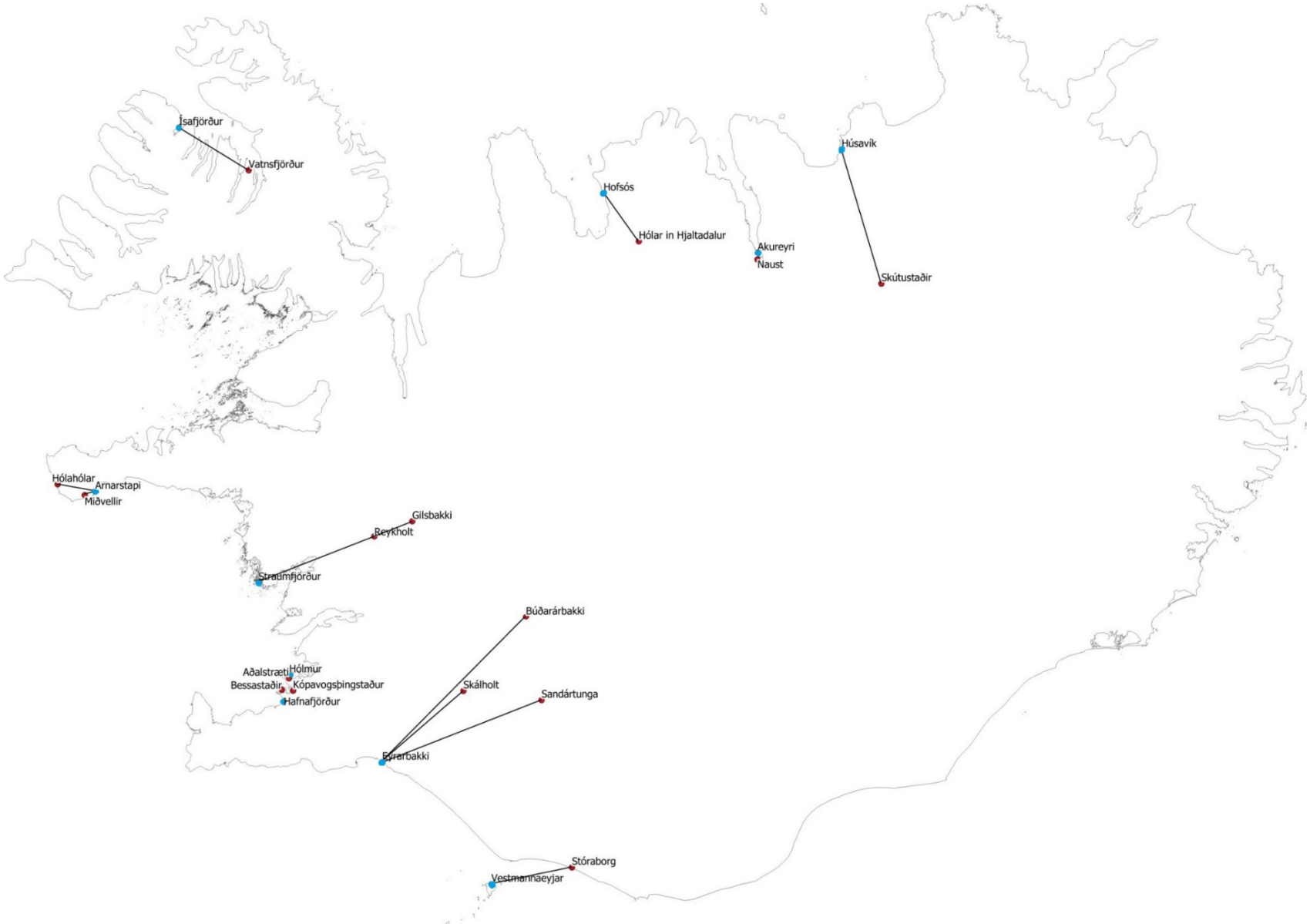


Figure 3.9. Map of connections between sites and trade harbours, with trade harbours in blue

Grouping on Foot	***Grouping on Horseback***
Group 1 (1 to 6 km)	**Group 1 (1 to 6 km)**
Aðalstræti	Aðalstræti
Arnarstapi	Arnarstapi
Naust	Naust
Miðvellir	Miðvellir
Bessastaðir	Bessastaðir
Kópavogsþingstaður	Kópavogsþingstaður
Group 2 (15 to 32 km)	**Group 2 (15 to 55 km)**
Hólahólar	Hólahólar
Hólar	Hólar
Stóraborg	Stóraborg
Vatnsfjörður	Vatnsfjörður
	Skálholt
	Reykholt
	Skútustaðir
Group 3 (42 km or more)	**Group 3 (65 km or more)**
Skálholt	Gilsbakki
Reykholt	Sandártunga
Skútustaðir	Búðarárbakki
Gilsbakki	
Sandártunga	
Búðarárbakki	

Table 3.13. Grouping of sites by distance, according to Orbis (Scheidel & Meeks, 2012)

Given that all the sites, aside from Miðvellir and presumably Búðarárbakki, had access to horses the horseback grouping appears to be the better analytical category. However, Orbis assumes the presence of cobbled roads which did not exist in Iceland at the time, where travel took place along 'paths', trails worn into the landscape. These, along with the, sometimes, difficult landscape means that average speed on horseback was probably lower than assumed by Orbis. A compromise between the two groups then seems appropriate, with groupings which will be used in analysis being the same as the on-foot grouping, but with Skálholt in group 2, rather than group 3. This may seem an arbitrary decision but as Skálholt falls roughly midway between the distances of the sites closest to it in distance, Skálholt will receive the benefit of doubt and the assumption will be made that it took a day's or less travel for its inhabitants to reach the trade harbour at Eyrarbakki.

Unfortunately, there have been no studies done on how this distance to time would translate to Iceland, but there do exist several publications which have discussed various aspects of travel in Iceland, such as the annual publication of the Iceland Touring Association (is. *Ferðafélag Íslands*), and a publication on the experience and history of the annual process of going into the Icelandic highlands to collect sheep (Sigurjónsson, 1948-1953). While not written as pieces of scholarly work they do hint that

the above is broadly applicable, though likely to vary somewhat depending on geography. In the absence of a more scholarly work on the subject, the groupings already discussed seem appropriate.

As in the discussion on ranking, a special mention needs to be made on the sites of Aðalstræti and Kópavogsþingstaður, and for the same reasons. The question of whether they should be included remains, especially for Kópavogsþingstaður, being a *thing* place, the question of that site's market access is largely moot as no one lived there and what goods are to be found were brought, presumably as part of *thing* meetings, as well as such sites being known to be secondary markets, as discussed previously. So the question of whether the artefacts discovered at Kópavogsþingstaður are evidence of consumption or of market exchange is of some interest, though, given how few vessels and pipes were recovered from the excavations there as well as the context of those finds, seems to indicate the recovered artefacts are from consumption practices.

3.3. European Comparative Sites

In both chapters 1 and 2 one of the things pointed out was that most previous studies of the Trade Monopoly Period make implicit comparisons between Iceland in the 17th and 18th centuries on the one hand and Iceland in the late 19th or early 20th century, rather than making comparison between contemporary places within Europe. While this study will by no means be able to rectify this completely, a beginning can be made. To this end 16 European sites have been selected to compare to the Icelandic material (table 3.14.).

Unfortunately, material which is directly comparable to the Icelandic data can be difficult to obtain. In most cases the material has not been analysed by MNV, and while it is more common for some vessels or vessel forms to be identified without explicit MNV analysis, often as a part of illustration work, that data can be difficult to adapt into data which can be compared to MNV data. Data attained from such sources tends to lack the level of detail that data analysed by MNV does. As such it is necessary to limit the discussion to a few sites, chosen as much for the availability of their material as the connection, direct and indirect, they are considered to have had with Iceland in the 17th and 18th centuries. The sites chosen are in the modern countries of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Germany, the Netherlands, and England.

For many of the sites discussed in the sections the material available comes from specific studies on pottery, so information on the consumption of clay pipes is often not available or severely limited but is included where it is available.

Site	*Country*
Copenhagen	Denmark
Trondheim	Norway
Størvågan	Norway
Tjøtta	Norway
Trondenes	Norway
Norrköping	Sweden
Tornio	Finland
Duisburg	Germany
Wesel	Germany
Krefeld-Linn	Germany
Deventer	The Netherlands
Dordrecht	The Netherlands
Nijmegen	The Netherlands
Tiel	The Netherlands
Aldgate, London	England
Wharram Percy	England

Table 3.14. List of European sites and country.

As Iceland was a part of the Danish-Norwegian Union during the period under examination a comparison with material from Iceland to material from other parts of the Union may reveal regional differences within a single state composed of a number of different cultures. Finland, during the 17th and 18th centuries, was a part of the Kingdom of Sweden and appears to have, in many ways, occupied a similar place to Iceland as a province on the periphery of the Kingdom. This is especially true when considering northern Finland, where the town of Tornio is located.

The comparison of Dutch material to that of Iceland is interesting in the comparison between a centre of trade and world power to an area on the periphery of the Western world, between which both historical and archaeological evidence imply a good deal of trade and connection. As for the Dutch material, comparing the situation in England, being the ruling constituent of a major colonial power, to that in Iceland is interesting in the comparison of a centre of trade and world power to an area on the periphery of the world. A further interest lies in that England had its own thriving pottery industry, as did the Netherlands and the Rhineland but unlike the sites from those areas, the products of English pottery manufacture are not well represented in the Icelandic material before the latter part of the 18th century.

As for the Icelandic material there are some concerns which need addressing when it comes to utilizing the European sites for comparison. Firstly, for each European site, with the exception of Wharram Percy, Tjötta, Storvågan and Trondenes, the material being discussed is an aggregate of material from across an urban area, rather than an examination of individual households across time, as is the case for the majority of the Icelandic material. This means that issues of consumption by standing,

as that concept has been examined with the Icelandic material, gets lost through a city's 'average' consumption. What this means exactly is likely to vary from city to city and through time, but to approach the Icelandic material through this lens would be to examine the material from sites of high standing, as they overshadow other sites through sheer numbers of both sherds and MNV. There is also the question of to what extend the standing model as developed in the previous section can be said to apply to non-Icelandic situations, focused as it is on Icelandic perceptions of wealth and social status.

Secondly, there is the issue of general comparability. As will be pointed out in chapter 6, when discussing each site, the extent to which they contain comparable material varies. This concerns whether a site lists the minimum number of vessels and the granularity of the analysis present. For example, at Trondheim the analysis of pottery is done through analysis of pottery sherds with no list of vessels, or even vessel types, instead relying on detailed ware type analysis. This makes an otherwise intriguing site for comparison with Icelandic material very limited in its usefulness for such analysis. For a number of sites there is no MNV or MNP included in their available material but where possible these have been synthesised through the examination of finds lists. Such an approach, while considered necessary to obtain comparative material, is inherently flawed in that it is an artefactual analysis based on secondary, written data, rather than an examination of the artefacts themselves. While I fully acknowledge this and accept that should an examination on the artefacts take place it is likely to result in a different MNV, this approach is the only available avenue to obtain comparable data for these sites and where this has been done the written records are of sufficiently high quality to allow for a reasonable certainty in the MNV calculation. By necessity these MNV calculations are highly interpretive, much more so than the ones for the Icelandic assemblages so it is likely that the MNV calculated here for the European sites is lower than if it were calculated using the artefacts themselves.

These factors mean that not all sites will be useful for all comparisons and that while the Icelandic sites have been subdivided into five groups by standing, the material from the European sites will most likely tend towards an average, rather being a direct comparison with sites of similar standing. Additionally, if the Icelandic material is any indication, it is likely that sites of higher standing, sites with greater consumption of pottery material and thus greater rate of discard, will overshadow those of lower standing. It may well be, that rather than dealing with the 'average' consumption of an inhabitant of Tiel, for instance, the consumption pattern that is revealed may be one of an inhabitant of higher standing. To shed a light on this issue the deployment of an Abundance Index (Galle, 2017) might be useful but given the varied ways in which material from the assemblages under examination are available this has not been feasible for the European assemblages and would likely require a re-examination of entire assemblages.

Being aware of these issues a comparison of the European material with the Icelandic material may be done, however tentatively in some cases. This comparison will follow the same pattern as that done for the Icelandic sites in chapter 5, with changes in consumption examined through time and according to archaeological standing. Issue of market access will not be discussed specifically as it concerns the European material as the ways in which people accessed markets varied by area and time in ways which it has not been possible to account for. The question of market access will, however, be addressed implicitly, through a discussion of the archaeological presence or absence of pottery and clay tobacco pipes.

Chapter 4: Icelandic Assemblages

This chapter will discuss in some detail the 16 Icelandic sites which I have chosen for inclusion in the study. The history of the sites, the history of their investigations, results of those investigations with a particular eye towards the artefacts recovered during those investigations. This discussion is intended to lend a context to the comparative study in the following chapter, and to highlight some of the issues associated with each particular site.

As discussed in chapter 3 three sites which had not been previously examined archaeologically were investigated as a part of this study, namely Arnarstapi, Hólahólar, and Miðvellir. Additionally, the ceramic material from four previously examined sites was re-examined. These sites are Gilsbakki, Naust, Skútustaðir and Vatnsfjörður. Aside from Naust, I enjoyed the cooperation of Ágústa Edwald Maxwell in this work.

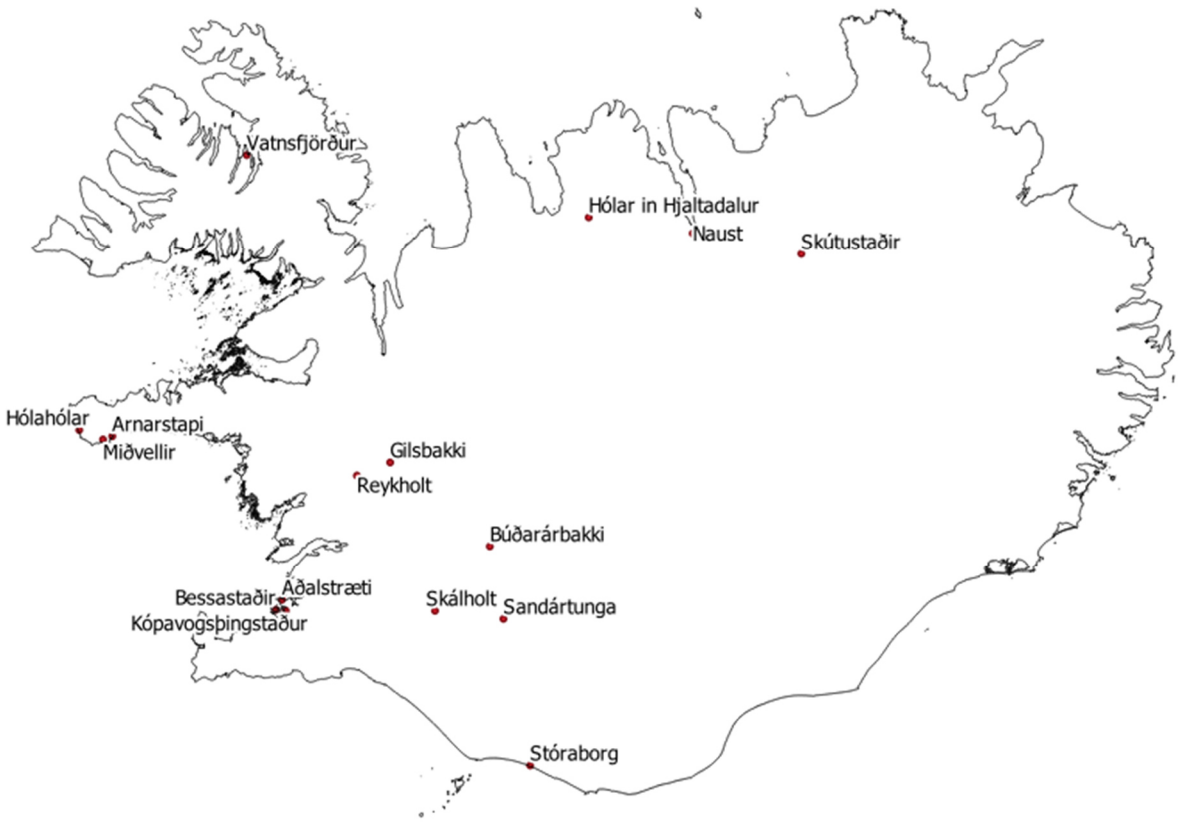


Figure 4.1. Location of sites in Iceland

Site	*Investigation Method*	*Site Type*	*Period*	*No. Pottery Sherds*	*No. Pipe Fragments*
Aðalstræti	Open Area – Extensive	Factory	1752 to Modern	1,529	268
Arnarstapi	Open Area – Limited	King's Agent's Seat / Farmstead	17th century	329	194
Bessastaðir	Open Area – Patchwork	Treasurer's Seat / Church / Farmstead	Medieval to Modern	3,973	582
Búðarárbakki	Open Area – Extensive	Single Occupant Home / Workshop	Mid-17th century	1	2
Gilsbakki	Trenching	Church / Farmstead	Medieval to Modern	68	9
Hólahólar	Trenching	Farmstead / Fishery	17th century	43	32
Hólar	Open Area – Extensive	Bishop's Seat / Church / Farmstead	Medieval to Modern	c. 10,000	3,333
Kópavogs-þingstaður	Open Area – Extensive	Court & Local Parliament	15th to 19th century	193	55
Miðvellir	Trenching	Farmstead	17th to 19th century	52	5
Naust	Trenching	Farmstead	Viking Age to Modern	127	7
Reykholt	Open Area – Extensive	Church / Farmstead	Medieval to Modern	454	100
Sandártunga	Open Area – Limited & Trenching	Farmstead	17th century	2	0
Skálholt	Open Area – Extensive	Bishop's Seat / Church / Farmstead	15th century to Modern	11,828	4,674
Skútustaðir	Open Area – Extensive & Trenching	Church / Farmstead	Viking Age to Modern	1,555	91
Stóraborg	Open Area – Extensive	Church / Farmstead	Medieval to 18th century	410	17
Vatnsfjörður	Open Area – Extensive	Church / Farmstead	17th century to Modern	4,916	367
Total				25,480	9,736

Table 4.1. List of sites with number of pottery sherds and pipe fragments, as well as investigative method, site type, and site period dating.

In addition to these sites, the assemblages from Aðalstræti, Sandártunga, and Skálholt have been analysed by MNV. The remaining sites have, however, not been analysed by MNV. A few of them, namely Búðarárbakki, Kópavogsþingstaður, Reykholt, and Stóraborg, have published data that is detailed enough that it is possible to use that published material to estimate their MNV. Where possible this fact will be noted with the abbreviations EMNV, Estimated Minimum Number of Vessels, and EMNP, Estimated Minimum Number of Pipes, to denote the fact that these are numbers arrived at

through secondary sources rather the examination of the pottery sherds themselves. The EMNV and EMNP that result are likely to differ from those which would result from a primary examination and for this reason are noted in this way.

4.1. Aðalstræti in Reykjavík

The street of Aðalstræti lies at the centre of Reykjavík and is considered to be the oldest street in the country (Stefánsson, 1987, pp. 29-32). The earliest archaeological investigations at Aðalstræti took place in 1962 when Þorkell Grímsson and Þorleifur Einarsson (1970) investigated the area by way of coring. In their investigations they uncovered the locations of several possible archaeological remains, and the locations they noted which have been subsequently investigated have all revealed positive traces of archaeological remains. During excavations between 1971 to 1975 remains from all periods of human occupation in Iceland were discovered, though medieval remains were rare, generally thought to have been eradicated by later activity. Lead by Else Nordahl (1988) the excavations investigated Aðalstræti 14 and 18 but it was established that those remains discovered there stretched under the plot at Aðalstræti 16. Until 2001 several small-scale investigations, coring and trenching, were undertaken in the area, mostly in connection with construction (Roberts, 2001, pp. 17-21) .

In 2001 the three plots of Aðalstræti 14, 16 and 18, today consolidated under the number 16, were investigated by the Institute of Archaeology (FSÍ) (Roberts et al., 2002). In that year, a Viking Age hall was discovered under the remains of buildings from the New Enterprises. Investigations were concluded in 2003 with continued excavation focused on the hall (Roberts, 2004), which today forms the centrepiece for the Settlement Exhibition of the Reykjavík City Museum.

The remains of the New Enterprises factory were divided into two, the younger and older, but the older phase of the New Enterprises factory burned down in 1764 when a candle was knocked over. After the rebuilding of the houses smoking and open flames were prohibited within the structures which operated without major incident until circa 1800. The remains of these buildings constituted a stone foundation, two fireplaces, a possible oven, and possible remains of burnt beams. However, the remains of this earlier phase had been truncated in places by later activity (Roberts et al., 2002, pp. 53-55).

The later phase constituted stone foundations of two rectangular buildings and a structure linking the two, along with the bases of two possible chimneys. The construction of this phase appears to include the demolition of the burnt remains of the earlier phase. A part of the foundations from this phase was still in use as the foundations of the standing house on the plot in 2001. As a result, these foundations had been uncovered and modified many times prior to the investigation (Roberts et al., 2002, pp. 57-58).

During the investigations at Aðalstræti a total of 1529 pottery sherds and 268 fragments of clay pipes were recovered. Also discovered were bricks, windows glass, vessel glass, iron nails, worked wood, cloth, felt and wadmal, shoe and belt fragments, and bone buttons, handles and combs, among others. Most of the recovered finds are of a domestic character rather than being directly linked with the Factory's work but the Factory also provided living quarters for its employees. There is a notable lack of metal finds in the assemblage, which is perhaps this is due to salvage following the fire, where cast iron artefacts may have survived in decent condition and been reused or repurposed.

A minimum of 259 vessels were identified at Aðalstræti. 69 of these belong to the phases of the factories, with 46 belonging to the earlier factories, 20 to the later factories, and three from contexts which fall between the two phases. Out of those 49 were tablewares, of which 33 belong to the earlier phase, with 11 being kitchenwares, five from the earlier phase, and five being storage/utility vessels, four being from the earlier phase. Four vessels could not be identified according to type but belong to the earlier phase.

Of the 268 clay pipe fragments recovered at Aðalstræti, 54 had decoration of some kind, which has made it possible to identify their manufacturing as taking place in the Netherlands, Scandinavia and England. The Dutch pipes primarily originate in the city of Gouda and make up the majority of the pipes (Mehler, 2004, p. 137). The spread of the pipes through time is interesting, but nearly 90% of all fragments were found in the earlier phase, from before the 1764 fire (Mehler, 2004, pp. 142-144) but following that fire the handling of unprotected fire, including pipes, was banned from the buildings.

While 1529 pottery sherds were recovered from the investigations at Aðalstræti sherds from the two phases of the factory building, that is from circa 1750 to 1800, numbered 400 pottery sherds, with 268 of those coming from the earlier factories, 120 sherds from the later factories and 12 sherds belong to both phases or contexts which fall between them. Only six discovered sherds predate the period of the factories, with the rest post-dating it or being outside phasing. The majority of the relevant sherds, being those from the factory buildings are redwares, including dishes and bowls with sliptrail decoration, skillets, pipkins, and saucers of faience and porcelain.

Taking into consideration that the factories were primarily working spaces, where meals may have been served but not prepared this is not unexpected. Those kitchenwares which may be identified by size, are all rather small, with rim diameters of between 10 and 15 centimetres, with only one reaching 30 cm in diameter. These vessels then, were intended for use in the preparation of small meals or hot drink. This may be interpreted as pointing towards communal meal preparation in metal vessels or that those working at the site ate cold meals. The tablewares consist of a broad range of pottery, plates, dishes, cups, saucers and bowls, made of faience, porcelain, sliptrail decorated redwares and slipwashed red- and whitewares.

Figure 4.2. Earlier phase of the Factory at Aðalstræti, c. 1752-1764 (Roberts et al., 2002, p. 101)

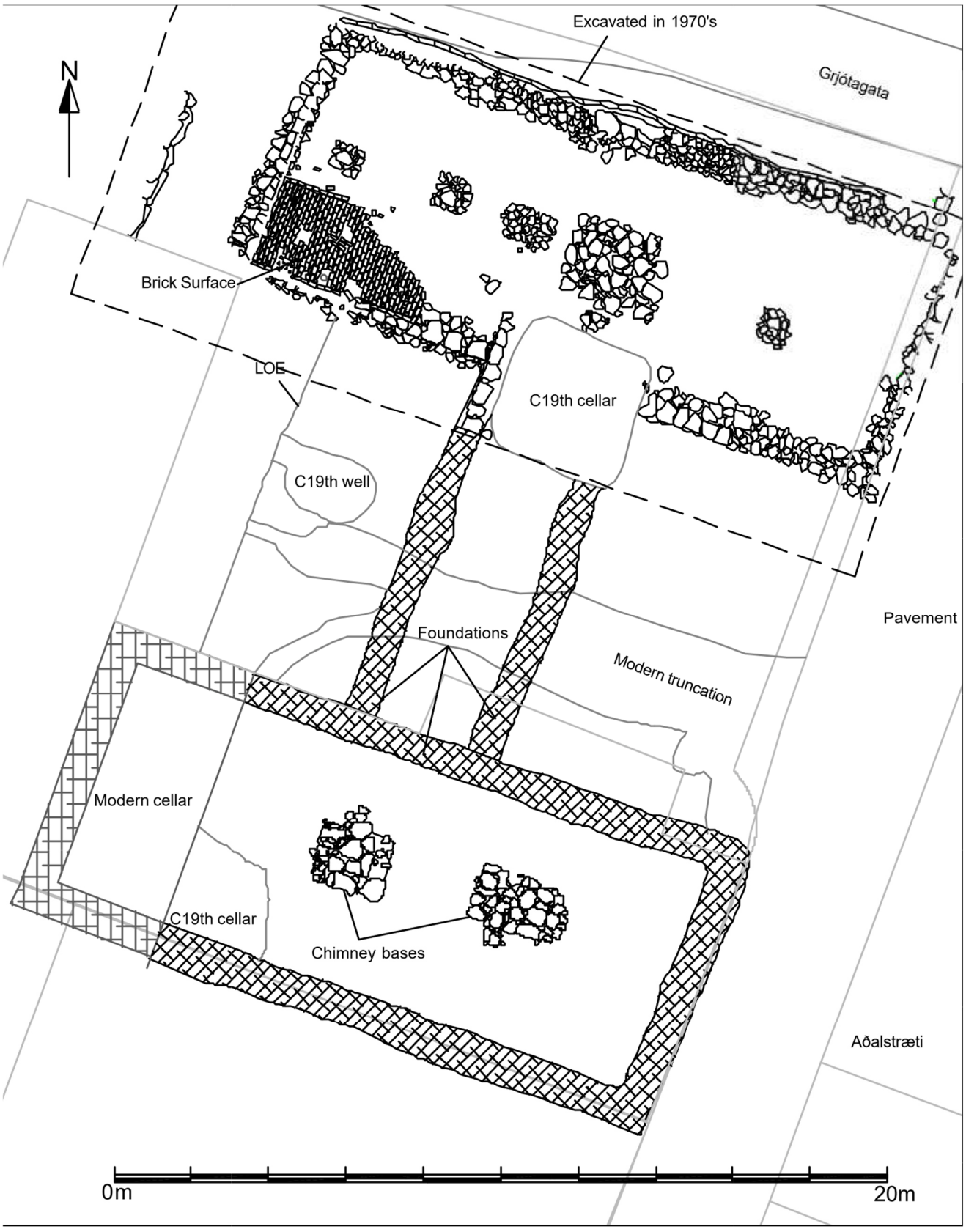


Figure 4.3. Later phase of the Factory at Aðalstræti, c. 1764-1790 (Roberts et al., 2002, p. 105)

The differences between the earlier and later phases of the factory is striking and the much smaller assemblage of pipes and pottery from the later phase may be a result of a fear of fire in the house. After the rebuilding of the factories, smoking, preparation of hot drink and cooking of small meals were moved outside the houses.

4.2. Arnarstapi on Snæfellsnes

Arnarstapi was used as a trade port from the 16th century onward, at least, by German Hansa merchants and later by monopoly trade merchants. In addition, Arnarstapi was the seat of one of the king's agents (is. *umboðsmaður*) in Iceland. The agent's job included the collection of taxes from the farms under his control, which for the Arnarstapi agent included farms as far south as Borgarfjörður and as far north as to the southern Westfjords.

Excavations at Arnarstapi were undertaken in the autumns of 2016 and 2017 as part of the project *Commodity Entanglement, the Archaeology of the Danish Trade Monopoly in Iceland*, which this dissertation is a part of. The site was chosen for its importance in the 17th and 18th centuries, being one of the larger trade ports, and the seat of the king's agent, as well as being one of few trade ports in Iceland which still have recognisable remains present. The investigations in 2016 were small scale, with five trenches and test pits taken to investigate the presence and extent of remains. During the trenching a large number of finds were recovered, which dated the site to the late 17th or early 18th century, and a layer of stones which appeared to be a platform or pavement. During the 2017 investigations the stone layer was uncovered and revealed to be a pavement outside a turf building. The building itself was only partly revealed, with one turf wall and two rooms identified, but unfortunately the building's purpose has not been revealed, though it has, tentatively, been connected with the agent's activities.

A total of 1329 finds were recovered during the excavations at Arnarstapi, not including wood, charcoal and bones. Of those finds, most, or 911, were ceramics; clay pipes, pottery and bricks. Ceramics make up a little over 68% of the total recovered finds by number, but bricks make up 388 fragments, or c. 29% of the total finds. Glass finds were 131, and include vases, drinking vessels, such as sherds from a wine glass with a foot, and bottles. The remaining finds categories include, mostly structural, iron, copper alloy fragments, fragments of lead, stones and manuport stones, and, thanks to remarkably good preservation of organics at the site, two leather shoe soles with copper alloy nails, along with two other strips of leather, and a total of 60 scraps of textiles.

Clay pipe fragments from Arnarstapi were 194, with a minimum of 25 pipes identified. Four pipes had maker's marks, most of which are broadly dated covering the majority of the late 17th century to the

Figure 4.4. The excavation area at Arnarstapi in 2017. Photograph curtesy of Kevin Martin

19th. However, the pipe typology, along with their finds contexts, tends to date them towards the older end of their maker's marks' lifetimes, with most pipes dating to the late 17th century or the early 18th century. In particular the fragments of one pipe with the maker's mark 'WH', which belonged to either Willem Hansen, active from 1677, or Willem Heijndrickse, active from 1698 ("Dutch clay pipes from Gouda,"), was recovered from between the stones of the pavement and thus gave a rather narrow date for the site to the late 17th century or the early 18th. All the identifiable pipes appear to originate from the Netherlands. The majority of the pipe fragments were recovered from contexts associated with the pavement or to a waterlogged area west of the pavement with very few fragments recovered from inside the turf building. This may indicate a concern for fire safety but may also be interpreted as the emphasising the social and public aspect of smoking, that it was an activity performed in a place where others could see and join in.

Pottery sherds were 329 with a minimum of 48 vessels identified. Nearly half of the MNV are lead-glazed redwares, with stonewares coming in second, mostly jugs but also jars, tin-glazed whitewares, largely faience but also a few sherds of maiolica, two sherds from an unglazed greyware cooking pot, a 'Jutishware' pot, and one sherd of porcelain. The assemblage also included one sherd of refined earthenware decorated with lustre which was discovered in a layer of soil mixed with modern

and older material, along with seven other pottery sherds, reducing the total number of sherds for analysis to 321. Unfortunately, the majority of pottery sherds are indistinctive. Though they can be attributed to function the number of sherds which can be identified to unique vessels are few. This leads to a little over half of the sherds being identified as belonging to kitchenwares but with kitchenwares only having a MNV of 18, quite a bit fewer than the MNV of 23 tableware vessels.

4.3. Bessastaðir on Álftanes

Bessastaðir on Álftanes is best known as the seat of the Icelandic President since 1944 when the island gained its independence but high officials have lived there since before Iceland went under the Norwegian Crown in the 13th century, and the site has been occupied since shortly after the settlement of Iceland (G. Ólafsson, 1991, p. 91). The currently standing house at Bessastaðir, known as Bessastaðastofa was erected in the years 1761 to 1766 and is one of the oldest standing stone buildings in Iceland (G. Ólafsson, 2010, p. 24). In 1987 the buildings at Bessastaðir were considered to have become unsuitable for their purpose. As an example Guðmundur Ólafsson notes that the floor in the dining room had sunk so far that it was causing troubles during dinner parties (G. Ólafsson, 2010, p. 7). One can only imagine the embarrassment of politicians and dignitaries, standing crooked in the dining room of the highest office in the country. It was in connection with such renovations that excavations began at Bessastaðir in 1987 and continued until 1996 (G. Ólafsson, 2010, p. 5).

The situation the archaeologists were working under were often difficult and rushed, with work crews, sometimes literally, waiting on the excavation's edge to begin their work (G. Ólafsson, 2010, pp. 5-8). During the nine years the excavations took place remains of buildings from all periods of Icelandic settlement were uncovered, along with buildings of various purpose, such as a church and associated graveyard, the 'King's House' (IS. *konungsgarður*), being the residence and office of the king's officials in Iceland, as well as middens. The excavations were done in many smaller areas as required by the ongoing renovations. As a result, the picture of the site has been stitched together during post-excavation work.

During the excavation a great number of finds were recovered. A complete register has not been published as of this writing, though the finds material has been published, in a sense, in Sarpur ("Sarpur: Menningarsögulegt gagnasafn," 2018), the online database of 50 museums in Iceland. In 1987 around 1800 finds were recovered (G. Ólafsson, 2010, p. 199; Þorgeirsdóttir, 2010, p. 69), with a further 500 from 1988 (G. Ólafsson, 2013, p. 77). A cursory search through Sarpur reveals 6489 finds numbers associated with Bessastaðir, though at least some of these are stray finds, found before or after the

Figure 4.5. Overview of the excavations at Bessastaðir 1987-1996, showing division into areas and year excavated. Created by Guðmundur Ólafsson & Anna Rut Guðmundsdóttir (G. Ólafsson, 2010, p. 9)

excavation. The finds in Sarpur are as varied as one might expect from an excavation on a farmstead and church site, such as metals, bones, both animal and human, ceramics, glass, stone, and textile. Pottery does, however, seem to be the largest number of finds ("Sarpur: Menningarsögulegt gagnasafn," 2018).

In Sarpur it is possible to find 298 instances of clay pipes from Bessastaðir, encompassing 582 fragments, which I subsequently examined. From those 582 fragments a minimum of 35 pipes can be identified, dating from the early 17th century to the late 19th. Four of the pipes have probable dates between circa 1600 and 1650, 11 between 1650 and 1700, nine between 1700 and 1750, three between 1750 and 1800, and four from the 19th century. The majority of the recovered pipes appear to be of Dutch manufacture, with two, possibly three, fragments having the Gouda shields on their spurs, along with two stem fragments with the rouletting "GOUDA" on them. The pipes range from extensively used, with reformed mouthpieces down to 4 centimetres from the bowl, to pipes which appear to have never been used.

In 2010 Sigríður Þorgeirsdóttir wrote her MA thesis on pottery from Aðalstræti and Bessastaðir and this is the only analysis available of a category of finds from Bessastaðir as a whole, rather than for each individual year of excavation. Much of the following discussion on the Bessastaðir pottery thus originates from her. From the excavations at Bessastaðir a total of 3973 pottery sherds were recovered, but 816 sherds did not have recovery data associated with them and as such cannot be phased, leaving 3157 sherds for analysis. Unfortunately, work on phasing the site has not been completed so any dating is based on an internal chronology of the pottery sherds (Þorgeirsdóttir, 2010, pp. 67-69). In addition, the Bessastaðir pottery material has not been analysed by MNV, Sigríður Þorgeirsdóttir relies on EVE and sherd counts (Þorgeirsdóttir, 2010, pp. 69-97), so any discussion of the material from this site will be limited in nature and focused on the clay tobacco pipe material.

4.4. Búðarárbakki in Hrunamannahreppur

Búðarárbakki in Hrunamannahreppur is unique in that it is known to have been inhabited only by one person in the mid-17th century, who was described as an old, peculiar man by the name of Þorkell (Mímisson, 2012, p. 462). Búðarárbakki, while listed as a farmstead, was not a working farm, but rather the cottage of a man who earned his living by the manufacture of stone hammers (Mímisson, 2012, pp. 463, 466). The cottage at Búðarárbakki was a small passageway complex with only three rooms, each of which straddled the central passageway. Finds not associated with Þorkell's hammer manufacturing were concentrated in the largest room, which seems to have been the main living area (Mímisson, 2012, pp. 464-468). These finds were associated with everyday life, such as a light fixture, a knife and

whetstones, with only one pottery sherd, from a redware pipkin, and 2 clay pipe fragments recovered. Both pipe fragments are stem fragments.

The small number of finds from Búðarárbakki can be explained by its short occupation and limited occupancy, there are indications that the site was only seasonally occupied, but also speaks to the individual who lived there, his interest in and access to, or lack thereof, tobacco and hot drink and meals (Mímisson, 2012, pp. 466-467). The small ceramic material assemblage at Búðarárbakki is a prime example of how absence of material is not necessarily a result of excavation bias but reflects the actual consumption of the household in question. It is also an example of how easily such a site may vanish in comparative studies, with Þorkell's single cooking pot easily disappearing behind the plethora of decorated tableware vessels from larger sites.

4.5. Gilsbakki in Hvítársíða

Gilsbakki is a farm in western Iceland, occupied since the settlement period. It was the base of the Gilsbekkingar family, a family of chieftains in medieval Iceland, and considered an important site in that period (Smith, 2008, p. 4). In the 17th century Gilsbakki was a church site and as such did not pay rent, so that they value of the site was not well known. Calculated estimates, however, placed the value at around 20 hundred (*Jarðabók III*, p. 263).

Investigations took place in 2008 and 2009 through coring and the excavation of a couple of trenches in an area downhill of where it was known that the farmhouse, torn down in 1917, stood. The trenches were taken into middens which had been found there during nearby construction (Smith, 2008, p. 17). The midden deposits in the trenches were 2,2 and 2,4 metres in depth, with material extending back into the 13th century (Smith, 2008, pp. 83-86).

Finds material is largely consistent with domestic activities, including iron nails, stone hammers, metalworking slag, textile and leather fragments. However, the majority of the finds recovered come from contexts which date to the 19th century (Smith, 2008). The 68 pottery sherds and nine clay tobacco pipe fragments recovered during the investigations were re-examined by myself and Ágústa Edwald Maxwell. Of the pottery sherds only 14 were associated with contexts dated to the 17th and 18th century, and two of the clay pipe fragments were associated with 19th century contexts.

From the clay pipe fragments only one pipe can be identified, which dates to the 18th century but without any maker's mark or other identifiable marking. A minimum of four vessels were identified as belonging to the 17th or 18th centuries, only one of which belonged to the 17th century. That one is a stoneware vessel, likely a jug, with the remaining three being a slip-trailed dish, a stoneware jug, and a lead-glazed whiteware kitchenware.

4.6. Hólahólar on Snæfellsnes

Hólahólar was a farm in the westernmost area of Snæfellsnes. The earliest mention of the farm comes from a letter of purchase dated to 1337 (*DI II*, p. 714) and the farm is mentioned in letters a few times after that, where it is often named Hólar followed by terms descriptive of the farm's location, such as 'on the peninsula' or 'under the glacier', referencing Snæfellsjökull, eventually getting the name Hólahólar sometime in the 16th century (*DI II*, p. 714; *DI III*, pp. 235, 478-479; *DI IV*, p. 211; *DI V*, pp. 54-55; *DI XIV*, pp. 185, 552; *DI XV*, p. 635).

Belonging to the farm of Hólahólar was the fishing station Dritvík, so that in the 1703 census 46 people were registered to live on the farm or in the fishing station (*Manntal á Íslandi árið 1703*, pp. 101-102). The farm of Hólahólar does not seem to have benefited greatly from the utilisation of the rich nearby fishing grounds by the inhabitants of Dritvík, but in 1707 the value of Hólahólar farm was estimated as 16 hundreds, a middle-low value, but the property as a whole was valued at 40 hundreds. Hólahólar was owned by the Crown and as such the rent from both the farm and Dritvík went directly into the king's coffers. The farmer at Hólahólar, in 1707, personally owned three boats, one of which he utilised himself all year round while the other two were rented out during fishing season (*Jarðabók V*, pp. 187-190). Hólahólar was abandoned sometime in the 1880's as in the 1880 census nine people are registered as living on the farm but by the 1890 census no one lives there ("Manntal 1880," ; "Manntal 1890,").

The earliest probate inventories which exist for Hólahólar is from 1807, at the occasion of the death of Gísli Jónsson (*ÞÍ I*). The inventory lists two cows, five sheep, one horse, three books on religious subjects, a number of articles of clothing, a saddle and associated objects for riding, a few tools, and a number of containers, including chests, a butter churn and three *askar*. Almost every single item is noted as being repaired, worn or generally old and everything is tallied at a worth of 41 rd, 5 sk. Despite this these things hint at a man who had earned enough in his life to be able to afford books, and from the description of the clothes some of them may have been rather fetching in their time. These things are unlikely to include every item at the farm at the time of Gísli Jónsson's death and appear to only include those things which he himself owned, rather than everything at the farmstead. While these things do not indicate great wealth, they do not indicate someone poor, either.

In the merchant's account books from 1763 a "Brandor Errichsen" from "Hoelehoel" is noted as having made purchases on seven different occasions through the summer. He purchased timber, grains, iron, ready-made clothes, 'ship's bread', liquor and tobacco. Most of these items, aside the liquor and tobacco, are common items, required at every home and do not reveal any particular wealth, though the amount of liquor Brandor purchases is not insignificant and he does purchase a pound of tobacco.

In the account books for 1782 a “Helge Jonsen” living at Hólahólar purchases grains, salt, clothes, cloth and liquor, but the majority of line items appear to be for tobacco. In total he purchased 17 pounds of tobacco, an amount that may indicate that he intended some of it for resale. To pay for these Helge deposits “plattfisk”.

Without a more comprehensive study of the account books it is difficult to say whether the differences in objects acquired are down to personal preferences, but that Brandor emphases things like timber and iron, while Helge prefers tobacco is interesting. It should also be noted that Helge withdraws money from the merchant. Without knowing more about these two men, it is difficult to theorise about the context of their purchases, but Helge’s purchase of tobacco may indicate that he was not the farmer at Hólahólar and therefore did not have to invest in the farmstead himself. It is possible he was a farmhand or a fisherman living at Hólahólar, while Brandor was the farmer and thus had to concern himself with the maintenance of the farmstead, its houses and tools. From these contemporary sources we gain an image of Hólahólar as a successful, if not wealthy, farmstead.

Excavations were undertaken at Hólahólar in 2016 and 2017 as part of work for this dissertation. The site was chosen for investigation due to its proximity and association with the trade station at Arnarstapi, the site’s, relatively, early abandonment, and that since abandonment there has been no apparent activity at the site. Both years were small scale, a 1 m^2 trench was excavated in August 2016 and an additional 2 m^2 trench was excavated in May 2017, the two trenches forming an L shape. The trenches were focused on a midden which has been dated to the 17^{th} and 18^{th} centuries. It is estimated that the excavations undertaken represent about a third of the midden’s total size, and the midden forms a part of the farm’s mound, extending down from the grassroots for about a metre to the natural horizon.

A total of eight contexts of human activity were recorded during the excavations, all of which were sieved to maximise finds recovery. Immediately in the grassroots a layer of wood and peat ash mixed with soil was uncovered. In the 2017 investigations a layer of soil was discovered underneath, that appeared to have been laid down, possibly to even out the steep slope of the farm mound, separating the first midden layer with another one, which is otherwise identical to the first one in composition, leading to the two midden layers being recorded as one in the 2016 investigations. Below the midden layer was a layer of unburnt bones, which covered a layer of peat ash. Beneath the layer of peat ash was a thin layer of mixed wood and peat ash, soil and non-structural turf. The lowest human occupation layer of the trench was a mixed layer of fish bone and wood ash. The limited extent of the excavations makes it difficult to generalise about the meaning of the artefact assemblage, but the hope is that the material excavated is representative of the midden as a whole.

