

THE BRYGGEN PAPERS

Main Series No. 9

WOMEN IN MEDIEVAL BERGEN
GENDER AND MATERIAL CULTURE

SIGRID SAMSET MYGLAND



UNIVERSITY OF BERGEN

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Foreword

The editorial board of *The Bryggen Papers* series is proud to present The Bryggen Papers Main Series No. 9. This volume is the first to be published in both a printed and online format. The online format is in Universal Design and available as open access from day one! The monograph is based on Sigrid Samset Mygland's doctoral thesis in archaeology, submitted to the University of Bergen, and edited and updated after defense and peer-review.

The Bryggen Papers was established during the 1970s as The University of Bergen's scientific, international book series presenting the archaeological finds from pioneering archaeological excavations at the German Wharf *Bryggen* in Bergen (1955-1968). The series had two strands: The Main Series for monographs, and The Supplementary Series for thematic anthologies. During the 1980s and 1990s the series expanded its profile thematically and geographically. Today, *The Bryggen Papers* has merged the main series and the supplementary series into one expanded and flexible series and revised its focus and scope. *The Bryggen Papers* now aims to be the brand and name of a flexible, non-commercial peer-reviewed book series for research on the Middle Ages. The profile is multi-disciplinary with an aim to shed light on the Middle Ages in a broad sense, both chronologically and disciplinary. *The Bryggen Papers* publish full presentations of basic studies as well as general and interdisciplinary analyses, both in the format of monographs and anthologies.

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Bergen, February 2023
Gitte Hansen
Chief Editor

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Bergen, January 2023
Sigrid Samset Mygland

1 Introduction

Archaeology: 'noticing, preserving, and rescuing buried fragments from ancient and not-so-ancient times, and then striving to understand earlier peoples and societies from those fragments' (Chippindale 1997: 44).

The town has regularly been at centre of attention within Norwegian medieval archaeology, with a particular focus on its foundation, development, economic activities, physical topography and royal and ecclesiastical buildings, but to a lesser degree on archaeological artefacts and everyday life. This also applies to the medieval town of Bergen in Western Norway, where special circumstances make an investigation of the inhabitants of particular interest - not least 'invisible' groups like women and children, and foreigners. At the centre of attention is the northern part of Bryggen - literally 'The Wharf' - a world cultural heritage site, physically characterized by its medieval roots and building structure, and examined through the large-scale Bryggen-excavations (1955-1968) (Figure 1). This represents the hitherto most extensive archaeological investigation in a Norwegian medieval town, uncovering c. 5700 square metres, remains of seven urban tenements and a large artefact material reflecting activities in a period of eight hundred years. Both archaeological and written sources single Bryggen out as the very centre of the town - associated with residence and especially national and international trade. Foreign merchants were among the inhabitants at least from the middle of the thir-

teenth century, and in Late Middle Ages, one of the four international Hanseatic Kontore was established here. This created a male-dominated, German enclave or diaspora which over time replaced an initial local population possibly consisting of men, women and children (Helle 1982: 730-750).

The present study concerns the socio-economic conditions in and the development of this area, with special regard to women and gender as reflected by material culture from a period roughly corresponding to the Norwegian High and Late Middle Ages (c. 1130-1537). It is aimed at examining social structures and to what degree an archaeological artefact material may shed light on gender composition, families and households, not least considering the dynamic urban context characterized by major social changes. The relationship between people and their physical surroundings is also examined, and an actor's perspective is applied, based on groups rather than individuals. In the following, it is stressed that people act intentionally and with a purpose, and that social structures stem from regular interaction. Also material culture is considered to reflect and affect their decisions and day-to-day activities (see Chapter 3). Empirically - and considering that archaeological artefacts are 'situated in place and time and in relation to other archaeological objects' (Hodder 1997 [1986]: 153) - a contextual study is considered a promising way of illuminating these issues. It is focused on the traditional view of material culture in relation to in-

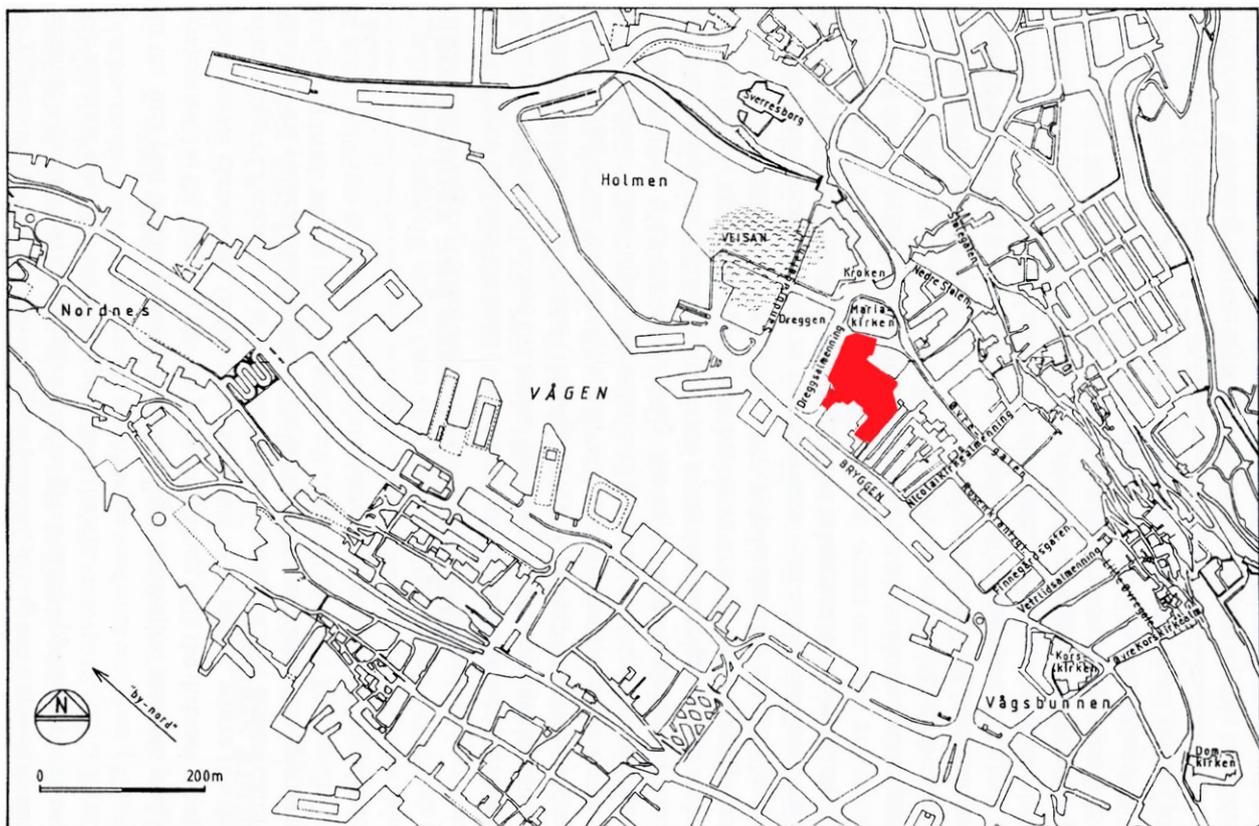


Figure 1. Bergen, Norway. The Bryggen site in red. Modified after Hansen 1998: 82, Fig. 1b.

dividual or collections of ‘things’, ‘...typically referred to in terms of material possessions and to physical and economic well-being’ (Tilley et al. 2006: 3), covering more than 11,100 artefacts and fragments from the Bryggen excavations. These are examined in relation to historical, social and physical contexts - discussing also other groups of artefacts as well as larger archaeological structures (e.g. buildings, streets, thoroughfares and eaves drop gaps) - and related to archaeological studies and written sources. The artefacts are dated to the time of six historically known medieval town fires: 1170/71, 1198, 1248, 1332, 1413 and 1476. These horizons or time-levels represent horizontal and chronological cross-sections in which actors, activities and structures are discussed and interpreted.

The study is further based on the idea that some form of gender system is embedded in all societies - a social structure based on biological sex, and affected also by e.g. age, marital status, social status and ethnicity (see Chapter 3). Women and men are considered individuals with a biological and a social sex (gender), where the former is regarded as a stable biological category. ‘Gender’, on the other hand - defined as ‘the social and cultural interpretations of biological differences between women and men’ (Arwill-Nordbladh 2001: 30, my translation) - is interpreted as socially and culturally constructed and open to changes. Indeed, gender may be described as ‘the social and cultural roles and identities that are attributed to humans (by ourselves and/or others) based on several gender-determining factors, like biological sex, social status, marital status, age and kinship, and that regulate the relations between us’ (Schmidt Sabo 2005: 107, my translation). In the following, the traditional definition of gender in terms of ‘social sex’ is maintained; however, acknowledging the influence of other gender-related aspects on the individual, and stressing differences - e.g. between women and men of different ethnicity or social class.

The investigation of gender in a past society based on material culture involves several challenges and reflections, as the concept of women and men should be understood as constructed and historically changeable, driven by social, cultural, ideological and political circumstances. This is of particular relevance both within the context of the more or less newly established medieval town of Bergen - which earliest archaeological traces have been dated to around 1020/1030 - and concerning a later introduction of foreign groups. Theoretically, these relate to the problematic relationship between women, gender and material culture: one cannot know whether a certain archaeological artefact (or a group of artefacts) was actually used by a man or a woman - or a child, a local or a foreigner for that matter - and on what grounds they may be related to one gender or another. In addition, there are methodological challenges related to different aspects of the Bryggen excavations.

1.1 Aims and approaches

The main issues in this study concern how traces of women, men and children may be identified archaeologically within the Bryggen site, as well as what kind of gender-related activities, at what times and where. Which gender-related artefacts and activities are identified? Are they assigned specific buildings, tenements, zones or areas, and does this change or remain stable throughout the High and Late Middle Ages? Are they found in all of the examined tenements that were located at Bryggen, or are there tenements/areas in which the presence of e.g. women and/or traditional female activities is higher/lower than others? Similarly, are - or to what degree are - ‘male’ and ‘female’ artefacts found in the same contexts? May possible gender spheres be distinguished, not least concerning work and possible division of work? Is it, for instance, possible to recognize areas or buildings with female occupants that were not family-based - like the Norw. *heimkoneloft* (a separate sleeping quarter in the attics of the tenements for female workers/ON (i.e. Old Norse) *heimakonur* (Ngl V, 273)) mentioned in a probate record from Bergen in 1337 (DN II, no. 223)? Does the distribution of artefacts indicate a separation of activities and/or gender, with possible working or living areas for women and men, and does this change throughout the examination period?

In medieval society, most people in Norway lived, worked and made their living in rural areas, and separate farms were by far the most common units of habitation and production (Helle 1982: 117). In this society, there were differences concerning social status and conditions; yet, female activities basically seem to have been related to women’s biological/reproductive role and to the home, including household, cooking and caring. Men took care of hunting, fishing, many agricultural activities and defence (Holtmark 1964: 565-574; Jacobsen 1985: 9). In medieval Bergen, both written sources (e.g. DN I, no. 97; XII, no. 47) and archaeological remnants, such as labels with female names (Johnsen 1990; Liestøl 1991, Magin 2021, 2023) may indicate the presence of presumably high-ranking business women - e.g. owning tenements and running housing and accommodation. There also seems to have been single women working as servants, bakers and prostitutes, in addition to brewing and selling beer (Helle 1982: 461-464; Øye 2006: 441, with references). Thus, the female role was apparently less bound to the family than in rural areas. To what degree did women at Bryggen live here as wives and mothers and/or as a part of the work force in a time perspective? To what degree did the population include resident families with women and children, and does this change throughout the investigation period? In this respect, the establishment of the Hanseatic Kontor at Bryggen around 1360 represents a possible turning point - around which also a number of previous studies from Bryggen have been centred - although townspeople of

local origin or inhabitants of other nationalities were present even in the fifteenth century (Ersland 2005). Also, the German household structure commonly included young, male apprentices known to have taken care of traditional female duties (Helle 1982: 738-742). By the early 1500s, the tenement buildings were owned by Germans (the ground, on the other hand, remained in Norwegian hands) (Helle 1982: 722-728). Still, little is known of this transition phase, and it may be asked to what degree women in particular can be illuminated at Bryggen by means of archaeological artefacts after the establishment of the Kontor.

Considering the length of the investigation period of more than three centuries, attention is also drawn to the period prior to the establishment of the Kontor. So far, this period comes across as somewhat under-communicated where gender is concerned - in short, the presence of women from an early point on and well into the fifteenth century is indicated. I intend to explore this more thoroughly; pursuing women and gender at Bryggen also within other frames of reference/interpretation than that of the establishment of the male-dominated Hansa, focusing on issues of change and stability from the early town and to the end of the fifteenth century.

Aspects of status and ethnicity are stressed, as medieval Bergen was a town with far-reaching trading contacts and eventually a considerable element of foreigners - generally including high-ranking merchants visiting the town during summer seasons (from the beginning of May until the end of September), and winter-sitters particularly from the middle of the thirteenth century. To what degree are these inhabitants reflected archaeologically, and are the artefacts mainly associated with townspeople of local origin or foreigners throughout the period of investigation? In particular, this concerns the period in which the German Kontor was established and developed. This male-dominated German society - with its own jurisdiction, and which encouraged celibacy and in 1498 forbade marriage to women outside the Hansa (Helle 1982: 730-750, with references) - is generally thought to have more or less replaced an initial family-based population of a primarily local origin. At the same time, the Bryggen area was apparently not totally under control by the Kontor even in the fifteenth century, and it has been argued that neither did the German merchants make up a strict juridical nor topographically closed entity (Ersland 2005). How is this reflected in terms of material culture? Is it possible to illuminate the composition and interaction of the people at Bryggen and their social organization based on material culture throughout the High and Late Middle Ages?

Before any of these issues can be considered and discussed, though, more theoretical aspects should be assessed with regard to the use of traditionally gender-related archaeological artefacts and activities as point of departure. As mentioned, the concept of

gender does not refer to a male-female dichotomy alone, but includes aspects of e.g. age, class and ethnicity. Gender, gender roles and gender systems are not universal categories with a fixed content, but may vary according to time as well as place and social strata. There is no inherent one-in-one relationship between an object or a group of objects and its user(s), and what is considered characteristic gender-related activities and artefacts in our present Western society may not necessarily be valid in medieval Bergen. Thorough considerations are thus needed when studying material culture in relation to gender in an urban medieval context. Particularly this concerns Bergen, which represented an administrative focus and international trading centre dominated by groups of permanently or temporarily settled single people - merchants, craftsmen and small traders, in addition to workmen and servants - the majority seemingly men. This uneven gender ratio must have had consequences for the material culture itself at Bryggen, its composition - and especially the way it is to be interpreted regarding gender. Thus, one may ask to what degree material culture may be related to gender in general and women in particular in the High and Late Middle Ages here. Or - in other words - to what degree can it be assumed that traditionally gender-related artefacts and activities were actually used and performed by women or men in this specific setting? Is it possible based on an overall contextual examination of artefacts and activities to determine with more confidence the relation between certain archaeological artefacts and women and gender? A closer theoretical discussion of gender, as well as of the interaction between gender and society is called for, focusing primarily on questions of stability and/or change. It must, however, be stressed that the intention is not to seek one-in-one relations between gender and artefacts, but rather to trace trends in time and space in this changing urban environment.

In all, the objectives include interrelated aspects of theory, methodology and empirical analyses, aiming at illuminating issues related to women and gender at Bryggen in the Middle Ages primarily based on archaeological artefacts and their contexts. First and foremost, clarification is sought as to what degree it can be assumed that traditionally gender-related artefacts and activities were actually used and performed by women or men at different times here. Methodologically, a distributional analysis of traditionally gender-related artefacts in their contexts in general and female in particular from the Bryggen excavations is applied, using a contextual approach. This means that the artefacts are discussed on different levels in light of historical, social and immediate physical contexts - with special regard to representativity (e.g. conditions of preservation, quantity and quality of the artefacts, find frequency, documentation, etc.) - and compared to written sources. As a whole, the idea is that such analyses may be an approach to decide whether a changing material cul-

ture - or groups of artefacts - may be assigned one gender or another. Also, they may illuminate issues of gender and gender composition (including status and ethnicity) in general at Bryggen throughout a period characterized by urban development and increasing numbers of foreigners - in the sailing season, and as winter-sitters and residents, escalating with the establishment of the Kontor.

1.2 The Bryggen excavation (BRM 0)

Bergen is ripe with archaeological remains from the Middle Ages. These stem from the northern part of Bryggen in particular, which has been thoroughly examined especially by the extensive Bryggen excavations (or *BRM 0*, another term commonly used to designate these excavations, but originally referring to storage of the excavated material). In July 1955, a devastating fire burned nine rows of urban tenements at Bryggen. The fire was followed by an open area investigation initiated by Riksantikvaren (Directorate for Cultural Heritage), carried out by The Historical Museum (today University Museum of Bergen), and directed by Senior Curator Asbjørn E. Herteig (Figure 2). Starting out as an investigation limited to a few months only, the Bryggen excavations eventually came to last from 1955 until 1968 and more sporadically during the next decade (Figure 3). As mentioned, approximately 5700 square metres, remains of more than 500 buildings and other physical structures and an enormous amount of artefacts from the eleventh century to 1702 were uncovered (Herteig 1990: 9-10; Hansen 2005). The aim of the excavation was 'to illuminate the character of the settlement and its development throughout history' (Herteig 1991b: 9, my translation), and it represents the first modern and scientific archaeological examination in a Norwegian medieval town, as well as a pioneering work in European urban medieval archaeology (see Chapter 2) (Andersson et al. 2007: 21-22).

With the Bryggen excavations, both field methods and prioritizations changed from earlier medieval excavations, e.g. by including a focus not only on buildings, but also on artefacts and cultural layers (Herteig 1991b: 9). Collecting archaeological artefacts and registering their localization - horizontally not least in relation to physical constructions, and especially vertically in relation to fire layers - were accentuated, which also demanded systematized and coherent methods of documentation (Herteig 1991b: 36-46). Additionally, a stratigraphic excavation method with standing profiles was chosen in order to establish relations between different physical structures (Herteig 1991b: 16). Every layer was documented by plan drawings and section drawings, as well as being photographed, levelled, commented on and interpreted (Herteig 1991b: 33-36). The coordinate system was oriented in what was assumed to be the same direction as the tenements erected after the fire in 1702 and burnt down in 1955, and based on grid squares of 8x8 m, corresponding to the average tenement width (Herteig 1985: 14-15).



Figure 2. The Bryggen area prior to the fire in 1955. The white line indicates the tenements that were destroyed. Source: Herteig 1985: 10, Fig. 1.

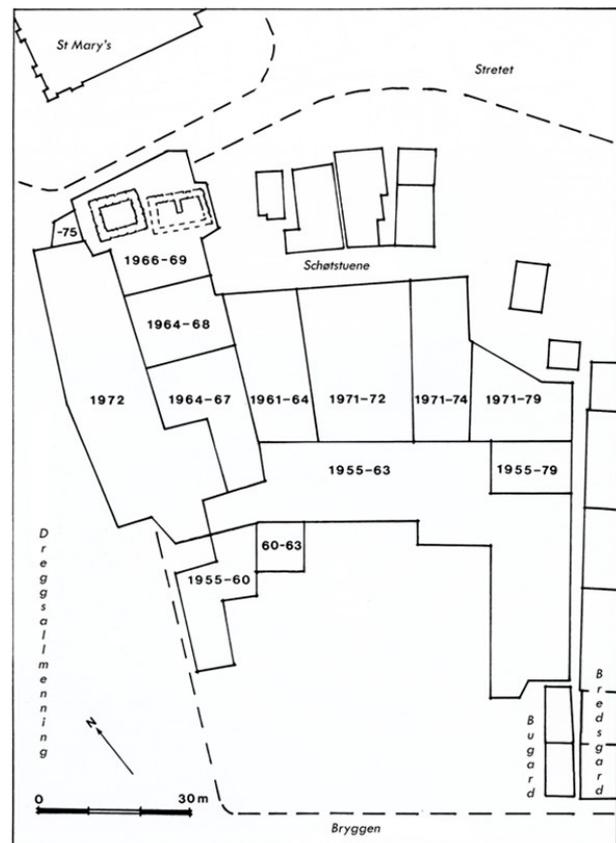


Figure 3. The different stages in the excavations of the Bryggen site. Modified after Herteig 1991a: 12, Fig. 3.

Both artefacts and original field documentation - covering plan drawings and section drawings, photos, diaries and descriptions of constructions and layers, etc. - are administered by University Museum of Bergen. The documentation of the artefacts was at some point also digitalized and organized in an Access find database administered by the same museum. The database contained a number of tables designating all information available about the artefacts themselves, as well as their find context. In 2017, parts of this documentation were published online (www.unimus.no) through MUSIT - Museum IT - a collaborative

initiative aimed at managing and disseminating digitised museum collections (Hansen et al. 2017).

The chronology of the site was worked out after the excavation, in relation to documented fire layers that could be assigned historically known fires (Herteig 1985: 21-33). In the early 1990s, Herteig (1990, 1991a) published his analysis concerning the stratigraphy and the absolute dating of the material from Bryggen, where also radiocarbon dating samples were included. A so-called fire layer chronology was worked out based on identified fire layers, presented in Figure 4. From Bergen's early beginnings and onwards, the town has regularly been more or less devastated by fires, where new buildings were raised on the remains of the old ones. This has resulted in several stratigraphic fire layers under the present buildings. Of these, many have been dated by year by correlating historical records with datable finds such as pottery, coins and datable runic inscriptions, which make up the basis for the chronology.

Fire	Date	Period	Building phase	
0	1955			
			9.2	
I.a Prev. Unknown		9	9.1	9.1.1
I	1702			
			8.3	
I.b Prev. Unknown			8.2	
Local fire 1527		8	8.1	8.1.1
II	1476			
		7	7	
III	1413			
			6.3	
III.b	1339			
			6.2	6.2.1
		6	6.1	6.1.1
IV	1332			
			5.2	5.2.1
		5	5.1	
V	1248			
			4.2	
		4	4.1	
VI	1198			
			3.2	3.2.1
		3	3.1	3.1.1
VII	1170/71			
			2.2	
		2	2.1	
VIII	c. 1120			
			1.2	
		1	1.1	
Oldest documented structures at the Bryggen site (BRM 0): 2 nd quarter of 11 th century (c. 1020/30). Table by Gitte Hansen				

Figure 4. The Bryggen fire layer chronology. Modified after Vangstad 2017: 187, Fig. 1.

In the fire layer chronology, the time span and the accumulation of layers between two fires represent one period, starting with material deposition and the accumulation of layers following one fire and ending with the next one. The fires were during the field work numbered I-VII. The latest fire in 1702 was denoted number I - being the first to be uncovered archaeologically (the fire in 1955 represents fire 0) - and the at the time oldest historically known fire in 1170/71 number VII (Herteig 1990, 1991a). Based on dendrochronological indications, an older, but unidentified fire - fire VIII, registered in a somewhat smaller area - has later been dated to approximately the 1120s (Hansen 1998). The nine periods that make up this chronology are numbered in an opposite sequence to the fires, where period 8 is framed by fires I and II, period 7 by fires II and III, and so forth. Some of the periods are additionally separated into phases based on replacement of buildings and other structures, as well as of building of annexes/additions. However, relating layers - and thus artefacts - to building phases generally proves challenging, and will not be pursued in the following. To sum up, then, the artefacts from the Bryggen excavations are generally documented in relation to the different fire layers, first and foremost in terms of 'over' or 'under' a fire (i.e. a fire layer). Artefacts found 'under fire V' (1248), for instance, are dated to period 4 - as are artefacts found 'over fire VI' (1198). The time spans of the different periods which make up the fire layer chronology are not similar, but vary between c. 20 and 253 years.

In the course of the Bryggen excavations, there were uncertainties related to the identification and dating of the different fire layers, as they did not always cover the excavation area continuously and completely and varied in thickness and coherence. A final stratigraphic analysis in general was published by Herteig in the early 1990s (Herteig 1990, 1991a), and - as mentioned - in 2017, a correlation of the original chronological find contexts presented in the artefact database for the Bryggen excavations in accordance with Herteig's final conclusions was completed (Hansen et al. 2017). These correlations were based on some general unpublished guidelines concerning correlation of fire layers (Hansen 1999). The guidelines are available for researchers studying artefacts stemming from BRM 0 in greater detail.

The Bryggen excavation was methodically advanced for its time and great effort was made to collect and document all types of archaeological remnants for future research. In retrospect and in light of new field methodologies, however, the degree of accuracy in many cases proves to be somewhat unsatisfactory, especially affecting the opportunity for more precise distributional and contextual analyses. In particular, it may be questioned whether or not so-called in situ artefacts - presumably found in a fire layer, and thus dated by year - actually originate in such clear contexts. Removal of upper layers from the

Late Middle Ages and Early Modern Period by machines in parts of the site also represents an obstacle where representativity is concerned. This also relates to different conditions for preservation. Thus, how to explore the rich artefact material originating at Bryggen to the fullest - not least in terms of representativity and distribution in time and space - represents a major methodological challenge in the present study, and calls for close analysis and discussion of field methods and documentation (see Chapter 3).

1.3 Area of investigation and its building structures

In his work on the history of Bergen, medieval historian Knut Helle divides the town in socio-economic areas, each with a character of its own: the royal seat and ecclesiastical centre Holmen, the small-scale trading and craftsmen's areas along the main street Øvregaten/Stretet and Vågsbunnen, with a more or less socially and ethnically diverse population, and the settlements at Strandsiden, including two monasteries from the early and mid-twelfth century (Helle 1982: 228-259). The heart and economic centre of the town, however, was from the very beginning undoubtedly Bryggen on the eastern side of the bay Vågen - situated from Holmen in the northwest to the common Autaallmenningen (today Vetrilidsallmenningen), bordering on the area at the bottom of the bay. Throughout the entire Middle Ages, this area was according to written sources dominated by international trade and large-scale commerce, as well as activities related to import and export. The overall physical layout was apparently affected by the role of the town as a focal point in relation to seaways and/or other important travel routes (Helle 1982). Yet, not before the Bryggen excavations was it possible to investigate some of the building structures in any detail, and to examine building pattern and expansion of wharves and buildings into the bay (Herteig 1990; 1991a).

The first archaeological indications of an urban settlement are registered in the period between c. 1020/30 and 1070, and the Bryggen excavations showed that the area was physically dominated by a general plot system oriented towards the bay. This contributed to a relatively stable physical environment, based on approximately 11.5 m wide 'model plots'. These consisted of long rows of buildings organized as double and (less commonly) single tenements - i.e. long, paired or single rows of wooden buildings (first and foremost stave- and post-built structures, but also a few log-built ones) (Herteig 1990, 1991a; Hansen 2005: 131-140), as Figure 5 serves as an example of. Based on king Magnus the Lawmender's Urban Code of 1276, the tenement - ON *gárd* - stands out as the basic social and economic unit in Bergen, defined as a collection of buildings united by their organization and function (Helle 2006a: 97). A number of different activities took place here - among other things related to the house-

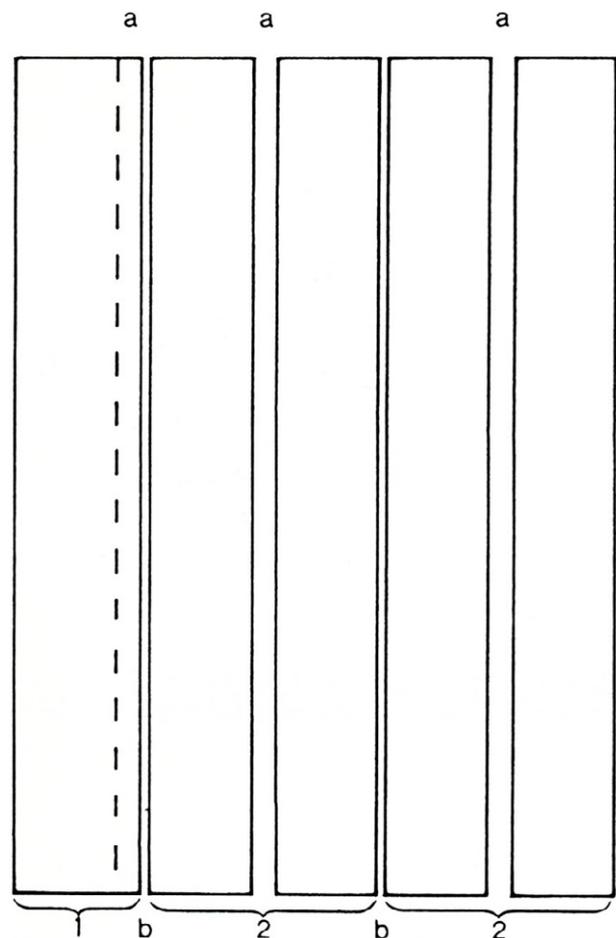


Figure 5. Example of the medieval tenement layout at Bryggen. 1 - single tenement, 2 - double tenement, a - tenement passage, b - eavesdrop gap (marking boundary of premises). The buildings stretched as far back as the medieval main street Stretet, and also the wharf area in front of the buildings formed a part of the tenement. Source: Herteig 1985: 11, Fig. 2.

hold sphere, trade, storage, craft and to some degree even animal husbandry (Helle 2006a: 97) - spatially organized according to e.g. storeys and/or zones.

The tenements were stretching from the harbour and up towards the main street Stretet, shielded from the bay by wharves (which also formed a part of the different tenements), internally divided by passages, and separated from one another by eavesdrop gaps and thoroughfares (i.e. public streets, first and foremost used for general traffic and transportation of merchandise) (Helle 1982: 195-196; Herteig 1990; 1991a). The settlement generally expanded into the sea throughout the Middle Ages, and was built on small, square caissons filled with remains of stones, debris etc., which grew bigger as the foundation was laid deeper in the sea (Herteig 1990, 1991a). In all, 31 tenements at Bryggen are mentioned by written sources in the High Middle Ages (Helle 1982: 213); yet, the number of actual buildings remains uncertain. Few larger tenements have been excavated in their full length, and in written documents, the Norwegian concept *hus* (house) - the term regularly used in these relationships - may designate both a com-

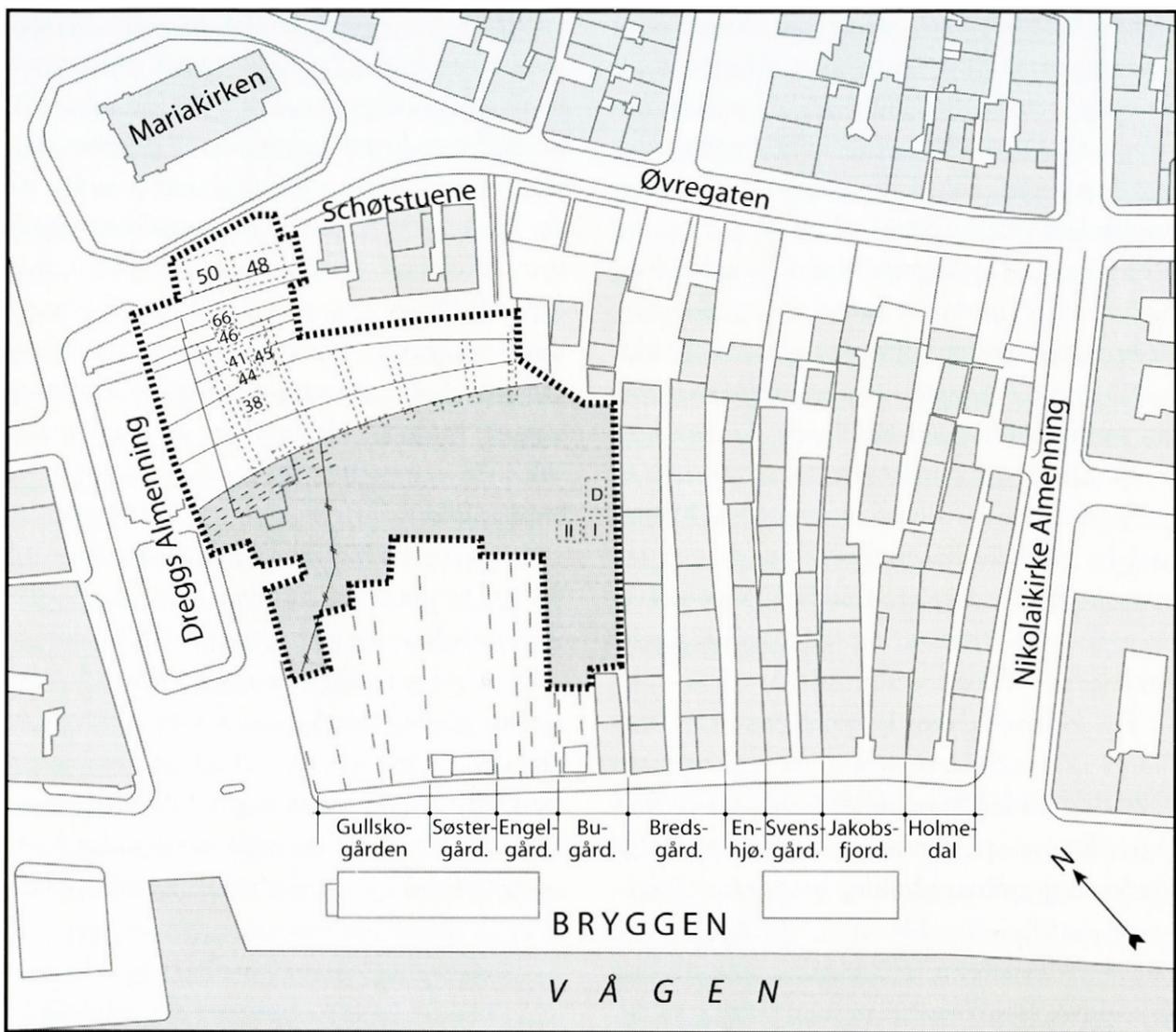


Figure 6. The tenements in the northern part of Bryggen, with original shoreline. Dotted line indicates the Bryggen site. Source: Helle 2006: 46.

plete building as well as a single room (Helle 1982: 226).

The examination area in this analysis represents a particular part of Bryggen: the one covered by the Bryggen excavation, illustrated in Figures 6-8. This includes what has generally become known as 'the Gullskoen excavation area' to the north, as well as three neighbouring tenements to the south. Gullskoen - or Gullskórinna - is first mentioned in written sources in 1305-1308. However, what was later called the Gullskoen excavation area covers an area originally made up of four medieval tenements - Gullskoen, Sveinsgard (Svein's gardr, first mentioned in written sources in 1296), Miklagard ('the large property', known from as early as 1183) and Atlegard (most likely the same as Oddsgard, presumably mentioned in different written sources from the fourteenth century onwards) (Figure 7) (Helle 1982: 236, with references). In all, the Gullskoen excavation area covers eight rows of buildings, numbered 1 to 8 (Herteig 1991a: 109-110, Plates). Only rows 7 and 8 - interpreted as a double tenement - are presumably related to Gullskoen throughout the entire examina-

tion period (Herteig 1991a: 109-110, Plates). After 1527, the tenement Gullskoen was made up by the three northernmost rows of buildings; yet, not before the eighteenth century - after a major town fire in 1702 - did it come to cover the entire area, including the former tenements of Sveinsgard, Miklagard and Atlegard, respectively (Helle 1982: 236-238, 706; Herteig 1991a: 108-110). Of these latter three tenements, rows 5 and 6 are generally related to the double tenement of Sveinsgard, and rows 3 and 4 to the double tenement of Miklagard (Herteig 1991a). Row 2 and possibly also row 1 may be associated with Atlegard, at least before the middle of the thirteenth century.

The southern part of the site covers the tenements of Søstergard (Systra gard, i.e. 'sisters' tenement' or 'nuns' tenement', first mentioned in written sources in 1311), Englgard (Engla gardr, initially probably referring to the male name Engel, historically known from c. 1259) and Bugard (Búagardr - 'peasants' tenement') (Helle 1982: 228, with references). Søstergard consisted of three rows of buildings at least in the latter half of the twelfth century (Herteig 1990:

Northern part of the Bryggen site ('The Gullskoen excavation area')				Southern part of the Bryggen site		
Rows 7-8	Rows 5-6	Rows 3-4	Rows 1-2			
Gullskoen	Sveinsgard	Miklagard	Atlegard	Søstergard	Engelgard	Bugard

Figure 7. Principal distribution of the tenements unearthed by the Bryggen excavations.

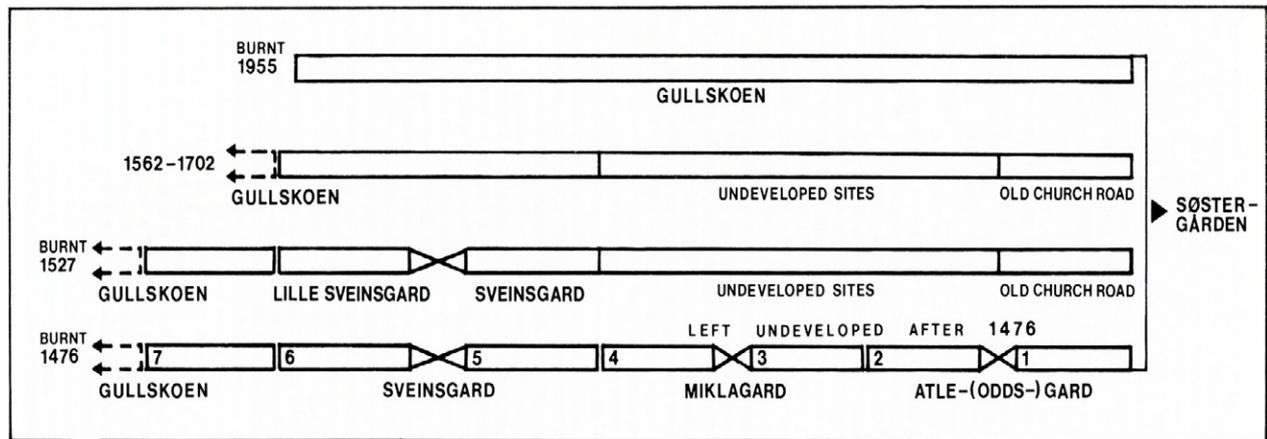


Figure 8. Sketch of the eastern profile of the Gullskoen area, showing the location of the different tenements from 1476, 1527, 1562-1702 and 1955. Source: Herteig 1991a: 110, Fig. 54.

115-127), whereas Engelgard and Bugard are generally regarded as traditional double tenements (Helle 1982: 238; Herteig 1990).

In the following, then, seven tenements are investigated. Of these, four are located in the northern part of the site - Gullskoen (rows 7-8), Sveinsgard (rows 5-6), Miklagard (rows 3-4) and Atlegard/Oddsgard (rows 1-2) - and three in the southern part - Søstergard, Engelgard and Bugard.

1.4 The source material

Empirically, the study of women, gender and material culture in general, and at medieval Bryggen in particular is based on a primary archaeological material of at least 11,109 artefacts and parts of artefacts from the Bryggen excavations. This is as mentioned dated to six different time horizons in the period between c. 1120 and 1500, represented by fire layers after more or less extensive town fires. Artefacts representing activities traditionally associated with women, men and children are at the centre of attention - textile production, cooking, consumption (food and drink), hunting/defence, leather-working, shoemaking, wood-working, metal-working, bone-working, fishing and personal belongings like clothes and toys. Larger archaeological structures like buildings, as well as physical space are also discussed and interpreted in terms of gender, considering their associated activities. The same applies to the subsequent building activity after a fire as such, calling for an extensive amount of (presumably male) labour force.

Many of the artefacts included have been examined in more or less detail previously, not least as for identification, classification, function, dating, etc. (see Chapters 2 and 3). My examination takes its starting point in these studies, but in order to identi-

fy and discuss the function of the artefacts, the context in which the objects were found and used, and their relation to gender, ethnicity and status, the approaches and sometimes also the extent in time and space of these previous studies are extended. This first and foremost involves a contextual assessment in relation to the other groups of artefacts in the same physical, social and temporal surroundings - concerning an overall evaluation both on a macro and micro-level - including previously unidentified artefacts and artefacts that have yet to be examined. Written evidence also presents valuable insights not only in urban history and society, as well as physical aspects. Due to its size and importance, the medieval town of Bergen is well documented by means of written sources at least from late twelfth century onwards. In the High Middle Ages, there are documents of a local character in particular - e.g. contemporary sagas, annals/chronicles, laws, diplomas and letters. Later, foreign sources such as English customs accounts, and documents related to the Hansa organization are numerous (Helle 1982: 175-182, 693-697). In all, the archaeological artefact material will be discussed more thoroughly in relation to aspects of gender and gender roles than has generally been done so far.

2 Women, gender and material culture in the Middle Ages. State of research

As part of an international academic trend associated with second- and third-wave feminism, women and with time also gender in general have repeatedly been subjects of archaeological investigations. Medieval archaeological research on these issues is somewhat limited, though, closely related to the development of the field as an academic discipline. This chapter primarily focuses on selected studies of relevance for the present study and within the context of European medieval archaeology, which in different ways may illuminate aspects of gender and gender roles, as well as the relationship between gender on the one hand and material culture and/or gender-related activities on the other. Studies from Norwegian and Scandinavian medieval towns in general, and from Bergen in particular are stressed. These are of particular relevance in a contextual analysis of women, gender and gender-related artefacts at Bryggen, examining their immediate as well as more overall historical, social and physical environment. As a whole, this serves as a base for a further examination of gender composition and to what degree traditionally gender-related artefacts and activities may actually be associated with women and men - or children - as well as with townspeople of local ('locals') or foreign ('foreigners') origin at different times in this context.

2.1 Women, gender and material culture in medieval archaeology - a backdrop

Despite having its roots in the eighteenth century, medieval archaeology is a relatively young academic discipline in Norway, and the integration of women and gender as research topics has taken place at a slow speed. Decades passed before this branch became something else than a 'diffuse research area with participants of diverse expertise ranging from architecture, history (history of art and churches in particular), ethnology and museology, as well as the occasional archaeologist' (Nøttveit 2010: 24). Partly as a result of the non-archaeological influence, early medieval excavations took a particular interest in physical topography and royal and ecclesiastical buildings, whereas common everyday life and artefacts were of marginal interest. In this respect, Sigurd Grieg's (1933) presentation of medieval artefacts from Bergen and Oslo is one of few exceptions, representing an important work also in European terms.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the European wave of modern larger urban medieval excavations that followed the Bryggen excavations produced a large number of artefacts. This called for extensive efforts being put into identification and systematizing. Gender and gender-related artefacts in particular were in this respect for a long time first and foremost treated in scholarly works and journals dealing with separate find groups, focusing in particular on typology, chronology and comparative studies, as well as

topographic and chronologic development. It comes as no surprise that to the extent women, gender and material culture were touched upon in archaeological research in this period it was necessarily in relation to catalogues and artefact studies in particular, identifying possible gender-related objects. As will be discussed later, many of these - as well as more recent artefact studies - represent valuable works of reference in my analysis, and not just in terms of identification and classification.

Concerns on the so far relatively limited research on and use of artefacts were expressed in the late 1980s and early 1990s - for instance in the Swedish journal *Meta* - stressing the need to discuss medieval archaeological artefacts in a broader cultural historical perspective. From now on, one increasingly became preoccupied with ways of using the archaeological material also as a source of more general, historical knowledge. This approach was regularly integrated in the numerous Norwegian artefact studies that followed, of which master's theses made up - and still make up - a substantial part. Here, different aspects of everyday life and activity in the medieval town as well as the urbanization process are illuminated (e.g. Moldung 2000; Olsen 2002; Olsen 2004; Bjøve 2005; Hansen 2005; Bjørdal 2006; Wikstrøm 2006; Myglund 2007; Nøttveit 2010; Antonsen 2011; Cadamarteri 2011; Hobberstad 2012; Johansen 2013; Mundal 2013; Norvik 2013; Reinsnos 2013; Lund 2013; Vik 2013; Bergland 2014; Olsen, K. M. E. 2014; Øye 2014; Hansen 2015a; Christophersen 2017; Kristoffersen 2017; Brobakke 2020).

The discussion on the use of medieval material culture also touched upon the relationship between the disciplines of history and medieval archaeology; in terms both of source material and approaches. Norwegian archaeologist Axel Christophersen criticized medieval archaeology for merely adopting traditional historical approaches and research questions, and stressed the unique qualities and characteristics of the archaeological source material (Christophersen 1997: 9). Concerning urbanity, medieval archaeology should according to Christophersen to a lesser degree focus on historically based so-called 'big questions' - like overall urban development, social organization, power, economic structures and state formation. Instead, one should pay attention to everyday life and 'alternative histories' (my translation). A micro-perspective should be applied to the archaeological material, in terms of time as well as space (Christophersen 1997: 9), replacing Fernand Braudel's *longue durée* by an archaeology of the moment (Christophersen 2000: 13). Similarly, Swedish archaeologists Mats Anglert and Karin Lindeblad argued in favour of a 'bottom-up' perspective in their discussion on future urban medieval archaeology in Sweden. As urbanity is reproduced in everyday routine, the former should

be studied by analysing everyday life and activity based on cultural layers and material remnants (Anglert and Lindeblad 2004: 8-9).

The call for 'alternative histories' and a 'bottom-up' perspective, as well as a new awareness of the archaeological artefact as a unique source material were followed by material culture studies increasingly concentrating on medieval everyday life and the individuals that populated it. Among these is the anthology *Everyday Products in the Middle Ages* (Hansen et al. 2015) which presents research on producers, traders and consumers in Northern Europe and the North Atlantic region, including social identity, e.g. gender, age, ethnicity and status. The material remnants themselves set the agenda - on their own terms, and thematically focusing on issues which the archaeological sources are particularly well suited to illuminate (Hansen et al. 2015: 2). The idea is that 'histories from below' - as they are called - enable new perspectives and questions. In turn, these contribute to illuminate aspects of urban medieval society which traditionally have been considered somewhat less important and remained partly unexplored - associated with e.g. social constructions like gender, gender-related factors like ethnicity, and life cycle. In this respect, my own study - based on material culture and a 'bottom-up' perspective - may hopefully shed light on a subject that so far has rarely been investigated within medieval archaeology: women and gender in medieval Bergen as such.

Indeed, where women and gender are concerned, Roberta Gilchrist's *Gender and Material Culture. The Archaeology of religious Women* from 1994 still represents one of few archaeological monographs on medieval women and material culture - exploring the relationship between material culture and the social structure of gender in later medieval English monasticism. Another rare example is Liv Marit Rui's unpublished work on women, gender and gender relations in medieval Oslo based on a feministic perspective (Rui 1993), which examines whether or not archaeological artefacts can say anything about gender and gender relations. Also, a few other works concentrate more generally on the concepts of gender and gender relations in the Viking and Middle Ages (e.g. Arwill-Nordbladh 1998; Schmidt Sabo 2005; Gilchrist 2012). As a whole, though, published contributions on women, gender and material culture in the Middle Ages are first and foremost restricted to a few articles and anthologies about medieval women in general and urban women in particular - discussing e.g. traditional female artefacts, the presence of women in the early medieval town, and women and textile production within rural and urban contexts (e.g. Øye 1988, 2005a, 2006, 2016; Hagen 1994; Carelli. et al. 1994; Nordeide 1999; Hansen 2006, 2010).

As a whole, there are still few book-length archaeological studies of medieval women and gender. As gender is commonly the subject of more or less

extensive theoretical examinations and discussions in archaeology, it is tempting to ascribe this prolonged lack of a gender perspective to a general reluctance towards theory within medieval archaeology - which has been observed more than once (e.g. Gustin and Schmidt Sabo 1994: 48; Andersson, Scholkmann and Kristiansen 2007: 27; Gilchrist 2009: 386, with references, Nøttveit 2010: 32). Medieval archaeologists have been somewhat cautious about including gender in their discussions, in many cases apparently due to the recurrent and pronounced problem of relating artefacts and activities to e.g. women or men in past societies. Similarly, the interpretation of material culture in terms of e.g. ethnicity and status is not straightforward. Yet, within so-called *Hanse Archaeology* - investigating the history of the Hanseatic League (Mehler 2014: 3209) - and as part of an increasing outward focus on the Hanseatic contact areas, attention has turned to the meeting between Hanseatic and local cultures, including issues of identity and ethnicity (Mehler 2014: 3212). This has involved critique of the concept of an explicitly Hanseatic culture and methods used to identify it, focusing more generally on the artefact as an indicator of trade or as a cultural marker (e.g. Suhonen 2001; Immonen 2007; Mehler 2009; Øye 2014; Naum 2014, 2015).

The challenges of who used different gender-related artefacts need to be overcome in the present analysis of women and gender within the ethnically changing context of Bryggen. In the following, the numerous archaeological as well as historical studies that to a varying degree - directly or indirectly - and in different ways touch women and gender will be presented to make a starting point for discussions on the relations between gender and material culture at medieval Bryggen. Here, I focus on gender roles and possible gender associations, including also aspects of ethnicity and social status, as a base for a wider, socio-cultural contextual approach to women, gender and social relations at Bryggen in the High and Late Middle Ages.

2.2 Gender-related activities and artefacts in the Middle Ages

In the following, results from previous studies of medieval artefacts and activities that are approached and analysed in this thesis are presented and evaluated in terms of possible gender associations in particular.

2.2.1 Textile production

A central activity and type of artefact in this study is textile production and textile-production equipment, which have commonly been discussed in relation to and heavily associated with women and gender in the Middle Ages and earlier. Based on Viking Age grave finds from the county of Vestland, Ingvild Øye finds that weaving implements are mostly found in female contexts (Øye 2022: 78-80). In the Viking Age in general and in proto-urban Scandinavian areas like

Kaupang, Birka and Hedeby, she also indicates that this craft was administered and performed by upper class and low-ranking (possibly unfree) women, respectively (Øye 2006: 445-447, 2011a). Textile-production equipment registered in several Iron Age male graves in Western Norway, on the other hand, may according to Anders M. Rabben (2002: 68-72) be related to (organization of) production of sails, among other things based on the disgrace associated with men performing female work (Meulengracht Sørensen 1980, 1995). Rabben also points to a possible relation to individuals of a third gender - e.g. Norw. *seidmenn* (sorcerers), who may be considered above and/or outside the system of honour. It may, however, also be explained in terms of a society less occupied with strict gender roles and male/female identities than traditionally asserted, as discussed by Marianne Moen (2019: 150-192) in her thesis on gender in Viking Age Vestfold, based on textile-production equipment found in both female and male elite graves. Nevertheless, at least weaving implements are mostly found in female graves

The relationship between women and textile production may be questioned also in urban High and Late Middle Ages. Here, gender relations are uncertain regarding specific types of textile-production equipment such as needles and shears, possibly related to the works of tailors, weavers and *bastarar* (working with bast or roots), who seems to have been men (Bl III, 8, 8, VI, 8, 1; Helle 1982: 429-430, 436). Also, like many other crafts and trades, textile production - except spinning, and weaving on the upright loom - was specialized and more or less differentiated in the Middle Ages, and eventually most likely taken over by men (Øye 1988: 134-135, 2005a, 2006: 446-451; Hagen 1994). Discussing the development and technological changes within weaving in the Northern European Middle Ages, however, Øye (2016) modifies the traditional dichotomy between male professional weavers, and women as homework producers of textiles.

Regarding Bryggen, Øye generally argues in favour of primarily female textile production. In her work on textile-production equipment and its working environment - also identifying and classifying different types of textile-production equipment - Øye sheds light on the character and development of textile production at Bryggen, c. 1150-1500. By examining in situ finds in relation to buildings and the combination of types of textile-production equipment, she originally concludes that they probably indicate domestic activities presumably practised by women connected to the household (Øye 1988: 131-135). Based on later comparisons of tools from Viking Age towns and experiments based on this, the material is to a higher degree also considered indicating specialized activities in the following centuries (Øye 2006: 449). However, the nature of production - as well as to what degree women participated in professionalized production of textiles - is neither a research topic

nor easily reflected in the chronologically restricted artefact material discussed in my study. Additionally, Øye has found that the differences between household and professional/specialized production to a higher degree concern social and economic organization of the work, as well as volume of production, rather than the technical equipment itself (Øye 1988: 131). Nevertheless, also a possible specialized production of textile at Bryggen may according to Øye be related to women (Øye 2006: 449-450).

Thus, reservations must be made, and the tools associated with textile production need to be evaluated and discussed contextually where gender is concerned. Still, textile production in general in the Middle Ages - spinning, and weaving on the upright loom in particular - and at medieval Bryggen in particular may in these respects basically be considered as indicators of female activities, at least before it was professionalized into specialized crafts.

2.2.2 Cooking and consumption

Cooking and consumption - eating and drinking - represent other important areas of investigation discussed in terms of gender at Bryggen, concerning both the relation to men and women, as well as ethnicity and status. Regarding the former, it has been argued that cooking and serving in many cases were performed by women in the Middle Ages. In her unpublished manuscript on medieval kitchen utensils - defined as all artefacts commonly used in a kitchen, as is the case also in my study - from Bryggen in Bergen, c. 1150-1700, Anne Ågotnes examines the character of the household activities the kitchen utensils represent and where these activities took place. She also discusses whether or not the artefacts and activities can be related to women's work, for instance by comparing their distribution to that of textile-production equipment. Generally, Ågotnes finds that both medieval written sources and illustrations, as well as more recent ethnological descriptions relate cooking utensils primarily to women in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period - particularly associated with what may be denoted as basic cooking as well as cooking for storage (primarily processing of dairy products, meat and fish). Women also dominate cooking-related activities in medieval illustrations picturing non-aristocratic or non-ecclesiastical contexts as well as in Icelandic sagas (Ågotnes 1994: 10-14, 114-115, with references).

Similarly, Swedish archbishop Olaus Magnus describes baking as a female activity in his work on the Nordic peoples from 1555, and Helle states that so-called (Norw.) *bakstekoner* - female bakers - are known from (Norw.) *Bjarkøyretten* - the oldest known Norwegian urban code (for Trondheim) - as well as in the Urban Code of 1276 and the Bergen by-laws from 1282 (Helle 1982: 431, with references). In her master's thesis on baking slabs from the Gullskoen area at Bryggen, Sigrun Solbakken Tengsdal considers these artefacts as expressions pri-

marily of female activities - at least in the Early and High Middle Ages - based on find context in or near buildings with textile-production equipment and artefacts related to young children (Tengesdal 2010: 67). Grinding was presumably another typical female activity, often associated with low-ranking individuals (Stigum 1964: 540). Additionally, medieval women have in written sources like the Urban Code of 1276 (Bl III, 8, 8) and the by-laws of Bergen in 1282 (Bl VI, 10) been associated with cooking beyond household requirements, i.e. cooking for storage (Holtmark 1964: 566; Helle 1982: 431). In this respect, Gitte Hansen (2010) has argued in favour of professional female sausage makers in this town. According to the Urban Code (Bl III, 8, 8), women could as previously mentioned presumably also sell beer, as indicated by Orkneyinga saga, referring to Unn running a (Norw.) skytningsstove in the beginning of the twelfth century (Helle 1982: 417, 462, with references).

Still, it cannot be taken for granted that it was always women who cooked and served in the Middle Ages, despite a possible deeply embedded notion of proper gender roles and gendered behaviour (Meulengracht Sørensen 1980; Øye 2006: 441). The rural so-called (Norw.) innanstokks/utanstokks-principle from Viking Age - i.e. women's work generally taking place inside the threshold, and men's work outside - have been questioned, and later research has to some degree modified the notion of rural gender-related work, stressing differences concerning social status/conditions (Øye 2006: 441, with references; Moen 2019). At least, if Viking Age and medieval men hardly could perform traditionally female work without loss of honour, this most likely applied to men of higher rank, who had the means to live by such standards. Also, cooking represents one of several traditional female tasks that are essential and needed to be carried out also if no women were present - for instance at sea, when foresting or hunting, or in urban, medieval areas, dominated as they were by single, male inhabitants. An uneven gender ratio with a male bias was especially characteristic in Bergen in general and following the establishment of the German Kontor at Bryggen from the middle of the fourteenth century in particular.

In his work on Norwegian eating habits based on archaeological and historical sources, Fredrik Grøn also finds that Icelandic sagas in some cases - first and foremost in large households such as royal estates and convents - point to male cooks and servants, as do a letter from 1317 in which king Håkon Magnusson donates a landed property to the royal chapel of St Michaels in Tønsberg (Grøn 1927: 214, with references). According to Helle, brewing beer and mead also seems to have been a predominantly male profession, as indicated by king Eirik Magnusson's prohibition of among others the ON hæito manna's (brewer's) guild in Bergen in 1293/94. Sausage making may also be associated with men, in re-

lation to their work as butchers (Ågotnes 1994: 30). Helle finds it reasonable to assume that there were butchers working in Bergen, mentioned in the Urban Code from 1276 (Helle 1982: 42, with reference). In Late Middle Ages, he also finds that German - presumably male - professional bakers are mentioned here (Helle 1982: 432, with references). In addition, Tengesdal suggests that baking slabs without wear marks may generally represent commodities of trade (Tengesdal 2010: 59). In all, then, cooking and cooking equipment seems to be more ambiguous in terms of male and female associations than textile-production equipment in the Middle Ages. This calls for a continuous contextual approach and interpretation of kitchen utensils in the distributional analysis.

Food and food-related artefacts are also commonly used to express cultural and ethnic belongings. In this respect, pottery - one of the largest find groups in urban medieval excavations and a major European archaeological research field - is of particular interest, mirroring both consumption habits and table culture. David Gaimster suggests in his work on German stoneware from 1200 to 1900 that exported stoneware found in emigrant trading communities - so-called diasporas - may indicate at least some 'ethnically motivated' trade and be understood as a medium of cultural exchange. It may 'be used as a measure of the emergence of a hanseatic culture or lifestyle in the north during the 14th to early 16th centuries' (Gaimster 1997: 51, 65). In medieval Norway, no local production has been documented, but pottery is commonly found within urban medieval households and was also taken up in households in rural areas with urban contacts (Øye 2011: 225, 228, 231-232). At Bryggen, then, every shard is a remain of imported products and may be associated with a foreign and primarily urban food and drinking culture. Still, pottery in Bergen has first and foremost been examined in terms of classification, origin, chronology and trade (Lüdtke 1989; Blackmore and Vince 1994; Deroeux et al. 1994; Demuth 1997; Gaimster 1997). Pottery as everyday kitchenware or tableware used by local and/or foreign inhabitants will be explored further in the present, contextual analysis. The same applies to the ethnicity of possible foreign users based on the type of ceramic pottery present, as pottery may have been used and re-used by foreigners of many nationalities. English pottery, for instance, dominated this European trade until the fifteenth century (Gaimster 1997: 66) and was thus not necessarily used by Englishmen alone at Bryggen.

At Bryggen, both local and foreign kitchen utensils were used at the same time, indicating an international and culturally mixed population (Øye 2011: 229-230). It may be argued that foreigners in Bergen and at Bryggen should be associated with a food culture diverging from the Norwegian one (Nilsen 2011: 83). Ingvild Øye (2011) argues in her study of food and ethnicity at medieval Bryggen based on the use of traditional, local tools versus foreign tools, that

kitchen utensils in the early towns may be interpreted as cultural markers – yet, local utensils may have been used by foreigners, and vice versa. In their master's theses on soapstone vessels and baking slabs from medieval Bryggen, Hilde Vangstad (2003, 2017) and Sigrunn Solbakken Tengesdal (2010) among other things discuss such objects in relation to a possible German male-dominated household versus a local household pattern including women and children. Both argue that baking slabs and soapstone vessels, respectively, may be interpreted as traditional, rural artefacts - made by a local and 'readily available' raw material and adjusted to a local food culture largely based on meat, fish and dairy products (Grøn 1927; Vangstad 2003: 119-120, 131; Tengesdal 2010: 185-186). A conspicuous decrease of soapstone vessels at Bryggen after 1413 may speak in favour of this, related to the presence of a German population with different cultural belongings and customs than those of the Norwegian one (Vangstad 2017: 199-200). In addition, Irene Baug finds in her doctoral thesis on quarrying in Western Norway that baking slabs are hardly registered in large quantities outside Norway and the North Atlantic (Baug 2013: 235-238). Also Tengesdal suggests that the way of cooking represented by baking slabs was not a part of the continental/insular food culture - again based on a decreasing number of such artefacts at Bryggen in the fifteenth century (Tengesdal 2010: 60-68). A similar reduction of tools for production and preservation of dairy products (Ågotnes 1994: 175) and decorated wooden containers (Nilsen 2011) has also been documented here. The latter, however, seem difficult to relate to foreigners.

Where status is concerned, it does not seem unreasonable to assume that traditional, rural kitchen utensils made of wood - which represents the most common material for rural tableware in medieval Norway (Solberg 1990: 23) - and stone may have been perceived and appreciated differently than more 'refined' artefacts associated with an urban lifestyle. The latter was often made of a more valuable material - like metal - and indirectly associated with a higher social segment of the population. In this respect, the decrease of baking slabs and soapstone vessels at Bryggen more or less corresponding to the introduction of the German Hansa at Bryggen may be ascribed an urban population demonstrating cultural distance to rural or local urban lifestyle. Yet, cooking equipment made from these materials was hardly understood as important status objects in the medieval towns (Øye 2011: 232). Status and/or urban identity seem first and foremost to have been expressed by tableware. This concerns drinking and drinking culture in particular, which in medieval Bergen have been examined based on pottery from the Wine Cellar (Norw. Vinkjelleren, located about 100 metres east of the Bryggen site) (Tøssebro 2010), and drinking glasses from the Bryggen excavations (Høie 2006). Especially glass was related to the upper so-

cial strata in the Middle Ages, associated with drinking of wine (Høie 2006: 78-82; Tøssebro 2010: 12). Opposed to baking slabs and soapstone vessels, these artefacts are also primarily related to men, and an increasing use of drinking glasses are temporally corresponding to the establishment of the German Kontor at Bryggen (Høie 2006: 1-2, 53). Similarly, the Bryggen pottery from the fourteenth century onwards is primarily represented by tableware for drinking and pouring (Demuth 2014: 120).

As a whole, the artefact studies and studies of functional groups dealing with cooking and consumption at medieval Bryggen touch interrelated aspects of gender, ethnicity and status. In short, the kitchen utensils may roughly be divided between traditional local artefacts (like baking slabs and soapstone vessels) presumably associated with women on the one hand and imported (especially ceramic) kitchen utensils and/or kitchen utensil of a more exclusive/rare character on the other, first and foremost associated with (male) foreigners and/or a higher social stratum. This serves as a base for a more thorough analysis of women, gender and gender roles at Bryggen based on material culture.

2.2.3 Hunting/defence

Weapons represent an artefact category most unambiguously associated with men in the Middle Ages. Besides biological sex, weapons are also in themselves commonly associated with power, rank and status - expressing both economic and social status (Nøttveit 2010: 172). According to the Gulathing Law - the provincial law for western Norway, codified around 1160 - each free man was prescribed an axe or a sword, a shield and a spear, whereas the later Land law codified in 1274 also differentiates according to income (Nøttveit 2010: 172; G 309). Young men who were about to start working were not expected to be able to acquire all effects at once - instead, an axe should be obtained the first year, then a shield and finally a spear (Nøttveit 2010: 172; L III, 10-12). Richer men, as well as certain social groups and the military corps (the ON hird), on the other hand, were expected to be in possession of more and better equipment. Additionally, the axe was cheaper and more multifunctional than the sword. The latter served as an important symbol of power not least among the wealthy (Nøttveit 2010: 172-173), and also the dagger seems to have been popular in terms of status (Nøttveit 2000: 117).

The social implications of sheaths and scabbards are more difficult to establish. In his doctoral thesis on this material from medieval Bergen, Ole Magne Nøttveit corroborates that there are at least several sheaths of high quality where material and working hours are concerned (Nøttveit 2010: 173). He also argues that sheaths and scabbards generally belonged to the male sphere; however, tentatively suggests that possible female sheaths may be looked for among plain sheaths with undecorated surfaces and even

rims (type A) (Nøttveit 2010: 61, 178). Still, both these and other accessories and personal belongings rarely displayed gendered characteristics in the Middle Ages; yet, again calling for contextual considerations.

2.2.4 Fishing

Another area of investigation is fishing and fishing tackle, which so far has been discussed only briefly in urban medieval contexts (e.g. Lunde 1977; Christophersen and Nordeide 1994). Of particular relevance is Ole Mikal Olsen's (2004) study of medieval fishing tackle from Bergen, covering 555 artefacts from the entire medieval town. Olsen's main concern is fishing techniques - how and where the equipment was used - and the material is not considered in relation to gender. However, social conditions at Bryggen regarding local inhabitants versus the members of the German Hansa are discussed, in which this activity is generally associated with a local rather than a foreign population. The fishery in medieval Bergen is also associated with self-supply, explained by the gradual reduction of fishing tackle at Bryggen by the introduction of foreign merchants, and eventually the Hansa - groups that were probably not interested in fishing and/or had the necessary skills to perform it (Olsen 2004: 87-88, 93-94). It has also been argued that fishing for self-supply may be related to low-ranking groups. At least, the fishing tackle from Bryggen probably does not reflect the upper social strata in Bergen - but neither does it represent the lowest, considering the costs of e.g. boats and nets (Utne 2008: 57).

2.2.5 Production

Tools for wood-working, stone-working, metal-working, bone-working, leather-working and shoemaking represent activities generally associated with the male sphere, but has rarely been investigated archaeologically in terms of gender. Instead, studies have primarily concentrated on the nature of the different crafts, tools, production etc. (e.g. Hansen 2005, Husvegg 2011). Gitte Hansen, however, has investigated social identities of combmakers, shoemakers and metalworkers in twelfth century Bergen (Hansen 2015b). She finds few traces of women, but the presence of people of a range of ages is indicated - at least among the combmakers. In addition, it seems that these itinerant groups of craftspeople were socially accepted and integrated in urban daily life. This was apparently also the case concerning non-ferrous metalworkers in the Norwegian town Kaupang (c. 800-930), located by the outlet of the Oslo fjord (Pedersen 2015). Here, as well, there are few indications concerning gender, and Unn Pedersen singles the subject out as a future research topic (Pedersen 2015: 63). For now, though, it seems reasonable to relate these activities to a predominantly male sphere.

2.2.6 Clothing and other personal belongings

The way men and women are dressed and equipped tells us a lot about them as well as of the society they live in. The relation between clothing and gender has commonly been addressed within medieval archaeology, as have aspects of social status. The most extensive work on clothing remains from Norway and Bergen is Marianne Vedeler's (2007) doctoral thesis on medieval Norwegian clothes that cover the torso (Norw. livplagg) based on archaeological textile finds, altar frontals and painted sculptures. Here, possible differences between male and female clothes are discussed, primarily where pleated textiles are concerned. As the textile material from the Bryggen excavations is dominated by small fragments, Vedeler cannot identify male or female outfits (Vedeler 2007: 97-100). Yet, some of the remains are pleated, and - although generally reluctant to draw any certain conclusions on gender relation where pleated livplagg is concerned and basing the conclusion on a relatively small material - she stipulates that in the fourteenth century, both women and children could wear such clothes (Vedeler 2007: 145). Vedeler also stresses that production of pleated textiles must have been costly, and indicate that the investigated pleated textiles from Bergen may have been worn by people of economic capacity, although not necessarily exclusively (Vedeler 2007: 91-106, 162-163). In this respect and based on her study of shoes, combs and clothes from medieval Bryggen and Vågsbunnen, dated to c. 1120-1170, Gitte Hansen suggests that the high share of pleated textiles in medieval Bergen may reflect that many townspeople had the means to acquire such clothes (Hansen 2015a: 49). A larger and more varied sample of preserved dresses would possibly provide a different interpretation; nevertheless, at least a possible relation between women (perhaps of some affluence) and pleated textiles will be considered in the present distributional analysis.

A far more extensive group of medieval artefacts are shoes, which I unlike most of the remainder of the material have physically examined, primarily focusing on identifying shoe sizes of possible soles. Contemporary written sources - e.g. price lists in by-laws from Bergen in 1282 (Helle 1982: 428, with references) - distinguish between male and female shoes. Yet, except for a few studies including gender (e.g. Lindqvist 2007), the archaeological focus has first and foremost been on establishing typologies (Larsen 1970, 1992; Schia 1975, 1977; Marstein 1989; Lind1991). It has generally been argued that neither based on form nor archaeological context is it possible to decide whether a particular shoe belonged to a man or a woman (Grew and de Neergaard 1988: 103, 105). In Arne J. Larsen's study of footwear from the Gullskoen area at Bryggen, on the other hand, this material is considered in terms of male/female, age and status. Larsen is cautious about differentiating between male and female shoes, but concludes that variations in size may provide some information

about the population, and suggests that size 39 represents the most common size for medieval adult men (Larsen 1992: 74). This may serve as a starting point for my own analysis of the shoe material in different contexts in the northern area of Bryggen. Also, in my previous analysis of child-related artefacts in medieval Bergen, children's shoes are tentatively identified and related to children of different age groups, up to about 11/12 years, i.e. size 33 (see Figure 9) (Mygland 2007). No one-in-one relationship between size and gender/age may be established; yet, by focusing on gender-related artefacts, combined with a study of the temporal distribution of shoes of different sizes, social composition may hopefully be illuminated further.

Larsen also suggests that the elaborately decorated shoes from the Gullskoen area should be interpreted as luxury articles for the wealthy, whereas the crudely repaired worn-out shoes may have been used by poor people (Larsen 1992: 84-85). Similarly, Hansen separates between six value groups of uppers from Bryggen and Vågsbunnen (groups 1-6), based on type of embroideries and the amount of yarn needed (Hansen 2015a: 42-42). Here, group 1 consists of shoes without embroideries, whereas shoes in e.g. group 3 and 6 required 3.0-5.0 metres and 10.5-11.0 metres of yarn, respectively. It has not been possible to investigate the uppers in the present study in such details; yet, according to Hansen, the many valuable shoes present indicate that the economic ability of the townspeople was generally good in the twelfth century (Hansen 2015a: 45-47).

For some reason, medieval dress accessories and jewellery first and foremost seem to appear listed in reports and catalogues (e.g. Hammervold 1997; Egan and Pritchard et al. 2002). In her master's thesis on jewellery and dressing equipment from Bryggen, however, Sonja Molaug (1998) attempts to relate such artefacts to different aspects of gender. She finds that both men and women in the Middle Ages used e.g. buckles, filigree silver brooches, buttons, belts and rings (Molaug 1998: 66, with references). Not before the end of the fourteenth century and in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries did separate ways of dressing for men and women evolve, and jewellery for both were probably of the same types until Late Middle Ages. Based on size, Molaug finds that the smallest rings may have been used by women and the biggest by men (Molaug 1998: 67). Still, rings were used on all fingers, as well as on the outermost joints - meaning that small rings could have been used by men as well (Molaug 1998: 67, with references). Some large rings could be used outside gloves (Busengdal 2012: 73), but the latter seem to have been used within the religious sphere in the medieval Nordic countries, not least by bishops, as *chirotecaae*, i.e. pontifical/liturgical gloves (Hofmann 1975: 498). Molaug also finds it difficult to relate jewellery and dress accessories to status without further discussion (Molaug 1998: 126). However, gold had social implications in the Middle Ages, as expressed in an amendment from

1306 denying prostitutes to wear jewellery made of precious metal - i.e. gold or silver - only gilded items and items made of base metal, like bronze, tin and iron (Grieg 1958: 46; Andersson 1960: 570). Tentatively, dress accessories made of base metal and/or a lack of decorations may thus be associated with the common man and woman in particular (Molaug 1998: 126).

Personal equipment such as combs has primarily been investigated in terms of identification, classification, production, etc. (e.g. Wiberg 1977: 202-209; Ambrosiani 1981; Christensen 1986; Flodin 1989; Hansen 2005: 159-162, 180-184). In an article on medieval single-sided composite combs from Bryggen, Øye discusses such items in terms of status and possible male/female relations. Viking Age combs made of a single piece of bone (Norw. *helkammer*) have commonly been interpreted as combs for beards, and also combs with (remains of) cases may perhaps also be associated with men. In medieval Bergen, most types may have been used by women, based on find context. However, they were probably not used by women alone, and possible differences between combs for men and women are generally difficult to grasp. Some elaborate combs from Bryggen obviously function as status objects, of which the most exclusive/elaborate ones are of Øye's type E5 and E6 (Øye 2005b: 394, 396, 398, 412, with references). In twelfth century Bergen, also Hansen associates elaborate combs with users of economic capacity (Hansen 2015: 43-44, 47-48). Yet, there is no obvious one-in-one relationship between comb types and social status, calling for continuous contextual evaluations focusing on overall trends - as applies to all personal belongings in general.

Based on grave finds, keys have often been related to women in the Late Iron Age, indicating control over stored property that needed to be protected, and symbolically reflecting the role of the married rural woman and her responsibility for storage and supplies (Reinsnos 2013: 17-18, with references). Similar interpretations of key bundles also seem reasonable, based on medieval written sources (Aannestad 2004: 77, with references). In her study of keys and locks from medieval Bergen and Viking Age graves in the county of Hordaland, Ambjørge Reinsnos suggests that keys intentionally deposited in Late Iron Age graves reflect norms and gender roles. Female graves only contained firm lock keys - *in casu* turning keys (generally used in boxes and trunks), and particularly hooked keys (which may have been used in relation to doors as well). Push keys - related to portable locks used to lock doors as well as boxes and trunks - were only found in a single Iron Age grave, a male one (Reinsnos 2013: 70-72). The sample is limited, though, and the highly uncertain relationship between keys and gender may in any case not necessarily be applied to a medieval, urban context. Reinsnos suggests that the symbolic values of keys and locks changed in medieval Bergen, and that a diverse lock-

ing material indicates an increasing need for securing stored property and locking off rooms and buildings. At least portable locks and push keys dominate the earliest medieval phase, and were particularly located in the front zone, related to trade and storage (Reinsnos 2013: 86-89). Keys may in this urban context thus perhaps be associated with a male sphere in particular.

Board games and gaming pieces are also a relevant material related to gender, ethnicity and (high) social status in the present study. European iconographic sources depict both men and women playing board games, and it seems that social conditions may have mattered more than gender where this activity is concerned (McLees 1990: 25-37). The old North European game *hnefatafl* disappears from written sources before 1200, supposedly losing its appeal among the Scandinavian nobles by the introduction of chess (Eales 1985: 49-50). The playing of chess only requires time and intellect besides a board and some gaming pieces, and the game was a relatively social one, supposedly being played by people of different social groups and both men and women (McLees 1990: 30). First and foremost, however, chess was associated with a sophisticated and intellectual lifestyle, and mastering this game supposedly attractive (McLees 1990: 29-30). The medieval board game material originating in Bergen covers gaming boards, gaming pieces, dices and jetons, related to chess, tables, Nine Men's Morris, *kvatrutafll* and *hnefatafl*, and possibly also *alquerque* and draughts. Guro Koksvik Lund finds that chess seems to have been regarded as an exclusive game played by a limited group in Bergen - at least prior to and around 1200, when chess pieces are particularly few. An increase of chess-related gaming pieces at Bryggen, as well as of gaming pieces in general at the time of the establishment of the German Kontor may also support this interpretation (Lund 2013: 142-143). Possible male or female relations are not considered; yet, it does not seem unreasonable to relate them to a predominantly male sphere.

2.2.7 Osteological material

Osteological remains are the most reliable source for gender identification, due to the obvious possibilities of identifying skeletons in terms of age and sex, and in relation to living conditions. In Norway, the major medieval osteological data relates to Berit J. Sellevold's study of skeletons from Hamar (Sellevold 2001). There are no human skeletal remains in the present discussed material, but Katharina Lorvik (2009) and Stian Suppersberger Hamre (2011) have studied remains of 78 and 119 individuals from the South-Western outskirt of St. Mary's churchyard located behind the rearmost tenements in the Bryggen site, respectively. Lorvik's sample dates to c. 1150-1250, whereas Hamre dates his material to sometime before 1170 to sometime after 1332. These overlapping studies represent the only two systematic

examinations and analyses of parts of a larger collection of medieval osteological material from Bergen, and may contribute to illuminate gender and gender composition here. Lorvik's limited investigation reveals a somewhat unusual demographic composition, demonstrating a female bias and a low number of infants and young children in the first century of the High Middle Ages (Lorvik 2009: 67-73). This probably reflects the spatial organization of the cemetery; yet, perhaps also an urban society consisting primarily of young, unmarried inhabitants (Lorvik 2009: 92-95). Although Hamre's extended sample is small as well, similar conclusions are drawn in his doctoral thesis on burial practices in early medieval Norway - including all individuals from St. Mary's churchyard possible, investigated in terms of e.g. sexual segregation and social stratification (Hamre 2011).

A small-scale osteoarchaeological investigation revealing 25 skeletons at the Nonneseter Convent in Vågsbunnen enabled few conclusions regarding gender, other than a majority of women between the ages of 20 and 55 (Ekstrøm 2009). Also a revision of the excavations taking place here in 1872 and 1891 gave limited information, among other things due to the commingled nature of the about 111 registered individuals (Hamre 2009). Men and women were equally represented, and generally seem to represent individuals of high social rank, considering being buried close to or inside the church and a low prevalence of enamel hypoplasia.

2.2.8 Runic inscriptions

Caught between archaeology and history, runic inscriptions may also illuminate gender, ethnicity and status at Bryggen in the Middle Ages. In this respect, Aslak Liestøl (1991) and Ingrid Sannes Johnsen (1990) have examined altogether 169 inscriptions in Norse and Latin from Bryggen. These works first and foremost represent a presentation of the inscriptions and their possible interpretations, and do consequently not address issues of gender as such. This is discussed more thoroughly by Elisabeth Maria Magin (2023), who based on 687 runic inscriptions from the Bryggen excavation aims at developing and testing a basic model for a runological relational database. A possible steady increase of female rune-carvers is indicated; however, she concludes that the reliability of the basis of the calculations is uncertain (Magin 2021: 198). Magin also questions an apparent relation between high status merchants and runes, stating that the results may first and foremost mirror the fact that men of high social status used Bergen as a trade port (Magin 2021: 191-193). Nevertheless, these works include numerous inscriptions from Bergen that with more or less certainty mention women - a couple possibly concerning businesswomen, in addition to labels with female names, and a very few poems and coarse language. Men with names of both local and foreign origin are also mentioned, which together with the presence of rune sticks as such is

interesting to investigate contextually in terms of ethnic composition at different time levels.

2.2.9 Children and child-related artefacts

Children have been investigated to a somewhat limited degree within medieval archaeology. Commonly, they are touched upon in relation to artefact studies, primarily identifying possible toys and other children's equipment (e.g. Weber 1981a), but also in terms of socialization and play culture (Fahre 1998; Åsheim 2011). Similarly, my revised and published master thesis of children's toys and shoes from all of Bergen, c. 1120-1700 (Mygland 2007) concerns identification in particular; yet, the child-related artefacts are also examined contextually and in terms of age and relation to boys and girls. The former is of particular interest in relation to an overall evaluation of different gender-related artefacts and activities in medieval Bergen. As child-rearing has traditionally been considered a female activity, children are often seen as indicators of female presence, as is the case also in this study. At least young children - i.e. children under able-bodied age, more or less dependent upon their parents - may be interpreted this way, whereas older children to a larger degree may be considered parts of the urban workforce in general. Not least, this applies to the period from the middle of the fourteenth century onwards - particularly associated with the German Hansa - but presumably also earlier. In these respects, shoes have already been mentioned as a possible source for the identification of children, which were divided into approximate age groups, based on size (Figure 9). Shoes of continental sizes up to 21 are associated with children up to three

years, shoes of sizes 22-27 with children between three and seven, and shoes of sizes 28-33 with children between seven and approximately twelve years (Mygland 2007: 57-58). It is stressed, however, that the relationship between shoe size and age does not allow for individual differences and problems of representativity (see Chapter 3) and is thus not absolute. Each children's shoe needs to be evaluated contextually to illuminate possible age with more certainty.

It is impossible to identify biological sex based on children's soles alone; however, presumed toys were in my previous study also tentatively related to boys and girls, as well as to age. Three categories of toys were singled out - musical objects or noisemakers, toys reflecting role-playing games and toys related to board games and sports/physical activities. These were evaluated further in terms of confirmed, probable and possible identification as child-related objects (Figure 9). Gender was primarily corroborated regarding toys reflecting role-playing games - and to some degree also sports-related artefacts - particularly associated with boys. Girls were first and foremost represented by some doll-like figures and small copies of kitchen utensils. Additionally, some sports-related artefacts - such as balls - may just as well be associated with grown-ups. Most of the confirmed and probable child-related toys - primarily noisemakers and role-playing toys - were associated with children in the age groups 2-7 and 7-11 years, and not least with the oldest children in the former group and the youngest in the latter. The youngest children in Bergen seemed difficult to document by means of toys - indicated primarily by a few uncertain rattles (Mygland 2007: 27-44). These criteria will be applied also

Category		Artefact	Approximate age	Sex
Children's shoes		Soles, continental sizes 0-21	0-3 years	?
		Soles, continental sizes 22-27	3-7 years	?
		Soles, continental sizes 28-33	7-11/12 years	?
Toys	Musical objects or noisemakers	Bone buzzers	2-12 years (c. 4-10)?	Gender neutral
		Ocarinas	2-12 years	Gender neutral
		Possible rattles	Babies/toddlers	Gender neutral
	Toys reflecting role-playing games	Doll-like figures	3-12	Primarily girls
		Human figures	3-12	Boys, girls?
		Tools and domestic utensils	5/6-	Boys, girls
		Miniature pots	5?-	Primarily girls
		Miniature weapons	5-11?	Primarily boys
		Miniature boats	4/5-	Primarily boys
		Animal figures	4/5-	Primarily boys?
		Toys related to board games and sports/physical activities	Bone skates	3-11/12
	Balls		5-	Primarily boys?
	Humming tops		4/5-	Gender neutral
	Yo-yos		5/6-	Gender neutral
	Marbles and the like		7-	Gender neutral

Figure 9. Classification of child-related artefacts, and presumed associations in terms of age and sex. Based on Mygland 2007: 27-44, 57-58.

in the present study; yet - like archaeological artefacts in general - no one-in-one relationship between toys and sex can be identified, only trends.

2.2.10 General assessment

In some ways, archaeological research touching on women and gender in the Middle Ages may perhaps be described in terms of fragmentation. Even today - after decades of basic medieval excavations and investigations - it first and foremost seems to embrace a range of articles and artefact studies which main focus and approaches rarely concern these issues as such. Although an increasing awareness and inclusion of different aspects of gender has taken place in medieval archaeology, only a minority is dedicated to women and gender alone. Not least, this concerns medieval Bergen, despite women being reflected both by written and archaeological sources.

Relatively many studies do, however, to a varying degree touch and illuminate interrelated aspects of gender, age, ethnicity and status based on different material and from different perspectives. Together, these represent valuable contributions in a contextual

analysis concerning gender in general and women in particular in a changing urban society such as medieval Bergen. In this chapter, I have presented several of these works to be used as point of departure concerning especially gender relations. Their material corpora and evaluations and discussions in terms of function, use, distribution etc. are also taken advantage of, to explore them further where women and gender are concerned - in wider contexts and relationally. Still, it is evident that the assessment of gender and gender-related artefacts in medieval Bergen cannot rely on fixed categories - not least considering the changing social and demographic situation at Bryggen throughout the period of examination. In this respect, trends in time and space make an important point of departure. In addition, they - as well as studies from other medieval towns - also serve as useful reference bases when identifying artefacts from Bergen that have previously not been studied. In all, they provide a point of departure for an in-depth contextual analysis of women and gender-related artefacts as main objectives - theoretically and methodologically adapted to the case at hand.

3 Theoretical reflections and methodical approaches

This chapter deals with the theoretical and methodical perspectives and approaches upon which the present analyses, discussions and interpretations are based. In the preceding chapter, studies that in one way or another illuminate gender, ethnicity and status in relation to artefacts and activities in medieval society were presented and evaluated. However, the study of gender and gender structures in Bergen and at Bryggen - a past society known only indirectly based on written sources and material remains and examined through a more than 300-year long period - also calls for a more theoretical clarification and discussion of to what degree one may assume that traditionally gender-related artefacts and activities may actually be associated with a specific gender. Gender and gender roles are thus at the centre of attention in the first part - focusing on aspects of stability and change, and on the relationship between actors and social structures in particular. How the archaeological material may be used to shed light on gender composition, families and households is subject of the second part. Here, the analytical tools applied in the study will be accounted for and discussed, with special regard to methodical challenges related to the Bryggen excavations as such.

3.1 Actors, gender and gender roles

As has repeatedly been pointed out, approaching gender and gender-related artefacts based on material culture at Bryggen in the Middle Ages - an increasingly male-dominated urban environment where traditional gender roles probably also changed - represents a particular challenge. How does one know whether a certain artefact - or a group of artefacts - was used by a man or a woman here? Or rather: how does one know whether the activities to which the different artefacts are related were performed by either, and throughout the entire period of examination? In fact, what chances do we have of recognizing contemporary gender structures and gender roles at different times, only visible indirectly through remains of buildings, archaeological artefacts and/or through written sources? Last, but not least, how likely are gender structures to remain stable or to change across time and space?

The main approach in the following particularly concerns urban gender roles in the Middle Ages and to what degree it can be assumed that social structures in general and gender in particular were changed or conserved at the commercial area of Bryggen throughout this period: particularly in the meeting between rural and urban society, and between different ethnic groups. To what degree may we assume that traditional rural gender roles took on new shapes or remained more or less unchanged in the urban environment of medieval Bergen and how likely is it that this social structure was changed or conserved thereafter? Theoretical reflections related

to the constitution of gender are called for, focusing on gender as socially constructed and changeable. Studying social structures such as gender in space in a period of more than three centuries also necessitates a discussion and understanding of social processes and driving forces in general. In this respect, important issues concern what forces and/or processes - particularly in terms of individual actors versus overall structures - contribute to change and what factors contribute to conservation of society and social structures in general, and in Bergen and at Bryggen in particular within a period of major demographic, economic and social changes.

3.1.1 *No man is an island. Women, men and the concept of gender*

‘The sex we attribute to an individual is (...) tremendously important in determining how we see, understand and respond to them. (...) sex is the primary category through which people identify and subsequently gender stereotype others (...). People are also typically classified according to sex faster than any other forms of categorisation’ (Green 2004: 39-40).

The concept of gender has become a recognized and integral part of archaeological and historical studies in the last decades, regarded as an important social structure as well as a dynamic force in a community. However, gender is also a repeated theme of discussion. In particular, this relates to what actually constitutes gender and how it is made, increasingly questioning the relationship between a biological category of sex and a socially and culturally constructed gender. The idea of an essential woman and man has, for instance - in common with ideas of universal laws of human experience in general - been rejected by so-called third-wave feminism inspired by poststructuralism and thoughts of Laqueur (1990) (Gilchrist 1999: 3-8; Sørensen 2004: 54). They emphasize that gender, biological sex and sexuality are so intermingled that they can hardly be separated, and that also biological sex (like gender) may be considered socially constructed (Green 2004: 44; Sørensen 2004: 54-55). Particularly the American philosopher Judith Butler is among those who advocate these thoughts, arguing that the sexed body is itself culturally constructed through the repetition of stylized acts in time (Butler 1990).

