Símunarbók

Heiðursrit til Símun V. Arge á 60 ára degnum

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Ritstjórn:

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Símun V. Arge 60

Við hesi bók vilja starvsfelagar og vinir heiðra Símuni V. Arge, fornfrøðingi, á seksti ára degi hansara tann 5. september 2008. Símun kom í starv á Føroya Fornminnissavni sum savnvørður í fornfrøði í 1982, og í 1986 gjørdist hann leiðari á fornfrøðideildini. Hann hevur tó verið knýttur at savninum væl longri, nevniliga síðan 1970, áðrenn hann fór niður at lesa fólkalívsfrøði og miðaldarfornfrøði, og eisini í ferium í lestrartíðini. Hesa tíðina var hann eisini við í fornfrøðiligum og antikvariskum arbeiði í Danmark og Grønlandi.

Sum fornfrøðiligur deildarleiðari hevur Símun havt fyriskipan og eftirlit við øllum fornfrøðiligum rannsóknum, ið hava verið í Føroyum seinastu nógvu árini. Hann hevur tann serliga eginleika, at hann hevur lætt við at koma í samband við fólk og dugir at røkja hesi sambond, og hesum hevur stovnurin mangan notið gott av. Hann hevur skil á, hvat hendir á økinum í grannalondunum og veit, hvar hann skal venda sær, tá ið brúk er fyri útbúnum fólki í fornfrøðiligum útgrevstrum, tá ið rannsóknir brádliga stinga seg upp, tí samfelagsútbyggingin krevur tað. Eisini hevur hetta lyndið mangan havt við sær, at gjørligt hevur verið at finna loysnir, soleiðis at mentanarminni ikki eru farin fyri bakka hóast neyðugu samfelagsútbyggingarnar.
Ein týðandi táttur í hesum er gransking av fornfrøðiligum evnum og kunning um virksemið, bæði í fólksligum og vísindaligum ritgerðum eins og gjøgnum framsýningar. Serliga nær hjarta hansara øll árini, og serliga tey seinastu, hevur verið gransking av fornfrøðilugum leivdum heima á Sandi, har heilt serligar umstøður eru at grava fram nýggja vitan um fortíð okkara. Í samstarvi við viðurkendar útlendskar granskarar stendur hann har á odda fyri forkunnugum vísindaligum rannsóknum, sum veita okkum nýggja vitan um gerandislív í víkingaøld og eru við til at seta luppin á Føroyar sum sera áhugavert øki í alheims fornfrøðiligum høpi.

Símun hevur í starvstíð síni eisini verið góður hjá landsmyndugleikum at heita á, tá ið á hevur staðið. Í trimum umførum hevur hann verið settur landsantikvarur, í tilsamans 4 ár. Í hesum álitisstarvi hevur hann lagt dent á at fáa fjøltáttaða stovnin, sum Føroya Fornminnissavn er, at virka sum eina væl samansjóðaða eind, har starvsfólk trívast. Og tað hevur eisini eydnast.

Stóra tøkk fái høvundarnir fyri gott samstarv, og serliga ritstjórarnir, Caroline Paulsen og Helgi Michelsen, fyri, at tey tóku hetta stig. Ikki minst eiga øll tey stóra tøkk uppiborna, sum hava stuðlað og eru nevnd í kvøðulistanum.

Hoyvík, september 2008
Andras Mortensen

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Faroese Isotopes – a half-baked study

Jette Arneborg[1], Niels Lynnerup[2] & Jan Heinemeier[3]

INTRODUCTION

In connection with a large-scale Norse Greenland diet study based on the stable isotopes ^{13}C and ^{15}N we had the opportunity to sample a number of Faroese samples as reference. Símun was the supplier and with this contribution to his festschrift we want to thank him for his kindness.

This is not *the* Faroese diet study. All we want is to present the results of our limited number of samples and discuss them briefly in the hope that our work will be included in and give rise to more isotopic work on the Faroe Islands.

THE SAMPLES

In total we have 41 samples of which 24 are of human bone, eight are of sheep (*Ovis aries*), six of cattle (*Bos taurus*), and three are on textile, presumably wool (Table 1).

Four samples are from Tjørnuvík on the northern tip of Streymoy, where the late Sverri Dahl excavated Viking Age graves in 1956. Nine human samples are from the churchyard at Sandur on Sandoy and 13 are of human bones from the churchyard of *Ólavskirkjan* "the white church" at the bishop see in Kirkjubøur on Stremoy. The last 14 samples – all of domestic animals[4] – are from Símun's own excavations at Uppistovubeitinum in Leirvík on Eysturoy (Fig. 1).

The samples fall in two groups. The Vikfa-samples were processed at the AMS dating Laboratory at Aarhus University, Denmark and Erle Nelson at the Simon Fraser University in Vancouver, Canada processed the Faer-samples. Only the Vikfa-samples have been AMS dated, and all the dates were made in Århus (Table 1 & 2).

---

1 National Museum of Denmark. Danish Middle Ages and Renaissance

2 University of Copenhagen, Laboratory of Biological Anthropology.

3 University of Aarhus, AMS 14C Dating Centre.

4 All animal bones have been identified by Jeppe Møhl, University of Copenhagen, Zoological Museum

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ID1	ID2	ID3	Place1	Place2	Place3	Place4	Material	C14 LabID	$\delta^{13}C$ (‰) VPDB	$\delta^{15}N$ (‰) AIR	Remarks
Vikfa001		JNR 6659	Tjørnuvik	SNR3798		Grave 2	Bone Human	AAR-6389	-18,81	11,21	Male ?
Vikfa002			Tjørnuvik	SNR3798		Grave 1	Bone Human	AAR-6390	-19,56		Female
Vikfa003			Kirkjubøur	SNR4078/1000		Grave A	Bone Human	AAR-6391	-17,75		"The Bishop"
Vikfa003			Kirkjubøur	SNR4078/1000		Grave A	Bone Human		-18,46		
Vikfa004			Kirkjubøur	4078/1		Grave A	Bone Human	AAR-6392	-18,38	13,90	
Vikfa005			Kirkjubøur			Grave 19	Bone Human	AAR-6702.1	-19,74	13,07	
Vikfa005			Kirkjubøur	SNR4078	FMNR3701	Grave 19	Bone Human	AAR-6702.2	-19,74	13,07	
Vikfa006			Kirkjubøur			Grave 19	Textile, wool	AAR-6863	-22,7		
Vikfa007			Kirkjubøur	4078/1		Grave B	Bone Human	AAR-6393	-18,85	13,00	
Vikfa008			Tjørnuvik	3718		Grave 1	Textile, wool ?	AAR-6864	-23,4		
Vikfa008			Tjørnuvik	3718		Grave 1	Textile, wool ?	AAR-6864.2	-23,99		
	Faer-1		Sandur			Grave 7	Bone Human		-19,46	11,19	Adult, female
	Faer-2		Sandur			Grave 8	Bone Human		-18,80	13,10	Newborn
	Faer-3		Sandur			Grave 9	Bone Human		-19,58	12,00	3 months
	Faer-4		Sandur			Grave 14	Bone Human		-18,66	13,10	Adult, male
	Faer-5		Sandur			Grave 16	Bone Human		-17,95	13,78	Adult, male
	Faer-6		Sandur			Grave 19	Bone Human		-18,17	13,20	Adult, female
	Faer-7		Sandur			Grave 20	Bone Human		-18,74	11,64	Adult, male
	Faer-8		Sandur			Grave 21	Bone Human		-20,13	14,05	Newborn
	Faer-9		Sandur			Grave 25	Bone Human		-19,35	11,80	Adult, male
	Faer-10		Kirkjubøur			Grave 11	Bone Human		-18,64	12,45	Mature, male
	Faer-11		Kirkjubøur			Grave 13.1	Bone Human		-18,99	12,43	Adult, male
	Faer-12		Kirkjubøur			Grave 13.2	Bone Human		-18,17	12,78	Adult, male ?
	Faer-13		Kirkjubøur			Grave 13.3	Bone Human		-18,81	12,80	Adult, male ?
	Faer-15		Kirkjubøur			Grave 14	Bone Human		-18,39	13,15	Adult ?
	Faer-16		Kirkjubøur			Grave 15	Bone Human		-17,66	12,02	Old male
	Faer-17		Kirkjubøur			Grave 19	Bone Human		-20,10	13,18	35 - 55, female
	Faer-18	FNR1321.2	Leirvik	67005/4815	Uppistovubeitinum		Ovis aries		-21,69	2,35	
	Faer-19	FNR1578.2	Leirvik	67005/4815	Uppistovubeitinum		Ovis aries		-21,38	1,92	
	Faer-20	FNR1578.1	Leirvik	67005/4815	Uppistovubeitinum		Bos taurus		-21,53	3,22	
	Faer-21	FNR1578.4	Leirvik	67005/4815	Uppistovubeitinum		Bos Taurus		-21,75	2,66	
	Faer-22	FNR1578.3	Leirvik	67005/4815	Uppistovubeitinum		Ovis aries		-21,92	1,60	
	Faer-23	FNR1720.1	Leirvik	67005/4815	Uppistovubeitinum		Bos taurus		-21,84	3,10	
	Faer-24	FNR1720.2	Leirvik	67005/4815	Uppistovubeitinum		Bos taurus		-21,71	2,75	
	Faer-25	FNR1720.3	Leirvik	67005/4815	Uppistovubeitinum		Ovis aries		-20,63	3,66	
	Faer-26	FNR1720.4	Leirvik	67005/4815	Uppistovubeitinum		Ovis aries		-21,97	3,71	
	Faer-27	FNR1720.5	Leirvik	67005/4815	Uppistovubeitinum		Ovis aries		-22,27	1,55	
	Faer-28	FNR1321.1	Leirvik	67005/4815	Uppistovubeitinum		Bos taurus		-21,53	2,51	
	Faer-29	FNR1321.3	Leirvik	67005/4815	Uppistovubeitinum		Bos taurus		-21,68	2,99	
	Faer-30	FNR1321.4	Leirvik	67005/4815	Uppistovubeitinum		Ovis aries		-21,27	2,78	
	Faer-31	FNR1720.6	Leirvik	67005/4815	Uppistovubeitinum		Ovis aries		-22,00	1,00	

Table 1. All Faroese samples analysed in connection with the Norse Greenland Diet Project.

Fig. 1. The Faroe Islands. Tjørnvík and Kirkjubøur on Streymoy, Sandur on Sandoy and Uppistovubeitinum, Leirvík on Eystruroy.

THE STABLE ISOTOPES ^{13}C AND ^{15}N

Stable isotope analysis of bone collagen is a well-known and powerful tool to study ancient dietary habits. The stable carbon isotopes ^{12}C and ^{13}C are present at different ratios in plants and animals, depending on whether they are part of the marine or terrestrial food chains (Arneborg et al. 1999). This ratio is described by $\delta^{13}C$, the fractional deviation of the 13C/12C ratio from the VPDB standard. In Arneborg et al. 1999, endpoint $\delta^{13}C$ values of -21‰ and -12.5‰ were adopted for 100% terrestrial and marine origin respectively of the dietary protein of the Greenland Norse. We use the same endpoint values to calculate the percentage of marine protein in the diet of the Faroese. Similarly, $\delta^{15}N$, the fractional deviation of the $^{15}N/^{14}N$ ratio from standard air, reflects the trophic level in the food chain. Thus, each step in the food chain is associated with a 3-4‰ increase in the $\delta^{15}N$ value. Analyses on human bones can thus provide information on whether the diet was mainly marine or terrestrial and the trophic level.

^{14}C DATING AND MARINE RESERVOIR EFFECTS

If the bone collagen of animals and humans is of terrestrial origin, it is straightforward to convert the measured ^{14}C age into a true calendar age by using the global tree-ring calibration curve. However, it is more complicated when the

bone collagen is derived in part from marine carbon, which due to the marine reservoir effect, appears several hundred (typically 400) ^{14}C years older than the corresponding terrestrial carbon. To find the calibrated age of the human bones dated in this study we have used the measured $\delta^{13}C$ values to estimate the fraction of marine protein in the diet and calculate the appropriate reservoir correction as described in Arneborg et al. 1999 (see Table 1).

RESULTS

11 samples have been AMS dated; of those three were on textile, probably wool. The dates cover the period from ca. AD 800 to ca. AD 1610. A piece of textile, supposed to be from one of the Viking age graves in Tjørnuvík, was dated AD 1650 – 1945 (±1 stdv). Re-dating of the textile gave the same result and we do not believe that the textile belongs to the grave (Table 1).

Figure 2 shows an overview of the C13 contents of all the samples included in the study. Cattle and sheep from Uppistovubeitinum are rather homogeneous and close to what we see in our Greenland study (Nelson et al forthcoming). The diet of the animals was terrestrial i.e. it reflects a normal pastoral adaptation, and we see no signs of feeding with seaweed or hunger-feeding with for instance fish refuse which is know from Iceland in modern times (Hooker 1813, 348).

The humans did not subsist entirely on their domestic animals. Based on the assumed marine/terrestrial endpoints a 50% terrestrial diet corresponds to a $\delta^{13}C$ value around –16.8, we estimate that between 20-40% of the Faroese dietary protein was of marine origin. All three localities included in the study

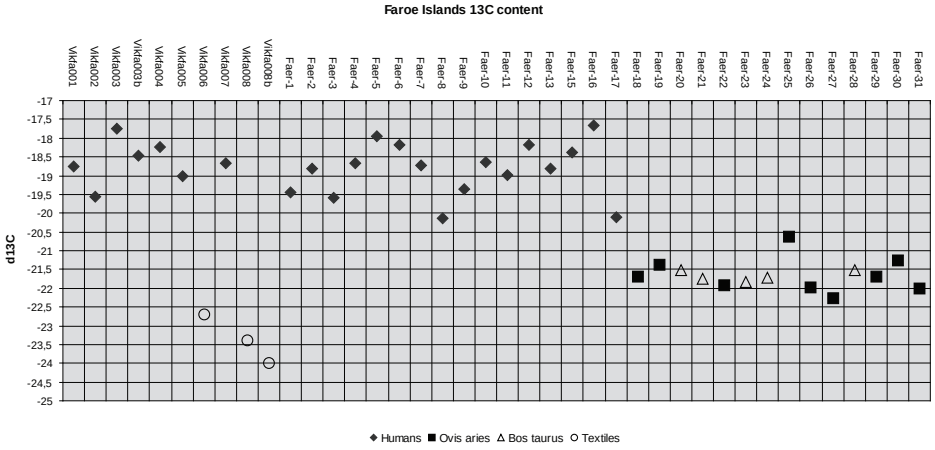

Fig. 2. $\delta^{13}C$ values of all samples. Note: the plot is not set up chronologically.

AAR-#	Sample Type	Collection Site	^{14}C Age (BP)	Reservoir corrected ^{14}C Age (BP*)	Calibrated age (1 & 2 sigma ranges)	δ^{13}C (‰) VPDB
AAR-6389	bone (human)	Tjørnuvik, grave 2	**1141 ± 34**	**1036 ± 34** (Marine fraction: 0.26)	AD 999, AD 981-1021 (**marine98 DR=0**)	-18.81
AAR-6390	bone (human)	Tjørnuvik, grave 1	**1122 ± 32**	**1054 ± 32** (Marine fraction: 0.17)	AD 991, AD 974-1014 (**marine98 DR=0**)	-19.56
AAR-6391	bone (human)	Kirkjubøur, grave A.	**975 ± 35**	**820 ± 35** (Marine fraction: 0.38)	AD 1215, AD 1185-1255 (**marine98 D=0**)	-17.75
AAR-6392	bone (human)	Kirkjubøur, grave A. "Bispen", grav A.	**1045 ± 35**	**915 ± 35** (Marine fraction: 0.33)	AD 1070-1150, AD 1040-1165 (**marine98 D=0**)	-18.38
AAR-6702.1	bone (human)	Kirkjubøur, grave 19.	**768 ± 34**	**674 ± 34** (Marine fraction: 0.24)	AD 1298, AD 1289-1309 (**marine98 DR=0**)	-19.74
AAR-6702.2	bone (human)	Kirkjubøur, grave 19.	**743 ± 29**	**649 ± 29** (Marine fraction: 0.24)	AD 1305, AD 1296-1387 (**marine98 DR=0**)	-19.74
AAR-6863	textile (wool?)	Kirkjubøur, grave 19. Samhørende med AAR-6702.	**700 ± 30**		AD 1290, AD 1280-1300 (**1998**)	-22.70
AAR-6393	bone (human)	Kirkjubøur, grave B.	**485 ± 30**	**375 ± 30** (Marine fraction: 0.27)	AD 1490, AD 1470-1610 (**marine98 D=0**)	-18.85
AAR-6864	textile (wool?)	Tjørnuvik, grave I. Same grave as AAR-6390.	**(220) ± 30**		(AD 1660, AD 1650-1945) (**1998**)	-23.40
AAR-6864-2	textile (wool?)	Tjørnuvik, grav I. Same grave as AAR-6390.	**176 ± 31**		AD 1674-1946; AD 1666-1947 (**1998**)	-23.99

Table 2.

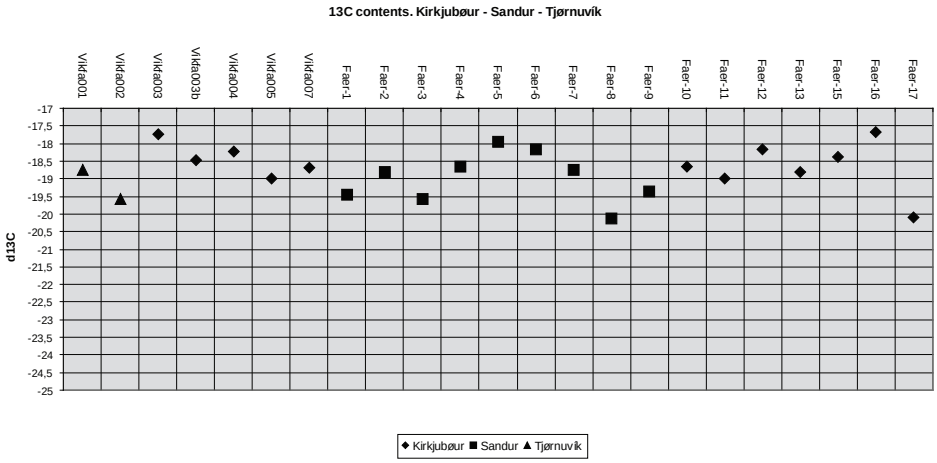

Fig. 3. $\delta^{13}C$ values of the human samples from Kirkjubøur, Sandur and Tjørnuvík. Note: the plot is not set up chronologically.

are close to the sea, still we do not know from where the buried in the churchyards came, and the differences in the marine component within the samples may be explained by either origin of the dead or chronological changes (Fig. 3). Right now the number of dated samples is too small to discuss chronological changes over time (Fig. 4).

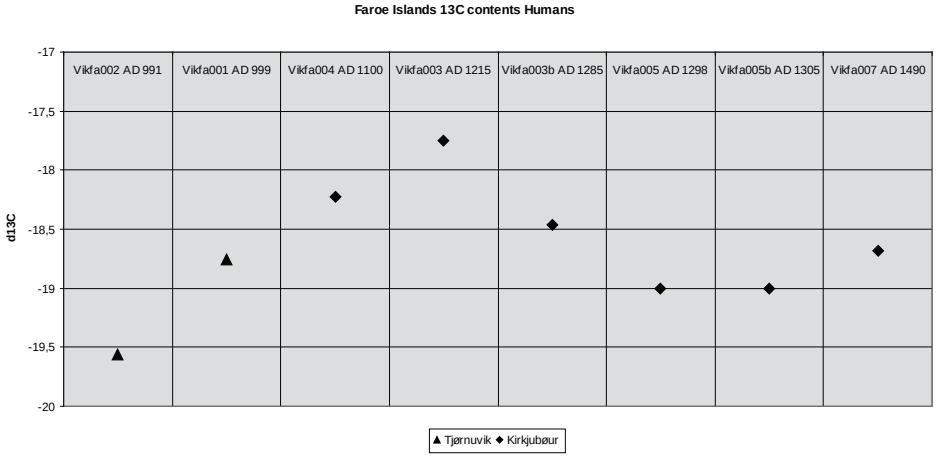

Fig. 4. $\delta^{13}C$ values of human samples from Tjørnuvík and Kirkjubøur. Set up chronologically. The $\delta^{15}N$ values of the domesticates is in harmony with the $\delta^{13}C$ contents i.e. the measurements reflect the pastoral adaptation. The portion of marine food can explain the raised contents of 15N in the humans compared to their domestic animals, and perhaps also by the fact that the Faroese – like the Greenlanders – to a large extent might have digested suckling lambs and calves (Fig. 5).

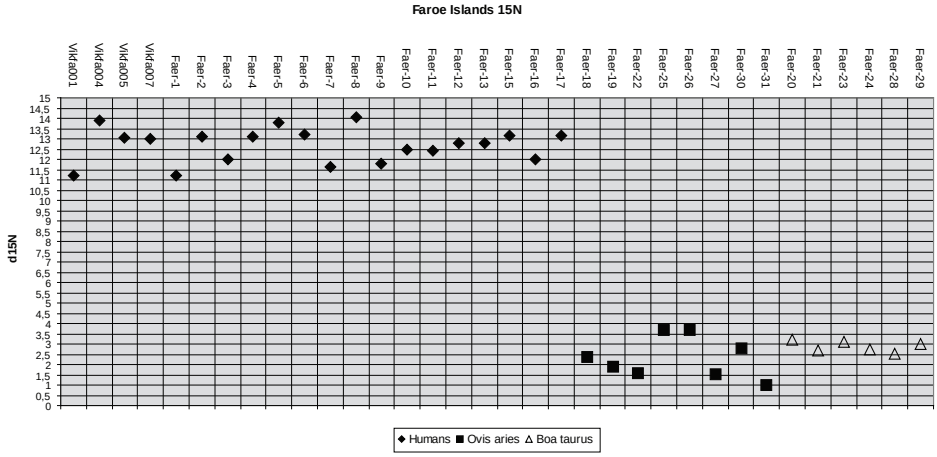

Fig. 5. $\delta^{15}N$ values of humans and domesticates. Note: the plot is not set up chronologically.

Compared to the Norse Greenlandic and Icelandic[5] diet the Faroese seem to lie between the two other North Atlantic people having digested a little more marine diet than did the Icelanders and less than the Greenlanders. It is, however, worth noting that except from three sites our Icelandic samples are from inland sites. Samples from the three coastal Icelandic sites (AAR-5863, AAR-5860 and AAR-5916) all matches the Faroese samples. Compared to the Norse Greenlanders both the Icelanders and the Faroese seem to have had a stable diet from *landnám* up into the Middle Ages. In Greenland the diet shifted from being relative terrestrial to a predominant marine diet (Arneborg et al., forthcoming) (Fig. 6).

CONCLUSION

Much more can be done – even with the limited number of samples we have presented here, especially if more samples are dated. The dataset invites to discussions in both a local and regional perspective. For instance: How do we explain the differences within the sites? Are there social, age or gender differences? Did the diet of the Faroese change over time? Etc.

We will leave the dataset and the further discussions to Símun and his collaborators on the Faroe Islands!

5 For reference to our Greenland study Guðmundur Olafsson of the National Museum of Iceland very kindly provided us with Icelandic human samples from the Viking Age and the middle Ages.

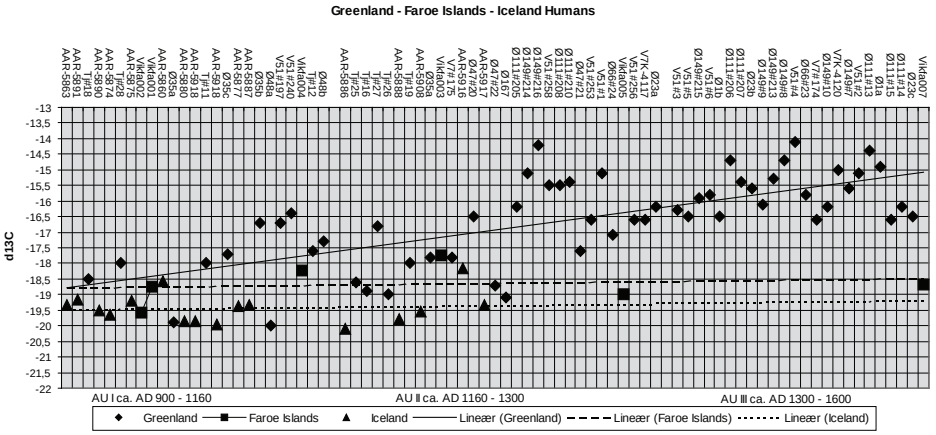

Fig. 6. $\delta^{13}C$ values of human samples from Faroe Islands, Iceland and Greenland. Set up chronologically.

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Plentiful puffins
Zooarchaeological evidence for early seabird exploitation in the Faroe Islands

Seth D. Brewington[1] and Thomas H. McGovern[2]

ABSTRACT

Though written accounts of fowling in the Faroe Islands are known as far back as the 16th century (Nørrevang 1986), the practice no doubt far predates these descriptions. However, archaeological evidence for this and other early Faroese subsistence strategies has been thus far rather limited. Recent multidisciplinary research is beginning to change this, adding greatly to our understanding of the earliest chapters of Faroese history. Particularly exciting, in terms of reconstructing past subsistence activities, has been the excavations at the site of Undir Junkarinsfløttur, in the village of Sandur, on the island of Sandoy. Recent analyses of the Undir Junkarinsfløttur and other Faroese archaeofauna have found evidence of an early – and successfully sustained – exploitation of wild seabirds in the islands. This aspect of the Faroese domestic economy is quite different from that seen in most of the contemporary Icelandic assemblages.

INTRODUCTION

Seabirds have traditionally played an important role in the Faroese domestic economy. Written accounts of fowling in the Faroe Islands are known as far back as the 16th century (Nørrevang 1986), though the practice no doubt far predates these writings. Archaeological evidence for the earliest of Faroese subsistence strategies has been thus far rather limited. This is particularly true when we speak of the relatively delicate organic remnants of past human activities, the remains of animals and plants. So while we can look at historic

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descriptions of "traditional" Faroese subsistence activities – livestock management, fishing, the hunting of *grind* (pilot whale), and fowling – and can make educated guesses as to how far back in time these practices are rooted, we do not always have clear archaeological evidence to assist us. However, recent multidisciplinary research is beginning to add greatly to our understanding of the earliest chapters of Faroese history. One of the centers of much of this recent work has been the island of Sandoy, where a wide range of palaeoecological research is helping us understand the nature of human activity upon the local landscape through time. Particularly exciting, in terms of reconstructing past subsistence activities, has been the excavations at the site of Undir Junkarinsfløttur, in the village of Sandur, on the island of Sandoy.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FOR EARLY SEABIRD EXPLOITATION

Excavations at Undir Junkarinsfløttur (UJF) began in 2000, prompted by the discovery of midden material in the coastal erosion face of an infield in the village of Sandur. This initial excavation, conducted by Føroya Fornminnissavn under the guidance of Símun Arge, consisted of a small test trench in the erosion face and revealed over 2 m of well-stratified midden material (Arge 2001). In 2003, this trench was enlarged in an effort to obtain zooarchaeological and archaeobotanical material and also to allow for geoarchaeological analysis of the site (Woollett et al. 2004). Larger-scale excavations in 2004, 2005, and 2006 focused primarily on the area immediately behind the erosion face and have revealed at least one Late Norse structure associated with a substantial amount of very well preserved midden material (Arge et al. 2005; Church et al. 2005; Lawson et al. 2005). The 2003 and 2004 excavations alone yielded over 36,000 bone and shell fragments, with a total number of identified specimens reaching nearly 27,000. Based on radiocarbon dates, stratigraphy, and artifact analysis, the occupational deposits excavated at the site have been separated into three analytic phases, which span the Viking Age through to the Late Norse period: UJF 1 (dated to 9th–12th centuries AD), UJF 2 (11th–12th centuries AD), and UJF 3 (11th–13th centuries AD) (Church et al. 2005; Lawson et al. 2005).

Though analysis of the site's faunal assemblage is not yet complete, enough work has been accomplished to provide some idea of the nature of the site's palaeoeconomy. In all three phases of the site's occupation, the archaeofauna is dominated by bird, mollusk, and fish remains, with domestic and marine mammals making up no more than about 6% of the total (Figure 1). This is

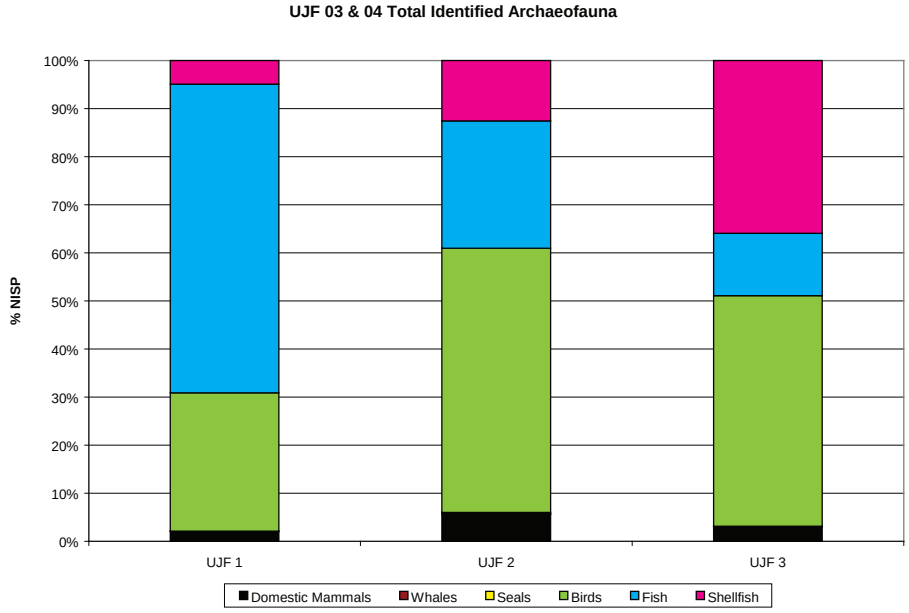

Fig 1. illustrates the relative abundance of each of the major taxa represented in the UJF archaeofauna.

one of the respects in which the overall pattern of taxonomic representation in the Undir Junkarinsfløttur archaeofauna is remarkably different than the patterns seen in contemporary Icelandic and Greenlandic sites. Figure 2 presents the UJF data alongside contemporaneous Norse farm sites in Iceland, Greenland, and one site in Norway. The sites are placed in roughly chronological order, with the earliest sites located on the far left of the graph and the latest on the right. Compared with all of these sites, Undir Junkarinsfløttur maintains a very low proportion of domestic mammals and a very high proportion of wild bird and fish over time. In contrast to UJF, domestic mammals make up at least 20% of the archaeofauna in all but two of the comparison sites (W51 and W48 in Greenland). Though seabirds were taken in large numbers upon initial settlement (*landnám*) in southern Iceland, overexploitation appears to have drastically reduced initially-unwary seabird populations within a relatively short period of time (Vésteinsson et al. 2002). Consequently, bird remains are relatively rare in most later Icelandic archaeofaunal assemblages. A notable exception may be the Mývatn region of northern Iceland, where recent zooarchaeological evidence suggests a long-term pattern of waterfowl

	UJF 1		UJF 2		UJF 3		Total
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	**Count**
Puffin (*Fratercula arctica*)	451	77.36	445	83.96	4036	89.99	4932
Guillemot (*Uria lomvia*)	2	0.34	4	0.75	0	0.00	6
Murre/Guillemot (*Uria* species)	116	19.90	50	9.44	292	6.51	458
Black guillemot (*Cepphus grylle*)	1	0.17	0	0.00	2	0.04	3
Razorbill (*Alca torda*)	6	1.03	9	1.70	82	1.83	97
Duck species (*Anatidae*)	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	0.07	3
Eider duck (*Somateria mollisima*)	0	0.00	0	0.00	12	0.27	12
Manx shearwater (*Puffinus puffinus*)	1	0.17	6	1.13	20	0.45	27
Gannet (*Sula bassana*)	0	0.00	2	0.38	1	0.02	3
Shag (*Phalacrocorax aristotelis*)	5	0.86	6	1.13	16	0.36	27
Gull species (*Laridae*)	1	0.17	1	0.19	2	0.04	4
Herring gull (*Larus argentatus*)	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.02	1
Goose species (*Anseridae*)	0	0.00	7	1.32	18	0.40	25
Total Birds	583	100.00	530	100.00	4485	100.00	5598

Table 1. The table provides a listing of all bird bones recovered in the 2003 and 2004 field seasons at UJF.

egg collection and concurrent conservation of adult birds (McGovern et al. 2006). In contrast to the majority of Icelandic sites, over-harvesting of seabirds does not appear to have occurred at Undir Junkarinsfløttur, where the proportion of seabirds actually *increases* in the later phases. This apparently sustainable, long-term exploitation of wild seabird populations in the Faroes is intriguing. Whether this sustainability was the result of hunting-restriction rules, a small human-population size (resulting in a relatively small demand on seabird populations), or some other factor(s) is a topic for further study.

The vast majority of bird bone in all three phases at Undir Junkarinsfløttur is from puffins (*Fratercula arctica*). If we consider only that portion of the avifauna identifiable to species level, puffins account for anywhere from 77% (in the earliest phase, UJF 1) to 90% (in UJF 3, the last) of the total. It should be noted, though, that most of the bird bone *not* securely identifiable to species level is almost certainly puffin, further adding to the near dominance of this species in the UJF avifaunal assemblage. There were several other species identified, however, including murre/guillemot (*Uria* species) especially, but also razorbill (*Alca torda*), manx shearwater (*Puffinus puffinus*), and shag (*Phalacrocorax aristotelis*) (Table 1).

How unique is the Undir Junkarinsfløttur faunal assemblage within the Faroe Islands? We will need to excavate many more sites before we can answer that question with any real certainty, but there is some evidence that UJF is not in fact an anomaly. For example, the site of Sondum, located across the bay from Undir Junkarinsfløttur, has produced a faunal assemblage that is very similar to (though quite a bit smaller than) that of UJF (McGovern n.d.). Initially excavated by Símun Arge in 2000, Sondum's archaeofauna is not nearly as well preserved as that of Undir Junkarinsfløttur, due to the more acidic nature of Sondum's soil. Nevertheless, the site did produce an assemblage with a NISP (number of identified specimens) count of 726. As with the UJF assemblage, bird bones – and particularly those of puffins (with an NISP of 224) – made up the vast majority of the identified species.

Another interesting Faroese faunal assemblage comes from the early site of Argisbrekka, a site that, like Sondum, has unfortunately not been blessed with good organic preservation but which nonetheless did produce enough faunal material to be usefully studied (Gotfredsen 2007). Anne Birgitte Gotfredsen's excellent analysis of the site's archaeofauna has found that the Argisbrekka assemblage contains a good deal of bird bone, about half of which could be identified to species level (*ibid.*). While puffin was the most frequent, this species was followed closely by guillemots (*Uria* species) and/or razorbills (*Alca torda*). As Gotfredsen notes, the Argisbrekka archaeofauna suggest that fowl-

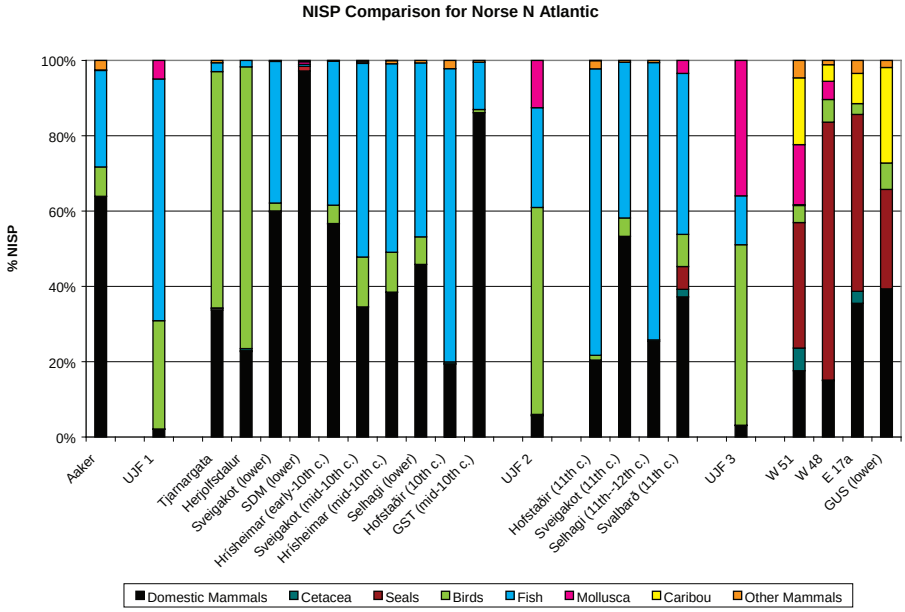

Fig. 2. presents the relative taxonomic makeup of the UJF archaeofauna alongside contemporaneous Norse settlements in Norway, Iceland, and Greenland. The sites are placed in roughly chronological order, with earliest sites/phases located on the far left of the graph and the latest on the right.

ing played an important role in the local domestic economy. The same conclusion can certainly be drawn from the Sandur sites, where the data also suggest a significant focus on wild seabird exploitation. We are fortunate, with the Undir Junkarinsfløttur assemblage, to have a large sample size extending from the settlement period until at least the 12th century A.D. As noted above, the trend seen thus far in the UJF material is one of *increased* seabird exploitation through time.

CONCLUSION

Analysis of the archaeofauna from sites such as Undir Junkarinsfløttur, Sondum, and Argisbrekka has revealed a Viking Age domestic economy in the Faroes that, when compared to those seen elsewhere in the Norse North Atlantic, is at once similar and unique. Similarities are found in the general makeup of the taxa present (domestic farm animals, wild fowl, fish, and sea

mammals); differences are seen in the relative proportions of each taxon, with the relative importance of seabirds being the example focused on in this article. Understanding the role of seabird exploitation in the domestic economy is but one piece of the larger puzzle, however. Fowling, fishing, and farming were all part of the Faroese adaptation to the distinctive challenges and advantages of these islands. While much work remains to be done toward understanding all aspects of early Faroese life, the multidisciplinary research currently being carried out on Sandoy and elsewhere in the Faroe Islands is greatly contributing to our knowledge. This is truly an exciting time to study the Faroese past.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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A palaeoecologist's view of landnám
A case still not proven?

P. C. Buckland & E. Panagiotakopulu

INTRODUCTION

The timing of the earliest human settlement, landnám, in the Faroe Islands has been the subject of much discussion, including several important contributions by Símun V. Arge (1989; 1991; 1993; Arge et al. 2005). Whilst convincing archaeological evidence has always remained elusive (cf. Krogh 1986; Dahl 1970; Jóhansen 1979; Buckland 1992; Debes 1993), one near contemporary source appears unimpeachable. The Irish monk Dicuil, writing at the court of Charlemagne's successors *ca.* 825, in his otherwise often fanciful and derivative description of the World refers to a group of islands, two days sail *ex nostra Scottia*. These had been settled by *heremitae*, culdees, Christian monks in search of solitude, who had been driven away by *latrones Normanni*, Norse pirates, leaving behind only innumerable sheep (*innumerabiles oves*) (Tierney 1967, 76). It has always been tempting to link this with the name *Færingeyjar*, islands of sheep, and to correlate further with the *Íslendingabók* reference to the presence of Irish monks, *papar*, in Iceland before Scandinavian settlement in the mid-ninth century (Sveinbjarnardóttir 1972). The interpretation of both sources remains contentious. Arne Thorsteinsson (2005) has recently presented an iconoclastic view of Dicuil, and the late Kristján Eldjárn was always sceptical of the Icelandic literary sources, written in a Christian milieu to reinforce the Church's priority on a land settled at least ostensibly by pagans. In the Faroes, recent finds of wooden devotional crosses, perhaps based on Irish or Scottish prototypes, at the landnám farm of Toftanes on Eysturoy (Stumman Hansen 2005) has highlighted the presence of Christians amongst the early settlers. Some have been less than critical with such finds. Rayleigh Radford (1983) saw Irishman even in Greenland, and whilst others saw less significance in the simple wooden crosses in both graves and occupation deposits, a point since substantiated by radiocarbon dates (Eldjárn 1989), simple carved stone crosses remain a point of much discussion and speculation (Ahronson 2003; Fisher 2005). In Iceland, where landnám had been largely fixed by Sigurður Þórarinsson (Thorarinsson 1944) in relation to a widespread tephra fall originating in Veiðivötn in AD 871±2 (cf. Larsen 1984), the date of

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the earliest Scandinavian settlement has been questioned in a much disputed thesis by Margrét Hermanns-Auðardóttir (Hermannsdóttir 1986; Hermanns-Auðardóttir 1991). As the historical sources are unlikely to yield anything new and only a spectacular new find in the archaeological record would change our view, then clearly there has long been a need for alternative approaches.

THE FOSSIL RECORD

It was Sigurður Þórarinsson's good fortune to study in Stockholm, where Lennart von Post had developed the study of pollen preserved in Holocene sediments as a means of reconstructing past vegetation, and one perhaps can see a quiet humour in Sigurdur's adoption of VIIa/b as the number for the bicoloured Landnám tephra in Iceland and in Iversen's (1941) use of the term 'landnám' for the earliest evidence of agricultural impact upon the North European forest, at the pollen zone VIIa/b boundary. Þórarinsson, however, whilst initially using this technique to look at Norse Iceland (Thorarinsson 1944, 123-131) moved in other directions, developing the science of tephrochronology, often applying it in archaeological contexts (cf. Thorarinsson 1970). As early as 1922 Jessen (Jessen and Rasmussen 1922) had used palynology in the Faroes and in the 1930's Iversen had done similar work on Norse Greenland (Iversen 1934), but its systematic application in Iceland had to wait near thirty years before Þórleifur Einarsson (1961) demonstrated the truth of Ari Froði's words in the mid-twelfth century

> "Í þann tíð var Ísland viði vaxið á milli fjalls til fjöru"

At the same time, in a more contentious paper, Þórarinsson (1961) was able to show using tephrochronology that soil erosion was essentially a feature of human impact. Others have since shown that the relations between soils and grazing were more subtle than the bald diagrams of Sigurður and others (cf. Dugmore & Buckland 1991) would imply (e.g. Simpson et al. 2001), and some have cast doubt on the scale of human impact (cf. Ólafsdóttir and Júlíusson 2000). The fact remains, however, as Runólfsson (1978) succinctly put it

> "The Icelanders owe their country more than a third of its soils"

Farmers have always tended to be Lamarkists, inheriting the acquired knowledge of their predecessors, but failing to adapt when systems become unpredictable and many were reluctant to accept the impact of their grazing animals. The work of Icelandic soil scientists has had some success in modifying

this view (but see Ólafsdóttir and Júlíusson 2000). Computer modelling (cf. Ólafsdóttir et al. 2001; Simpson et al. 2002) has been employed to examine past landscapes, but they clearly need finer tuning. If Icelandic soil and vegetation had the resilience implied, then why despite deliberately suppressed birth rates (Vasey 1996), did Malthus so often haunt the steps of longhouse and farm not only in Iceland but also the Faroes through into the post-medieval period? Both sediment input and charcoal frequency rise shortly before the Veiðivötn eruption, and the palynological evidence, neatly drawn out by Margrét Hallsdóttir (1987), and more recently by Edwards and others (e.g. Edwards et al. 2005), provides a little evidence of landscape change which can be attributed to human activity, although this adds little to the archaeological record, as there are a number of sites, including Reykjavík, with occupation preceding the tephra fall. At Goðatættur, on the small off-shore island of Papey, named either from the evidence of previous priestly occupants (papar), or as Kristján Eldjárn suggested, from a Norseman's fancy – a resemblance of its rounded rock profiles to the shaved heads of monks - the pollen and charcoal record is supplemented by insects. Ectoparasites and synanthropic beetles appear after the deposition of the Landnám tephra and disappear when the farm is abandoned in the thirteenth century (Buckland et al. 1995).

In the Faroes, in the absence of both forest and the widespread visible marker horizon of the Landnám tephra, locating landnám is more difficult. At Tjørnuvík at the north end of Stremoy, the late Jóhannes Jóhansen (1971) examined both a core and open section in deposits beneath the modern hayfield, close to a previously excavated pagan grave (Dahl and Rasmussen 1956), and obtained uncorrected radiocarbon dates of AD 650±100 and 620±100 from a horizon which showed clear pollen evidence of human impact. Unfortunately, calibration of these dates with recent calibration curves allows significant overlap into the period of presumed Norse landnám (Edwards & Borthwick, in press), but there are other problems with the site. In 1985, Jóhannes returned to Tjørnuvík with Paul Buckland and they dug an exploratory pit at the location of the pollen core to recover samples for insect analysis. The landnám horizon was marked by an increase in inorganic sediment input to the basin and the bulk samples for insects produced not only a far more diverse fauna in the post-landnám phase (Buckland & Dinnin 1998), but also a dung beetle, *Aphodius lapponum*. As has been discussed elsewhere (Buckland 1992; Buckland & Panagiotakopulu 2005), the latter could only exist on the Faroes if large herbivores, sheep or cattle, were present, and it initially seemed to support Jóhannes' hypothesis - but then doubts, both biogeographic and stratigraphic, set in. *A. lapponum* is essentially northern and montane. If the

departure point for the colonists had been Ireland or Scotland, the *Scottia* of Dicuil, then the probability of this dung beetle being accidentally loaded onto the boat in dunnage or ballast is much less than several other species. It would have been a much more likely candidate if departure had been from the Norwegian fjords. In terms of simple climatic parameters, several other dung beetles should be able to establish themselves on the islands, and West (1930) records *A. ater* in numbers on Suðuroy, although it has not been recorded subsequently. Why *A. lapponum* is the only dung beetle in the Faroes and on Iceland and why it failed to establish itself in medieval Greenland remains uncertain, partly perhaps a reflection of biogeographic accident in terms of introduction and partly one of competitive exclusion of other species. Whatever the reasons, it does appear as the first anthropochorous insect in the Faroes. The stratigraphic problems are more severe and are likely to be encountered on most sites in the Faroes (Fig. 1), where the high relief leads to unstable slopes. It is not unusual to find an inversion in radiocarbon dates across landnám horizons as previously metastable landscapes are mobilised by forest and scrub clearance before a new stability is achieved under a predominantly grazed grassland regime. This in itself is only stable so long as grazing pressure promotes root growth and is not sufficiently intense to break the rootmat and lead to further erosion. In landscapes where there are few decomposers in the invertebrate fauna, organic materials may have a long residence time in the soil and radiocarbon dates may be significantly older than the sediment in which the material occurs. This has been well illustrated in an archaeological context by Guðmundur Ólafsson's (2005) work at Viðgelmir in Iceland. The combination of unstable slopes and old carbon therefore throws some doubt on the value of the Tjørnuvík data, and similar doubts attend the more recent work on the site by Hannon and others (Hannon et al. 1998; Hannon and Bradshaw 2001), where some sort of a *terminus ante quem* is provided by sherds of the AD 871±2 Landnám tephra in the overlying deposits.