Figure 4.6. Drone photograph of the Hólahólar farmmound with the location of trenches marked and outlines of buildings drawn. Photograph courtesy of Kevin Martin.

From the midden a decent collection of finds was recovered, all of which can be interpreted as general household waste for a household with strong connection to sea resources, as evidenced by the inclusion of numerous fish bones and fishing hooks. The assemblage included 43 pottery sherds and 32 clay pipe fragments. All pottery sherds recovered during the excavations come from the three uppermost contexts, while the clay pipe fragments were found down to the sixth context. The majority of the pipe fragments were recovered from the four uppermost contexts, with two sherds recovered from each of the fifth and sixth contexts.

The clay pipe fragments include a minimum of eight distinct pipes, with nine bowl sherds and 23 stem fragments, including three mouthpieces. The identifiable pipes all appear to be of Dutch origin and manufactured in the 17th or early 18th century. Unfortunately, no stamps survive on the recovered fragments, but one pipe was of a form known as a 'Jonas' pipe, manufactured in the mid-17th century and depicting the tale of Jonas and the whale.

The pottery sherds contained 10 stoneware sherds, eight tin-glazed whitewares and the rest, 25 sherds, were of redware. From among these a minimum of 14 vessels were identified, including at least two stoneware jugs and two tin-glazed vessels. Most of the redware sherds seem to come from kitchenwares, most likely pipkins or cauldrons, while the stoneware vessels are jugs, as previously mentioned, and the tin-glazed vessels are likely from bowls or dishes.

Unfortunately, the sherds recovered included only one rim sherd which is too small to discern the size of the vessel it is from. This means that it is not possible to say with certainty whether the

kitchenwares in question are large vessels intended for cooking meals for the entire household or whether they were small vessels intended for brewing coffee, tea or hot chocolate. However, the prevalence of kitchenwares over other types might indicate that non-ceramic materials were preferred for eating and drinking.

4.7. Hólar in Hjaltadalur

Hólar in Hjaltadalur, located in northern Iceland, was the site of a bishop‘s seat from 1106 to 1801 (Traustadóttir, 2009, p. 18; Traustadóttir & Zoëga, 2006, p. 701). From historical sources it has been assumed that Hólar was only occupied from the 11th century onwards, after a neighbouring farmstead of Hof was abandoned, though excavations have revealed that the history of occupation at Hólar reaches back to the Settlement Period (Traustadóttir & Zoëga, 2006, p. 700). As fits the site’s role as a centre of ecclesiastical power, Hólar is well documented, particularly from the 17th century onwards, with probates detailing an upwards of sixty buildings on site from the 17th and 18th centuries (Knútsdóttir Tetzchner, 2005; Traustadóttir, 2009, p. 24).

An archaeological investigation taking place in 1988 focused on the Hólar church in connection with renovations. The excavations investigated the floor of the church, and several graves which were discovered there, revealing that most were disturbed by later activity (Snæsdóttir, 1991a; Traustadóttir & Zoëga, 2006, p. 701). From 2002 to 2010 excavations were underway at Hólar (Traustadóttir, 2009, p. 24; Traustadóttir & Zoëga, 2006, p. 699). This large scale investigation was a collaboration between the University at Hólar, Skagafjörður Heritage Museum, and the National Museum of Iceland, led by Ragnheiður Traustadóttir (Traustadóttir & Zoëga, 2006, p. 699). A total of 14 buildings were excavated at Hólar, each with several phases, along with middens, across six areas, designated A to F (Traustadóttir, 2009, pp. 24-27; Traustadóttir & Zoëga, 2006, pp. 705-718). Area D was the main excavation area and included buildings such as a printing press (Traustadóttir & Zoëga, 2006, pp. 708-711), a kitchen and pantry, and a building used at its last phase for animals, but earlier phases of the building seem to have been a weaver‘s shop (Traustadóttir & Zoëga, 2006, pp. 71-713).

A total of around 45,000 artefacts were recovered during investigations at Hólar, spread across the site, with many discovered in disturbed layers, such as pushed out middens. These finds are of a wide variety and date from the medieval period and into modernity, with the majority of finds originating in the modern and early modern period (Traustadóttir, Skogbert, Hansen, Fennö, & Brorsson, 2009, p. 4). Finds include window glass, glass from medicine and drinks bottles, iron finds, mostly structural finds such as nails but also knifes, and keys, bronze and lead finds, such as buttons, jewellery, print blocks

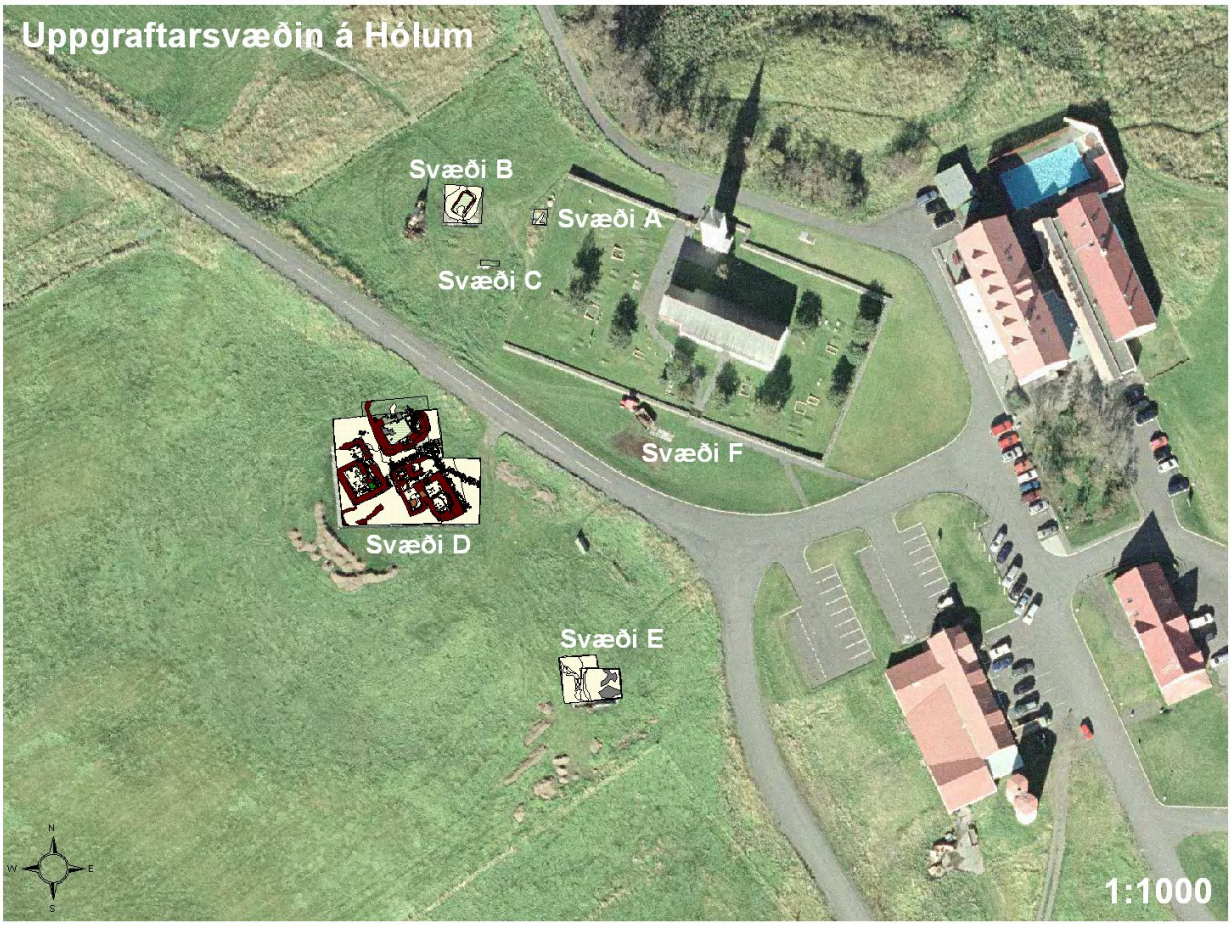


Figure 4.7. Overview of the Hólar excavation area, with excavation areas labelled A to F. Photograph courtesy of Ragnheiður Traustadóttir.

and sheet fragments. Further the finds include stone lamps, spindle whorls, pearls, whetstones, gaming pieces and toys carved of wood and bone (Traustadóttir et al., 2009, pp. 5-7). The largest finds category was ceramics, with over 10,000 finds (Traustadóttir et al., 2009, p. 5), including 3333 clay tobacco pipe fragments (Wacke, 2014, p. 54), and 1153 fragments of stove tiles from a kakeloven (Traustadóttir et al., 2009, p. 4). Work on the analysis of the finds assemblage from Hólar is ongoing and at the time of this writing not much has been published. However, the pottery collection is described as rich, with over 10,000 sherds, including many decorated vessels.

The clay pipes from Hólar have been analysed by Aline Wacke (2014) in her M.A. thesis, *The clay tobacco pipe collection from Hólar, Iceland: A case study*. She found that they date from the early 17th century and into the 19th, with a, more or less, steady rise in their number until the latter half of the 18th century, when they seem to decline in use. Wacke does note, however, that this decline may be artificially inflated, or even not present at all, through large quantities of fragments which have very broad dates (Wacke, 2014, pp. 73-74). The pipes were of a majority Dutch manufacture, circa 77%, with circa 17% Danish and 6% English made pipes (Wacke, 2014, pp. 74-76).

Given the lack of published material and the ongoing examination of the assemblage it has not been possible to include material from Hólar in this study. While the lack of comparative material from Hólar is unfortunate its apparent similarity with Skálholt means that while Hólar's absence leaves a gap in the comparative material it likely does not skew the results as badly as might be expected without the inclusion of Skálholt.

4.8. Kópavogsþingstaður

Kópavogsþingstaður was the site of the Kópavogur commune's parliament and court (is. *hreppaþing*), located near the modern capital Reykjavík (Sveinbjarnardóttir, 1986, p. 8). From written sources it is likely that *þing* were held there from, at least, the Commonwealth Period and until 1753 when the *þing* was moved to Reykjavík (Sveinbjarnardóttir, 1986, pp. 8-9, 13). Investigations at the site took place from 1973 to 1976, led by Guðrún Sveinbjarnardóttir (1986, pp. 3-5), with several structural remains excavated, along with middens.

Kópavogsþingstaður is unique among the sites selected for this study for its being neither a home nor a place of work but a place of seasonal gatherings. The site is therefore unlikely to have material that is similar to other sites but a comparison of the material from here with other sites is of interest as *thing* sites were places where people from all rungs of society would gather, for a wide variety of purposes. At Kópavogsþingstaður a ruin was identified as '*þinghústóftin'*, the ruins of the parliament house, and excavated along associated middens. The remains have been dated to the 17th and 18th centuries, based on finds evidence (Sveinbjarnardóttir, 1986, p. 45). The structure appears to have been long and narrow, c. 8,20 x 3,30 metres internally, with at least six middens surrounding the house (Sveinbjarnardóttir, 1986, pp. 21, 25-27, 35).

All pottery sherds and clay pipe fragments from the investigations were discovered in the house, surrounding it or in the middens (Sveinbjarnardóttir, 1986, pp. 42, 46). Finds include 193 pottery sherds, 55 clay pipe fragments, and 184 glass sherds (Sveinbjarnardóttir, 1986, pp. 106-108), many of which were window glass, and it appears the house had a few windows. Other sherds include bottle glass sherds, sherds from drinking glasses, some of which were decorated, and eyeglasses intended for someone farsighted. The bottles and drinking glasses were concentrated inside the house (Sveinbjarnardóttir, 1986, p. 49). Both iron and copper alloy fragments are evident and associated with both structural elements, such as iron nails and a lock (Sveinbjarnardóttir, 1986, pp. 49-50), and with wooden containers (Sveinbjarnardóttir, 1986, pp. 49-50). Perhaps most incongruous with the putative purpose of the ruins is the presence of several stone fish hammers, though Sveinbjarnardóttir does not attempt to explain their presence at the thing site (Sveinbjarnardóttir, 1986, p. 51).

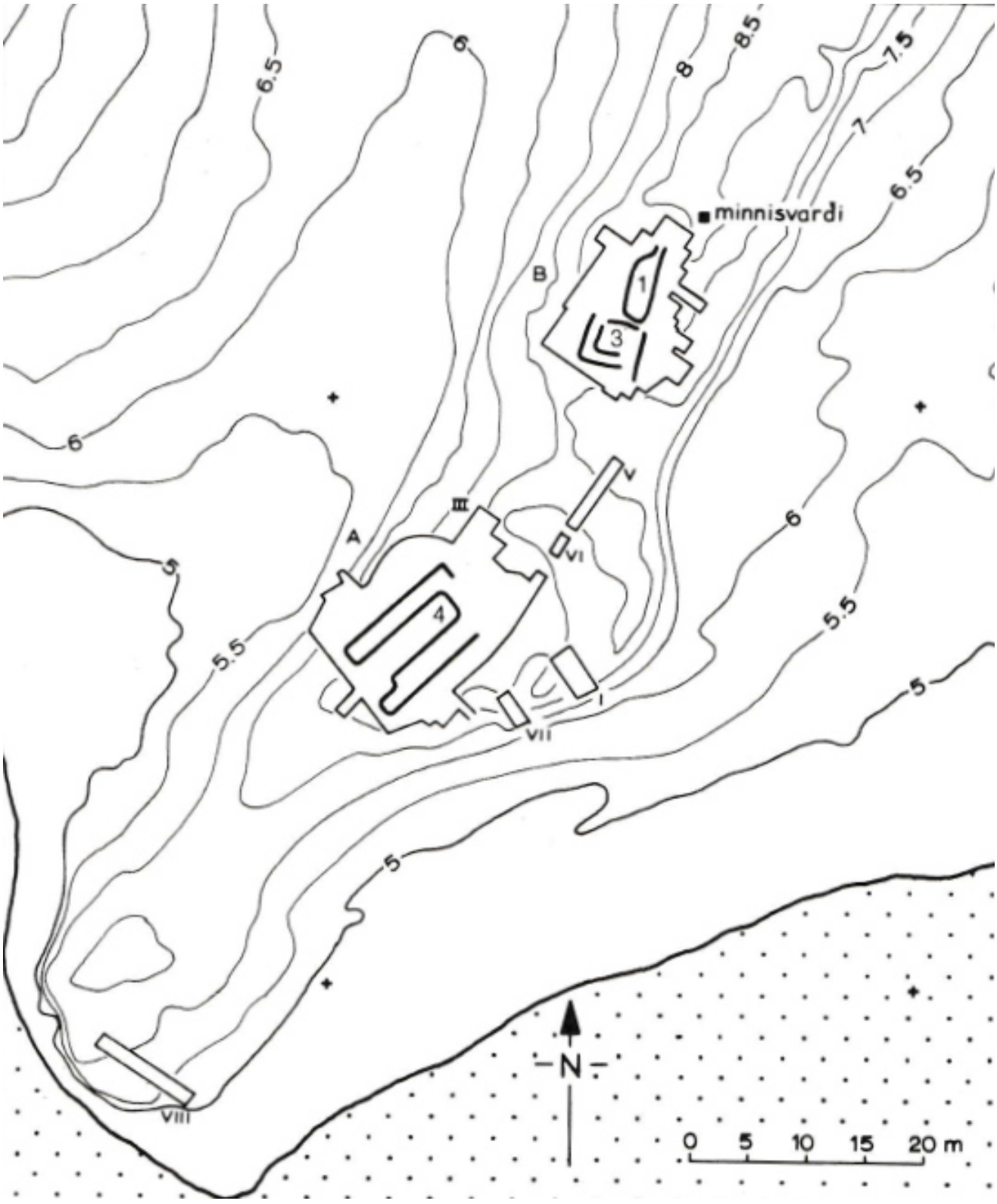


Figure 4.8. Overview of the area of investigation at Kópavogsþingstaður. Parliament house ruins are labelled 4. and the surrounding middens labelled with Roman numerals (Sveinbjarnardóttir, 1986, p. 21).

Clay pipe fragments were 55, of which 16 were found in the house's antechamber, four inside the house proper, and the rest spread around the house. From these fragments an MNP of 4 has been established through examination of finds lists, with two pipes having identifiable stamps, both of which are dated to c. 1700 to 1750. Analysis on the typology of the pipes indicates they date to c. 1680 to 1750 and are of Dutch manufacture. Most of the pipe fragments show extensive use (Sveinbjarnardóttir, 1986, pp. 46-48).

In total there were 193 pottery sherds, redwares, stonewares, lead- and tin-glazed whiteware, and four refined earthenware sherds (Sveinbjarnardóttir, 1986, pp. 42, 45). The sherds were spread throughout the area, with a small concentration inside the house, of, at least one, lead-glazed pipkin with heavy sooting, a stoneware medicine bottle, sherds from a stoneware jug, a stoneware bottle, and sherds from redware tripod cauldrons and pipkins found in the nearest middens. From the discussion of the pottery and the finds record, an estimated minimum of 10 vessels can be identified, including the three stoneware jugs and jar mentioned above, two faience tableware vessels, probably a dish and a bowl, with the remaining six being redware kitchenwares (Sveinbjarnardóttir, 1986, pp. 43-45, 83-97). Three of the vessels are dated to the 18th century while seven are dated to the 17th.

The pottery found during the investigation cannot be said to be of the most expensive types, but the house in question would only have had seasonal occupation for a very specific function. As a result, one would not expect to find a great deal of expensive pottery, and the finds material does seem compatible with the house's putative function. While no quantitative analysis was done for the entire collection, the discussion of the finds shows that there is little in the way of dining wares among the pottery, and that there is an emphasis on objects associated with drinks, either hot or cold, in the forms of small kitchenwares, bottles and drinking vessels.

The concentrations of these things found in the house, along with the pipes in the antechamber might provide an image of people, come to the house for a '*hreppaþing'*, huddled in the antechamber, smoking and drinking, gathering in them the false heat of alcohol, or the warmth of a hot pipe and a sip of coffee. Combined with Guðrún Sveinbjarnardóttir's description of the lay of the land, where the house is said to sit high in the land and unprotected from the frequent winds and rain (Sveinbjarnardóttir, 1986, pp. 5-6), only further enhances the image above, as the people steel themselves through drink and smoke against the weather outside. This, however, also underlines the unique position that Kópavogsþingstaður holds among the sites discussed in this chapter, that there was no one who lived here and that the circumstances of consumption at the site are quite different from what might be expected from conventional farmsteads.

4.9. Miðvellir on Snæfellsnes

Miðvellir was a farm south of the glacier Snæfellsjökull. The earliest mention of Miðvellir comes from a letter of exchange from 1538 where a man by the name of Halls Ólafsson receives it as a present from his father on the occasion of Halls' wedding to a woman by the name of Cecelia Guðmundsdóttir (*DI XII*, p. 88). There are few mentions of the farm beyond that first one but by 1707 the value of the farm was estimated at 16 hundreds, a middle-low value, the farm was in the Crown's possession and, unlike many other farms in the area around Snæfellsjökull, Miðvellir seems to have emphasised animal husbandry above fishing, somewhat of a necessity since Miðvellir does not have a place to land boats. Instead the farmers at Miðvellir rented out grazing fields and a shieling to nearby Hellnar and took part in seasonal fishing (*Jarðabók V*, p. 179). In this way Miðvellir is much more like inland farms in Iceland than other farms in Snæfellsnes.

By 1839 Miðvellir were valued at only 10 hundreds and said to be have been abandoned 'since time immemorial'[1] (*Sýslu- og sóknalýsingar Hins íslenzka bókmenntafélags: Snæfellsnes*, p. 101). Supporting this is the 1816 census which does not indicate anyone living there ("Manntal 1816,"), yet in the 1835 census the farm is occupied again ("Manntal 1835,") and remains so until 1887 (*BS*, 1977, p. 372). From this it seems that the farm may have been abandoned for about half a century, in the latter part of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th.

For Miðvellir the earliest existing probate inventory is from 1833 at the death of one Páll Árnason (*ÞÍ II*), who owned one cow, one calf, two horses, six sheep, a small amount of clothes, bedclothes, mostly old vessels for various purposes, saddle and associated riding equipment, a lamp, a number of tools, and 'wet', presumably unworked, fish. Also included in the inventory are the houses at Miðvellir which include a bedroom with two beds and three glass windows, a shed, a sheephouse noted not have a door, and a stable. This listing is worth in total 57 rd 49 sk. That this inventory includes the houses at the farmstead indicates that Páll owned the farm at the time of his death, rather than being a tenant farmer, though that is not certain. While there are a number of vessels indicated in the inventory only one is noted to be ceramic, a jug[2]. None of the other, which include two pans, milk pails, a churn and an old "drink cask"[3] have notes indicating their material, but it is relatively safe to assume that the churn and casks are wood, with the milk pails likely to be so as well. Overall, however, this is not a wealthy home,

[1] My translation, original Icelandic „núlifandi manna minni"
[2] Original reads: „Blöndukanna af leir"
[3] Original reads: „Drykkjartunna forn"

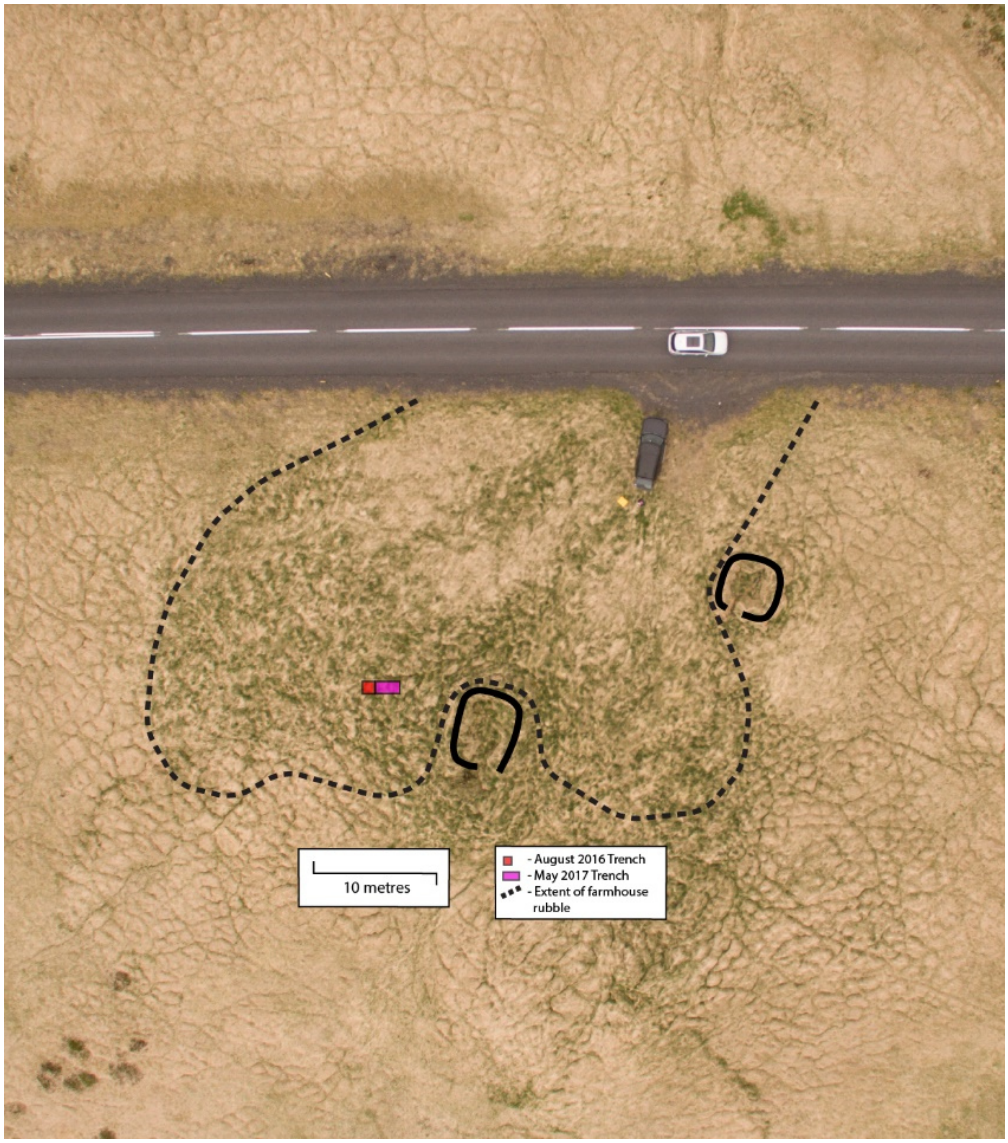


Figure 4.9. Drone photo of the Miðvellir farm with the location of the trenches. Photo courtesy of Kevin Martin.

almost everything is utilitarian to the point that, at the worth of 24 sk., "wood and iron scraps"[4] are included.

In 1763 "Jon Tordersen" from "Meedwöllum" is noted as having visited the merchant twice in July to purchase grains, cloth, stone coal and a small amount of liquor. Additionally, he visited the merchant on three other occasions to sell butter. Twenty years later, in 1782, Jon Haldorsen living at Miðvellir visited the merchant a number of times throughout the year and purchased grains, cloth, "ship's bread", a lamp, liquor, and five and half pounds of tobacco. In exchange he provided the merchant with various woollens and fish, both dried and wet.

That the main goods that the Miðvellir inhabitants had for sale changes from butter to woollens in this twenty-year period is interesting and it is tempting to attribute this to the influence of the New

[4] Original reads: „Járnarusl og borðstúfur"

Enterprises and the factory in Aðalstræti. Overall, however, the image from these contemporary sources is not one of abundance, but one which focuses largely on subsistence with a small indulgence in alcohol and tobacco, if five pounds of tobacco can be called small.

In the mid-1950s the ruins of the farmstead were pushed out during the construction of the road around the tip of the peninsula, a road which still lies through the farm's homefield ("Útnesvegur (574)," p. 4) though the ruins of several other buildings within the homefield and the homefield boundary wall itself remain.

Excavations were undertaken at Miðvellir in 2016 and 2017 as part of work for this dissertation. The site was chosen for investigation due to its proximity to the trade station at Arnarstapi, its, relatively, early abandonment and limited modern disturbance. The excavations were small scale, a 1 m^2 trench in 2016 and an additional 2 m^2 in 2017, extending the 2016 trench eastward towards where the farmhouses most likely stood. All material from the excavations was sieved, in an effort to maximize finds recovery. The trenches extended through collapse from the farmhouse, through the midden underneath. Underneath the collapse was a green-grey layer with half-rotted grass, interpreted as the surface from the 1950's when the farm was pushed out. Under the old surface, in the south-east corner of the trench was a layer of packed soil, interpreted to have been laid down to contain a mixed layer of wood and peat ash which was only found under the soil. Winds in the area can get very severe in certain directions which might whip up midden material and the turf may have been an attempt to keep that from happening. Under the layer of wood ash was a mixed layer of wood ash and soil. The next layer below was wood ash mixed with soil and underneath that was a layer of soil with some peat ash, possibly representing a time of abandonment. Below the layer of soil was a layer of wood ash, then a layer of wood ash and burnt bone, with the last human occupation layer being a layer of unburnt bone and peat ash.

The limited extent of the excavations makes it difficult to generalise about the meaning of the artefact assemblage, but the hope is that the material excavated is representative of the midden as a whole.

From the collapse of the farmhouse a small collection of 19th century finds were recovered, in line with the dating of the farmhouse from documentary sources. The midden underneath the collapse turned out to date to the 17th and 18th centuries, based on dating the artefact collection. The majority of the finds were iron fragments, mostly nails and unidentifiable fragments, and one probable strike-a-light. Of a total of 296 finds, 156 were iron, with most of the remainder a mix of slag, manuport stones and pottery fragments. The assemblage contains 51 pottery sherds, and 5 clay pipe fragments. Of the 52 pottery sherds, 16 sherds were recovered from the collapse contexts associated with the road construction, all

but one sherd being refined earthenware dated to the 19th century. The remaining 36 sherds are all dated to the 17th or 18th centuries.

All of the clay pipe sherds were stem fragments, with one being a reworked mouthpiece. As such there is little to be said on the matter of pipes at Miðvellir, though the very fact of how few pipes were recovered is remarkable in itself.

The relevant pottery sherds consist of 30 lead-glazed earthenware sherds, one of which is whiteware, one sherd of stoneware, one of tin-glazed earthenware and four of refined earthenware. The tin-glazed earthenware sherds are all from faience vessels, while the stoneware sherd is most likely a jug.

Unfortunately, most of the pottery sherds are too small or damaged to be identified to vessel form but of the MNV of nine from Miðvellir, three of the vessels are kitchenwares, four are tablewares and two cannot be identified by vessel type. The MNV is spread equally through time, with four vessels being dated to the 18th century and five to the 17th.

The majority of pottery sherds being tiny, less than one cm on a side, spall with little or no glaze and showing signs of extensive use makes identification of vessel form difficult, which leads to difficulties in analysis, raising questions on the extent to which it is possible to draw conclusions from the assemblage. Taken as is, the emerging picture of Miðvellir is one of dearth, with few vessels and with little in the way of tobacco consumption. This picture does fit rather well with the one from historic sources, which all seem to agree that the farm was a poor one, worth more when being utilised for grazing by neighbouring farms than for its own use.

4.10. Naust in Akureyri

Naust was a farmstead near Akureyri in northern Iceland. The farm was occupied until recently when the land was developed into a residential area as part of the town of Akureyri. The farm is mentioned in both *Ljósvetningasaga* and *Fóstbræðrasaga* but the first contemporary source on the farmstead comes from 1446 in a register of the properties belonging to the monastery at Munkaþverá (*DI IV*, 1897, p. 699). The farm is valued at 40 hundred in *Jarðabók* (*Jarðabók X*, 1987, p. 206) and appears to have been a rather large and prosperous farm.

In connection with the development of the land several archaeological investigations have taken place. In July and September 2006 investigations were undertaken by the Archaeological Office with a series of trenches at the site of a proposed road, north of the modern farmhouse (Einarsson, 2006a, 2006b). Based on those investigations two areas were opened where the road would be laid down, this

work was undertaken by the Institute of Archaeology in 2008 (Hansen, 2008, 2009). These investigations uncovered evidence of Viking Age ironworking at Naust, medieval outbuildings and parts of a midden, dated to the 19th or 20th century.

In 2015 a second series of trenches were taken in the area south and east of the modern farmhouse. Those uncovered evidence of an ancient cut which had been backfilled with midden material and turf. This cut was interpreted as being a sewage trench which had been filled with midden material and turf in an effort to close it after being abandoned and, possibly, to mask smells or keep the material within from blowing in high winds (J. O. Jónsson, 2016).

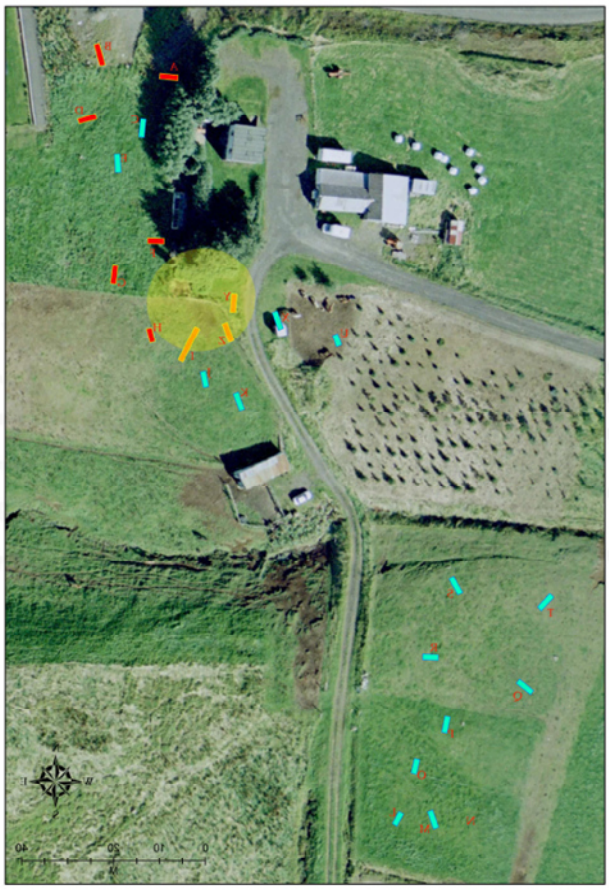


Figure 4.10. Marked are the trenches taken in 2015. All 17th and 18th century material originates within the yellow circle (Gestsdóttir & Gísladóttir, 2015, p. 18)

About 650 finds have been recovered through all investigations at Naust so far. These date from the Viking Age into the modern period, and range from a Viking Age iron spearhead, to early modern pottery, to fragments form a modern coal fired oven. Of these circa 650 finds, 127 are pottery sherds, and only seven are clay pipes.

The clay pipe fragments constitute 5 fragments of stems with two fragments of a part of a pipe bowl and shank. None of the fragments have identifiable decorations or maker's marks, though their typology and find contexts date all of them broadly to the 18th and 19th centuries, with one fragment possibly being slightly older. All the clay pipe fragments were found in middens.

Of the 127 pottery sherds 43 have been dated to the 19th century. All the remaining sherds come from a single trench into the drainage cut. The 84 sherds recovered from that trench were re-examined by me in connection with this study. 13 of the 84 originate in a disturbed top layer, leaving 71 sherds for analysis. In the remaining assemblage there were three sherds of lead-glazed whiteware, two sherds of stoneware, and two sherds of unglazed grey earthenware, or 'Jutishware'. All of the remaining 64 sherds were redwares. From the assemblage a minimum of 11 vessels have been identified, eight of which are kitchenwares, one is a storage/utility vessel, likely a mineral water bottle, and two are unidentified. The

kitchenwares, those whose size can be identified, range from small to medium sized, the largest having an estimated diameter of 260 mm, while the smallest has an estimated diameter of only 120 mm. The MNV of 11 are spread evenly by century, with five dating to the 17th century and six to the 18th.

Interpreting this assemblage provides an interesting conundrum. Do the number of kitchenwares and lack of finds associated with tobacco or alcohol indicate a rather dour existence focused on basic sustenance? Or do the small vessels, more useful in the making of coffee or tea than meals for an entire household, indicate what might be considered a more tempered disposition, emphasising those hot, non-alcoholic drinks over the intoxication of tobacco and alcohol. However, it is worth noting the piecemeal methods employed in the investigations at Naust, with only the putative Viking Age smithy and a medieval outbuilding being investigated fully, the midden, from which all 17th and 18th century from the site originates, being only investigated by a single 2 x 5 metre trench across the drainage ditch.

4.11. Reykholt in Borgarfjörður

Reykholt is a farm located in a valley inland of Borgarfjörður which has been settled since at least the 12th century and is perhaps best known as the home of Snorri Sturluson, purported author of many Icelandic Sagas. As the site of a chieftain's seat throughout history Reykholt has been the focus of interest for antiquarians, and later archaeologists and historians, since at least the 19th century. More modern investigations began in 1987 with a small-scale excavation on the farm's mound which was then continued in 1988 and 1989 and resumed in 1997. The excavations begun in that year would continue until 2003 at which time the excavated surface area was c. 1620 m^2 in size. In 2002 the focus shifted from the farm mound to the site's medieval church and excavations were concluded in 2007 (Sveinbjarnardóttir, 2012, pp. 21-40).

Investigations on the church fall outside the current study's interest, being a medieval church, but during investigations of the farm mound remains from c. AD 1000 and into the 19th century were discovered (Sveinbjarnardóttir, 2012, p. 48). According to historical sources the farm at Reykholt stood where the excavations took place until 1833, when it was relocated (Sveinbjarnardóttir, 2012, p. 143). Unfortunately, the farm mound itself had been disturbed by early 20th century activity, particularly a trench for pipes had been dug through the farm mound (Sveinbjarnardóttir, 2012, p. 29). Two phases of occupation of interest to the current study; phase 4, dated to the 16th and 17th centuries, and phase 5, dated to the 17th to 19th century (Sveinbjarnardóttir, 2012, pp. 48-50).

Finds from phases 4 and 5 totalled 1512, out of a total of 2685 from all phases of the farm site. Within those two phases, 1013 finds belong to phase 5. The finds categories include stone, metal, pottery, clay

pipe, glass, beads, wood, leather, textile & hair, and animal bone (Sveinbjarnardóttir, 2012, p. 151). Stone and metal finds were mostly general household objects such as whetstones, lamps, locks and scissors, or building material (Sveinbjarnardóttir, 2012, pp. 152-170). The same can be said of wood finds, which included remains from barrels for food storage (IS. *sár*), a probable shuttle and a wool comb (Sveinbjarnardóttir, 2012, pp. 191-195). Leather finds were scraps, which cannot be positively identified to object type, but the large amount of textiles belonging to phases 4 and 5 can be seen as evidence of wool processing. The finds are mostly off-cuts of *vaðmál* and knitted items, with only one whole article of clothing, a child's knitted shoe sock, but the quantities in which these finds were recovered points towards a cottage industry in the making of clothing at Reykholt, particularly from phase 4 (Sveinbjarnardóttir, 2012, pp. 196-197).

10 beads were identified as belonging to phases 4 and 5, but a total of thirteen beads were recovered from the site. The beads from phases 4 and 5 were made of glass, amber, jet and agate (Sveinbjarnardóttir, 2012, pp. 151, 189-119). Aside from the glass beads a total of 570 glass sherds were recovered from the excavation, 97 of which belong to phase 4 and 218 of which belonged to phase 5. These come from windows (70 sherds), bottles (118 sherds) and miscellaneous vessels (127 sherds). Bottles include both cylindrical and square bottles, but all are of a green colour, while the miscellaneous sherds include delicate glasses, a probable painted glass vase, and cylindrical medicine bottles or phials. The presence of thin, delicate sherds and the early introduction of windows to the Reykholt farm has been interpreted as "signs of high status" (Sveinbjarnardóttir, 2012, pp. 151, 186-189).

In total there were 100 clay pipe fragments recovered from the farm mound at Reykholt, 8 of which were unstratified, and 9 of which belonged to phase 6. 65 fragments are identified as belonging to phase 5 and 18 to phase 4. From the 100 fragments a minimum of 14 pipes were identified and dated, two of which are positively identified as being English and a further two could possibly be English, with the rest being Dutch. Three bowls are dated to the mid to late 17th century, eight to the 18th century, and three to the 19th century.

A total of 454 pottery sherds were recovered from the farm site, 95 of which belong to the 19th century phase 6, 30 are unstratified and 3 are likely medieval and are identified as belonging to phase 2. These medieval sherds are thought to belong to activities related to the church, rather than the farm, as they were all recovered from contexts in the northern extent of the site, near the church. In addition, 2 sherds are identified as belonging to phase 3. This leaves 85 sherds which belong to phase 4 and 238 which belong to phase 5 (Sveinbjarnardóttir, 2012, pp. 151, 170-171).

An estimated minimum of 41 vessels were identified at Reykholt from finds lists, three storage/utility vessels, nine kitchenwares, 28 tableware vessels and one unidentified vessel. This great

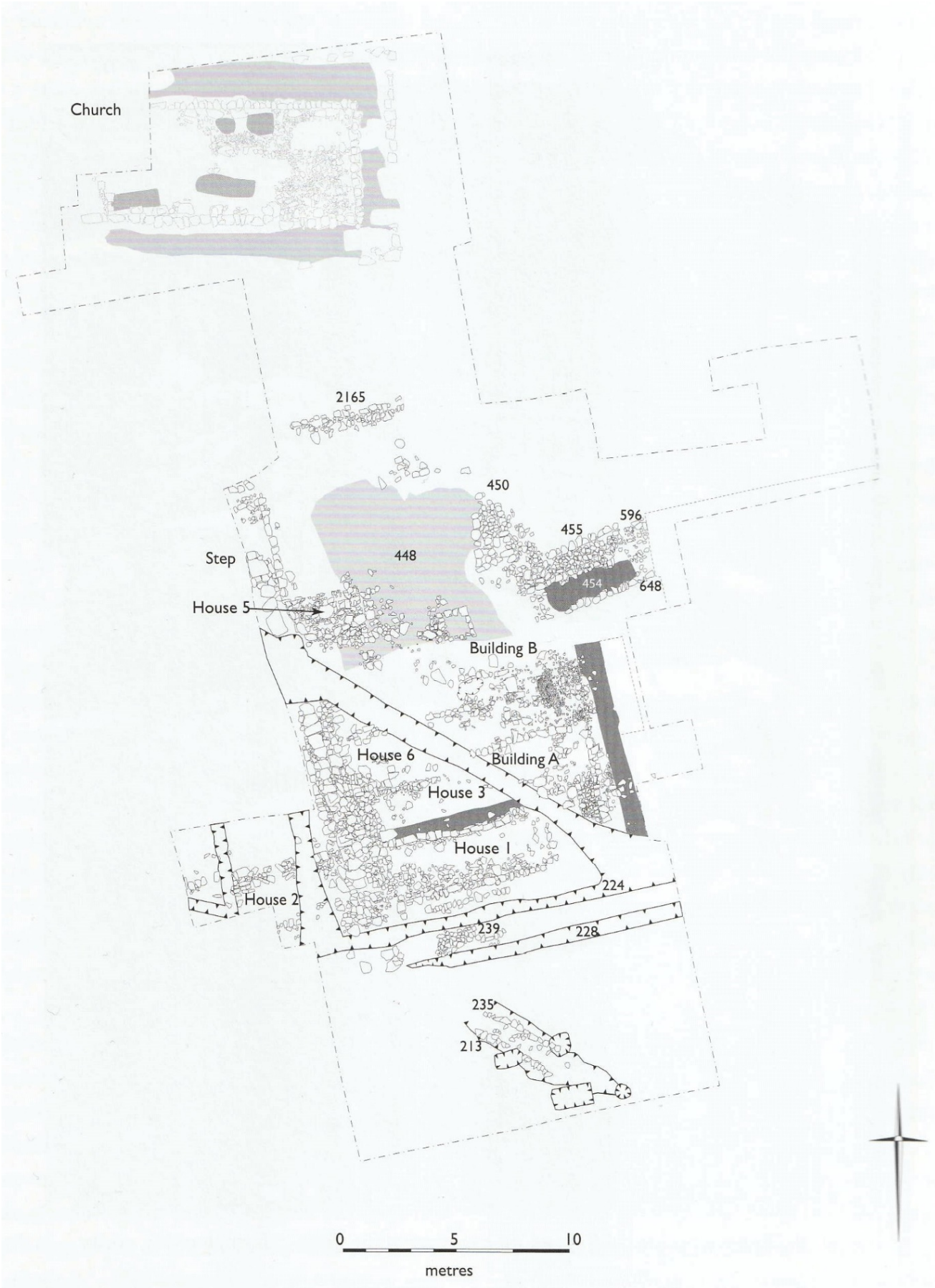


Figure 4.11. Reykholt excavation, phase 5 (Sveinbjarnardóttir, 2012, p. 117)

number of tablewares is interesting but of those, 10 are stoneware jugs or bottles, five are porcelain teawares and the remaining vessels are a rather even mix of slipwares, TGE and refined earthenware dining wares.

Within each category there is a measure of variation. Kitchenwares are mostly tripod pipkins but also a pan, while storage/utility vessel include a colander and tin-glazed medicine bottles known as albarellos. Perhaps as one might expect tableware is the most diverse with stoneware jugs and bottles, redware jugs, plates and bowls, both with and without sliptrail decoration, tin-glazed whiteware plates, both faience and maiolica, porcelain tea and coffee cups of both Chinese and European manufacture, as well as English and German or Dutch refined earthenwares, plates, bowls, cups and saucers.

The majority of vessels date to the 17th century, including all kitchenwares, with 11 vessels dated to the 18th century.