A ‘deconstruction’ of biological sex is relatively problematic in relation to the present archaeological research questions, and this view is not considered a productive approach in the following. Instead, the idea of a male-female dichotomy is maintained. Men and women are interpreted as individuals with both a biological and a social sex (gender), where the former is regarded as a natural, biologically given category, referring to ‘biological characteristics, in particular reproductive capacities and external genitalia’ (Sørensen 2004: 42). Also - although far from pro-

moting the sociobiological argument of behaviour as genetically controlled, in which male and female behaviour is largely explained by evolutionary need for reproductive fitness (Sørensen 2004: 10) - it is not denied that there may be some inherent biological dispositions that influence the way we behave as men and women. At least, cognitive studies of men and women point to differences in the male and female brain concerning physical structure, as well as men and women having specialized and different brain functions. Despite overlapping, these differences seemingly result in diverging cognitive skills on the average, possibly connected to reproductive strategies (Gilchrist 1999: 11-13, with references). In this respect, biological sex is generally considered a possible stable and stabilizing factor concerning gender. It may perhaps also explain what may be characterized as cross-cultural gender roles; for instance traditional female work often being related to women's biological role. This seems to have been the case in rural areas in Norway in the Middle Ages, and in some way or another probably applied also to urban women in the same period.

Still, gender and gendered behaviour may be overridden, negotiated and/or restricted. The distinction between sex and gender means that the notion of men and women can be explained in other than purely biological terms, gender being considered socially constructed and historically changeable, driven by social, cultural, ideological and political circumstances. Generally, gender is understood as a social and/or cultural construction based on sex and a male/female-dichotomy - 'the cultural values inscribed on sex' (Hays-Gilpin and Whitley 1998: xv) - or in slightly more archaeological terms, 'the cultural interpretation of sexual difference that results in the categorisation of individual artefacts, spaces and bodies' (Gilchrist 1999: xv). Thus, it has been argued that gender itself cannot be regarded a common identity, as it can hardly be separated from other basic aspects of identity, like skin colour, religion and sexuality (Young 2000: 228; Fahlander 2003: 31). As mentioned, differences between women and men or between women and men of e.g. different ethnicity or social class are also increasingly being integrated in the concept in general.

Pierre Bourdieu's (2010) idea of habitus - referring to a set of corporeal dispositions, or a mental structure comprising a system of dispositions that generates perceptions, appreciations and practises (Green 2004: 48; Maton 2008: 51) - similarly incorporates such factors. Generally, habitus is shaped by 'social fields', i.e. social arenas where social practice takes place, and where people struggle and manoeuvre over resources, and where every participating individual holds a position, defined not only by class, but by different forms of capital that the members are in possession of - economic, social, cultural and symbolic. In practise, the same 'rules' or expectations concerning appropriate gender behaviour and gender

roles may not necessarily apply to or affect every man or woman, but depend on e.g. age, status and ethnicity as well. Men and women may in other words be considered individuals with a number of different part-identities, where the most significant criterion concerning social classification varies according to context. These are obviously important factors to bear in mind when approaching issues related to women, gender and gender-related roles and activities at different time levels in medieval Bergen.

3.1.2 Reproduction of gender and gender systems

Concerning driving factors and mechanisms in society contributing to changes and/or conservation, social practice has roughly been explained based on a structure-agency dichotomy that focuses either on the individual actor and its freedom of choice, or on social/cultural processes as controlled and constrained by underlying structures - in other words as a result of rationally based human actions, or as driven by underlying structures (Wilken 2006: 38-40). Although based on an actor's perspective, or groups of actors, the present point of departure lies somewhere between. Social structures and changes are regarded as stemming from interaction between different actors and their overall historical and social context, reflected in and affecting physical surroundings and material culture. Human activity creates and affects (physical and) social structures, which again work back on the actors and their choices. Later generations of inhabitants in medieval Bergen, for instance, had to relate to existing and more or less established (physical and) social structures, whereas their actual choices and degree of adjustment to these overall structures on a more detailed level probably affected the former. As British sociologist Anthony Giddens (2008) argues in favour of in his work on 'the duality of structure', social structures do not only frame and limit human activity, but enable agency as well. Indeed, it is underlined that people are not just subjects to underlying structures or completely restricted by e.g. a more or less rigid gender system. They 'accommodate to and adapt to gender identities to varying degrees, but are not totally bound by them' (Green 2004: 57).

Particularly in relatively dynamic societies like towns and cities may social changes and discontinuity be accounted for. At least, transition phases like the early urban stages and the more or less gradual establishment of an international community of foreign guests and winter-sitters in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and of the establishment of the Hansa Kontor at Bryggen around 1360 (Helle 1982: 472-487, 731-734) allow for discussions on social discontinuity and change here. Giddens, for instance, argues that there is always a potential for social change when the existing prerequisites are changed and/or new actors enter the arena. Discussing the concept of 'time-space edges', he stresses that the

coexistence of societies of different structures - e.g. modern capitalistic societies and tribal societies - can contribute to change (Giddens 2008: 244-256). In the meeting of the rural and the urban society, and not least by the introduction of new ethnic groups with a different household structure at Bryggen from the fourteenth century in particular, an international melting pot such as medieval Bergen may in this respect be understood as a new arena where traditional social limits could be challenged and/or transgressed - concerning gender in general, and female gender roles in particular. Similarly, also single events as discussed by Bourdieu (2009) may directly or indirectly cause social changes. One may perhaps discuss the new buildings and structures raised at Bryggen after the repeated physical destructions caused by the many devastating town fires in the area during the Middle Ages in terms of possible turning points. Despite conserving elements like owner's structure and functional needs, the fires also entailed the opportunity of breaks with a previous physical organization rooted in, based on and reflecting established social norms.

The likelihood of gender systems being changed or preserved at medieval Bryggen, and at what speed and to what degree may nevertheless be discussed. French Annales-historian Fernand Braudel has distinguished three levels of time or time frames (e.g. Braudel 1980). By *l'histoire événementielle* - history of events - he refers to events of a relatively short character, whereas *conjoncture* lasts somewhere between a decade and half a century. Both may bring about change; however, Braudel first and foremost regards history and society as constrained by long lasting structures lasting over centuries or millennia, and stresses slow-changing and structurally stable elements. Following Braudel, history is enclosed by a slow-moving framework, represented by *longue durée* - the most enduring and penetrating of time durations, taking a century or longer as a unit of analysis - which may be considered a long-run underlying movement that resolves and overturns shorter vanishing events. Similarly, Giddens argues that *longue durée* - in his works primarily reflecting the reproduction of social institutions (e.g. judicial, political, economic or symbolic institutions, or rules reproduced over long time) - both pre-exists and outlasts the lives of individuals born into a particular society, and may thus be seen as a constraining element (Giddens 2008: 35-37). Similarly, physical space and structures - like rooms, buildings and streets - may be considered structures framing and conserving human activity, and represent products of human activity over time. These structures do not only reflect social conventions, but actively work back on and affect the activities that are taking place, reproducing social order. Also, human geographer Robert A. Dodgshon finds that 'the more organized a society the more problems it will face over change, having both greater amounts of inertia to sustain and great-

er vested interest in defending the status quo against radical change' (Dodgshon 1998: 184). An established organization and use of physical space may in this way act as counterbalance to changes of gender structures - like the possible gender zones at Bryggen investigated in this study, based on the common idea of a front/wharf area roughly associated with economic activities and a rear area of a more residential character (e.g. Helle 1982; Øye 1988; Herteig 1990, 1991a; Moldung 2000; Olsen 2002; Tengesdal 2010; Vangstad 2003).

Also in a shorter time perspective may durability be stressed, and Bourdieu argues that tradition, continuity and reproduction are more important than renewal, break and mobility. It is stressed that social practice is the result of relations between one actor's habitus and position (or so-called capital) within different social fields (Bourdieu 2009; Wilken 2006: 46; Maton 2008: 51-52). Through the everyday practices that take place within these social fields, the individuals develop a habitus that is typical of his or her position, meaning that people think, act and perceive the world and their social surroundings according to patterns, in a process where also material culture itself may contribute (Maton 2008: 51-52). Individual actions altogether become part of the social practice of our class' social practice, which makes the base of social reproduction (Rosenlund 1991: 28). Similarly, reproductive aspects are prominent in Giddens's theory on the duality of structure, in which it is stressed that human activity takes place within social structures as organized sets of rules and resources (Giddens 2008). According to Giddens, these structures are confirmed, maintained, and strengthened by repeated human activity. But whereas Bourdieu focuses on habitus and fields, Giddens's basic unit of analysis is 'routine' - habitual actions which are repeated in day-to-day social activity - representing a base of the creation, maintenance and influence on social structures (Giddens 2008: xxiii). According to Giddens, people perform activities in like manners day after day, and when acting, it involves routines or social practice. People follow 'rules' or 'procedures' that tell them how to perform in social life (including both laws as well as unspoken social conventions) and which structure the act and contribute to organizing it. As routinized and automatic, actions are most of the time performed at a level of practical consciousness, and 'the day-to-day activity of social actors draws upon and reproduces social structural features of wider societal systems' (Giddens 2008: xxiii, 24).

Thus, both Bourdieu and Giddens focus in particular on a more or less slow, continual form of change through time - either based on habitus/social fields or daily routines and tasks where new solutions that may arise in social practice, gradually change the rules. This ties in with ideas of gender as a social construction reproduced in structuring practice, and may largely speak in favour of relatively stable gender patterns. Although representing a relatively new so-

cial structure - in addition to being quantitatively few and somewhat small - towns were not an unfamiliar phenomenon in Norway by the time of the first medieval fire investigated in this study, i.e. in 1170. Bergen, for instance, should mentally as well as physically probably be characterized as well-established even prior to the High Middle Ages, indicated by the first scattered and vague archaeological traces dated to about 150 years earlier and more distinctly by the twelfth century (Hansen 2005). In other words, there had been more than enough time for ideas of urban women, men and their respective roles to be integrated into this society by the starting point of my study. Framed by presumably conserving social - as well as physical - structures, these must still have entailed restrictions, first and foremost to be transgressed by certain individuals, for instance based on age and status, and within special circumstances.

Interpreted as 'learned behaviour' (Gilchrist 1999: 9), gender and gender identity are often explained by socialization theories as internalized self-fulfilling products of socialization in childhood. In an article analysing the relationship between identity and gender, British sociologist Lorraine Green argues in favour of 'gender identity being both socially constructed and performative' and biological sex and associated culturally gendered characteristics reinforced and encouraged by adults from a very early age. According to Green, differential socialization and different familiar and occupational roles one undertakes in adult life may be considered the most significant differences between men and women (Green 2004: 52, 57). Similar ideas can also be found in the concept of habitus, which is acquired and internalized early on through socialization of the child within family, and modified while growing up, not least by educational experiences (Rosenlund 1991: 28). Thus, gender - and/or what we think of as male/female - may be considered learned and internalized social constructions, reproduced in structuring social practice (Butler 1990:140; Fahlander 2003: 33).

British sociologist Lois McNay also argues that gender identities 'are not free-floating: they involve deep-rooted investments on the part of individuals and historically sedimented practises which severely limit their transferability and transformability. Although subject formations receive their shape from prevailing social conditions, certain predispositions and tendencies may still continue to affect embodied practices long after their original conditions of emergence have been surpassed' (McNay 2000: 18). Swedish ethnologist Ella Johansson's study of masculinity and modernity among loggers in northern Sweden in the period between 1860 and 1940 (Johansson 1994), for instance, indicates that notions of gender roles are not easily transgressed - even when there are no other options available. Living and working in more or less isolated male groups in the forests for parts of the year, these men had to take care of traditional fe-

male work such as cooking and fetching water. However, the fear of appearing as less masculine meant that rather than taking turns, each logger preferred to make their own food and by means of their own equipment. This social arrangement may perhaps be reflected in material culture in medieval Bergen, for instance by the small tripod pipkins, interpreted as individual saucers/cooking pots, as may perhaps also apply to small soapstone vessels (see 3.2). Additionally, the loggers would do without water for as long as possible if running out of it, hoping for someone else to fill the empty buckets (Johansson 1994: 70, 72, 74, 77-79).

In all, then - although the content is not fixed, but varies in time and space - it seems reasonable to interpret social structures like gender and gender systems in general as durable and not easily changed. Not least in light of Braudel's and Giddens' ideas of *longue durée*, gender systems may be interpreted as long-lasting social structures. Gender norms apparently varied according to for instance social status. Yet, at least the first generations of the urban population in Bergen probably moved in from rural areas in particular, bringing with them general notions of female and male roles and appropriate gendered behaviour that must have been deeply rooted in rural social structures. This may speak against any immediate radical gender-related changes. Additionally, the town must also later have experienced a continuous influx of rural people with similar ideas - although not of rural people alone - considering the high degree of mobility characterizing medieval towns, when people frequently moved there long after childhood, and left them before their days came to an end (Øye 2005a: 57). Working women in medieval towns as documented in contemporary written sources may thus not necessarily have represented a major break with traditional gender roles. Also a rural woman of lower social status could at least perform male work if needed. It is perhaps also symptomatic of the durability of gender systems that female urban work could be taken over by men when it became professionalized and thus more comprehensive and defined than earlier.

Thus, exploring women, gender and gender roles in the past based on archaeological artefacts gives rise to many considerations in relation to issues of stability and changes in time and space. Notions of men and women are seemingly embedded in almost every society - the present as well as the medieval. At the same time, gender is socially constructed, meaning that its content varies according to social and economic conditions and different contexts. Although more or less united by biology, men and women do not make up homogenous groups, rather individuals whose social identities and roles also depend on criteria such as age, status and ethnicity. In these relationships, generalizations beyond time and space cannot be made. Thus, methodologically, women and men -

as well as gender-related activities and artefacts - need to be assessed and discussed in terms of their spatial, social as well as temporal contexts. This also applies to the study of medieval Bergen, where social circumstances related to base of existence, the composition of the townspeople at different times and a recurrent destruction and rebuilding of the urban space offer a special situation concerning issues of gender and materiality in a historical context.

Especially seen in relation to medieval towns in general and Bergen in particular, the concept of gender includes aspects of change, possibly representing social arenas where traditional gender roles could be challenged and overridden. Still, concerning both social structures in general as well as gender systems in particular, it is possible that durability and reproduction may be an opportunity in the long run. The failure of the only known attempt at establishing a guild for working women (ON heimakonur) in Bergen in 1293/94 may perhaps reflect the likelihood of more or less radical breaks with traditional gender roles taking place here. In this respect, it does not seem unreasonable to ascribe also women in medieval Bergen traditional rural female activities in general, like cooking and textile production. However, this possible relation neither is nor can be taken for granted, and continuous and thorough discussions and examinations are necessitated.

3.2 Methodical approaches

How and to what degree may material culture be used to illuminate gender composition, families and households at different times at medieval Bryggen? It is stressed that social structures among other things stem from regular interaction between individuals acting intentionally and with a purpose, and that decisions and everyday life are reflected and affected by material culture. In this context, the methodological focus concerns a distributional analysis of traditionally gender-related artefacts, which will be accounted for in the following. A contextual approach is applied, evaluating all artefacts and other archaeological remains such as buildings present in the same chronological and physical contexts. This calls for a thorough examination and identification of temporal/chronological and spatial context, which alongside representativity in general represent challenges where the Bryggen excavations is concerned. The same applies to identification and classification of artefacts, although the analysis also takes advantage of a material that has largely been investigated in terms of primary functional identification and classification, and that conveys relevant aspects in relation to gender and material culture in medieval Bergen and Bryggen. As a whole, important objectives concern the activation and inclusion of as much as possible of material culture in order to explore it to the fullest with regard to the gender-related research questions posed in the introductory chapter.

3.2.1 Distributional analysis - time and space

Based on an actors' perspective, individual actors are thought to perform day-to-day activities in relation to and in interaction with other people and overall physical, social and historical contexts and structures. Their decisions and actions are physically reflected by deposited artefacts, cultural layers, spaces and physical structures, which thus illuminate everyday life. In this respect, a distributional analysis, mapping and discussing the distribution of presumed gender-related artefacts and activities as far as possible in time and space is considered the most important methodological approach concerning questions on the presence and activities of women and men at Bryggen in the Middle Ages.

The contextual aspect is of primary importance in order to interpret and discuss the artefacts holistically in terms of gender. Presumed gender-related artefacts in a changing society throughout a period of several centuries cannot be understood and discussed 'out of context' - separated from the social and physical environment of which they were a part - as Ian Hodder has argued concerning material culture in general (Hodder 1997). In this respect, and defined as 'the totality of the relevant environment' (Hodder 1991: 143), context includes all factors that contribute to an understanding of these artefacts and the activities they represent. On a micro-level, this first and foremost covers all archaeological artefacts and physical structures that are present in the immediate temporal and physical environment. Previous studies and their interpretations and discussions of the material remains are considered in this evaluation. These are, however, first and foremost included in the interpretation of the archaeological record in a wider artefactual and sociocultural frame, as the material in many cases have not been investigated at a tenement level. Similarly, labels and business letters with runic inscriptions investigated by Ingrid Sannes Johnsen (1990) are considered in terms of tenements primarily in relation to the southern part of the Bryggen site, as these in the northern part have been related to the so-called Gullskoen area in general (i.e. rows 1-8). Reservations also need to be made concerning the dating of these finds. Historical sources are also considered, but it has generally not been possible to investigate the latter first-hand within the time frame of this project. In particular, it is therefore leaned on Knut Helle's extensive study on medieval Bergen from 1982.

As a whole, the material is presented and discussed chronologically, focusing on the development at Bryggen, characterized by a built-up expansion throughout the High and Late Middle Ages, as well as by an increasing commercialization and internationalization, followed by significant social changes. Hopefully, this provides an overall contextual frame in terms of society, activities and functions, in which possible gender-related artefacts may be evaluated

further concerning the composition of gender at different times and the presence and activities of women in particular.

LEVELS OF INVESTIGATION AND INTERPRETARY FRAMEWORK

To locate finds with the degree of certainty needed for an overall evaluation concerning activities connected to gender - women, men, children, and different social and ethnic groups - the basic contextual unit within the distributional analysis is as far as possible building remains. An in-depth functional analysis of the buildings themselves, taking e.g. field notes and field drawings into consideration, is beyond the scope of this project, though. Thus, where the definitions of such structures are concerned, I generally draw on Herteig's analysis of the topographical and chronological development of the buildings at the Bryggen site (Herteig 1990, 1991a). The same applies to Hanne Merete Rosseid Moldung's study of buildings and activities in parts of the Gullskoen area (primarily rows 2-4) (Moldung 2000), in addition to John Olsen's work on log-built buildings from Bryggen (Olsen 2002) and Gitte Vik's master thesis on the building structure in Bugard (Vik 2013). Hege Johansen's study of wells from the Bryggen site has also proved valuable (Johansen 2013).

Where possible, the distributional analysis of artefacts aims at establishing the nature of activities indicated by the artefacts in different physical and temporal contexts, especially in terms of residential environments. In this respect, the more artefact categories (and to some degree also finds in general, as will be discussed below) there are within a given context (preferably a building) of domestic artefacts - particularly associated with the meeting of primary physiological needs such as food, clothing and sleeping, but also covering personal belongings - the more likely such activities are thought to have taken place here. Also the building structure itself will be considered, as well as its size and number of rooms. The presence of a fireplace and wall benches and/or upper storeys - which have often been associated with the ON *stofa* (a common room) and loft (an attic) known from written sources (Helle 1982: 218-220, 2006: 97-98) - may indicate residential activities. Long buildings near the waterfront are commonly associated with storage and economic activities related to regional and international trade (although probably not such activities alone) - predominantly male. The presence of multiple rooms and several storeys may possibly signify functional divisions within the building. Disproportionately few fireplaces are recorded in the Bryggen site in general - counting altogether 23 at the most by the time of the six fires investigated, of which the oldest recorded are dated to 1198. This indicates that lack of a hearth does not necessarily mean that the building did not have one. It may very well have been removed after a town fire, or more uncertainly have been located in an upper storey. Still,

e.g. cooking may also have taken place elsewhere in the tenement, outside the excavation area.

It cannot be taken for granted that a presumed residential setting represents a family-based unit or a family group, including servants and tenants, as seems to have been the norm both in rural and urban households in Middle Ages in Norway. An urban household may just as well denote a person or a group of (unrelated) people occupying a single residential dwelling/unit. This is expressed, for instance, in the Urban Code of 1276, which limited the number of lodging servants per ON *húsbondi* (i.e. a man who opposed to ON *húsfastir menn* in general - both representing an upper social segment in the medieval town - not just rented, but owned at least a quarter of a tenement, as well as the ground) to two men and three women (Bl VI, 7; Helle 1982: 274, 449-454, 459, with references). This means that a tenement in principle could house eight male and twelve female servants according to the norms of the late thirteenth century, and also people of different social strata. The presence of artefacts associated with very young children - under able-bodied age - in such contexts is considered the only more or less reliable indicators of possible family-based constellations. Older children are less unambiguous in terms of representing family units, as they may have been a part of the workforce at Bryggen. Not least, this concerns the periods after the introduction of the male-dominated Hanseatic winter-sitters, which are known to have brought with them young male servants to take care of household duties, but first documented in sources from early sixteenth century (Helle 1982: 741-742). Yet - naturally - it cannot be ruled out that also older children may be indicative of the presence of such constellations. It cannot be decided with certainty on the relation between household and tenements, buildings and rooms, but it seems reasonable to assume that at least a tenement included more than one household, as indicated by the definition of a *húsbondi*. Also, day workers commonly rented rooms in the different tenements, which could contain separate quarters for servants, such as the loft for female servants known from a description of the rooms in Bredsgard in 1337 (Helle 1982: 217-18; DN II no. 223). The same applies to winter-sitters and guests during the summer season from May to September. The presence of common, social rooms to be used by inhabitants of the tenements (but with servants in their working roles) - such as *stofas* and *eldhus* with a fireplace (some kind of kitchen) (Bl VI, 9, 12; Helle 1982: 220) - also points to the presence of multiple households in the tenements.

Not all artefacts can be related to buildings or other structures. Concerning the Bryggen excavations, contextual information is more or less standardized concerning physical/spatial location; however, the accuracy varies greatly between general descriptions, descriptions on grid level (8x8 m or 4x4 m) and/or descriptions related to buildings or other

physical structures as well as cultural layers (Herteig 1985, 1990; 1991a). Also, many of these are more or less crude, regularly proving to be rather ambiguous and/or vaguely described; thus, it is generally difficult to establish quantitative comparisons between them (Hansen 2005: 58). Other find contexts than buildings, such as passages and eaves-drop gaps, and locations without any structural relation are thus considered secondary. The artefacts are in this connection tentatively discussed based on tenements and tenement rows, the latter more or less corresponding to assumed plots. These boundaries are not investigated and identified in any detail - based on traces such as palisade fences, differences between culture layers, orientation of structures, wall alignments, churchyards (Hansen 2005: 131, with references). Instead, the point of departure is the presence of a general layout of the plot system of the Bryggen excavations as referred to in Chapter 1, based on shorelines, eaves-drops and/or so-called diagnostic structures such as a double tenement building pattern. This is not static; yet, it was generally based on approximately 11.5 m wide plots throughout the entire period of investigation, and at least from the beginning of the twelfth century characterized by two rows of buildings, a common passage, and surrounding eaves-drops (Herteig 1990; 1991a; Hansen 2005: 131-140). If possible, artefacts found in other contexts than buildings will tentatively be related to the closest tenement(s). However, these will to a lesser degree than the artefacts found inside a building serve as indications of the function of the buildings or possible gendered activities taking place where they were found.

Locating the spatial distribution of artefacts both on the level of buildings and tenements may illuminate possible gender spheres at different time levels. In addition, more or less gender-specific spaces may be indicated on a more overall level, not least considering a presumed, rough functional division of the site into a rear zone furthest away from the waterfront seemingly dominated by household activities and a front zone by the waterfront characterized by more commercial ones, as has previously been indicated (e.g. Helle 1982; Øye 1988; Herteig 1990; 1991a; Moldung 2000; Olsen 2004; Tengesdal 2010; Vangstad 2003). Also in the present analysis, the Bryggen site is generally divided in a rear and a front zone. Yet, these zones are not absolute, and also assessed in terms of possible vertical levels, considering the increasing element of multiple-storey buildings throughout the Middle Ages as indicated by written sources (Helle 1982: 217-218, with references). Due to the continuous expansion of the settlement, gradually pushing the borders of the waterfront forward, the zones are not fixed, but change throughout the period of investigation. Likewise, both zones are not equally represented in the entire examination period. In the latest periods, where the wharf area lies outside the site boundaries, primarily the rear zone is represented in the southern part of the site. Due to

excavation borders and methods - such as digging by machines in parts of the site - not all tenements are represented by both their rear and front zones, or by both rows of buildings throughout the entire period of examination.

DATING AND THE CONCEPT OF 'IN SITU'

The artefacts from the Bryggen excavations are as mentioned generally documented in relation to different fire layers - primarily in terms of 'in', 'over' or 'under' a fire (i.e. a layer dated by year, supposedly representing remains of a historically known city fire) - and dated to periods (cf. Chapter 1, Figure 4). Also, as the time spans of the different periods which make up the fire layer chronology vary, all the artefacts dated to a certain period are not necessarily contemporary. In order to examine gender and gender-related activities in Bergen at specific times, the study is thus based on all artefacts from Bryggen that are described as being found 'in' a fire. These layers also represent the closure of a period; thus, the artefacts presumably reflect activities which have taken place by the end of this period in general. This selection of artefacts is also for practical reasons, limiting a material that otherwise would be quantitatively too extensive to investigate properly within the time frame of this study. Consequently, artefacts vertically registered as being found 'about' or 'at level with' a fire are not registered in the analysed material, although they too may very well date to the time of the deposited fire layer in question. Due to the large number of artefacts, the assemblage has been further restricted to layers representing medieval fires, i.e. fires up to and including 1476, the last one related to the period. There are no artefacts dated to the earliest fire in the 1120s, thus, the material originates from the fire layers of 1170/71, 1198, 1248, 1332, 1413 and 1476, respectively.

The artefacts that according to find lists have been found 'in' a fire are traditionally termed *in situ* where the Bryggen excavations is concerned, commonly regarded as fire remains presumably deposited at the time of the fire. Thus, *in situ* artefacts cover all items that in find lists and in the find database are being described as found e.g. 'in 1170' or 'in 1332'. Still, this does not necessarily mean that the artefacts were found in an actual fire layer and that they represent fire remains. Only in case of additional information on layer characteristics may a fire layer be confirmed; the layer being explicitly denoted as a fire layer or described as containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. In most cases, no information on layer characteristics is given, and the relation to a fire is more uncertain. About a quarter of the present investigated artefacts originate in layers specifically characterized as fire layers, in addition to about a tenth in layers containing an unknown amount of coal and/or ash. These are regarded as the chronologically most reliable, and the artefacts that with the most certainty originate in temporally specific

contexts dated by year. The remaining artefacts, registered as 'in' fires only, are thus more uncertain in terms of confirmed fire layers. The layers in which they originate are nevertheless considered temporally more or less corresponding to the fire layers - among other things due to being located on the same horizontal level - and a possible time gap between these layers and the layer being denoted as a fire layer or described as containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material is presumably not of greater significance. In any case, this is the closest dating one gets based on the more than 60 years old registrations and documentation, and it would hardly be possible to investigate gender to any degree based on confirmed fire remains only.

Approximately half of the chronological find contexts as presented in the original find lists and find database for the Bryggen excavations was at the time of this investigation awaiting correlation in accordance with Herteig's conclusions regarding the general site chronology (Herteig 1990, 1991a). Artefacts found in the un-correlated parts of the site may in other words originally have been inaccurately dated - most often related to an earlier (or later) fire. In this respect, correlation of fires was based on the guidelines mentioned in Chapter 1. However, these are not absolute, and leave the temporal context of the artefacts from the Bryggen excavations in general, and artefacts from grid squares with uncorrelated datings in particular, open to discussion. The dating both of these and the remainder of artefacts has thus been evaluated more closely, based on field notes, diaries and drawings. In addition, the datings worked out in relation to previous studies of the Bryggen material are considered. Still, the temporal uncertainty and the possibility of a certain disproportion within a given context in terms of present artefacts prior to and after a fire means that thorough considerations must continually be made in terms of representativity.

CONTEXTUAL CONSIDERATIONS AND REPRESENTATIVITY

A contextual approach implies an investigation and interpretation framed by and/or depending on the immediate as well as the more overall temporal, physical and social context of the artefacts. As mentioned, discussions made in relation to previous artefact studies are included in the present analysis, both on a micro- and a macro-level. However, these studies are based on methodological assessments that may deviate somewhat from my own, particularly in terms of interpretations of spatial and temporal distribution. Their results may thus not necessarily be compatible without further discussion, and particularly on a lower level, the outcome may vary. For instance, the function of a building - which affects the interpretation of possible gendered artefacts and activities - is not established based on its physical structure alone, but also on the artefacts associated with it. In this respect, the dating of the artefacts plays an important

role, as well as which artefacts have been included. Some researchers (e.g. Moldung 2000) restrict their artefact material to objects found in layers denoted as fire layers only, whereas most other researchers working with the Bryggen material include all artefacts traditionally interpreted as *in situ*, as well as artefacts found over or under a fire layer, i.e. dated to periods. In addition, artefacts dated to a period in general are sometimes used to argue in favour of specific activities taking place in a building. Similarly, due to degree of documentation, the spatial relation between many of the artefacts and buildings may be discussed, and also artefacts found close to or in the proximity of buildings have to a varying degree been used as indicative of activities taking place here. Thus, basing a contextual argumentation on and including results from previous investigations without methodological considerations entails the danger of jumping to conclusions that may not be all valid.

This uncertainty will continually be allowed for in the distributional analysis, discussing and problematizing artefacts, activities and buildings in relation to previous interpretations and examinations. Also, it seems unlikely that the methodological evaluations are of such a character and extent that they represent a considerable problem in a study focusing on more general trends in particular. Thus, possible deviations - chronological or physical - are as a whole considered manageable in relation to the gender-related research questions. By far, previous investigations first and foremost represent valuable contextual sources, which provide a wider frame and base of interpretation. These in-depth artefact studies supplement the otherwise somewhat quantitatively limited artefact material restricted to items dated by year discussed in the present study, and may reveal trends and aspects that would otherwise be lost.

There are both quantitative and qualitative considerations associated with the archaeological material used in this study. Restricting the material to artefacts that with more or less certainty are dated by year, for instance, means that the corpus itself may not be considered representative, as one would generally not expect the survival rate of especially organic archaeological artefacts to be very high in the case of fire. As discussed, though, only a small share of the artefacts should probably be assigned layers actually denoted as fire layers. Additionally, although the medieval fires of Bergen must have affected the opportunities of complete contextual evaluations in terms of material culture negatively, it seems likely that at least parts of the material must have survived. A large number of medieval finds in general and presumed female artefacts in particular are made of a material which is not so easily destroyed by fire (e.g. pottery and soapstone), and also artefacts of a more flammable nature may accidentally more or less have avoided great damage, depending on the intensity of the fire. Also, there are numerous surviving building remains from burnt houses at Bryggen. Unburnt artefacts

may also have originated in layers below the fire layer, or represent waste thrown in when cleaning up (Molaug 1999: 49).

All artefacts represent fragments of distant, past societies, deposited in layers in the underground, and later in museums as a result of several factors - like the somewhat crude excavation methods applied in the Bryggen excavations. The different types of artefacts are not comparable without further discussion concerning find frequency, consequently affecting the possibility of accurate contextual analyses. In particular, this applies to the conditions of preservation in different kinds of cultural layers. Stone and pottery are generally durable materials - although not completely unaffected by deterioration processes - whereas the survival rate for artefacts made of wood, leather and other easily decomposed organic substances is best in anaerobic, moist conditions (Askvik 1988: 148-149; Augustsson 1995: 35; Schiffer 1996: 151-158; Molaug 1999: 44-45). Concerning the Bryggen site, the conditions for preservation of organic material were good in the filled-up wharf areas at the waterfront and in other areas representing man-made fills, and also better the further down in the cultural layers one comes, being wetter and more compressed (Øye 1988: 19). At the inland side of Bryggen, the preservation conditions are better for metal artefacts than for artefacts made of wood and leather, as they are vulnerable to oxidization in moist and acid and/or salt surroundings (Olsen 2004: 20). As mentioned, at least many presumed female indicators (particularly associated with textile production and food-processing) are often made of stone and fired clay, and regarded as more or less reliable indicators of such activities. However, possible under- and overrepresentation of the different artefact types need to be continuously considered when evaluating the material in terms of context.

Different types of re-use, as well as life span also affect the composition of artefacts within a site, and needs continuous evaluations. It is reasonable to assume that surviving and functional artefacts were removed after a fire, especially valuable ones (Molaug 1999: 40; Hansen 2015c). Secondary use of artefacts in general is also common (cf. Schiffer 1996: 30-32). Worn-out clothes, for instance, were probably mended until only rags and fragments were left and often used as sanitary towels (Molaug 1999: 45). Such re-use may partly explain the relative lack of complete clothing in the archaeological record at Bryggen. Also, parts of soapstone vessels with holes have been found here. The holes may stem from repairment of the vessel, but may also have been used for suspension or indicate a re-use as net weights and/or loom weights (Vangstad 2003: 75, 88). Likewise, shards from soapstone vessels may have been re-used as spindle whorls; yet, this does not seem to be the case at Bryggen (Øye 1988; Molaug 1999: 45, with references). Additionally, artefacts made of metal were valuable in the Middle Ages, and probably re-melted when

they were no longer possible to mend - representing recycling (Schiffer 1996: 29-30; Molaug 1999: 45). Where life-span is concerned, this depends on the solidity of the artefact, its value, how often it was used and whether it represented a typical fashion object. In these respects, both soapstone vessels and metal vessels - which could be mended - had a longer life span than e.g. ceramic cooking pots, and are to lesser degree than the latter registered in the archaeological record (Molaug 1999: 45). Presumed re-melting of metal may also explain an underrepresentation of metal artefacts in particular, not least in Bergen and at Bryggen, as argued by Hansen (2015c: 166-169).

Another methodological and representative challenge concerns the fact that even if the more or less exact find-spot of an artefact may be documented, this does not necessarily mean that it was used here or close to where it was found, or that it originated in the area in which it was found. This may just as well represent place of production or - as is most commonly the case at Bryggen - be a result of cultural deposition (Schiffer 1996: 17). Also, artefacts from a collapsed upper storey may have spread over large areas, and the material from Bryggen must certainly include trade goods lost during loading or unloading, or artefacts lost by people who did not live there (Øye 1988: 117). In addition, both fire layers and other cultural layers may have been redeposited in the medieval towns, not least in Bergen and at Bryggen (Herteig 1990, 1991a; Molaug 1999: 40-41). Here, the expansion of the wharf into the bay Vågen throughout the Middle Ages means that artefacts from the front zone to a large degree probably represent waste from fillings rather than objects used here, and consequently also leads to a disproportionately high number of artefacts compared to further back. This material should nevertheless be associated with the tenement in general. Organized disposal of waste did probably not take place at Bryggen until the fifteenth century (Økland 1998: 123-124). Prior to this, waste was probably not moved far away. An examination of find spots of joining artefacts by Gitte Hansen, as well as her analysis of find conditions for the remains of the so-called 'Big ship' at Bryggen, dendrochronologically dated to 1187/88, also indicates that artefacts found on a given plot most likely were used there as well (Englert 2001: 44; Hansen 2001, 2005: 48). This view is supported by Hanne Merete Rosseid Moldung, who considers it likely that the finds from the eaves-drop gaps between the tenements in the Gullskoen area stem from the closest building, within the borders of the plot (Moldung 2000: 92-93). In other words, although other areas of use cannot be ruled out, it seems reasonable to relate artefacts found in passages, eavesdrop gaps and the like to activities taking place nearby, in one of the surrounding buildings or tenements. Also, there are generally good chances that artefacts found in fire layers related to buildings should be associated with these structures (Molaug 1999: 40). Similarly, it

does not seem unreasonable to assume that artefacts found in fill masses in the front zone at least may be assigned the tenement to the rear in general.

Additionally, the material in this analysis is by far dominated by fragments rather than complete and/or compound artefacts (like a complete upright loom), which more or less excludes the possibilities of quantitative comparisons. This applies especially to pottery, which in almost all cases is represented by a varying number of shards, thus making up an unproportionately high share of the material. Methods of estimating the number of complete objects within a given temporal context have been suggested (e.g. Molaug 1999: 45); however, it has not been possible to investigate the pottery at this level within the time frame of the project. The above considerations and discussions of the representativity of the archaeological material generally do not favour a quantitative approach in relation to the gender-related research questions presented in Chapter 1 - although some quantitative evaluations are tentatively made. Basically, at least, the more artefacts presumably related to a certain artefact category and/or activity there are within a given context in general, the more likely the objects are considered to actually represent this activity. Likewise, a single find is generally regarded as an (uncertain) indication rather than reliable evidence of a specific activity, and evaluated contextually.

It is also necessary to take into consideration the different degree of excavation activities in the large area of the Bryggen site, as well as the presence of fire layers. Concerning the latter, these are missing in some areas, affecting the possibilities of comparing the artefact corpora in the different tenements. However, as relatively few artefacts in general are found in layers denoted as fire layers, this is not considered a major obstacle. Further, all tenements are not archaeologically investigated to the same extent, and a larger part of the tenements in the northern (Sveinsgard, Miklagard and Atlegard) than in the southern part (Søstergard, Engelgard and Bugard) of the site is generally unearthed, meaning that one must expect a disproportionately high share of artefacts here. The northern part of the site is also more often than the southern represented by both the rear and front zones, whereas the southern tenements to a higher degree are represented by their front parts, making it difficult to discuss possible gendered zones here. Additionally, the entire site was not dug and recorded in the same way during the many years the Bryggen excavations lasted. The periods following fire V (1248), for instance, are not archaeologically investigated all over the site, as large parts were removed by machine down to this level. As shown in Figure 10, this particularly affects the southern part of the site, where it in some cases was also dug too deep, unintentionally removing the remains from fire V as well (Herteig 1990). This may, however, not necessarily affect the representativity considerably, as the settlement area

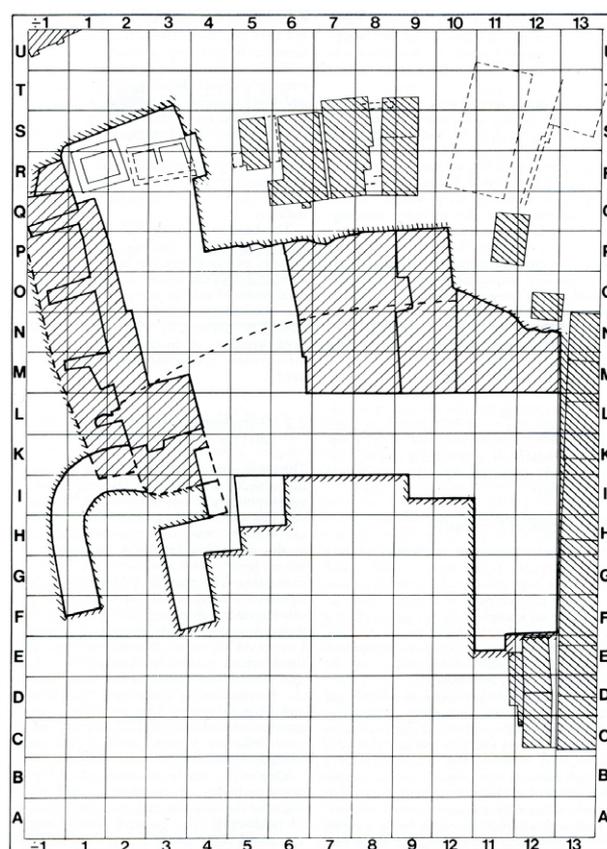


Figure 10. The Bryggen site. Hatched areas were dug by machine down to fire layer V (1248), whereas the dotted line indicates original shoreline and the limit of the earliest settlement. Source: Øye 1988: 18, Fig. 0.5.

did not reach beyond the borders of the site in its early stages.

Examining archaeological artefacts from the Bryggen site in terms of time and space, then, it is aimed at localizing them and the activity they represent at the lowest level possible, preferably within buildings. This may prove somewhat challenging, considering e.g. the level of documentation, survival rate and redeposition of masses particularly in the front zone of Bryggen. Still, at least prior to the fifteenth century, there are reasons to assume that the artefacts were generally used close to where they were found, and also more overall find contexts like tenements and zones are valuable in terms of discussing different aspects of gender at Bryggen in the Middle Ages. Indeed, the evidence is considered more than sufficient, and a contextual analysis is despite some difficulties regarded a favourable and fruitful method of analysis.

ASPECTS OF IDENTIFICATION

Most of the about 11,100 artefacts - or rather remains of such - included in this study have been identified, and in many cases by researchers in relation to different artefact studies. However, before the revision of the find documentation (Hansen et al. 2017), it was not uncommon to come across purely descrip-

tive identifications in the find database, or ambiguous definitions like 'Artefact', or even 'Artefact?'. At the time of the Bryggen excavations, knowledge of medieval material culture was limited, and many objects are also so fragmented and/or poorly preserved that they were difficult to identify. In these cases, I have physically examined the artefacts myself, and as far as possible identified them in accordance with identifications made by researchers who have studied similar artefacts, and based on comparison to archaeological and ethnological material whose identity has already been established, i.e. analogy (Øye 1988: 21). In addition, iconographic sources - contemporary paintings - as well as written sources have illuminated different categories of artefacts. This especially concerns leather artefacts and textiles, which represent the only artefact categories that I have had the opportunity of examining myself, although somewhat cursory. Find context may in some cases also contribute concerning identification; however, this first and foremost applies to evaluations in terms of gender.

As a whole, though, the study leans on the original identifications as presented in the find database, as well as on later identifications where available. Concerning criteria of identification of the latter, it is referred to the works of different researchers - e.g. Grandell 1988 (tally sticks, rune-sticks and shop mascots), Øye 1988 (textile-production equipment), Lüdtke 1989, Blackmore and Vince 1994, Deroeux et al. 1994 and Demuth 1997 (pottery), Larsen 1992 (shoes), Ågotnes 1994 (kitchen utensils), Molaug 1998 and Busengdal 2012 (jewellery and dress accessories), Nøttveit 2000 (weapons), Vangstad 2003 and 2017 (soapstone vessels), Olsen 2004 (fishing tackle), Hansen 2005 (artefacts from early Bergen up to c. 1170), Øye 2005b (combs), Høie 2006 (drinking glasses), Myglund 2007 (toys and children's shoes), Nøttveit 2010 (sheaths and scabbards), Tengesdal 2010 (baking slabs), Husvegg 2011 (wood-working tools), Nilsen 2011 (decorated wooden household objects), Lund 2013 (board games and gaming pieces), and Reinsnos 2013 (keys and locks). In many cases, the available identifications are somewhat rough, displaying an inadequate level of accuracy. Neither do they always allow for other aspects that may be of interest in an overall contextual analysis of gender. These are discussed in the following.

POTTERY

Pottery - illuminating cultural contacts, ethnicity and social status in addition to gender - represents a particular challenge. As ceramics are fragile and complete items rarely found, it may be difficult to decide whether the shard in question represents coarseware/kitchenware (used in relation to transportation, storage and food preparation) or tableware (used for setting a table, serving food, and eating/drinking). This is especially important when discussing which gender took care of food processing at medieval Bryggen. A

rough distinction is drawn, however, based on physical characteristics like (assumed) shape, size and capacity, thermal properties, sooting marks and/or wear marks (including organic residues) (Øye 2011: 226, with references). A globular shape, soot marks around the lower body rather than directly on the base, colour changes and cracks on the outer sides and /or a porous material are considered indicative of cooking pots (Bueklev 2006: 11-12; Øye 2011: 226). Also, kitchenware often seems to be of a coarse and/or plain character, commonly without glaze and/or decorations, whereas tableware tends to be more decorative, glazed and/or decorated in other ways (e.g. Hayfield 1992: 41; Molaug 198: 27). Vessels with e.g. a flat base and small mouth, and remains of spouts and handles also indicate tableware (Bueklev 2006: 12), whereas tripod pipkins are generally considered individual saucers, functioning both as plates and pots for reheating of small amounts of food (Øye 2011: 226, 230). Middle- or high-fired pottery is also associated with tableware - stone ware and proto-stone ware are generally categorized as such (Bueklev 2006: 12).

The most important clue concerning identification of the fragmented Bryggen pottery in terms of coarseware/kitchenware versus tableware in this study is, the type of pottery itself. Parts of this material have previously been examined and classified (e.g. Lüdtke 1989; Vince and Blackmore 1994; Deroeux et al. 1994; Demuth 1997). Lynn Blackmore and Alan Vince have examined pottery originating in the London area, and generally related pottery of e.g. Shelley-Sandy ware to food preparation (cooking pots), as do Hartwig Lüdtke with pottery of Paffrath type as well (Lüdtke 1989: 56; Øye 2011: 227-228). The Pingsdorf vessels, on the other hand, Lüdtke rather relates to tableware - drinking in particular - and also London Brown vessels have largely been interpreted this way (Lüdtke 1989: 56; Blackmore and Vince 1994: 14). The medieval ceramics of French origin from the Bryggen excavation have been interpreted as high quality vessels for holding or drinking of wine (Deroeux et al. 1994: 175-181). Other pottery types found in Bergen associated with tableware are Grimston, Siegburg and Weser and Werra ware, the latter being dominated by plates (Reed 1990: 31, 35; Deroeux et al. 1994: 59; Demuth 1997: 66-67). Find context also needs to be taken into consideration. Thus, concerning identification of pottery in terms of kitchenware versus tableware, my starting point is primarily earlier examinations and classifications, as well as on characteristics of different pottery types in general, based on descriptions in find lists where available.

SOAPSTONE VESSELS

Cooking and consumption are, as noted, commonly considered cultural expressions, and bear ethnic connotations. In the case of Bryggen, what kind of food e.g. cooking pots contained as well as for how many

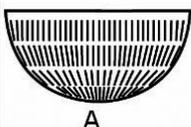
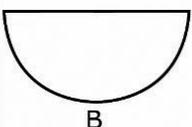
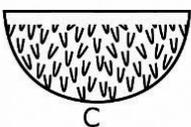
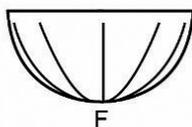
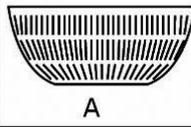
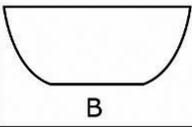
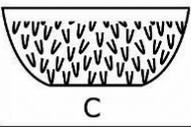
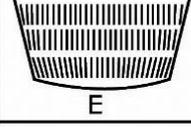
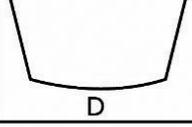
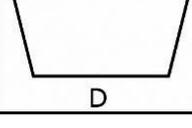
SHAPE		SURFACE			
Shape	Base shape	Faceted striped	Smooth	Rough	Smooth vertical facets
Rounded shape	Rounded base	 A	 B	 C	 F
	Rounded flat base	 A	 B	 C	F?
Straight sides	Slightly rounded base	 E	 D		
	Flat base	 E	 D		

Figure 11. Examples of soapstone vessels from the Bryggen site. Source: Vangstad 2017, Fig. 4.

people the food was intended may also be suggested - possibly indicating and contributing to an overall evaluation of the size, character and ethnicity of the household in question. Studies of so-called 'crognans' - simple, globular low-fired pottery vessels from the Hebrides - indicate that cooking pots suited the number of people to be fed, and their capacity thus indicate how many were being cooked for (Øye 2011: 226, with references). Similarly, small soapstone vessels (less than 20 cm in diameter) at Bryggen possibly contained enough porridge for one or two persons, whereas middle-sized vessels (20-30 cm) fed six or seven persons, large vessels (30-40 cm) more than seven, and the biggest even more. A household of six people would thus need a middle or large-sized vessel to make enough porridge for all. Cooking of meat to the same amount of people, on the other hand, required a large vessel. The commonest type of soapstone vessels - the relatively large and thick type A-vessels - and also vessels of type C were in many cases presumably used for cooking with liquids like water, and for beer, whereas type B- and E-vessels often have traces of food on the inside, indicating cooking of e.g. porridge (Figure 11). Furthermore, the weight of the heaviest vessels (often of type A), meant that they were probably not moved from the 'eldhus' to the place of consumption; instead, the content was poured into vessels of wood or pottery before serving (Vangstad 2003: 66, 70-71, 78, 121, 124-125). In all, these results may generally be of interest concerning an overall, contextual evaluation of

the artefacts from medieval Bryggen in relation to gender and social and ethnic constellations.

SAUSAGE PINS

The function - and thus the identification and possible gender-relations - of so-called sausage pins may be questioned. As presented in Figure 12, these are about 6-27 cm long rounded pins of wood, with a cross section of about 0.5-0.7 cm and a pointed and an uneven or straight-cut end, respectively (Weber 1981b: 91). Such pins are common finds in Norwegian urban contexts, and similar artefacts are also found in Sweden and Denmark (Weber 1981: 94; Ågotnes 1994: 30-31, with references). Based in particular on analogies from Viksdalen, Sunnfjord in western Norway - where such artefacts have been used until recently when making sausages - Birthe Weber argues in favour of these artefacts being associated with sausage making, and also relates them to a food-culture where grain-cultivation played a smaller part (Weber 1981b). Ågotnes as well considers sausage pins as typical of western areas of Scandinavia, from the middle of the twelfth century; however, being generally reluctant to interpret them in terms of sausage making only (Ågotnes 1994: 31-32). True, the shape of these artefacts is generally well suited for closing the ends of sausages, but other functions cannot be ruled out. It has, for instance, been suggested that such pins from Ribe in Denmark just as well could have been used as some kind skewers for leather (Weber 1981b: 94), and Ågotnes stresses that some

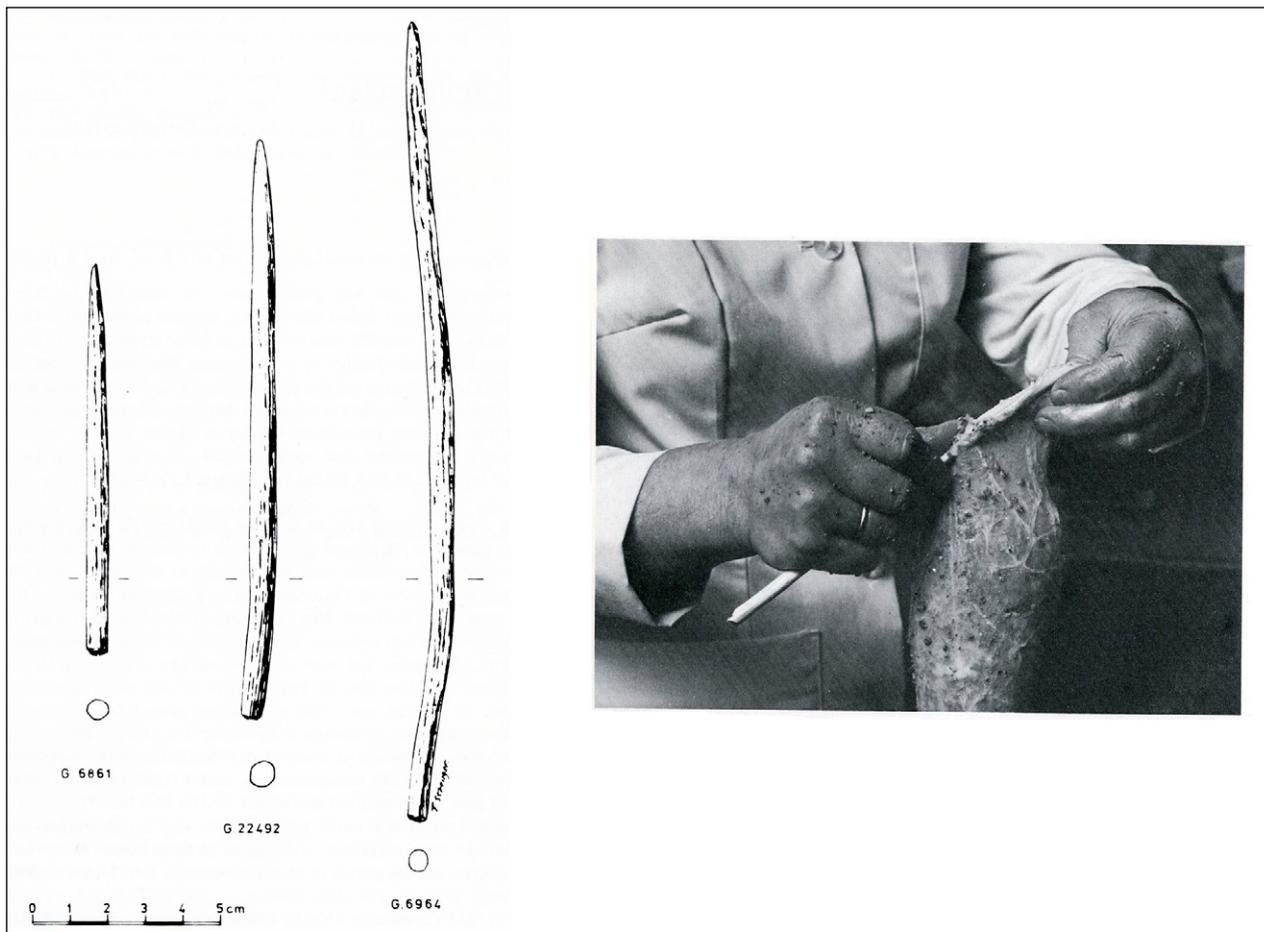


Figure 12. Right: Sausage pins from Gamlebyen, Oslo (drawing: Tone Strenger). Left: closure of sausages, Viksdalen, Norway (photo: Jan Haug, Hedmarksmuseet). Source: Weber 1981: 92, 99, Figs. 1 and 5.

of the pins from Bryggen could have been used as needles for e.g. netting (Ågotnes 1994: 31-32). Also, this kind of pins may generally have been used for magic purposes, for lighting fires, and/or as hairpins, toys or fish skewers (Ågotnes 1994: 31-32, with references). Thus, in addition to their relation to gender being uncertain, so-called sausage pins cannot be related to sausage making without further discussion, and their function is first and foremost sought in light of context. In this respect, a find spot in buildings which structurally may be associated with cooking and/or consumption or alongside other kitchen utensils are considered indicating a tool used in sausage production. For the sake of simplicity as well as for practical reasons, the term 'sausage pin' will nevertheless be used when discussing these artefacts in the following.

TEXTILE-PRODUCTION EQUIPMENT

Some other artefact types may also have served multiple functions and/or be difficult to identify unambiguously. Especially loom weights prove difficult to separate from net weights, and it has been indicated that these artefacts at Bryggen may have been used for both purposes - at least prior to the mid-thirteenth century. About 100-500 grams represent a suitable weight for net weights (Olsen 2004: 67-68);

yet, also loom weights come in light weight classes, e.g. depending on the textile quality intended. Lighter weights are suited to weaving fabrics with a thin warp and vice versa, and two light weights could be used instead of a single heavy one (Øye 1988: 64; 2011: 342). Neither do weights found within presumed residential buildings necessarily represent remains of an upright loom, as they may be associated with nets brought home for mending and in that case a male activity (Olsen 2004: 67-68). Additionally, the presence of multiple-storey buildings at least from the thirteenth century onwards complicates the distinction between a functional division between a rear and a front zone. Still, weights will in the following above all be evaluated contextually, where building type (e.g. long buildings in the wharf area versus buildings with fireplaces and/or wall benches) and the location of the finds within the tenement is taken into consideration - as well as the presence of other textile-production equipment or fishing tackle. Also, weights of type A-D (see Figure 13) - are considered indicative of the upright loom, representing common loom weights from medieval Bryggen.

Needles - primarily made of bone, antler and wood - represent another possible type of textile-production equipment which cannot be defined as such without further consideration, consequently making

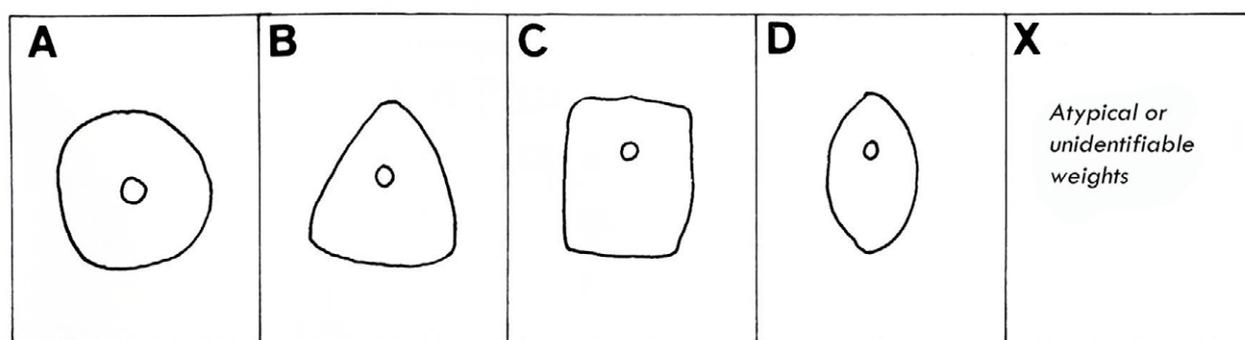


Figure 13. Types of loom weights from Bryggen. Modified from Øye 1988: 59, Fig. III.3.

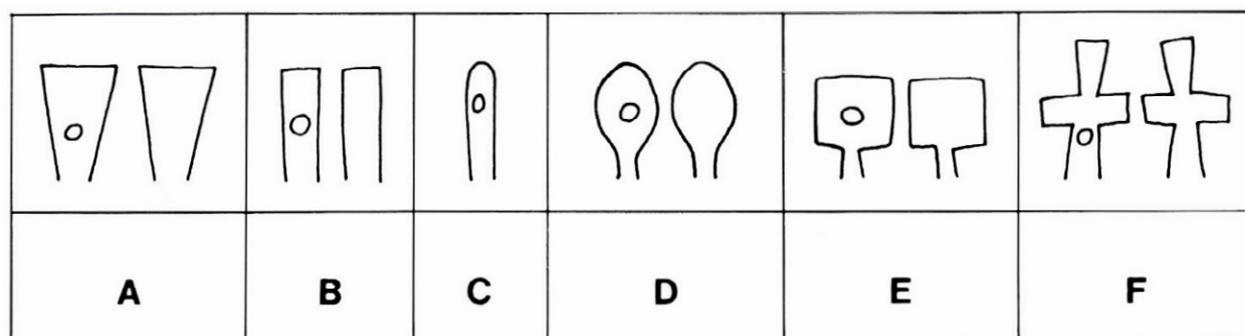


Figure 14. Typology of needles from the Bryggen site, based on the form and the size of the head. Source: Øye 1988: 86, Fig. IV.2.

it somewhat difficult to interpret them in terms of gender. In addition to being associated with sewing, single-needle knitting, netting, weaving and spinning, these artefacts may also represent bodkins/awls - or fastening pins, used with garments or head-cloths. Øye has tried to figure out possible connections between different areas of use and certain types of needles, concluding that there is no one-in-one relationship, as one type of needle may have several uses, and that many types of needles may have been used for the same task. However, it is also suggested that some decorated needles of types A and A2 - needles with a spatulate, triangular head with the greatest width at the top - may have been used as fastening pins. In fact, it may be that all needles with wide heads could have been used that way (Figure 14) (Øye 1988: 85-103). Finally, thin metal pins may also have been used in relation to head-cloths, primarily linen headdresses or transparent veils (Egan and Pritchard 2002: 297). Particular considerations concerning the function of such artefacts are thus necessitated, first and foremost discussed in terms of context. In this respect, the presence of other textile-production equipment is considered speaking in favour of an interpretation of these artefacts as tools for textile production.

SHOES

As discussed in the preceding chapter, there is no one-in-one relation between shoes and gender; still, some general assessments may be made based on size. This is identified based on the length of the sole from

heel to toe. Where children's shoes are concerned, these cover soles with lengths up to and including 22.3 cm - approximately corresponding to the foot of a twelve-year-old, and where the overlapping of adult's shoes is thought to be as little as possible (cf. Mygland 2007: 20-22 for more details). Adult's shoes are thus considered longer than 22.3 cm, corresponding to sizes bigger than 33. As mentioned, relating particular types of soles/shoes to men or women has proved difficult.

Establishing shoe sizes in general involves considerations concerning quality and condition, as leather is not a stable material, but expands when wet and shrinks when drying (Schia 1977: 12; Grew and de Neergaard 1988: 102). Other factors, like conservation methods and preservation conditions, also affect the size and condition of leather, and make it difficult to determine the original length of e.g. the soles. This may have consequences for the identification of children's versus adults' soles as well as men's soles versus women's soles. The ratio between the original size of the soles and the size prior to conservation is also somewhat uncertain. Erik Schia pointed out that soles, depending on their length, on the average shrink 2.5-3 cm when using freeze drying conservation, and suggested that the original size of the soles may be somewhere between the size prior to and after conservation (Schia 1975: 32, 123). Still, at present we cannot draw any firm conclusions about this issue. The measurements of children's soles in my earlier study on child-related artefacts from Bergen (Mygland 2007: 25-26) in some cases proved to be up to

2 cm shorter than previous measurements, measured about ten years earlier. There are also incongruences when comparing the measurements from 2001/2002 to the measurements made in relation to the current study; again, documenting some shorter soles. Generally, this may result from the use of Lederweicher - a chemical used to soften leather, affecting the length of the soles and thus resulting in different measurements depending on whether or not it has been applied. It may also be assigned different criteria of measuring. Thus, considering the many uncertainties related to the original length of the soles included in this study, the present measurements are primarily understood as general indicators rather than reliable evidence of e.g. children at medieval Bryggen, and continuously discussed in terms of context.

LEATHER

Leather waste may possibly be investigated in relation to shoemaking and general leather-working involving re-use of leather - thus identifying a traditional male activity and occupation. In this relationship, three different types of leather waste are tentatively identified based on their edges: leather of waste type 1 has torn edges, whereas leather of waste type 2 has both stitched and cut edges; the leather probably being re-used. Finally, leather of waste type 3 has no traces of stitching along the edges, and has been cut from a larger, previously unused piece of leather (Larsen 1970: 34, 1992: 35; Hansen 2005: 163). Of these waste types, leather of waste type 1 is assumed to represent rubbish in general, type 2 possibly indicating general leather-working and type 3 possibly indicating shoemaking. Regarding general leather-working, Hansen roughly distinguishes between fine and crude products in her work on early Bergen - associated with professional and domestic production, respectively (Hansen 2005: 191). Yet, it has not been possible to investigate the leather material at this level in the present study. It may only be concluded that leather waste of type 2 may be related both to a household sphere and a more specialized sphere. In any case, extensive shoemaking (like most other crafts) probably did not take place at Bryggen in general. At least, this is indicated by archaeological investigations of the early town (Hansen 2005) and by the Urban Code from 1276 which - probably reflecting established practices - singles Vågsbunnen out as the shoemakers' district (Helle 1982: 428-429, with references). For the sake of simplicity, I generally assign leather of waste type 2 to the group of personal belongings; however, the fragments are also evaluated contextually.

TEXTILES

The medieval textiles from Bergen are as already mentioned of a more or less fragmented character, complicating their identification related to function, and thus of gender. Still, it may to some degree be possible to distinguish between clothing and wrap-

pings based on textile quality - where the latter is generally of a coarser type with relatively few threads per centimetre. The woven hair textiles from the Bryggen excavation, for instance, are of a coarse, tabby weave type possibly used as wrapping material and for straining of fluids rather than clothing (Schjøberg 1984: 79, 89). Still, coarse textiles may also be indicative of clothing. At least do written sources both from Sweden and Norway mention thick as well as thin clothing - the former generally being used closer to the body than the latter (Andersson 2006: 307-312). In all, then, possible use of textiles must be evaluated further in terms of context.

ASPECTS OF CLASSIFICATION

As material culture does not illuminate men and women alone, but also interrelated aspects of age, ethnicity and status, correct identification is of primary importance in terms of utilizing the different artefacts the best in terms of gender and gender-related work processes in a changing urban society. The criteria for identification vary according to the type of artefacts; still, a contextual approach is generally necessary, and possible gender connotations will continuously be discussed throughout the later distributional analysis. In this respect, classifying the artefacts based on fixed gender-specific categories seems unreasonable. Instead, the various artefacts included in this study are classified in groups generally based on NIKU's (Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage Research) classification of medieval urban finds (Nordeide and Pettersen 2001) - with some modifications, and with special regard to the function of the artefacts and the activities they presumably represent. Adjustments have also been made in accordance with the original classification of the artefact corpora, as well as in relation to the research questions focusing on issues related to gender. Additionally, subgrouping of the different categories means that e.g. activities may be discussed in terms of units of production, where both genders may have participated at different stages, and not regarded as a uniform and continuous/coherent process performed either by men or women. It may in other words form the basis of a nuanced understanding of the activities taking place at Bryggen, and the actors behind them.

Ten main groups are singled out and presented in Figure 15 - in casu food-related artefacts (associated with cooking, consumption and storage), artefacts related to leisure (like gaming pieces and toys), personal belongings (such as clothing and footwear), artefacts related to production (associated with e.g. textile production and shoemaking), trade-related artefacts (like scales and tally-sticks), artefacts related to primary industries (fishing in particular), artefacts related to intellectual, cultural and religious life (e.g. musical instruments and runic inscriptions), and artefacts related to buildings, boats and other constructions (first and foremost rivets, planks and the like, but also lamps and furniture), in addition to miscel-

Food-related artefacts	Artefacts related to production	
	Artefacts related to storage	
	Artefacts related to consumption (food and drink)	
Artefacts related to leisure	Board games	
	Sports-related artefacts	
	Toys	
Personal belongings	Clothes/textiles	
	Footwear	
	Jewellery and dress accessories	
	Weapons	
	Artefacts related to hygiene	
Artefacts related to production	Artefacts related to textile production	Preparation
		Spinning and winding
		Weaving
		Sewing
		Finishing and maintenance
	Artefacts related to leather-working	Shoemaking
		General leather-working
	Artefacts related to metal-working	
	Artefacts related to wood-working	
	Artefacts related to bone-working	
	Artefacts related to stone-working	
Miscellaneous craft-related artefacts		
Trade-related artefacts		
Artefacts related to primary industries		
Artefacts related to intellectual, cultural and religious life		
Artefacts related to buildings, boats and other constructions		
Miscellaneous artefacts		
Undefined artefacts		

Figure 15. Functional classification of artefacts from the Bryggen excavations, BRM 0.

laneous and undefined artefacts. Of these, the latter three are considered less informative in terms of illuminating possible gender-related issues, and - besides keys - generally discussed more briefly in terms of physical and temporal context, first and foremost presented in tables.

GENERAL ASSESSMENTS

In all, the methodological component of this study is strongly emphasized in the preceding discussions. A distributional analysis approaching archaeological artefacts at different time levels contextually is considered a favourable method of examining aspects of gender and material culture at medieval Bryggen. This includes and relies among other things on artefacts and artefact categories that to a varying degree have been investigated earlier, and which represent valuable sources both in terms of e.g. identifications and contextual evaluations. At the same time, this proves challenging, as the results of previous studies are based on methodological assessments that are not

necessarily compatible with the present ones. In addition, material, life span, re-use, redeposition, methods and degree of excavation, cultural layers themselves as well as preservation conditions represent important factors affecting the survival rate and composition of archaeological artefacts, and thus their representativity. In all, these aspects call for continuous considerations throughout the contextual analysis of artefacts at Bryggen, but are nevertheless regarded as methodologically manageable. By applying an overall qualitative approach - focusing on presence rather than absence of artefacts in general, and discussing both the activities the artefacts may represent as well as gender connotations - possible gender-related trends in the material may be identified. In the following three chapters, the distribution of the artefacts within the Bryggen site is accounted for and discussed in relation to buildings, tenements and zones. The artefacts will be evaluated contextually also in relation to other sources where possible and methodically especially in relation to representativity.

4 The early town. Artefacts, activities and gender in the twelfth century

The aim of this chapter is to investigate changing structures and actors - in terms of women, gender, gender composition, families and households in particular, including aspects of ethnicity and status - at important stages in the development of the town. As mentioned in the preceding chapter, the focus lies on possible gender-related artefacts found in and in possible relation to buildings. In case of more unspecified, secondary contexts and unidentified artefacts, it is commonly referred to tables. As no artefacts were registered in the fire layer of c. 1120, and only one building in row 4 (Miklagard) was identified (Herteig 1991a: 92), the examination starts with the remains from the fires in 1170 and 1198.

There is evidence of extensive settlement throughout the Bryggen site in the latter half of the twelfth century, and the two recorded fires and fire layers of 1170 and 1198 yield 1541 artefacts or rather parts of artefacts. By the end of the twelfth century, Bergen had developed into one of the biggest and most important towns in Norway. Particularly the area of Bryggen must have been dominated by increasing economic activities - which indicates a more or less male-dominated population (Helle 2006a: 107; 2006b: 42). Previous archaeological studies have also documented an increase of artefacts traditionally associated with women (like soapstone vessels (Vangstad 2017: 197-200) and textile-production equipment (Øye 1988: 141-142)), as well as with boys and girls (toys and shoes) of different ages in this period (Mygland 2007: 84-85). It does not seem unreasonable to interpret these finds as indicators of family-based households; however, an in-depth investigation is called for to illuminate this issue further. To what degree and in what ways does the artefact material and physical structures indicate the presence of women, gender composition, families and households? To what degree does a contextual examination of the archaeological artefact remains from the period reflect the composition of the townspeople with special regard to women - but also men, children and foreigners - and including socioeconomic aspects in late twelfth century? Indeed, is or to what degree is it possible to discuss aspects of ethnicity in this period based on material culture? Is it possible to detect any zones or patterns in terms of gender and/or activity? Does any of this change throughout the relatively short, yet, urban expansive period between 1170 and 1198? The examination empirically based on finds also involves methodical as well as a theoretical reflections and considerations.

4.1 Artefacts, activities and gender, 1170 (fire layer VII)

The extent of the fire in 1170 - which is the first large-scale town fire to be mentioned in written sources (e.g. in the Icelandic annals and sagas) - is unknown, but assumed remains do not cover larger areas coherently, indicating that the entire town did not burn down (Helle 1982: 126, with references; 1998: 21-24, with references; Herteig 1990; 1991a). Archaeologically, fire remains are documented primarily in the northern area of Bryggen and recognized only at one site south of the Bryggen site (Finnegården 6A, close to Vågsbunnen) (Dunlop 1998: 135). In the northern part of the Bryggen site, it is recognized as a continuous layer at least east of the caisson area in the front zone, whereas it seems like only patches of the fire layer could be identified further south (Herteig 1990: 56, 90, 123; 1991a: 82). In the rear part of Engelgard, there was no time to investigate traces older than 1248 closely (Herteig 1990: 85).

At the time of the fire, most of the Bryggen side of the Vågen shoreline was apparently occupied by tenements, and there were well-established and permanent settlements both in the northern (including the Bryggen site), middle and southern (the present Vågsbunnen) urban areas (Hansen 2005: 18, 152-157, 218-220). The initial settlement had also expanded a few metres into the bay of Vågen (Hansen 2005: 114-126; Herteig 1991a, Plates). In most of the site, the waterfront was marked by a long row of caissons which probably represented the front end of the tenement rows (Figure 16). Slaking of lime apparently took place both before and after the fire in the area of the tenement of Miklagard (i.e. rows 3 and 4) (Herteig 1991a: 92, Plates). A common well for the inhabitants of the tenement is documented in the passage of Sveinsgard (Johansen 2013: 42-43). Remains only of a single, possible fireplace are registered (in building 40 in Miklagard), which indicates a general underrepresentation of such structures. According to written evidence, the settlement included some buildings with a loft, but one-storey buildings probably dominated prior to the thirteenth century (Helle 1982: 217; Herteig 1990; 1991a). In the northern part of the site, remains of seven rows of altogether 25 buildings running parallel in accordance with the topography of the area of the tenements Gullskoen, Sveinsgard, Miklagard and Atlegard have been documented (Herteig 1991a: 91-92). Row 7 (Gullskoen) in the northernmost part lay more or less outside of the site. Søstergard probably consisted of three rows - a double tenement to the north and an unknown, as-

sumed single tenement to the south, whereas remains of two rows are recorded in Engelgard. The earliest structural remains registered in the area of the tenement Bugard are some posts in the front zone - possibly supporting wharfs (Herteig 1990: 56, 92, 124).

4.1.1 Row 7 (Gullskoen)

Only a very small part of the tenement Gullskoen was unearthed at this level - represented by two small stone-filled caissons in the front only. This yielded no artefacts dated to 1170.

4.1.2 Rows 5 and 6 (Sveinsgard)

The fire layer was generally present east of the caisson area in the front, although not in the very rear part of row 5 (the southern row of Sveinsgard). In all 134 artefact remains may be associated with row 5 and 48 with row 6 (the northern row) (Figure 17). Of these, 127 - c. 70% - are found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or in layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material.

Most of row 6 lies outside the excavation boundaries, whereas row 5 - separated from the former by a relatively wide passage - lies west of what has been interpreted as the later St Lawrence's church (building 50) (Figure 18), built some twenty years after the fire in 1170. Five buildings are registered in the rear zone - one in the very rear part of row 6, and four in row 5. These range from 3.3 to 5 m in length, and from 5.1 to 5.7 m in width, and measure between c. 18 and 28 m². Buildings 210 in row 6 and 499 in row 5 represent the backmost buildings, and parts of the former lies outside the borders of the site. Of the remaining buildings, an 'open corner'-structure characterizes buildings 66 and 41 (Herteig 1991a: 86-89). These buildings are interpreted as one-storeyed,

relatively well-ventilated shelters - first and foremost suited for storage of e.g. dried fish (Herteig 1994: 298). Building 46 lies between these (Herteig 1991a: 86-89). An apparently common well for the inhabitants in the tenement is registered in the passage, outside buildings 46 and 41 (Johansen 2013: 42-43). In the front zone, a single building is registered in row 5 - building 38 (Herteig 1991a: 88-89) - in which a weight and a needle from period 2 (1120-1170) have been registered (Øye 1988: 127). Many caissons are also documented (primarily) in the front zone, supporting the quay (Herteig 1991a: 88-89). Structurally, then, Sveinsgard seems to be characterized by storage rooms in particular, probably related to international trade and generally a male sphere.

Almost all finds from Sveinsgard are located in the rear zone. Many are related to building 210 - pottery in particular. A few shards are identified as of Andenne type, which indicates tableware. In addition, two possible line sinkers of jarstein-type - generally associated with deep-sea fishing (Olsen 2004: 89) - originate in this building. No fireplace is documented; still, this could very well be located in unexcavated areas. The finds may thus indicate household activities, first and foremost represented by possible consumption (drinking), but also including fishing - perhaps in terms of self-supply, considering the few fishing tackle and the urban environment in general (Olsen 2004: 93).

In row 5, 115 artefact remains are registered in relation to building 66, dominated by pottery and shards of soapstone vessels. About a third of the classified pottery is of German type (particularly Paf-frath, but also a couple of Pingsdorf type) and some of English (Torksey) and continental (Andenne) types. A couple of the vessel fragments (type A) may

Artefact		Context															
		Pottery kitchen ware	Soapstone vessel	Sausage pin	Pottery tableware	Gaming piece	Warp weight	Whetstone	Tally stick	Line sinker	Rivet, spike	Furniture?	Miscellaneous	Bone remains	Rope	Undefined	Total
Rear zone	Row 6 B 210				39					2							41
	B 66	30	3		61	1	2	1			5	1		9		2	115
	Row 5 B 41	1			2			1	1		1		1		3	1	11
Front zone	Row 6				7												7
	Row 5?	2		4	1												7
Total		33	3	4	110	1	2	2	1	2	6	1	1	9	3	3	181

Figure 17. Artefacts from rows 5 and 6 (Sveinsgard), 1170. N=181. Colour scheme based on Figure 15.

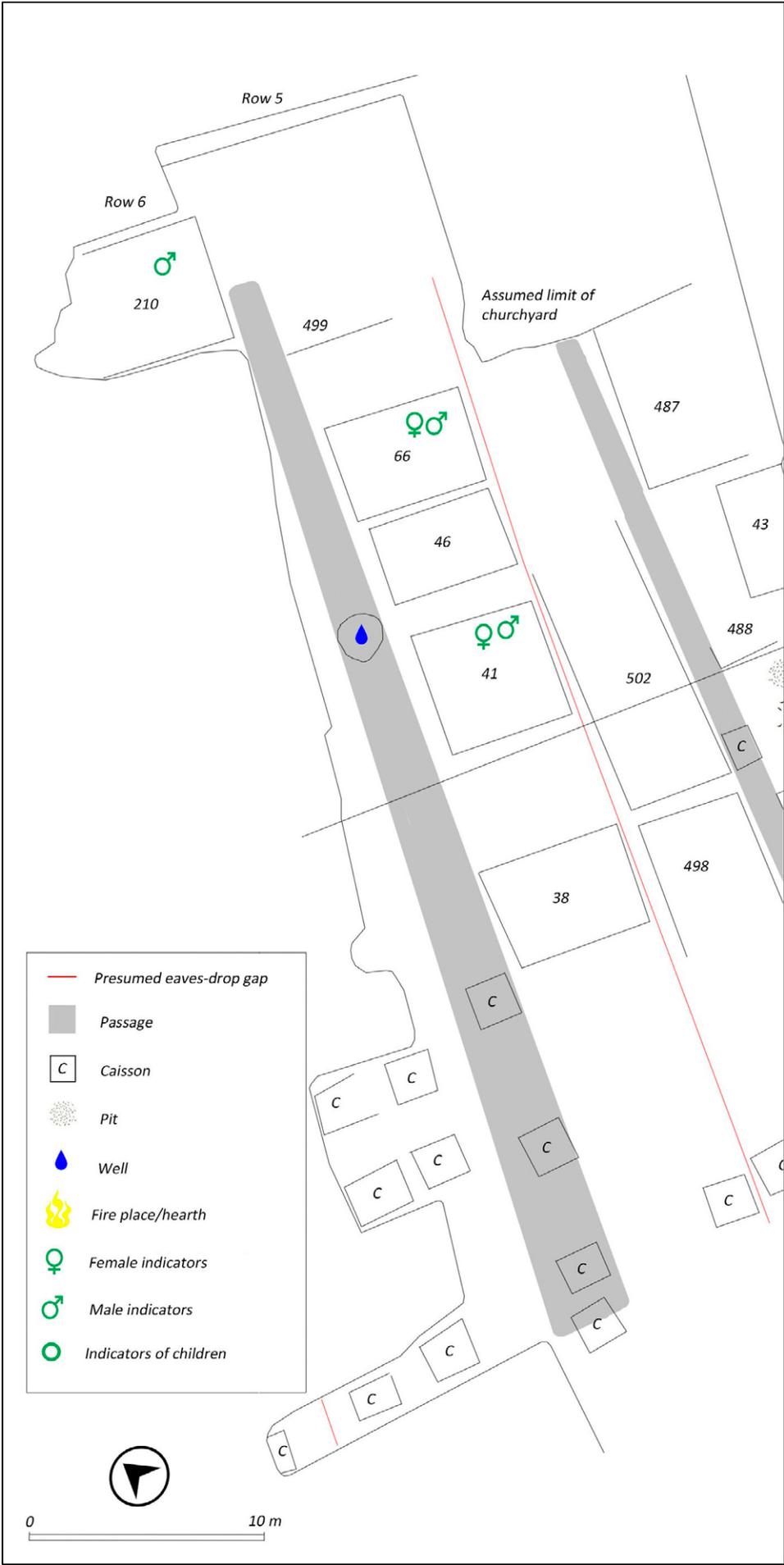


Figure 18. Buildings in rows 5 and 6 (Soeingard) with gender-related artefacts, 1170. Modified after Herreig 1991a, Plates.

be considered representing large cooking vessels with a wide variety of uses, but often associated with a liquid content (Vangstad 2003: 77-78). Thus, a large part of the food-related remains primarily represent kitchenware - not least of a German type, but also local tools - in addition to some possible tableware. Two presumed loom weights are also registered; however, these may be remains of a stored net (Øye 1988: 120). Additionally, the material includes a possible gaming piece of unknown type and a whetstone. Almost all artefacts are found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or in layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material, but a possible misdating of some artefacts cannot be ruled out. At least the fire layer of 1170 was difficult to separate from that of 1198 in some places of the building (Herteig 1991a: 87). Also, the open-corner structure speaks against any residential function - or the presence of an upper storey where such activities could have taken place. The soapstone vessels could have been used also in buildings without domestic functions (Vangstad 2003: 99); yet, the artefacts probably represent stored objects. The few finds from the other open-corner building in Sveinsgard (no. 41) should probably also be interpreted as stored or perhaps lost or discarded objects: pottery - a shard of Paffrath pottery, representing German kitchenware - a tally stick and a whetstone.

In the front zone, two shards of Paffrath and Pingsdorf pottery - imported kitchenware and tableware - are registered in the area of building 38. The dating to 1170 is somewhat uncertain, and the finds may possibly originate in building 41, or in their related passages. Another shard of Paffrath pottery and some sausage pins located in front of building 38 also indicate that cooking by means of local and foreign devices may have taken place here. Additionally, North-French and English pottery (London Brown type) - probably tableware - are found in the front part of the northern row. Again, the dating to 1170 is somewhat uncertain.

Almost all the 181 finds associated with rows 5 and 6, then, are found in buildings in the rear zone. A large number is also found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or in layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material, and it comes as no surprise that artefacts made of organic material seem underrepresented. Particularly in the front zone, organic material is found. As a whole, the artefacts are first and foremost associated with food processing and consumption (drinking) - especially represented by pottery (of which 51% of the classified shards are of German types, 22% are English and 26% represent other origins) - but also by a few indicators of weaving and/or fishing, trade and whetting of tools. There are no finds of child-related artefacts. As presented in Figure 18, some female indicators are registered within buildings, associated with cooking and possible weaving. Both these and the majority of artefacts in general may represent stored objects, though, consid-

ering their location in presumed shelters. Neither are traces of activities traditionally associated with women registered in what was unearthed of the possibly domestic context of building 210. Instead, the presumed line sinkers express the most explicit gender association here, related to men. The few finds located in the front zone are relatively uncertain both in terms of context and function. Although the material includes some female indicators, then, possible female presence and activity in Sveinsgard is difficult to establish for certain based on context.

4.1.3 Rows 3 and 4 (Miklagard)

It was possible to trace the layer of fire VII in most of rows 3 and 4, and altogether 215 artefacts are related to the tenement - 31 may stem from the passage between rows 3 and 4, 56 finds to row 4 and 128 to row 3 (Figure 19). Of these, 135 (about 63%) are found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or in layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material.

At least six buildings are registered in rows 3 and 4, of various sizes (ranging from 2x3 m to 12x5.5 m, and measuring between c. 4 and 69 m²) and functions (Figure 20). There are no clearly identifiable structures in row 4, but at least two buildings are indicated, surrounded by open spaces to the east and west. These are buildings 502, which possibly covers two buildings or multiple rooms (Moldung 2000: 32.) and 498, in the rear and front zones, respectively (Herteig 1991a: 84-86). In addition, there may have been a third building in the wharf area (Moldung 2000: 31). In row 3, six buildings are registered. Building 487 at the very back may represent two buildings (Herteig 1991a: 84). There are also structural uncertainties related to building 488, but this small building may represent an elevated structure with a sub-floor enclosure - often associated with storage or latrine functions (Herteig 1990: 90, 1991a: 85). Between buildings 487 and 488 lies building 43 - perhaps some kind of common room like the *stofa* known from written sources, considering traces of what has been interpreted as a wall-bench along the eastern wall (Herteig 1991a: 84-85). A spindle whorl and a small hone have been registered here in period 2 (1120-1170) in general (Øye 1988: 127). The building stands out by a small width and a location c. 3 m south of the passage, possibly extending into unexcavated area and the northern row of Atlegard (row 2). The remaining three buildings are registered in the front zone. Also building 40 possibly had a basement, in addition to a collection of stones that may be interpreted as remains of a fireplace in the south-western corner (Herteig 1991a: 85; Moldung 2000: 30). In front of this building, presumably in the beach area, lies building 489, whereas building 490 is located in the westernmost part of the row. The latter possibly represents some kind of small shed related to the activities taking place at the wharf (Herteig 1991a: 85; Moldung 2000: 31).

An area of stone-working activities has been registered between buildings 488 and 40 in row 3, probably related to building of the new monumental stone-buildings in the neighbouring area, such as St Lawrence's (Herteig 1991a: 85; Moldung 2000: 35, 97; Hansen 2005: 169-170). Also, what has been interpreted as the south-western part of the cemetery of St Mary's Church lies in the rear area behind rows 3 and 4 in general (Lorvik 2009: 22, with references). A passage seemingly leading up to the church and combining the two rows is also documented - by remains of a wooden pavement in the rear zone, and by a row of four stone-filled caissons possibly serving as foundation in the front (Herteig 1991: 86). In all, Miklagard (at least row 3) seems to be fully settled by the time of 1170, characterized by various types of structures associated with different activities - possible multiple-room buildings, residential buildings and storage rooms in both the rear and front zone, as well as traces of stone-working.

Unlike in Sveinsgard, only a third of the artefacts originates in the rear zone of Miklagard. In the very rear part here, it is also generally difficult to illuminate actors and activities based on the present selection of artefacts and their find information: a shard of Paffrath pottery, a part of an ornate/decorated spoon, a spike and a possible ship rivet and a decorated push key - which may be associated with securing economic buildings (Reinsnos 2013: 70-72, 86-89).

Artefacts associated with household activities seem to dominate in and in the area of building 502 - particularly cooking by means of local devices, but also possible textile production. The finds include a shard of pottery, parts of baking slabs (of which some are sooted and presumably used) and soapstone vessels (type A), a light loom weight and possible 'discuses' - i.e. flat, circular slabs of slate, traditionally believed to be used in an outdoor game (Herteig 1969: 198). The discuses do not necessarily indicate the presence of children, but may represent off-cuts from stone-working, considering the lime-slaking pit south of the building. In addition, whetstones are among the registered artefacts. Artefacts related to possible production are also found in the passage; however, conclusions on bone-working can hardly be drawn based on a single piece of whale bone. Continental pottery (Paffrath and Andenne ware) associated with cooking and consumption, coarse textiles and leather waste are found in the same context, and Paffrath pottery and baking slabs south of building 502 and/or 498. In all, it does not seem unreasonable to assume that building 502 housed domestic activities such as cooking by means of imported and local tools, weaving and playing, whetting of tools, as well as more uncertainly bone- and stone-working at the time of fire VII. This may indicate both male and female actors - and perhaps also foreigners.

There are no immediate artefactual signs of lime-slaking activities in the area of the lime pits in the middle of row 3. Pottery of among other Paffrath

and Andenne types, possible shoe remains (including an upper with remains of embroidery) and a whetstone are registered in this area, covering parts of building 42 in row 2 (Atlegard). These represent scattered artefacts primarily related to cooking by means of foreign devices, consumption/drinking, personal belongings, a whetting tool and possible waste from general leather-working.