Jóhannes' other key sites lie on the most westerly island in the Faroes, on Mykines. His correlation between the small subrectangular fields at Lambi and the palynological evidence from the longer succession 500m to the east at Uldahlíð was perhaps adventurous (Jóhansen 1979; 1982), but he did find cereal-sized grass pollen on the latter site and this warranted a visit to obtain bulk samples for insect remains. Examination of the stratigraphy in the exposed face, however, and identification of the beetle fauna (Buckland *et al.* 1998) provided other reasons to be sceptical about the pollen data. The highly eutrophic assemblage on a shallow slope, close to the cliff edge and immediately above a steeply inclined area of 'fields', was suggestive of conditions

Fig. 1. Erosion as a result of overgrazing at Tjørnuvík, Streymoy, 2003. Barbed wire fences, centre right and left divide separate areas stripped of soils from a field still with remains of former terraces. Grazing in the central area has begun the process of erosion which will eventually cut the area back to bare rock and deposit the sediment into hayfields in the foreground. The site sampled by Jóhannes Jóhansen lies some 50m to the right. Photo: Eva Panagiotakopulu.

similar to those pertaining at Lambi at the present day, namely a puffin colony. Their burrows not only provide ideal habitat for much of the eutrophic insect fauna, but also lead to slope instability and Uldahlíð appears to reflect this. The high nutrient input from puffins and other seabirds, present before landnám in inestimable numbers, may also explain an inability to detect human impact at settlement in the chironomid faunas from Gróthúsvatn on Sandoy, where the change from birds to domestic stock may have maintained similar levels of nutrients (Gathorne-Hardy et al. 2007), although Church et al. (2005; see also McGovern et al. this vol.) have recently argued for controlled exploitation of bird stocks, which may have left puffins and others in possession of the hillsides around the lake.

More recent palynological research has been reviewed by Edwards & Borthwick (in press) and the frequency of the occurrence of large monoporate grains in deposits older than conventional Norse landnám, extending back into the sixth century, has been considered in relation to their interpretation as either cereal pollen or that of Northern Lyme Grass, *Leymus arenarius.*

Fig. 2. Mykines, Uldahlíð from the sea, 2004. The steep slope in the foreground shows the narrow strips, 'fields', stretching down to the cliff edge. Jóhannes Jóhansen's sample site lies on the right hand side of the photograph, above the recent landslip. Photo: Kevin Edwards.

Lyme Grass (*Sævarkorn* – its Faroese name suggest that as in Iceland (Guðmundsson 1996) it was once used as a substitute or supplement to cereals) is now rare in the Faroes, and although it does grow along the upper part of the beach at Tjørnuvík, it is difficult to even guess at its former extent. For the more critical, the case remains unproven.

The problem returns to that of the 'Celtic' fields (Dahl 1970). Many of these lie on slopes where cultivation would have been improbable, if not impossible (Fig. 2), and their very marginality argues for a population sufficiently numerous to necessitate the use of every available area for growing crops, an unlikely scenario before the medieval period. Accepting Dicuil, it is very unlikely that even the most masochistic culdee would have ignored good land for cropping and grazing and hung on to the cliff edge. Fields of the Lambi type may reflect small scale cereal cultivation and similar systems may underlie the late medieval and post-medieval re-organisations of the Faroese landscape, but the narrow linear baulks lying on steep slopes must relate to other use, although

that use may have been integrated with that of the small rectangular fields. The clue perhaps lies with the birds. Although the wet climate of the Faroes would not have allowed the deep accumulations of guano, mined for use as fertiliser on the off-shore islands of Peru, at landnám and throughout the medieval period, the nutrient-enriched deposits around the puffin burrows and bird cliffs would have been considerable. The ornithologist Kenneth Williamson (1946) noted that the lush grasses of puffineries, *Lundasina*, provided important grazing areas. The strips perhaps reflect an earlier, more systematic use of the resource, the paring of guano-rich turves to supplement soils on fields in more suitable places for cereal cultivation. Paring, sometimes accompanied by burning, was widespread in northern Europe until modern fertilising techniques rendered it redundant (cf. Coleman 1844; Fenton 1986). The pared turf could be used as animal litter, soaking up manure before being spread on the fields (Davidson 2001), and there is some evidence for this practice in medieval Greenland (Buckland et al. 2008). In the Faroes, the seabirds would have replaced domestic animals as a source of nutrients until the process of paring removed all suitable slopes for nesting burrows and the strips were abandoned.

CONCLUSION

Although the pollen evidence has tipped the balance in favour of an earlier phase of settlement in the Faroe Islands, there remains the need for more substantive evidence. Small numbers of settlers with a few sheep, but not the innumerable animals of Dicuil, or other domestic animals can be virtually undetectable in the palaeoecological record. The eutrophic grassland maintained by breeding geese and swans may look palynologically no different from that created by the impact of other, domestic, grazers. Similar problems accompany some aspects of the insect fauna. *Catops fuliginosus* occurs in the deposits immediately beneath the landnám farm at Toftanes on Esturoy (Vickers 2007). Although largely synanthropic (Larson & Gígja 1959), it also occurs around puffin burrows in southern Iceland (Buckland 1988), and it could be part of the naturally introduced biota. What is required is a site where the anthropochorous fauna, either that associated with dung or with stored hay, is clearly stratified in deposits securely dated to before Norse landnám. Until that occurs, for these palaeoecologists at least, the date of the earliest settlement of the Faroes remains insecure, a case not proven.

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The stofa reconstruction on the island of Papa Stour, Shetland
From historical research and archaeological investigations to cultural asset

Barbara E. Crawford & Beverley Ballin Smith

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Papa Stour is an island off the west side of Shetland, which has been the centre of historical and archaeological investigations for many decades (Crawford 1984a and b, 1985, 1991, 1992, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2001, 2002). Research into the history of this island started in a 1971 doctoral thesis (Crawford 1971) when the importance of the 1299 document (Shetland's oldest document) was discussed, and followed up with a campaign of excavations (1977-1990) at the Biggins in pursuit of Duke Hakon's *stofa* mentioned in that document (Crawford and Ballin Smith 1999). This was not, perhaps, an ideal way to go about investigating these aspects of Shetland's past history, nonetheless this inter-disciplinary research programme resulted in the remarkable discovery of a wooden floor dating from c.1200 which undeniably came from a *stofa* building. It seems highly likely that this is that same *stofa* mentioned in the 1299 document (Crawford 1999, 247). This discovery, and the current project of the partial reconstruction of the *stofa*, has attempted to recreate the vanished element of wooden buildings, particularly notched-log timber buildings, in Shetland's Norse past. This topic is, therefore, relevant to Faroe's own cultural traditions, where the remarkable survival of 'lafted' buildings[1] from the Norwegian period is a notable feature of the historical centres of Kirkubjøur and Tórshavn, still standing as memorials of past historic links and the influence of Norwegian church and state. Nothing like these buildings has survived in Shetland, but the 1299 document and the excavation of the *stofa* at the Biggins shows that they were once a feature of building traditions; a feature that

1 The use of the term 'lafting' for notched log construction was adopted in the discussion of log-timbered buildings by the excavators (see Crawford and Ballin Smith 1999, 223 ff)

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Fig. 1. The 1299 Document on display in the Shetland Museum in 2007, on loan from The Arnamagnaean collection, National Archives, Copenhagen

died out with the changed historical circumstances of 1468-9 when Orkney and Shetland were pledged to Scotland and were inevitably drawn into the Scottish cultural sphere thereafter (Smith 1980).

To follow the clues preserved in a historical document, and seek for the material remains of a house referred to in such a document is an unusual way to pursue a study of the past, but the 1299 document itself is very unusual record (Fig. 1). It concerns a dispute between the representative of the Norwegian crown in Shetland, Thorvald Thoresson, and a woman on the island of Papa Stour, Ragnhild Simunsdatter, who accused Thorvald of cheating Duke Hakon Magnusson – the son of Magnus Lagabøter, who held Shetland and Faroes as part of his ducal appanage during the reign of his brother Erik Magnusson (Hakon succeeded his brother to the throne of Norway later in the year 1299). The details given of the occasions when Ragnhild threw her accusations at Thorvald, and the references to previous commissions which had attempted to sort out the fiscal arrangements on the island of Papa Stour show that there was a complex and disputed situation about the assessments of certain farms at that time (Smith 2000, 2002).[2] As Ragnhild saw it this

2 It is known that Hakon's administration of his appanage, and later the kingdom, was organised with a concern for judicial efficiency. The Faeroese document *Seyðabraevið* stems from this same period

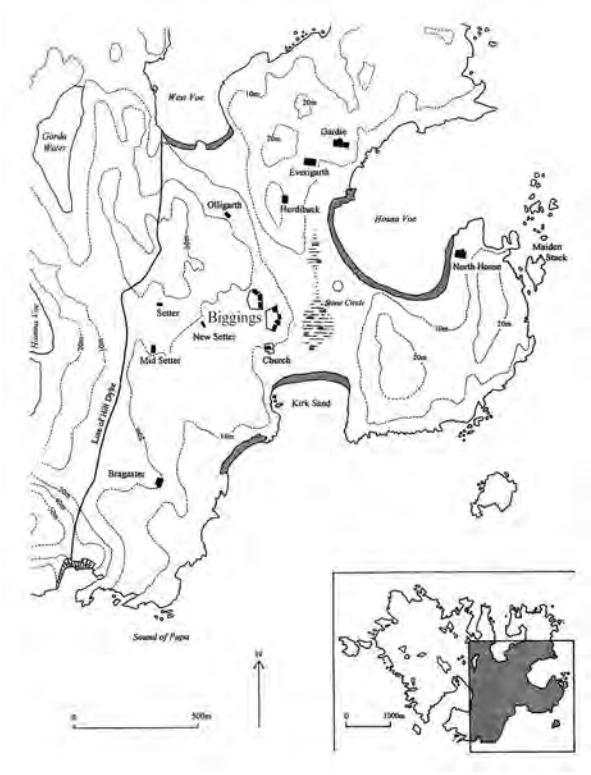

Fig. 2. Map of the east side of Papa Stour showing the location of the Biggins

situation was being exploited by Thorvald to the detriment of Duke Hakon, and she confronted him twice with her accusation; once, it is said, in the *stofa* on the duke's farm, and later, in the home field (*tun*) of the farm. On the latter occasion she told him (and probably shouted the words at him): 'you must not be my Judas though you are the duke's' (Crawford 1999,49; Ballantyne & Smith eds. 1999, no.2; transcription and translation by Bibire in Crawford, ed., 2002,10; *DN*, I, no.89; Hodnebø, ed. 1960 with trans. into Norwegian). This was an implicit accusation of treachery, and the accusation had to be disproved, so at the meeting of the Shetland Lawthing later in the summer a deposition was recorded at which the events were recounted and the agreed situation regarding the price of land and the rental rates on Papa Stour were laid down. This document was intended for the ducal council, and must have been filed in the royal chancery, for it survived, remarkably, although we have no further evidence of what the result of this process was or of what happened to Ragnhild.

The 1299 document has been fully discussed from many different angles

recently (see Helle, Imsen, Øye, Smith, Stylegar in Crawford ed. 2002). It provides invaluable information about many different aspects of Norse society in the period of direct Norwegian government in Shetland. It also provides us with the incontrovertible evidence of a wooden, log-timbered building (the *stofa)* on the ducal/royal farm in the island. But where was the likely site of that farm? The decision to start looking for it at the Biggins was based on a study of the settlement pattern and the place-names of the farms (Fig. 2) (Crawford 1999, 26-9, 45-6). The cultivated area of the island is clustered around the two bays on the east side, Kirk Sand and Housa Voe. The largest farm in the early rentals was the settlement known today as the Biggins, divided at one time into Sutherhouse, Northouse and Ophus. The latter is referred to in the 1299 document as the main farm which was skatted, and the name is still remembered as being located in the yard where the crofthouse called 'da Gørl' existed (and still exists) as a ruin. This was the nucleus of a very populous community, where 30 households are recorded as living at the height of the population in the 1860s, before the old houses were all pulled down and new houses built around the perimeter of the Biggins crofting township.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS 1977-2003

This was obviously the central settlement location, at the head of the best land and with the church nearby, so it was in the yard where the old houses had once been that archaeological attention was focussed and over a dozen trenches opened up. The destruction of the old houses in the 1860s had been very thorough, and the earlier archaeology survived only in a very partial condition, except in the one location where the remains of the *stofa* were found, underneath the still-standing walls of the crofthouse called 'da Gørl'. This roofless building was a hindrance to our full understanding of the site, as the excavations had to be carried on within and around it. Eventually the walls of the Gørl were dismantled, in order to reveal the surviving structural elements and understand the importance of the medieval building underneath (Fig. 3). The Gørl had actually preserved some parts of the wooden floor, and other elements of the *stofa,* through anaerobic conditions by pressing down the peaty levels of collapsed turf roofing from the dismantled cottages, on top of which the Gørl had been built in the 1860s.

The discovery of the wooden floor[3] alerted us to the special significance of

3 The remains of the floor showed had been constructed of pine boards resting on joists which were laid across the building. The best preserved of the boards were 0.14 m wide, 10-20 mm thick and 1.4 m long (Ballin Smith 1999, 79)

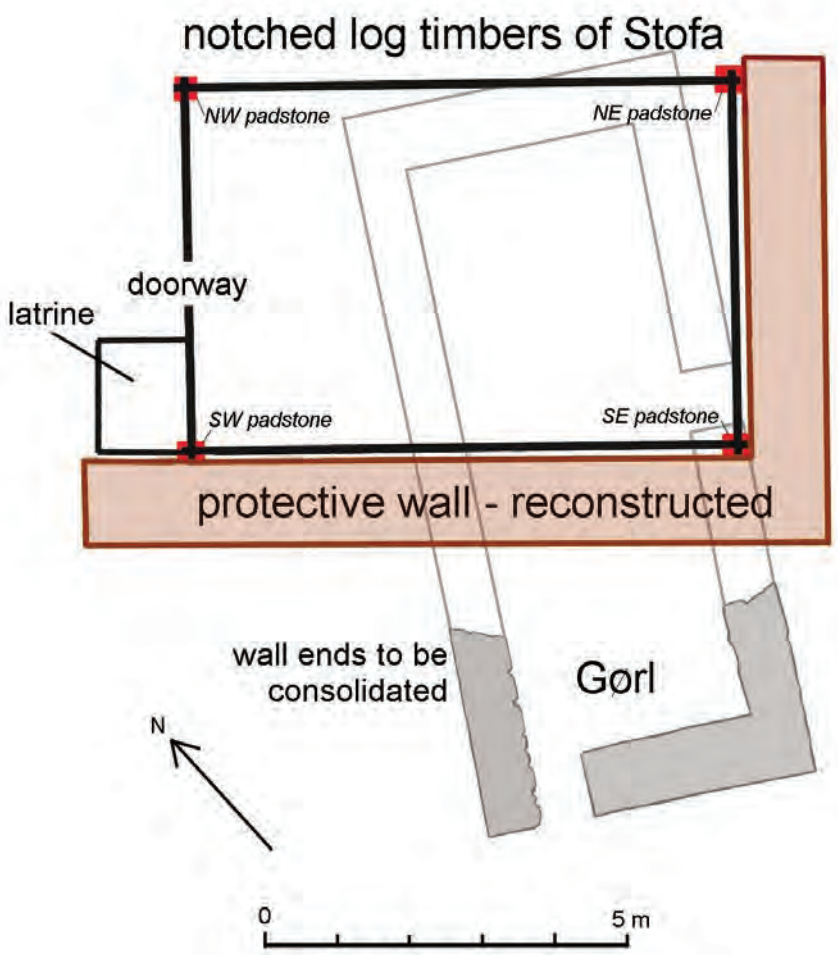

Fig. 3. Plan of proposal for reconstruction of stofa timbers and protective wall (Ballin Smith, 2007, illus.3)

the site, as this was possibly the earliest wooden floor found in any excavated or surviving medieval house site in Scotland. But there were features of this dwelling house, which were extremely puzzling to those of us unfamiliar with the building traditions of wooden houses, and it took some time before the different aspects of what we found were understood. First of all there was the very prominent survival of the protective stone wall *(vernemur)* along the south-western long side of the wooden house (Fig. 4), and also along the south-east gable. This was the best surviving feature of the whole site and was

Fig. 4. Photo of Wall 'A' as excavated, the original *vernemur,* protecting the south long wall of the 13th century *stofa* building

thought originally to be the wall of a stone house. Learning from Norwegian and Faroese examples, however, we eventually came to understand that in the exposed parts of western Norway and Faroes such walls were constructed around the wooden *stofa* buildings to protect the timbers from the worst of the Atlantic wet and windy weather.

We next had to come to terms with the fact that the walls of the timber house had not survived, as all the wooden timbers had been removed. The only remaining constructional elements were the wooden floor, and the gable (*svill)* stones on which the logs had rested. The very fine series of hearths within the building provided us with a good understanding of the different phases of its use and occupation, as they corresponded with a variety of different hearths

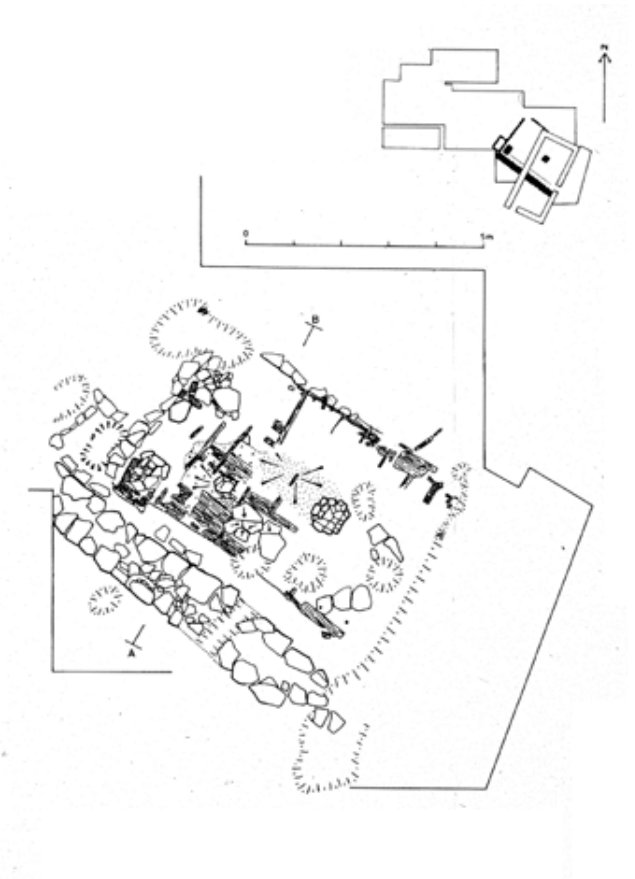

Fig. 5. Plan of Phase 2 (stofa)

known from urban sites in Norway and *stofa* buildings in the north Atlantic: a large stone-lined central fire-pit in the house preceding the *stofa* (phase 2), flat central stone hearths (*åre)* (phase 3), wall hearths and a later corner-hearth (*hjørne ildsted*) (phase 4).[4] In addition there were traces of a wall-bench (mold-benk) running along the south long wall, a well-known component of log-timbered *stofa* buildings (Fig. 5).

All these features led us to interpret this building as a *stofa*, despite the absence of notched-log timbers. Its dimensions accord with a standard size of such wooden buildings as recorded in Norway: 7.70 m x 5.50 m, with an entrance in the middle of the west gable. This was a *stofa* with only one room

4 Full details of the archaeology and material evidence uncovered is analysed by Ballin Smith 1999, and in more concise form by Ballin Smith in Crawford, ed. 2002, 95-110

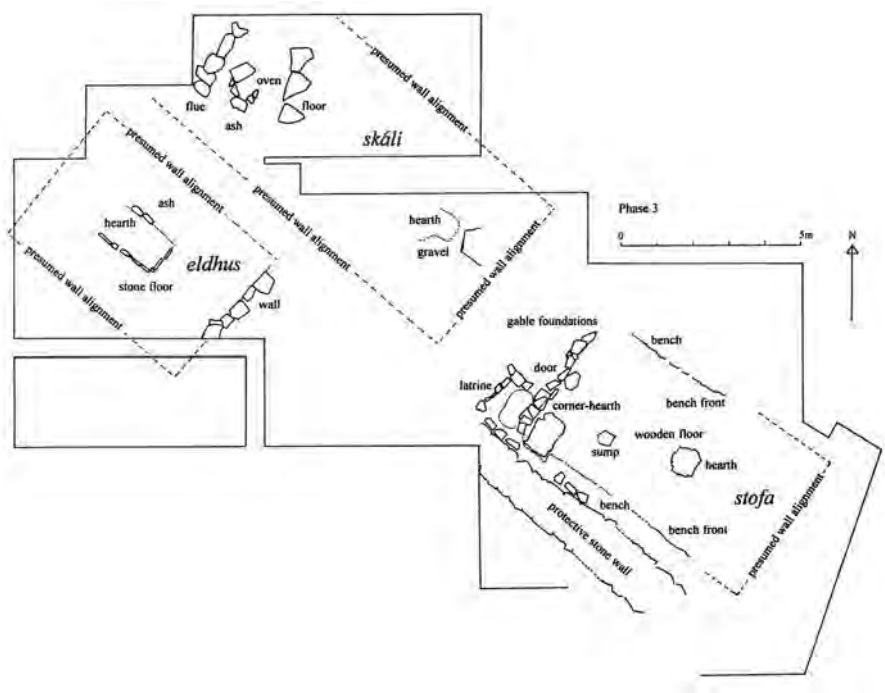

Fig. 6. Over-all plan of the site

(and no additional entrance porch. However there was evidence for a small stave-built structureon the southwest side of the west gable, surrounding a large pit. This has been interpreted as a privy, with the pit being a soakaway, filled with middling-size stones and capped with gravel. The *stofa* west entrance faced the other buildings of the medieval farm, which, despite the very great destruction in this part of the yard, appear to have been the other components of a Norse farmstead, the skáli and the *eldhús* (Fig. 6). Dating for the *stofa* rests on radiocarbon determinations from pieces of the pine floor planks, which are not very specific, and range from AD 1200 to 1400. This *stofa* may have been built already in the early 13th century, and have therefore been old at the time of the recorded events of 1299.

THE PARTIAL RECONSTRUCTION PROJECT 2007-2008

The project to reconstruct part of the Norse wooden *stofa* on site at the Biggins has been made possible because of generous funding from Norway and the Papa Stour History Group (PSHG) since the completion and publica-

tion of the excavations (Crawford & Ballin Smith 1999). The reconstruction of archaeological and historical buildings on their original sites in Britain is extremely rare because of the potential to damage any surviving evidence, and the potential to misinterpret that evidence in the light of any further knowledge about the building. The cultural background surrounding the Biggings *stofa* (see above) meant that building parallels have been sought in the Hordaland area of Norway where medieval log-timbered buildings, and the building traditions associated with them, still survive. The project will provide a unique visitor and educational attraction on the island, and benefit the island's community. This will recount the story not only of the building and the settlement to which it belonged, but of Papa Stour's part in Shetland's Norse past.

PHASE 1 OF THE RECONSTRUCTION - 2007

Prior to the start of Phase 1, craftsmen from Norway evaluated the site and its surviving archaeological evidence, and led the development of the project. The first phase of work on the site was concerned with the reconstruction of the protective walls. Using the surviving archaeological evidence, the two protective walls *(vernemure)* of the south gable and the west long wall were reconstructed on their original foundations re-using local stone from the Biggins locality. Pad-stones (*svillsteiner*) for supporting the wooden notched-log frame were also prepared under archaeological supervision.

The beginning of the reconstruction demanded much discussion by the project team on what was achievable in the light of the constraints – the project proposal, the planning permission conditions and what the reconstruction would look like. Discussion included how the *vernemure* (protective walls) would fit around a level timber frame; the width, height, length and profile of the *vernemure*; the distance the timber frame would be from the walls and the use of a protective membrane as an interface between the original and the new masonry. Archaeological input was required to identify and expose the stones of the *vernemure,* and compare them with the site plans from the excavations. Variability of height and slope of the wall stones was also assessed, as was the angle between the long wall and the gable *vernemur* for the reception of the rectangular log frame the following year. A report was compiled of the processes surrounding the methodology, the on-site decision-making and the results of the project (Ballin Smith 2007).

VERNEMURE CONSTRUCTIONAL TECHNIQUES AND ADJUSTMENTS

In the initial stages of the project it was important to get the angles, length, height and width of the walls correct, not only on their foundations but also in relationship to the space the wooden *stofa* frame would occupy within the angle of the *vernemure.* Because of the sloping ground at the entrance to the site the foundations of the gable *vernemur* were deeper than those of the long wall, and the wall was stepped up to its full height so as not to exceed that agreed with the planning authorities.

The middle portion of the surviving long wall had slumped inwards on

Fig. 7. Espen Martinssen underpinning the original foundations of the *vernemur*

Fig. 8. Views of the reconstructed *vernemure* (Ballin Smith 2007, illus. 23, 25, 26 – photos by Jane Puckey)

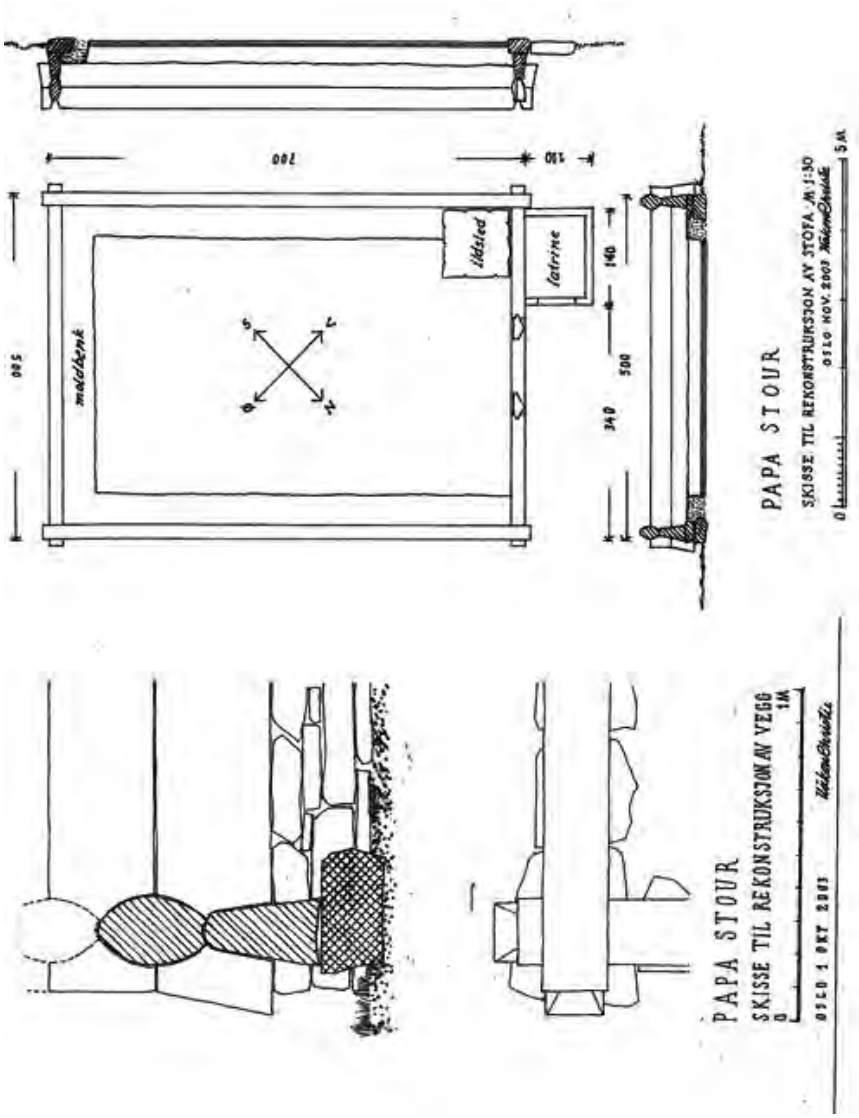

Fig. 9. Sketches of proposed timber reconstruction (Hakon Christie)

its foundations, and before it was built upon, it was underpinned to prevent further slippage when receiving the weight of the new wall (Fig. 7). Due to the slight acute angle between the *vernemure*, the gable foundations had to be extended eastwards slightly to enable a right-angled corner to be produced. A

layer of 'Terram' was put down to separate the old stonework and subsoil from the new masonry, and wooden wall frames with sides with a slight slope were constructed and erected at either end of the gable wall in preparation for its construction. They would help produce a slight batter on the external side of the wall, while the inside face would be vertical.

The longer sidewall was constructed about 1 m deep on original foundations, which were 1.2 m wide, and its finished height is 1.6 m. The gable is slightly thinner at 0.8 m on foundations 1 m wide. Due to slippage the sidewall had a slight curve, which was straightened and levelled during the reconstruction. The gable wall faces the road and it is the first of the *vernemure* that visitors see when they approach the site (Fig. 8). It has therefore been constructed with good blocks while more rounded stone was used for its internal face, which will not be visible once the wooden frame of the *stofa* is in place. Everything was planned by the craftsmen dykers before construction, such as the look of the wall, its shape, its colour and which stones were used. Once each wall achieved a consistent height of 1.6 m the site was left ready for Phase 2 of the project.

PHASE 2 - 2008

The timber has been sourced in Hordaland and Romsdal (west Norway) and has been dried over the winter (2007-8). It is being prepared at Bryggen in Bergen using hand tools and will be transported to Shetland in May on board the training sailing-ship 'Staatsrad Lemkuhl'. The logs will be 100% heartwood, and will be notched with the 'findalslaft' as the Biggins stofa recorded in 1299 dated from before the Black Death. After 1350 the 'findalslaft' is not known from any standing buildings in Norway and must have gone out of use, perhaps because there was no demand for new wooden buildings after the decimation of the population at that time. The craftsmen from "Norges Håndkraftsutvikling" will be using the same techniques as were used on the Auðunarstofa which was prepared, transported to Iceland and re-constructed at Holar in 2000 (a gift to the Icelandic people from Norway). This *stofa* is referred to in sources from the early 14th century and was thus roughly contemporary with the Papa Stour *stofa*. However the latter is only going to be partially reconstructed, consisting of three notched logs on a sill beam (Fig. 9).

There will be an exchange of craftsmen involved in this stage of the project, with young carpenters from Shetland visiting Norway to help prepare the three lower notched-log timbers and to learn timber maintenance skills. Once they have arrived in Papa Stour the timbers will be erected within the walls

Fig. 10. Model of the Biggins *stofa* on display in the Shetland Museum

of the *vernemure* by both Norwegian and Shetland craftsmen. There will be no attempt to replicate the planked floor, but gravel will be laid down in the interior of the *stofa,* and the internal features delineated with stone slabs.

CONCLUSION

In the historical context of Shetland's relationship with Norway it is not unlikely that the *stofa* may have been built after Shetland was detached from the earldom of Orkney and brought directly under the rule of the Norwegian crown in the years 1195-1210. Its political significance is clear: such a building is one of status for the crown administrators who were put into Shetland at that time, and for whom Papa Stour was a power base (as we know from the events of 1299). The *stofa*, which we have discovered can only have been constructed for the powerful in Norse society, and an inescapable conclusion would seem to be that it was in this building, the *stofa* on the duke's farm, that the meeting of Thorvald and Ragnhild took place at Easter time 1299 (Fig. 10). The discovery of this wooden building has shown, what the document of 1299 also shows, that Shetland was an integral part of the north Atlantic

cultural zone in the 13th century. Its place in the wooden house-building traditions of Norway and Faroe has been examined recently (Stumman Hansen; Stoklund; and Christie in Crawford ed., 1999). The partial reconstruction, which is being carried out will demonstrate its significance as part of this maritime, northern world for Shetlanders and visitors to the island in years to come.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Juniper, goats and the Norse

Did the decline of Juniperus in the Faroe Islands have a human cause?

Kevin J. Edwards[1]

INTRODUCTION

The late Alan Small (1937-99) worked at the interface between geography and archaeology and had an abiding interest in the Viking era (e.g. Small 1965; 1968a; 1968b; cf. Morrison 2001). In 1992, he published a paper in *Acta Borealia* ('The Juniper decline during the Norse landnam in the Faroe Islands'), which hypothesised that a decline in the fortunes of juniper was a result of goat browsing. Taking the paper by Small as a starting point, this contribution aims to look critically at the available evidence for a link between the demise of juniper and its association with human activity. Particular consideration is given to the substantial body of pollen-analytical (palynological) data from the Faroes that has become available since Jóhannes Jóhansen's (1985) thesis, the most recent palynological reference cited by Small.

JUNIPER

The procumbent form of the evergreen juniper shrub – *J. communis* ssp. *alpina* (Sm.) Celak (≡ ssp. *nana* [Hook.] Syme; Faroese *vanligur baraldur*) – is native to the Faroes. It is best represented on the island of Svínoy (Fig. 1) and is sparsely distributed elsewhere in the archipelago (Fosaa 2000; Jóhansen 2000), typically above 50 m above sea level on peaty or gravelly substrates. A member of the Cupressaceae family, juniper has long been recorded subfossil within the peats of the Faroe Islands (e.g. Svabo 1781-82 [1959]; Jessen 1925; Hannon et al. 2005). It has also been uncovered during archaeological excavations on Norse sites, most notably in the form of twined juniper cords at Argisbrekka (Malmros 1994; Mahler 2007) and especially at Toftanes where

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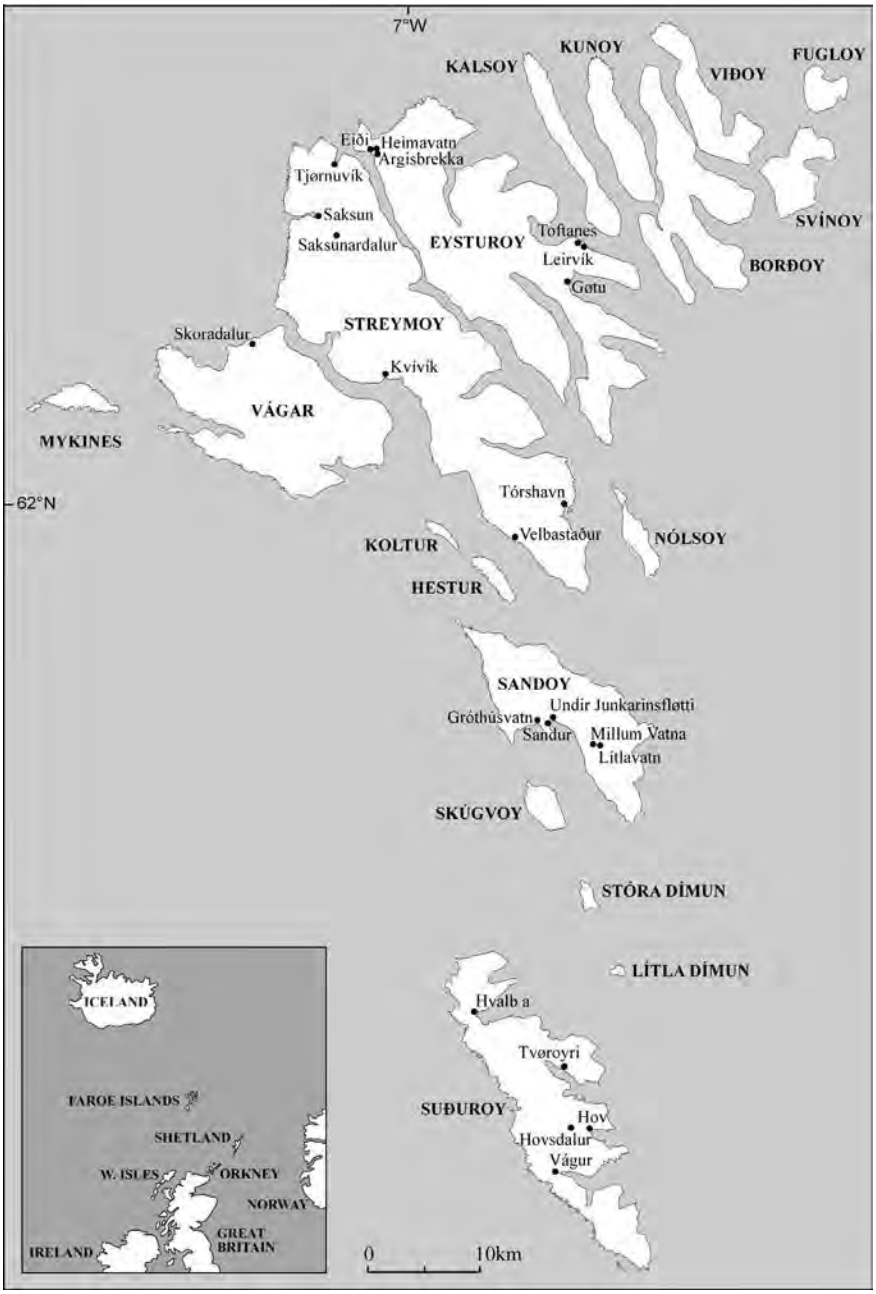

Fig. 1. Location of the Faroe Islands including places mentioned in the text.

it was found up to 2 m in length and totalling more than 100 m (Larsen 1991; Stummann Hansen 1991). Amongst other uses, it is assumed that the Norse would have valued the plant for the flavouring and smoking of foodstuffs as well as for ropes and bucket loops (Larsen 1991). The extent to which juniper may have been used for fuel is a moot point given the scarcity and usefulness of woody materials (Stummann Hansen 1988), although it has been found in charred form (Vickers et al. 2005).

There is no evidence that the recognised tree form of the taxon, *Juniperus communis* L. ssp. *communis*, ever grew in the Faroe Islands, although some authors have talked perhaps ambiguously about its existence as a tree (Malmros 1990) or as a constituent of low density woodland (Hannon et al. 2001; Vickers et al. 2005). Discussing juniper wood found in peat deposits, Jóhansen (1985, p. 51) said that 'All the stems found are twisted, showing the prostrate growth typical of *J. communis ssp. nana* (sic.). The stems can be up to 10 cm thick, but are generally 3-4 cm. I have counted 80 annual rings in one stem which was 5 cm in diameter.' This last point could have implications for radiocarbon dating – for instance a utilized piece of wood 10 cm in diameter may well be approaching 200 years of age. An inferred house post at Toftanes had a diameter of 6 x 8 cm (Christensen 1998).

Juniper has one of the widest global distributions of any gymnosperm, with a modern range extending from the subarctic (e.g. Greenland) to the mountains of southern Europe (e.g. Greece), and its past existence in the Faroes would have been fully consistent with Holocene era climatic, topographical and edaphic conditions (cf. Thomas et al. 2007). The plant does not make for the most palatable of meals owing to the oils (monoterpenes) found in the needles, cones and wood and most livestock are unable to digest the plant easily. It is, however, happily grazed by goats, which are more effective at metabolizing twigs and leaves than sheep; indeed, goats are sometimes used as a control measure in American populations of *Juniperus* (Campbell & Taylor 2008; Ueckert 2008). Over-grazing and extensive burning can destroy juniper communities, although not always (Huttunen 1980), and survival seems to be related to such factors as the plant age and the intensity of grazing (Thomas et al. 2007 and references therein).

ALAN SMALL'S ARGUMENTS

A number of points are raised in Small (1992) which are summarized briefly thus:

1. Juniper was still available when the Norse arrived, therefore the actions of any pre-Norse anchorites (papar) would be of limited relevance; any

sheep the papar left behind would have had a negligible impact on juniper populations;
2. Palaeobotanical studies clearly demonstrate a relationship between the ultimate disappearance of Juniper and the Norse landnám phase;
3. It seems unlikely that climate change or disease would have a major impact upon juniper populations;
4. Juniper had multiple uses for settlers;
5. Juniper plants distant from individual settlements would have been accessible to animals;
6. There is no evidence of burning layers in Faroese soil profiles associated with the Viking phase which might suggest the use of fire in browse enhancement;
7. Goats were easy to transport and provided milk, butter fat, meat and leather;
8. Goats were deleterious to food resources provided by birds as well as to juniper;
9. Goats are difficult to separate from sheep in the osteoarchaeological record and therefore their presence in the Faroes bone assemblages may be underrepresented;
10. The importance of goats in the economic life of the Norse diminished as sheep, cattle and birds became more significant, but by then juniper had been virtually eliminated.

In the final paragraph of the paper, Small (1992, 6) concludes: 'It would seem therefore that grazing by goats may well be the explanation for the decline of Juniper during the Norse landnam in the Faroe Islands.'

The evidence available to us since Small was writing permits us to address many of the observations enumerated above – those deriving from archaeozoological and palynological research especially so.

EVIDENCE

Archaeozoology

The separation of sheep (*Ovis aries* L.) and goat (*Capra hircus* L.) from osteological evidence is notoriously difficult and this forces many archaeozoologists to apply a collective 'sheep/goat', 'ovicaprine', 'caprine' or 'caprid' classification to their faunal assemblages (cf. Boessneck 1969; Halstead et al. 2002). As Table 1 shows, this has also applied to the limited data from the Norse sites yielding bone assemblages from the Faroe Islands. Only two sites have produced bone assigned specifically to goat – a single bone from the midden site

Table 1. Ovicaprine bone assemblages from Norse sites in the Faroe Islands.

Taxon	Sheep	Sheep/ goat	Goat	
Site				**Sources**
Argisbrekka	√	√		Gotfredsen (2007)
Durhús, Eiði	√		√	Andreassen (1980)
Gøtu		√		Jóhansen, quoted in Hannon & Bradshaw (2000), but see Arge, quoted in Edwards (2005)
Heiman á Kvívík	√			Dahl (1951)
Toftanes	√			Stummann Hansen (2005)
Undir Junkarinsfløtti	√	√	√	Church et al. (2005)

of Undir Junkarinsfløtti 2, beside Sandur on Sandoy (Church et al. 2005) and an unspecified number from the Norse and early Medieval site of Durhús, near Eiði, Eysturoy (Andreassen 1980; reported in Gotfredsen 2007). It is important to note that apart from at Undir Junkarinsfløtti and Argisbrekka, the Faroese material has not always been studied by archaeozoological specialists. Thus, it is not possible to say whether the data for the sites severely underrepresent goat, perhaps in response to preconception. Given the long-recognized difficulties in sheep/goat skeletal separation, the future may well lie in genetic differentiation (Loreille et al. 1997).

For the moment, it can only be said that goat would appear to have been present in the Faroes during the Norse period. Given the apparent ubiquity of goat as well as sheep in Iceland and Greenland during the Norse period (McGovern et al. 1983; 2001) – and assuming similar levels of caution exercised in identification between specialists – it might be suggested that the numbers of sheep much exceeded those of goat in the Faroes. Whether the presence of a more extensive shrub and woodland cover elsewhere in the North Atlantic is linked to this possible pattern is unknown. The lack of woody material in the Faroes may have been inimical to the survival of goats, whereas in Iceland especially, the value of the woodland resource could have discouraged the keeping of the destructive goat and pig (McGovern et al. 2007).

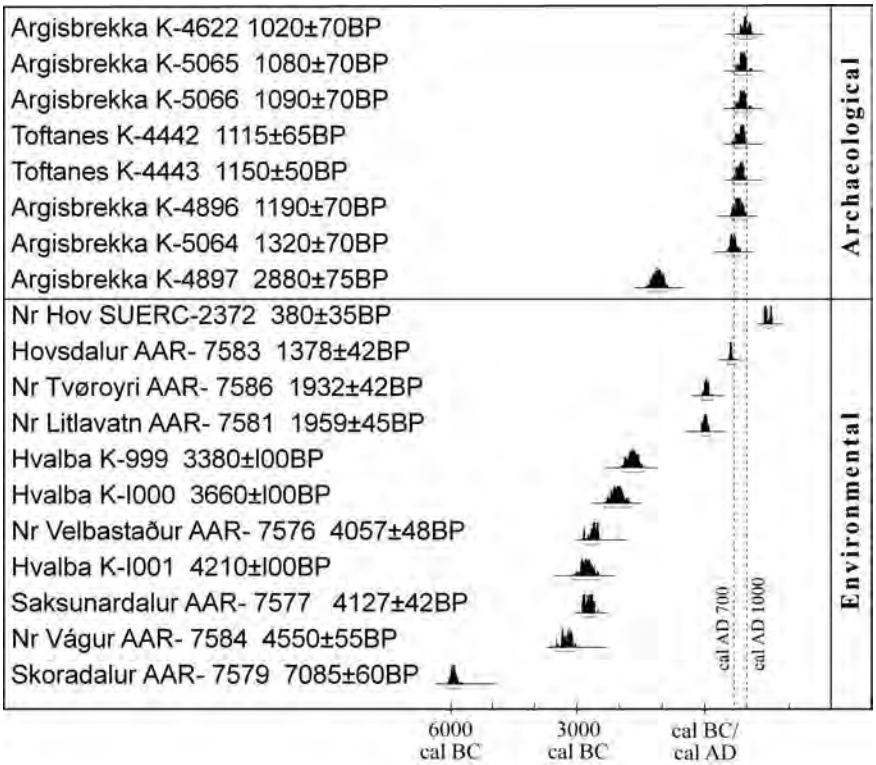

Fig. 2. Multiplot of calibrated ^{14}C age estimates on juniper from the Faroe Islands. The lines below the probability distributions represent the two sigma (95.4%) confidence intervals on dates; calibration was performed using the IntCal04 curve operationalized within OxCal v. 3.10 (Bronk Ramsey 2005). Sources for archaeological dates: Argisbrekka - Malmros (1990); Mahler (2007); Toftanes - Malmros (1990), Vickers et al. (2005) – note that these samples comprise Juniperus twigs and other plant remains. Sources for environmental dates: AAR- Hannon et al. (2005); K- Jóhansen (1982); Suðuroy SUERC- Edwards et al. (2005).

Plant macro-remains

Surviving macrofossil plant remains provide snapshots of the existence of juniper in natural or archaeological contexts and radiocarbon (^{14}C) dates provide age estimates for the taxon from a series of locations across the Faroe Islands (Fig. 2).

The dated natural contexts are more widely distributed geographically. The youngest sample in the environmental series (SUERC-2372) is a substantial piece of wood dating to cal. AD 1440-1630 (2σ) from close to Hov (Edwards et al. 2005). Collectively, these dates demonstrate that junipers were growing

on, or were overwhelmed by, the spread of blanket peat throughout the mid to late Holocene. There are insufficient samples to suggest a general end date for the growth of tree juniper.

The archaeological samples are consistently dated to around the late 9th and into the 10th centuries cal AD. This is not surprising given that they come from only two excavated sites of certain Norse date (Malmros 1990; Mahler 2007), which had limited lifespans. A caveat is required, however, as several of the dates fall within the period *ca* cal AD 770-880, which corresponds to a plateau in the radiocarbon calibration curve (Edwards and Borthwick, forthcoming). The early date (K-4897) from Argisbrekka appears erroneous as it derives from secondarily deposited eroded peat material found in a refuse layer (Malmros 1990).

None of the above, nor the juniper leaves found in lake sediments in Gróthúsvatn prior to a tephra date of *ca* 2250 BC (Hannon et al. 2001), contribute materially to the arguments put forward by Small (1992).

Palynology

Pollen analysis has long provided comprehensive evidence for vegetation and related environmental and agricultural changes. Although the Faroe Islands received early palynological attention (Jessen & Rasmussen 1922; Jessen 1925), it was not until the work of Jóhannes Jóhansen (1971, 1985) that comprehensive studies began in his native land. In spite of subsequent research (e.g. Edwards & Craigie 1998; Edwards et al. 2005; Hannon et al. 2005; Lawson et al. 2008), the Faroes are under-investigated and undisturbed deposits suitable for the technique can be difficult to find for many areas, especially those close to settlement. Nevertheless, a number of pollen sites may be used in addressing the juniper question and palynology might be expected to produce evidence for points 1-3, 6 and 10 summarized from Small (1992) above.