4.12. Sandártunga in Þjórsárdalur

Sandártunga was located in an area of land belonging to the bishop's seat at Skálholt from the 12th century on, though when exactly the farmstead itself was first occupied is unknown, with the first specific mention of the farm from 1587 (*DI XIII*, p. 167). Sandártunga was ultimately abandoned due a volcanic eruption in 1693 (*Jarðabók II*, p. 217). The first archaeological excavations took place at Sandártunga in 1949, led by Kristján Eldjárn (1951). His investigation consisted of an excavation inside the walls of the farmhouse, which only uncovered archaeology down to the floor layers of the last phase of occupation at the farm, without going through those floor layers. A second excavation took place in 2017 when Professor Gavin Lucas from the University of Iceland and Uggi Ævarsson from the Icelandic Heritage Agency did coring and took a trench through a midden in the much eroded farm mound. Between the two excavations other archaeologists had visited the site, although without conducting any excavation, and would often discover stray finds on the surface due to erosion (Lucas & Ævarsson, 2017, pp. 8-15).

The finds assemblage from the 1949 excavations was small, with only a few finds of iron, copper alloy and stone reported (Eldjárn, 1951), though a re-examination found the numbers of finds were under-reported. The surface finds have not added a great deal of variety to the assemblage, with the majority being iron objects or stones, though three sherds from a steatite vessels have been found as well (G. A. Gísladóttir, 2004). The 2017 investigation uncovered a total of 424 finds, not counting bones, the majority of which were charcoal and slag, along with 10 copper alloy finds, nine of iron, 20 pumice

pieces, and 18 manuport stones. In addition, two beads were recovered, along with two pottery sherds. No clay pipe fragments have been recovered from Sandártunga.

One theory for the dearth of material from Sandártunga has been that in being abandoned the inhabitants had plenty of time to empty the farm. This, however, does not explain the overall similarity between assemblages from the house and the midden, and in particular the lack of glass or ceramic material. Possibly, this points to a definitive lack of ceramic and glass vessels at Sandártunga during its occupation.

4.13. Skálholt in Biskupstungur

Skálholt in Biskupstungur was a bishop's seat from the 11th century and a school from the late 16th century to 1785 (Grímsdóttir, 2006, pp. 30, 162), when the two were moved away following a series of large earthquakes which shook the area the year before (Snæsdóttir, 2009, p. 70). From 1785 onwards Skálholt became a conventional Icelandic farmstead. Today, Skálholt is still considered an important church site, even if it's role is largely symbolic of the important cultural and ecclesiastical role the site played in Iceland's past (Snæsdóttir, 2009, p. 70).

Skálholt is possibly one of the best recorded sites of Icelandic history, largely due to its strong association with the church, with several descriptions of the site's structures from the 17th and 18th centuries, along with two site plans, one from 1784, the other undated but apparently older, of Skálholt as it appeared in the 18th century (Snæsdóttir, 2009, p. 70).

The first large-scale archaeological excavations at Skálholt took place between 1954 and 1958, led by Kristján Eldjárn, and focused on the church and nearby area, excavating older church remains, a building known as Þorláksbúð, and an underground tunnel which led between the church and the houses of the school and the bishop (Eldjárn, Ágústsson, Steffensen, & Christie, 1988). In 1984 to 1988 the National Museum took part in investigations, mapping the extent of remains at the site, largely through the use of trenches (G. Ólafsson, 2002).

In 2002 investigations began again, concluding in 2007 (Snæsdóttir, 2009, p. 70). These investigations focused on the remains of the buildings south of the church, and revealed the bishop's house, the school, and several other buildings. A tunnel and corridor extending from the church to the south can be said to split the site into eastern and western sections.

To the east, closest to the church were the dormitories for the students at the school, with the schoolhouse itself attached east of the dormitories. Two other, smaller, buildings are attached to these

school buildings, identified as a *konrektorshús* and an infirmary, which had been built atop an older structure known as a 'sleeping house' on the historical site plans. South of these was an 'acid' or 'sour' room (is. *sýrukleﬁ*), a room where food was preserved in large barrels of lactic acid, then a general purpose storage room, with the students' dining hall at the southern end of the east section (Snæsdóttir, 2009, pp. 72-74).

To the west, opposite the school buildings, were the houses of the bishop. These included living quarters, as well as an office and a library. The buildings were repurposed in the 19th century as the farmhouse of the Skálholt farmstead. South of the bishop's houses was a building, shown as split in two with one half labelled as the 'miller's' and the other the 'priest's' quarters on the 1784 plan. Underneath those buildings were the remains of another, probably the one labelled 'nursery' in the undated plan. Furthest south, opposite the dining hall, were two large, connected, buildings, labelled as 'pantry' and 'meat storage' on the site planes (Snæsdóttir, 2009, pp. 74-75, 77).

All the buildings so far mentioned could, at least in the earlier phases of occupation at the site, be accessed via the corridor which ran from the church and exited south of the dining hall and pantry. However, later reconstructions seem to have closed off sections of the site from the corridor, particularly the bishop's houses are closed off from the school buildings by the time the 1784 plan is drawn up. It has been suggested that this is due to a change in the relationship between the office of the bishop and the institution of the school, though the exact reasons are unknown. Other buildings include one labelled *miðbaðstofa*, west of the miller's and priest's quarters, a kitchen west of that, which stood in a small, partly cobbled, yard (Snæsdóttir, 2009, pp. 72-78).

While these structures seem to have gone through several phases of reconstruction during their occupation, the broad layout remains the same throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. Of older structures little seems to remain, with only a few wall fragments being noted under the school buildings (Snæsdóttir, 2009, pp. 72-73, 78). Also excavated were a part of the middens, but interestingly the majority of material recovered from them was faunal, with very little in the way artefactual finds. The large amount of recovered finds at Skálholt came from floor layers in the buildings. It should be noted that not excavated were the apartments of workers, which are known to be elsewhere at the site (Snæsdóttir, Lucas, & Vésteinsson, 2006).

A great number of finds have been recovered from investigations at Skálholt. Many of these are typical of conventional households of the time, with structural elements, such as nails and wood, but also window glass, which was relatively rare before the mid-18th century in Iceland. Others include elements of clothing and food preparation and consumption, spoons, textiles, and buttons, along with

firestarters, whetstones, beads, game pieces, tips of pens, metal cutlery, and a number of glass vessels, including sherds of a 'passglass' (Snæsdóttir et al., 2006, pp. 687-695).

Clay tobacco pipe fragments uncovered at Skálholt were 4897, with a minimum of 262 pipes (Lucas & Wacke, forthcoming). 83 fragments have maker's marks and pipes have been distinguished originating from England, Denmark, and Sweden, though the majority of distinguishable pipes is from the Netherlands. While a great number of the pipes have some sort of decoration, it mostly consists of simple rouletting.

During excavations at Skálholt nearly 12,000 pottery sherds were recovered, however, the majority of these originate from 19th or 20th century contexts, with 4,214 sherds dating to 17th and 18th century contexts, and three sherds dating to the 16th century. These divide into 1,128 sherds of lead-glazed redware, 125 of lead-glazed whiteware, 904 of stoneware, 713 of tin-glazed earthenwares, both maiolica and faience, 658 of refined earthenwares, and 643 sherds of porcelain, along with 55 sherds of unglazed earthenwares, mostly from redware flower pots or similar vessels, but also included 4 sherds of 'Jutishware', and unglazed red- and whiteware vessels.

A minimum of 570 vessels have been identified from the Skálholt pottery, with over half of these, or 338 vessels, falling into the category of tableware, while storage/utility vessels make up the second largest group, 110 vessels, and kitchenwares and unidentifiable vessels number 63 and 59, respectively. The majority, or 495 vessels, are dated to the 18th century, while 75 are dated to the 17th.

This great difference between tablewares and other types can be partly explained by the find context, that is, the majority of these are recovered from the school buildings and the bishop's houses, which does raise the question of whether the focus on middens at other sites has skewed the numbers towards kitchenwares, with tablewares more likely to have been trodden into the dirt floors. The majority of recovered kitchenwares are small pipkins, theorised to be utilised in the preparation of small meals or hot drinks, while the tablewares include saucers, cups, bowls, dishes and plates. Most of the plates were recovered from the bishop's houses, while dishes are more common in the dormitories. Saucers were more evenly distributed through the site, and cups are found almost exclusively in living quarters, and the corridor.

4.14. Skútustaðir in Mývatnssveit

Skútustaðir in Mývatnssveit in the north of Iceland is a farmstead and church site which has been occupied continuously since the settlement of Iceland. The site came to the interest of archaeologists in

2007 after cores taken at the site revealed the presence of a large midden and in 2008 excavations began (Edwald, 2009, p. 4), concluding in 2011 (Hicks, 2013, pp. 4-6). The excavations were a part of a project called *Landscapes of Settlement: Historical Ecology of the Colonization of Northern Iceland*, a collaborative project between the Institute of Archaeology, the City University of New York and the North Atlantic Biocultural Organisation, among others.

All excavations at Skútustaðir focused on middens, with few structural remains uncovered. During the investigations they progressed from trenching to small-scale open area excavations (Edwald, 2009, 2010; Hicks, 2011, 2013). In confirmation of the textual evidence the investigations revealed finds and contexts from the settlement period and into modernity (Hicks, 2011, p. 38). A total of 1034 finds numbers were registered during the excavations at Skútustaðir (Hicks, 2013). In general conditions were poor for finds, with iron artefacts being heavily corroded, and few artefacts of textile, leather and wood were recovered, despite good recovery conditions for bones.

The long occupation of Skútustaðir can be divided into eight broad phases, not all of which overlap well, given the way the site was excavated. Of these, phases 5 and 6 fall within the period under study. Phase 5 is dated circa 1477 to 1717 and phase 6 is dated post-1717.

The ceramic assemblage from Skútustaðir was examined and analysed by myself and Ágústa Edwald Maxwell.

A total of 91 clay pipe fragments were recovered during the investigations, from a minimum of 12 pipes. Three fragments have stamps or parts of stamps, though each one, a '*milkmeisje'*, 'WS', and 'HP' or 'IP', each are in use from the latter part of the 17th century to the end of the 19th. The pipe typologies indicate that the majority of identifiable pipes were manufactured in the 17th century. Every pipe fragment was recovered from contexts associated with phase 5.

Pottery sherds were 1,555 in total, belonging to contexts from settlement and into modernity. Of those only 163 sherds belong to either phase 5 or 6, with 1,200 sherds belonging to phase 8, post-1900. 110 sherds belong to phase 5, while 53 belong to phase 6. The sherds from the two relevant phases are of similar spread, though the later phase has a smaller percentage of kitchenware sherds as compared to the earlier phase. In both phases there is only five sherds of stoneware, 23 refined earthenware sherds, one of lead-glazed whiteware, six of tin-glazed whiteware with two of each of majolica, faience and unidentified. The rest, 128 sherds, are all redwares.

From both phases 5 and 6 there are a minimum of 18 vessels, with eight kitchenwares, 1 storage/utility vessel, nine of tableware, and one unidentified, likely a kitchenware. From the 18 vessels, 14 are dated to the 17th century and four to the 18th.

4.15. Stóraborg by Eyjafjöll

Stóraborg was a farmstead in southern Iceland, first mentioned in written sources in 1332 (*DI II*, p. 678), the farm was a church site until around 1700, but in 1709 the church was in ruins and at least a decade had passed since the last service had been held there (*Jarðabók I*, p. 45) and the farm was eventually abandoned around 1840 (Snæsdóttir, 1991b, p. 116).

The farm mound of Stóraborg was located on a small rise, near two rivers as well as the sea which had begun to erode the rise, taking nearly half the church and graveyard with it before excavations began in 1978, due to this investigations at Stóraborg are often referred to as the first rescue excavations in Iceland. Excavations would continue until 1990 with the first year focusing on the church and graveyard and subsequent years focusing on the farm mound itself. This excavation revealed about 8 phases of structures at Stóraborg, with structural and artefactual remains hinting at first occupation during the Viking Age (Snæsdóttir, 1991b).

Over 4,000 finds were recovered during the excavation including textiles, leather shoes, and children's toys (Snæsdóttir, 1991b). Pottery sherds numbered 410, and clay pipe fragments were 17. However, there is little published information available on Stóraborg and the site is still being analysed. As such the information included in this study is preliminary and there are indications that there may be more pottery sherds in the site's artefactual archives than are discussed here.

The clay pipe fragments were re-examined by me and include sherds from three bowls, but a mostly whole shank brings the minimum number of pipes up to four. Unfortunately, there is little in the way of identifying marks, with only one maker's mark, the Gouda snake which was in use from 1667 to 1808 ("Dutch clay pipes from Gouda,"). Two of the bowls can be tentatively dated to the middle or late 17th century based on typology but otherwise the pipe fragments add little to the dating of the site. The pipes are also spread across the site.

The 410 pottery sherds from Stóraborg are mostly from redware vessels, with 270 sherds of that type representing just under 66% of the total pottery assemblage. Other types include 67 sherds of stonewares, mostly jugs, jars, and bottles of primarily Rhenish manufacture, though there was at least one 'Martincamp' costrel present in the assemblage. Other categories being smaller, including 14 sherds of encrusted earthenware, 16 of lead-glazed whiteware, 15 of tin-glazed earthenware including 10 sherds of faience and 5 of majolica, as well as 1 of greyware and 2 porcelain sherds.

From the finds lists from Stóraborg an EMNV of 31 was established, all dated to the 17th century. There is an obvious emphasis on kitchenwares in the Stóraborg assembly, with 14 kitchenwares, nine tablewares, six storage/utility vessels and two unidentified vessels.

4.16. Vatnsfjörður in Ísafjarðardjúp

Vatnsfjörður was a farmstead in a fjord of the same name, which extends into Ísafjarðardjúp in the Vestfjord area of Iceland. The farmstead is first mentioned in historical sources from the 12th and 13th centuries and it seems likely that as early as the 11th century it was a chieftain's seat. In the Age of Sturlungar in the 13th century it was the seat of the family of Vatnsfirðingar, one of two main families in the Vestfjord area, and remained a seat of some power until the middle of the 15th century. In the early 16th century, the farmstead became a possession of the bishop's seat at Skálholt and remained as such until modernity. However, even if Vatnsfjörður was a possession of the bishop, the farmstead itself remained a seat of some power and around 1700 it owned, or had right to utilise, several other farmsteads in the area (Edvardsson, 2003, pp. 5-6).

Investigations in Vatnsfjörður began in 2003 with a combination of archaeological surveys and trenching (Edvardsson, 2003, p. 5) and continued until 2013. By 2013 the investigations had expanded to open several large areas, numerous trenches as well as archaeological landscape investigations and historical ones. The remains under investigation dated from all periods of habitation in Iceland, from settlement to modern (Isaksen, 2014, pp. 5-14). The investigations were a collaboration between many institutions, including, but not limited to, the association Vestfirðir in the Middle Ages, the Institute of Archaeology, the Vestfirðir Heritage Museum, the University of Iceland, the University of Oslo, the City University of New York, the University of Aberdeen, and the North Atlantic Biocultural Organisation (Isaksen, 2014, p. 5).

Of interest to the current study are the farmhouse remains excavated from 2008 to the end of investigations. The remains which were known, were said to be from a turf building constructed in 1884 and torn down in 1907, when it was replaced by a timber house (Isaksen, 2013, pp. 8-13). It soon became apparent that this last turf house was constructed on top of older structures and shared several walls with these older structures. These walls have been named 'foundational walls' and have formed a part of turf houses in Vatnsjörður from at least the 17th century on (Isaksen, 2013, p. 11). From the investigations there was, nonetheless, a clear division between the farmhouse built in 1884 and the earlier house, a passageway farm complex (is. *gangnabær*) apparently constructed in the 17th century and inhabited until the construction of the 1884 house. The 1884 house still retained some of the form of the older house,

including the foundational walls and a part of the central passageway. The farmhouse is divided into these two phases, pre-1884 and post-1884, with several small alterations taking place within these phases as the structures were repaired and changed (Isaksen, 2013, pp. 12-13). The pre-1884 phase can be divided into three sub-phases, the first dated to c. 1830-1884, the second c. 1750-1840 and the last dated to pre-1750.

During excavations at Vatnsfjörður more than 11 thousand finds were recorded across all years and all areas. The majority of these are associated with household activities, as well as fishing and iron production. These include pottery, textiles, fishhooks, slag, and so on. From these there were 4,916 pottery sherds and 367 clay tobacco pipe fragments which were analysed by myself and Ágústa Edwald Maxwell.

The 367 clay pipe fragments come from a minimum of 49 pipes, 14 of which had stamps or moulded decorations. Only one of these was too damaged to identify. Of the remaining 13, three were likely manufactured in Gorinchem in the Netherlands, two bear the Coat of Arms of the United Kingdom, one with the legend "DIEU ET MON DROI", and the last eight were likely manufactured in the Dutch city of Gouda. A total of 124 fragments had some decoration, the majority being rouletting of some kind. 44 pipes can be dated and range from the early 17th century to the late 19th century, 16 can be positively dated to the middle or late 18th century, 12 from the middle of the 17th century to the middle of the 18th, and 11 to the early to mid-17th century. The remaining five pipes can only be dated more broadly. Most bowl fragments show signs of use, though there are a few fragments, mostly quite small, which do not display sooting. Of interest are three pipes which have not been included in the discussion but are made of porcelain, distinguishing them from other pipes. These pipes are heavily decorated, painted and with gold bands. Such pipes were manufactured from the middle of the 19th century onwards, but never gained great popularity among smokers.

Out of the total number of 4,916 sherds from the investigations 4,338 sherds were recovered from the remains of the farmhouse, of which only 239 sherds come from the pre-1840 phases. 153 sherds were recovered from the 1750-1840 phase and 86 from the pre-1750 phase. From these an MNV of 20 was established, with seven vessels dated to the 17th century and 13 to the 18th. Ten vessels are tablewares, four kitchenwares and six storage/utility vessels.

Chapter 5: Imported Goods to Iceland

This chapter will introduce the analysis of the archaeological data from the assemblages discussed in the previous chapter. The pottery and clay tobacco pipe material will be examined and discussed through the three lenses of time, socio-economic standing and market access as those issues were discussed in chapter 3.

Before beginning on that a summation of the statistical data presented in the discussion in chapter 4 is in order. Table 5.1. presents the MNV and MNP for each site and the total number of each across all sites. One thing which immediately jumps out from these numbers is the size of the Skálholt assemblage in relation to other sites. When doing statistical comparisons this is clearly an important issue and threatens to skew any discussion based on these statistics. If I would treat Iceland as an amalgam, a single assemblage, I would not so much be discussing the consumption of Iceland as I would be the consumption of Skálholt, while the contribution of sites like Sandártunga would vanish entirely. This is one of the inherent dangers of a statistical approach, as touched on in chapter 3, and thus necessitates a deeper examination and discussion of the data in order to draw any useful conclusions.

Site	*MNV*	*MNP*
Aðalstræti	69	54
Arnarstapi	48	25
Bessastaðir	-	34
Búðarárbakki	1	1
Gilsbakki	4	1
Hólahólar	14	8
Kópavogsþingstaður	10	4
Miðvellir	9	1
Naust	11	2
Reykholt	41	11
Sandártunga	1	0
Skálholt	570	262
Skútustaðir	18	12
Stóraborg	31	4
Vatnsfjörður	20	49
Total	**847**	**468**

Table 5.1. MNV and MNP for each site.

Here is where the three lenses come into play as they allow an examination of the data not only as a totality but through time and by social factors. The discussion of each lens is further nuanced by using not only total MNV and MNP but by subdivisions of those data. While they are limited as it concerns the tobacco pipes, the pottery is subdivided in each section by both vessel group and ware type.

5.1. Distribution through Time

This section will examine changes in the distribution of pottery vessels and clay tobacco pipes between the 17th and 18th centuries, both as an amalgamation and by individual sites.

5.1.1. Quantitative Comparisons through Time

Looking at changes in the minimum number of vessels through time across all the sites there is a clear and decisive move to increasing numbers in the 18th century from the 17th, with an MNV of 239 belonging to the 17th century and 608 to the 18th. However, referring to table 5.2, the majority of these numbers belong to Skálholt, or 31% of all 17th century MNVs and 81% of all 18th century MNVs.

Once Skálholt is excluded from the MNV for each century becomes much closer, with an MNV of 164 belonging to the 17th century and 113 to the 18th (table 5.3.) That the higher number now belongs to the earlier century is surprising as this goes against the conventional wisdom that there is a gradual increase in the numbers of vessels from the 14th century onward (Lucas, 2010, p. 125). This, then, necessitates a more detailed examination. As discussed in chapter 3 there are issues of phasing and excavation bias at play here. For example, investigations at Skálholt revealed a majority of 18th century material, with much less 17th century material. However, for other sites, it was later material which was lacking with archaeology from those periods being highly disturbed.

Eight sites include material from both centuries. They are Gilsbakki, Kópavogsþingstaður, Miðvellir, Naust, Reykholt, Skálholt, Skútustaðir and Vatnsfjörður. The distribution of MNV within these eight sites (chart 5.2.) reveals that for half of the sites the majority of vessels date to the 17th century. For the remaining sites, those which only include material from one century, only one, Aðalstræti, only includes 18th century material, with the rest leaning towards the 17th.

For the clay pipe material, however, the MNP is not affected by this apparent counter-intuitive change, with the MNP increasing by about 30 pipes from the 17th century into the 18th. It should be noted here that the total MNP for the 17th and 18th centuries is lower than the total MNP given in table 5.1. This is due to there being pipes which cannot be identified as belonging to one century or the other, or else date to the 19th century.

It might be reasonable to expect these two categories, pottery and pipes, to experience similar or the same changes, and thus their relative frequencies should be similar, but this is not the case. It is possible that the growth in pipe consumption far outpaced that of pottery, though the fact that the consumption of pottery is a far more complex issue than the consumption of pipes complicates this view. Pipes were only used for smoking, while pottery was used for a wide range of activities, cooking, eating, serving, drinking, storage, etc. These myriad ways in which pottery was used, necessitates a more nuanced analysis than simple numbers to be able make any deductions about a change in the consumption of pottery.

	MNV		*MNP*	
Site	17th century	18th century	17th century	18th century
Aðalstræti	0	69	0	54
Arnarstapi	48	0	25	0
Bessastaðir	-	-	11	16
Búðarárbakki	1	0	1	0
Gilsbakki	1	3	0	1
Hólahólar	14	0	8	0
Kópavogsþingstaður	7	3	4	0
Miðvellir	5	4	0	0
Naust	5	6	0	2
Reykholt	30	11	3	8
Sandártunga	1	0	0	0
Skálholt	75	495	-	-
Skútustaðir	14	4	6	6
Stóraborg	31	0	1	1
Vatnsfjörður	7	13	14	16
Total	**239**	**608**	**73**	**104**

Table 5.2. Division of minimum number of vessels and pipes by site and century

With these figures, issues of excavation or analysis bias must be raised again. Both issues have already been discussed and acknowledged but the question of getting past them has not been addressed directly. The question that must be asked then is, do the MNV and MNP presented here yield a proper representation of the rate of discard at each site, where the rate of discard hints at the availability and amount of pottery at each site and how these change through time. One method by which it may be possible to determine this is calculating each site's Abundance Index, as discussed in chapter 3.2.1.

Identifying the stable group for the Abundance Index calculation is not a simple matter but examining the finds assemblages at each site there is only one group which is present at each site, aside from pottery and clay pipes. That artefact group is whetstones and whetstone fragments. Whetstones are a very utilitarian item, possessed, or at least utilised, by most people and rarely discarded until used up. Their discard rate can, then, be considered stable through time, though as Galle (2017, p. 176) points out, tools are often found in quantities too small to be useful. This fact is an issue here, as the minimum number of whetstones at each site is quite low (table 5.4.). Neither Stóraborg nor Bessastaðir are included here as it has not been possible to assess the number of whetstones, only that there were 225 fragments of whetstone discovered at Stóraborg and 71 fragments at Bessastaðir.

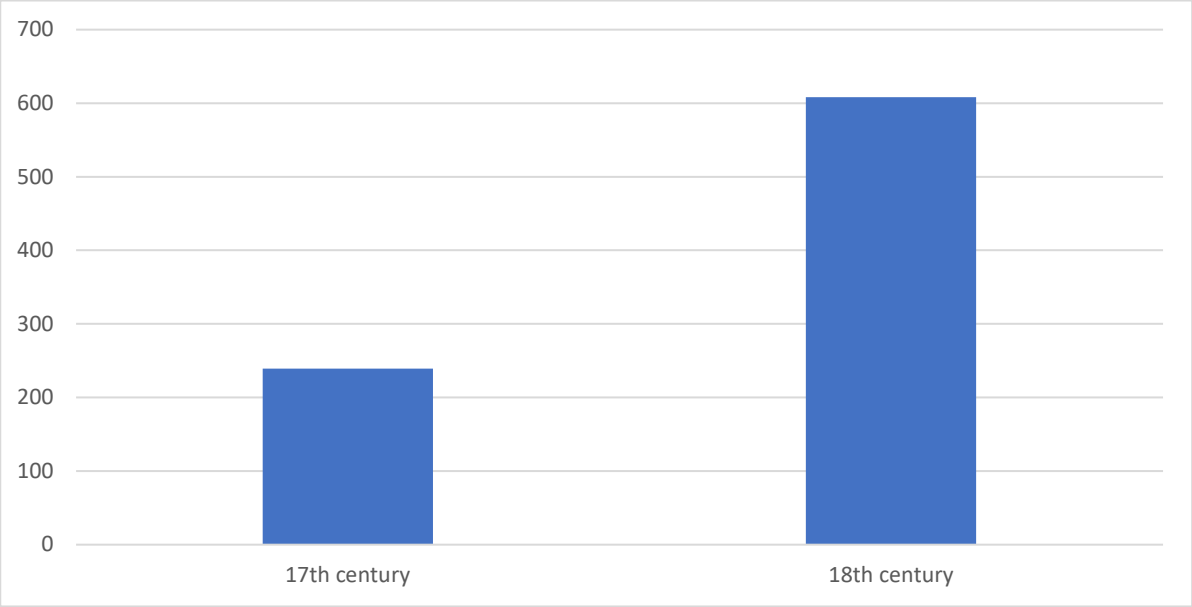


Chart 5.1. MNV Distribution by century

Abundance Indices measure rates of discard on a scale of 0 to 1, where a higher number indicates a higher rate of discard. Abundance Indices are, inherently, a comparative calculation, so that without at least two data points the calculation becomes useless. Looking at those sites for which a pottery Abundance Indices can be calculated (table 5.5.) from both centuries, being Gilsbakki, Kópavogsþingstaður, Naust, Reykholt, Skálholt and Vatnsfjörður the indices are, however, inconclusive. Gilsbakki, Naust, and Skálholt see an increase in their indices, indicating an increase in discard, while Kópavogsþingstaður, Reykholt and Vatnsfjörður see a decrease. For Vatnsfjörður, Kópavogsþingstaður and Naust, though, the difference is small, likely falling within a margin for error but certainly indicating a fairly stable consumption of pottery. Meanwhile Skálholt sees a huge increase in its abundance index, indicating an increase in consumption and Reykholt experiences a decrease.

For the 17th century the indices are remarkably consistent, with the majority of sites falling between 0,48 and 0,63. Only Arnarstapi, Hólahólar and Kópavogsþingstaður having higher rates of discard, and Búðarárbakki has a lower rate. For the 18th century the majority falls

	MNV	
	17th century	18th century
Total	239	608
Total sans Skálholt	164	113

Table 5.3. MNV with and without Skálholt

Site	***17th century***	***18th century***
Aðalstræti	0	1
Arnarstapi	1	0
Gilsbakki	1	2
Hólahólar	2	0
Kópavogsþingstaður	2	1
Miðvellir	0	1
Naust	3	3
Reykholt	21	11
Sandártunga	1	0
Skálholt	69	122
Skútustaðir	15	0
Vatnsfjörður	6	13

Table 5.4. Number whetstones at each site

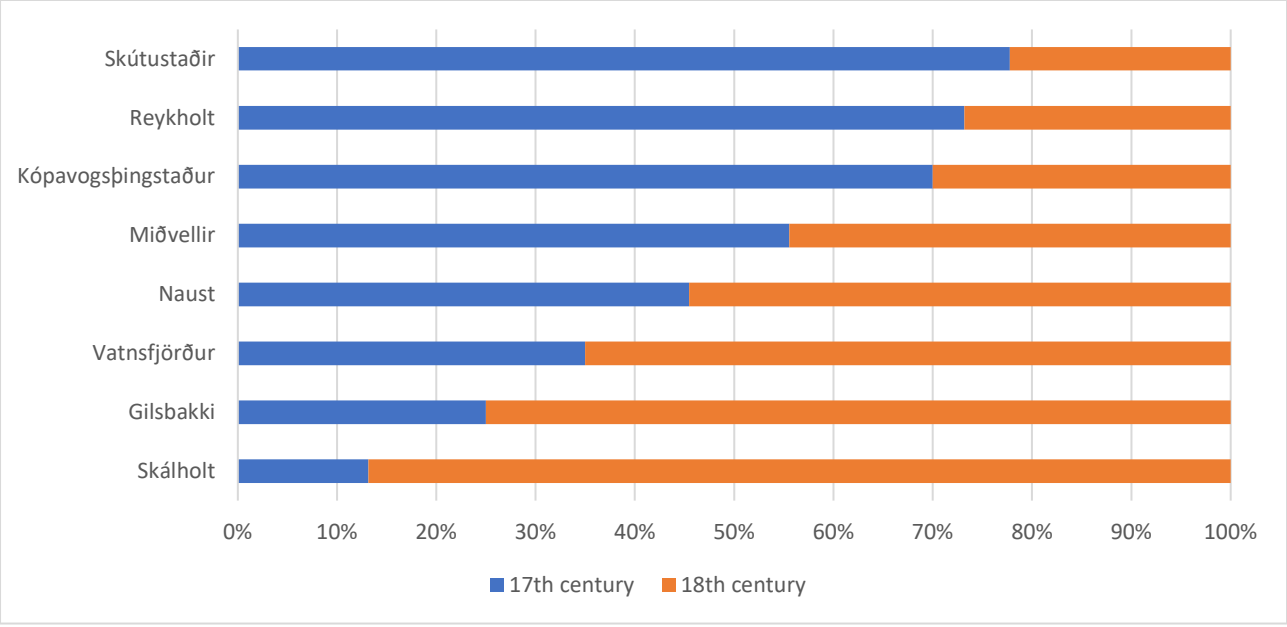


Chart 5.2. Relative distribution of MNV and EMNV through time for those sites which have material from both the 17th and 18th centuries.

within the range of 0,60 to 0,80. This does seem to indicate an increase in the rate of discard, as well as a diversification in that rate as the data is not as tightly clustered in the 18th century as in the 17th. This may be interpreted as a being a sign of changing consumption, however, focusing on just those sites that have data from both centuries it becomes very clear that most sites experience only small changes in their Abundance Indices. All sites experience a change within 0,10, which does indicate a change in rates of discard, though whether the change is an increase or decrease follows largely the same pattern as discussed for the change in MNV between centuries.

Calculating the Abundance Indices for clay pipes show rates of discard that are slightly less consistent across the board, though there is some grouping. For the 17th century there is a group of three sites with a rate lower than 0,30, and another at 0,67 and above, though both show great variation within them. In the 18th century there are similar groupings, though slightly less broad variation. The first group is 0,85 and above, with the second group being between 0,40 and 0,50. This shows the same, broad trend as the pottery Abundance Indices, that is an increase in the rate of discard between centuries, with only Vatnsfjörður seeing a decrease between centuries.

Site	*17th century*	*18th century*
Aðalstræti		0,99
Arnarstapi	0,98	
Búðarárbakki	0,13	
Gilsbakki	0,50	0,60
Hólahólar	0,88	
Kópavogs-þingstaður	0,78	0,75
Miðvellir		0,80
Naust	0,63	0,67
Reykholt	0,59	0,50
Sandártunga	0,50	
Skálholt	0,52	0,80
Skútustaðir	0,48	
Vatnsfjörður	0,54	0,50

Table 5.5. Pottery Abundance Indices

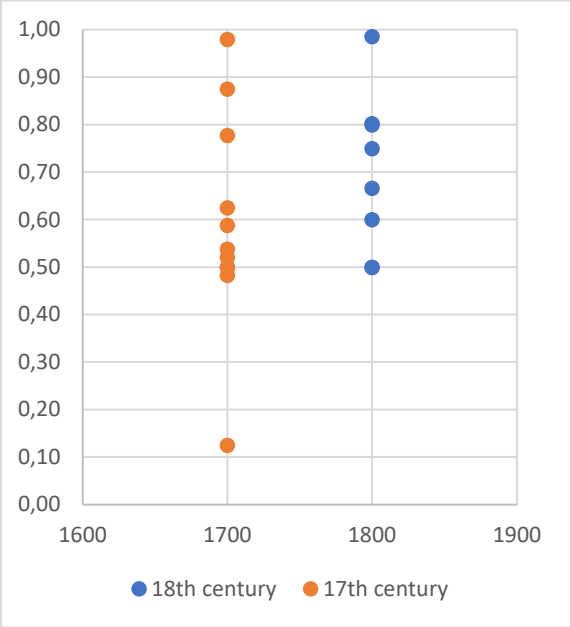


Chart 5.3. Pottery Abundance Indices

Site	*17th Century*	*18th Century*
Aðalstræti		0,98
Arnarstapi	0,96	
Búðarárbakki	0,13	
Gilsbakki		0,50
Hólahólar	0,80	
Kópavogsþingstaður	0,67	
Naust		0,40
Reykholt	0,13	0,42
Sandártunga		
Skútustaðir	0,29	
Vatnsfjörður	0,70	0,55

Table 5.6. Clay Pipe Abundance Indices

The calculation of the Abundance Indices would seem to indicate that, at least for the sites where the indices can be calculated for both centuries, the MNV and MNP calculations are a reliable metric on changes in the rate of discard. Pottery remains rather constant in its rate of discard, with only a small increase in the rate of discard for pottery but a much more significant increase in the rate of discard of clay pipes. However, the low numbers of whetstones means that the indices as calculated cannot be entirely relied upon and another artefact group would be preferable, would it exist. For this reason, Abundance Indices will not be used for the remainder of this study, instead relying entirely on the absolute and relative values of MNV and MNP.

Having made certain that the MNV and MNP analyses are reliable and the numbers can be considered representative of rates of discard, the question of the variation in usage comes to the fore. As already noted, pipes are used for smoking, while pottery is used for a variety of things, mostly concerning foodways. How the pottery varies by ware type and form is more important than how many vessels in total there may have been.

5.1.2. Comparison of Vessel Groups through Time

The division of MNV by vessel groups, as discussed in chapter 3, allows for an examination of the ways in which usage of pottery changed through time. Referring to table 5.7. there is a clear increase in all categories between centuries, although that increase is only by one vessel in the case of kitchenwares. The most dramatic increase is that seen in tablewares, where an almost fourfold increase between centuries is apparent, and unidentified vessels, with a fourfold increase.

	Tableware		*Kitchenware*		*Storage/Utility*		*Unidentified*	
Site	17th century	18th century	17th century	18th century	17th century	18th century	17th century	18th century
Aðalstræti	0	49	0	11	0	5	0	4
Arnarstapi	23	0	18	0	7	0	0	0
Búðarárbakki	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Gilsbakki	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0
Hólahólar	6	0	7	0	0	0	1	0
Kópavogs-þingstaður	2	0	4	2	1	1	0	0
Miðvellir	2	2	2	1	0	0	1	1
Naust	0	0	3	5	1	0	1	1
Reykholt	19	9	9	0	2	1	0	1
Sandártunga	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Skálholt	33	305	10	53	24	86	8	51
Skútustaðir	7	1	6	2	1	0	0	1
Stóraborg	9	0	14	0	6	1	2	0
Vatnsfjörður	4	6	2	2	1	5	0	0
Total	106	374	76	77	43	98	14	59

Table 5.7. MNV of vessel groups through time

That kitchenwares do not increase significantly in number is perhaps unsurprising as they can be considered to be of primarily utilitarian value. Cooking pots were used for cooking and how many pots a household had is likely to have been based on the size of the household than anything else. However, considering the increase known to have taken place in the import of coffee through the 18th century (*Hagskinna*, 1997, pp. 434-443) it might be reasonable to see an increase in the presence of kitchenwares which could have been used to brew coffee, yet this is not the case.

The increase in tablewares between centuries comes almost entirely from two sites, Skálholt and Aðalstræti, while Skálholt and Arnarstapi account for half of the tablewares in the 17th century. From just these numbers an argument could be made for a change in the approach to consumption of pottery, with less emphasis on the pottery vessels for use in the preparation of a meal towards an emphasis on pottery vessels from which the meal is eaten. From this it is possible to argue for a move from a private or even utilitarian view on meals and mealtimes towards a more performative one, where it is, at least, equally important that the meal be presented properly as for it to be nourishing.

Examining the subdivision of tablewares, reveals an image which does not quite fit the preceding discussion. Focusing on the 17th century to begin with, there are only six teaware vessels identified, with the majority of tablewares being dining wares, with a good amount of drinking wares as well. By the 18th century the number of dining wares has tripled, while the number of drinking wares only increases by 10. Teawares, however, go from six to 144. This increase in teawares is huge but is made through the contribution of only two sites, Aðalstræti and Skálholt. Despite this it might be reasonable to expect this

	Dining ware		*Drinking ware*		*Teaware*	
Site	17th century	18th century	17th century	18th century	17th century	18th century
Aðalstræti	0	36	0	1	0	12
Arnarstapi	16	0	4	0	0	0
Búðarárbakki	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gilsbakki	0	0	1	2	0	0
Hólahólar	3	0	3	0	0	0
Kópavogsþingstaður	1	0	1	0	0	0
Miðvellir	0	1	1	0	0	0
Naust	0	0	0	0	0	0
Reykholt	9	3	7	3	2	3
Sandártunga	0	0	0	0	0	0
Skálholt	16	133	15	41	2	128
Skútustaðir	5	0	0	0	1	1
Stóraborg	1	0	6	0	1	0
Vatnsfjörður	4	4	0	1	0	0
Total	55	177	38	48	6	144

Table 5.8. Subdivision of tablewares through time

great increase in vessels connected with the drinking and presentation of hot drink to be accompanied by an increase in kitchenwares used to prepare them.

This is not the case, though, and the question of interpreting this is not easy to answer. It is likely that an increase is not seen in this as metal pots may have increased in popularity, and ceramic cooking pots have always been multi-functional, used both to cook small meals and to brew hot drinks rather than being specialized in their function. There would then have been no real need to increase the number of ceramic pots even as consumption of these hot drinks increased.

5.1.3. Comparison of Ware Types through Time

Comparing changes through time of the different ware types there is an increase in the MNV of all ware types, aside from undecorated lead-glazed redwares (ULR) (tables 5.9. and 5.10.). This is to be expected as the general perception is that as time passes not only does a greater quantity of pottery become available but also a greater variety. ULRs are the only ware type which does not see an increase in MNV, but they decrease in number by three vessels. Lead-glazed whitewares and unglazed earthenwares only increase slightly in number, while other ware types see much larger increase, stonewares increase by more than half, slipwares see a little over threefold increase, and TGE vessels from the 18th century are almost four times as many as from the 17th century. Porcelains go from a total of five vessels to 100 and refined earthenwares, introduced

in the 18th century, come in at an MNV of 88. The fact that this new ware type is so readily accepted may indicate a growth in the wealth expended on pottery and an increased emphasis on tablewares.

However, as discussed in the two previous sections Skálholt tends to skew the numbers towards the higher end and so it is reasonable to look at the totals again without Skálholt's contribution. Of 88 refined earthenware vessels in the 18th century 67 belong to Skálholt, 92 out of 100 porcelain vessels, 104 out of 116 stoneware vessels, and 109 of 116 TGE vessels.

Once these have been accounted for there are only two ware types which increase in number between centuries, slipwares and porcelains. Slipwares increase from 17 vessels to 35 and porcelains from five to eight, in both cases due to high number of these wares present at Aðalstræti. Refined earthenwares do come in at 21 vessels, but of those 15 belong to Aðalstræti. Perhaps most noticeable is the decrease in ULR vessels, which go from 79 vessels in the 17th century to 23 in the 18th century, and in stonewares, going from 36 17th century vessels to 12 18th century vessels.

This decrease in number of vessels, as noted before, goes against the common understanding of the change in pottery consumption through time. The reasons for this may be many, already discussed are problems in dating and excavation bias, while other reasons may be indicated by socio-economic factors, such as the trade companies controlling the number and kinds of pottery coming to the island, or an increase in the wealth gap, allowing sites such as Skálholt to increase its wealth expenditure on pottery while other sites did not. It is also possible that the pattern of an increase in expensive tablewares and porcelains indicates an expansion in the availability and expenditure on tablewares, while the decrease in ULRs indicates a diminishing investment in kitchenwares, possibly as pottery was replaced with metal.

Whatever the reason it is clear that the differences that may have been between Skálholt and other sites in the 17th century was magnified in the 18th. Ceramic consumption at Aðalstræti also reveals a different pattern to other sites, where tablewares of middling to low quality and kitchenwares are preferred, i.e. slipwares, ULRs, and refined earthenwares.

Provided the constant caveats in the preceding discussion it is clear that an amalgamated approach to the Icelandic assemblages is highly problematic and that finding other ways to deal with the assemblages is important in an attempt to understand consumption of pottery and clay tobacco pipes in Iceland. Given the extent of the difference between Skálholt and other sites, along with the exceptions for Aðalstræti and the low numbers from Búðarárbakki and Sandártunga, is a strong indication that there are socio-economic factors which influence the ways in which pottery was accumulated, as will be discussed in the next section.

	Unglazed Earthenware		*Undecorated Lead-glazed Redware*		*Slipware*		*Lead-glazed Whiteware*	
Site	*17th century*	*18th century*	*17th century*	*18th century*	*17th century*	*18th century*	*17th century*	*18th century*
Aðalstræti	0	2	0	10	0	30	0	0
Arnarstapi	1	0	23	0	8	0	2	0
Búðarárbakki	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Gilsbakki	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Hólahólar	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	0
Kópavogsþingstaður	0	0	4	2	0	0	0	0
Miðvellir	0	0	2	1	1	1	1	0
Naust	0	1	4	3	0	0	0	2
Reykholt	0	0	8	1	4	0	2	0
Sandártunga	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Skálholt	4	7	15	68	4	36	6	12
Skútustaðir	0	0	12	3	1	0	0	0
Stóraborg	2	0	14	0	0	0	1	0
Vatnsfjörður	0	0	3	3	3	3	0	1
Total	8	10	94	91	21	71	12	16

Table 5.9. MNV by ware-types; Unglazed and lead-glazed earthenwares

	Tin-Glazed Earthenware		*Stoneware*		*Refined Earthenware*		*Porcelain*	
Site	*17th century*	*18th century*	*17th century*	*18th century*	*17th century*	*18th century*	*17th century*	*18th century*
Aðalstræti	0	3	0	3	0	15	0	6
Arnarstapi	3	0	10	0	0	0	1	0
Búðarárbakki	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gilsbakki	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Hólahólar	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
Kópavogsþingstaður	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Miðvellir	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0
Naust	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Reykholt	5	2	8	2	0	4	3	2
Sandártunga	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Skálholt	14	109	32	104	0	67	0	92
Skútustaðir	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
Stóraborg	4	0	9	0	0	0	1	0
Vatnsfjörður	0	1	1	5	0	0	0	0
Total	31	116	68	116	0	88	5	100

Table 5.10. MNV by ware-types; Tin-glazed earthenwares, Stonewares, refined earthenwares and porcelain

5.2. Distribution by Socio-economic Standing

This section will examine the distribution of pottery vessels and pipes by site standing as established in section 3.2.3. While the material in this chapter will be examined by these ranks, the ranks themselves will also be re-examined and questioned.

1	Hólar, Skálholt, Arnarstapi, Bessastaðir
2	Gilsbakki, Reykholt
3	Aðalstræti, Kópavogsþingstaður, Naust, Skútustaðir, Stóraborg, Vatnsfjörður
4	Hólahólar
5	Búðarárbakki, Miðvellir, Sandártunga

Table 5.11. Standing ranks of the 16 sites, from highest to lowest

5.2.1. Quantitative Comparison by Standing

Examining the quantities of MNV and MNP by standing rank, where these numbers for each site of a specific ranking have been added up, several problems are readily apparent.