In the front zone, primarily food-related artefacts which suggest cooking and consumption/drinking are registered in relation to building 40: mostly German, but also other continental pottery (Pingsdorf, Paffrath and Andenne types), sooted baking slabs and many knuckles. A spindle whorl indicates production of threads, and whetstones whetting of tools. Building 40 may thus represent a domestic structure, as has also previously been indicated (Moldung 2000: 97). Pingsdorf pottery, and sooted - and thus presumably used - parts of baking slabs are also registered in an area dominated by building 40, but it is impossible to relate the finds for certain neither to Miklagard nor Atlegard. Nevertheless, they are more or less of the same categories as already discussed in relation to this building, and possibly support the notion of a presumed household context also here.

Baking slabs are also found in the area of and possibly related to building 498 - but perhaps representing stored commodities, considering them lacking signs of use. Additionally, there are artefacts related either to buildings 498 and/or 502, the eavesdrop between Sveinsgard and Miklagard, and/or building 38 (row 5). These include artefacts related to cooking and consumption, as well as presumed weaving: pottery (including Andenne and particularly Paffrath types), baking slabs (two sooted), a shard of a soapstone vessel (type B/D), a sausage pin and a loom weight. Particularly food-related artefacts and activities seem to dominate this area, then - associated both with male and female actors - as has already been indicated in relation to buildings here in general (e.g. nos. 502, 40 and 38).

In the front of Miklagard, in the wharf area, indicators of possible weaving or fishing - six weights of unknown type and weight - are registered in the passage. The layer in which these finds are made is not described, and they probably represent waste from fillings - still, a relation to building 489 in the southern row cannot be ruled out. If so, it seems plausible to interpret the weights as remains of a stored net. A quern stone from Hyllestad for grinding, without wear marks, is registered in fillings in the front of this row, under a caisson - perhaps used as a part of its foundation (pers. comment: Irene Baug). Some other finds are insufficiently described with regard to context and layer, but are situated in the front part of row 3 (including buildings 489 and 490) and row 2 (Atlegard): a shard of Andenne pottery, pieces of baking slabs, sausage pins, fragments of pleated textiles, leather (possibly of waste type 3, generally associated with shoemaking) and soles (including a presumed

adult's sole). Thus, although the finds presumably represent waste from fillings and are contextually too uncertain to draw any conclusions regarding activities and actors where they are found, they more or less correspond to other finds from Miklagard, in general associated with cooking, consumption, personal belongings and possible leather-working or shoemaking.

The material from Miklagard thus includes female indicators especially related to cooking by means of local kitchen utensils, and to weaving on the upright loom and spinning. The artefacts can in many cases not be tied to a defined structure, but traditional female activities seem to have taken place at least in buildings 502 (cooking and weaving) and 40 (cooking and spinning) (Figure 20). In building 498, the presumably unused baking slabs possibly represent stored commodities. In the former two buildings, whetting tools are also registered. This may indicate multiple activities, perhaps taking place in different rooms (or buildings). The presence of traditional male, female and possibly child-related artefacts may also indicate a family-based unit here. Still, the identification of the discs as toys is uncertain, and such toys should be associated with older rather than very young children. Nevertheless, unlike in Sveinsgard, traditional female activities seem to be more easily recognized than male ones based on the artefact material. Previously observed lime-slaking activities in the middle zone are not reflected at all in the artefact material, and 'male' activities other than drinking are best represented by a few scattered and uncertain remains possibly associated with shoemaking/leather- and bone-working, particularly in domestic contexts.

The archaeological remains - especially organic material - appear in the front zone in particular, in waste from fillings. About a third is located in the rear zone, a somewhat smaller zone of investigation with presumably poorer conditions for preservation. Both zones, however, are dominated by artefacts associated with cooking and consumption - especially local kitchen utensils, but also some foreign kitchenware, particularly German pottery (69% of the few classified shards). Waste from the front zone fillings also includes objects of more or less the same, primarily domestic categories as further back, supporting the notion of extensive food-related activities taking place in Miklagard in general at the time of 1170. Artefacts (of both local and foreign types) and activities predominantly indicating household activities and primarily regarded as female, then, dominate both the rear and front part of Miklagard. Possible male activities are also indicated in the same contexts as female, such as in building 40. In all, no distinct zones of gendered activities are identified, and the finds reflect few (or any) separate working or living areas where men and women are concerned.

4.1.4 Rows 1 and 2 (Atlegard/Oddsgard)

Most of rows 1 and 2 - the presumed Atlegard - lies east of the Bryggen site, and only the front zone was excavated. The fire layer was documented in nearly all of this area (Herteig 1991a: 82-84). Altogether 334 remains of artefacts relate to Atlegard, of which 129 are associated with row 2, 127 with row 1, and 78 with the passage (Figure 21). Only 39 of these - 12% - originate from layers denoted as fire layers and/or from layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. Also this tenement is combined by a passage, supported by some caissons in the front (Figure 22). Remains of two buildings are registered in row 2 - building 42, a structure of about 5.2x5.7-5.8 m (c. 30 m²), with a possible basement, and building 494 to the west, measuring c. 6.2x5.8 m (c. 36 m²) (Herteig 1991a: 83). In the former, previous finds indicate cooking and textile production (spinning and weaving), but there are no indications of a fireplace (Øye 1988: 120; Moldung 2000: 97). Structural remains in row 1 are limited to foundation posts from four buildings. Almost all of building 483 lies east of the site borders, whereas buildings 484, 485 and 486 are more or less of the same size, apparently varying between c. 4.8 and 5.5 m in length and between 3.7 and 4.5 m in width (18-23m²) (Herteig 1991a: 83). Also in building 484, indicators of spinning and weaving have been registered (Øye 1988: 120).

In row 2, a total of 30 artefacts relate to building 42, almost all from fire layers and/or a layer containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. This includes shards of German and English ceramic kitchenware (Paffrath and particularly different Shelley types), a piece of a baking slab, a sausage pin, fragments of soapstone vessel (type A), spindle whorls and loom weights - some with an incised cross. Another pottery shard may also be related to this building, as well as a spindle whorl located in the passage. The context of baking slab pieces and a fragment of antler waste located in row 2, however, is somewhat ambiguous. Artefacts signifying cooking by means of local and foreign tools, spinning and weaving nevertheless dominate building 42, and indicate a domestic environment.

The artefacts in building 494 cover mostly German (Paffrath ware), but also other continental (Andenne ware) and English (Developed Stamford ware) pottery, a broken medium soapstone vessel (type A), sausage pins, pieces of leather (waste type 3), shoe soles, pieces of antler and/or horn waste, a part of a spade, fragments of pleated textiles, a high-ridged comb and a possible comb case. Paffrath type pottery, sausage pins, a piece of a wooden bowl and leather pieces (possibly of waste type 3) may also be related to this building and/or the passage. Most of the artefacts are of an organic material found in fillings - probably waste that was not necessarily used here. Still, household-related artefacts are numerous and especially associated with cooking by means of primarily local devices, possible consumption (drink-

ing) and personal belonging - in addition to a few, possible remains from shoemaking and bone-working. Domestic activities may therefore have taken place also in building 494, and possibly shoemaking and bone-working as well - including both male and female actors, and perhaps also foreigners.

Some artefacts have a more uncertain spatial relation to row 2, located in the area of buildings 494, 42 and 484: pottery of e.g. English (Developed Stamford ware and London coarse ware) and German (Paffrath ware) types, a possible 'milk cross' - a flat, cross-shaped wooden device, used to prevent spilling of milk - a part of a skewer, a float (type I), a weight, a small adult's sole (size 34), pieces of leather, a textile fragment of unknown quality and a whetstone. Many of these finds stem from fill masses, and may only be assigned the tenement in general. In an area covering the front of row 2, partly including building 494, a shard of Andenne pottery and a piece of a crucible are also registered. Pleated textiles and a long bone comb are registered in the area west of the building

whereas pottery (including Paffrath ware) and sausage pins are found in the front of the row. The contexts are rather vaguely described, but the artefacts probably originate in Atlegard. They are also of the same categories as found in row 2, indicating activities related to cooking by means of local and foreign utensils, in addition to possible metal-working, trade and fishing.

In row 1, several finds are difficult to relate to any specific building or the row itself. A piece of a sooted baking slab, a pair of shears, a stone weight, a piece of slag, a soapstone lamp and an undecorated push key, related to portable locks (Reinsnos 2013: 70-72), are located in the passage in the area of buildings 42 and 483/484, and a pottery shard of Developed Stamford, a sausage pin, a possible piece of pleated textile and a piece of slag in this area in general. The finds may represent waste from Atlegard rather than reflecting activity where they were found. Still, they indicate textile production, personal belongings and cooking in the front zone of this tenement - more or



Figure 22. Buildings in rows 1 and 2 (Atlegard/Oddsgard) with gender-related artefacts, 1170. Modified after Herteig 1990: 122, Fig. 85, 1991a, Plates.

less corresponding to finds in the northern row and building 42.

The 30 artefacts and parts of artefacts that with some degree of certainty could be related to building 484 are of the same categories as those associated with building 42: remains of cooking equipment of both local and foreign (German) origin - fragments of Paffrath cooking pots, Pingsdorf wares, shards of a type A and a small type C-vessel (both associated with a liquid content) and a part of a sooted baking slab. Gaming pieces possibly related to *Nine men's Morris* or *kvatrutafli* (Lund 2013: 109) were also found, and a possible smoothing stone and loom weights. In addition, a shard of Andenne pottery, a long bone comb and a piece of leather (possibly of waste type 3) may be related to this building. A sheath for some kind of weapon-knife, a possible part of a spoon and a stick made of bone with the runic inscription 'r th', may be related to this building or to building 482 in the neighbouring tenement *Søstergard* (see Figure 23). Activities related to cooking by means of local and foreign utensils, a foreign drinking culture, as well as to board games perhaps of local type thus indicate domestic and social functions of building 484. As indicated by Øye's (1988: 120) investigation, the buildings thus seem to include a working environment related to weaving in particular - not least if the textile-production equipment discussed above may be assigned building 484 - and perhaps the presence of different social and ethnic groups.

Only five objects may with some degree of certainty be assigned building 485 - loom weights, a shoe sole and a shoe fragment. Pingsdorf and Paffrath type pottery, sausage pins, possible loom weights, a wooden needle, shoe parts (possibly of waste type 2) and textile fragments may also originate in this building. Although there are some food-related finds possibly associated with building 485, cooking and consumption seem to be less evident here than in relation to building 484. The find context is uncertain and the artefacts may represent waste from fillings; yet, if all finds relate to building 485, there are to some degree stronger indications of activities such as textile production (weaving and sewing) and perhaps also leather-working.

Many finds are made in the area covering buildings 484 and 485 and possibly relates to either: pottery, pieces of baking slabs (some fire cracked), sausage pins, a part of a possible soapstone vessel, a piece of a wooden bowl, possible loom weights, pieces of pleated textiles and a medium-coarse textile and shoe fragments (possibly of waste type 2). The finds indicate cooking by means of local utensils, possible consumption, possible weaving and leather-working, as well as clothing. Similar artefacts may also be related to these buildings or to the neighbouring *Søstergard*: a shard of a soapstone vessel (type A), sausage pins, pottery primarily of Moderate Shelley type, a wooden spindle whorl, a whetstone and miscellaneous finds of leather, oyster shell and walnut. The finds

from this area, then, do not deviate significantly from the finds found within these buildings.

Other finds are found in the area of and may primarily be related to buildings 484, 485 and/or 494: pottery of mixed origin (Paffrath, Andenne and Developed Stamford types), a part of soapstone vessel (type A), sausage pins, a part of a possible Norw. *silekniv* - a wooden knife-like tool used in dairy processing (Ågotnes 1994: 41) - parts of a shoe and leather possibly of waste type 3 and a metal needle. The artefacts are thus mostly associated with cooking and consumption by use of local and imported items, sewing and shoemaking/leather-working. The lack of fireplace in any of the buildings and the organic material may indicate that the artefacts stem from general waste from the tenement.

A shard of Paffrath pottery and a lid of a wooden vessel from building 486 in the front of the row may also represent waste from fill masses and do not deviate from the general character of finds from this row. The same applies to finds originating in front of this row in general, in the caisson area: pottery (a shard of Paffrath type), sausage pins, raw material for a whetstone, shoe fragments, a shoe sole and a possible leather fragment of waste type 3, indicating mainly food-related artefacts of local and foreign origin, shoe remains and a quantitatively uncertain indicator of shoemaking.

As only the front zone of rows 1 and 2 has been excavated, and due to lack of clear physical structures, a large number of the artefacts from *Atlegard* are difficult to relate for certain to buildings. That only about one tenth of the finds originate in what represent more or less reliable fire layers, and the remainder probably represents waste from fill masses also make it difficult to discuss actors and activities in specific buildings. Still, the excavated area is dominated by artefacts that signify cooking and consumption/drinking - including both local kitchen utensils as well as foreign pottery, primarily English (61% of the classified shards) and to a lesser degree German (35%) and other types. Such artefacts are found in all five buildings with artefact finds, and presumably signify domestic as well as social contexts. Textile production is also identified, but only indicators of other production, connected to e.g. shoemaking, leather-working and fishing (which must have been for household needs) and trade. Remains of clothing, shoes, combs and gaming pieces possibly associated with a local type of board game are also found.

The artefacts, then, suggest that traditional female - but also male - activities were spread all over the unearthened *Atlegard* area. Despite the lack of fireplaces - which are generally underrepresented in all of the examination period - indications of cooking are found in buildings 42, 484 and 494. It is, however, more difficult to draw conclusions on this in building 486, based on a single pottery shard. In addition, also a working environment associated with textile production is more than suggested in buildings 42

and 484, and tentatively in building 485 as well - first and foremost indicated by remains of a stationary textile-production equipment, the upright loom. Imported pottery signifying both a foreign cooking and drinking culture, as well as remains of board games - for instance in building 484 - may also point to (presence of and interaction between) actors of different ethnicities and status.

Considering that only the front zone is represented, and that artefacts traditionally associated with men are few and less often related to buildings, it is not possible to discuss gender in terms of zones. Still, it may be argued that traditional female activities are not separated from male ones, considering especially the distribution of kitchen utensils. In building 485, for instance, there are also indications both of possible weaving and leather-working. Additionally, possible shoemaking and bone-working may also have taken place in building 494 - if so, perhaps on a household basis. There are no other gender-related artefacts but 'female' in building 42; however, finds of artefacts traditionally related to men in this area in general means that it cannot be concluded for certain on a possible, exclusive female working environment here. A lack of child-related artefacts means that possible family-based household cannot be suggested in any of the buildings. Still, both (presumably local) women and men, and perhaps also foreigners, seem to have left traces in Atlegard. First and foremost, this concerns presumed domestic - but in some cases also in somewhat multifunctional contexts - and largely in small and even buildings.

4.1.5 Søstergard

As was the case in Atlegard, most of the Søstergard tenement lies east of the site borders, and primarily the front area and the harbour zone was open to ex-

amination. The layer of fire VII was for the most part apparently not recognized in this area; thus, only one of the 40 artefacts associated with Søstergard (Figure 23) is found in a layer denoted as a fire layer and/or a layer containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. Remains of two rows of buildings have been documented - interpreted as a double tenement in the northern part (rows X and Y), combined by a passage, although there may have been three originally (Figure 16). Two buildings are identified in row Y to the south - building 402 (c. 3.5x5 m; 18 m²) and building 130 (c. 5x5.2 m; 26 m²). In the northern half of the double tenement (row x) only building 482 (c. 5.3x5.3 m; 28 m²) is registered. All buildings, then, are relatively small. Additionally, also in front of this tenement, there is a row of caissons supporting buildings and the like in the wharf area (Herteig 1990: 123-125).

NORTHERN ROW, ROW X

The finds from Søstergard are possibly related to building 482 in row X, but the contexts are uncertain. A piece of a baking slab, pieces of leather (waste type 3), a whetstone and a cat's skull are registered south of building 484 (Atlegard), whereas pottery (including a single shard of Paffrath type), sausage pins, a shoe sole and other shoe fragments, remains of pleated textiles, a tally stick and pieces of possible slag may be related to building 482. As mentioned, there are also some uncertainties whether a sheath for some kind of weapon-knife, with remains of metal fittings (Nøttveit 2010, appendix) - the only artefact from Søstergard found in a layer denoted as a fire layer and/or a layer containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material - a possible part of a spoon and a stick made of bone with a runic inscription ('r th') should be connected to buildings 484 or 482.

Artefact / Context	Baking slab	Sausage pin	Pottery, tableware	Spoon	Shoe, leather	Scabbard	Clothing	Leather, waste type 3	Slag	Whetstone	Tally stick	Rune stick	Rivet, plug	Cat's skull	Undefined	Total
B482? / Front zone, row x	1	2	2		5		6	5	3	1	1		1	1	9	37
(Søstergard?)				(1)		(1)						(1)				(3)
Total	1	2	2	(1)	5	(1)	6	5	3	1	1	(1)	1	1	9	37 (40)

Figure 23. Artefacts from Sostergard, 1170. N=37 (40). Colour scheme based on Figure 15.

The finds from Søstergård are thus characterized by artefacts possibly related to building 482 in the front zone - or rather representing waste from fill masses, considering the organic elements. The material is dominated by possible quality clothing and shoe and leather fragments, in addition to a couple of artefacts possibly associated with metal-working, trade and weaponry. The few food-related artefacts first and foremost signify cooking primarily by means of local devices, and thus seemingly indicate a domestic situation including female residents perhaps of different social strata in the middle/front zone also of Søstergård. Still, the material is too small to localize gender-related activities in this tenement for certain.

4.1.6 Engelgard

Remains of two rows are documented in the area of Engelgard, although only limited parts of the front zone were unearthed. Traces of the fire layer were recognized in both rows, and of the only eight artefacts registered, six are found in layers denoted as a fire layer and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. No buildings are identified in the southern row, whereas three buildings of different size and shape (9-39 m²) are located in the northern row - building 196, a long and narrow structure in the easternmost part of the excavated area (at least 8.3x4.7 m; 39 m²), building 373 (c. 7x3.5-4 m; c. 28 m²), and building 203 (at least 4.1x2.2 m; c. 26 m²), north of building 373 (Herteig 1990: 89-92).

Only a bronze fastening originates in building 196, and there was a now lost post in building 373, supposedly with an unknown runic inscription. Possibly related to this building, or to the eaves-drop between building 373 and building 203, is also a shard of Paffrath pottery. Additionally, two shards of Paffrath pottery and two presumed loom weights are registered in building 203. Another weight is located outside the building, close to the southern wall. Considering the location in the front and the weight of about 500 g, the weights may represent net weights. The presence of fishing tackle in this tenement in the period between 1120s and 1170 in general (Hansen 2005: 174-176) may also speak in favour of this. However, the former two are of common loom weight types, and also based on the presence of (German) cooking devices, these artefacts may be interpreted as loom weights as well.

Generally, then, there are few finds from 1170 related to the tenement Engelgard, which makes it difficult to draw any conclusions concerning actors and activities. Still, the finds related to building 203 (Figure 24) may indicate household activities traditionally associated with women, and/or fishing.

4.1.7 Bugard

Activity is indicated in Bugard by the time of 1170 (Hansen 2005: 153). Still, due to incomplete investigations, no structural remains but a few posts possibly supporting a wharf were registered (Herteig

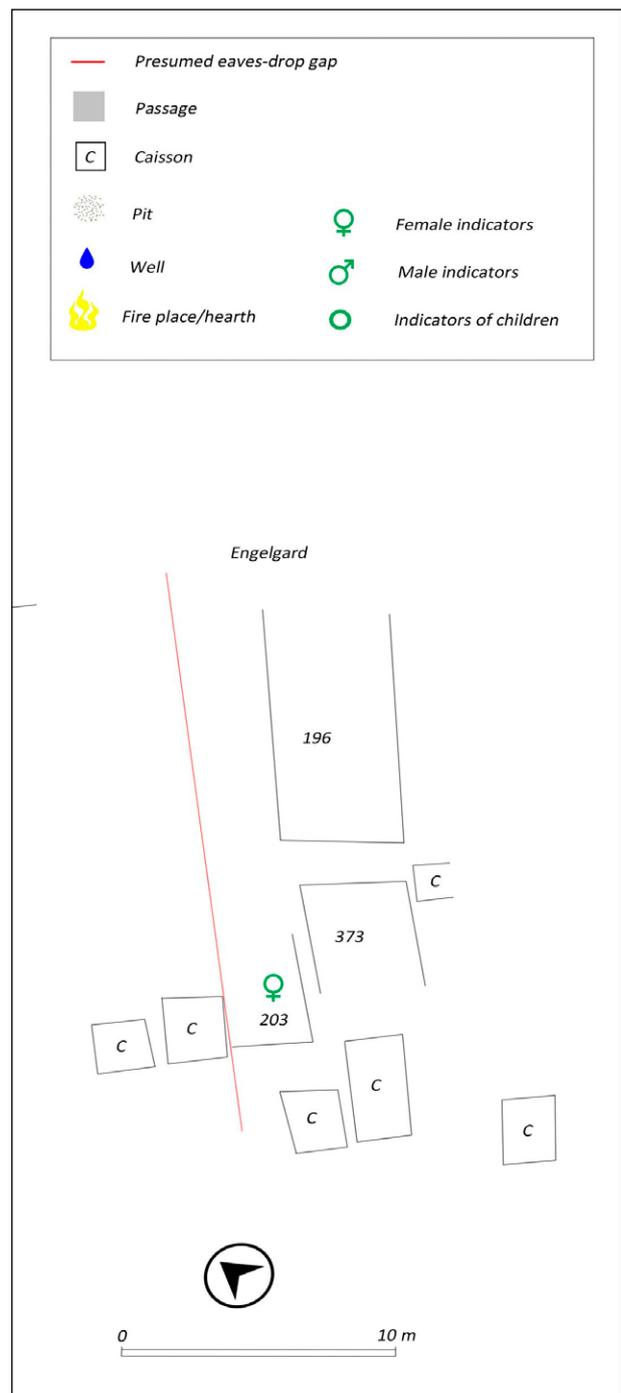


Figure 24. Buildings in Engelgard with gender-related artefacts, 1170. Modified after Herteig 1990: 91, Fig. 56.

1990: 56). Neither are there any artefacts here dated to 1170.

4.1.8 Artefacts, activities and gender at Bryggen, 1170 - an overall assessment

The Bryggen site in general and fire VII in particular have been documented to a varying degree at the level of 1170. None of the tenements have been completely excavated in their full length and/or width, and neither do the fire remains make up a continuous and coherent layer. Thus, reservations must be made

when discussing and comparing the different tenements in terms of possible gender-related activities and zones - and accordingly the presence and doings of women. A larger part of the northern three tenements than the southern ones has been excavated, and the rear zone is investigated primarily in rows 3, 4 and 5. The fire layer is also registered to a larger degree here. Additionally, the material is quantitatively much smaller in the southern part of the site - represented by Søstergard, Engulgard and Bugard - although the largest amount of finds (more than 40% of the artefacts) is made in relation to a tenement that is represented primarily by its front zone, namely Atlegard (rows 1 and 2). A thorough clean-up after fire VII in some places and few archaeological remains in Bugard may also have contributed to the quantitative differences.

Another methodological obstacle is the small share of finds from layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material, which with the most certainty are dated to a given year. Of the in all 775 items that have been taken into account, only 308 (about 40%) are generally found in such layers, and even fewer of these in buildings. Particularly in Atlegard and Søstergard, there are few such finds. Thus, it cannot be taken for granted that the investigated artefacts reflect activities carried out where they were found, especially in the front zone. In many cases, they may rather be interpreted as waste from fill masses. This is possibly reflected in the distribution of artefacts based on material presented in Figure 25, which demonstrates a large share of artefacts made of organic material (in addition to fragmented pottery and stone) generally well preserved in fillings. The same applies to the increasing element of artefacts made of organic materials in the front parts of the site, where fill layers are particularly common. Similarly, it has previously been noted that baking slabs found in the front zone from period 2 (c. 1120-1170) more often than the ones further back are broken, which suggests that they represent waste (Tengesdal 2010: 47). At the same time, there is less contextual uncertainty related to the material in Sveinsgard and Miklagard, where about half of the artefacts dated to 1170 originate, and artefacts from layers denoted as fire layers and the like make up about 63 and 70% of all artefacts found here, respectively. Additionally, not all undefined layers in the front zone necessarily represent re-deposited fill masses, and the artefacts are regularly more or less consistent in terms of categories found within the different tenements. In all, it seems reasonable to assume that they to a certain degree reflect activities taking place in the tenements in general - although representing only a very small part of what was actually in use.

More than half of the artefacts dated to 1170 are with more or less certainty registered in buildings; yet, they regularly represent few finds in each building, which may be misleading in terms of ac-

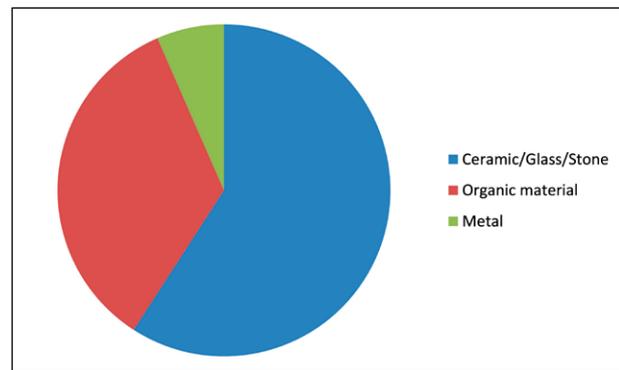


Figure 25. Distribution of artefacts from the Bryggen site by material, 1170.

tivity, women and gender. The fact that there are no other artefacts but two rivets in building 43 in Miklagard - a presumed common room which according to previous investigation may have housed textile production - clearly shows that important information might get lost. In addition, the character of the finds from this tenement as a whole suggests that gender-related activities similar to the ones in the neighbouring tenements took place also here. No gender-related artefacts are assigned any of the buildings in Søstergard. That hardly any metal objects are documented in the Bryggen site - and in the backmost part in particular where the conditions for preservation should be the most suitable for this material - also indicates an underrepresentation of such artefacts.

In all, though, the artefacts from the Bryggen site seem to indicate extensive activities traditionally considered as female, and it seems reasonable to assume that women were involved. The area of Vågen was apparently royal property by the time Bergen was established, as well as properties handed down to e.g. the church and noblemen. From the middle of the twelfth century, the latter - as well as other individuals, including women - owned a considerable amount of the tenements at Bryggen (Helle 1982: 281-303, with references). Runic inscriptions represented by labels and business letters from the twelfth century found in rows 1-6 in general also point to especially local inhabitants here by the time of 1170 - mentioning among others men with Norse names such as Bergsvein, Eirik, Sigurd and Øyvind, and possibly also a woman - Tone (Johnsen 1990).

This may be reflected in the cooking-related material in particular, of which 51% is of local types such as soapstone vessels and baking slabs. Few of the soapstone vessels could be measured, but such artefacts from period 2 (1120-1170) in general come in various sizes and may have covered different needs (Vangstad 2003: 79-80, 97-99). The other remains of kitchenware are represented by imported pottery. Foreign kitchen utensils in general make up about 68% of all such items, German in particular (47% of the classified shards), but also English (35%) and other. This may suggest foreigners, not least as 'guests'

are known from the end of the twelfth century to have visited Bergen and rented rooms in the tenements during the main trading and sailing season in summer (Helle 1982: 68, 2006: 107). King Sverre's speech against drunkenness in Bergen in the same period also mentions merchants from England, Germany, the Orkneys, Shetland, the Faroe Islands and Iceland (Helle 1982: 164-165, with references). However, not before the middle of the thirteenth century did spending the winter here become common (Helle 2006a: 107). Also, as generally stressed, there is no one-in-one relationship between material culture and its user, and regardless the ethnicity of the user, it does not seem unreasonable to assume that the presence and use of imported ceramic kitchenware may have been common in medieval, local households in an international trading community like Bergen (cf. Øye 2011). Additionally, the two categories of kitchenware are more often than not found in the same contexts - in general and in particular in buildings where they are assigned activities taking place here (Figure 27). They are also commonly accompanied by textile-production equipment - represented by the more stationary upright loom in particular - as will be discussed below. Accordingly, the artefacts are generally considered as strongly indicating local female users perhaps of various social strata - and thus inhabitants, probably also working as servants - in most of the Bryggen site.

The distribution of gender-related artefacts in buildings as presented in Figures 26 and 27 hardly points to specific areas or zones where actors and activities are concerned. This corresponds with the distribution of soapstone vessels in period 2 (c. 1120-1170) in general (Vangstad 2003: 99). In the area of the Bryggen site where both the rear and front zones are represented - for instance in Sveinsgard (rows 5 and 6) and Miklagard (rows 3 and 4) - there are numerous artefacts in both. Regarding traditional female activities, artefacts associated with cooking are registered in almost all of the buildings within which artefacts with some certainty are located, indicating extensive activity. Remains of hearths or fireplaces are tentatively identified only in building 40 in the front part of Miklagard; still, the general lack of such structures is not considered representative or speaking against cooking taking place in other buildings where kitchenware is found. Only in shelters 41 and 66 in Sveinsgard (row 5) - the only buildings in this tenement in which indicators of women are registered - the identified kitchen utensils may represent stored items. Yet, neither here may cooking be ruled out for certain. Similarly, cooking cannot be assigned any of the buildings in Søstergard, but as cooking tools are registered in other contexts both in Søstergard and Sveinsgard (rows 5 and 6), it seems more than reasonable to assume that this activity took place also in these tenements, meeting the basic demands for food. In any case, cooking is regarded a highly plausible (and necessary) activity in build-

ings both in Miklagard (rows 3 and 4) and Atlegard (rows 1 and 2).

Only in building 203 in Engelgard are artefacts related to cooking not accompanied by artefacts related to consumption, which may be interpreted to the effect that the former in most cases took place in domestic contexts. The same apparently applies to textile production, as there is textile-production equipment in five of the seven buildings where cooking is thought to have taken place - which may indicate the presence of servants, but also family-based units. Only in building 485 in Atlegard (rows 1 and 2) are kitchen utensils not found alongside the textile-production equipment (possible loom weights) - rather shoe remains and/or possibly general leather-working. In buildings 42 and 484 (also in Atlegard) in particular, a working environment associated with textile production seems reasonable. Possible child-related artefacts ('discuses') are found only in building 502 (Miklagard), but are relatively uncertain in terms of identification, and in my opinion also assigned older children. Thus, it is not possible to verify the presence of family-based households at Bryggen by the time of 1170 by means of these archaeological data. The same more or less applies to finds of child-related artefacts from period 3 (c. 1120-1170) in general. Although children in all age groups have been indicated at Bryggen in this period, they possibly represent boys from the ages of five or six in particular, who could have taken part in different kind of tasks (Mygland 2007: 84).

Male activities are reflected in particular by commercial activities known from written sources, by structural elements such as lime pits and the wharf areas as such, as well as the extensive building activity that took place at Bryggen. In addition, ceramic tableware associated with drinking also suggests male presence in general. Both these and other traditional male artefacts are somewhat evenly distributed throughout the Bryggen site. The latter is, however, generally with less certainty related to activities taking place where they are found, and represented by a few tally-sticks and scattered tools such as whetstones and crucibles, slag and some uncertain production waste from (domestic) leather-working and shoemaking, and bone- and stone-working. Almost all the building-related finds of these categories are located in structures with traces of cooking and/or textile production, which cover basic needs in any settlement. The partly unearthed building 210 in Sveinsgard represents the only physical structure with traditional male artefacts in which female indicators are not registered as well. In this tenement, the indications of women are also generally uncertain, unlike in the remainder of the site. As a whole, the distribution of artefacts suggests that traditional male and female indoor activities to a high degree took place within the same contexts - but perhaps representing different social categories.

Zone	Tenement	Building no.	Earlier interpretations	Female indicators	Male indicators apart from drinking gear and gaming pieces	Child-related indicators	All artefacts	Artefacts/activities
Rear	Sveinsgard	210			2		41	Consumption, fishing
		66	Shelter, open corner structure. One storey?	Confirmed, plausible	1		115	Cooking, consumption, board games, weaving, whetting of tools, building-related finds, bone remains
	41	Shelter, open corner structure. One storey?	Plausible	2		11	Cooking, consumption, whetting of tools, trade, building-related finds, ropes	
Front	Miklagard	502	Economic? Two buildings? Multiple rooms?	Confirmed, plausible	4	(2)	25	Cooking, consumption, clothing, weaving, stone-working/playing, whetting of tools, building-related finds
		40	Basement, fireplace	Confirmed, plausible	4		77	Cooking, consumption, spinning, whetting of tools, digging, building-related finds, bones
	Atlegard	42	Basement. Cooking? Textile production	Confirmed, plausible, possible			30	Cooking, consumption, spinning, weaving, building-related finds
		494		Plausible, possible	13		69	Cooking, consumption, shoes, clothing, shoemaking/leather-working, bone-working, digging, building-related finds
	Engelgard	484	Textile production	Confirmed, plausible	1		30	Cooking, consumption, board games, personal belongings, weaving, finishing and maintenance of textiles, shoemaking
		485		Confirmed?	(2)		5	Weaving/fishing, shoes
		486		Plausible			2	Cooking
			203		Confirmed?		4	Cooking, weaving/fishing
					Plausible			
	Total				154	27 (23)	(2)	409

Figure 27. Buildings with gender-related artefacts, 1170.

The distribution of the artefacts dated to 1170 in general points in the same direction as the artefacts found in buildings. Traces of cooking and textile production traditionally related to women are with few exceptions registered more or less all over the site and in all tenements, as are artefacts traditionally considered as male. Although they are fewer in number and represented in fewer buildings, similar conclusions may be drawn also based on finds from layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. Additionally, the findings and interpretations apparently do not deviate much from those indicated by previous studies which deal with the same buildings and also include artefacts dated to the preceding period in general. As mentioned, the distribution of soapstone vessels from period 2 (1120-1170) does not indicate specific areas or buildings of use (Vangstad 2003: 99), and neither does the distribution of textile-production equipment found in buildings (Øye 1988: 119-121, 126-127). Most of the baking slabs from the same period, however, are located in the front zone and possibly represent refuse and waste indicating earlier use in the tenement in general to which the quay in front belonged to (Tengesdal 2010: 47). The same may apply to the distribution of fishing tackle from this period - of which 90% is located in the front part - yet, Olsen has in this connection argued in favour of a possible fishing-related zone here (Olsen 2004: 71-72).

Although some reservations must be made, similar trends are in other words indicated regarding women and gender in particular, either based on artefacts found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material, building finds or remains dated to 1170, and more or less corresponding to results from previous artefact studies. Artefacts connected to seemingly domestic cooking, consumption and textile production apparently dominate most of the site, both the rear and the front zones. The former represents both local and international food cultures; however, it seems reasonable to assign this - as well as textile production - to local, female users in particular. Signs of other, first and foremost traditional male activities are also indicated by the artefacts; yet, apart from drinking these are not so easily recognized. Lime-slaking, for instance - of which there is structural evidence in Miklagard (rows 3 and 4) at this time - is not reflected in this material at all. Additionally, besides the presumed stored artefacts in Sveinsgard (rows 5 and 6) and the tally-sticks, there are few obvious artefactual indicators of trade, which must have been extensive at Bryggen, considering written sources, as well as the expanding physical structures and layout at Bryggen. Traces of children are also scarce, and family-based households are not possible to identify.

Thus, the present artefact material is associated with women in particular - perhaps single workers and servants. Written evidence of female tenement owners and innkeepers in the twelfth century is also

known (Helle 1982: 299-303, with references), and my previous investigation indicating children of all ages at Bryggen in this period means that the presence of women in the roles of wives and mothers can also archaeologically be substantiated. Male, local workers are perhaps better documented by a chronologically more extensive selection of artefacts, physical structures and/or written sources. In any case, it seems reasonable to assume that the inhabitants here were made up predominantly of locals by the time of 1170, and probably also including foreigners, considering e.g. the indications also of a foreign drinking culture. This may also reflect cultural contacts and trading activities including locals. Thus, the archaeological record may largely reflect the two categories of homeowners (*húsfastir menn* and *húsbóndi*) and their households - tenants, servants and foreign guests in the summer seasons.

4.2 Artefacts, activities and gender, 1198 (fire layer VI)

According to *Sverris saga* and Icelandic annals, the densely built settlement area in Bergen was set on fire a summer's night in 1198 by the *baglar* (croziers), one of the parties involved in the so-called Norwegian civil wars. The fire devastated most of Bryggen west of Stretet, and between Sandbru to the North and Korskirken (Holy Cross Church) to the South (Helle 1982: 126, 133, with references; 1998: 25-26, with references), tentatively illustrated in Figure 28. Remains of the fire were not easily identified in the entire Bryggen site, though. No traces could be documented in the middle part of rows 1 and 2, whereas possible structural remains must have burnt up entirely in the middle of row 4 (Herteig 1991a: 68). As previously mentioned, it was not possible to investigate traces older than 1248 in the rear part of the unearched area of Engelgard more closely (Herteig 1990: 85). However, the stratigraphy was relatively clear in rows 3-5, and the fire layer apparently also recognized in most of Søstergard and Bugard (Herteig 1990: 51, 117; 1991a: 68).

The almost three decades ahead of 1198 represent a structurally expansive period, although the rear part of the Bryggen site seems to have been less densely built up than the front by the time of fire VI. The area of Sveinsgard, Miklagard and Atlegard (rows 1-6) was generally occupied by parallel rows of double tenements combined by regular passages, and more or less united in the front by wharf foundations which had been moved at least 15 metres into the harbour (Figure 29) (Herteig 1991a: 82, 114, Plates). In all, the expanded wharf area was used more extensively by the time of 1198 than in 1170, and the settlement structure based on double tenements oriented towards the harbour is more distinct (Helle 1982: 128; Herteig 1991a: 82). By the end of the twelfth century, St Lawrence's church (building 50) was erected in the very back of the site, and burials related to this church, to St Mary's or perhaps to St

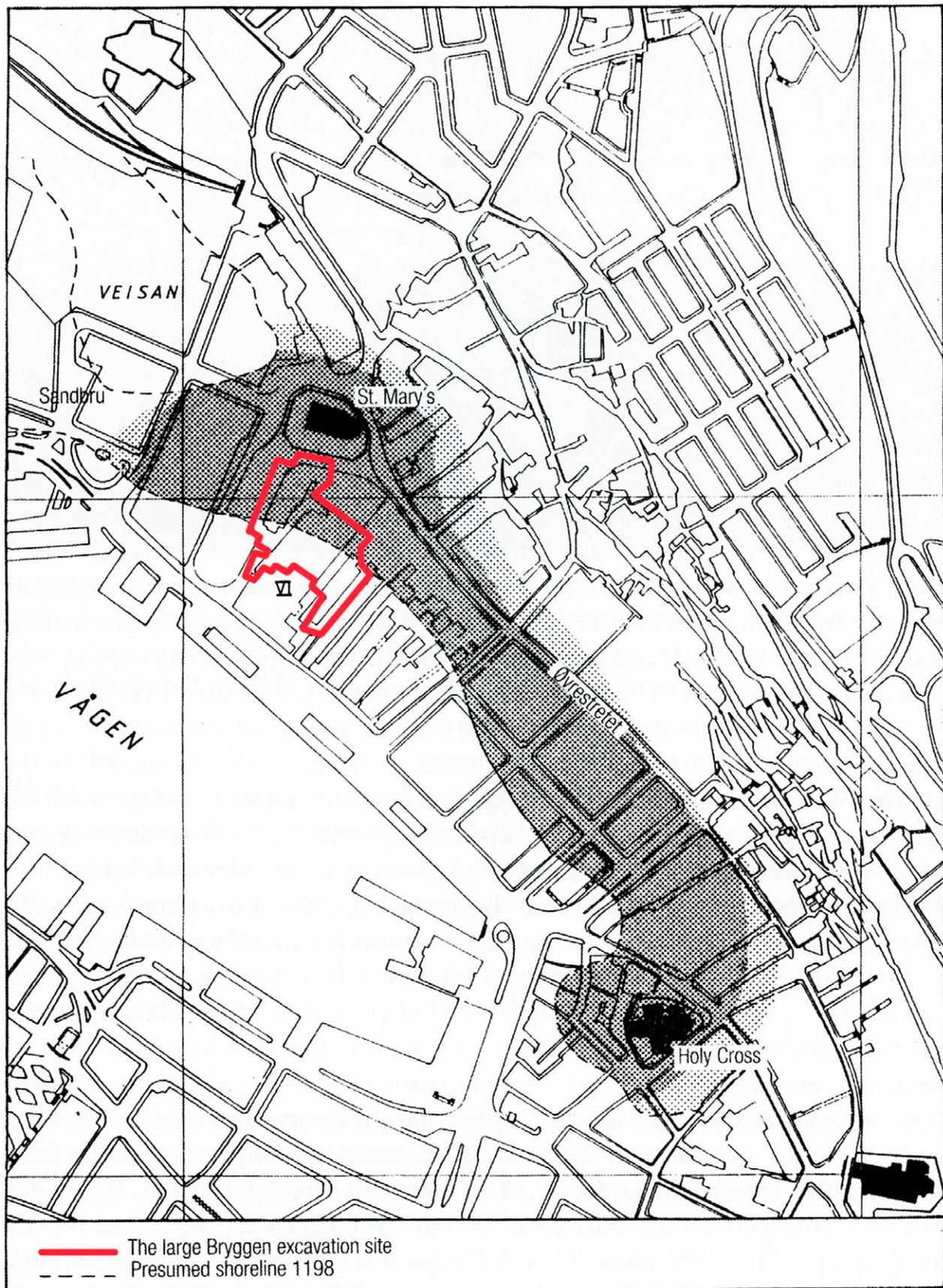


Figure 28. Presumed extent of the 1198 fire, according to Ann Christensson. Modified after Helle 1998: 27, Fig. 3.



Figure 29. The Bryggen site, phase 3.2, divided in rear and front zones. Surviving remains from the fire of 1198. Modified after Herteig 1990: 52, 86, 114, Figs. 25, 52 and 76, 1991a, Plates.

Peter's further south covered the excavated area south of this building (Herteig 1991a: 82; Lorvik 2009: 24). In the same period, a change of building structure sped up, represented by multiple-storey houses with a possible vertical division of activities according to written sources. However, these are in many cases difficult to trace archaeologically, as surviving building remains generally represent ground structures.

Again, seven rows of buildings are recorded in the northern area, covering parts of Gullskoen (row 7), Sveinsgard (rows 5 and 6), Miklagard (rows 3 and 4) and Atlegard (rows 1 and 2), and including remains of at least 25 buildings (Herteig 1991a: 68, Plates). Most of the rear part of Søstergard, Engeldard and Bugard lies outside the excavation site also in 1198, and besides caissons and other foundation structures in the wharf area in front, there are only sporadic remains of buildings. In Søstergard, it is suggested that the northern row still consisted of a double tenement (Herteig 1990: 119). At least 33 buildings raised after the fire in 1170 are registered within the site, including some elevated structures with an enclosed sub-floor, in addition to five privies or latrines (Herteig 1991a: 82). Additionally, a couple of buildings may be interpreted as common rooms, but the only three hearths or fireplaces dated to 1198 are not registered in these - rather in buildings 236 (Bugard) and 242 (Engeldard), as well as outside building 200 (Engeldard). This indicates a general underrepresentation of such structures. In addition to the passages within the tenements, there are also traces of the Bua-almening common thorough-fare south of Bugard, first mentioned in the Urban Code of 1276 (Bl VI, 15) and obviously of an older date. Six apparently common wells used by the inhabitants of the tenements represent an additional infrastructural development - located both in the northern and southern part of the site, as well as in the rear and front zone, but behind the original shoreline. The latter indicates that soil conditions mattered, and the water was probably used for drinking and cooking, as well as for washing, lime-slaking, animal husbandry etc. (Johansen 2013: 42-44, 74). In all, the structural remains signify a well-established settlement and infrastructure.

Thus, the three decades between 1170 and 1198 represent a short, dynamic and expansive period with extensive commercial and building activity at Bryggen, as well as a presumed increase in the number of foreign as well as local inhabitants. This may also have spurred socio-economic changes. Is it to possible, then - and to what degree - to observe any changes concerning social structures and the composition of the inhabitants at Bryggen based on the archaeological record?

4.2.1 Row 7 (Gullskoen)

Only a minor part of the tenement Gullskoen at the 1198-level was covered by the archaeological excavations, revealing remains of a single row (7) and what

is assumed to represent two buildings (nos. 477 and 500) (Herteig 1991a: 76). No artefacts are registered in relation to this tenement.

4.2.2 Rows 5 and 6 (Sveinsgard)

A few more artefacts than three decades earlier may now be associated with Sveinsgard - in all 164 - of which only 11 are related to row 6 and 25 to the passage (Figure 30). The remaining 128 objects presumably originate in row 5, but are difficult to assign specific buildings, due to the density of such structures and ambiguous context descriptions. The share of artefacts from layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material has decreased, now making up 27% of the artefacts from this tenement - 44 finds - compared to about 70% in 1170.

As for the 1170-level, row 6 (the northern row of Sveinsgard) was only partially excavated (primarily the front), and due to time pressure during the excavation, the opportunities of site-recording was negatively affected. Traces of up to three buildings are registered, but treated by Herteig as two - building 116 in the rear zone, and building 115 in the front, with a common well for the inhabitants of the tenement in-between (Figure 31). Between row 6 and row 5 (the southern row), there is space for and remains of a relatively wide common passage. In row 5, the fire layer had been removed or mixed with deposits from other fire layers in the rearmost parts, but remains of six buildings were documented. These resemble in some cases the buildings burnt in 1170 in terms of size (ranging from at least 2.5 to 11.9 m in length and from 3.8 to 5.9 m in width and measuring at least 10-60 m²) and/or location. Besides building 50 (St Lawrence's Church), building 67 represents the rearmost building in the front zone in this row (Herteig 1991a: 74-76). This is separated from building 63 (where there are previous finds of loom weights) by half a metre, whereas building 37 - a long structure, perhaps with an upper storey, which also framed a group of loom weights - lies immediately to the west (Øye 1988: 121; Herteig 1991a: 74-76). In the passage lies another common well for the inhabitants, a little west of the one that was used here in period 2. Also between building 137 and building 133 - a relatively small structure in the front zone of row 5 - there is a narrow passageway. Building 133 and the other two other buildings in the front zone - buildings 134 and 473, however, lie close to each other. Finally, 15-16 metres of continuous foundation structures are registered in the front (Herteig 1991a: 74-76, Plates).

The length of building 37 of almost 12 metres - approximately replacing shelter 41 and building 46 burnt in 1170 - may suggest economic activities inside, but probably also other. Otherwise, there are generally few immediate signs of building functions but the wells in Sveinsgard, which were apparently used by the inhabitants for the purpose of e.g. con-

Context		Artefact														Total				
		Pottery, kitchenware	Soapstone vessel	Baking slab	Sausage pin	Quern stone	Pottery, tableware	Shoe	Bow	Comb	Spindle whorl	Warp weight	Needle	Knife	Tally stick		Rivet, spike	Hook	Miscellaneous	Undefined
Rear	Row 6					5													1	6
	Backmost				1	5			1									1		8
	B67					1						1								2
	B63/67	1				1				4										6
	B63			5	5	1					1	3				2		1	4	22
Middle	Row 5	1		25		1					7									37
	B37?					5									2				2	9
	Row 6					1														1
(Middle) Front	Passage					1					1			1						3
	B115					4														4
	B133-135, 473	1		1	1	2	13	2			3	2					1	1	5	32
	Eavesdrop			7	12	2								1						22
	B473?				2	2	2	6	1											11
Front										1										1
Total		3	5	38	16	2	42	11	1	1	19	2	1	2	4	1	3	12	164	

Figure 30. Artefacts from rows 5 and 6 (Sveinsgard), 1198. N=164. Colour scheme based on Figure 15.

sumption as well as production (Johansen 2013: 42-44, 74). Similarly, there seems to be no surviving structural evidence of lime-slaking and dressing of stone - which apparently took place in row 5 also in the period between 1170 and 1198 - when the fire struck the area by the end of the period. Yet, this primarily took place in the earliest building phase (Herteig 1991a: 82). Generally, the area of Sveinsgard - at least row 5 - is now developed and exploited to a larger degree. This is characterized by longer tenement rows (and thus more buildings), a westwards expansion of the wharf of several metres and a more compressed settlement, which must have called for extensive work efforts. Otherwise, the present physical layout does not deviate significantly from 1170, which indicates structural as well as functional continuity.

In the rear zone of Sveinsgard, in the very rear part, the finds - associated with possible cooking, consumption and personal belongings - are few and scattered and their dating to 1198 to some degree uncertain (cf. Figure 30). Further west, only a single shard of Andenne pottery and a short knife may possibly be related to building 67. Among the artefacts associated with building 63 are a pottery shard, parts of a medium soapstone vessel (type A) and baking slabs, light loom weights - one with an incised cross - a spindle whorl and animal remains. Of these, the pottery shard, the spindle whorl and one of the weights are from layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. A pottery shard is registered between buildings 63 and 37, and another shard (of Paffrath type) and four more light loom weights in the area of these buildings. Artefacts signifying cooking - particularly by means of local kitchen utensils - and spinning and weaving thus dominate the material in and in the area of building 63. There is no fireplace; still the homogenous character of the material suggests household functions including a working environment associated with traditional female activities and actors.

Artefacts related to food processing - including remains of local and German kitchen utensils - and textile production (weaving) dominate also building 37: a shard of Paffrath pottery from a layer denoted as a fire layer or a layer containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material, a large number of baking slab parts and weights, one with an incised cross. Another pottery shard from a layer denoted as a fire layer or a layer containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material probably also relates to this building, whereas more pottery (including a shard of Pingsdorf type) and shoe fragments may originate here or in the passage between rows 5 and 6. A pottery shard, a loom weight and a tally stick - associated with trade - located in this passage possibly also originates in building 37. Unlike the preceding shelter 41 from 1170, then, the artefacts related to building 37 as a whole primarily seem to indicate that household activities traditionally related to women were carried out here.

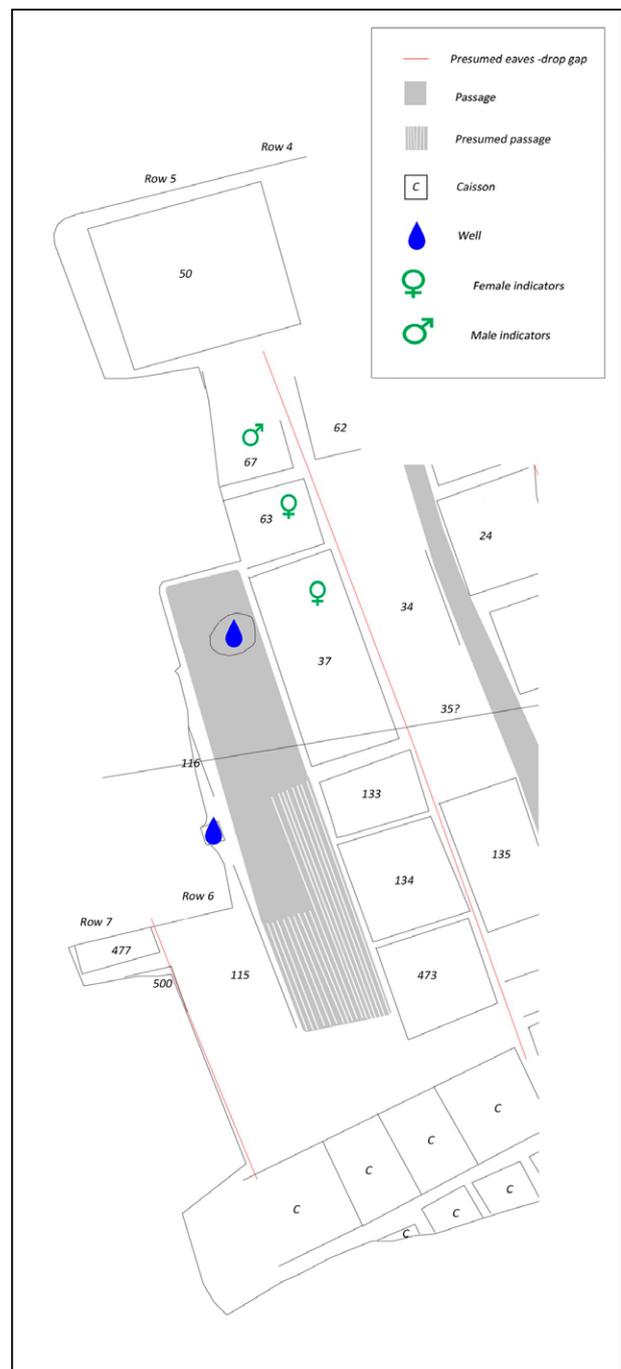


Figure 31. Buildings in rows 5 and 6 (Sveinsgard) with gender-related artefacts, 1198. Modified after Herteig 1991a, Plates.

However, there are some contextual uncertainties related to the artefacts in and in the area of the building. The length of the building also means that it may have had multiple functions.

In the front zone, it is uncertain whether a shard of London Shelley type relates to row 6 (between buildings 115 and 116) or to the passage of Sveinsgard. Other pottery shards (found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material) are documented besides a post in building 115. For row 6, then, it is difficult to conclude with certainty about actors and activity in the front zone. Still, the situation resembles the one in

1170 in that the few artefacts present are primarily food-related.

Several finds in the area of buildings 133 and 134 in row 5 and building 135 (row 4, Miklagard) also indicate cooking and consumption. Particularly German pottery (Langerwehe/Duingen and Pingsdorf types), a sausage pin, two bone needles (one without an eye) and a decorated (impressed) shoe have been found in building 134 and/or in building 135. A couple of unused quern stones from Hyllestad, a shard of developed Stamford pottery and a presumed shoe part (possibly waste type 2) may originate in building 133 as well. In addition, pottery of different origin from layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material (including Andenne, Humber and Paffrath types) and a piece of a baking slab are registered in this area, and three weights in an undefined building in the area of buildings 133-135 and 473. The stone weights may represent net weights; yet, at least two are found in fill masses, and are also heavier than the favoured weight of net weights of about 500 grams, as discussed in Chapter 3. Additionally, the general presence of the needles favours an interpretation of them as textile-production equipment. Another 22 finds are registered in the eavesdrop between Sveinsgard and Miklagard (represented by buildings 134 and 135, respectively), covering Pingsdorf pottery, sausage pins, parts of a baking slabs (included a sooted one) and a tally stick. The vague contextual information of the finds indicates redeposited masses. Still, the finds from this front area indicate activities earlier suggested in the tenement - associated especially with cooking by means of local and foreign kitchen utensils, consumption and textile production (weaving and sewing), as well as trade, possible leather-working and elaborate footwear.

Developed Stamford type pottery, sausage pins, a part of a bow and shoe fragments - including two soles of adult sizes (one of size 40, probably male) - may be related to building 473, or to the area in front of it. A possible loom weight is also located in the caisson area in front of the southern row. Building 473 is thus possibly represented by artefacts associated with female cooking, probably male footwear and weaponry. Yet, the artefacts are contextually uncertain, and may just as well represent waste from fill masses.

Unlike the 1170-level, the artefacts from Sveinsgard - not least in the front zone - are difficult to relate to buildings. Only in three of the eight registered buildings are artefacts documented with some certainty. Additionally, less than a third is from layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material, and a large share of organic material in the front zone suggests that many artefacts stem from fill layers. This makes it difficult to identify possible actors and activities where the artefacts are found. As a whole, though, the material is in particular characterized by artefacts signifying

cooking by means of local kitchen utensils and textile production (especially weaving). These are distributed all over the tenement, both in the rear and front zone, and possibly represent household activities including textile production at least in buildings 37 and 63 (Figure 31). The few finds from building 67 are more uncertain in terms of indicating a domestic function. Generally, there are also a few ceramic indicators of consumption, remains of footwear and a few artefacts associated with e.g. trade, possible leather-working and weaponry in the tenement.

Thus, a possible female presence is easier to recognize in Sveinsgard by the time of 1198 than in 1170, when the majority of artefacts traditionally related to women may have represented stored objects. Cooking seems reasonable in building 63, as does textile production represented in particular by the upright loom. It may perhaps also be suggested that this structure indicates a primarily female context, considering that no traditional male artefacts are found inside, and hardly any nearby. The same applies to building 37. There are, however, some structural uncertainties whether the artefacts represent activities taking place here or e.g. storage. Whether a single knife may be taken as evidence of building 67 as representing the male counterpart is also uncertain. Traditional male artefacts are generally few and probably underrepresented - first and foremost registered in an uncertain relation to building 473 in the front. Concerning distribution in zones, gender-related artefacts are like three decades earlier with more or less certainty registered in buildings only in the rear part. Additionally, almost half of the artefacts in general are located in the front, possibly in redeposited fillings, and may have been used further back. This may speak in favour of a higher degree of activities recognized in my material in general in the rear zone, but not necessarily of a gender-division on this level.

There are apparently no written sources illuminating Sveinsgard to any degree by 1198, which is first mentioned about a century later (DN III, no. 37/1296; RN II, no. 818). There is also little pottery which could have indicated possible foreign inhabitants; however, the classified shards are mainly of German and English types. Indeed, remains of foreign kitchenware and tableware make up 'only' about 43% of all kitchen utensils here, opposed to 95% in 1170. Unlike in 1170, the artefact material may rather be interpreted to the effect that the presence of women was common, perhaps with certain duties - primarily in the rear zone and associated with household activities such as food processing and textile production. Judging by the archaeological material, it remains uncertain whether they lived here on a family basis. Despite a bias towards the rear zone both were the general find distribution and building-related finds are concerned, neither is it possible to verify gender-restricted working or living areas. Also, a single fragment of a decorated shoe cannot illuminate social status of the inhabitants to any degree.

4.2.3 Rows 3 and 4 (Miklagard)

The fire layer of 1198 was recognized both in rows 3 and 4 - the double tenement identified as Miklagard - but the fire may have been severe in the middle of row 4, as there like in 1170 are hardly any structural remains here (Figure 32). The rearmost part of rows 3 and 4 are also cut by the later St Mary's Guildhall from the second part of the thirteenth century. It is assumed that there were at least three buildings in row 4 by the time of the fire - generally of somewhat uncertain sizes, ranging from 4x4.6 m (18 m²) to at least 8x4.5 m (36 m²). Building 62 in the very back was easily identified during excavation, whereas building 34 was recognized only by four posts standing in line. Open spaces are documented both behind and particularly in front of this building, but the latter area may have contained a building (no. 35, not marked on map) which remains were removed immediately after fire VI (Herteig 1991a: 68). The log-built building 135 in the front zone represents the westernmost building in row 4, raised in the first phase of period 3 (1170-1198) (Herteig 1991a: 72; Olsen 2002: 124). This building has been associated with textile production - in particular based on remains of a large collection of weights probably belonging to an upright loom - covering spinning, weaving and processing of textiles (Øye 1988: 121; Moldung 2000: 99-100).

In row 3, there are remains of five buildings, ranging from relatively small (2.6x3.4 m, 9 m²) to large (9.9x3.8 m, 38 m²). The long building 64 replaces building 487 devastated in 1170 and has been cut by the later guildhall (Herteig 1991a: 71-73). A loom weight has previously been assigned this building (Øye 1988: 121). West of building 64, lie buildings 24 and 25 (Herteig 1991a: 71-73). The former is log-built (Olsen 2002: 29-30, 126), but otherwise, these two buildings with remains of wall-benches are more or less identical and possibly related in terms of function (Herteig 1991a: 71; Moldung 2000: 98-99). The structural features indicate a *stofa*, very much as was the case concerning the preceding building 43 from 1170. There are no signs of a fireplace; however, the *setstofa* known from literary sources never had one. It has been suggested that the ground floor of building 25 probably functioned as a common room or perhaps sleeping quarters - and that artefacts found close to the wall bench, as well as pottery in the passage close to the building may originate in a possible upper storey which functioned as a cooking and working area (Moldung 2000: 98-99). A small hone and a presumed loom weight have also been registered in this building, immediately under the fire layer, under the floor (Øye 1988: 121). Finally, in the front zone, approximately in the same area as building 40 from 1170, lies building 28, a long, presumably two-storey structure with three rooms (Herteig 1991a: 72; Moldung 2000: 38, 99). Here, a spindle whorl and a wooden needle (type A), as well as some artefacts associated with cooking and con-

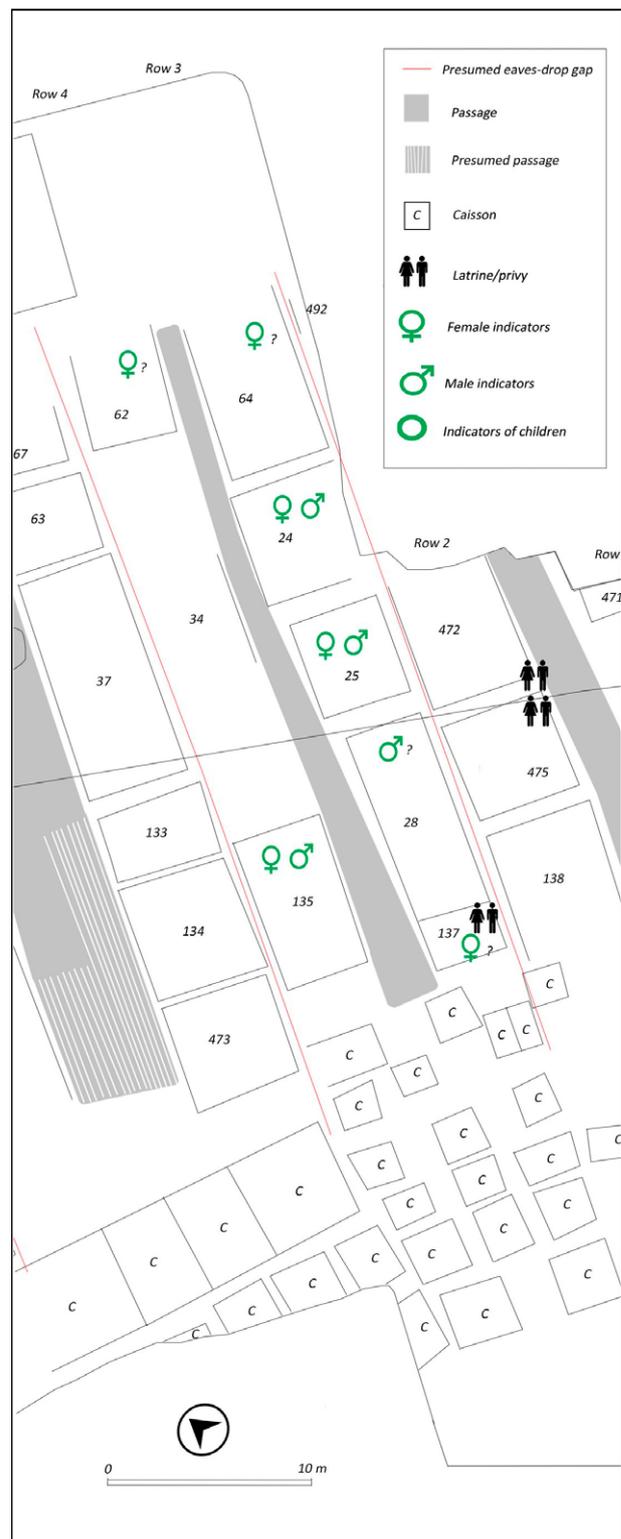


Figure 32. Buildings in rows 3 and 4 (Miklagard) with gender-related artefacts, 1198. Modified after Herteig 1991a, Plates.

sumption have been registered (Øye 1988: 121; Moldung 2000: 99). Building 28 is possibly connected to building 137 immediately to the west - a structure with an elevated floor and a sub-floor enclosure, replacing shed 490 from 1170 (Herteig 1991a: 72). Previous finds of a weight, a wooden needle (type F) and a small hone in relation to the building indicate that textile production was carried out here (Øye 1988:

121). Still, this building may be interpreted as a so-called 'basement-building', probably used for storage of moss or fishing tackle, and/or as a latrine (Herteig 1994: 291; Økland 1998: 45).

The two rows are combined by a passage, which remains had survived in the middle section of the tenement. In front of the buildings there are also solid foundation structures (Herteig 1991a: 73). There are no longer structures immediately associated with lime-slaking and the like, but the tenement still seems to cover different buildings such as common rooms and storage rooms. Similar to Sveinsgard, then, the character of Miklagard indicates a high degree of structural and functional continuity from the 1170-level, accompanied by a densification and extension.

In all, 351 artefacts are registered (Figure 33), opposed to 215 three decades earlier. Approximately 99 items are associated with row 4, 195 with row 3 - although mostly in more or less uncertain contexts - and 57 with the passage. In all, 99 artefacts are found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material, i.e. 28%, opposed to 63% in 1170.

Most building-related finds are located in the rear zone, but - like in Sveinsgard, and like in Miklagard three decades earlier - few in the rearmost parts. West and south of St Lawrence's, unidentified animal remains are found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. The other finds here include English (Grimston and Scarborough ware), German (Pingsdorf ware) and other continental (Andenne ware) ceramic tableware, a cooking pot, a small, three-legged soapstone vessel (type 0), a whetstone and an annular bronze brooch. In addition, a shard of Grimston pottery probably originates in the rear part of row 3, a loom weight in a layer denoted as a fire layer and/or a layer containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material in building 62, and a heavy weight in building 64. Food-related artefacts of local and foreign types thus dominate this rear part of the tenement. The weights and the general character of the other finds also favour an interpretation in terms of textile-production possibly taking place in the rear zone.

No artefacts are found in relation to building 34 further west, and only pieces of baking slabs originate in the open area in front it. In relation to building 24, there are finds from layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material associated with cooking and consumption, possible clothing and whetting of tools: pottery (e.g. shards of Andenne and Paffrath types), a coin of unknown origin and date, a whetstone and leather fragments. The remains from building 25 can to a larger degree be associated with activities in stofas as described in written sources. These primarily cover finds of pottery (Humber and Andenne ware), a piece of a sooted baking slab, a spindle whorl and a possible shoe fragment (possibly of waste type 2), from

layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. Although both buildings 24 and 25 possibly represent common rooms, then, activities such as cooking, drinking and textile production seem most likely to have taken place in the latter.

Also other artefacts associated with cooking and especially consumption represented by drinking gear may be related to these buildings. Pottery of particularly German origin (Pingsdorf and Paffrath ware), but also English (York White ware, Developed Stamford ware, Moderate Shelley ware and London Brown ware), a sausage pin and a tally stick originate in the area of buildings 24, 25 and 34. These are presumably from layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. However, the presence also of a clay pipe - an artefact type that was not introduced to Europe until to the sixteenth century (Oswald 1975: 3-6, with references) - clearly demonstrates a mix-up of layers. More or less the same categories of artefacts are also recorded further west, in the passage north of buildings 25 and 28 - including English and German pottery (Paffrath, Pingsdorf, Humber and Developed Stamford types), a shard of a soapstone vessel (type A), sausage pins, a chess gaming piece, a piece of slag and a possible shoe fragment. Altogether, the artefacts from this area are generally difficult to relate to particular buildings, and somewhat uncertain as for dating.

In building 28 in the front zone, there are no traces neither of cooking nor textile production as suggested by Øye and Moldung's studies (Øye 1988: 121; Moldung 2000: 99) - rather a shard of Humber ware pottery and a piece of slag. Thus, it is difficult to interpret the building in terms of residence. Considering the overall general presence of household artefacts in this area as discussed above, the diverging interpretations may be assigned different interpretations of the fire layers here.

A loom weight or a net weight and an unidentified wooden stick represent the only finds from building 137 - in addition to a heavy weight located in this building or in building 135. Building 137 may represent a storage room, and the weights may be thus interpreted as parts of a stored net.

Altogether 43 artefacts seem to relate to building 135: primarily English (London Shelly ware and London coarse ware) - but also continental (Andenne ware) - pottery, a sausage pin, shoe/leather fragments (including two adult-sized soles and a decorated upper) and a knife (possibly a tool). Three weights are found inside the building, and another weight located either in this building or in building 137. Based on the location of the building in the front, the weights may be interpreted as net weights rather than loom weights. Yet, general uncertainties concerning physical and temporal find contexts may have affected the number and composition - and thus the interpretation - of the finds. Nevertheless, opposed to previous studies indicating different processes of textile production

Context		Artefact		Pottery, kitchenware	Soapstone vessel	Cooking pot	Baking slab	Ladle	Sausage pin	Lagged vessel	Bowl	Tableware	Jug	Gamln piece	Pipe	Toy?	Shoe, textile	Jewellery	Comb	Bow	Flax beater?	Distaft?	Spindle whorl	Shutter	Warp weight	Needle	Slag	Knife	Whetstone	Coin	Tally stick	Label	Rivet	Hook	Lamp	Fastening	Board	Oar	Miscellaneous	Undefined	Total					
Rear zone	Row 4	Rear	1	1	1	13												1																2					1		24					
		B62																							1																	1				
	Row 5	Open area E of B34						3																																				3		
		Passage	5	1	18	3												1									1																12	57		
	Row 5	Back			1																																								1	
		B64																							1																			1		
		B24	2		5																																						2	14		
		B25			3			1										1																										7		
		B24/25/1	31		3																																							38		
	Front zone	B25/28																																											1	
		Row 4	B135	3		16																																							1	43
			Front	1	2		15											2	1																										28	
		Row 5	B28																																											5
B137																																													2	
B135/137/1																																													7	
Row 5		Front R3																																												28
		Front R3/2	2																																										91	
		Total	44	3	4	6	1	67	2	5	69	7	2	1	1	1	2	37	1	1	1	1	1	1	12	2	2	1	5	1	2	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	3	31	351		

Figure 33. Artefacts from rows 3 and 4 (Miklagard), 1198. N=351. Colour scheme based on Figure 15.

(Øye 1988: 121; Moldung 2000: 99-100), I find that only weaving is suggested. Additionally, a tally stick and shards of a London Shelly jug may also be related either to building 135, the passage or building 28 and/or 137. The artefacts associated with building 135 thus primarily signify cooking by means of local and foreign kitchen utensils, consumption/drinking, possible weaving and (to some degree elaborate) footwear. This indicates a residential and social function, and male and female inhabitants.

The biggest concentration of finds from Miklagard is located in the very front zone - in some cases in fill layers in caissons, and none in layers denoted as fire layers and layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. Finds in front of row 4 comprise a piece of a small soapstone vessel (type B), sooted baking slabs, sausage pins, pottery miniatures, loom weights, a whetstone and a piece of possible shoe (possibly waste type 2). Additionally, parts of a London Shelly and a London Brown jug, a shard of tile, parts of a wooden bowl, sausage pins, a loom weight, a possible distaff and a possible shuttle is found in front of row 3. In the same area, covering the front of Atlegard as well, more, particularly German and English type pottery (Paffrath, Pingsdorf, Developed Stamford, London Shelly and London Coarse ware), a ladle, staves from lagged vessels, a large number of sausage pins, a gaming piece presumably related to Nine Men's Morris or 'kvatrutaff' (Lund 2013: 109), a part of a whetstone, presumably a loom weight, two wooden needles, a possible flax beater, a label, a part of a wooden bow (toedbue) of a type possibly functioning as a military weapon (Malde 2008: 92), shoe fragments and possible shoe fragments (including a children's shoe (c. size 31) and an adult's shoe), fragments of pleated textiles and a comb are registered. These artefacts evidently represent waste from fill masses. Although even more diverse, they are generally of the same categories as discussed earlier in relation to Miklagard - first and foremost related to cooking by means of local and foreign kitchen utensils, consumption/drinking and different stages of textile production, but also to board games, and including personal belongings such as fragments of clothes possibly signifying a higher social strata, footwear, a comb and a weapon. Children are indicated; yet, it is uncertain whether the miniatures represent kitchen utensils or toys. The general impression of activities taking place in Miklagard, then, is also reflected in the waste from the harbour area.

The amount of artefact remains in Miklagard has increased compared to the 1170-level. A high degree of activity in general, then, is now indicated, but perhaps also more fragmentation and better conditions for preservation in the expanded front area. The artefact material is more or less evenly distributed in the rear and front zones; however, a large share - not least in the front zone - still represents redeposited waste from fillings that may have been used in the rear part of the tenement. The possible cleaning

up in row 4 up after the fire must also have affected representativity, whereas the decreased share of finds from layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material implies that it is rather problematic to identify actors and activities where the artefacts were found. It is therefore also difficult to identify specific zones or buildings in terms of gender.

Apparently, written sources do not illuminate social conditions with special regard to women in relation to Miklagard by the end of the twelfth century, although the tenement is known from as early as 1183 (Helle 1982: 133, with references). Yet, the material as a whole remains dominated by artefacts associated with household and social activities such as cooking and consumption. The share of local cooking tools has decreased somewhat, but still makes up about two thirds of such artefact remains. The foreign kitchen utensils are represented by ceramic kitchenware and tableware of mixed origin - 56% of the classified shards is of German types, 36% is of English and 8% of other types.

The female indicators are also in 1198 primarily represented by cooking tools and textile-production equipment - remains from the upright loom in particular. Where artefacts found inside buildings are concerned (Figure 33), cooking equipment is always accompanied by artefacts associated with consumption, and both are often registered in buildings with presumed household functions, i.e. in buildings 24, 25 and 135. In two of the buildings - nos. 25 and 135 - there are also indicators of textile production, and it seems reasonable to assume that these activities generally involved women. Reliable indicators of traditional male activities but drinking (and gaming) are still scarce, primarily represented by a few, rather uncertain indicators of trade and metal- and leather-working. Child-related artefacts are also rare, and none are registered in buildings. There are buildings both in the rear and front zones where only 'female' or 'male' artefacts are registered; yet, it is difficult to corroborate on separate, gender-related living or working environments.

Textile production is not indicated to the same degree as in Øye's study - based on a more extensive material from the whole period - but like in Sveinsgard, the finds indicate that women may have been common residents in or at least had access to buildings all over. They are first and foremost associated with household activities, but not necessarily within family-based constellations. The tenants may also have included foreigners, at least in summer season. Thus, few radical changes concerning gender and gender-related activities seem can be observed since 1170, which indicate social continuity.

4.2.4 Rows 1 and 2 (Atlegard/Oddsgard)

Similar to the situation in 1170, almost all of the rear zone of rows 1 and 2 - the double tenement of Atlegard - lies outside the borders of the site. Remains of

the fire layer of 1198 were missing in the middle part, but remains of four, possibly even buildings between 5.2x4.8 m and 6.8x5 m (25-34 m²) are documented (Figure 34). The overall building pattern resembles the preceding one, indicating continuation. In row 2, what has been interpreted as traces of building 492 is registered in the rear zone, south of building 64. The area in front was not excavated, and there is a gap of about 13 metres between building 492 and building 472. The exact size of neither building is known. In front of the latter, there seems to have been a privy, a structure tentatively identified also in building 475 (28 m²) in the front zone. The exact size of building 138 to the west is not known, and most of building 471 in the rear zone of row 1 lies east of the site limits. The two rows are combined by a passage, but it is not known whether the open area in front of building 471 was undeveloped. Despite an extension of the wharf area of more than 15 metres from 1170 to 1198 - with caissons and other foundation structures for the quay - there are no traces of buildings in the wharf area (Herteig 1991a: 68-69). Where artefacts are concerned, the number dated to 1198 is distinctly smaller than in 1170 - comprising 189 artefacts. They are also generally difficult to relate with certainty to separate buildings (Figure 35), and none are found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material.

Some sooted - and thus possibly used - pieces of baking slabs probably originate in the area of building 471, and Pingsdorf pottery and a shoe sole are found in the passage. These few and contextually uncertain remains primarily signify cooking by means of local kitchen utensils, as well as consumption, but are difficult to assign to actors and activities in the building. Most finds from Atlegard are found in the area of building 475. In this building, English tableware (London Brown type), sausage pins, a wooden bowl, fragments of pleated textiles, a large children's sole of unknown size and leather fragments (possibly of waste type 2) are found. Pottery of different origin associated with kitchenware and tableware (Jutish ware and Developed Stamford and Paffrath types), a part of a medium soapstone vessel (type A), a weight possibly belonging to a loom, and some leather fragments are other finds that may be related to this building. It is uncertain whether a few leather fragments may be taken as evidence of leather-working in relation to the building, and the context of the weight is relatively ambiguous. However, it does not seem unreasonable to assign this structure a domestic function, framing cooking - by means of local kitchen utensils in particular - and consumption/drinking, and possibly also children.

Similar artefacts have a more uncertain relation to building 475 and could also relate to building 472. These are more or less of the same categories as presented above and signify particularly local cooking, consumption/drinking, clothing and personal belongings: continental (Andenne ware) and English

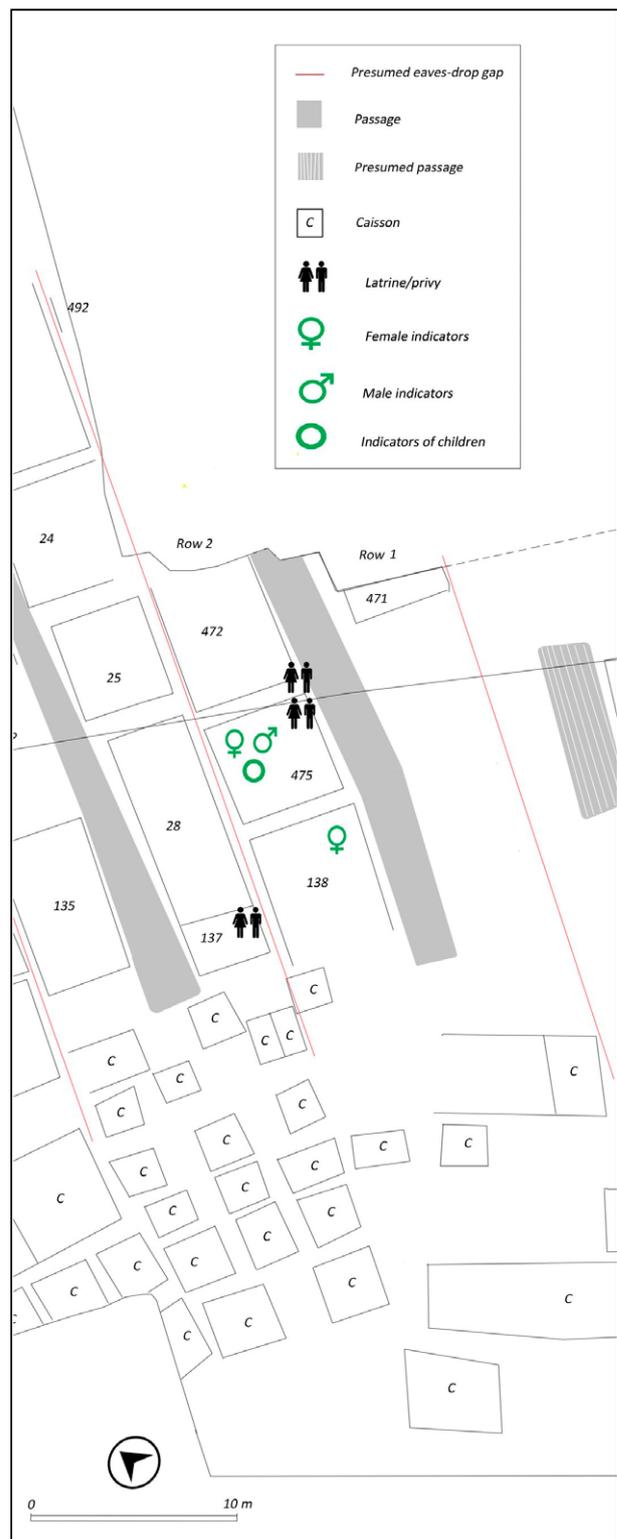


Figure 34. Buildings in rows 1 and 2 (Atlegard/Oddsgard) with gender-related artefacts, 1198. Modified after Herteig 1991a, *Plates; Moldung 2000: 44, Plate 5; Johansen 2013: 47, Fig. 5.3.*

(Shelly and London Shelly ware) pottery associated with kitchenware and tableware, parts of a wooden bowl, sausage pins, baking slabs, a comb (D7), fragments of clothing and a children's shoe (size 32) with remains of embroideries. In an area primarily covered by building 475 and the passage, pottery (including a single shard of Paffrath type) and a wooden stick

Context		Artefact															Total									
		Pottery, kitchenware	Baking slab	Soapstone vessel	Sausage pin	Tripod pipkin	Bowl	Pottery, tableware	Gaming piece	Ball	Shoe, leather	Textile	Comb	Warp weight	Needle	Crucible		Rune stick	Rivet	Sandstone, roofing tile	Door hinge	Hook	Oyster shell	Sample	Undefined	
Rear zone	Row 2	5	3		6		2	6			1	7	1			1	2							11	45	
	Row 1 / passage		4					24		1															29	
Front zone		5		1		1		2					1						1					2	13	
					5		1	2		4	6						2	1				18			39	
												1													2	
												1														21
			1							5	1							1						2	4	27
														1												1
																										9
	Row 1	1			9					2											13			1	30	
Total		12	7	1	23	1	3	39	1	1	13	23	1	2	1	1	5	14	1	1	18	2	18	189		

Figure 35. Artefacts from rows 1 and 2 (Attegard/Oddsgard), 1198. N=189. Colour scheme based on Figure 15.

with an uninterpreted runic inscription are also registered.

Only a sausage pin and a coarse textile fragment may with some degree of certainty be located in building 138, whereas the building relation is more uncertain regarding a shard of an English jug (Moderate Shelly ware) and an adult sole (size 34). The same applies to pottery (including a shard of Developed Stamford ware), sausage pins, an oval gaming piece of unknown type, a wooden needle, a fragment of pleated textile, shoe fragments and a shard of a crucible. These may relate to this building or to the eavesdrop between Atlegard and Miklagard and/or also originate in the passage. Thus, finds in the area of building 138 may be associated with cooking, consumption (especially drinking), board games and presumed clothing of high standard, as well as possible metal-working and textile production. Still, the find contexts are rather vague, the high degree of organic material may indicate fill masses, and the sausage pins are as noted functionally uncertain. Reliable conclusions on actors and activities can therefore hardly be drawn.

Place of use is difficult to determine also in case of other finds in the front zone of Atlegard, as they probably represent redeposited waste: a shard of glass, predominantly English pottery (Shelly and Developed Stamford ware), sausage pins, a weight and leather pieces (possibly waste type 2), a leather ball, fragments of pleated textiles and a coarse textile fragment. These artefacts primarily represent cooking and consumption, in addition to possible textile production and remains of personal belongings and a possible child-related artefact - common activities and artefacts in the tenement in general.

The fire of 1198 may have struck Atlegard hard, as there are few building remains in row 1. The number of artefacts has also decreased compared to 1170, and there are no finds from layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. Additionally, a high degree of fill layers is indicated by the many artefacts made of organic material. This complicates the possibility of identifying on-going activities other than in relation to the tenement in general also by the end of the twelfth century. Only to two buildings - nos. 138 and 475 in the front zone (Figure 34) - is it possible to relate artefacts for certain, opposed to five buildings three decades earlier. It seems reasonable to assign women and men at least to building 475, in which male and female indicators generally associated with production (possible leather-working) as well as with necessary household tasks (cooking) are found - very much like in building 494 in 1170. A children's sole and fragments of pleated textiles were also found here; yet, neither a family-based residential unit nor inhabitants of a higher social segment can be verified. Neither can a sausage pin in building 138 be considered evidence of a gender-specific working area.

Written sources first mention Atlegard in the late fourteenth century and may hardly illuminate social conditions at an earlier stage. However, both the artefact material in general and the building-related finds apparently indicate few radical changes from the previous periods where gender and gendered activities are concerned. The remnants still cover traces related to traditional female activities, men and now also children, as well including some remains of foreign kitchenware and tableware. Both in the rear and front zones activities associated with cooking - by means of local cooking devices and particularly German (63% of the classified shards) and English (29%) pottery - and consumption/drinking are signified, as well as personal belongings. Textile production (weaving and sewing) is also generally indicated, as are possible leather-working - very much like in 1170 and indicating continuity. Also, a rune stick is found in presumed fillings over the fire layers from 1198 in the front zone. The inscription on one side is 'Solweig owns these threads' and the other 'Four and a half mark', apparently the price. This points to a female in Atlegard who may have bought the threads for her own use, or who may have traded in small (Johnsen 1990: 196-198). Based on archaeological evidence, then, men, women and children, and possibly also foreigners in the sailing season may have resided or rented rooms in Atlegard.

4.2.5 *Søstergard*

Like in 1170, primarily the front zone of the Søstergard area is unearthed at the 1198-level; yet, also some of the rear area. Herteig does not refer to the fire layer in the southern row, but it was apparently present in most of the northern row (Herteig 1990: 115-119). None of the twelve artefacts seems to have been found in actual fire layers. Neither are any registered within buildings; thus, it is referred to Figure 39 for an overview of the layout of this tenement.

The physical layout in this area continues to stand out from the remainder of the site, and may still represent two separate tenements - in casu a double tenement with an internal passage to the north ('the northern row') and a single tenement to the south ('the southern row'). There also seems to have been a passage between the southern row of Søstergard and the northern row of Engelgard - perhaps a common fare - which makes the tenement structure somewhat unclear. Only two, log-built, buildings are registered. Building 127 in the front part of the northern row has an assumed size of c. 5x3.3 m (17 m²), whereas the size of building 171 in the southern row is unknown, due to a large part being located east of the site borders. Originally, there may have been a building in front of 171, but possible remains have not survived. There is also space for another building north of building 127 (Herteig 1990: 115-119, 121). Three new wells are registered: one east of building 127, and two more between the northern and southern rows, possibly used by inhabitants of

both tenements (Johansen 2013: 43). In addition, there are remains of foundation structures in the wharf area (Herteig 1990: 115-119).

In the northern row, a sausage pin, a decorated upper, a sole and a rope are found in a caisson in the front, whereas pottery (including shards of Andenne type), shoe parts, a sole and a possible mitten are registered in fillings in front of the southern row. The contexts mean that the artefacts represent redeposited waste. Generally, they are associated with cooking by means of local kitchen utensils, consumption and outworn, but elaborate footwear. The finds thus correspond to finds made in the same area in 1170 - when leather and textile fragments possibly related to production for household need were registered, as well as food-related items. The material is generally too small to make reliable conclusions concerning actors and activities. Neither can written sources shed more light on the issue related specifically to this tenement. Labels and business letters written in runes presumably found in or under the fire layers of 1198, however, mention males with Norse names such as Einar, Runolv, Torstein, Sigurd, Gunnar, Halvdan, Orm and Finn, in addition to a woman named Tora (Johnsen 1990: 152, 164, 170, 172-173 183, 188, 202-203, 210). This may indicate the presence of inhabitants of Norwegian descent, both male and female.

4.2.6 Engelgard

Like Søstergard, primarily the front part of Engelgard has been excavated, and also somewhat inadequately investigated in the eastern part. There were problems of identifying the fire layer; still, the only 14 registered artefacts are all found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. Again, none of the artefacts are found in buildings, and it is referred to Figure 39 for an overview of physical layout.