Juniper is insect-pollinated and the pollen is poorly dispersed, especially for communities of the prostrate form (Jóhansen 1985; Schofield et al. 2007). Juniperus pollen attaining levels exceeding 30% of a total land pollen and spore sum were found in profile E2 at Argisbrekka (Jóhansen in Hannon & Bradshaw 2007), although this quantity is unusual and levels at less than 10% of total land pollen or even trace amounts would be more typical for pre-settlement times (cf. Jóhansen 1985; Edwards et al. 2005; Lawson et al. 2008).

For the published pollen data from the Faroe Islands (and excluding data from pollen profiles which terminate prior to probable *landnám* horizons [e.g. Jóhansen 1982; Edwards & Craigie 1998]), Table 2 records phenomena deemed to be relevant to questions raised in this paper. It is important to note

that observations relate to the pattern of changes visible in pollen diagrams rather than quantities of palynomorphs. Where it is indicated that juniper declined both pre-*landnám* and at the time of *landnám* or even later, then this is because the *Juniperus* pollen curve shows a stepped fall in abundance. At some sites (e.g. Gróthúsvatn), the decline began well before probable *landnám* and continues during the first few centuries of settlement. At Millum Vatna, juniper declines from around AD 1000, yet the best estimate of human impacts at the site are around AD 1300. In the last two cases, the age-models were especially problematic.

At Argisbrekka, the sampling intervals are quite coarse (5-10 cm) and only E3 (the '*Betula*' profile) is dated. The proximity of these two cores – about 200 m apart – shows the variation that can occur in the pollen records – with far less juniper at E3 (around 5% compared to a maximum of >30% at E2). The data for the individual profiles at Tjørnuvík and Hov/Hovi are essentially multiple analyses for the same sites, and the full data are presented here for completeness. For the sites of Heimavatn, Tjørnuvík and Hov, the dates for *landnám* correspond to signs of impact, which are earlier than those cited for the conventional arrival of the Norse in the Faroes of *ca* AD 800 (Arge et al. 2005). In each case, the authors, with various levels of circumspection, ascribe these changes to pre-settlement colonizers including the *papar*, while also pointing out potential dating problems (Buckland et al. 1998; Buckland & Panagiotakopulu, this volume; Edwards & Borthwick, forthcoming). By contrast, palynological evidence for *landnám* at Millum Vatna occurs at an estimated date of *ca* AD 1300 (Lawson et al. 2008).

The data in Table 2 show that six discrete sites have pre-*landnám* declines of juniper (including Hovsdalur, which has only trace amounts of *Juniperus* pollen). Only three sites have juniper declines occurring around the level of initial *landnám*, and of these only one site, Argisbrekka E3, appears to have a juniper decline that may correspond chronologically with the conventional Norse *landnám* date of *ca* AD 800 (Fig. 3). On this basis, Small's supposition that the Norse arrival and the demise of juniper are related would not seem to be proven. Even if it is assumed that the Norse settlement had to develop before a reduction in juniper became apparent, then there are only two sites, Lítlavatn and Hov, where a post-*landnám* decline to low levels may be argued, and one of these is uncertain.

Small was correct in pointing out that there is no evidence of burnt layers in Faroese soil profiles associated with the Viking phase which might suggest the use of fire in browse creation. Light muirburn activities in a windy environment might not be expected to leave such a sign and an alternative indicator could be enhanced levels of microscopic charcoal in pollen samples

Site	Juniper decline?				Charcoal expansion			Source
	Pre-*landnám*	*land-nám*	Post-*land-nám*	Estimated date cal AD	Pre-*landnám*	*landnám*	Estimated date cal AD	
Heimavatn	√	√		290 and 600		√	570	Hannon et al. 2005
Argisbrekka E2	√							Hannon & Bradshaw 2007
Argisbrekka E3		√		560-665				Hannon & Bradshaw 2007
Tjørnuvík Hiller		√						Jóhansen 1971
Tjørnuvík Open		√		570-970				Jóhansen 1971
Tjørnuvík		√		650-900		√		Hannon & Bradshaw 2000
Gróthúsvatn	√			50				Lawson et al. 2008
Millum Vatna	√			1000		√		Lawson et al. 2008
Lítlavatn			√?	950				Lawson et al. 2008
Hovi B	√			cal 440 BC				Jóhansen 1982
Hov	√		√	cal 80 BC and cal AD 840	√		570	Edwards & Borthwick forthcoming
Hovsdalur	√?							Edwards et al. 2005

Table 2. Data associated with declines in juniper pollen and expansions in charcoal from sites in the Faroe Islands.

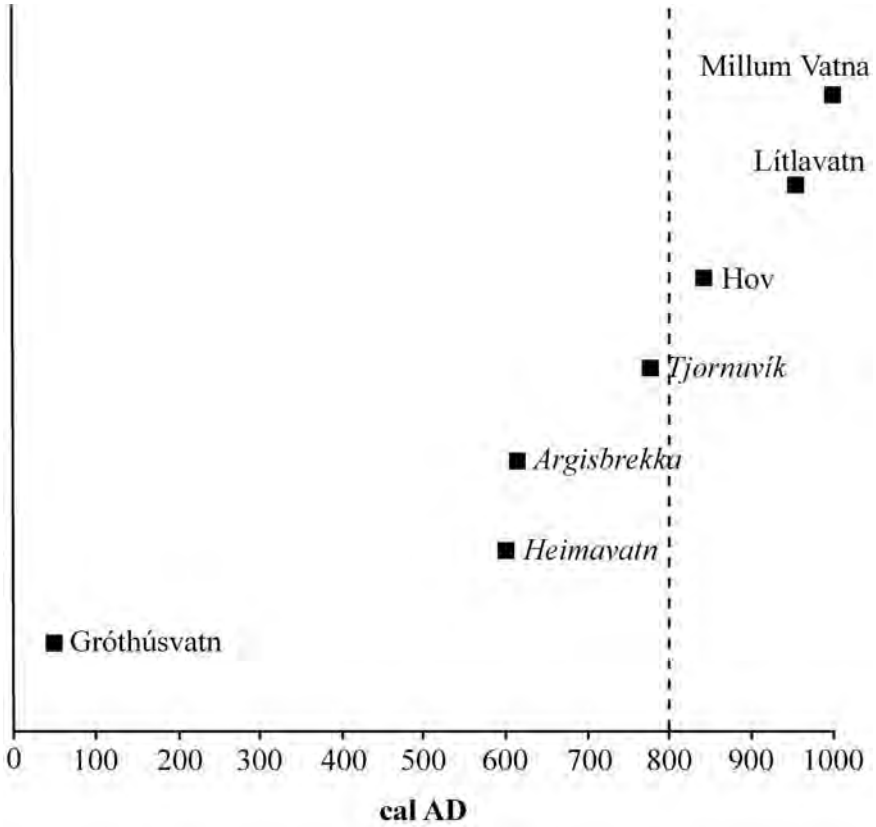

Fig. 3. Central dates, based mainly on age-depth curve estimates, for final declines in juniper pollen from radiocarbon-dated sites (this should be read in conjunction with Table 2 as additional sites have not been ^{14}C-dated). The three italicized names denote sites where the Juniperus fall corresponds with other signs of initial human impact. The dashed line indicates the conventional Norse landnám date of ca AD 800 for the Faroe Islands.

(cf. Edwards 1996). Three sites only would seem to display any such association – Heimavatn, Gróthúsvatn and Millum Vatna (Table 2).

In connection with the decline of juniper and *contra* Small (1992), climate change, perhaps working partly through soil degeneration, has been raised by Hannon et al. (2005) who note the expansion of heathland and mire development as shrub communities are reduced. Peat has been spreading in the Faroe Islands since at least 8700±100 BP (Jóhansen 1985; Lawson et al. 2007) and juniper has clearly managed to survive well beyond this time. While it is probable that human activity, including grazing by introduced animals, has

contributed to the progressive reduction in juniper, it seems that this factor has varied considerably (Fig. 3).

CONCLUSIONS

An assessment of palaeoecological data pertinent to some of the points raised by Alan Small (1992) would seem to produce no clear evidence for either the widespread former existence of goats in the Faroe Islands of Norse times, nor for any general link between the Norse colonization and the demise of juniper. While the former could be a function of the difficulty in separating sheep and goat skeletally, it does not alter the fact that palynologically at least, juniper has not been shown to have disappeared or to have been set on the path to extirpation at or around *landnám* times, even when that episode is viewed elastically. Within the constraints of the evidence, the macrofossil and pollen data suggest that throughout the Holocene, juniper was reduced or largely disappeared locally. Even though natural causes may be involved, such as climate or soil change, anthropogenic factors – of which goat husbandry might have been one – were probably contributory but are not the only answer.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is a pleasure to dedicate this paper to Símun V. Arge on the advent of his 60th birthday and in thanks for his constant encouragement and assistance in furthering environmental research in the Faroe Islands. The hospitality of both Símun and Sigrid Arge over many years has been much appreciated. This paper is also offered to the memory of Jóhannes Jóhansen and Alan Small who both showed kindness to this writer. Thanks also go to The Leverhulme Trust for their support for research into the environmental history of the Faroe Islands. Paul Buckland, Ed Schofield and an anonymous referee made useful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

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Tranproduktion i det medeltida Island

Med utgångspunkt från gården Bær i Öræfi, S-Island

Bjarni F. Einarsson[1]

INTRODUKTION

År 1362 ägde ett av Islands största vulkanutbrott rum i Öræfajökull, i Vatnajökulls sydvästra del. Själva vulkanen – Hvannadalshnjúkur – är med sina dryga 2000 meter, Islands högsta berg. Utbrottet är Europas största pliniska utbrott under de senaste 2000 åren (Jónsson 2007).

Den våldsamma vulkaniska verksamheten ledde till att två hela socknar ödelades och ytterligare två socknar kom att beröras. En av de platser som

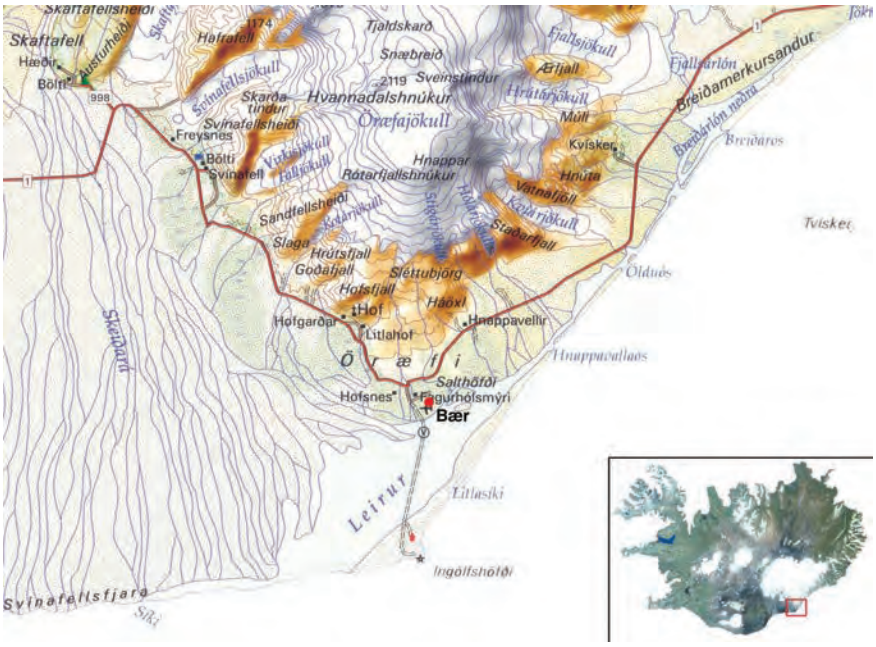

Fig 1. Bær i södra Island. (Kortabók Máls og menningar 2000. Förändring BFE).

1. Fornleifafræðistofan, Eldstál ehf. (Arkeologiska kontoret. Eldstål AB).

Helgi D. Michelsen og Caroline Paulsen: Símunarbók. Heiðursrit til Símun V. Arge á 60 ára degnum. Fróðskapur, Faroe University Press 2008. ISBN: 978-99918-65-18-8. EAN: 9789991865188.

Fig. 2. Vulkanen, klipporna och gården sedda från söder. (Digitala bilder nr. 2006:181. Foto BFE).

drabbades var Bær i Öræfi. Här bäddade tefran (vulkanisk aska) in all bebyggelse på några få sekunder. Det som en gång varit en livaktig gård begravdes snart under metertjocka asklager och det fanns nästan inget som påminde om att det bott människor här. Först när en liten bäck översvämmade den forna gårdsplatsen kom vatten erosionen att blottlägga en del spår efter gården och därför var gårdens läge känd i orten i vissa tider. Den aktuella undersökning som vi nu genomfört av gården och dess närhet har för första gången i Island visat på konsekvenserna av ett så kallat *pyroclastical flow* d.v.s. samma fenomen som ödelade Pompeji 79 AD. Ett sådant utbrott kallas pliniskt, efter Plinii den yngre som beskrev utbrottet i Vesuvius (Jónsson 2007, 7). Í motsats till Pompeij hann befolkingnen på Bær fly innan själva utbrottet ägde rum. De kraftiga jordbävningarna som föregick vulkanutbrottet skadade byggnaderna så pass svårt att man valde att lämna gården. Det finns flera spännande saker att redogöra men i den här artikeln har jag valt att fokusera på de delar av gården där det finns indikationer på tranproduktion.

Undersökningarna inleddes år 2000 med geofysiska mätningar (georadar) i samarbete med Línuhönnun hf (Snorrason 2002). De följdes av provgräv-

ningar sommaren 2002 som i sin tur fortsatte med regelrätta undersökningar året 2004. Från 2005 har fältarbetet genomförts med finansiellt stöd från riksdagen, Hornafjördur kommun, Kvískerja-fonden och Arkeologiska kontoret. I projektgruppen ingår geologiska institutet vid Universitetet i Island. Denna samverkan har hittills resulterat i en BS-uppsats som berör utbrottet år 1362 (framlagd vid Universitet i Island, Páll Jónsson 2007). En annan samverkanspartner är Arkeologiska föreningen i Öræfi, som grundades för att stötta projektet på Bær. Min vän Lars Lundqvist på Riksantikvarieämbetet i Stockholm har språkgranskat texten.

Första gången som någon stötte på de fysiska spåren av den bortglömda gården var år 1918 då Ari Hálfdánarson, bonde på Fagurhólsmýri, skulle gräva en grop för surfoder på gårdsplanen (se planritningen norr om rum E). Då

Fig. 3. Planritning av gården. Delar av den yttre vägglinjen är hypotetisk.

fann han en del av en kvarnsten som så småningom hamnade på Nationalmuseet i Reykjavík. Fyndet ledde dock inte vidare till några antikvariska åtgärder. Saken glömdes och stenen forsvann. Men fyndet fanns kvar i minnet hos ortsbefolkningen och blev en tradition som fördes vidare till senare generationer. Man närde en dröm om att någon gång få till stånd en undersökning, en önskan som framförallt närdes av barnbarnen till Ari, bröderna på bondgården Kvísker. Deras brinnande intresse smittade mig och flera andra och är skälet till att det överhuvudtaget blev en undersökning av gården. Denna korta artikel tillägnar jag därför bröderna Hálfdán, Helgi og Sigurður Björnsson, som dessutom alla deltagit i utgrävningen. Sigurður gick bort under skrivandets gång, men hann dock se att Bær var väl på väg. Jag hoppas han accepterar mina vinklar och tolkningar av materialet. Tack skall ni ha och tack skall alla andra ha som medverkat på ett eller annat sätt. Inte minst alla studenter som deltog som volontärer första fältsommaren och som nu med fullbordade studier fortsatt att arbeta på Arkeologiska kontoret. Jag tackar även Lýsi hf för analyserna av jordprover och ortsbefolkningen som ansträngt sig för att på alla sätt och vis underlätta vårt arbete.

TRAN I SKRIFTLIGA KÄLLOR

En av de viktigaste råvaror som exporterats från Island är sannolikt tran, från val, säl och fisk. Ingen annan produkt behöll sitt värde lika väl genom tiderna (Aðils 1919, 262 & 489; Gunnarsson 1987, 209). Så vitt man kan se har priset på tran aldrig sjunkit, eller varit på sådana nivåer att det blivit ointressant att producera tran för avsalu. Till exempel deklarerade år 1562 den danske kungen att han själv skulle köpa allt tran från Island och förbjöd all försäljning till utlänningar. Detta gjorde han för att förbättra sin och Danmarks ekonomi, en åtgärd som pekar på tranets ekonomiska betydelse (Thoroddsen 1892-96, 164).

Trots tranets betydelse har vi i stort sett ingen kunskap om hur den vikinatida och medeltida produktionen i Island såg ut och i vilken miljö produktionen ägde rum. De äldsta arkeologiska beläggen för tranproduktion är indirekta, d.v.s. tranlampor från landnamstiden och senare.

Det finns bara två undersökta platser i Island, tills nu, med lämningar som man velat knyta till tranproduktion. En utgörs av en handelsplats, Gautavík, som ligger i Berufjörður i SÖ Island, daterad till 1400-talet. Där fanns bland annat en konstruktion som anses ha använts som tranugn, delvis eller helt uppbyggd av tegelsten. Ungnen var ca. 1,8 m i diam, invändigt och smalnade

Fig. 4. Tranlampa från vikingagården Hólmur i SÖ Island. (Fynd nr. 110. Foto BFE).

nedåt. (Ólafsson 2005).[1] Den andra platsen med tranframställning finner vi i NV Island (Vestfjordarna). Där pågår undersökningar av spanska/baskiska valfångststationer från 1610-1650. Själva ungnen där var ca. 2,7 m i diam, invändigt. (Edvardsson & Rafnsson 2006). I bägge dessa fall är det frågan om utländska inslag i Island. Genom närmare studier av äldre litteratur finner man två andra platser man kan anta att tranproduktion ägt rum i större skala. Jag återkommer til dem längre fram.

Det faktum att bl. a. spanska skepp skickades till Island enkom för att producera tran är ännu en indikation på hur mycket man var beredd att investera för att tillfredsställa den ökande efterfrågan på tran, en efterfrågan som ökade i takt med städernas utveckling i Europa. Denna utveckling började troligen redan under tidig medeltid, men man kan inte utesluta att processen har sina rötter i vikingatid.

Tranets ökande betydelse som exportvara bör ha inneburit att man utvecklade nya metoder för utvinning av tranet. I Lárentiussaga från 1322 berättas om ett från Island kommande fartyg med last av vadmal och tran som förliste utanför Norges kust. Lasten försökte man bärga (Þorsteinsson 1956, 167). I

1 Tegelsten är alltid av utlänsk härkomst i Island.

en dom från Nidaros (Trondheim) från 1340 framgår att munkar (kaniker) protesterade mot att ett handelsskepp som kommit från Island fick betala sin tiondedel (skatt) i vadmal. Munkarna krävde att få torkat fisk eller tran (Dipl. Isl. 1893, 728-29). I domen framgår det att; „ *... för en tid sedan kom lite torkat fisk från Island som kallades för matskreið, men av vadmál kom mycket. Nu exporteras det mycket torkad fisk och tran av högsta kvalité.*“[2] (Ibid 1893, 729. Övers. författaren). Med „matskreið“ menas torkad fisk avsedd som människoföda.

I isländska annaler finns frekventa beskrivningar om drivval (isl. *hvalreki*). Ett exempel finner vi i Setbergsannáll från år 1231; „*Drev över 100 valar på land i västanvind på Suðurnes.*“[3] (Annales islandici 1940-1948, 26. Övers. förf.). År 1250 omnämner samma källa: „*Mycket valdrift på stora delar av östkusten.*“[4] (Ibid 1940l-1948, 26. Övers. förf). År 1399: „*Denna höst drev 40 småvalar på land på Suðurnes.*“[5] (Ibid 1940-1948, 36. Övers. förf.). Ett sista exempel finner vi i Eyrarannáll från år 1693: „Vid Jökull drevs det 280 späckhuggare på land från 8 båtar. ... På Sléttanes ut av Skaga på nordlandet sprang 500 späckhuggare och en nordkapare (eller grönlandsval). ... Samma år på hösten, drev över ett stort hundrad på Bessastaðir [över 120] *av samma valar* [här måste man mena späckhuggare], *och smälte landsfogden Heidemann mycket tran och gjorde stora vinster på detta.*“[6] (Annales islandici. 1933-1938, 371. Övers. författaren). Flera fall av drivval förekom just detta år och man kom därför att kalla det för Drivvalåret.

Drivval och andra valrelaterade händelser förekommer ofta i Diplomatarium Islandicum (t.ex. Dipl. Islandicum 1857-76 & 1893). Det framgår tydligt hur enormt viktig rätten till drivval var, i stor likhet med rätten till drivved och skog (för bränsle, men framför allt för att göra träkol för smide).

Även de isländska lagtexterna Grágás och Jónsbók pekar i samma riktning. Det fanns noga reglerat hur man skulle förfara med drivval och drivved, vem

2 „at firir skommu fluttiz litil skræid af islande. er þa var kallad matskræid. en j vadmalom hinn meste varnengr. en nu flytz ok af islande hinn meste ok bæzsti varnengr j skræid ok lysi.“

3 „Rak yfir 100 hvali á Suðurnesjum í einu vestanveðri.“

4 „Hvalarekstur mikill víðast um Austfirði.“

5 „Fyrir Jökli voru reknir á land af 8 skipum 280 háhyrningar, ... Einnig hlutpu á land á Sléttanesi út Skaga fyrir norðan 500 háhyrningar og einn sléttbakur, ... Sama árs haust rak yfir stórt hundrað þessa sömu hvali á Bessastöðum, af hverra spiki landsfógetinn Heidemann lét bræða mikið lýsi, og hafði þar af mikinn profit.“

6 „Svo er og mælt ef hval rekur á fjöru þá er leigulandi fylgir, þá skal leiglendingur festa hval þann svo sem hann eigi og áður var týnt, enda á hann að hafa af hvalnum samfengnum hlasshval, það er einn eykur má draga á þá á sléttum velli, ef hvalur er tvítugur eða lengri.“

som ägde valen eller veden, hur valen skulle styckas och så vidare. (Grágás 1992; Jónsbók 2004). De som ägde marken och därmed stranden i flesta fall, eller arrenderade denna, ägde också allt som drev iland: val, säl, ved, fågel, fisk o.s.v. (Jónsbók 2004, 199).

Om arrendatorer står det i Grágás (1100-tal – 1271/72): „Det sägs också att om val driver på land som arrenderas, skall arrendatorn fästa valen som sin egen som framgått tidigare, men han skall ha av hela valen „hlasshval" [ca. 315-420 kg], som är det som ett dragdjur kan dra på slät och snöfri mark, om valen är 20 alin [ca. 10 m] eller längre."[7] (Grágás 1992, 356. Övers. författaren).

Om arrendatorns andra villkor, utöver valen, säger i Jónsbók: „Om fiske, fågeljakt eller äggsamling på ruvningsplatser ingår i arrendet, då äger arrendatorn det allt, om inte annat framgår av deras kontrakt. Samma gäller om fåglar, fiskar, sälar, hajar eller tumlare driver iland. ... Om val driver på hans strand skall arrendatorn fästa valen som sin egen och hans andel blir sex „vættir" [ca. 315 kg], hälften späck, hälften fetthaltig senväv, om valen är längre en 20 alin."[8] (Jónsbók. 2004, 162. Övers. forfattaren). I likhet med vad som sägs i Grágás spelade det inte någon större roll om det var arrendatorn, torparen eller ägaren själv som bodde på gården. Vi vet inte om Bær var ett torp eller en självständig gård. Mycket talar för att det var ett torp, (isl. hjáleiga) vilket behandlas närmare nedan.

BÆR I ÖRÆFI

Namnet Bær dyker för första gången upp i en skriftlig källa i början av 1700-talet (Þorkelsson 1918-20, 47). Källan uppger ett antal ödegårdar från 1362 och deras ungefärliga läge. Av den relativt noggranna beskrivningen att döma är det uppenbart att Bær är samma gård som omnämns i denna källa. Intressant är att det i beskrivningen av Bær finns en legend om ett fynd. Runt år 1630 ska en kvinna från Öræfi, hittat ett kvinnoplagg under en stenhäll i en grop i gårdsruinen. Eftersom plagget var som nytt använde hon det i en ny dräkt (isl. *upphlut*). Legenden säger vidare att man inte kunnat återfinna gropen (Ibid 1918-20, 47).

7 „Ef fiskveiðar eður fuglaveiðar eða eggver fylgir leigulandi, þá á leiguliði það allt, nema frá sé skilt í kaupi þeirra, og svo ef þar rekur fugla eður fiska, sela eður háskerðinga og hnísur. ... Nú rekur hval á fjöru þar, þá skal hann festa hval sem hann eigi og hafa af sex vættir, hálft hvort spik og rengi, ef hvalur er tvítögur eður lengri."

8 „allt hieradit: haufdu þar adr werid 70 bæiar: lifdi engin kuik kind eptir wtan ein aulldrud kona: og kapall."

Fig. 5. Rum A och A1 sedda från öster. (Digitala bilder nr. 2006:35. Foto BFE).

Före utbrottet hette området Lilla Härad och bestod av minst fyra socknar (isl. *Litla-Hérað*). Efter utbrottet ändrades namnet till Öræfi som betyder öken. Namnet visar tydligt vilken karaktär som området fick efter den vulkaniska aktiviteten. Vi vet att minst 30 gårdar ödelades (Þórarinsson 1958).

I en av flera skrönaktiga annaler från omkring 1580 om utbrottet står: „[ödelades] *hela häradet med 70 gårdar. Inget levande överlevde förutom en gammal kvinna och en häst*."[9] (Islandske annaler. 1977, 489. Övers. forfattaren). Flera liknande skrönor är kända och alla har de gemensamt att vara skrönaktiga och överdrivna. Det enda som stämmer i utsagorna är att ett enormt utbrott ägt rum och att många gårdar ödelades. Skrönan visar också att gårdsruinen varit synlig under 1600-talets mitt. Liknande skrönor har vi även om ett ännu äldre och större utbrott, som inträffade år 934. Arkeologiska kontoret har just börjat ett projekt som skall klargöra konsekvenserna som detta enorma utbrott fick för bosättningarna.

Efter denna utvikning är det dags att se vad vi funnit för spår efter tranproduktion i Bær.

9 P.g.a. ruinens skick är i stort sätt alla siffror ursprungliga och har därför ett visst värde. Denna extrema tredimensionalitet visar hur det kan ha sett ut.

Fig. 6. Östgaveln på rum A sedd från väster. (Digitala bilder nr. 2006:36. Foto BFE).

UNDERSÖKNINGARNA AV RUM A OCH A1 I BÆR

Rum A.

Rum A är 2,55 x 3,65 m stort[10], orienterat i Ö - V och ligger i gårdskomplexets sydligaste del. Väggarnas höjd har mätts på mitten: Västväggen (gaveln) var 1,28 m hög, nordväggen 1,08 m, östväggen 1,32 m och sydväggen 1,16. Skillnaden i höjd berodde framför allt på att golvet inte var jämnt och att enstaka stenar i det översta väggskiftet rasat ner i samband med det jordskalv som föregick vulkanutbrottet. Annars var väggarna jämnhöga vilket framgår av bilderna (se fig. 5 och 6). Dessa höjder är i stort sätt på samma nivå som de ursprungliga höjderna.

Längst in i rummet fanns två ”cisterner” bestående av kantställda hällar och en liggande bottenhäll, som grävts ner i golvet. Den större av de två ”behål-

10 Boken publiserades först 1752 under titeln *Tilforladerlige efterretninger om Island med et nyt Landkort og 2 års meteorologiske observationer*. Horrebow har sin informaation frå Jón Ólafsson (1705 - 1779). I den isländska översättningen häfdas dock att berättelsen av självrinnande valtran varit en skröna utan verklighetsanknytning.

Fig. 7. Den lilla og stora cistern i rum A sedda från väster og det stenlagda golvet. (Digitala bilder nr. 2005:37. Foto BFE).

larna" ligger direkt under en öppning eller sänkning i östgaveln och framför en ränna i golvnivå, direkt nedanför sänkningen som kommer från rum A1. Rännans fyllning bestod av två lager med olika karaktär: det övre bestod av ren tefra medan det undre utgjordes av tefra uppblandat med träkol, sot och aska. Möjligen fanns spår av trä strax ovanför bottendelen av rännan, eller i skarven mellan den rena tefran och den blandade tefran med kol, sot och aska. Detta indikerar att rännan varit halvfylld av kulturlager och haft en träbräda i mitten när utbrottet ägt rum. Då fylldes alla håligheter med ren tefra. Ovanför rännan fanns en hylla bestående av stenhällar som jag tolkar som ljushylla eller förvaringshylla, för exempelvis verktyg. Hyllan var fylld av ren tefra (se Fig. 6 och 7).

Den mindre cisternen ligger något norr om den större. Den större cisternen var 0,9 x 0,9 m stor utvändigt och 0,3 m djup. Den var full av ren tefra. Den mindre cisternen var 0,4 x 0,5 m stor och 0,2 m djup. Fyllningen bestod av tefra med inslag av träkol och kulturlager.

Ingången eller dörren till rum A låg i västgavelns norra del. Golvet i rum A består av stenhällar som täcker nästan hela utrymmet. (se fig. 3 och 7). Mellan stenarna fanns jord med enstaka träkolsbitar och kulturlager. Från rummet

och mot söder leder ett dike eller ränna fram till en bäckfåra (gårdsbäcken). Den senare är dock numera torrlagd på grund av att bäckens lopp ändrats i sen tid. Anmärkningsvärt var att vi inte fann några eldstäder. Jag återkommer till detta längre fram.

Rum A1

1,7 m öster om rum A fanns ett cirkelformat rum, som fått beteckningen rum A1. Rummen förbands genom en gång som i dag framgår av en sänkning i väggen mellan rummen och en ränna från botten i A1 mot golvnivån i rum A. Sänkningen i gaveln är 0,72 m ovanför golvet i rum A.

Rum A1 var närmast cirkelrunt och mätte invändigt mellan 1,40-1,55 m och med botten på upp till 1,22 m djup (genomsnittet var 0,8 m). Rummets yta var 2,17 m2 och volymen är runt 1,37 m^3. Rummet smalnade något nedtill. Möjligen var det ursprungligen grävt ned i en liten (naturlig?) kulle på platsen.

På jordgolvet fann vi enstaka träkolsbitar, men det mest iögonfallande var golvets färg som var mycket klar och djupt rödgul.

Inga artefakter påträffades i dessa två rum A och A1. Alla andra rum på gården hade fynd.

JORDPROVER

Från dessa två rum A och A1 har två jordprover analyserats. Analyserna utfördes av Lýsi hf (ett företag som producerar bl.a. fiskleverolja för konsumtion). Lýsi fick endast en uppgift, nämligen att belägga om det fanns spår efter tran i proverna. I bägge proverna fanns rikligt med fettsyror av typen omega-3 (EPA och DHA). Det bevisar att det fanns animaliskt fett på platsen och att fetterna har ett maritimt ursprung (fisk, säl, val eller fåglar). Analysen kunde dock inte klargöra från vilken djurart fettet kom. Skälet till det kan vara att fetterna legat länge i jorden, eller att tranproduktionen baserats på flera djurarter, som val, säl, haj, fisk och även fåglar som till exempel och lunnefågel. Det var helt enkelt tillgången som avgjorde vilken ”råvara” man använde och den kan ha varit säsongmässigt präglad. Det kan till exempel påpekas att säljakt bedrivits i relativt stor skala i Öræfi så sent som i början av 1970-talet. Jakten ägde gärna rum i slutet av maj eller början av juni. År 1954 fångade exempelvis sex män 43 stycken sälar på en och en halv dag (Ives 2007, 190ff). Nät användes inte förrän år 1958 vilket medförde att fångsten ökade markant (Björnsson 2000). Det finns ingen anlednin att tro annat en tilgången till säl alltid varit stor i trakten.

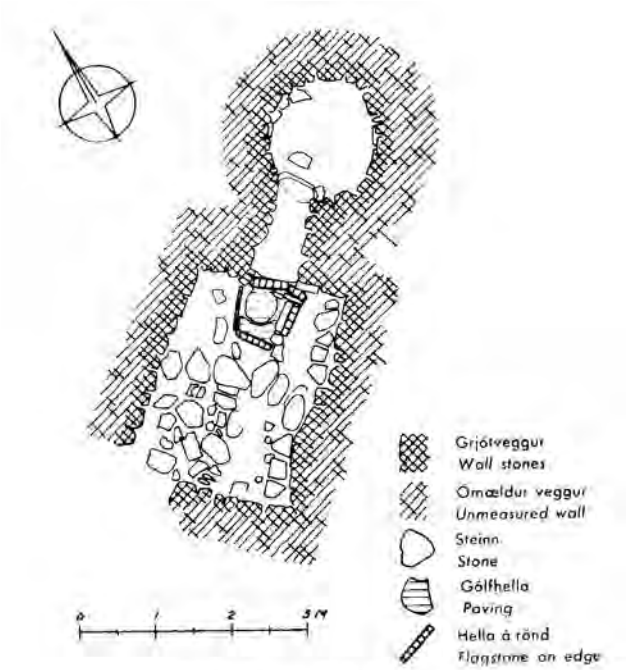

Fig. 8. „Sofnhús" vid Gröf. (Ur Gísli Gestsson 1959:32).

ANDRA LIKNANDE KONSTRUKTIONER

År 1954 påträffades i närheten av Bær en gård som även den hade gått under år 1362. Det var Sigurður Björnsson, barnbarn till samma Ari Hálfdánarson som nämnts tidigare, som råkade stöta på kostallet till gården Gröf när han skulle göra en potatisåker på platsen. Gården undersöktes året därpå och blev så småningom en av Islands viktigaste medeltida gårdsruiner (Gestsson 1959). Det kom att bli den första publiserade gårdsruinen från 1300-talet som undersökts nästan i sin helhet i Island och nu är de två, Gröf och Bær. Fragment av gårdar från 1400-talet har undersökts i Island, men de är antigen inte publiserade eller att fragmenten så små att de ger ingen bild av 1400-talets gårdsstruktur. Detta gäller dock inte några kyrkor och bodar från olika handelsplatser.

På Gröf undersöktes, utöver själva gårdsbyggnaden och kostallet, en för den tiden helt unik byggnad som stod omkring 10 m norr om gården. Den tolkades som ett så kallat *sofnhús* d.v.s. ett hus för att torka korn (se fig 8). Huset var till formen nästan identisk med rum A och A1 på Bær, men mindre, eller 7,56 m^2 mot 11,48 m^2 på Bær. Själva gården var av en helt annorlunda typ

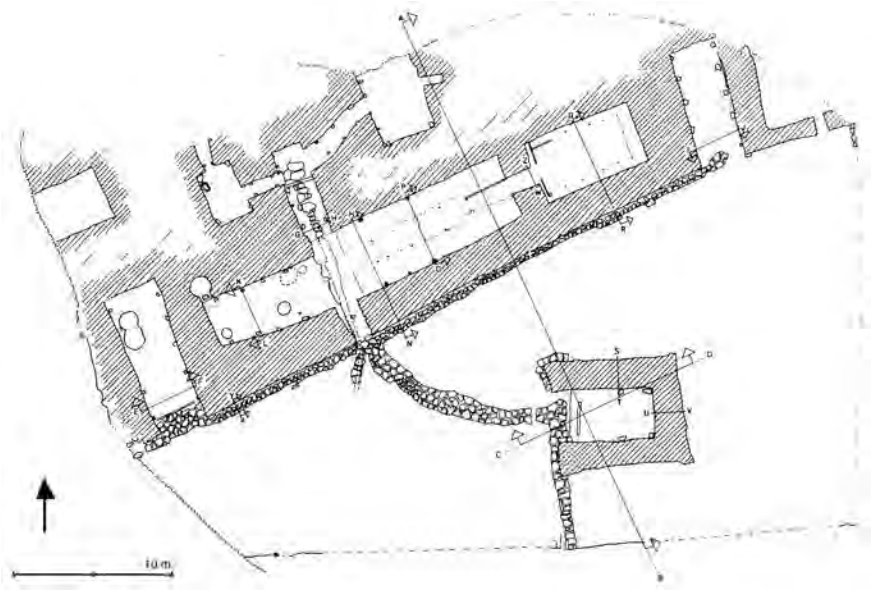

Fig. 9. Kúabot, gården. (Ur Lilja Árnadóttir 1987:12/13).

än Bær och betydligt större, eller knappt 121 m^2, jämfört med 71,39 på Bær (Einarsson 2005, 30).

Det så kallade *sofnhús* på Gröf är frapperande likt rum A och A1. Samma form och samma detaljer som på Bær och måste därför vara samma typ av hus med samma funktion som rum A och A1. Storleken på det mindre och cirkelformade rummet var 1,4 m i diam vid botten och 1,8 m i diam en meter över golvytan, d. v. s. det smalnade nedåt. Djupet var ca. 1 m. (Gestsson 1959, 36). Detta innebär att storleken varit åtmindstonde 2,5 m^2 och volumen ca. 2,5 m^3.

Ett annat intressant komparativt exempel finns från gården Kúabót i södra Island. Även där fann man ett cirkelformat rum. Rummet var överst 1,28 m i diameter och 1,38 i botten (invändiga mått) och har därför smalnat lite gran uppåt. Detta kan doch ha skett efter ödeläggelsen av gården. Höjden var ca. 0,95 m (Árnadóttir 1987, 45). Storleken har ty varit ca. 1,4 m^2 och ca. 1,34 m^3. Rummet har tolkats som plats för en stor förvaringstunna för matvaror som smör, kött och annat som förvarades i mjölksyra (isl. *sár*). Det liknar dock inte alls *sár*, som är mycket vanliga i Island från medeltid och framåt. Däremot är det i stort sett byggt på samma sätt som rum A1 på Bær (och mindre rummet på Gröf), även om det finns olikheter i placeringen av rummet inuti

gårdsbyggnaden. Det finns flera spår efter *sár* på gården och de är typiska för just sådana, nedgrävda i golvet utan några kallmurade stenar runt om. Kúabót ödelades sannolikt under senare hälften av 1400-talet och var ungefär tre gånger större än Bær och runt en och en halv gånger större än Gröf eller hela 204 m^2. På Kúabót fanns även en kyrka, något som visar platsens storlek. På Gröf skall ett bönhus ha stått enligt folktron. Gårdar med kyrka eller bönhus har knappast varit torp.

I rummet på Kúabót påträffades rester av en trätunna vilket vi inte kunde påvisa på Bær. Och det trots att bevaringsförhållandena förefaller ha varit tämligen likartade på dessa två ställen. Valben förekom på Kúabót och Bær, i bägge fallen har den troliga användningen varit som huggkubbar, gjorda av valkotor. Vid utgrävningen på Gröf prioriterades inte insamlingen av osteologiskt material. Det finns endast benprover som samlats in från en eldstad i hallen, där proverna tillvaratagits under ett fyndnummer (Gestsson 1959, 77). P.g.a. detta kan man inte utesluta att valben funnits på platsen.

Gröf omnämns för första gången i samma källa som Bær 1712, men Kúabót omnämns aldrig.

TRANPRODUKTION

Även om det fanns träkolsbitar i golvet och i rännan i rum A och A1 på Bær så har vi inte kunnat belägga några eldstäder här. Om vi nu håller fast vid hypotesen att vi i dessa rum ser spår av tranproduktion så har framställningen varit en självrinnande process (kall produktion) eller en process där värmen tillförts på ett annat sätt, till exempel via kokstenar. Det går inte att utesluta att man använt sig av båda metoderna beroende på råvaran som användes. Kokstenar har använts vid tranframställning på Kamtjatkahalvön och vid Kolmukälven i Canada (Henriksen 1996, 65). Den är även känd i en samisk kontext i Nordnorge (Tegengren 1965, 452). Det finns exempel på kall produktion i början av processen och användandet av kokstenar på slutet (Henriksen 1996, 65).

I en isländsk folksaga från mitten av 1800-talet berättas om självrunnet sältran (Rauðskinna II. 1935:19). I en skrift från början av 1700-talet berättas om självrinnande valtran och torsktran i Island (Horrebow 1966, 165).

Grönlandsval kallades i bland för Vattenval (ísl. Vatnshvalur) därför at tranet rann som vatten ur valens huvud när man gjorde ett snitt. (Guðmundsson 1924).

En tolkning av strukturerna i rummen A och A1 är att efter värmning med kokstenar rann tranet först över mellanväggen från A1 och till rum A. Processen avslutades med att råvaran pressades och att tranet rann genom rännan

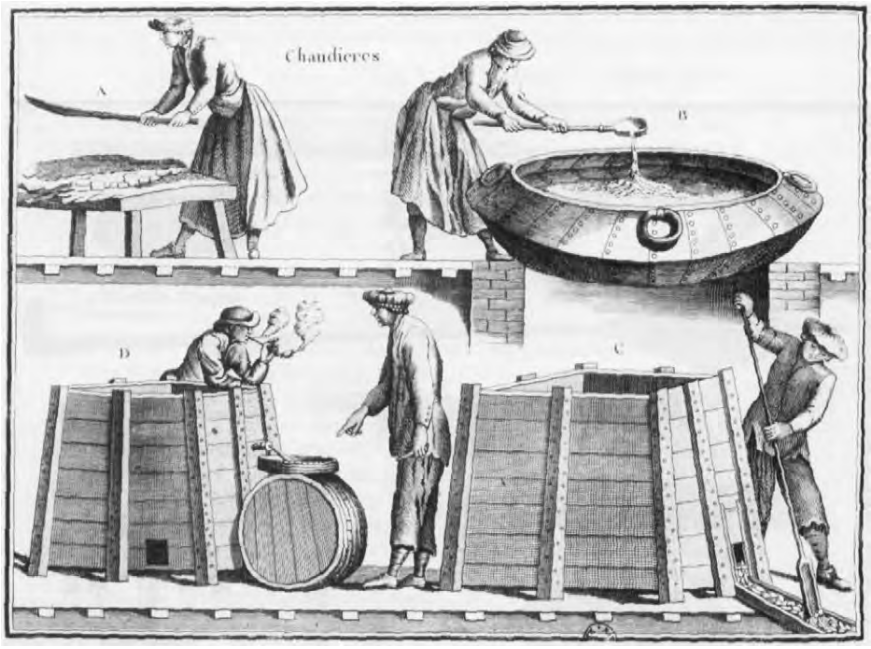

Fig. 10. Produktion av tran i en skrift från 1700 – talet. (Ur Guðmundur Ólafsson 2005:16).

längst ned. Troligen har det gått liknande till i en kall produktion.[11] (se Fig. 10).

Fisket gick bra under 1300-talet i Island och livsvillkoren var goda. Allmänheten hade flera möjligheter att försörja sig på än tidigare**.** De kunde till exempel bosätta sig vid stranden, eller ta anställning på någon gård (Þorsteinsson 1980, 209-210). I en källa från cirka 1340 sägs att fattiga kunde bli rika på fiske (Ibid 1980, 209). Enligt Jónsbók fick fattiga bosätta sig vid stranden och livnära sig på fiske (Ibid 1980, 209). Detta förbjöds senare som ett led i att säkra arbetskraft för det traditionella jordbruket.

Utländska handelsmän seglade över havet för att handla med varor. Behovet av torkad fisk var stort i Europa och redan från 1000-talet fanns lyxvaror

11 Bilden publicerades först i Bernhard de Reste. HISTOIRE DES PÊCHES, des découvertes et des établissemens des Hollandois dans les mers du Nord: ouvrage traduit du Hollandois par les soins du Gouvernement, enrichi de notes & orné de cartes & de figures a l' usage des navigateurs & des amateurs de l' histoire naturelle par Bernard de Reste. Paris 1791-1800.

som falkar och valtrosständer att köpa i Island och Grönland. Tyskland och Danmark krigade till och med om dessa rikedomar.

På gården Bær rådde välstånd år 1362. Man hade nyligen byggt ut gården med nya rum (rum A, A1, B, G och G1). Genom dessa förändringar fick gården en helt ny plan och man hade till och med gått längre än vad seder och bruk anbefallde. Orsaken till detta välstånd var troligen den stora tillgången på maritima djur och de produkter dessa kunde omsättas till som tran, skinn, ben och kött som allt var attraktivt både för utländska köpmän och för islänningar. Tran som inte såldes vidare användes i tranlampor eller gavs till boskapen, i vart fall under 1800-talet. Även valkött användes som djurfoder (Thoroddsen 1919, 370-71). Bær var en blomstrande gård som blev ett offer för naturkrafterna, krafter som inte gick att styra över eller att förutsäga.

Bær har en ovanlig belägenhet såtillvida att den ligger skild från de gamla kommunikationslederna. Dessutom ligger gården under klippor som jämfört med bergen runt om kring är låga. Andra gårdar ligger antingen under de höga bergen med utsikt åt alla håll (utom över bergen), eller på öppen mark med utsikt i alla riktningar. Detta kan antyda att Bær varit ett torp. Dessa brukar ofta uppvisa en udda lokalisering, ibland skilt från kommunikationsleder och utan goda möjligheter till fodertäkt.

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Booths from early Norse Greenland

or tjaldat búðir from landnáma Greenland

Hans Christian Gulløv, National Museum of Denmark

In 1998, the Greenland National Museum & Archives received financial support, from the Danish Ministry of Environment and Energy, to prepare a village plan for Igaliku including important features of antiquarian, landscape and culture-historical value.

Igaliku – the medieval Episcopal residence Garðar in Norse Greenland – is situated in one of three regions, selected by the Home Rule administration, to be included on UNESCO's World Cultural Heritage List. Subsequently, all known monuments were registered and marked on a map made by architect Vibeke Krogh and attached to her report (Krogh 2000).

During her work, her father, curator Knud J. Krogh, who has a profound knowledge of Norse Garðar (1982, 92), had turned his attention to five oval depressions, the origin and function of which however, he had no knowledge. They are situated on a promontory ca. 700 m north of the Episcopal residence itself and seemed slightly dug down into the sloping and grass covered terrain, where then terraces have been formed. Entrances were hardly visible, with the exception of a low threshold in the front wall, presumably formed during the construction phase (Fig. 1).

Knud J. Krogh had suggested the possibility that they had been Eskimo dwellings, but neither the well-known Palaeo-Eskimo nor the Neo-Eskimo architecture seems to support his suggestion. Another possibility could be that they are structures from the Norse period, but from which similar ones however, had never been recorded in Greenland. In his last proposal, Krogh suggested that they were structures from colonial times, and should then originate from the founding of Igaliku, i.e. at the end of the 18th century.

In an attempt to establish a function for this site, an archaeological test excavation was carried out in the summer of 2000 (Gulløv & Kapel 2000) but the results and subsequent natural scientific analyses first became available when Vibeke Krogh had finished her work and on the map had noted "a pen, a little house and a group of ruins which may be Norse but which might conceivably

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Fróðskapur, Faroe University Press 2008. ISBN: 978-99918-65-18-8. EAN: 9789991865188.