Comparing rank 2 and rank 3 the higher rank has far fewer MNVs. This is not entirely surprising, given that rank 2 includes two sites while rank 3 includes six. Calculating the average MNVs we see that for the 17th century rank 2's average is somewhat higher than that of rank 3, as might be expected. For the 18th century, however, there is a complete reversal in this, with rank 3 averages being three times as high as that of 18th century rank 2. An explanation for this difference is not readily apparent at this stage. It should be noted that the majority of Reykholt's pottery material is dated to the 17th century, while the reverse is true for Gilsbakki, though that site has so few vessels that by itself is not enough to reverse balance out the average numbers. Rank 3 does include the two non-farm sites, Aðalstræti and Kópavogsþingstaður, but excluding them from the calculation changes little. The MNV drops from 64 in the 17th century to 57, with an average of 14,25 up from 10,67. While the change is more noticeable for the 18th century as the MNV changes from 98 to 23, and the average from 15,83 to 5,75. These numbers do remain higher than those of the rank above, though with a smaller margin. This does, however, lend some strength to an argument that Aðalstræti and Kópavogsþingstaður should not be included in this ranking system, being fundamentally different from the other sites under examination.

For rank 2, 4 and 5 the MNV from the 17th century to the 18th century decreases, with this also being true of rank 3 if Aðalstræti and Kópavogsþingstaður are excluded. This change may be attributed to excavation bias, as all sites in these three ranks have a majority of surviving 17th century material. This is particularly evident for rank 4, as it includes only one site, which has no recovered 18th century

Standing Rank	*17th century*	*17th c. av.*	*18th century*	*18th c. av.*	***Total***	***Average of Total***
1	123	61,50	495	247,50	615	309,00
2	31	15,50	14	7,00	45	22,5
3	64	10,67	95	15,83	161	26,50
4	14	14,00	0	0,00	14	14,00
5	7	2,33	4	1,33	11	3,67

Table 5.12. Total MNV by standing rank, century and averages per site

material. The reverse is true of rank 1, where the rise in MNV between centuries is huge, with the average MNV for the 18th century being four times higher than that of the 17th century.

The fourth rank only has a single site, which only includes material from the 17th century. This brings into question the need for this fourth rank, as it currently stands, and means that it is of limited value in comparison studies. As discussed in section 3.2.3. the line between ranks 3 and 4 is narrow and having examined these numbers it is clear that it would be of more use to merge these two ranks, than to keep Hólahólar separate under rank 4. By the same token the removal of Aðalstræti and Kópavogsþingstaður from rank 3 results in numbers, both absolute and averages, which are very close to both rank 2 and 4, putting into question the need to differentiate between these three ranks.

Notable is the great leap between rank 1 and the ranks below, with rank 1 having between 9 and 10 times the numbers of the rank with the second highest numbers, and the differences between rank 5 and the ranks above. This further highlights the point made above, whether ranks 2, 3, and 4 need to be differentiated, showing a clear high-middling-low ranking scale.

Standing Rank	*17th century*	*17th c. average*	*18th century*	*18th c. average*	***Total***	***Average of Total***
1	36	12,00	16	5,33	52	13,00
2	3	1,50	9	4,50	12	6,00
3	25	4,17	79	13,17	104	17,33
4	8	8,00	0	0,00	8	8,00
5	1	0,33	0	0,00	1	0,33

Table 5.13. Total MNP by standing rank, century and averages per site. Note that here Bessastaðir is included in the rank 1 numbers.

High	Hólar, Skálholt, Arnarstapi, Bessastaðir
Middling	Gilsbakki, Hólahólar, Naust, Reykholt, Skútustaðir, Stóraborg, Vatnsfjörður
Low	Búðarárbakki, Miðvellir, Sandártunga
Non-Farmstead (NF)	Aðalstræti, Kópavogsþingstaður

Table 5.14. Suggested alternative ranks

Examining the MNP some of the same problems are apparent, rank 3 has a higher MNP than rank 2, and Hólahólar in rank 4 still only has 17th century material. What is not present, however, is the overall decrease in material from the 17th to the 18th century, with ranks 2, and 3 all displaying an increase in both overall numbers and averages. Only rank 1 sees a decrease, but this is from Skálholt pipes not being differentiated by century. Even if Aðalstræti and Kópavogsþingstaðir are excluded this pattern does not change, though the increase may then be considered within a margin of error. Excluding those two sites the MNP drops from 25 to 21 for the 17th century with the averages increasing to 5,25, while for the 18th century the MNP drops to 25 and the average to 6,25.

Based on the addition of this archaeological data into the historically synthesised ranking system, it becomes clear that the perceived difference in social standing, between, for example, the farmstead and church site at Reykholt and the farmstead and fishery of Hólahólar, is not borne out in the archaeological ceramic record. With that in mind an alternative ranking system is proposed here, based on a combination of the archaeological and historical record. The alternative rank system combines ranks 2, 3 and 4, while excluding the non-farmstead sites of Aðalstræti and Kópavogsþingstaður. The question then becomes how to handle these two sites going forward. The argument can be made that Kópavogsþingstaður's data can be used in comparative studies of *thing* sites, but Aðalstræti is somewhat trickier, being unique in contemporary Iceland. As there are no other *thing* sites present in the current study, the suggestion here is to create a separate rank for these non-farmstead sites. The data from this non-farmstead rank may be used to compare ceramic consumption at sites between the domestic farmstead sites and the more transient nature of activity at the factory and *thing* sites.

In section 3.2.3. it is noted that Búðarárbakki is, strictly speaking not a farmstead, but rather a workshop cottage, in that sense more akin to Aðalstræti than Arnarstapi and as such the argument might be made that Búðarárbakki belongs in the non-farmstead rank. However, Búðarárbakki was primarily a home, a domestic site and as such is included here in the low rank. A future study which includes more cottages may warrant a special analytical category for such sites, the current study, though, does not.

Comparing the averages of the historically synthesised ranking system (tables 5.12. and 5.13.) and the suggested alternative (table 5.15. and 5.16.) there is little difference, indicating that these can be combined with little overall effect on the statistics. The separation of the non-farmstead sites, however,

MNV	*17th century*	*17th c. average*	*18th century*	*18th c. average*	***Total***	***Average of Total***
High	122	61,50	495	247,50	618	309,0
Middling	102	14,57	37	5,29	139	19,86
Low	7	2,33	4	1,33	11	3,67
NF	7	3,5	72	36	79	39,5

Table 5.15. Alternative rank total MNV by standing rank, century and averages per site

MNP	*17th century*	*17th c. Average*	*18th century*	*18th c. Average*	***Total***	***Average of Total***
High	36	12,00	16	5,33	52	17,33
Middling	32	4,57	34	4,86	66	9,43
Low	1	0,33	0	0,00	1	0,33
NF	4	2,00	54	27,00	58	29,00

Table 5.16. Alternative rank total MNP by standing rank, century and averages per site. Note that Bessastaðir is included in the high rank numbers.

draws out an important difference between these sites and the farmsteads, namely that in the 18th century they occupy a space somewhere between middling and high ranking sites in their ceramic consumption, both pottery and tobacco pipes, while they are more on par with low ranking sites in the 17th century. This may be due to Kópavogsþingstaður being the only one contributing to 17th century material, while Aðalstræti forms the majority of non-farmstead material in the 18th century. Aðalstræti is, as previously mentioned, unique and its ceramic collection is among the largest ones, while the middling sites, overall, skew towards a 17th century bias in the available material. It is, therefore, possible that the place occupied by non-farmstead sites as seen here is not entirely representative of such sites and in future studies it may prudent, if at all possible, to further differentiate such sites into subgroups, so that *thing* sites might form their own rank, for example.

This alternative ranking system will be used going forward, rather than the historically synthesised ranks.

5.2.2. Comparison of Vessel Groups by Standing

Comparing the spread of MNV by vessel groups and standing rank, there is a clear high-middling-low division between the ranks, with the non-farmstead rank showing a tendency to occupy a space between the high and middling ranks and having a particular emphasis on tablewares in the 18th century. This may indicate that rather than food being cooked and stored at these sites, prepared meals were brought in from elsewhere and eaten on-site. In the 17th century there average MNV of non-farmstead sites are rather uniform, though kitchenwares are the largest group.

While there is also a great emphasis on tablewares at high rank sites in the 18th century there is a considerable presence of vessels for cooking and storage which may be interpreted as food being prepared and consumed on-site but with an emphasis on presentation, in contrast to the non-farmstead sites. The same pattern is present in the 17th century for the high ranking sites, with tablewares forming the largest category, however, the differences between categories are much less pronounced than they are in the 18th century.

For middling rank sites, the difference between the numbers of 18th century tablewares on the one hand and kitchenwares and storage/utility vessels on the other is far less dramatic, though tablewares do remain higher in number than the latter two categories. Tablewares are also the largest category in the 17th century, but kitchenwares not far behind, with storage/utility vessels being much fewer.

Standing Rank	*Tableware*		*Kitchenware*		*Storage/Utility*		*Unidentified*	
	17th century	18th century	17th century	18th century	17th century	18th century	17th century	18th century
High	56	305	28	53	31	86	8	51
Middling	46	18	41	10	11	6	4	3
Low	2	2	3	1	0	0	2	1
NF	2	49	4	13	1	6	0	4

Table 5.17. MNV by vessel group and standing rank.

	Dining ware		*Drinking ware*		*Teaware*	
	17th century	18th century	17th century	18th century	17th century	18th century
High	32	133	19	41	2	128
Middling	22	7	17	5	2	3
Low	0	1	1	0	0	0
NF	1	36	1	1	0	12

Table 5.18. Subdivision of tableware MNV by standing.

At low rank, though, the relative distribution of vessel groups is roughly equal, with 17th century kitchenwares forming the largest group. There is a small change between centuries even in this group, where kitchenwares decrease in number, while tablewares remain constant in number. With such small numbers, however, it is possible that these differences are within a margin of error and that a larger pool of low ranking sites would reveal that all groups remain stable in number across time and vessel group.

The above seems to indicate that it is possible to identify a farmstead's broad socio-economic standing by examining the relative distribution of vessel groups within the site's ceramic record. However, a quick glance at the numbers by site (table 5.7.) reveals that the number of tablewares and kitchenwares identified for the high rank site Arnarstapi are roughly equal, which, by that logic, would place the site at middling rank at best. Given the amount and type of material present at Arnarstapi an interpretation of it as a middling rank site is, however, not appropriate.

The differentiation between ranks then, remains largely based on the amount of material present rather than any clear pattern of the vessel groups, and looking at the subdivision of tablewares there is not a clear differentiation there either. There are a high number of dining wares present in both the 17th and 18th century for high ranking sites. In the 17th century dining wares are the largest subgroup, but they are nearly equal in number to teawares in the 18th.

The similarities between the 17th century tableware spread of high ranking and middling sites are somewhat striking, with the high ranking sites possessing somewhat more dining wares but being almost equal in drinking wares and teawares. It is tempting to interpret this as a sign of a growing wealth gap, where the high ranking sites not only have more but also have more vessels associated with more expensive practices, being the consumption of hot drinks. Middling sites appear to have favoured drinking wares over teawares, emphasising cold drink, ale or beer, over hot drinks, though the sample size for the 18th century is too small to make any definitive statements on this.

With only two tableware vessels from the low standing sites it is not possible to draw much in the way of conclusions. That the vessels are a 17th century drinking ware and a 18th century dining ware might indicate that hot drinks were not something these sites were expending wealth on. Much the same can be said of the 17th century non-farmstead material, where only two vessels are present, also a dining ware and drinking ware. The 18th century material, however, still presents the image of falling between the high and middling sites, with an emphasis on dining wares and a decent number of teawares.

Interpreting the preference for teawares at high ranking and non-farmstead sites is not as simple as stating that teawares tended to be more expensive and therefore only affordable to the higher ranking

sites. There are also issues of knowledgeable consumption and access to the markets which sold these goods that need to be considered (see sections 3.2.4. and 5.3.).

5.2.3. Comparison of Ware Types by Standing

The distribution of clay pipes and pottery ware types by standing immediately reinforces the point made above, of the clear high-middling-low division with the 18th century non-farmstead sites representing a middle ground between the high and middling ranks. Unglazed earthenwares appear to have a fairly even spread across the standing ranks, though the majority of them can be found in the high rank, represented by flowerpots and greyware 'Jutishware' cooking pots.

When it comes to the three most expensive categories of pottery, TGE, refined earthenwares and porcelains, a far clearer distinction is noticeable. In the 18th century TGE and refined earthenwares are all but absent from low rank sites and rare on middling sites, while TGE are more numerous at middling rank sites in the 17th century than the 18th. Though they are more numerous at middling rank sites than non-farmstead sites in the 17th century they are still less than a quarter of the average number of TGE present at high ranking sites in that century. Porcelains are entirely absent from low ranking sites and rare at middling sites, regardless of century. At high ranking sites, however, porcelains and TGE are two of the three most numerous ware types in the 18th century, with only stonewares having a higher MNV.

	Unglazed Earthenware		*ULR*		*Slipware*		*Lead-glazed Whiteware*	
Rank	17th century	18th century	17th century	18th century	17th century	18th century	17th century	18th century
High	5	7	38	68	12	36	8	12
Middling	2	1	49	10	8	4	3	4
Low	1	0	3	1	1	1	1	0
NF	0	2	4	12	0	30	0	0

Table 5.19. MNV by ware-types; Unglazed and lead-glazed earthenwares

	Tin-Glazed Earthenware		*Stoneware*		*Refined Earthenware*		*Porcelain*	
Rank	17th century	18th century	17th century	18th century	17th century	18th century	17th century	18th century
High	17	109	42	104	0	67	1	92
Middling	12	3	24	8	0	5	4	2
Low	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0
NF	2	3	1	4	0	15	0	6

Table 5.20. MNV by ware-types and standing; Tin-glazed earthenwares, Stonewares, refined earthenwares and porcelain

In the 17th century, though, high ranking porcelain consumption at high ranking sites is on par with that of middling rank sites. While refined earthenwares form a significant grouping for high ranking sites in the 18th century they are on par with ULRs. In the 17th century stonewares are the largest ware type for high ranking sites, though ULR are not far behind.

From this discussion it appears that a pattern emerges. In the 17th century the differences between ranks is largely a matter of scale rather than expenditure, though the number of TGE and slipwares are noticeably higher in the high rank than that of lower ranks. These two ware types are commonly decorated and, while not the most expensive, they are on the more expensive side. In the 18th century, however, this matter of scale is compounded by an emphasis on more expensive ware types, with considerable resources being poured into obtaining porcelains, TGE and refined earthenware, as well as stonewares. The latter ware type is the least decorative of the four types but contains many jugs and bottles which can be associated with both utilitarian purpose, as well as luxury, as many of these were sold containing beer, liquor or mineral water. This appears to indicate a clear preference for objects of display and luxury, a point which appears to be corroborated by the great number of clay tobacco pipes present at higher ranking sites (table 5.16).

5.3. Distribution by Market Access

As discussed in section 3.2.4. the question of the degree to which households living on the sites under study had access to markets is of importance when considering which goods are available to them. However, it is also clear that the question of market access is a complicated one where not only access to the primary markets in the trade harbours must be considered, but also secondary markets in the forms of markets at *thing*, *landsprang*, and illicit markets. Given this complexity it is necessary to limit the discussion to straight-line distances in three groups, as discussed in section 3.2.4. Group 1 consists of sites with a distance up to 10 km from their trade harbour, group 2 consists of sites 15 to 42 km from their trade harbour and group 3 of sites more than 50 km from their trade harbour, as summed up in table 5.21.

If we compare this grouping based on distance with the site rankings employed in the previous section it is immediately clear that there is no direct correlation between distance and ranking, though by calculating average distance a broad tendency for sites of higher rank to be closer to their trade harbour is revealed (tables 5.22. and 5.23.).

Here, as in the previous sections, when including the sites of high ranking the comparisons will always end up focusing on those sites and their high MNV and MNP, with associated discussion on their ability to command resources despite outside considerations, rather than the factor of distance from the nearest trade harbour which is currently under examination. Excluding sites of high rank, then, provides a much clearer picture than the one including those sites, so the majority of the discussion in this section comparisons will be made based on data excluding sites of high rank.

Group 1 (10 km or less)
Aðalstræti
Arnarstapi
Naust
Miðvellir
Bessastaðir
Kópavogsþingstaður
Group 2 (15 to 42 km)
Hólahólar
Hólar
Stóraborg
Vatnsfjörður
Skálholt
Group 3 (50 km og more)
Reykholt
Skútustaðir
Gilsbakki
Sandártunga
Búðarárbakki

Table 5.21. Site groupings by distance from trade harbour

	Group 1	*Group 2*	*Group 3*
High	2	1	0
Middling	1	3	3
Low	1	0	2
NF	2	0	0

Table 5.22. Number of sites by distance group and standing rank

Comparing the MNV by Market Access Group with or without high standing sites (tables 5.24 and 5.25.) there are clear differences in the ways the material appears. The difference between group 2 and groups 1 and 3 is quite large when Skálholt and Arnarstapi are included, with group 2 having a minimum of three times as much material as the next largest group. From this it would appear that a site within a day's trip or so from its trade harbour has no trouble in acquiring pottery and clay pipes, and that there is a clear indication that sites in group 2 are wealthier than the other two groups. However, as has been shown in previous sections the amount of material from Skálholt tends to distort the statistics and with that site's wealth and influence it would likely be no problem to acquire the goods desired, regardless of distance.

Status Ranking	**Average Distance to Trade Harbour**
High	17,75 km
Middling	35,57 km
Low	48,33 km
NF	3,5 km

Table 5.23. Average distance to the nearest trade harbour by standing ranking

	Total		Average	
	17th century	18th century	17th century	18th century
Group 1	65	82	13	16,4
Group 2	127	508	31,75	127
Group 3	47	18	9,4	3,6

Table 5.24. Pottery by Market Access Groups. Total MNV and average MNV

With the high ranking sites removed the data becomes much more even across the distance groups, though by no means uniform. Considering the average MNV and MNP per group in the 17th century, group 2 remains the largest, followed by group 3 furthest from the trade harbours and finally those sites nearest the harbours. The 18th century pattern, though, is quite different, with the great majority of vessels and pipes at group 1 sites, nearest the trade harbours, while the numbers decrease sharply between it and groups 2 and 3. As discussed in previous sections there is a slant towards 17th century material in the middling and low ranking sites which can be seen here very clearly. This, coupled with the great number of vessels at Aðalstræti, gives an image of radical changes through time, with pottery consumption spread out at sites some distance from trade harbours in the 17th century but being consolidated close to the harbours in the 18th.

Removing non-farmstead sites from these numbers as well as the high ranking sites leaves only 2 sites, Naust and Miðvellir, in group 1 and brings the total MNV to 10 and the average to 5 for both centuries. For the pipes, however, this brings the average MNP to 0 in the 17th century and 1 in the 18th, far less than the other groups. For the 18th century this does bring the MNV into line with the other groups, which might indicate a slow movement towards less pottery consumption further from the trade harbours, and more broadly in inland regions of Iceland, through time, with only those sites which already possessed high rank, such as Skálholt, being able to counter this movement. This would appear to fall in line with the common historical narrative of 'progress' in Iceland with the slow move away from the rural farm communities of the Old Farming Society to the more progressive, largely fishing based, communities on the coast.

	Total		Average	
	17th century	18th century	17th century	18th century
Group 1	17	82	4,25	20,5
Group 2	52	13	17,33	4,33
Group 3	47	18	9,4	3,6

Table 5.25. Pottery; Total MNV and average MNV by group, excluding high standing sites

	Total		Average	
	17th century	18th century	17th century	18th century
Group 1	40	72	6,67	12,00
Group 2	276	700	69	175
Group 3	10	15	2	3

Table 5.26. Clay Pipes; Total MNP and average MNP by group, note that these include material from Bessastaðir.

	Total		Average	
	17th century	18th century	17th century	18th century
Group 1	4	56	1	14
Group 2	23	17	7,67	5,67
Group 3	10	15	2	3

Table 5.27. Clay Pipes; Total MNP and average MNP by group, excluding high standing sites

5.4. Clay Pipe Wear Marks

Studies on clay pipes in Iceland are rare, and even fewer have focused on wear marks, with a master's thesis by Wacke (2014) being the first study to include such marks in Iceland. As a result, there is not much material to work from when discussing wear marks on clay pipes and only the sites which I investigated and re-examined myself will be included here, along with Skálholt, the clay pipe material from which has recently been analysed by Lucas and Wacke (forthcoming). This means that out of the sixteen sites discussed in chapter 4, only 10 can be included in this discussion. During the analysis of the clay tobacco pipes wear marks were noted and recorded, though the focus was on identifying number of pipes, dating and provenancing.

	MNP	***Total fragments***	***Sooting***	***Reworked Bowl***	***Reworked Stem***	***Teeth Marks***
Arnarstapi	25	194	16		2	3
Bessastaðir	34	582	22	1	6	6
Gilsbakki	1	7	1			
Hólahólar	8	32	6		1	
Miðvellir	1	5	1		1	
Naust	2	5				
Skálholt	262	4897			309	345
Skútustaðir	12	91	8		1	
Stóraborg	4	17	3		2	
Vatnsfjörður	49	367	37		6	8

Table. 5.28. Clay pipe wear marks in Iceland

The wear marks which were noted are, sooting, reworking of bowls and stems and teeth marks on stems (table 5.28.). Sooting is noted by MNP, that is the number in the sooting column of table 5.28. is sooted pipes out of the total of MNP, while the reworked stems and teeth marks are total number of fragments which such marks.

The first thing to note from this is that in all cases, aside from Skálholt where sooting has not been examined by MNP, and Naust, the majority of pipes are sooted. The extent of sooting varies from light to very heavy but in can in all cases be noted as sign of extensive use. This might indicate that pipes were not considered such a disposable object.

Considering reworking, there is only one bowl which I have recognized as having been reworked, a bowl from Bessastaðir which was recovered glued together, though the glue used has not been identified. While the reworked stems are more numerous, they are not very common, being between about 1 to 3% of all fragments where they are noted, while at Skálholt reworked stems are 6,3% of all stem fragments (Lucas & Wacke, forthcoming). This reworking is mostly in the form of whittling of the stem, either to form a new mouthpiece or so that a new mouthpiece may be fitted onto the stem, though the Skálholt assemblage does show more variation in this as well.

Teeth marks are rarer, with the only examples coming from Arnarstapi, Bessastaðir, and Vatnsfjörður, where they are, in order, 1,55%, 1,03%, and 2,18% of all stem fragments. Here, too, Skálholt differentiates itself as 7% of the stem fragments show teeth marks. In comparison, Tornio in Finland reports 3,8% of stem fragments had teeth marks (Nurmi, 2011, pp. 100-101). Why Skálholt is so different with wear marks from other sites in Iceland cannot be readily explained but might be down to the attention given these factors in analysis. It should be noted, that the small size of clay pipe material, with six out of 10 sites having under a 100 fragments, does mean that any conclusions drawn from it may be considered questionable.

Another possibility, however, is that it has to do with the work being done. Fox (2016, p. 79) associates notches in teeth from clay tobacco pipes as possibly being a sign that the teeth are being used as a ‘third hand’ during menial, repetitive tasks such as those by factory workers. The question then becomes whether Icelanders performed tasks which would allow them to smoke while working, though it is prudent to note that the pipes may not have been in use for smoking tobacco the entire time it was being held in the mouth. Most Icelanders would have spent much of their time outside, where the Icelandic climate is not very conducive to smoking. Rain can douse the ember, while wind may blow into the pipe, stoking the ember and burning the tobacco down too quickly. This does not mean that Icelanders were not smoking while out and about, retreating to sheltered areas to indulge or else waiting until they were inside.

While much work could be done to explore this further, it is worth pointing out that the majority of pipe fragments from Skálholt come from the bishop's household, with most originating from the servants' quarters and then the bishop's rooms (Lucas & Wacke, forthcoming), and not middens. This might be seen to indicate that smoking was taking place inside, in rooms where leisure and menial, repetitive activities took place. Activities such as knitting, mending of clothes, reading, writing, and socialising took place.

Chapter 6: European Assemblages

Having examined the pottery and clay pipe consumption of sixteen sites in 17th and 18th century Iceland, spread through time, socio-economic standing, and questions of market access, several trends have begun to emerge. The most significant of these regards the growth in consumption of high standing sites in the 18th century from being on more or less equal footing with the middling rank sites towards consuming many times the amount of pottery and clay tobacco pipes that the middling ranks did. The low standing sites remained poor through the centuries with virtually no change, while the higher standing sites see an overall decrease in the number of pottery vessels present. This issue of has been addressed in some detail earlier in this study and will not be greatly reiterated upon here. Of more interest are questions of how the Icelandic material compares to material from other places within Europe, before moving on to a more general discussion of consumption within Iceland.

As discussed in chapter 2 the period of the monopoly trade in Iceland is often seen a period of misery and poverty, yet when this claim is made its context tends to be vague with the implicit suggestion that rather than comparing the situation in Iceland with the contemporary situation elsewhere in Europe the comparison made is with the situation in Iceland in the 19th or 20th century. Obviously, this is not ideal and therefore this chapter will examine material from European assemblages dated to the 17th and 18th centuries to provide a contemporary comparison with the Icelandic material already discussed.

Unfortunately, material which is directly comparable to that presented and discussed in chapter 5 can be difficult to obtain. Investigations on sites from the 17th and 18th centuries are, by and large, not very well represented in published material, add to that the facts that many of the sites from this period which have been published are often only published in their native language and that they do not always include the kind of statistical or quantitative data which allows me to estimate minimum number of vessels and pipes. As such the sites discussed in this chapter are not a random sampling but the sites are chosen as much for the availability of their material as the connection, direct and indirect, they are considered to have had with Iceland in the 17th and 18th centuries. The sites chosen are the in modern countries of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Germany, the Netherlands, and England.

For many of the sites discussed in the sections the material available comes from specific studies on pottery, so information on the consumption of clay pipes is often not available or severely limited but is included where it is available. For other sites the only available information comes from ‘grey literature’ excavation reports and the MNV and MNP is estimated from finds lists found in these reports. As for the Icelandic assemblages in chapter 4 these are noted with EMNV and EMNP where appropriate. These synthesised numbers may skew high, given the data by which they were arrived at, but likely do

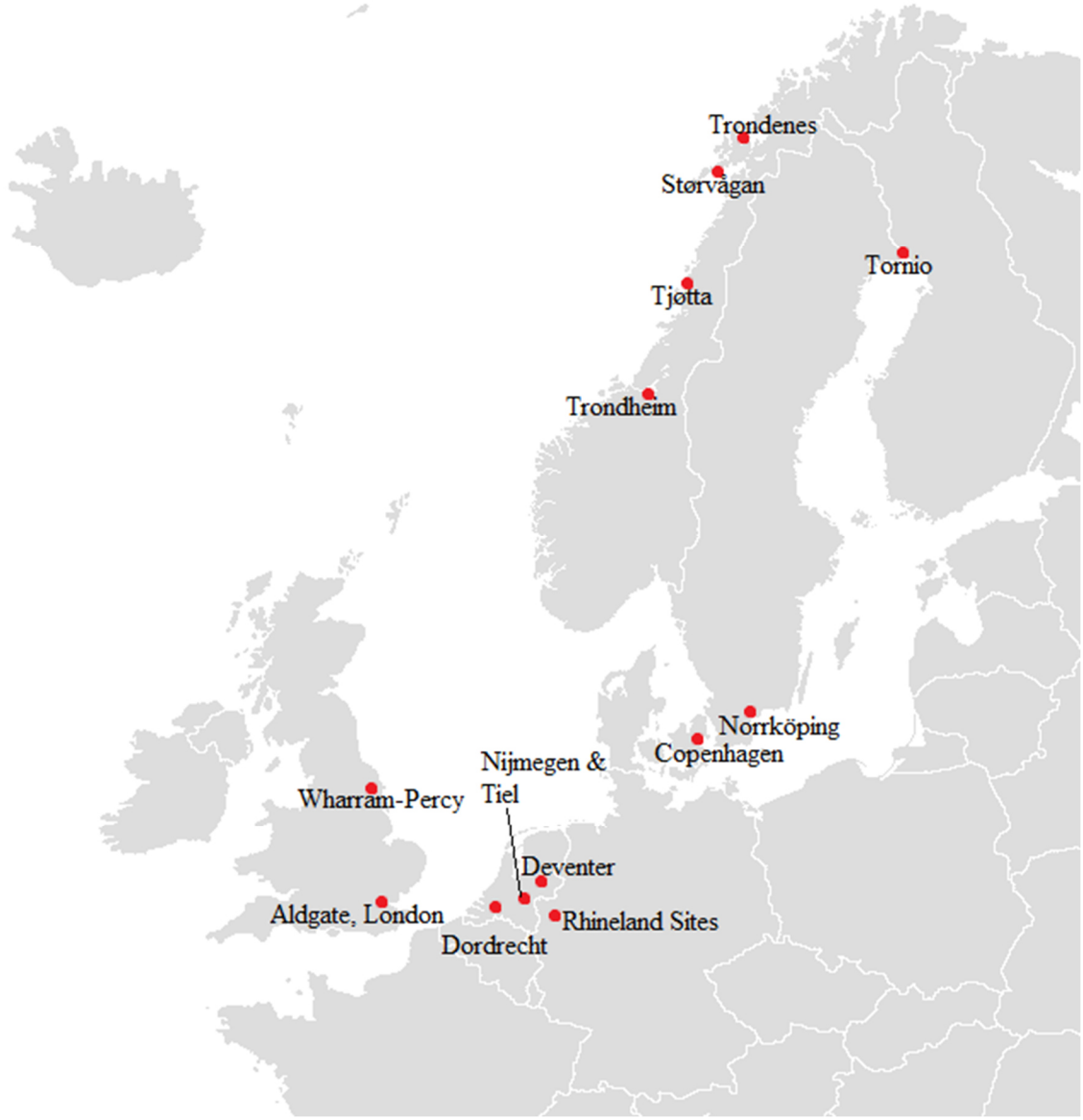


Figure 6.1. Site locations within North-Western Europe

so across all the sites, ware types and vessel groups so that a discussion based around percentages rather than absolute numbers may produce more accurate results.

As Iceland was a part of the Danish-Norwegian Union during the period under examination a comparison with material from Iceland to material from other parts of the Union may reveal regional differences within a single state with varying cultural attitudes. Finland, during the 17th and 18th centuries, was a part of the Kingdom of Sweden and appears to have, in many ways, occupied a similar place to Iceland as a province on the periphery of the Kingdom. This is especially true when considering northern Finland, where the town of Tornio is located.

The comparison of Dutch material to that of Iceland is interesting in the comparison between a centre of trade and world power to an area on the periphery of Europe, between which both historical and archaeological evidence imply a good deal of trade and connection. In the same vein comparing the

situation in England to that in Iceland is interesting in the comparison of a centre of trade and world power to an area on the periphery. In addition, England had its own thriving pottery industry, the products of which are not well represented in the Icelandic material before the latter part of the 18th century.

6.1. Copenhagen, Denmark

Several investigations of varying scale and scope have been undertaken in Copenhagen from around the year 2000 onwards, most in connection with construction on the city's metro system and the laying of pipes for heating systems, resulting in a great number of excavation reports with which to work. A complete review of all excavations from Copenhagen is an undertaking on a scale which falls outside the possibilities of the current study. Instead, three investigations were chosen from the Indre By district. These are the investigations at Læderstræde (Hadevik, 2012), Kultorvet (Mosekilde, 2012), and Toldbodgade Syd (Winther, 2013). All three investigations uncovered substantial amounts of pottery from domestic contexts. It should be noted that in all three cases these are EMNV and EMNP, as the material was not analysed by MNV, extracted by me from analysing the reports and finds lists. Therefore, the numbers presented here may differ somewhat from those resulting from an analysis of that material.

The Læderstræde investigations were undertaken between 2010 and 2012 due the installation of a district heating system and covered an area not only in the street of Læderstræde but also nearby streets, though the focus was on several adjoining backyards. Several structures were uncovered during the investigations dating from the medieval period onwards (Hadevik, 2012, p. 5). The majority of the pottery recovered comes from a single midden deposit dated to the 18th century, while the majority of the clay pipes come from a context associated with the burning of Højebro Plads in 1795 (Hadevik, 2012, p. 44). All ceramic finds which date to the period under examination originate in contexts dated to the 18th century. A total of 216 pottery sherds were recovered from the investigations, resulting in an EMNV of 47 from the 18th century. Clay pipe fragments were 259 with an EMNP 23.

The vessel groups at Læderstræde are a majority tablewares, with 28 tableware vessels, 18 kitchenware, no storage/utility vessels and one unidentified. Of the tablewares, 12 vessels are porcelain

	Læderstæde m.fl.	*Kultorvet*	*Toldbodgade Syd*
EMNP	23	5	3
EMNV	47	257	66
Pottery Sherds	216	473	173

Table 6.1. Total numbers of EMNP, EMNV, and pottery sherds from each investigation in Copenhagen.

	Læderstæde m.fl.	*Kultorvet*	*Toldbodgade Syd*
Tableware	28	107	30
Kitchenware	18	119	25
Storage/Utility	0	3	10
Unidentified	1	28	1
Total	47	258	66
Unglazed Earthenwares	4	12	6
ULR	16	178	30
Slipwares	3	6	0
Lead-glazed Whitewares	0	3	2
Tin-Glazed Earthenware	5	28	15
Stonewares	7	23	9
Refined Earthenwares	1	0	2
Porcelain	12	7	2
Total	47	257	66

Table 6.2. Distribution of EMNV from Copenhagen by vessel group and ware type.

and the assemblage contains only one refined earthenware vessel. This, along with that the context containing the majority of vessels also contained several wine glasses , seems to indicate that the assemblage originates from a wealthier household or households in Læderstræde in the 18th century, possibly early to mid-century (Hadevik, 2012, p. 32).

The square known as Kultorvet was excavated from 2011 to 2012. The square was originally constructed after a fire in 1728 burnt down large parts of the medieval centre of Copenhagen. Before the fire, a series of residential buildings and workshops were located where the square was built and it is these that the excavations focused on, though large parts of the archaeology had been disturbed by modern intervention, particularly Second World War bomb shelters and water reservoirs built in the 1950s (Mosekilde, 2012, pp. 7-8). During the investigations 473 pottery sherds were recovered with a rather high EMNV of 271 but only 17 clay pipe fragments with an EMNP of five.

All identified vessels can be dated to before the 1728 fire, aside from one refined earthenware vessel which has been identified as a modern intrusion and three stoneware vessels from the 16th century. 10 of the EMNV which are date to the 17th/18th centuries are lamps or money boxes, and a further 28 are of unidentified form and type. Of the remaining 257 vessels, a 119 are kitchenwares while 107 vessels are tablewares. Only three vessels are storage/utility vessels. Three clay pipes are dated to the 17th century, and two are dated to the early 18th. All but one of the pipes are of Dutch manufacture, with the one being of Danish manufacture.

The investigations of Toldbodgade syd were, as the ones at Læderstræde undertaken in connection with the establishment of district heating and covered not only the street the report is named for but neighbouring streets as well. Investigations took place in the year 2013 and uncovered several foundations and midden deposits (Winther, 2013, pp. 6-8). During the investigations 173 sherds of pottery were recovered for an EMNV of 67, and 29 clay pipe fragments for an EMNP of three.

Of the 67 vessels, one is a redware flowerpot, leaving 66 vessels, all of whom date to the 17th to 19th century, with the majority originating in 17th century contexts. Of the 66 vessels, 30 are tablewares, 25 are kitchenwares, 10 are storage/utility vessels and one cannot be identified. All three identified clay pipes were manufactured in Gouda with stamps present on all the pipes, though one stamp has not been identified. The two which have been identified belonged to Hendrik van den Broek, active between 1733 and 1742, and Pieter Jonathans Scharp or his successors, active from 1655 to 1735 (Winther, 2013, p. 30).

In all three investigations the ratios of vessel groups are rather consistent but despite this there is a wider variety in the ware types. While redwares are the single largest category of ware in all three, they are a much larger part of the Kultorvet assemblage, at 69%, than of the Læderstræde one, where they are only 32%. What is perhaps most interesting to note about these assemblages is the differences between the composition of tablewares. For Toldboldgade the majority of the tablewares are tin-glazed earthenwares, which comprise almost 23% of the assemblage, while for Kultorvet a fair amount of the tablewares are redwares, and for Læderstræde the tablewares are almost all porcelain, which comprise a little over 25% of the entire assemblage. This difference can be explained by dating, with TGE

	Læderstæde m.fl.	***Kultorvet***	***Toldbodgade Syd***
Tableware	59,6%	41,5%	45,5%
Kitchenware	38,3%	46,1%	37,9%
Storage/Utility	0,0%	1,2%	15,2%
Unidentified	2,1%	10,9%	1,5%
Unglazed Earthenwares	8,5%	4,7%	9,1%
ULR	31,9%	69,3%	45,5%
Slipwares	6,4%	2,3%	0,0%
Lead-glazed Whitewares	0,0%	1,2%	3,0%
Tin-Glazed Earthenware	10,6%	10,9%	22,7%
Stonewares	14,9%	8,9%	13,6%
Refined Earthenwares	2,1%	0,0%	3,0%
Porcelain	25,5%	2,7%	3,0%

Table 6.3. Percentage division of EMNV from Copenhagen by vessel group and ware type.

EMNV	*17th century*	*18th century*	*Total*
Tableware	74	89	163
Kitchenware	60	102	162
Storage/Utility	10	3	13
Unidentified	8	22	30
Vessel Group Total	152	216	368
Unglazed Earthenwares	6	16	22
Lead-glazed Redwares, Undecorated	91	132	223
Slipwares	6	3	9
Lead-glazed Whitewares	4	1	5
Tin-Glazed Earthenware	22	26	48
Stonewares	19	20	39
Refined Earthenwares	0	1	1
Porcelain	4	17	21
Ware Type Total	152	216	368
Dining ware	61	59	120
Drinking ware	11	21	32
Teaware	2	6	8
Displayware	0	2	2
Unknown	0	1	1
Tableware subgroup Total	74	89	163

Table 6.4. Combined EMNV from the Copenhagen sites

dominating the 17th century tablewares and porcelains dominating the more richly appointed 18th century assemblage of Læderstræde.

Unfortunately, the Copenhagen sites are all broadly dated the Early Modern Period, with the broadest dating of finds ranging from 1500 to 1800. The majority of the vessels appear to date to the early 18th century but from the data in the available reports less than 100 vessels of the estimated 370 vessels present at the Copenhagen sites can be positively dated. This means that for these Copenhagen assemblages to be useful in the comparative study in the next chapter some gross generalizations have had to have been made about the dating of the vessels.

The entire Toldbodgade Syd assemblage will be considered to date from the 17th century with two modern inclusions, namely the refined earthenware vessels, at least one of which has been positively identified to have been manufactured in Denmark meaning that it is likely a 19th century intrusion. In

the same vein the Læderstræde assemblage is considered to date to the 18th century, while the Kultorvet is only slightly more nuanced where 88 vessels are identified as belonging to the 17th century with the remaining 178 lumped into the 18th.

Looking at the chronological spread provided by this method it is interesting to note, firstly, how few refined earthenware vessels there are present in the assemblage and, secondly, how close the EMNV between centuries is, both in total and by tablewares. This may be due to the lack of late 18th century material but what dating is present indicates that the 18th century material is largely from the first half of the century, before the introduction of refined earthenwares.

6.2. Trondheim, Norway

Between 1973 and 1985 investigations were undertaken at the site of a future library in Trondheim. The uncovered remains were of the ancient town of Trondheim, with several structures and roads uncovered, dating from the 19th century back to the late 10th century (Reed, 1990, p. 9). A total of 34.134 pottery sherds were recovered from the excavation from all periods, with about 22.000 of those coming from phases associated with the 16th century and later. The study relies entirely on numbers of sherds, rather than using either MNV or EVE, so it is not entirely possible to rely on a direct comparison with other material. Looking at the percentage distribution of sherds, however, may still be useful for a broad analysis.

The great majority of recovered sherds were redwares, but unfortunately glazed, unglazed and slipwares are not fully differentiated in the available analysis which may mean that table 6.5. is not entirely accurate. In particular 1.678 sherds from the fabric type “Local lead-glazed earthenware and slipware” are included with the undecorated redwares. Of note at Trondheim are the 463 unglazed

Ware Type	***# Pottery Sherd***	***% of Pottery Sherds***
Unglazed Earthenwares	463	2,08%
Lead-glazed Redwares, Undecorated	12036	54,16%
Slipwares	948	4,27%
Lead-glazed Whitewares	1264	5,69%
Tin-Glazed Earthenware	3488	15,70%
Stonewares	2604	11,72%
Refined Earthenwares	1038	4,67%
Porcelain	382	1,72%

Table 6.5. Pottery sherds by ware type from Trondheim, Folkkebibliotekstomten. Synthesised from Appendix 1; Fabrics by Phase (Reed, 1990, pp. 85-86)

earthenware sherds, of which 360 are Jutishware sherds and another 95 are unidentified greywares, leaving only 8 sherds of unglazed redwares.

Stonewares include mostly bottles and jugs, with a few drinking vessels, while the tin-glazed earthenwares are mostly tablewares, with the occasional storage vessels, largely jars.

The focus on the analysis of pottery from Trondheim was on trade relations and as such it revealed a growing emphasis on trade in German redwares and stonewares through the 17th century which changed in the 18th to focus on Dutch production, largely tin-glazed earthenwares though some redwares as well, with English refined earthenwares coming to the fore in the late 18th century and the beginning of the 19th. As these changes in both pottery origin and ware type are taking place changes in the vessel types being brought into Trondheim. In the early 17th century the emphasis appears to be on kitchenwares, with numerous cooking pots and tripod pipkins being identified, moving towards an increasing emphasis on tablewares with increasing imports of tin-glazed earthenwares, porcelains, and later refined earthenwares (Reed, 1990, pp. 51-52, 78-79).

The early modern assemblage at Trondheim is interpreted as being indicative of a change in the consumption of pottery and the cultural influences on practices associated with their use, interpreted through the lens of emulation (Reed, 1990, pp. 50-52). It is clear that at Trondheim there was a movement for not only much greater quantities of pottery in later periods than in earlier periods, but that there was also an increase in the proportion of tablewares in the assemblage.

Unfortunately, given the way the Trondheim assemblage has been analysed and published it will not be possible to include it in statistical comparisons.

6.3. Størvågan, Norway

Størvågan is located on a peninsula in Lofoten in northern Norway and was an important fishery in the area from the middle ages to the end of the 19th century (Karoliussen, 2008, p. 52). Archaeological investigations took place during the years 1975, 1977, 1979 and 1983. During these investigations a total of 447 pottery sherds were recovered (Karoliussen, 2008, pp. 53-54, 84-116). While Størvågan's MNV was not calculated, it has been possible to estimate MNV from Størvågan's ceramic finds record. The result was a total EMNV of 38, comprising 139 pottery sherds. Of the EMNV 11 are dated to the period 1600-1650, 25 to 1650-1750 and three to the 18th century. For the purposes of this study the period of 1650-1750 is somewhat problematic as it straddles the divide by century which has been in the analyses so far.

A closer look at the vessels from 1650-1750 reveals that the 13 undecorated redwares are all cooking pots, likely tripod pipkins, the three stoneware vessels are bottles and jugs, the six tin-glazed vessels are mostly tablewares with one knob from a lid and one cup, the rest likely being plates or dishes. The two porcelain vessels are of an unidentified type. These vessels can be difficult to date typologically and in the absence of more rigorous dating these vessels will be excluded from the study. This, unfortunately, does mean that almost two-thirds of the data from Størvågan will be excluded but avoids any errors from wrong dating, however small they might be.

With only four vessels from the 18th century it is difficult to draw broad conclusions from that data. However, looking at all three periods there appears to be a movement away from undecorated redwares while tin-glazed earthenwares become more common. The Størvågan assemblage does not include any refined earthenwares. For the vessel groups we see that there is a broad decrease in the share of kitchenwares through time while tablewares remain broadly stable.