Remains of a few more, somewhat uneven buildings are documented in the tenement Engelgard than in Søstergard - measuring between 4 and 6 m in length and 2.5 and 6.5 m in width (15.8-30 m²) - and a new well is recognized behind in the area of what is left of building 200 in the northern row. This building also has a stone-built fireplace, which indicates a domestic function. Building 245 to the west is an elevated structure with an enclosed sub-floor containing a layer of moss, possibly a privy or a storage room. Some foundation structures west of 245 may have supported a third building. The southern row comprised three buildings. Here, building 242 had a rectangular fireplace, and a privy on its southern side - i.e. building 240. Remains of building 244 were located west of these buildings. The two rows are presumably combined by a common passage (Herteig 1990: 85-90). The structures as such thus signify residential functions.

The artefacts from the northern row are rather scanty. A possible loom weight is found in the rear part of the excavated area. Further west, in the cais-

son area, a few shards of pottery are found (including single shards of Andenne and Paffrath types). In the southern row, parts of a crucible are documented in a caisson in the front zone, whereas English and German pottery (London Brown and Pingsdorf types), and a somewhat coarse textile and a very fragmented piece of pleated textile are possibly related to building 244 or the area in front of this building.

Thus, as in 1170, the finds from Engelgard are few and fragmented, and reliable conclusions concerning gender and activity can hardly be drawn based on the artefact material. Some are, however, related to primarily consumption and clothing, and may possibly be related to building 244. The remainder of finds in Engelgard in general is mixed, and reflect cooking by means of foreign utensils, metal-working and fishing/textile production. A few labels with runic inscriptions from this tenement presumably found in or under the 1198-layers mentions males with Norse names - Halldor, Olve, Øystein and Øyulf (Johansen 1990: 160-163, 173, 216). In all, both female and male activities are suggested, as well as the presence of both locals and foreigners.

4.2.7 Bugard

As mentioned, only the front part of Bugard is documented by the time of 1198, but remains of the fire layer were recognized in most of the unearthed area. Remains of two buildings are registered - building 313 in the northern row and building 236 (estimated size 7-9x4-4.2m, c. 38 m²) in the southern row, presumably combined by a passage (Herteig 1990: 51). The building remains are fragmented, but a domestic function of building 36 is indicated - represented by a hearth and a concentration of weights from an assumed upright loom (Øye 1988: 121; Herteig 1990: 51-52). There would have been space for a third building in front of building 313, but there is no archaeological evidence of such. The wharf area in the front contains some substructures, and there are remains of a passage between Bugard and the neighbouring tenement Bredsgard outside the excavation site (Herteig 1990: 51-54). In all 35 artefacts are assigned Bugard, all found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material.

There are no artefacts related to the northern row, whereas pottery, no less than 29 loom weights (of which seven have an incised cross), a part of a crucible, a rivet and an unidentified wooden artefact are found in building 236 (Figure 36). The tenement is first mentioned in written sources in 1303 (Helle 1982: 238), which yield no specific information on the social conditions a century earlier. Archaeologically, though, there is little doubt on the presence of a female working environment associated with weaving at least in building 236. Also cooking and/or consumption most likely took place here. In addition, three labels and business letters written in runes have

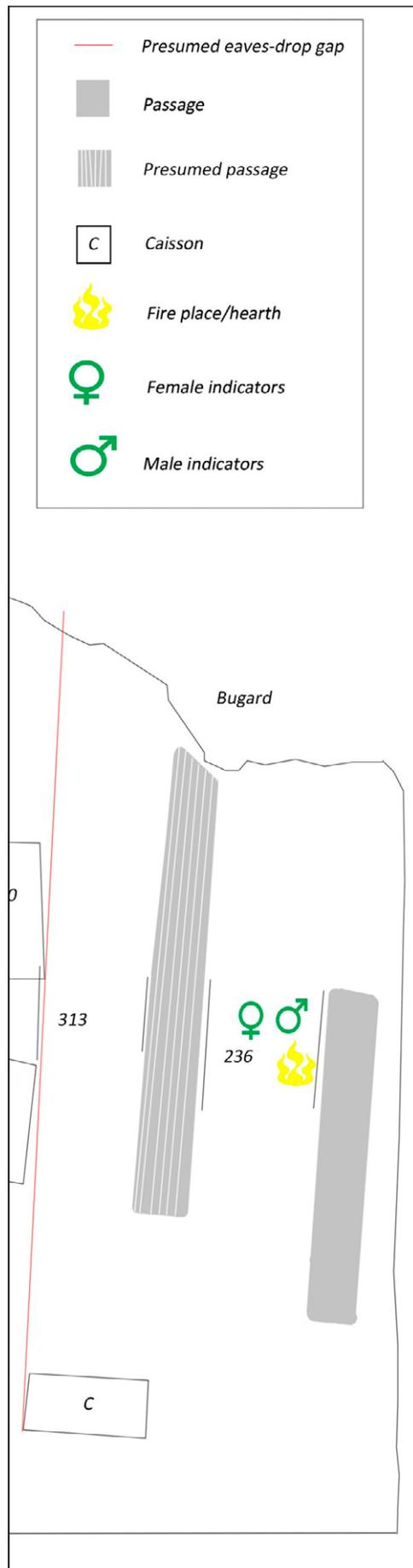


Figure 36. Buildings in Bugard with gender-related artefacts, 1198. Modified after Herteig 1990: 52; Fig. 25.

presumably been documented here in period 3 (1170-1198) in general, mentioning males by the name Eindride/Endre, Torhall, Olav, Peter and Sverdolf. At least Peter and Torhall may represent foreigners (from Iceland and Greenland, respectively); yet, also locals (Johansen 1990: 126, 152, 207-208, with references).

4.2.8 Artefacts, activities and gender at Bryggen, 1198 - an overall assessment

The methodological problems faced in relation to the examination of activities and actors based on artefacts and contexts at Bryggen in 1170 also concern the 1198-level. First and foremost, the Bryggen site and the fire remains have been documented to a varying degree. The latter do not make up a continuous and coherent layer throughout the site, and the different tenements have not been excavated in their full length and/or width. Added to this, the rear zone was primarily investigated north of Atlegard only, and in places to a somewhat limited degree. Thus, the archaeological artefact material remains quantitatively much smaller in the southern part of the site. A thorough clean-up after fire VII suggested in the area of Sveinsgard and Miklagard probably also contributes to quantitative differences of artefacts. Representativity is also affected by a continuous underrepresentation of metal artefacts, as indicated by the distribution of artefacts according to material (Figure 37). In addition, a higher degree of fill masses in the western parts of the site means that reservations have to be made when discussing and comparing the different tenements in terms possible gender-related activities, buildings and zones.

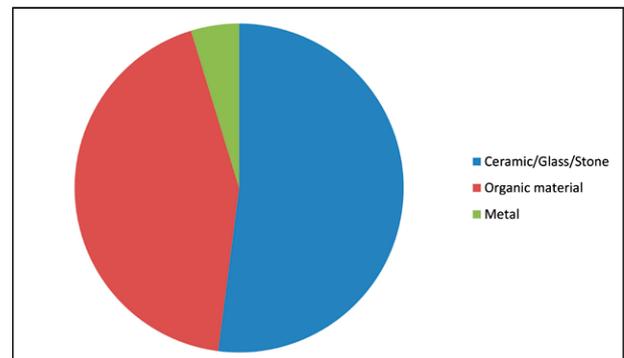


Figure 37. Distribution of artefacts from BRM 0 by material, 1198.

The opportunities of identifying possible building-relations and/or gender-related activities carried out where the artefacts are found are also somewhat limited in many cases, among other things due to a large number being assigned unspecific and ambiguous find contexts or apparently stemming from (re-deposited) fill masses. Again, there is a small - and decreasing - share of finds from layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material, which now makes up only about 25% (192 objects) of the investigated remains. Both in Sveinsgard (rows 5 and 6) and Miklagard (rows 3

and 4), such finds make up less than one third of the artefacts, and none of the finds from Atlegard (rows 1 and 2) and Søstergard have been found in fire layers. In Engelgard and Bugard, all finds are found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material, but the remains are few. At the same time, the artefact material is like the one from the 1170-layers relatively consistent in terms of categories found within the different tenements, and generally interpreted as at least signifying activities taking place here in general. If only finds from layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material are considered, the number of buildings with gender-related finds is halved. However, this first and foremost seems to affect the possibility of identifying artefacts traditionally associated with traditional male activities, which in any case apparently are increasingly underrepresented.

The number of archaeological artefacts dated to 1198 remains more or less the same as in 1170, now counting 765 items - in contrast to or perhaps due to the extensive building activity that took place in this period. A large part of the material is still dominated by food-related artefacts. In addition, an increase of female indicators is registered, still associated with cooking, and with textile production represented by weaving in particular, but also spinning and sewing. An increasing deposition of soapstone vessels, baking slabs and textile-production equipment in period 3 (1170-1198) in general is also registered (Øye 1988: 141; Vangstad 2017: 200; Tengesdal 2010: 46-47). The female indicators dated by year are found in the entire site and often in the same buildings, as shown in Figures 38 and 39 - e.g. in buildings 37 and 63 in Sveinsgard, buildings 25 and 135 in Miklagard and tentatively in building 236 in Bugard. Building 24 in Miklagard and building 475 in Atlegard do not show traces of textile production, rather remains of German and local, possible kitchenware, respectively. Hearths or fireplaces are only registered in Bugard (building 236), and in Engelgard (building 242 and outside building 200). This lack of fireplaces is, however, not considered representative and/or contradicting e.g. cooking taking place in buildings with no such remains. There are no artefacts that with certainty may be related to buildings in Søstergard and Engelgard, and - like in 1170 - no indicators of textile production at all in the former. Nevertheless, the artefacts from the southern area are as mentioned few - not least compared to the northern three tenements - and considering the presence of primarily food-related utensils elsewhere in the southern tenements, there is little reason why such activities should not have taken place here as well.

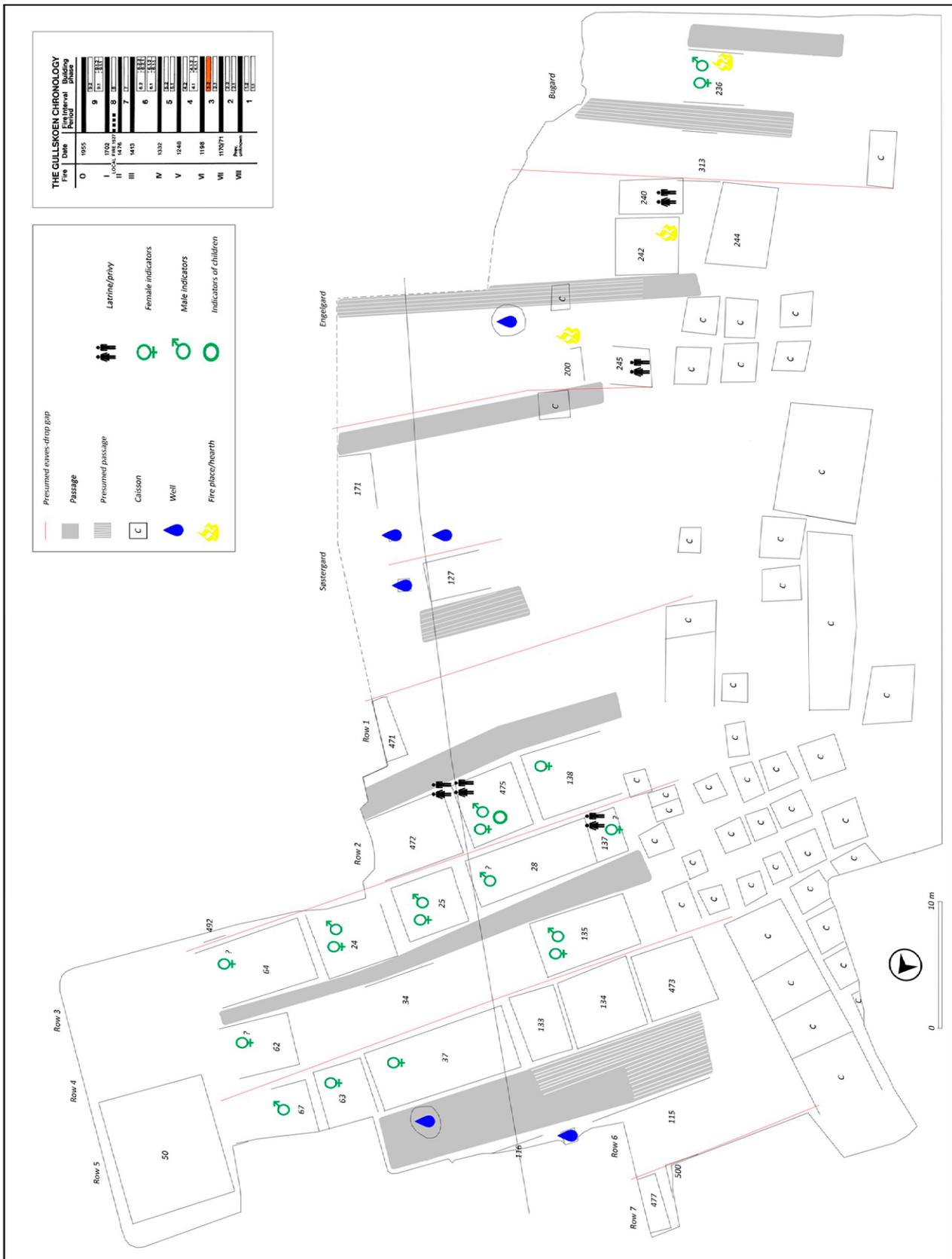
The share of artefacts associated with traditional male activities have been more than halved compared to in 1170, and make up only about 3% of all remains. These more scattered finds than in 1170 are primarily associated with trade, possible metal-work-

ing, leather-working and shoemaking and general production. Artefacts related to consumption (and drinking in particular) must also have been used by men, though, and both the commercial activities known from written sources and the enormous building activity registered within the site - related especially to the development and filling in of the wharf area - bear witness of male actors at Bryggen. Also, it has previously been observed that the amount of fishing tackle increased considerably in period 3 (1170-1198) in general (Olsen 2004: 73). The 'male' artefacts are commonly found in buildings where presumed female activities are taking place. Only in building 67, there are no other gender-related artefacts but a male one. Similarly, of the six buildings where only female indicators are represented - opposed to three in 1170 - three include no or only one other artefact (buildings 62 and 64 in Miklagard, and building 138 in Atlegard). Thus, there is little to build upon when it comes to verify the function of these buildings and/or activities that took place here - nor the presence of separate living/working areas based on gender. Additionally, building 137 in Miklagard is interpreted as a privy or a storage room, which means that the registered weights may represent stored objects. Based on finds of presumed male artefacts nearby and possibly connected to building 37 (Sveinsgard), neither may an exclusively female environment be suggested here. Only building 63 (Sveinsgard), with traces of cooking and textile production, may be related to women only, based on archaeological remains.

Most of the gender-related finds, then, relate to domestic structures, but without clear gender demarcations. Only building 236 in Bugard stands out, as an environment where weaving have taken place in a possibly non-residential environment. Based on the artefact material, there are few indications of family-based households. There are hardly any finds of child-related artefacts dated to 1198, and the only one registered in a building - a sole in building 475 - is associated with an older child. This may tie in with examinations from St Marys' cemetery, c. 1150-1250, which indicates an unusual demographic composition dominated by middle-aged and female individuals, possibly single workers (Lorvik 2009: 19-116). Still, the investigated skeletal material is limited, and the presence of children at different ages - and thus presumably also of family units - at Bryggen has previously been indicated in the latter half of the twelfth century in general (Mygland 2007: 84-88). The finds from layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material first and foremost indicate gendered activities in the rear zone in general - in Sveinsgard and Miklagard in particular - whereas a larger part of the material in general is still found in the front zone. Many of these artefacts are found in redeposited waste in the wharf area and may originally have been used further back. This is probably reflected

Zone	Tenement	Building no.	Earlier interpretations	Female indicators	Male indicators apart from drinking gear and gaming pieces	Child-related indicators	All artefacts	Artefacts/activities	
Rear	Sveinsgard	67			1		2	Consumption, general craft	
		63		Confirmed, plausible	14		22	Basic cooking, spinning, weaving, building-related finds, animal remains	
	Miklagard	37	Upper storey?	Confirmed, plausible	33		34	Basic cooking, weaving	
		62		Confirmed?	1		1	Weaving/fishing	
		64		Confirmed?	1		1	Weaving/fishing	
		24	Log-built, wall benches, stofa	Plausible	2	3	14	Basic cooking, consumption, whetting of tools, trade, building-related finds	
Front	Miklagard	25	Functionally related to 24? Wall bench, upper storey? Textile production?	Confirmed, plausible	2	1	7	Basic cooking, consumption, spinning, shoes/leather-working, building-related finds	
		28	Two storeys, three rooms		1		5	Consumption, building-related finds	
		135	Log-built. Textile production	Confirmed, plausible, possible	7	1	43	Basic cooking, cooking for storage, consumption, weaving, general craft, shoes/leather-working, building-related finds	
	Atlegard	137	Basement-building, storage, latrine, textile production	Confirmed?	1		2	Weaving	
		475	Privy in the south-east corner		5	3	1	39	Cooking, consumption, shoes, clothing, leather-working, building-related finds
	Bugard	138		Possible	1		2	Weaving/fishing	
		236	Hearth, upright loom	Confirmed	29	1		35	Cooking/consumption?, weaving, metal-working, building-related finds
		Total			96	10	1	207	

Figure 38. Buildings with gender-related artefacts, 1198.



by a high degree of broken baking slabs (Tengesdal 2010: 47-49) and a larger concentration of soapstone vessels (Vangstad 2003: 99-101) in the front zone in period 3 (1170-1198) as a whole. Buildings with possible gender-related artefacts are more or less evenly distributed throughout the site, and the lack of such structures in some areas should perhaps first and foremost be ascribed the problems of relating artefacts to clear, physical contexts. Like in 1170, then, neither to zones nor tenements is it possible to identify gender-specific living or working areas for certain based on artefacts. Traditional female activities are, however, now easily identified also in Sveinsgard. There are no artefacts that with some certainty may be related to buildings in Søstergard and Engelgard, and - like in 1170 - no indicators of textile production at all in the former. Nevertheless, the artefacts from the southern area are as mentioned few - not least compared to the northern three tenements - and considering the presence of primarily food-related utensils elsewhere in the southern tenements, such activities as well could have taken place here.

A considerable element of secular, prominent men (and also some women), commonly carrying names of presumed local origin, were among the tenement owners in Bergen mentioned in written sources prior to the middle of the thirteenth century (Helle 1982: 274-303, with references). Labels and business letters written in runes are also still registered in most tenements in the period between 1170 and 1998 and immediately after, mentioning primarily males with Norse names - but, as mentioned, also a possible female ON mangari (monger) (e.g. Johansen 1990: 196-197, 203, 208, 213-214). Considering also the increasing deposition of textile-production equipment, baking slabs, soapstone vessels and fishing tackle, it does not seem unreasonable to assume that the Bryggen area was settled by local townspeople in particular. This may be reflected in the artefact material dated to 1198 - and perhaps to a higher degree than in 1170, considering an increase of local kitchen utensils and textile-production equipment, traditionally associated with female users. Conclusions cannot be drawn based on quantitative assessments alone; still, about three quarters (75%) of the cooking tools are local types. Also, even if the many functionally uncertain sausage pins is left out, local cooking customs seem prominent, at least in the tenements where there is a reasonable number of finds in general and of kitchen utensils in particular - Sveinsgard (95%), Miklagard (65%) and Atlegard (71%).

Tableware is still almost exclusively represented by foreign pottery, and also regularly accompanied by local (as well as foreign) kitchenware and textile-production equipment. This may again perhaps be interpreted to the effect that imported tableware had been integrated in local food culture and was in everyday use in an international trading community such as Bergen, and not reserved foreigners alone. As individuals shape their physical surroundings accord-

ing to specific needs, the rebuilding of the settlement after the fire in 1170 in more or less the same way as before - both in terms of overall physical layout and building type/functions - and the indication of the same types of activities as in 1170 in the same tenements may also suggest a high degree of continuity and relatively stable conditions. At least, it may indicate little functional or social needs - or possibilities - of changes.

In all, it seems reasonable to assume that most of the textile and cooking tools at Bryggen may be ascribed activities carried out by local women also in 1198. At the same time, tenements and rooms were commonly let out to foreign guests, and an increasing share of imported pottery (56% of the classified shards being of German types, 35% English, and the remainder of other types) may also indicate inhabitants of mixed ethnic origin. The measurable material is small; yet, fewer large and the introduction of very small soapstone vessels in period 3 (1170-1198) in general (Vangstad 2003: 81) may perhaps also be interpreted in these terms, or associated with smaller household and/or a more individualized food culture related to men.

It is a paradox that men - or rather male workers - are clearly underrepresented in the archaeological artefact material, considering the large-scale commercial activities and enormous building activity that based on written sources and physical structures took place at Bryggen by the end of the twelfth century, and which must have required a large male work force. This indicates that important information might get lost if focusing on artefacts associated with these alone. Also, relying on artefacts dated by year and presumably affected by fire in particular is somewhat problematic, as they represent a relatively limited selection of what was actually in use at the time horizon investigated. They may thus not be representative in terms of activity and actors, at least not compared to previous, quantitatively and temporally more extensive investigations of important gender-related artefact groups such as cooking tools and textile-production equipment. A previously suggested extensive textile production in a couple of buildings in the middle of Miklagard (building 135 in particular), for instance, is barely indicated at all by my material. Also, opposed to my previous study of all children's artefacts from the period 1170-1198 - suggesting the presence also of young children, and consequently indicating the presence of family-based households - the archaeological artefacts only dated to 1198 may hardly be used to illuminate such groups and social constellations. At the same time, these differing results may be ascribed diverging temporal interpretations of find contexts. As a whole, where previous studies have focused on relatively limited artefact categories, the present contextual approach and selection of material enables a more thorough examination of artefacts and contexts - and thus of gendered aspects - in specific horizons. The examina-

tion of artefacts dated by year and previous artefact investigations also seem to point in the same direction, and may with some reservations be considered complementary - confirming conditions that may be relatively scarcely indicated by the present selection of artefacts.

Thus, extensive commercial and building activity at Bryggen, as well as a presumed increase of foreign inhabitants in the relatively short and dynamic period between the fires of 1170 and 1198 may favour social change. However, despite some representative problems, a contextual evaluation of the artefact material indicates continuity concerning actors and activities. Food-related activities are still the best represented in the artefact material, although food processing is to a larger degree than in 1170 seemingly performed by means of local kitchen utensils, and consumption represented by foreign tableware. Cooking and consumption may in other words to some degree be associated with a local and a foreign material food culture, respectively - and perhaps be interpreted in terms of a distinct urban material food culture. Considering historical evidence of lodging guests and that most of the tableware probably relate to drinking, however, it may also reflect an increasing element of higher-ranking males and/or foreigners - although there is no one-in-one relationship between imported pottery and foreign users. In addition, and considering also the relative lack of child-related artefacts, it may perhaps indicate women in the roles of

servants. It is more uncertain whether a few remains of pleated textiles may be assigned high-ranking women; yet, their presence cannot be ruled out. At least, more than 60% of the 485 investigated items of this kind have been dated to 1198 and earlier (Vedeler 2007: 102-103).

Nevertheless, few radical changes concerning women and gender composition seem to have taken place. The presence of artefacts traditionally related to women is increasingly represented in all tenements, especially associated with cooking by means of local utensils. Textile production is also indicated in most of the site, and in all tenements but Søstergård - represented by the stationary upright loom more than movable spinning, and undoubtedly performed by women. Traditional male activities besides drinking are as mentioned increasingly less visible in the artefact material; still, there is more than enough written and structural evidence of such. In addition, artefacts and/or activities associated with both men and women continue to be indicated in more or less the same contexts - and now possibly also indicating different social strata. This continues to speak against (extensive) gender-specific living or working areas. In all, the artefacts signify a presence of resident local women at Bryggen - but possibly in charge of food-processing and textile production also in 1198 - as well as of men and older children, and presumably also foreigners.

5 Change or continuity? Bryggen in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries

The second half of the twelfth century was a short and dynamic period, but apparently also characterized by social and overall physical stability and continuity. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries - represented by the archaeological material associated with the fires and fire layers of 1248 and 1332 - the urban development accelerated rapidly. This may be reflected in the artefact material, which covers no less than 4416 artefact remains. Both long term and sudden factors in this period may be said to entail new possibilities and/or limitations in terms of women, gender and gender structures in Bergen and at Bryggen. The devastating fire of 1248 which left most of the town in ruins, for instance, may be understood as a significant single event. Followed by spontaneous efforts of rebuilding and a more or less regulated reconstruction by the king, it came to provide the town with a layout that dominated even in the Late Middle Ages, and included a vertical as well as a horizontal expansion of the settlement. In this period, Bergen also became dominated by national and international commercial activities in earnest, as a staple of foreign trade north of the town, as well as on Iceland, Greenland, the Faeroes, Shetland and the Orkneys (Helle 1982: 173-174, 184-186). Foreign actors with new agendas and/or needs - merchants staying in town as winter-sitters - entered the arena in larger numbers at least from the 1250s, which is especially interesting to assess based on material culture.

The aim of this chapter is to investigate gender, gender composition, families and households further within these social and physical frames of expansion and increasing internationalization, with special regard to aspects of change and continuity as for gender. The extensive and increasing commercial and building activities traditionally associated with men that took place at Bryggen in this period also call for a particular focus on the relation between gender and material culture. Is, or to what degree is it possible to discuss aspects of ethnicity in this period based on material culture? Does the overall composition of the archaeological remains change, and in what ways? Also, to what degree may the archaeological record illuminate social structures and the presence and roles of women in particular? What traces of women, men and children may be documented in this period in the artefact material from the two town fires and in what contexts? May any changes be discerned concerning the presence and roles of women in particular in this increasingly international urban society dominated both by local and foreign men? The archaeological material can now also to a higher degree be compared to and evaluated in terms of written sources - and vice versa.

5.1 Artefacts, activities and gender, 1248 (fire layer V)

According to historical sources such as the contemporary Icelandic Annals and sagas such as *Hákonar saga* and *Sturlunga saga*, the fire in the early summer of 1248 was disastrous, burning down more or less the entire town, except the royal and ecclesiastical centre Holmen - tentatively illustrated in Figure 40 (Helle 1982: 183, with references; 1998: 30-37, with references). Still, there were problems of recognizing fire V in parts of the Bryggen site, especially in the front. In the area of Sveinsgard, Miklagard and particularly Atlegard, there were large gaps in the fire layer, in addition to many intrusion layers of charcoal, ash and partially burnt fragments of buildings related to lime-slaking activities related to the stone churches nearby, taking place both indoors and outdoors (Herteig 1991a: 56). Neither in the rest of the Bryggen site was fire V (1248) represented by a continuous layer, probably because it was removed in some areas when digging overlaying layers by machine (Herteig 1990: 49-51, 82, 84, 111-112). Particularly this applied to Søstergard. The fire layer was recognized in large parts of Engelgard and Bugard (Herteig 1990: 82, 84, 49-51). Also, at the 1248-level, the foundations of the buildings generally consisted of vertical posts, and it was difficult to establish an absolute chronological relation in the area of rows 1-6 during the excavation (Herteig 1991a: 56). This was done post-excavation, and there are some overall uncertainties associated with the dating of the finds presumably related to the fire of 1248.

The development of the tenement Gullskoen is unknown from the time of the fire in 1248, as rows 7 and 8 now lie outside the excavation area at this and upper levels. In the remainder of the site, the somewhat extended wharf area is now occupied by buildings - in row 1-6 to such a degree that it apparently was fully developed by this time (Figure 41) (Herteig 1991a: 67; Moldung 2000: 48). Particularly in the area of Engelgard and Bugard there is also a marked ending of the front of the wharf (Herteig 1990: 85, 49-51). The settlement remains associated with traditional double tenements; however, both Søstergard and (especially) Engelgard are longitudinally divided as well, in the form of main buildings accompanied by annexes or side-buildings (Herteig 1990: 85, 115). Additionally, although all tenements but Bugard are represented both by their rear and front zones, rows 3 and 4 (Miklagard) are the only rows which are completely covered by the excavation.

Besides St Lawrence's (building 50), 44 buildings are dated to 1248 - buildings interpreted as common rooms, workshops, storage rooms and/or privies, in addition to six wells (Herteig 1990; 1991a; Plates).

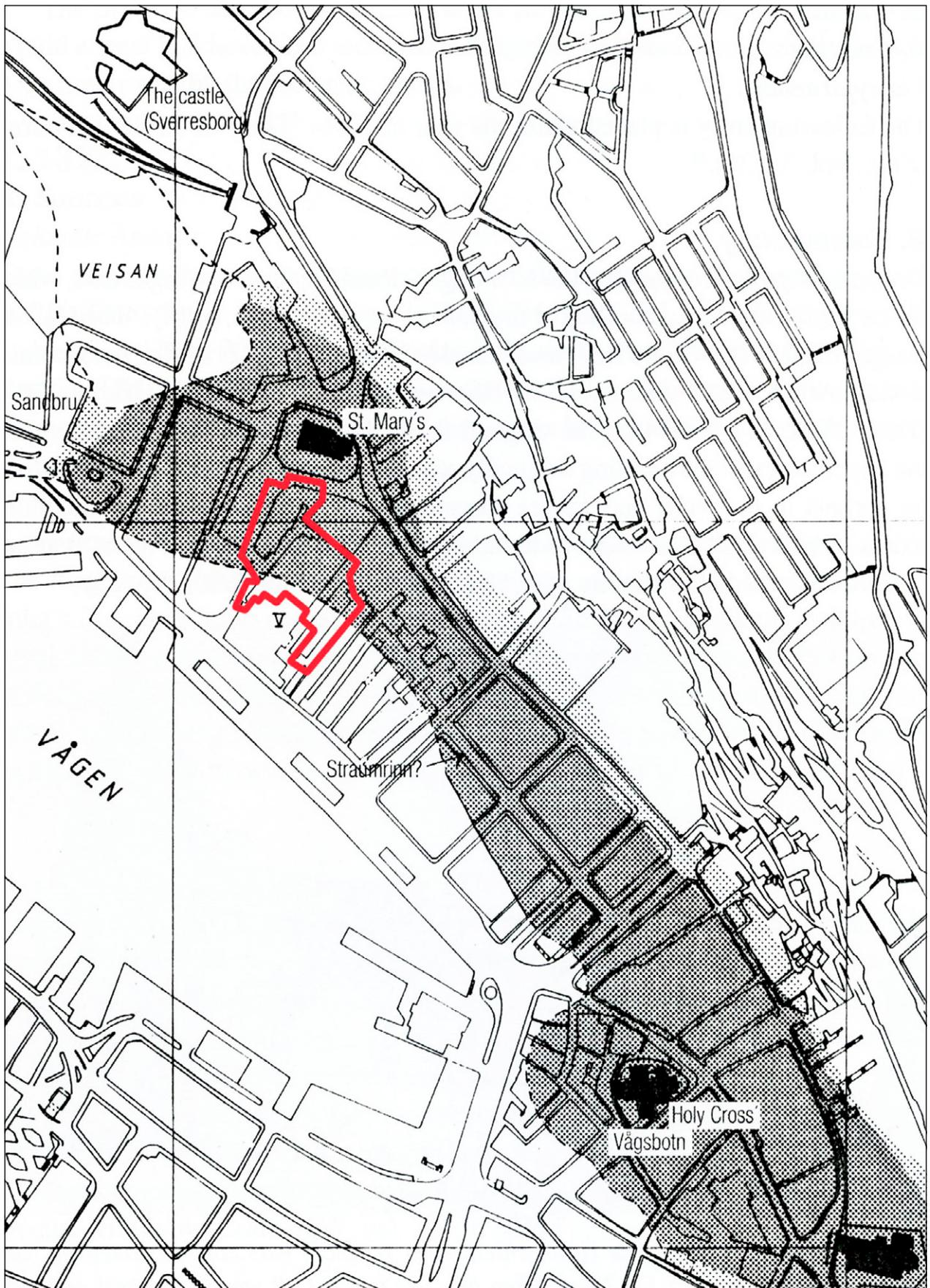


Figure 40. Presumed extent of fire V, 1248, according to Ann Christensson. Modified after Helle 1998: 37, Fig. 7.



Figure 41. The Bryggen site, phase 4.2, divided in rear and front zone. Surviving remains from the fire of 1248. Modified after Herteig 1990: 50, 81, 111, Figs. 24, 46 and 73; 1991a, Plates.

Half of the latter structures are located in the passage between rows 5 and 6 and interpreted as common wells for the inhabitants of the tenement. In this tenement, there is also another well - in an open area in the middle of row 6 - whereas the remaining two are found in Søstergård and Engalgård, respectively.

Four wells represent continuations of older wells, and all probably had ground water of good quality, suitable for drinking as well as cooking (Johansen 2013: 44-46, 66-68). Only two - possibly five - hearths are registered. Like in 1170 and 1198, this probably indicates an underrepresentation of such structures, but it

may perhaps also be that the hearths were shared by all inhabitants in the different tenements - or more uncertainly located in upper storeys. As mentioned, there are also traces of lime-slaking and dressing of soapstone both in Sveinsgard and Bugard, related to the building of e.g. the later St Mary's Guildhall, that was presumably constructed soon after the fire in 1248 (Herteig 1991a: 55-56). A horizontal and vertical densification of and new elements in the settlement are thus registered, and the tenement structure is characterized by buildings of various sizes - possibly reflecting more differentiated functions. However, the overall layout is based on a settlement pattern and plot system developed in the preceding century, and despite devastating fires, it must have been affected and/or bound by established plot structures, ownership and building traditions.

5.1.1 Rows 7 and 8 (Gullskoen)

As already noted, rows 7 and 8 lie outside the Bryggen site by the 1248-level. Thus, no artefacts are related to the tenement of Gullskoen.

5.1.2 Rows 5 and 6 (Sveinsgard)

Rows 5 and 6 (Sveinsgard) make up the northernmost excavated part of the Bryggen site. The fire layer of 1248 was recognized in large areas, but was partly disturbed by lime-slaking activities in the middle parts. Most of row 6 still lay outside the excavation boundaries and the area west of building 50 (St Lawrence's Church) was dug by machine down to fire IV (1198), removing some of fire layer V in the rear and middle area as well. Due to time pressure during excavation, the front zone of the tenement was poorly documented (Herteig 1991a: 56, 64), and there may be some chronological mix-up of structures. Still, both the rear zone and a large part of the front zone are generally represented. In all 295 artefacts dated to 1248 are associated with Sveinsgard, of which only 16 are related to row 6, and 30 presumably originate in the eavesdrop gap between Sveinsgard and Miklagard or in the passage between rows 5 and 6 (Figure 42). The artefacts from layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material make up about 40% (113 items) of all artefacts related to the layers of 1248, opposed to 27% in 1198.

Besides building 50, at least 11 buildings are recorded in the tenement of Sveinsgard, opposed to nine in 1198 (Figure 43). These vary between 2.9 and 8 m in length and between 2 and 4.8 m in width (c. 9-43 m²) and show a greater degree of variations in terms of size and shape than in 1198. As five decades earlier, only some remains associated with three buildings are documented in row 6. The rearmost is building 205, whereas buildings 114 and 474 in the front zone extend into unexcavated area. The former presumably has a sub-floor enclosure, which may indicate a storage room (Herteig 1991a: 62-65). In the middle of the open area between buildings 205 and

114, a well with water of good quality is registered - as was the case here also five decades earlier (Johansen 2013: 44-46). Row 6 is combined with row 5 by a wide passage which remains cover a length of c. 52 metres (Herteig 1991a: 62-65). Here, another three wells with ground water of good quality are registered. One replaces an earlier well and is located outside building 29 in row 5, whereas two are found in the central part of the tenement (Johansen 2013: 44-46).

In row 5, eight buildings are registered, of which six are found in the rear zone. In the backmost building, no. 60 (Herteig 1991a: 63), loom weights and possible remains of a collapsed fireplace from an undocumented upper storey have been indicated (Øye 1988: 122). Yet, it is uncertain whether hearths or fireplaces were located other than at ground level. West of building 60 lie remains of building 31, with indications of an enclosed gallery - and thus of an upper storey - on the southern side (Herteig 1991a: 63). Textile production has been indicated also here, by a concentration of assumed loom weights, two needles dated to period 4 (1198-1248) in general, and another needle found south of the building (Øye 1988: 122). In front of building 31, buildings 29 and 26 lie side by side. These could represent a single building, or the latter may have been erected after the former was taken down. Considering deposits of lime, soapstone and traces of burning inside, building 26 may have been some kind of workshop. It was difficult to define the two or three buildings further west, but what is interpreted as building 36 possibly has a sub-floor enclosure, which may signify a storage room. Additionally, some kind of workshop activity may be assigned the area of building 32 - demonstrated by patches of clay and charcoal mixed with a limey substance. Similar structures, as well as a circular pit filled with clay are also documented in front of this building (Herteig 1991a: 63-64). In an open area between building 32 and building 211 in the front zone, a log-built building with an annexe on its southern side, possibly a ground-floor gallery, is located (Herteig 1991a: 64; Olsen 2002: 34). Two loom weights have previously been registered here in period 4 (1198-1248) in general (Øye 1988: 127). As there were no traces of a fireplace or wall benches, it has been difficult to interpret this poorly isolated building as a common room for the tenement (Olsen 2002: 124). The annexe comprises remains of a possible fireplace, though. This may indicate a specialized, but unknown activity (Herteig 1991a: 64; Olsen 2002: 35, 127) - perhaps associated with the eldhus known from written sources? Building 470 represents the very front building in row 5 (Herteig 1991a: 64).

Many of the buildings in Sveinsgard, then, seem to represent some kind of workshops or storage rooms, located in both the rear and front zones. In addition, there are buildings of a more residential character in the rear part of the tenement in particular, as apparently was the case also in 1198. The two

fireplaces are found in the rear and front zones, respectively, whereas the wells are primarily located in the rear. The buildings vary in size; however, it seems like the biggest ones are found in the front zone. As a whole, the buildings are more numerous and there are more structural indications of building functions and of production activities such as lime-slaking than earlier. Yet, the physical characteristics of the tenement reveal few radical changes. That two of the four wells from 1248 were based on earlier wells also indicate continuity as well as new initiatives. At the same time, indications of upper storeys in some buildings mean that these may have had more than one function.

In building 205 in the rear zone, only ceramic tableware (including shards of Scarborough, Grimston and Mediterranean ware) are registered, mostly English. Finds are more numerous in building 60 - pottery (including shards of Andenne and Pingsdorf types), a dish, gaming pieces of unknown type, and weights from a layer denoted as fire layers or containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material - of which at least three evidently represent loom weights - whetstones (or a single whetstone in two pieces), a seal and slag. Another weight is located in the passage between buildings 60 and 31. Consumption, not least drinking, and board games are thus indicated in building 60, as well as a working environment related to textile production - associated with weaving on the upright loom. There are also indicators of trade and whetting of tools, but concerning both physical structures and artefacts, not least general household and social activities are assigned this building. In building 31, the archaeological evidence is quantitatively smaller and compared to previous investigations which cover the whole period, textile-production equipment is hardly present: a single shard of pottery, a sausage pin, a loom weight, a whetstone and a possible soapstone lamp, of which some are from layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. Still, household activities such as cooking, possible consumption and weaving may have taken place also here, very much as was the case in this area in 1198.

A large number of finds are registered in an area covering both buildings 60 and 31. This includes ceramic kitchenware and tableware of e.g. German (Paffrath and Pingsdorf ware) and English (Scarborough ware) types, as well as a miniature, shards of a small soapstone vessel and another one of unknown size (type B), a stave/base of a lagged vessel, a baking slab, a sausage pin, a possible weight, a possible spindle whorl that is not referred to in Øye's study, a possible hone, whetstones, leather pieces (possibly waste type 3), soles (including two presumed adult's sole, one of size 36) and other shoe remains. The finds cannot be related for certain to either of the buildings, and the identification is in some cases uncertain. They are, however, generally of the same categories as already referred to in relation to building 60

and 31, in addition to indicators of clothing and/or some kind of shoemaking/leather-working. It is not possible to establish whether the miniature may represent a toy, or a small container for medicine, spices or other.

The artefacts possibly related to building 32 include primarily English pottery (Grimston type) - one found in a layer denoted as fire layers or in a layer containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material - a shard of a possible bottle and remains of baking slabs. Another shard of pottery and a piece of slag are registered in almost the same area. More or less the same types of finds, from layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material, are also made in the passage north of buildings 32 and 36: pottery (including two shards of Paffrath type and a modern type shard), sausage pins, a wooden bowl, a textile fragment and a seal. Further west, pottery is also found in the passage. Thus, the few finds are in some cases contextually uncertain, and first and foremost indicate food-related activities that seem incompatible with a workshop associated with lime-slaking like building 32. Also, some of the artefacts may represent stored objects from building 36. Still, it cannot be ruled out that building 32 was also used for general household and social activities.

Only three shards of primarily English pottery (Scarborough and Grimston ware) are registered in the well in the middle of row 6. These are apparently from layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material, which seems unlikely, considering the context. An adult's shoe sole (size 40, and presumably male) is found in a layer denoted as a fire layer or a layer containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material, in the area between the well and building 114. Only three more shards of pottery (including single shards of Grimston and Andenne types) and a comb are found in building 114. These are associated with drinking and personal belongings, but are generally too few to draw reliable conclusions on activities that took place here - not least as the physical structure of the building indicates a storage room.

A couple of rivets/nails are found in the passage, but most of the artefact finds in the front zone of row 5 relate to building 211. Scarborough pottery, a baking slab, a sausage pin and a barrel stave are found in this building. The building-relation is more uncertain for some e.g. English pottery (Scarborough and Grimston types) and a sausage pin. Remains of primarily English tableware (including London Shelly ware, Grimston ware, York White ware and Humber ware), pieces of baking slabs (of which one is fire-cracked), sausage pins, a gaming piece associated with Nine Men's Morris or kvatrutaff (Lund 2013: 109), a leather fragment (possibly waste type 3), shoe parts and slag may also be related to building 211 or to the annexe. Pottery (including a shard of Paffrath type) and a light spindle whorl, possibly from layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing

e.g. charcoal or other burnt material, are found behind building 211, a whetstone in front and a needle (type A) by the pit. Artefacts representing cooking by means of local devices and possibly foreign, as well as consumption/drinking, then, dominate the material possibly related to building 211. In addition, there are signs of textile production (spinning and possibly also sewing) and presumed clothing. Cooking may perhaps have taken place in the annexe. Uncertain find information and the possibility that some of the artefacts may represent stored objects make it difficult to verify on-going activities.

In the annexe of building 211, English (Brandsby) pottery, a baking slab, slag, presumed shoe parts and a wooden stick with an uninterpreted runic inscription are registered, whereas pottery of mixed origin (e.g. shards of London Brown and Andenne types), a sole and some other shoe remains are located in the eavesdrop between the annexe, and building 222 in row 4 (Miklagard). The find material is small, though, and represents activities that seem unlikely to take place in the same environments - like metal-working and cooking. The find context is also in some cases uncertain, and the artefacts may have been used elsewhere. Thus, it is difficult to make reliable conclusions on the function of the annexe.

Like in 1198, the interpretation of the chronological and spatial distribution of the archaeological record from Sveinsgard is somewhat ambiguous. The material remains dominated by food-related artefacts. This includes a larger share of foreign pottery than earlier - English tableware in particular (68% of the classified pottery, compared to 45% in 1199), yet, the classified shards are few. Remains of local kitchen utensils such as baking slabs and soapstone vessels are now scarcer and make up c. 17% of this category. In all, this may indicate cultural change; yet, some of the pottery is found in possible storerooms or workshops and may not have been used here. The reduction of local cooking tools may also be ascribed a removal or mix-up of fire layers. That only 40% of the artefacts in general is found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material (first and foremost finds in buildings 31 and 60), and hardly any of the ones in the front zone adds uncertainty regarding actors and activities.

Buildings with finds of gender-related artefacts are few - four in all (Figure 43). Female indicators related to cooking primarily by means of local kitchen utensils and/or textile production are located in all of these buildings, but with some certainty assigned activities carried out here only in the rear zone: in building 60 and presumably also in building 31. This was apparently the case in this area also five decades earlier. Especially in building 60, there is little doubt on the presence of a working environment related to weaving on the upright loom. As suggested by Øye, a similar working environment may be indicated also in building 31, but the evidence in my temporally more restricted study only consists of a single weight.

Both buildings apparently represent structures with a residential function. It is somewhat uncertain whether the cooking utensils found in buildings 32 and 211 represent activities carried out here by women, as these structures may also be interpreted as workshops related to traditional male craft, possibly lime-slaking. In fact, in terms of physical structures and based on the ground floor construction, Sveinsgard is dominated by possibly non-domestic buildings and production related to masonry.

Neither in 1248 is it possible to distinguish for certain between separate living and/or working areas for men and women on the basis of artefacts. There are a few more artefacts in the rear than in the front zone, and artefacts associated with activities traditionally associated with women in buildings are registered only here. At the same time, artefacts associated with traditional male activities are generally found together with artefacts traditionally related to women - in buildings 60 and 31, associated with trade and whetting of tools. Additionally, if the female - often food-related - indicators found in possible storerooms or workshops represent activities taking place here, it seems reasonable to assume that activities traditionally associated with both men and women generally took place in these buildings as well. This does not necessarily indicate family-based households, though, perhaps rather representing asymmetrical social categories. Household and residential activities are mainly located in the rear part of the site, though - as has already been indicated by numerous archaeological studies. This probably reflects a functional division of activities. If mainly women were in charge of food processing also in 1248 it may perhaps also indicate a gender-based one.

Traditional male activities besides social activities like drinking, and traces of children are difficult to identify in the artefact material. This serves as yet another reminder of the necessity of including also other and more extensive sources than artefacts dated by year when investigating issues of gender at Bryggen. The increase of foreign and decrease of local kitchen utensils may indicate some cultural changes concerning gender and ethnic composition in Sveinsgard. As whole, though, the archaeological record points to a high degree of continuity regarding women, gender and gender composition. The presence of women is also in 1248 first and foremost indicated by food-processing and textile production like spinning and weaving. Female indicators are still found in the same contexts as male indicators and artefact associated with social (and primarily male) activities such as drinking. Considering the almost complete lack of child-related artefacts, this mix of artefact categories may perhaps be interpreted in terms of social distinction. The female artefacts may primarily indicate single female servants who may have cooked, served and produced textiles - roles that may be covered by the ON heimakonur as referred to in written sources.

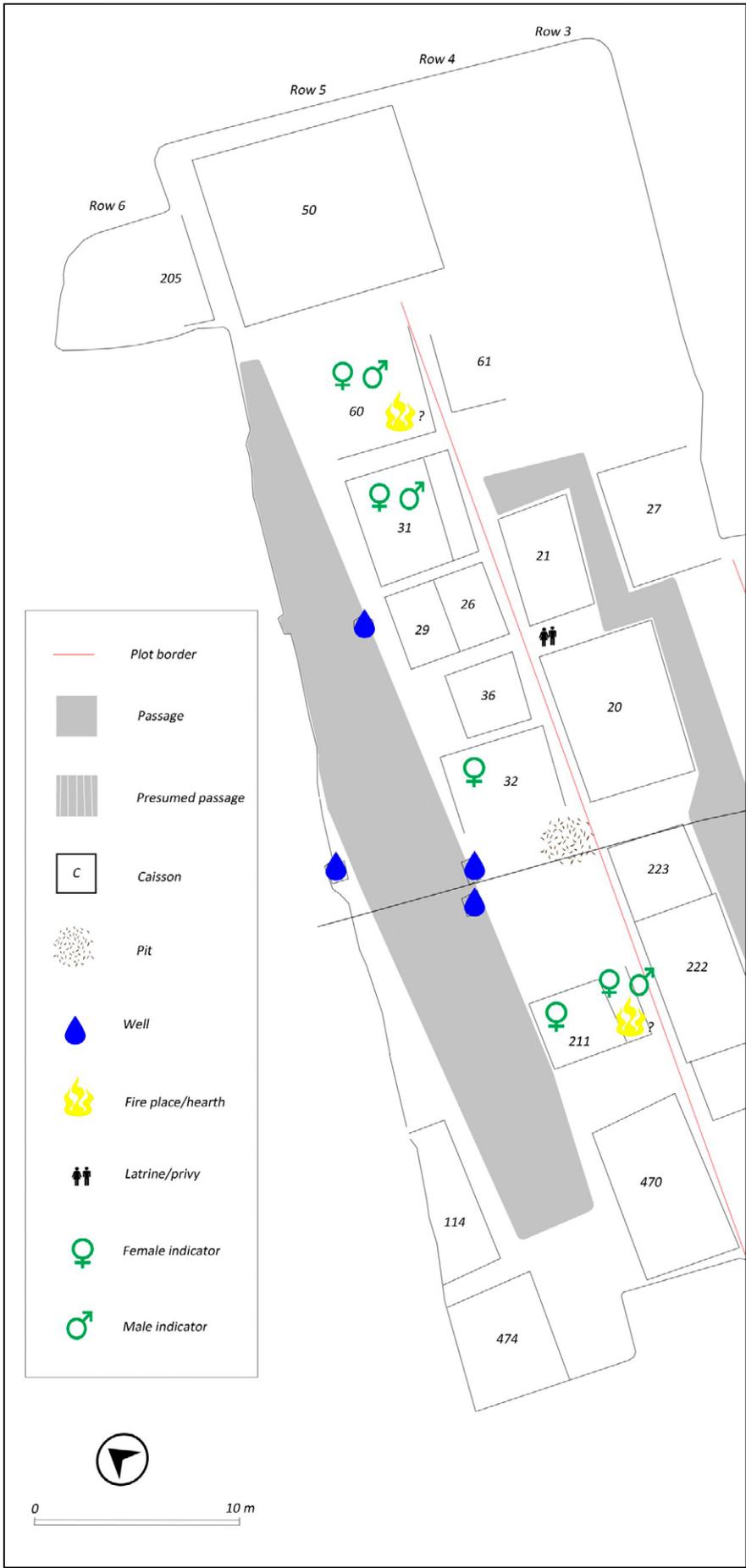


Figure 43. Buildings in Sveinsgard with gender-related artefacts, 1248. Modified after Herteig 1991a, Plates.

5.1.3 Rows 3 and 4 (Miklagard)

Fire V was apparently only sporadically represented in the northern part of the Bryggen site, but in Miklagard recognized at least in the rear zone (Herteig 1991a: 56). More or less the same amount of artefact remains as five decades earlier is assigned this tenement - altogether 372 items (Figure 44). Both in row 4 (143 artefacts) and particularly in row 3 (192 artefacts), it is difficult to relate the artefacts to buildings, and 37 artefacts are presumably related to what is left of the passage between rows 3 and 4. This stretches westwards between buildings 21 and 27 and beyond building 222. Less than a fifth of the artefacts (about 17%) originates in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material.

Unlike previous periods, row 3 is now characterized by open spaces and undefined physical structures, whereas there are remains of buildings and other structures in most of row 4 (Figure 45). These are like in Sveinsgard somewhat unevenly distributed in terms of size (c. 12-48 m²), and measure between 3.5 and 11.3 m in length and between 3.4 and 6.8 m in width. The rear part of row 3 probably ends at the edge of St Mary's churchyard. In this row, only a single, narrow building is recorded - building 27 - but remains of foundation structures indicate that the settlement may have stretched as far west as building 149 in row 2 (Atlegard) (Herteig 1991a: 59; Moldung 2000: 50-51). Building 61 represents the backmost building in row 4. A possibly undeveloped area and a cross-passage running southwards to building 27 are documented between this building and building 21 - another narrow structure (Herteig 1991a: 59). In this building, possible contemporary indicators of different processes of textile production have been registered (Øye 1988: 122). A latrine/privy is documented outside the western wall, probably used by all occupants of the tenement (Økland 1998: 32, 46, 52). Building 20 is twice as wide as building 21, extends into the passage running between rows 3 and 4, and frames a stone floor and a presumed wall bench (Herteig 1991a: 59). According to Herteig (1991a: 59), the building must have fulfilled a special, but unknown function - perhaps representing some kind of a common room? Textile-production equipment related to spinning and weaving has also been registered here in the period between 1198 and 1248 in general (Øye 1988: 122). Building 223 - a small structure in the front zone - stands close up to and was probably erected at the same time as building 222 (Herteig 1991a: 59-60). In the western part of building 222, there also seems to be an annexe, which based on similar structures investigated in medieval Oslo and Trondheim may be explained by the need of more space, or by adjustments to additional functions (Moldung 2000: 51, with references). Considering the foundation structures in front of building 222, there may have been other buildings also in this area (Herteig 1991a: 60-62).

Although still consisting of two rows of buildings combined by a passage, the layout of Miklagard seems to deviate somewhat from the one discussed so far - characterized by a lack of structures in row 3 and a somewhat irregular layout of row 4 with uneven buildings. This may perhaps reflect a more differentiated use of the tenement. However, also by the time of 1248, at least one possible residential building may be identified, and physically, the tenement cannot be associated with extensive craft-related and/or economic activities. Continuity is also reflected in the building structure in period 3 in general (1198-1248) (Moldung 2000: 106). There are no archaeological traces of upper storeys, but according to written sources, lofts were common here at least in 1206 (Helle 1982: 132, with references). Thus, a vertical division of activities needs to be considered in this tenement as well.

Most of the finds from the rear zone seem to be located between buildings. In the very rear part, between St Lawrence's church and building 61, pottery including especially English tableware (Scarborough and Grimston types), but also German (Siegburg type) - a couple from layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material - a part of a small soapstone vessel (type A) and soapstone vessel of unknown size (type B), and animal remains are found. A wooden type F needle without an eye is also found in front of building 61, in a layer denoted as fire layers and/or layer containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. Additionally, pottery, a possible sausage pin and a gaming piece associated with Nine Men's Morris or kvatrutaff (Lund 2013: 109) are found between buildings 61 and 21. Cooking by means of local kitchen utensils, consumption (especially drinking), playing of board games possibly of local origin and possible textile production are all activities located in this area.

A few finds of the same categories are registered within building 21, found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material: ceramic tableware of German type in particular (Pingsdorf), a loom weight, a spade, a bolt lock, shoe parts and a piece of leather (possibly waste type 3). A chess gaming piece and another shard of pottery probably also relate to this building, and possibly also some more pottery - especially German (Pingsdorf) - a sausage pin from a layer denoted as a fire layer or layer containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material and gaming pieces related to Nine men's Morris or kvatrutaff (Lund 2013: 109). More pottery (including a shard of a London Shelly jug) and a possible shaft of a knife may originate here or in building 27 in row 3. Also, some kind of leather holster seems to be located in the passage between buildings 21 and 20. The material remains related to building 21, then, first and foremost signify social activities such as drinking and board games - in addition to possible weaving. This may indicate some kind of common room.

Danish/Swedish pottery, as well as English (London Brown and Brandsby ware) - one shard apparently from a layer denoted as a fire layer or a layer containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material - sausage pins and a light weight or perhaps more likely a spindle whorl originate in building 20. Pottery (seemingly of French type) are also located in this area. In the area of building 20, the passage and/or row 3, pottery (including single shards of London Brown ware and Grimston ware), a sausage pin, shoe remains and a rivet with the male Norse name 'otar' written in runes were found. The artefacts, then, are associated with possible cooking by means of local kitchen utensils, and especially foreign drinking gear, textile production (spinning or weaving) and personal belongings, and possibly support the notion of building 20 as some kind of common room.

In the front zone, a metal needle is found in either building 223 or 222, whereas a miniature pot, a scale, and two arrowheads associated with weaponry rather than a tool for hunting (Nøttveit 2000: 81-82) most likely originate in building 223. Additionally, Humber ware pottery may be related to building 223 or to an unidentified structure in row 3. Thus, weapons and artefacts related to trade and possible production may be assigned the building, as does a miniature pot interpreted as a possible toy. Still, the finds are few and contextually uncertain, and cannot identify actors and activities with any certainty. The same applies to a shard of pottery, a barrel stave, shoe parts and possible shoe parts - including three children's soles (two of size 29 and one of size 33) - a knife and a whetstone found in an undefined structure in this area.

Paffrath pottery originates in building 222, and possibly also a few other pottery shards and two presumed, fragmented loom weights. A piece of leather (perhaps waste type 3), and a whetstone presumably originate south of the building. In the eavesdrop between building 222 and Miklagard, there are pottery (including single shards of London Brown and Andenne types), a sole and other shoe remains (previously referred to in relation to Sveinsgard). Pottery of e.g. German (Grimston and Paffrath ware) and English (Developed Stamford ware) types, an adult's sole (size 36) and a wood cone are also found in the passage to the south. The artefacts in the area of building 222, then, signify cooking by means of foreign kitchenware, consumption (drinking in particular), possible weaving and wood-working.

A shard of Paffrath pottery, sausage pins, a part of a loom weight with a cross, a shoe sole and a whetstone are found in the front zone. These may originate in Miklagard, but also represent waste from building 470 in Sveinsgard. In the very front zone, sausage pins, a skewer, a sole and a possible wooden lid are also registered, but cannot be related to activities in buildings or other structures. The finds also comprise ceramic kitchenware and particularly tableware - including English (Humber, Pingsdorf, Lon-

don Shelly, Scarborough and Developed Stamford ware), German (Pingsdorf ware) and French (Saintonge ware) types - baking slabs, sausage pins, a part of a wooden vessel, staves of lagged vessels, a part of a ladle, a possible mortar, a part of a wooden plate, a wooden lid, a metal spoon, an ornate, wooden spoon, a needle of type F, weights, a float belonging to a wider Norwegian coastal tradition (type I) (Olsen 2004: 48), a fine textile, shoe soles (including a children's sole of about size 30, a small adult's or adolescent's sole of size 34 and four adults' soles of unknown size), other shoe remnants, leather pieces possible of waste type 2, three slings, a sculptured head and whetstone fragments. In addition, pottery (including a single shard of London Brown ware), sausage pins, a piece of a baking slab, a fine textile and pieces of leather (possibly waste type 3) are probably located in a caisson in the very front. Although some of the artefacts are found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material, it is likely that the majority represents redeposited waste stemming from use in the tenement, not least considering the high element of organic material. The find material largely corresponds to other finds from Miklagard.

The distribution - and consequently the interpretation - of the artefacts connected to Miklagard is to a large degree affected by the lack of clearly defined physical structures in row 3 and in the front zone. Only a few artefacts and assumed gender-related artefacts in particular were found within buildings (Figure 45). Also, more than 40% of the artefacts are located in the wharf area and seems to represent redeposited waste. As only 17% of the artefacts originate in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material, further uncertainty concerning actual place of use is added.

There are no written sources illuminating life in Miklagard in particular in the middle of the thirteenth century, but the find material as a whole is like in 1198 largely represented by artefacts associated with cooking, consumption - the classified material associated with drinking in particular - board games of a local and/or foreign origin and clothing, as well as textile production (especially weaving). These include numerous female indicators, but there are few local cooking devices but functionally uncertain sausage pins compared to foreign pottery. The classified shards represent primarily English tableware - 62%, opposed to 36% in 1198. Again, this may perhaps be interpreted in terms of foreigners and perhaps a smaller element of women. A couple of finds are associated with traditional male activities such as fishing with nets, possible shoemaking, wood-working, trade and defence/hunting. Artefacts traditionally related to men as well as women continue to be found side by side, but in two of the three buildings with gender-related objects (nos. 20 and 21), only female indicators are documented with some certainty, in domestic contexts. Although Øye's study leaves little

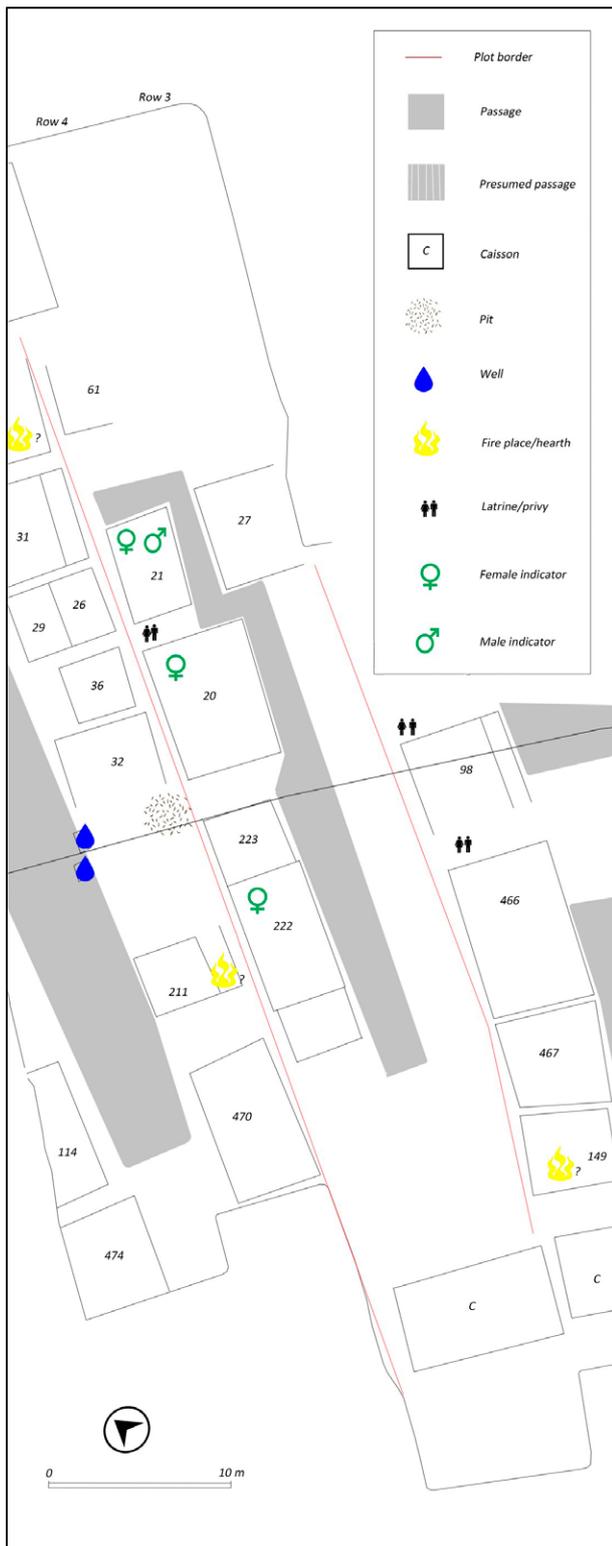


Figure 45. Buildings in Miklagard with gender-related artefacts, 1248. Modified after Herteig 1991a, Plates.

doubt on the presence of a female working environment related to textile production in building 221, the evidence from the 1248-layer is somewhat uncertain and quantitatively scarce. Other artefacts possibly associated with this building also indicate male activities as well.

In the 1198-layers, gender-related artefacts and activities were more or less evenly distributed in the rear and front zones of Miklagard, and there was seemingly no separate working or living areas where gender is concerned. In 1248, about two thirds of the artefacts are found in the front zone, where also the few indicators of traditional male activities are registered. However, if the contextually uncertain and presumably redeposited artefacts from the wharf area are left out, the situation resembles the preceding one. Traditional female activities such as cooking and textile production are located in the rear zone, and like in Sveinsgard, this may reflect both a functional and a gender-based division.

Child-related artefacts found in the 1248-layers are scarce, and associated with children of about 7-11/12 years. This, as well as the increasing share of imported (particularly English, but also German) pottery associated with drinking may indicate other social structures than family-based households, and thus possibly also single, working women rather than wives and mothers. In all, then, the remains hardly signify radical changes in terms of gender in Miklagard in 1248, although foreign elements may be more visible than in 1198.

5.1.4 Rows 1 and 2 (Atlegard/Oddsgard)

As parts of Atlegard lies outside the excavation area, only some of the rear and front zones are represented. Fire V was only sporadically represented in the rear half of the unearthed area, and the boundary between row 1 and Søstergard could not be located (Herteig 1991a: 56-57). In all, 286 artefacts may be assigned Atlegard by the time of 1248 (Figure 46) - 106 are registered in row 2, whereas only six with some degree of certainty are found in row 1. Additionally, 75 finds may be associated with the passage between rows 1 and 2. Altogether 99 artefacts were located in the very front part of Atlegard in general. Only 19% of the artefacts originates in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material.

Besides an expansion of the front area of the tenement, the overall building structure in Atlegard displays continuity from the time of the fire in 1198, including six buildings of various sizes (varying between 3.8 and 8.8 m in length and between 4/5 and 6 m in width, i.e. c. 19-50 m²) and character (Figure 47). In row 2 - which becomes increasingly narrower towards the front - five buildings are documented, opposed to three in 1198. Building 99 is the backmost building and possibly extends eastward into unexcavated area. This represents a two-roomed and presumably two-storey structure, furnished by a fireplace and a clay floor in the western part (Herteig 1991a: 57). It has been suggested that the western part was used as a common kitchen in the tenement, and the eastern as a common room for other social and domestic activities (Moldung 2000: 100). A structure interpreted as a privy is located immediate-

Context \ Artefact		Pottery, kitchenware	Soapstone vessel	Baking slab	Sausage pin	Lagged vessel	Bowl	Tableware	Ladle	Lid	Gaming piece	Shoe, leather	Textile	Comb	Warp weight	Smoothing stone	Leather, waste type 3?	Wood cone	Chisel	Whetstone	Label	Tally stick	Spade	Float	Rune stick	Rivet, nail, wedge, plug	Plank	Door hinge	Miscellaneous	Undefined	Total
Rear zone	Row 2							1																							1
	Area of B99/104	2				1													1												4
	Passage				1			4				11				1										1					18
Front zone	Row 1					1		1																		2					6
	B98							4													1										5
	Area of B98			1			1	6																	1	1					12
	Area of B98/466	1						3				7																			11
	Row 2				2			2			1	2																			8
	Area of B466/467				4			8			1	5					2				1		1		1	1					27
	B149				2	1		1			1																	1			8
	Area of B467/149				11	2		11				4	1					1				1				2					34
	Passage	2		3	10		1			1	1							1								7					53
	Wharf area		2	3	8	1		2				1	68				5					1				2					99
Total		5	2	7	38	6	2	43	1	1	4	120	1	1	1	1	7	2	1	3	1	1	1	3	1	16	1	2	1	286	

Figure 46. Artefacts from rows 1 and 2 (Atlegard/Oddsgard), 1248. N=286. Colour scheme based on Figure 15.

ly to the west of this building, very much like in relation to the preceding building 472 (Herteig 1991a: 57). Another privy is registered west of building 98 in the front zone. This building has been interpreted as a possible three-roomed structure (Moldung 2000: 50); yet, it seems a little too short for that. Also the preceding building 475 from 1198 seemed to frame a privy. Three buildings are identified in front of building 98. Buildings 466 and 467 are represented only by remains of foundation timbers (Herteig 1991a: 57-58), but it has been indicated that sewing and weaving could have taken place in the former (Øye 1988: 127). In building 149, there are remains of an upright loom and possibly also of a collapsed fireplace from an upper storey (Øye 1988: 122-123; Moldung 2000: 100). There is no evidence of buildings in front of building 149, but the c. 10 metres long open space leaves room for a waterfront building, and the row may have extended further westwards into unexcavated area (Herteig 1991a: 58; Moldung 2000: 50). Besides remains of a single building in the easternmost part - building 104, which mostly lies outside the site borders - there are as in 1198 no recognizable physical structures in row 1 (Herteig 1991a: 56-57). There are also remains of foundation structures in the very front area - a caisson in row 2 and some upright posts in row 1 - the latter probably representing foundations of what has been denoted The Old Church Road between rows 1 and 2, but not referred to in contemporary written sources (Herteig 1991a: 58; Helle 1982: 196).

Although cooking have been suggested in relation to building 99 in the rear zone, only a single shard of unclassified pottery is found here, in a layer denoted as a fire layer and/or layer containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. A shard of York White ware and a stave from a wooden vessel most likely originate in building 104, whereas Paffrath pottery, another stave from a wooden vessel and a possible chisel in the area of these buildings most likely relate to row 1. Pottery of Pingsdorf type, London Brown type and York White ware, a sausage pin, a smoothing stone and shoe parts from The Old Church Road are also possibly connected to row 1. Altogether, the few finds in the rear zone are difficult to relate to buildings. They do, however, indicate that food- and drink-related activities associated with local and foreign traditions, maintenance of textiles and whetting of tools may have taken place in this area.

In the front zone, a pottery lid of Grimston type, Pingsdorf pottery and a whetstone are registered in building 98, whereas some other pottery, a part of a sooted baking slab and a wooden bowl originate in front of it. The artefacts, then, may signify cooking by means of a local kitchen utensil, consumption (drinking) and whetting of tools. Similarly, in a grid square dominated by buildings 98 and 466, pottery (including a single shard of Paffrath type), shoe soles (including two adults' soles and a children's sole

of maximum size 32) and shoe fragments (possibly waste type 2) are registered. These artefacts indicate similar domestic activities and possible leather-working and include personal belongings and a child-related artefact. Due to contextual uncertainties, they cannot be assigned activities in specific buildings, but evidently stem from the tenement as a whole.

There are also uncertainties concerning other artefacts connected to buildings 466 and 467 and row 3. Scarborough pottery, sausage pins, a gaming piece related to Nine Men's Morris or kvatrutaff (Lund 2013: 109), a children's sole (size 24) and another shoe fragment are possibly found in building 466. North of this building - related either to row 3 (Miklagard), and/or the eavesdrop between Miklagard and Atlegard - a sausage pin, a possible butter spade and a whetstone are found. Similar finds are also made in a grid square covering buildings 466 and 467: ceramic tableware of predominantly English types (Grimston ware), sausage pins, another gaming piece related to Nine Men's Morris or kvatrutaff (Lund 2013: 109), leather fragments (possibly waste type 2 and 3) and a rune stick, perhaps a label, with the inscription 'h?a?' ('h? owns'). In what is assumed to be the area between buildings 466 and 467, Paffrath pottery, a part of a wooden bowl, a possible bone ladle, parts of baking slabs (of which two are fire cracked), a wooden lid, sausage pins, a weight, floats associated both with a local and a wider European tradition (types I and VI) (Olsen 2004: 48), shoe parts - including two complete shoes and a children's shoe (size 29) - and a possible wood cone are found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. Thus, the artefacts are first and foremost associated with cooking - by means of local as well as foreign devices - consumption, especially drinking, by foreign tableware, board games of local or foreign origin and clothing, as well as shoes for both young and older children. The weight may either indicate weaving or fishing with nets. Again, it is difficult to relate the artefacts to activities taking place in specific buildings, and some of the finds probably represent waste or redeposited waste.

Previous studies based on finds from the whole period indicate that building 149 may represent some kind of common room including a female working environment related to weaving (Øye 1988: 122-123; Moldung 2000: 100). The loom weights registered here, however, are in the find database described as being located around - and not in - fire V, and accordingly not included in my study. A shard of English tableware, sausage pins, a stave, a gaming piece related to Nine Men's Morris or kvatrutaff (Lund 2013: 109), an outworn comb, a whetstone and a rope are registered. Both structural features such as a fireplace and archaeological artefacts may thus signify common social, as well as household activities here, associated with possible cooking, consumption (drinking), gaming and whetting of tools, as well as

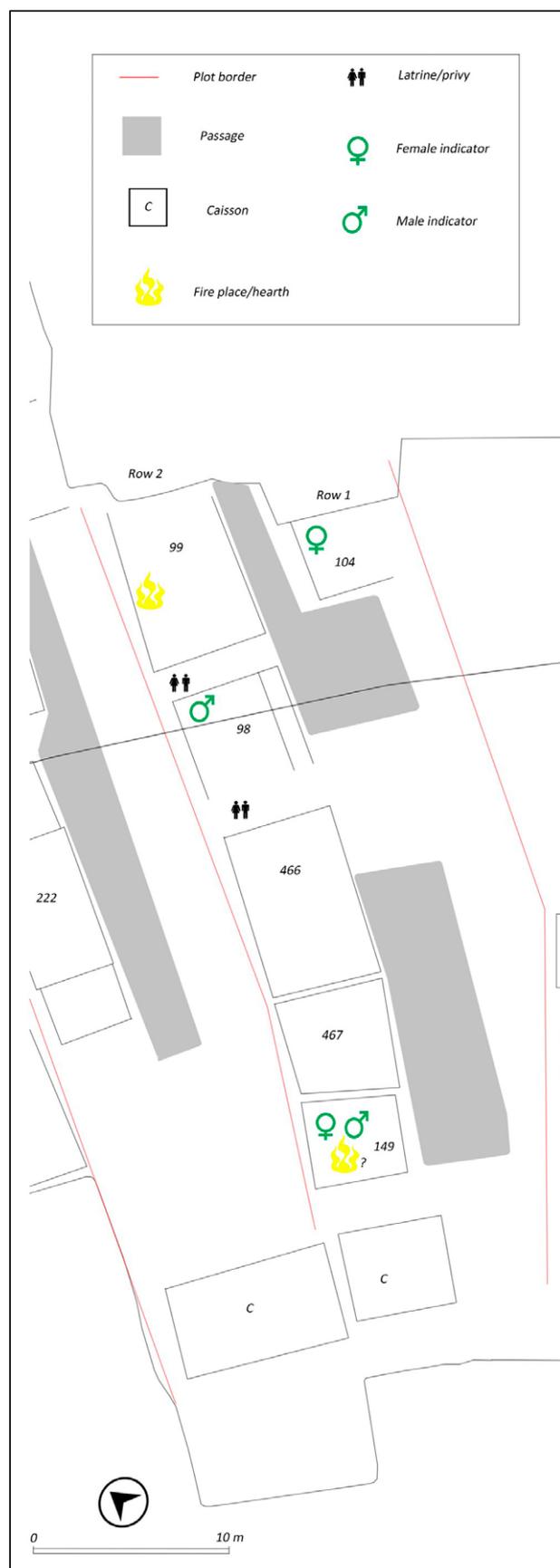


Figure 47. Buildings in Atlegard/Oddsgard with gender-related artefacts, 1248. Modified after Herteig 1991a, Plates.

weaving. Several other artefact remains of the same categories may also originate in the area of buildings 467 or 149: shards of London Brown jugs, a shard

of glass, sausage pins, staves from wooden vessels, a textile fragment, shoe parts - including a children's sole of unknown size - a tally stick and a wood cone. Food- and drinking-related artefacts, as well as traces of possible trade and wood-working, and a children's shoe are thus represented

Many artefact remains are found in the very front zone, obviously representing waste from the tenement in general. All kinds of objects appear: single shards of Grimston and York White ware pottery, pieces of baking slabs, parts of type A soapstone vessels, a part of a lagged vessel, sausage pins, a gaming piece related to Nine Men's Morris or kvatrutaff (Lund 2013: 109), a possible wooden label, pieces of leather (possibly waste types 2 and 3) and shoe parts - including three soles, an adults' sole, six children's soles representing all age groups (sizes 20, 28, 29, 30 and two of about 32) and another part of a child's shoe. The remains, then, represent the same categories and activities as registered in relation to rows 1 and 2 in general.

Like in 1198 - and as already accounted for in relation to Miklagard - most finds dated to 1248 are difficult to relate to specific buildings (Figure 47), again making it problematic to identify possible actors and activities. The few finds found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material are with one exception found in the passage in the front zone. Also, as most of the rear part lies beyond the site limits, and many of the finds in the front zone probably represent redeposited waste, it is difficult to discuss the tenement in terms of zones. Neither does the overall building structure illuminate this any further, as both small and large buildings are located in both zones, as may have been the case also in 1198. The two fireplaces are like in Sveinsgard also located in the rear and front zones, respectively.

As a whole, the find material is still characterized by artefact categories related to cooking primarily by local utensils, consumption - drinking in particular - board games either of a local or foreign type, and to an increasingly degree outworn personal belongings such as shoes related to adults and both very young and older children. In addition, it includes traces associated with general leather-working and/or shoemaking and wood-working, as well as indicators of textile production, fishing and trade. This is difficult to ascertain based on context; yet, if the large amount of shoe remains is interpreted as waste from craft rather than as remains of used footwear, there are stronger indications of leather-working - and thus of men - in Atlegard in 1248 than in 1198. Still, like earlier, this possibly took place on a household basis, and both archaeological evidence and the Urban Code of 1276 (Bl VI, 8) point to Vågsbunnen as the shoemakers' district in Bergen (Larsen 1992: 87, with references). The majority of the classified pottery now represents English tableware (70%, opposed to 29% in 1198), also in 1248 associated with drinking. Un-

like in Sveinsgard and Miklagard, the share of foreign kitchen utensils has decreased - from about 60% of all kitchen utensils in 1198 to about 46 in 1248 - and is now smaller than the share of local utensils.

Based on the artefact material, the inhabitants seem to be of both gender, and to include toddlers and youngsters and possibly foreigners. The former two are also in 1248 with some certainty located in a few, presumably residential buildings. Possible male indicators but drinking gear are seen in building 98 (associated with whetting of tools), female in building 104 (associated with cooking) and both male and female in building 149 (cooking, weaving and whetting of tools). The artefacts are few, however, and based on other finds in the area they cannot be taken as evidence of gender-restricted buildings. The mixed artefact categories, including indicators of traditional female work, and (presumably male) social activities such as drinking and gaming may, like in Sveinsgard and Miklagard, perhaps be interpreted in terms of social distinction and women in the role of servants. As mentioned in Chapter 4, a label with the runic inscription 'Solveig owns these threads', dated to the period between 1198 and 1248, have also been found in Atlegard, which may indicate a women trading in small (Johnsen 1990: 196-198). The child-related shoe material also primarily points to children in the age group between 7 and 11/12 years - presumably able-bodied youngsters - and cannot be related to specific buildings. Considering the indicators also of very young children, though, women within family groups should also be ascertained.

There may be a local bias in the artefact material; however, few overall changes concerning actors, activities and gender composition seem to have taken place this tenement in the course of the last fifty years - neither based on the archaeological evidence, building structure nor overall layout. This indicates a high degree of continuity - but based on contemporary and contextually somewhat uncertain artefact remains.

5.1.5 Søstergard

In Søstergard, the situation in 1248 is rather unclear, as the overlying layers were removed by machine during excavation together with parts of the deposits from period 4 (1198-1248). Fire layer V was missing or only sporadically represented in central areas of the tenement, but recognized in the front part in general, and in the rear part of the southern row (Herteig 1990: 111-115). Altogether 166 finds are dated to the 1248-level - opposed to only 12 to 1198 - registered in the front zone of the northern row (Figure 48). Of these, 63% (104 items) is found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material (opposed to none in 1198). None of the artefacts are found within buildings, and it is referred to Figure 54 for an overview of the physical layout of the tenement.

Two rows of buildings are documented in the level of 1248, as well as a passage separating the southern row from Engalgard, and possibly another passage in the rear part (Herteig 1990: 111-115). The southern row appears to be divided longitudinally, with side-buildings on the northern side (Herteig 1990: 111-113). Five buildings are registered - all rather small, ranging from 2.4 to 5.8 m in length and from 1.9 to 6.5 m in width (7-38 m²). In the rear zone, building 125 and side-building 122 (Herteig 1990: 112-113) - interpreted as a privy (Økland 1998: 32) - are documented. A well is located only a couple of metres to the west, replacing a previous well devastated in 1198 (Johansen 2013: 45). Building 123 west of building 125 may have been some kind of common room, considering traces of wall benches along the walls. Further west, two more side-buildings are located in the front zone, which main buildings have not survived - presumably due to digging by machine. Buildings 400 and 401 are both elevated structures with an enclosed subfloor, and a concentration of moss in the former indicates their function as privies, or possibly storage rooms (Herteig 1990: 112; Økland 1998: 32). Buildings 121 and 399 in the northern row are also located in the front zone, seemingly in close contact. Remains of foundation structures appear in the waterfront area (Herteig 1990: 112, 115). Thus, the settlement is relatively similar in both rear and front zones.

The artefact material contains many of the same categories as in the other tenements, also in the 1248-layers fragmented and scattered. Close to building 121, there are ceramic kitchenware and tableware (including single shards of Paffrath and Rouen types), a shard of glass, sausage pins, a whetstone, two soles (including an adults' sole) and a collection of bones and knuckles, in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. The finds indicate domestic activities in the building: cooking - by means of local, possible kitchen utensils - and drinking represented by foreign ceramic kitchenware, in addition to whetting of tools, clothing and presumed animal remains. The other finds are located in the area of building 399. In this building, and/or in the wharf area in front of it, pottery (including a single shard of Scarborough type and a shard possibly of French type), sausage pins, a part of a wooden vessel, shoe remains and a part of a whetstone are registered, but only a few stem from layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. More pottery, glass, a wooden bowl, a possible sausage pin, a piece of a textile, and a large collection of bones and knuckles (presumably animal remains) are found west of building 121 and may possibly relate to building 399. Mixed pottery comprising a few shards of Pingsdorf, Paffrath and London brown types are registered in the fire layer in front of and partly including the neighbouring building 400 (and possibly also 399). The artefacts, then, signify activities such as

Context		Artefact													
		Pottery, kitchenware	Sausage pin	Wooden vessel	Bowl	Pottery, tableware	Glass	Shoe, leather	Textile	Whetstone	Rivet	Building stone	Miscellaneous	Undefined	Total
Front zone	Area of B 121	1	9			7	1	2		1			70		91
	B 399?	1	1		1	6	2		1				40	1	53
	B 399/wharf		3	1		3		5		1	1		4		18
	Wharf area	1				2						1			4
Total		3	13	1	1	18	3	7	1	2	1	1	114	1	166

Figure 48. Artefacts from Søstergard, 1248. N=166. Colour scheme based on Figure 15.

cooking with possible local and foreign kitchen utensils, consumption (drinking), whetting of tools and clothing. Again, the building-relation is difficult to ascertain, and only a minority of the artefacts are from layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material - mostly the animal remains.

As the finds from Søstergard only stem from the front zone, they do not give a representative impression of the activities in the tenement as a whole. Most artefacts are located in the area of buildings 121 and particularly 399, and are first and foremost associated with consumption. Indications of local kitchenware hardly comprises other items but functionally uncertain sausage pins. The pottery is of English, French and German types, but the classified shards are few. Two labels with runic inscriptions are apparently also found in the tenement in period 4 (1198-1248), mentioning presumed Norse males by the names Gunnar and Tormod (Johnsen 1990: 172, 210). It is difficult to relate any of the finds for certain to buildings, and there is no written evidence referring to social conditions in Søstergard specifically in the first half of the thirteenth century. No clear breaks can be observed based on the rather scanty archaeological evidence, then. It can only be concluded that there are indications of male and female, possibly domestic, activities in Søstergard by the time of 1248, including both local and foreign elements - as was the case also by the time of 1198.

5.1.6 Engelgard

Also in Engelgard and in 1248, primarily the front zone is documented. In addition, the wharf area could not be archaeologically excavated. The fire layer was identified in most of the western part - although with some gaps in the southern row - whereas there

are fewer traces in the rear zone. In this part of the tenement, remains of the fire layer was more scattered in the northern row (Herteig 1990: 82-85). Altogether 82 finds dated to 1248 are registered - almost all as in 1198 from layers denoted as fire layers or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material (98%). Of the artefacts, seven presumably originate in the southern row and 75 in the northern row (Figure 49).

Few building remains were documented in 1198, whereas eleven buildings of different shapes and sizes (ranging from 5 to 9.6 m in length and from 2.4 to 6.4 m in width, i.e. 14-48 m²) are identified in 1248 (Figure 50). The tenement also displays a distinct fan-shaped structure - which was indicated in 1198 - and stands out from its surroundings by having pairs of buildings side by side within parts of both the northern and the southern rows. Between the rows, there are remains of a paved passage. Buildings 369 and 195 - the only buildings in the rear zone - make up the rearmost buildings in the northern row, both possibly with two rooms (Herteig 1990: 84). There is an open area with what must have been a common well with water of good quality in front of these buildings (Herteig 1990: 84-85; Johansen 2013: 46). Further west, another pair of buildings is identified - buildings 370 and 197 - whereas the line of double buildings is broken by building 371 in the front. There is space for another building in front of 370, but no archaeological evidence. In the southern row, buildings 202 and 192 make up the rearmost pair of buildings, presumably extending backwards into unexcavated area. In front of these, there is an undeveloped area, followed by buildings 232 and 233. The former is a log-built structure with fixed wall-benches and remains of a stone-built fireplace - possibly indicating some kind of common room - whereas the lat-

Context		Artefact														Total		
		Pottery, kitchenware	Baking slab	Pottery, tableware	Gaming piece	Shoe, leather	Textile	Spindle whorl	Warp weight	Needle	Cramp	Weight	Rivet	Key	Lamp		Hook	Miscellaneous
Rear zone	Row N	4		11	1	1	1	1	2	1		3	1	1			1	28
	Area of B369 and 197	8	2	3		2				1	1				2		2	22
Front zone	Row N			1													1	2
	Area of B370 and 371	2		19		1			1									23
	B192		1															2
Row S	Area of B202 and 232			1												3		4
	B232				1													1
Total		14	3	35	2	4	1	1	3	1	1	6	1	2	2	1	4	82

Figure 49. Artefacts from Engelgard, 1248. N=82. Colour scheme based on Figure 15.

ter is interpreted as a privy. These buildings are found in more or less the same area as building 242 (also a possible common room with a fireplace) and privy 240 from 1198. In front of these buildings, what is tentatively interpreted as building 234 is located. The building frames a group of loom weights and a weaving-beater, indicating a working environment for textile production. Building 349 further west was not thoroughly investigated. Foundation caissons for the quay dominate in the front of this tenement as well (Herteig 1990: 82-85).

In the rear zone, in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material, pottery of e.g. London Brown jugs and of Pingsdorf type, a loom weight and a bone needle probably originate in building 195. Pottery of English (London Shelly ware and Developed Stamford) and German types (Paffrath), a gaming piece related to Nine Men's Morris or kvatrutaff (Lund 2013: 109), a possible loom weight, a spindle whorl, a fragment of a pleated textile, a part of a shoe, a soapstone lamp and a turning key may also relate to this building, found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. Despite some contextual uncertainties, the finds indicate cooking and consumption (drinking) represented by German and English pottery, board games of a local or foreign type, different stages of textile production and personal belongings - generally signifying household activities, and also a female working environment.

The other finds from the rear zone are more difficult to relate to specific buildings, but also these are of a domestic character. A shard of pottery, baking slabs, a children's sole of unknown size, a part of a shoe and a hook are found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material in building 369 or in the passage between this building and building 195. In addition, pottery including shards of German (Paffrath) and English (London Shelly) types, an iron cramp, a scale and a soapstone lamp are located in the area of buildings 369 and 195, in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. The artefacts, then, are more or less of the same categories as discussed in relation to building 195, and primarily signify cooking by means of local and foreign kitchen utensils, possible consumption and footwear, including a child-related artefact, in addition to trade and possible wood-working.