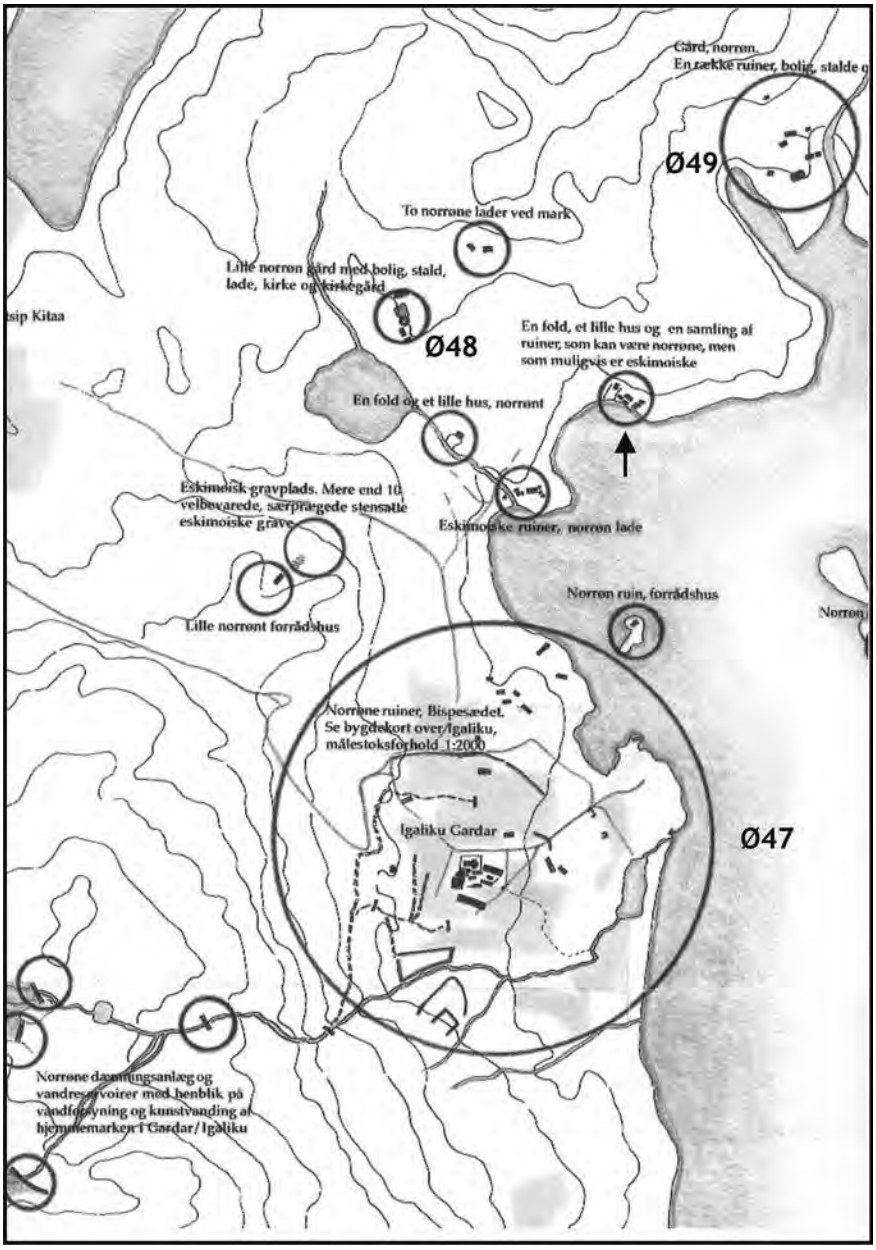

Fig. 1. Garðar and the surrounding farms Ø48 and Ø49. The arrow shows the location of the investigations in 2000. (From Krogh 2000).

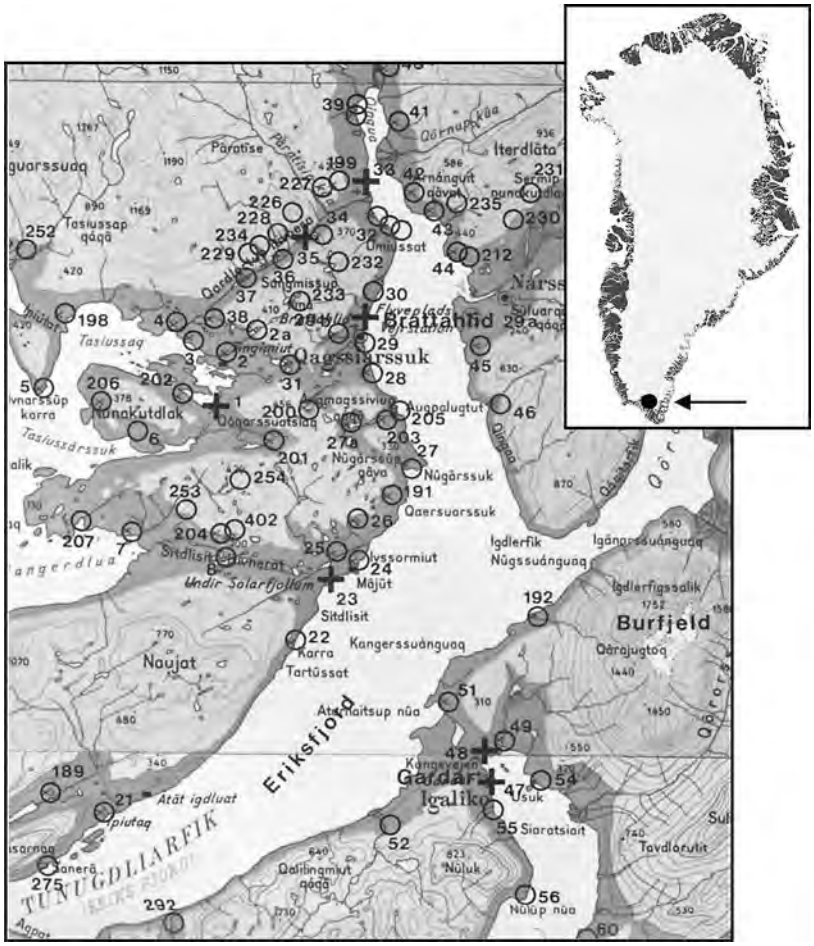

Fig. 2. Garðar in the Norse Eastern Settlement. (From Krogh 1982).

be Eskimo" (marked with an arrow on fig. 1). We can demonstrate however that we are dealing with structures from the Norse period, and below we will discuss their function and how they can be related to Garðar.

Even though Garðar is mentioned in various Icelandic sagas that tell us about events which took place in the time around the Greenland landnám, the name is not mentioned in *Sturlubók Landnámu* where accounts are given about the men who followed Erik the Red to Greenland (Arneborg 2004, 221ff, 2006, 42f). Here we are informed that Einar settled in Einar's Fjord (ibid.), and it is in the innermost part of this fjord we today find the ruins of the Episcopal residence Garðar (Figs. 2 and 3).

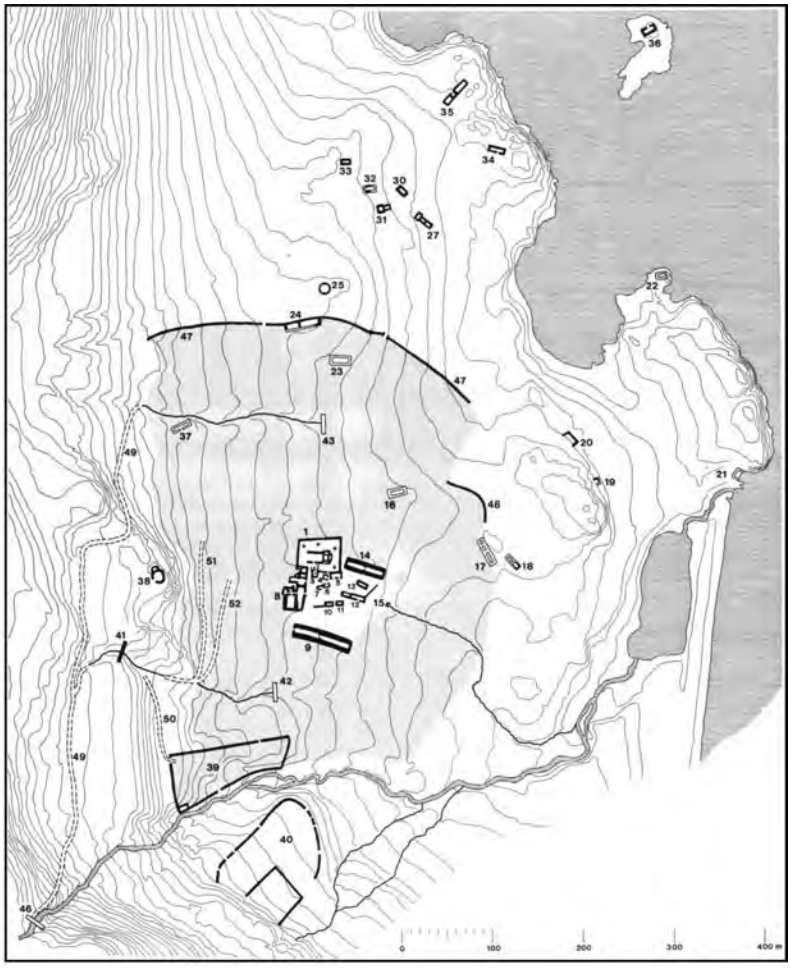

Fig. 3. The Episcopal residence of Garðar. (From Krogh 1982).

But before we continue describing the recorded events from this locality, written down in the earliest preserved codex of which can be dated to the 13th century (ibid.), we will return to the archaeology in order to reconstruct a scenario that goes back to the earliest period. It is a similar situation we know from other parts of the Norse Atlantic, where we also have to rely on the archaeological sources if we want to learn more about the landnám (Arge 1986, 82, 1991, 116).

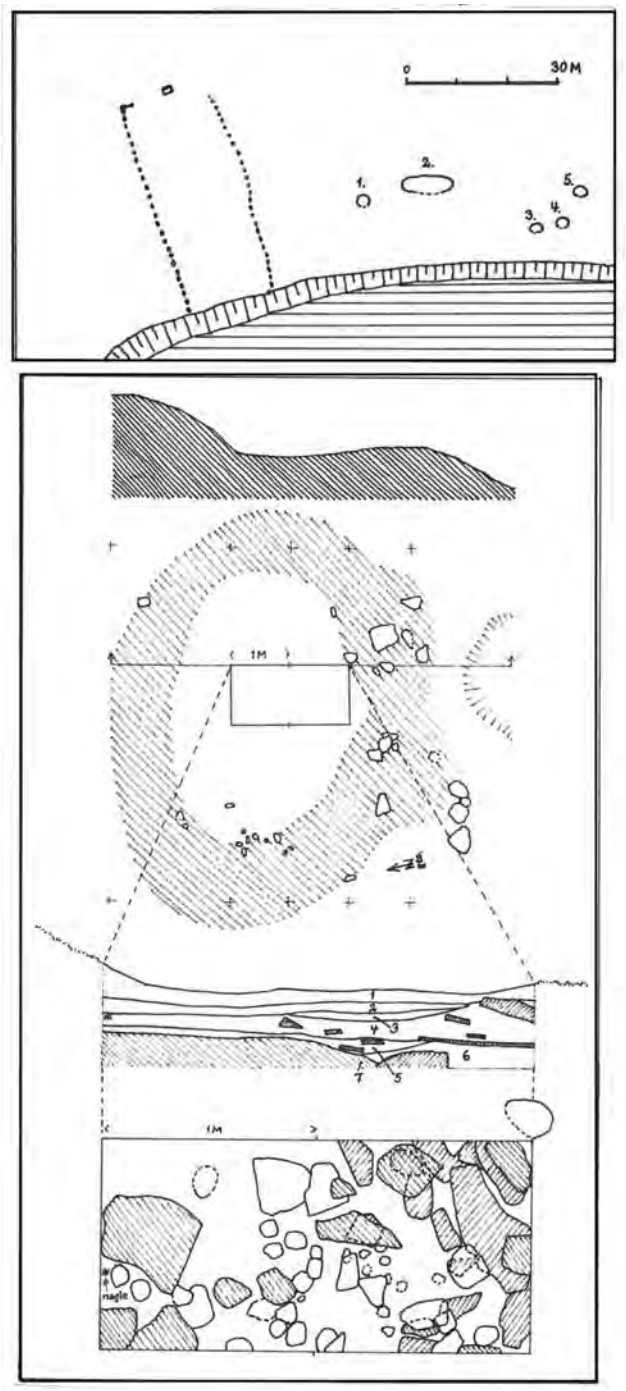

Fig. 4. The test excavation of structure 3. Section numbers mean: 1. Recent turf and vegetation of grass; 2. Light, sandy soil; 3. Brown turf with plant roots (from the wall?); 4. Dark brown, heterogeneous turf with many pieces of charcoal. Wall material. The rivet is marked with an asterisk; 5. Yellowish brown, compact, heterogeneous turf with flagstones. Charcoal in concentrations. Floor; 6. Dark brown material, from construction(?). Foundation stone; 7. Brownish yellow sandy soil with stones. No finds. (From Gulløv and Kapel 2000).

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION

In the innermost part of Igalikup Kangerlua or Einar's Fjord, three Norse settlements are known today of which Garðar (Ø47) is the largest. One kilometre north of this, a little farm (Ø48) is situated with dwelling, byre, barn and church surrounded by a circular churchyard wall. Near the mouth of the river that flows into the innermost cove of the fjord *c.* one and a half kilometres northeast of Garðar, one more farm (Ø49) is situated and includes some ruins, dwellings, byres and barns (cf. Fig. 1).

Furthermore, a few hundred metres from the farms mentioned, some structures have been found and described as one storehouse, three barns and two pens. The pens are situated close to a little river and near the shore of the fjord, respectively, and both are constructed by two parallel fences and end in a little building of stone.

Twenty metres eastwards from the near-shore pen, we meet the first of the five oval depressions mentioned (Fig. 4). The other structures are situated on the next fifty metres, parallel with the shore and six to seven meters above high tide. Four of them are approximately of the same size, with an inner length of 3.5-4.5 m and a width of ca. 3 m. The fifth is 11 m long and a little wider than the others. All were built on the sloping terrain so their inner surfaces were ca. 80 cm below the rear walls and ca. 10 cm below the front walls. A level of flagstones was unearthed ca. 20 cm below the grass-covered surface, inside the structure that was investigated.

The investigated structure (no. 3) lies nearest the fjord and appears as an oval depression with inner dimensions of 3 x 4.5 m and ca. 5.5 m above high tide. The entrance opening is *c.* one metre wide and marked by a low wall in which some larger stones can be seen. A meter widetrench was dug through the structure, revealing two layers of flagstones and the lower was interpreted as the floor of the structure as it formed an unbroken level. Several pieces of charcoal were sampled, and large concentration of charcoal was recorded in the floor. Close to the entrance, a wall construction can be recognized consisting of flagstones with turf between. At least three courses of flagstones/turfwere counted, collapsed down into the structure. The corroded head of a rivet was found above the floor level (cf. Fig. 4).

The investigation showed that the depression were the remains of a building, presumably used as a dwelling. No bones or other faunal remains were found indicating that the structure had functioned as a byre or similar type; and the rivet found above the floor, would exclude possible use by Palaeo-Eskimos.

Charcoal pieces were collected in considerable amounts and later identified as *Betula pubescens*, presumably downy birch (Malmros 2001). At the time of

the Norse landnám, the vegetation of *B. pubescens* had long been decreasing and *B. glandulosa* became dominant. However, the landnám radically changed the vegetation as a result of sheep grazing (Fredskild 1973, 234), and we have to suppose that collecting *B. pubescens* for fuel may have taken place at a relatively early time.

However, in his Description of Greenland, Ívar Bárðarson mentions that on the right hand, when you enter the fjord, to the cathedral at the head of the fjord, there is a large forest that belongs to the cathedral, and in this forest all the *fenet* (*fénað*, i.e. cattle and sheep) are kept, both large and small (GHM 1845, 256; Krogh 1982, 129). Where this forest had been, in the 14th century when Ívar lived at Garðar, is hard to say; but it is difficult to imagine that the stand, after 350 years of Norse settlement consisted only of *B. pubescens*.

When we got the result of the charcoal date (KIA-13447), we now had an indication of when the collected fuel had been used in structure 3. The radiocarbon age is 1172±33 BP and the calibrated age 887 AD, which, with two sigma range, gives the period 776-976 AD. Thus we can assume that, after the landnám, it was still possible to gather sticks for fuel in Einar's Fjord.

We cannot rule out that more dates from the large amount of *B. pubescens* that was collected will change the overall picture. Compared with the result of the archaeological investigation that unearthed a temporary dwelling used over a relatively limited period of time and which does not differ from the other four structures at the locality, we can conclude that we are dealing with five structures probably used in the 11th century.

INTERPRETATION

The locality with its five ruins is so far the only one of its kind in Norse Greenland. The archaeology shows a ruin with the rear wall partly dug into the terrain and the front formed as a low wall consisting of stones and turf alternately, indicating a temporary dwelling used in the warm seasons.

Such dwellings are known from Iceland where they "were of a modest kind, mainly booths built of stone and turf; the roof will often have been a tent-like construction of *vaðmál* cloth" (Nielsen 1999: 256), and were dwellings used at the temporary gatherings that took place at the *þing* and the market place, but were also built on fishing/hunting stations in Iceland. Þórsnes in Breiðafjörður, where the Greenland landnám is supposed to have had its beginnings, is an example of a *þing* (GHM, I, 1838, 520; II, 1838, 411-412; Vésteinsson 2006, 318ff). Gásir in Eyjafjöður is an example of a market place, where "a trial dig in the booth area showed that the oldest features were traces

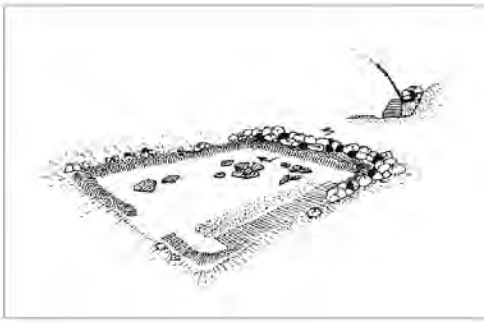

Fig. 5a. Ground plan of a Palaeo-Eskimo dwelling from 12th to 13th century North Greenland. (From Appelt and Gulløv 1999).

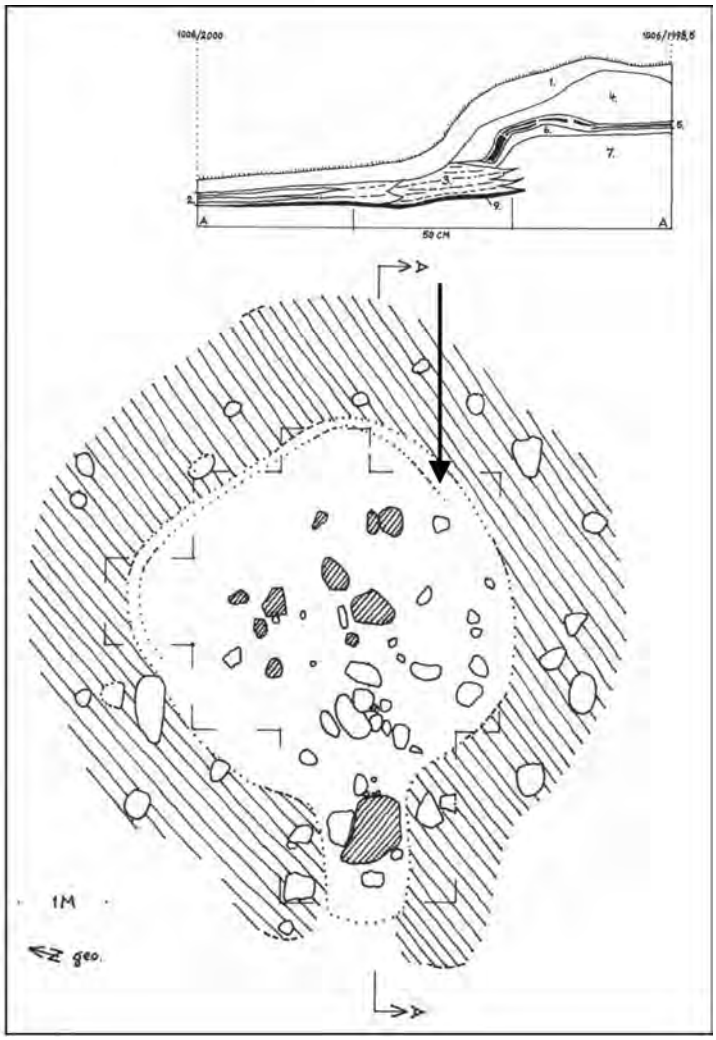

Fig. 5b. Ground plan of a Neo-Eskimo dwelling from 14th century Eastern Settlement. (From Raahauge et al. 2003).

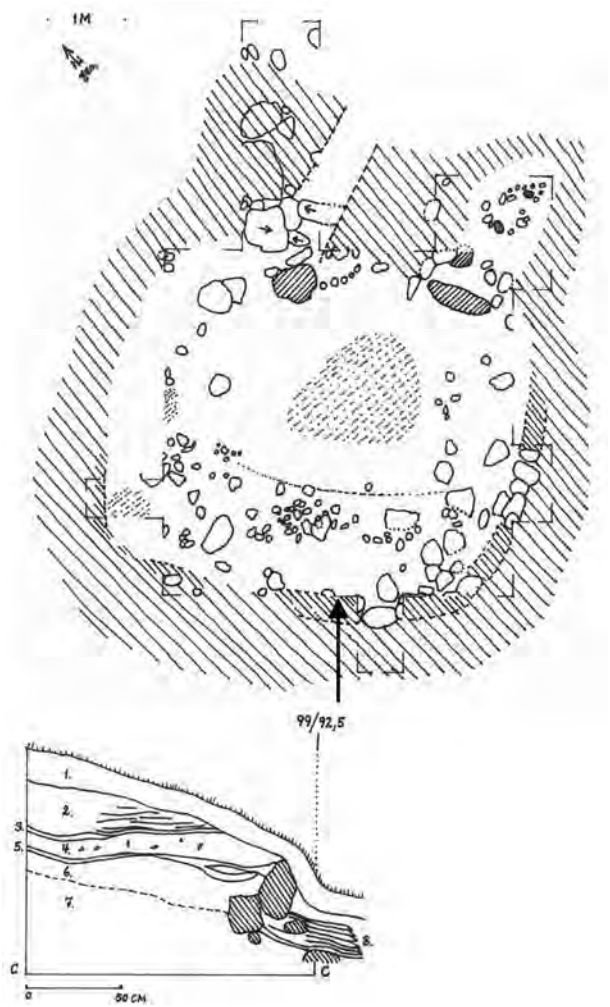

Fig. 5c. Ground plan of a Neo-Eskimo dwelling from 16th century Cape Farewell region. (From Raahauge et al. 2003).

of pit houses or tent floors – that is, dwellings different from the booths" (Nielsen 1999, 258).

However, none of the Greenland ruins have the traits that characterize the architecture of the excavated pit houses from the 11th century Icelandic farm and market place, with post-supporting roof and walls constructed in *strengur* technique (cf. Einarsson 1994, 75-79; Hermanns-Auðardóttir 1999, 20-24). We are left thus with the description of the Icelandic booths with walls of stone and turf and with a tent-like covering, which now seems to fit in with the five ruins at Garðar.

Before we accept the interpretation of the ruins as booths, we will look at

the three well-known types of sunken Palaeo- and Neo-Eskimo dwellings in Greenland (Figs. 5a, b and c). They include the autumn dwelling from the Palaeo-Eskimo Late Dorset culture found in Thule, North Greenland, dated to the 12th and 13th century (Appelt & Gulløv 1999, 19), the Neo-Eskimo late summer tent from Sandhavn near Herjolfsnes dated to the 14th century (Raahauge et al. 2003, 42-44) and the Neo-Eskimo autumn and winter house with a kitchen niche from Anorliuitsoq near Cape Farewell dated to the 16th century (op.cit., pp. 21-23).

The dwellings have walls consisting of soil from the inner space and stabilized with turf. Along the inner side of the walls there is a little insulating bank of turf – a trait common to the architecture of the three Arctic dwelling types; but this was not found in the excavated Norse booth, and that, once more, stresses its temporary character.

The walls around the Norse dwelling in question has a similar function as the Eskimo tent-ring, viz. to secure the covering against the wind that on many sites in South Greenland can violently increase because of Foehn. The phenomenon is well known at the Norse settlements where coverings are secured by a row of stones along the inner side of the turf wall (Nørlund & Stenberger 1934, 108, 114).

The interpretation of the sunken ruins near Garðar as remains of booths seems now plausible. But the location is not obvious for a thing-place or a market place if we compare them with the situation of the booths investigated at Brattahlið (op.cit., pp. 114-116). Nevertheless, the visible difference of the size of the ruins at both places, where one or more ruins deviate, tell us that we are dealing with a meeting place where at least one booth has a special function, accentuated by its double size, and this function can be related to the social hierarchy as described from the *Alþing* in Iceland (GHM, II, 1838, 411-412).

It is not this location that has been identified in previous discussion of the site of the Garðar *þing*. Clemmesen suggested (1911, 334-341) a location, some hundred metres north of the home-field wall. At that time Nørlund (1929, 126-130) rejected the major part of the supposed booths as Norse and referred to them as Eskimo summer sites, but he was left in doubt about the use of the other ruins at the site. After his investigations at Brattahlið he was, however, no longer in doubt and would "no longer hesitate to accept M. Clemmesen's interpretation of the corresponding sites at Gardar as booths, especially as we positively know from the historical sources that there was Althing and a place of assembly at this spot" (Nørlund & Stenberger 1934, 113).

Krogh (1967: 102) also accepted his predecessors' interpretation of the location of the Garðar *þing* but changed his mind a few years later mentioning

the ruins at the place as byres, although he still accepted one ruin as a dwelling (1974, 72-73). The discussion of Garðar *þing* has not yet been resolved but its location has to be maintained even though doubts have been raised about the use of the visible ruins at the place. There is, on the other hand, no doubt about the use of the nearby circular pen, where arriving *þing*-men or visitors could stable their horses (Arneborg 2006, 56; Krogh 1982, 93).

But this does not explain the situation of the booths further north, a place that makes no sense if they were Thing booths and "each have a covering across the booth" as described in the *Grágás* which was in force in Norse Greenland too, as long as the Icelandic commonwealth existed (GHM 1845, 431; Thorsteinsson 1985, 26). Still they could have been booths used by visitors who had chosen to stay here while the *þing* took place, e.g. visitors arriving from the adjacent *hreppr*, i.e. a parish-like geographical unit with a frame of organisation that consisted of at least 20 thing-farmers and went back to the time of landnám (cf. Njarðvík 1974, 46; Thorsteinsson 1985, 35f; Vésteinsson 2006, 322).

In the written source material we have examples of gatherings that in a literal sense flesh out the scenario presented above. We will then, for a while, leave archaeology to look at the written sources referred to, because the events described should have taken place in Einar's Fjord.

EVIDENCE FROM THE WRITTEN SOURCES

The sources in question are the Fóstbræðra saga, which both Clemmesen (1911, 334f) and Nørlund (1929, 129f) quote, and the Story of Einar Sokkason, which is mentioned by Nørlund, because both sources tell about events that took place at Garðar *þing* (GHM, II, 1838, 328-341, 706-711). Hereafter though, their agreement ended as Nørlund "would merely draw attention to the fact that the descriptions of the terrain of the Thing-place, given in the FóstbræðraSaga and preserved in the Flatey Book's narrative of Einar Sokkason, do *not* correspond to the Thing-place indicated by Clemmesen […] On the contrary, the description […] clearly shows the narrator's defective knowledge of the local conditions" (1929, 129).

In other words Nørlund assumed that the difficulty with regard to taking the saga's description of the event at Garðar *þing* for granted was due to the defective topographical knowledge of the author of the preserved codex. But this is, however, only a qualified truth because references to landscape and coast always provided fixed limits for the narrator, while changes normally only took place when he wanted to attach further weight to the gallery of characters and the drama. This is especially true when the oral tradition be-

comes written down, which also holds for traditions outside the Norse world (cf. Sørensen 1977, 88f, 140-145, 149, 1993). Obviously, Nørlund recognized the institution Garðar *þing* but he could not find room for the narratives' events at the place in question, and thus the source, in his mind, showed the narrator's defective knowledge of the local conditions.

In the Fóstbræðra saga the principal character is Thormod (Þormóðr), who arrived at Garðar *þing* to avenge the murder of his foster brother Thorgeir (Þorgeir). The killer Thorgrim (Þorgrím) was *goðorðsmaðr*, chieftain in Einar's Fjord, who on a trading journey to Iceland had killed Thorgeir, king Olaf of Norway's housecarl. After the revenge, Thormod returned home to Norway to serve king Olaf, and later on he was killed in the battle of Stiklestad, in 1030 AD.

In the Story of Einar Sokkason, the principal character is Einar who attended bishop Arnald to Garðar, which in 1126 AD became consecrated to Episcopal residence. At the same time, one of the Norwegian ships was wrecked, and the relatives of the lost men, lead by Össur, went to Garðar to claim their inheritance, but were dismissed. The story first relates the attempt to settle the dispute at a meeting on Eiði and then about the decision, at Garðar *þing*, where Einar became mortally wounded in the confrontation between Norwegians and Greenlanders.

The mention of Garðar and the gallery of characters in the saga and story seem to be based on a well-preserved tradition that can be dated to before 1030 AD and shortly after 1126 AD, respectively, and posterity has not thrown doubt on that (Arneborg 2006, 91; Sørensen 1977, 142). The name Eiði does not appear among the Norse place names in Greenland but the meaning refers to the isthmus between Einar's Fjord and Erik's Fjord. Here, one of the parties mentioned in the Story of Einar Sokkason arrived and continued across the isthmus to Garðar (cf. Fig. 6).

Concerning the actual *þing*, it is related in the Fóstbræðra saga that "Þeir or Eiríksfirði höfðu tjaldat búðir sínar, ok var leiti á meðal ok þess er þeir höfðu tjaldat or Einarsfirði" (GHM, II, 1838, 328). It is here noted that the dwellers in the two large fjords, like in Iceland, had their own separate places for the thing-booths, but also that an elevation or a high ground in the landscape (*leiti*) was situated between them (no. 3 in fig. 6). The distance seemed to have been considerable as Thormod asked his helper to run home to the booth as fast as possible (*þá hlaup þú heim til búðar sem skjótast*) when the events began to accelerate. After the killing he went along the shore and past a promontory (*fram með sjónum fyri nes nakkvart*). Thormod's helper was pursued but his pursuers let him go and went to the booths to search for the killer but didn't find him. They now spread along the shore and past the promontory which

Fig. 6. Igaliku from the air. 1. **Garðar; 2. Garðar þing; 3. The point referred to in the Fóst**-bræðra saga as leiti; 4. Early booths, a place for visitors; 5. Eiði. (Foto by Jeppe Møhl, September 2007).

here jutted into the fjord (*Þeir fara í strá fram til sjóvarins, ok fram fyri nesit, þat sem fram gekk í sjóinn*).

In the Story of Einar Sokkason, the scenario one hundred years later seemed to have changed as "mention is made of a slope (*brekka*) close to the plain. Einar Sokkason sits with his people on this slope, and from there, during the discussions on compensation for the murder of Össur, a piece of scale armour is thrown on to the plain; during the subsequent tumult, when Einar is killed, the contending parties run up and down the slope" (GHM, II, 1838, 708; Nørlund 1929, 130). Now Garðar was the Episcopal residence and place for the common thing in the country, i.e. *Alþing*, so the booths of the visitors' perhaps should be searched for on Eiði.

BOOTHS AND THING AT GARÐAR

The topography around Garðar might give us the opportunity to set a realistic scenography around the dramatic events that also seem to have been retained after they were written down from the oral narrative tradition. The events here were described with reference to a geographical space much larger than the

one that Nørlund maintained, "clearly shows the narrator's defective knowledge of the local conditions". We are in other words dealing with a place, a thing, where the visitors could have had many reasons to meet.

Erik's Fjord, as well as Einar's Fjord, had their own thing-places, and at Brattahlið in Erik's Fjord it also had a function as a market place (Nørlund & Stenberger 1934, 116). The Icelandic spring-thing (*vorþing*) had just such a double function, the legal usages of which were also in force in Greenland and described in *Grágás* (GHM 1845, 433; Njarðvík 1974, 40ff). As early as in the 10th century it was decided in Iceland that the thing-men on each place were given the right to sue each other (Thorsteinsson 1985, 26-27).

This seems to be the legal background for the episode in the Fóstbræðra saga, where people from Erik's Fjord arrived at Garðar *þing*, and it is tempting to identify the five sunken ruins as the thing-booths of the visitors.

However tempting it might be, we merely state that there probably are five booths from the Norse landnám ca. 700 metres north of Garðar, and that also the events in the Fóstbræðra saga may have taken place at the same time but before the battle at Stiklestad in 1030 AD.

As in the case in other regions of the Norse Atlantic, "the landnám must be explained on the basis of archaeological material which may be obtained in future investigations" (Arge 1991, 116) and at Greenland's Garðar we have an archaeological challenge, to resume the already begun investigation of the supposed *tjaldat þingbúðir*.

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Royktar gásabringur í Jansagerði

Ein kulinarisk avdúking

Jóan Pauli Joensen

EIN ÓHEPPIN PRESTUR

Náttina millum 14. og 15. desember 1839 kom eldur í prestagarðin í Jansagerði í Miðvági. Øll sethúsini, roykstovan og hjallurin brendu í grund, eisini desin í hoygarðinum við síðuna av húsunum fór upp í royk.[1]

Presturin, sum tá var í Jansagerði í Miðvági, var Jens Engelsted. Hann var prestur í Vágum frá 29. januar 1839 og til 1. apríl 1850. Mikkjal á Ryggi (1965,168) sigur í Miðvinga søgu at Jens Engelsted, longu fyrsta árið hann var prestur, var fyri trimum vanlukkum, hvør verri enn onnur. Tá hann kom til Føroyar, kom ein fastur hansara við honum. Fasturin var ein lívlig og blíð kona, men longu sama summarið varð hon óð í høvdinum og 21. august 1839 tók hon lívi av sær. Eina náttin hevði hon smoygt sær út gjøgnum eitt vindeyga, og um morgunin, tá ið teir fóru út at rógva, funnu teir hana flótandi út fyri Kletti. Ytst í kirkjugarðinum varð hon jarðað, hetta varð gjørt eftir at prestur hevði sent umsókn til fútan um loyvi at jarða systrina í kristna jørð, tað var fyrr sýtt teimum, sum tóku lívi av sær.

Næsta vanlukkan var tá í eldur kom í prestagarðin. Um hetta sigur Mikkjal á Ryggi (1965,168), at húsini brendu í grund, men fólkið bjargaði sær livandi út; prestur og kona hansara máttu fara hálvnakin oman til Kirkjar í óveðri. Arbeiðskonurnar høvdu borið øsku út um kvøldið, og almenna meiningin var, at har hevur verið eimur í, sum var fokin á húsini. Helst hevur tað verið so, tí tað bar illa til at finna orsøkina innandura, tá kannað varð eftir, hvør orsøkin til eldsbrunan mundi vera. Prestur og kona hansara fluttu yvir til bóndan á Ryggi at búgva.

Tann triðja vanlukkan var tann versta hjá presti og tað hendi knappan mánað eftir at húsini brendu. Kona hansara, sum bert var 27 ára gomul, átti

1 Tað er Jon S. Hansen, Miðvági, sum hevur sent mær Udskrift af Færøernes Sorenskrivers Forhør Protokol, tí hann helt tað var áhugavert at vísa mær á, at presturin í Jansagerði roykti gásabringur og brúkti saguspønir í hesum sambandi. Hesum takki eg hjartaliga fyri. Hevði Jon ikki gjørt meg varugan við hetta, so var henda grein ikki skrivað.

Helgi D. Michelsen og Caroline Paulsen: Símunarbók. Heiðursrit til Símun V. Arge á 60 ára degnum.
Fróðskapur, Faroe University Press 2008. ISBN: 978-99918-65-18-8. EAN: 9789991865188.

tann 11. januar 1840 ein son, men doyði sjálv 31. januar 1840 í barsilssong í húsunum hjá bóndanum á Ryggi. Presturin hevur helst verið búgvandi á Ryggi til hann flutti inn í nýggja prestagarðin í Jansagerði í 1844.

Í dagbók síni skrivar V. U. Hammershaimb (1941, 17), sum í døgunum 25. juli til 4. august 1841 vitjaði í Vágum, at mánadagin 26. juli spaseraði hann frá Sandavági til Miðvágs, har hann hjá Engelstad presti, "tilbragte en særdeles behagelig Dag sammen med pastor Schou og hans familie". Schou var prestur í Kvívík um tað mundi og var farin vestur at vitja starvsbróður sín. Umframt sýna teimum blíðskap fleiri ferðir og traktera tey á besta hátt, gjørdi prestur eina útferð við gestum sínum við báti á Vatninum. Tey fóru upp á land við Bøsdalafoss, við síni sjáldsomu náttúru. Hetta var árið eftir at kona Engelsted var deyð og prestur tykist eftir lýsingini hjá Hammershaimb at meta, at vera komin fyri seg aftur.

Jens Engelsted var prestur í Miðvági til 1850. Hann andaðist í 1857 51 ára gamal. Sonurin teirra, sum var føddur á Ryggi, var Georg S.V. Engelsted. Hann var í 1871-1879 eisini prestur í Jansagerði í Miðvági. Georg S.V. Engelsted var eins og pápin væl dámdur, hevði góðar prædikur og var ikki sørt av einum lækna eisini. [2]

ELDSBRUNIN Í JANSAGERÐI

Longu tann 17. desember 1839 kom sorinskrivarin Hunderup vestur til Vágar fyri at kanna eldsbrunan. Forhoyr varð tikið av prestinum sjálvum og øllum húsi hansara, arbeiðskonum, húskøllum, uppisitara. Tann einasta, sum slapp undan at verða forhoyrd, tað var prestafrúan Madame Engelsted, sum var "høi frugtsommelig", og hildið var tí, at "hun ikke vilde have Fatning og Styrke til i sin nærværende Fatning at berette, hvad hun matte vise om Sagen". Roknað var heldur ikki við, at hon kundi leggja nakað afturat tí sum hini longu høvdu sagt.

Søgan um eldsbrunan, sum hon er lýst í brunafrágreiðingini er í stuttum tann, at eldur kom í húsini náttina millum 14. og 15. desember umleið kl. 2 um náttina. Tað vóru prestahjúnini sjálvi, sum fyrst varnaðust eldin, prestakonan vaknaði av roykinum og vakti mannin. Tey fóru upp straks og prestur vakti arbeiðsgenturnar, sum svóvu í einum kamari yvirav, og tær vaktu so restina av húsfólkunum. Tá sást longu eldur fara upp ígjøgnum takið í roykstovuni.

Tað mundi verið illa vorðið hjá teirri einu arbeiðskonuni, ið næstan varð roykeitrað: "Hun vaagnede først noget efter ved Præsten og Madammens Raab, ved hvilken Lejlighed hun bemærkede Værelset fyldt med Røg, som

2 Um prestar í Miðvági sí Janus Øssursson 1963 og Mikkjal Dánialsson á Ryggi 1965.

var nærved at qvæle hende, samt en stærk brændt Lugt; Ild saa hun derimod ikke. Hun stod op tumlede ud af Værelset indi Studerekammeret, hvor der ikke var slet saa megen Røg, og her saa hun gjennem Vinduet Gjenskinnet af Ilden paa den ligeovenfor liggende Røgstue. Fra Studerekammeret gik hun gjennem Præstens og Madammens Soveværelse til forstuen, og kom saaledes ud, hvorpaa hun fulgte Madammen ned til Kirke." Her verður hugsað um býlingin við Kirkjar.

Øll hini komu tíbetur eisini út úr húsunum í øllum góðum. Hjálp varð fingin til vega og nakað av innbúgvinum varð eisini bjargað, men hann var landnyrðingur í ættini og vindurin var so nógvur, at ein av húskøllunum í vitnisfrágreiðing síni segði, "at ingen Menneskelig Magt var istand til at standse Ilden, saaledes at Vaanhuset kunne være reddet."

FÝRSTAÐUR OG BILEGGAROVNUR

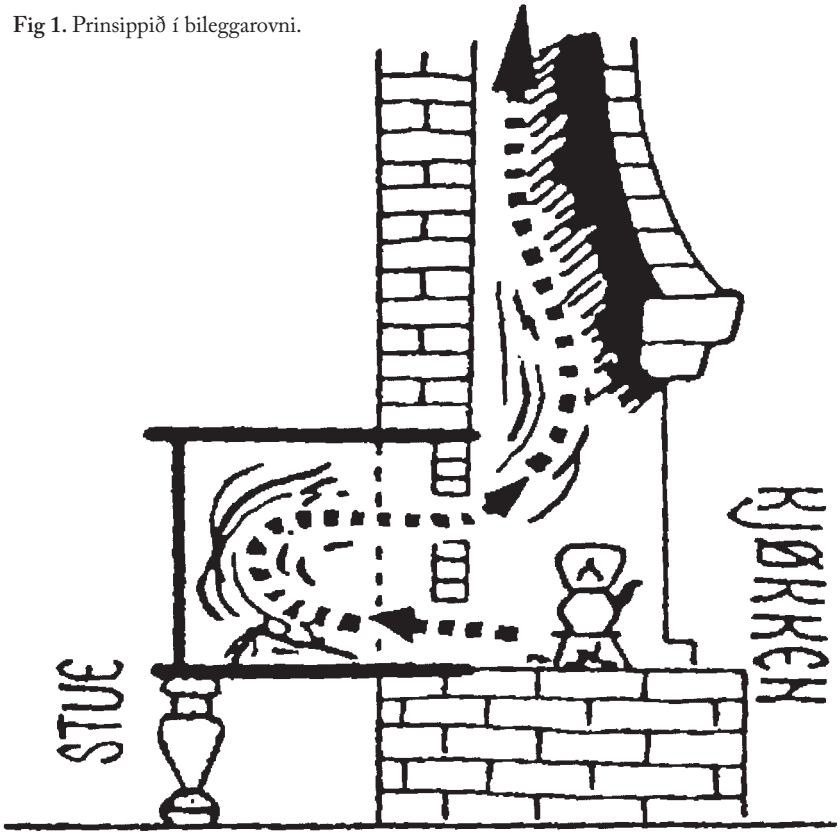
Sorinskrivarin roynir, við at avhoyra vitni, at gera sær eina mynd av øllum tí, sum hevði við eldstaðir og fýrstaðir at gera í húsunum dagin fyri og kvøldi fyri, at eldur kom í. Hetta forhoyrsskjal gevur í støðum eina góða lýsing av tí eina fýrstaðnum og ovninum.

Sum so ofta í valahúsum við fleiri stovum og rúmum, í tíðini nakað áðrenn fríhandilin og aftaná, vóru fleiri eldstaðir undir lonini (Joensen 1987,141). Høvuðseldstaðurin var grúgvan ella fýrstaðurin í roykstovuni, har var vanliga allur matur gjørdur, men so høvdu tey eisini fýrstaðir í øðrum rúmum, til smávegis matgerð, haðani tað gjøgnum eitt hol í vegginum, bar til at leggja gløður í bileggarovnin, í rúminum handan veggin.

Sjálvt um prestagarðurin í Jansagerði ikki er so væl lýstur í heimild okkara, so er tað greitt, at tað var ein fýrstaður í eini stovu ella í einum rúmi við síðuna av studerikamarinum hjá presti. Tað tykist sum um hesin ovnurin hevur staði í einum horni í studerikamarinum, tí sovikamari hjá teirri einu arbeiðskonuni, "var ved Siden af Præstens Studerekammer. Kammeret havde ingen egen Kakkelovn, men den ene Sideplade af Kakkelovnen til Studerekammeret vendte til samme".

Her eins og aðrastaðni í frágreiðingini gongur tað sum ein reyður tráður gjøgnum alt, at øll í húsinum hava ansað væl eftir eldi, tí ljósið, sum arbeiðsgentan hevði við sær inn í kamarið, "satte hun den Aften som sædvanligt på en Servante, hvor det blev Staaende, da hun slukkede der for at gaa til Sengs." Hon merkti einki til nakran eld ella royk, tá hon fór at leggja seg. "Kakkelovnen var, inden hun lagde sig, ganske Kold, hvorom hun overtydde sig ved at føle på den, da hun ville hænge noget Tøj ved den." Bert ein síða av ovninum vendi inn í hennara kamar, restin var í studerikamarinum hjá presti.

Fig 1. Prinsippið í bileggarovni.



Bileggarovnurin hevði vanliga samband við ein fýrstað. Bileggarovnurin var múraður fastur í ein brandmúr, soleiðis at tað bar til at leggja í ovnin frá fýrstaðnum og trekkur kom gjøgnum eitt hol í sama múri (Hamran 1989,17) Tað vanliga gamla føroyska húsið hevði glasstovu og roykstovu (sí hús av Skála og úr Oyndarfirði niðanfyri. Grúgva ella fýrstaður (f) var í roykstovuni sett uppímóti einum brandmúri. Hinumegin brandmúrin var bileggarovnurin í glasstovuni, sum tað sæst av støðumyndini av einum húsum í Oyndafirði. Johs. Klein (Bruun 1929,161). Størri hús høvdu ofta fleiri rúm og fleiri glasstovur, sum tað sæst av støðumyndini av einum húsum á Skála. Í hesum húsunum eru tríggir fýrstaðir og tríggir bileggarovnar. Tann eini fýrstaðurin er í eini gongd og frá honum eru bileggarovnar inn í glasstovuna og í eitt kamar. Við annan endan er ein onnur glasstova. Her er fýrstaðurin í durinum við bakdyrnar og ein bileggarovnur er í sambandi við henda fýrstað. Johs. Klein (Bruun 1929,138)

Í forhoyrsskjølunum verður hesin ovnur inni í studerikamarinum nevndur

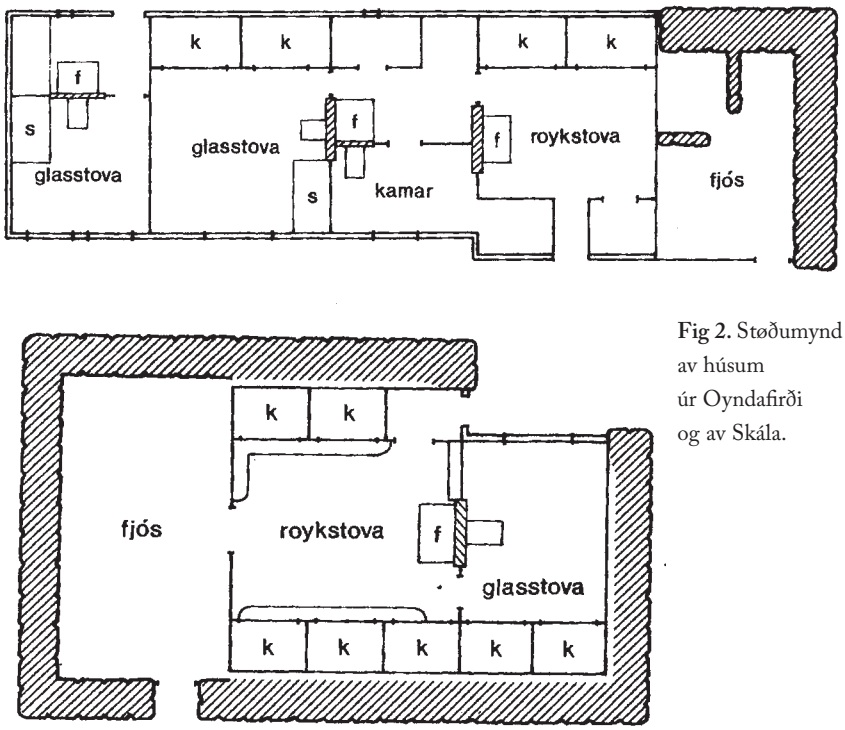


Fig 2. Støðumynd av húsum úr Oyndafirði og av Skála.