	EMNV	*Sherds*
Tableware	15	87
Kitchenware	19	48
Storage/Utility	4	4
Misc/Unidentified	0	0
Total	38	139
	EMNV	Sherds
Unglazed Earthenwares	0	0
ULR	22	51
Slipwares	0	0
Lead-glazed Whitewares	0	0
Tin-Glazed Earthenware	6	71
Stonewares	6	6
Refined Earthenwares	0	
Slipwares	1	6
Porcelain	3	5
Total	38	139

Table 6.6. EMNV and pottery sherds from Størvågan by vessel group and ware type.

	1600-1650	***1650-1750***	***18th century***
Tableware	36,4%	37,5%	33,3%
Kitchenware	63,6%	45,8%	33,3%
Storage/Utility	0,0%	16,7%	33,3%
Unidentified	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%

Table 6.7. Percentages of EMNV from Størvågan by period and vessel group.

	1600-1650	***1650-1750***	***18th century***
Unglazed Earthenwares	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%
ULR	72,7%	54,2%	33,3%
Slipwares	9,1%	0,0%	0,0%
Lead-glazed Whitewares	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%
Tin-Glazed Earthenware	0,0%	25,0%	0,0%
Stonewares	18,2%	12,5%	33,3%
Refined Earthenwares	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%
Porcelain	0,0%	8,3%	33,3%

Table 6.8. Percentages of EMNV from Størvågan by period and ware type.

6.4. Tjøtta, Norway

Tjøtta is a small island in the Nordland area of northern Norway. On the island there was a farmstead and church site from the middle ages onward which was owned by the Crown Authority from the reformation to 1661 when it came into the personal possession of the local priest and remained in private hands until its abandonment (Karoliussen, 2008, p. 58).

A small portion of the farm mound was excavated archaeologically in the years 1985-1987 which resulted in the recovery of 160 pottery sherds, with 138 dating to period 1400-1800 (Karoliussen, 2008, pp. 60-61, 128-130). As for Størvågan there was no MNV calculated for Tjøtta, but it has been possible to estimate a MNV for the site from its ceramics finds record. This resulted in a total EMNV of 45 vessels from 137 pottery sherds, with 11 vessels dating to the 17th century and 31 from the 18th.

	EMNV	*Sherds*
Tableware	25	65
Kitchenware	18	70
Storage/Utility	2	2
Misc/Unidentified	0	0
Total	45	137
	EMNV	Sherds
Unglazed Earthenwares	0	0
Lead-glazed Redwares, Undecorated	18	70
Slipwares	13	39
Lead-glazed Whitewares	1	1
Tin-Glazed Earthenware	4	8
Stonewares	2	5
Refined Earthenwares	5	10
Porcelain	2	4
Total	45	137

Table 6.9. EMNV and pottery sherds from Tjøtta by vessel group and ware type.

The spread of vessels by vessel groups remains remarkably similar through time for Tjøtta, with only a slight decrease in the relative frequency of tablewares and storage/utility and an increase in the number of kitchenwares. The stability of the vessel groups between the two centuries might seem to indicate a stagnation or stability, depending on one's point of view, in the ways the household at Tjøtta consumed pottery but a look at the ware types shows that change does take place, though it is less pronounced than at many other places.

The most significant change to point out at Tjøtta is in the ware types which primarily make up the tablewares, the slipwares, porcelains, tin-glazed and refined earthenwares. From a remarkably high percentage of 45,5% in the 17th century slipwares become less than 20% of the assemblage in the 18th century. Slipwares at Tjøtta were replaced with tin-glazed earthenwares, refined earthenwares and porcelains, indicating not stagnation but stability and hinting at both the knowledge and ability of the Tjøtta household to acquire more diverse ware types, even while the spread of vessel groups remain stable.

	17th century	*18th century*
Tableware	63,6%	51,6%
Kitchenware	36,4%	41,9%
Storage/Utility	0,0%	6,5%
Misc/Unidentified	0,0%	0,0%

Table 6.10. Percentage of EMNV from Tjøtta by vessel group

	17th century	*18th century*
Unglazed Earthenwares	0,0%	0,0%
ULR	36,4%	41,9%
Slipwares	45,5%	19,4%
Lead-glazed Whitewares	9,1%	0,0%
Tin-Glazed Earthenware	0,0%	12,9%
Stonewares	9,1%	3,2%
Refined Earthenwares	0,0%	16,1%
Porcelain	0,0%	6,5%

Table 6.11. Percentage of EMNV from Tjøtta by ware type

6.5. Trondenes, Norway

Trondenes is another church site in northern Norway, where a church has been located since at least the 16th century. After the Reformation the bishop of Trondheim became the parish priest at Trondenes and during the 17th century the bishop resided every third year at Trondenes, though how present the bishop was during this residence is uncertain as, for example, it appears the bishop did not remain through the winter at Trondenes (Karoliussen, 2008, p. 62).

The investigations at Trondenes were undertaken during the years 1962-1964 during which a total of 421 pottery sherds were recovered. Due to prevailing excavation methods in the period of the investigation stratigraphic information is limited and while a re-examination of the investigations took place in the 1980s, dating of the pottery material is largely based on typology (Karoliussen, 2008, pp. 62-63, 131-155). Even then, some of the dating appears questionable. The ceramic finds record includes only a

	EMNV	*Sherds*
Tableware	18	34
Kitchenware	12	32
Storage/Utility	4	4
Misc/Unidentified	0	0
Total	34	70
	EMNV	Sherds
Unglazed Earthenwares	0	0
Lead-glazed Redwares, Undecorated	14	38
Slipwares	11	23
Lead-glazed Whitewares	2	2
Tin-Glazed Earthenware	2	2
Stonewares	5	5
Refined Earthenwares	0	0
Porcelain	0	0
Total	34	70

Table 6.12. EMNV and pottery sherrds from Trondenes by vessel group and ware type.

	17th century
Tableware	52,9%
Kitchenware	35,3%
Storage/Utility	11,8%
Unidentified	0,0%

Table 6.13. Percentages of EMNV from Trondenes by vessel group

handful of entries for sherds of refined earthenware, while all but two dated entries for tin-glazed earthenwares are dated to the 19th century. This may mean that a new re-examination of the material would alter the dates of, at least, some of the pottery material. Without access to the physical assemblage itself, however, it is not possible to begin this work so that the data as presented must be used for any analysis.

While MNV was not calculated for Trondenes, it has been possible to estimate MNV from the site's ceramic finds record. This work resulted in an EMNV of 35 for those 70 sherds dated to the 17th and 18th centuries. Dated to the 17th century are 20 vessels, while only one vessel is dated to the 18th, with 14 vessels being dated more broadly across the two centuries, though from the ware type composition of the assemblage it would appear that it slants younger, so that all but the single vessel positively identified as belonging to the 18th century are included in the 17th century. This results in a EMNV of 34 for the 17th century and one for the 18th century. However, the single 18th century vessel is a jar whose ware type cannot be discerned form the finds record. That there is a single vessel for the 18th century which cannot be fully analysed means that I have chosen not to include it in the comparisons in the next chapter.

A little over half of the EMNV by vessel groups are tablewares, consisting of slipware plates and a single tin-glazed cup, while the kitchenwares are largely made up of redware pipkins.

While the largest ware type is undecorated lead-glazed redwares what is most interesting about the Trondenes assemblage is the large number of slipwares which make up almost a third of the entirety by EMNV. How to interpret this is not entirely obvious. The assemblage is somewhat poor from what might be expected from a bishop's residence, with the total absence of porcelain vessels and an emphasis on the locally produced 'Trønderkeramik' slipwares, with the redwares in general likely to be local manufacture.

	17th century
Unglazed Earthenwares	0,0%
ULR	41,2%
Slipwares	32,4%
Lead-glazed Whitewares	5,9%
Tin-Glazed Earthenware	5,9%
Stonewares	14,7%
Refined Earthenwares	0,0%
Porcelain	0,0%

Table 6.14. Percentages of EMNV from Trondenes by ware type

6.6. Norrköping, Sweden

Norrköping was a small city until the middle of the 16th century when it began to expand and in the 17th century it became the leading industrial city of the Kingdom of Sweden (Carlsson, 2014, p. 7).

Excavations undertaken from 16th of June to 30th of September 2011 in a plot in the Gubben district of Norrköping (Carlsson, 2014, p. 5) uncovered three phases of construction from 1627 and into the 19th century. The first phase revealed the foundations of a 'palace' known as Stenhuset, the Stone House, which burned down in 1711. New structures were built after 1715, leading into the second phase. The second phase saw the construction of smaller buildings which expanded through time, during which merchants began to move into the area. The third phase,

beginning around 1769 saw further expansion with new structures in the area, many of which stood into the 20th century and the last of which was demolished in 2011 (Carlsson, 2014, p. 25).

	EMNV	*Sherds*
Tableware	559	2624
Kitchenware	158	1271
Storage/Utility	46	216
Misc/Unidentified	78	302
Total	841	4413
	EMNV	Sherds
Unglazed Earthenwares	9	50
Lead-glazed Redwares, Undecorated	430	2254
Slipwares	0	0
Lead-glazed Whitewares	51	210
Tin-Glazed Earthenware	249	1322
Stonewares	43	84
Refined Earthenwares	9	59
Porcelain	50	434
Total	841	4413

Table 6.15. EMNV and pottery sherds from Norrköping by vessel group and ware type.

The investigations resulted in a large number of finds, including 5959 sherds of pottery (Carlsson, 2014, pp. 265-266, 495-573). In the absence of an analysis based on MNV the attempt was made to estimate the minimum number of vessels form the excavation at Gubben in Norrköping, which resulted in an EMNV of 943 vessels.

	Tableware	***Kitchenware***	***Storage/ Utility***	***Misc/ Unidentified***	***Total***
17/18th century	55,8%	27,6%	4,8%	11,9%	100%
17th century	76,6%	6,4%	4,3%	12,7%	100%
18th century	88,3%	1,6%	7,3%	2,8%	100%

Table 6.16. Percentages of EMNV from Norrköping by vessel group

	17/18th century	*17th century*	*18th century*
Unglazed Earthenwares	0,5%	0%	2,4%
Lead-glazed Redwares	69,8%	6,4%	18,2%
Lead-glazed Whitewares	3,8%	61,7%	0,4%
Tin-Glazed Earthenware	21,8%	25,5%	47,8%
Stonewares	4,0%	6,4%	7,3%
Refined Earthenwares	0%	0%	3,6%
Porcelain	0%	0%	20,2%
	100%	100%	100%

Table 6.17. Percentages of EMNV from Norrköping by ware type

Despite the rather clear phasing of the Gubben site the majority of the identified vessels, or 547 out of the 943 are broadly dated to the 17th and 18th centuries, while 47 are dated to the 17th century and 247 to the 18th century. There are therefore 841 vessels, representing 4,413 sherds, dated to the relevant period from Norrköping, with the remaining 102 vessels dated to the 16th or 19th centuries. Additionally, the dating seems to be based largely on ware type, rather than context phasing, meaning that a large part of the kitchenwares are dated broadly, while the tablewares tend to be more narrowly dated. Unfortunately, the excavation report does not include information which would allow me to directly cross-reference the phases with the finds, meaning that it is not possible for me to further date those vessels which are broadly dated.

What is noticeable is the overall low amount of kitchenwares, making up only about a third of all vessels from Gubben, and the high number of tablewares in both centuries. This might be expected given that the site includes a palace and the homes of merchants, people who had both the wealth and the social standing to provide a grand table setting.

This is clearly reflected in the ware types present at the site, with a high percentage of tin-glazed earthenwares in both centuries, and the high number of porcelain vessels from the 18th century. The available data does not differentiate between undecorated redwares and slipwares but a large number of the redware vessels are various kinds of tablewares, many of which are, presumably, slipwares. ICP analyses done on the pottery from Gubben shows that, aside from the first phase, the majority of pottery from Gubben is of Swedish manufacture, with imported pottery coming predominantly from the Netherlands and China (Carlsson, 2014, pp. 266-269).

The wealth and high standing of the inhabitants of the area under investigation in Gubben, known from literary sources, is clearly indicated in the pottery material, both through the high number of tablewares, and the high number of expensive ware types.

An estimated minimum of 153 clay pipes were recovered during the investigations at Gubben, of which 19 date the 17th century, 66 to the 18th century and 3 which can be broadly dated to the period 1600-1800. The majority of the pipes are of Dutch manufacture, those which can be narrowly sourced originate from Gouda. Besides these there are also a number of English pipes, especially from the last couple of decades of the 17th century and the first two of the 18th, and a good number of locally produced pipes, especially from the mid-18th century onwards.

6.7. Tornio, Finland

The town of Tornio is located in northern Finland and was founded in 1621 by Swedish settlers. It became a site for the meeting of Swedish, Finnish and Sámi cultures (Salmi et al., 2014, pp. 489-491). Several small-scale investigations have taken place in the town since the 1960s, particularly from an area in the central and southern parts of the town.

The excavation recovered an MNV of 754 redware vessels (Pääkkönen, 2006, p. 21), 747 of which are identified as being as being tablewares or storage/utility vessels (Salmi et al., 2014, p. 493), with the remaining seven vessels presumably being kitchenwares. Unfortunately, other ware types have not been analysed by MNV, nor are slipwares differentiated from redwares but it may be assumed that a fair portion of the 114 redware dishes and 79 bowls identified at Tornio were slipped. This does limit the comparisons which can be made between Tornio and other sites.

The total assemblage comprised 2081 sherds, of which nearly half is of tin-glazed earthenwares. In the same vein there were 142 sherds of “white earthenware”, which, from context, appear to refer to refined earthenwares, most likely English creamware, rather than lead-glazed white earthenwares (Salmi et al., 2014, pp. 149, 503).

There seems to be a fairly straightforward development in tablewares in Tornio from redware vessels in the 17th century, to tin-glazed earthenwares, to refined earthenwares in the mid- to late 18th century. The majority of tin-glazed earthenwares present in Tornio are from the second quarter of the

	Sherd Count	***% of Sherds***
Lead-glazed Redwares	817	39,26%
Tin-Glazed Earthenware	926	44,50%
Stonewares	150	7,21%
"White earthenware"	142	6,82%
Porcelain	46	2,21%

Table 6.18. Sherds by ware type, synthesised from information in Salmi et al. (2014, p. 493)

18th century and are of Swedish manufacture, with vessels produced in the Netherlands being fewer and concentrated in the first quarter of the 18th century. Stonewares appear to be present in low but steady numbers through the 17th and 18th centuries. Porcelain on the other hand is rare before the mid-18th century and unknown before the late 17th century (Salmi et al., 2014, pp. 502-504).

A great number of clay pipe fragments were recovered from Tornio, with 174 bowl fragments from a total of 2.197 clay pipe fragments. While MNP has not been calculated for Tornio it is likely to be around 150 or so, with the majority dating to the 17th century (Nurmi, 2011, pp. 100-101).

Without an accurate MNV and MNP for Tornio using the data in direct comparisons will not be possible but the broad strokes may be used in the discussion subsequent to the statistical comparisons.

6.8. Duisburg, Germany

Duisburg is located in the Rhinelands with its contemporary centres of pottery production. The investigations at Duisburg took place through the 1980s as a result of various construction projects and revealed a variety of structures, such as cellars, middens, wells and latrines dating from the 10th century into modernity (Gaimster, 2006, pp. 35-39). Material from four phases at Duisburg is of interest to the current study. The earliest phase dates 1580-1650, with the three remaining phases each covering half century, for phase dating of 1650-1700, 1700-1750, and finally 1750-1800. While each phase constitutes more sites within Duisburg they are treated as one for the purposes of comparison. All together the MNV from Duisburg total 806 vessels (Gaimster, 2006, pp. 122-123).

More than half of those vessels originate in the 1580-1650 phase, or 484, with only 31 vessels to the phase 1650-1700. This great disparity in vessel number is interpreted as a sign of preservation conditions, rather than a real drop in the number of vessels at Duisburg but the sites of the younger phases appear to have been much more fragmented and disturbed than the earlier sites (Gaimster, 2006,

Phase	***1580-1650***	***1650-1700***	***1700-1750***	***1750-1800***
MNV	484	31	181	110
Tablewares	30%	65%	45%	60%
Kitchenware	60%	20%	50%	25%
Storage/Utility	5%	5%	5%	10%
Sanitaryware	5%	5%		5%
Other Forms		5%		

Table 6.19. MNV by phase and percentage division of MNV by vessel group (Gaimster, 2006, pp. 130-131)

	1580-1650	*1650-1700*	*1700-1750*	*1750-1800*
Unglazed Earthenwares	0%	0%	0%	0%
Lead-glazed Redwares, Undecorated	60%	3%	27%	22%
Slipwares	5%	13%	24%	25%
Lead-glazed Whitewares	16%	13%	6%	0%
Tin-Glazed Earthenware	8%	61%	29%	15%
Stonewares	9%	9%	10%	11%
Refined Earthenwares	0%	0%	0%	15%
Porcelain	1%	0%	3%	11%

Table 6.20. Percentage division of MNVs by ware type (Gaimster, 2006, pp. 122-123)

pp. 118-119). The analysis of the German sites includes a vessel group which has not so far been discussed. These are 'sanitarywares', the vast majority of which are chamber pots. These vessels are often not included in analyses and are vanishingly rare in the Icelandic material and as such have not been included but form a substantial enough group in the German material that it they must at least be acknowledged.

Due to the small number of vessels present in the 1650-1700 phase it tends to be quite different in its composition to the other three phases, to such an extent that it cannot be considered to represent an average across Duisburg at the time. The sharp decline in kitchenwares in relation to an increase in tablewares, along with the much higher number of tin-glazed earthenwares and the near absence of redwares appears to indicate that the phase 1650-1700 sites had more wealth to spend on pottery than the average Duisburger (Gaimster, 2006, pp. 119-120).

Accounting for phase 1650-1700 there remains a broad trend from a majority redwares and kitchenwares in the beginning of the 17th century towards an increase in other ware types and an emphasis on tablewares, particularly with the introduction of refined earthenwares and European porcelain in the late 18th century. In this context the 1650-1700 phase may be interpreted, providing that it gives an accurate image of the pottery consumption of a household of higher standing, as showing that this change began earlier in households of higher standing than households of lower standing.

6.9. Wesel, Germany

The city Wesel was, during the period of the German Hansa merchants, the senior Hansa trading settlement in the Lower Rhineland. Investigations of the city's centre through the 1980s revealed pottery material, recovered from middens, latrines and wells, among others (Gaimster, 2006, p. 39). From Wesel an MNV of 222 was identified from a series of latrine and pits, dating to 1580-1620 (Gaimster, 2006, p. 118).

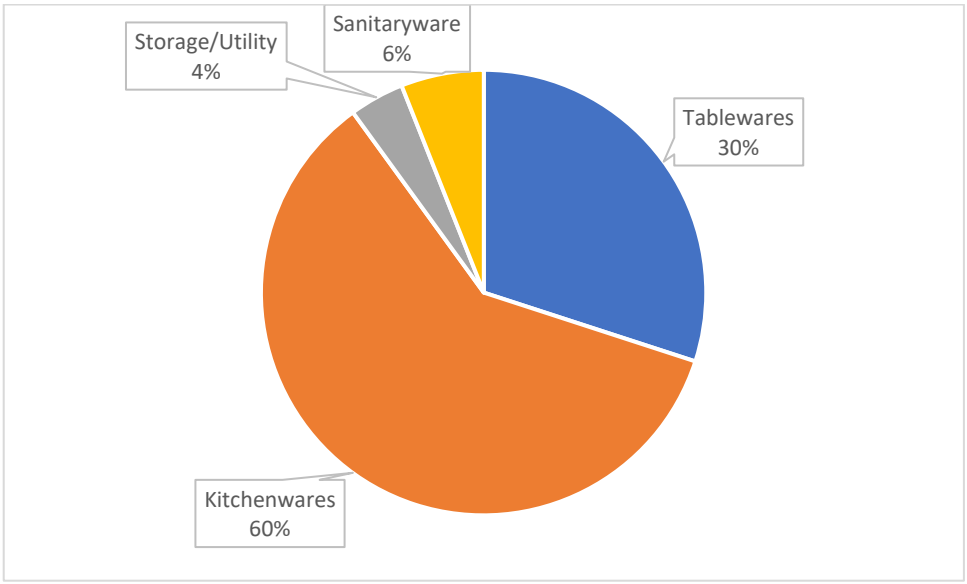


Chart 6.1. Percentage distribution of MNVs from Wesel by vessel group (including sanitary wares) (Gaimster, 2006, p. 130)

Kitchenwares and tablewares together comprise 90% of the Wesel assemblage, with kitchenwares being 60% and tablewares 30% of the assemblage. Storage/utility vessels only comprise 4% of the assemblage. Nearly half of all vessels from Wesel are undecorated redwares, with slipwares making up a further 10%. These, along with the stonewares, 28% of the assemblage, and lead-glazed whitewares, 4% of the assemblage, are all ware types produced in the Lower Rhinelands, though it is estimated that around half of the redware vessels from Wesel are imported from outside the Rhinelands. The porcelain and tin-glazed earthenware vessels are both entirely imported (Gaimster, 2006, pp. 118-119).

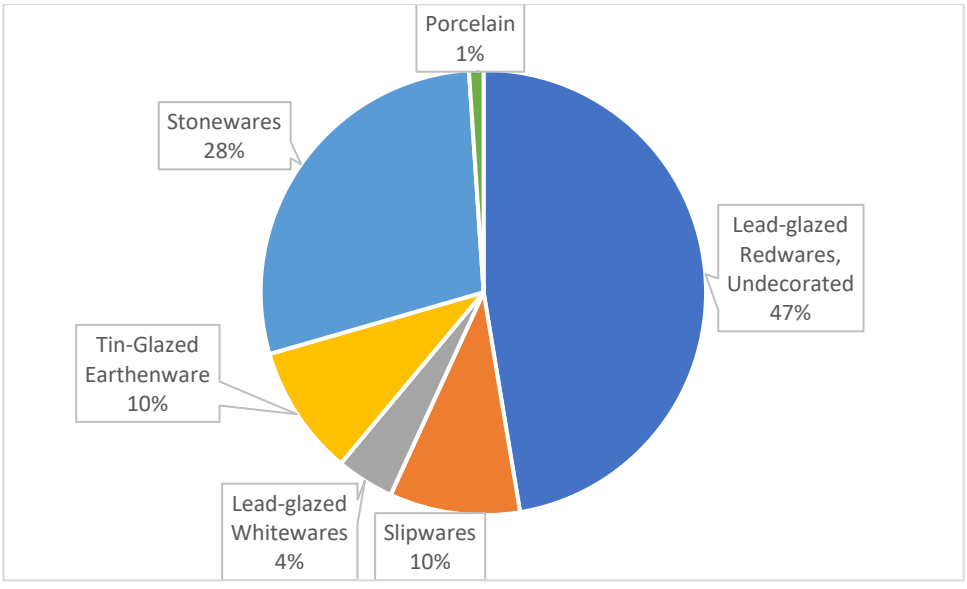


Chart 6.2. Percentage division of MNVs from Wesel by ware type (Gaimster, 2006, p. 124)

6.10. Krefeld-Linn, Germany

Through the 1980s small-scale investigations took place in the rural site of Krefeld-Linn in the Rhinelands which resulted in the investigation of a handful of cellars and latrines (Gaimster, 2006, pp. 39, 176-177). The pottery resulting from these investigations all date to the 18th century or later. Of interest to the current study are the sherds from two phases which date to 1700-1740 and 1740-1784. From Krefeld-Linn a total MNV of 425 are identified from both phases, 162 from the 1700-1740 phase and 263 from the 1740-1784 phase (Gaimster, 2006, pp. 120-131).

Through the 18th century at Krefeld-Linn there appears to be an increase in the proportion of tablewares while kitchenwares and storage/utility vessels decrease. This may be evidence of the increasing importance of pottery over vessels of other material such as wood in the table settings of the past, though with the available data that is a position that is difficult to maintain.

	1700-1740	*1740-1784*
Tablewares	50%	65%
Kitchenware	30%	15%
Storage/Utility	15%	10%
Sanitaryware	5%	7%
Other Forms	0%	3%

Table 6.21. Percentage division of MNVs from Krefeld-Linn by vessel group (Gaimster, 2006, p. 131)

The change between the first and second half of the 18th century at Krefeld-Linn is one of a general move away from the locally produced redwares, both undecorated and slipwares, towards imported tin-glazed earthenwares and porcelains. No refined earthenwares were recovered from Krenfeld-Linn, which might indicate that those ware types, largely of English manufacture in this period, either did not penetrate into the rural markets of the Rhineland or that local manufacture was preferred. The amount of tin-glazed earthenwares, slipwares and porcelain would appear to indicate that wealth was not an issue in this case.

	1700-1740	*1740-1784*
Lead-glazed Redwares, Undecorated	38%	27%
Slipwares	37%	25%
Tin-Glazed Earthenware	6%	24%
Stonewares	19%	18%
Porcelain	0%	6%

Table 6.22. Percentage division of MNVs by ware type (Gaimster, 2006, p. 123)

6.11. Deventer, the Netherlands

In 1993 a project of re-examination and analysis of finds material from excavated rubbish and cesspits was initiated in the Netherlands under the title 'Afvalkuilen & Beerputten' and ran until 1998 (Bartels, 1999, p. 8). As a part of that project finds material from Deventer was examined, with a total of six assemblages dated to the 17th and 18th centuries. From those assemblages a total MNV of 132 was identified (Bartels, 1999, pp. 431-435) and MNP of 65 (Bartels, 1999, p. 488).

	17th century	*18th century*
Tableware	52%	68%
Kitchenware	25%	26%
Storage/Utility	11%	3%
Misc/Unidentified	12%	3%

Table 6.23. Percentage division of MNVs from Deventer by vessel group.

The majority of identified vessels, or 101 vessels, date to the 17th century, with the remaining 31 vessels dating to the 18th. Just over half of the vessels from the 17th century are identified as being tablewares, and almost 68% of the vessels form the 18th century, with about a quarter of vessels being kitchenwares in both centuries. This large proportion of tablewares is interesting, provided for by a large number of tin-glazed earthenwares and redwares in the 17th century and a combination of ting-glazed earthenwares, stonewares, and refined earthenwares in the 18th century. While they are only differentiated in a small number of cases in the catalogue it would appear that a fair number of the redwares, particularly the dishes and plates, are slipped.

This spread of ware types and vessel groups may be interpreted as Deventer, or at least a part of its population, having enough disposable wealth, access to markets, as well as the knowledge, to quickly adopt the latest trends in tablewares, abandoning old styles and ware types in favour of new ones.

	17th century	*18th century*
Unglazed Earthenwares	0%	0%
Lead-glazed Redwares, Undecorated and Slipped	47%	35%
Lead-glazed Whitewares	8%	3%
Tin-Glazed Earthenware	30%	13%
Stonewares	11%	16%
Refined Earthenwares	0%	29%
Porcelain	5%	3%

Table 6.24. Percentage division of MNVs from Deventer by ware type.

The total MNP of 65 at Deventer belongs mostly to the 17th century, or 43 pipes, with 22 pipes dating to the 18th century. These pipes are mostly of local manufacture, with a few being imported from Gouda (Bartels, 1999, p. 488).

6.12. Dordrecht, the Netherlands

Dordrecht, as Deventer, was a part of the 'Afvalkuilen & Beerputten' project from 1993 to 1998 (Bartels, 1999, p. 8). In Dordrecht eight assemblages dating to the 17th and 18th centuries were examined. From these a total MNV of 146 was identified and an MNP of 24.

Of the MNV of 146, 70 are dated to the 17th century, while 76 are dated to the 18th (Bartels, 1999, pp. 435-457). In both centuries more than half of all vessels are identified as tablewares. A high proportion of the vessels are miscellaneous or unidentified vessels, owing to a rather large group of 'testen' vessels, or discard from experimental or failed manufacture, along with a decent amount of chamber pots (Bartels, 1999). In Dordrecht there is one identified slipware vessel of Weser manufacture from the 17th century but otherwise slipped vessels are not distinguished from other redware vessels.

The entirety of the 24 MNP at Dordrecht are dated to the 18th century and all of them are of Dutch manufacture (Bartels, 1999, p. 488).

	17th century	*18th century*
Tableware	59%	61%
Kitchenware	16%	13%
Storage/Utility	6%	12%
Misc/Unidentified	20%	14%

Table 6.25. Percentage division of MNVs from Dordrecht by vessel group.

	17th century	*18th century*
Unglazed Earthenwares	0%	0%
Lead-glazed Redwares, Undecorated and Slipped	39%	39%
Lead-glazed Whitewares	9%	8%
Tin-Glazed Earthenware	30%	8%
Stonewares	10%	26%
Refined Earthenwares	0%	18%
Porcelain	13%	0%

Table 6.26. Percentage division of MNVs from Dordrecht by ware type

6.13. Nijmegen, the Netherlands

Of the four cities which were examined as part of the 'Afvalkuilen & Beerputten' project (Bartels, 1999, p. 8) Nijmegen is the one with the largest number of assemblages under examination, at 29 assemblages, and the highest MNV at 288. An MNP of 245 pipes was identified at Nijmegen.

	17th century	*18th century*
Tableware	60%	54%
Kitchenware	17%	14%
Storage/Utility	8%	13%
Misc/Unidentified	14%	19%

Table 6.27. Percentage division of MNVs from Nijmegen by vessel group.

The majority of MNV from Nijmegen are dated to the 18th century with 182 vessels and 106 to the 17th (Bartels, 1999, pp. 457-481). The proportion of tablewares decreases between the two centuries as do the kitchenwares but a slight increase in storage/utility vessels. The high number of miscellaneous and unidentified vessels are owed mostly to a high number of chamber pots and lids, though there are some test vessels present as well.

As appears to be the case at most sites, redwares are the largest portion of vessels at Nijmegen, however tin-glazed earthenwares are not far behind in the 17th century assemblage and slightly higher in proportion to the redwares in the 18th century assemblage. Also of interest is the low proportion of refined earthenwares at Nijmegen as they remain below 10% of the 18th century assemblage, though the proportion of porcelain increases. This may indicate a preference for locally made tin-glazed vessels and imported porcelain over the emerging refined earthenwares.

As for the pottery vessels the majority of pipes identified at Nijmegen are dated to the 18th century, or 172 pipes of an MNP of 245, with the remaining 73 being dated to the 17th century. As in the other Dutch cities discussed here all pipes are produced within the Netherlands, with a large proportion being locally produced (Bartels, 1999, pp. 488-491).

	17th century	*18th century*
Unglazed Earthenwares	0%	1%
Lead-glazed Redwares, Undecorated and Slipped	38%	30%
Lead-glazed Whitewares	8%	8%
Tin-Glazed Earthenware	30%	31%
Stonewares	15%	14%
Refined Earthenwares	0%	7%
Porcelain	9%	10%

Table 6.28. Percentage division of MNVs from Nijmegen by ware type.

6.14. Tiel, the Netherlands

Tiel is the last of the four cities examined as part of the 'Afvalkuilen & Beerputten' project (Bartels, 1999, p. 8). At Tiel seven assemblages which date to the 17th and 18th centuries were examined, resulting in a total MNV of 146 and MNP of 274.

Of the 146 vessels only seven date to the 17th century with the remaining 139 all dating to the 18th century (Bartels, 1999, pp. 481-486). All seven of the 17th century vessels are tablewares, with one redware cup, a porcelain cup and a mixture of porcelain and faience plates. The ware types present at Tiel are more evenly spread than the high proportion of 18th century tablewares might suggest, with no single ware type exceeding 30% of the assemblage.

	17th century	*18th century*
Tableware	100%	60,4%
Kitchenware	0%	17,3%
Storage/Utility	0%	7,9%
Misc/Unidentified	0%	14,4%

Table 6.29. Percentage division of MNVs from Tiel by vessel group.

Of the four Dutch cities discussed here Tiel has the highest MNP with a minimum of 274 pipes. All those pipes date to the 18th century and are of Dutch manufacture (Bartels, 1999, pp. 491-493).

	17th century	*18th century*
Unglazed Earthenwares	0,0%	0%
Lead-glazed Redwares, Undecorated and Slipped	14,3%	27%
Slipwares	0,0%	0%
Lead-glazed Whitewares	0,0%	12%
Tin-Glazed Earthenware	57,1%	22%
Stonewares	0,0%	14%
Refined Earthenwares	0,0%	15%
Porcelain	28,6%	9%

Table 6.30. Percentage division of MNVs from Tiel by ware type

6.15. Aldgate, London, England

Archaeological investigations at Aldgate in London in 1974 revealed the remains of several structures, domestic as well as workshops. These structures were built in the late 17th century and demolished by the mid-18th (Thompson, Grew, & Schofield, 1984 , p. 1-3). During the investigations a great deal of pottery was discovered. Oddly, the published report does not contain information on the number of pottery sherds, only a list of vessel forms and EVE analysis. From the list of vessel forms it has been possible to estimate a minimum number of vessels, resulting in EMNV of 140 vessels. The recovered pottery came from four main deposits, although the list of identified vessels used to estimate MNV is only available from two. Of those two, one is a cess-pit north of Building I, a probable workshop, while

	Tableware	Kitchenware	Storage/Utility	Misc/Unidentified
Cess-pit	7	9	1	13
Building VII	77	8	16	9
Total	84	17	17	22

Table 6.31. EMNV by vessel type

the other comes from reconstruction contexts in the cellar of a Building VII, a probable domestic building. Of the 140 vessels, 30 come from the cess-pit, with 13 of those being chamber pots. The remaining 110 are all from the Building VII cellar (Thompson et al., 1984 , p. 34-68).

The material from the cess-pit appears to be quite evenly spread, but all the tablewares except one are bowls, most of which have handles that may indicate a usage for storage or cooking rather than table service. The kitchenwares are one tripod skillet with the rest being pipkins. When coupled with that the majority of vessels are lead-glazed redwares, with two slipped vessels and three tin-glazed, this provides a very utilitarian view of the pottery from the cess-pit. This might be expected from a workshop where fragile porcelains are likely to break.

Building VII, however, includes a great deal of tablewares which encompass almost two-thirds of the vessels. These are mostly plates, dishes, platters, cups and small bowls. The rare kitchenwares are tripod pipkins and skillets, while the storage/utility vessels include a variety of bowls and jars. The misc/unidentified category is largely made up of sanitarywares, mostly chamber pots. That there are so few kitchenwares in Building VII might be seen to indicate that the pottery recovered comes from remains from the areas of the house where food was served, with the remains of food preparation ending up elsewhere.

The clay pipes at Aldgate included over 800 fragments of pipe bowls and the cess-pit and Building VII together have a EMNP of 325. Of those, 283 belong to Building VII which has a spread of pipes from circa 1610 to 1770, with a great increase in the number of pipes in the beginning of the 18th century. The pipes from the cess-pit date from the late 17th century. Not only do the Aldgate pipes originate from England, but the majority originate from one workshop, that of the Manbey Family (Thompson et al., 1984 , p. 77-84).

	Cess-pit	Building VII
Unglazed Earthenwares	0	0
ULR	25	48
Slipwares	2	6
Lead-glazed Whitewares	0	0
Tin-Glazed Earthenware	3	50
Stonewares	0	4
Refined Earthenwares	0	0
Porcelain	0	2
Total	30	110

Table 6.32. EMNV by ware type

6.16. Wharram Percy, England

Wharram Percy is a village in Yorkshire where a farmstead and a vicarage site were investigated between 1979 and 2010 (Harding et al., 2010). The site of Wharram included archaeology dating back to the Iron Age, but the majority of the material originates from the 15th century and on into the 19th. The area investigated at Wharram is divided into a little under a hundred internal sites, representing different seasons and areas of excavation. Two sites, however, represent the bulk of material from their respective areas, site 74 represents the majority of farmstead material and site 54 for the vicarage. For the sake of readability these will be simplified here to 'farmstead' and 'vicarage' with material from other sites included as appropriate.

A total of 19.614 post-medieval pottery sherds were recovered from stratified contexts at both the farmstead and vicarage, with 7.819 sherds from the farmstead and 11.795 from the vicarage (Harding et al., 2010, pp. 155-163, 167-176). Unfortunately, there are no MNV analyses presented for the Wharram sites, whose analysis rests on a calculation of percentages of sherds and percentages of sherd weight and does not include absolute numbers of pottery sherds. However, based on the Wharram illustration catalogue it has been possible to estimate MNV, resulting in an EMNV 22 vessels for the farmstead and 74 for the vicarage.

The majority of vessels from the vicarage are tablewares, with only two kitchenwares in the 18th century. The 17th century vicarage almost exclusively contains redwares, with a small portion of stonewares. While redwares remain the majority in the 18th century the ware types have diversified with a roughly even spread of slipwares, tin-glazed earthenwares and stonewares with a small number of refined earthenwares.

	17th century	***18th century***
Tableware	53%	77%
Kitchenware	27%	8%
Storage/Utility	18%	15%
Unidentified	2%	0%

Table 6.33. Vessel group percentages from the vicarage at Wharram by EMNV.

	17th century	***18th century***
Tableware	75%	54%
Kitchenware	0%	8%
Storage/Utility	13%	23%
Unidentified	13%	15%

Table 6.34. Vessel group percentages from the farmstead at Wharram by EMNV

	17th century	*18th century*
Lead-glazed Redwares, Undecorated	85%	54%
Slipwares	11%	
Tin-Glazed Earthenware	4%	14%
Stonewares	11%	14%
Refined Earthenwares	7%	

Table 6.35. Ware type percentages from the vicarage at Wharram by EMNV.

	17th century	*18th century*
Lead-glazed Redwares, Undecorated	33%	15%
Slipwares	22%	15%
Tin-Glazed Earthenware	11%	31%
Stonewares	33%	31%
Refined Earthenwares	8%	

Table 6.36. Ware type percentages from the farmstead at Wharram by EMNV

At the farmstead the majority of vessels are tablewares. What is unusual is that the 17th century vessels contain no identified kitchenwares and only one in the 18th century. Given that a majority of sherds are redwares this probably has to do with the method by which the MNV was arrived at. A total of nine vessels from the farmstead are 17th century in origin, while 13 come from the 18th. Of those six are tablewares in the 17th century and seven in the 18th. Three of the six 17th century tablewares are stonewares, two teapots and a plate, with the rest being two closed slip-decorated vessels and one tin-glazed vessel. Of the seven 18th century tablewares four are tin-glazed vessels, two slip-decorated vessels, a refined earthenware plate and a stoneware mug. The farmstead contains a spread of ware types, with a third of the 17th century vessels being redwares, another third stonewares and the last third split between slipwares and tin-glazed earthenwares.

At both the farmstead and vicarage the majority of 17th and 18th century pottery come from workshops in England, with wares from Staffordshire and Ryedale being prominent. For both sites there is a small percentage of porcelain by sherd, but there are no identified porcelain vessels dated to the 17th or 18th century. By sherd the farmstead contains 5,8% porcelains and 1,1% at the vicarage.

That the vicarage assemblage appears to represent a slightly lower expenditure of wealth on pottery by ware types than the farmstead, though the vicarage is more than three times the size of the farmstead one by MNV, is interesting but overall the assemblages from Wharram appear to indicate frugal spending on pottery.

The excavations at Wharram Percy produced a total of 840 clay pipe fragments, of which 228 belong to the vicarage and 441 to the farmstead. From those 840 fragments an MNP of 85 was established with 31 pipes dating to the 17th century and 10 to the 18th. The majority of the clay pipes at Wharram

are of English manufacture with possibly one or two pipes of Dutch manufacture (Harding et al., 2010, pp. 212-238). Unfortunately, while the discussion on the clay pipes from Wharram Percy is detailed when it comes to dating, analysis of decoration and its context within England, there is nowhere a mention of the division of the MNP between the farmstead and vicarage, nor the only listing of the pipes is in the illustration catalogue where only 53 of the 85 pipes are listed (Harding et al., 2010, pp. 234-238). Thus any discussion of the clay pipes from Wharram Percy will have to do so as an aggregate without the possibility to distinguish properly between the farmstead and the vicarage.

Chapter 7: Consumption Profiles in North-Western Europe

Having discussed each of the sixteen sites in the previous section it remains to draw out a comparison with that material and the Icelandic material. A few factors concerning this comparison should be highlighted first. Firstly, for each European site, with the exception of Wharram-Percy, Tjötta, Storvågan and Trondenes, the material being discussed is an aggregate of material from across a city, rather than an examination of individual households across time as is the case for the majority of the Icelandic material. This means that issues of consumption by standing, as that concept has been examined with the Icelandic material, is likely to get lost through a city's 'average' consumption, though in those cases where the assemblages come from adjacent or nearby sites, such as is the case for Norrköping and Tornio this is likely less of an issue. What this means exactly, though, is likely to vary from city to city and through time, but to approach the Icelandic material through this lens would be to examine the material from sites of high standing, as they overshadow other sites through sheer numbers.

Secondly, there is the issue of general comparability. As has been pointed out when discussing each site, the extent to which they contain comparable material varies. This concerns whether a site lists the minimum number of vessels and the granularity of the analysis present, as discussed in the previous chapter. This means that not all sites will be useful for all comparisons and that while the Icelandic sites have been subdivided into four groups by standing, the material from the European sites will tend towards an average, rather being a direct comparison with sites of similar standing. Additionally, if the Icelandic material is any indication, it is likely that sites of higher standing, sites with greater consumption of pottery material and thus greater rate of discard, will overshadow those of lower standing. It may well be, that rather than dealing with the 'average' consumption of an inhabitant of Tiel, for instance, the consumption pattern that is revealed may be one of an inhabitant of higher standing. To shed a light on this issue it might be possible to focus down on the individual assemblages for each site, to analyse each one in a similar way to how each Icelandic site is analysed, to use historical sources to grasp the number of people contributing to each assemblage, their socio-economic standing and relation to other assemblages within each city. This would, however, require a great deal of work with original sources which it was not feasible to do for the current study but is likely to be a fruitful endeavour should it be done, highlighting the differences in consumption across a single city. Another possibility would be the deployment of an Abundance Index (Galle, 2017), as discussed in chapter 5. Given the varied ways in which material from the assemblages under examination are available, however, this has not been feasible for the current study and would likely require a re-examination of entire assemblages.

Being aware of these issues a comparison of the European material with the Icelandic material may be done, however tentatively in some cases.

7.1. Quantitative Comparison

When considering the amount of pottery recovered at each site under examination it quickly becomes apparent that the intensity of investigation at a given site has a lot to do with the recovered amount of material, so that the difference in the MNV of Tiel and Tornio may say more about the number and size of excavations which provide relevant material, along with issues of conservation, rather than an absolute representation of a site's consumption.

As such the discussion will focus largely on percentages, rather than absolute numbers. Absolute numbers are included in table 7.1 as they do inform the extent to which the analysis can be considered reliable, in particular as it regards the ratios of MNV subdivided to each century. At those sites where the ratio of MNV goes below 20% for either century, the analyses made can be considered especially sensitive to change with the inclusion of further material.

In the next two sections Aldgate must be excluded as the site has not been sufficiently phased. Krefeld-Linn does not include any 17th century material and Wesel and Trondenes have no 18th century material to compare, further decreasing the number of sites present in each century. In addition, Storvågan only includes three 18th century vessels – one of redware, one of stoneware and one of porcelain which divide equally between vessel groups – and will be excluded as well from the discussion. While the same could be said of the Icelandic sites of low standing, having only four vessels dating to the 18th century, they are included as the absence of material at those sites cannot be considered to be down to issues of excavation and preservation.

Those sites which are aggregates of many assemblages tend to have more vessels than the non-farmstead, middling and low standing sites of Iceland, yet the difference is not so great as to be overwhelming. The high standing sites even rank as the fourth highest MNV, so that any worries that the Icelandic material would be dwarfed by the scale of European material are immediately dispelled. This does, however, beg the question of the scale of investigation at each site. With sites like Skálholt being almost fully excavated with an MNV of 618, while others have only been investigated in a small way, Duisburg for example, where the investigated assemblages do not represent a significant portion of the totality of possible investigation in Duisburg. Yet, Duisburg is represented by an MNV of 806. Should this difference in scale and result of excavation affect the way the material is presented and interpreted?