In the front zone, it is even more difficult to tie the scattered remains of artefacts to specific buildings. A part of a baking slab is found in building 192, whereas a shard of Paffrath pottery probably originates in the area of buildings 202 and 232. In the latter building, a burnt, possible gaming piece of unknown type is located. A shard of pottery from a layer denoted as fire layer or a layer containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material is found in the area of buildings 370 and 197, whereas more, mostly Ger-

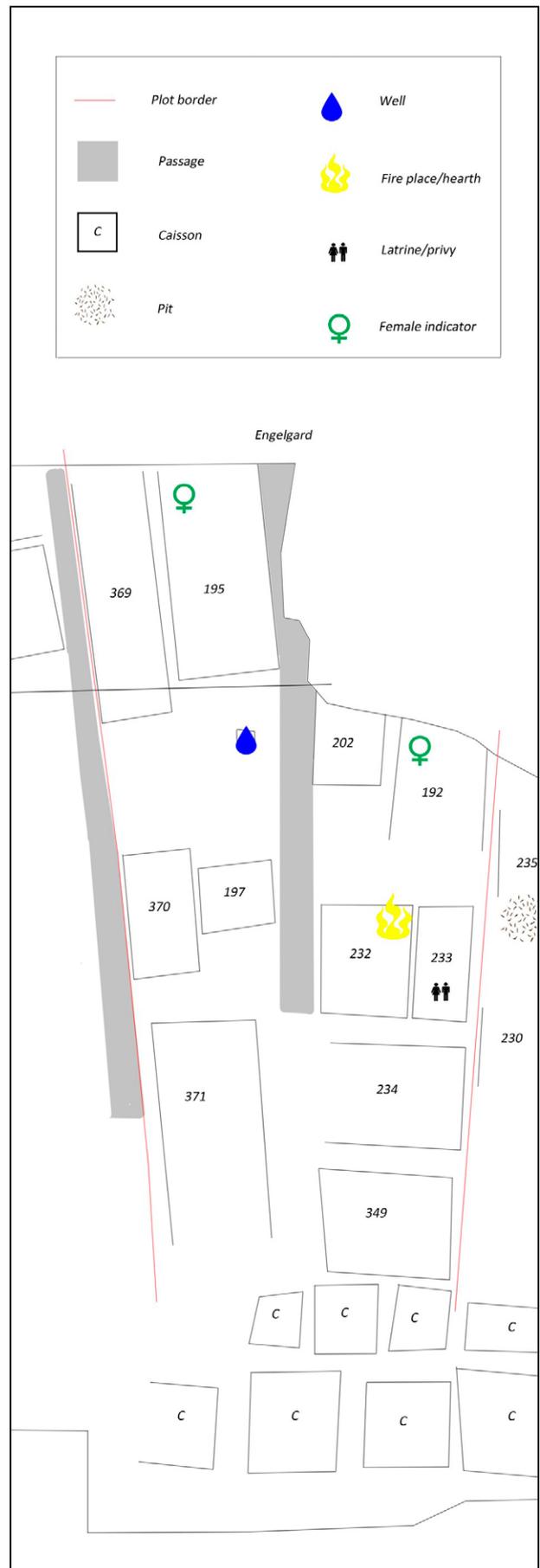


Figure 50. Buildings in Engelgard with gender-related artefacts, 1248. Modified after Herteig 1990: 81, Fig. 46.

man (including Pingsdorf and Paffrath) pottery, but also English (London Brown) and continental (Andenne) may originate in buildings 370 or 371. Additionally, a possible loom weight is located between these buildings, in a layer denoted as a fire layers and/or layer containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. Based on the scattered artefact remains in this area, it is difficult to draw other conclusions than that activities related to cooking by means of local and foreign devices, consumption, board games and possible weaving or fishing are indicated also in the front part of Engelgard, probably representing waste from the tenement.

Runic inscriptions from the tenement of Engelgard in period 4 in general (1198-1248) mainly refer to Norse males such as Eirik, Botleiv, Torstein and Sigurd - indicating locals and possibly also men from Iceland and Greenland (Såm, Ljot and Gisl). A woman is also mentioned - Lucia Grimsdatter. One of the labels with runic inscriptions was, on the other hand, possibly owned by a German named Didrik (Johnsen 1990: 143, 146-151, 153-154, 156, 167-169, 179-180, 184, 189-190, 204, 211-212). A letter from 1309 also refers to a case in 1259 - only a few years after 1248 - involving this tenement concerning duties of winter-sitters and mentioning a Hermann from Köln (DN I, no. 122, p 111 1309; Helle 1982: 380). In all, this may indicate inhabitants of different categories and ethnicities, which may also be reflected in the archaeological remains dated to 1248 and to a large extent signify patterns and activities as documented in 1198. Buildings and artefacts indicate domestic activities both in the rear and front zones of Engelgard - related to cooking and consumption (drinking) represented primarily by foreign kitchen utensils (the classified pottery especially represented by English (58%) and German (37%) types), playing with board games, textile production (spinning, weaving and sewing) and/or fishing. The artefacts also comprise personal belongings and - for the first time in this tenement - traces of children.

Almost all the artefacts are from layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material; however, artefacts that with most certainty are related to buildings primarily appear in the rear zone (Figure 50). In building 195, a working environment related to textile production is indicated - including spinning, weaving and sewing. Such activities indicated in building 149 (Øye 1988: 122), however, are not revealed through the closely defined chronology of the artefact material in my study. Artefacts and activities traditionally associated with women thus signify their presence in Engelgard in general, and in building 195 more specifically. Artefacts traditionally related to traditional male activities are now more or less invisible. It is not possible to document specific family-based households based on finds of a single sole of unknown size in building 369.

5.1.7 Bugard

Although only the front part of Bugard is included by the Bryggen excavations, the fire layer from 1248 apparently covered most of the excavated area. By the time of the fire, the tenement had expanded c. 10 metres westwards into the bay of Vågen since 1198 and consists of two rows of buildings of unknown sizes, presumably combined by a passage (Figure 51). Two buildings are recorded in the northern row - buildings 235 (maximum recorded width c. 1 m) and 230 (maximum recorded length 3m and probable width c. 3.1 m). In front of building 235, there is also a stone-lined lime pit. Building 231 (maximum recorded length c. 11 m, width c. 4.2 m) represents the only building in the southern row. This possible two-roomed building more or less replaces building 236 which burnt in 1198. There is space for another building in front of it, but no remains are documented. Foundations caissons for the quay were uncovered in front of both rows, and with traces of a passage between Bugard and Bredsgard to the south (Herteig 1990: 49-51). In all 46 artefacts dated to 1248 are related to this tenement, but none are found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material.

Several artefacts indicating mixed household functions were found in relation to the northern row, in building 235: pottery of e.g. Belgian (Andenne), North-French and German (Paffrath) types, a couple of baking slabs, a whetstone, a float (type VI) associated with both a local and possibly a wider European fishing tradition (Olsen 2004: 48), and an adults' sole (size 34). No remains of a fireplace are documented, though. Similar find categories are also registered in the wharf area in front of the tenement: pottery - German in particular (Paffrath and Pingsdorf types), but also English (Developed Stamford and Shelly types) - a part of a baking slab, a part of a whetstone, a sole and a parrel.

A large number of possible loom weights did more unambiguously indicate female activities in Bugard in 1198, and the artefacts dated to 1248 are few. Yet, it does not seem unreasonable to interpret the remains to the effect that activities associated with both (local) women and men took place here in 1248, as well - presumably in a domestic setting - and not least in building 235 (Figure 51). The two labels with runes found under the layers dated to 1248 also mention men with Norse names - Ivar and Munin (Johnsen 1991: 176-177, 180-181). Besides the lack of indicators of textile production in the layers related to the fire of 1248, then, few changes are identified regarding gender in Bugard.

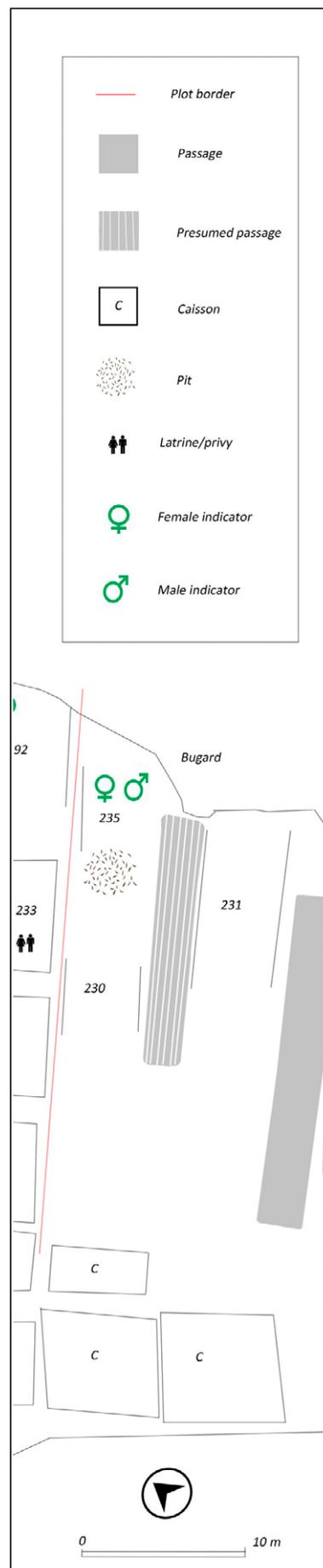


Figure 51. Buildings in Bugard with gender-related artefacts, 1248. Modified after Herteig 1990: 50, Fig. 24.

5.1.8 Artefacts, activities and gender at Bryggen, 1248 - an overall assessment

One of the aims in this chapter has been to utilize the archaeological material empirically to come closer to activities and actors rarely mentioned in the written sources - women in particular in a long-term perspective. The analysis of contemporary finds from 1170 and 1198 indicated the presence of seemingly local women in all investigated tenements - mainly associated with textile production and cooking - and primarily in what has been interpreted as domestic contexts. Traces of men and children often appear in the same contexts. These groups, however, are even more difficult to illuminate by means of a chronologically somewhat restricted archaeological record, perhaps as they are represented by less durable artefact categories. Children as indicators of possible family-based units were less visible as well. Conclusions made on negative evidence should, however, be avoided, and traces also of some female working areas could speak in favour of single, working women rather than of wives and mothers. In any case, the archaeological material indicated a biologically as well as ethnically mixed population at Bryggen in this period - and perhaps also of a gender system that did not break radically with traditional roles as known from rural contexts. A closer overall look at the situation in 1248 compared with the situation five decades earlier may give hints of possible changes and degree of stability, not least within the context of increasing internationalization and commercialization. It is also interesting to assess the results from the analysis as for methods and related to theoretical perspectives to see how far the archaeological remains may take us.

The same methodological considerations related to representativity in the twelfth century contexts are also relevant when approaching the situation in 1248. First and foremost, the area as a whole has not been investigated to the same degree, and the tenements have not been excavated in their full lengths as the wharf area expanded. Larger parts of the rear zone as well as of the southern three tenements in particular are not represented - only in Miklagard (rows 3 and 4) have most of both the rear and front zones been examined. Artefact remains from Sveinsgard (rows 5 and 6), Miklagard and Atlegard (rows 1 and 2) to the north thus make up a much higher share of the finds dated to 1248, approximately 86%. Still, most of the northern row of Sveinsgard lies outside the site boundaries. Preservation conditions are also more or less the same as in 1198, with moist and best preservation in the wharf area, where many artefacts presumably represent redeposited waste. As a whole, though, the same categories of artefacts continue to be found in all tenements, and the large material from Sveinsgard and Miklagard is generally considered more or less representative of the tenements in the Bryggen site in general.

The distribution of artefacts dated to 1248 according to material presented in Figure 52 reveals

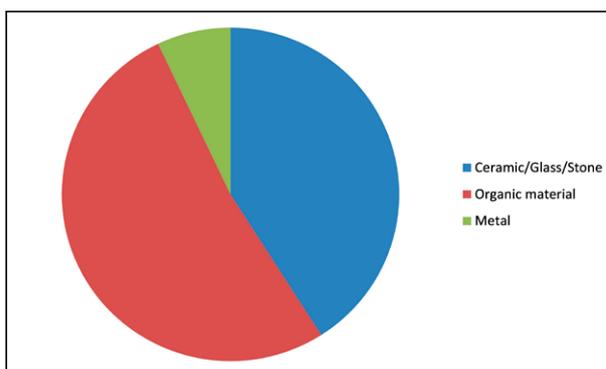


Figure 52. Distribution of artefacts from BRM 0 by material, 1248.

that more than 50% of the artefacts are made of organic material that is generally well preserved in fillings. Many of the artefacts remains especially from the front zone also seem to represent redeposited waste. This is indicated by an increasing degree of organic, damaged and fragmented material and a smaller share of artefacts from layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material here. Similarly, the large share of soapstone vessel fragments dated to period 4 (1198-1248) registered in the wharf area in the southern part of the site has previously been interpreted as waste dumped in the bay (Vangstad 2003: 101). The remains are nevertheless linked to the tenements behind and reflect activities in these areas as a whole. Artefacts of metal continue to be underrepresented, which affect the possibility of tracing certain types of artefacts, actors and activities connected with e.g. personal belongings, and foreign kitchen utensils such as metal vessels. There is a higher share of artefacts found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material in 1248 (32%) than in 1198 (25%). Still, this number is relatively small, and there are large gaps in the fire layer, among other things due to extensive excavations by machine - in principle down to fire level V. In all, then, general uncertainties regarding e.g. place of use and to some degree also precise dating are indicated, as well as difficulties of relating artefacts to buildings.

The altogether 1247 artefact remains dated to the 1248-level include several traditional female indicators, associated with textile production and cooking. Despite an increase of artefact remains in general in 1248 compared to 1198, however, a quantitative decrease of female indicators is registered. There is also a slightly decreasing deposition of textile-production equipment, and not least of local cooking tools such as baking slabs and soapstone vessels per year in period 4 (1198-1248) as a whole (Øye 1988: 141-142; Vangstad 2017: 200; Tengesdal 2010: 46-51), which may indicate fewer women present in general. Cooking utensils such as soapstone vessels, baking slabs or cooking pots are like in 1198 registered in nearly all the 13-14 buildings in which possible gendered artefacts with more or less certain-

ty are found (Figures 53 and 54). These buildings are located both in the rear and front zones, and in all tenements but Søstergard (where no artefacts in general may be assigned specific buildings). It is uncertain, though, whether the cooking-related artefacts represent activities that were carried out in buildings with relatively few and/or uncertain female indicators such as sausage pins. The same applies to building 32 in Sveinsgard, which may be associated with lime-slaking. Indeed, based on the contemporary finds and structures, Sveinsgard seems to a higher degree than the other tenements to be associated with storage, and production (lime-slaking) traditionally regarded as male activities.

Textile-production equipment is, like in the latter half of the twelfth century, commonly found in contexts associated with household activities such as cooking and consumption. Unlike the more or less even distribution of textile-production equipment in 1198, however, there seems to be a bias in this distribution towards the rear part of the site in 1248. A presumed female working environment related to textile production - in casu weaving on the upright loom - is indicated in five of the buildings with gendered artefacts. All are located in the rear zone - buildings 31 and 60 in Sveinsgard, buildings 20 and 21 in Miklagard and building 195 in Engelgard. In fact, textile-production equipment is hardly identified in the front zone at all by 1248. Still, textile production was apparently not restricted to the rear zone only. As mentioned, Øye's previous examination based on a broader chronological framework indicates textile production also in the front zone in period 4 (1198-1248) in general (Øye 1988: 127). It also shows that weaving must have taken place in building 149 in the front zone of Atlegard (Øye 1988: 122) - although not documented by the present, chronologically more restricted study. The distribution of textile-production equipment may perhaps also be explained by such tools to a smaller degree being thrown away and ending in fill masses. The loom weights, for instance, could be used when a new loom was warped and also be used in a net. Anyway, if textile production for some reason preferably took place in the rear part of the tenements, it may partly explain why textile-production equipment is not identified in Søstergard (like in 1198) and Bugard - where most of the rear parts of the former tenement are located east of the site borders.

Children are traced in the archaeological material in all tenements but Søstergard and Bugard - but not in buildings - and primarily (but not only) assigned children in the oldest age groups. Older children are also increasingly indicated by the child-related artefacts from period 4 (1198-1248) as a whole (Mygland 2007: 85-88). Yet, they also suggest the presence of young children (Mygland 2007), and it is possible that the relative lack of young children's shoes may be explained by this group to a lesser degree was equipped with footwear.

An increasing - but still relatively small - amount of remains traditionally associated with men is mainly registered in the northern part of the Bryggen site. These are characterized by uncertain traces of leather-working and/or shoemaking in particular, in addition to whetting of tools, wood-working, metal-working, trade and fishing. Where the latter is concerned, a decreasing deposition of fishing tackle has also been observed in period 4 (1198-1248) in general (Olsen 2004: 74). Like in 1170 and 1198, however, they are scattered throughout the site and difficult to relate to activities carried out in specific buildings. In the middle of Sveinsgard (rows 5 and 6) and in Bugard, some structures such as lime pits and possible workshops should apparently be associated with traditional male activities, but 'male' tools or other artefacts but whetstones - which do not necessarily relate to men alone - are generally not reflected in the preserved artefact material. Indicators of male activities are more evident in the front zone than in the rear, but presumably stemming from redeposited waste. Buildings with male indicators (nos. 31 and 61 in Sveinsgard, 21 in Miklagard, 98 and 149 in Atlegard and 235 in Bugard) are more or less evenly distributed in the rear and front zones. First and foremost, though, it is the rebuilding of the settlement after the fire in 1198, and the extension of the wharf area by several metres into the bay that reflect the presence of a large group of male workers. The commercial activities taking place at Bryggen must also have included a male work force associated with e.g. loading, unloading and storage, as well as more high-ranking merchants.

Considering the trading activity taking place in the wharf area in particular, the front zone may largely be considered a male arena. Based on artefact remains, however, it is somewhat problematic to identify possible gender-specific living or working areas in terms of zones and tenements - not least as the front part of the site in general is best represented. Accordingly, about two thirds of the material was found in the front part of the Bryggen site, of which many artefacts probably also represent redeposited waste. As only the ground floor structures are represented, and multiple storeys seem to have been the norm by the thirteenth century, the situation is even more difficult to assess for in situ contexts. As a whole, buildings associated with cooking, consumption and/or general household activities are registered in both zones, and previous studies of soapstone vessels and baking slabs from period 4 as a whole indicate a more or less even distribution in zones (Vangstad 2003: 101; Tengesdal 2010: 94). Traditional male indicators are also often found in the same contexts as female indicators. The location of textile production primarily in the rear zone - mainly represented by the more stationary upright loom - on the other hand, may indicate that women to a higher degree worked here than in the front zone. Also, in Sveinsgard and Miklagard - which in particular are repre-

Zone	Tenement	Building no.	Earlier interpretations	Female indicators	Male indicators apart from drinking gear and gaming pieces	Child-related indicators	All artefacts	Artefacts/activities
Rear	Sveinsgard	60	Collapsed fireplace? Upper storey?	Plausible	6		49	Consumption, gaming, weaving/(fishing), trade, metal-working (?), whetting of tools, animal remains
		31	With enclosed gallery? Textile production?	Plausible, possible	1		7	Cooking for storage, weaving/fishing, whetting of tools, building-related finds
		32	Patches of clay and charcoal, workshop?	Plausible	4		12	Basic cooking, consumption, metal-working (?), building-related finds
	Miklagard	21	Latrine/privy outside. Textile production	Plausible	1		29	Consumption, board games, weaving, shoemaking (?), digging, building-related finds
		20	Wall bench, <i>stofa</i>	Plausible, possible	3		9	Cooking for storage, consumption, weaving, building-related finds
Front	Atlegard	104		Plausible	1		6	Basic cooking, building-related finds
	Engelgard	195	Two rooms?	Plausible, possible	2		10	Consumption, weaving, sewing, building-related finds
	Sveinsgard	211	Log-built, with annexe. No residential function?	Plausible, possible	2		7	Basic cooking, cooking for storage, trade/storage
		Annexe, 211	Fireplace, unknown specialized activity	Plausible	1	2	16	Basic cooking, consumption, shoes, rune stick, metal-working (?)
	Miklagard	222	With annexe	Plausible	2		9	Basic cooking, consumption, building-related finds
	Atlegard	98	Three rooms?		1		5	Consumption (food), whetting of tools
		149	Upper storey, collapsed fireplace, textile production	Plausible, possible	3	1	8	Cooking for storage, consumption, gaming, personal belongings, whetting of tools, rope
	Engelgard	192		Plausible	1		2	Basic cooking, building-related finds
	Bugard	235		Plausible	2	2	18	Basic cooking, consumption, whetting of tools, fishing, small adult shoe
	Total				37	14		197

Figure 53. Buildings with gender-related artefacts, 1248. Colour scheme based on Figure 15.

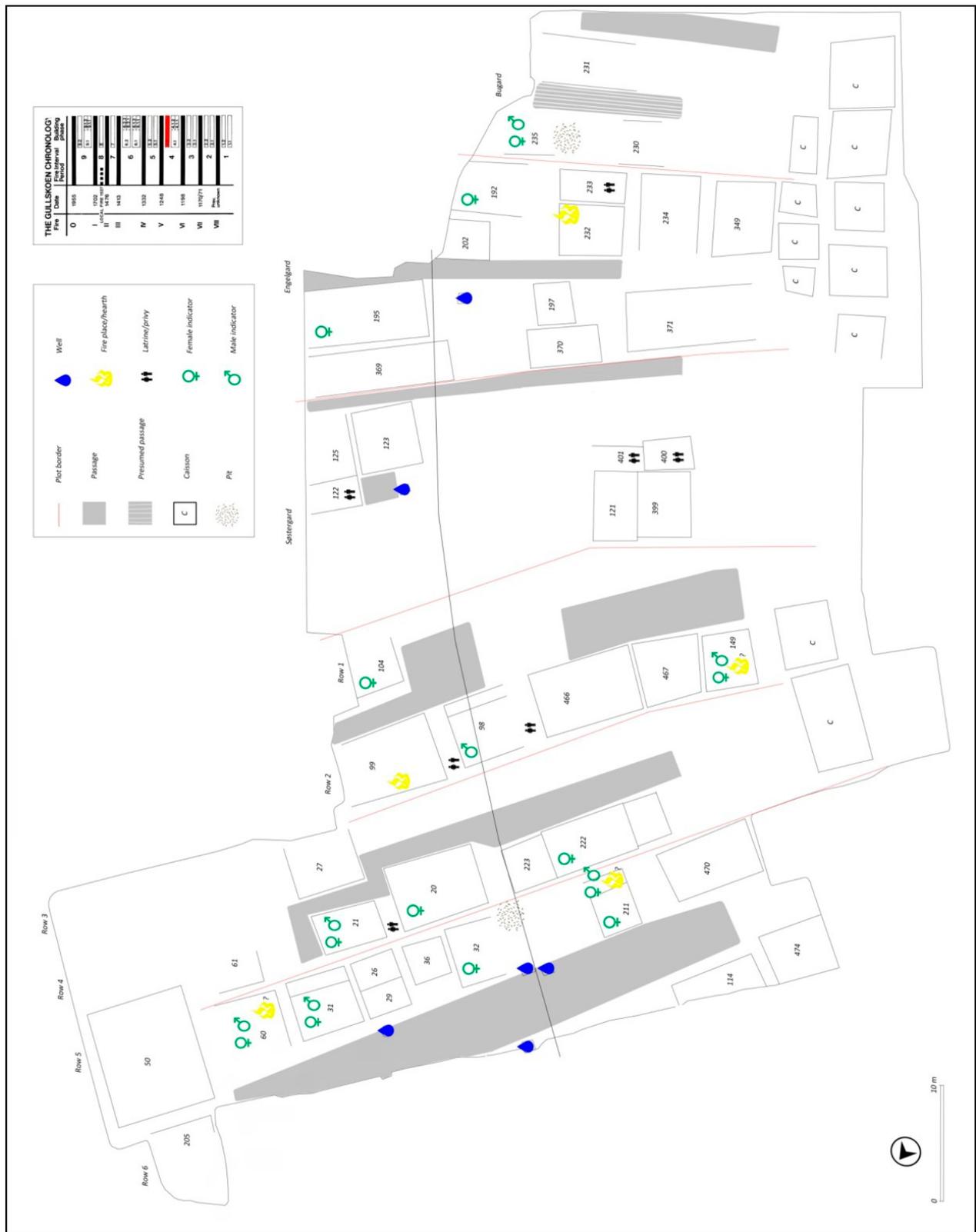


Figure 54. Buildings with gender-related artefacts, 1248. Modified after Herteig 1990: 50, 81, 111, Figs. 24, 46 and 73; 1991a, Plates.

sented by both their rear and front parts - it might be suggested that household and residential activities to a higher degree were located in the rear part. A gender-based division may be indicated; however, functional considerations must also have affected this organization. It should also be taken into account that

most of the buildings probably had several storeys, judging by written sources.

Where artefacts found in buildings are concerned, the only artefacts that may traditionally relate to gender in buildings 32 and 211 in Sveinsgard, buildings 20 and 222 in Miklagard, building 104 in

Atlegard and buildings 192 and 195 in Engelgard are associated with women. However, they do not necessarily indicate activities that were carried out in the building 32, and it is difficult to draw reliable conclusions on actors and activities based on the few finds in buildings 104 and 192. Taking into account that only five shards of imported ceramic kitchenware are registered within building 222, and that other artefacts possibly associated with this building indicate traditional male activities, the presence of men cannot be ruled out here. It is also uncertain whether building 20, interpreted as a possible common room, was used by women alone. If also the artefacts possibly related to building 195 is accounted for, there is little doubt that textile production and presumably also cooking were carried out here. However, the presence also of tableware such as jugs and drinking vessels, gaming pieces and shoe remains may suggest other inhabitants and users than women only, and the social and hierarchical aspects as well should be considered. Only in building 98 in Atlegard are there no clear gendered artefacts but a possible male one - a whetstone. The other finds from this building are too few to illuminate its function with certainty, and it is difficult to draw conclusions on an exclusive male working- or living area. Later, written sources like the probate record from Bredsgard south of Bugard from 1337 (DN II, no. 223) indicate functional division of rooms and storeys in the tenements at Bryggen - e.g. with a loft for female servants. In all, though, it is generally problematic to identify gender-restricted living and/or working areas for certain based on the investigated artefact material.

By the middle of the thirteenth century, written records speak of male foreigners who stayed and rented rooms not only as 'guests' in the sailing and main trading season, but who also established themselves as winter-sitters over longer periods. It is interesting to assess the archaeological material in that perspective to see if and how this is reflected in the archaeological record and had any impact on the gender issues addressed in this dissertation. The built environment in the Bryggen site as such does not seem to reflect any radical physical changes, and is besides the westwards expansion into the bay Vågen first and foremost characterized by functional and structural continuity. This may, however, be explained in terms of restrictions such as ownership, plot structures, building traditions and established practices, rather than social and ethnic continuity. As mentioned in relation to the southern three tenements, labels and business letters with predominantly Norse, male names are still found - as is also the case in the northern part of the Bryggen site (e.g. Johnsen 1990: 131-134, 136-137, 151, 157-158, 165, 169-172, 175-176). A relatively large and slightly increasing share of the remains from the 1248-layers (c. 32%), however, consists of imported pottery - of which 57% is of English types, 33% of German types and the rest of other types. An increasing share of kitchen utensils

in general is also represented by foreign types (about 75% of all kitchen utensil remains, opposed to 56% in 1198). This may reflect the main trading relations between Bergen and English towns reflected in written sources, but also be related to an introduction of winter-sitters - not least considering the smaller evidence of kitchenware and of local women. Both in Sveinsgard and Miklagard may cultural changes be suggested based on such finds, as do written sources referring to German winter-sitters in Engelgard in the middle of the thirteenth century.

As discussed in Chapter 2, though, the presence of predominantly English pottery may not necessarily be interpreted in terms of English users, considering that the connection between England and Bergen made up the most important economic line of communication in the High Middle Ages (Helle 1982: 323-324), and that English pottery generally dominated European trade until the fifteenth century (Gaimster 1997: 66) and were used also in rural contexts with close contact to Bergen (Øye 2011). Also, at least the smaller amount of local kitchen utensils may partly be explained by the increasing economic activities that are known to have taken place here in general in this period, which included import of pottery along with other commodities. Also, there are hardly any remains of foreign kitchenware, and food processing remains dominated by kitchen utensils strongly associated with women and a local food-culture. Kitchen utensils of local as well as foreign origin also continue to be found together with textile-production equipment, and the female indicators are generally considered representing activities that were carried out by local women in most of the Bryggen site also in 1248. This may indicate the presence of a local food and drinking culture in which urban and/or foreign elements are incorporated, especially related to drinking of beer and wine. As previously suggested, a mixed composition of traditional female cooking tools, pottery remains associated with a male drinking culture and board games may also suggest different social actors and local women cooking for local or foreign men. In addition, an increasing share of small soapstone vessels in period 4 in general (Vangstad 2003: 94) may perhaps indicate a more individualized food culture, and be interpreted within the frame of a somewhat changed ethnic or social composition. Reservations must be made, though, concerning the assumed underrepresentation of metal artefacts and the large share of functionally uncertain sausage pins that are also difficult to relate to gender.

Based on structural characteristics like building type, multiple rooms or storeys and/or different categories of artefacts, women are first and foremost indicated in relation to buildings with presumed domestic functions and where men in many cases may have been present as well - very much like in 1198. Traces of children are not registered within buildings and do not indicate very young individuals - indeed,

child-related artefacts from period 4 (1198-148) as a whole signify an increasing presence of children and of older, able-bodied ones - possibly boys (Mygland 2007: 85-88). In this respect, it is difficult to decide with certainty on the presence of family-based units and/or households - and consequently of women in the roles of wives and mothers. Nevertheless, a possible continuous presence of single, working women seems reasonable, which may perhaps be reflected also in the unusual demographic composition documented in the small investigated skeletal material from St Mary's cemetery (1150-1250) referred to in Chapter 4 - characterized by a large share of women, few sub-adults and no children under the age of seven (Lorvik 2009). Also, pleated textiles - possibly associated with a higher social segment - are now hardly registered among the finds. Still, more than one fifth of such garments from Bryggen are dated to period 4 (1198-1248) in general (Vedeler 2007: 103). In addition, labels with female names - such as the ones from Engelgard (Lucia) and Atlegard (Solveig), as well as another one from the northern part of the site owned by Sigrid, dated to period 4 in general - may indicate business women (Johnsen 1990: 180, 192-193, 196-198).

Despite rapid expansion of the built environment and large storehouses for trade, a general male dominance and new, foreign actors appearing on the scene, then, the artefact material suggests that Bryggen continued to be an area of combined work and residence, including men, women and to some degree children. Strangely enough, however, there are few visible signs in the artefact material of males, or rather male workers - who must have been main actors here, taking the expanding trade into consideration - and of women within family-based households. There are few indicators of actors of high social status in the artefact material from the 1248-level but possible remains of a foreign drinking culture. In all, this shows yet again that it is problematic to assess issues of gender only on the basis of preserved artefacts.

5.2 Artefacts, activities and gender, 1332 (fire layer IV)

The same approaches and aims related to aspects of gender, gender composition, families and households as discussed in the introduction are applied also in this part of the analysis - but with special regard to how an increasing internationalization and commercialization of Bryggen affected these issues.

The exact extent of the fire that struck Bergen in 1332 - fire IV - is not known. It was probably smaller than the preceding fire of 1248, but e.g. Icelandic annals and an announcement from the royal lawman and his councillors in Bergen indicate that at least the northern part of Bryggen burnt down (Helle 1982: 184, with references; 1998: 39-41, with references). Archaeologically, deposits of the fire layer have been documented in large areas in the northern part of the site, and there were clear traces also in the area of

Engelgard and Bugard (Herteig 1990: 39, 77; 1991a: 42). At the same time, the layer did not cover the site continuously, and was particularly in the area of rows 2 and 4 (Miklagard and Atlegard/Oddsgard) affected by remains of lime-slaking activities associated with reconstruction work on the nearby stone churches and St Mary's Guildhall, where the town council gathered (Herteig 1990: 39, 77; 1991a: 42, 55). Pits and layers of charcoal from lime-slaking activities were also documented in the area of Bugard, very much like in 1248 (Herteig 1990: 39). At the level of fire IV, rows 6-8 (Gullskoen and Sveinsgard), as well as much of row 1 (Atlegard/Oddsgard), lay outside the boundaries of the site (Herteig 1991a: Plates). Also, of the tenement Søstergard, only some of the front area was archaeologically investigated (Herteig 1990: 106-107), whereas at the tenements Engelgard and Bugard are represented by parts of their rear zones as well.

The fire of 1248 left most of the densely built urban settlement in ruins, and largely affected the urban physical structure and layout in a way that persisted throughout the rest of the Middle Ages (Helle 1982: 183). It is the remains of an expanding and more densely built town that appear at the time when a fire struck the area anew in 1332. At Bryggen, it includes St Mary's Guildhall (building 48) and a further expansion of the settlement and quays into the bay (Figure 55). According to written sources, the urban expansion also included an increasing element of taller houses - with up to three and a half storeys and/or galleries - in addition to an emerging settlement beyond Bryggen, to Vågsbunnen and Strandsiden (Helle 1982: 186-187). After 1248, a new building pattern is documented primarily in the area north of Søstergard, first and foremost concerning the organization of buildings and tenement rows, and from now on, the width of the buildings within each tenement is more or less the same (Moldung 2000: 86-87). This probably reflects regulations postulated in the Urban Code of 1276, in which separate areas for craftsmen along Øvrestretet and merchants at Bryggen are also heard of for the first time (Helle 1982: 186, with references). Also, a narrowing of the wharf area has been documented archaeologically in the very front zone in the northern part of the site, leaving less room for buildings than earlier. There are no buildings in the wharf area of rows 1 and 3 by the time of 1332 - rather a wooden paved, open space - and the traditional building pattern with double tenements became less apparent here (Moldung 2000: 86).

A rough functional distinction between the rear and the front parts of the settlement at Bryggen has been indicated after 1248. According to the bylaws of Bergen issued in 1316, merchandise had to be loaded off the ships, and stored and sold elsewhere: the heaviest goods should be brought to store rooms/buildings in the wharf area, small goods to the back, and the remainder to store rooms and basements



Figure 55. The Bryggen site, phase 5.2, divided in rear and front zone. Surviving remains from the fire of 1332. Modified after Herteig 1990: 40, 78, 107, Figs. 19, 44 and 69, 1991a, Plates.

somewhere in between (NgL III, 122; Helle 1982: 407-408). This is reflected archaeologically, at least after 1248, when the front zone in the Gullskoen area became dominated by long buildings, probably intended for storage and loading and unloading of merchandise (Moldung 2000: 109). Storerooms of log-built types also lay in the front zone (Olsen 2002: 136). In the rear parts, there are more often indicators of domestic artefacts, smaller buildings with fireplace - perhaps eldhús and stofas, known from written sources (Helle 1982: 213-215; Olsen 2002: 136; Helle 2006a: 98) - and many new wells (Johansen 2013: 41-65). On a more general basis, a functional division between a more land-oriented area in the rear part, and a harbour-related zone in the northern area of Bryggen may be indicated. Similar functional zones are also registered in the medieval towns of e.g. Oslo and Trondheim (Helle 2006a: 99). Too much

weight should, however, not be put on a division in zones. As reflected in the probate record from Bredsgard from 1337 (DN II, no. 223; Helle 1982: 216), different activities took place in the same buildings in both the rear and front zones, functionally separated in different rooms and storeys.

Besides St Lawrence's (building 50) and St Mary's Guildhall (building 48), 42 buildings are registered within the Bryggen site at the time of 1332 - more or less the same number as in 1248. They include presumed economic buildings often with multiple rooms and/or storeys, as well as commons rooms. The number of documented hearths or fireplaces is small - only eight - but are found in all tenements. Of these, one is related to lime-slaking, another possibly dated to 1248 rather than 1332, and two are uncertain in terms of identification. Three lime pits in Sveinsgard and Miklagard are also reg-

istered, and three privies in Atlegard and Søstergard (Herteig 1990; 1991a, Plates). In addition, there are eight wells of different accessibility - found in all tenements but Sveinsgard and Atlegard - of which four were built after 1248 (Johansen 2013: 46-51). As a whole, the rebuilding after the fire of 1248 represents a continuation of the previous physical structures, but they also include new elements. This may reflect both established practices and new ideas and norms. If and in what ways these practices involved female actors are discussed in the following, and also considered in relation to the increasing share of foreign actors related to the expanding international trade in the area.

5.2.1 Rows 7-8 (*Gullskoen*)

Row 7 and 8 lay outside the boundaries of the Bryggen site at the 1332-level, and no artefacts can be associated with Gullskoen.

5.2.2 Row 5 (*Sveinsgard*)

Sveinsgard is by the level of 1332 only represented by its southern row - row 5. The remains of fire IV were recognized as a more or less continuous layer throughout the tenement, partly disrupted by redeposited charcoal from lime-slaking activities. Due to machine excavations, only the front part was investigated, and structural remains were only partly intact (Herteig 1991a: 42, 46-47). In all 780 artefact remains dated to 1332 are associated with Sveinsgard (Figure 56), of which about 50% (377 items) is found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material.

Altogether six buildings are related to the fire in 1332 - four in the rear zone and two in the front - ranging from 4.4x4 m to 10.5x5-5.5 m (c. 18-58 m²) (Figure 57). There is, however, some uncertainty connected to building 54, a long, multiple-storey structure with a possible, collapsed fireplace, approximately replacing buildings 60 and 31 from 1248 (Herteig 1991a: 46). Textile production has been indicated in this building, represented by finds of spindle whorls and loom weights from period 5 (1248-1332) (Øye 1988: 127-128). Buildings 14 and 19 further west have been associated with lime-slaking - based on two lime-pits and a pit in the form of a large stone hearth, respectively (Herteig 1991a: 46). Both functionally and physically, these buildings resemble buildings 36 - a storage room - and 32 - a possible workshop associated with lime-slaking - dated to 1248. In building 183 to the west (Herteig 1991a: 46-47), two spindle-whorls and a probable loom weight immediately beneath the fire layer have been found (Øye 1988: 124). In the front zone, only buildings 113 and 469 are documented, but there may have been three buildings in all (Herteig 1991a: 47). In the former building, traces of weaving and spinning have been recognized in period 5 (1248-1332) in general (Øye 1988: 128). North of row 5, remains of a passage are registered (Herteig 1991a: 47, 53).

The former traces of wells cannot be followed, but this may be explained by site borders, excavation technique and/or a disturbance of more recent activities. As a whole, the tenement is characterized by a high degree of structural and functional continuity from 1248 to 1332.

Almost 90% of the artefacts from Sveinsgard is registered in the rear zone. Many are found in the area close to St Lawrence's (building 50) at the very back, all from layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material: predominantly English (Grimston ware, Humber ware, York White ware and Scarborough ware) and German tableware (Siegburg type), but also Danish/Swedish pottery, tiles, pieces of baking slabs, a gaming piece related to Nine Men's Morris or kvatrutaff (Lund 2013: 109), a turning key and slag. Additionally, Scarborough pottery from layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material is found in the area of building 50, and primarily English tableware (including shards of Humber ware, London Brown, Scarborough and Grimston), but also Danish/Swedish types, and another gaming piece of the same type probably between buildings 50 and 54. In the very rear part of row 5, then, the finds signify different domestic activities such as cooking and consumption related to drinking - involving local cooking tools and foreign tableware - and playing. Still, possible actors and activities cannot be connected to specific buildings.

Some of these artefacts may originate in building 54, in which many other finds are made: pottery shards of mixed origin (including Siegburg, Brandsby, London Brown, Humber, Scarborough, Grimston and Danish/Swedish types), a bottle shard, baking slabs, gaming pieces associated with Nine Men's Morris or kvatrutaff (Lund 2013: 109), a weight, the pin of a belt buckle, a comb, a possible shoe part, a line sinker, whetstones and raw material for another, a piece of slag and a possible key. The artefacts are apparently from layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material; yet, the presence also of modern type pottery indicate a mix of layers. A shard of Siegburg pottery and a piece of bone are possibly located in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material in or immediately behind building 54, whereas e.g. French (North French and Rouen wares), English (Grimston and York White ware) and Danish/Swedish pottery, tiles and a spindle whorl are found in the passage. The composite material in or in the area of building 54 - some possibly assigned row 6 - is thus dominated by food-related equipment associated with cooking by means of local kitchen utensils, and consumption mainly represented by English tableware associated with drinking. There are also finds of personal belongings and indicators of board games of local or foreign type and textile production - spinning and weaving. A single piece of slag cannot be taken as evidence of met-

of a gaming piece related to Nine Men's Morris or kvatrutafll (Lund 2013: 109), weights, two spindle whorls, a piece of leather (possibly of waste type 3), a whetstone, combs, shoe remains - including a small children's and a small adult's sole of unknown sizes, and fragments (possibly waste type 2). The finds are more or less of the same categories as those found in building 54 (and also building 12 in Miklagard, see below).

The artefacts from building 14 include a single pottery shard, baking slabs, a sausage pin, a loom weight, a whetstone and a rope. A soapstone lamp is located close to this building. Some of the remains are found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material; yet, it is uncertain whether activities such as cooking and weaving took place in a building structurally associated with lime-slaking, unless there was an upper storey. Similar artefact categories are found in the area of building 14, in the passage and in the eavesdrop between buildings 14 and 10 (row 4) - primarily English tableware (Scarborough and Grimston types), but also a sausage pin and parts of baking slabs, and shoe remains - including a few possibly of waste type 2 and two children's soles (sizes 27 and 29). The place of use of these objects is not known; thus, they may perhaps reflect the chaotic situation after a fire rather than building 14 as a residential structure.

Building 19 is also structurally associated with lime-slaking, which mismatch the artefacts related to consumption, clothing and possible leather-working - pottery (including a single shard York White ware and shards of Scarborough ware), shoe remains and presumed shoe remains (possibly waste type 2) and a textile, from layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. Similar find categories are made in the area of building 19 and 14, and may also have been used in building 183 or 188 (row 4): pottery (including shards of Grimston ware, York White ware and Scarborough ware), a possible lid, pieces of baking slabs, a small soapstone vessel (type B), sausage pins, a whetstone, a knife, a buckle used with cloaks, shirts and purses (Molaug 1998: 40), shoe remains - including a children's sole of unknown size - and possible shoe remains, some from layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. Many of the finds in and in the area of building 19 are thus from layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material, but it is difficult to relate these finds for certain to buildings.

In building 183, primarily English tableware (Grimston and Scarborough types), pieces of baking slabs - some fire cracked and presumably used - a sausage pin, a spindle whorl, whetstones, shoe parts - including children's soles (one of unknown size, and two of sizes 26 and 28) - a piece of leather (possibly of waste type 2) and a turning key are found. Thus, cooking by means of local kitchen utensils and con-

sumption - represented by drinking vessels of English origin - are reflected. There are also traces of older children. Based also on previous studies, it seems reasonable to assume that the building housed a working environment of textile production - spinning and possibly weaving. This may indicate actors of different gender, age and possibly also ethnicity.

Several artefacts of different use are found in building 183 or in the area of this building and building 113: a large amount of English pottery (London Shelly ware in particular, but also Scarborough and Grimston types), pieces of baking slabs - some fire cracked - a sausage pin, a gaming piece related to Nine Men's Morris or 'kvatrutafll' (Lund 2013: 109), a tally stick, a whetstone, a leather string, leather fragments (possibly of waste type 2 and 3), shoe fragments - including shoe parts possibly of waste type 2, three children's soles (sizes 28 and 32-33, and one of unknown size). The dating of some of the finds is uncertain. Additionally, in the eavesdrop between building 183 and building 188 (row 4), again primarily English pottery (Humber ware, Scarborough ware and Grimston ware), a baking slab, a part of a soapstone vessel (type A) which may have been used as a sinker (Vangstad 2003), a sausage pin, gaming pieces associated with Nine Men's Morris or kvatrutafll (Lund 2013: 109), shoe parts - including two children's soles (sizes 28 and 33) and shoe parts possibly of waste type 2 - a rope-end toggle and a possible soapstone lamp are registered. As the finds are contextually uncertain, they cannot illuminate possible activities and actors in buildings for certain. Still, they signify activities cooking and consumption - especially represented by English ceramic tableware related to drinking, but also local cooking tools. They also indicate the presence of older children, in addition to possible leather-working, shoemaking, fishing and trade.

In building 113 in the front zone, only two shards of pottery (including a shard of Humber ware) are found (in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material), whereas Grimston pottery, a piece of a baking slab, a possible sausage pin, a piece of leather possibly of waste type 3, a children's sole (size 27) and shoe parts and possible shoe parts may also be related to building 188. Local cooking tools and foreign (English) tableware, then, are found in the area. The presence of children is also suggested. Yet, it is uncertain whether the artefacts were used here, as the finds are few and contextually uncertain. Also in relation to the long building 469 are domestic activities indicated, in which single shards of pottery and of a fire cracked baking slab, as well as shoe parts and other leather remains - including two children's sole (sizes 27 and 33) - and a soapstone lamp seem to originate. In addition, the length of these buildings may suggest economic functions, although they must also have been divided in several rooms and storeys.

Although row 6 is not represented by the 1332-level, and the front part of the tenement is somewhat inadequately investigated, the find material and physical structures seem to reflect a high degree of continuity related to the situation in Sveinsgard from 1248. Altogether, there is a considerable increase of artefact remains, and especially of possible female indicators. These are represented in particular by cooking-related artefacts such as baking slabs and ceramic kitchenware, but less by textile-production equipment. In buildings 54 and 183 in the rear zone (Figure 57), it seems reasonable to relate both cooking and textile production to female activities carried out here, which is supported by Øye's study based on a broader material. Cooking and textile production seem incompatible with lime-slaking as documented in buildings 14 and 19, unless, perhaps, these activities took place in an upper storey? Similarly, building 469 in the front zone is difficult to interpret in terms of such activities based on a sparse artefact material primarily associated with shoe remains.

There is structural evidence of lime-slaking in the same area as in 1248, but artefacts associated with other traditional male activities remain relatively few and scattered. These are associated with possible shoemaking, general leather-working, trade and fishing, and as in 1248 generally found together with female indicators. There are also a high number of whetstones, but these are more uncertain in terms of sole male associations. The 'male' artefacts are recognized in buildings 14, 19, 54 and 183 - and primarily represented by whetstones. This concerns building 54 in particular, indicating, at least, a high degree of production. In building 19, the male indicators cover some uncertain waste from general leather-working. Traces of a male drinking culture are also registered in almost all buildings with female indicators. Child-related artefacts - in casu shoe soles - are more numerous in 1332 than in 1248, but almost exclusively associated with older children from about 7 years old. The same applies to such artefacts registered in buildings (183 and 469). Artefacts and activities possibly reflecting men and women, then, are generally recognized in the same buildings, and it is not possible to identify gender-specific living- or working-areas. A smaller part of the wharf area is represented in 1332 than in 1248, but most of the artefacts continue to be registered in the rear area, as do all the 377 artefacts from layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material.

In the latter half of the thirteenth century, foreigners commonly rented or owned tenements at Bryggen (Helle 1982: 472), and German winters sitters (some also mentioned by their names, such as Everhard and Herbard) have been known to reside in Sveinsgard by the time of 1259 - mentioned in written sources from 1309 for not have paid tithe (DN I, 122; DN II, no 97). In this respect, the increasing amount of artefacts related to consumption - English

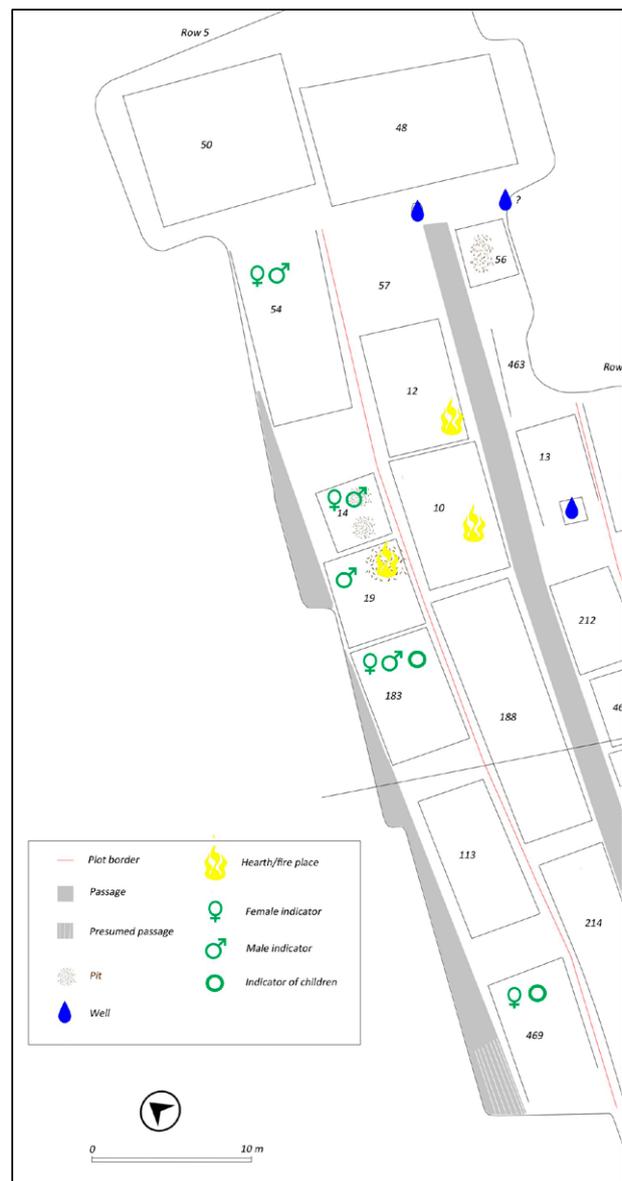


Figure 57. Buildings in Sveinsgard with gender-related artefacts, 1332. Modified after Herteig 1991a, Plates; Johansen 2013: 47; Fig. 5.3.

tableware in particular, now making up 92% of the classified pottery here - and the decreasing element of textile-production equipment may perhaps be interpreted in terms of fewer women here than earlier. Still, it may be that women were in charge of food processing, as baking slabs make up an increasing and considerable share of the cooking-related artefacts - a local kitchen utensil strongly associated with baking of unfermented bread, and seemingly less compatible with a foreign food culture. Although the artefacts dated to 1332 often cannot be assigned specific buildings, there seem to be few distinct changes concerning gender and activities in the area of Sveinsgard between 1248 and 1332. There is a strong artefact representation in the rear zone and lime-slaking activities continue to characterize the mid-section of the tenement. The artefact material is also still dominated by food-related artefacts associated with drink-

ing in particular and personal belongings, related to men, women and children that were not necessarily living in family-based households.

5.2.3 Rows 3 and 4 (Miklagard)

Rows 3 and 4 (Miklagard) represents the most completely excavated tenement dated to 1332, and besides the very front of the settlement and the wharf area, most of it lies within the site borders (Moldung 2000: 61). Remains of fire IV were documented in large parts of the area; yet, surviving remains were interrupted by lime-slaking activities in both rows, and redeposited charcoal also complicated the identification of the fire layer in row 4 (Herteig 1991a: 42). Altogether, 800 artefacts are with more or less certainty related to Miklagard - more than twice as many as 84 years earlier (Figure 58). Of these, 280 (35%) are found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material.

When the fire struck in 1332, Miklagard was more or less fully developed (Herteig 1991a: 42-45; Moldung 2000: 61), but apparently with a smaller degree of structural continuity from 1248 compared to Sveinsgard. The two rows of the altogether 11-12 buildings become narrower towards the wharf area - not least row 3 - but still represent a double tenement combined by a passage (Figure 59) (Herteig 1991a: 55-56). There are two new wells behind rows 3 and 4, probably used in relation to the rebuilding of St Mary's, St Mary's Guildhall and St Lawrence's after the fire in 1248 (Johansen 2013: 49-50).

Tentatively, four or five buildings are identified in row 4, varying between 7.7 and 19.9 m in length and 4-4.2 and 5.4 m in width (c. 38-84 m²) (Herteig 1991a: 43-45). West of building 48 lie remains of what is termed building 57 in the field diary of the Bryggen excavations (P3, IV, IV.1). This structure was so fragmented that it was not given a separate structure number in the final analysis of the Bryggen site (Herteig 1991a: 45). Moldung has, however, interpreted it as a possible independent building, associated with household activities such as cooking and consumption. She has also interpreted building 12 further west as a two-roomed and two-storey structure separated by a narrow hallway at ground level, with a fireplace in the south-west corner (Moldung 2000: 65, 103). Textile production has been indicated by finds of spindle-whorls and a pair of shears (Øye 1988: 124). Building 10 - immediately west of building 12 and more or less replacing building 20 from 1248 - may also have had an upper storey and two rooms separated by a narrow hallway, in addition to remains of a fireplace in the western part (Øye 1988: 124; Herteig 1991: 45; Moldung 2000: 66, 104). Like building 20, spinning and weaving have been assigned this building, the latter represented by e.g. remains of a presumed upright loom from an upstairs room (Øye 1988: 124). The size and the multiple-roomed structure of building 188 in middle section - in the area of the preceding buildings 223

and 222 from 1248 - indicate a warehouse (Herteig 1991a: 45; Moldung 2000: 65, 104), but the multiple rooms and finds of presumed loom weights from period 5 (1248-1332) (Øye 1988: 128) may also indicate multiple functions. Also building 214 may have had multiple rooms, as well as a storage function, based on its size (Herteig 1991: 45; Moldung 2000: 60) - structures related to trade and traditional male activities. Textile-production equipment has been associated also with building 214 in period 5 (1248-1332) in general (Øye 1988: 128).

While a single building only was registered in row 3 in 1248, six smaller buildings are registered here in 1332 - four in the rear zone, and two in the front, ranging from 3.4x3.4 m to 6x4.3 m (12-26 m²). Building 56 in the rear - presumably a small shed - frames some lime pits associated with the stone buildings nearby (Herteig 1991a: 43). Two spindle whorls have been found in building 463 in front of the shed; however, as one of them is unfinished, they may perhaps indicate production or re-use of stone to produce such objects rather than use (Øye 1988: 125). In building 13, a new well with ground water is registered (Johansen 2013: 48-49). Based on artefacts, cooking and textile production may have taken place here (Øye 1988: 128; Moldung 2000: 103), but there are no indications of a fireplace. Further west, and possibly separated from no. 13 by a passage, lies building 212 (Herteig 1991a: 44; Moldung 2000: 64). A spindle whorl has been registered here (Øye 1988: 125). The log-built building 462 has earlier been interpreted as a possible langloft (Olsen 2002: 50); however, it is not particularly long. Building 220 in the front zone represents a small shed with an unknown function (Herteig 1991a: 44; Moldung 2000: 57). In front of 220 lies building 221 - a possible two-storey construction which has been interpreted as another langloft (Olsen 2002: 41-42). Yet, also this relatively short. There is space for another building in front of this building, but there is no evidence for this, and Herteig interprets the area as a passage (Herteig 1991a: 45). In all, the settlement in Miklagard is characterized by buildings associated with residence as well as economic activities on the ground floor - the latter registered in the front zone in particular.

In the rear zone of Miklagard, the finds from the backmost parts are difficult to relate to specific buildings - e.g. pottery (mostly shards of Grimston ware), a part of a small soapstone vessel (type B), remains of baking slabs and possible shoe fragments. Similar categories are found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material in the area of building 56: pottery (including single shards of London Brown, Scarborough and York White ware), remains of baking slabs, whetstones and shoe parts - including a sole. More pottery (including English tableware such as Grimston ware, Humber ware and Scarborough ware, and also Danish/Swedish ware), a part of a used baking

Artefact		Pottery, kitchenware	Soapstone vessel	Metal vessel	Baking slab	Sausage pin	Pottery, tableware	Plate	Ladle	Lid	Gaming piece	Miniature	Shoe, leather	Textile	Purse, case	Shears	Spindle whorl	Warp weight	Leather, waste type 3?	Drill	Slag	Knife/plane	Whetstone	Label	Barrel part	Float	Rune stick	Rivet, nail, spike, wedge, plug	Lock, key	Door hinge	Door part	Lamp	General	Miscellaneous	Undefined	Total		
Context	Rear part		1	4	4	1	31			2		7											2												2	50		
	B577						12			2		1						1									1										17	
Row 4	B12		7	1	1	1	15					7	1			1						9														7	60	
	Area of B12+B57		15	4	4	8	161			1		2				1			1		1		19			1									4	232		
	B10		1	18	2	27	27	2	1			9					1			1		2	2	1											8	88		
	B10 or B12																	2																		2		
Area of B188	B188																								1												2	
	4			2	1	30															1	2														57		
Passage	1			11	3	41				1	4		36					2			1																712	
	12			12	1	9						2																									25	
Row 3	B137		2	5	3							6																									17	
	B212/462																1																				1	
B462?							1														1																3	
Row 4	B214	2				2	9			1			21				1					1															39	
Passage	2			2	5	4							7									1															21	
	5			5	1	8							1	1																							34	
Row 3	B221																																				2	
B188/462/220/221																																						2
B220/221/456			1																																		2	
Front													16																								40	
	1			1	3	9																		1													40	
Total	6	28	1	65	28	360	2	1	2	9	2	113	2	2	2	2	3	7	1	1	5	4	37	2	1	1	1	57	3	3	2	3	2	4	40	800		

Figure 58. Artefacts from rows 3 and 4 (Miklagard), 1332. N=800. Colour scheme based on Figure 15.

slab, a soapstone vessel (type A), a sausage pin, gaming pieces associated with Nine Men's Morris or kvatrufl (Lund 2013: 109) and a sole are found in the passage between rows 3 and 4. The finds from the very rear area are thus largely associated with cooking by means of local kitchen utensils and consumption, especially drinking - the latter represented by English pottery in particular - but also whetting of tools and footwear. The finds cannot, however, be assigned specific buildings - at least not a shed structurally related to lime-slaking.

Some of the finds above may originate in the possible building 57, in addition to shards of predominantly English pottery (Scarborough, Grimston, London Brown and Humber ware), but also French (Saintonge ware), a miniature pot, gaming pieces possibly related to Nine Men's Morris or kvatrufl and possibly chess (Lund 2013: 109, 118), a loom weight with an incised cross, and a rune stick with a secret formula, all from layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. Although the context is somewhat unclear, consumption (drinking), textile production (weaving), possible playing and board games are indicated, and strengthen the argument for a building.

Finds are with more certainty related to building 12, originating in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material: pottery (including shards of Grimston type), a possible handle of a metal vessel, shards of a fine, small soapstone vessel (type B/D), a part of a baking slab, a sausage pin, a pair of shears, shoe remains - including a children's sole (size 28) - whetstones and a piece of textile. Both building structure and artefacts indicate household activities such as cooking by means of local and foreign kitchen utensils, consumption - represented by mostly English drinking gear - and textile production. The sole also indicates the presence of older children.

The artefacts found in the area of building 57 and the eastern part of building 12 in general support a domestic interpretation of these structures. These objects found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material comprise a large amount of mostly English pottery (a third of Grimston ware, but also a few shards Humber ware, York White ware and Scarborough ware), and also including Dutch (Delft) and Danish/Swedish ware, remains of baking slabs (including a used one), shards of a soapstone vessel (type B), sausage pins, a gaming piece related to Nine Men's Morris or kvatrufl (Lund 2013: 109), a pair of shears, a float (type I), many whetstones, a piece of leather possibly of waste type 3, soles - including a children's sole size 30 - and a piece of slag. In the passage south of building 12, pottery (including tableware of Grimston and Scarborough ware), a part of a possible knife, fragments of rope, a sole and other shoe parts are located, in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other

burnt material, remains of baking slabs. Altogether, more than a third of the artefacts presumably related to rows 3 and 4 seem to originate in or in the area of buildings 12 and 57, and contribute to a domestic interpretation of these buildings. The many whetstones may also indicate production, and/or perhaps represent stored commodities.

The artefacts from building 10 (found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material) are more or less of the same categories as further back, also here comprising mostly English tableware (including shards of Humber, Grimston and Scarborough ware), plates, a ladle, pieces of primarily fire cracked or sooted baking slabs, a part of a medium-sized soapstone vessel (type A), sausage pins, a spindle whorl, whetstones, a drill, a children's sole (size 19), shoe parts and possible shoe parts, pieces of presumed clothing, a possible label, knives or plane parts and two soapstone lamps. Also, a shard of Grimston ware and another soapstone lamp seem to be found close to this building, and pottery shards (including Grimston and Danish/Swedish ware) and a part of a fire cracked baking slab in the passage - all in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. The artefacts and activities related to this building, then, are particularly associated with cooking by means of local kitchen utensils, and consumption. The latter is especially represented by English tableware and related to drinking. The indicators of textile production are fewer than the ones registered in Øye's more extensive study; however, the evidence of an upright loom means that there is little doubt on the presence of a female - although not exclusively - working environment. The shoe remains also signify the presence of very young children. In addition, there are traces of whetting of tools, trading and possible wood-working. Thus, both domestic and social activities, as well as production are signified in this building.

Compared to row 4, few finds in the rear zone are related to row 3. Pottery (including shards of Grimston and Danish/Swedish ware), parts of sooted or fire cracked baking slabs, a sausage pin, a children's sole of unknown size, a possible shoe fragment and some kind of a case are found in building 13. In layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material, in what is assumed to represent the western part of this building, a shard of Humber ware, a part of a soapstone vessel (possibly type B), parts of sooted baking slabs, a whetstone, a possible part of a shoe and a children's sole (size 29) are registered. Also pottery, a part of a small soapstone vessel (type B), remains of baking slabs and possible shoe parts are found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material and may originate in this building - or in building 12. In the passage between buildings 10 and 13, mostly English tableware (Grimston and Beverly ware), a sooted baking slab,

sausage pins, parts of baking slabs, shoe remains and gaming pieces associated with Nine Men's Morris or kvatrutafl (Lund 2013: 109) are found, some in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. Thus, the finds that with more or less certainty may be related to building 13 are generally of the same categories as discussed so far, dominated by artefacts related to cooking by means of local kitchen utensils such as baking slabs and soapstone vessels, and consumption, represented by mainly English tableware associated with drinking. In addition, board games and traces of children may be assigned building 13, as well as whetting of tools.

Only a barrel stave is with some certainty found in building 188, whereas pottery of e.g. English (York White, Grimston and Scarborough ware) and German (Paffrath type) origin, parts of baking slabs, a sausage pin, whetstones and a knife are possibly located here. The dating of the Paffrath pottery to 1332 seems a little late for this type of pottery and may indicate misdating; yet, it is generally found in Bergen also in the early fourteenth century (Øye 2011: 227). The same applies to some Paffrath ware found in a grid square dominated by building 188. A miniature pot registered in the same grid square may be related to this building; still, also buildings 462, 220 and 221 are possible places of origin. In all, the finds may be interpreted in terms of household and social activities in building 188 - associated with cooking by means of local devices, consumption especially related to drinking culture, and playing. At least some of these activities may have been located in an upper storey or different rooms, considering the lack of a fireplace and the structural indications of warehouse functions at ground level.

A possible spindle whorl for plying yarn has previously been assigned building 212 (Øye 1988: 125). Yet, this may rather have been located in building 462, in which a shard of Grimston pottery and a piece of slag also seem to be located. In the passage between building 188 and buildings 212 and 462, pottery (including a single shard of Pingsdorf type), a part of soapstone vessel (type A), sausage pins, a lid, a loom weight, shoe parts - including two children's soles (sizes 23 and 29) and a possible adult's sole (size 35) - and a turning key are registered. The dating of the Pingsdorf pottery to 1332 may indicate mixed layers. The finds are also contextually uncertain and cannot be used to illuminate actors and activities in any of the buildings for certain. Nevertheless, the artefacts in the area of buildings 212, 462 and 188 are clearly related to the tenement as a whole, primarily associated with cooking by means of local kitchen utensils, consumption (especially drinking), possible textile production and clothing. There are also traces of children.

In building 221 in the front zone, only some rivets are registered, which cannot illuminate any specific activity here. Finds made in the passage are

more numerous and comprise mostly English tableware (Scarborough and Grimston ware), parts of baking slabs, a sausage pin, a possible purse, a piece of textile, and leather pieces. In addition, a part of a medium-sized soapstone vessel and a loom weight are presumably located in a grid square covering both buildings 220 and 221 in row 3 and building 456 in row 2 (Atlegard/Oddsgard). The artefacts are more or less of the same categories and reflect the same activities as other finds from this area. They are, however, contextually uncertain, and may stem from fill masses.

Building 214 comprises primarily English tableware (Humber and Scarborough ware), a lid, sausage pins, shoe remains (possibly waste type 2) and shoe parts in general - including a possible adults' sole of size 35. Pottery (first and foremost London Shelly ware), a spindle whorl and a whetstone are also found in a context possibly representing this building. Similar finds are registered in the passage: pottery of English (Grimston ware) and Danish/Swedish types, sausage pins, parts of baking slabs (of which one is sooted), a whetstone and shoe parts, including a presumed adult's sole. The finds in this area, then, include artefacts associated with cooking by means of local kitchen utensils, consumption/drinking represented by primarily English tableware, as well as spinning, whetting of tools, clothing and/or leather-working - although being fewer than further back and to some degree contextually uncertain. The building is also associated with economic activities, and it has been suggested that some of the baking slabs without wear marks found in this building in period 5 (1248-1332) may represent stored objects (Tengesdal 2010: 62). Still, the building may have had multiple functions.

In the very front of Miklagard in general, a mixed group of artefacts appears: Scarborough and Grimston tableware, a fire cracked baking slab, sausage pins, a loom weight, a rune stick with an unpublished inscription - possibly a label with the male, Norse name Gunnar: 'h f gunara/trut/trothn' - and shoe remains (of which some may be of waste type 2, and including a children's sole (size 28-29) and an adults' sole). The finds may represent redeposited waste from the tenement, and are more or less of the same categories as referred to in relation to rows 3 and 4 - associated with cooking and consumption (especially drinking), weaving, clothing, trade and possible leather-working.

Like in Sveinsgard, there is a clear increase of artefacts in the 1332-level compared to the 1248-level, although in many cases without being assigned specific buildings. Nevertheless, the female indicators are mostly represented by domestic, cooking-related artefacts such as baking slabs and soapstone vessels. The element of textile-production equipment has also here decreased and makes up a relatively small part, accompanied by a major increase of ceramic tableware. Remains of English drinking gear make

up 93% of all classified pottery from this tenement. These finds may reflect the increasing presence of English winter-sitters, trade relations with East-English harbours as reflected in written sources, and perhaps also a decreasing presence of local inhabitants in general and female in particular. Still, there are hardly any traces of cooking utensils but local ones - now including not only sausage pins (which are uncertain in terms of function and gender), but also soapstone vessels and particularly baking slabs. The latter categories are strongly associated with local cooking traditions and therefore probably also reflect local, female users, according to traditional gender roles. Additionally, at least some of the pottery may represent remains of stored commodities rather than used objects. The cooking utensils are also generally found alongside textile-production equipment, and despite the present evidence of textile production being scarcer than suggested by Øye's more extensive study, both types are considered signifying female activities carried out in buildings 10 and 12. These buildings with fireplaces and possibly multiple rooms, and a relatively homogenous artefact material clearly reflect female activities - although not female alone. In building 13, there are no traces of textile production, but almost all artefacts are food- and drink-related implements, including presumably used baking slabs. It is uncertain whether this building may be interpreted as some kind of kitchen or assembly room; however, it is not unlikely that the many female indicators should be associated with female activities carried out also here. The same applies to the possible building 57. A large number of whetstones in building 12 may indicate production beyond domestic needs.

Child-related artefacts (first and foremost shoes) are also more numerous than in the 1248-level - now associated with young as well as older children - and registered in buildings 10, 12 and 13. Artefacts traditionally associated with male activities consist also in 1332 primarily of some scattered indicators of fishing, possible leather-working and shoemaking, wood-working and trade, especially if the buildings are taken into consideration. There is also a marked increase of whetstones. The 'male' artefacts are found in buildings 10, 12, 13, 188, 214 and 462, but it cannot be corroborated on 'male' activities in nos. 188 and 462 based on the presence only of a barrel part and a piece of slag here. Also, the remainder of these artefacts are represented by whetstones - which have an uncertain relation to men alone - not least in building 12. While the tools may reflect the presence of male servants and workers, another stratum may be reflected by the many traces of social activities related to drinking and board games.

It has not been possible to identify gender-restricted living or working areas where buildings are concerned (Figure 59). Male and female indicators and activities seem to a large degree to be found together - especially in buildings with presumed resi-

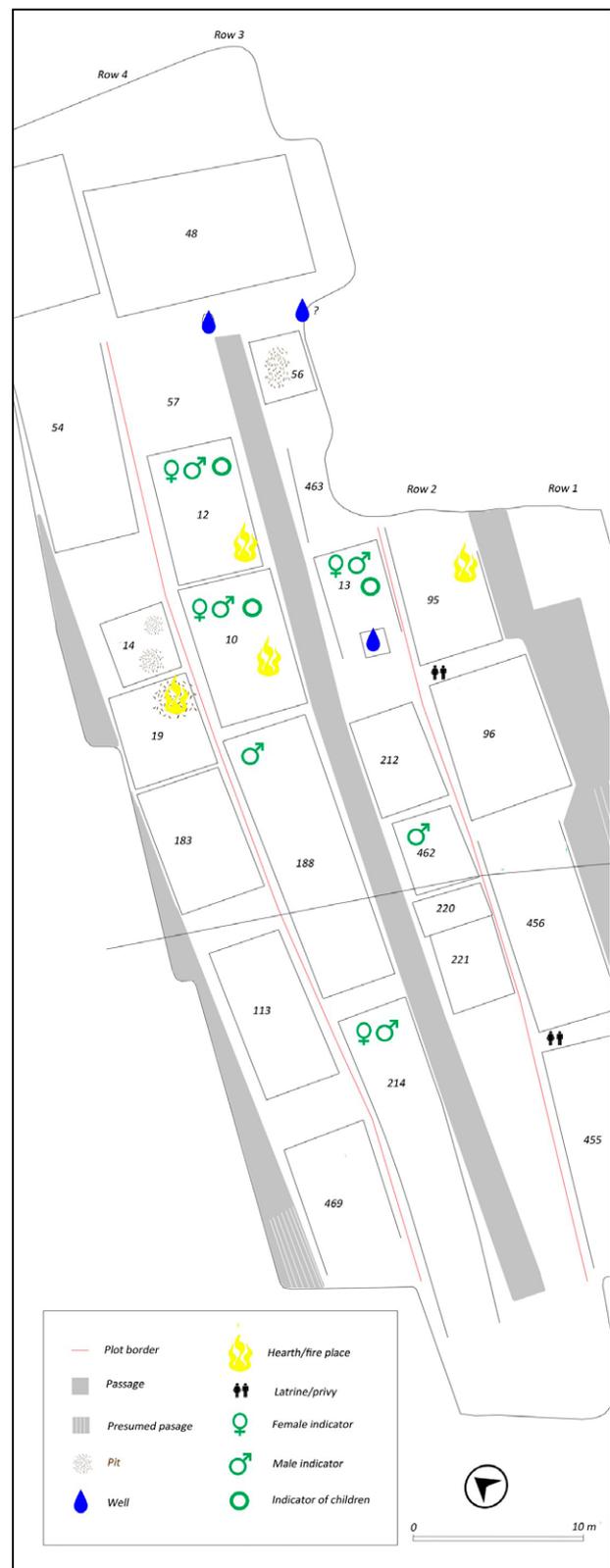


Figure 59. Buildings in Miklagard with gender-related artefacts, 1332. Modified after Herteig 1991a, Plates.

dential and/or social functions, but often including working environments as well. Buildings 10, 12 and 13 contain child-related artefacts, but only in no. 10, where a young child is indicated, may the possible presence of a family unit be indicated - for the first

time in this study. Artefacts traditionally associated with men represent the only gendered artefacts in buildings 188 and 462; however, the finds from the latter are generally few. More or less the same artefact categories are also registered in both the rear and front zones, dominated by seemingly domestic artefacts associated with cooking, consumption/drinking, board games of a local or foreign origin and shoes/clothing, as well textile production. At the same time, more than 80% of all artefacts are found in the rear zone, as are all the artefacts from layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. This indicates activities particularly associated with cooking and consumption/drinking and playing here, and perhaps actors of different social backgrounds. It is also in this zone that there are most buildings with possible gendered artefacts. In this respect, it is reasonable to interpret the zones in terms of both functions and gender - where household and social activities to a larger degree are located in the rear zone, and economic in the front - at least on the ground level. Domestic artefacts found in the front part of Miklagard may also reflect activities taking place in upper storeys. Likewise, traditional male activities probably also took place in the rear zone - represented by the lime pit in building 56, and a large number of whetstones and the like in the area of buildings 12 (and 57). The rear zone may in this respect perhaps be interpreted as a common area, with a predominantly male population including actors of different social background and both women and men working for the masters or mistresses of the tenements.

By far, then, the traces of men, women and children of different ages seems more than plausible in relation to Miklagard by the time of 1332 - most often registered in the same contexts, and possibly including family-based units, perhaps related to the house owners. At the same time, the building pattern as such - with many buildings evidently associated with extensive trade - less evidence of textile production and an increasing share of foreign ceramic tableware possibly indicate fewer locals and/or female residents.

5.2.4 Row 2 (Atlegard/Oddsgard)

The fire layer of 1332 was generally registered in what was unearthed of Atlegard - i.e. parts of the rear and front zones - but none of the 455 artefacts associated with this tenement (Figure 60) are found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. Up to and including the fire in 1248, Atlegard appeared as a double tenement, represented by rows 1 and 2. In 1332, however, it seems to consist of one row of buildings only - row 2 - that includes four buildings and two privies (Figure 61) (Herteig 1991a: 42). Most of the area south of row 2 lies outside the borders of the site, but in the very front, there would have been little space left for a possible row 1 (Moldung 2000: 86). Instead,

there are traces of what has been interpreted as The Old Church Road leading up to St Mary's (Herteig 1991a: 43).

Two of the buildings are registered in the rear zone and two in the front - generally long and varying between 5.4 and 13.3 m in length and between 5 and 6.6 m in width (31-67 m²). Building 95 represent the rearmost structure (Herteig 1991a: 43), interpreted as a two-roomed structure with a possible upper storey with a fireplace (Moldung 2000: 62). This resembles building 99 from 1248 in this area and may indicate some kind of common room. A privy is also now registered in front of the building. Based on size, the relatively large buildings further west may among others have had economic functions, at least on ground levels (Moldung 2000: 62, 102). Building 96 may have had three rooms - like its predecessor from 1248, building 98 - and a pentice or an external gallery leading up to the upper storey. Building 456 in the front zone (approximately replacing building 466 from 1248) also had an upper storey and possibly four rooms (Herteig 1991a: 43; Moldung 2000: 62). The length of building 455 as well signifies a multiple-roomed structure, but there is no physical evidence of such demarcations (Herteig 1991a: 43; Moldung 2000: 62). A second privy in the tenement is registered between buildings 456 and 455. Despite the transition from a double to a single tenement, there seems to be a high degree of structural continuity in row 2 in Atlegard - characterized in particular by buildings with multiple rooms and/or storeys.

In the rear zone, in the very rear part, many artefacts are registered south of what has been identified as The Old Church Road. About half of these are pottery shards associated with English tableware (York White ware and Scarborough ware), and the remainder include a sausage pin, parts of whetstones, soles - including a small children's sole (size 18) and a children's sole of unknown size - and slag. They thus represent consumption/drinking, cooking by means of local kitchen utensils, whetting of tools, possible metal-working and clothing, including children's shoes. They cannot, however, directly illuminate actors and activities connected to buildings.

More or less the same categories of finds are made in The Old Church Road: pottery - particularly of English (Scarborough and Grimston) types, but also a few of French (Rouen ware), German (Westerwald and Siegburg ware) and Scandinavian origin - a part of a stone vessel, remains of primarily fire cracked baking slabs, sausage pins, a spindle whorl, a whetstone, a knife, a possible door knob or a knife, slag, a tally stick, a buckle used with cloaks, shirts and purses (Molaug 1998: 40), a large number of shoe remains and possible shoe remains - including three possible adult's soles (two of size 34), five children's soles (c. size 22, 29, 29 and 30 and one of unknown size) - the majority possibly of waste type 2, signifying general leather-working - and a fragment of a textile. The artefacts may have been spread over a

wider area when building 95 collapsed. If so, a variety of activities may have taken place here - perhaps in different rooms or storeys - associated with cooking by means of local kitchen utensils, consumption/drinking, spinning, possibly leather-working, whetting of tools and trade.

Further west, again, mostly English tableware (London Brown and Scarborough ware), a part of a baking slab, a sausage pin, a part of a whetstone and a tally stick are located in a grid square covering buildings 95 and 96 and the passage. Another part of a baking slab is also found in an unidentified building here. It is impossible to locate the artefacts in terms of zones and buildings, but they still indicate primarily food- and drink-related activities in the area, in addition to trade.

Building 96 contained pottery of mixed origin (including Grimston, Scarborough, Andenne and Danish/Swedish ware), parts of baking slabs, sausage pins, a gaming piece associated with Nine Men's Morris or kvatrutafl (Lund 2013: 109), a possible flax beater, a shoe and two soles and slag. Primarily English pottery (including Grimston, London Brown and York Grey ware), a part of a fire cracked baking slab, sausage pins, a stave from a wooden vessel, a skewer, a gaming piece or a spindle whorl, a filigree/open frame brooch with stylized figurative motif of two dragons (Molaug 1998: 45), shoe remains, a part of a soapstone lamp and an undefined piece of leather are also found in and in the area of the passage here. Although building 96 seems to have contained warehouse functions or the like, the artefacts indicate also household functions - especially cooking by means of local kitchen utensils and consumption/drinking represented primarily English tableware, in addition to board games of a local or foreign type and personal belongings. Traces of possible textile production (associated with preparation of fibres and spinning) are also found. Like in building 95, the presence of multiple rooms and storeys may thus indicate both a vertical and horizontal division of activities - storage and activities related to trade and residential and social functions, including both men and women with different roles and possibly also status.

In building 456 in the front zone, pottery (including a single shard of Grimston ware), a part of a baking slab, sausage pins, a part of a possible whetstone, slag and a turning key are found. Similar artefacts are located in a structure presumably also representing building 456: pottery (including English - Scarborough and Grimston ware - and Mediterranean tableware), parts of soapstone vessels (types B and B/D), a sausage pin, gaming pieces associated with Nine Men's Morris or kvatrutafl (Lund 2013: 109), remains of a whetstone, shoes and possible shoes - including an adults' and a children's sole (size 32-33), as well as leather pieces (possibly of waste type 2). In the passage outside, Scarborough pottery, a part of a wooden bowl, a part of a baking slab, a children's sole (size 27), a purse, a part of a barrel with incised

circles and a wood-cone are registered. The finds that with more or less certainty may be related to building 456, then, are primarily food- and drink-related - foreign tableware (not least of English types) as well as local kitchen utensils. The finds also include gaming pieces, as well as shoes and traces of (older) children. In addition, they indicate storage and possible wood-, metal- and leather-working. Building 456 may not necessarily have roomed only economic activities, then, and been divided in separate rooms and storeys.

A rune stick with the male owner's name on one side ('sigurd amunda son á mik' - 'Sigurd Amundsson owns me') and an apparently uninterpreted verse of a Norse poem (drottkvætt) on the other (Liestøl 1964) found either in building 455 or in the passage gives a direct message of persons and intellectual level, related to Norse culture. Also primarily English tableware (Humber, Scarborough and Grimston ware), remains of baking slabs, sausage pins and wooden vessels, a spindle whorl and a sole may be related to this building, and/or to its surrounding passages. The artefacts are once more associated with cooking, consumption (especially drinking) and textile production (spinning) - reflecting different functions and activities probably located in separate rooms or storeys.

In all, there is a general increase of artefacts in the layers connected to 1332, particularly including remains of local cooking tools - baking slabs and uncertain sausage pins - and not least English tableware. Traces of textile production and artefacts related to traditional male activities other than drinking - possible trade, metal-working, wood-working and possible leather-working - remain few. Like finds connected to the 1248-layers, many of the artefacts are contextually uncertain. Only to buildings 96 and 456 in the rear and front zones, respectively, it has been possible to relate artefacts to buildings (Figure 61). Structurally, both buildings may indicate warehouse and storage functions, whereas the artefact remains are mostly associated with residential and social activities - particularly cooking, consumption/drinking and board games. Traces of children at different ages are also registered, possibly indicating family-based households in building 95 and 456 - perhaps connected to local house owners? However, also the children's shoes are contextually uncertain. Opposed to the situation in 1248, most artefacts are registered in the rear zone, and long buildings including possible economic functions are registered primarily in the front zone. Still, domestic and economic activities are apparently not restricted to either zone - and artefacts of the same categories seem to be present in all parts of the tenement. Considering that all of the buildings in Atlegard seem to have had an upper storey, a vertical division of activities and gender should be taken into account, and not only a horizontal one, although the upper storeys are difficult to trace archaeologically.

A transition from a double to a single tenement structure is documented between 1248 and 1332.

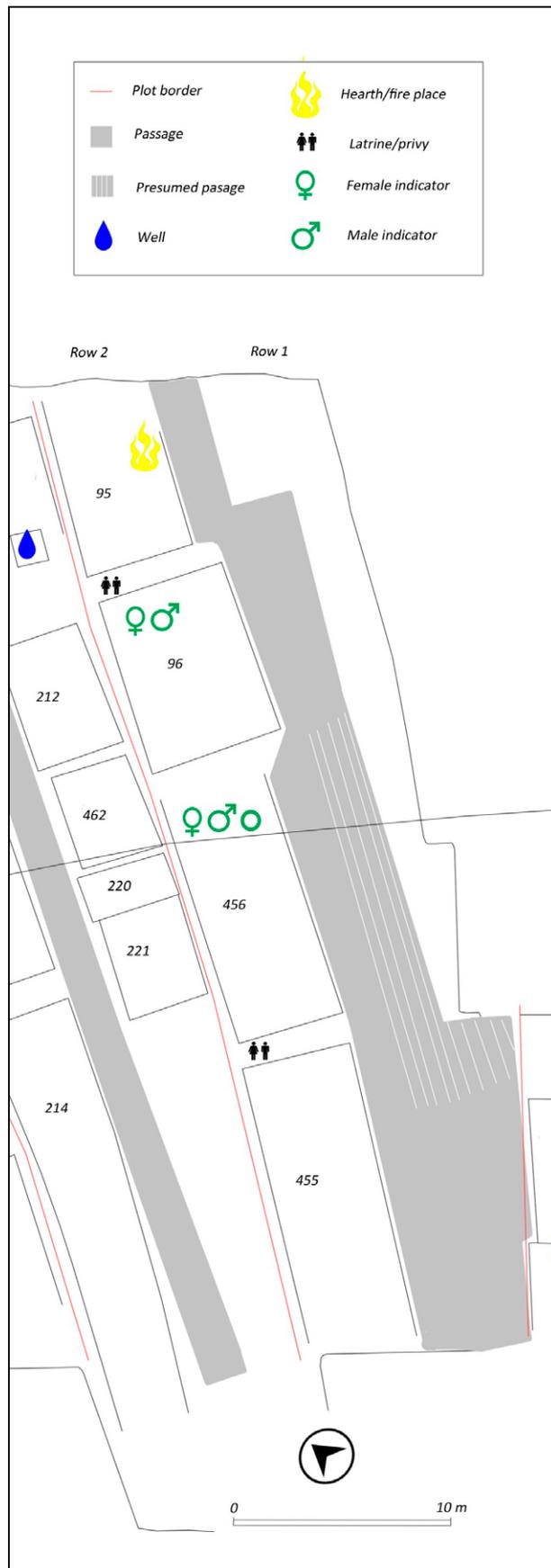


Figure 61. Buildings in Atlegard/Oddsgard with gender-related artefacts, 1332. Modified after Herteig 1991a, Plates.

Yet, as a whole, the situation in Atlegard by the time of the fire of 1332 - with regard to artefacts and activities these represent - resembles the presentation in the other tenements that have been discussed so far in the Bryggen site. Women, men and children seem to have left their traces in the entire tenement. Local inhabitants probably outnumbered foreigners at Bryggen in the first half of the fourteenth century, and Atlegard is one of the last tenements here in which local inhabitants are known (Helle 1982: 722). In 1370, for instance, Botolv Eindridesson and Valtjolv Bårdsson and his wife Brynhild are mentioned in relation to this tenement in a dispute about heritage (DN II, 411). Also, in 1416, Geirmund Sigurdsson gave half of his part of Atlegard/Oddsgard to Håvard Botolvsson and Odd Botolvsson (DN II, 638; Helle 1982: 238, 722). Still, also foreigners - but without families - resided here, as indicated in the document from 1309 about winter-sitters in 1259 and their obligation to pay tithe, mentioning Gottskalk in Oddsgard (DN II, no. 97; Helle 1982: 238). Foreign products, though - related to consumption, and not least drinking - are mostly English (88% of the classified pottery from the 1332-level), in addition to German, continental and Scandinavian. This signifies international trade and cultural contacts, as well as foreigners - evidently most men. Local women also seem to have been present - perhaps to a smaller degree than earlier, but possibly in charge of food processing, as there are no remains of foreign kitchenware. Thus, the artefact material signifies overall social continuity.

5.2.5 Søstergard

Due to machine excavation, only parts of the front zone of Søstergard are represented by the 1332-level, but the layer of fire IV was apparently recognized in all of the unexcavated area. Altogether 462 artefacts - more than double as many as in 1248 - may be associated with this tenement (Figure 62). Of these, 102 artefacts - 22% - are found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material.