"kakkelovn", men tað kann eins væl, út frá tí, sum greitt hevur verið frá, hava verið talan um ein bileggarovn. Tann mest vanligi bileggarovnurin í Føroyum var gjørdur úr fýra síðum av prýddum stoypijarni og klæddur innan við eldføstum steini. Tann bileggarovnurin, sum á donskum verður nevndur "bilægger-kakkelovn", var klæddur við keramikk kaklum ella flísum. Prinsippið við upphitingini var kortini tað sama, nevniliga at lagt verður inn í ovnin gjøgnum eitt hol í brandmúrinum frá einum øðrum rúmi enn tí, sum hitast skal, sum longu er greitt frá. Mær tykist tað eitt sindur ivasamt um talan hevur verið um ein ovn klæddur við kaklum ella ein vanligan bileggarovn av málmi. Kanska hevur orðið kakkelovn bert verið eitt samheiti fyri ovn, tí eg minnist at gamli lærari mín í Sørvági D. Danielsen, hann tosaði ofta danskt, plagdi, tá vit gingu í gamla skúla, at siga við onkran av næmingunum: "fyr i kakkelovnen!". Hesin ovnurin var ein vanligur svartur rundur jarn- ella málmovnur og hann hevði ongar kaklar.

Tað sigur seg sjálvt, at tá fleiri fýrstaðir vóru, so kom tað ofta fyri at brenni og gløður vórðu bornar frá einum rúmi til annað. Gløður skuldu eisini takast upp úr fýrstaðnum og leggjast inn í bileggarovnin. Tað var sjálvandi

Fig 3. Mynd av bileggarovni úr Eirikstoft í Miðvági. Sagt verður at hesin bileggarovnurin upprunaliga kom úr Jansagerði. Beinta og Peter Arheboe skuldu hava hann við sær, tá tey fluttu úr Jansagerði til Sandavágs. Ovnurin endaði í Haraldsstovu í Sandavági og varð seinni keyptur haðani og borin til Miðvágs í grótleypi og settur upp í húsunum á Eirikstoft.

ikki vandaleyst, tí gløður kundu detta av undir flutninginum. Nakað tílíkt kundi vera ein av orsøkunum til at eldur var komin í. Hetta var tí alt gjølla eftirkannað av sorinskrivaranum.

Hetta var jú stutt fyri jól og tey stákaðust sjálvandi til jóla, hesi fyrstu jólini hjá prestahjúnunum í Vágum. Prestakonan var eisini frammarlaga við barn, so hiti hevur verið í øllum húsunum. Ein av arbeiðskonunum greiðir frá, at hon um seinnapartin hevði lagt góðan hita í ovnin í studerikamarinum og at tá var tað blivið ógvuliga heitt har inni – heili 14 stig og hitin vardi til langt út á kvøldið, men tað varð ikki lagt meira í ovnin, tí rúmið var heitt leingi og prestur metti, at ovnurin var mestsum kaldur, tá hann fór til songar um midnáttarleitið.

ROYKIAPPARAT OG SAGUSPØNIR

At roykja mat, var ikki vanligt millum føroyingar fyrr í tíðini, sjálvt um royking er kend í grannalondunum. Eitt nú brúktu íslendingar turkaðið neytatøð, tá teir royktu sítt hangikjøt. Maturin í Føroyum varð varðveittur við at verða hongdur upp og turkaður. Salt var dýrt og trotavøra og kom ikki at verða vanligt í brúki fyrr enn um upp í móti 1700. Vert er í hesum sambandi at vísa á, at okkara navnframi Magnus Heinason var millum teir allar fyrstu at keypa og sigla við størri mongdum av kappingarførum salti frá saltfremleiðandi londum sunnanfyri. Hetta var í 1587 og er umrøtt í søgu Bergens (Fossen 1979,207).

Thomas Tarnovius (1950, 53) veit kortini í 1669 at siga frá, at føroyingar fyrr brúktu barald, tá teir royktu kjøt, so onkur má hava roykt mat: "Enebærtræer voxe der paa nogle faae stæder, men de voxe aldrig høyt i væiret, men lige ud med jorden, oc brugis samme enebær træer til at røge kiød med". Baraldur (juniperus communis) ella á donskum "enebær" hevur verið meira av fyrr í tíðini serliga í landnámstíðini, men veðurbroytingar og møguliga tað at fólk hava brúkt hann til brenni og tá teir royktu kjøt, sum Tarnovius sigur frá, hevur ført við sær at nú finst baraldur bert í fáum støðum og flestu baraldarrunnar eru at finna í Svínoy.[3] Hetta bendir á, at royking ikki hevur verið ókend millum ávís fólk í samfelagnum, men um tað hevur verið vanligt at roykja, tað er nakað annað.

Í frágreiðing síni *Indberetninger fra en Rejse i Færø 1781 og 1782,* sigur Jens Christian Svabo (1959,118), eftir at hava greitt frá matarhaldinum hjá vanliga føroyinginum, at "Kjødpølse, røget Kjød, bruges mest af de fornemme." Týskarin Graba, sum var í Føroyum og vitjaði í 1828 og var tá gestur hjá Kvívíkspresti Holm í tilhaldsstað hansara við Tinggarðin í Kollafirði. Prestur sýndi Graba (1987,42) stóran blíðskap: "Borðreitt varð við hveitikøku, hálendskum osti, royktum oksakjøti, oksatungu, og einum glasi av frálíkum medoc." Hetta hevur ikki verið hvønndagskostur hjá hvørjum manni, og sigur Graba eisini í dagbókini, at "hetta sannførdi meg um at prestarnir her á landi kunna eta og drekka eins gott og aðrastaðni."

Eins og hálendski osturin og víni, kann roykta oksakjøti hava verið innflutt vøra, men tað er ikki vist, tí prestarnir høvdu nógv saman. Hetta var bert 10 ár fyri brandin í Jansagerði, so hví skuldi Kvívíksprestur ikki eisini duga at fáast við royking. Tað er tí einki sum forðar fyri, at tað hevur verið øðrvísi matarhald hjá prestum og øðrum "fornemmum" fólki. Tí verður avdúkingin av roykingini av gásabringunnum í Jansagerði sera áhugaverd.

Fleiri av vitnunum greiða nevniliga frá, at prestur dagin fyri, sum eldur kom í

3 Upplýsingar frá plantufrøðinginum Dr. Annu Mariu Fossaa, Náttúrugripasavnið.

um náttina, hevði latið roykt gásabringur á einum serligum "Røgningsapparat", sum sett var upp yvir fýrstaðin. Hesin fýrstaðurin varð annars bert brúktur, tá lagt var í ovnin í studerikamarið hjá presti, ella í sambandi við royking av kjøti, sum tað greitt verður sagt. Roykingarapparatið var gjørt burtur úr einum botnleysum leypi og nøkrum træpinnum, sum vóru lagdir tvørtur um har, sum botnurin átti at vera. Apparatið var gjørt soleiðis, at tað kundi beinast burtur, tá tað ikki var brúkt. Ein húskallur veit at siga frá, at prestur ta seinastu tíðina ofta hevur roykt kjøt við henda fýrstað. Eitt er vist, at hevur hann roykt gásabringur, so hevur hann eisini roykt annað, sum hóskaði seg til at roykja, tað verið seg kjøt, pylsur, fuglur ella fiskur. Vatnið – Sørvágsvatn ella Leitisvatn – lá nær við og har vóru síl at fáa, og eisini tey kundu roykjast.

Tað vanliga brenni hjá presti eins og hjá øllum øðrum var torv, men helst hava prestfólkini kanska ikki hildið, at torvroykur gav tí roykta tann besta smakkin. Í forhoyrinum verður greitt frá, sum longu nevnt, at tey á prestagarðinum, fyrr á degi, høvdu roykt gásabringur á fýrstaðnum. Týdning í hesum sambandi hevði, at tað í einum króki eitt sindur frá fýrstaðnum lá upp í ein heilan leyp av saguspønum. Upp í ein leyp av saguspønum er ikki einki. Ikki verður sagt hvaðani prestur hevði fingið hesar saguspønir, ella um tað var eitt serligt slag av saguspønum. Tey sum duga at roykja siga, at viður av leyvtrøum eitt nú bók eru góður til royking, men tað er viður av nálatrøum ikki. Baraldur gevur eisini góðan royksmakk. Roknast má við, at prestahjúnini hava vita, hvat tey gjørdu og kendu til royking frá Danmark og tí hava tey gjørt nakað fyri at útvega sær tað rætta roykingartilfarið – í hesum føri tær røttu saguspønirnar.

Saguspønirnar vóru eisini so hissini brúktar til annað. Vit mugu minnast til, at hetta var ein tíð, tá føroyingar og ikki minst prestar vóru vorðnir so dannaðir og mentaðir, at teir ikki longur spýttu á gólvið, sum teir áður høvdu gjørt. Teir brúktu spýtibakkar. Fyri lættari at kunna reinsa spýtibakkarnar, koyrdu tey saguspønir niður í teir, og tá tær vóru vorðnar vátar, koyrdu tey innihaldi á eldin, hetta sigur ein av arbeiðskonunum hjá presti seg hava gjørt, men neyvan hevur hetta verið upprunaliga endamálið við øllum saguspønunum hjá presti. Roykingarhátturin í prestagarðinum í Jansagerði var tann, at saguspønirnar vóru lagdar í einum tjúkkum jaðuri oman á torvgløðurnar í fýrstaðnum. Torvgløðurnar skuldu vera avroyktar, áðrenn saguspønirnar vórðu stroyddar oman á. Tað tykist eisini sum um gløður eisini eru tiknar úr bileggarovninum til hetta endamál. Roykurin av saguspønum fór so upp til gásabringurnar, sum hingu niður úr pinnunum, sum vóru lagdir tvørtur um tann botnleysa leypin. Tað er ikki bert í hesum føri at eitt leyst tól, ið kann takast burtur, hevur verið nýtt í roykstovunui. Ormur bóndi á Skála turkaði eisini í síni tíð korn í roykstovuni á einum leysum sorni ella hjalli, sum kundi takast burtur, tá ikki var brúk fyri honum longur (Joensen 2002,201).

ROYKTAR GÁSABRINGUR

Greitt verður soleiðis frá í forhoyrsprotokollini. Hesin tekstur er so mikið greiður, at hann kann tala fyri seg:

"Om Formiddagen var hun tillige med Madammen, atter ved Ildstedet, for at sætte nogle Gaasebryster i Røg. Ved siden af Ildstedet i knapt een Alens Afstand fra samma laae nogen savspaaner, omtrent saa mange som kunne fylde en Løb. Af disse blev nogen taget og lagt over Gløder paa Ildstedet, som blev taget fra Kakkelovnen, og ovenover dette blev anbragt en Løb hvoraf Bunden var udtaget, I Enden af hvilke Brysterne bleve hængte paa Træpinde. Da Savspaanerne havde ligget nogle Dage inde ved Ildstedet og vare bleve halmtørre, stænkede Deponentinden (Tað vil siga tann avhoyrda) Vand paa dem, der blev lagte over Gløderne. De forlod nu begge Ildstedet , men efter knap en Times Forløb, gik Deponentinden ene derind igjen, for at se til Røgen. Røgningen var da ophørt, da Gløderne vare udgaaede, og hun hentede derfor friske Gløder fra Kjøkkenet i Ildkassen, og lagde nogen flere Spaaner på, dog bemærker hun nu, at hun ikke med Vished kan erindre, om det var denne eller, eller som hun forklarede, første Gang, da Madammen var med, at hun stænkede Vand på Spaanerne. Hun forlod derpaa atter Ildstedet, og da var der endelig sidste Gang omtrent ved Spisetid Klokken mellem 2 og 3, for at lægge i Kakkelovnen. Hun havde ingen Ild med sig, da der endnu var Gløder i Ovnen, hvorved denne tildels blev fuld af Tørv. Røgnings Apparaterne vare anbragte i Krogen op til Muren af Ildstedet, omtrent 1½ Alens Afstand fra Kakkelovns Mundingen. Da hun var der sidste Gang, var ingen Røg at se ved Røgningsapparatet, og hun antog derfor, at Gløderne atter vare gaaede ud, dog undersøgte hun ikke Gløderne selv, men gjentager kun, at der adeles ingen Røg var at bemærke."

Hon, arbeiðskonan, hevði verið í hjallinum um kvøldið og merkti ongan royk ella eld, tað gjørdi hon heldur ikki, tá hon fór at leggja seg kl 11.

Tað verður ikki sagt heilt greitt, hvussu langa tíð, tað tók at roykja gásabringurnar, men ein nærlesing av forhoyrinum, sigur okkum so mikið, at gásabringurnar vórðu hongdar upp til roykingar kl. 10.00 á morgni og hingu tær har til væl út á seinnapartin. So tær hava ivaleyst verið royktar í einar 5 tímar. Møguliga er roykingin farin fram í fleiri umførum, men hetta verður einki sagt um.

Prestur leggur í forhoyrsfrágreiðingini dent á, at farið hevur verið væl um eld í prestagarðinum, og hann greiðir frá, at hann hevði givið arbeiðskonunum boð um bert at flyta gløður í einum serligum afturlatnum eldkassa, sum var ætlaður til endamálið, fyri at ongin burturvilst glóð skuldi seta eld á. Øll tyktust at hava sýnt fyrilit, tá tað um gløður og eld ráddi, kortini kom eldur í og prestagarðurin í Jansagerði brendi í grund. Tað var sjálvandi spell, at eldur

kom í, men um hesin eldur ikki hevði verið, so høvdu vit ikki vitað, tað vit hava fingið at vita um matvanarnar hjá Engelstad presti og Madame Engelstad.

TANN "FORNEMMA" KJØTPYLSAN YVIR FÝRSTAÐNUM ELLA Í KAMINUNI

Síggja vit burtur frá gásabringum og royktum kjøti, so er tað bert í sambandi við kjøtpylsur, at vit í vanligum føroyskum siðmenningarligum høpi, hoyra um royking, ella okkurt sum ber brá av hesum. Føroyingar flest hava neyvan kent til aðra royking enn ta royking, sum kundi fara fram við at hanga mat upp nærhendis fýrstaðnum í roykstovuni, annars høvdu vit kunna vitað meira um hetta í øllum tí sum er skrivað um Føroyar, men sjálvt um eg havi leita væl, so havi eg einki funnið.

Jóhanna Maria Skylv Hansen (1938,253) sigur um matarhald í Føroyum seinast í 20. øld, at "Rullupylsur og kjøtpylsur vóru goymdar til høgtíðir og til fremmandafólk," so mikið forkunnugur matur var tað hjá vanligum fólki, men hon nevnir einki um royking í føroyskum matarhaldi. Hin vegin veit eg við vissu, at tað var vanligt millum fólk at "roykja" kjøtpylsur í roykstovuni við eldstaðin. Tað seinnu tíðina varð hetta gjørt yvir komfýrinum. Eg minnist sjálvur eina konu í Sørvági. ið plagdi at heingja saltaðar kjøtpylsur upp við eldstaðin.

Tá eg minnist tað, hevði hon komfýr, fyri á tann hátt at turka tær eitt sindur. Hesar pylsur vóru pakkaðar væl inn í pappír á sama hátt, sum nógv fólk turkað saltað spik,[4] men hetta kann neyvan sigast at verða royking í vanligari meining, og kortini, men pylsan kom at verða glarut og smakkaði sermerktari enn, tann vanliga kókaða kjøtpylsan. Tað sum P. J. Sigvardsen (1997,67) greiðir frá í endurminningum sínum líkist meira royking, hann sigur at "Móðir plagdi at vatna kjøtpylsuna út, balla hana væl inn í pappír og so heingja hana inn í kaminina at roykja. Tað lá so væl fyri, tí kaminlúkan var á loftinum, og væl var torvroykurin egnaður til hetta endamálið." Nógv av teirri royking av mati, sum fór fram í londunum rundan um okkum, hon fór fram í einum stórum skorsteini, har maturin, sum roykjast skuldi varð hongdur upp. Tað sum P. J. Sigvardsen her lýsir, tað er í prinsippinum tað sama.

NIÐURSTØÐAN

Niðurstøðan av hesi lítlu kanning verður tann, at royking ikki hevur verið ókend í Føroyum millum ávís folk, man at tað ikki hevur verið vanligt í

4 Hansina í Stórustovu í Sørvági, í andaðist 86 ára gomul í 1976. viðgjørdi alla sína tíð kjøtpylsur á henda hátt.

matarhaldinum hjá føroyingum flest at roykja matin, uttan tað sum vit kenna til, tá kjøtpylsa var hongd upp við fýrstaðin. Hinvegin er tað eisini greitt, at arbeiðskonurnar hjá prestunum komu at læra nógv nýtt um matarhald, sum tær kundu brúka, tá tær fingu egið heim. Um roykingin á prestagørðunum og hjá øðrum "fornemmum" embætisfólkum í Føroyum hevur ávirkað føroyskt matarhald, eru heldur eingi beinleiðis dømi um í siðsøguligum bókmentum. Men tað forðar ikki fyri, at tað kann hava verið ein ávirkan, tí tað er tíverri ikki granskað nóg væl um ávirkanina á matarhald og annað frá teimum, ið Svabo nevnir tey "fornemmu", tí prestar, eins og læknar ótu bæði állar og høsn og annað, sum vanligi føroyingurin ikki gjørdi. Henda ávikan er ikki skjalfest, uttan í einstøkum førum og er fyri tað mesta ein ósøgd søga, sum bert einstøk vita um.

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The Dead Man's Sled

Christian Keller

I first met Símun at the Nordic Archaeological Expedition to South Greenland in 1976. It therefore makes sense to honour him with a paper on Greenland, even though the subject is not archaeological.

In a basement in Oslo, The Ethnographic Museum (presently integrated in The Museum of Cultural History) has extra storage space. Objects that are not on exhibit are stockpiled there. Among toys and trinkets from the most exotic corners of the world are two quite ordinary looking dog-sleds of the type known as *komatik* from North Greenland. The brief information on their paper tags takes us more than a hundred years back, to an Arctic drama of international proportions.

Under number 13,087 in the Museum Register, is entered (my translation):

Dogsled, short and wide, of the genuine, original form, painted blue, with iron runners, Upernivik (sic!). Next to the entry is added: Text on sled: Dogsled from Upernivik, of the old short and broad form, donated by Mylius-Erichsen. E.B. 01.07.02. The entry must be of a younger date, since Ludvig Mylius-Erichsen did not return from Greenland until 1904 (below). The sled is from North West Greenland; Upernavik (which is the modern spelling) is located south in Melville Bay.

Under number 13,088 is entered (my translation):

Dogsled of the more recent model, narrower and shorter than the older type, unpainted, with iron runners. This more recent model was introduced after Peary's visit(s) to Cape York. The sled was made by an Eskimo, who passed it on to another Eskimo, Kulutenguak, who accompanied Eivind Astrup. When the first owner of the sled died, Kulutenguak felt bad about being associated with the sled, which was known as "The Dead Man's Sled". He therefore swapped sleds with Mylius-Erichsen, who in turn wanted the sled to be donated to a Norwegian Museum, as a commemoration of Eivind Astrup's Eskimo companion. Cape York. To this entry is added: Kulutenguak is pronounced Krolotenguak (Mylius-Erichsen). Cape York is located north in Melville Bay.

The North Greenlander Kulutenguak is a central figure in the present pa-

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Fróðskapur, Faroe University Press 2008. ISBN: 978-99918-65-18-8. EAN: 9789991865188.

per. Due to the lack of a literary standard at the time, his name appears in written form both as *Kolotengva, Kulutenguaq,* and *Qolugtinguaq*, but it is the same man throughout.

The short comments on the tags do not make sense without a proper introduction of the lead characters; Eivind Astrup and Ludvig Mylius-Erichsen. Their fates would have been different if their lives had not been touched by Robert Peary:

The American explorer Robert Edwin Peary (1856-1920) is generally considered to be the first to reach the North Pole in 1909. He was a naval engineer, but spent most of his life in northern exploration.

His first venture was a trip in 1886 from the Pakitsoq fjord onto the Greenland ice-cap together with the Dane Michael Christian Maigaard (1859-1919) (Maigaard 1888). In 1891-92 Peary organized his first serious expedition to Inglefield Bay north of Cape York, and in 1893-95 he launched a second expedition to the same area.

The current story starts in 1891 when a young man stayed at a hotel in Philadelphia. He came across a newspaper article which announced that Lieutenant Peary sought participants to an expedition to map the north coast of Greenland. The man was Eivind Astrup (1871-1895), a 20 year old Norwegian and an excellent skier, but with a meagre knowledge of English according to himself (Astrup 1990:1-4). Astrup's English can not have been all that bad, for Peary took him on as an expedition member right away (1891-92).

It is an interesting side issue that the American Doctor Frederick Albert Cook (1865-1940) took part in the same expedition. Cook later participated in the Belgica expedition to the Antarctic 1897-99 together with the Norwegian Explorer Roald Amundsen (1872-1928). In 1908 Cook claimed to have reached the North Pole, but was not believed (Cook 1911, also 2001, and for instance Bryce 1997). Still, his claim caused confusion when Peary announced he had reached the Pole the following year.

Astrup did not only make use of Peary's expedition to improve his English, he also learnt the language of the Polar Eskimo, as they were called by Knud Rasmussen. They called themselves Inughuit, but will be called North Greenlanders in this paper. Astrup became an excellent dog driver and a skilled craftsman making skis and sleds.

In 1892 Peary and Astrup travelled from Inglefield Gulf (modern name: Inglefield Bredning) in North West Greenland to Independence Bay (modern name: Independence Fjord) on the North East coast, which they reached on Independence Day July 4. 1892, hence the name. The expedition took three months; a gruelling 2000 kilometres round trip across the inland ice (Astrup 1895, 1898, 1950 Peary 1898). The lack of game in the region was a bad omen.

Fig. 1. "The dead man's sled" which Ludvig Mylius-Erichsen obtained from Kolotengva / Kulutenguaq/ Qolugtinguaq, and donated to the Ethnographic Museum in Oslo.The sled is probably built from driftwood . Every joint is lashed with leather thongs. Only the runners are iron. In the old days, runners were made from bone or ivory. Photo: Eivind Bratlie, Museum of Cultural History. Oslo

They had planned to support themselves and their dogs by hunting, but found no game except a herd of musk oxen. In 1892, Peary wrote to Astrup: …*if I had the pick of the entire country I could not have found a more desirable companion than yourself for our recent little walk.* (Referenced by Ingstad in Astrup 1990, VII).

In the inner end of Independence Bay Peary claimed to have seen a sound, which continued to the North West, possibly linking Independence Bay to Victoria Inlet on the North Coast. It was later named the Peary Channel. He believed this channel separated Peary Land from the rest of Greenland. Astrup describes it as a broad canyon with tall cliffs on each side; the only uncertainty, he wrote, is whether the bottom of the canyon was above or below sea-level (Astrup 1990, 206). Today it is clear that the Peary Channel does not exist, but at the time Peary's statement caused mayhem.

The political implications were these: If the Peary Channel DID exist, Peary

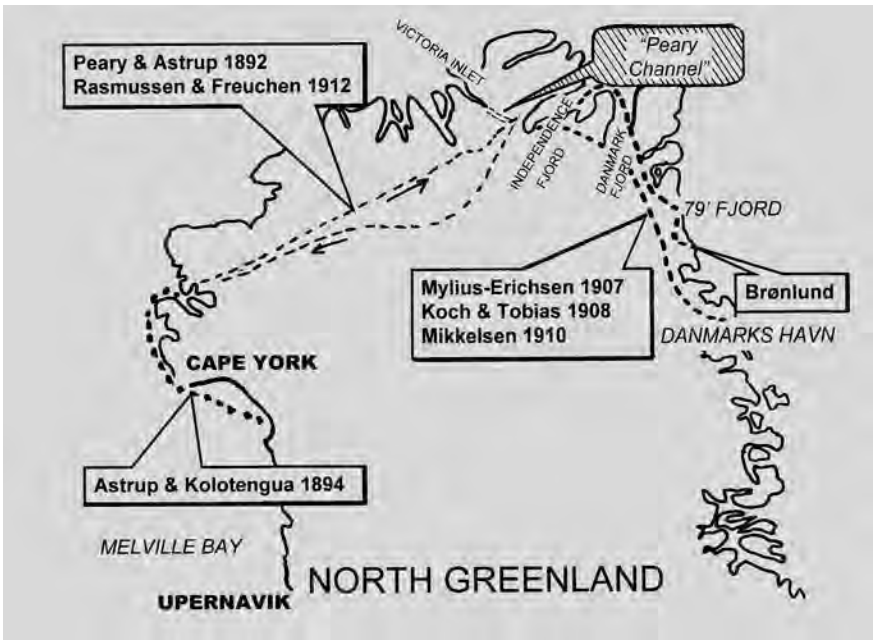

Fig. 2. Map of North Greenland. Independence fjord and the non-existent Peary Channel in the North East. Peary crossed over the innland ice from west, together with Eivind Astrup. Mylius-Erichsen wanted to check the observation of the channel, and approached up along the East coast. (Map by author)

Land could be annexed by the United States of America. If the Channel did NOT exist, Peary Land was Danish along with the rest of Greenland. The trap was set, albeit unintentionally, and an arctic drama waiting to happen.
Meanwhile, Astrup joined Peary's next expedition 1893-94. This expedition was a disaster; the equipment was inadequate, and the expedition members were ill through most of the winter due to ten year old pemmican, which admittedly had been acquired at a very favourable price. Astrup also became sick, but he recovered and made an impressive journey south to Melville Bay together with his companion, the North Greenlander Kolotengva / Kulutenguaq/Qolugtinguaq.

Astrup described him like this (my translation):

> Kolotengva is one of the most intelligent people in his tribe, at least among the younger generation. He is about 25 years old, short in stature, but of a compact build with muscles of steel. His strength is above normal. His eyes are small, but lively, and he can spot objects far be-

> yond the range of ordinary people. His long, black hair is slightly curly, and frames his face well. In many respects he reminds me of the Indian chiefs described in the popular Western novels. No one in his tribe were prouder than Kolotengva, no one more free and independent, no one more faithful in friendship, more alert in the face of danger, or smarter during the hunt (Astrup 1990, 260-61, but see also 282).

There can be no doubt that this man is identical to the Kulutenguak who is mentioned in the register of the Ethnographic Museum (above). Their joint trip to Melville Bay is described by Astrup (op.cit. 288-319).

The same man was described by the Danish explorer Peter Freuchen (1886-1957) as Qolugtinguaq. According to him, Assolo (which was the Greenlanders' name for Astrup) had wanted to run away from Peary, but had lost his nerve when they reached Thom Island. Freuchen's descriptions of Astrup were entirely negative (Freuchen 1953, 52-53).

Astrup wrote that when a North Greenlander died, his name should no longer be mentioned. Those who had touched the dead person or any of the person's possessions should observe strict rules concerning diet and clothing. This can explain why Kolotengva was not overly happy to use a dead man's sled, and how Mylius-Erichsen was able to acquire it.

The dead man's sled from Cape York is quite ordinary to look at. A closer scrutiny will reveal that there has been a shortage of wood, since the longer pieces have been supplemented with shorter pieces, expertly attached with leather strap lashings. Astrup wrote (1990, 87-88, my translation):

The reason why larger pieces of wood are so rare in sleds and other tools, is that the wood they can get their hands on is limited to the insignificant pieces (…) they can barter from English whalers near Cape York. Lately, their contact with the Peary expeditions has left them with an unprecedented supply of wood, causing a significant rise in the number of sleds and -owners.

The Upernavik sled is of a similar type as the one from Cape York, but with beautiful handles of polished ivory from walrus- or narwhale tusks.

Astrup describes how the sleds from North West Greenland traditionally had runners of polished walrus or narwhal ivory. Astrup built one such sled himself, but iron runners had already become common due to the "Peary effect". Peter Freuchen described how a mixture of mud and water could be applied to wooden runners in a layer several inches thick. When it had frozen it was planed down with a knife (Freuchen 1959, 144-45). In areas with deep snow, strips of wet walrus skin could be attached to the runners to increase their surface. When they froze, they would give the sled additional buoyancy.

On his return to Norway, Astrup received a hero's welcome. He managed

Fig. 3. One of the side-runners on the dead man's sled was made of wood which was too short for the purpose. It has been extended with a small piece which is lashed in place. All the leather thongs have been fitted into the wood to protect them from the ice. Photo: Eivind Bratlie, Museum of Cultural History, Oslo.

to finish the manuscript of his book, and started planning an expedition to the Antarctic. He died suddenly Christmas 1895 on a skiing-trip to the Rondane mountains; no doubt a personal tragedy. A memorial stone was erected at Voksenkollen on the threshold to Nordmarka, the playground for skiers in the Oslo region.

Astrup himself was soon forgotten in the shadows of such giant explorers as Fridtjof Nansen (1861-1930) and Roald Amundsen (1872-1928), and the stone vanished among brambles and trees until Helge Ingstad (1899-2001) had it moved to a more visible location near Frognerseteren in 1990 (Ingstad: Preface in Astrup 1990 and later).

So far, Peary and Astrup have been presented, but who was Ludvig Mylius-Erichsen (1872-1907) who wanted the dead man's sled to go to the Ethnographic Museum in Oslo?

He was a Danish author and journalist, and a friend of the famous Danish explorer Knud Rasmussen (1879-1933). Together they organized the Danish Literary Greenland Expedition to North West Greenland 1902-04. The purpose of the expedition was to record the traditions and lore of the North

Fig. 4. The handles on the Upernavik sled were made from ivory from either walrus or narwhale tusks. They are polished from years and years of use. Even the plugs holding them together is made from ivory.Photo: Eivind Bratlie, Museum of Cultural History, Oslo

Greenlanders, and it did so with great success. In the fall of 1903 three of the participants crossed the Melville Bay and spent the winter at Cape York, where the dead man's sled was acquired. Upon the return, Mylius-Erichsen donated it to the museum in Oslo, to commemorate Astrup's companion Kolotengva/Kulutenguak/Qolugtinguaq.

In 1906 Mylius-Erichsen launched another expedition, to double-check Peary's observation that the Peary Channel separated Peary Land from the rest of Greenland. It was called *Danmark ekspeditionen* (The Danmark Expedition) after the expedition ship, and the purpose was to map the North East coast of Greenland.

Although the expedition was a privately funded venture, there was no secret that it was politically motivated. In 1905 Mylius-Erichsen wrote (my translation):

Formally speaking, Greenland is Danish territory, at least the parts which Danish explorers have annexed and mapped. The reality is, however, that we only command the occupied parts of the coast (…) Several expeditions, for example Peary's and Sverdrup's, have been launched to map this land, but it has not yet been done. Until so happens, the Danes still have the chance of being number one up there. (From the Archives of the "Denmark Ekspedition" at Arktisk Institut, 2, published in Ventegodt 1998, 50).

"This land" obviously refers to the North East coast of Greenland, and "Sverdrup" refers to Norwegian explorer Otto Sverdrup (1854-1930) who had crossed the Greenland ice-cap on skis together with Fridtjof Nansen back in 1888. Sverdrup was in charge of the Second "Fram" Expedition (1898-1902) (named after the expedition ship) which had explored the region north west of Greenland, in what is today Nunavut in Arctic Canada (Sverdrup 1903 and 1904). The expedition did in fact annex an area larger than South Norway in the Ellesmere region on behalf of the Norwegian king (Isachsen 1925, 27). Fortunately, the Norwegian government never pursued the claim, so the area went to the British crown, subsequently to Canada and Nunavut.

Sverdrup's and Peary's interest in these regions clearly influenced the decision to launch the Danmark Expedition – this was the era of arctic imperialism. So did a planned Norwegian expedition which intended to map North East Greenland. The Norwegian plans were abandoned when the Danmark expedition took off (Isachsen 1925, 40).

Mylius-Erichsen bought a Norwegian sealer, the bark "Magdalena" of Tønsberg, and renamed it "Danmark". 28 men took part in the expedition; participants of later renown were Peter Freuchen, Johan Peter Koch (1870-1928), and the German Geologist Alfred Wegener (1880-1930) (Freuchen 1953, 15-25).

In June 1906 Danmark entered the drift-ice, and eventually established winter quarters in Danmarkshavn near Cape Bismarck in North East Greenland, not to be confused with Danmark Fjord, which lies 1000 kilometres further north, next to Independence Bay. Depots were set out, and March 28th 1907 two dog-sled patrols were sent north, on different missions.

Patrol 1 was led by Mylius-Erichsen himself; the two other participants were Lieutenant Niels Peter Høeg Hagen (1877-1907) and the Greenlander Jørgen Brønlund (1877-1907). Brønlund had participated in the Literary Greenland Expedition.

Patrol 2 was headed by Lieutenant Johan Peter Koch; the two teams rendezvoused at 82 degrees North before Koch's team returned to the ship and Mylius-Erichsen headed for Independence Bay.

The start was quite successful; on June 1st 1907, Mylius-Erichsen left a note in a cairn on the south side of Independence Bay, stating that (my translation):

(…) Our close inspection confirmed that Independence Bay is a fjord, and that the entrance to what Peary believed to be the Peary Channel does not exist. (..) (Quoted from Ventegodt 1998:252). He also stated that he annexed the areas they had mapped in the name of Danish King Frederik VIII, on behalf of the Danish State (ibid). They had proved that Peary Land was part of Greenland, and claimed it for Denmark, but the hardest part still remained; to bring the news home.

Only a week later they left a second cairn message; the temperature had increased to +6 centigrade, the fjord-ice broke up, the hunting failed, and they had slaughtered three dogs. The summer had caught up with them (Ventegodt 1998, 255). Sled travel in Greenland is a winter activity, and only by mid October could they resume their interrupted journey, four months behind schedule. By then most of the dogs had become food. They came as far south as 79 Fjord (Nioghalvfjerdsfjorden); Høeg Hagen lived a month, Mylius-Erichsen some ten days longer, their bodies were never retrieved. A sad end for the Danish explorer who had given the two sleds to the Ethnographic Museum in Oslo.

The following winter, a rescue party consisting of J.P. Koch and the Greenlander Tobias Gabrielsen found Brønlund's body and diary under a rock shelter at Lambert Land. Brønlund's last entry was written in Danish, and is famous. It is also ambiguous (he was a native Greenlandic speaker):

Succumbed (or more probable: circumvented) the 79-Fjord after attempted return trip over the inland ice in November I arrive here in waning moonlight and could no further from frostbite and darkness. Th others' bodies are mid fjord in front of glacier (ca 2 ½ mil) Hagen died November 15 and Mylius ca

10 (two?) days later. Jørgen Brønlund (My attempted translation).

Denmark had won three heroes, but had lost three good men. As often happens when something dramatic happens far from the searchlights of the media, the "mystery" of their death has taken on strange proportions (Lundbye 1984 & 2006). In 2006-2008 a centennial "Danmark ekspedition" was launched by the Danish Arctic Institute, with the Danish Crown prince Frederik as a participant. One assignment was a visit to the 79' Fjord – the search for the bodies of Mylius-Erichsen and Høeg Hagen never seems to end.

But a century ago, the quest for the Peary Channel was still a reality. In 1909 the Alabama-expedition led by the Dane Ejnar Mikkelsen was launched to search for Mylius-Erichsen's message cairns. Their expedition ship was crushed by the ice at Shannon Island, but the expedition members returned home on board Norwegian sealers in 1910 and 1912.

In 1912 Knud Rasmussen and Peter Freuchen repeated Peary's and Astrup's sled run from 1892 together with two North Greenlanders, Uvdluriark and Inukitsork. They confirmed (once more) that the Peary Channel did not exist (Rasmussen 1924, 1914, 1915, 1979, Freuchen 1953, 143-179 especially p. 160). Mylius-Erichsen's important cairn of June 1st 1907, was not discovered until 1922 (L. Koch 1926:95).

In 1938, Danish explorer Lauge Koch (1892-1964) flew over "the Peary Channel" with his hydroplane "Perssuak". He stated that Peary had not been right, but that he had been in good faith; the "channel" was really a valley with a small lake and two rivers (Web.ref. Peary Channel, see also L. Koch 1938:69-78).

But back in 1909 Peary doggedly continued his quest for the North Pole which he reached April 6th. He was accompanied by the African-American Matthew Henson (1866-1955) and four North Greenlanders. As mentioned, Cook's claim that he had reached the Pole the previous year caused confusion, and in recent decades, doubts about Peary's navigation have again been launched (Herbert 1989). Still, when the news of Peary's achievement was broadcasted in September 1909, they had the effect that Norwegian explorer Roald Amundsen on board the expedition ship "Fram" abandoned his plans for the North Pole, and headed for the South Pole instead (Amundsen 1929, 1, Huntford 1979, 178-181). At least this was the official version; the hunt for the South Pole had apparently been planned covertly for some time.

This led to the fatal race between Roald Amundsen and the British explorer Robert Falcon Scott (1868-1912) in 1911. As is well known, Amundsen and his dog-teams beat Scott to the Pole, and Scott and his four companions succumbed on their way back (Huntford 1979 and later, but primarily Amundsen 1912, 1929 and Scott 1913, Scott and Barrie 1923).

In the eyes of the world, this was a heroic drama which completely overshadowed the grim fate of three Danes who had searched for a channel that did not exist.

And in a basement in Oslo, two dog-sleds are stored…

I express my thanks to Conservator Eivind Bratlie with the Museum of Cultural History, Oslo, for bringing the sleds to my attention, for helping with pictures, and for help collecting material for this paper.

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Towards a Typology of Viking Age and Medieval Faroese Ceramics

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"Tíðarfestingin av føroysku búðstaðaleivdunum er ikke uttan vansar. Størsti vansin er ofta tann, at gripatilfarið av heimligum uppruna er so einsháttað..." (Arge 1985, 12). The dating of Faroese house remains is not without difficulties. The most complicated element is often that the local artefact assemblies are so uniform…

Local pottery was abundant (at í Uppistovubeitinum, ed.) … Although our knowledge of this exciting find category is as yet somewhat sporadic, as the material has not yet been studied as a whole, certain characteristics have been defined… (Arge 1997, 33).

Since the beginning of his career, Símun V. Arge has been more than aware of the possibilities and weaknesses' of the excavated artefacts and thus also for the local pottery produced on the Faroe Island such as bowls, cups and vessels (Arge 1990, 43-46). All of the local pottery is unglazed, made by hand without the potter's wheel and usually burned at a low temperature. The shapes vary from rounded, open vessels to bucket shaped pots and then often with a flat bottom.

During the 1980's Faroese society developed among other things the infra structure rapidly, which led to numerous smaller and larger excavations One of the ongoing discussions at the time dealt with Faroese pottery. The relationship or missing relationship between local pottery and imported steatite bowls, and it was taken for granted that part of the Viking Age was supposed to be aceramic in favour of steatite bowls and vessels of organic material.

WAS THE VIKING AGE WITHOUT POTTERY?

This discussion became relevant with the excavation of Toftanes, which is completely aceramic and dominated by steatite bowls. Toftanes is dated to the 9th and 10th Century by the excavator (Hansen 1988, 74; 1996, 54). Við Gjógvará in Fuglafjørður, Durhus in Eiði and possibly Niðri á Toft in Klaksvík (Arge 1990, 45) are all dominated by steatite bowls. Early on Sverri Dahl

Helgi D. Michelsen og Caroline Paulsen: Símunarbók. Heiðursrit til Símun V. Arge á 60 ára degnum.
Fróðskapur, Faroe University Press 2008. ISBN: 978-99918-65-18-8. EAN: 9789991865188.

pointed out the problems in the relationship between Faroese pottery and steatite bowls on the various excavated sites (Dahl 1952, 172), and in 1970 he explained the differences as due to social relationships or due to varying external contacts (Dahl 1970, 71). Later on the difference in the material was interpreted as due to chronological differences (Arge 1990, 46; Hansen 1988, 75).

The aceramic horizon was introduced in connection with the archaeological excavations of Jarlshof, Shetland (Hamilton 1956, 116f), where Hamilton pointed at aceramic layers among the seven zones of the rubbish heap. Instead steatite bowls and other steatite objects dominated the layers. The result from the rubbish heap was then correlated with the house structures resulting in a chronology where the 9th to 11th Century was without pottery (Hamilton 1956, 188 & fig. 85). At Buckuoy, Orkney, dated to the 9^{1t} Century a similar situation has been excavated (Ritchie 1979, 192); at Skaill, Orkney, where the house constructions indicate a dating from the Younger Iron Age to most of the Viking Age the situation is the same (Gelling 1984, 37). Another example is Underhoull, Shetland, as both the 9th and 10th Century culture layers and constructions are totally free of pottery in favour of steatite bowl presumably of local origins (Samll 1967, 10 & 14). Among the artefacts from Saevar Howe in Orkney there are burned and unburned loom weights and a clay vessel which could be of either Pictish or Late Norse origin (Hedges et alii 1983, 102 & 103; Hamilton 1956 fig. 84). Saevar Howe is dated by a coin to the 9th Century with continuity to the early 10th Century. This dating is not quite certain as the coin type Burgred type d (866-68) was secondarily in use as a pendant and thus could be old at the time of its deposition (Barret 2003, 86). At the Brough of Birsay the pottery is dated to the 10th Century (Hunter 1986, 185), while the limited number of shards from Beachview, Birsay could be slightly younger (Batey & Freeman 1996, 139, 145). During the 1970's a Viking Age construction was excavated at the Udal, North Uist, the Hebrides (Crawford 1974, 1-16), and among the artefacts there are shards from bag like vessels and open bowls. Udal is supposed to start in the late 9th Century but as elsewhere on the Hebrides, Norse sites with pottery are hard to date (Lane 1990, 129).

The picture on the British Isles is thus complicated as there is pottery shards found during the presumed aceramic horizon. It is on the other hand without question that the Vikings preferred steatite bowls (Butler 1989, 194; Barret 2003, 83).

During the second half of the 1980's extensive excavations were carried out at Argisbrekka on Eysturoy on the Faroe Islands (Mahler 2007). It was suggested in the report from 1991 hat different kinds of pottery were in use

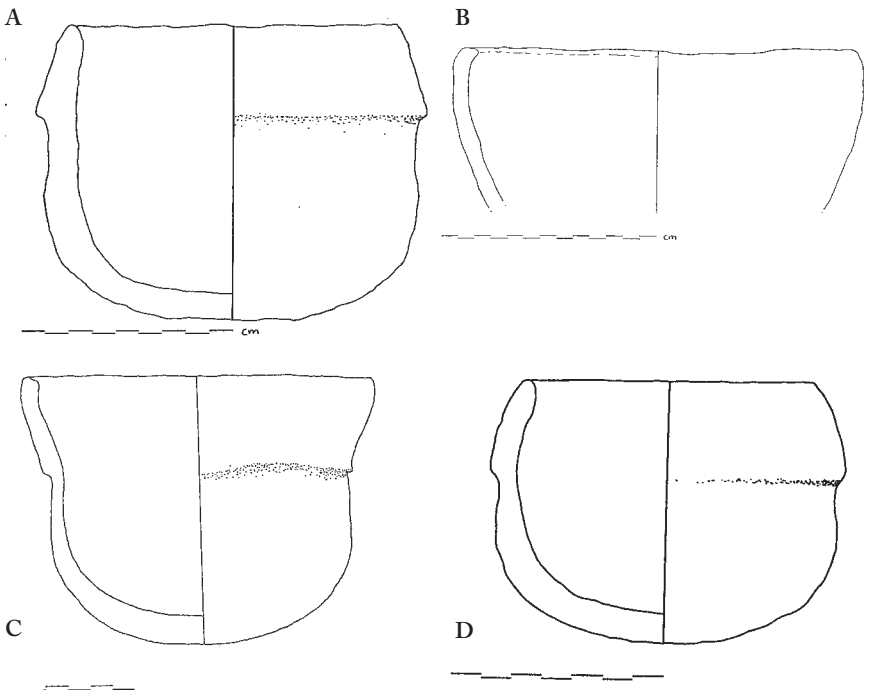

Fig 1. a, b, c og d

at Argisbrekka during late Viking Age and Early Middle Ages. The limited numbers of shards show two types of vessels. Open, rounded bowls and vessels with thickened rims like a collar and rounded bottoms, fig. 1 (Mahler 2007, 85). A few shards could indicate the presence of vessels with somewhat flattened bottoms. Argisbrekka is dated partly by the artefact assembly partly by 12 ^{14}C dating to 9th to the 11th Century or beginning of the 12th Century.

Already during 1964-65 the then head antiquarian, Sverri Dahl, had excavated at Ergidalur, and the pottery assemblage is typologically very similar to the ceramics from Argisbrekka, fig. 1 (Dahl 1970, 361-168). At Ergidalur the material consists of rounded bowls with rims slightly turned inwards as well as vessels with thickened rims like a collar and rounded bottoms. Sverri Dahl found the last mentioned bowls at Yvri í Tofni at Sandavági too.

The excavations at Uppistovubeitinum in Leirvík during the period 1988-97 uncovered substantial remains of buildings and cultural layers. The artefact assembly is rather large and consists primarily of pottery, fig. 2. Here vessels with thickened rims like a collar and rounded bottoms constitute to be an important group. *It is especially the side- and rim shards that are characteristic*

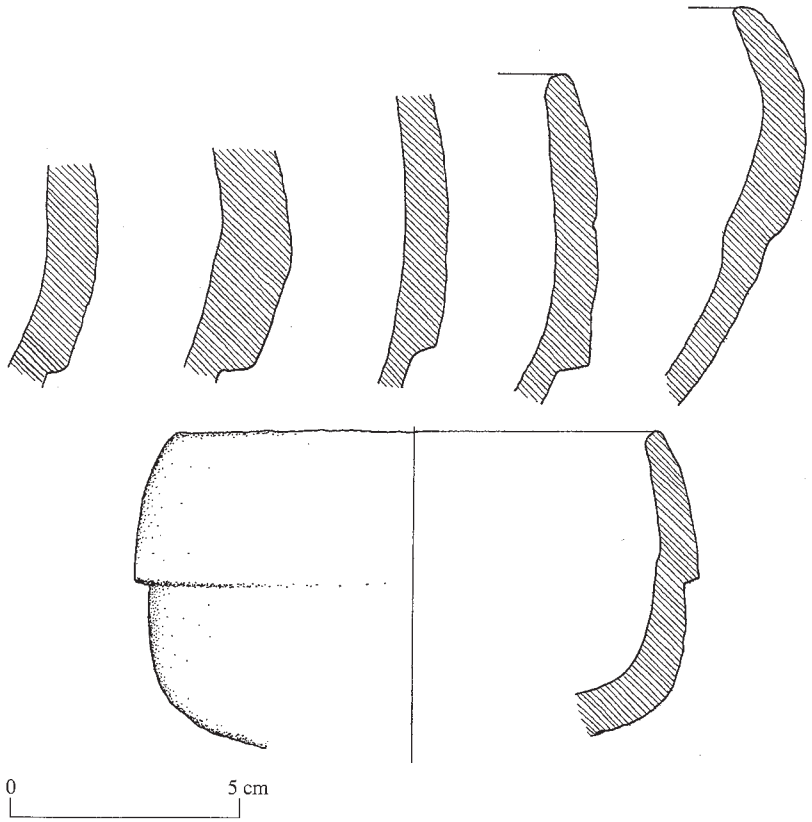

Fig. 2.

in that they are thickest somewhat below the rim and then become very thin lower down…The type cannot as such be dated but occurs in a late Viking Age/Early Medieval context…How long the type was in use is as yet not known. (Arge 1997, 34). Símun Arge gives a very good description of the problems we are facing when working with the local, Faroese ceramics in our attempt to bring some order in the chaos. Uppistovubeitinum is dated from the12th to the 14th Century by the excavator[1] (Arge 1997, 27).