	MNV	17th century	18th century
Norrköping	841	47 (6%)	247 (29%)
Duisburg	806	515 (64%)	291 (36%)
Tornio	747		Not distinguished
Iceland, High Standing	618	123 (20%)	495 (80%)
Krefeld-Linn	425	0 (0%)	425 (100%)
Copenhagen	368	152 (41%)	216 (59%)
Nijmegen	288	106 (26%)	182 (71%)
Wesel	222	222 (100%)	0 (0%)
Dordrecht	146	70 (48%)	76 (52%)
Tiel	146	7 (5%)	139 (95%)
Iceland, Middling Standing	139	102 (73%)	37 (27%)
Aldgate	137		Not distinguished
Deventer	132	101 (77%)	31 (23%)
Iceland, Non-Farmstead	79	7 (9%)	72 (91%)
Wharram, Vicarage	71	45 (63%)	26 (37%)
Tjötta	45	11 (24%)	31 (69%)
Storvågan	38	11 (29%)	3 (8%)
Trondenes	34	20 (59%)	0 (0%)
Wharram, Farmstead	21	8 (38%)	13 (62%)
Iceland, Low Standing	11	7 (64%)	4 (36%)

Table 7.1. A list of the number of MNV present at each site in descending order, with Icelandic material highlighted and organized by standing. Note that the totals from both centuries do not always add up to 100% as some vessels are more broadly dated.

There are certainly all sorts of calculations that it would be possible to do concerning this issue but since the material in question is not considered to be the entirety of pottery and clay tobacco pipe consumption for each site but rather representative of that consumption such calculations are likely to do little but confuse and complicate. The approach taken here, then, is one of direct comparison between sites, while acknowledging that such an approach has some inherent flaws.

When it comes to the distribution of clay tobacco pipes, there is unfortunately not much to work with. The information on the German and the Norwegian sites come from specific studies of those sites' pottery material and as such do not include information on clay tobacco pipes. The remaining sites include information on clay tobacco pipes and their distribution does appear to form three or five groups. Aldgate, Tiel and Nijmegen form one group, Norrköping, Wharram Percy, Deventer, the middling and non-farmstead Icelandic sites another, with Copenhagen and Dordrect in a third. The low standing Icelandic sites and the high standing sites are then each in a group of their own at either end of the scale.

It is interesting to note that the MNP of the Icelandic middling and non-farmstead sites appear to be in line with what is occurring elsewhere in Europe but the high standing sites have three times more pipes than Aldgate, which has the second most pipes and contained a workshop producing pipes. That

	MNP	*17th century*	*18th century*
Iceland, High Standing	988	289 (29,3%)	699 (70,7%)
Aldgate	325	282 (86,8%)	43 (13,2%)
Tiel	274	0 (0%)	274 (100%)
Nijmegen	245	73 (29,8%)	172 (70,2%)
Norrköping	88	19 (21,6%)	66 (75%)
Wharram Percy	85	31 (36,5%)	10 (11,8%)
Iceland, Middling	66	32 (48,5%)	34 (51,5%)
Deventer	65	43 (66,2%)	22 (33,8%)
Iceland, NF	58	4 (6,9%)	54 (93,1%)
Copenhagen	31	5 (16,1%)	25 (80,6%)
Dordrecht	24	0 (0%)	24 (100%)
Iceland, Low Standing	1	1 (100%)	0 (0%)

Table 7.2. A list of the number of MNV present at each site in descending order, with Icelandic material highlighted and organized by standing. Note that the totals from both centuries do not always add up to 100% as some vessels are more broadly dated.

this gap is this large is odd but may be down to recovery bias in that pipes tend not to end up as readily in middens, but the majority of the investigations focused on middens.

It is noteworthy that the Aldgate assemblage does not contain many cast-offs, which may indicate that the workshop production discarded its failed production elsewhere and that the clay pipes at the site are indicative of local consumption.

Clay tobacco pipes do increase in number through time and there is a broad trend towards the introduction of pipes made within the same country, that is to say, the share of Danish pipes increase in Iceland and Copenhagen in the 18th century, and the same can be said of Norrköping for Swedish made pipes. Dutch pipes tend to dominate all pipe assemblages in either century, aside from the two English sites where English made pipes dominate.

7.2. Comparison of Vessel Groups

Comparing vessel groups from European sites several interesting trends emerge. Firstly, however, it should be noted that the material from Trondheim and Tornio is not included here. In addition, the issues of phasing discussed in the previous section for Aldgate, and the lack of material and issues of material representation in one century for the sites of Storvågan, Trondenes, Krefeld-Linn and Wesel are at play here.

Focusing in on the 17th century material (chart 7.1.) for six of 16 assemblages more than half of the MNV are tablewares, with Copenhagen not far from that at 48,7% tablewares. It is interesting to note

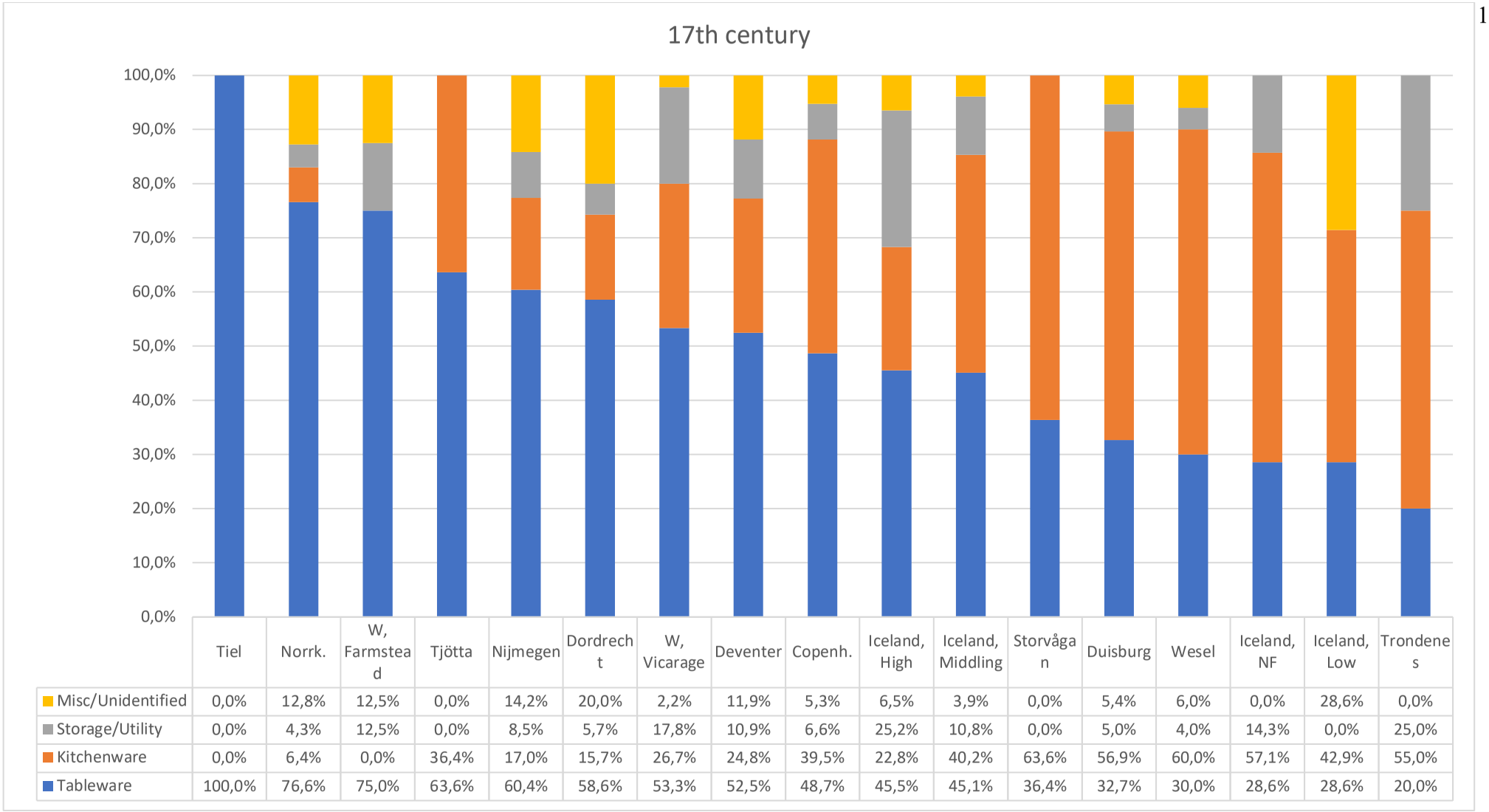
that there is an inverse and almost direct relationship between table- and kitchenwares with those two combined forming over 70% of all assemblages, except for the Icelandic high standing sites where they are 68,3% of the assemblage due to a large amount of storage/utility vessels.

The inclusion of Tjötta and the Icelandic high and middling standing sites in the grouping of sites with over 45% tablewares indicates that the ability to produce pottery was not a prerequisite to the consumption of those wares in the 17th century. The Dutch sites all have a high proportion of tablewares which may be interpreted as being due to their strong association with centres of pottery production, however, comparing the Dutch and German sites, which also have a strong association with centres of pottery production shows that both of them contain less than 35% tablewares. This indicates that rather than being merely due to proximity to pottery production the high tableware proportion at the Dutch sites must be on account of some cultural or societal aspect at play in the Netherlands which is not the case at the German sites.

Moving on to compare the vessel forms which make up kitchenwares, it appears that they may be more sensitive to the availability of local production than tablewares, with locally produced kitchenwares accounting for circa 20% or more at all sites, where such provenancing has taken place and where pottery production took place. For example, at the Dutch and German sites there are several large cooking pots present which were intended for the preparation of communal meals. Vessels of this type are replaced with 'Jutishware' greyware cooking pots in the Copenhagen assemblage and, aside from a handful of 'Jutishware' vessels, entirely absent from the Icelandic assemblages, where the kitchenwares are primarily small tripod pipkins and the occasional skillet or frying pan. This may be an indication of a more utilitarian attitude to kitchenwares than to tablewares, that cheaper, locally produced vessels were preferred, where possible.

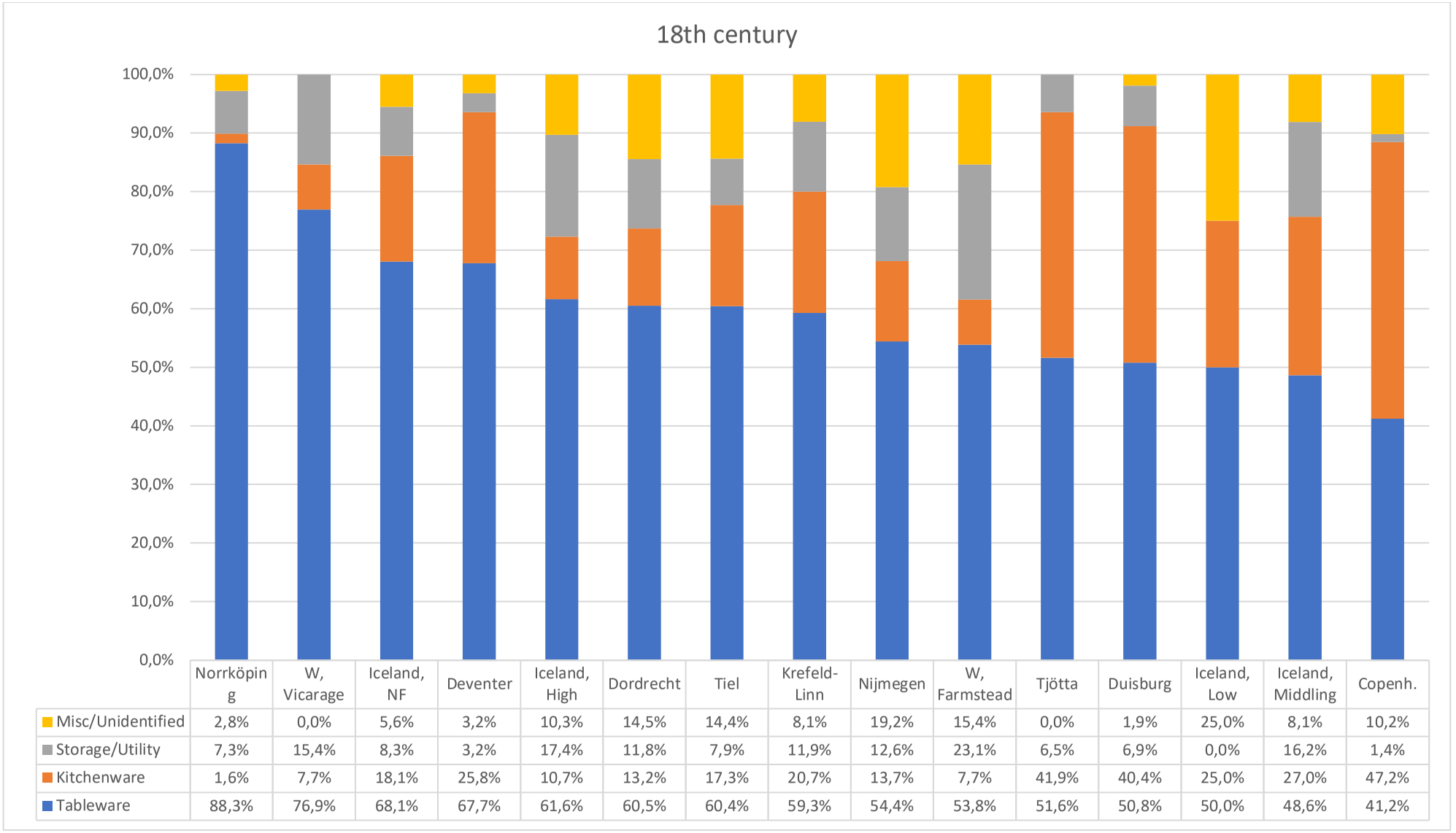
What is striking when comparing vessel groups between centuries is how similar they look, despite a clear increase in the ratio of tablewares. The lowest percentage of tablewares in the 17th century is for Trondenes with 20% but the lowest in the 18th century is at Copenhagen with 41,2%, with only it and the Icelandic middling sites dropping below 50% tablewares. Taking a closer look at the vessels which make up the tablewares may be of interest in attempting to discern the ways which consumption of tablewares changed across the two centuries.

An issue which immediately presents itself when dealing with this level of analysis is that here the discussion is focused on a subgroup of a subgroup of pottery vessels, which means that in many cases, and especially for the 17th century, the number of vessels is very low, with eight sites having fewer than ten vessels. There are also issues present here of interpreting the function of certain vessel forms, functions which may be both culturally and socially formed. For example, stoneware bottles are somewhat common across all sites and are here included as storage/utility vessels, but they may just as well have been used as tablewares, alongside jugs and similar vessels.



	Tiel	Norrk.	W, Farmstead	Tjötta	Nijmegen	Dordrecht	W, Vicarage	Deventer	Copenh.	Iceland, High	Iceland, Middling	Storvågan	Duisburg	Wesel	Iceland, NF	Iceland, Low	Trondenes
Misc/Unidentified	0,0%	12,8%	12,5%	0,0%	14,2%	20,0%	2,2%	11,9%	5,3%	6,5%	3,9%	0,0%	5,4%	6,0%	0,0%	28,6%	0,0%
Storage/Utility	0,0%	4,3%	12,5%	0,0%	8,5%	5,7%	17,8%	10,9%	6,6%	25,2%	10,8%	0,0%	5,0%	4,0%	14,3%	0,0%	25,0%
Kitchenware	0,0%	6,4%	0,0%	36,4%	17,0%	15,7%	26,7%	24,8%	39,5%	22,8%	40,2%	63,6%	56,9%	60,0%	57,1%	42,9%	55,0%
Tableware	100,0%	76,6%	75,0%	63,6%	60,4%	58,6%	53,3%	52,5%	48,7%	45,5%	45,1%	36,4%	32,7%	30,0%	28,6%	28,6%	20,0%

Chart 7.1. Percentage distribution of 17th century MNV by site by vessel group, in descending order of tableware percentages.



	Norrköping	W, Vicarage	Iceland, NF	Deventer	Iceland, High	Dordrecht	Tiel	Krefeld-Linn	Nijmegen	W, Farmstead	Tjötta	Duisburg	Iceland, Low	Iceland, Middling	Copenh.
Misc/Unidentified	2,8%	0,0%	5,6%	3,2%	10,3%	14,5%	14,4%	8,1%	19,2%	15,4%	0,0%	1,9%	25,0%	8,1%	10,2%
Storage/Utility	7,3%	15,4%	8,3%	3,2%	17,4%	11,8%	7,9%	11,9%	12,6%	23,1%	6,5%	6,9%	0,0%	16,2%	1,4%
Kitchenware	1,6%	7,7%	18,1%	25,8%	10,7%	13,2%	17,3%	20,7%	13,7%	7,7%	41,9%	40,4%	25,0%	27,0%	47,2%
Tableware	88,3%	76,9%	68,1%	67,7%	61,6%	60,5%	60,4%	59,3%	54,4%	53,8%	51,6%	50,8%	50,0%	48,6%	41,2%

Chart 7.2. Percentage distribution of 18th century MNV by site by vessel group, in descending order of tableware percentages.

17th Century Tablewares	*Dining ware*	*Drinking ware*	*Teaware*	*N=*
Wharram, Farmstead	100,0%	0,0%	0,0%	6
Norrköping	91,7%	8,3%	0,0%	36
Tjötta	85,7%	14,3%	0,0%	7
Copenhagen	82,4%	14,9%	2,7%	74
Duisburg	81,0%	11,6%	7,4%	121
Trondenes	75,0%	25,0%	0,0%	4
Wharram, Vicarage	75,0%	20,8%	4,2%	4
Wesel	73,0%	27,0%	0,0%	63
Dordrecht	65,9%	9,8%	24,4%	41
Deventer	64,2%	22,6%	13,2%	53
Nijmegen	60,9%	21,9%	17,2%	64
Iceland, High Standing	60,4%	35,8%	3,8%	53
Tiel	57,1%	0,0%	42,9%	7
Iceland, Middling	52,4%	40,5%	4,8%	42
Iceland, Non-Farmstead	50,0%	50,0%	0,0%	2
Storvågan	33,3%	66,7%	0,0%	3
Icelandic, Low Standing	0,0%	100,0%	0,0%	1

Table 7.3. 17th Century percentage distribution of tableware subgroups. N= represents the total tableware MNV. Note that the percentages do not always add up to 100% as some vessels may be either unidentified or other types of tablewares, such as vases.

What is apparent is that in both the 17th and 18th centuries the majority of tablewares tend to be dining wares, mostly bowls, plates and dishes, though the sites representing cities tend to have a greater variety in their vessel forms, including more vessels for the serving and presentation of food on the table. In the 17th century drinking wares tend to be the second largest group, though with exceptions, Tiel appears as an outlier in this case with nearly 43% teawares or almost twice that of any other site. In the 18th century, however, the ratios change quite a bit with teawares commonly falling in the range of 10% to 30% of the total number of tablewares, while the dining wares are reduced slightly in relative numbers. Drinking wares are also reduced slightly in relative number, commonly falling below 15% of all tablewares, compared to commonly being in the range of 20% to 40% in the 17th century.

The change observed in this way from the 17th to the 18th century is one of diversification. Dining wares become more varied in vessel form and ware type, as will be discussed more in the following section, and teawares begin to become a larger part of the overall assemblages, though it is interesting to note that teawares were already well represented in the 17th century Dutch assemblages, forming more than 13% of the total at all sites, while being much rarer elsewhere. The broad decrease in dining wares and drinking wares as a percentage of all tablewares at each site is less a decrease than it is a symptom of this diversification. By absolute numbers these categories tend to increase between centuries but calculated as a percentage they decrease.

18th Century Tablewares	*Dining ware*	*Drinking ware*	*Teaware*	*N=*
Iceland, Low Standing	100,0%	0,0%	0,0%	1
Storvågan	100,0%	0,0%	0,0%	1
Tjötta	93,3%	0,0%	6,7%	15
Wharram, Farmstead	85,7%	14,3%	0,0%	7
Norrköping	81,2%	4,1%	14,7%	218
Iceland, Non-Farmstead	73,5%	2,0%	24,5%	49
Krefeld-Linn	73,1%	5,4%	21,5%	223
Wharram, Vicarage	70,0%	20,0%	10,0%	10
Aldgate	69,3%	12,0%	17,3%	75
Nijmegen	66,7%	10,1%	23,2%	99
Deventer	66,7%	0,0%	33,3%	21
Copenhagen	66,3%	23,6%	6,7%	89
Duisburg	60,6%	1,3%	36,9%	160
Tiel	57,1%	15,5%	27,4%	84
Iceland, Middling	46,7%	33,3%	20,0%	15
Iceland, High Standing	44,0%	13,6%	42,4%	302
Dordrecht	23,9%	45,7%	30,4%	46

Table 7.4. 18th Century percentage distribution of tableware subgroups. N= represents the total tableware MNV. Note that the percentages do not always add up to 100% as some vessels may be either unidentified or other types of tablewares, such as vases.

To interpret this change in one overarching narrative is to ignore the differences in culture, society, standing, and place within global trade networks held by the sites under examination. That being said, there are some broad changes which appear to apply to all or most of the sites. The diversification already discussed above is one, that the act of using pottery for drinking appears to have increased in importance, whether we consider hot or cold drinks, is another. The increase in the presence of teawares is such that it appears few people outside the cities of the Netherlands were drinking tea, coffee, cocoa or other hot drinks in 17th century. The increase in teawares in the 18th century then represents an overall increase in the consumption of hot drinks.

Pulling back from the specific to look at the overall image presented by vessel consumption we find that from the sites with 17th century material a sum total MNV of 1310 is present, while the 18th century sites total an MNV of 1875. Using the averages from each century as a basis of calculation we find that the average number of c. 481 tableware vessels in the 17th century increase to c. 1047 vessels in the 18th century, while the average number of storage/utility vessels increases by less than 50 vessels, and the average of kitchenwares decreases by 122 vessels. While such a comparison cannot be considered a valid avenue of questioning, it does serve to highlight the change which takes place between the 17th century and the 18th.

This is a change which holds hands with the increasing production and increasing availability of various ware types from the mid-18th century onward.

7.3. Comparison of Ware types

For most examinations of pottery from archaeological investigations the issue of provenancing, of identifying the place of origin for each ware type, tends be in the forefront, as the general consensus is that locally produced wares are cheaper, or at least of lesser social value, than imported wares. This appears to be a logical assumption given the rising interest in the exotic during the period under examination, however, a closer examination of the discussions on pottery shows that this is only a primary concern as it regards non-tableware vessels, or more specifically redwares and stonewares and does not generally include vessels of tin-glazed earthenwares, refined earthenwares or porcelain. Aside from the Icelandic sites, Tjötta, Størvågan and Tornio, other sites discussed here have local or neighbouring pottery productions which provide a fair amount of the cooking and utilitarian vessels at each site. For Copenhagen the 'Jutishware' vessels are of local or neighbouring production though they still account for only about 6% of the assemblage. Redwares from the Copenhagen assemblages have not been provenanced but at least some of them are likely to be of local production. Meanwhile, for Duisburg an estimated half of all the redwares are of local production, constituting almost a quarter of the site's entire assemblage. In the Rhineland, in general, locally produced redwares form considerable portions of the assemblages, while in the Netherlands a mix of locally produced lead-glazed red- and whitewares hold the same place in the assemblages.

At all sites redwares, undecorated and slipped vessels combined, are the highest portion of the assemblage. Several sites do not distinguish between undecorated and slipped wares or do so only when referring to known slipped wares such as those provenanced to Weser. This makes the inclusion of the slipware category here somewhat problematic, as only the numbers from the Icelandic sites, those from the Lower Rhineland and England are specific enough to give a degree of certainty in the proportion of slipwares at these sites. However, many of those sites which do not specify slipwares do discuss vessel form and it is safe to assume that the many redware dishes and plates, and many of the smaller bowls from other sites are slipped. It does, however, somewhat limit the extent to which they can be used when discussing the qualitative conditions of the assemblages.

The overall ratio of redwares decreases through time, with the undecorated wares going from an average of 45,4% to 30,8% while the proportion of slipwares increase by 4% points in the average. Lead-glazed whitewares decrease by 5,4% points, and stonewares decrease by 1,3% points. Tin-glazed earthenwares increase by about 2,9% in the average while porcelains increase by 2,8% points. Lastly, refined earthenwares flood into the archaeological assemblages at the end of the 18th century to become an average of 12,2% of recovered vessels.

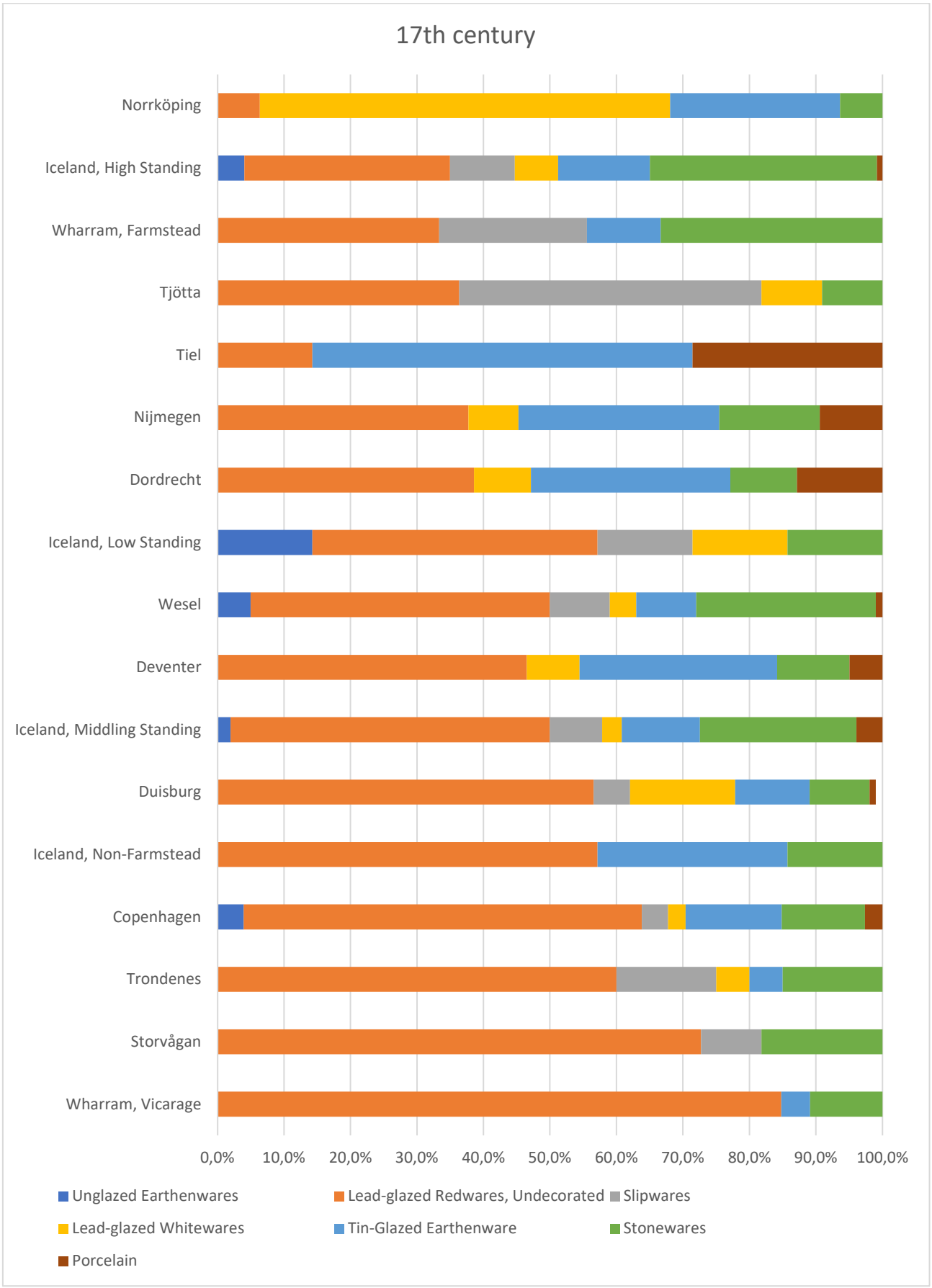


Chart 7.3. Percentage spread of ware types in the 17th century by ascending order of undecorated lead-glazed redwares.

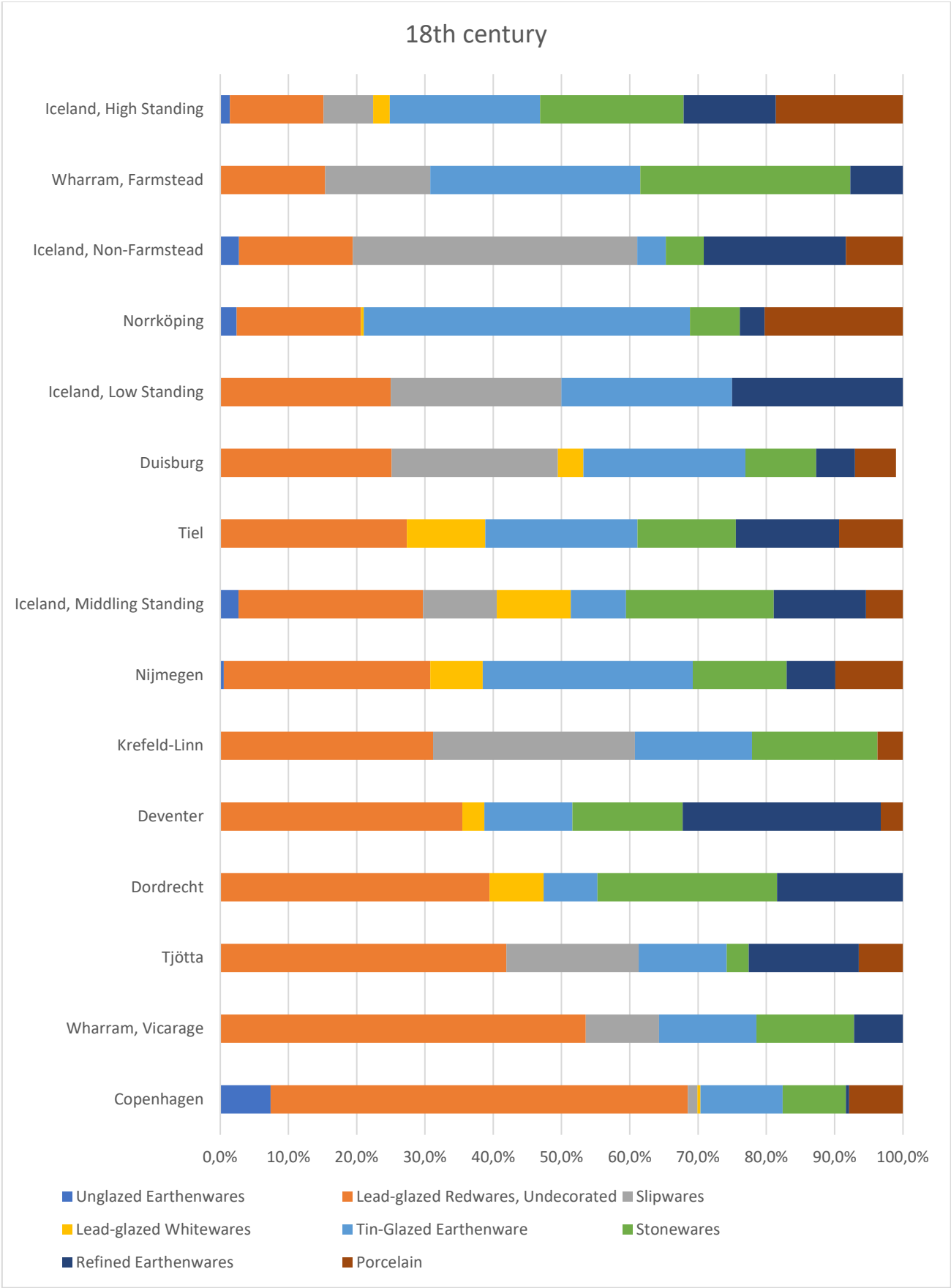


Chart 7.4. Percentage spread of ware types in the 18th century by descending order of undecorated lead-glazed redwares.

17th century	*Minimum*	*Maximum*	*Average*	*Standard Deviation*
Unglazed Earthenwares	0,0%	14,3%	1,7%	4%
ULR	6,4%	84,8%	45,4%	19%
Slipwares	0,0%	45,5%	8,4%	11%
Lead-glazed Whitewares	0,0%	61,7%	8,6%	14%
Tin-Glazed Earthenware	0,0%	57,1%	16,6%	15%
Stonewares	0,0%	34,1%	15,5%	9%
Refined Earthenwares	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0%
Porcelain	0,0%	28,6%	3,8%	7%

18th century	*Minimum*	*Maximum*	*Average*	*Standard Deviation*
Unglazed Earthenwares	0,0%	7,4%	1,2%	2%
ULR	13,7%	61,1%	30,8%	13%
Slipwares	0,0%	41,7%	12,4%	13%
Lead-glazed Whitewares	0,0%	11,5%	3,2%	4%
Tin-Glazed Earthenware	4,2%	47,8%	19,5%	11%
Stonewares	0,0%	30,8%	14,2%	8%
Refined Earthenwares	0,0%	29,0%	12,2%	8%
Porcelain	0,0%	20,2%	6,6%	6%

Table 7.5. Minimum, maximum, average values and standard deviation for ware types by century.

Here attention should also be drawn to the standard deviation column of table 7.5. With the deviation fluctuating greatly these averages are not the most reliable sources of comparison, though they do serve to highlight broad trends already observed through investigations of individual sites as well as through direct comparison between sites.

These changes in ware types are, more or less, the same as seen when examining the vessel groups and mostly affect those vessels which belong to the tablewares, though not exclusively. Looking closer at the subset of wares which belong to the tableware vessel group an interesting pattern in different approaches to consumption of tablewares becomes apparent. Taking the example of Krefeld-Linn, which only includes 18th century material and was included in Gaimster's (2006) study specifically for its rural nature, we find that there are few porcelain vessels present, no refined earthenwares at all, 17% tin-glazed earthenwares and an unusually high number of slipwares, at 30% of the entire assemblage.

A very similar pattern can be seen at neighbouring Duisburg, though there refined earthenwares appear to have been more readily adapted, as they make up 10% of the 18th century assemblage.

At the Dutch city of Nijmegen in the 18th century, all redwares, both slipped and undecorated make up a total of 30,2% of its assemblage, meaning that even if half of those are slipped, slipped vessels only make up 15% of the assemblage. Instead, tin-glazed earthenwares make up 30,8% of the vessels in the assemblage, refined earthenwares 7,1% and porcelain 9,9%. Deventer has a lower number of the locally

produced tin-glazed earthenwares and the imported porcelains but instead embraced refined earthenwares with a 29% share of the 18th century assemblage.

With these patterns in mind there are many ways in which it is possible to approach further analysis, all of them, however, run up against the issue of the low number of data points. Attempting to do analysis by culture or country is to draw conclusions from a very small pool of data with only three or four sites to each cultural area but doing so does hint at internal divisions. For instance, the rural Krefeld-Linn and the urban Duisburg are very similar in their consumption by vessel group, but Krefeld-Linn consumes more of the less expensive ware types, redwares, slipwares, with an emphasis on stonewares at the more expensive end. Meanwhile, Duisburg embraces tin-glazed earthenwares, refined earthenwares, and porcelains. In broad strokes, each site appears to favour locally made wares as much as possible for kitchenwares and storage/utility vessels, likely due to utilitarian issues such costs and that these vessel forms would generally not be on display for all to see but hidden away in kitchens or pantries. Tablewares, however, appear much more sensitive to novelty and aesthetics, whether they be kinds of decoration, ware types, or exoticism.

With only broad strokes historical context to work from and while treating each of the urban sites as an aggregate assemblage, it is difficult to see whether issues of standing are at play, though I have to assume that Copenhagen's low number of the expensive ware types have more to do with the areas being excavated than Copenhagen being a poor city, unable to secure expensive types of pottery. The reverse might be said of Norrköping, where the assemblage is dominated by expensive wares. Without an approach to standing that can either be applied more broadly than the one discussed in chapter 3, or an approach appropriate for each cultural area, it is difficult to make definitive statements about the role of standing in European pottery consumption.

However, when looking at the spread of the wares which Gaimster (2006) identifies as the most expensive types, being porcelains, refined earthenwares, stonewares and tin-glazed earthenwares, some interesting patterns begin to emerge. For the 18th century the separation into three groups is somewhat clear, with the suggested high standing sites having over 60% share of the expensive wares, the middling standing having between 45% and 55%, and low standing sites having less than 40%. The pattern for the 17th century is less obvious, with the low standing sites having less than 22% share of the expensive wares. The separation between high and middling sites is less clear but a reasonable separation appears to be around 40% share.

For the 17th century, Tiel is an interesting anomaly with an 85,7% share of the expensive wares. Aside from Tiel, the sites form a somewhat even spread between circa 29% and 55% within the high and middling standing sites. The only urban centre among the low standing sites is Duisburg, with the low

17th century	*Sum*
Tiel	85,7%
Nijmegen	54,7%
Dordrecht	52,9%
Iceland, High Standing	48,8%
Deventer	45,5%
Wharram, Farmstead	44,4%
Iceland, Non-Farmstead	42,9%
Iceland, Middling	39,2%
Wesel	37,0%
Norrköping	31,9%
Copenhagen	29,6%
Duisburg	21,1%
Trondenes	20,0%
Storvågan	18,2%
Wharram, Vicarage	15,2%
Iceland, Low Standing	14,3%
Tjötta	9,1%

18th century	*Sum*
Norrköping	78,9%
Iceland, High Standing	75,2%
Wharram, Farmstead	69,2%
Nijmegen	61,5%
Deventer	61,3%
Tiel	61,2%
Dordrecht	52,6%
Iceland, Low Standing	50,0%
Iceland, Middling	48,6%
Duisburg	45,8%
Krefeld-Linn	39,2%
Iceland, Non-Farmstead	38,9%
Tjötta	38,7%
Wharram, Vicarage	35,7%
Copenhagen	29,6%

Table.7.6. Sum of the percentage of porcelain, refined earthenware, stonewares and tin-glazed earthenwares by site and century. The thick lines suggest three-fold standing separation.

standing sites otherwise being comprised of the Norwegian sites, the Wharram vicarage and the Icelandic low standing sites. Of the 17th century high standing sites most are urban, with the Wharram farmstead being the only single farm.

That the Wharram farmstead remains the only single farm in the high standing sites in the 18th century, which does indicate that the Wharram farmstead did expend a considerable amount of wealth on pottery through time. While the separation between rankings is clearer for the 18th century, the spread of sites between ranks is slightly more problematic.

Perhaps the most unexpected inclusion in the low standing group is Copenhagen at the very bottom of the list. In the 18th century Copenhagen was the centre of a minor colonial power with trade networks spanning the world so that the city being the 'lowest' site is at odds with its historic significance. This is likely due to which excavations were included in this study and a study including other, or more, assemblages are likely to change Copenhagen's place on this list significantly.

One pattern that can be seen quite well through this line of analysis is the increasing overall number of the expensive wares, with the lowest number in the 17th century being 9,1% but up to 29,6% in the 18th century, and the higher numbers going from circa 50% (when excluding Tiel) towards 80%. Along with this overall increase there is a greater amount of separation between sites, with higher standing sites differentiating themselves from lower standing sites. Perhaps the greatest illustration of this is Dordrecht

being consistent through time with the amount of wares, with circa 53% share in both centuries, but moving from the high standing group in the 17th century to the middling group in the 18th.

That both the low and middling standing Icelandic sites end up in the middling standing group in the 18th century with this method of analysis is another point to highlight the pitfalls of a purely statistical analysis, which can be very useful to draw broad, large history conclusions but when attempting to make more specific claims it is not such a simple task to pull numbers out of an Excel sheet and provide a two-dimensional image which can be arranged into a neat list. Rather, it is important to approach these issues from multiple dimensions using an interpretive approach which include questions of socio-economic standing, the presence and nature of local pottery production along with larger issues of the contexts and scale of archaeological investigations and historical context.

Without more points of data issues of culture, socio-economic standing, and market access can only be approximated, with the knowledge that the addition of new data can, and likely would, change the conclusions drawn here. However, as it concerns the question of consumption in Iceland in particular, it is clear that the Icelandic material is not that different from the European material, whether considering the material proportionately or in absolute terms, although issues of the extent of investigation is at play when it comes to absolute numbers. With that in mind, it remains that, proportionally, the Icelandic material cannot be said to represent a poorer assemblage than those found in Europe and, for the most part, the consumption of Icelandic high and middling standing sites are very comparable to that found in Europe.

What this comparison also serves to show is that pottery consumption is not a one-dimensional affair that can be easily approached by any one method but an issue which demands a multi-dimensional approach using a variety of sources to draw on, as well as an adaptive methodology which recognizes that there is no one method which applies to all places and times.

Chapter 8: Discussion

In the introduction to this thesis I presented its two general aims, the identification of consumption profiles of imports into Iceland in the 17th and 18th centuries and situating these in the broader European context, and their eight objectives. In setting those up I believed that only in addressing each objective would it be possible to address the aims, yet I believe I have fulfilled the aims without having been fully able to address each objective.

In creating the consumption profiles of pottery and clay tobacco pipes at Icelandic sites in the 17th and 18th centuries I have discerned the change in consumption patterns in Iceland through the 17th and 18th centuries and seen how quickly imports enter into those patterns. In particular this is apparent with the new refined earthenwares which appear in the latter half of the 18th century. They are quickly embraced at all levels of Icelandic society, where they appear to supplement the pattern observed in the 17th century, rather than replace it. New ware types do not appear to change the consumption pattern but as pottery of all kinds becomes more readily available in the 18th century it is the usage of the pottery that changes its consumption. Tablewares of all kinds become more common in the 18th century as the food consumption habits of Icelanders began to change from eating with a wooden *askur* which served as both a bowl and plate, in one's lap while seated in a bed to eating at a table with ceramic bowls, plates, and dishes becoming more common. This change was gradual through the 17th and 18th centuries, and likely did not expand until the mid-19th century when pottery and associated objects, such as tables, begin to be more common in probate inventories (Edwald Maxwell, in press). An examination of 18th century probate inventories from Már Jónsson's (2015) collection of probate inventories indicates that it was not until the last decade of that century that ownership of dishes, usually between one and five, becomes more common, while tables show up only rarely. In many cases the material that these dishes (is. *diskar*) are made of is not noted but where it is, they are most commonly noted as "*leirdiskar*", i.e. ceramic dishes, though there are the rare mention of "*tindiskar*" or pewter plates. Before dishes became common, bowls (is. *skálar*) are often mentioned alongside the *askar*, though from context it is likely that many or most of these bowls are wood and not ceramic.

How profound this change in consumption was can be readily seen in modern Icelandic language, where the word *éta*, to eat, is today associated with 'eating like an animal' while people *borða*, a word which also means to eat but is directly drawn from the Icelandic word for table, *borð*, and can thus be more directly translated as 'eating at a table.' In today's usage the word *borða* also has an association with refined dining and proper behaviour at the dining table. While it would be overstressing the importance of new ceramic vessel forms to claim a direct causation between the increased import of

plates to the evolution of an idea of a proper mode of dining in Iceland, especially as the earliest written examples of *borða* in this context appear to originate in the 16th century (*Ritmálssafn Orðabókar Háskólans*) before the increase observed in the 18th century, it is possible to argue for a connection between that increased import of new vessels and the popularisation, if not introduction, of new ways of dining, including dining tables, metal cutlery, napkins, and the idea of separate rooms for dining and sleeping, from outside Iceland, and new ideas of civility, which led to the abandonment of the old methods of food consumption.