Possible physical and/or functional dis/continuity between buildings cannot be assessed, as most of the structures are found in front of the buildings from 1248 (Figure 63). A break in the traditional north-east orientation of the tenement is documented, however, as well as an unusual layout - involving a restructuring also here, perhaps regulated by the Urban Code of 1276. The buildings in the southern row now take up the whole width, leaving no space for a passage between the two rows of tenements. In the eastern part of this row, a single building is registered - building 88, which may have had a side-annexe to the north and a privy to the east. The western part is divided along the middle by a passage between buildings 86 and 87 which possibly extends westwards into unexcavated area. In the northern row, buildings 393 and 394 are located - both with fire cracked

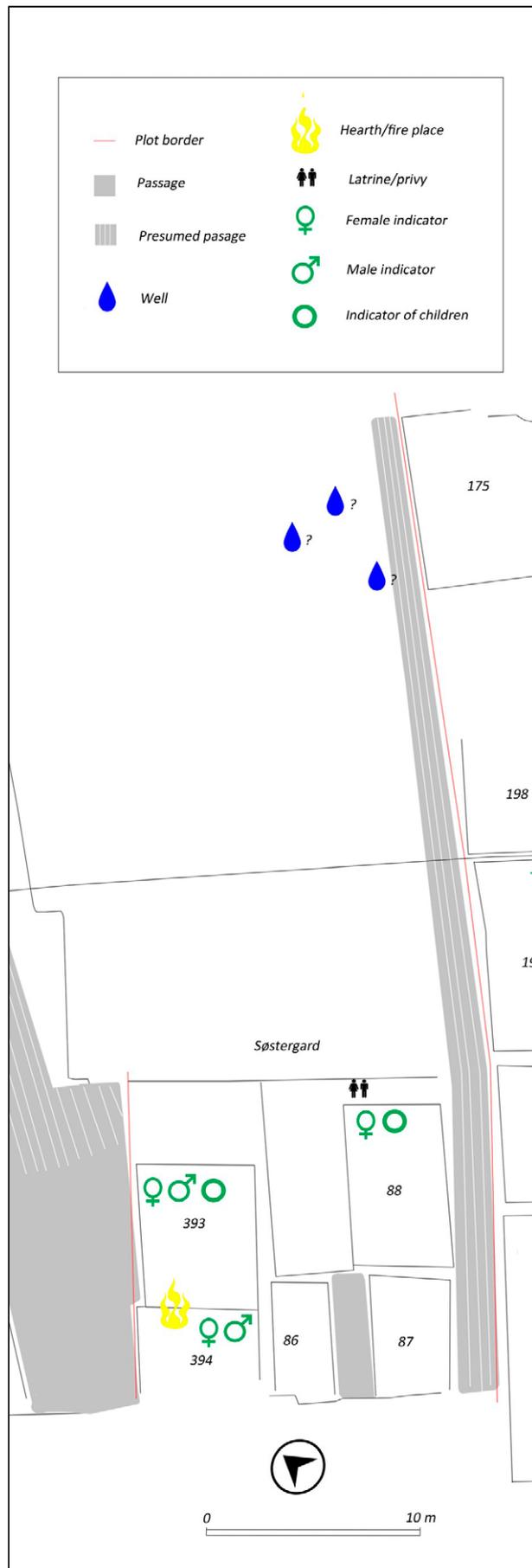


Figure 63. Buildings in Søstergård with gender-related artefacts, 1332. Modified after Herteig 1990: 107, Fig. 69; Johansen 2013: 47; Fig. 5.3.

stones stemming from a hearth in the latter building. There may also have been an undefined third building in the eastern part. The buildings range from 3.8 to 6 m in length and from 3.7 to 5.2 m in width (19-31 m²) (Herteig 1990: 106-107, 111). Behind the investigated Søstergård area, there are also three - possibly common - wells, indicating an open space here. Of these, one is a continuation of a well from before 1248, whereas one was constructed in phase 5.1 and the other in 5.2 or 6.1 (after the fire in 1332) (Johansen 2013: 50-51).

In building 393, a lot of pottery - almost exclusively English tableware (Grimston and Scarborough ware), but also including a single shard of Danish/Swedish type - parts of baking slabs, sausage pins, skewers, a gaming piece associated with Nine Men's Morris or kvatrutaffl (Lund 2013: 109), a part of a whetstone, a possible knife beater for weaving, leather fragments (possibly waste type 2), shoe parts and possible shoe parts - including three children's soles (one of unknown size and sizes c. 19 and 30) - a comb, a piece of pleated textile and other textiles and a part of a boat are registered. Artefacts in The Old Church Road north of building 393 are of similar categories, primarily English tableware (Grimston, Scarborough and York White ware), but also including Danish/Swedish ware, sausage pins, a skewer, a float, a possible wooden label, a possible shoe fragment, leather fragments (possibly of waste type 2), textiles and a possible rug. The finds in and in the area of building 393 thus signify household and social activities - dominated by food-related artefacts associated with cooking by means of local kitchen utensils, and consumption, especially drinking represented by primarily English pottery. There are also traces of personal belongings, gaming pieces associated with a local or a foreign type of board games, and children at different ages, and of possible weaving, leather-working, fishing and trade, in all indicating different functions and actors.

A large amount of pottery (for the most part unclassified, but also including a few shards of English (Grimston and Scarborough ware) and Danish/Swedish types), a small spade, parts a wooden vessel, a wood-turned bowl and a baking slab, sausage pins, skewers, a gaming piece associated with Nine Men's Morris or kvatrutaffl (Lund 2013: 109), primarily coarse textiles, an adults' sole, pieces of leather (possibly of waste type 2), and a soapstone lamp are registered in building 394 - many of the finds found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. Also in this building, then, household and social activities are indicated by the artefact material - not least related to consumption and drinking culture, but also cooking by means of local kitchen utensils, as well as gaming and clothing. The indicators of possible leather-working, however, are few and generally uncertain.

In the southern row, the artefacts are more difficult to relate to buildings. In a grid square covering

all the southern buildings and parts of the buildings in the northern row, a wooden stick with the magic runic inscription - 'agla agla/agllualoahki' - is registered. Pottery (including German (Langerwehe/Duingen) and English (Grimston) ware), a stave from a wooden vessel, sausage pins and a large children's sole are identified in building 88. Similar finds are also made east of this building, comprising remains of a baking slab, sausage pins and a rope. The few artefacts in and in the area of building 88 thus signify consumption/drinking and the presence of children, and less certain evidence of cooking by means of local kitchen utensils.

In the passage presumably between buildings 86 and 87, several functionally mixed categories of artefacts are found, especially English tableware (York White ware, Grimston ware and Scarborough ware), a part of a wooden bowl, sausage pins, loom weights, a whetstone, pieces of leather (possibly of waste type 3), possible shoe fragments (some perhaps of waste type 2), a children's sole (size 30), a buckle used with cloaks, shirts and purses (Molaug 1998: 40), a tally stick, a sinker from a layer denoted as a fire layer and/or a layer containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material and a piece of slag are found. The artefacts, then, indicate activities such as cooking by means of local kitchen utensils, consumption/drinking represented by English tableware, weaving, whetting of tools, trade, fishing and the presence of children in the tenement in general - and perhaps also leather-working and/or shoemaking.

Only a small part of Søstergard was properly investigated, but the female indicators are also in 1332 associated with textile production and cooking - the latter, though, primarily represented by the functionally uncertain sausage pins. The cooking utensils seem to represent female activities carried out in domestic environments in buildings 393 and 394, and also in building 88. In building 393, weaving is also a possibility. Based on the concentration of weights in the southern row, it seems reasonable to assume that this activity also took place in at least one of the nearby buildings 86, 87 or 88. Besides drinking equipment, only a few male indicators are found - fishing tackle, whetting tools and remains of possible leather-working and/or shoemaking,- and even fewer in buildings (nos. 393 and 394). Still, it does not seem unreasonable to assume that also men were present in all buildings where women are signified by their tools - associated with especially drinking, board games and personal belongings, probably reflecting different social strata. Building 393 also have traces of children of different ages and may possibly indicate a family-based unit. Such traces in building 88 relate to older children.

As only the front zone is represented, the tenement cannot be assessed in terms of rear and front areas. That only about one fifth of the artefacts is found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material also

complicates the possibilities of identifying actors and activities in specific buildings. Many of the finds may also represent redeposited waste. The number of artefacts in the front zone is, however, distinctly higher in this tenement than in the same zone further north. This may perhaps indicate more traditional female activities here in Søstergard than in the front areas of Sveinsgard, Miklagard and Atlegard.

It is not known to what degree Søstergard was inhabited by locals or foreigners by the time of 1332, but based on written sources, it seems reasonable to assume that locals still dominated in the first half of the fourteenth century (Helle 1982: 722). A couple of labels with runic inscriptions from Søstergard with what have been interpreted as Norse names - Sigurd and Nikolas - is, for instance, apparently dated to period 5 (1248-1332) in general, and there is also a business letter from Havgrim to Tore (Johnsen 1990: 97-106; 181-182, 193). Also, artefacts and activities associated with (local) women as well as men and to some degree children seem to characterize the tenement also by the time of 1332. These artefacts are generally found in the same contexts, and may also include family-based units, perhaps connected to the house owners. At the same time, a large share of pottery - especially English ware related to drinking (92% of the classified pottery) - may be assigned foreigners staying in the sailing season or as winter-sitters or locals that used foreign drinking gear.

5.2.6 Engelgard

The fire remains from 1332 were identified as a distinctive layer in most of Engelgard, but parts of the rear zone lie outside the excavation area, and there are few traces of the southern row (Herteig 1990: 77-78). Altogether 415 artefacts can be related to this tenement (Figure 64) - more than four times as many finds as from the 1248-level. There is also in 1332 a high share of artefacts from layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material, 56%.

There are distinct changes concerning the layout of Engelgard compared to 1248 (Figure 65). The fan-shaped structure that dominated eight decades ago was seemingly somewhat straightened out when rebuilding the settlement - perhaps reflecting regulations after 1248. A more 'ordinary' layout characterized by two rows of single buildings combined by a passage of varying width now replaces the preceding pair of rows with two buildings side by side. In general, the new buildings are raised somewhat further west than their predecessors (Herteig 1990: 77-82). In the southern row, a presumed common well for the inhabitants of the tenement - yet, with a somewhat restricted access - is registered in the rear zone (Johansen 2013: 51). In the front zone, there are three buildings, varying between 5 and 10.4 m in length and between 4 and 5.8 m in width (21-44 m²). The western end of the log-built building 199 was probably removed by machine. Buildings 347

and the long 348 further west is narrower. The middle part of the northern row is dominated by an open space, possibly as a result of earlier removals and mechanical excavation in this area of the Bryggen site (Herteig 1990: 77-79). Here, another well surviving the fire in 1248 is identified (Johansen 2013: 51), in addition to five buildings measuring between 6.7 and 12.7 in length and between 5.4 and 7.5 m in width (40-72 m²). Buildings 175 and 198 lie to the west of this well. The latter, long building frames a hearth possibly used in relation to lime-slaking, probably used in the preceding building phase, within an open area. In the front zone, three buildings are located - the long building 193, building 367 and the long building 368 (Herteig 1990: 78-79). In the former building, loom weights registered just beneath the fire layer indicate weaving (Øye 1988: 123). It has also been suggested that in both rows there would have been space for one or two buildings between the front building and the wharf (Herteig 1990: 77, 79).

A knife is possibly found in building 175 in the rear zone, but the find context is rather ambiguous and little can be deduced possible actors and activities. In building 193 in the front zone, on the other hand, the finds cover no less than 241 shards of pottery - of which at least a third are of English types (including a miniature, and shards of Scottish White Gritti, London Shelly, Humber, Scarborough, York White and Grimston ware) but also some French (Saintonge ware) and Belgian (Andenne ware), remains of baking slabs and wooden vessels, a gaming piece associated with Nine Men's Morris or kvatrutaff (Lund 2013: 109), a pair of shears or a knife, loom weights, a whetstone, a piece of cloth, shoe remains - including a children's sole (size 28) - leather fragments (possibly of waste type 2) and other, textiles and slag. Many of the finds are found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. In addition, pottery (including Scarborough and Grimston ware), parts of baking slabs, a whetstone, slag and possible shoe fragments are found in a layer denoted as a fire layer and/or a layer containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material north of the building. Pottery - of which the classified items first and foremost are interpreted as English tableware related to drinking culture - thus makes up most of the finds from this building. In addition, there are other finds associated with cooking by means of local and possibly foreign kitchenware, as well as board games of local or foreign type and personal belongings, including a children's shoe. There seems to be little doubt on a working environment associated with textile production (possible preparation of fibres, and weaving). Some kind of leather-working and whetting of tools may also have taken place here. There is no fireplace here, but one in the neighbouring building. In all, some kind of common room including both household and social activities may be suggested.

The remainder of finds possibly related to the northern row are Scarborough pottery, a possible awl, what has been termed an 'amulet bag', a possible door hinge and a tap found in the passage between building 367 and building 88 (Søstergard). Also, pottery (including a single shard of Scarborough ware) and a leather fragment, possibly of waste type 3, are found in building 368. Few conclusions regarding actors and activities can be drawn in this area. Nevertheless, the artefacts reflect consumption primarily related to drinking, possible wood-working and leather-working and/or shoemaking, as well as personal belongings. The relative lack of domestic artefacts may be interpreted to the effect that such activities were less likely to have taken place here, and the front zone may be perhaps characterized as a male zone also based on the function of the wharf. Still, the presence of upper storey which could include other functions means that reservations must be made.

In the southern row, a few artefacts associated with local cooking customs - a piece of a baking slab and a sausage pin - are found in building 348. Grimston pottery from a layer denoted as a fire layer and/or a layer containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material is registered in a context presumably representing building 199. Also, primarily English tableware (Grimston and Scarborough ware) is found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material in the passage behind this building, and pottery (including a single shard of Humber ware) and possibly also a baking slab. Pottery of both German and English types (including Pingsdorf, London Brown, Grimston, Scarborough and York White ware), baking slabs, a shoe sole and possible shoe parts, and a coarse textile are also located in more or less the same context. Some shards and the baking slabs originate in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. Food-related artefacts associated especially with consumption thus dominate, and there are some indicators of cooking by means of local kitchen utensils. Still, many artefacts are probably lost in this area, as the western part of building 199 was removed by machine.

The finds from Engelgard dated to 1332 are almost exclusively located in the western part of the tenement. The uneven investigation of the rear and front parts means, however, that no conclusions may be drawn on possible gendered zones. Building 193 is best represented by artefacts (from layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material) (Figure 65). These are largely associated with consumption related to drinking - particularly English tableware - but also a few remains of local and foreign cooking utensils. There is also little doubt on a female working environment associated with possible preparation of fibres and weaving here, but it is difficult to deduce on a family-based unit based only on a single, large children's sole. Both in this building and in building 368, waste

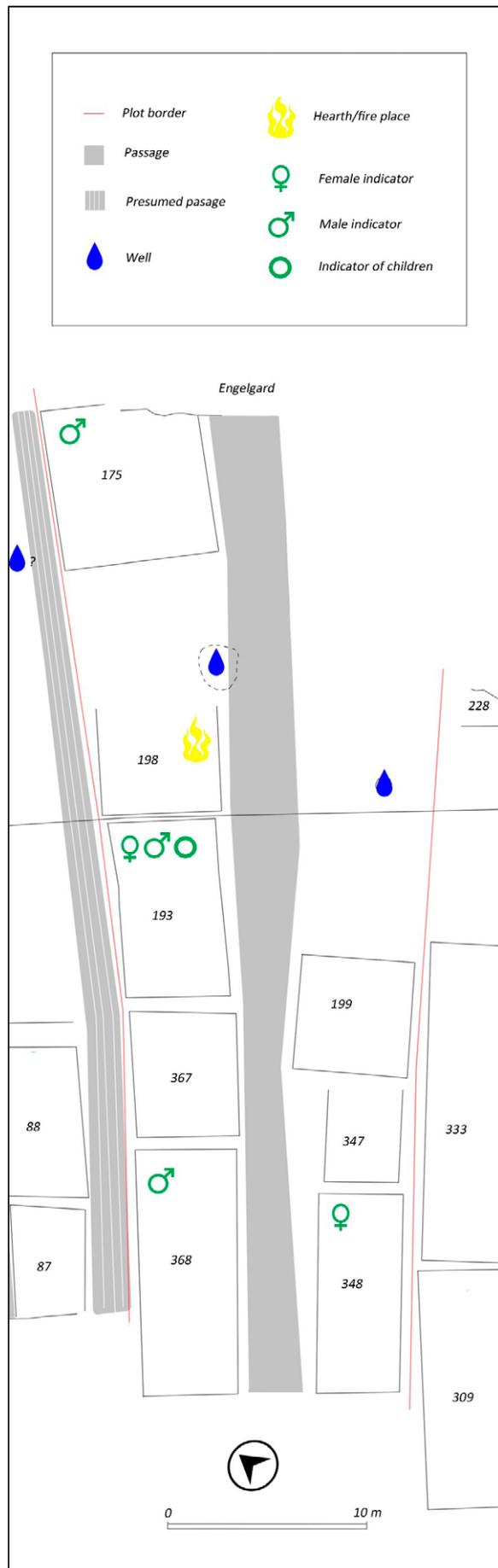


Figure 65. Buildings in Engelgard with gender-related artefacts, 1332. Modified after Herteig 1990: 78, Fig. 44.

associated with possible leather-working and/or shoe-making are registered, as are remains associated with possible wood-working. Yet, these can hardly be taken as reliable evidence of such activities. In any case, neither in terms of buildings may possible gender divisions be identified.

There are distinct changes in the overall physical layout of Engelgard compared to the 1248-level, which may indicate adaption to new needs and perhaps a changed set of actors. The artefactual remains from the layers of 1332, however, continue to be associated with household and social activities in activities in particular. Foreign kitchen utensils related to drinking in particular - not least of English types (94% of the classified pottery shards) - dominate, but there are now also some remains of primarily local cooking tools, as well as textile production. A rune stick apparently dated to period 5 (1248-1332) in general interpreted as a some kind of receipt may also point to a local actor, signed by a male named *Vigi* and referring to payments from *Bård*, *Henrik* and *Ingemund* (Johnsen 1990: 127-131). In all, the finds may perhaps be interpreted in terms of a mixed composition in terms of gender, status and ethnicity, with women - but also men - particularly in the roles of servants also at the 1332-level.

5.2.7 Bugard

Fire IV was easily recognized in the area of Bugard, which now undoubtedly is made up of two rows of buildings combined by a passage. However, much of the fire layer was removed by machines in the eastwards expansion of the site in 1979; thus, there are few traces in the eastern part of the southern row. Almost all of the rear zone of Bugard lies outside the excavation boundaries, whereas the waterfront still lies within (Herteig 1990: 39-41) - very much like in 1248. Remains of lime-slaking activities also continue by 1332. All the 257 artefacts - five times as many as from 1248 - are made in the front zone (Figure 66). Of these, only three artefacts are found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material.

In all seven buildings are registered, opposed to three in 1248, measuring between 3.4 and 16.5 m in length and between 4.4 and 4.6 m in width (16-50 m²) (Figure 67). Like in Engelgard, the settlement has expanded further west towards the harbour, and there is hardly any direct continuity between the buildings dated to 1248 and 1332 where location is concerned. In the northern row, three buildings have been identified. Most of the rearmost building - no. 228 - lies east of the site borders, whereas there is an open area of about 11 metres to the west, in the front zone. This is followed by two buildings - nos. 333 and 309 (Herteig 1990: 41, 48). Based on its length of about 12 metres and location in the front, at least the former may be interpreted as having warehouse functions on ground level, whereas a spindle whorl and a small hone previously assigned this building

Context		Baking slab	Sausage pin	Trough?	Wooden vessel	Bowl	Pottery, kitchenware	Spoon	Gaming piece	Shoe, leather	Textile	Scabbard	Comb	Jewellery	Warp weight	Pricker	Whetstone	Barrel part	Line runner	Pilgrim's mark	Rivet, nail, spike, wedge, plug	Lamp	Car	Miscellaneous	Undefined	Total	
Front zone	Eavesdrop						1					1	1													3	
	Row N	Area of B199 and/or B333 and behind					1	1													1					3	
		B333	8	1			1	14						1		31		1					1	1	2		67
		B309			1		1	26									2					1					31
	Area of B309									1				1		2					1			6	3	14	
	Passage		3			1		31			1						6		1	1						1	45
		B260						26			1											4					31
	B280	5					24		8																		37
	B280/260 or passage							1			5																6
		Area of B292				1		6		1	3											1					12
	B292							1																			1
	Front area	1						7			2	1									1						13
	Total		17	1	1	2	2	138	1	9	13	1	1	2	1	31	10	1	1	1	9	1	1	8	4	257	

Figure 66. Artefacts from Bugard, 1332. N=257. Colour scheme based on Figure 15.



Figure 67. Buildings in Bugard with gender-related artefacts, 1332. Modified after Herteig 1990: 40, Fig. 19.

indicate textile production (Øye 1988: 123). A single building - no. 226 - is registered in the rear part of the southern row, of which the large part is located east of the site (Herteig 1990: 39). There is an open area between this building and what is left of the log-built building 260 in the front zone. Based on occasional traces of burning otherwise separated from the actual fire layer by a layer of organic material, it has been suggested that this may stem from a tearing down of these buildings before fire IV - or perhaps during the fire in an attempt at creating a fire break (Herteig 1990: 39; Olsen 2002: 52). Loom weights and a drop spindle have been assigned building 260 in period 5 (1248-1332) in general (Øye 1988: 128). Close to this building, lies building 280, with a hearth or a fireplace (the only one registered in the tenement), which may indicate some kind of common room or kitchen. Building 292 represents the westernmost building in the southern row; however, remains of a large foundation substructure suggest the presence of another building in front (Herteig 1990: 39-40).

The finds related to building 333 make up the largest sample of artefacts in the tenement, a collection that may have been even bigger, had not the eastern part of the building been destroyed by machines. The artefacts cover pottery (including some shards of Grimston ware), a wooden bowl, parts of baking slabs, an uncertain stone vessel, loom weights, a comb, a whetstone, a lamp and an oar. Additionally, a shard of pottery and a spoon are found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material in the area of building 199 (Søstergard) and/or building 333 and behind. As a whole, the material is relatively homogenous, associated with cooking by means local kitchen utensils and consumption, perhaps taking place in different rooms and storeys. The weights may be remains of a net; yet, the types present, as well as the possible presence of other textile-production equipment leave little doubt on a female working environment.

Pottery of mixed origin (including English (Scarborough and Grimston), Danish/Swedish and Rhenish ware) and a shoe are registered in building 260, whereas a shard of Scarborough pottery and shoe remains - including an adults' and a children's sole (size 24) - may be located in the area of buildings 260 and 280. The finds are few and to some degree contextually uncertain, but with food- and drink-related remains also in this area - yet, to a smaller degree and associated with consumption represented by foreign tableware only. In addition, there are traces of clothing, including a child-related artefact.

In building 280, there are pottery (including shards of Grimston, Scarborough and York Grey ware), parts of baking slabs and gaming pieces presumably associated with Nine Men's Morris or kvatraft (Lund 2013: 109). These artefacts related to cooking by means of local kitchen utensils, drinking represented by English tableware, and board games

correspond well with a possible interpretation of building 280 as some kind of combined kitchen and common room. In building 309, pottery, a possible trough, a wooden bowl, and prickers possibly signifying wood-working are registered. In addition, more prickers, a part of a shoe and a filigree brooch used in relation to shirts or cloaks (Molaug 1998: 43) may be localized in building 309 and/or the area in front of this structure. In the eavesdrop between Søstergård and building 309, a shard of Humber ware pottery, a comb and a scabbard are registered. Artefacts associated with cooking and possible wood-working are thus represented in and in possible relation to building 309, as well as personal belongings such as shoes, combs, scabbards and jewellery.

In building 292, a shard of pottery is registered, whereas Grimston pottery, a part of a wooden vessel, a gaming piece associated with Nine Men's Morris or kvatrutaff (Lund 2013: 109) and sole parts are found in the area of this building. In addition, primarily English pottery (Grimston, Scarborough and York White ware), but also North-French, parts of baking slabs, a line runner, prickers and a barrel stave are found in the passage, some south of buildings 309 and 292. The contexts are generally too uncertain to draw any reliable conclusions on actors and activities in relation to these buildings. Nevertheless, the artefacts are of the same categories as discussed in relation to building 309, and represent in particular artefacts associated with cooking by means of local kitchen utensils and consumption - especially drinking - in addition to possible wood-working. There are also indicators of shoes, board games and fishing.

The remainder of finds is located in the very front area, where no buildings are identified. These comprise both English and German pottery (single shards of Humber ware, Grimston ware, Scarborough ware and Siegburg ware), remains of a wooden vessel, a baking slab, shoes and possible shoes and presumed clothing, and a pilgrims' sign. Except for the latter, these artefacts may be interpreted as waste from the tenement, representing more or less the same artefact categories as discussed in relation to Bugard in general.

The artefacts from fire IV in general and those found in buildings are first and foremost associated with activities such as cooking by means of local kitchen utensils, and consumption - represented by English pottery in particular - in addition to textile production (weaving), board games of local or foreign type, and personal belongings. Women are easier to identify in Bugard in the 1332-level than in the 1248-level. They are represented by artefacts associated with cooking by means of local kitchen utensils - particularly baking slabs - and now also textile-production equipment (loom weights) generally found in the same contexts. Possible household (and social) activities are signified in buildings 280, 309 and 333, but textile production is only registered in the latter building. The length of this building,

as well as of building 309, may indicate warehouse functions; yet, the general character of the artefact material indicates that these structures were not used for economic purposes alone. Like in 1248, there are also a few indicators of whetting of tools and fishing, but the majority of artefacts traditionally related to men and their working environment are, besides remains of drinking, associated with wood-working - probably representing different social categories. Few such artefacts are with certainty found in buildings, but wood-working may have taken place in building 309 and whetting of tools in building 333. The only child-related artefact is, like in 1248, represented by a shoe sole - in the area of buildings 260 and 280 - possibly used by an older child and barely indicating the presence of family-based units.

Both female and male indicators are located in the same buildings. Only in building 280, no traditional male indicators are registered. Yet, both drinking gear and gaming pieces suggest a mixed gender and social composition here, and it is unlikely that women alone should be associated with the only possible common room documented in this tenement. A discussion of the tenement in terms of possible gendered zones cannot be done, as mainly the front part of Bugard is unearthened at the 1332-level, and vertical divisions also plays a part. This zone is now dominated by relatively long buildings which probably had both economic and residential functions at different levels.

Thus, there are indications of female working environments in Bugard at the 1332-level, and written evidence of ON *húsfreyja* (lady of the house) Solveig in Bugard from 1303 and 1313 (DN I, 97; DN XII, 47) shows a high-ranking female here in this period. Also some labels with male Norse names (e.g. Arne, Bjarne, Eirik, Finn, Karl, Ommund and Øyolv) written in runes from period 5 (1248-1332) as a whole (Johnsen 1990: 121-124, 139-140, 146, 158, 165, 177-178) point to local inhabitants. The commercial relations and the large share of particularly English pottery may perhaps also signify foreign winter-sitters, although some may signify cultural contacts where Norwegians sailed English towns with their goods as late as in the early fourteenth century (Helle 1982: 364), or have been used together with local cooking utensils by locals. In any case, the presence both of men, women and children are indicated in Bugard also at his time interval, indicating social continuity.

5.2.8 Artefacts, activities and gender at Bryggen, 1332 - an overall assessment

Despite rows 6-8 being located outside the borders of the Bryggen site, as well as parts of the fire layer being removed mechanically, altogether 3169 artefacts are registered in the layers connected to the fire of 1332. Compared to the number of finds originating in the preceding fires, the number dated to 1248 and 1332 generally represents an increase of 63 and 61%, respectively. This may be ascribed a higher degree of

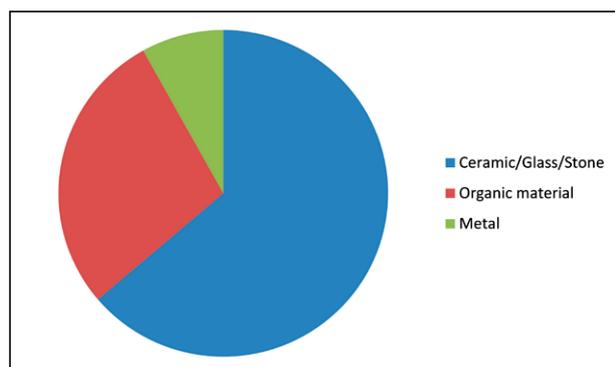


Figure 68. Distribution of artefacts from BRM 0 by material, 1332.

fragmentation, and/or indicate a high degree of activity. As presented in Figure 68, however, artefacts made of metal remain underrepresented and the share of organic material has been drastically reduced compared to in 1248. This is probably due to the wharf area generally characterized by fillings of redeposited waste is now mainly found west of the site borders. More than 60% of the artefacts are made of stone or pottery, which again more than indicates that certain types of artefacts are missing out. Additionally, about two thirds cannot be assigned any buildings, and the share of finds from layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material is decreasing - less than a quarter of the artefacts are found in such layers (23%, opposed to 32 in 1248). Thus, reservations must generally be made also concerning the place of use, as well as precise dating. As has generally been the case so far, the six analysed tenements have been investigated archaeologically to a varying degree, and only in the northern part of the site are both the rear and front zone more or less represented. Like five decades earlier, the presence of multiple rooms and upper storeys also means that buildings whose lengths may indicate economic functions could house domestic and residential activities as well. Of the northern three tenements, Miklagard is still the best represented and investigated area. Yet, more or less the same categories of artefacts and activities are registered in both the northern and southern part of the site, and - considering the extent of the material - the archaeological remains are considered representative in terms of illuminating overall gender-related trends based on the archaeological finds and other contextual evidence.

As an effect of the disastrous fire in 1248, the subsequent rebuilding of the settlement must to a lesser degree than earlier have had to adjust to existing physical structures. In this respect, the fire may have enabled new solutions and possibilities based on and adapted to the present needs of a settlement that included an unknown - but apparently increasing - element of foreigners, especially in the sailing season, but by the late fourteenth century also winter-sitters who could be staying in town for several seasons. However, foreign winter-sitters probably still did not

outnumber locals at Bryggen in the first half of the fourteenth century (Helle 1982: 472-487, 722), and, apparently, they did not come to put their mark on the physical urban environment distinctly. Although the tenements seem to be fully exploited and extended further west into the bay Vågen in 1332, at least the northern part of the Bryggen site in general and Sveinsgard in particular is characterized by structural and to some degree also functional continuity. The straightening out of the previously fan-shaped Engलगard may be considered the most evident break with previous overall structural and functional solutions after the fire in 1248. As a whole, then, e.g. ownership, plot structures, building traditions and established practices and perhaps social conventions must have limited the possibilities of changes. It seems likely that the immediate need of new houses after the fire would have favoured a rapid rebuilding based on previous traditions. In addition, practical considerations and needs may not necessarily have changed significantly in the course of the High Middle Ages. King Magnus Håkonsson's regulations of the town as expressed in the Urban Code of 1276, for instance, largely reflect Bryggen's continuous and increasing role in relation to national and international trade, as well as efforts to prevent new fires (Helle 1982: 186). The transition of Atlegard from a double to a single tenement and the shortening of row 3 in Miklagard may perhaps be explained within these frames. The physical changes that took place at Bryggen between 1248 and 1332 cannot therefore be ascribed an ethnically changed population alone, but speak in favour of overall continuity.

Relatively stable social conditions at Bryggen may possibly also be signified by the archaeological artefacts dated to 1332. The share of female indicators is more or less the same as in 1248, and such artefacts are like five decades earlier first and foremost associated with cooking - local baking slabs in particular and soapstone vessels (in addition to sausage pins). There is also a high number and increasing degree of deposition of baking slabs and soapstone vessels per year in period 5 (1248-1332) as a whole (Vangstad 2003: 114; Tengesdal 2010: 51). As presented in Figure 69, cooking is tentatively suggested in buildings 54 and 183 in Sveinsgard, in buildings 10, 12 and 13 in Miklagard, in buildings 96 and 456 in Atlegard, in buildings 88, 393 and 394 in Søstergard, in building 193 and 348 in Engलगard, and in buildings 280, 309 and 333 in Bugard. Based on the presence of a single baking slab, and an artefact material generally dominated by shoe remains, cooking cannot be verified in building 469 in Sveinsgard. Similarly, sausage pins - which are uncertain both in terms of gender and function - make up the only, possible female indicators in building 214 in Miklagard. In building 14 in Sveinsgard, it is hard to believe that activities such as cooking took place in the same contexts as lime-slaking - although this possibility cannot be excluded - which was also discussed

Zone	Tenement	Building no.	Earlier interpretations	Female indicators		Male indicators apart from drinking gear and gaming pieces	Child-related indicators	All artefacts	Artefacts/activities	
Rear	Sveinsgard	54	Two storeys, fireplace	Confirmed, plausible	12	18		96	Basic cooking, consumption, gaming, shoes, personal belongings, weaving, metal-working (?), whetting of tools, fishing, building-related finds	
		19	Lime pit/stone hearth			3		17	Consumption (food), shoes, clothing, leather-working	
		14	Lime pits	Confirmed, plausible, possible	5	1		10	Basic cooking, cooking for storage, weaving, whetting of tools, building-related finds, rope	
		183	Textile production	Confirmed, plausible, possible	9	3	3	51	Basic cooking, cooking for storage, consumption, shoes/leather-working, child-related artefacts, spinning, whetting of tools, building-related artefacts	
	Miklagard	12	Three rooms, fireplace, upper storey?, textile production	Confirmed, plausible, possible	11	9	1	60	Basic cooking, cooking for storage, consumption, gaming, playing (?), shoes, child-related artefacts, preparation of fibres, clothing, whetting of tools, building-related finds	
		10	Three rooms?, upper storey (?), fire place, cooking, textile production	Confirmed, plausible, possible	23	5	1	78	Basic cooking, cooking for storage, consumption, shoes, young children, spinning, wood-working (?), metal-working (?), general craft, whetting of tools, trade, building-related finds	
		13	Cooking. Well inside	Plausible, possible	20	1	2	42	Basic cooking, cooking for storage, consumption, whetting of tools, shoes, older children, personal belongings	
		188	Multiple rooms?			1		2	Trade, building-related find	
		462	Log-built, possible (Norw.) langloft			1		3	Consumption (food), metal-working, building-related find	
	Atlegard	96	Three rooms (?), pentice/external gallery	Plausible, possible	17	1		33	Basic cooking, cooking for storage, consumption, gaming, shoes, metal-working (?), building-related finds	
	Engelgard	175				1		3	General tool/weapon	
	Front	Sveinsgard	469		Plausible	1		2	29	Basic cooking, consumption, shoes, child-related artefacts, building-related finds
		Miklagard	214	Multiple rooms (?), cooking/storage (?), textile production	Possible	2	4		35	Basic cooking, cooking for storage, consumption, shoes/leather-working, building-related finds
Atlegard		456	Four rooms, upper storey	Plausible, possible	8	11	1	101	Basic cooking, cooking for storage, consumption, gaming, shoes/leather-working, child-related artefact, metal-working (?), whetting of tools, building-related finds	
Søstergard		393		Confirmed?, plausible, possible	19	7	3	115	Basic cooking, cooking for storage, consumption, shoes/leather-working, playing (?), young and old children, weaving?, whetting of tools, building-related finds	
		394	Hearth	Plausible, possible	19	2		228	Basic cooking, cooking for storage, consumption, gaming, shoes/leather-working, clothing/wrapping (?), building-related finds, rope	
		88	May have had a side-annex, including a privy	Plausible, possible	5		1	11	Cooking for storage, consumption, older children	
Engelgard		193	Textile production	Confirmed, plausible	19	26	1	325	Basic cooking, cooking for storage, consumption, gaming, playing (?), older children, shoes/leather-working, clothing, preparation of fibres, weaving, metal-working (?), whetting of tools, building-related finds	
		348		Plausible, possible	2			3	Basic cooking, cooking for storage, building-related finds	
		368				1		4	Consumption (food), shoemaking	
Bugard		333	Textile production	Confirmed, plausible	41	2		61	Basic cooking, cooking for storage, consumption, personal belongings, weaving, whetting of tools, building- and boat-related finds	
		280	Hearth/fireplace		5			37	Cooking, consumption, board games N	
		309		Plausible	2	2		31	Basic cooking, cooking for storage, consumption, wood-working (?), building-related finds	
Total					221	99	15	1392		

Figure 69. Buildings with gender-related artefacts, 1332.

in relation to the preceding building 32. In all, the buildings in which cooking is indicated are more or less evenly distributed in terms of zones and tenements, with a bias towards the front zone. In Sveinsgard and Miklagard, however - where large parts both of the rear and the front zone are represented -

this activity is with some certainty registered primarily in the rear buildings. Possible hearths or fireplaces are only registered in five of the buildings with cooking-related finds (i.e. nos. 10, 12, 54, 280 and 393) - also these are more or less evenly distributed in terms of zones, although with a bias towards the rear zone.

This may signify a general underrepresentation of such structures. However - considering the strict fire regulations of the Urban Code (Bl IX-XII), and that at least one hearth or fireplace is found in each tenement - it may also be that they were shared by the inhabitants.

A large number of remains of textile-production equipment is observed in period 5 (1248-1332) as a whole. The find frequency per year, though, is about the same as in the preceding period, and almost halved since period 3 (1170/71-1198) (Øye 1988: 141-142). To a lesser degree than earlier is textile production also represented in the layers of 1332 - primarily weaving and spinning. This activity is indicated in more than half of the buildings with cooking-related artefacts - in buildings 54 and 183 (Sveinsgard), 10 and 12 (Miklagard), 393 (Søstergard), 193 (Engelgard), 309 and 333 (Bugard). Thus, unlike in 1248, textile production is now registered both in Søstergard and Bugard, although the equipment in the former is functionally as well as contextually uncertain. In buildings 10, 193 and 333, however, there is little doubt regarding the presence of a female working environment associated with textile production, especially weaving. Like buildings with cooking-related artefacts, buildings with signs of textile production are evenly distributed in the rear and front zones - but only found in the rear parts in Sveinsgard and Miklagard.

In all, the female indicators are found in what may be characterized as possible common rooms - with or without hearths or fireplaces - as well as some kind of workshops presumably related to traditional male production, and long houses with possible warehouse functions (Figure 70). In case of the latter two building types, some of the female indicators may represent stored or broken and thrown away items. Yet - like eight decades earlier - the material is commonly interpreted as signifying activities apparently associated with a domestic and social sphere. Also, they are more often than not accompanied by artefacts associated with social activities such as consumption and not least drinking - English ceramic tableware in particular - and often by gaming pieces and personal belongings represented by shoes, textile fragments and/or dress accessories. Artefacts associated with traditional male activities other than drinking and playing - also in 1332 represented by scattered and often uncertain traces of whetting of tools, trade, fishing and possible metal-working, wood-working and leather-working and/or shoemaking - are generally found in the same buildings as female indicators, possibly reflecting servants and workers of both gender. In most cases, though, this concerns whetting of tools, which probably also took place within the medieval household in general and was not related to men alone. In building 54, the large number of whetstones may perhaps indicate activities beyond domestic needs. In building 19 in Sveinsgard, building 394 in Søstergard and 368 in

Engelgard, there are traces associated with leather-working or shoemaking; yet, this activity cannot be confirmed based on the presence of a very few leather fragments. Additionally, it seems unlikely that they indicate activity other than for domestic needs. Similarly, and considering the danger of fire, one or two pieces of slag may hardly be interpreted as evidence of metal-working in buildings 95 and 96.

Traces of children of different ages - first and foremost represented by shoe soles of large sizes - are now increasingly registered throughout the site, and in all tenements but Bugard - i.e. in buildings 183 (shoes related to children of 3-12 years) and 469 (3-12 years) in Sveinsgard, buildings 10 (0-3 years), buildings 12 (7-12 years) and 13 (7-12 years) in Miklagard, building 456 (7-12 years) in Atlegard, building 393 (0-3 and 7-12 years) in Søstergard and building 193 (7-12 years) in Engelgard. Thus, they are commonly found in buildings in which household and social activities apparently took place, and with female indicators. It is difficult to conclude with any certainty on possible family-based households on a general level, though, as there are traces of very young children only in buildings 10 and 393. Also, the distribution of both toys and shoe soles from period 5 (1248-1332) in general indicates older, more able-bodied children perhaps from the age of c. seven - and thus possibly working children (Mygland 2007: 89). In all, this may perhaps also reflect the presence primarily of female servants and workers.

The artefact material is somewhat ambiguous in terms of possible gender-related living and working areas. As shown, more or less the same categories of artefacts are generally found in all buildings with gender-related objects, and like in 1248, there are few buildings represented by either gender alone. There are now hardly any buildings with female indicators only, and, as mentioned, it is uncertain whether the female indicators in building 469 represent activities carried out here. Also, it is methodically difficult to draw conclusions on a gender-specific environment in building 348 based on the presence of only two artefacts. Similarly, although there are more buildings with male indicators in 1332 than in 1248 (i.e. nos. 19, 188, 462, 175 and 368), the artefacts are generally few and uncertain in terms of identification, and no conclusions on actors and activities may be drawn. A vertical division of activities also seems even more plausible than earlier, and both economic and domestic and residential activities may have taken place in the same buildings and all over Sveinsgard, Miklagard and Atlegard.

At the same time, the material bias towards the rear zone in general, and of female indicators in particular indicated in 1248 - not least concerning textile production - is presumably maintained in the northern part of the Bryggen site in 1332. Also, although soapstone vessels investigated here are more or less evenly distributed in both rear and front zones in period 5 (1248-1332) in general, what Vangstad

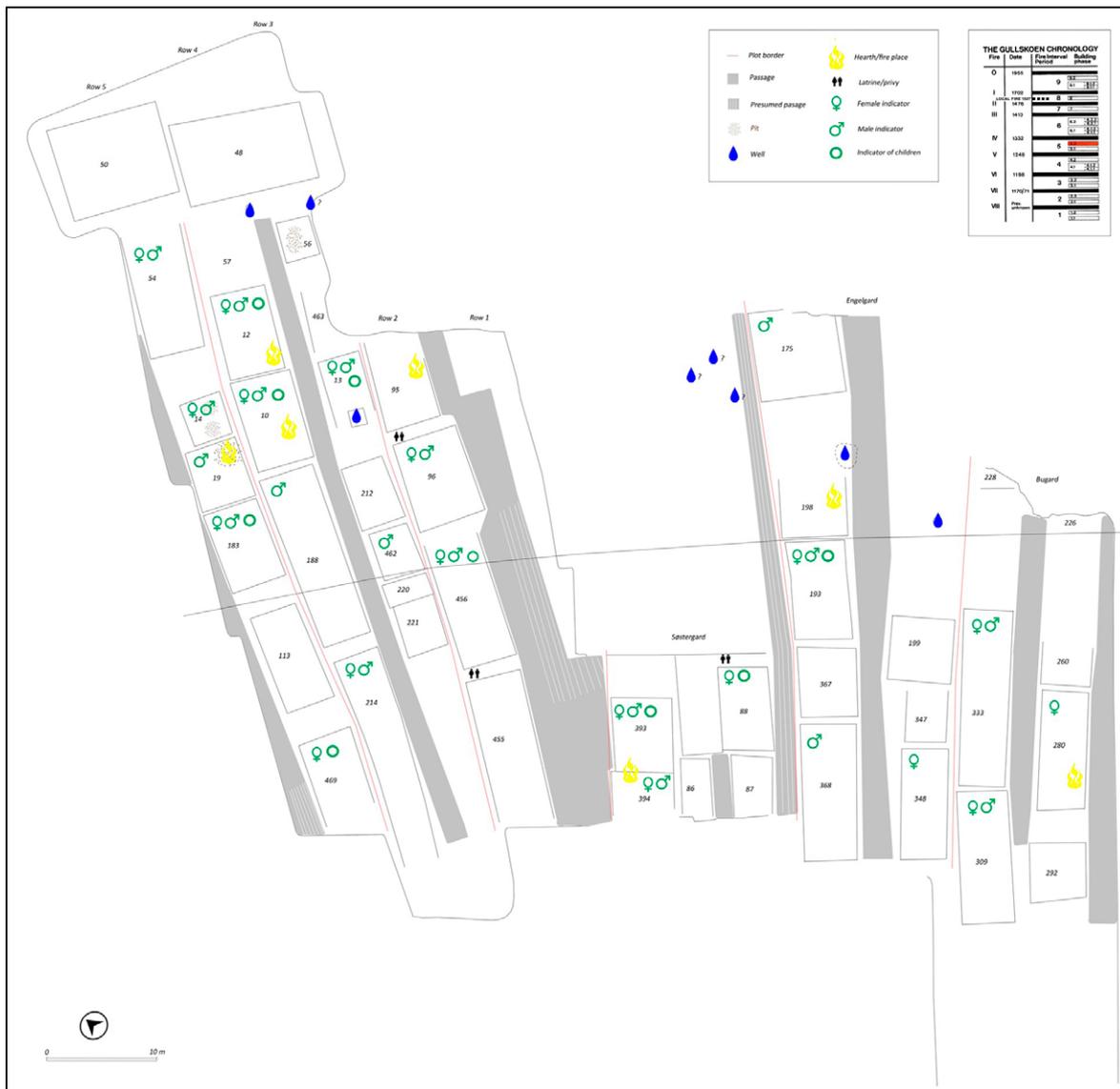


Figure 70. Buildings at Bryggen with gender-related artefacts, 1332. Modified from Herteig 1990: 40, 78, 107, Figs. 19, 44 and 69; 1991a, Plates; Johansen 2013: 47; Fig. 5.3.

has characterized as in situ vessels are concentrated in the rear and middle parts, first and foremost related to buildings with presumed household activities with a fireplace (Vangstad 2003: 105). Similarly, most of the baking slabs dated to period 5 are found in the rear zone, the majority with wear marks, and obviously used (Tengesdal 2010: 53). The loft for female servants in Bredsgard in 1337 known from written sources also gives an example of a separate female sleeping quarter (DN II, 223). The wharf as such, as well as the presence of many long buildings possibly with economic functions and without a fireplace in the western parts of the site speaks in favour of such activities taking place in the front zone in particular. This distribution of household activities preferably being located in the rear zone and economic in the front may reflect both functional and gender aspects.

As the rear zone is not investigated in large parts of the southern tenements, it has not been possible to examine Søstergard, Engelgard and Bugard to any

degree in terms of possible gender-related zones. The material in both the northern and southern parts of the site is relatively similar, however, dominated by artefacts related to cooking and consumption, and including items associated with textile production. Compared to the northern tenements, however, there is a quantitatively much higher number of artefact remains in the front zone here - up to four times as many - despite the fact that the fire layer was recognized all over the six tenements. Waste treatment evidently contributed to this distribution. Yet, unless there were less favourable preservation conditions in rows 1-5, it may perhaps also be suggested that activities such as cooking and consumption in general and traditional female activities in particular are to a higher degree located in the front zone in the area of Søstergard, Engelgard and Bugard than in the area of Sveinsgard, Miklagard and Atlegard?

The general composition of the material raises some uncertainties on female presence and roles,

though. The evidence of textile-production equipment - related to the more or less culturally established female activity in the Middle Ages - is relatively sparse. There are also hardly any pleated textiles, neither in the 1332-layers nor in period 5 (1248-1332) in general (Vedeler 2007: 103). In addition, there is still an increasing element of artefacts related to consumption in all tenements - represented by English (90% of all classified shards) drinking gear in particular - and the share of local kitchen utensils is somewhat smaller than in 1248 (c. 20% of all remains of kitchen utensils, opposed to c. 25 in the 1248-level). Of the measurable local soapstone vessels, there also seem to be many small containers - a feature that was indicated in 1248 as well. This is reflected in this material from period 5 in general, in which a continuous increase of small vessels and decrease of large vessels is registered (Vangstad 2003: 94). As a whole and considering the presence of foreigners in at least Sveinsgard and Atlegard mentioned in written sources, this may perhaps indicate fewer (resident) women and/or reflect the increasing number of winter-sitters with a food and drinking culture that may have more or less deviated from the local one at Bryggen in the middle of the fourteenth century. If associating pleated textiles with a high social segment, the few finds of such may perhaps also be interpreted in terms of fewer prominent women.

The many labels (and some business letters) found within the Bryggen site in period 5 (1248-1332) primarily have male, Norse names written in runes. And based on written sources, it seems that foreigners far from outnumbered locals before the middle of the fourteenth century (Helle 1982: 722). Besides an increase of imported, especially English pottery in general and of foreign tableware in particular, it is somewhat difficult to illuminate the presence of foreign inhabitants archaeologically by the time of 1332. Less Englishmen than Germans are also mentioned in written sources, and a predominantly English pottery material may just as well represent cultural connections and trading with English towns, transmitted via Norwegian tradesmen. In fact, unless the foreign winter-sitters that must have lived at Bryggen had incorporated local customs, there are even few indications of them making their own food. The presumed underrepresentation of metal artefacts and a relatively high share of unclassified pottery (c. 40% of all pottery shards) - both in terms of origin and function - mean that many remains from possible foreign cooking devices are not registered. Still, there is apparently little ceramic kitchenware in general at Bryggen in the fourteenth and fifteenth century (Demuth 2014: 122), and it seems unlikely that a large part of the unclassified pottery represents cooking pots or the like - whose survival rate is much better than that of metal vessels.

Also, there is a slight increase in the share of local cooking utensils in general relative to foreign in 1332 (c. 80%) compared to in 1248 (c. 75%) - not least

in Sveinsgard. Due to the degree of fragmentation, too much weight should not be put on quantitative comparisons between the different artefact groups; yet, this trend has generally been evident throughout the whole investigation. Additionally, baking slabs of stone make up an increasing and considerable share of the cooking-related artefacts - another local kitchen utensil strongly associated with female gender roles, and seemingly less compatible with a foreign food culture. Like pottery, baking slabs may represent trading objects, but considering that the majority of baking slabs from the rear part of the northern three tenements in general in period 5 have use marks and are damaged, this seems less likely (Tengesdal 2010: 53). Neither are there any indications of stored, unused vessels, i.e. meant for sale, in the material from the Bryggen excavations (Vangstad 2003: 116-117). A relative lack of local (wooden) tableware may be explained by such artefacts being less likely to survive a fire, and/or that fillings in the front zone to a lesser degree are being documented within the site borders. In all, the character and composition of the food-related artefact corpora - characterized by a division between local cooking tools and foreign tableware - may perhaps be interpreted in terms of a large share of (stored) ceramic commodities, or local inhabitants imitating and/or incorporating foreign customs. However, as previously discussed, it may perhaps first and foremost indicate local female servants cooking for men (foreign or locals) - perhaps reflected in The Urban Code of 1276 allowing a *húsbondi* three female and two male lodgers (Bl VI 7; Helle 1982: 459), as well as by the prohibition of the female servants' guild in 1293/94 (NgL III, 157; Helle 1982: 410). If the restrictions of the Urban Code are interpreted as a reaction towards a large and increasing element of poor people, it may, in fact, also indicate the presence of a fairly large group of female servants in the town.

Despite at least incipient ethnic changes at Bryggen, then, the artefact material as such hardly seems to indicate radical breaks concerning the overall social composition compared to earlier. Women were apparently still a part of the settlement at Bryggen by the time of 1332, and in possible family-based contexts, as well as in buildings with household and social functions - but first and foremost in the role of servants. There is little evidence of men and traditional male activities - as has repeatedly been argued throughout the examination - other than remains of drinking gear and board games. In this respect, the necessity of including other sources - such as historical evidence, physical structures such as the lime pits in Sveinsgard and Miklagard, building type and/or a chronologically more extensive artefact material - is thus stressed yet again when documenting especially more invisible male activities such as loading, unloading and storing cargoes, selling and buying goods etc. that must have taken place at Bryggen.

6 A closed society? Women and gender at Bryggen in the Late Middle Ages

What happened in the Bryggen area after the establishment of the German Kontor, how did it affect gender composition and demographic structure, and may archaeological artefact remains illuminate the discussed presence of a more or less closed male society any further? In this final chapter of analysis related to the archaeological finds, the development observed so far concerning social structures and material culture in the fifteenth century as reflected in the two large town fires of 1413 and 1476 will contextually be evaluated further, and also in relation to physical and written sources. As discussed in the preceding chapters, local inhabitants apparently dominated the settlement at Bryggen in the High Middle Ages - reflected, perhaps, in written evidence only of a single foreign tenement owner. Despite recurring, fatal epidemics following the Black Death in 1349, Bergen continued to expand economically, demographically and topographically. By the time of the first of the two investigated fires in this period - fire III in 1413 - a new organization and an increasing number of foreign actors had entered the arena. Especially Germans at the Hanseatic Kontor - established in the 1360s - bought houses at Bryggen, although ownership of the ground remained in the hands of locals (Helle 1982: 723). From the latter half of the fourteenth century onwards, they owned houses in among others Gullskoen, Sveinsgard and Bugard (Helle 1982: 723, with references), but local tenement owners and inhabitants are also sporadically mentioned - like in Atlegard/Oddsgard in 1370 (DN II, no. 411; Helle 1982: 722). After 1400, written sources mention German owners also in several other tenements in this area, in Gullskoen, Miklagard and Søstergard (Helle 1982: 723, with references). The Hansa fled Bryggen in 1427, during the war with Danish and Norwegian regent Erik of Pomerania; however, they returned after it ended five years later (Helle 1982: 700).

There is little written evidence of a population of local origin at Bryggen in the fifteenth century, first and foremost associated with the establishment of the Kontor. It has often been said that the Kontor represented a closed institution that forced locals away; however, it is documented that German merchants did not control all tenements at Bryggen in the latter half of the fourteenth century, and they generally interacted with the other inhabitants here (Ersland 2005: 46-52). Norwegian historian Geir Atle Ersland has also argued that the Hansa simply settled in the area that according to the Urban Code of 1276 was reserved for commercial activities such as international trade, and that the Kontor did not take any steps to ensure Bryggen as a closed ethnic entity that kept others out (Ersland 2005: 46-52). This is particularly interesting in terms of interpreting the material in terms of women and gender. Did the ma-

terial culture and its composition change in the process - especially in terms of traditionally gender-related tasks like cooking and textile production, but also local and foreign elements - and in what ways? How did it affect the organization of the Bryggen area and its demographic structure - for instance in terms of the presence of children - and to what degree and in what ways may it be illuminated by a contextual examination of the 5,153 artefacts dated to the time of the fires in 1413 and 1476? The presence of archaeological artefacts strongly associated with traditional female activities (Øye 1988: 142; Vangstad 2017: 197-200; Tengesdal 2010: 64) suggests continuous female presence at Bryggen in this period (1413-1476) in general. To what degree is this reflected in the present archaeological record related to the fire layers of 1413 and 1476, and may female roles and any possible changes in these be illuminated to any degree? In addition, may 'gendered' artefacts in general and female in particular be used to illuminate women, gender and gender composition at Bryggen in Late Middle Ages - an increasingly male society which also included young male servants taking care of traditional female duties?

A change of waste disposal taking place in this period (cf. Chapter 3) and poorer preservation conditions - resulting in thinner cultural layers and less archaeological remains - also represent important methodological challenges to be considered in the following.

6.1 Artefacts, activities and gender, 1413 (fire layer III)

Did the establishment of the Kontor in the 1360s affect physical and social structures at Bryggen - and if so, in what ways? Is it possible to observe this in the archaeological record five decades later, by the time of the fire in 1413? Of special relevance is the issue of whether any distinct changes be observed in terms of the presence and roles of women in particular, and concerning gender and gender composition in general.

The fire of 1413 originated in the so-called Engelskmannsgården - 'the tenement of the English', in Vågsbunnen - and spread further to Stretet and finally the Apostle's Church at Holmen (Helle 1982: 699; 1998: 46-49), tentatively illustrated in Figure 71. According to an Icelandic source stating that it destroyed eight churches, the fire must have been extensive; yet, it is not known exactly how much of Bryggen was damaged. It has also been suggested that the fire was most destructive along Øvrestretet, east of Bryggen (Helle 1998: 46-49). Deposits of fire III were registered all over the Bryggen site, but these and the remains of the later and major fire II (1476) were difficult to separate in the southern part of the Bryggen site. Parts of the fire remains had been re-

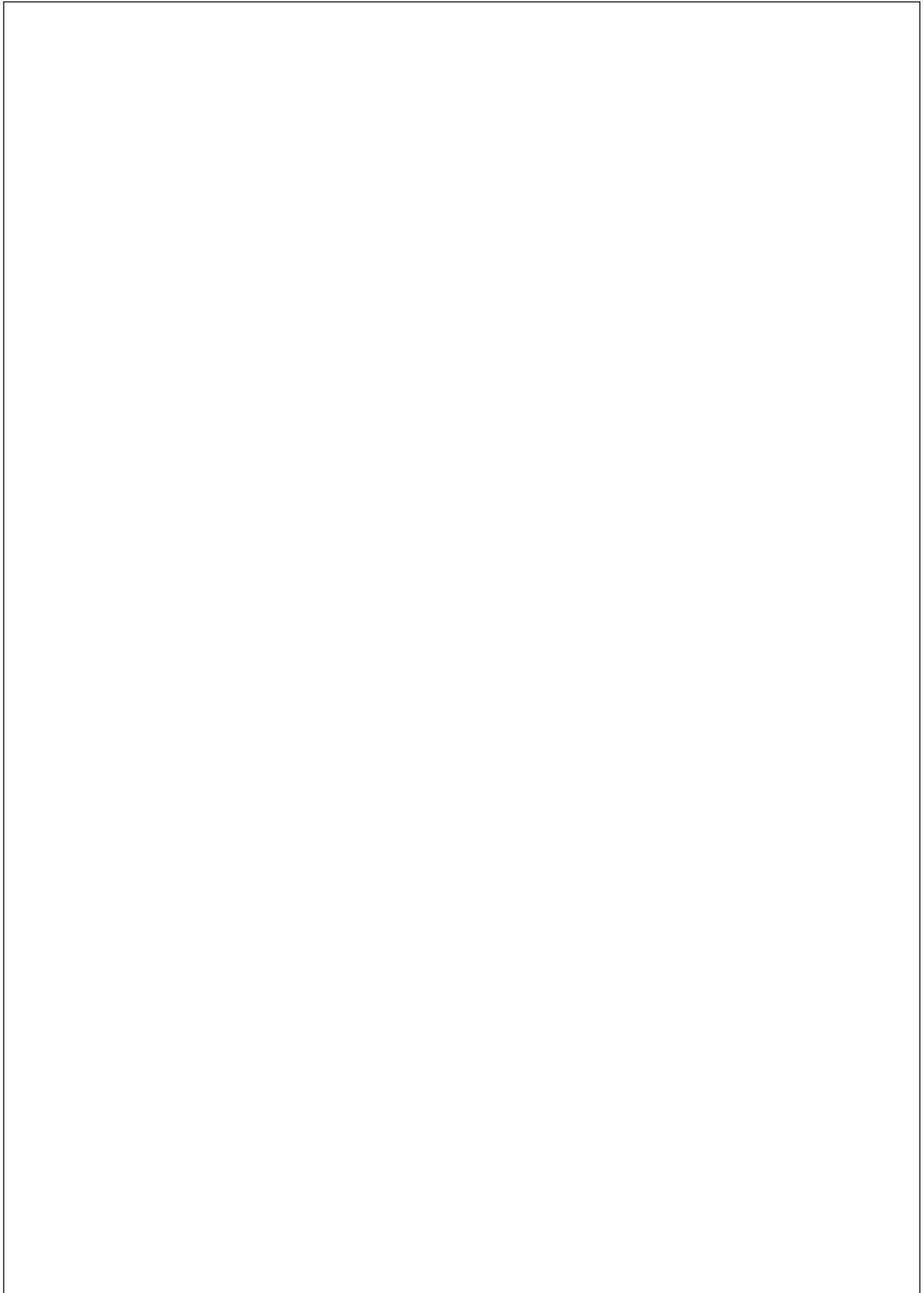


Figure 71. Presumed extent of fire III (1413) according to Ann Christensson. The Bryggen site in red. Modified after Helle 1992: 48, Fig. 11.

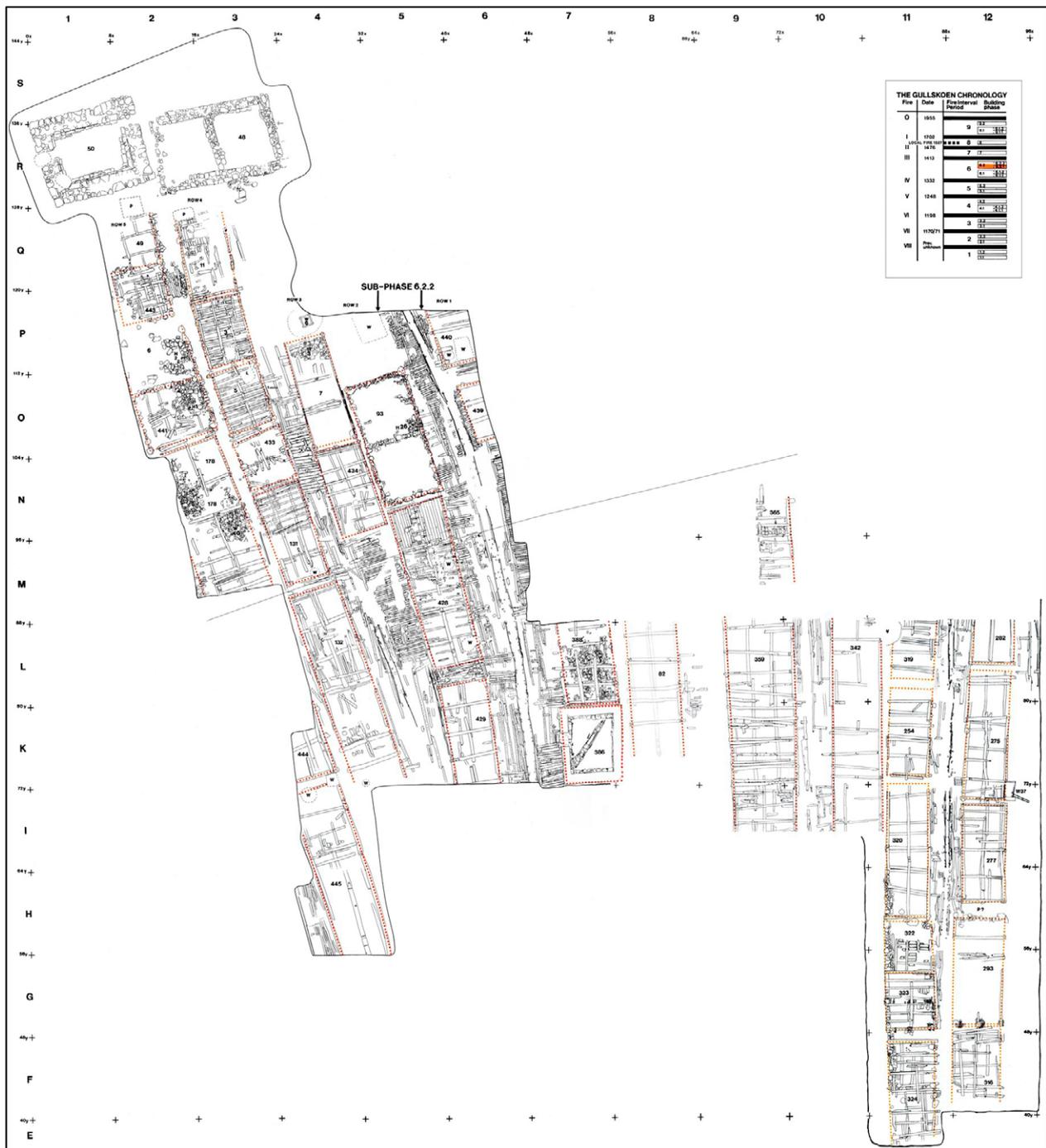


Figure 72. The Bryggen site, phase 6.2 (rows 1-5) and 6.3 (Søstergard, Bugard and Engelgard), divided in rear and front zones. Surviving remains from the fire of 1413. Modified after Herteig 1990: 29, 72, 102, Figs. 12, 40 and 63; 1991a, Plates.

moved in the southern row both of Engelgard and Søstergard, and only a few patches of the fire layer were documented in Bugard (Herteig 1990: 29, 71, 101, 1991a: 30). Still, building remains themselves were easy to recognize in the latter, and in the northern row of Engelgard, a more or less continuous fire layer was documented (Herteig 1990: 29, 71). The uncertainties related to the identification of fire III may have affected the dating of artefacts to 1413 in general, not least considering that many of the finds are registered in grid squares that have not been revised by Herteig in terms of chronology.

Like in 1332, the area of rows 6-8 (Gullskoen and the northern row of Sveinsgard) is not represented at the level of fire III in 1413 - and neither are parts of row 1, as well as the rear zone of Søstergard, Engelgard and Bugard (Figure 72). The overall layout indicates structural continuity from 1332; yet, there are also some signs of restructuring. There is for unknown reasons an open area in the rear part of row 3 also in 1413 (Herteig 1991a: 40, Plates), whereas the remainder of the site reveals an intensive building activity in the decades prior to 1413. All the buildings in rows 2-4 that had been erected after the fire in 1332 (in phase 6.1) have been replaced

prior to 1413 (Moldung 2000: 73). The settlement continues to move westwards into the bay Vågen, and the tenement Bugard now goes beyond the western limit of the site (Herteig 1990: 39). A new building feature also appears: rows 1 and 3 represent shortened and/or 'secluded' rows with paved front parts that are generally too small for possible buildings (Herteig 1991a: 30-33; Moldung 2000: 79). These rows have been interpreted as parts of the double tenements of Miklagard (rows 3 and 4) and Atlegard (rows 1 and 2), respectively (Herteig 1991a: 40); however, at least row 2 may represent a single tenement (Atlegard) (Moldung 2000: 79). In Bugard, the buildings are also extended, and there are remains of the common fare Buaallmenning to the south - mentioned in the Urban Code but dating back to period 3 based on the archaeological evidence (Herteig 1990: 29-31, 51-56).

More or less the same number of buildings as in 1332 is registered, in all 37 - 15 in the rear zone (in addition to St Mary's and St Mary's Guildhall) and 22 in the front. In written sources, the settlement is generally characterized by buildings with multiple storeys and rooms. Long buildings typically interpreted as having warehouse functions - but probably also other functions and upper stories - are now common in the front zone in particular. There are still indicators of specialized activities such as lime-slaking (special hearths, production waste and building features), evidently associated with the maintenance of St Mary's, St Mary's Guildhall and St Lawrence's, particularly in row 5 (Sveinsgard). There are also indications of common rooms in the rear, but these include no structural elements such as wall benches. Only four hearths are registered in the whole site, in the rear zone. Of these, two are associated with lime-slaking and located in buildings 6 and 441 in Sveinsgard. The others are found in buildings 7 in Miklagard and 93 in Atlegard, the latter perhaps some kind of workshop. Two possible privies are also identified, in Miklagard and Bugard (Herteig 1990, 1991a, Plates), which must be an underrepresentation. Three wells constructed after the fire in 1332 were registered by the time of the fire in 1413 - one inside building 178 in Sveinsgard, a common well for the inhabitants of the tenement in the open area behind building 7 in Miklagard (constructed in phase 6.1) - both in the rear zone - and a public or private one outside building 275 in Bugard in the front zone (Johansen 2013: 51-53). Although there are also signs of restructuring, the physical layout on the whole resembles the one registered in 1332, which indicates continuity.

6.1.1 Rows 7-8 (Gullskoen)

Rows 7 and 8 lie outside the Bryggen site by the time of 1413, and no artefacts may be associated with Gullskoen.

6.1.2 Row 5 (Sveinsgard)

Remains of row 6 were lacking also by the time of 1413, and Sveinsgard is only represented by parts of row 5 and by some of the passage to the north. The tenement was not excavated in its full length. The fire layer could be identified as far east as the walls of St Lawrence's (building 50), although difficult to identify in some places (Herteig 1991a: 33-34). The area comprised seven buildings and a well, in addition to 545 artefacts (Figures 73 and 74), of which 394 may be assigned row 5. The remainder may primarily be related to the passage or the eavesdrop gap. Altogether 384 items - about 70% - are found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material.

Five of the buildings in row 5 are located in the rear part, varying between 4.3 and at least 18 m in length, and between 3.5 and 6.3 m in width (17.2-93.4 m²). In building 49 to the very rear (Herteig 1991a: 34), a spindle-whorl and a loom weight from period 6 (1332-1413) have been registered (Øye 1988: 128), and textile production was also indicated in this area in 1332. Immediately in front of this building lies building 443, followed by an open space including a stone-built hearth in the shape of a horse-shoe, possibly used for lime-slaking. This was suggested in this area also in 1332. Then follows building 6. Similar kind of manufacturing as in building 443 apparently took place also in building 441, as it frames another stone-built hearth, covered by clay and deposits containing charcoal. The two rearmost buildings seem to be relatively similar in terms of layout, as applies to the following two as well. Building 178 (which continues into unexcavated area) measures at least 93 m² (Herteig 1991a: 33-35). This building frames an indoor well that may have been in use either in period 6 or 7 (1413-1476). Considering the extensive traces of lime-slaking in this area and the size of the building, the well may perhaps have been connected to these processes taking place in buildings 6 and 443 (Johansen 2013: 52). The western part of the front zone was not unearthed, and thus also most of building 444. Parts of building 445 were not investigated, but it must have been a relatively long structure (Herteig 1991a: 35). In all, the tenement seems to be structurally characterized by manufacturing processes such as lime-slaking and other economic activities - and perhaps to an even higher degree than before judging by the physical remains.

In the rear zone of Sveinsgard, in the very rear part, a shard of Siegburg ware is registered in a layer denoted as a fire layer or layer containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material close to building 50 (St Lawrence's), and mostly English (York White ware) and German tableware (Langerwehe/Duingen and Siegburg ware), a possible shard of window glass, a whetstone and slag are also found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. Rivets are located in the very rear part of this area. By far, the material here in gen-

Artefact		Baking slab	Sausage pin	Skewer	Wooden vessel	Pottery, tableware	Glass	Brass pot	Gaming piece	Pipe	Shoe, leather	Textile	Comb	Pearl	Sling	Axe	Spindle whorl	Warp weight	Slag	Knife	Whetstone	Label	Barrel part	Rivet, nail, spike, wedge, plug	Key	Window glass	Plank	Brick	Hook	Miscellaneous	Undefined	Total
Rear zone	Context	Eavesdrop				10	1																	8	1						20	
		Backmost/Outside B50				9														42		1			54		1	1			8	116
		B49				4	4		1											4	1				16							30
		Area of B49				25	4			1										7	2	1			18					1	59	
		In front of B443												1																	1	
		B6	2			2	2				16														1							23
		B6/441																											1			1
		B441	8			6					3							2							2						2	23
		Area od B178																	1													1
		Passage					19										1						1								1	22
	Front zone		B445/Passage?			3	58		1	1	9			1							1				2					1	5	83
		Row 5	B445	2	8	1	89		1			15	4			1							1	2	7		1			1	2	140
		B445/Eavesdrop?				20	3				1																			2	26	
	Total	12	8	1	6	242	14	1	2	2	44	4	1	1	1	1	3	1	53	4	5	1	2	108	1	1	1	1	2	21	545	

Figure 73. Artefacts from row 5 (Sveinsgard), 1413. N=545. Colour scheme based on Figure 15.

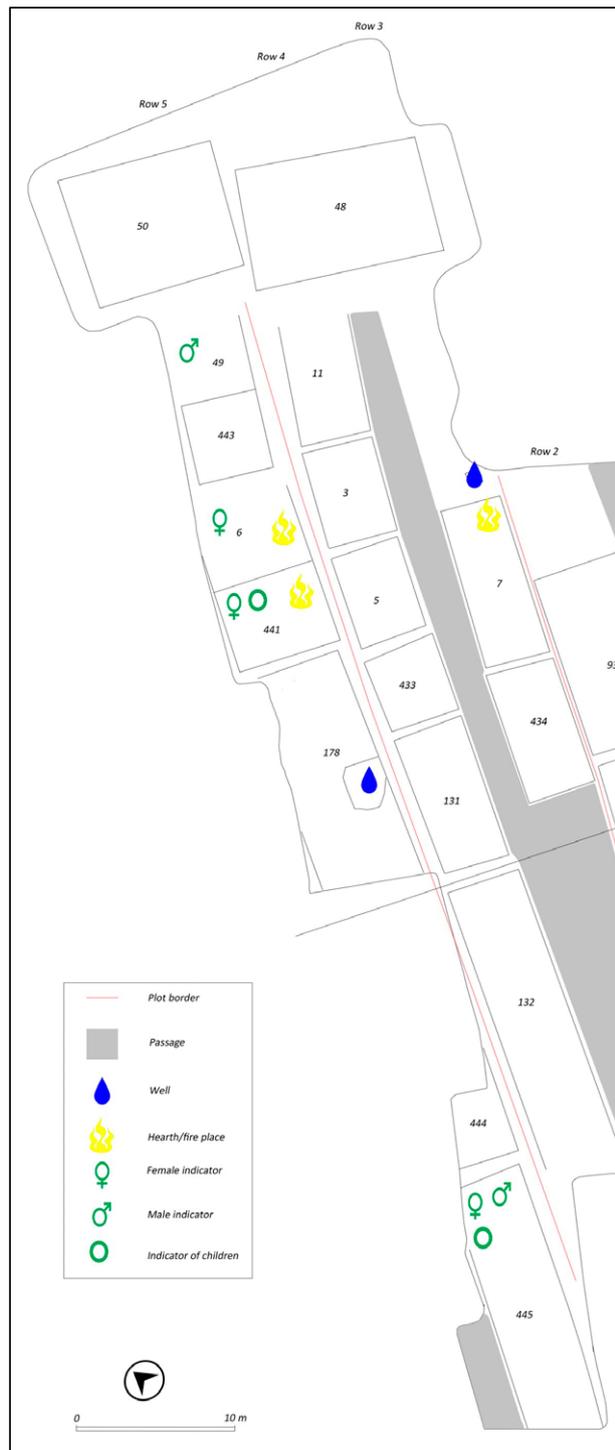


Figure 74. Buildings in Sveinsgard with gender-related artefacts, 1413. Modified after Herteig 1991a, Plates.

eral is dominated by slag and rivets. It is uncertain whether slag and rivets may be associated with lime-slaking in general, and contextual uncertain mean that the artefacts cannot illuminate actors and activities in buildings.

Building 49 had traces of e.g. English (Humber ware) and German (Siegburg ware) tableware, glass, a gaming piece associated with Nine Men's Morris or kvatruftal (Lund 2013: 109), a possible blade of a knife and slag - all found in layers denoted as fire

layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. Similar finds are located primarily in layers denoted as fire layers or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material behind the building: mostly German tableware (Siegburg ware), glass, another knife blade and also slag. A mixed composition of pottery - including mostly German (Siegburg and Langerwehe/Duingen ware), but also English (Grimston ware) tableware and tile - glass, a possible knife blade and a whetstone are registered in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material in the area of buildings 49, 443, and 11 (row 4). There are, however, some contextual anomalies such as finds of a clay pipe. Still, both consumption and general production are indicated in relation to building 49.

In the eavesdrop south of what is assumed to be building 443, pottery (including a single shard of Danish/Swedish ware), glass and a turning key are found, in addition to a comb in front of the building. The finds are few and contextually uncertain, and conclusions on actors and activities in the building cannot be drawn.

Also for building 6 - structurally associated with lime-slaking - it may be asked if the artefacts were actually used here, as they are associated with cooking by means of local kitchen utensils, consumption and footwear, and indicate residential activities: pottery (including a single shard of Danish/Swedish ware) and glass found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material, in addition to remains of baking slabs and shoes (including a possible adults' sole). Similarly, Scarborough pottery, parts of baking slabs and a children's sole of unknown size are found in building 441, in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. A spindle whorl and raw material for another spindle whorl also most likely originate in building 441 - or possibly in building 11 (Miklagard) - in addition to pottery (including a single shard of Humber ware), a part of a shoe and an adults' sole (size 39). Despite structural evidence of presumed lime-slaking in the area, then, also the artefacts related to building 441 seemingly indicate cooking by means of local kitchen utensils, consumption/drinking represented by foreign pottery, clothing and textile production (spinning), including a children's shoe. This was very much the case in this area also in 1332.

A loom weight stems from the area of building 178, and a whetstone is located in the passage. This may indicate textile production (weaving) and whetting of tools. However, the dating of the weight is uncertain, and the finds are too few and contextually uncertain to draw conclusions on actors and activities.

More finds are made in the front zone, mainly associated with building 445. A large amount of pottery - of which more than half is German types (especially Siegburg ware, but also Langerwehe/Duingen

ware), in addition to continental types (Raeren ware) and a possible English shard (York White ware?) - a sooted baking slab and several objects of organic material such as staves of wooden vessels, sausage pins, a skewer, parts of a barrel, a label, a possible sling, leather fragments (possibly of waste type 2), coarse textiles and two children's soles (c. sizes 24 and 26) are found in this building. More tableware associated with drinking - mostly German (Siegburg and Langerwehe/Duingen ware), but also some English (Grimston ware), as well as glazed stoneware - the spout of a brass pot/can, a part of a baking slab, sausage pins, a piece of linen, a whetstone and a rope are together with a wooden spindle whorl located in an area equivalent to building 445. The many finds are thus first and foremost of a domestic character - associated with consumption (especially drinking), but also with cooking by means of local kitchen utensils, clothing, textile-production (spinning) and children. There are also artefacts related to possible leather-working, hunting, trade and whetting of tools. Considering the length of the building and lack of a fireplace, some of the artefacts may perhaps represent stored commodities. It may, however, also indicate that the building had various functions associated with different rooms and storeys.

More of the same find categories is made in the area of building 445, which supports the interpretation of primarily domestic activities: particularly German drinking vessels (Siegburg and Langerwehe/Duingen ware), but also some English (Scarborough and Grimston ware) and continental (Raeren ware), melted glass, parts of wooden vessels, a gaming piece associated with Nine Men's Morris or kvatruftafl (Lund 2013: 109), the shaft of a knife, possible raw material for an axe, a part of a whetstone, an amber pearl, and possible shoe parts (including a children's sole (size 31) and one possibly of waste type 2) and a melted lump of lead are registered. The presence of a clay pipe in one of these contexts raises uncertainties concerning the dating of some finds. The dating of a large number of primarily German pottery (including Siegburg and Raeren ware) is due to unclear find information also somewhat uncertain.

The artefacts from Sveinsgard dated to 1413 represent a decrease of about 30% compared to 1332, perhaps due to change of waste disposal and poorer conditions of preservation. They continue to be largely associated with a foreign drinking culture - but now represented mostly by German ceramic (c. 74% of the classified pottery here, opposed to 3% in 1332), but also English and other continental tableware - in addition to cooking by means of local tools, board games that may be interpreted either as of local or foreign origin and personal belongings. Extensive household/residential and social activities are thus indicated. There is a marked decrease of female indicators - now almost exclusively represented by a small share of local cooking tools such as baking slabs (and perhaps sausage pins), as well

as only three spindle whorls and an uncertain loom weight assigned textile production. Unlike in 1332, these artefact categories are also found together only in one building - in building 445 in the front zone (Figure 74). Local cooking tools make up the only female indicators in buildings 6 and 441 in the rear zone. Considering the structural indications of lime-slaking here, they may perhaps rather be regarded as stored objects, although it cannot be ruled out that the hearths here may have been used also for other purposes. A few child-related artefacts assigned able-bodied children - shoe soles of sizes 24 and 26 - are also found in buildings 441 and 445.

Despite the evidently overwhelming male presence at Bryggen related to international commerce, building activity (especially associated with the rebuilding of the burnt houses and other damaged structures), as well as continuous structural evidence of e.g. lime-slaking, archaeological artefacts signifying men are still few - other than remains of social activities such as drinking and board games. These artefact finds are primarily associated with possible leather-working, metal-working, fishing, trade and whetting of tools - registered in buildings 49 and 445 - which represent more marginal activities compared to those indicated in written sources. As previously discussed, shoemakers were according to the Urban Code of 1276 and other written sources located in Vågsbunnen in the inner bay - probably reflecting an established practice - thus, the leather waste from building 445 may be assigned general shoe repairing rather than professional production for sale. Similarly, it seems unreasonable to relate the little slag registered primarily in the very rear part of Sveinsgard (e.g. in building 49) to metal-working. The large and increasing share of foreign, particularly German tableware (including also shards of glass) - associated with an urban food and drinking culture, thus still represent the most obvious, possible artefactual male indicators.

Only in buildings 441 and 445 are male and female indicators registered together, but it is hardly possible to identify gender-restrictions based on the limited artefact material. Traditional female activities generally seem to have taken place in buildings structurally associated with traditional male activities, as has recurrently been registered in Sveinsgard and at Bryggen as a whole. Opposed to in 1332 - when there was a material bias in general and of female indicators in particular towards the rear zone - the artefacts are now more or less evenly distributed. Still, all artefacts from layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material are registered in the rear part of the site, with a higher degree of contextual uncertainty in the front.

As mentioned, activities such as lime-slaking indicate continuity in Sveinsgard, and also activities associated with cooking and spinning (and possibly weaving) have been indicated at different times. It therefore seems reasonable to assume that women re-

sided and worked in the area also in the first decade of the fifteenth century - but possibly on a smaller scale than before, as there are relatively few such typically gender-related artefacts associated with women and also children. A business letter written in runes (dated to 1332-1413) found in the area of buildings 444 and 132 (Miklagard) - concerning a transaction between a man outside the town and his wife or a female tenement owner (Johnsen 1990: 106-112) - also indicate the possible presence of a high-ranking local woman. Food-related artefacts reflecting a male drinking culture, however, now dominate Sveinsgard more than ever. Based on structural evidence and artefacts, as well as written evidence of German owners here from the 1370s at the latest (Helle 1982: 723, with references), this possibly male-dominated society may perhaps indicate the presence both of local workers and prominent German merchants and local women.

6.1.3 Rows 3 and 4 (Miklagard)

Fire layer III was recognized in most of Miklagard, and 151 (32%) of the 476 artefacts associated with this tenement (Figure 75) are found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. In all, 309 artefacts are associated with row 4, 109 with row 3 and the remaining 58 to the passage or the eavesdrop gap. By the time of the fire in 1413, there is still in an open space behind row 3, but extensive structural changes have also taken place - characterized by a replacement of all buildings compared to the preceding building phase (Herteig 1991a: 30, 33, Plates). Row 3 has been shortened, and the western part paved (Moldung 2000: 79). It seems reasonable to assume that Germans owned houses in the tenement, as mentioned in written documents from 1428 (Helle 1982: 723, with references).

Most of the rear area of Miklagard was unearthed also at this level, whereas the westernmost part towards Vågen lies outside the site borders (Figure 76). Besides building 48, six buildings in row 4 and two in row 3 are registered, combined by a passage widening towards the bay. The buildings vary between 5.3 and 20 m in length, but are relatively similar concerning widths - between 4.2 and 5 m - and measure between 24.9 and 100 m². Building 11 is the backmost building in row 4, possibly with two rooms (Herteig 1991a: 33). Here, remains of various ceramic kitchenware and tableware have been registered (Moldung 2000: 76). Further west lies the possibly two-storey building 3, which more or less replaces the similar building 12 from 1332. This is followed by building 5, possibly with a latrine in the south-eastern corner (Herteig 1991a: 33), and in which remains of used baking slabs and textile-production equipment have been registered in period 6 in general (Øye 1988: 124; Moldung 2000: 77; Tengedal 2010: 54). Building 433 is smaller and has a more square shape than the others, whereas building

131 is relatively long. Indicators of textile production have been found in this latter building in period 6 (1332-1413) (Øye 1988: 124). Building 132 in the front zone has possibly been divided into four rooms and is separated from building 131 by a passageway (Herteig 1991a: 33; Moldung 2000: 77). In row 3, a common well for the tenement is also registered behind the backmost building 7 (10.5x4.2 m or c. 44 m²) - possibly a three-roomed structure with a fireplace in the eastern room (Herteig 1991a: 33; Moldung 2000: 76; Johansen 2013: 52). Also in this building, remains of used baking slabs and textile-production equipment from period 6 have been registered (Øye 1988: 124; Tengedal 2010: 55). A well is registered in the same area in 1332, in building 13, in addition to residential/household activities. Building 434 represents another relatively long building, although shorter than building 7 (Herteig 1991a: 33). Despite a restructuring of the tenement layout, then, there is apparently a high degree of both functional and physical continuity from 1332.

The find material is dominated by pottery of mixed origin. A shard of Danish/Swedish pottery is found in a layer denoted as a fire layer and/or layer containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material in a passage in the rearmost part of Miklagard, whereas Scandinavian and English pottery (Scarborough and Grimston types) is located in the area of building 48 (St Mary's Guildhall). Mostly English tableware (Grimston, York White ware, Humber ware and Langerwehe/Duingen ware), as well as tile are also found west of this building, together with shards of soapstone vessel (type B), a piece of a sooted baking slab, a whetstone and a piece of slag - most of the artefacts from layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. Most of them, then, are associated with consumption/drinking, but also cooking by means of local kitchen utensils. Whetting of tools is also indicated.

The same categories - pottery of mixed origin (including shards of Grimston, Humber, Scarborough, Langerwehe/Duingen, Siegburg, Raeren, Danish/Swedish, Mediterranean and more modern types, as well as tile or remains of tripod pipkins), glass, parts of baking slabs, whetstones and a piece of slag - are also found in building 11, almost all in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. Other artefacts outside have a more uncertain relation to this building - most of them from layers denoted as fire layers or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. In different contexts in the area of building 11, there are English (Scarborough, Humber and Grimston ware), German (Langerwehe/Duingen and Siegburg ware), French (Cologne/Frechen ware) and Danish/Swedish of pottery - a part of a glazed tile, parts of a baking slab and a soapstone vessel (type F), shoe remains - presumably including a large children's sole of unknown size - two loom weights from layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal

Artefact		Soapstone vessel	Baking slab	Sausage pin	Pottery, tableware	Glass	Shoe, leather	Textile	Ring	Warp weight	Leather, waste type 3?	Awl	Slag	Crucible	Whetstone	Barrel part	Rivet, nail, spike, wedge, plug	Key	Door hinge	Glazed tile	Undefined	Total	
Context	Rear zone	Eavesdrop								1												1	
		Area of B48	2	1		30								1		1		4				7	46
		B11		10		62	2							1		5		2					82
		Area of B11	1	1		21		1			1			5	1			7			1		39
		B3		1		12												1					14
		Area of B5+B433		2		21																	23
		W of B434		1	2	9	1	46				20				1							80
		Passage				9		1						3				4					17
		B7		7		34											1						42
		Area of B7		8		58											1						67
	Area of B131/132		1	4	1		4			1			1									1	13
	Middle zone	Eavesdrop			2	4		12						1				1				3	23
		B132				11								1			1	1	1	1			16
		Area of B132	1			5			1					2									9
		Passage, B6		1		1												1				1	4
		Total	4	33	8	278	3	64	1	1	2	20	1	14	1	9	1	21	1	1	1	12	476

Figure 75. Artefacts from rows 3 and 4 (Miklagard), 1413. N=476. Colour scheme based on Figure 15.

or other burnt material, part of a crucible and slag. It seems unlikely that metal-working took place in this building, and the artefacts are more or less of the same categories, mostly associated with drinking represented by ceramic tableware of mixed origin - but also with local cooking equipment of stone. In addition, weaving and the presence of children are indicated. An overall domestic setting may perhaps be suggested, but there are no indications of a fireplace.

Pottery - e.g. including mostly English (Humber and Grimston ware), but also German (Siegburg) tableware - and a sooted baking slab are registered in building 3, indicating both cooking by means of local kitchen utensils and consumption, especially drinking. The same applies to the primarily English pottery (Grimston, Humber, Scarborough and Brandsby ware, in addition to Danish/Swedish types) and pieces of fire cracked and sooted baking slabs in the area of buildings 5 and 433. Considering the uncertain context, however, they cannot to any extent illuminate actors and activities in either.