I will end this section by mentioning a very distinct type of vessel called a "swallow's nest vessel". The shard was found at Skavanes on Sandoy in 1978.

1 K-6629, Juniperus, 745 ± 45 BP. 1 sigma: 1225-1290 AD. K-6630, Patella vulgate, 520 ± 50 BP. 1 sigma: 1320-1440 AD

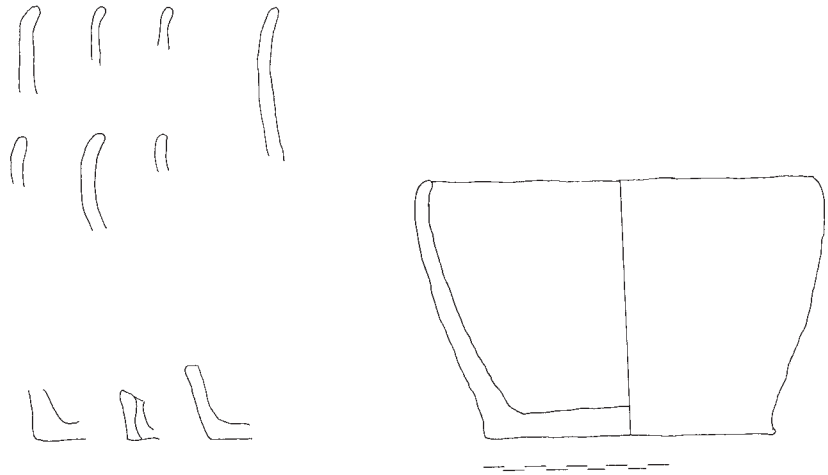

Fig 3

The reconstructed vessel must have had two to four "swallow's nests" which have protected the suspension strings from the fire when used in food preparation (Diklev 1980, 17). In Southern Scandinavia this type of vessel has been dated to the Viking Age, but unfortunately the shard from Skavanes was found in an undated context.

SOME VESSELS FROM THE MIDDLE AGES

A widespread type of vessel from the Middle Ages is bucket shaped with a flat bottom (Arge 1990, 43). Sometimes the sides might be more or less convex or slanting outwards. The diameter is from 10 to 30 cms and the highest of the vessels are 20 to 25 cms high. Smaller cups are known as well.

"Inni a Tvørgarði", a Middle Age farmstead from Miðvág on Vágar, was excavated during the early 1980's and consists of a living house and stable separated by a small cobbled yard (Mahler 1984). The farm, which lies around 29 m a.sl. was originally built on the border between the infield and the outland, and thus represents a Medieval expansion of the village of Miðvág. The farm was in function from the 12th to the 14th Century, and during these 200 to 250 years thick cultural layers were accumulated[2]. Some 700 artefacts were found and 1/3 of these are shards of Faroese pottery, which constitute a very

2 K-4068, Pinus sp., 950 ± 70 BP. 1 sigma: 1020-1160 AD. K-4069, Picea/Larix sp., 810 ± 70 BP. 1 sigma: 1160-1280 AD.

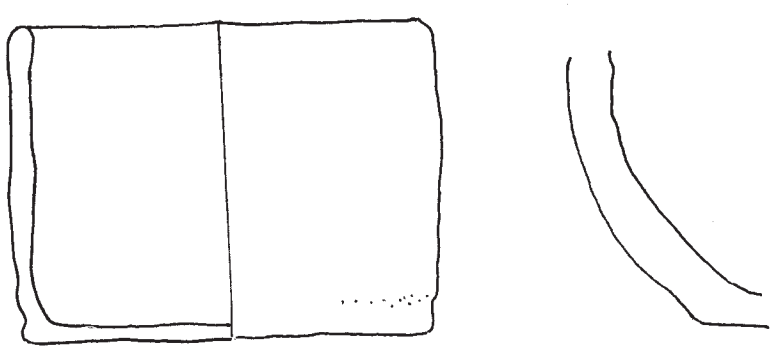

Fig. 4

uniform group[3]. An older group may be cautiously separated, which consists of fairly large vessels with diameter at rim between 18 and 24 cms. The rims are slightly inward bent and rounded as continuation of the sides, fig. 3-4. The bottoms are all flat with a tendency towards a marked foot. There is a great variation among the rest of the potsherds: Rim sherds with a small marked shoulder, rounded rims, T-shaped, slightly thickened or sharp rims, while the shape of the vessels are all more or les straight.

In 1985 Føroya Fornminnissavn started the excavation of a Middle Age farmstead not far from "Inni a Tvørgarði" called "Innanfyri Heygargerði" in Sandavág. The farm consists of a complex of buildings centred round a cobbled yard.

One of the buildings is especially interesting because of the resemblance to the stable building at "Inni á Tvørgarði". Both buildings are very narrow, and if this element has any chronological significance one would expect that at least part of "Innan fyri Heygargerði" should be dated to the period 12th to the 14th Century[4] (Arge 1988, 293). Two ^{14}C dating indicate a function during the13th Century that correlates well with the baking plates found during the excavation. Baking plates are common during the Middle Ages and they are not older than mid 11th Century (Weber 1984, 159). Símun Arge suggests that the building were in use in the Middle Ages to as late as the 15th Century (1985, 13). Of the more than 200 artefacts more than 50% consists of pottery

3 In 1989 Susan Dall Mahler, thanks to Símun Arge and Føroya Fornminnissavn had the opportunity of working with the ceramic material .

4 K-4861, Pinus sp., 790 ± 50 BP. 1 sigma: 1210-1280 AD. K-4862, Picea/Larix sp., 810 ± 50 BP. 1 sigma: 1180-1270 AD.

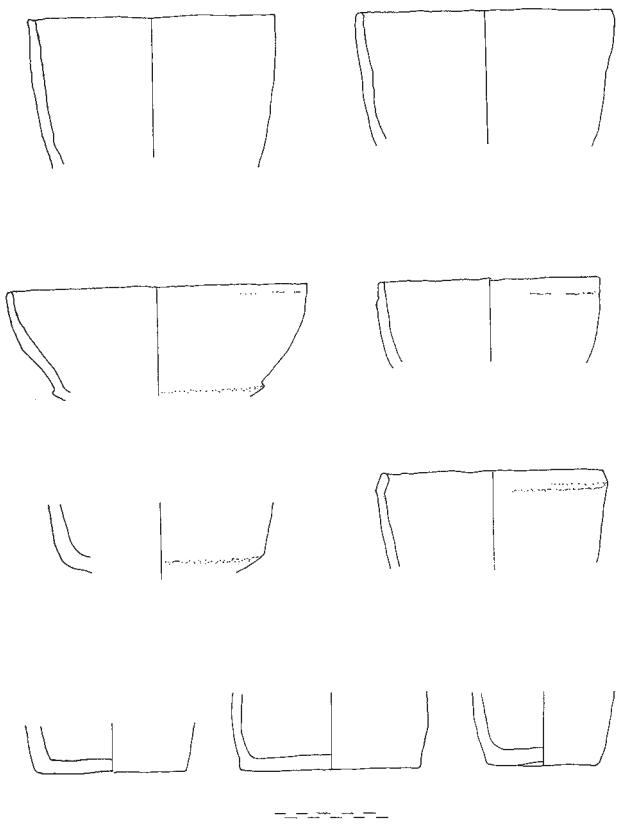

Fig. 5

shards. The vessels have mainly straight sides with flat bottoms, fig. 5. The rims end straight and slightly bent inwards. Some of the open vessels have a convex profile.

FINAL REMARKS

From his journeys around the Faroe Islands in 1781-82 J. Chr. Svabo reported that only very few places still produced local pottery, such as Leirvík and on the island of Koltur (Svabo 1959, 416). This indicates that the production of local pottery was an exception at the end of the 18th Century.

Locally produced pottery seems to be a phenomenon belonging to the late Viking Age and Medieval period, and the locally produced clay vessels were later replaced by imported copper pots. So far so good; it is only when we try to dig a little deeper that we face problems. The production of rounded vessels

with a collar seems to have begun during the late Viking Age, but we do not know for how long this pottery type was produced and the same goes for the round bottomed more open vessels. They may have continued into the Early Medieval period. The bucket shaped, straight sided and flat bottomed pottery does clearly belong to the Middle Ages and there seems to be a small variation in rim shapes, sides and bottoms. Today it is not possible to say whether this has a chronological bearing or is caused by local variations. We do not know for sure, for how long the bucket shaped pottery was produced and it is not uncommon to find shards of imported pottery on localities from the Middle Ages, so we must suppose that the locally produced pottery disappeared by the end of the Medieval Ages.

There are still challenging tasks in the archaeology of the Faroe Islands for Simon Arge to solve. One of them is the construction of a typology of the locally produced vessels.

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Suðurlonin í Reynagarði endurskoðað

Helgi D. Michelsen

INNGANGUR

Fornfrøðiligar rannsóknir fóru fram í gamla prestagarðinum á Reyni í Tinganesi í 2002-2003. Símun V. Arge, sum leiddi rannsóknirnar, gav mær møguleikan at vera við í hesum áhugaverda arbeiði. Vanliga fatanin er, at Reynagarður var fýra lonir, ið stóðu uttan um eitt steinsett tún, og at hesar vóru ymiskt bygdar. Suðurlonin var stavbygd eftir gomlum føroyskum byggihátti. Norðurlonin var bygd sum stokkastova við kjallara undir, og eystur- og vesturlonirnar vóru bygdar í bindingsverki, sum vit kenna úr Suðurskandinavia. Av hesum er tað bert suður- og vesturlonin, sum standa eftir, meðan onnur hús eru bygd, har eystur- og norðurlonin stóðu. (T.d. Arge og Michelsen í Nolsøe og Jespersen 2004: 42). Sum liður í høvuðritgerð í miðaldar- og renesansufornfrøði, har endamálið var at lýsa, hvussu Havnin varð bygd fram til 1673 (Michelsen 2006), beyst høvi at granska í tí fornfrøðiliga og søguliga heilmildartilfarinum, ið lýsir Reynagarð.

Í 1942 skrivaði Anton Degn, at ein partur av eysturvegginum í vesturlonini í Reynagarði var bygdur sum danskt bindingsverk við tigulsteini og timbri. (Degn 1942: 168). Fyrst í 1950-árunum, tá timburklædningurin í vesturlonini var so rotin, at hann varð niðurtikin, vórðu fólk varug við, at allur eysturveggurin og tað mesta av suðurvegginum á vesturlonini eisini var gamalt bindingsverk. Tá tílíkir bygningar úr bindingsverki ikki vóru at finna aðrastaðni í Havn, mælti táverandi landsantikvarur, Sverri Dahl, landsstýrinum til at friða Reynagarð, og í 1955 varð hann friðaður (Í mappu merkt "Tinganes" í "Sverrasavninum" á Føroya Fornminnissavni eru m.a. skjøl, ið hava við virksemi viðvíkjandi Reynagarð at gera frá 1955 til 1971). Friðingin hevur havt við sær, at Fornminnissavnið í dag hevur stóra vitan um Reynagarð, sum er fingin til vega gjøgnum smærri fornfrøðiligar rannsóknir gjøgnum 40 ár, flestu teirra undir leiðslu av Símuni V. Arge.

Við støði í hesum heimildartilfari verður í hesi grein víst á, at suðurlonin upprunaliga ikki var stavbygd eftir gomlum føroyskum siði, men eins og vestur- og eysturlonin bygd úr tigulsteini í bindingsverki eftir donskum siði.

Helgi D. Michelsen og Caroline Paulsen: Símunarbók. Heiðursrit til Símun V. Arge á 60 ára degnum. Fróðskapur, Faroe University Press 2008. ISBN: 978-99918-65-18-8. EAN: 9789991865188.

Mynd 1 Reynagarður sæddur sunnanífrá. Til vinstru er reyða vesturlonin, ið er bygd í bindingsverki, til høgru tann svarta stavbygda suðurlonin við flagtekju, og millum lonirnar er smøl inngongd til steinsetta túnið.

NÆR VARÐ REYNAGARÐUR BYGDUR

Í ymsum greinum og søguligum verkum er Reynagarður tíðarfestur til at vera bygdur millum 1625-1630. Henda tíðarfesting kemst av, at Hans Rasmussen var kapellánur hjá prestinum Christen Morsing frá 1625 til 1630, har hann røkti uppgávurnar sum prestur og rektari á latínskúlanum í Havn. Tað var í hesum tíðarskeiði, at Reynagarður varð bygdur til Hans Rasmussen. Í 1630, tá Morsing doyði, tók Hans Rasmussen formliga við prestastarvinum (Andersen 1895: 385-86).

Ein av gripunum, ið komu undan kavi undir gólvinum í vesturlonini í fornfrøðiligum grevstri í 1978, bendir tó á, at Reynagarður varð tikin í brúk í 1627 (gripurin er skrásettur á Føroya Fornminnssavni sum Snr. 4456/045). Tað snýr seg um eitt brot av grønum málaðum rútaglasi (Mynd 2). Á glasinum sæst, at upprunaliga hevur ein vápnaskjøldur verið í miðjuni, eitt navn við endingini SEN hevur verið undir vápnaskjøldrinum, og úti í síðunum eitt tal, har 27 enn sæst høgrumegin. Í vápnaskjøldrinum síggjast endarnir á einum

fýratali. Navnið, sum hevur staðið undir vápnaskjøldrinum, kundi verið Hans Rasmussen, og talið kann tulkast sum árstalið 1627, og fýratalið kundi verið úr vápnaskjøldrinum hjá Christiani 4., kongurin, ið lat peningin til kirkjuna úti á Reyni frá 1609 og til Latínskúlan í 1628, har Hans Rasmussen var prestur og rektari. Vápnaskjøldurin kann soleiðis fatast sum ein heilsan til, ella frá Christian 4. Í 16. og 17. øld var vanligt at seta rútaglas við áskrift í nýggj hús (Kock 2007).

SØGULIGAR HEIMILDIR

Ongar skriftligar ella kartografiska heimildir eru til, sum lýsa, hvussu Reynagarður sá út í 1627. Í kartografiska tilfarinum sæst Reynagarður ikki fyrr enn í kortinum hjá R. Juel frá 1709/1710. (mynd 3) Har sæst ein ferhyrntur garður um eitt tún, sum tær skriftligu heimildirnar eisini siga frá. Men kortið er ikki

Mynd 2 Rútaglas funnið í fornfrøðiligari rannsókn í Reynagarði í 1978. Prýtt við einum vápnaskjøldri við parti av einum 4 tali, stavunum SEN og talinum 27.

Mynd 3. Kort eftir R. Juel frá 1709/1710. Reynagarður er merktur H.

serliga neyvt, t.d. er ongin inngongd til garðin, sum annars verður nevnd í øðrum keldum (sí niðanfyri).

Arne Thorsteinsson hevur gjøgnumgingið nógv av skriftliga skjalatilfarinum, so sum húsaskrásetingar og skiftir, og hann hevur m.a. skrivað niður tað, hann hevur funnið um mátini á Reynagarði. (Fimm A4 síður við yvirskriftini "Lýsingar av Reynagarði, vesturlonin undantikin" og "Lýsingar av vesturlonini í Reynagarði", dagfest 18. februar 2000. Í goymslu H3 í skjalasavninum hjá bygningadeildini í mappu:"55 Reynagarður, Suðurlonin"). Tær fyrstu

uppmátingarnar av Reynagarði eru frá 1784. Tá er suðurlonin 11,1 x 5,6 m, (mátini eru upprunaliga í alin, men her eru tey umroknað til m, har ein alin er sett til 0,63 m) vesturlonin 11,9 x 6,3 m, eysturlonin 9,4 x 3,8 m og norðurlonin 11,9 x 6,9 m. Trý ár seinni, í 1787, er suðurlonin bæði smalri og styttri, einans 7,5 x 3,5 m. Henda stóra broyting merkir, at suðurlonin í árunum millum 1784 og 1787 má vera heilt ella partvíst niðurtikin. Í 1819 er suðurlonin 7,5 x 3,8 m. Tað er sama longd sum í 1787 og 30 cm breiðari. Hesi smáu avvikini kunnu verða óneyvar uppmátingar ella smærri umbyggingar. Hesi mát eru tey somu, sum suðurlonin hevur í dag, um tann lítli nýggjari útbygningurin norðureftir og tilbygningurin eystureftir, sum er bygdur millum 1819 og 1850, ikki eru íroknaðir.

Í eini frágreiðing á Føroya Fornminnissavninum um Reynagarð í 1995 verður sagt, at tað ikki er farið longur aftur enn til 1787 í skriftliga heimildartilfarinum ("Rapport-Føroya Fornminnissavn" í savninum hjá bygningsdeildini undir: Tórshavn:55, Reynagarður, 1995, 3). T.v.s. at elstu mátini av suðurlonini í frágreiðingini stórt sæð eru tey somu, sum suðurlonin hevur í dag. Verður farið bert trý ár longur aftur í skjalatilfarinum, ber til at síggja, at núverandi suðurlon ikki kann vera tann upprunaliga frá 1600-árunum, men at hon er bygd millum 1784 og 1787. Henda frágreiðing passar eisini betur til heimildina "Gejstlighedens skrifteprotokol"(sí niðanfyri). Stavbygda suðurlonin kann tó vera eldri, um hon hevur staðið á øðrum stað og er tikin niður og síðani flutt og endurreist á Reynagarði millum 1784 og 1787.

GEJSTLIGHEDENS SKRIFTEPROTOKOL

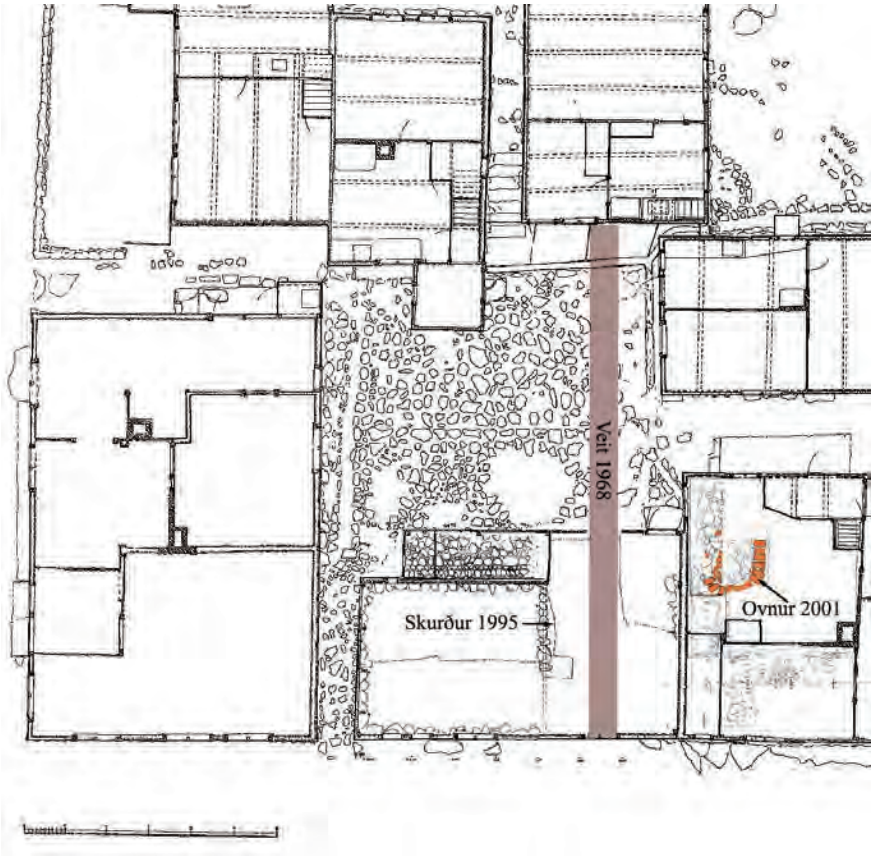
Gejstlighedens skifteprotokol 1679-1729, folio 36-37, 9. november 1691, viðger eitt skifti eftir "Hr. Gregers Pedersen Ferøe forrige Sognepræst och Recto Scholle ibm." (Á Føroya Landsskjalasavni, sum reinskrivað kopi í goymslu H3 á Føroya Fornminnissavni). Hr Gregers Pedersen er soleiðis farin úr Reynagarði nøkur og 60 ár eftir, at hann varð bygdur. Roknast má við, at Reynagarður hevur staðið nøkulunda í sínum upprunalíki hesi fyrstu árini, og tí er henda keldan tað nærmasta, komast kann eini lýsing av upprunagarðinum. Lýsingin byrjar við inngongdina millum suður- og vesturlonina. Vestasta rúmið í suðurlonini er "en Stuve med en Kachelovn", og síðan verður farið eystureftir í lýsingini. Við síðuna av stovuni er ein køkur og síðan eitt "Bryggerhus med indemuret Bryggerkiedel, tvende Bryggekar, Bagerovn och nederdel af Skorsteen af teglsten opmuret".

Bryggihúsið hevur, eftir hesum at døma, verið í landsyningshorninum á garðinum. Hetta samsvarar eisini við tað fornfrøðiligu rannsóknina, sum Føroya Fornminnissavn framdi í júst hesum økinum. Her varð ein tigulsteinsovnur

Mynd 4a (omanfyri) og **4b** (næsta síða) Flatauppmáting av Reynagarði, ið Lene Myschetzky og Regin Skarðhamar gjørdu fyri Føroya Fornminnissavn summarið 1968.

grivin fram í 2001 (Mynd 5). "Studerekammeret", ið verður nevnt næst í lýsingini í Gejstlighedens skrifteprotokol, lá eisini í eysturlonini (Degn 1942, 168). Studerikamarið hevði innilokaða song, innmúrað skáp, og við síðuna av vóru bókreólir, eitt borð við skápi, og niðri undir vóru veggirnir klæddir við "Ryshe motter"("Ryshe motter" kann møguliga vera veggjateppi ella máttir).

Næsti bygningur er norðurlonin, sum verður nevnd "Den store ny Stue".



Mynd 4b

Hon er bygd við stokkum, 9 fak long, og her eru veggirnar eisini klæddir við "Ryshe motter". Undir hesi nýggju stovu er ein kjallari uppdeildur í rúm, har tað í goymslurúminum lógu fýra "storhundrede" nýggir tigulsteinar. Síðan verður vesturlonin lýst norðanífrá; fyrst eitt "spisekammer", ein køkur, ein dagligstova, sum er fýra fak long, og eisini her eru veggirnir kæddir við "Ryshe motter". Síðan eitt lítið seingjarkamar og út ímóti inngongdini vinstrumegin portrið eitt sórt seingjarkamar til tænastufólkið.

Síðan verður sagt frá, hvussu húsini vórðu býgd: "Alle stuer med undtagelse af den store nye stue og den yderste del af bryggerhuset er af dansk bygning opmurede med teglsten. Taget er dækket med næver". Tað er soleiðis ongin ivi um, at vestur-, eystur- og suðurlonin allar hava verið bygdar við tigulsteini. Henda meting er styrkt av eini lýsing av prestagarðinum í 1712, har hann

Mynd 5 Í eini fornfrøðiligari rannsókn í 2001 kom hesin ovnurin fram undir gólvinum í suðurlonini. Tann parturin, ið er grivin fram, er 1,5 x 1,3 m. Ovnurin varð funnin í landsynningshorninum á Reynagarði, sum samsvarar við ovnin, ið er nevndur í Gejstlighedens skifteprotokol í 1691.

verður lýstur sum "en indelukket firkantet Gård muret med kalk og sten" (Gejstlighedens skrifteprotokol 1679-1729, folio 103b, 12. august 1712). Hetta er ikki samsvari við ta gomlu fatanina, at suðurlonin upprunaliga var stavbygd og eldri enn restin av garðinum.

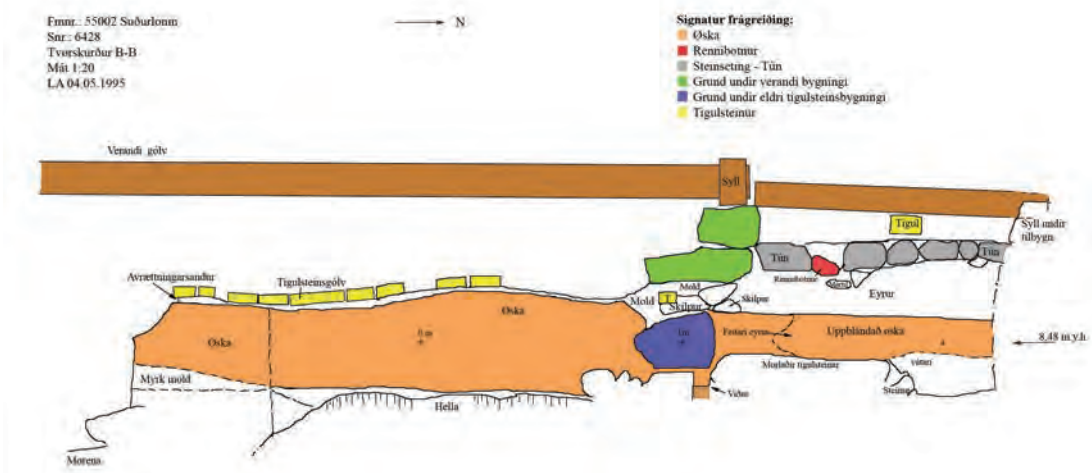
Eisini verður nevnt, at tann stokkabygda norðurlonin er nýggj í 1691, men sagt verður ikki, um hon er bygd á sama staði sum ein eldri lon, ella um tann upprunaligi garðurin bert hevði tær tríggjar lonirnar, ið allar vóru eins bygdar úr tigulsteini.

Prestagarðurin er í 1691 nýliga umvældur og viðlíkahildin og verður virðismettur í "Feroiske penge" til 500 fl. (Eindin gyllin verður stytt fl., sum er stytting fyri florin, sum upprunalig varð útgivin sum gullmynt í Firenze í 1252 og síðan gjørdist ein etablerað altjóða mynt, eftirgjørd av øðrum evropeiskum stórmaktum).

FORNFRØÐILIGAR RANNSÓKNIR

Rannsóknirnar, sum eru gjørdar í suðurlonini, stuðla teimum skriftligu heimildunum. Tá eitt kloakkrør skuldi leggjast í august 1968, gjørdi Fornminnissavnið kanningar í eini norður-suður vendari veit, sum varð grivin gjøgnum suðurlonina og tvørtur um steinsetta túnið í Reynagarði. (Mynd 4b) Sverri Dahl og Leon Andreasen gjørdu eina lýsing av veitini og fláunum og gjørdu eisini eina skurðtekning. Undir trægólvinum í suðurlonini varð komið fram á tigulstein og skilpleivdir, (tátíðar mørtil, har skeljar vórðu nýttar sum kálk) og varð tað tulkað, sum at húsini høvdu verið úr tigulsteini og síðani rivin niður, og eini nýggj træhús bygd á sama staði. Hetta kom gjøllari fram, tá ovasti steinur í grundini undir norðurvegginum seinni varð tikin burtur, og restir av tigulsteini vóru funnar millum hann og ein stein niðriundir. Steinurin niðriundir var flatari og lagdur vatnrætt á eina avrættingarflá úr leiri. Hesin steinurin varð tulkaður at vera grundin undir einum eldri bygningi úr tigulsteini. Undir tigul- og skilpleivdunum varð komið niður á eitt tigulsteinsgólv úr gulum flensborgarasteini. Tigulsteinsgólvið lá á fínum avrættingarsandi, og undir honum lá eitt tjúkt lag av øsku. Fláir, tulkaðar at vera eldri enn prestagarðurin frá uml. 1627, vórðu funnar undir hesum fláum, men farið verður ikki nærri inn á hesar í hesi grein.

Síðan 1968 hava fleiri fornfrøðiligar rannsóknir verið í Reynagarði í sambandi við rørleggingar, gólvlækking og annað, tann síðsta í 2003. (Føroya



Mynd 6 Skurðtekning úr fornfrøðiligari rannsókn í 1995 í suðurlonini. Týðuliga sæst, hvussu syllarnar undir núverandi suðurlon liggja langt omanfyri eldra bygningin við tigulsteinsgólvi og –veggjum.

Fornminnissavn skrásetingarnummar FMNR 55002, SNR 4095 (1968), SNR. 4456 (1974, 1978, 2001-2003), SNR 4824 (1987, 1989), SNR 6428 (1995), SNR 6978 (1998), Snr. 7177 (2000-2001)) Í hesum grevstrum er stórt sæð alt tigulsteinsgólvið í suðurlonini skrásett, og ein skurður, ið varð gjørdur í rannsókn í 1995, gevur stórt sæð somu mynd (mynd 6), sum skurðurin í 1968. Allir hesir grevstrar eru viðgjørdir aðrastaðni (Michelsen 2006).

NIÐURSTØÐA

Í hesi grein er spurnartekin sett við vanligu fatanina av, at suðurlonin í Reynagarði er tann elsta, tí hon er stavbygd á gamlan føroyskan hátt. Tær fornfrøðiligu kanningarnar, sum hava verið í Reynagarði, vísa, at undir núverandi stavbygningi hevur verið ein bygningur, har veggir og gólv hava verið úr tigulsteini. Hetta verður stuðlað av søguligu heimildunum. Mátini á suðurlonini í 1784 og 1787 vísa, at núverandi suðurlon er bygd millum 1784 og 1787. Gejstlighedens skifteprotokol frá 1691 sigur eisini greitt, at norðurlonin, ið var nýggj tá, var ein stokkastova, meðan eystur-, vestur- og suðurlonin vóru bygdar úr tigulsteini.

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Allar hava Fmnr. 55002:
Snr. 4095 (1968), Leon Andreasen og Sverri Dahl
Snr. 4456 (1974 og 78). Reynagarður. Leon Andreasen og Sverri Dahl
Snr. 4456 (1974,1978, 2001-2003), Sverri Dahl, Leon Andreasen, Hákun Andreasen og Helgi D. Michelsen
Snr. 4824 (1987,1989), Reynagarður, suðurlonin. Leon Andreasen og Annemette Kjærgård et.al.
Snr. 6428 (1995), Reynagarður, suðurlonin. Leon Andreasen
Snr. 6978 (1998), Reynagarður, suðurlonin. Leon Andreasen
Snr. 7177 (2000-2001), Reynagarður, suðurlonin. Hákun Andreasen og Helgi D. Michelsen

Skjalatilfar
- Gejstlighedens skifteprotokol 1679-1729. Føroya Landskjalasavn, og reinskrivað í mappu í goymslu H3 á Føroya Fornminnissavni
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- Á Føroya Fornminnissavni í "Sverrasavninum" í mappu merkt "Tinganes" eru m.a. skjøl, ið hava við virksemi Sverra viðvíkjandi Reynagarði frá 1955 til 1971 at gera
- Rapport - Føroya Fornminnissavn,Tórshavn: 55, Reynagarður, 1995
- Arne Thorsteinsson hevur skrivað fimm A4 síður við yvirskriftini "Lýsingar av Reynagarði, vesturlonin undantikin" og "Lýsingar av vesturlonini í Reynagarði", dagfest 18. februar 2000. Í goymslu H3 í skjalasavninum hjá bygningadeild í mappu:"55 Reynagarður, Suðurlonin"

Om vilkårene for tørrfiskproduksjon

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Bakgrunnen for denne artikkelen er et eksperiment med fisketørking som ble utført i perioden 2000 – 2003, for å forsøke å vurdere om det finnes signifikante forskjeller i det atmosfæriske miljø for tørking av fisk mellom områder i Nord-Norge, Island og på Færøyene. Det ble opprettet målestasjoner i alle de tre områdene, der vinterfanget kjønnsmoden torsk (skrei[1]) ble tørket og veid regelmessig under tørkeprosessen. Siden tørrfisk er den eldste eksportvaren av massekarakter som ble eksportert fra disse nordlige områdene, har vi i artikkelen også sett på oppkomsten av denne handelen i middelalderen og stilt spørsmålet: Hva hadde de naturmessige tørkeforholdene å si for lokalisering av de tidligste kommersielle torskefiskeriene?

Tørking av fisk og kjøtt for konservering er trolig en eldgammel konserveringsform, kanskje ble den benyttet allerede i steinalderen (Utne 1973). Gitt at naturens betingelser er gunstige, er dette den aller enkleste konserveringsteknologien vi kjenner til. Tørket kjøtt og fisk kunne oppbevares for konsum til enhver årstid, og det lå til rette for at denne formen for konservert mat kunne fraktes over lange avstander, som handelsvare.

Det er spesielt mager fisk som egner seg for tørking fordi fettet lett blir harskt også i tørket tilstand. Det er en vanlig oppfatning at Lofoten og nærgrensende områder av den nordnorske kysten ga optimale betingelser både med hensyn til forekomst av torsk og klimatiske betingelser for tørking i samme tidsrom, på ettervinteren. En kortfattet fremstilling av begrunnelsen for denne oppfatningen er gitt av Øystein Bottolfsen (1995, 225-228).

Omkring år 1100 finner en de første opplysningene om et mer omfattende

1 *Skrei* er kjønnsmoden torsk av den norsk-arktiske torskestammen. Dette må ikke forveksles med islandsk *skreið* som er navnet på tørket torsk eller hyse.

Helgi D. Michelsen og Caroline Paulsen: Símunarbók. Heiðursrit til Símun V. Arge á 60 ára degnum.
Fróðskapur, Faroe University Press 2008. ISBN: 978-99918-65-18-8. EAN: 9789991865188.

torskefiske, rettet mot salg, i Lofoten. Det er opplysningene i Morkinskinna om at kong Eystein (1103-23) hadde bygd rorbuer for fattige fiskere (*fiski manna vist) i* Vágar i Lofoten som er skjellsettende i denne sammenhengen. I 1177 hører vi at kong Sverre hadde møtt *vågaflåten*, 40-50 handelsskip fra Vágar utenfor Trondheim (kong Sverres saga). Flåten var nok på tur til Bergen, der de danske korsfareres beretning fra 1191, dokumenterer at Bergen var blitt den store eksportbyen for tørrfisk:

> Det bor svært mange folk der, og byen er rik og har en overflod av mange slag. Tørrfisk, som kalles skrei, er det så mye av at den kan verken måles eller telles. Skip og menn kommer seilende fra alle kanter: islendinger, grønlendinger, engelskmenn, tyskere, dansker, svensker, gotlendinger og mange andre nasjoner som det vil føre for langt å nevne (Helle 1982, 170).

Vestfjorden, havområdet på innersida av lofotøyene, er det primære gyteområdet for skreien. Gytevandringa foregår hvert år fra Barentshavet og langs den nordlige norskekysten fra desember måned. Skreien følger en temperatursone på 4-6 grader. I slutten av januar runder skreien Lofotodden og kommer inn i Vestfjorden, der farvannet er godt beskyttet av øyene. Skreien kommer også spesielt nær land her, slik at utroren blir meget kort for fiskerne. Skreien står også meget tett i havet under gyteprosessen i dette området. Lofotfisket hadde varighet fram til påske. I eldre tid var det en felles dag for nedtaking av tørrfisken fra hjell, nemlig 12. juni *(hjellhøggardagen*). I Nord-Norge ble det kommersielle torskefiskeriet skattlagt av kronen alt på 1100-tallet, mens fiske for eget konsum ikke var beskattet.

Etterspørselen etter tørrfisk førte til ei rivende utvikling i løpet av 1200-tallet ved at nye fiskevær ble etablert langs kysten nord for Lofoten og helt til Vardø i nordøst og dette gir et godt kronologisk samsvar med den første handelsavtalen mellom kong Håkon Håkonsson og Lübeck år 1250 (Helle 1982:379). Det kommersielle torskefisket i høgmiddelalderen foregikk også så langt sør som på Mørekysten. En del av skreien gikk alltid forbi Lofoten og fortsatte videre mot sør, og denne skreikontingenten kom vanligvis inn mot land igjen først ved Trøndelag og Møre. Også i Finnmark var tørrfisken (rundfisk) det desidert viktigste produktet. I Finnmark drev man vårtorskefiske i perioden april – juni, altså etter at lofotfisket var avsluttet. Vårtorskefisket foregikk etter yngre årsklasser av torsk og dermed noe mindre fisk. Tørking av vårtorsken i Finnmark kom i gang seinere enn i Lofoten fordi innsiget kom seinere (Christensen og Nielssen 1996).

Fra tidlig 1300-tall kom det eksportrettede torskefisket i gang på Island

(Thór 1996, 14) og på Færøyene (Joensen 1996, 28). På Island er det på seinvinteren tilsvarende innsig av skrei til gyting som i Lofoten. Denne kommer inn til vest- og sørkysten, der de beste torskefiskeriene også foregår.

England var det store markedet for tørrfisk i den tidligste fasen, og vi kan vel si at Englands behov for fiskeprodukter var den viktigste enkeltfaktoren som satte i gang de kommersielle torskefiskeriene i de nordlige områdene. Et viktig biprodukt var fiskeolje (tran og lyse). Bergen fikk funksjon som stapel for fiskeproduktene både fra Norge, Island og Færøyene. Fra midten av 1300-tallet var det de hanseatiske kjøpmennene som stod for eksporten fra Bergen både til England og til andre nordeuropeiske markeder (Nedkvitne 1976).

Tørrfisken var i middelalderen det helt dominerende produktet. Dette endret seg først da de store torskefiskeriene ved New Foundland ble åpnet omkring år 1500 og klippfisken kom inn i markedet for alvor. Deretter var tørrfisk og klippfisk "sidestilte" produkter helt inn i moderne tid, med litt ulike markeder. I Norge ble klippfisken av betydning først etter år 1700. Denne ble produsert først og fremst for det spanske og portugisiske markedet, mens Italia fra samme tid ble den viktigste avtakeren av tørrfisken. Her er det et interessant kuriosum at den lille mengden tørrfisk som i dag leveres til det italienske markedet, nå nesten utelukkende produseres i Lofoten. Er dette tilfeldig, eller sier det noe om at Lofoten har et spesielt fortrinn i forhold til andre steder når det gjelder kvalitetsproduksjon? Resultatene av eksperimentet vil muligens kunne bidra til svar på dette spørsmålet.

INDIKASJONER PÅ TØRRFISKHANDEL FØR MIDDELALDEREN

Den største utfordringen når vi skal klarlegge tørrfiskens betydning gjennom tidene, er tilgangen til kildemateriale som er entydig. Det er slik at de skrevne kildene i all hovedsak dreier seg om handelen med tørrfisk og den verdien som tørrfisken derved fikk også som gjenstand for beskatning. Det er også grovt sett et sammenfall i tid mellom introduksjonen av skriftlighet i Norden og fiskehandelens antatte begynnelse. Tørrfiskens betydning ut over dette, som næringsmiddel for kystbefolkningen, er vi avskåret fra å kunne belyse gjennom denne typen kildemateriale.

Arkeologiske undersøkelser har frembrakt et stort beinmateriale fra kysttilknyttede boplasser helt tilbake til eldre steinalder, og torskebein forekommer hyppig i disse beinsamlingene. Men, det er hittil ikke utviklet metoder som kan avgjøre om fisken har vært tørket, utsatt for andre konserveringsteknikker, eller spist fersk.

En undersøkelse av båtnaust fra jernalder og mellomalder på Vestvågøy i Lofoten har påvist en markant økning i båtstørrelse rundt midten av jernalderen (Nilsen 1998, 71-83). Dette er blitt tolket som en indikasjon på et storskala vinterfiskeri som hadde tørrfiskhandel som forutsetning. Resonnementet hviler på en antakelse om at innovasjon i båtbygging skyldes markedskrefter.

En undersøkelse av hustufter fra jernalderen, innrettet for sesongfiskeri på kysten av Hordaland, har også ledet til interessante indikasjoner som peker i lignende retning (Johannessen 1998). Framveksten av fiskevær i perioden AD 700-800 blir sett på som en konsekvens av politisk konsolidering og godsdannelse slik at sentrale makthavere kunne organisere storskala ressursutnytting som også kan ha vært handelsmotivert. Johannessen ser imidlertid denne utviklinga som en videreføring av praksis innenfor selvbergingshushold i eldre jernalder. Opphøret av denne virksomheten ca AD 1200 blir sett på som en konsekvens av den dominerende posisjonen som tørrfiskhandelen fra Nord-Norge via Bergen fikk.

Handelen med fisk er også vanskelig å belyse gjennom det osteologiske materialet fra fiskeribosetningene, men sammensetningen av beinmaterialet som skriver seg fra bosetningenes konsum, kan gi viktige holdepunkter for å identifisere økonomiske endringer som forutsetter markedsøkonomi. På slikt grunnlag er det hevdet at Vágar i Lofoten hadde omfattende markedsmotivert torskefiske, men at tørrfiskproduksjonen i seg selv gikk tilbake til førhistorisk tid (Perdikaris 1999:131). Dette passer med øvrige arkeologiske funn (Bertelsen et al 1987, Helberg 1993, 226-228 og Jørgensen 1984).

En helt annen ting er at *skreien* er større enn annen torsk som kysttorsk nordsjøtorsk, torsk fra Østersjøen og andre farvann i det nordlige Europa. Dette poenget har vært vektlagt i mange analyser av beinmateriale fra europeiske byundersøkelser. Et godt eksempel er at det er påvist overrepresentasjon av kroppsbein fra stor torsk (70-130 cm lengde) i kulturlag fra 1200-tallet i Uppsala (Jonsson 1954, 122-139). Både at torsken er stor og at hodebeinene mangler må sees på som sterke indikasjoner på at tørrfisk har inngått i kostholdet i Uppsala på 1200-tallet. En sammenstilling av denne typen materiale har ledet til en erkjennelse av at det skjedde en betydelig økning i konsum av fisk i det urbane Europa fra ca AD 1000 og de første århundrene etter dette. Fenomenet er også kalt "the fish event" (Barrett 2007, 201-203). Det er særlig torsk og sild som utgjør denne markerte økningen. Dette er et fenomen som faller godt sammen med religionsskiftet i Nord-Europa og ikke minst den økte betydning som kristenhetens fasteregler fikk (Barrett et al 2004).

KVALITETSKLASSER

Fiskehandelen førte til at det ble utviklet et omfattende system for kvalitetsklassifisering (fiskevraking). På norskekysten ble tørrfisken produsert på to måter: rundfisk og råskjær. Rundfisk ble hodekappet og sløyd og to fisk ble buntet sammen og hengt opp på ei sperre (rå). Råskjær ble hodekappet og spaltet langs ryggraden helt til sporden slik at en enkelt fisk kunne henges over råa. I dag sorteres rundfisk og råskjær i omkring 30 forskjellige kvaliteter, mens systemet på 1700-tallet var enda mer differensiert (Bottolfsen 1995, 226).

I kvalitetsvurderinga av tørrfisk spilte imidlertid størrelsen en rolle, derfor ble finnmarksfisken sjelden vurdert like høyt i markedet som skreien som ble fanget i Lofoten. Andre årsaker til lav kvalitetsvurdering var ufullstendig tørking, at fisken var angrepet av mugg eller at insekter hadde klart å legge egg i fiskekjøttet tidlig i tørkeprosessen. Om fisken ble frostsprengt, førte også dette til lav klasse. Det finnes flere vitnesbyrd i det skrevne kildematerialet på at fisk fra Lofoten jevnt over fikk høg kvalitetsvurdering i Bergen (Bottolfsen 1995, 226-228)

BEHOV FOR ET KRITISK BLIKK PÅ DE KONVENSJONELLE OPPFATNINGER

Vi kan altså observere at produksjon av tørrfisk av torsk har vært av stor betydning for kystbefolkningen rundt Nord-Atlanteren fra langt tilbake i tid, men vi kan strengt tatt ikke vite hvor langt tilbake ut over at det ikke finnes noen grunn til å tvile på at tørrfisk er like gammel som torskefisket og derfor går tilbake til mesolittikum (Utne 1973). Vi kan også se at denne tørrfisken ble et betydelig innslag i kostholdet i mellomalderens Europa, men vi vet heller ikke sikkert hvor langt tilbake dette går. Vi oppfatter det også slik at Lofoten og nærliggende områder av den nordnorske kysten har vært et produksjonssentrum både i kraft av mengde og kvalitet. Det er vanlig å se på dette som en konsekvens av naturgitte forhold. Antakelsen om at det også var i Lofoten at tørrfiskproduksjonen oppsto og at det var her handelen med tørrfisk ble initiert står også sterkt. Det er imidlertid ikke noen nødvendig sammenheng mellom de gunstige naturforholdene i Lofoten, de tidlige skriftlige beleggene for tørrfiskhandel og dokumentasjonen for markedsfiskets omfang i middelalderen og oppfatningen om at Lofoten var både tørrfiskproduksjonens og tørrfiskhandelens opprinnelsesområde.

Målet med denne artikkelen er å undersøke nærmere om ett av premissene for dette knippet av antakelser er holdbart, at de klimatiske betingelsene for tørrfiskproduksjon var betydelig bedre i Lofoten enn i andre deler av det

Fig. 1. Rolf Eilertsen i Langenesværet ved siden av tørkestativet med torsk under tørking.

nordatlantiske området. For å kaste lys over dette ble det satt i verk eksperimenter med tørking av stor torsk (rundfisk) på et utvalg av steder rundt det nordlige Atlanterhavet. Vesterålen, Lofoten, Færøyene og Vest-Island.

EKSPERIMENTETS FORUTSETNINGER

Med "tørking" menes å fjerne så mye vann at fiskekjøttet oppnår likevekt med klimaets luftfuktighet (det kan også nyttes hygroskopiske stoffer som for eksempel salt). Tørkeforløpet påvirker ikke bare mikroorganismer og derved holdbarheten av fisk, men også næringsverdien og smaken (Doe et al. 1998). Vi har kun vært opptatt av tørkeforløpet, men har fått vurdert kvaliteten av produktet av en profesjonell fiskevraker.

FORDAMPNING

Transporten av vann fra fisk til luft forutsetter at vanndamptrykket på overflaten (i praksis randsonen) av fisk er større enn i luft, og vannet i fisken ikke er bundet av sterkere adhesive krefter. Fordampning avhenger av at energi

(varme) tilføres og dampen bortføres ved vindens ventilasjon. Vi skisserer først utvekslingen av energi i forhold til atmosfæren, deretter relevante egenskaper ved selve fisken.

Strålingens komponenter vil være fiskens egenstråling fra og bakkens stråling til fisken etter Stefan-Boltzmann-loven som beskriver de fleste jordiske legemers egen infrarøde utstråling som øker sterkt med temperaturen, atmosfærens og skyenes infrarøde stråling. Når sola er oppe, mottar fisken solar stråling; en del av den reflekteres, en (større) del absorberes og gir vannet varme til å fordampe.