Iceland is, however, not unique in this pattern, as studies done on probate inventories in the areas of the Chesapeake and Delaware Bays in the modern United States show that similar patterns can be observed in the introduction of tablewares. As for the Icelandic material there are few sources available for the 17th century so that most studies focus on the 18th century, especially the latter half of the century. During that time an increase in the possession of plates, along with other tablewares, has been noted, starting among the wealthier households but also becoming more common in middling households at the end of the century or beginning of the 19th (Bedell, 2000; Carr & Walsh, 1980; Yentsch, 1990). The circumstance for the increased use of tableware pottery in this area is, however, quite different as probates also indicate the use of pewter tablewares which were largely replaced with either pottery or silver in urban contexts but which remained in use much longer in rural contexts alongside pottery (A. S. Martin, 1989). This use of pewter then connects into questions of traditions of food and eating, as the increasing number of pottery tableware largely slips into already defined roles in the foodways of the area, previously dominated by either pewter or wooden vessels, while at the same time altering them slightly, pushing food and drink consumption away from communal and shared dining vessels towards individual vessels (Leone & Shackel, 1987; Yentsch, 1990).

While there have been no comprehensive studies done on this transition from *askur* to table in Iceland, there are some indications that the *bumbuaskur*, the form most commonly associated with the word *askur* with its bowed body and curved lid, is an invention of 16th or 17th century Iceland with earlier mentions of *askur* in historical sources being mostly straight stave drinking vessels (H. Gísladóttir, 1999, p. 21). Whatever the precise origin of the *bumbuaskur*, it is clear that it is well designed for its purpose, namely as a vessel from which to eat the mostly cold meals eaten by most Icelanders. In the 17th century and on into the 20th century, the Icelandic diet consisted largely of

Figure 8.1. *Askur*. By Navaro - Own work, CC BY-SA 3.0, Wikimedia Commons

dairy and fish products, with some sheep produce, most of which were dried, preserved in lactic acid, or smoked. The rare hot meals were most often boiled rather than fried. This unique food tradition consisting almost entirely of cold meals has been interpreted as arising out of a lack of fuel in Iceland which also lead to food being preserved in lactic acid rather than salt, since fuel was needed to boil seawater to make salt (H. Gísladóttir, 1999, pp. 1-21; G. Jónsson, 1998). This pattern of food consumption does not appear to change significantly with the introduction of tables and dining but does appear to begin to change with the introduction of vegetable gardens to Iceland and imported foods in the 18th and 19th centuries (G. Jónsson, 1998), along with reliable sources of cooking energy, first in the form of imported stone coal in the 18th century and later with electric stoves. The primary cooking method in Icelandic folk tradition of food preparation, however, remained boiling, with boiled fish, meat, and vegetables, mostly potatoes, replacing many of the cold dairy and fish products by the mid-20th century.

A variation between sites of differing socio-economic standing was observed in the consumption of pottery and tobacco pipes. In the 17th century this difference between sites of different standing is clear, with low standing sites having a much lower number of vessels and pipes than higher standing sites. Middling and higher standing sites, however, look very similar when considering absolute number of vessels and are quite similar in other ways, though the high standing sites do emphasise tablewares, and have almost ten times as many pipes as middling sites. Through time the high standing sites increase their consumption of pottery and pipes, overshadowing the lower standing ranks. This difference is not only a matter of scale but can be seen also in the ware types present and the vessel forms, with a greater emphasis on expensive ware types among the higher ranks, and with the 17th century high standing assemblage emphasising dining and drinking wares, while the 18th century assemblage emphases dining wares and teawares. This does show that imports do quickly enter into and become fixed parts of household consumption, with perhaps the best example of this being the adoption of refined earthenwares to become about 13% of the 18th century assemblage for both middling and high standing sites.

Addressing the objectives of the second aim of this study, to situate the Icelandic consumption profiles within the broader context of European consumption does show that this pattern with the Icelandic sites is broadly in line with patterns in Europe, displaying a pattern of knowledge, capability and a desire to consume pottery in a way and of a character that is comparable to that of European sites.

Considering the question of the place of Iceland within the Danish-Norwegian Union, Iceland appears to be largely on par with other farmstead sites, at least within Norway. The sites selected from Copenhagen appear to skew towards middling in the 17th century and low standing in the 18th century, which is similar to other sites included in this study within the Union but cannot be considered indicative

of the city's higher standing population, especially when considering that the import of sugar provided a per capita consumption on par with Britain in the late 18th century (Rönnbäck, 2010). Without more sites from the Danish-Norwegian Union, it is difficult to draw conclusions but the Norwegian sites and Icelandic sites in the middling ranking are very similar in scale, though the ware type distribution of the Norwegian sites is more reminiscent of the Icelandic low standing sites, which may be accounted for by the prominence of locally produced ware types at the Norwegian sites.

Having compared the change and development in pottery consumption within Iceland and comparing that with consumption in Europe, very similar patterns appear. There is an increase in the consumption of expensive wares with a divergence in consumption which appears to be based on standing, with higher standing sites diverging in both scale and consumption habits. Coupling this with both the evidence of clay tobacco pipes and historical evidence it does appear that people in 18th century Iceland had access to credit, and the ability to choose to invest in luxuries or decencies.

Iceland, in the mid- to late 18th century does then fulfil the prerequisites set out in chapter 1 for the consumer revolution. Thus, one might argue that the concept of the consumer revolution does apply to Iceland, though with certain caveats. The most notable one is that the practices in which incomes were increased are fundamentally different. While in Britain and the Netherlands this increase is based on workshop production, such production never came to the fore in Iceland, with workshop production more aimed towards filling the needs of the internal market of Iceland, such as the production of stone hammers for beating fish at Búðarárbakki. That does not mean, however, that workshop production had no effect, and the production of knitted woollens, for example, appears to have provided an increase in income for many. For most Icelanders, however, the increase in income came largely from the expansion of fishing practices. This then begs the question whether the change in consumption practices can be considered to be 'the consumer revolution' or whether this change is more aptly viewed in a more nuanced way.

The concept of 'the consumer revolution' points towards both a singular event or process which occurred in the same way in all places, with the word 'the', and a sudden change in the ways in which people consumed, with the word 'revolution'. As has already been touched upon with the discussion in this chapter on probate inventories in North America the change in consumption did not revolutionise peoples' lives but rather the changing ways of consumption were, mostly, integrated into people's everyday lives. In the short term ceramic dishes and platters replaced wooden ones, without changing what people ate, while their different properties as it regards for example fragility, heat conduction and aesthetics, along with other large changes in areas such as the production of food and expansion of a market for food lead to the food people ate changing (G. Jónsson, 1998; Yentsch, 1990). While the former, the individual's acceptance of new types of consumer goods, is a short-term phenomenon framed

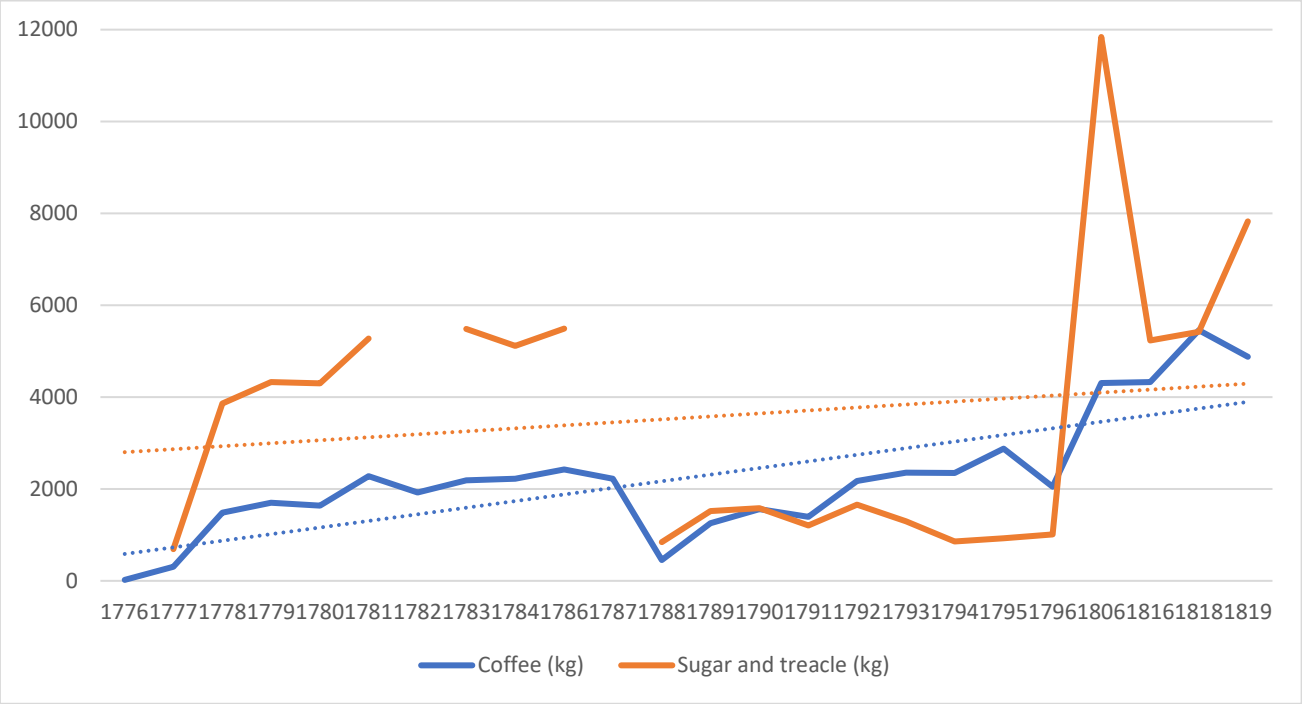


Chart 8.1. Changes in import of coffee and sugar from 1776 to 1819 (Hagskinna, pp. 434-443). Dashed lines are linear trend lines.

by a single person's lifetime, based on individual ability to participate in markets, along with less easily definable attributes such as aesthetics and sense of novelty, the latter change is longer-term, occurring over the course of generations, often in ways which are imperceptible to those participating in them.

Other consumer goods were new, with tea, coffee, tobacco, sugar, and chocolate and their associated paraphernalia being the ones most commonly referenced. While hot drinks were not unknown before the introduction of coffee, tea and hot chocolate, their introduction into Europe did influence great changes in behaviour and ways of consuming that previous hot broths or infusions had not. It is with these new colonial goods which it might be possible to argue for a consumer revolution but the varied ways in which they were accepted and enjoyed into society precludes 'the' consumer revolution. The acceptance of tea in British society while Dutch society embraced coffee is one example, while studies done on the import of colonial goods, with a focus on sugar, in Sweden, Denmark, and Norway show that Danish per capita consumption of sugar at the end of the 18th century, even when accounting for re-export to countries along the Baltic Sea, is on par with that seen in Britain. Per capita consumption of colonial goods in Sweden and Norway were on a much lower scale, but still appear to have been common enough by the mid- to late 18th century that most people could indulge, if they so wished (Hutchison, 2011; Rönnbäck, 2010) While these are good indications of the general intensity of consumption taking place, per capita consumption figures cannot show who was consuming these goods or in what context. For Iceland, specifically, coffee houses never gained the popularity they did in parts of Europe, due, at least in part, to the rural nature of Icelandic society, yet that does not appear to have negatively impacted Icelanders adopting these.

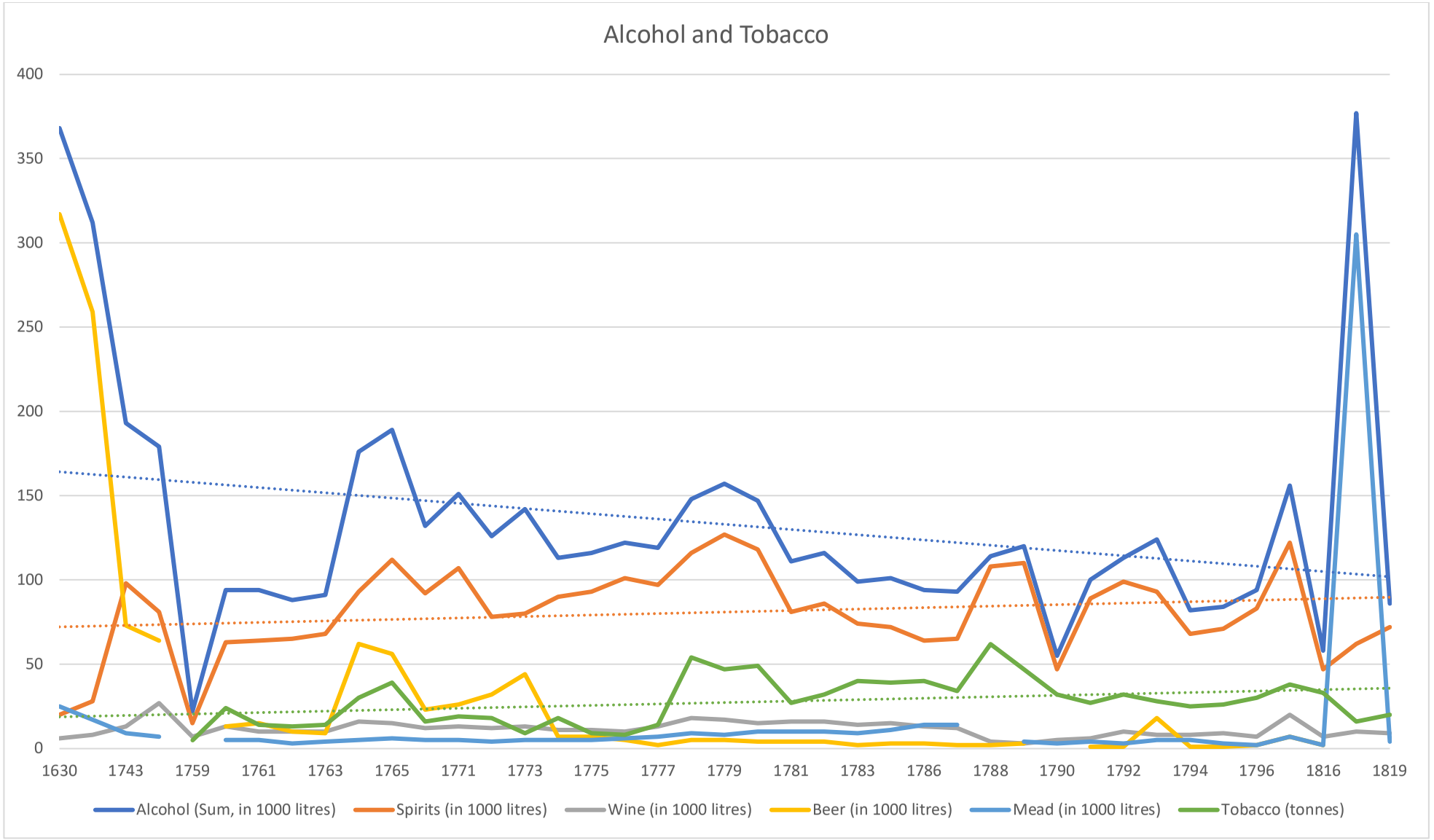


Chart 8.2. Imports of alcohol and tobacco, with trend lines for tobacco, sum of all imported alcohol, and spirits (Hagskinna, 1997, pp. 434-443).

Per capita consumption has not been calculated for this period in Iceland but import figures are available, though they are incomplete and fragmentary, often only available for certain years and not others, and sometimes only available for some import sources and are thus not indicative of the entire import into Iceland in that year. The import figures that are available indicate a steep rise in the import of tobacco, coffee and sugar in the late 18th century and continuing into the 19th (*Hagskinna*, 1997, pp. 434-443). For other goods it is often more difficult to ascertain these changes as the data is rather fragmentary, with only alcohol and tobacco imports being noted from 1630 to 1819. Interestingly import of those two categories go hand in hand, and experience almost the same relative changes in import until the period 1816 to 1819 when the import of alcohol increases but import of tobacco decreases. Cotton and linen fabrics and hats and caps, which are those other luxuries/decencies from *Hagskinna* show similar trends, with large spikes in import across two or three years, followed and preceded by rather stable, if much smaller, amounts of imports (*Hagskinna*, 1997, pp. 434-443).

While tobacco in the 17th and 18th centuries was mostly consumed through smoking, it appears that the methods of its consumption diversified through that time as well, with chewing tobacco and snuff, with the latter two apparently common practice by the late 17th century in Norway (Hutchison, 2011, p. 158). While there haven't been many studies on physical spaces and activities associated with smoking specifically, it is perhaps in this way that the consumption of tobacco was culturally adopted, not through how it was consumed but rather the context of that consumption. Was smoking adopted as a supplement to work, i.e. did people continue their work while smoking, or was it more of a social experience, with people gathering to talk and smoke as Fox (2016, pp. 79, 128-133) suggests, which might connect into questions of power dynamics as those in subservient positions used tobacco consumption to break up the work day through smoking breaks, especially once smoking began to be banned inside workshop houses and factories in the late 18th century and later.

The consumer revolution then was a long-term process during which people, individuals and societies, chose to introduce new things into their lives, adapting them to their existing lifestyle in a myriad ways, appropriate for their culture and society, while at the same time enjoying novel things, luxurious and decent, from across the globe. Things which, in most cases, promised to make life easier and more enjoyable. These things, it has been argued by Leone and Shackel (1987) for example, had the effect of reordering peoples' lives, of increasing individualisation, of increasing division between the wealthiest peoples of society and the less wealthy, while at the same time drawing people into a mode of thinking which viewed this division as natural. While Leone and Shackel take the example of clocks, forks, musical and scientific instruments to show how this occurred, in Iceland such objects are vanishingly rare in probate inventories from the 18th century, with only a handful of mentions of forks in Már Jónsson's book (2015, pp. 229-245 for example) and no mention of scientific instruments. This

increasing division may be seen in increasing and changing pottery consumption as discussed here, but also in the increasing division and individualisation of space as the once communal sleeping and working chambers in Icelandic houses were segmented into smaller rooms for use by the farmer and their families while labourers remained in communal rooms on wealthier farmsteads (Vilhelmsson, 2017, pp. 99-109). While this increase in individual privacy for the wealthy was met with demarcating space, the less wealthy farmers and labourers met the desire for privacy with locked chests, which appear in most probates by the end of the 18th century (M. Jónsson, 2015), and wilful, socially constrained blindness and deafness as it regarded the actions of others in the household, creating private zones within a communal space (Hálfdanarsson, 2008; Vilhelmsson, 2017, pp. 104-109).

How we, as a society, or even more broadly as a species, moved from a non-consumer society to a modern consumer society is a complex question to which this study can only contribute a small, rather fragmented piece. In order to expand on the results discussed in this chapter it would be necessary to address and expand upon a number of different issues. The first, and perhaps the greatest, is the amount of comparable data.

This study included only 16 Icelandic sites, and as many European ones, though not all could be included at all steps due to the way the data from those sites has been analysed and presented. The small number of sites is a large issue but while I am aware that many more sites have been investigated both in Iceland and Europe, the data from those sites often has not been published, except in the form of 'grey literature' excavation reports. A few such sites are included in this study with their estimated minimum number of vessel figures. While these are serviceable, they are also inherently unreliable. In order to be able to build on this study it would be necessary to include more sites which have been extensively investigated archaeologically and which have pottery material analysed by MNV. This would mean either engaging in new investigations or else re-examining the artefactual archives of excavated sites.

This study has examined both pottery and clay tobacco pipes, yet the pipes vanish from large swathes of the discussion. This is partly a result of the ways in which pipes have been analysed and how they are employed in archaeological investigations. The main utility of a clay pipe in an archaeological excavation has been the ease with which they can be dated and thus provide a date for the site at large, with the sourcing of the pipe being a secondary concern to highlight trade networks. Only relatively recently has the analysis of clay pipes been expanded to include a critical examination of wear marks and their meanings. Such an approach serves to highlight the ways pipes and tobacco was consumed but analyses of this type are still vanishingly rare. As quantity of pipes consumed appears to have only a broad association with standing, utilising wear mark analysis might highlight the ways tobacco consumption differed between people of different culture and standing.

With the focus being on only two categories of material culture, the question arises to what extent can pottery and tobacco pipes be considered a proxy for changing consumption in the Early Modern Period? This has already been broached, earlier in this chapter. Pottery and pipes, and especially certain kinds of pottery, may be considered indicative of changes in consumption. Teawares may be considered especially sensitive to this change and indicate the increased consumption of hot drinks which made their way into everyday lives across Europe (e.g. McCants, 2008, pp. 198-199; Yentsch, 1990, pp. 44-45). This appears to also be the case in Iceland and is supported both by archaeology, as discussed in this thesis, as well as in historical documentation which indicates that tea, hot chocolate and coffee was a well-established part of everyday life among most farmers in Iceland already by 1760 (H. Gísladóttir, 1999, p. 33; E. Ólafsson, 1981, p. 221). However, while pottery is often used in such studies by archaeologists as the pottery sherds are often a sizable, if not the largest, category of finds at excavations of Early Modern sites, they, along with clay tobacco pipes, only provide a small sample of the scope of the changing consumption taking place in the Early Modern Period. Other finds sensitive to this change which have already been mentioned are clocks and forks, but these appear to be extremely rare in Icelandic 18th century probates. For Iceland a better measure might be to include glass objects, as well as to examine the change in number and relative frequencies of things like locked chests, lamps, tables and other furniture, tablecloths, napkins, and clothes in probate inventories which may give an indication of the change in consumption taking place, though given the rarity of 17th century probates such an analysis would likely be constrained to the 18th and 19th centuries. Including an analysis of probate inventories has not been possible in this thesis but future work on this subject within Iceland should look towards those lists of things, which in many ways appear more like an archaeological assemblage than most historical sources and can thus benefit more from an archaeological approach in their analysis than many other sources (A good example of such work is Edwald Maxwell, in press).

As it concerns the expansion of the number of sites, within Iceland it would also be of interest to investigate sites other than farmsteads, to include more cottages and seasonal fishing villages, to explore how consumption at these sites compare to farmsteads, and more trade harbours. The inclusion of further farmsteads with more robust phasing would serve to determine whether the decrease seen in number of vessels among middling sites between the 17th and 18th centuries is real or a product of the method of excavation, dating and phasing. It might also serve to either enforce or break down the standing ranking system employed here, and hopefully allow for the inclusion of more nuance while exploring how cottagers and seasonal villages fit, or do not fit, into this three-fold ranking system, as well as exploring whether there are some regional differences within Iceland. This can only be accomplished, however, with the inclusion and examination of historical data. While deemphasised here, the historical evidence of account books and probate inventories do serve to inform and enforce the conclusion of the

archaeological investigations which took place at Hólahólar and Miðvellir. Unfortunately, utilizing this information is a time-consuming affair and requires delving into archives, as well as specialized knowledge of reading handwriting, shorthand, and 17th and 18th century Icelandic and Danish.

For the European material, the same applies, broadly, but for the cities, in particular, it would be of great interest to examine them, not as aggregate assemblages, but as individual ones. In this way it might be possible to draw out differences in activity within the city and the standing of the inhabitants in each area. With such an approach, enforced by historical evidence, it would be possible to better contrast and compare urban and rural sites. That there is a difference in the consumption of those living in the city and on the farm has become somewhat of a cliché in modern times, with the popular perception that people in the city eat, drink, and overall lead lives completely different from those living 'in the country'. While this is undoubtedly true, to an extent, the question is to what extent, whether it has always been true, and if not, how far back does this difference go?

Turning quickly toward the question of illicit trade, as discussed in chapter 2.4., the primary indicators within Icelandic households are likely to be either English pottery and pipes, or a significant percentage of luxuries or decencies at otherwise middling farmesteads. While there were some instances of English pottery and clay tobacco pipes encountered during this study, there were no, what might be considered, unusually high percentages of goods associated with smuggling. This lack of evidence for smuggling is likely to have more to do with the focus of the current study than any actual lack of smuggling activities in the past. Were other finds categories to be included, particularly glass as evidence of wine or liquor, it is likely that it would be possible to convincingly argue for evidence of illicit trade.

For the study of Monopoly Period Iceland this thesis has contributed to the ever-growing evidence that myths of a particular 'Dark Age' for Iceland in this period are just that, a myth. The consumption of Icelandic sites is on par with that seen in Europe, whether considering consumption of pottery and tobacco pipes in relative or absolute terms. Focusing in on expensive pottery ware types a division by standing appears, which indicates that, whether through direct purchases from merchants, through special orders, or illicit trade connections, Icelandic consumers had the means and were entrenched in international trade networks deeply enough to acquire pottery in ways similar to European sites. To call Iceland a consumer society in either the 17th or 18th centuries is perhaps to overstretch, but there are clear indications that by the end of the 18th century Iceland was becoming such a society.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 - List of Sites Examined for Inclusion in the Study

Site Name	Excavated by	Date of Excavation	Type	Dating	Pottery	Clay Pipes	Glass
Aðalstræti 12	Bjarni F. Einarsson/ Fornleifafræðistofan	1993	Innréttingarnar	Viking Age to Early Modern	145	9	154
Aðalstræti 14	Else Nordahl	1971-1975	19th century house; Innréttingarnar	1750-1900			
Aðalstræti 8	FSÍ	1987	cultural layers	19th century			
Akureyri	Ármann Guðmundsson/ Frumdægur Akureyrar Project	2014-2015	Dwelling	1770 to Modern	21	4	15
Akurvík (vestfirðir)	McGovern	1990	Fishing station, animal bones (for example fish, birds and mammals)	15th century			
Alþingishússreitur	FSÍ	1999	Cultural Layers	Post 16th century			
Alþingishússreitur	Mjöll Snæsdóttir, FSÍ	1998	Building remains	16th century - 20th century			
Alþingisreitur	Vala Garðarsdóttir	2008-2009, 2012		Viking Age?			
Arnarhóll	Ragnar Edvardsson/ Árbæjarsafn	1993	Farm Mound	1500-1828	962	104	376
Bergþórshvoll	Matthías Þórðarsson, Kristján Eldjárn, Gísli Gestsson	1926-28, 1931, 1950-1951	Farm Mound	Viking Age to Early Modern	24	0	
Bessastaðir	Guðmundur Ólafsson/ ÞMJ	1987-1996	Dwelling	Medieval to Modern	674	295	1956
Búðarárbakki	Kristján Mímisson	2005-2009	Dwelling	18th century			
Eyri in Skutulsfjörður	FSÍ	2003-2004	Farm Mound	Settlement Period or 13th century to c. 1874	895	28	177
Eyvindarkofi í Bjarnarfirði nyrðri	Gísli Gestsson	1955	Dwelling	16th to 18th century	0	0	0

Finnbogastaðir í Trékyllisvík	Ragnar Edvardsson	1990	Collection of Animalbones (for example: seals, birds, fish, sheep, cattle and stockfish)	18th - early 19th century			
Flatey, Höfnin	Bjarni F. Einarsson/ Fornleifafræðistofan	1993	Shipwreck	17th to 19th century	300	0	0
Forna-Lá	Kristján Eldjárn	1942	Farm Mound	15th to 17th century	0	0	0
Fornasel	Bjarni F. Einarsson/ Fornleifafræðistofan	2000	Sel	1600-1900	5	1	3
Fornu-sandar	Paul Buckland?						
Gamla Sel	Bjarni F. Einarsson/ Fornleifafræðistofan	1999	Farm Mound	c. 1720-1895	108	0	23
Garðastræti 23	Oddgeir Hansson, FSÍ	2009	Vaktarabærinn, building remains	19th-20th century	455	3	187
Gilsbakki	Kevin Smith						
Gjögur (vestfirðir)	Garðar Guðmundsson	1990 & 2009	Ruslahaugur (2009), fam mound (bæjarhóll grafinn upp 1990)				
Grjótaþorpið	Hildur Gestsdóttir, FSÍ	2014	Building foundation (grunnur húss)	18th-20th century	?	1	134
Grunnasundsnes í Stykkishólmi	Guðmundur Ólafsson / ÞMJ	1984	Farm Mound; Midden	13th century to c. 1980			
Grænaborg á lóð Landspítalans	Vala Garðarsdóttir	2011	Dwelling	1834-1918	36	0	30
Hafnarstræti 10	Ragnar Edvards	2006-2007	Hafnarmannvirki	Early 19th century			
Hofstaðir í Mývatnssveit	Gavin Lucas / FSÍ	1908, 1965, 1991-2015	Farm Mound; Church & graveyard; Midden; Outbuildings	10th to 19th century	609	3	105
Hólar í Hjaltadal	Ragnheiður Traustadóttir/ Hólarannsóknin	1918, 1988, 2002-2010	Bishop's Dwelling	12th to 19th century	5828	3321	2214
Hólskirkja in Bolungarvík	FSÍ	2003	Church & graveyard	Late 18th century to early 20th century	1	0	

Húsið á Eyrarbakka	Vilhjálmur	2004-?	Framkvæmdaeftirlit				
Ingólfstorg	Bjarni F. Einarsson/ Árbæjarsafn	1993	Dwellings; Shops	Late 18th century to modern	20	8	26
Kirkjubæjarklaustur	Bjarni F. Einarsson	2002-2006	Buildin remains, monastery, weaving	15th-17th century			
Kópavogsþingstaður	Guðrún Sveinbjarnardóttir	1973-1976	Þingstaður, graves (dysjar), building remains, ruslahaugur	16th century - 20th century	191	55	0
Kúðá	FSÍ	2013	Building remains	10th - 20th century	8	1	10
Kúvíkur	FSÍ	2004	Trade Site	c. 1602-1949, probably older remains exist as well	661	9	417
Laufás í Eyjafirði	Orri Vésteinsson / FSÍ	1999	Building remains, farm, tunnel (bæjargöng).	Seinni alda	73	2	54
Leirvogstunga	FSÍ	2006-2007	Outbuildings	Late 19th to 20th century (but textual evidence for Medieval to 20th century)			
Miðbær í Flatey	Albína Hulda Pálsdóttir	2009	Animal bones, ruslahaugur, building remains	17th - 19th century	?	0	2
Móakot við Seltjörn	University of Iceland	2013-2015	Farm Mound	1700-1900	81	4	175
Möðruvellir í Hörgárdal	Howell M. Roberts and Ramona Harrison, FSÍ	2006-2011	Farm mound	13th-20th century	37	8	36
Naust við Akureyri	Howell M Roberts / FSÍ; Bjarni F. Einarsson/ Fornleifafræðistofan	2006-2007, 2015	Farm Mound; Smithy; Outbuildings; Midden; Sewer Trench	Late 10th to 19th century	132	5	19
Nauthóll (Öskjuhlíð)	Aldred, Oscar	2007	building remains, farm?		338	0	43
Neðri-Ás í Hjaltadal	Orri Vésteinsson / FSÍ	1997	Sheephouse; Smithy; Church and graveyard	1000-1900	0	1	1

Nes við Seltjörn	FSÍ, ÞMJ, University of Iceland	1989, 1995-2015	Dwelling; Church & graveyard	1500-1900	766	35	619
Nýji Bær á Nesi	Gavin Lucas / FSÍ	2004	Farm mound	14th-20th century	2	0	5
Papey	Kristján Eldjárn	1967-1981	Building remains, farm, church, lighthouse	9th t- 20th century			
Pósthússtræti	FSÍ	2014	Harbor, building remains	19th-20th century	65	0	71
Ráeyri í Skútudal	Hildur Gestsdóttir og Oddgeir Hansson	2006	Outfield Building (Stekkur)	1000-1830	0	0	0
Reykholt í Borgarfirði	Guðrún Sveinbjarnardóttir / Reykholt Project	1987-1989, 1997-2003	Farm Mound	Viking Age to Early Modern	450	100	569
Rúst 016 í landi Sómastaða	Bjarni F. Einarsson/ Fornleifafræðistofan	2003, 2007	Storage; Boathouse	Viking Age-late 18th century	1	1	0
Sandártunga í Þjórsárdal	Kristján Eldjárn	1949	Farm Mound	13th century to 1693	0	0	0
Selstaða í Drumbabót	Kristborg Þórsdóttir og Ragnheiður Gló Gylfadóttir/ FSÍ	2015	Sel	16th to 19th century			
Skálholt	ÞMJ, FSÍ	1952-1958, 1983-1988, 2002-2007	Farm Mound; Church, School	11th to 19th century	409	400	147
Skriðuklaustur	Steinunn Kristjánsdóttir	2000-2012	Monastery, building remains & graveyard	15th to 18th century	363	3	303
Skútustaðir í Mývatnssveit	FSÍ	2008-2011	Midden	Viking Age to 20th century	1059	72	491
Stóraborg	Mjöll Snæsdóttir/ ÞMJ	1978-91	Farm Mound; Church & Graveyard	Medieval to c. 1840	180	17	
Stóra-Sel	Lísabet Guðmundsdóttir	2015	Building remains	14th to 20th century			
Strákatangi	Ragnar Edvardsson/ Náttúrustofa Vestfjarða	2004-2010	Whaling Station; Smithy, storage, cooperage, trywork	17th century	38		7

Suðurgata 7	Kristín Huld Sigurðardóttir/ Árbæjarsafn	1983	Smithy, Storages and unknown	11th century to 15th century & 19th century	0	0	0
Svalbarð í Þistilfirði	Uggi Ævarsson, FSÍ	2008	dýrabein, farm mound (ruslahaugur)	Viking Age to 20th century	19	8	9
Tjarnargata (Tjarnarbíó)	FSÍ	2009	Vatnsbrunnur, tjarnarbakki, building remains, farm	19th-20th century	?	1	?
Tjarnargata 4	Matthías Þórðarsson	1944	Dwelling	1000-1830			2
Tryggvagata	Oscar Aldred	2007					
Tryggvagata 13	Gísli Pálsson & Mjöll Snæsdóttir, FSÍ	2015	Harbor from that was built 1913-1917, trawler propellers from (togaraskrúfur)	19th century	0	0	0
Tröð í Bolungarvík	Ragnar Edvardsson/ Náttúrustofa Vestfjarða	2003	Farm Mound; Various outbuildings	17th century to 1930			
Útskálar í Garði	Guðrún Alda Gísladóttir / FSÍ	2005	Farm Mound	18th century to c. 1915	42	2	21
Varmá í Mosfellssveit	Sveinbjörn Rafnsson	1968	Smithy; Church; Storage	14th to 18th century	7	0	36
Vatnsfjörður	FSÍ	2003-2013	Farm Mound	Viking Age to 20th century	1182	98	528
Viðey	Árbæjarsafn	1986-95	Farm Mound; Church & Graveyard	Viking Age to 18th	966	510	470
Þingvellir	Adolf & Howell, FSÍ	2006	Church	16th - 20th century	1	0	0

Appendix 2 - Pottery Analysis

The following appendices contain the pottery analyses for Arnarstapi, Hólahólar and Miðvellir.

Find number – The find number as registered for each site and entered into the National Museum archives.

Sherd Group – Subdivision of each find number into discreet group of similar sherds.

Unit Number – The excavation unit number the find number is associated with.

Sherd count – The number of sherds present in each sherd group.

Vessel ID – The ID number for each identified vessel forming the MNV.

Ware Group – Broad ware group each sherd group belongs to, based on glaze and fabric type.

Ware – Subdivision of ware group by firing method and provenancing ware type.

Vessel Group – The vessel group to which the vessel belongs.

Tableware Subgroup – The subgroup of tablewares to which the vessel belongs.

Vessel Form – The vessel form of the vessel.

Decorative Method – The decorative method employed to decorate the vessel.

Size (mm) – Diameter of the vessel‘s mouth as determined for rim sherds.

Sooting? – Whether the vessel has signs of sooting.

Notes – Description and general comments on the sherd group. Note that most rim sherds have a percentage number in their notes, describing how much of the vessel‘s mouth is present.

Arnarstapi
Pottery

Find no.	Sherd group	Unit no.	Sherd count	Vessel ID	Ware group	Ware	Vessel group	Tableware Subgroup	Vessel Form	Decorative method	Size (mm)	Sooting?	Notes
2017-27-1	1	6000	2	1	Unglazed earthenware	Grey-firing	Kitchenware		Cauldron			Yes	Jydepot. Body sherds
2017-27-1	2	6000	1	2	Stoneware	Frechen/ Cologne	Storage/ Utility vessel		Bottle/ Jar				Body sherd. Brown speckled salt-glaze outside, with greyish wash inside. Appears to be a straight edge bottle or jar, circa 60 mm internal diameter
2017-27-1	3	6000	3	3	Stoneware	Frechen/ Cologne	Tableware	Drinkingware	Jug/ bottle				Body sherds. Grey 'orange peel' salt-glaze outside, pinkish-grey glaze inside
2017-27-1	4	6000	7	4	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware		Pipkin	Sliptrail			Body sherds. Green glaze inside over white washed surface. Clear-greenish glaze outside, with areas of darker green
2017-27-1	5	6000	5	5	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware		Pipkin/ cauldron			Yes	Three body sherds, with one tripod leg which fits onto tripod leg seat on one sherd. Reddish-brown glazed inside. Glaze is very rough and grainy. Heavy sooting outside

2017-27-1	6	6000	1	6	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Tableware	Diningware	Closed	Sliptrail			Body sherds. Reddish-brown glaze over white sliptrail. Slip appears to be on outside of vessel, probably a bowl. Surface on other side is absent.
2017-27-1	7	6000	3	7	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Tableware	Diningware	Open	Sliptrail			Body sherds. Reddish-brown and green glaze over white sliptrail. Glaze is quite damaged. Appears to be unglazed on other side.
2017-27-1	8	6000	3		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware		Closed			Yes	Body sherds. Damaged dark reddish-brown glaze inside. Unglazed and light sooting outside
2017-27-1	9	6000	7	8	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware				140	Yes	Rim & body sherd. Brownish-greenish glaze on inside of vessel. Unglazed outside. Rim fragment has three raised ridges on outside, parallel rim. C. 5%

2017-27-1	10	6000	2	12	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware				120		Rim sherd. Brown glaze on both sides, with three indentations cut in the clay on the outside (everted). Rim size is minimum size, could be up towards 140 mm diameter. C. 5%. While there is only post-breakage sooting, the damage in the glaze does indicate usage over fire.
2017-27-1	11	6000	18		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware		Closed			Yes	Body sherds. Reddish and brownish glaze, some sherds with light sooting. Two handle sherds
2017-27-1	12	6000	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware		Pipkin/ cauldron				Pipkin handle, hints of glaze in indentations but otherwise no glaze. Hole for handle is very small.
2017-27-1	14	6000	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing							Body sherd. Dark green glaze on one side, while other appears to be unglazed and worn smooth.
2017-27-1	16	6000	7		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware		Closed				Body sherds. Dark green glaze inside, unglazed outside. Probably a closed vessel.

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2017-27-1	25	6000	7			Red-firing	Kitchenware					Yes	Tiny sherds either unglazed or damaged so glaze is gone.
2017-27-1	26	6000	1		Lead glazed earthenware	White-firing							Body sherd. White clay, with red wash on only surviving surface.
2017-27-1	28	6000	1	10	Lead glazed earthenware	White-firing	Storage/ Utility vessel		Jar		30		Rim fragment. Yellowish glaze on inside. Unglazed outside.
2017-27-1	29	6000	1		Tin-glazed earthenware	Faience	Tableware			Handpainted - other			Tiny body sherd . Hint of blue paint on both sides
2017-27-1	30	6000	13	32	Tin-glazed earthenware	Faience	Tableware	Unidentified			240		Rim sherd and body sherds. Rim has glaze on both sides, though chipped off in places. Other sherds have only one surviving surface but do not fit together, both inside and outside surface fragments. Rim is very straight, making size identification difficult. C. 3%
2017-27-13	31	6001	1			Red-firing							Body sherd. Appears unglazed on one surface, while the other is chipped off. Repair hole in edge
2017-27-13	32	6001	1		Stoneware	Frechen/ Cologne	Tableware	Drinkingware	Bottle/ jug				Body sherd. Mottled grey outside, brownish grey inside

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2017-27-13	33	6001	1	13	Stoneware	Frechen/ Cologne	Tableware	Drinkingware	Bottle/ jug				Body sherd. Brown-grey speckled outside, greyish-purple inside
2017-27-13	34	6001	1	14	Stoneware	Rhenish	Storage/ Utility vessel						Body sherd. Smooth grey outside, greyish inside with no glaze, probably worn off, reddish patina on sherd
2017-27-13	35	6001	1		Stoneware	Rhenish	Storage/ Utility vessel						Body sherd. Unglazed or glaze worn off. Grey fabric
2017-27-13	36	6001	1	16	Stoneware	Rhenish	Storage/ Utility vessel		Jar				Tiny body sherd. Brownish wash outside, whitish-cream wash inside, clay is grey.
2017-27-13	37	6001	1	17	Stoneware	Westerwald	Tableware	Drinkingware	Jug/ bottle				Tiny body sherd, smooth glaze inside, stamped, unidentifiable decoration outside with purple colour
2017-27-13	38	6001	7	18	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Tableware	Diningware	Plate/ dish	Sliptrail	270		Rim sherd and body sherds. All sherds have clear glaze over white sliptrail on one side and unglazed on the other. In addition the rim sherd has a drop of green glaze. C. 5%

2017-27-13	39	6001	6	19	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Tableware	Diningware	Plate/ dish	Sliptrail	240		Rim sherd and body sherds. All sherds have very damaged brownish glaze over white slip on one side and unglazed on the other side.
2017-27-13	43	6001	1	4	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware		Pipkin	Sliptrail		Yes	Body sherd. Green glaze over white wash inside, with dark green, fire damaged glaze outside
2017-27-13	45	6001	5	23	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Tableware	Diningware	Bowl				Handle sherds and body sherd with handle seat. One handle sherd and body sherd fit together. Handle sherds have green glaze, while body sherd has a yellowish-brown glaze inside and green glaze outside.
2017-27-13	46	6001	1	15	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware		Skillet		280	Yes	Rim fragment. Brown glaze on inside of vessel. Unglazed outside. Heavy sooting outside. C. 4%
2017-27-13	47	6001	1	20	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware		Cauldron/ Skillet			Yes	Body sherd. Brownish-clear glaze inside. Unglazed outside with heavy sooting.

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2017-27-13	48	6001	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Tableware	Diningware	Bowl				Body sherd. Reddish brown glaze on both sides. Glaze is coarse, fire damaged in part
2017-27-13	49	6001	1	21	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware		Pipkin/ Bowl		140		Rim sherd. Brownish glaze inside, unglazed outside. C. 8%
2017-27-13	50	6001	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing							Rim or handle sherd. Greenish-reddish glaze on half of outside surface, with inside surface chipped away
2017-27-13	51	6001	1	22	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware					Yes	Rim sherd. Too small to measure size. Dark brown glaze inside, unglazed outside. Two raised ridges parallel to rim on outside. Very light sooting outside
2017-27-13	52	6001	1	30	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware				100		Tiny rim sherd. Fire damaged reddish glaze inside, unglazed outside.
2017-27-13	53	6001	2		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing							Tiny body sherd. Coarse, damaged, brown glaze inside. Outside is very damaged, hints of dark green glaze on an uneven surface.

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2017-27-13	54	6001	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware					Yes	Tripod leg
2017-27-13	55	6001	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing							Body sherd with no apparent glaze outside or inside. Repair hole is visible on one edge, c. 2,5 mm diameter.
2017-27-13	56	6001	12		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware					Yes	Body sherds. Unglazed. Some have sooting
2017-27-13	57	6001	1	24	Porcelain	China	Tableware	Diningware	Bowl	Handpainted - other	120		Rim fragment. Blue decoration along rim on inside, lighter edge banding with darker criss-cross pattern. Outside there is red/orange decoration, probably floral
2017-27-13	58	6001	6		Tin-glazed earthenware	Faience	Tableware					Yes	Body. Thick, white, glossy glaze on inside, outside seems worn off all sherds.
2017-27-13	59	6001	9		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware		Pipkin/ cauldron				Body sherds, two of which fit together. Reddish-brownish glaze inside. Unglazed outside with heavy sooting.
2017-27-13	61	6001	2		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing							Body sherd. Reddish and greenish glaze inside and outside.