The same categories of finds are identified in building 7 - pottery dominated by English tableware (Grimston ware, York White ware, Humber ware, Langerwehe/Duingen ware and Danish/Swedish ware), parts of a baking slabs and a whetstone. More, primarily English pottery (Grimston, Scarborough and York White ware, and a possible shard of a tripod pipkin), parts of fire cracked baking slabs and a whetstone may also originate in this building, or in building 434. English pottery (Grimston, Scarborough, York White and Humber ware) and Rhenish proto-stoneware, as well as parts of fire cracked baking slabs are found behind the building. In an area dominated by building 7, but also covering buildings 434 and 93 (row 2), pottery (including a shard of Grimston ware) and a fire cracked baking slab are registered. The artefacts in and in the area of building 7 are thus solely associated with household activities, cooking by means of local kitchen utensils, consumption represented by mostly English tableware related to drinking, and whetting of tools.

The many finds west of building 434 comprise especially English tableware (Grimston, Humber and Scarborough ware), but also Danish/Swedish pottery, a shard of green glass, a fire cracked baking slab, sausage pins, a whetstone, leather fragments (possibly of waste type 2 and 3), as well as other shoe remains - including a possible adults' sole (size 34) and children's soles (one of unknown size, two of sizes 26 and c. 26-27, one sizes 29, two of size 31 and three of 32). Leather remains make up the majority of finds - associated with possible leather-working, shoemaking and/or clothing, and including children's shoes. In addition, cooking and consumption related to drinking are signified - including local kitchen utensils and foreign pottery. Still, a dating to the earlier fire of 1332 cannot be ruled out, and the more precise origin of these finds is generally uncertain.

Few finds could be related to specific buildings in the area of buildings 131 and 132, and in many cases it is difficult to work out whether they should be dated to 1332 or 1413. A piece of a sooted baking slab from the passage outside building 131, and a gold ring of unknown size is found in the area of buildings 131 and 132, as are a shard of York Grey ware, a piece of a fire cracked baking slab, sausage pins, a possible awl and shoe parts.

Pottery of mixed origin (including Scarborough, Grimston, Langerwehe/Duingen, Siegburg and Danish/Swedish ware), a barrel stave, a decorated turning key and a piece of slag are found in building 132. A shard of Grimston tableware may also be related to this building (or possibly to the passage south of it), and Langerwehe/Duingen and Grimston pottery, a medium soapstone vessel (type D) and slag are found in building 132 or in the eavesdrop. Pottery (including Siegburg ware), possible sausage pins, shoe parts - including children's soles (sizes 29, 30 and two of size 32) and slag are found in the eavesdrop north of the building, but the dating to 1413 is uncertain. A shard of Humber ware is presumably located in the passage, whereas shards of Siegburg pottery and a fragment of a coarse textile fragment may be related to building 444 (row 5) or to building 132. Artefacts in the area of building 132 may thus be associated with cooking by means of local kitchen utensils and consumption - mostly drinking - represented by ceramic tableware of mixed origin. There are also traces of older children, personal belongings, storage and possible leather-working. The length of the building and lack of a fireplace may indicate an economic structure, and the only finds that with some certainty are registered inside it may very well represent stored commodities. Still, the building probably also had other functions related to different rooms and storeys, and household activities cannot be ruled out.

Like in Sveinsgard, there is a distinct reduction of finds in general in Miklagard compared to 1332 - of about 40% - and also of female indicators. They display a remarkable homogeneity, and are dominated by foreign tableware, but also include remains of local cooking utensils and to some degree whetting tools. The classified pottery shards are more or less evenly distributed between English (24%), German (39%) and Scandinavian (37%) types, opposed to mostly English in 1332. Only in the western part of the tenement - in building 132 - no female indicators could be ascertained. A large and increasing share of ceramic tableware of different origin may again signify (male) inhabitants with access to foreign commodities and/or with a different food and drinking culture, although such cultural markers may also have been incorporated by locals. Additionally, there are few indicators of textile production in general and of weaving in particular - at least not within buildings - which may indicate a smaller element of local, probably working women here. At the same time,

only local, 'female' cooking utensils such as baking slabs are registered (but to a lesser degree soapstone vessels). This may indicate that local, female inhabitants, and/or women to some degree still took care of food processing here, probably as servants for an increasingly foreign community. If the business letter mentioned in relation to Sveinsgard rather originates in Miklagard, a high-ranking woman may possibly also be related to this tenement in period 6 (1332-1413) in general.

Many of the artefacts are also in 1413 difficult to relate to specific buildings. Still, cooking seems to have taken place in buildings 3, 7 and 11 in the rear zone (Figure 76). In building 11, weaving is also signified, as are children. None of the children's soles represent very young children, though, and it cannot be concluded on the presence of family-based households. Domestic activities were also indicated in the same area in 1332. Male indicators but those associated with social activities such as drinking continue to be relatively few and scattered throughout the site. Also, other activities than wood-working - such as whetting of tools, metal-working, leather-working and/or shoemaking - seem rather unlikely to be of any importance at Bryggen and may as earlier just as well reflect domestic needs. They are primarily found in buildings 7 and 11 in the rear zone - associated with whetting of tools. In building 132 in the front, the possible male indicators indicate storage and commercial activities and generally a male working zone - at least on ground floor. The artefacts in buildings may thus be interpreted to the effect that traditional male and female activities took place side by side all over the tenement. Only in the western part of the tenement - in building 132 - no female indicators could be ascertained. The wharf area as such - associated with commercial activities - and that about 90% of the artefacts and all finds from layers denoted as fire layers or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material are found in the rear part of Miklagard, however, point to a division in terms of functions as well as gender.

By the level of 1413, then, there is a small and decreasing share of female indicators, probably indicative of fewer female residents and workers. Yet, the presence of baking slabs - strongly associated with local food processing and food culture - and to some degree also textile-production equipment may signify a continuous presence of local women. There are some changes in the overall layout of the tenement, but continuity in terms of functional organization may indicate that the foreign element may not have been totally dominant. German owners in Miklagard, for instance, are first known from 1428 (Helle 1982: 726, with references) - and their possible footprints are somewhat indistinct. It is, however, also reasonable to assume that the spatial organization based on long-standing traditions, ownership, plot structures and building traditions

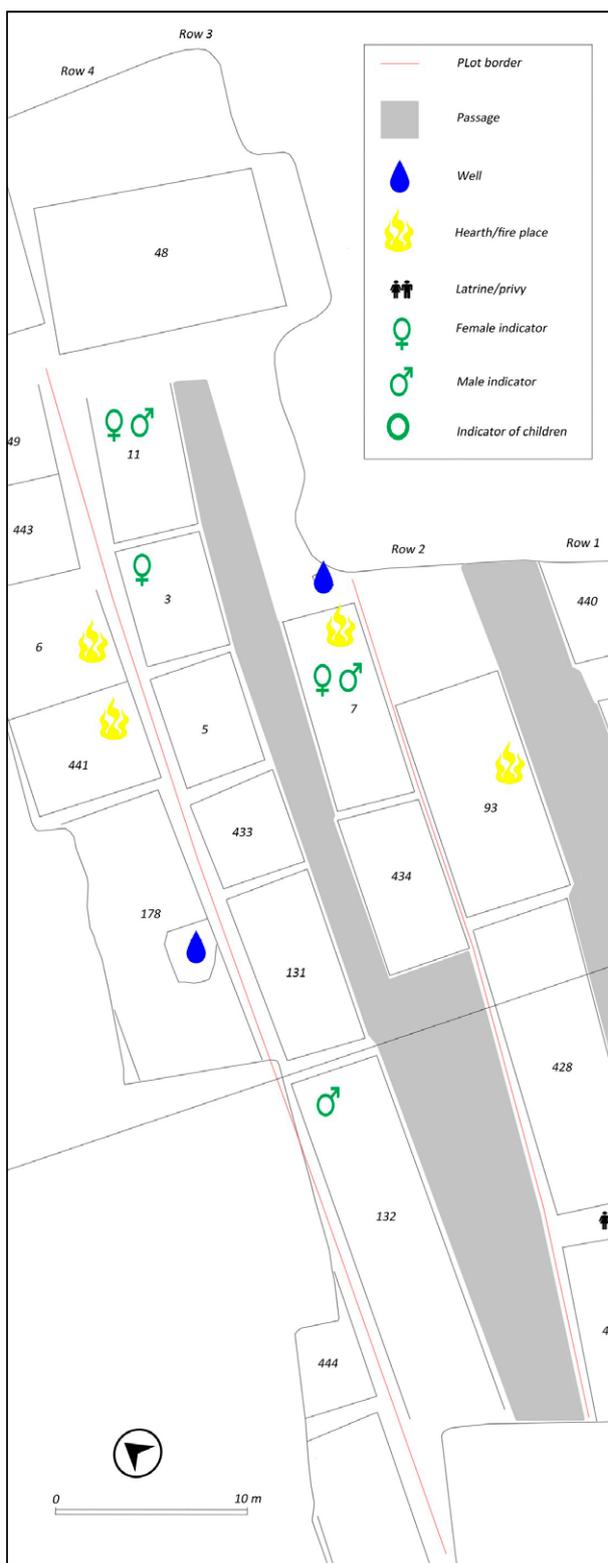


Figure 76. Buildings in Miklagard with gender-related artefacts, 1413. Modified after Herteig 1991a, Plates.

affected new and foreign actors taking residence in Miklagard. Like in other tenements, foreigners probably also established themselves earlier than written sources indicate.

6.1.4 Rows 2 and 1 (Atlegard/Oddsgard?)

Like in Miklagard, all buildings in rows 1 and 2 had been replaced after building phase 6.1, and the rows represent a foreshortened and a long row of buildings, respectively (Moldung 2000: 79). The structural relationship between the two rows is difficult to interpret. Opposed to Herteig (1991a: 40), who regards row 1 as a part of a double tenement, Moldung (2000: 79) suggests that row 2 represents a single tenement, associated with the historically known tenement of Atlegard/Oddsgard. Where this leaves row 1 is uncertain, and neither do written sources illuminate this question. Based on the overall resemblance to Miklagard, however, it does not seem unreasonable to treat rows 1 and 2 as a double tenement. In any case, few artefacts may be related to row 1 with some certainty. Also in the area of rows 1 and 2, fire layer III generally seems to have been recognized (Herteig 1991a: 30). There are relatively few artefacts - in all 129 (Figure 77), of which four may be related to row 1, 116 to row 2 and nine to the passage. None have been found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material.

Rows 1 and 2 are represented by parts of the rear and front zone (Figure 78) and seem to display structural as well as functional continuity from 1332. Three buildings are located in the rear part of rows 1 and 2 - one in the former and two in the latter - and two in the front zone, separated by The Old Church Road. The buildings in row 1 mostly lie outside the site borders, whereas the buildings in row 2 are long and measure between 48.2 and 88.6 m². In row 2, there is a large open space behind the rear-most building - the presumably two-roomed building 93 (12.1x5.8 m; c. 70 m²) (Herteig 1991a: 31, Plates). Based on the remains of a clay floor laid over a bed of gravel and a fireplace, it has been suggested that this structure may represent a workshop where precautions were made to avoid fire (Moldung 2000: 105). Buildings with multiple rooms and storeys were indicated in this area also in 1332, which could be interpreted both in terms of economic as well as residential functions. Buildings 428 (16.1x5.5 m; c. 89 m²) and 429 (recorded size 10.7x4.5 m; c. 48 m²) are registered in the front zone, in front of building 93 (Herteig 1991a: 31). The former is possibly separated into three rooms and may have had an upper storey (Moldung 2000: 74). The buildings are separated by a small area that was not allocated a structure number, but presumably used as a privy (Herteig 1991a: 31). Building 429 continues westwards beyond the site limits and may also have had an upper storey (Moldung 2000: 74). Long, multiple-roomed buildings were also registered in this area in 1332. Only a limited part of two buildings separated by a cross-passage is registered in the rear zone of row 1 - buildings 440 and 439 - both extending southwards into unexamined areas (Herteig 1991: 31). The western part of this row is paved and also in 1413 generally too narrow for any buildings. In all, then, long,

multiple-roomed buildings that may indicate that economic functions continue to be found in the front zone in particular.

The few finds that may originate in row 1 - and in the rear zone in general - are a pottery shard, a part of a baking slab and a whetstone in the area of building 440 and the passage. The finds are primarily food-related - representing local kitchen utensil as well as foreign pottery - yet, far too few and contextually uncertain to get closer to the actors behind.

More finds are assigned building 428 in the front zone: pottery of mixed origin (including shards of Siegburg, Grimston, Humber and Danish/Swedish ware), a part of a baking slab, shoe parts and possible shoe parts - including two children's soles (sizes 30 and c. 33) - a barrel part and a float. In the area of the building, e.g. English (Scarborough ware) and German (Langerwehe/Duingen and Siegburg ware) pottery, parts of a wood-turned plate, a baking slab and primarily small soapstone vessels (types B/D and D) are found. Although the length of this building may suggest a primary economic function, the finds in the area indicate activities associated with cooking and consumption, especially drinking - representing both local cooking tools and English and German tableware. In addition, there are also personal belongings - including children's shoes - and artefacts related to storage and fishing. Some of the artefacts may represent stored commodities, and the relation to building 428 is generally diffuse. Still, both domestic and economic activities seem to have taken place here, probably located in different rooms or storeys.

Primarily German tableware (including Langerwehe/Duingen and Siegburg ware), but also Danish/Swedish pottery are found in the area of building 429 and the passage, whereas a single shard of Grimston ware is located outside in the northern part of the passage. Consumption (drinking) may thus possibly be associated with this building; however, the finds are too few to conclude on actors and activities.

In all, large parts of row 2 and most of row 1 could not be documented at the level of the fire in 1413, which together with a change of waste disposal may explain the marked reduction of finds compared to in 1332 - of about 70%. The material is also difficult to relate to buildings (Figure 78), and neither of the artefacts have been found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. The situation resembles the preceding one in 1332 and in Sveinsgard and Miklagard, though, in that the archaeological artefacts are more or less of the same domestic categories. They are also increasingly related to drinking and social activities - represented by primarily English (57% of the classified shards) and German (41%) pottery - which may perhaps be assigned male foreigners. Yet, there is little written evidence of the inhabitants of Atlegard except a letter from 1309 mentioning a presumed German winter-sitter with the name Gotskalk in Odz garde (DN II, no. 97), as well as a label found in The Old

Context		Artefact										Total						
		Soapstone vessel	Baking slab	Tableware	Plate	Shoe, leather	Whetstone	Barrel	Float	Rivet	Undefined							
Rear zone	Row 1		1	1									1				4	
	Area of B440 (439)																	
Front zone	Row 2	B428	1	33			22					1	1	3			6	67
		Area of B428/passage/row 1	1	35	1													1
	Area of B429 and passage			6														6
Passage				9														9
Total		4	3	84	1	22	1	2	1	4	7						129	

Figure 77. Artefacts from rows 2 (Alegard/Oddsgard?) and 1, 1413. N=129. Colour scheme based on Figure 15.

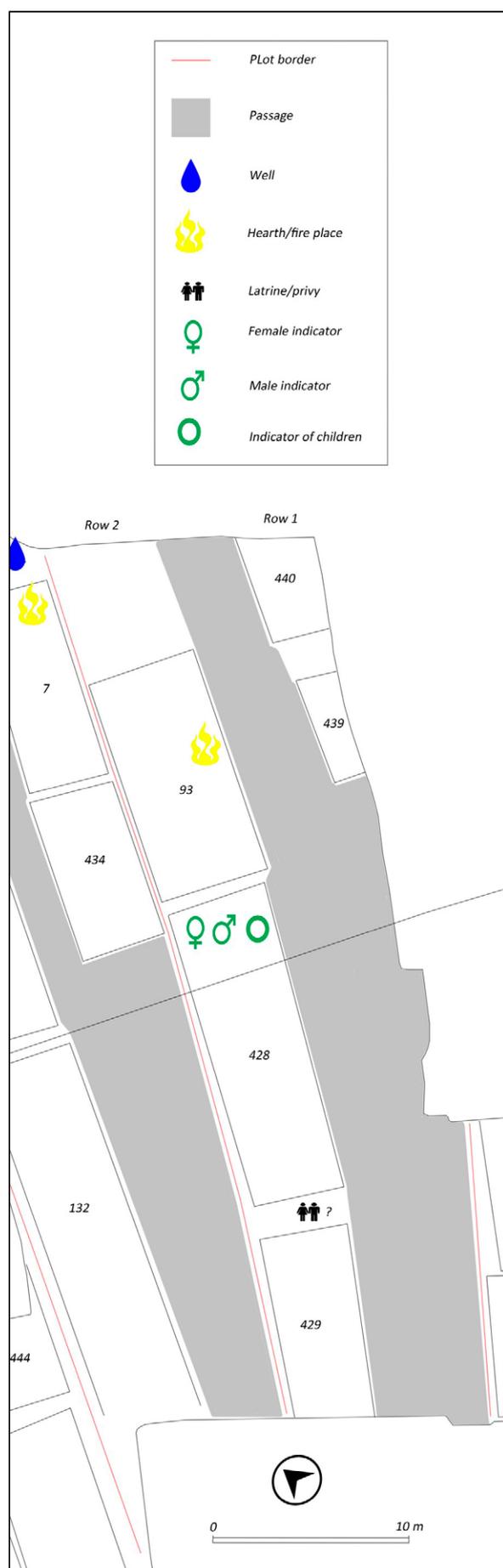


Figure 78. Buildings in Atlegard/Oddsgard with gender-related artefacts, 1413. Modified after Herteig 1991a, Plates.

Church Road (dated to 1332-1413) with the Norse name Arne written in runes.

Only a few female indicators are registered in the archaeological artefact material. These are still represented by local kitchen utensils such as baking slabs and soapstone vessels - but no longer by textile-production equipment - and are with some certainty assigned only one of the registered buildings. This baking slab found in building 428 had no wear marks and may perhaps be interpreted as a stored commodity. Yet, the general character of the finds from this building may signify traditional local cooking. The few and scattered male indicators besides drinking equipment - generally associated with whetting of tools, trade/storage and fishing - and children's shoes may also be assigned this building only. Still, the latter is associated with older children, and as in 1332, no conclusions can be drawn of a possible family-based household based on the archaeological record. Almost all artefacts in general and female indicators in particular are registered in the front zone within the site, but many are found in the wide passage area in front of row 1, possibly representing waste from activities taking place further back in the tenement. Thus, it is hardly possible to identify possible gendered zones based on the remains from the 1413-level. In addition, multiple rooms and storeys may indicate both a horizontal and a vertical division of activities.

Like Sveinsgard and Miklagard, then, the identified structures of rows 1 and 2, as well as the archaeological artefact material itself seems to indicate continuity. Female indicators also continue to be sparse - yet, women are apparently still present in Atlegard/Oddsgard - and it is difficult to distinguish possible gender-specific living- or working areas or buildings. As servants, however, women may have worked and lived in different rooms within the tenement - possibly in the attic as indicated in the probate record from Bredsgard from 1337.

6.1.5 Søstergard

Also by the time of 1413, the rear part of Søstergard lies outside the borders of the excavation site, as did most of the front zone related to the quay. In addition, traces of fire III had been removed in the central area of the southern row, including remains of buildings, upper layers and foundation timbers (Herteig 1990: 101-106). In all 187 artefacts are registered (Figure 79), of which 113 are related to the northern row, 20 to the southern row and one to the eavesdrop gap. Only about 5% are from layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material.

A restructuring of the overall tenement layout took place after fire IV, and the two rows of Søstergard now consist of single rather than pairs of buildings - three in all, possibly four (Figure 80). Again, these changes may perhaps be assigned the initiative of winter-sitters renting and owning houses here, as

German inhabitants are known from 1440 (Helle 1982: 723, with references). In the northern row, only the front part of building 388 was unearthed (recorded size c. 8x5.3 m; c. 42 m²) - a two-storey house with a fireplace in the centre of its upper storey, possibly indicating a domestic or social function. In front of this are the remains of a stone-building - no. 386 - with traces of a clay floor covered by bark, and a wooden-lined drain. Building 82 (probable size c. 13x5 m; 65 m²) is the only building in the southern row - presumably extending eastwards into unexcavated area - but may actually consist of two buildings. The two rows are framed by remains of The Old Church Road to the north and a passage to the south, respectively (Herteig 1990: 101-106).

More than half of the artefact remains from Søstergard is found in building 388 - English and German tableware (including shards of Grimston ware, Rhenish proto stone ware, Siegburg ware and Langerwehe/Duingen ware), remains of baking slabs, sausage pins, skewers, a stave from a lagged vessel and staves from wooden cups, a loom weight, a wooden needle without head, a possible wooden spindle whorl, a part of a purse or a leather ball, shoe remains, pieces of leather (possibly of waste type 2), a barrel stave, whetstones, tally sticks - one with runes ('(t)b') - and slag. The diverse artefacts first and foremost signify household activities - cooking and consumption by means of local cooking utensils as well as foreign pottery (both English and German), textile production (spinning, weaving and sewing), and personal belongings and playing, in addition to whetting of tools, storage and/or trade.

The remainder of finds is primarily found in the area of - and probably relates to - building 82; yet the relation cannot be confirmed in most cases. A single sample of grain is registered inside the building, whereas primarily English and German pottery (including Grimston, Langerwehe/Duingen and Siegburg ware, as well as a few shards of red ware possibly indicating tripod pipkins), a possible lid of a wooden container, a part of a baking slab, a possible whetstone, two children's sole (sizes 27 and 33) and another, possible shoe part are located in a grid square dominated by this structure. Similar finds are made in the western neighbouring grid square, also dominated by building 82, but covering parts of building 386 as well - many found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material and many of organic material: pottery of mixed origin (including shards of Grimston, Langerwehe/Duingen, Siegburg and Danish/Swedish ware), parts of wooden cups, a part of a wooden plate, a part of a skewer, a soapstone bowl, a stave from a lagged, wooden vessel, a wooden lid, a weight, parts of a barrel, tally sticks, a spade, a possible sling, shoe remains and possible shoe remains - including an adult's sole and two children's soles (sizes 29 and 32) - and a leather fragment (possibly of waste type 2). Additionally, a gravestone is for some

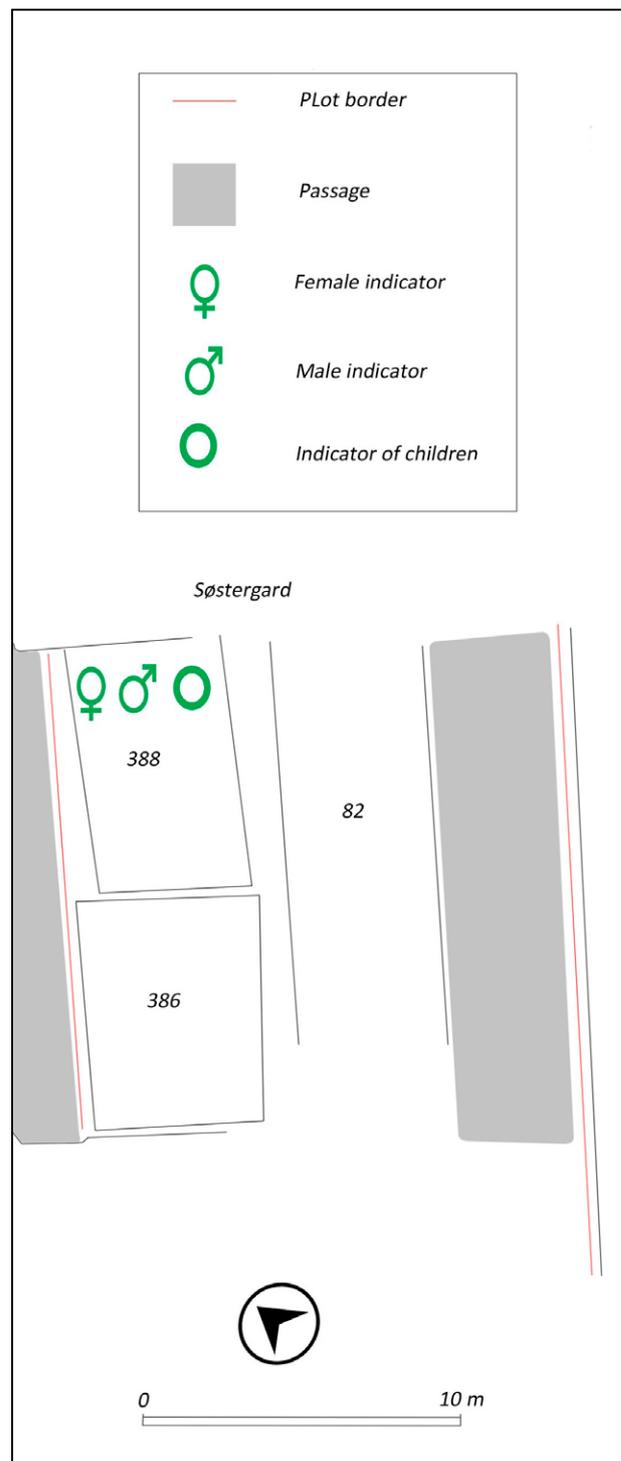


Figure 80. Buildings in Søstergard with gender-related artefacts, 1413. Modified after Herteig 1990: 102, Fig. 63.

reason located in the eavesdrop north of building 82. Thus, also in the area of building 82 and partly in the area of building 386 there are indicators of cooking by means of local devices, consumption related to drinking culture, possible weaving and footwear, presumably including traces of at least older children from the age of about 7. In addition, there are artefacts related to hunting/defence, trade and storage.

A large decrease of finds (of about 60% compared to the 1332-level) is registered also in Søstergard by

the time of 1413, and as only the front part is represented and few finds originate in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material, the artefacts are difficult to discuss in terms of horizontal zones. In all, though, the situation is more or less identical to the one eight decades earlier: artefacts and activities traditionally associated with women are still present - represented by local cooking tools and textile-production equipment (spinning, weaving and sewing) - accompanied by artefacts signifying consumption, especially drinking, as well as traces of older children, in *casu shoes*. These are considered to represent activities carried out in building 388, the only building where gendered artefacts are registered with some certainty (Figure 80). Here, also artefacts associated with hunting/defence, trade and storage are indicated, which may suggest that male and female activities took place in the same environment - probably related to different roles and status, and not necessarily indicating a family-based household. The leather and metal waste in the area of building 82, on the other hand, can hardly be interpreted as evidence of organized craft. Compared to the 1332-level - and to the other tenements at the time of 1413 - there is also relatively little pottery, which is both of German and English types. Whether this implies that (the front part of) Søstergard to a higher degree was settled by local men, women and children (and whether or to what degree they lived here in family-based households) or foreign inhabitants having incorporated local food customs is uncertain. In 1408, at least, Søstergard was owned by St Mary's Church, and disposed by German merchants (RN IX, no. 417). Yet, it seems reasonable to conclude that local women were still present.

6.1.6 Engelgard

A larger area of Engelgard than of Søstergard could be documented archaeologically by the layers of 1413; still, primarily covering the front zone. The fire layer had been more or less removed in the southern row, but was easily identified at least in the front part of the northern row (Herteig 1990: 70). In all, 384 artefact remains are associated with this tenement (Figure 81) - more or less the same amount as in the 1413-layers. Altogether 346 items may be related to the northern row, and 38 to the southern, whereas none have been found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material.

Based on the unearthed remains, the fan-shaped layout that to a higher or lesser degree has characterized this tenement so far now seems to have been finally replaced by a more regularly oriented pair of rows with buildings of a uniform width (Figure 82). Whether this was initiated by actors of a foreign origin cannot be ascertained, but also Engelgard was like Søstergard owned by St Mary's and inhabited by German merchants before the time of 1409 (Helle

1982: 728, RN IX, no. 417). In the northern row, two buildings are registered - parts of building 365 (recorded size c. 8x3.3 m; c. 26 m²), and building 359, a long building of at least 23x5.9 m (c. 136 m²). In the southern row, all structural remains were difficult to identify and thus allotted a single construction number, no. 342 (recorded size 21.8x4.7-5 m; c. 109 m²). The rows are also in 1413 combined by a passage (Herteig 1990: 71-72).

All finds associated with the northern row are seemingly related to building 359. In this building, a large amount of predominantly German tableware (Siegburg and Langerwehe/Duingen ware) and also continental (Raeren ware), English (Grimston ware) and Danish/Swedish ware - as well as a couple of shards possibly indicating tripod pipkins of red ware - a part of a skewer, a wooden bowl, parts of a baking slab, a gaming piece associated with *Nine Men's Morris* or *kvatrutafll* (Lund 2013: 109), a long bone needle, shoe remains (possibly of waste type 2 and 3), other shoe parts - including a possible children's upper and five children's soles (sizes 18, 20, 23, 25 and 31) - a purse and a possible purse and a piece of slag are registered. There are contextual uncertainties related to another large assembly of pottery (mostly Siegburg ware), a part of a possible bottle, a loom weight, a piece of slag and a piece of amber. According to the find database, they are all related to building 342; however, registered in a grid square where only building 359 is represented. The length of building 359 and the lack of a fireplace indicate economic functions, and it cannot be ruled out that some of the artefacts represent stored commodities. Still, the building probably had other functions as well, and the majority of artefacts is associated with household activities - perhaps taking place in an upper storey - consumption represented by German tableware in particular, cooking by means of local kitchenware, in addition to board games, textile production (weaving and sewing) and personal belongings. Shoes related to children of different ages may possibly signify one or more family-based units in the tenement.

The remainder of finds is made in building 342: primarily German pottery (Langerwehe/Duingen ware), but also a single shard of Danish/Swedish ware, a part of a wooden plate, a possible baking spade, a wooden lid, parts of baking slabs, a part of a Norw. *ølhane* (a wooden drinking vessel shaped like a rooster), barrel parts, a drill and a small adult's sole. The finds indicate cooking and consumption - including both local kitchen utensils and foreign pottery - trade/storage, as well as possible wood-working.

Like in Søstergard, the situation in Engelgard in many ways resembles the one about eighty years ago and earlier - the artefacts largely being associated with cooking by means of local kitchen utensils, consumption and drinking in particular, textile production (weaving and sewing), board games and footwear. These seem especially to indicate activities that included women, men and children of different ages

Artefact		Context															Total										
		Row N	Row S	Front zone	Baking spade?	Baking slab	Skewer	Bowl	Tableware	Bottle	Plate	Ølhane	Lid	Gaming piece	Shoe, leather	Purse		Warp weight	Needle	Leather, waste type 3	Slag	Drill	Barrel part	Fastening	Miscellaneous	Undefined	
	B359				2	1	1	54						1	36	2		1	8						2	1	109
	B359?			233					1								1			1				1			237
	B342			16						1	1	1			1						1	2	1				38
	Total			303	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	37	2	1	1	8	1	1	2	1	3	1	384	

Figure 81. Artefacts from Engelgard, 1413. N=384. Colour scheme based on Figure 15.

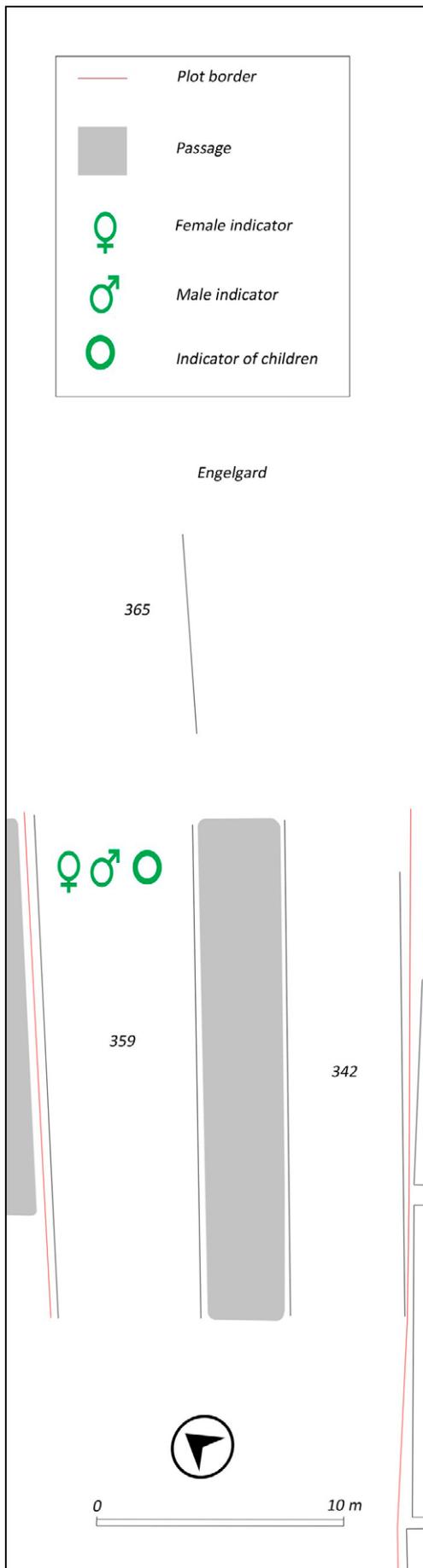


Figure 82. Buildings in Engelgard with gender-related artefacts, 1413. Modified after Herteig 1990: 72, Fig. 40.

in building 359 (Figure 82) - very much like in the preceding building 193. Also leather-working and perhaps shoemaking are indicated, but if so, most likely on a household basis. Cooking and consumption may also have taken place in building 342, in addition to wood-working and storage. Written sources, a high share of German tableware (98% of the classified pottery, opposed to only three in 1332) and traces of older children here in general support the notion of German inhabitants. However, domestic activities also including women and very young children may have taken place in most of the excavated area. Also, of the investigated labels and business letters from Engelgard, only a single label is registered (dated to 1332-1413), mentioning a man with a Norse name, Torstein (Johnsen 1990: 213).

6.1.7 Bugard

Only parts of the front zone of Bugard could be examined at the level of 1413, and the very front quay area continues towards the harbour beyond the site limits. Patches of the fire layer were registered in the southern row, and none of the 239 artefact remains related to this tenement - more or less the same number as from the layers of 1332 - are found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. In all, 178 of the artefacts may be related to the northern row, 30 the southern and 31 to eavesdrop gaps (Figure 83).

Altogether six buildings in the northern row and five buildings and a possible privy in the southern are documented, combined by a passage (Figure 84). These vary between 5 and 14 m in length, and between 4.1 and 5 m in width, and ranges from 24 and 57.2 m². Building 319 continues eastwards into unexcavated area, followed by building 254 further west. Building 320 may consist of two buildings, and buildings 322 and 323 were probably divided by a common wall. Building 324 represents the westernmost building towards the bay Vågen. In the southern row, most of building 282 also lies outside the excavation area. This is followed by the long building 275, outside which a well is located to the south, in the public thoroughfare Bua-allmenning (Herteig 1990: 29-30). Considering the location, the well may have been public; yet it has also been argued in favour of a more restricted access (Johansen 2013: 53). In front of building 275 lies building 277, separated from building 293 to the west by a wide gap possibly used as a privy. The latter building may have been divided by a common wall from building 316, which possibly extends into unexcavated area (Herteig 1990: 30). Thus, there are evidently more - and possibly shorter - buildings in Bugard by the time of 1413 than in 1332, and like in Søstergard, the rows are more uniform in terms of width than earlier. The overall physical structure does not break radically with the one referred to in relation to the 1332-level, though.

Context \ Artefact		Pottery, kitchenware	Stone vessel	Soapstone vessel	Baking slab	Grindstone	Lagged vessel	Wooden vessel	Bowl	Pottery, tableware	Glass	Gaming piece	Skate	Shoe, leather	Comb	Warp weight	Whetstone	Rivet, nail, spike, wedge, plug	Miscellaneous	Undefined	Total
		Front zone	1					12		1	14				1	1					
Row N	Eavesdrop				1					39										1	42
	B254									1							1	1			3
Row S	B320?							1													1
	B320																				1
Row S	B322								54												54
	Area of B322, 323, 293								29	5									1		35
Row S	Area of B323 and passage			1					22							1					24
	B324									17				2							19
Row S	B275		4							13		2			1			1		2	23
	B277									2											2
Row S	B293			3			1				1										5
	Total	1	4	4	1	1	13	1	1	191	6	2	1	3	1	1	1	2	1	4	239

Figure 83. Artefacts from Bugard, 1413. N=239. Colour scheme based on Figure 15.

In the very back of the unearthed area of Bugard, a Siegburg pot is found in the eavesdrop north of building 319. The majority of finds, however, are made inside buildings. In building 254, mostly German, but also English tableware (Siegburg and Grimston ware) and parts of a baking slab and a grindstone are registered. Pottery of primarily Scandinavian types (but also Siegburg ware), possible parts of stone vessels, gaming pieces related to chess and Nine Men's Morris or kvatrutaff (Lund 2013: 109, 124) and a comb fragment are located in building 275. Food-related artefacts representing both cooking by means of local kitchenware, and consumption related to drinking dominate these buildings, in addition to a few gaming pieces of local or foreign origin and personal belongings. Household and social activities may thus have taken place here, although it cannot be ruled out that some of the artefacts may have represented stored commodities.

Similar finds are also made further west towards the harbour. A stave from a wooden vessel is registered in building 320, and also a shard of Grimston pottery, a whetstone and a plug may be related to this building. In the eavesdrop north of the building, there are primarily German pottery (Siegburg ware), parts of lagged, wooden vessels, a part of a wooden bowl, a skate made of bone and a sole. Additionally, pottery is located in building 277, whereas a shard of glass, the bottom of a wooden vessel and parts of a small type B soapstone vessel are found in building 293. Also here, then, domestic activities are indicated, by local artefacts associated with storage, and consumption related to drinking culture (of both German and English origin) in particular, but also including a local cooking-related artefact, in addition to whetting of tools and sports.

The remainder of finds are made in the northern row. A lot of pottery is registered in building 322 - mostly of German types (especially Siegburg, but also Langerwehe/Duingen ware) and a few English shards (York Grey ware). Primarily German pottery (Siegburg ware), and also another continental type (Raeren), glass of unknown type and a boar's tooth are located in a grid square covering the area of buildings 322, 323 and 293. In addition, in the area of building 323 and the passage, English and German pottery (Grimston and Siegburg ware), as well as tile, a part of a soapstone vessel (type B) and a possible loom weight are registered. More pottery of particularly German origin (Siegburg ware), an upper and a children's sole (size 27) are documented in building 324. Most of the finds in this area, then, are difficult to relate precisely to specific buildings. Nevertheless, they are primarily of the same categories as listed above, associated with consumption (represented by mostly German pottery), but also by local kitchenware. Personal belongings including a children's shoe are also registered, in addition to a textile-production equipment or perhaps fishing tackle.

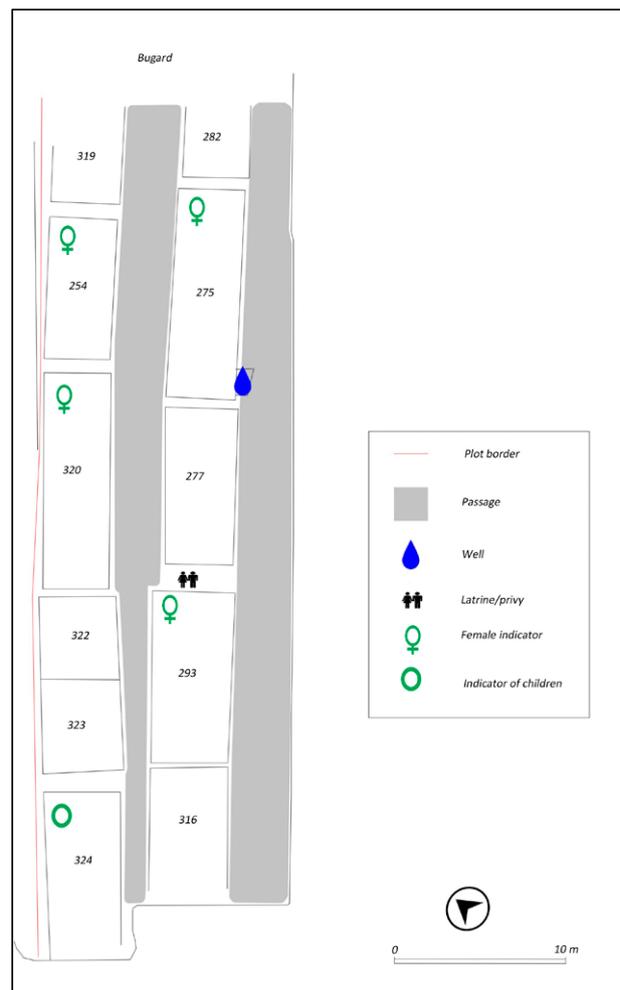


Figure 84. Buildings in Bugard with gender-related artefacts, 1413. Modified after Herteig 1990: 29, Fig. 12.

Like in 1332, all the artefacts from Bugard are found in the front zone. These first and foremost signify activities such as consumption - German tableware (84% of the classified pottery, opposed to only 4% in 1332) associated with drinking in particular. This corresponds well with the notion of the tenement as being in the hands of German merchants at this time, known at least from the 1370s (Helle 1982: 723, with references). At the same time, female presence is indicated by a few artefacts associated with cooking by means of local devices, as well as some possibly related to weaving - among other things registered in buildings 254, 275, 293 and 320 (Figure 84). A children's shoe is represented in building 324. Although the front zone must have been a male-dominated area - based on the overall functions related to trade, building works, etc. - there are besides remains of drinking gear hardly any artefacts traditionally associated with men (primarily whetting of tools), and none are found in buildings. Considering the small number of artefacts in many of the buildings, conclusions on activities, as well as gender-specific living and working areas cannot be ascertained based on the archaeological evidence. As a whole, though, the material indicates continuity concerning the presence

both of men, women and older children - presumably in domestic contexts - although women to a somewhat smaller degree than in 1332.

6.1.8 Artefacts, activities and gender at Bryggen, 1413 - an overall assessment

As pointed out in the introduction, one of the aims of this analysis at the turn of the fifteenth century concerns whether it is possible - and in what ways - to observe the establishment of the Hanseatic Kontor in the 1360s at Bryggen in the archaeological record dated to 1413 and the effect this had on physical and social structures - not least in terms of women, gender and gender composition, including children and other foreigners. To what degree ethnicity may be illuminated, and whether the members of the Hansa adjusted to or were affected by established norms and practices - and vice versa - are also taken into consideration, as well as the recurrent problem of relating gendered artefacts to females in particular within an increasingly male-dominated context.

Methodological aspects also need to be addressed, as they clearly affect the representativity of the investigated material. Whereas an increase in archaeological remains was registered in the fourteenth century, these have now decreased by almost 40% in general - covering 1960 fragments. Atlebard experiences a reduction of more than 70% compared to the 1332-level, and only in Engelgard and Bugard is the amount of artefact remains more or less the same as in 1332. This does probably not reflect reduced activities of the kind that so far seem to have taken place here, which apparently included local female residents and/or workers. Instead, it may largely be explained by the quay area no longer being found within the site borders, resulting in less fill layers of redeposited waste. A more organized waste disposal may also have taken place here in the fifteenth century, as well as poorer conditions of preservation in general and in the upper cultural layers, and machine excavation in parts of the site - which partly must have contributed to the recurrent lack of fire layers and temporal uncertainties in general.

Now more than ever, the opportunity of a complete contextual evaluation of the archaeological record is also affected by the variable degree of archaeological investigation of the tenements - which has continuously been addressed at the different chronological horizons. This consequently complicates interpretations in terms of different gendered issues. In the northern part of the site, parts of both the rear and front zone are missing out, and in the southern part - where practically only the front zone is represented - Miklagard (rows 3 and 4) is the only tenement that has been unearthed to any substantial degree. Additionally, only 20% (384) of the remains are found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material, and it is in many cases difficult to assign the artefacts to buildings and their use. The share of surviving arte-

facts made of metal - a valuable material associated among other things with a foreign food culture - has increased and makes up about a tenth (Figure 85), representing a relatively high share (personal comment: Gitte Hansen). Yet, due to such items to a high degree being re-melted or also being taken better care of, possible artefacts related to a foreign cooking culture probably remain underrepresented. The same applies to artefacts made of organic material - like local kitchen utensils. Issues concerning local versus foreign actors and activities, as well as of male versus female, may therefore also be approached based on artefacts made of ceramic and stone in particular, which make up a substantial share of the investigated material.

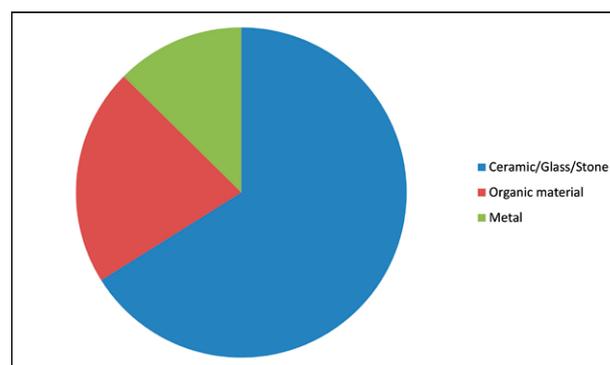


Figure 85. Distribution of artefacts from BRM 0 by material, 1413.

Despite a restructuring especially of Miklagard, as well as the development of a more uniform tenement layout, the built environment at Bryggen by the time of 1413 does not represent any radical break with previous solutions and traditions - neither in terms of layout nor functions. This continuity may, however, not necessarily be interpreted in terms of primarily local inhabitants and a smaller element of residing foreigners than one would expect based on written sources. First and foremost, it seems reasonable to interpret this overall physical continuity in terms of long-lasting structures that did not need extensive adjustments to meet the needs of new actors - or that they were possible to change only to a certain degree, depending on previous solutions and/or the existing physical settlement, as well as regulations enforced by the town authorities. The physical settlement is based on more or less the same plot system as earlier, where the ground remained in the hands of Norwegians, and the rebuilding must also have been affected by available materials throughout the entire period of examination. As discussed in Chapter 3, radical changes are also increasingly less likely to take place the more organized a society is (Dodgshon 1998: 184). In this respect, an already established use of the physical space developed throughout centuries probably affected the stability of physical and social organization.

The artefacts may also be interpreted in terms of a mixed composition of and presumably also interac-

tion between different social and ethnic groups. Almost 87% of all registered remains of kitchen utensils are of foreign types, of which a large and increasing share is associated with consumption - especially drinking. This may point to inhabitants with a different food and drinking culture. In this respect, the pottery now in particular suggests the presence of Germans - although other ethnicities (like the English) were probably represented as well. Indeed, 78% of the classified material (opposed to only 3 in 1332) is associated with German tableware. Additionally, a considerable increase of small soapstone vessels relative to medium and large items also in period 6 in general (Vangstad 2003: 107-109) may perhaps signify an inclusion of local kitchen utensils in this culture. Possibly, it may at least suggest households that to a larger degree than before consist of (local or foreign) single individuals. About two thirds of the measurable vessels from this period represent small vessels (diameter 10-19 cm) - opposed to about a third in period 5 (1248-1332), particularly of types D and E (Vangstad 2003: 86, 88). Especially the latter type often lacks soot marks on the outer side, and both may have been used as tableware, perhaps as individual saucers (Vangstad 2003: 70-74). Also the few measurable vessels dated to 1413 are primarily of small types. The lack of foreign cooking utensils may partly be ascribed a general underrepresentation of metal artefacts, and some of the pottery dated to 1413 probably represents remains of tripod pipkins and red ware - which like ceramic kitchenware in general are difficult to identify based on the scarce information in the find database.

The child-related material - especially shoes - from period 6 (1332-1413) in general may serve as an indicator of a socially diverse environment. It is associated with an unusually high share of older, able-bodied children - possibly boys - that at least theoretically may have worked as servants, helpers or assistants. Almost 90% of the child-related artefacts from this period investigated in my previous study on children in medieval Bergen were shoe soles associated primarily with children in the older age groups, and the few toys apparently signify boys in particular (Mygland 2007: 90-91). The present selection of such artefacts also reveals shoes particularly of large sizes - 16 of the 29 registered soles (sizes 29-33) - and are found in all tenements but Bugard, and in both the rear and front zones. At the same time, shoe remains (sizes 18, 20, 23 and 25) indicating children in the two youngest age groups (0-3 and 3-7 years) in building 359 in Engelgard serves as indicators of family-based units at Bryggen (Figure 86). If the presence of children in the age groups 3-7 and 7-11/12 in buildings may be interpreted the same way, family units may also be indicated to a higher degree. Traces of children at different ages are registered in most of the site, and in buildings 441 (size unknown), 445 (sizes 24 and 26) in Sveinsgard, 428 (sizes 30 and 33)

in Atlegard, 388 (a possible ball) in Søstergard and 324 (size 27) in Bugard.

Evidence of female presence at Bryggen is scarcer than in 1332, and still primarily represented by baking slabs and soapstone vessels, in addition to some wooden vessels and textile-production equipment. Also, after 1332, only seven fragments of pleated textiles have been documented within the Bryggen site (Vedeler 2007: 103). As presented in Figures 86 and 87, the distribution of gender-related artefacts tentatively indicates female cooking by use of local stone vessels at least in buildings 3, 7 and 11 in Miklagard and in building 388 in Søstergard. The same kind of cooking is also indicated in buildings 254, 275, 293 and 320 in Bugard; yet, the artefact material is generally too small to draw reliable conclusions on whether this activity actually took place here. Very much like eight decades earlier, cooking is difficult to verify in buildings in Sveinsgard - as nos. 6 and 441 are structurally associated with some kind of manufacturing process (possibly lime-slaking). Yet, it cannot be ruled out that the hearths here were used also for other purposes. The length of no. 445 also indicates an economic structure, but the building may have had other functions as well. The same applies to the long buildings 428 in Atlegard and 359 in Engelgard, in which the material as a whole indicates household activities in general and children, including textile production (possible weaving and sewing) in the latter. The few hearths or fireplaces in the northern part of the site - and the complete lack of such structures in the southern - may perhaps be interpreted in terms of common kitchens for the inhabitants in the different tenements, preferably located in the rear zone. The remaining few female indicators are related to textile production and relatively scattered. No such artefacts are registered in Miklagard and Atlegard by the 1413-level. They are found only in three of the in all 37 buildings dated to 1413 - in building 11 in Sveinsgard, building 388 in Søstergard and building 359 in Engelgard. Also the number and degree of deposition of textile-production equipment is radically reduced in period 6 (1332-1413) in general (Øye 1988: 140-144).

Although the indications of women in the role of wives and mothers may be vaguer than in 1332, the material as a whole more than suggests that women were present at Bryggen by the time of 1413. Particularly in Søstergard, the material is dominated by local artefacts traditionally associated with female activities - as was the case also in 1332. Also both baking slabs and soapstone vessels slabs are generally most numerous in period 6 - although many of the former miss wear marks and possibly represent stored/trading objects (Vangstad 2017: 200; Tengesdal 2010: 54-55). This may perhaps indicate an urban food culture including both local and foreign elements. Yet, a decreasing share of these local cooking tools made of a relatively persistent material dated to 1413 may also

Zone	Tenement	Building no.	Earlier interpretations	Female indicators	Male indicators apart from drinking gear and gaming pieces	Child-related indicators	All artefacts	Artefacts/activities	
Rear	Sveinsgard	49	Textile production		5		30	Consumption (food), gaming, craft/weapon, metal-working, building-related finds	
		6	Hearth (lime-slaking)	Plausible	2		23	Basic cooking, consumption, shoes, building-related finds	
		441	Hearth (lime-slaking)	Confirmed, plausible	10		17	Basic cooking, consumption, shoes, child-related artefact, spinning, building-related finds	
		178	Well inside						
	Miklagard	11	Two rooms?	Plausible	10	6		82	Basic cooking, consumption, metal-working?, whetting of tools, building-related finds
		3	Upper storey? With latrine	Plausible	1			14	Basic cooking, consumption, building-related finds
		132	Four rooms?			2		16	Consumption (food), trade, metal-working, building-related finds
		7	Hearth, three rooms?	Plausible	7	1		42	Basic cooking, consumption, whetting of tools
	Front	Sveinsgard	445		Confirmed, plausible, possible	15	2	140	Cooking, consumption (food), gaming, smoking, shoes, textiles, child-related artefacts, weapon, spinning, leather-working, whetting of tools, building-related finds
			428	Three rooms?	Plausible	1	2	67	Basic cooking, consumption, shoes, older children, trade/storage, fishing
Søstergard		388	Two storeys, fireplace	Confirmed, plausible, possible	39	13	1	113	Basic cooking, cooking for storage, consumption, playing (?), shoes/leather-working, spinning, weaving, sewing, metal-working?, whetting of tools, trade, storage, building-related finds
		359		Confirmed, plausible, possible	5	7		109	Basic cooking, cooking for storage, consumption, gaming, shoes/leather-working, personal belongings, sewing, shoemaking (?), building-related finds
Engelgard		342	Two buildings?	Plausible	14	3		38	Basic cooking, consumption, shoes, wood-working?, trade/storage, building-related finds
		254		Confirmed (?), plausible	1 (2)	1		42	Basic cooking, consumption
Bugard		320	Two buildings?	Plausible	1			1	Cooking for storage
		324					1		Consumption, shoes, child-related artefact
		275	Well (public?) outside	Plausible	4			23	Basic cooking, consumption, gaming, personal belongings, building-related finds
		293		Plausible	4			5	Basic cooking, cooking for storage, consumption
Total				114	58	3	576		

Figure 87. Buildings with gender-related artefacts, 1413.

369 (Bugard) - first and foremost interpreted as indicators of activities taking place within household and social contexts. The possible craft-related artefacts present are generally not regarded as representing specialized production, and the only gendered artefact in building 132 in the front zone of Miklagard (a barrel part) is presumably stored. Neither are there many remains of fishing tackle dated to 1332-1413, and a marked decrease in deposition per year has also been registered in this period (Olsen 2004: 77). Similarly, there are hardly any runic inscriptions from this period in the material investigated by Johnsen (1990). Thus, traces of (local) men are first and foremost represented by structural elements and the harbour zone as such.

Discussing and comparing the artefacts thoroughly in terms of locating possible gender-specific areas proves somewhat difficult also based on artefact remains from the 1413-layers. Artefacts and activities traditionally associated with either men or women seem to be localized in the same contexts and in all tenements - generally associated with household and social activities - although probably located in different rooms and/or storeys, as reflected in the probate record from Bredsgard in 1337 (DN II, no. 223). Also, in buildings where only female or male indicators are registered, the finds are too few to draw reliable conclusions on possible gendered activities. In other cases, the general character of the material in and in the area of this structure rarely indicates an exclusive male or female unit by 1413. On a more overall level, almost 64% of the artefact remains are registered in the front zone - a number that could have been higher had the entire tenements including the wharf areas been excavated. Considering that close to 70% of the artefacts in general is associated with cooking and particularly consumption, especially drinking culture, this may be interpreted to the effect that food- and drink-related, presumably household activities took place especially in the front zone. As the rear part of Søstergard, Engelgard and Bugard is not investigated, it may, however, also be that the general material bias towards the eastern part of the site is maintained in 1413 as well. The presence of long buildings - often interpreted in terms of economic activities, but probably also having multiple functions both horizontally and vertically - in the front zone in particular may be indicative of this, as may the location of the majority of baking slabs from period 6 (1332-1413) in general in the rear zone (Tengesdal 2010: 55). Still, possible household activities including men, women and children are generally indicated in the front zone and in such long buildings as well. Both cooking and textile production are suggested in all tenements in the southern part of the site - also in the rear part of Sveinsgard, which structurally remains largely associated with presumed lime-slaking. Nevertheless, the presence of women is generally indicated all over the Bryggen site by 1413.

The material, then, may be interpreted to the effect that it to a larger degree than earlier reflects foreign, male inhabitants - first and foremost by remains of a foreign drinking culture - evidently German merchants related to the Hanseatic Kontor, based on written evidence. At the same time, it seems reasonable to assume that domestic activities associated with a local female sphere continued to take place in the northern part of Bryggen, including single workers in particular, but perhaps also higher-ranking women as indicated by the business letter from Sveinsgard/Miklagard, and family-members. The same types of activities may have continued to take place all over Bryggen - traditional male and female often in the same buildings, perhaps in separate rooms and/or storeys - although to a somewhat smaller degree than earlier. The long-lasting conflicts between the Germans and the urban government which lead to the abandoning of the Kontor in 1427-1432 also means that the Germans probably did not dominate nor make up the only residents at Bryggen by 1413. In this respect, the distribution of the material may to some degree indicate a somewhat mixed composition of local and foreign inhabitants - but where the latter (German members of the Hansa) apparently dominate, indicated by the ceramic material. Also, it may reflect an earlier functional division based on local needs and habits - expressed by a physical settlement largely characterized by structural continuity to previous periods.

6.2 Artefacts, activities and gender, 1476 (fire layer II)

To what degree had the composition of the town people changed in the course of the six decades that had passed since 1413, and is and to what degree is this reflected in the archaeological artefact material from the 1476-layers? At the end of the fifteenth century, Bergen was apparently well on its feet after decades of epidemics. Long-distance trade and particularly export of fish were now as earlier the major driving forces, and Bryggen was according to written sources increasingly inhabited and dominated by Germans related to the Kontor (Helle 1982: 693, 722-726). Local inhabitants were probably present during the war between the Hansa and Erik of Pomerania from 1427; yet, one of the final indicators of such is dated to 1411. In all, it is reasonable to assume that by the time of 1476, the German Hansa must have taken over a substantial number of the tenements at Bryggen - although not all (Helle 1982: 722-723, with references). May this be observed in the archaeological record (and to a higher degree than in 1413)? To what degree is it now possible to trace local men, women and children in the material? May or may not Bryggen be considered an ethnically closed, male community, and to what degree was this society still affected by established social and physical structures?

The great fire of a September's night in 1476 - mentioned in many historical sources - caused severe

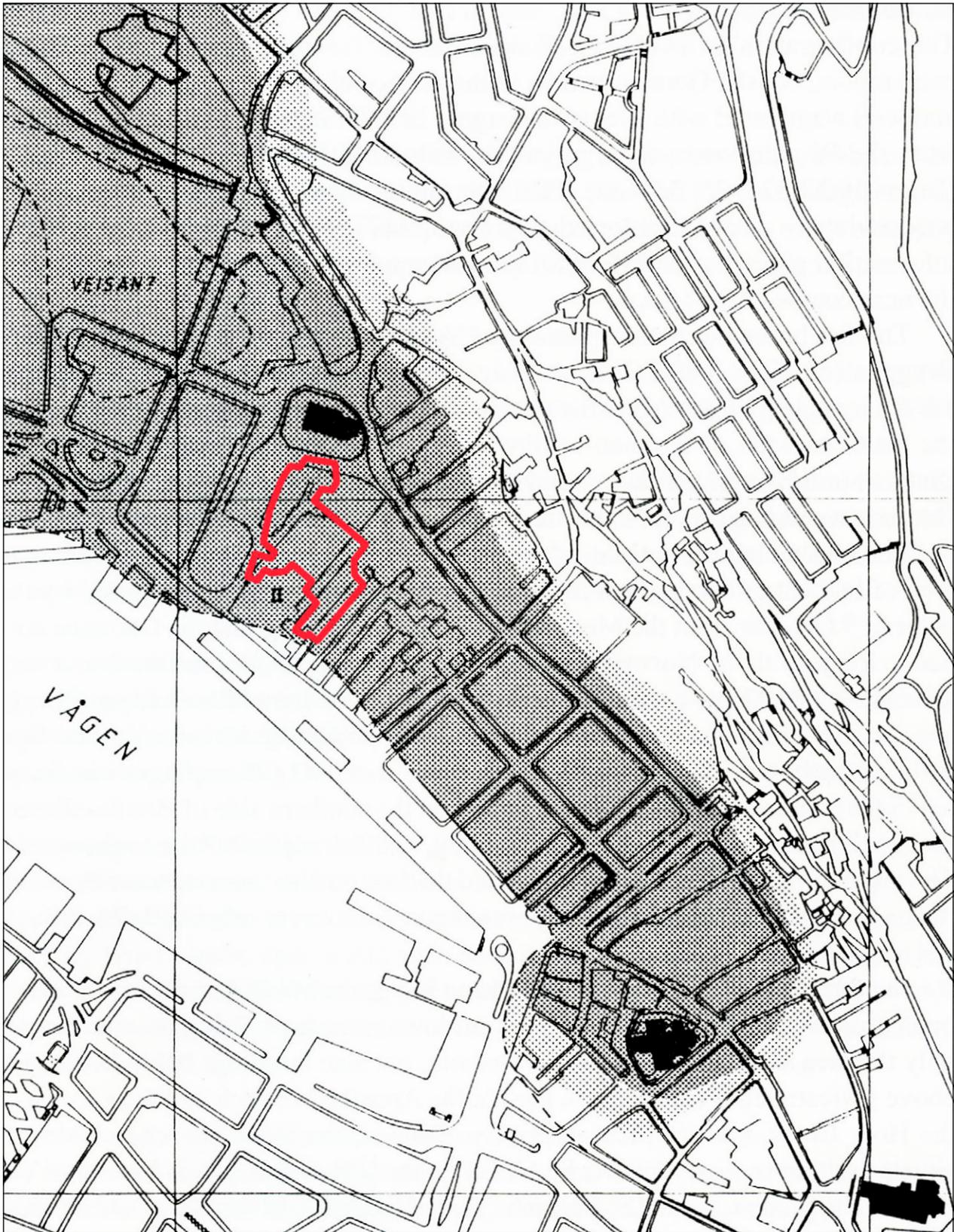


Figure 88. Presumed extent of fire II (1476) according to Ann Christensson. The Bryggen site in red. Modified after Helle 1992: 60. Fig. 14.

damage, and covered large parts of the town east of Vågen, from Vågsbunnen and the Church of the Holy Cross in the south to the Apostles' Church to the north, tentatively illustrated in Figure 88 (Helle 1982: 701, with references). Remains of this fire were registered all over the Bryggen site, but evidently

most easily recognized in the area north of Søstergard (Herteig 1991a: 26). In parts of the remainder of the site, the fire layer proved more difficult to document. Few traces were recognized in the northern row of Søstergard, and in the southern part of Engølgard, the fire layer had been removed in some places, and



Figure 89. The Bryggen site, phase 6.2, divided in rear and front zones. Surviving remains from the fire of 1476. Modified after Herteig 1990: 27, 66, 68-69, 101, Figs. 11, 34, 37, 39a-d and 62, 1991a, Plates.

merged with remains from fire I (1702) in others. In the southern row of Bugard, remains from fire II and III (1413) were mixed and difficult to separate (Herteig 1990: 26-28, 66, 100).

The unearthed remains from the Bryggen site are presented in Figure 89. A small part (of the front area) of row 6 (the northern row of Sveinsgard) could be documented at the time of 1476, but like 63 years earlier, rows 7 and 8 (the tenement Gullskoen) lie outside the borders of the excavation (Herteig 1991a: 29, Plates). In addition, rows 1 and 3 remain truncated - the latter regarded as the southern half of the

tenement Miklagard and the former possibly as a single tenement (Herteig 1991a: 26; Moldung 2000: 85). Large, open areas are found particularly in the rear part of rows 3 to 5; however, it is uncertain whether they actually did lay open by this time, or if the lack of buildings may be ascribed a thorough removal of fire remains and/or a complete burning down of physical structures (Moldung 2000: 85). Very much like in 1413, primarily the northern part of the site is represented by both the rear and front zones - i.e. Sveinsgard, Miklagard and Atlegard.

Despite the extensive fire and areas without structural remains, a large number of buildings is still registered - 35, in addition to buildings 48 and 50 - and distributed all over the site (Herteig 1990: 26-29, 66-71, 100-101; 1991a: 26-30, Plates). Only two hearths are registered - one in building 442 in Sveinsgard, associated with lime-slaking (Herteig 1991a: 29), and another in building 288 in Bugard, possibly signifying professional baking (Tengesdal 2010: 67-68). This indicates a general underrepresentation of such structures. In all eight or nine wells - to which there is different degree of access - are dated to 1476. One is located in building 448 in Sveinsgard (possibly constructed in period 6), four in Miklagard (one in building 426, one in the open area west of building 426, one possibly outside building 109 and one in building 110), one in building 425 in Atlegard, one in an open area in Engelgard (constructed in period 5) and two in Bugard (one between buildings 340 and 249 and immediately east of building 274). At least the indoor wells from Sveinsgard, Miklagard and Atlegard were probably wells with restricted access. In addition, one of the wells from Miklagard was apparently constructed by Germans (Johansen 2013: 53-55). Two privies (possibly more) are also registered, in Miklagard (Herteig 1991a: 27). In all, the overall layout as represented by the remains from fire (II) resembles the one six decades earlier, besides an increase in the number of wells and an even more distinct relative lack of hearths or fireplaces.

6.2.1 Rows 7 and 8 (Gullskoen)

Remains of rows 7 and 8 lie outside the borders of the Bryggen site also at the 1476-level; thus, no artefacts may be associated with Gullskoen.

6.2.2 Rows 5 and 6 (Sveinsgard)

Fire layer II was apparently recognized in most of the unearthed area of Sveinsgard, in i.e. rows 5 and 6. No less than 926 fragments are related to this tenement (Figure 90), which represents an increase of about 70% compared to the 1413-layers. Of these, 833 artefacts are related to row 5, 89 to row 6 and four to the eavesdrop between rows 4 and 5. Only about 12% are found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material.

Only a very small part of row 6 (in the front) was unearthed at the 1476-level, as also concerns the rear zone and parts of the front zone of row 5. A high degree of structural and functional continuity to previous horizons is nevertheless signified based on the structural remains - as has generally been the case here (Figure 91). Remains of five buildings are registered, of which two are located in the rear zone. In row 5, there is now a large open area between St Lawrence's (building 50) and the rearmost building; however, this may perhaps be ascribed severe fire damages and/or a thorough cleaning up after the fire. Building 442 (6-6.1x6.7 m; c. 41 m²) includes

remains of a large, stone-built fireplace associated with manufacturing processes or workshop functions related to lime slaking - very much like the preceding building 441 in 1413 (Herteig 1991a: 28-39). Similarly, building 448 - a relatively long building further west (least 15.1x5.7 m; c. 86 m²), framing a well which may rather date to period 6 (1332-1413) - replaces another long building from 1413, no. 178 (Herteig 1991a: 28-39; Johansen 2013: 54). In the front zone, remains of two other buildings are registered in row 5, also these more or less being of the same size as their predecessors located in the same area. The eastern and northern walls of building 421 lie outside the site borders, and the western limit is uncertain. Between this building and building 422 (recorded size 10.3x4.8-4.9 m; c. 51 m²) - also partly located outside the site - is an open area (Herteig 1991a: 29). The dating of the only known building in row 6 - building 423 - is somewhat uncertain and the size unknown; still, it apparently represents a log-built structure with an unknown function (Herteig 1991a: 29-30; Olsen 2002: 57, 130). In the front zone, there is a gap between the two rows of 4.5-4.6 m interpreted as a passage (Herteig 1991a: 30).

In the rear zone, more than 200 artefact remains are registered in the open area between St Lawrence's and building 442. In the rearmost area, partly also behind row 4 (Miklagard), particularly German tableware (Siegburg and Langerwehe/Duingen ware) - but also other, e.g. continental (Raeren ware) and English (Humber and Grimston ware) pottery - baking slabs, a whetstone and a piece of slag are found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. More finds located further west are possibly dated to the fire of 1702 (or, less likely, to the fire in 1332): lots of pottery of mixed origin (including shards of Siegburg, Langerwehe/Duingen, Raeren, Werra, Scarborough, York White, Humber, Grimston, Mediterranean and Danish/Swedish types, as well as porcelain and a part of, a porcelain bowl, a shard of a bottle (Cologne/Frechen ware) and parts of a cooking pot), glass (including a part of a wine glass and bottles), baking slabs, a part of a knife, a piece of slag and a possible fish hook. As a whole, the finds are primarily associated with food-related activities - not least consumption and drinking culture represented by English and German tableware, but also cooking by means of a few local and foreign kitchen utensils - in addition to possible fishing and a general tool. Generally, one or more residential buildings may have been located here originally; however, reservations must be made as three quarters of the finds are temporally and spatially uncertain - indicated by the presence also of clay pipes and modern pottery.

A large amount of e.g. primarily English (Grimston, Scarborough and Humber ware) and German (Siegburg and Langerwehe/Duingen ware) tableware - as well as some Danish/Swedish and modern pottery - parts of a small soapstone vessel (type D), bak-

Context	Artefact	Artefact																			Total															
		Cooking pot	Soapstone vessel	Baking slab	Sausage pin	Lagged vessel	Wooden vessel	Bowl	Pottery, tableware	Plate	Bottle	Glass	Wooden cup	Pipe	Shoe, leather	Textile	Comb	Buckle	Warp weight	Needle		Leather, waste type 3?	Slag	Knife	Whetstone	Barrel part	Fish hook	Jew' s harp	Rivet, nail, spike, wedge, plug	Window glass	Window hasp	Hasp	Fastening	Barrel part - drainage	Miscellaneous	Undefined
Rear zone	Row 5	Behind row 5	2		4		1	126	2	21	6			11								2	1		1		1	14	16				1		1	211
		Area of B442			6		1	142		3	1			23								26		1				6					3		214	
		B442			5			86						4								1						1						1	102	
		B448			4			149		1				1		14													2						4	182
Front zone	Row 5	Envesdrop																																	4	
		Area of B421, 422, 424						42					2																							54
		B422						48			15					2																1				70
		Open area behind B423						8																												8
Row 6	Area of row 6, passage, B422						11																													15
	Area of B243						41								1						2	1														66
Total		2	2	19	2	2	653	2	25	22	2	2	39	17	1	1	1	1	1	1	30	1	6	2	2	1	1	26	17			4	5	21	926	

Figure 90. Artefacts from rows 5 and 6 (Sveinsgard), 1476. N=926. Colour scheme based on Figure 15.

ing slabs and a piece of slag are registered in building 442. Of these, most of the pottery and a couple of the baking slabs are registered in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material - however, the same applies also to some clay pipes. Pottery of mixed origin (including Grimston, Siegburg and Danish/Swedish ware) and baking slabs are found in a grid square almost completely covered by building 442, whereas Raeren pottery is registered west of and close to what is presumed to be this building. Other artefacts presumably also originate in building 442 - yet, the neighbouring building 448 cannot be excluded: lots of pottery, of which only a few are classified (Siegburg, Langerwehe/Duingen, Weser, Raeren, Delft, Mediterranean and Danish/Swedish ware and porcelain), a shard of glass and shards of glass bottles, a baking slab, a metal bowl, a part of a possible Jew's harp, a whetstone and slag. Remains of clay pipes and modern pottery indicate mixed layers. Thus, despite indications of lime-slaking or the like in building 442, the artefact material is dominated by food-related artefacts associated with consumption/drinking in particular - represented by a variety of pottery (English and German ware in particular) - and to a limited degree also with cooking by means of a few local cooking devices (baking slabs and soapstone vessels). Reservations must be made concerning the dating of some of the finds, however, which are clearly younger than 1476.

Many finds may also be ascribed building 448 - mostly German (Siegburg, Langerwehe/Duingen and Westerwald ware) and English (Grimston and Scarborough ware) tableware, parts of a baking slab (one sooted), a whetstone, an upper (possibly of waste type 2) and a comb. A modern bottle cork and a part of a clay pipe indicate chronological uncertainties. A large assembly of English-dominated pottery (Grimston, Humber and Scarborough ware) - also including some e.g. continental (Siegburg, Langerwehe/Duingen, Weser, Raeren and Rhenish proto stone ware) and Danish/Swedish and modern pottery - a sausage pin, pieces of baking slabs, a whetstone and shoe parts (some possibly of type 2) presumably found in building 448 may also be dated to another fire than fire II. The same possibly applies to pottery of mixed origin (including Grimston, Scarborough, Siegburg, Langerwehe/Duingen, Delft and Mediterranean ware). Grimston and Danish/Swedish pottery are found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material in buildings 442 or 448. Thus, temporal uncertainties must be considered also in relation to a number of finds that with more or less certainty are assigned building 448. Some of the finds may also represent stored commodities rather than objects used here. However, the same categories of artefacts as discussed so far are present also in this area, primarily of a domestic character and associated with consumption

and drinking culture represented by primarily English and German pottery.

In the front zone, in the area of building 421, the eavesdrop and/or building 424 (row 4), especially German pottery (Siegburg ware), parts of lagged vessels and wooden cups, a sausage pin, a loom weight, a whetstone and a buckle used with cloaks, shirts and purses (Molaug 1998: 40) are registered. Barrel staves are found in the eavesdrop between buildings 421 and 424. The artefacts are more or less of the same categories as in the rear zone, primarily associated with cooking, consumption/drinking, whetting of tools and personal belongings. In addition, textile production (weaving) is indicated. It is impossible to relate any of the finds for certain to specific buildings or tenement rows, and thus to illuminate possible actors and activities here.

Primarily German pottery (including Siegburg and Langerwehe/Duingen ware), glass, a thin, metal needle and shoe remains are located in building 422, in addition to Siegburg pottery presumably found here. A piece of textile is located in the eavesdrop. Particularly drinking-related activities, then, may have taken place also in this building.

The remainder of finds are with more or less certainty associated with row 6, generally found in the area of building 423, in some cases also including building 422. These comprise e.g. German (Siegburg and Langerwehe/Duingen ware), English (Grimston ware) and continental (Raeren ware) pottery, parts of a wooden vessels and of a barrel, leather pieces (possibly of waste type 3), a possible part of a sole and a piece of slag. Of these, two shards are found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. The primarily drinking-related finds cannot be related for certain to specific buildings or rows, but are at least of the same categories as discussed so far, signifying domestic/social activities and drinking culture in particular, including foreign as well as local utensils. Trade/storage, and possible metal-working and shoemaking are also indicated, but it is unlikely that a single piece of slag and a few leather fragments alone may be taken as evidence of the latter two activities.

There is a major increase of artefacts in the area of rows 5 and 6 in the 1476-layers, despite the fact that only parts of their rear and front areas were excavated at this level and new ways of waste disposal must have been effectuated. Although the continuous structural signs of lime-slaking may indicate some degree of social continuity and the presence of locals, it seems reasonable to assume that the tenement was mainly in the hands of the German Hansa and/or other foreigners at this time - as concerns the tenements at Bryggen in general. The share of female indicators has decreased, whereas the material as a whole to an even higher degree than before is dominated by artefacts related to a foreign drinking culture - represented by German ceramic tableware in particular (56% of the classified pottery), but still

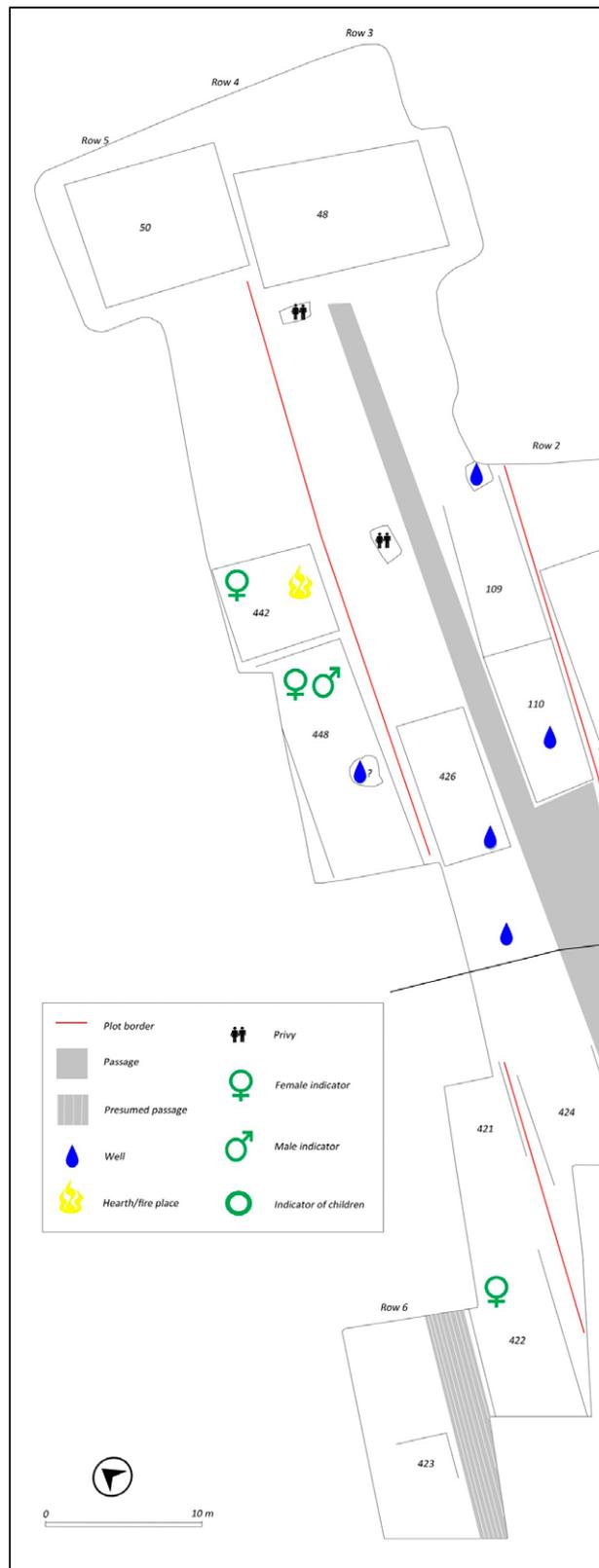


Figure 91. Buildings in Sveinsgard with gender-related artefacts, 1476. Modified after Herteig 1991a, Plates.

also a large share of English (34%) and some other types. Women are still associated almost exclusively with cooking represented by baking slabs and wooden vessels in particular, as well as being difficult to assign buildings. Like in 1413, though, traditional cooking in Sveinsgard is indicated in structures that are often

associated with lime slaking or economic activities/storage - buildings 442, 448 and 422. In this respect, some of the artefacts may represent activities taking place in a separate room or in an upper story. Similarly, it is difficult to speak with any certainty on on-going weaving and sewing based only on the presence of two contextually uncertain textile-production equipment. Neither are there any traces of children. Except for some general tools and a few possible indicators of trade/storage and fishing, traditional male activities besides drinking gear remain only barely reflected in the material. It also seems unlikely that the artefacts associated with metal- and leather-working are actually remains of organized production.

The presence of local women is indicated in Sveinsgard also in 1476. Yet, the evidence is distinctly smaller than earlier, and possibly reflects single female workers. As presented in Figure 91, artefacts and activities traditionally both associated with men and women may be ascertained only in building 448, but there seems to be little evidence of gender-restricted living or working areas based on the artefact material. The same categories of artefacts indicating the same types of activities including men as well as women are generally found all over the tenement - in both zones, and outside as well as inside buildings. At the same time, the material may be interpreted to the effect that a higher degree of activities in general took place in the back - as more than three quarters of the artefacts originate in the rear zone and less than a quarter in the front. Also, practically all of the artefacts from layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material are located here. This differs somewhat from 1413, when the artefacts in general were more evenly distributed, and the few indicators of women and children to a higher degree could possibly be assigned the front zone than the rear. Still, as the front part of Sveinsgard lies outside the borders of the site by the time of 1476, it cannot be concluded with any certainty on this.

6.2.3 Rows 3 and 4 (Miklagard)

The rear and front zones are represented also in the area of rows 3 and 4, as are deposits from fire II in general (Herteig 1991a: 26-28). As presented in Figure 92, altogether 825 artefacts may be associated with Miklagard - of which 305 are assigned row 4, 316 row 3, 92 the passage between rows 3 and 4, and 112 with a more uncertain context. This represents an increase of 73% compared to 1413. Only 32 artefacts are found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material - less than 4%.

Unlike the level of 1413, both rows are now characterized by large open areas without building remains (Figure 93). This applies to row 4 in particular, where only two buildings separated by a large open space are registered (Herteig 1991a: 28). These were possibly devastated by fire II or torn down beforehand. There are reasons to believe that there were

Context		Pottery, kitchenware	Pottery, kitchenware	Soapstone vessel	Baking slab	Sausage pin	Pottery, tableware	Plate	Bottle	Glass	Lid	Gaming piece	Pipe	Shoe, leather	Comb	Buckle	Spindle whorl	Leather, waste type 3?	Slag	Cut horn	Knife	Whetstone	Rivet, nail, spike, wedge, plug	Window glass	Door fastening	Key	Glazed tile	Fastening	Lamp	Undernead	Total
Rear zone	Backmost area, row 3 and 4		5		6		80	1	6				2					1	1		1		4	1		1	3			112	
	Row 4	Area behind row 4	3		2		161		3				12			1		1	6	1		3	11	13		1	5	1	1	225	
		Area behind row 4 and row 4 and B422, 448								13														1							14
		B426?								2																					2
	Passage			1	5	1	70					1		4	1		1						5		1	1				91	
	B109			1	3		120		1	1	1			6				2					3		1	1				141	
	B109?				5		14																							19	
	Area of B109				3		36																3	1						43	
	Area of pass., B109, row 2	1					8																4							13	
	Area of pass. and B109, 110				1		28																5	1	1		1				37
Area of pass., B109, 110, row 2				13		42												3				1	2			1		1		63	
Open area betw. B426 and 424	1		1			49				6				1									4							64	
Passage												1																		1	
Total		2	8	3	38	1	608	1	25	7	1	2	14	11	1	1	2	1	12	1	1	4	42	16	1	3	10	4	2	3	825

Figure 92. Artefacts from rows 3 and 4 (Miklagard), 1476. N=825. Colour scheme based on Figure 15.

originally other buildings here as well, due to remains of a passage in the area (Moldung 2000: 80, 83) - in addition to two privies, of which at least the western one has been interpreted as originally being located under an external gallery (Økland 1998: 46). Building 426 (c. 9.5x4.7 m; c. 45 m²) in the rear zone replaces a similar building (no. 131) burnt in 1413 and has a well in the form of a sunken barrel. In the front lies building 424 (size unknown) (Herteig 1991a: 28). It is uncertain whether the 6-7 metres of open space behind these buildings actually lay open at this period. If not, another barrel well registered in this area would probably have been located inside a building (Herteig 1991a: 30; Moldung 2000: 83; Johansen 2013: 54). Row 3 is still interpreted as a foreshortened row (Moldung 2000: 80, 85), and the two buildings identified here are located in the rear zone. The eastern end of building 109 is uncertain; yet, it may have measured c. 10.5x4.2-4.3 m (c. 45 m²), and it shared a wall with building 110 (8.6x4.25; c. 37 m²) further west (Herteig 1991a: 27). Both buildings are more or less of the same size and location as their predecessors from 1413 (nos. 7 and 434). Also in building 110, a barrel well is registered, whereas a stone well documented in the area of building 109 was probably located on the outside. Considering that the stone well represents a type that required a lot of resources to construct, Johansen regards it as a public well initiated by the German Hansa (Johansen 2013: 54). In all, there seems to be a high degree of structural continuity also in the area of Miklagard.

More than 90% of the artefacts originate in the rear zone, the majority without a specified spatial context. In the rearmost area, pottery of mixed origin (including Langerwehe/Duingen, Siegburg, Raeren, Grimston, Danish/Swedish and white stone ware), bottle shards, a piece of a baking slab, a part of a knife and a piece of leather (possibly waste type 3) are registered in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. However, the presence of pipe fragments implies that the dating to 1476 is somewhat uncertain here. Similar finds are made further west, in the open area primarily behind row 4: a lot of pottery - not least of German (Siegburg, Langerwehe/Duingen and Cologne/Frechen ware), continental (Raeren ware) and English (Grimston and Scarborough ware) types - parts of a pottery plate, cooking pots and baking slabs (including a couple of fire cracked ones), a piece of slag and a turning key. Thus, the artefacts in this area primarily represent artefacts associated with cooking and consumption/drinking, including local as well as foreign artefacts. A knife is also registered.

Other finds may with more or less certainty be assigned the rear part of row 4 alone: a large amount of pottery - including especially German (Langerwehe/Duingen, Siegburg, Weser, Cologne/Frechen, Westerwald, Krefeld and Pingsdorf ware) tableware, but also English (Scarborough, Grimston and Humber ware), continental (Raeren and Delft ware) and

Danish/Swedish pottery, as well as porcelain and tile - baking slabs, shards of glass bottles, whetstones, a metal buckle used with cloaks, shirts and purses (Molaug 1998: 40) and a decorated turning key. Also here, the presence of clay pipes as well raises the question of whether the layer in which these have been found has been misdated. Temporal uncertainties are also related to a soapstone lamp, which together with a spindle whorl are registered behind row 4. Pottery (including shards of Langerwehe/Duingen and Siegburg ware), parts of a cooking pot and slag are registered over what is assumed to be the rearmost privy in row 4. These finds are presumably of a later dating than 1476, not least considering the presence also of clay pipes. In a grid square dominated by open space behind row 4, but also covering buildings 442 and 448, e.g. English (Grimston and Scarborough ware) and German pottery (Langerwehe/Duingen and Siegburg ware) are located. In all, it is difficult to relate the finds in this area for certain to physical structures or tenement rows, and the dating to 1476 is in many cases uncertain. Still, the finds are apparently first and foremost of a food- and drink-related character - particularly associated with consumption/drinking represented by primarily German and English tableware, but also covering local and foreign kitchen utensils. Textile production (spinning) is also indicated, but neither this nor a few pieces of slag and leather may be interpreted in terms of organized production.

A large amount of artefact remains originate in an area presumably representing building 109. These cover a lot of e.g. English tableware (Grimston, Humber, York White ware and Scarborough ware), in addition to some shards of German (Siegburg, Langerwehe/Duingen, Weser and Rhenish proto stone ware), French (Rouen type), Danish/Swedish and modern types, glass (a shard from a bottle), pieces of baking slabs (including a couple of fire cracked and possibly used ones), a part of a small soapstone vessel (type F), a wooden lid, shoe parts and slag. A dating to 1413 may not be excluded for a number of these finds. Primarily English pottery (Grimston ware, as well as Langerwehe/Duingen, Rhenish proto stone ware and Danish/Swedish ware) and pieces of fire cracked baking slabs are also found in what is assumed to be building 109; however, building 91 (row 2) cannot be ruled out. Also, some pottery (including English (Grimston ware) and German tableware (Siegburg and Weser ware), as well as a shard of tile) and parts of baking slabs (including a fire cracked one) are located in the middle of a grid square dominated by building 109, and primarily English (Grimston and Humber ware) and German (Weser and Siegburg ware) pottery as well as some Danish/Swedish types presumably in the eavesdrop between rows 3 and 2. Some of the artefacts may have been stored, but food- and drink-related activities may have taken place here as well. These are associated particularly with consumption represented by predominantly

English and German drinking gear, but also cooking by means of local utensils such as baking slabs and soapstone vessels.

In the passage, first and foremost in the area of building 109, much pottery - particularly of English origin (Grimston ware, York White ware and Scarborough ware), but also including German (Langerwehe/Duingen, Siegburg and Rhenish proto stone ware) and Danish/Swedish types - shards of baking slabs, a sausage pin, a possible part of a soapstone vessel, a gaming piece related to Nine Men's Morris or kvatrutaffl (Lund 2013: 109), a spindle whorl, shoe parts, a comb and a key are registered. Also here, the material is almost exclusively dominated by artefacts associated with consumption and a foreign drinking culture, but also comprises artefacts related to cooking by means of local kitchen utensils, gaming of local or rather foreign origin and personal belongings as well. One of the only two textile-production equipment found in the area of Miklagard - associated with spinning - is also registered here. The finds may indicate that building 109 was a structure with household and social functions. Yet, reservations must be made, as the relation to this building - or to rows 3 or 4 in general - cannot be confirmed.