Fisk under tak uten vegger vil bare motta spredt solar stråling. Fisk under klar og åpen himmel kunne tenkes å tape mer varme ved egenstråling enn fisk under tak som mottar stråling som reflekteres fra tak og eventuelle vegger. Nedkjøling av fisk under åpen himmel (særlig i klare vindsvake netter) reduserer fordampningen eller medfører dugg på overflaten, mens oppvarmingen av fisken i sol fremmer fordampningen, om det finnes fritt vann. Om det dannes en tilstrekkelig stor temperaturgradient (differanse pr. avstand) mellom en oppvarmet ytre randsone og fiskekjøttets kaldere indre, så kan gradienten av damptrykket endog være rettet innover.

Varmeutvekslingen mellom luft og fisk avhenger av retningen til temperatur- henholdsvis damptrykksgradienten[2]. Den umiddelbare atmosfæriske styring av tørkeprosessen avtar etter hvert som fisken henger og den fuktige overflaten tørker inn. Deretter vil transporten av vann fra fiskekjøttets indre til overflaten avhenge av diffusjon i fiskekjøttet. Denne prosessen vil, vide ante, avhenge av temperatur- og vanndampgradienter og fysiske endringer i kjøttet. Osmose og adhesjon påvirker den fysiologiske motstand mot transporten av vann, kfr. Monteith (1973).

Siden tørkingen skjer utenfra, er det vesentlig at den ytterste sonen ikke tørker så hurtig at permeabiliteten forringes, slik at de innerste sonene ikke tørker ut. Derfor er det gunstig om fisken henges på senvinteren før oppvarmingen ved solar stråling blir stor. Men fisken bør også i tide ha tørket utvendig slik at insekter ikke kan legge egg i fiskekjøttet om våren. På den annen side bør fisken henges så sent på vinteren at frysing og derved sprengning av cellestrukturen unngåes. Henging i Lofoten og Vesterålen i midten av mars synes å være vel avpasset i forhold til årets kaldeste periode (februar) og den sterkt økende solstråling (mars-april).

2 Gradient er størrelsen av endring av en egenskap pr. avstand, rettet fra det større til det mindre

FORSØKETS GJENNOMFØRING

Seks rundfisk ble hengt på stativ som var konstruert etter samme mal, slik at tre av fiskene var dekket av tak og tre hang under åpen himmel. Målestedene var lokalisert, betjent og i drift som følger:

- Langenes, Vesterålen, Rolf Eilertsen, år 2000 og 2001
- Alsvåg, Vesterålen, Trond Torgvær, år 2003
- Storvågan, Lofoten, Per Johansen, år 2001, 2002 og 2003
- Leirvík, Færøyene, Hákun Andreassen, år 2001, 2002 og 2003
- Grindavík, Sørvest-Island, Dagbjartur Einarson, år 2001
- Bolungarvík Ósvör, Nordvest-Island, Geir Guðmundsson, år 2000 og 2001[3]

Rundfisken var sløyd, hodekappet og hengt opp enkeltvis etter ei hempe om fiskesporden. Vekten av rå fisk varierte mellom 2 og 5 kg pr. eksemplar. Netting skulle holde fugl og dyr borte. Fisken ble veid med samme type vekt, nøyaktighet 10 g. I starten avtok vekten hurtig slik at den måltes hvert eller annethvert døgn. Mot slutten av tørkingen ble det vurdert som tilstrekkelig å veie èn gang for uken eller hvert 10. døgn.

Det var forventet å være sammenheng mellom lufttemperatur og vanndamptrykk på den ene, og fiskens tap av vekt på den annen side. Tørkestedene i Vesterålen og Lofoten ble derfor utstyrt med NTC temperatursensor og logger (Ecolog av Elpro Buchs, Sveits) in situ. På Færøyene registrerte vi også relativ luftfuktighet. Dessuten ble data fra offisielle værstasjoner innhentet.

OBSERVASJONER

De observerte tørkeforløp er neppe strengt sammenliknbare, blant annet fordi fiskenes vekt var ulik. Tidspunktene for henging på ulike steder varierte også. Likevel kan målingene fra tørkeprosessen under åpen himmel og under tak på samme sted sammenliknes. For å kunne sammenlikne "åpen himmel" med "tak", ble startvekten satt lik 100. Den relative vekten ble så fulgt som funksjon av tid.

Tørkeforløpene kan kjennetegnes ved "halveringstid". Tabellen nedenfor oppgir døgnnummer når vekten var blitt halvert og tiden som gikk med.

I Leirvík er det, ekstraordinært, i 2001 blitt hengt to fisker på et særdeles godt ventilert og soleksponert sted. Her ble 50 prosent av startvekt underskredet på døgn nr. 108, dvs. etter 23 døgn og således, cum grano salis, samtidig

3 I Bolungarvík ble fisk tørket bare under åpen himmel. I Leirvik ble det nyttet tørkehus.

Sted	år	Startdøgn	A	A	B	B
			åpent	under tak	åpent	under tak
Langenes	2000	105	133	133	28	28
	2001	71	102	102	31	31
Alsvåg	2003	85	108	108	23	23
Storvågan	2001	71	104	103	33	32
	2002	78	103	105	25	27
	2003	63	94	92	31	29
Leirvík	2001	85	107	109	22	24
	2002	84	99	100	15	16
	2003	98	109	115	11	17
Grindavík	2001	58	81	78	23	20
Bolungarvík	2000	49	(77)	-	(28)	-
	2001	59	(87)	-	(27)	-

Tabel 1. A=døgnnummer for oppnådd halv vekt. B=halveringstid

med fisk under tak (tørkehus) og under åpen himmel ved siden av tørkehuset. Men Leirvík, år 2003, var også eksempel på at 50-prosent-verdien ble underskredet under tak seks døgn senere enn under åpen himmel. I Bolungarvík ble det veid med forholdsvis store tidsintervall. Halveringstid (50 prosent tapt vekt) er derfor stipulert og oppgitt i parentes. Dessverre mangler vi her data for tørking under tak.

Forøvrig sees ingen signifikant forskjell mellom å tørke under åpen himmel eller tak. Det kan heller ikke observeres noen systematisk sammenheng mellom tidspunkt for å henge og antall døgn inntil 50-prosent-verdien ble nådd. For eksempel ble det på Langnes i år 2000 hengt på døgn nr. 105 og i år 2001 på døgn nr. 71. Likevel var tørketiden ved sen henging bare tre døgn kortere.

Nedbør (bare flytende vann er relevant), øker midlertidig vekten av fisk under åpen himmel. Utslaget var begrenset til høyst to eller tre prosent av vekten. Det tyder på at vann delvis renner av, som forventet, når porene har krympet under tørking.

Noen av de tørkete fiskene ble vurdert av erfaren fiskevraker. Fisk tørket i 2001 ble klassifisert slik: Både på Langenes og i Storvågan hadde fisken vært utsatt for frost. Inne ved ryggbeinet var fisken ikke tilstrekkelig tørket. Det var ingen kvalitetsforskjell mellom fisk tørket under åpen himmel og under tak, og ingen forskjeller mellom Vesterålen og Lofoten. Fisken fra Leirvík var mindre av størrelse og mer skåret opp i buken enn den nordnorske fisken. Fisken hadde ikke fått frost, men var angrepet av sopp (”jordslag”). De fleste fiskene ble klassifisert *”Afrika”* (dårligste sortering), men tre fisker (av 10) kunne ha

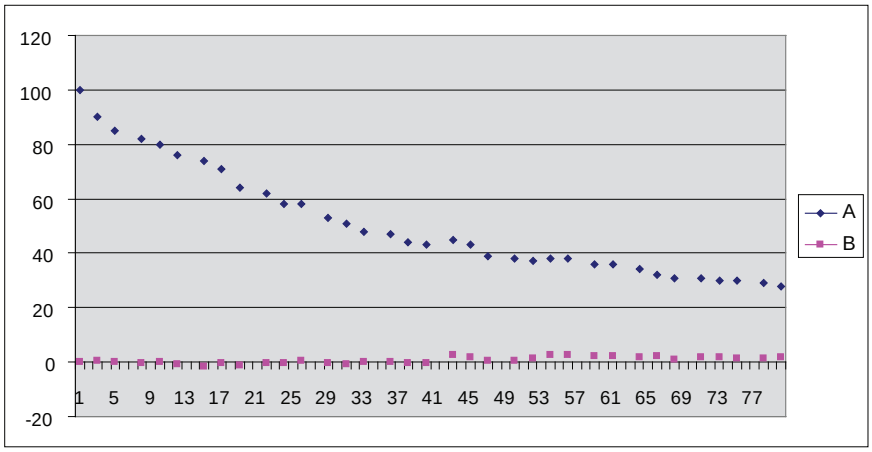

Fig. 2. Diagram som viser forløpet av tørkeprosessen i Langenes 2001

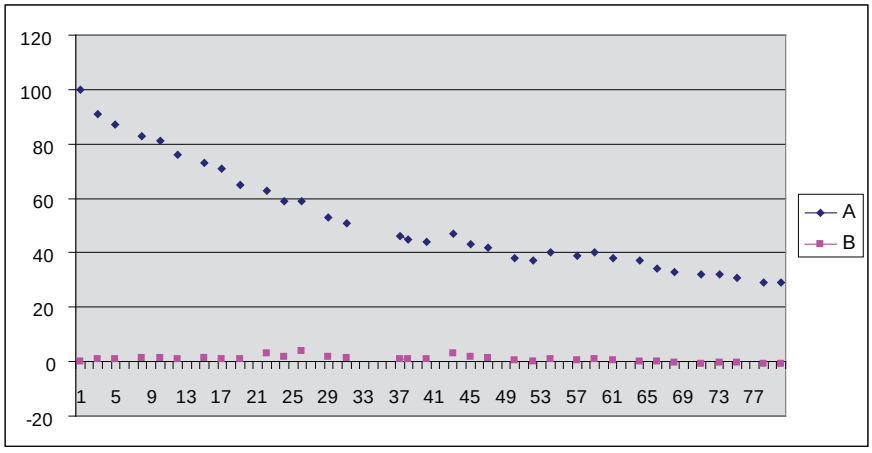

Fig. 3. Diagram som viser forløpet av tørkeprosessen i Storvågan 2001

Diagrammene (Figs. 2-4) viser vektendring for fisk i prosent som funksjon av tid. For Langenes og Storvågan tilsvarer 1 døgn nr 71, for Leirvík er 1 døgn nr 84. Eksponentielt forløp (serie A) gjelder tørking under åpen himmel. Vektendring for fisk under tak er vist som differanse mellom vekt for fisk under åpen himmel og fisk under tak i present (serie B).
Total fiskevekt for Langnes under åpen himmel var 14,20 kg, under tak 12,62 kg. T
otal fiskevekt for Storvågan under åpen himmel var 12,08 kg, under tak 12,90 kg.
Total fiskevekt for Leirvík under åpen himmel var 8,42 kg, under tak 9,19 kg.

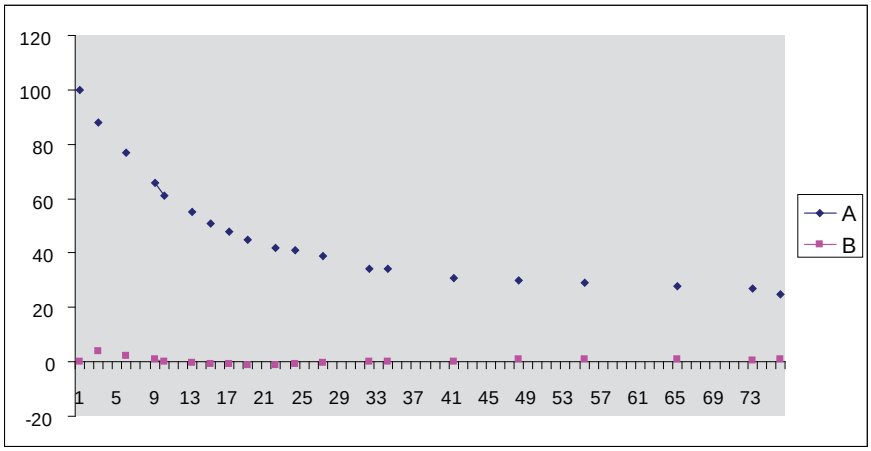

Fig. 4. Diagram som viser forløpet av tørkeprosessen i Leirvík 2002

gått som prima vare. To av disse tre var tørket under åpen himmel ved siden av tørkehuset, den tredje på et særdeles sol- og vindeksponert sted.

Fisk tørket våren 2002 i Storvågan var ikke gjennomtørket ved øvre del av ryggbeinet (”sur”) og derfor ikke brukbar for eksport. Tidlig sommervarme (lufttemperatur over 20 grad C medio mai) hadde antakelig gjort skorpen av fiskekjøttet både varm og lite permeabel for vann innenfra (fisken var ”kokt”). Fisken fra Leirvík var av beste sortering, uansett stedet for tørking.

Fisk tørket våren 2003 i Alsvåg var prima vare, uansett tak eller ikke. I Storvågan var en fisk av tre i hver kategori litt sur ved ryggbeinet, de andre prima. Men all fisk fra Leirvík var sur.[4]

TØRKEPROSESSEN OG VÆRET

Tørkingens forløp og vurderingen av tørrfiskenes kvalitet viser at det ikke var signifikante forskjeller mellom tørking under åpen himmel og under tak. Eksemplet fra Leirvík år 2001 viser at tørkehus kan gi dårligere kvalitet enn fri luft, og at det kan opptre individuelle forskjeller mellom fisk tørket under like vilkår. Leirvík 2003 viser at heller ikke tørkehus hindrer at fisken surner, mens år 2002 var eksempel på at åpen himmel ikke forhindrer beste kvalitet.
Observasjonene viser at fiskens eksponering for solstråling ikke fremmer tørkeprosessen vesentlig. Betraktningene om fordampning – varm skorpe, kaldt

4 Fisk fra Island ble ikke vurdert.

indre av fiskekjøttet – kan forklare dette. Positiv saldo for stråling, i praksis "soloppvarming" av bakken, får betydning for temperaturen og damptrykket i luften. Denne luften når og påvirker fisken uansett om den henger under åpen himmel eller tak.

Inhomogeniteter i materialet (vide ante) gjør det vanskelig å dokumentere stokastiske sammenhenger mellom meteorologiske variabler og forløpet av tørkeprosessen. På den annen side er det samspillet mellom fisk og atmosfærisk miljø som tørrfiskproduksjonen beror på! De observerte endringene i fiskenes vekt over tidsintervaller er resultatet av værets samlede virkning over tid. Fiskekjøttets egenskaper er med å styre tidsforløpet av tørkingen. Gitt konstante meteorologiske forhold og homogent fiskekjøtt vil vekten av fiskene minke etter en eksponentialfunksjon. Men været, luftens tilstand på gitt sted og tidspunkt, er variabelt. Det er ingen lineær sammenheng mellom meteorologiske variabler og intensiteten av tørking. Ved tørking i forholdsvis tørt vær vil forløpet til å begynne med vise meget sterkt avtagende vekt som seinere går over i mindre tap av vekt pr. tid, kjennetegnet ved kort halveringstid av vekt. Preges tørkeperioden av nedbør og høy relativ luftfuktighet, vil vekten til å begynne med falle mer moderat og munne ut i små tap av vekt senere i tørkeforløpet. Dette vil si lang halveringstid.

Kvantitative vurderinger av varmehusholdningen som ikke kan refereres her, gir grunn til å anta at strålingsklimaet tilkommer en nøkkelrolle i tørkeprosessen. Temperaturklimaet korrelerer med strålingstilbudet (Geiger et al. 1995).

KONKLUSJON

Undersøkelsen gir ingen grunn til å hevde at tørking under tak ville ha vært mer effektivt eller gitt bedre kvalitet enn tørking i fri luft. Nedbør synes ikke å ha betydning for tørkeprosessen som helhet. Vi mangler komparative data for Bolungarvík og kan for dette spesielle klimaet ikke vurdere behovet for tørking under tak.

Tørkingen korrelerer nær determinert med været, dvs. komplekset av stråling, damptrykk og vind. Tørkeforløpet styres av tilgangen på vann. Med inntørking av fisken utenfra øker motstanden mot diffusjon av ennå disponibelt vann i kjøttets kjerne. Dette viser seg i eksponentielt minkende tap av vekt, trass i økende solar innstråling og bl.a. derved økende temperatur ut over våren. Strålingen, styrende for temperatur og vanndamptrykk, er uansett en vesentlig variabel.

Hvorvidt disse funn er geografisk representative og gyldige i ulike klimaepoker forblir et åpent spørsmål. Ikke alle år i vårt materiale har gitt god kva-

Fig.5. Símun V Arge i Storvågan ved siden av tørkestativet.

litet på tørrfisk, og vilkårene for tørking kan ha vært vesentlig mindre gunstige f.eks. i senmiddelalderen og på 1500 og 1600-tallet, kfr. Lamb (1995).

EKSPERIMENTETS BETYDNING

Våre funn reiser tvil om det kan sies entydig at Lofoten frambyr de beste klimatiske betingelsene for tørrfiskproduksjon. God kvalitet kunne også oppnås i andre områder. De få tørkesesonger som er undersøkt tillater ingen generaliserte utsagn om klimatiske fortrinn eller ulemper mellom de undersøkte lokaliteter. Ulik størrelse på fisken kan også påvirke de observerte halveringstidene. Det kan konkluderes med at tørrfisk av god kvalitet som "cases" kan produseres på alle lokalitetene. Undersøkelsen gir ikke grunnlag for å vurdere hyppigheten eller sjeldenheten av vellykket tørking. Eksperimentets korte varighet ga likevel indikasjoner på at variasjon fra år til år hadde stor betydning for kvaliteten. Det kan ha vært slik at optimale vilkår oftest forekom i Lofoten. For å undersøke en slik antakelse kreves det forsøk over et lengre tidsrom på et større antall observasjonssteder i det nordatlantiske området.

Denne tvilen om Lofotens absolutte fortrinn åpner også for andre perspektiver. Det er ikke nødvendigvis slik at vi må søke tørrfiskproduksjonens opphav eller markedsfiskets initiering her. At Lofoten i løpet av middelalderen ble det viktigste produksjonsområdet, kan komme av den store konsentrasjonen av gytende skrei og det kan skyldes samfunnsmessige forhold i tillegg til dette. Det er altså slik at vårt eksperiment ikke har skapt sikrere viten, men vi har snarere åpnet for at vedtatte sannheter trenger nærmere undersøkelse.

TAKK TIL:

Denne undersøkelsen er en del av forskningsprosjektet "Fishing Communities of the North AD 800-1800". Prosjektet var finansiert av NOS-H. Takk går også til prosjektkollegene Símun V. Arge og Jón Th. Thór som har deltatt i utforming og tilrettelegging av arbeidet.

Eksperimentet har vært avhengig av de ovenfor nevnte observatørers samvittighetsfulle og kyndige veiing av fisk uansett værforhold. Fiskevraker Svein Andorsen hos L. Berg Sønner A/S, Svolvær stilte sin uvurderlige ekspertise til rådighet for den avgjørende kvalitetssikringen av våre funn.

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The Shetland Chapel-Sites Project
Further Investigations and Résumé

Christopher D Morris and Rachel C Barrowman
with a contribution from Kevin J Brady

INTRODUCTION

The following brief report on work undertaken in Shetland on chapel-sites brings to formal publication reports on further work undertaken there as part of what was intended as a broader-ranging project. This project aimed both to examine the plethora of pre-Reformation sites to be located on the ground there, and to undertake a wider academic consideration relating the evidence from the northern island archipelagos of Orkney and Shetland to the issues concerned with the adoption of Christianity by the Viking/Norse communities in the North Atlantic region. Despite the intentions voiced in previous reports and publications, for various reasons related to the professional and personal circumstances since 2000 of the authors involved here, it has not proved possible hitherto to follow up the proposals for further practical work on the ground in Shetland. However, clearly the obligations of post-survey and post-excavation work have been honoured and undertaken, and a summary or résumé of where things stand as of 2007 is appended in the latter part of this paper.

The previous paper in the series devoted to this work was published in the Festschrift for Dr Barbara Crawford (Morris with Brady & Johnson 2007) in recognition of her lifelong interest in, and contribution to, the history and archaeology of Shetland in the Viking, Late Norse and later Medieval periods (The terms 'Viking' and 'Late Norse' are used in the sense first discussed and defined in the 1970s and early 1980s by Dr. Gerald F. Bigelow (Bigelow 1985, 104-5). This further paper is also a contribution to a Festschrift – this time in honour of Símun V. Arge, whose important work in the Faroe Islands, the 'next' archipelago in the set of 'stepping-stones' of the Norse colonization of the North Atlantic, is well-known and of direct relevance to those of us working in the adjacent archipelagos to the east. Visits to the Faroe Islands in 1978, 1988 and most recently during the Fourteenth Viking Congress held there in 2001, all facilitated by Símun and his colleague Arne Thorsteinsson have been important elements in the thinking which has informed the first

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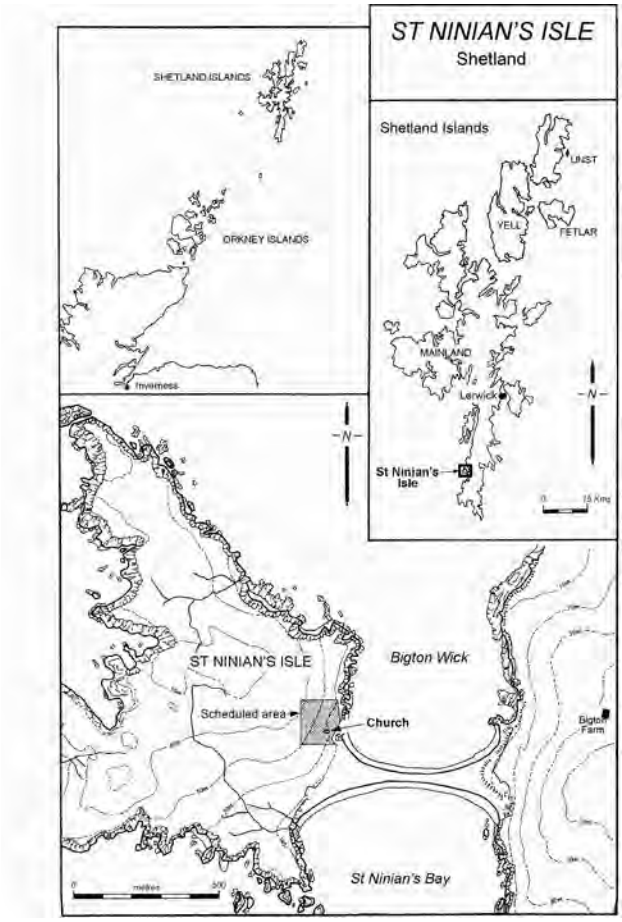


Fig. 1

author's forays into the subject of Norse Christianity in the North Atlantic region. It is hoped that, given Símun's own interest in chapel-sites and his work at both Sandur and Skuvoy, this may be of interest. Certainly it is offered as partial thanks for professional and personal kindnesses offered by Símun over the thirty years from 1978 that we have known each other.

Earlier papers have summarised, described and selectively illustrated the work programme of the Viking and Early Settlement Archaeological Research Project (VESARP) concerned with desk-based assessments, walkover 'audit' surveys and more detailed surveys of sites in the three northern Shetland islands of Unst, Fetlar and Yell (Morris & Brady with Johnson 1991; Morris 2001; Morris with Brady & Johnson 2007). However, in addition to this work, an archive study and small-scale excavation project has taken place at St Ninian's Isle in the south of Shetland, and an exploratory survey

Fig. 2

and trial-excavation has taken place on Brei Holm, Papa Stour – both briefly mentioned at the end of the previous paper. This paper, therefore, begins with summary accounts of the work at these two sites before drawing together some of the main outcomes of the 'Shetland Chapel-Sites Project' as undertaken between 1997 and 2001.

ST NINIAN'S ISLE, DUNROSSNESS

The chapel-site on St Ninian's Isle, a tidal island on the west coast of Dunrossness, was first uncovered during excavations there between 1955 and 1959 led by Professor Andrew O'Dell of Aberdeen University. The site was brought to wider public attention in 1958 when O'Dell's team uncovered the spectacular Pictish silver treasure (O'Dell & Cain 1960; McRoberts 1965; Wilson 1970; 1973), and St Ninian's Isle is still a significant draw to visitors (even though the treasure is now displayed in Edinburgh, rather than Shetland!). O'Dell's excavations had uncovered a palimpsest of material reaching back to the Iron Age, and including an early church building below the small Medieval church. Subsequent serious erosion by rabbits of the partially-excavated and recorded archaeological remains, which included eroding human remains, meant that it was recognised that some small-scale survey and excavation work was needed at the site in order to inform the management of the archaeology there. In

1999 work began with non-intrusive methods of research to assess both the state of survival of archaeological deposits here, and the extent of the archaeological site in spatial terms, as well as providing a proposed strategy for managing the site and presenting it better to the many visitors who come to it.

Initially, a desk-top study was undertaken of O'Dell's previous work at the site in consultation with archaeologists and specialists concerned with the material from these excavations. Fieldwork was then initiated, comprising three elements: topographic survey, geophysical survey, and limited trial trenching. A plane-table survey of the extant church was also undertaken and a detailed photographic record made of the wall elevations, so as to provide a record of the building for any future consolidation or presentation work. More generally, a topographic survey of the site was a necessary starting point as there had been no such survey undertaken previously. O'Dell's fieldwork had focused on the immediate area of the Medieval church, and it was only in the final season of excavation, when a trench 9m x 5 m was opened to the south of the church, that he discovered the considerable archaeological potential of the area around it. The topographic survey covered the entire large scheduled area around the site and recorded an eroded structure around 100m north of the church, as well as mapping areas of disturbance, as indicated by nettles, and areas of rabbit burrowing (Harry with Johnson 2000).

Following completion of the topographical survey, geophysical survey was undertaken to accurately define the limits of the archaeology around the church and to establish the nature of the subsurface archaeology and attempt to identify the position and extent of O'Dell's trenches. Four discrete trial trenches were then opened to test the findings of the geophysical survey, with the number and size of the trial trenches limited in order to maximise information retrieval at this stage but minimise disturbance of the archaeology. Unfortunately, despite the scale of the survey and the intensity of the sampling density employed, relatively little of archaeological significance was detected. Whilst the gradiometer survey identified dipolar readings in a small area, resulting from near-surface ferrous material, possibly coffin furniture, many of the larger anomalies detected in the survey were likely to be of geological or geomorphological origin. The presence on site of extensive rabbit burrowing also contributed to the lack of success of the geophysics. The limited small trial trenches were therefore opened in order to maximise information retrieval at this stage but minimise disturbance of the archaeology.

The results of the 1999 work (Harry with Johnson 2000) showed that the areas around and to the south of the Medieval chapel (examined in Trial Trenches 1 and 4) had been excavated to a considerable depth and the slopes to the east of the site had been covered in a considerable depth of 1950s spoil.

The excavations within the small area of Trial Trench 1 on the south side of the chapel uncovered archaeology partially excavated in the 1950s that had remained largely *in situ* (Harry with Johnson 2000, 38-41), but was now being damaged or at threat of being damaged by rabbit burrowing. To the north of the chapel, in an area where scatterings of human bone over and around the extensive system of rabbit burrows was a common occurrence, Trial Trench 2 revealed *in situ* burials, undisturbed by the 1950s excavations, but now being burrowed and dug up by rabbits. Trial Trench 3, on the north edge of the Scheduled Area uncovered remains of post-Medieval cultivation near an eroded structure that had been noted on the topographic survey. This, together with Trial Trench 2, demonstrates the archaeological potential of this area north of the chapel site, to 'fill in the gap' left in the Medieval and later burial and archaeological record from the site. This gap is a result of the 1950s work, which removed the majority of the material from these later periods from the area above and around the chapel in 1955-1959.

The 1999 work resulted in recommendations for further work at the site; this was undertaken in July 2000 (Barrowman with Hall 2000; Barrowman 2003). Trial Trench 1 on the south side of the church was expanded to roughly mirror the extent of O'Dell's excavations (re-named Trench 1) to fully record and excavate the archaeological deposits to such a point that they could be properly understood and put into a secure stratigraphical and chronological sequence. This was especially desirable in advance of any consolidation or improved presentation of the site to the public. The excavations initially found two phases of stone-enclosed burials or 'long cists', with the later phase (nominally Christian Late Norse) separated from the earlier phase by a thick layer of wind-blown sand which had been partially excavated and then redeposited by O'Dell's excavations. Below this thick deposit of sand the earlier phase of cists (nominally Early Christian) was uncovered, cut into the darker layers of Iron Age midden, shells and stones. The earlier group of long cists produced an exciting find of a cross-incised slab, and adjacent to them were six infant burials, interred below a stone kerbed cairn-type setting (314), divided into several small compartments. Each burial corresponded to one of the compartments of the setting above them and four of the compartments had head stones. Two of these headstones had a cross-incised design of Norse type on them. Near to the infants were three apparently Iron Age burials which were clearly buried straight into a midden with no apparent signs of ceremony. Radiocarbon dating carried out since suggests a longer date-span (Barrowman 2003; Barrowman with Forsyth forthcoming). Below this earlier midden, indications of a structure, curving around to the west, with two possible stake supports, were found.

In July 2000, Trial Trench 2 was also expanded (becoming Trench 2) to the north of the chapel-site in order to investigate a possible churchyard wall or boundary that may have defined the extent of the post-Medieval churchyard. Two truncated post-Medieval burials were found below layers of wind-blown sand and an extensive system of rabbit burrows. These were cut into what is suggested as a cultivation layer, and below this an earlier complete articulated burial and a wall were uncovered. The latter was totally unexpected, as there had been no indications of it in the geophysical survey. It appeared to bisect the two areas of burial, and may be an earlier churchyard wall, as it pre-dates the later burials. There is no doubt that further undisturbed remains are present in Trench 2, but below considerable depths of wind-blown sand.

These recent excavations to the north and south of the church on St Ninian's Isle have proved beyond a doubt that this is an extremely important site, unparalleled in Scotland, and possibly Britain (Thomas 1973, 14-16; Barrowman with Forsyth forthcoming). Despite the relatively small and shallow excavation areas opened in 2000, evidence was found of burial at the site for several phases within 2000 years, including the development of pre-Christian to Christian burials in Trench 1, south of the church. Some of the burials themselves are unique in form, and the two associated cross-incised stones have parallels from the Norse period (Fisher, in Barrowman with Forsyth, forthcoming). The remaining finds assemblage, although small, is significant, containing amongst other things, two further inscribed stones, steatite objects, a broken gaming piece, Iron Age and post-Medieval pottery, worked bone beads and whalebone. A considerable environmental residue and flot assemblage has presented the first chance to study this aspect of the site since it was first excavated. Excavations in Trench 2 have at last provided a glimpse into the Medieval and post-Medieval periods, the evidence for which elsewhere around and above the Medieval church has been removed by the 1950s excavations and was not synthesized and published. The potential for dating and study of the Medieval and post-Medieval remains from Trial Trench 3 and Trench 2, in tandem with the remnants of O'Dell's collection, should provide the end chapters of a story that will be begun by the analysis of O'Dell's archive and the Iron Age burials, pre-Christian and Christian, from Trench 1 (Barrowman with Forsyth forthcoming).

The detailed study of the archives from O'Dell's excavations has also been able to examine the scant recorded evidence for the earlier church (and other features) below the standing building (Thomas 1971, 14-15; Small 1973, 5-7). The results of this study, taken with the results from the excavations in Trench 1 in 2000, have allowed an analysis of the evidence for an earlier Norse (rather than pre-Norse) chapel at St Ninian's Isle below the existing

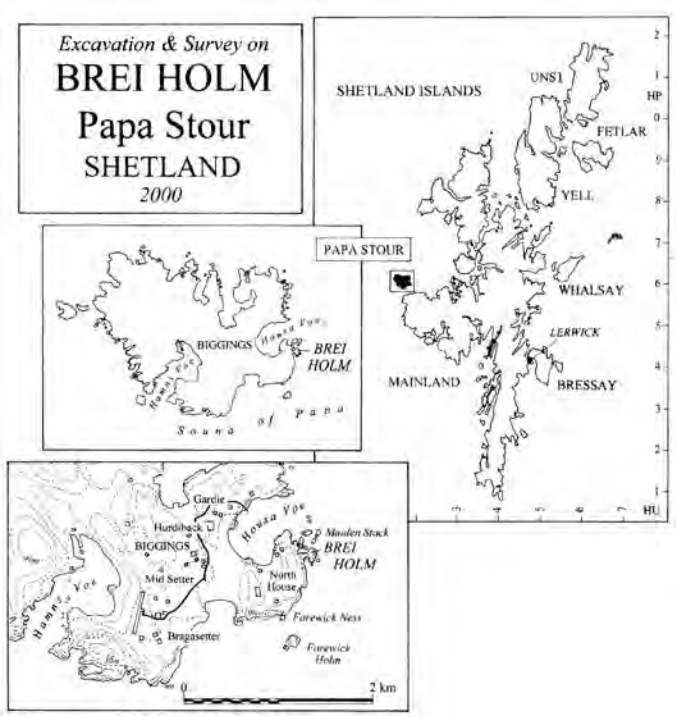

Excavation & Survey on
BREI HOLM
Papa Stour
SHETLAND
2000
SHETLAND ISLANDS
UNST
FETLAR
YELL
WHALSAY
LERWICK
BRESSAY
MAINLAND
PAPA STOUR
BIGGINGS
BREI HOLM
Sound of Papa
Gardie
Hurdiback
Housa Voe
Maiden Stock
North House
Mid Setter
Forewick Ness
Bragasetter
Forewick Holm
0
2 km

Fig. 3a og 3b

building (Morris 1990, 10-11), and radiocarbon dating has confirmed that some of the supposedly 'Early Christian' burials are in fact Norse in date. This has added weight to the argument that it is also not impossible even for the remains of a remarkable stone shrine found in the 1950s to be Norse in date, if Pictish in concept. Stevenson even suggested it was "no earlier than mid-ninth century, rather than before 800" (Thomas 1973, 11-13; Thomas 1974, 12- 16; Stevenson 1981, 291; Thomas 1983). The recent excavations have also demonstrated the existence of a Late Norse cemetery (Barrowman with Forsyth forthcoming).

BREI HOLM, PAPA STOUR

Brei Holm is a small sea-stack located off the south-east coast of Papa Stour in the Shetland archipelago. This type of isolated site is well-known in the Northern Isles and there are ready parallels at both the Inner and Outer Brough at Strandibrough on Fetlar (Brady and Morris 2000) and the Brough of Deerness in Orkney (Morris with Emery 1986). It has been suggested by Raymond Lamb that this type of site represents the remains of a monastic

Fig. 4.

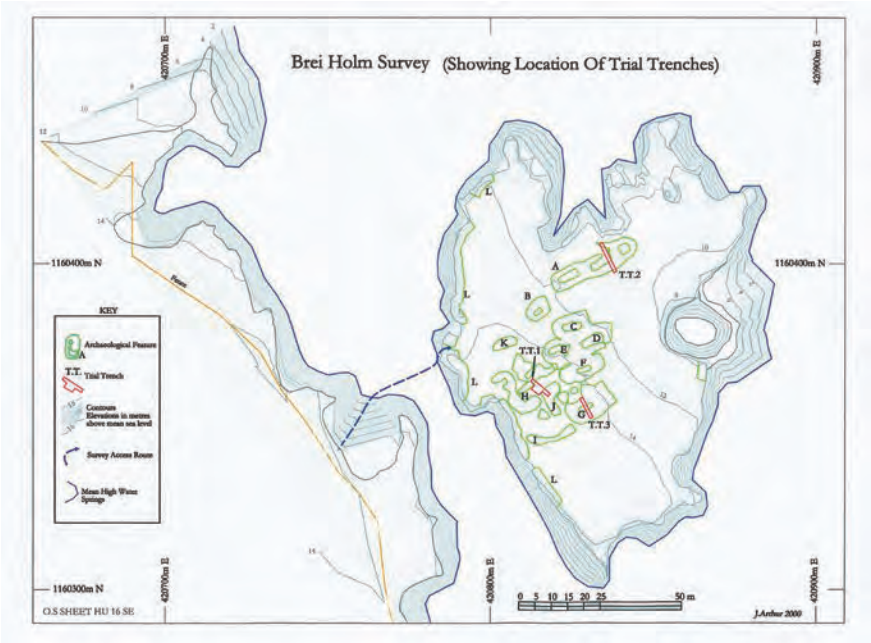


Fig. 5.

settlement of the Norse period, and he cites further parallels at sites such as Ketilsfjord (today's Tasermiut) in Greenland and Hraunþufuklaustur in Iceland (Lamb 1974). These stack and coastal settlements of the north are largely inaccessible to prolonged archaeological investigation and have consequently remained somewhat enigmatic. The site at Brei Holm presented a logistically feasible opportunity to examine, through survey and excavation, the hypotheses that this site in particular, and the class of monument to which it belongs in general, are ecclesiastical in nature and represent the remains of monastic communities of the Norse period. The project design submitted to Historic Scotland proposed to provide detailed ground plans, currently lacking, of the structural remains on this stack, and to trial-excavate two or three of the buildings and the enclosing bank on Brei Holm in an attempt to characterise occupation deposits and recover datable material. Work was undertaken in the summer of 2000 (Brady 2000).

The topographic survey on Brei Holm was not without its problems (Fig. 4). Centuries of seabird nesting, and the resultant excreted guano produced, made the terrain difficult to walk on and gave the impression of features in areas where there were none, although sheep grazing the area in summer 2000 had reduced some of the vegetation. The plan produced is as comprehensive

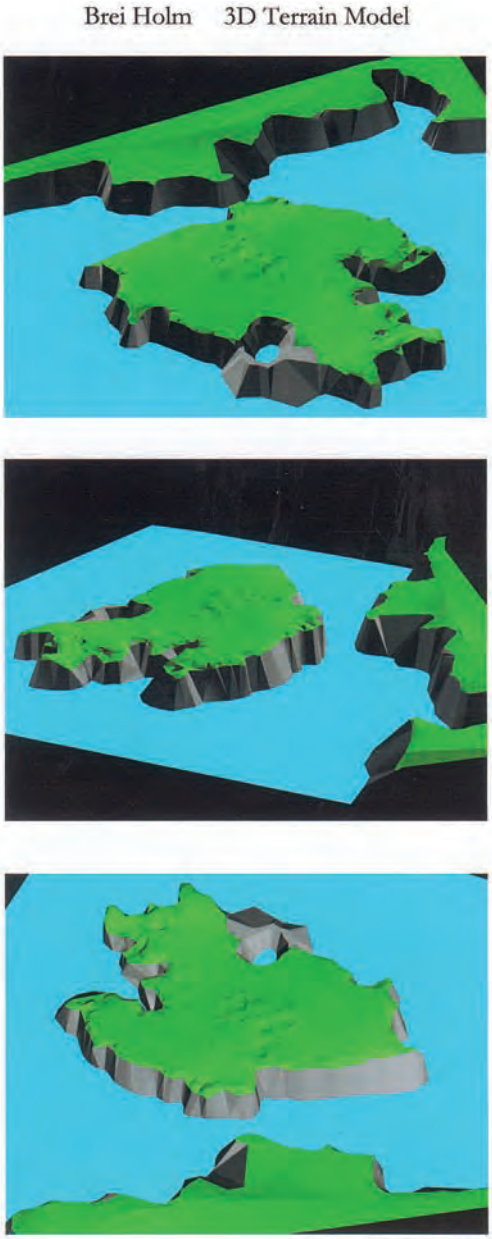
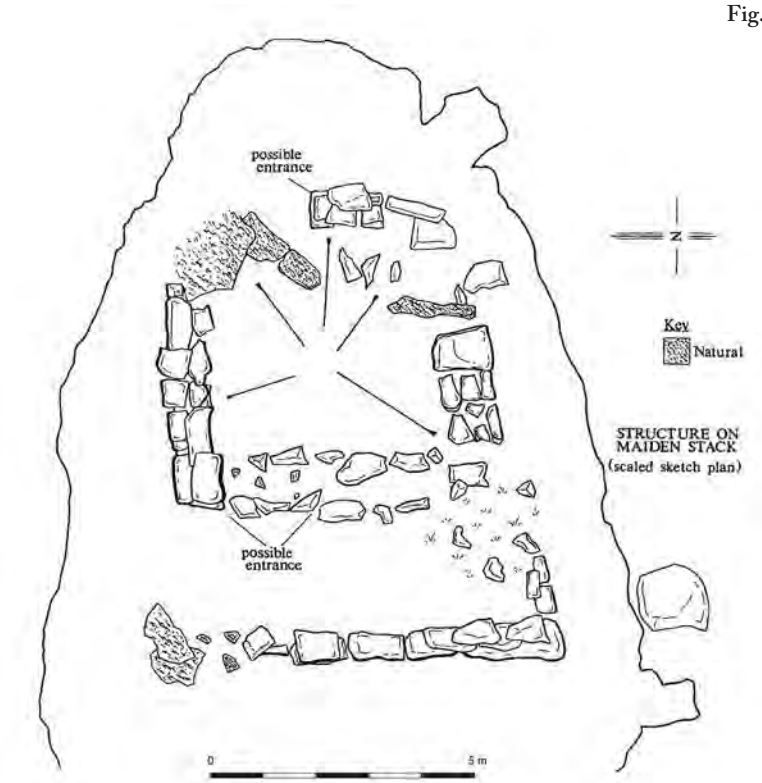


Fig. 6.

as is possible without stripping the turf from large areas to check if certain archaeological features are indeed 'real' or the result of a natural process. There may also be areas where the preservation of the mounds is less good than those presented on the plan and elements only recoverable by excavation will be missing, thus skewing the picture. On the summit of the stack are the turf-covered footings of some eight buildings, the largest of which is tri-cameral and measures *c* 20m by 4m, whilst the smallest is *c* 5m by 3.5m. A wide, turf-covered bank that runs all along this western side dominates the landward facing cliff-edge. There is a further dry-stone, bi-cameral structure on the neighbouring Maiden Stack (Fig. 7). In addition, a three dimensional model of the visible remains is also presented here which sets the archaeological features in their topographic context (Fig. 6).

Three trenches were opened during the excavations. Trench 1 was located across what was thought to be the largest central structure amongst the group of structures at the highest point of the stack (See H in Fig. 5), a bi-compartmental structure aligned south-west to north-east and

Fig. 7.



measuring 17m by 5m internally and clearly established that the topographic analysis of the various conjoining banks had produced an over-simplified picture of the structural remains. The north of the trench examined the exterior south wall of a building that continues to the north of the study area, while the south of the trench revealed a small, well-constructed, dry-stone cell. Only part of this structure was excavated and more lies undisturbed at the south and east. The central area of the trench revealed that the cross-wall was merely a fortuitous concentration of rubble, but there was cultural activity here, as exhibited by a possible hearth and charcoal concentration. This did not obviously relate to the structures north and south of this area and seems to represent a distinct event in itself. A wider area excavation would be required to establish what the sequence and relationships of events were in this area. The artefactual evidence from Trench 1 was comparatively rich for such a limited exercise.

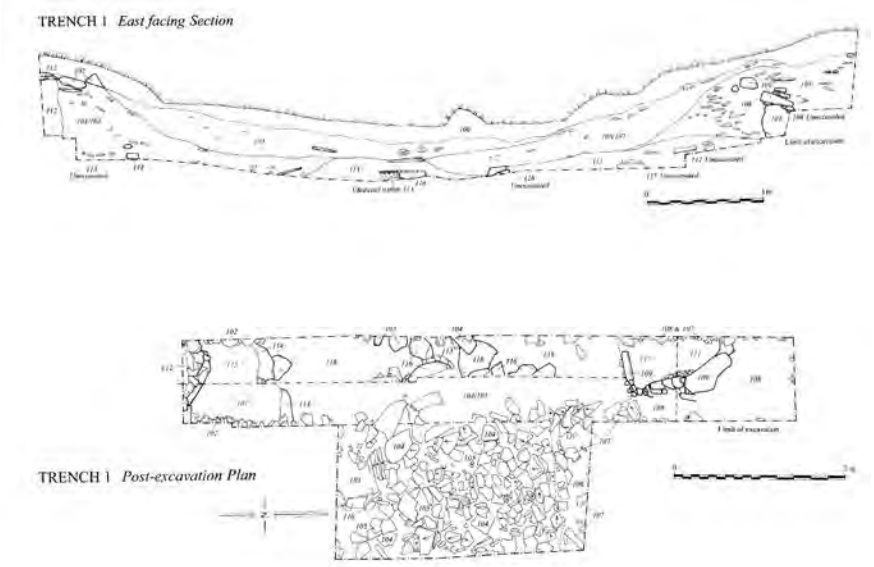


Fig. 8

Trench 2 was located across the central compartment of the long, sub-rectangular tri-compartmental structure *c 30* m long, running north-east to south-west, isolated from the cluster of structures on the stack (see A, Fig. 5). A trench was cut across the middle compartment, taking in banks at either side as well as a possible entranceway. From excavation, it seems likely that some initial kind of cut was made into the till to accommodate the building as a whole, and walls on the south and north were laid as foundation/revetment for the banks with turf and rubble then deposited in large quantities around the outsides of these walls. Flagstones and a hearth were laid in the interior of the building. The internal features of this structure surpassed the quality of workmanship recorded in the other trenches. The surface form of the structure was also very different from those around Trenches 1 and 3. The long, sub-rectangular form is reminiscent of Norse period structures and some of the ceramic assemblage would point to occupation at that time.