2017-27-13	62	6001	10		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware					Yes	Body sherds. Reddish-brownish glaze on one side. Unglazed on the other. Some have sooting.
2017-27-120	63	6002	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing							Body sherd. Brownish glaze on one side, the other is chipped off
2017-27-25	64	6003	1	25	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Tableware	Diningware	Bowl		110		Rim sherd. Reddish-clear glaze inside, unglazed outside. Two raised ridges along outside rim (everted). C. 12,5%
2017-27-25	65	6003	1	26	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware		Pipkin/ cauldron		140	Yes	Rim sherd. Brownish-clear glaze on both sides. On outside the glaze is damaged in places and that is where soot marks are, but no marks of sooting in the break. Sherd is quite small so size estimate is minimum, c. 5%
2017-27-25	66	6003	1	27	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware				100		Rim sherd. Grayish-green damaged glaze on inside, unglazed outside. Surface outside is partly worn. Sherd is quite small so size estimate is minimum, c. 6%

2017-27-25	67	6003	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing							Spall. Reddish-brown glaze inside, partly damaged. Outside missing.
2017-27-25	68	6003	3		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware					Yes	Body sherds. Clear glaze with greenish staining. Light sooting outside.
2017-27-29	69	6004	5	4	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware		Pipkin	Sliptrail			Body sherds and tripod leg. Green glaze over white wash inside, fire damaged darker green glaze outside. Tripod leg fits to a seat on one of the sherds but the leg itself has reddish glaze.
2017-27-29	70	6004	2		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Tableware	Diningware	Plate/ dish	Sliptrail			Body sherd. Only hints of a clear glaze remains with white sliptrail and possibly a sliptrail of a different colour on one side. Other side is unglazed and appears to be a part of a base
2017-27-29	71	6004	2	40	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Tableware	Diningware	Bowl		220		Rim sherd. Yellowis-clear glaze on both sides. Two sherds which fit together. C. 5%

2017-27-29	72	6004	1	22	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware		Pipkin/ cauldron		100		Rim sherd. Dark glaze inside, unglazed outside. Two raised ridges paralell to the rim (everted). C. 5%
2017-27-29	73	6004	1	9	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware		Pipkin/ cauldron		80	Yes	Rim sherd. Reddish-clear glaze inside, unglazed outside. Three raised rigdes paralell to the rim (everted), light sooting outside with more intense sooting in break
2017-27-29	74	6004	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware		Cauldron			Yes	Part of a lug handle. Damaged dark brown glaze, soot marks where glaze is damaged.
2017-27-29	75	6004	1	41	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware		Bowl?		180		Rim sherd. Brownish-clear glaze inside, hints of glaze outside.
2017-27-29	76	6004	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware					Yes	Tiny rim sherd. Reddish-brownish glaze inside, unglazed outside, with sooting. Glaze is rough and grainy. Rim sherd too small to be useful for estimating size
2017-27-29	78	6004	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware					Yes	Body sherds. Greenish glaze on one side with heavy sooting on the other.

2017-27-29	79	6004	8		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware					Yes	Spall. Sherds with reddish-brownish glaze. Most damaged, a few with very light sooting.
2017-27-29	80	6004	2	42	Lead glazed earthenware	White-firing	Tableware	Diningware	Bowl				Rim sherds. Sherds don't fit together and are too small to estimate size. Yellowish glaze on both sides. Darker staining in glaze on one sherd, probable soot damage?
2017-27-29	81	6004	1		Tin-glazed earthenware	Faience	Tableware						Body sherd. Thick (c. 8mm), with glaze on both sides.
2017-27-29	82	6004	1		Tin-glazed earthenware	Faience	Tableware						Body sherd. Thin (c. 4,5mm), with glaze on both sides, though inside is very damaged.
2017-27-29	83	6004	1	43	Tin-glazed earthenware	Maiolica	Tableware	Unidentified					Body sherd. Sherd (c. 6 mm thick), with tin-glaze on one side and a clear lead glaze on the other
2017-27-29	84	6004	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware		Pipkin/ cauldron			Yes	Body sherd. Rough, clear glaze with white and dark grainy texture in the glaze inside, unglazed outside and heavy sooting.

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2017-27-29	85	6004	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing						Yes (Post-Breakage)	Body sherd. Greenish glaze on one side, reddish-greenish glaze on the other. Post-breakage sooting
2017-27-29	86	6004	5		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing						Yes	Body sherds. Clear glaze inside, one sherd with same glaze outside, others unglazed. Light sooting on some sherds.
2017-27-29	87	6004	2			Red-firing	Kitchenware					Yes	Body sherds. Unglazed, flakes
2017-27-41	88	6005	3	28	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Tableware	Diningware	Dish?		260	Yes	Rim sherds. All sherds fit together, from outside edge with only a small piece of the inside vessel. Rim and base form one flat piece form outside, with well sloping inwards. Size is determined from base size. Dark green glaze everywhere, though damaged in places with soot marks.
2017-27-41	89	6005	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Tableware	Diningware	Plate/ dish	Sliptrail			Tiny sherd, spall. Reddish-clear glaze over white slip. Outside is missing.

2017-27-41	90	6005	1	35	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Tableware	Diningware	Bowl?	Sliptrail	80		Rim sherd. Only hint of glaze is on rim edge, but vessel appears to have had a white wash on the inside, though remains can also be seen on the outside, as a result of a manufacturing defect. Surviving rim is too small to be certain of size.
2017-27-41	91	6005	3		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware					Yes	Spall. Sherds with damaged reddish-clear glaze on one side, one sherd has no surviving glaze.
2017-27-48	92	6006	1	33	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware		Skillet		240	Yes	Rim sherd. Reddish-clear glaze inside with hints of glaze outside, but outside is heavily damaged and sooted. Inside there is a clear turn where the rim turns to the base of the vessel. Remaining base is very small but appears to be more or less flat.
2017-27-50	93	6007	1		Unglazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware					Yes	Body sherd. Damaged sherd, with light sooting on both sides and no glaze. Possibly a tripod leg seat on one side.

2017-27-54	94	6010	4		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware					Yes	Body sherds. Sherds with glaze on inside, shades of reddish-clear. Sooting on outside of two sherds. One sherd very damaged with both sides missing.
2017-27-54	95	6010	1	46	Stoneware	Westerwald	Tableware	Drinkingware	Bottle/ jug				Glaze inside and outside. Cobalt blue decoration outside, with hints of further decoration.
2017-27-54	96	6010	1		Stoneware	Frechen	Tableware	Drinkingware	Bottle/ jug				Body sherd. Whitish smooth glaze outside, unglazed inside
2017-27-54	97	6010	1			White-firing							Tiny body sherd. Unglazed sherd.
2017-27-54	98	6010	1	29	Refined earthenware	Brownware?	Tableware	Unidentified		Lustre			Body sherd. Brown clay, white glaze inside, with golden lustre outside and decoration in clay
2017-27-61	99	7000	1		Stoneware	Frechen	Tableware	Drinkingware	Bottle/ jug				Body sherd. Brown glaze outside, slightly mottled. Grey inside, hints of sooting inside and in break.
2017-27-61	100	7000	1	47	Stoneware	Rhenish	Storage/ Utility vessel		Jar				Body sherd. Yellowish glaze either side. Likely from ointment jar

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2017-27-61	101	7000	1	44	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware		Pipkin/ cauldron		180		Rim sherd. Brownish-clear glaze, very damaged, but appears to have been both outside and inside.
2017-27-61	102	7000	7		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware					Yes	Body sherds. Sherds with very damaged brownish-clear glaze and soot marks. Some sherds appear to be from a handle.
2017-27-61	103	7000	3			Red-firing	Kitchenware					Yes	Body sherds. Sherds with no hints of glaze but soot marks.
2017-27-67	104	7001	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware		Pipkin/ cauldron			Yes	Body sherd with soot marks outside, and dark greenish glaze inside.
2017-27-67	105	7001	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing							Body sherd with brownish-clear, slightly damaged, glaze inside and unglazed outside
2017-27-70	106	7002	1		Stoneware	Frechen/ Cologne	Tableware	Drinkingware	Bottle/ jug				Body sherd with smooth brownish glaze outside and wash inside.
2017-27-70	107	7002	2		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing							Spall. Tiny sherds with hints of glaze but too damaged to make out colour.

2017-27-73	108	7003	1	36	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Tableware	Diningware	Dish/ Plate	Sliptrail	240		Rim sherd. Appears to be of a plate, but outside surface is absent, but glaze appears to end at outside edge of rim. Glaze appears brownish-clear but is very damaged. White slip in two lines parallel to rim.
2017-27-73	109	7003	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing							Body sherds. Sherd with glaze, which appears clear but with both light and dark inclusions, making the glaze feel rough. There appears to be an inside surface present, which is unglazed but the sherd is too small, and oddly twisted to be certain. Possibly a vessel body sherd.
2017-27-73	110	7003	1		Unglazed earthenware	Red-firing							Body sherd. Unglazed sherd, with smooth inside and outside surface.

2017-27-82	111	8000	2		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware		Pipkin/ cauldron			Yes	Body sherds. Very damaged, the two sherds fit together. Glaze on inside is damaged, brownish-clear, while on outside the glaze is damaged to be slightly darker. Sooting on outside where glaze is damaged
2017-27-82	112	8000	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing							Thin body sherd. Outside surface is absent. Greenish-brown glaze inside.
2017-27-89	113	8003	3		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing							Body sherds with a dark greenish-brown glaze outside, one sherd doesn't have inside surface but the other two have a whitish-brown, very rough glaze.
2017-27-89	114	8003	1	37	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Tableware	Diningware	Dish?		140		Rim sherd with green, damaged, glaze outside and inside. Rim is divided in two, rim and base. Rim is flat and broad, while base is wavy and narrow.
2017-27-89	115	8003	1	48	Stoneware	Rhenish	Storage/ Utility vessel		Jar				Body sherd. Whitish clay. Brownish-whitish glaze outside, unglazed inside

2017-27-89	116	8003	2		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing							Body sherd, one sherd outside surface is absent. Glaze on both sides on the other. Glaze is reddish-brown.
2017-27-89	117	8003	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing							Body sherd. Clear glaze inside, unglazed outside.
2017-27-89	118	8003	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing							Body sherd. Glazed both sides, though inside is very damaged. Light reddish-brown glaze
2017-27-95	119	9000	1	49	Stoneware	Rhenish	Storage/ Utility vessel		jar				Body sherd. Appears to be unglazed, but is very smooth on either side. The inside is white and ridged, while the outside is grey washed with one indented line parallel to the rim. Parts of fingerprints are visible in the clay on the outside.
2017-27-95	120	9000	1		Tin-glazed earthenware		Tableware	Diningware	Plate/ dish	Handpainted - other			Spall. Tiny sherd of tin-glazed pottery. Inside surface is glossy with blue paint, though the sherd is too small to make out any design. Outside surface is absent.

2017-27-95	121	9000	2		Tin-glazed earthenware	Faience	Tableware	Diningware	Plate/ dish				Body sherds. Glossy cracked egg-white glaze on either side, though surfaces are very damaged and the inside surface is absent on the smaller sherd.
2017-27-95	122	9000	2	38	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Tableware	Diningware	Plate/ dish	Sliptrail	220		Rim sherd. Two sherds that fit together to form a rim. Damaged clear glaze with hints of green glaze over white sliptrail on the inside. Outside/Underside is unglazed. c. 2,5%.
2017-27-95	123	9000	3		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Tableware	Diningware	Plate/ dish	Sliptrail			Body sherds. Clear glaze over white sliptrail. Possibly from same vessel as sherd group #122 but glaze is much better preserved
2017-27-95	124	9000	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Tableware			Sliptrail			Spall. Chip from a vessel with yellowish-clear glaze over white wash.
2017-27-95	125	9000	1	45	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Tableware	Diningware	Plate/ dish		220		Rim sherd. Remains of reddish-clear glaze on inside and on rim. Outside surface has chipped away.

2017-27-95	126	9000	1	34	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware		Pipkin/ cauldron		120	Yes	Rim sherd. Remains of reddish-clear glaze, coarse with whitish inclusions. Probably fire damage. Heavy sooting outside
2017-27-95	127	9000	2		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware		Pipkin/ cauldron			Yes	Body sherds. Sherds fit together. One sherd has damaged reddish-brown glaze, while other has no surviving surface. Sooting on both fragments all around. But also in the glaze, indicating cooking use.
2017-27-95	128	9000	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing						Yes	Body sherd. Inside surface has brownish-clear glaze. Outside surface is absent with light, possibly post-breakage, sooting
2017-27-95	129	9000	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware		Pipkin/ cauldron			Yes	Body sherd with seat for tripod leg on outside. Brownish clear glaze inside, partly chipped off. Heavy sooting outside around tripod leg seat.

2017-27-95	130	9000	5		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing							Spall. Only hints of glaze survive on some sherds. Some with light post-breakage sooting.
2017-27-103	131	9002	1	39	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Tableware	Diningware	Bowl/ jar		120		Rim sherd. Clear glaze inside. Green glaze outside. Outside is decorated with an indentitation parallel to the rim and diamond shaped indentations in the clay, down from the rim.
2017-27-110	132	9003	2		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware		Tripod pipkin			Yes	Body sherds. Reddish-clear glaze inside, unglazed outside. Soot marks on the outside.
2017-27-134	133	9001	1	11	Tin-glazed earthenware	Faience	Tableware	Unidentified					Tiny rim sherd, too small to identify vessel size.
2017-27-134	134	9001	1		Tin-glazed earthenware	Faience	Tableware			Handpainted - other			Tiny body sherd. Sherd is glaze with a thin fragment of the pottery remaining. Visible are two bands of blue but the sherd is too small to be certain of design. Probably faience?

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2017-27-134	135	9001	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Tableware			Sliptrail			Tiny body sherd. White wash or sliptrail is visible on one side, sherd is too small to certain which it is. Clear glaze either side.
2017-27-134	136	9001	1			Red-firing							Misc sherd. No outside surface is visible. Possibly a brick fragment rather than pottery.
2016-47-8	137	001.Trench 2	1		Tin-glazed earthenware	Faience	Tableware						Tiny body sherd. Tin-glaze either side
2016-47-8	138	001.Trench 2	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware		Pipkin/ cauldron			Yes	Body sherd. Reddish-brown glaze on inside, mostly chipped off. Sooting on half the outside surface of the sherd.
2016-47-8	139	001.Trench 2	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing							Body sherd. Brownish-clear glaze inside. Outside surface is chipped off.
2016-47-8	140	001.Trench 2	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing							Tiny rim sherd, too small to identify vessel size. Rough clear glaze with black and white inclusions. Unglazed outside

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2016-47-8	141	001.Trench 2	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing							Body sherd. Red glaze inside, with hints outside, probably manufacturing error.
2016-47-8	142	001.Trench 2	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing							Body sherd. Clear glaze on one side, with other surface absent.
2016-47-8	143	001.Trench 2	4			Red-firing							Spall. No surviving glaze or clear surface. Flakes from clay vessels or possibly brick.
2016-47-10	144	Core 12	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing							Body sherd. Inside is mostly chipped off, with hints of red glaze either side.
2016-47-20	145	001.Trench 1	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware		Pipkin/ cauldron			Yes	Body sherd. Greenish-clear glaze either side, with what appears to be sooting on one side.
2016-47-20	146	001.Trench 1	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware		Pipkin/ cauldron			Yes	Body sherd. Dark green glaze inside, unglazed with heavy sooting outside.
2016-47-20	147	001.Trench 1	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing							Body sherd. Reddish-clear glaze inside, with outside surface absent

2016-47-25	149	001.Trench 4	2		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware		Pipkin/ cauldron			Yes	Body sherds, which fit together with tripod leg seat on outside surface. Reddish-clear glaze inside, turning greenish at the base. Unglazed with heavy sooting around tripod leg seat on the outside.
2016-47-25	150	001.Trench 4	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing							Body sherd. Yellowish-clear glaze on one side, the other side unglazed.
2016-47-25	151	001.Trench 4	2		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing							Body sherds. Yellowish-clear glaze inside with reddish wash outside.
2016-47-25	152	001.Trench 4	2		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing							Body sherds. Dark reddish glaze on one side. Other side is unglazed on one sherd, with the side absent on the other sherd.
2016-47-25	153	001.Trench 4	5		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware		Pipkin/ cauldron			Yes	Body sherd. Reddish glaze on one side. Other side variably unglazed and sooted or with hints of glaze.
2016-47-28	154	001.Trench 3	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware		Pipkin/ cauldron			Yes	Body sherd. Sooting outside, with inside absent.

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2016-47-31	155	001.Trench 5	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing							Body sherd. Reddish-clear glaze on one side, the other side is absent
2016-47-11	156	2002	1		Tin-glazed earthenware		Tableware						Spall, a flake of glaze
2016-47-11	157	2002	1	31	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware		Pipkin/ cauldron		180		Rim sherd. Brownish-clear glaze inside and on rim. C. 2,5%
2016-47-15	158	2002	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing							Body sherd. Greenish-clear glaze inside, unglazed outside.
2016-47-15	159	2002	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing							Tiny body sherd. Dark red glaze on one side, unglazed on the other
2016-47-15	160	2002	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing							Body sherd. Clear glaze on one side, with other surface absent.
2016-47-15	161	2002	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing							Body sherd. Small patch of greenish glaze but otherwise sherd is very damaged.
2016-47-15	162	2002	1			Red-firing							Body sherd. Outside surface is unglazed while other side is absent
2016-47-21	164	2003	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware		Pipkin/ cauldron			Yes	Body sherd. Rough clear glaze inside with white inclusions, unglazed with heavy sooting outside

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2016-47-42	165	3003	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing							Body sherd. Reddish-clear glaze inside, unglazed outside.
2016-47-42	166	3003	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing							Body sherd, possibly a base sherd. Red wash on surface, other surface is absent
2016-47-27	167	4002	1	46	Stoneware	Westerwald	Tableware	Drinkingware	Bottle/ jug				Handle sherd, near the seat of body. Grey glaze with cobalt blue
2016-47-27	168	4002	4		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware		Pipkin/ cauldron			Yes	Body sherd. Cloudy, reddish-clear glaze with whitish inclusions inside, outside is unglazed with sooting, though some sherds have one sherd absent
2016-47-35	169	5002	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-firing	Kitchenware		Pipkin/ cauldron			Yes	Body sherd. Reddish-clear glaze inside, unglazed outside with light sooting.

Hólahólar
Pottery

Find no.	Sherd group	Unit no.	Sherd count	Vessel ID	Ware group	Ware	Vessel group	Tableware Subgroup	Vessel Form	Decorative method	Size (mm)	Sooting?	Notes
2016-52-5	1	002	4	1	Stoneware	Westerwald	Tableware	Drinkingware	Bottle/ Jug				Body sherds, three of which fit together. All have pinkish wash inside. Outside there is an edge, with a part of the body of the vessel and possibly the base. The body is brownish-grey outside while the putitative base is grey and highly glossy
2016-52-5	2	002	1	2	Stoneware	Frechen/ Cologne	Tableware	Drinkingware	Bottle/ Jug				Body sherd. Dimpled brown outside, with a grey inside.
2016-52-5	3	002	2	2	Stoneware	Frechen/ Cologne	Tableware	Drinkingware	Bottle/ Jug			Yes	Body sherds, which fit together. Dimpled brown outside, with a greyish inside, though post-breakage sooting has damaged all surfaces.
2016-52-5	4	002	2	3	Tin-glazed earthenware	Faience	Tableware	Diningware	Dish/ Plate/ Bowl	Handpainted - edge banded			Body sherds. Two sherds with blue painted bands
2016-52-5	5	002	2	4	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-fired	Kitchenware		Pipkin/ cauldron			Yes	Body sherds. Two sherds, with rough greenish glaze, possibly heat damaged, inside. Outside there is very light sooting, surface has many paralell raised ridges
2016-52-5	6	002	1	5	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-fired	Kitchenware		Pipkin/ cauldron			Yes	Body sherd. Clear glaze inside, heavy sooting outside

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2016-52-5	7	002	1	12	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-fired	Kitchenware		Pipkin/ cauldron			Yes	Body sherd. Clear glaze inside, with sooting and faint hints of glaze outside. Sooting appears, at least partly, to be post-breakage
2016-52-5	8	002	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-fired						Yes	Body sherd. Surface seems to be missing, and the light sooting may be post-breakage
2016-52-14	9	003	4	12	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-fired	Kitchenware		Pipkin/ cauldron			Yes	Body sherd. Clear glaze inside, with very light sooting outside
2016-52-14	10	003	3	12	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-fired	Kitchenware		Pipkin/ cauldron				Body sherds. Dark, damaged, clear glaze inside, dark surface outside
2016-52-14	11	003	1	6	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-fired							Body sherd. Very dark, greenish, glaze either side.
2016-52-14	12	003	1	12	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-fired	Kitchenware		Pipkin/ cauldron			Yes	Body sherd. Clear glaze inside, heavy sooting outside
2016-52-22	13	004	1	7	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-fired	Kitchenware		Pipkin/ cauldron			Yes	Body sherd. Dark greenish glaze inside, light sooting outside
2017-26-17	14	1002	3	8	Stoneware	Westerwald	Tableware	Drinkingware	Bottle/ Jug				Body sherds. Dark pinkish wash inside, though one sherd has half dark pinkish wash, half brown. Greyish-brown mottled glaze outside
2017-26-17	15	1002	2	7	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-fired	Kitchenware		Pipkin/ cauldron			Yes	Body sherds. Dark green glaze inside with light sooting outside
2017-26-17	16	1002	1	12	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-fired	Kitchenware		Pipkin/ cauldron			Yes	Body sherd. Clear glaze, very rough, damaged by heat, inside. Heavy sooting outside

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2017-26-17	17	1002	1	12	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-fired	Kitchenware						Body sherd. Clear glaze inside, apparently damaged by heat, unglazed outside
2017-26-17	18	1002	3	13	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-fired	Kitchenware						Body sherds. Clear glaze inside, with damaged glaze outside
2017-26-17	19	1002	1	12	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-fired	Kitchenware		Pipkin/ cauldron			Yes	Body sherds. Clear glaze inside, with heavy sooting outside
2017-26-5	20	001	3	9	Tin-glazed earthenware	Faience	Tableware	Diningware	Dish/ Plate/ Bowl	Handpainted - other			Body sherds. Decoration is a blue band, with a purple decoration, most likely a flower, below the band. Undecorated on the other side
2017-26-5	21	001	1	10	Tin-glazed earthenware	Majolica	Tableware	Diningware	Dish/ Plate/ Bowl	Handpainted - other			Body sherd. Sherd of white clay with glaze on either side, though one side is only a tiny sliver of greyish glaze, while the other is larger with a purplish glaze, reminiscent of lustre, but is more likely painted tin-glaze
2017-26-5	22	001	2		Tin-glazed earthenware	Unknown							Body sherd. Chips from the fabric of a vessel, with no surviving surface.
2017-26-5	23	001	1	11	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-fired	Kitchenware					Yes	Body sherd. Dark, greenish glaze, almost black, on the inside, with hints of reddish glaze outside. Heavy sooting outside. Sooting probably post-breakage, and glaze darkened by the sooting.

2017-26-5	24	001	1	14	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-fired	Kitchenware					Yes	Rim sherd, too small to give an accurate idea of the vessel's size. Damaged, rough reddish glaze inside, with patches of whitish, greyish. No glaze outside. Two raised rims outside, below and parallel to rim.

Miðvellir
Pottery

Find no.	Sherd group	Unit no.	Sherd count	Vessel ID	Ware group	Ware	Vessel group	Subgroup	Vessel Form	Decorative method	Size (mm)	Sooting?	Notes
2016-53-2	1	002	1	1	Refined earthenware	Whiteware	Tableware		Closed	Handpainted - other			Body sherd. White glaze inside, white and blue painted parallel bands on the outside. The majority of the outside surface has been chipped off. Sherd is slightly curved, probably a bowl or a jug
2016-53-2	2	002	1	2	Refined earthenware	Whiteware	Tableware	Teaware	Bowl/ cup	Handpainted - other			Rim sherd, too small to determine size of vessel. White glaze with blue painted decoration on either side, in geometric patterns
2016-53-2	3	002	1	3	Refined earthenware	Whiteware	Tableware	Diningware	Bowl/ plate	Handpainted - other			Body sherd. White glaze either side, with a single, thin orange coloured line on one side.
2016-53-2	4	002	1		Refined earthenware	Whiteware	Tableware	Teaware	Bowl/ cup				Body sherd. White glaze one side, the other side is missing. There is a curve to the glazed side of the sherd, possibly indicating a small vessel, such as a cup
2016-53-2	6	002	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-fired							Body sherd. Small sherd with clear glaze on one side, hints of glaze on the other

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2016-53-4	8	001	1		Refined earthenware	Whiteware							Rim sherd, rim is too small to determine size of vessel. Glossy white glaze either side.
2016-53-6	9	004	1	10	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-fired	Tableware	Diningware	Dish/ plate	Sliptrail			Body sherd. White slip on one side, with clear glaze either side.
2016-53-6	10	004	3			Red-fired							Body sherd. Chips from the body of a vessel, no surviving surface
2016-53-14	12	005	2		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-fired	Tableware	Drinkingware	Jug/ Bottle	Sliptrail			Handle sherd and body fragment. Both fragments have evidence of having been covered with a white wash, though most of the glaze is gone and the wash has been rubbed/chipped off in many places.
2016-53-14	13	005	2			Red-fired							Body sherds. Red clay sherds with no remaining glaze.
2016-53-14	14	005	1	4		White-fired							Body sherds. White clay sherd with no remaining glaze.
2016-53-17	15	006	3	14	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-fired	Tableware			Sliptrail			Body sherds. Chips from the inside of a vessel, clear/yellowish glaze over a white washed surface

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2016-53-17	16	006	1	11	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-fired	Kitchenware		Pipkin/ cauldron			Yes	Body sherd. Green glaze inside with sooting outside.
2017-25-2	17	SPOIL	1			Red-fired							Body sherd. Red clay with no glaze. The sherd is semicircular with most of a repair hole on the sherd edge, c. 7 mm in diameter
2017-25-10	18	1002	1		Refined earthenware	Whiteware							Rim sherd. Too small to discern size. White glaze either side.
2017-25-10	19	1002	1	6	Refined earthenware	Whiteware	Tableware		Closed	Handpainted - other			Body sherd. Inside has white glaze, while outside is painted. Parallel bands of brown, white, black, white, brown, black, brown in succession. Bands are uneven in size. Aside the bands the vessel body is coloured beige. There is a slight curve to the sherd which indicates sides
2017-25-27	20	1002	1	1	Refined earthenware	Whiteware	Tableware			Handpainted - other			Body sherd. Outside has white glaze with handpainted blue band.

2017-25-27	22	1002	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-fired				Sliptrail	10+		Rim fragment. On the outside there is an indentation parallel to the rim. Sherd is very damaged, possibly indicating a long use time and making identification of vessel size difficult. There is indications that there was sliptrail decoration on the inside, but the surface is very damaged with only small patches of brownish glaze surviving.
2017-25-27	23	1002	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-fired						Yes	Body sherd, very damaged. Reddish glaze inside, no surviving outside with light sooting.
2017-25-27	24	1002	1			Red-fired						Yes (Post-breakage)	Body sherd. No apparent glaze remains on the sherd, with sooting either side, possibly post-breakage.
2017-25-24	25	1002	1	7	Refined earthenware	Whiteware	Storage/ Utility vessel	Teaware	Cup/ jar	Handpainted - other	60+ (c.5%)		Rim sherd. White glaze either side on both sherds, on the rim sherd there is a green line parallel to the rim.

2017-25-24	27	1002	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-fired	Kitchenware					Yes	Body sherd. One side has clear-reddish glaze, with the other side having a rough, greenish or fire-damaged glaze. Hints of sooting on the greenish, probably outside, side.
2017-25-35	28	1004	2	15	Refined earthenware	Whiteware							Body sherds. White glaze either side.
2017-25-40	30	1005	2			Red-fired						Yes (post-breakage)	Body sherds. Tiny sherds of a red-fired vessel with no apparent glaze and heavy post-breakage sooting
2017-25-43	31	1006	2		Refined earthenware	Whiteware							Body sherds. One sherd is chipped from the inside of a vessel, with clear white glaze. The other has the same white glaze either side, with a raised ridge on the outer side.
2017-25-43	32	1006	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-fired	Kitchenware					Yes	Body sherd. Sherd with a part of a seat of some sort, with indented ridges across the seat. Possibly a place for handle. Heavy sooting.

2017-25-43	33	1006	1		Lead glazed earthenware	Red-fired							Body sherd. Sherd with no surviving outside surface. The sherd's shape and size indicates it is probably from a handle or tripod leg.
2017-25-49	34	1006	1	12	Tin-glazed earthenware	Faience	Tableware			Handpainted - other			Rim sherd, too small to discern size. No surviving glaze outside but outside surface is very damaged. Purple paint in/over the glaze. Fabric is very soft
2017-25-49	36	1006	1	8	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-fired	Kitchenware		Pipkin/ cauldron		120 (c.12,5%)	Yes (post-breakage)	Rim sherd. Large sherd with rim, and part of the body. Below rim on outside there are three indentations parallel to the rim before the body curves out to form a bowl shape. Inside the rim is flat down to where it curves into the body. The sherd is heavily sooted, damaged by fire, with remains of dark greenish glaze on the rim and the inside surface. Part of the fire damage is post-breakage.

2017-25-49	37	1006	1			Red-fired						Yes	Body sherd. Possibly a third or so of the seat for a handle or a part of a tripod leg. Sherd is third of a circular shape with sooting on the outside, and appears to have fastened to the body of a vessel on the inside. No apparent glaze.
2017-25-49	38	1006	1	10		Red-fired	Tableware			Sliptrail			Body sherd. Chip from a vessel, covered in a white wash, with no surviving inside surface. No apparent glaze.
2017-25-49	39	1006	4	10		Red-fired	Tableware			Sliptrail			Body sherds. Chips from vessels. Little surviving in the way of surfaces. Hints of white slip or wash on one sherd. A repair hole is present on one, with half of a probable repair hole on a second sherd. No apparent glaze
2017-25-64	40	1007	1	11	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-fired	Kitchenware		Pipkin/ cauldron			Yes	Body sherd. Dark greenish glaze inside, with heavy sooting outside.
2017-25-64	41	1007	2	14	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-fired	Tableware			Sliptrail			Body sherds. Sherds with white wash on one side, and hints of glaze. Other side is missing.

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2017-25-70	42	1008	1	9	Stoneware	Frechen	Tableware	Drinkingware	Bottle/ jug				Body sherd. Salt glaze outside, mottled brown. Inside whitish smooth.
2017-25-70	43	1008	2	13	Lead glazed earthenware	Red-fired	Kitchenware		Pipkin/ cauldron			Yes	Body sherds. Inside has hints of reddish glaze, with heavy sooting outside.
2017-25-24	45	1002	1		Refined earthenware	Whiteware			Bowl/ jug				Body sherd. Glossy white glaze on either side. Slight curve on the sherd hints at a bowl or a jug, probably too wide for a cup

Appendix 3 – Clay Pipe Analysis

The following appendices contain the clay pipe analyses Arnarstapi, Hólahólar and Miðvellir.

Find number – The find number as registered for each site and entered into the National Museum archives.

Sherd Group – Subdivision of each find number into discreet group of similar fragments.

Unit Number – The excavation unit number the find number is associated with.

Pipe Number – The number for each identified pipe forming the MNP.

Sherd count – The number of fragments present in each sherd group.

Part of pipe – Which part of the pipe the fragments are from.

Decoration – Describes and dates decorations and maker‘s marks on fragments in the sherd group.

Date – Dating of the sherd group.

Notes – Description and general comments on the sherd group. Note that most rim sherds have a percentage number in their notes, describing how much of the vessel‘s mouth is present.

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Clay Pipes

Find no.	Sherd Group	Unit no.	Pipe Number	Sherd count	Part of pipe	Decoration	Type	Date	Notes
2017-27-2	1	6000	1	1	Bowl				Slightly less than half a pipe bowl. Heavy sooting inside. Only part of the wall of the bowl, the rim and shank/spur is missing. Wall is thick
2017-27-2	2	6000	2	1	Bowl				Cirka a third of a pipe bowl. Sooting inside. Part of the wall of the bowl, with just a hint of the rim. Wall is thin
2017-27-2	3	6000	3	1	Bowl	Rouletting?			Cirka a third of a pipe bowl. No sooting, but signs of heat stress in break, nearest the inside bowl. Cirka 6 mm of rim remain, with hints of rouletting or an indentation parallel to it, rest is wall. Wall is medium thickness.
2017-27-2	4	6000	4	1	Bowl				Quarter of a spur, with a small piece of pipe wall. No sooting apparent. No stamp apparent. Wall is medium thin.
2017-27-2	5	6000	5	1	Shank	Melkmeid stamp (1660-1898+)		1660-1898	Whole spur with a part of stem fragment and the base of the pipe bowl, though no actual bowl wall. The end of the stem seems to have been reworked into a mouthpiece, with a deep indentation in the bottow of the stem, probably tooth marks. Distance between end and spur is 25 mm
2017-27-2	6	6000	6	1	Shank				Half of the spur remains, and a piece of stem. Undecorated with no stamp apparent.
2017-27-2	7	6000		1	Stem	Several rounds of rouletting, and one of chevron pattern			Short (21 mm) stem fragment
2017-27-2	8	6000		1	Stem	Four, four leaf floral decoration, with two fish between			Stem fragment
2017-27-2	9	6000		3	Stem				Three probable mouth pieces, one has hints of teeth marks, while the other two are very thin, though still rounded
2017-27-2	10	6000		26	Stem				Misc. Stem fragments

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2017-27-14	11	6001	7	1	Bowl	Rouletting	Dubbelconisch (post 1620)	1620-1700	3/4 or more of a pipe bowl with spur and part of shank. Rouletting paralell to rim. Heavy sooting inside and scorching in clay
2017-27-14	12	6001	8	1	Bowl	Posthoorn stamp (1674-1782)	Dubbelconisch (post 1600)	1674-1700	Cirka half of pipe bowl with spur. Stamp on spur, most likely posthoorn, but is somewhat damaged. Lower half of bowl, no rim present. Sooting inside
2017-27-14	13	6001	9	1	Bowl		Dubbelconisch (post 1600)	1600-1700	Small piece of bowl wall. No rim, no spur, no shank, but hint of the curve of the dubbelconisch bowl form. Heavy sooting inside.
2017-27-14	14	6001	10	1	Bowl	Rouletting	Dubbelconisch (post 1620)	1620-1700	Part of, less than 1/4, of pipe bowl, with rim. Rouletting parallel to rim. Sooting inside. Thick
2017-27-14	15	6001	11	1	Bowl				Small piece of bowl wall. No rim, no spur, no shank. Light sooting inside. Thick
2017-27-14	16	6001	12	2	Bowl				Two small pieces of a pipe bowl. Small piece of rim (10 mm) on one fragment. No sooting. Thin
2017-27-14	17	6001		3	Stem				Three mouthpiece fragments. One is thin, another appears whittled, and the third has teeth marks
2017-27-14	18	6001	13	3	Stem	Jonas	Jonas pipe (c. 1650)	1650	Three stem fragments from a Jonas pipe. One fragment has the jaws of the whale, while the others have dotted skin of the whale. One sherd is more flat than the others, probably nearer the original mouthpiece.
2017-27-14	19	6001		1	Stem	Large chevron pattern round, with a bulb above, decorated with diamonds			Stem fragment with decoration
2017-27-14	20	6001		21	Stem				Misc. Stem fragments
2017-27-26	21	6003		4	Stem				Misc. Stem fragments
2017-27-30	22	6004	14	1	Bowl + Shank	No	Dubbelconisch (post 1600)	1600-1700	Mostly whole bowl, small chips are absent from the rim. No decorations or stamps or markings on the piece, sooting inside. Medium thin
2017-27-30	23	6004	15	1	Bowl	Dotted floral on bowl	Unnamed (c. 1650)	1650	Small fragment of bowl wall, with dotted floral decoration. No rim, no spur, no shank. Sooting inside. Medium thick

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2017-27-30	24	6004	16	1	Bowl				Tiny fragment of bowl wall, near the bottom of the bowl. Heavy sooting inside. Medium thick
2017-27-30	25	6004		1	Shank	Rouletting			Long fragment of stem with spur. Hint of a stamp on the spur but it is damaged making it unidentifiable. Sooting
2017-27-30	26	6004		1	Shank				Fragment of shank/stem with spur, no stamp apparent.
2017-27-30	27	6004		1	Shank	Unidentifiable stamp			Fragment of shank/stem with a part of a spur with stamp. There is not enough of the spur and stamp to identify the stamp.
2017-27-30	28	6004		2	Mouthpiece	Dotted floral(?)			Two mouthpieces, one is undecorated, and small, the other is flatter and worn with decoration
2017-27-30	29	6004		2	Stem	Rouletting, stamped design			Two fragments of stem, both with rouletting and a similar stamped design. Appears to be floral or even fleur-de-lis
2017-27-30	30	6004		23	Stem				Misc. Stem fragments
2017-27-42	31	6005	17	1	Bowl				Tiny fragment of bowl wall, near the bottom of the bowl. Heavy sooting inside. Thick
2017-27-42	32	6005	18	1	Stem	Jonas	Jonas pipe (c. 1650)	1650	Small sherd of the stem of a Jonas pipe, with the whole head of the whale present. Scorching in the clay towards the bowl, i.e. the mouth of the whale.
2017-27-42	33	6005		5	Stem	Rouletting w/chevron			Stem fragments, Misc. One has several rounds of rouletting with one round of chevron decoration
2017-27-51	34	6007	19	1	Bowl				Bowl fragment, from bowl wall, no spur, no rim. Sooting inside
2017-27-51	35	6007		1	Stem	Three lozenge shaped marks in a row, each containing a fleur-de-lis		1667-1930	Stem fragment with decoration. Probably lelie (1667-1930), but similar decoration has been found on pipes from England, e.g. https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/144500.
2017-27-51	36	6007		1	Stem				Misc. Stem fragments
2017-27-55	37	6010		2	Stem				Misc. Stem fragments
2017-27-62	38	7000	20	1	Bowl	Rouletting			C. Third of a bowl, with rim. Rouletting parallel to rim. Heavy scorching inside, as well as out
2017-27-62	39	7000		2	Stem				Stem fragments, one is a mouthpiece, the other a misc. piece
2017-27-68	40	7001		1	Stem				Misc. Stem fragments

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Clay Pipes

2017-27-83	41	8000		2	Stem				Misc. Stem fragments
2017-27-90	42	8003	21	1	Bowl	Rouletting	Probably ovoide (c. 1725/1750)	1725-1775	Nearly whole bowl, a chip from the rim is missing, with spur. No stamp but there is rouletting parallel to the rim. Sooting inside
2017-27-90	43	8003		5	Stem	Rouletting and chevron			Misc. Stem fragments
2017-27-96	44	9000	22	1	Spur	Stamp, likely krijgsman (1732-1865), but could also be koning David (1682-1945)		1682-1945	Spur with a hint of the wall of the bowl. The stamp is damaged so its design isn't completely clear. No sooting.
2017-27-96	45	9000		1	Mouthpiece				Misc. Stem fragments
2017-27-96	46	9000		5	Stem				Misc. Stem fragments
2017-27-104	47	9002		2	Mouthpiece + stem				Misc. Stem fragments
2016-47-1	48	Core 10		1	Bowl				Fragment from the wall of a bowl. Thick walls, probably early, with heavy sooting
2016-47-2	49	Core 12	23	2	Bowl	Rouletting	Dubbelconisch (1625+)	1625-1700	Bowl, mostly whole, though flakes are missing from rim. Spur is present but damaged and does not seem to have a stamp. Bowl is very unfinished, with molding lines and errant clumps of clay which have not been filed off. No sooting on the pipe.
2016-47-6	50	2001		11	Mouthpiece + Stem				Undecorated stem fragments, many heavily stained by earth, one heavily sooted, all thick with one mouthpiece among them
2016-47-12	51	2002		16	Stem	Circular rouletting			Stem fragments, one with a round of circular rouletting
2016-47-18	52	2002		2	Bowl	Rouletting			Two small fragments of a bowl. Rouletting along the rim of the bowl fragment, which is otherwise too small to identify but seems to be from a small bowl. Both bowl fragments are sooted.
2016-47-29	53	3001		1	Stem				Undecorated stem fragment
2016-47-30	54	3003		1	Stem				Undecorated stem fragment

Arnarstapi
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2016-47-37	55	5002	24	3	Bowl	Rouletting,WH stamp (Willem Hansen 1677-; Willem Heijndrickse 1698-)	Dubbelconisch (1625-1650)	1677-1700	Three fragments from a bowl which fit together to form most of a bowl, with spur. Heavy sooting inside
2016-47-41	56	4002		1	Bowl				Tiny fragment from the wall of a bowl. Heavy sooting inside.
2016-47-40	57	4001	25	1	Bowl	Rouletting	Probably dubbelconisch (1675-1700)	1675-1700	Fragment from a bowl, with c. 1/3 of the rim. Heavy sooting on the inside.
2016-47-18	58	2002		12	Stem				Undecorated stem fragment
2016-47-37	59	5002		1	Stem				Undecorated stem fragment

Hólahólar
Clay Pipes

Find no.	Sherd Group	Unit no.	Pipe Number	Sherd count	Part of pipe	Decoration	Type	Date	Notes
2016-52-1	1	001	1	1	Bowl	Possibly raised dot floral pattern	Possibly unnamed (c. 1650)	1650	Cirka half a bowl, very damaged post-breakage. Very light sooting inside.
2016-52-6	2	002	2	1	Bowl			1600-1700	Cirka quarter of a bowl. Appears to have thick walls and small bowl volume, consistent with 17th century pipes. Heavy sooting inside.
2016-52-6	3	002		1	Mouthpiece				Mouthpiece, original. There are no marks on the mouthpiece.
2016-52-10	4	003	3	1	Bowl	Rouletting parallel to rim	Dubbelconisch (c. 1620+)	1620+	Whole bowl, with part of spur. There is no stamp visible on spur. Sooting inside the bowl
2016-52-10	5	003		5	Stem				One stem fragment is broken along the length of it as well.
2016-52-27	6	006	4	1	Bowl	Rouletting parallel to rim	Dubbelconisch (c. 1620+)	1620+	Cirka third of pipe bowl with rim. No sooting inside
2017-26-2	7	001		2	Stem/Mouth piece				Stem fragments, the larger fragment is scorched through and has been whittled to a mouthpiece
2017-26-12	8	1002	5	1	Bowl	Rouletting parallel to rim	Dubbelconisch (c. 1675-1700)	1675-1700	Most of a bowl with spur and shank, a chip of the rim is missing. The spur is damaged, so it's not possible to say whether it had a stamp or not. Heavy sooting inside the bowl and along the rim
2017-26-12	9	1002	6	1	Bowl				Base of bowl, with spur and shank. Heavy sooting.
2017-26-12	10	1002	7	1	Bowl				Base of bowl, with spur. No sooting.
2017-26-12	11	1002		11	Stem	Leaf decoration along length of stem			One mouthpiece.
2017-26-20	12	1004	8	2	Bowl	Jonas pipe	Jonas pipe (c. 1650)	1650	Most of a bowl, with spur and shank. Bowl is very damaged. Very light sooting.
2017-26-25	13	1005		1	Stem				Stem is damaged, the smoke channel is broken open along the length of the fragment

Hólahólar
Clay Pipes

2017-26-34	14	1005		1	Mouthpiece				One mouthpiece.
2017-26-46	15	1006		1	Stem				Stem fragment with scorch marks all along the fragment, very damaged
2016-52-20	16	004		1	Stem				Stem fragment with an iron nail inserted into the smoke channel

Miðvellir

Clay Pipes

Find no.	Sherd Group	Unit no.	Pipe Number	Sherd count	Part of pipe	Decoration	Type	Notes
2016-53-11	1	005		1	Stem			
2016-53-18	2	006		1	Stem			
2016-25-14	3	1002		1	Stem			Stem is damaged, with sooting and staining
2017-25-39	4	1005		1	Stem			Stem remade as mouthpiece
2017-25-58	5	1007		1	Stem			Long stem fragment, soot stained