Other finds in the area of the passage and building 109 are also primarily of a food-related character. In the area of the passage, building 109 and (behind) row 2, pottery of mixed origin (including shards of Danish/Swedish, London Shelly, Scarborough, Grimston and Langerwehe/Duingen ware) are found. English and German pottery (including shards of Grimston, Scarborough, Siegburg, Raeren and Langerwehe/Duingen ware) and a part of a baking slab are registered in the same area, including building 110, whereas even more pottery of the same types (including Grimston, Humber ware, Scarborough, Weser, Siegburg and Langerwehe/Duingen ware), parts of sooted baking slabs, a whetstone and slag are found in a similar context, including the eavesdrop and building 91 (row 2). Again, it is impossible to relate the finds to specific buildings or even rows. Nevertheless, they are more or less of the same categories - first and foremost associated with cooking and consumption/drinking, involving local cooking utensils as well as particularly English and German.

The westernmost artefacts in the rear area cover single shard of a modern and a glass bottle, possibly located in building 426. These few and temporally uncertain artefacts indicate a mix of layers and hardly illuminate actors and activities in this building.

In the front zone of the unearthed area, a large amount of pottery of mixed origin (including Langerwehe/Duingen ware, Siegburg ware, Paffrath ware, Frechen stone ware, Raeren ware, Delft ware, Humber ware, York White ware, Mediterranean ware and Danish/Swedish ware), remains of wine glass, a part of a soapstone vessel of unknown size (type B) and a children's sole (size 30) are registered in the

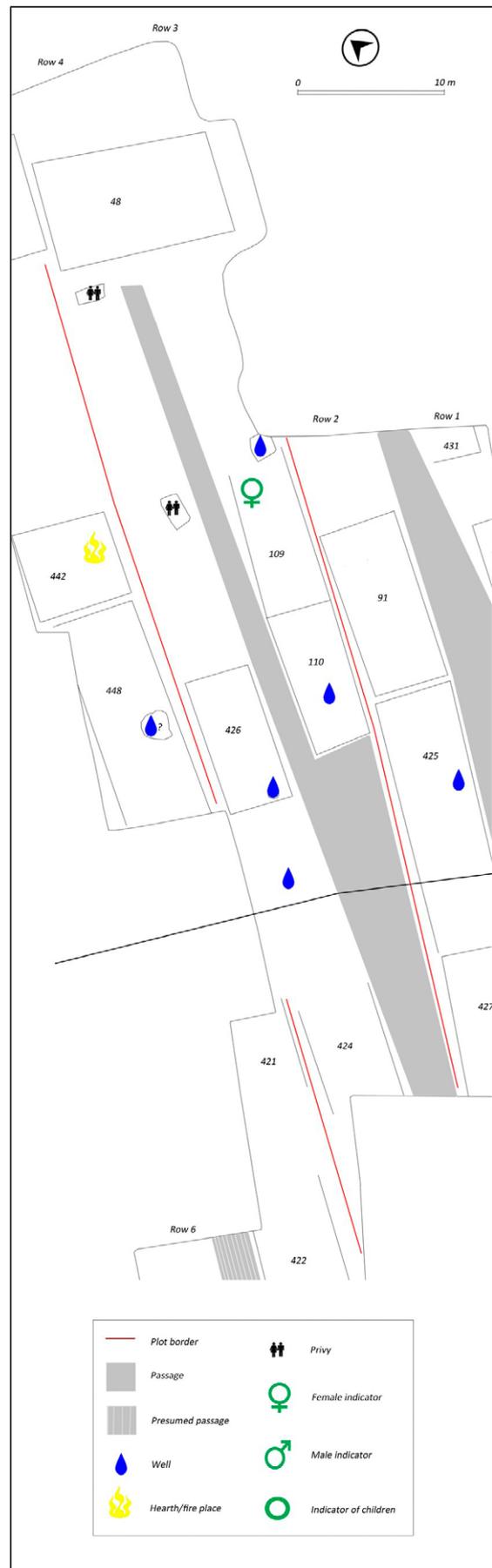


Figure 93. Buildings in Miklagard with gender-related artefacts, 1476. Modified after Herteig 1991a, Plates.

open area between building 426 and building 424. A gaming piece - a counter - is found in the passage between building 424 and building 427 (row 2), whereas primarily German pottery (Siegburg ware), parts of wooden vessels and wooden cups, a sausage pin, a loom weight, a whetstone, a buckle used with cloaks, shirts and purses (Molaug 1998: 40) and barrel staves are possibly related to the westernmost unearthed part of row 4 and/or building 424 - discussed in relation to Sveinsgard. Despite contextual uncertainties, the finds generally indicate local cooking, consumption represented by foreign drinking cultures and gaming in this area, as well as the presence of older children.

The excavated part of Miklagard by the time of 1476 signifies structural continuity to 1413, although largely characterized by empty spaces and contextually uncertain artefacts. Besides building 109, the material is difficult to relate to specific buildings (Figure 93). Hardly any artefacts are found in layers denoted as fire layers or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material, and it is in many cases uncertain whether the material may be dated to 1476. Still, the material is like six decades earlier homogeneous, dominated by seemingly food- and drink-related artefacts - in particular the latter - represented by especially English and German tableware (both making up 43% of the classified shards). In addition, local kitchen utensils, personal belongings and gaming pieces perhaps of a foreign type also contribute to the interpretation of extensive household and social activities taking place in Miklagard in general, probably including women and older children. Additionally, considering a presumed German ownership of Miklagard, and the presence only of few items of textile-production equipment, it is uncertain whether women made up a large group. The degree of excavation further makes it problematic to discuss the artefacts in terms of zones. Still, more than 90% is found in the rear part of the tenement - much like in 1413, when only a tenth of the artefacts were registered in the front zone.

In all, the artefact material may be interpreted to the effect that local women and (older) children are slightly more visible in the area of Miklagard than in Sveinsgard. Neither in 1476 are there indications of family-based households, which together with numerous remains of social activities like drinking may indicate that these women were primarily single workers. Also, the finds are few, and as a relation to Sveinsgard or Atlegard cannot be ruled out for many of the finds, reservations must be made. In fact, the most evident change compared to the 1413-level is a major increase of finds in general, and of foreign tableware of mixed origin in particular. Presumably, the composition and distribution of finds are first and foremost assumed to reflect primarily German and English inhabitants, although the presence of other nationalities is not ruled out. This may also re-

fect the commercial relations with East English trading towns.

6.2.4 Rows 1 and 2 (Atlegard/Oddsgard?)

Row 1 presumably represents a shortened tenement row also in 1476, and the relation to the historically known Atlegard has been questioned (Moldung 2000: 85). Still, as most of row 1 lies south of the excavation borders, the 151 artefacts possibly originating here will be discussed together with finds from row 2. Altogether 440 artefacts are assigned row 2, and 80 to the passage. In all, 671 artefacts are assigned rows 1 and 2 - more than five times as many as in 1413 (Figure 94). None are found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material.

In row 1, building remains are only documented in the rear zone, covering two incompletely unearthed buildings - nos. 431 and 432 - approximately replacing buildings 440 and 439 dated to 1413, respectively (Figure 95) (Herteig 1991a: 26). Row 2 - separated from row 1 by The Old Church Road - may as mentioned be interpreted as a single tenement, but only parts of the rear and front areas have been unearthed (Herteig 1991a: 27; Moldung 2000: 85). Here, a new well and three more or less continuous, long buildings have been registered, varying between 10x4.6 m and 15x5.5 m (46-63 m²). The latter structures more or less replace their predecessors (buildings 93, 428 and 429) in terms of location as well as size and layout. In the rearmost part of the unearthed area, there is an open space without building remains. This is followed by building 91, possibly a two-roomed structure (Herteig 1991a: 27; Moldung 2000: 81). Next comes the possibly log-built building 425, which has two or more rooms, a barrel well with restricted access and possibly a cold storage container (Herteig 1991: 27; Moldung 2000: 81; Johansen 2013: 55). Building 427 represents the westernmost registered building, possibly divided into several rooms (Herteig 1991: 27; Moldung 2000: 81). Structural and functional continuity is thus signified also in Atlegard, possibly suggesting social continuity as well.

The rearmost finds are made in row 1, in the area of buildings 431 and 432: particularly German pottery (Langerwehe/Duingen, Siegburg, Weser, and Cologne/Frechen ware) but also continental (Raeren and Delft), as well as some tiles, a part of a baking slab and a sample of slag. The presence also of clay pipes, and contradictory information in the find database and find protocols mean that the dating to 1476 is uncertain. Similar artefacts are made further west, in a grid square dominated by building 432 and the passages to the north and west: pottery of mixed origin (including shards of Grimston, Siegburg, Raeren, Delft and Danish/Swedish ware), glass and pieces of baking slabs (including a sooted one). Thus, the material in this area is primarily associat-

Context		Soapstone vessel	Baking slab	Lagged/wooden vessel	Pottery, tableware	Bottle	Glass	Wooden cup	Gaming piece	Pipe	Shoe, leather	Comb	Arrowhead	Warp weight	Leather, waste type 2	Slag	Drill (skjeborr)	Whetstone	Barrel part	Spade	Double signet	Rivet, nail, spike, wedge, plug, bung	Miscellaneous	Undefined	Total	
Rear zone	Row 2	B91	1		49		2	1										1				1	1		56	
		Area of B91	4		13					1					1				1				1			21
	Row 2	Area of B91, 425, 110	2	2	279	6	6				16		1			1							5	1		379
		B425				4				1																5
	Row 1	Area of B425 and row 3				8																1	6			15
		Passage			1	4						21							1	3			1			31
	Row 1	Area of B431 and 432		1		100					9						1									111
		Area of B432 and passage		4		31																	3			40
	Row 2	Area of B425, 427 and passage																								23
		Area of B427																	1							1
Front zone	Passage				23						13		1		2		1		4	1		2	1	1	49	
Total		2	12	1	534	6	10	1	1	26	34	1	1	1	2	2	1	4	7	1	1	19	3	1	671	

Figure 94. Artefacts from rows 1 and 2 (Atlegrard/Oddsgrard?), 1476. N=671. Colour scheme based on Figure 15.

ed with activities related to consumption, drinking in particular, and also signifies cooking by means of local kitchen utensils. At the same time, spatial and temporal uncertainties make it difficult to draw conclusion on possible actors and activities in specific buildings.

Also in building 91, similar artefacts dominate, comprising lots of primarily German (Weser, Raeren, Langerwehe/Duingen and Siegburg ware) and some English (Grimston ware) pottery, glass, parts of a baking slab and a wooden cup, and a whetstone. Pottery (not least Siegburg ware), parts of fire cracked baking slabs, a loom weight and a part of a whetstone originate in the area of building 91, the eavesdrop, and the passage. Predominantly food-related artefacts are in other words found in this building - including German drinking gear in particular, but also local cooking tools. This indicates that household and social activities took place here. Weaving is also suggested; yet, as the loom weight is found in the same layer as a clay pipe, the dating to 1476 may be questioned. In a grid square dominated by buildings 91 and 425, and including the eavesdrop and building 110 (row 3), no less than 279 shards of particularly German (Pingsdorf, Langerwehe/Duingen and Siegburg ware) and English pottery (Grimston ware), in addition to continental (Delft) and Danish/Swedish types and a large number of tiles, shards of a glass bottle and drinking glasses, parts of soapstone vessels (type B) and baking slabs, a comb and a sample of slag are located. Also, a whetstone is found in the passage south of these buildings and in front of 432. Like the artefacts discussed so far, the material is particularly associated with consumption/drinking, in addition to local cooking, personal belongings and whetting of tools. Yet, unambiguous find contexts are generally rare, and the presences also of clay pipes as well as the Pingsdorf pottery mean that at least some of the finds may have been misdated.

Only four shards of Siegburg pottery and a circular gaming piece or a counter of metal are registered in building 425. Other finds in this zone are more difficult to relate specifically to this or other buildings - or to specific tenement rows in general. In the area of building 425 and the open area in front of building 110, some English (Scarborough ware) and German (Siegburg ware) pottery and a double signet are found, whereas primarily German pottery (Langerwehe/Duingen type), parts of a lagged vessel and a barrel, shoes - including a children's sole (size 29) and an adults' upper - and presumed shoe remains (possibly waste type 2), and a bung are apparently located in the passage south of building 425. Thus, also in the area of building 425 are there many indicators of household and social activities, including a child-related artefact - although the share of food-related objects is somewhat smaller than further back. The leather waste probably also represents personal belongings rather than organized production, whereas the signet and the barrel parts may be assigned trade

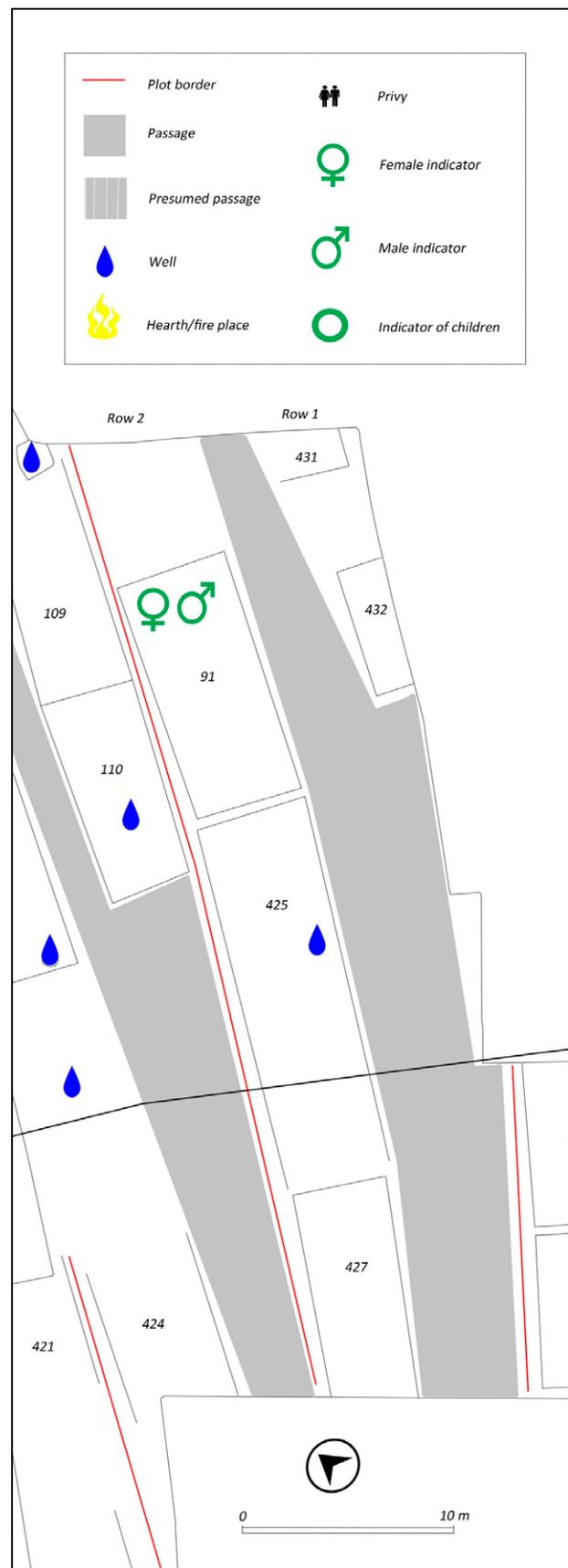


Figure 95. Buildings in Atlegard/Oddsgard (?) with gender-related artefacts, 1476. Modified after Herteig 1991a.

and storage. It is in other words not unreasonable to assume that household, social and economic activities may be related to building 425.

In the front zone, a whetstone is located in a grid square covering building 427 and the area south of it. German pottery (Siegburg and Langerwehe/Duingen types), barrel parts, a possible drill, an arrow's head, shoe remains - including two children's soles (size 29) - leather fragments (possibly of waste type 2) and a spade are registered in the passage. German pottery (including shards of Raeren, Langerwehe/Duingen and Siegburg types) are also found in the area of buildings 425 and 427 and to the south. The material includes artefacts associated with consumption/drinking, whetting of tools, hunting/defence, storage, wood-working and leather-working and/or personal belongings, including traces of older children. Considering their unspecified contexts, however, they do not necessarily originate only in rows 1 or 2, but may represent waste from Søstergard.

The artefacts from rows 1 and 2 represent more than a quadrupling of finds compared to 1413, despite the fact that only parts of the rear and front zones have been unearthed at this level. Reservations must be made, though, as a mixing of layers in some cases are indicated, leaving the dating to 1476 uncertain. Only a few (and rapidly decreasing share of) female indicators are registered - primarily associated with food processing by means of baking slabs. This may with some certainty be assigned a single building - no. 91, to which also the only registered textile-production equipment may be related (Figure 95). This presumed loom weight - suggesting the presence of a stationary tool - may indicate female inhabitants here; yet, it is difficult to draw any conclusions as the artefact is contextually uncertain and may also have been re-used as a line sinker. Still, it seems reasonable to assume that women have been present in this building, as well as men, and possibly also older children.

As only a small share of the artefacts may be related to specific buildings (and no artefacts are found in layers denoted as fire layers or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material), neither in 1476 is it possible to discuss possible gender-specific living or working areas. As a whole, the material also comes across as relatively similar throughout the tenement - still dominated by seemingly domestic artefacts, associated with German tableware (64% of the classified pottery), in particular drinking gear (but also some English, Scandinavian and other). In fact, this now makes up 80% of all artefacts registered in row 1 and 2. The remainder includes some artefacts related to cooking, weaving, gaming, older children, whetting of tools, trade/storage and possible leather-working and wood-working. Although the material in the rear zone is in many cases temporally uncertain, more than 80% of the material is located here. Also, there are no female indicators in the front zone, where there to some degree are more personal belongings and/or 'male' artefacts associated e.g. with possible leather- and wood-working as in 1413, as well as traces of older children. This may be interpreted

to the effect that activities such as cooking and consumption/drinking were more likely to take place in the rear zone - however, presumably reflecting functional considerations and organization rather than gender restrictions. Reservations must also be made, as much of the front part lies outside the borders of the site. In any case, local - possible single - women are apparently still present in 1476, in an otherwise perhaps German, male-dominated context, perhaps working as servants. The material is, however, to an increasingly smaller degree associated with women, indicating distinctly fewer female residents.

6.2.5 Søstergard

In Søstergard, the thin layer of fire II had been removed in some areas of the southern row and was apparently not recognized in the northern row. Only 54 artefacts are registered - a reduction of almost 90% compared to 1413 (Figure 96). Of these, about half is from layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material; however, none may be related to buildings for certain. Only parts of the front zone in general were unearthed, and there is no physical communication between the two rows. Yet, the building structure resembles the one in 1413. In the northern row, two buildings are registered - building 287 (measuring at least 8x5.5 m; 44 m²), and extending eastwards into unexcavated area) and building 386, the stone building erected before and discussed in relation to the distribution in 1413 (cf. 6.1.5). There are two buildings also in the southern row - buildings 81 (recorded size 10x5.3 m; c. 53 m²) and 80 (recorded size 5x5.5 m; c. 28 m²) - both continuing beyond the borders of the site (Herteig 1990: 100).

In The Old Church Road north of building 386, single shards of Saintonge and Siegburg ware, a shard of a cooking pot (Jutish ware), a whetstone and a possible sole are found. Primarily German pottery (Langerwehe/Duingen and Siegburg ware) and a whetstone are also registered in an area dominated by building 80, but covering parts of building 386, the eavesdrop between two rows, and the passage between Søstergard and Engelgard as well. Additionally, Siegburg pottery, glass, a part of a small soapstone vessel (type D), shoe parts and a buck's horn are registered in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material in a grid square dominated by building 81, but also covering the eavesdrop and the passage.

Thus, Søstergard is represented by a small part of the front zone only, and no specific building relation may be established for any of the finds. The number of finds possibly associated with this tenement has also been reduced by almost 70% compared to 1413. The few artefacts from the 1476-layers are primarily characterized by food-related artefacts associated with consumption/drinking in particular (the few classified pottery shards being almost exclusively of German types) and include kitchenware that with

Context		Artefact									
		Cooking pot	Soapstone vessel	Pottery, tableware	Glass	Shoe, leather	Whetstone	Rivet, nail, spike, plug, bung	Miscellaneous	Total	
Front zone	The Old Church Road	1		2		1	1			5	
	Row S	Area of B81		1	24	3		3	1	1	33
		Area of B80			15		1				16
Total		1	1	41	3	2	4	1	1	54	

Figure 96. Artefacts from Søstergard, 1476. N=54. Colour scheme based on Figure 15.

less certainty may be assigned women. In fact, unlike what has been the case so far in this tenement, there are hardly any female indicators but the shard of a soapstone vessel. Neither confirmed female indicators nor traces of children are registered. Instead, whetting of tools is indicated, and there are some personal belongings represented by shoes. In these respects, the material as a whole still indicates domestic and social activities, but - opposed to in 1413 - the presence of women is now generally uncertain.

6.2.6 Engelgard

Fire layer II was difficult to separate from that of fire III (1413) in the southern row of Engelgard, as well as parts of it having been removed. In the northern row, however, the remains were easily separated and represented a more or less continuous layer (Herteig 1990: 66). In all, 295 artefacts may be associated with Engelgard - a reduction of about 23% - of which 71 are related to the northern row, 206 to the southern and 18 to the passage combining the two rows (Figure 97). Again, no artefacts are found in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material.

Only parts of the front zone were archaeologically unearthed, but in the easternmost part of this row, a sunken stone-built structure - building 374 - was registered during machine excavation, in addition to the well further west, constructed after the fire in 1248 (Figure 98) (Herteig 1990: 66-69; Johansen 2013: 58). A similar stone-building, probably used as a store-room beneath a possible communal room all along until the fire in 1955, is registered even further west, in the area of building 365 from 1413 (Herteig 1990: 69). This building is followed by buildings 357

(4.9x6.2 m; c. 30 m²) and 358 (estimated size 15-16x5.8-5.9 m; c. 94 m²), replacing the earlier building 359. The small gap between these buildings may have been used as a privy; yet, it more likely represents some kind of covered passage. In the southern row, in the area of the building remains designated as building 342 in 1413, two buildings are identified - buildings 340 (assumed size 12x4.7-4.8 m; c. 58 m²) and 341 (recorded size 8.7x4-4.2 m; c. 37 m²) - both more or less continuing beyond the site borders, and separated by a privy or (more likely) a passage. In fact, both this gap and the one between buildings 357 and 358 make Engelgard accessible from both Søstergard and Bugard. This indicates that a later known use of Engelgard's communal buildings by merchants living in these tenements may have been the case also in 1476 (Herteig 1990: 66, 70-71).

A large amount of primarily German (Langerwehe/Duingen and Siegburg ware) pottery, but also English (Grimston and York White ware) and Danish/Swedish, a Trichter cup, parts of a lagged vessel, a baking slab and a small soapstone vessel (type D), a loom weight, a bobbin, a whetstone, a possible sling and sole remains are registered in building 340. The artefacts are primarily associated with consumption represented by German drinking gear, and also include local kitchen utensils and clothing. Whether the weight should be interpreted as a loom weight is uncertain; yet, the presence of the bobbin may support an interpretation of it as textile-production equipment. In addition, there are traces of possible whetting of tools, and weapons. The general character of the finds may indicate household and social activities that were carried out here.

Context \ Artefact		Soapstone vessel	Baking slab	Trichter cup?	Quern stone	Lagged/wooden vessel	Pottery, tableware	Shoe, leather	Sling	Bobbin	Warp weight	Whetstone	Roofing tile	Hasp	Bucket	Undefined	Total	
		Row N B358	2		1		65							1	1	1		71
Front zone	Passage					16	1					1						18
	Row S B340	1	1	1		1	195	3	1	1	1	1						206
Total		1	3	1	1	1	276	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		295

Figure 97. Artefacts from Engelgard, 1476. N=295. Colour scheme based on Figure 15.

Food-related finds are also made further west, in the passage, and closest to building 341. These cover primarily continental tableware (Siegburg and Raeren ware), a shard of a flooring tile and a sole. The finds are contextually uncertain and may only be taken as an indication of e.g. possible domestic activities in this area.

Primarily German pottery (Siegburg, Cologne/Frechen and Langerwehe/Duingen ware) and some other continental (Delft) ware and stone ware, pieces of baking slabs, a quern stone and the stave of a possible bucket are located in building 358. The presence also of modern pottery may indicate temporal uncertainties. Still, also in this building, there are particularly traces of drinking represented by German tableware, in addition to indicators of traditional cooking. Like the other buildings in Engelgard, there is no evidence of a fireplace, perhaps indicating that cooking may have taken place elsewhere in the tenement or that they represent stored commodities.

As presented in Figure 98, the artefacts from Engelgard are first and foremost related to buildings 340 and 358, and by far associated with drinking and German tableware. Presumably, this ties in with probable German residents at least from the beginning of the fifteenth century (Helle 1982: 728). At the same time, the material signifies cooking involving local kitchen utensils, as well as textile production (winding and weaving) in building 340. This may indicate the presence of female servants. There are also a few indicators of traditional male activities other than those associated with drinking registered alongside, related to fishing, weapons and whetting of tools. The presence both of men and women thus seems likely - very much as six decades earlier.

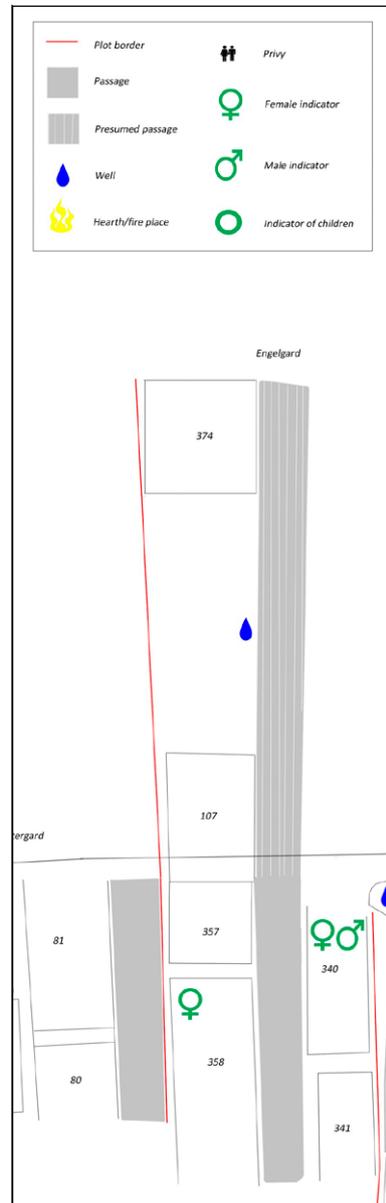


Figure 98. Buildings in Engelgard with gender-related artefacts, 1476. Modified after Herteig 1990: 66, 68-69, Figs. 34, 37 and 39a-d; Johansen 2013.

6.2.7 Bugard

At least in the southern row, the fire remains from 1413 and 1476 were difficult to separate, and none of the registered artefacts originate in layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material. The 422 artefacts represent, however, an increase of almost 77% compared to 1413 (Figure 99). In all 178 artefacts are associated with the northern row, 28 with the southern and 31 with the eavesdrop gap between Bugard and Engelgard.

Like previously, the rear zone is not represented in the area of Bugard, but the tenement still consists of two rows of buildings combined by a passage (Figure 100). The overall building structure in the northern row resembles the one in 1413; however, the remains of the six badly burnt buildings here were generally difficult to separate. These cover buildings 249, 253, 317, 318, 321 and 297 and measure between 3 and 11.9 m in length and between 3.9 and 4.5 in width (17-46 m²) (Herteig 1990: 28). Between the southern row of Engelgard and the northern row of Bugard, a new well is also registered - presumably restricted to users of building 249 and the buildings nearby (Johansen 2013: 55). Another well possibly with a restricted access is registered in the southern row, in relation to building 274, replacing the well in this area six decades earlier (Johansen 2013: 55; Herteig 1990: 28). In front of this building, another four buildings are registered - nos. 291, 286, 287 and 288 (Johansen 2013: 55; Herteig 1990: 28). In the latter building, there is a brick fireplace that indicates another type of

cooking than previously - possibly professional baking associated with men (Tengesdal 2010: 67-68). The buildings in the southern row vary between 4.9 and 8 m in length and between 4.5 and 5.5 m in width (24-43 m²). The general width of the buildings seems to be smaller than in 1413; however, the two overall tenement structures more or less resemble.

In building 253, a large amount of particularly German pottery (Siegburg ware), as well as a shard of Raeren type, and parts of a stone ware jar, glass, a pair of scissors, shoe parts, the bottom of a barrel and a coarse linen textile are found. Numerous, primarily German pottery shards (including Siegburg, Langerwehe/Duingen and Cologne/Frechen types), glass, gaming pieces associated with Nine Men's Morris or kvatrutafl (Lund 2013: 109), a piece of leather (possibly of waste type 2), shoe parts - including a few possibly of waste type 2 - and a leather fragment possibly of waste type 3 are presumably also found here. Yet, the dating and/or context of these latter finds are somewhat uncertain, not least considering the presence also of a clay pipe. In the eavesdrop, Siegburg pottery and a shard of glass are located, in addition to pottery of Langerwehe/Duingen and Siegburg types in an area dominated by building 253, but also covering the eavesdrop and parts of building 341 (Engelgard). Thus, there are different contextual uncertainties, and some of the artefacts may represent stored objects. Still, the building may not necessarily have had an economic function only, and artefacts associated both with consumption and a German

Artefact		Context																	
		Soapstone vessel	Metal container	Pottery, tableware	Glass	Gaming piece	Miniature pot	Pipe	Shoe, leather	Textile	Leather, waste type 3	Barrel part	Spade	Rivet, nail, spike, wedge, plug, bung	Candlestick	Scissors	Undefined	Total	
Middle zone	Eavesdrop			9	1													10	
	Row N	B253			91	16				2	1		1		1	1	1		114
		B253?			100	1	2		1	5		1		1	3			2	116
		Area of B253			7										1				8
		B317			87	5		1	1				1					1	96
		B321			7					1									8
	Passage			11														11	
	Row S	Behind B274			1														1
		B274	1		34					1					4			1	41
		B287		1	10	3			2						1				17
Total		1	1	357	26	2	1	4	9	1	1	2	1	10	1	1	4	422	

Figure 99. Artefacts from Bugard, 1476. N=422. Colour scheme based on Figure 15.

drinking culture and board games associated with a local or rather foreign type indicate social activities. The shoe remains should probably also be assigned leather-working on a domestic basis, as may also the scissors.

In building 274, primarily German (Siegburg ware) and a shard of Danish/Swedish pottery, a part of a small soapstone vessel (type B) and a small adults' sole (size 36) are documented. Another shard of pottery is also located in the open area behind building 274. The finds are fewer than in relation to buildings 253, but are more or less of the same categories - associated with consumption and German tableware in particular, in addition to covering a local cooking vessel and clothing.

In building 317, lots of pottery (including some continental tableware of Siegburg and Raeren types, as well as tile), a miniature pot, glass and a barrel stave originate. The presence also of a clay pipe indicates that at least some of the finds do not originate in the fire layer of 1476. Pottery (including shards of Krefeld ware) is also located in the passage south of buildings 253 and 317. The miniature pot may of course have been played with, but the lack of other child-related artefacts and of female indicators in general makes an interpretation in terms of a toy uncertain. Nevertheless, primarily drinking-related activities are reflected also in relation to building 317, although some of the artefacts may represent stored objects.

Pottery and a part of a sole are found in building 321, whereas pottery of English (Grimston ware) and German (Siegburg ware) origin are located in the eavesdrop north of buildings 318 and 321. The few finds also in this area are in other words associated with consumption and clothing. Similar associations are also given by artefacts found in building 287: primarily German pottery (Westerwald and Siegburg ware) and the handle of a metal container of some kind, possibly representing a cooking vessel. Reservations concerning the date of these finds must be made, however, considering the presence both of modern type glass and clay pipes as well.

There are hardly any female indicators in the material from Bugard otherwise characterized by an increasing amount of artefacts in general and of primarily German (97% of the classified shards) ceramic tableware. These are represented only by a pair of scissors in building 253 - which may possibly be assigned leather-working as well - a part of a soapstone vessel in building 274 (apparently the only such artefact found here in the period between 1413 and 1476 (Vangstad 2003: 110-111) and a metal vessel in building 287 (Figure 100). In this respect, it does not seem unreasonable to assume that the artefacts may have been used by men rather than women. Additionally, structural indications of possible professional baking in building 288 may also speak in favour of a tenement with primarily (male) inhabitants of a foreign, presumably German food culture. Also,

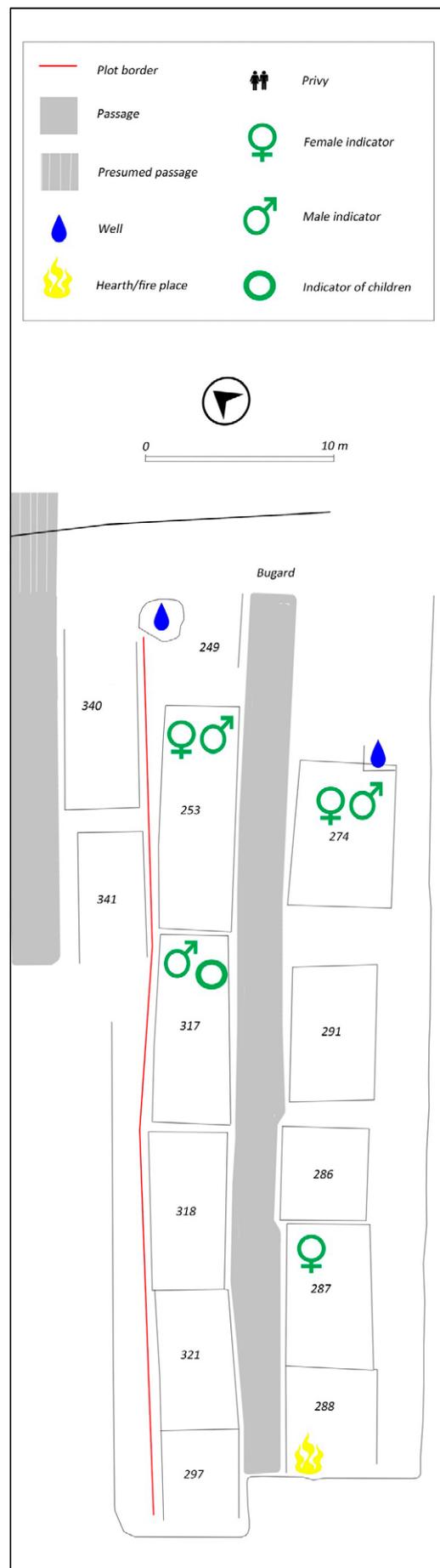


Figure 100. Buildings in Bugard with gender-related artefacts, 1476. Modified after Herteig 1990: 27, Fig. 11.

the only possible child-related artefact - a miniature pot - is a relatively uncertain toy, and there are seemingly hardly any other child-related artefacts here dated to period 7 (1413-1476 in general) (Mygland 2007: 91). Reservations must be made, as none of the finds are from layers denoted as fire layers or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material, and there are some general uncertainties concerning some of the finds. Yet, women may hardly have been present in Bugard by the time of 1476, judging by the archaeological remains.

6.2.8 Artefacts, activities and gender at Bryggen, 1476 - an assessment

The overall approach as discussed in the introduction to this chapter concerns what may generally be inferred about the social organization at Bryggen after the establishment of the Kontor - concerning gender composition and demographic structure based on archaeological artefacts, and with special regard to the presence and doings of women. Is it, for instance, primarily the remains of a more or less closed male Hanseatic society that may be observed in the latter half of the fifteenth century, and what roles did possible women in the Bryggen area have? Also, did a possible transition from primarily local to foreign inhabitants take place rapidly or at a slower speed? Not least, to what degree may material culture be related to and said to reflect women and female roles - as well as men and children, and aspects of ethnicity?

The 3193 artefact remains from the layers of 1476 represents an increase of more than 60% compared to 1413, and only in Søstergard and Engelgard are there now fewer artefacts than in 1413. The composition may reflect German residents in particular. Remains of imported tableware associated primarily with a foreign drinking culture - but including also some kitchenware - make up a substantial share of the artefacts from the 1476-level, and 95% of all kitchen utensils in general. Like six decades earlier, they dominate in all tenements, and are represented by predominantly German tableware (63% of the classified pottery from 1476), but also e.g. English (27% of the classified shards) and Scandinavian (5%). The relative lack of foreign cooking utensils should also in 1476 at least partly be assigned a general underrepresentation of metal artefacts, as less than 6% of artefacts are now made of metal (Figure 101). That almost all of the measurable soapstone vessels dated to the period between 1413 and 1476 are of small or medium sizes (Vangstad 2003: 111) - associated with a more individualized, male food culture - could perhaps also be explained by inhabitants with a different food culture than the Norwegian and who to some degree may have incorporated local kitchen utensils. In this respect, especially male Germans at the Kontor seem to have put their mark on the archaeological record at Bryggen, and to an even higher degree than in 1413.

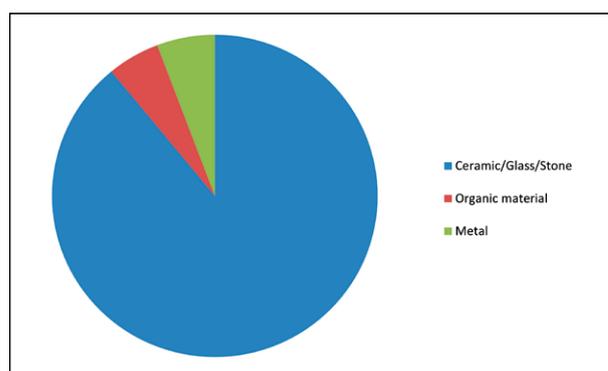


Figure 101. Distribution of artefacts from BRM 0 by material, 1476.

The presence of actors of other ethnicities at Bryggen is also indicated - e.g. by the pottery of mixed origin, and by written sources mentioning local inhabitants and owners at Bryggen in the latter half the fifteenth century (e.g. DN III, 862, IV, 973, I, 900; Helle 1982: 722-729). In terms of women, the artefact material from the layers of 1476 still include female indicators primarily associated with cooking by means of baking slabs in particular, soapstone vessels and lagged vessels, and - to an even lesser degree than before - textile production. As presented in Figures 102 and 103, artefacts associated with traditional female cooking are with some certainty registered within buildings 422, 442 and 448 in Sveinsgard (rows 5 and 6), building 109 in Miklagard (rows 3 and 4), building 91 in Atlegard (rows 1 (?) and 2), buildings 340 and 358 in Engelgard and buildings 274 and 287 in Bugard, presumably taking place on a household basis. Like in 1413, it is uncertain whether the artefacts represent activities carried out by women at least in building 442 - a structure presumably associated with lime-slaking. Similarly, reliable conclusions on female cooking in the buildings in Bugard in general may hardly be drawn based on the relatively small artefact material, as well as on the type of kitchenware present - tools that may have been used also by foreigners (a metal vessel and a small soapstone vessel) - and the presence of a hearth possibly associated with professional baking performed by men in building 288. Many of the other buildings with cooking-related finds are relatively long and lack fireplaces and may indicate male arenas. Still, fireplaces are also in 1476 obviously underrepresented, and it does not seem unreasonable to assume that these buildings may have served domestic functions as well, perhaps associated with different rooms and/or storeys. In buildings 422 and 340 - and possibly also building 91 in Miklagard - textile production is indicated (sewing, and winding and weaving, respectively), whereas there are now no traces of textile production whatsoever in Søstergard and Bugard.

The evidence of females at Bryggen is - as indicated above - increasingly scarcer and the numbers lower. Especially, this concerns textile-production equipment. This relative missing out of female indi-

Zone	Tenement	Building no.	Earlier interpretations	Female indicators	Male indicators apart from drinking gear and gaming pieces	Child-related indicators	All artefacts	Artefacts/activities
Rear	Sveinsgard	442	Fireplace, manufacturing/lime slaking	Plausible	7	1	102	Basic cooking, cooking for storage, consumption, metal-working (?), building-related finds
		448	Well inside	Plausible, possible	5	13	182	Basic cooking, cooking for storage, consumption, shoes/leather-working, personal belongings, whetting of tools, building-related finds
Front	Miklagard	109	Well outside	Plausible	4		141	Basic cooking, consumption, shoes, metal-working (?), building-related finds
	Atlegard	91	Two rooms?	Plausible	1	1	56	Basic cooking, consumption, whetting of tools, building-related finds
	Sveinsgard	422		Confirmed (?)	1		70	Consumption, shoes, sewing, whetting of tools, building-related artefacts
	Engelgard	358			3		71	Cooking, consumption, building-related finds
Bugard		340		Confirmed, plausible	6	3	206	Basic cooking, cooking for storage, consumption, shoes, weapon/personal belongings, winding, weaving, whetting of tools, fishing
		253				1	114	Consumption (food), shoes, clothing (?), trade, building-related finds
		274	Well outside	Plausible	1		41	Basic cooking, consumption, shoes, building-related finds
		317				1	96	Consumption (food), playing, smoking, trade/storage, building-related finds
		287		Plausible	1		17	Basic cooking, consumption, building-related finds
Total					29	20	886	
						1		

Figure 102. Buildings with gender-related artefacts, 1476.

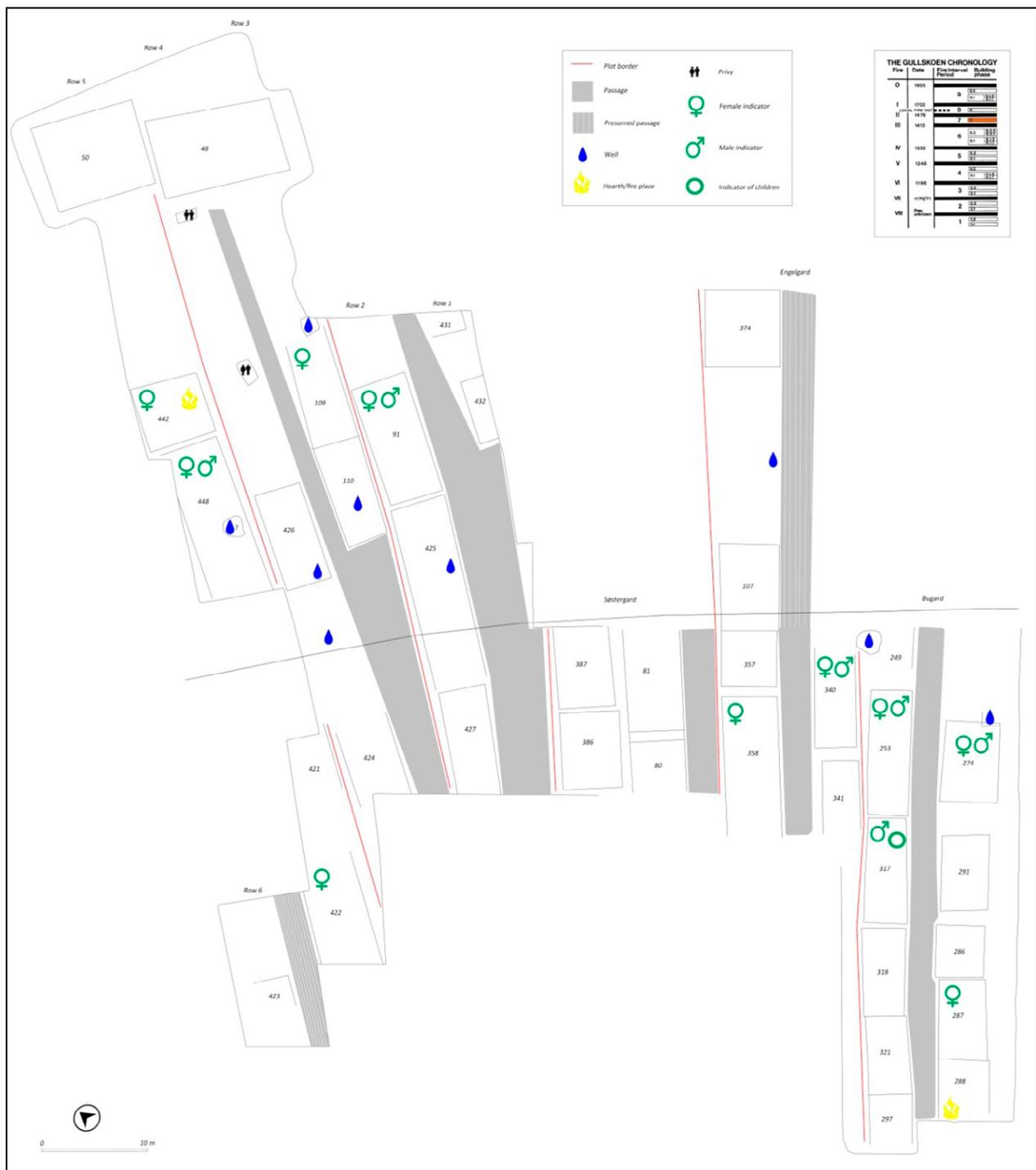


Figure 103. Buildings with gender-related artefacts, 1476. Modified from Herteig 1990: 27, 66, 68-69, 101, Figs. 11, 34, 37, 39a-d and 62; 1991a, Plates; Johansen 2013: 48, Fig. 5.4.

caters may perhaps be explained by machine excavation in large parts of the site, or by traditional, local cooking taking place in other, unexcavated parts of the tenements. A now effectuated organized waste disposal at Bryggen may also have played a part, but as the material in general is quantitatively increasing, this cannot serve as the only explanation. Neither may the reduction of female indicators be interpreted in terms of poor preservation conditions, as many of the artefacts related to cooking, consumption and textile production are made of pottery, glass or stone

- which make up close to 90% of the artefacts dated to 1476. Thus, the material seemingly signifies a limited presence of women in 1476 - primarily within a domestic setting. This corresponds to finds from period 7 (1413-1476) in general, which show a large reduction and deposition per year of local and traditionally female kitchenware such as baking slabs and soapstone vessels, and textile-production equipment (Øye 1988: 141; Vangstad 2017: 200; Tengesdal 2010: 56).

Only a few child-related artefacts are registered in the layers of 1476 - some shoe soles associated with older children in the front area of Miklagard and Atlegard. A miniature pot in building 317 possibly represents a container for spices or the like. The number of child-related artefacts from period 7 (1413-1476) in general also drops drastically, and an increasing proportion of the registered material is represented by large shoes relative to toys (Mygland 2007: 91-92). Altogether, this may indicate the presence of able-bodied, working youngsters rather than young children in family-based residential units in this period.

Artefacts associated with traditional male activities besides drinking gear and the like again represent trade, fishing, whetting of tools and metal- and leather-working, as well as shoemaking, and continue to make up a relatively small share of the investigated material. A marked deposition per year and number of fishing tackle has also been observed in the period between 1413 and 1476 in general (Olsen 2004: 77). In case of the craft-related artefacts, they may hardly represent organized production - such as the slag in building 442 and the leather waste in building 448. In buildings 91, 340 and 442, there are indicators of whetting of tools, but this activity may not necessarily be assigned men alone. There are also fishing tackle and a sling in building 340, whereas the artefacts associated with male activities in buildings 253 and 317 in Bugard are represented by barrel parts, associated with trade and storage. Also in the last part of the fifteenth century, then, males are first and foremost indicated by indicators of social activities such as drinking, as well as by the extensive commercial activities that based on written sources are known to have taken place at Bryggen in general, and structural elements like long buildings and hearths possibly related to professional baking and presumed lime-slaking.

Considering the small amount of traditional local male and female indicators, and buildings commonly with upper storeys, it still poses problems to discuss and compare the artefacts in terms of gender-specific buildings, tenements or zones. In terms of the former, there are spatial and temporal uncertainties related to a number of the artefacts. Many of the artefacts cannot be related for certain to buildings, and only 172 (c. 5%) are found in layers denoted as fire layers or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material, meaning that they cannot illuminate possible actors and activities where they are found without further discussion. Still, traditional male and female activities are generally recognized in the same contexts - as has been stressed more or less throughout the entire period of examination. Additionally, considering the general character of the finds in and in the area of buildings with only female indicators, it seems unlikely that men should not have been present as well. Building 340 in Engelgard may perhaps be associated with primarily local inhabitants, though, considering

the presence of local kitchen utensils and traces of fishing tackle.

On a more overall level, the fire layer was easiest to recognize in the northern part of the site (Sveinsgard, Miklagard and Atlegard, rows 1-6), whereas there were fewer traces further south. Still, these fire remains were in some cases difficult to separate from other fire layers. Neither have any of the tenements been unearthed in their full lengths, covering all of the rear and front zones. Primarily Sveinsgard, Miklagard and Atlegard are more or less represented by both their rear and front zones, whereas Søstergard and Bugard - and in practice also Engelgard - are represented by parts of their front zone alone. A probably unproportionately high share of artefacts is registered in the northern tenements, then - in all 76% of the artefacts dated to 1476 - and the front zone is generally underrepresented. Still, the same categories of artefacts are found all over the site - associated with cooking and drinking in particular, board games and personal belongings such as combs, buckles and shoes. In this respect, the tenements in general may rarely be associated with women and/or foreigners in particular. In Søstergard, however, women are hardly reflected in the artefact material - in which German owners are known in 1440 after their rebuilding following the fire in 1413 (Helle 1982: 728, with references). Also Bugard seems to have been dominated by Germans.

Thus, household activities in some cases presumably including women seem to have taken place in both the rear and front part of the examined Bryggen site, and regularly in settings with social activities such as drinking and playing. A general lack of fireplaces may in this respect be interpreted to the effect that cooking may have taken somewhere else in the tenement, perhaps in unexcavated areas, or more uncertainly in upper storeys. It may also be a result of a thorough cleaning up after the fire, not least in Miklagard. Similarly, there is structural evidence of lime-slaking in one of the rear buildings in Sveinsgard, and long buildings often associated with economic activities in particular - but also other - are generally documented in both the rear and front zones. In all, then, neither in 1476 are domestic nor economic activities at first sight apparently restricted to either zone. At the same time, the majority of baking slabs from period 7 in general are found in the rear zone - most of them with wear marks and thus presumably having been used (Tengesdal 2010: 57). That more than 60% of the material dated to 1476 is assigned the rear zone may also indicate a higher degree of activities here - domestic in particular. Indeed, in the area of Miklagard, more than 90% of the material is located in the rear zone, despite the fact that large parts of this area may have been cleared up before or immediately after fire II. Additionally, almost all of the artefacts from layers denoted as fire layers and/or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material are registered in the rear

zone. Although reservations must be made, then, the situation has changed at least somewhat since 1413, where it was difficult to argue strongly in favour of a material bias towards either zone.

In all, both the built environment and the archaeological artefacts are seemingly characterized by continuity rather than breaks, although changes have taken place as well. The material is still dominated by seemingly domestic artefacts associated with drinking in particular, represented by primarily German pottery, and probably reflecting especially the presence of foreigners, associated with the Kontor. Local inhabitants in general and women in particular are also indicated in the artefact material - but to an increasingly limited degree. Although it has been suggested that very young children were present at Bryggen also in period 7 (1413-1476) in gener-

al (Mygland 2007: 91-92), the artefacts dated by year do not relate women to possible family-based residential units. This may also in 1476 signify women primarily in other roles and contexts than that of mothers and family-members (although this may also be a possibility) - as single female servants cooking for Germans and others. In this respect, the material also continues to indicate the presence of and general interaction between actors of different gender, ethnicity and status at Bryggen. Considering the continuously small share of cooking tools, however, food processing may perhaps now to a larger degree have been performed by other than local women - probably young male apprentices at the Kontor (stavenjungen) known to have taken care of duties such as cooking and cleaning (Helle 1982: 742, with references).

7 Women, gender and material culture in medieval Bergen. Summary, overall discussion and conclusions

In this final chapter, I return to my research questions posed in the introduction to discuss and assess how my research aims, methods and perspectives may have contributed to give a better understanding of the socio-economic development in the medieval town of Bergen - and with special regard to women and gender. To what degree have I been able shed new light on gender composition, gender roles, families and households based on archaeological artefact material within a time frame of more than three hundred years? And to what degree has the study acquired fruitful methodological gains from my contextual approaches - by aiming at close archaeological contexts in time and space and by linking them to contemporary written information? I also want to discuss and assess how the theoretical perspectives may help to achieve a wider understanding of gender roles and issues related to change and stability.

As the heart of the medieval town associated both with residence and national and international commercial activities, and documented by means of both written and archaeological evidence, Bryggen in Bergen represents a complex and intriguing subject of study in terms of social structures. The aim has been to examine socio-economic conditions and development, based on more than 11,100 archaeological artefact remains from the large-scale Bryggen excavations dated to six time levels between c. 1120 and 1500. So far, this is the only study that has drawn upon such a broad source material from the different time levels - 1170, 1198, 1248, 1332, 1413 and 1476 - to illuminate and focus upon women and gender over three centuries. Special regard has been given to women, gender, gender composition, families and households within this dynamic and increasingly male-dominated, international trading area, and touching also aspects of ethnicity and status. Challenges and also obstacles related to representation and preservation of different artefact categories, and the problem of relating archaeological artefacts from a past society e.g. to women and men, also call for investigations of and reflections upon material culture's source potential and limitations in relation to these issues.

In all, the objectives have included interrelated aspects of theory, methodology and empirical analyses. First and foremost, it had to be clarified to what degree it could be assumed that traditionally gender-related artefacts and activities were actually reflected and were used and carried out by women or men at different times at Bryggen, and in what ways and to what degree these aspects could be illuminated in the archaeological record. Methodologically, a distributional analysis focusing on what is assumed to be traditionally gender-related artefacts in general and female in particular from the Bryggen excavations has been applied. The artefact remains have then been approached contextually - discussed on

different levels in light of their immediate physical contexts in time and space. They have also been compared to previous investigations with wider time frames related to the archaeological periods in their full lengths - and not only to the end points and levels of the fires that terminated a period, as was my methodological framework. In all, this was considered a promising and also manageable way of illuminating the material remains belonging to different groups of people living and working in the area at Bryggen at more or less the same time. The archaeological finds were also assessed, compared and discussed in relation to contemporaneous written sources related to Bryggen to evaluate the finds within wider socio-economic frameworks. In all, it has been interesting to see to what degree the different source categories correspond, supplement or contradict each other, and to what degree the methods chosen give another picture - fuller or more limited - than has otherwise been achieved.

7.1 Gender and material culture

Deciding whether a changing material culture was used by one gender or another - not least throughout a period characterized by rapid urban development with increasing groups of newcomers and also foreigners - was an important approach in the initial stages of the examination. Considered as a social structure based on biological sex, as well as being affected by e.g. age, social status and ethnicity, the concept of gender - women and men - should be understood as constructed and historically changeable, driven by social, cultural, ideological and political circumstances - and not necessarily fixed. Not least, age, social strata and cultural traditions should be considered. It has therefore particularly been focused on the chances of recognizing contemporary gender structures and gender roles at different times at Bryggen and in Bergen in the High and Late Middle Ages also through contemporary written evidence and thereby discuss how one was to know whether the activities to which the different artefacts traditionally related to men and women were performed by either. In this respect, I have been particularly aware of and investigated how likely gender structures are to remain stable or to change across time and space.

As a point of departure, I focused on activities that have traditionally been assigned women in Norwegian rural districts in the Middle Ages, where most of the medieval population lived and worked. These are generally related to women's biological role within the household, and associated in particular with textile production, cooking and child-rearing. However, although presumably to some degree affected by biology, gender and gendered behaviour may be overridden and negotiated, and at least indoor activities such as cooking and textile production may not necessarily

be ascribed women alone in urban areas like Bryggen - or continuously throughout the investigation period of more than 300 years. According to Bourdieu's idea of habitus, the same 'rules' or expectations concerning appropriate gender behaviour and gender roles may not necessarily apply to or affect every man or woman, but depend on e.g. age, social status, as well as ethnicity. Neither are people just subjects to underlying structures or completely restricted by a more or less rigid gender system, as argued by Giddens in his theory of the duality of structures. Focusing on the relationship between the individual actors and their freedom of choice versus social/cultural processes as controlled and constrained by underlying structures, I argue that social structures do not only frame and limit human activity, but enable agency as well. Particularly in a relatively dynamic society like medieval Bergen should social changes and discontinuity be accounted for. Transition phases like the early urban stages and the more or less gradual establishment of an international community of foreign guests and winter-sitters and not least of the Hansa Kontor at Bryggen allow for discussions on social discontinuity and change in terms of gender. In the meeting between the rural and the urban society, and not least by the influx of new ethnic groups, an international melting pot such as medieval Bergen may be understood as a new arena where traditional social limits could be challenged and/or transgressed - as for gender in general and female gender roles in particular.

I have, however, argued primarily in favour of social continuity where gender and gender roles are concerned, stressing, for instance, the notion of gender as a learned and internalized social construction, reproduced in structuring social practice. Such structures are not easily transgressed even when no other options are available. At the centre of attention, though, has been the concept of *longue durée*, as argued by Braudel and Giddens. History and society are regarded as being constrained by long lasting structures lasting over centuries or millennia which both pre-exist and outlast the lives of individuals born into a particular society, but which may also take new directions caused by special events. At least the first generations of the urban population in Bergen probably moved in from rural areas in particular, bringing with them general notions of female and male roles and appropriate gendered behaviour that must have been deeply rooted in rural social structures. This could speak against any immediate radical gender-related changes in the town, although people may also have sought new opportunities. Bergen must also later have experienced a continuous influx of rural people with similar ideas - although not of rural people alone - considering the high degree of mobility characterizing medieval towns. Bergen should probably also be characterized as a well-established town by the starting point of my study, with more than enough time for ideas of urban women, men and their respective roles to be integrated into

this society. Framed by presumably conserving social - as well as physical - structures, these must still have entailed restrictions, first and foremost to be transgressed by certain individuals and/or within special circumstances.

As a whole - although the content is not fixed, but varies in time and space - I find it reasonable to interpret social structures like gender and gender systems as generally durable and not easily changed, although varying according to age and social level. Especially seen in relation to medieval towns in general and Bergen in particular, the concept of gender includes aspects of change, possibly representing social arenas where traditional gender roles could be challenged and trespassed. Still, durability and reproduction has been considered a possible result in the long run, concerning both social structures in general as well as gender systems in particular. In this respect, it does not seem unlikely to ascribe also women in medieval Bergen to traditional rural gender roles and female activities like cooking and textile production, at least on a household level.

7.2 Methodical challenges

The relation between women and artefacts and activities in medieval Bergen could not and cannot be taken for granted. Continuous discussions and examinations have thus been necessary to investigate this issue and assess to what degree remains of archaeological artefacts dated by year may illuminate aspects of women and gender in past societies - and especially at medieval Bryggen. Considering that archaeological artefacts in general - and gender-related artefacts in particular - are 'situated in place and time and in relation to other archaeological objects' (Hodder 1997: 153) - a distributional analysis and contextual approach was chosen for the investigation. Here, an actor's perspective has been stressed, arguing that people act intentionally and with a purpose, that social structures stem from regular interaction between actors, and that their physical and social surroundings and material culture reflects and affects decisions and day-to-day activities.

This approach involved certain demands related to the representation of the archaeological finds, which are fulfilled to a varying degree. In particular, reservations had to be made when discussing and comparing the different tenements in terms of possible gender-related zones within the area. The Bryggen site has been excavated and documented to a varying degree, and none of the tenements have been completely excavated in their full length and/or width at any time level. A larger part of the northern than the southern tenements was generally represented, and it is basically here that the rear zone could be investigated to any degree - primarily within the tenements Sveinsgard and Miklagard and to a lesser degree in Atlegard (rows 1-6). The material remains were thus quantitatively much smaller in the southern part of the site, represented by the tenements

Søstergard, Engalgard and Bugard. Also, focusing on artefacts that by definition are found in fire layers, it was challenging that the fire remains were scattered and did not make up coherent layers and that parts of the site have been excavated by machine down to the 1248-level - partly removing some of the layers underneath as well. In addition, a thorough clean-up after some of the fires in some places may have contributed to quantitative differences. A higher degree of fill masses in the harbour area and western parts of the site also made it difficult to discuss and compare the different tenements in terms of possible gender-related activities, buildings and zones. The presence of multiple rooms and upper storeys - the latter from around 1200 - meant that both a vertical and horizontal division of buildings with multiple functions had to be considered. Due to unspecified and/or ambiguous find information, it was also more often than not difficult to relate artefacts to specific buildings, although not necessarily to tenements in general. About two thirds of the finds from the 1332-level, for instance, could not be assigned any buildings. Thus, in many cases it could not be taken for granted that the artefacts reflect activities carried out where they were found. Still, patterns could be observed when taking these considerations into account and seen in a spatial and temporal perspective.

Another methodological problem was the small share of finds from layers denoted as fire layers or layers containing e.g. charcoal or other burnt material - which with the most certainty are dated to a given year. Generally, this decreased from 40% of the artefacts from the 1170-layers to only about 5% of the remains from the level of 1476. Especially, there were few such finds in the front zone in at least the three earliest time levels (1170, 1198 and 1248), where the artefacts in many cases probably should be interpreted as waste from fill masses. This was seemingly also reflected in the distribution of artefacts according to material, which at these levels demonstrated a large share of artefacts made of organic material, generally well preserved in fillings. This share was drastically reduced in the 1332-layers and decreased thereafter. From now on, the wharf area with possible fill layers was also increasingly found outside the site borders, which together with an apparently more organized waste disposal and poorer conditions for preservations in the upper layers must have led to an underrepresentation of finds made of organic material, like local tableware of wood. The underrepresentation of metal artefacts may, however, not only be explained by the preservation conditions but also by presumed re-use of damaged objects of this more costly material. These circumstances thus affected the possibility of tracing certain types of artefacts, actors and activities connected with e.g. personal belongings and foreign cooking tools such as metal vessels. Indeed, remains of possible foreign cooking utensils in the material were rarely observed after 1200.

These problems were, however, not considered as unmanageable. Not all undefined layers in the front zone necessarily represent redeposited fill masses, and the artefacts were recurrently more or less consistent in terms of categories found within the different tenements. It seemed reasonable to assume that they at least reflect activities taking place in the tenements in general - although only a small part of what had actually been in use at the time of a fire. Also, more or less the same categories of artefacts and activities were commonly registered in both the northern and southern parts of the site, and the recurrently large artefact material from the tenements Sveinsgard and Miklagard was regarded more or less representative of the tenements within the Bryggen site in general. The presumed underrepresentation of metal artefacts possibly related to a foreign cooking culture, and apparently also of local tableware made of organic material was problematic, as these artefact categories may have been good indicators to illuminate aspects of male/female and ethnicity. Yet, these issues were possible to approach based on artefacts made of imported ceramic and local stone in particular, which generally made up a more than substantial and increasingly larger share of the investigated material. Pottery remains, for instance, represented about 80% of all finds from the 1476-level. It was also possible to assess the issue of representativity by comparing the find representation from temporally fixed horizons with the same find categories covering the whole period involved. This is especially important to avoid interpretation based on representation *ex silentio*.

7.3 Women, gender and gender composition at medieval Bryggen

Has it been possible, then, to corroborate on interaction between actors of different gender, ethnicity and social status based on the artefact remains in their environments at Bryggen in a time perspective? To what degree did the inhabitants include local men, women and children as well as foreigners - the latter first and foremost men - throughout the High and Late Middle Ages and has it been possible to ascertain to what degree women came to the town as wives and mothers and/or as single servants and workers? Artefactually, these issues turned out to be documented the best by investigations of the distribution of kitchen utensils and textile-production equipment - as such categories are associated not only with local female activities, but also transcultural gender patterns that may involve different social groups of actors. The methodical approach of the chronologically restricted selection of artefact remains does not favour strict quantitative assessments when approaching these research questions. However, quantitative information is also included - not as one-in-one representations, but in order to detect general trends in space and time when assessing the issue of change and/or continuity. By using these finds as representations of the composition of the townspeople at the given time lev-

els, the presence and roles of women can be discussed in a spatial and temporal perspective. These issues are important to understand the demographic and socio-economic development within an urban context - in this case from its early period in the latter part of the twelfth century to the Late Middle Ages even after the Hanse Kontor was established at Bryggen.

Archaeology - represented by contemporary material evidence - may come somewhat closer to women in medieval Bergen than history, as little is heard of this group in the written sources. Seen together, though, the two source categories may also complement or contradict each other. At least, the later written sources may to a larger degree be used retrospectively to illuminate earlier conditions - which can then be better evidenced in the archaeological material.

In the following, I will give an overall outline of the results in the preceding chapters to discuss and assess the observed trends at the different time levels in a long-term perspective. These trends are not unambiguous, as the material remains can be multivocal and represent different functions and users. As shown in the preceding empirical analyses, drinking gear, for example, may be interpreted as traded commodities reflecting international trade, and vessels and jugs used primarily by men in social contexts drinking beer or wine may also have been used by females serving these beverages. The local cooking equipment and especially the textile-production tools related to spinning and weaving on the upright loom are in this respect less ambiguous and primarily connected with female tasks. The material will therefore need to be discussed and assessed also in broader terms, and when examining and discussing the empirical results from the six different time levels, I also discuss them in the contexts of written information.

7.3.1 Change or continuity?

In the following, I will present and discuss the long-term trends that can be observed in the artefact material in terms of continuity and change, and related to actors - especially women - and structures. At what time levels do the indicators of a female presence change, where and why? An issue of special interest has been to investigate the presence of women in relation to the introduction of German merchants and the establishment of the Kontor at Bryggen in the 1360s.

The patterns that evolve indicate both continuity and change - physically and socially. The built environment at Bryggen shows a large degree of structural continuity concerning the layout of tenements and the buildings within. Although there at times are some irregularities in Søstergård and Engalgård, and the overall physical structure from the early twelfth to the late fifteenth centuries expanded from the original shoreline and into the harbour and is also characterized by a densification of buildings, more or less the same layout and structural pattern that

burned in 1170 was followed. The changes related to the vertical dimension - buildings and houses of several storeys - are more difficult to grasp archaeologically, but an overall structural pattern of a front zone related to the harbour and a rear zone with different functions seems to last over all these centuries. Those who occupied and used ground and houses, then, were apparently bound by the earlier patterns and established practices when the many town fires struck the area. At the same time, these actors also had opportunities of change - related to both the horizontal and vertical expansion which obviously answered needs of the expanded trade and commerce as well as an increasingly numerous population. These changes also affected the living conditions and lifestyle of people, as Giddens has explained more elaborately. A question, then, is how these patterns and structures affected the gender relations, or how gender affected the structures.

As previously observed also by other archaeological studies, the selected female indicators - *in casu* functional find groups traditionally related to women - are registered at all six time levels. This indicates a continuous presence of women at Bryggen throughout the examination period, although to a varying degree in both time and space. The layers of 1170 and 1198 include many and also an increasing share of such indicators, especially associated with local cooking (baking slabs and soapstone vessels), but also with textile production (spinning and weaving in particular). Based on material culture, it is difficult to verify activities involving women in the tenement Sveinsgård in the 1170-layers. Otherwise, the different 'female' artefacts are generally found together throughout the entire site, and within presumed domestic contexts in the latter half of the twelfth century. Several female indicators associated especially with cooking and with textile production are also registered in the layers representing the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries. Again, these are commonly found together and accompanied by tableware - especially drinking gear - in all tenements and in both the rear and front zones. There is, however, a possible, overall centre of gravity towards the rear part. The share of female indicators remains stable between 1248 and 1332, but a quantitative decrease compared to the 1198-level is registered - not least of textile-production equipment in the layers of 1332. Similarly, Øye and Vangstad's previous studies of textile-production equipment and soapstone vessels, respectively, have showed a somewhat decreasing deposition (i.e. finds per year) in periods 4 and 5 as a whole (1198-1332) - and to some degree also Tengedal's study of baking slabs. My examination thus concurs with these studies to a large degree by showing a somewhat smaller element of 'female' artefacts at Bryggen after 1200. Yet, females were apparently still a part of the settlement all over in the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries, and their

presence is primarily suggested in residential and social contexts.

This female presence may indicate different types of representation - as wives and mothers within a household, as servants within the same household, or representing their own business or industry. The so-called female indicators do not give an unambiguous answer to which of these roles they may represent. They therefore need to be assessed contextually, related to other gender-related activities and artefacts, as well as to children and artefacts of foreign origin that may reflect different male groups, and other kinds of 'households'. In this connection, the overall composition of the archaeological artefacts at different time levels with special regard to kitchen utensils is considered as making it possible to assess the results also in terms of gender roles, and ethnic and social groups.

The remains of kitchen utensils - kitchenware and tableware - dominate the registered archaeological record throughout the entire investigation period, and generally make up about 67% of all registered items. Also, kitchen utensils are especially represented by imported pottery - primarily tableware, based on the classified shards, which makes up 84% of all kitchen utensils. In the investigated layers from the twelfth century, the share of kitchen utensils relative to other artefact remains is 57 and 55%, respectively. At the 1170-level, kitchenware is also almost equally divided between local tools traditionally associated with women (such as baking slabs and soapstone vessels), and remains of foreign cooking pots. These two categories generally appear in the same contexts, and often together with textile-production equipment. Presumably male foreigners - perhaps Germans and Englishmen in particular, if the classified ceramic shards are considered (see Figure 104) - must have lived at Bryggen and may at least to some degree have made their own food by means of their own tools in the latter half of the twelfth century. Still, the pottery may also represent foreign imported wares used

by locals, as observed in medieval rural contexts. Indeed, it may perhaps first and foremost be argued in favour of a local settlement which may have had adopted a foreign material culture in terms of food and drink at this chronological stage - and where mainly women were in charge of food processing, as family members and as servants. In favour of this speak a relative lack of local tableware in the 1170- and 1198-layers, an increase of local cooking tools relative to foreign tools in the 1198-level (the share of the former making up 75%), many and an increasing share of female indicators, and written sources indicating a substantial amount of local tenement owners.

Some of the ceramic ware may represent stored commodities of trade, and the large amount may to some degree also be explained by pottery being both easily broken and fragmented and a relatively durable material in archaeological contexts. Yet, after 1200, the continuously large and increasing share of pottery remains associated with tableware in particular - contextually often accompanied by gaming pieces - should perhaps be interpreted in terms of social activities and an increasing presence of a male drinking culture commonly associated with foreigners. Again, it may also be considered a traded commodity that could have been used by a higher (male) social segment related to beer and wine. Indeed, these shards increase from about a third of all investigated items in the latter half of the twelfth century, to making up more than 80% of all finds from the 1476-level. The dichotomy indicated by the remains from the latter half of the twelfth century concerning local and foreign kitchen utensils is at the same time increasingly observed throughout the rest of the investigation period, and to a distinct degree. Although some reservations must be made - due to underrepresentation of artefacts made of metal and eventually also organic material, and as much of the pottery has not been classified - traces of food processing are from now on almost exclusively represented by remains of local tools, traditionally associated with women, and consumption (drinking) by foreign pottery. The remains of local and foreign kitchen utensils are still generally found together - often in presumed domestic and social contexts, and at least prior to 1476 recurrently in combination with other female indicators. This indicates a continuous presence of women taking care of food processing - now possibly in contexts including higher-ranking males.

As Bryggen was dominated by building and trading activity, also local, male workers must have been numerous in the area all along. Indications of these were, however, somewhat difficult to observe in the archaeological artefact material. Remains of artefacts generally associated with leather-working/shoemaking, metal-working, wood-working, whetting of tools, fishing and defence/hunting are registered throughout the investigation period from 1170 to 1476, but most often represented by relatively

	1170	1198	1248	1332	1413	1476	Sum
German	97	92	68	23	627	1032	1939
	47%	56%	33%	3%	78%	63%	51%
English	71	57	120	672	107	443	1470
	35%	35%	57%	92%	13%	27%	39%
Scandinavian			1	28	44	76	149
			0.5%	4%	5%	5%	4%
Other	37	16	20	11	30	95	209
	18%	10%	10%	2%	4%	6%	6%
Sum	205	165	209	734	808	1646	3767
	100%						

Figure 104. Temporal distribution of classified pottery shards by origin. N=3767.

few and scattered items. Nevertheless - other than lime-slaking, of which there is no artefactual evidence - it seems unlikely that organized craft/production beyond domestic needs were common at any stages at Bryggen. Thus, one should probably not expect such activities to be reflected in the archaeological record to any large degree. Besides possible drinking gear and gaming pieces, then, men are first and foremost indicated in terms of written sources and physical structures such as lime pits, long buildings presumably with economic (but also other) functions, storage rooms and the wharf area as such.

Whether or not the finds relate to family-based households or other types of households associated with single foreigners or servants and workers may also be illuminated by the presence of children. Child-related artefacts - primarily remains of shoe soles - are consistently few, and although such finds generally increase in number between 1170 and 1413, they rarely indicate very young individuals and are hardly ever found within buildings. Also, artefacts associated with older children registered in the same contexts as male and female indicators do not necessarily indicate the presence of family-based units. Thus, it is generally difficult to verify the presence of family-based households. Primarily at the levels of 1332 and 1413 may a few buildings have housed family units. The number of previously investigated child-related artefacts from period 2-6 (c. 1120-1332) in general is also increasing, followed by a marked drop in period 7 (1413-1476). As this corpus includes an increasing proportion of large shoes, and also of shoes relative to toys, a high and increasing share of able-bodied, working youngsters should perhaps be suggested. Consequently, there is also little evidence of women in the roles of wives and mothers. However, the quantitatively and chronologically more extensive material I have previously investigated also indicates children of all ages to a larger degree than the present selection. As a whole, young children in family-based residential units seem reasonable throughout the investigation period, although rarely covered by the present material - perhaps explained by very young children to a smaller degree than older ones being equipped with footwear.

The female representation is also discussed in relation to written records, which as mentioned are rather scanty in this connection. They do, however, confirm that both high- and low-ranking females were parts of the urban environment at Bryggen - for instance running their own business related to public houses, and evidently as female servants working for house owners and tenants with their own households. Runic inscriptions and especially pleated textiles may possibly also point to the presence of prominent, local women primarily in the twelfth and first half of the thirteenth century. Yet the chronological distribution of the latter artefact category may also be explained in terms of fashion trends, comparing to finds from

other medieval towns in Norway and Sweden (Vedeler 2007: 103). When the Urban Code of 1276 restricts the number of servants to three females and two males per *húsbondi*, it may indicate a fairly large share of women of this social category at Bryggen - in theory 12 female servants per tenement. This norm may at the same time indicate a need for restricting the influx of people coming to the town and that the number may have been larger at an earlier stage. The traces of females are also more numerous in the investigated time levels in late twelfth century than later. It may, then, be traces from some of this labour force that are reflected in the archaeological remains. Both cooking tools and textile production equipment as represented in the archaeological record serve basic needs in a population - also in the towns. The presence of children may also indicate family-based households, and households also included people of different social strata. The foreigners renting rooms in the sailing season and staying over as winter-sitters - commonly without a family in town - also needed such services. In that case, then, archaeological and historical sources supplement each other.

What happened when the Hanse established one of their four international Kontore at Bryggen in Bergen is another interesting issue into which the analysis has given new insight. The evidence of women is increasingly scarcer and fewer in number in the 1413- and 1476-layers. Only a very few remains of textile-production equipment are registered, and also the deposition of textile-production equipment in general decreases in periods 6 and 7 (1332-1476), according to Øye's study. The female indicators are primarily represented by kitchen utensils - i.e. baking slabs and soapstone vessels, in addition to some wooden vessels. This seem to contrast with findings from Vangstad and Tengedal's previous investigations of soapstone vessels and baking slabs based on a quantitatively larger material from the whole period, documenting that such artefacts were most numerous in period 6 (1332-1413). Still, some of the baking slabs may have represented commodities of trade, and a chronologically corresponding increase of small soapstone vessels relative to large may perhaps indicate an inclusion of local kitchen utensils within a foreign food culture, or at least a more individualized food culture associated with males in general. Altogether, remains from the two investigated time levels in the fifteenth century reveals a large reduction of female indicators. As a whole, this may be interpreted to the effect that there was a decreasing and limited presence of women at Bryggen in the fifteenth century in general and in 1476 in particular. The female indicators are, however, still found primarily within residential/social settings.

In all, the composition of the material culture is regarded as possibly reflecting a mix of activities and socially and ethnically diverse groups, including (single) female workers cooking for and serving foreign and local men - all along and also long after the

introduction of lodging winter-sitters such as members of the Hansa and the Kontor. Also, it is argued in Ågotnes' study of kitchen utensils in general from Bryggen that cooking reflected in the material culture in general did not change from a local to a foreign character throughout the Middle Ages (Ågotnes 1994: 175). A chronologically corresponding decrease of kitchenware relative to tableware (from 63% of all kitchen utensils in 1170, to only 4% in 1476), however, demonstrates an increasing underrepresentation of other, presumably foreign cooking tools and that women to a continuously lesser degree may have been in charge of food processing. Instead, this may have been performed primarily by young male apprentices that according to the somewhat later written sources took care of many traditional female duties within the Hanseatic society.

Turning the attention to the ethnic composition of the population at the different time levels and

within tenements, this is tentatively first and foremost examined in relation to classified pottery, which distribution is presented in Figures 104 and 105. Reservations are made, as there is no one-in-one relation between the origin of pottery and the ethnicity of the presumed user, and the number of classified shards in some cases is relatively low. However, if relying on the classified pottery shards, these may reflect the close English contacts between 1170 and 1333, and possibly also presence of Englishmen at Bryggen. At the levels of 1248 and 1332, the majority of classified shards in all tenements were of English types; yet, the distinct English dominance in the 1332-level in particular may perhaps be assigned a generally English-dominated pottery trade in this century. Also, German influence is continuously indicated. In the fifteenth century, German pottery comes to dominate - in general and in most tenements - which in this case seems to reflect the presence of German

Tenement	Origin	1170	1198	1248	1332	1413	1476	Sum
Sveinsgard	German	37	9	6	7	141	205	405
		51%	45%	18%	3%	74%	56%	45%
	English	16	9	23	207	19	124	398
		22%	45%	68%	92%	10%	34%	4 %
	Scandinavian				10	2	17	29
					4%	1%	5%	3%
	Other	19	2	5	2	28	20	76
		26%	10%	15%	1%	15%	5%	8%
Sum		72	20	34	226	190	366	908
		100%						
Miklagard	German	29	48	20	5	26	194	322
		69%	56%	29%	3%	39%	43%	36%
	English	1	31	43	169	16	195	455
		2%	36%	62%	93%	24%	43%	51%
	Scandinavian			1	6	25	29	61
				1%	3%	37%	6%	7%
	Other	12	7	5	2		33	59
		29%	8%	7%	1%		7%	7%
Sum		42	86	69	182	67	451	897
		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	101%

Figure 105, part 1. Temporal distribution of classified pottery shards in terms of origin and tenements. N=3767. Continues on p. 194.

Tenement	Origin	1170	1198	1248	1332	1413	1476	Sum
Atlegard	German	31	31	10	2	31	229	334
		35%	63%	27%	4%	41%	64%	50%
	English	54	14	26	50	43	64	251
		61%	29%	70%	88%	57%	18%	38%
	Scandinavian				2	2	28	32
					4%	3%	8%	5%
	Other	3	4	1	3		36	47
		3%	8%	3%	5%		10%	7%
Sum		88	49	37	57	76	357	664
		100%						
Søstergard	German	1		2	1	17	39	60
		100%		29%	1%	55%	98%	30%
	English			3	109	13		125
				43%	92%	42%		63%
	Scandinavian				8	1		9
					7%	3%		5%
	Other		2	2			1	5
			100%	29%			2%	3%
Sum		1	2	7	118	31	40	199
		100%						

Figure 105, part 2. Temporal distribution of classified pottery shards in terms of origin and tenements. N=3767. Continues on p. 195.

merchants and the Kontor at Bryggen, as well as increased trading relations. Pottery of both origins commonly appear at all six time levels and in all tenements, though, and may indicate an ethnically more mixed settlement than generally presumed, also (long) after the establishment of the Kontor, as also Ersland has suggested (Ersland 2005: 46-52).

The artefact remains can, then, be interpreted to the effect that actors at Bryggen of different gender, age, status and ethnicity interacted at different levels throughout the High and Late Middle Ages. Artefacts associated with women, men and children - locals and foreigners - were commonly found together in more or less the same contexts and buildings, in all tenements and in both zones at all six time levels. Despite written evidence of male and female sleeping quarters, as well as structural, archaeological indications of a rough functional division of activities in terms of zones, there is generally little evidence of strict separation of gender and gender-related activi-

ties based on the artefact material. Differences in social standing, however, may also be reflected. There is a tendency towards a higher and somewhat increasing degree of activities possible to illuminate by the artefact material - primarily food-related - in the rear zone. Yet, indicators of such are generally located all over, and multiple rooms and storeys from the thirteenth century in particular mean that different activities could take place in the same buildings, and that domestic, residential and social activities were not restricted to the rear zone alone.

Thus, the results of the investigation of long-term trends regarding women and gender at Bryggen based on artefacts from the High and Late Middle Ages seemingly support the argumentation in favour of long-lasting and relatively durable social structures - yet, which also allow for changes. The composition of the population indeed underwent great changes throughout the more than 300 year long investigation period both in terms of gender, age, ethnicity

Tenement	Origin	1170	1198	1248	1332	1413	1476	Sum	
Engelgard	German		4	14	3	281	173	475	
			50%	37%	3%	98%	74%	71%	
	English		3	22	93	2	58	178	
			38%	58%	94%	0.7%	25%	27%	
	Scandinavian						4	1	5
							1.4%	0.4%	0.7%
Other		3	1	2	3	1	3	13	
		100%	13%	55%	3%	0.3%	1%	2%	
Sum		3	8	38	99	288	235	671	
		100%							
Bugard	German			16	4	131	192	343	
				67%	8%	84%	97%	80%	
	English			3	44	14	2	63	
				13%	86%	9%	1%	15%	
	Scandinavian					2	10	1	13
						4%	6%	1%	3%
Other				5	1	1	2	9	
				21%	2%	1%	1%	2%	
Sum				24	51	156	197	428	
				100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	
Total per period		206	165	209	734	808	1646	3767	

Figure 105, part 3. Temporal distribution of classified pottery shards in terms of origin and tenements. N=3767.

and status, and not least after the establishment of the Kontor in the 1360s. However, these changes were generally not so easily observed from one time level to the next, which continuously more or less spoke in favour of overall continuity. The same applies to the roles women played in the town, increasingly interpreted in terms of servants and workers.

7.4 Concluding remarks

A recurrent conclusion throughout the investigation has been that the situation resembles the one by the time of the preceding fire, with few radical changes compared to earlier - concerning overall physical layout, building pattern, building function and gender-related, ethnic and social composition. This presumably speaks in favour of a high degree of physical as well as social continuity. In short, artefacts associated with seemingly domestic and social activities - drinking and cooking in particular - dominate throughout the examination period, related both to

the male and female sphere. Also, artefacts associated with traditional male production and with activities other than drinking and gaming seem to be consistently underrepresented. Yet, comparing the physical and social gender-related conditions by the time of 1170 and 1476, respectively, it becomes evident that extensive changes have indeed taken place. At least, the initial and somewhat small and fragmented settlement established based on local initiatives and inhabited primarily by individuals with roots in a rural society and rural traditions was in the course of the three centuries covered by this investigation replaced by a fully developed, international trading area with a well-functioning infrastructure, apparently dominated by the German Hanse as documented by written sources.

In this respect, the find frequency of the gender-related artefacts dated by year, as well as the overall composition of the material at different time levels may directly or indirectly be interpreted in terms of

a slow-moving trend characterized by a gradually increasing element of foreigners and/or foreign impulses at Bryggen. This urban environment may have been framed by long-lasting social and physical structures, norms and practices - *long durée* - which limited the possibilities of the actors involved (locals and foreigners). There are, for instance, few archaeological or written indications of radical and consistent breaks with traditional gender roles during the investigation period besides male apprentices at the Kontor, performing traditional female tasks. True, the meeting between different social structures like the rural and the urban medieval society may contribute to change, and medieval Bergen may be interpreted as a new arena where traditional social limits could be challenged and/or transgressed - concerning gender in general and female gender roles in particular. However, the indications of women in the roles of e.g. single workers and servants may as mentioned also be considered as in accordance with a traditional rural gender pattern, in which women could take on traditional male work if necessary. Also, in light of the disgrace generally associated with men doing traditional female work like cooking, female workers may have been more than welcome in the medieval, male-dominated town. Indications of female workers and servants even throughout the fifteenth century may in this respect be assigned a need of women in these positions - although evidently soon decreasing - who towards the end of the investigation period perhaps worked for foreigners in particular. Consequently, this may also indicate a high degree of locals and interaction between these and residents belonging to the tenements increasingly owned by Germans and the Kontor. The study, then, supports information and indications in written sources that Norwegians still owned and in-

habited tenements at Bryggen in the first part of the fifteenth century. What is especially interesting is that females still seem to have cooked and served here even late in the fifteenth century. The German influence and occupation of the Bryggen area may in this respect have been a more gradual process than can be ascertained in written sources. It may not have been an exclusively male society at that stage, which is also first evidenced in the early sixteenth century and based on written evidence.

This dissertation represents the only in-depth archaeological investigation whose main focus lies on aspects of women and gender in Bergen in the Middle Ages, and is so far also one of few such studies within medieval archaeology in general. In this connection, the present investigation serves as a concrete and 'materialized' attempt at and an example of approaching these somewhat theorized issues. In all, the investigation of women, gender and gender composition at Bryggen based on material culture has represented a challenging task, with its focus on a chronologically and quantitatively restricted artefact material of which the representativity and gender attribution are debatable. Despite various methodological and theoretical obstacles, though, the study has shown that it is indeed possible to shed new light on aspects of women and gender in past societies in general and within an urban medieval context in particular. By using a contextual approach, also involving previous archaeological investigations and contemporary written sources, material culture represents a unique source and opportunity for exploring patterns of activity and gender in time and space - and in this case study from Bergen in the High and Late Middle Ages also on a broader level than has hitherto been possible to illuminate.

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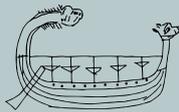
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THE BRYGGEN PAPERS

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This volume of The Bryggen Papers deals with women, gender and material culture, based on archaeological remains from the Bryggen excavations (1955-1979) in Bergen, Norway. At the centre of attention are traces of women and how they may be identified and interpreted within the vibrant and changing society of medieval Bergen. Aspects of age, ethnicity and status are addressed, not least in relation to the establishment of the Hanseatic Kontor in the 1360s - a male, German society that apparently displaced an original local settlement consisting of men, women and children.

The study represents one of few in-depth investigations whose main focus lies on women and gender within medieval archaeology. In this respect, it serves as a concrete and 'materialized' attempt at approaching a subject matter which has so far been treated in more theoretical terms. Despite various methodological and theoretical obstacles, the study shows that it is indeed possible to shed new light on aspects of women and gender in past societies in general and within an urban medieval context. By using a contextual approach, also involving previous archaeological investigations and contemporary written sources, material culture is proved a unique source and opportunity for exploring patterns of activity and gender in time and space. Not least, this concerns Bergen in the High and Late Middle Ages, and on a broader level than has hitherto been possible to illuminate.

The author

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