Trench 3 was located across a structure aligned north-east to south-west, measuring *c* 15 m along this axis and 8 m across, that was felt to be typical of the group of structures clustered together at the highest point of the stack (see G in Figure 5). The trial trench was aligned to examine the northern and southern banks as well as the interior ground surface, and revealed the greatest depth of stratigraphy on the site. The width and height of the bank recorded

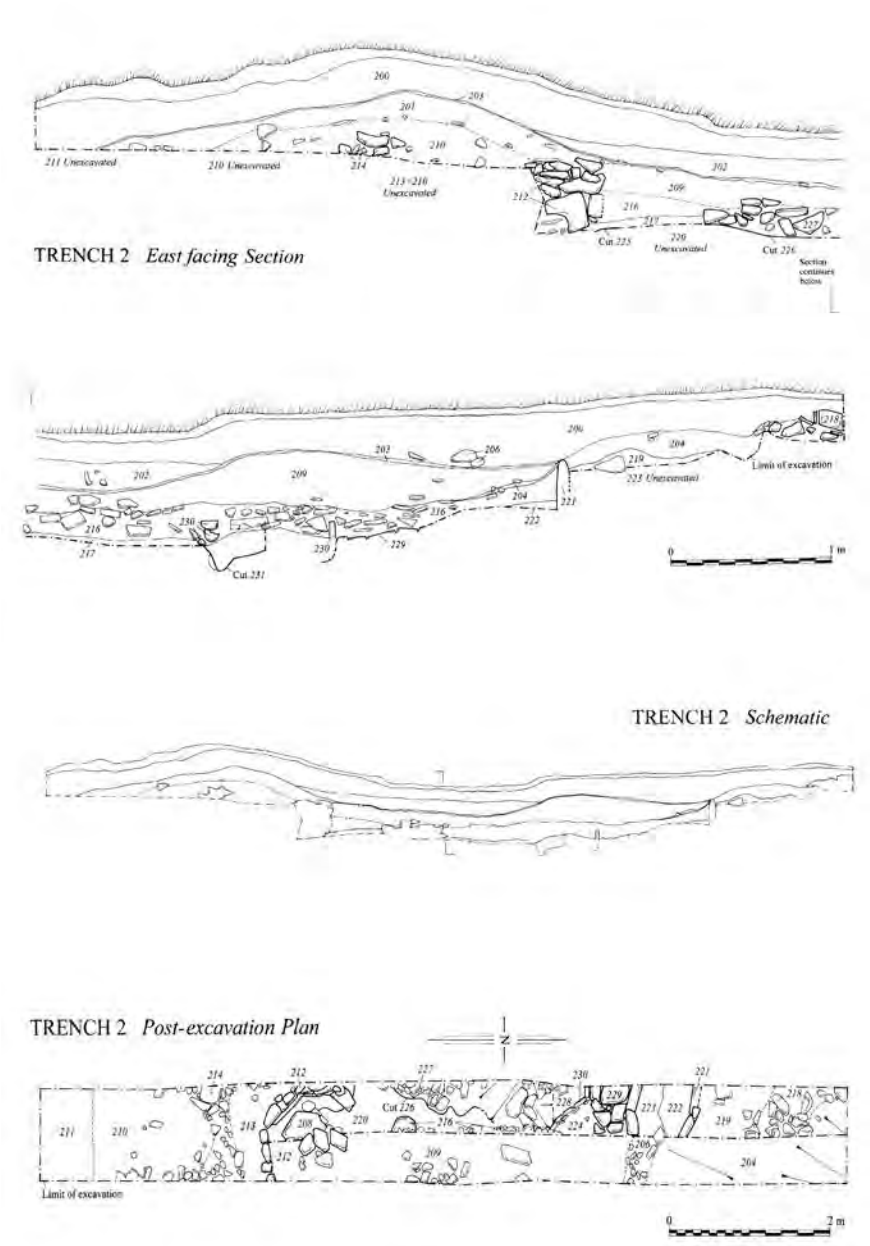

TRENCH 2 East facing Section
TRENCH 2 Schematic
TRENCH 2 Post-excavation Plan
Limit of excavation
Cut 231
Cut 225
Cut 226
Cut 126
0
1 m
2 m

Fig. 9

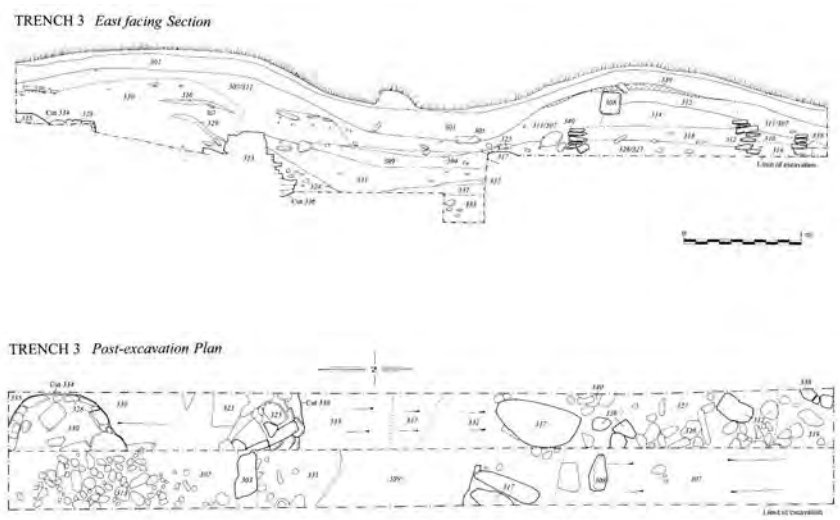


Fig. 10

in survey at the north-east corner suggested a palimpsest, which was subsequently established by the excavation. The stone-faced or -revetted turf bank construction differed from the structural remains in Trench 1 and floor/occupation layers survive below slump from the turf banks. However, a larger area excavation would be required to discern the function of the building. Once again, a large quantity of ceramics of various fabrics and forms was recovered and the presence of slag points towards an industrial or workshop activity on the site. Perhaps the most important discovery within the trench was the clear evidence of two phases of construction. Located below the turf bank of the surface structure was a dry-stone circular structure of unknown use. The circular form of this structure may point to a pre-Norse/Iron Age date that is reflected in the ceramic assemblage.

All of the trial-trench excavations revealed complex archaeological remains and a depth of deposit which surface analysis could not indicate. Also, the volume of finds from the site was quite remarkable given the nature of the excavation as primarily an assessment; the trenches were only some 7m by 1m. Over 220 sherds of pottery were recovered, and have been dated to the late Iron Age, with the residues from two sherds radiocarbon dated to the 5th to 7th centuries AD. This pot is steatite-tempered and is very similar to material recovered at Old Scatness Broch (Nicholson & Dockrill (eds) 1998). Other finds included unworked steatite, worked pumice, possible slag, vitrified fuel

BH'00	**Context**	**108**	**111**	**113**	**113**	**201**	**202**	**203**	**204**	**209**	**215**	**217**	**228**
GUARD 1159	**Sample**	**100**	**102**	**103**	**104**	**202**	**200**	**201**	**206**	**204**	**203**	**205**	**207**
	Trench	**1**		**1**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**
Taxon	**Common Name**												
Total carb veg		250ml	75ml	200ml	100ml	30ml	10ml	15ml	5ml	30ml	60ml	10ml	60ml
Modern veg		+++	+	++	+	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++	++	+++	++
AMS (charcoal)		?	?	Y	Y	?	N	?	N	?	?	Y	Y
AMS (cereals)		Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Charcoal													
Betula	birch												2 (0.05g)
Coniferales	conifer					1 (<0.05g)							
Ericales	heather type	>100 (0.9g)	>50 (0.4g)	20 (0.75g)	20 (2.05g)	22 (0.05g)	7 (0.05g)	16 (0.1g)	13 (<0.05g)	9 (0.1g)	>50 (0.3g)	>30 (0.35g)	>20 (0.35g)
Picea / Larix	spruce / larch	16 (0.4g)	20 (0.6g)					1 (<0.05g)			3 (0.05g)	3 (<0.05g)	8 (0.3g)
Rosaceae	rose family												
cf Vaccinium	cf bilberry	4 (0.1g)											
Indeterminate											2 (<0.05g)		
peat / mineral turf		+++ (8.85g)	+++ (10.1g)	++ (12.65g)	+ (<0.05g)	+++ (4.75g)	+ (2.1g)	++ (4.6g)	+ (0.2g)	+++ (10.1g)	++ (5.0g)	+++ (15.7g)	+++ (32.7g)
(c) cereals													
Hordeum vulgare var nudum	naked six-row barley		2						1				
Hordeum vulgare var vulgare	hulled six-row barley	12	11	1									

Hordeum vulgare sl	six-row barley	32	34	2		1					2		1
cf Hordeum vulgare	cf barley	14	15										
cereal indet.	cereal indet	26	44			1				1			
(c) macrofossils													
Empetrum nigrum	crowberry												
Fucoid seaweed	brown seaweed									3 (0.05g)			
monocot rhizomes	grass / sedge rhizome	17 (0.1g)	10 (0.1g)	10 (0.15g)		4 (0.05g)					>30 (1.0g)		3 (0.1g)
Plantago lanceolata	ribwort plantain				2								
Poaceae	grass												
Potentilla sp	cinquefoil												
Ranunculus repens	creeping buttercup				1								
Scirpus sp	club rush										1	1	
Stellaria media	chickweed												
(m) seeds													
Betula catkin scale	birch catkin scale												
Chenopodium album	fat hen												
Persicaria maculosa	redshank												
Poaceae	grass								>20				
Rumex sp	dock												
Ranunculus repens	creeping buttercup												
Spergula arvensis	corn spurrey										1		
Stellaria media	chickweed	13	16			1					1	1	1

Table 1

BH'00	**Context**	**301**	**304**	**307**	**309**	**310**	**314**	**316**	**322**	**331**	**332**
GUARD 1159	**Sample**	**301**	**303**	**302**	**308**	**305**	**304**	**306**	**307**	**309**	**310**
	Trench	**3**	3	**3**	**3**	**3**	**3**	**3**	**3**	**3**	**3**
Taxon	**Common Name**										
Total carb veg		50ml	40ml	60ml	300ml	50ml	75ml	25ml	75ml	25ml	10ml
Modern veg		+++	++	+++	+	++	++	++	+	+	+
AMS (charcoal)		?	?	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	Y	?
AMS (cereals)		N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Charcoal											
Betula	birch										
Coniferales	conifer										
Ericales	heather type	>100 (0.4g)	>50 (0.3g)	>50 (0.45g)	>50 (0.85g)	>50 (0.4g)	>50 (0.5g)	23 (0.1g)	>50 (0.2g)	8 (0.1g)	15 (0.05g)
Picea / Larix	spruce / larch	4 (0.05g)	10 (0.15g)	4 (0.05g)	11 (0.1g)	20 (0.25g)	11 (0.2g)	4 (0.1g)	4 (<0.05g)	5 (0.05g)	
Rosaceae	rose family				1 (<0.05g)						
cf Vaccinium	cf bilberry										
Indeterminate											
peat / mineral turf		++ (8.85g)	++ (8.4g)	++ (11.8g)	+++ (5.4g)	++ (7.4g)	+++ (4.0g)	+ (2.4g)	+++ (20.0g)	++ (9.7g)	++ (1.15g)
(c) cereals											
Hordeum vulgare var nudum	naked six-row barley										
Hordeum vulgare var vulgare	hulled six-row barley		2		3	4	8		4	1	

Hordeum vulgare sl	six-row barley		1	3		3	9		6	1	
cf Hordeum vulgare	cf barley										
cereal indet.	cereal indet	3	1	2	3	3	9	2	3	2	1
(c) macrofossils											
Empetrum nigrum	crowberry									1	
Fucoid seaweed	brown seaweed				5 (<0.05g)	8 (<0.05g)	15 (0.05g)		15 (0.1g)		1 (<0.05g)
monocot rhizomes	grass / sedge rhizome	1 (<0.05g)	6 (0.15g)	6 (0.05g)	4 (<0.05g)	7 (0.1g)	>20 (0.25g)	2 (0.05g)	9 (0.15g)	1 (<0.05g)	2 (<0.05g)
Plantago lanceolata	ribwort plantain								1		
Poaceae	grass						1				
Potentilla sp	cinquefoil						1				
Ranunculus repens	creeping buttercup										
Scirpus sp	club rush						1				
Stellaria media	chickweed						4		2	2	
(m) seeds											
Betula catkin scale	birch catkin scale				1						
Chenopodium album	fat hen						2				
Persicaria maculosa	redshank									1	
Poaceae	grass			3							
Rumex sp	dock				1	10	>20				
Ranunculus repens	creeping buttercup			5			1	5			
Spergula arvensis	corn spurrey										
Stellaria media	chickweed	>100	1			>50	>50	4			3

Table 2

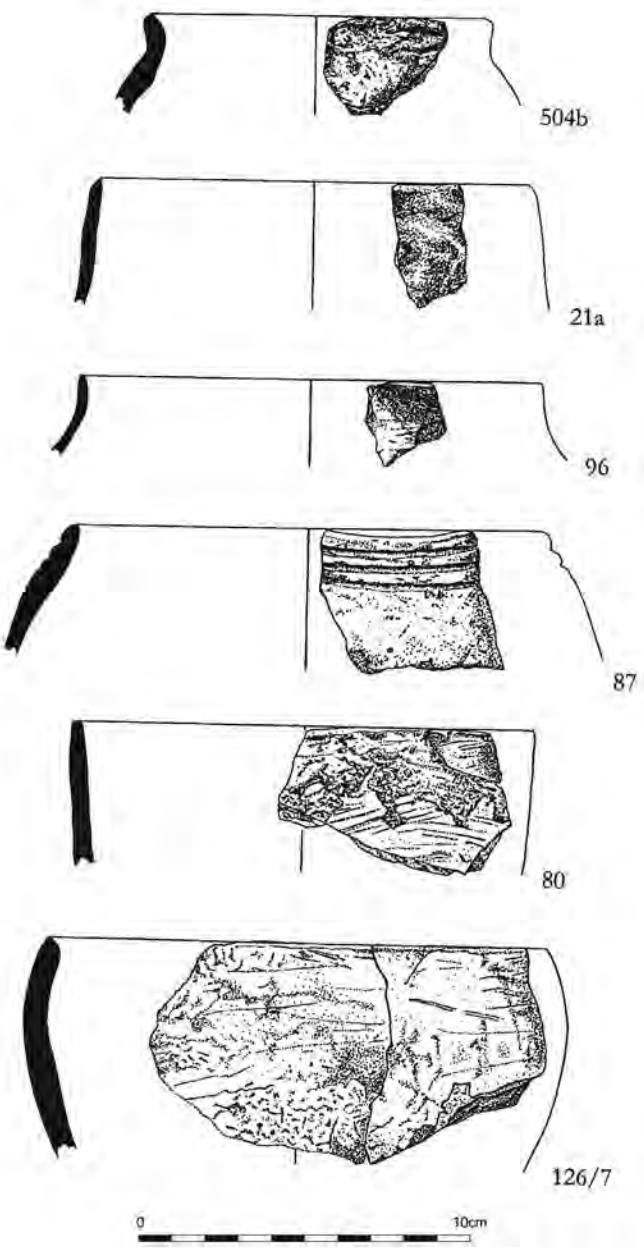


Fig. 11

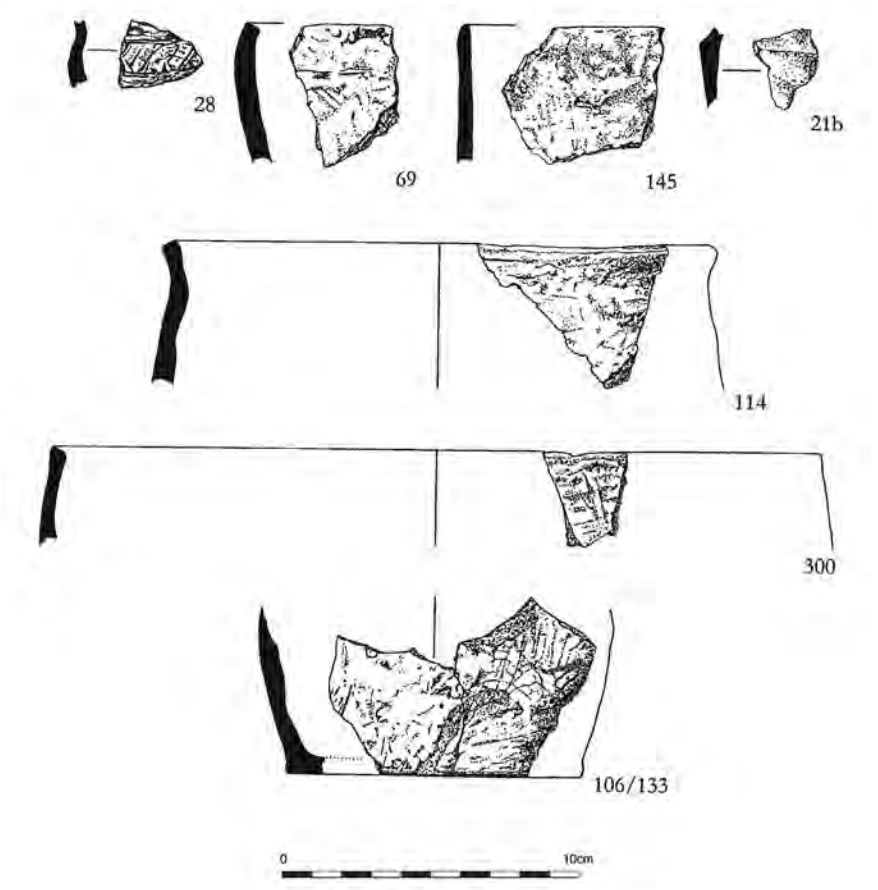


Fig. 12

ash and possible crucible fragments, and a large section of a saddle quern or stone bowl. A picture begins to emerge of a self-supporting community who have their own workshops and may be making their own pottery and tools as well as more industrial products (see Brady & Batey forthcoming).

Unfortunately, nothing recovered in this limited excavation can establish a clear link between this site and an ecclesiastical use (see Brady 2002; Brady and Batey forthcoming). Most obviously, where is the oratory or church? This question has yet to be answered for any of this type of site. We are still left with negative evidence: what other community would want to live in such circumstances? Who else would need a single building detached from the com-

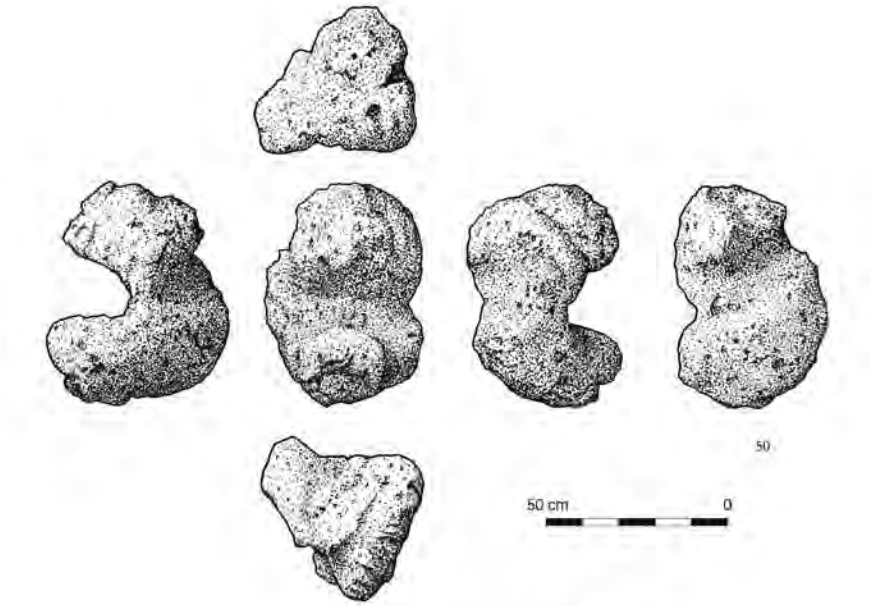


Fig. 13

munity on an adjacent 50ft high rock needle (Maiden Stack)? The ceramics and the evidence for sub-circular stone cells seem to represent a pre-Norse phase of activity, and this evidence could well represent a pre-Norse, Christian phase of activity. If such a community can be envisaged at this time and at this site, the mouth of the best landing place on Papa Stour, then perhaps their presence gave the Norsemen the name of the island. Perhaps remembrance of the previous sanctity of the site led future Norse Christians back to this stack at a later date in search of the same solitude and contemplation.

SURVEYS ON UNST, FETLAR AND YELL: A RÉSUMÉ

The previously-published papers have presented in some detail the outcomes of the work undertaken in these three islands both as desk-based assessments and in surveys on the ground (Morris and Brady with Johnson 1999; Morris 2001; Morris with Brady and Johnson 2007). In line with the project design (Morris 2001, 62-4), for each island a table has been produced showing in five columns and three Phases (Phase I: Desk-based, Survey; Clearance; Phase II, Trial Excavation; Phase III: Area Excavation) work either already undertaken or potentially capable of being undertaken in the future at each site, as well as the archaeological potential and the practical feasibility of undertaking more

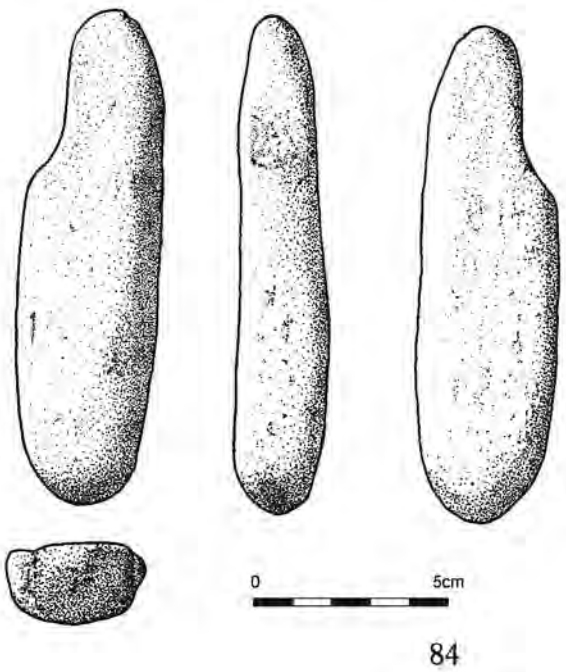


Fig. 14

intrusive work (Morris 2001, 63, Table; Morris with Brady and Johnson 2007, 277, Table 4; 281, Table 5). However, not even all the Phase I work has yet been undertaken – hardly surprising given the large numbers of sites (25 on Unst; 19 on Fetlar and 33 on Yell). But even the more limited numbers of sites where Phase II work potentially might be undertaken is still large (between 13 and 17 on Unst; 8 on Fetlar and 12 in Yell). A rather more rigorous assessment than could be undertaken at the time, focussing upon the archaeological potential and practical feasibility, might well be required to justify the deployment of both financial and human resources, were such interventionist work to be undertaken.

Nevertheless, this simply serves to underline the extraordinary wealth of evidence still available for testing on these islands – and of course raises questions about the scale and nature of the evidence in other parts of the archipelago. Ideally, given the interventionist involvement of the Project in St Ninian's Isle and Brei Holm, at the least basic desk-top work and 'audit' survey should be undertaken across the relevant (modern) parishes to give a broader context to the results.

Brief accounts have also been given in the 2001 paper of other aspects

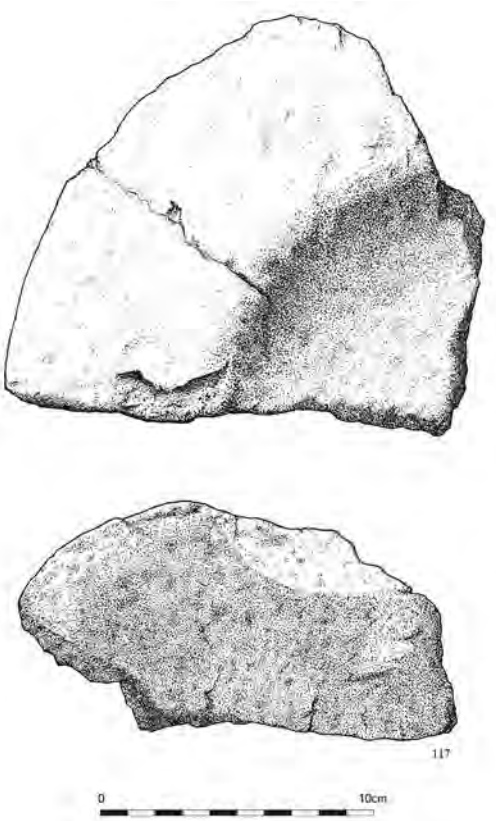


Fig. 15

of the subject: monuments (especially a distinctive group of grave-markers), folk-traditions and place-names (Morris 2001, 71-2). Coincidentally, the period between 2001 and 2007 has seen significant attention being paid to the stone monuments in the Faroes and their Irish and Scottish comparisons (Fisher 2002; 2005; Fisher & Scott 2007), and of course the potential; reference to a 'bønhús' on Unst uncovered by Dr Doreen Waugh (Waugh 2001, 52) has immediate resonances with such a site outside Leirvík in Faroe (MacGregor 1984, 9-10; Schei and Moberg 1991, 166; see also Dahl 1968, 207-11; Thorsteinsson 1978; 1981; Arge *et al* 2005). Back in Shetland, during the surveys, the 'keelstanes' at Framgord, Unst (Morris & Brady 1998, 54-5) and that found built into the enclosure wall at Baliasta, Unst (Brady & Johnson 2000, 30; Fisher 2002, 55) were noted – which must surely be part of, or related to, the group of distinctive Norse monuments known as hogbacks in Orkney and Shetland (Lang 1974; 1984; 1994). Dating is an issue here, as the hogbacks

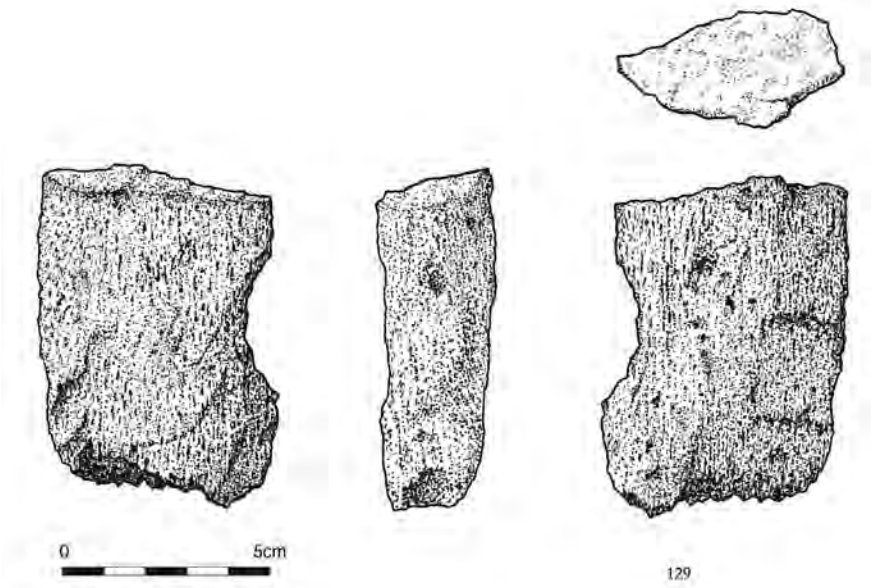


Fig. 16

are generally seen as late eleventh or twelfth century in date, but might they perhaps be earlier – even tenth century – as in areas to the south?

ENVOI

With questions like those posed by the monuments and place-names, we are drawn back to the wider issues relating to relationships between the different island-groups around the North Atlantic. Ian Fisher has hinted at some of the issues here as regards the monuments, and similarly we could postulate some of the same for the chapel-sites, whether previously well-known, such as St Ninian's Isle or virtually unrecognised –as with more than a few of the sites in Unst, Fetlar and Yell. Many of the same issues are beginning to arise in relation to new work undertaken by the second author in recent years in Lewis (see Morris and Barrowman forthcoming) and perhaps the time has now come for the work to be taken to a new level of investigation and analysis – and within a broader, perhaps collaborative, research framework across the North Atlantic, where work in both the Shetland and Faroe Islands might form part of a greater whole. Whether or not this might come to fruition, even so it is hoped that the work described in this and its companion papers, might perhaps have particular resonances and interest for the intended recipient of this paper.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Ta din hall och gå – Med huset i släptåg

Guðmundur Ólafsson

Under 800-talet emigrerade tusentals familjer över Atlanten för att starta ett nytt liv på de tidigare obebyggda öarna Färöarna och Island. Dessa landnämsmän kom främst från Norge och de brittiska öarna. Samma process upprepades i mindre skala i slutet av 900-talet när Grönland koloniserades från Island (Debes 1990, Eldjárn 1974, "Eiríks saga rauða" 1987; "Landnámabók," 1968).

Landnámsmännen sökte efter bättre levnadsvillkor och de nyupptäckta länderna ansågs tydligen av många vara ett bättre alternativ än att bo kvar i hemtrakterna. Eftersom ingen ger sig ut på en färd ut i det okända över Atlanten med hela familjen utan noggrann förberedelse och planering, måste de flesta ha vidtagit åtgärder för att kunna klara sig på egen hand när man väl var framme.

Det mest primära behovet i det nya landet var att få tak över huvudet. På så nordliga breddgrader var det ytterst viktigt att få det gjort på så kort tid som möjligt. Många osäkerhetsfaktorer, som dåligt väder och ogynnsama vindar kunde förlänga resan, så att man anlände sent om sommaren. Detta kunde få till effekt att resan blev katastrofal i stället för få en bra början, eftersom den som anländer sent under sommaren helt enkelt inte kunde lita på att det finns lämpligt eller tillräckligt mycket virke för att bygga ett hus på den utvalda platsen. I ett nyckfyllt klimat, kunde det vara en fråga om liv eller död att hinna bygga en egen bostad omedelbart, eller i alla händelser, innan det blev höst och vinter.

Hur bar man sig då åt för att bygga ett hus på tillräckligt kort tid före vintern? I sagorna ges få konkreta berättelser om detta. Oftast nämns helt enkelt att den eller de reste sin hall (skáli) eller hade sin hall byggd på den eller den platsen (*Íslendingasögur. Orðstöðulykill og texti* 1998). Några forskare har intresserat sig för detta problem. Man har bl.a. antagit att kolonisatörerna använt grophus som sina första provisoriska bostäder tills bostadshuset varit klart. Det kan eventuellt skett i vissa fall, för det är enkelt och går relativt snabbt att bygga grophus (Eldjárn 1974;Vésteinsson 2000). Dessa tycks ha varit vanligt förekommande på Island från kolonisationstiden till ca år 1200.

Helgi D. Michelsen og Caroline Paulsen: Símunarbók. Heiðursrit til Símun V. Arge á 60 ára degnum.
Fróðskapur, Faroe University Press 2008. ISBN: 978-99918-65-18-8. EAN: 9789991865188.

Fig. 1. Grophus från vikingatida bosättning på Hrafnseyri vid Arnarfjördur, Västra Island.

Men de är i allmänhet bara ca 2,5 - 3 m breda och 3 - 6 m långa så det är svårt att tänka sig att en hel familj kunnat bo där under en längre tid. Arkeologiska undersökningar har också visat att grophusen har haft flera funktioner. Den vanligaste funktionen har dock varit ett slags vävstugor för kvinnorna (Magnússon 1973; Ólafsson 2004) Det är minst lika troligt att man rest provisoriska tält eller skjul täckta med något slags tyg.

Denna artikel presenterar en hypotes om hur det var möjligt att halvera byggnadstiden för ett bostadshus med en genomtänkt planering.

Landnámsmännens bostäder kallas *skáli,* en hall enligt den byggnadstyp som dominerade i deras hemländer. Hallen var ett bostadshus som kunde vara 10 – 30 m långt och 4 - 8 m brett. Huset var bredast på mitten och smalnade mot gavlarna. Ingången låg nära husets ena ände. Huset byggdes runt en träkonstruktion som bar upp taket och husets sovsal var förmodligen panelklädd. Längst väggarna i sovsalen löpte bänkar och det fanns en långeld i mitten av golvet (Ágústsson 1998, Ólafsson og Ágústsson 2003; Ólafsson 2004).

År 2000 restes i Island två rekonstruktioner av vikingatida hallar av hög kvalitet. Den ena baserades på lämningar efter en hall som grävts ut i Eiriksstaðir, Eirikur den rödes förmodade gård i Haukadalur. Den andra byggdes i Qassiarsuk på Grönland och baserades på en utgrävd vikingatida hall, från *Gården under sandet,* på västra Grönland. Båda dessa utgrävda hallar var för-

Fig. 2. Rekonstruktionsförslag till hallen som grävdes ut på Eíríkstaðir i Haukadalur 1997-1999. Denna hustyp, som hade skyddsväggar enbart av torv, var vanligast under kolonisationstiden på Island.

bluffande lika till storlek och form. De var under genomsnittstorlek, ca 12 x 4 m respektive 10 x 5 m innermått (Ólafsson 1998, Ólafsson og Albrethsen 2000).

Enligt upplysningar från Gunnar Bjarnason, som bl.a. var ansvarig snickare när båda dessa rekonstruktioner byggdes, krävdes det drygt 7000 arbetstimmar för att snickra och resa hallen på Eiriksstaðir och drygt 6700 arbetstimmar för att snickra och resa den grönländska hallen i Qassiarsuk från grunden. Cirka hälften av tiden gick åt till att snickra träkonstruktionen och inredningen på verkstad och hälften av tiden gick åt till att skära torv, bygga väggar och resa huset på platsen. Moderna verktyg användes för allt grundarbete på timret, men slutbehandlingen och ytbehandlingen skedde med gamla verktyg och arbetsmetoder (Bjarnason 2008).

Vi känner inte till hur landnámsmännen organiserade sina husbyggen eller hur många som deltog i bygget; om familjer och grannar hjälptes åt eller om varje familj byggde sitt eget hus, men rekonstruktionsarbetena har dock visat med viss säkerhet hur många dagsverken det tog att bygga dem. På grund av

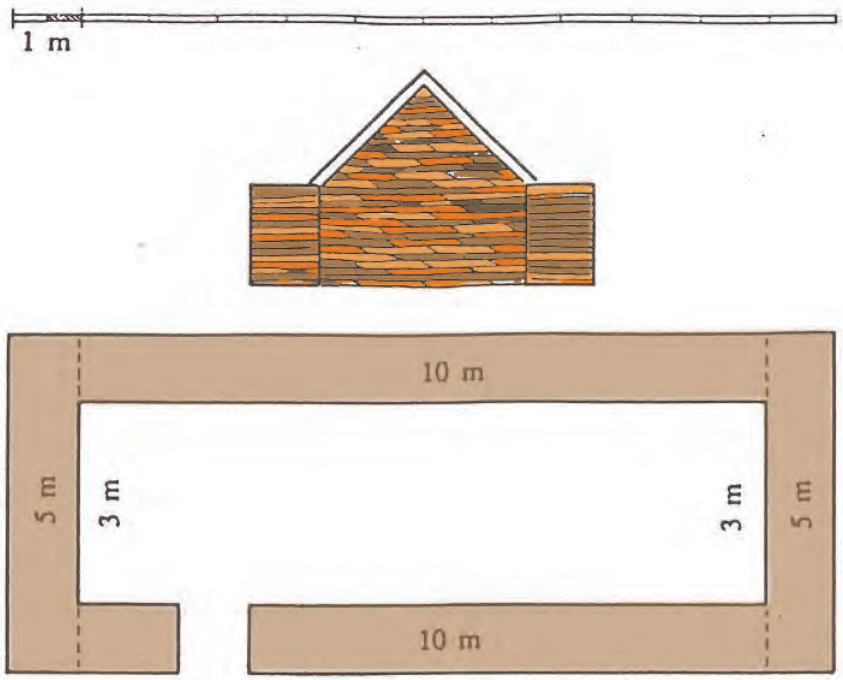

Fig. 3. Principskiss av torvhus för beräkning av materialmängd i torvväggar.

dem kan vi lägga opp en grov byggnadsplan.

Det finns många möjligheter och många sätt att beräkna hur lång tid det kan ha tagit för kolonisatörerna att bygga och resa en hall av god kvalitet. Enligt ovanstående beräkningar har det tagit ca. 650-700 dagsverken att resa en byggnad av liknande storlek från grunden, om en person arbetade 10-11 timmar/dag, 7 dagar i veckan. För 6 personer har det därför tagit cirka 100-116 dagar eller 3-3,5 månader att resa byggnaden eller 10 personer cirka 60-70 dagar, eller 2-2,5 månader att bygga en sådan byggnad från grunden. Det går naturligtvis att bygga ett hus på kortare tid men då blir kvaliten sämre. Till ovanstående byggnadstid tillkommer den tid som det tar att fälla, torka och transportera timret och att skära, transportera och bygga torvväggar och lägga torvtak på huset. För att ge ett exempel på omfattningen av torvarbetet kan nämnas att för ett litet hus med 3 x 10 m innermått, med 1 m breda och 1,5 m höga väggar som enbart byggts av torv, måste man skära grästorv av ett 1000 m^2 stort område, vilket är ett hårt och slitsamt arbete (Ólafsson 1992). De hus som avses här ovan är något större, så för att få material till dem har man troligen varit tvungen att skära grästorv av ett ca 1500 m^2 stort område,

Erfarna bönder visste exakt hur lång tid det skulle ta att bygga ett nytt hus och måste ha tänkt igenom hur de skulle kunna förkorta denna tid i ett nytt land. Den enklaste och bästa lösningen på problemet innebar helt enkelt att demontera sitt hus man flyttade ur och lasta så mycket som möjligt av det färdigsnickrade byggnadsmaterialet i ett båt för att ta det med sig över havet. När man kommit fram, kunde man genast börja att återuppbygga huset och väggarna. Enligt ovanstående beräkningar kunde byggnadstiden på detta sätt halveras. Då vanns dyrbar tid som kunde användas till andra viktiga arbetsuppgifter och till att förbereda sig och skaffa förnödenheter inför den första vintern i ett nytt land.

Det är kanske främst fyra faktorer (skäl) som talar för att denna metod använts, åtminstone av dem som hade ett hus och skepp:

För det första har byggande och transport av prefabricerade hus varit ett välkänt faktum under århundraden, samt att det var lätt att transportera husmaterial långa vägar. Norska bönder lär ha haft som en bisyssla att snickra prefabricerade hus och leverera dem till vikingatida städer som brunnit ned. När landsnámsmännen kommit till Island flyttade de ibland sin bostad en eller flera gången inom Island under de första åren, innan de fann en plats där de slog sig ned permanent, vilket tyder på att man just demonterat sina hus och flyttat dem med sig till nästa ställe. (Halvorsen 2003, Stefánsson 2003; Ólafsson 2004).

För det andra har det varit ekonomiskt att, om möjligt, demontera huset och ta med sig det på resan och inte lämna kvar värdefullt färdigt byggnadsmaterial.

För det tredje tar färdigt byggnadsmaterial till en hall förvånanvärt lite plats. Det visade sig tydligt när materialet till den grönländska hallen, som snickrats på Island, skulle tranporteras till Grönland. Det gick mycket fort att demontera hela träkonstruktionen och placera i en container.

För det fjärde bör också nämnas de intressanta parallellerna mellan vikingatida hallen som grävdes ut på *Gården under sandet* i Västerbygden på Grönland, och Eirikur den rödes gård på Island. Det är anmärkningsvärt att de är så väl överensstämmer till utseende och storlek (Ólafsson og Albrethsen 2000).

När Eirikur den röde emigrerade till Grönland från Island för att kolonisera landet, var det många som följde med honom; på 24 skepp, enligt sagorna. Hans följeslagare hade troligen en liknande position i samhället som han, d.v.s. småbönder med relativt litet inflytande som drömde större planer än de kunde förverkliga på Island, om att få större marker, rikedom och status. De hoppades upprepa vad man gjort när Island koloniserades och lägga beslag på stora markområden och bli mera förmögna än de kunnat bli hemma. Det är i detta sammanhang så intressant att konstatera att huset i Vesterbygd är så

Fig. 4. Tillsnickrad virke till rekonstruktionen i Qassiarsuk på plats i containern. Huset beräknas vara 10 x 5 m i innermått.

litet. Varför bygger inte en blivande storbonde ett större hus på sin nya gård i sitt nya land? Det skulle ha varit enkelt om huset byggts helt från grunden. Om byggnadsmaterialet däremot togs med från det gamla hemmet som man lämnat, hade det naturligtvis bestämda mått som den första bostadens storlek och utseende i det nya landet måste anpassas efter. I sådana fall återspeglar den första bostaden i det nya landet även landnámsmannens status och bostadens storlek i det gamla landet.

Demontering och återuppbyggnad av gamla hus på en ny plats har mycket gamla anor och har praktiserats ända fram till våra dagar. Landnamsmännen var praktiska bönder som säkert planerade sin utresa väl. De som hade möjligheten, valde säkert att flytta med sig sitt hus och att på så vis omedelbart kunna sätta igång ett husbygge på den nya platsen samt spara in halva byggnadstiden. Tid som var speciellt värdefull under den första sommaren då alla förnödenheter inför vintern måste inskaffas.

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Vestmanna – Úti í Toft

Caroline Paulsen

INTRODUCTION

The summer of 2006 saw the beginning of archaeological research on the site know as Úti í Toft or Úti á Toft on the north side of the fiord in the village of Vestmanna on Streymoy. The research was planned as a single season rescue-excavation. Two trenches had been excavated in the summer of 2005 by Føroya Fornminnissavn to assess the archaeological potential of the site because the municipality had planned a new retirement home on the site. The two trenches, one 9 m the other 12 m in length and both up to 80 cm wide, revealed cultural layers right below the surface and a massive amount of stone collapse. A small hole was excavated in the east-west trench to establish the thickness of the cultural layers, but only recorded approximately 1 meter of dark organic fill before the hole filled with water and made further investigation impossible (Andreasen, unpublished). It was planned to excavate the cultural layers the following year. The main aim of the 2006 season was recording the complete excavation of the site, so the area could be released from the cultural protection act and be used for construction. The focus of the excavation was to date and identify the function of these archaeological remains. The excavation was scheduled for 6 week – from the beginning of August until the end of September.

The participants for both seasons were: Anna Ihr (University of Göteborg), Helgi Dahl Michelsen (National Museum of The Faroe Islands), Hákun Andreassen (National Museum of The Faroe Islands), Ragnar Edvardsson (Fornleifadeild, Náttúrustofa Vestfjarða), Inge Reiersen Knudsen (University of Oslo), Mads Thastrup (University of Aarhus) and Thomas Mikkelsen (University of Aarhus).

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Fig. 1. Overview of the site

THE ARCHAEOLOGY

It looked like the excavation would be straight forward, judging from the surface as in the middle of a grown field was a raised area, very likely to be a farm mound. A trench was put across the site, reopening one of the 2005-trenches, and expanding it in all directions. As cultural layers were recorded right underneath the surface and at the highest point on the mound little topsoil was recorded. After the first weeks the excavation had been expanded to approximately 68 square meters and underneath the topsoil, windblown deposits, mixed with stone- and turf collapse from several structures were recorded. The main structure in the middle of the field was approximately 10 x 2.5 meter in size, this structure was built of stone and it was clear that it had gone through several building phases. To the north of this was a very rough stone pavement and east of the building several rows of stones from the building turning down hill towards the slope down to the sea. The farm mound had suggested the boundaries for the site, but after removing collapse and deposits overlying of the structure it became clear that the main building continued to the south, though this was not visible on the surface. It was decided to leave this part unexcavated, as time did not allow detailed investigation and to focus on the

already revealed structures, and to get as much information from these.

By the end of the 2006-season a building had been revealed that was oriented northwest – southeast with a possibly secondary entrance on the northwest side, sheltered by a small windbreak. The building consisted of a single stonewall, and all around the building black organic deposits were recorded. This black organic deposit caused some interpretational problems during the excavation but at the end of the 2006 season it was recorded as fill up against the building and mixed with naturally accumulated material. On the inside of the building a very large fireplace and an enormous spread of peat ashes were recorded, suggesting that the building had a secondary use of a later phase, possibly a phase for drying or a possible "soðn-hús", (barley drying kiln). Along the inside of the stonewalls a carefully constructed drainage system, which was covered with slaps of stones was excavated. This draining system lead water away from the building, underneath the eastern long wall and down the slope. Therefore the stone structure to the east for the building was interpreted as part of the drainage system, with a possible used as a protected entrance. The stone structures consisted of two rows of build up stones, first running alongside the long walls, but then curving and turning into the long wall. The area where the long wall and the passage joined seemed rebuilt or disturbed (Paulsen & Arge 2007). This has been recorded on several excavations, for instance by Poul Nørlund and Mårten Stenberger in 1932 in Qassiarsuk, where the excavation recorded that the entrance could have been protected by a curved wall, on each side, protecting the entrance from direct wind by a short passage (Nørlund & Stenberger, 1934).

A stone pavement was excavated north of the building, clearly not built for any kind of major traffic, as the stones used had been laid out in such a way that the pavement had an uneven surface. The rounded stones had randomly been spread over the area, only keeping a narrow line free of stones to function as drainage for the pavement. In the northwest corner of the excavation area, part of the pavement had been carefully build in circles, using bigger stones on the outside, and smaller on the inside, but only a little part of this structure was revealed.

The main research aims were continued during the 2007. The site was expanded to the north to get the full extension of the pavement, to the east to understand the function of the partly unknown but assumed drainage/entrance stone features, and to the south to get the full extension of the main building. The site was extended to the size of 150 square meters with in the first week of the 8 weeks season in July and August.

The expanding of the site cleared up a lot of uncertainties from the year before. The function of the structures east of the main building became clear

Fig. 2. The stone passage connecting the buildings

as a long passage leading from the main building towards the slope, heading towards the still visible natural stairs further down the slope. It also became clear that the pavement forked continuing along the eastside of the northern stone pavement – possibly heading to the stream north of the entire complex. The western wall of the passage also functioned as a structure to level out the surface between the main building and the passage, creating an activity surface in a sloping terrain. On the eastside of the newly discovered passage another building, was partially excavated. Half of this building was outside the excavation area on the east side. This new building consisted of some massive stone built walls with an infill of soil and consisted of two rooms, a northern and a southern. From the southern room was a very well-preserved doorway leading directly out into the passage, linking these two structures to each other. In both rooms floor-layers were recorded and sampled. Underneath the floor layers in both rooms were uneven layers of stones. A channel was recorded in the northern room underneath the wall and interpreted as part of the drainage system leading from the main building underneath the passage, and leading the water underneath the newly discovered building filling the gaps between

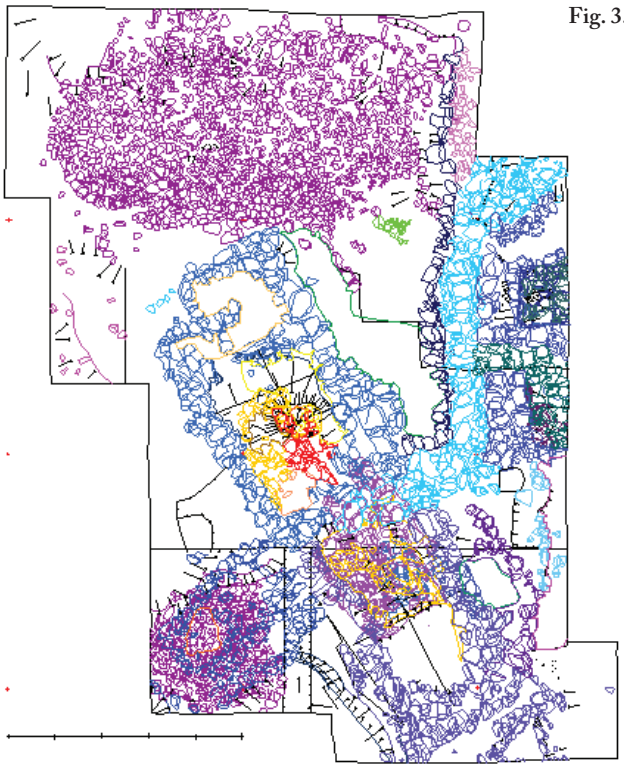

Fig. 3. All structural features

the stones with silty deposits. To prevent flooded floors, the floor had been raised with the stones, suggesting the possibility of a wooden floor, but no traces were found of such a floor.

In the Southwest corner of the site another very uneven stone pavement, very similar to the one found north of the building the year before, was recorded right below the surface. It seemed to be overlying the extension of the main building, and was therefore recorded and removed, only to reveal a small stone-build building right underneath. This little building was clearly related to the main building but it was clear that it belonged to an older phase, as it did not correspond to the south part of the main building. It also became clear that the main building had two main building phases with the south part the younger extension. This became clear both because the south part of the building had a slightly different orientation and the construction less thorough. The discovery of the small building further strengthened this hypothesis as the addition to the main building had blocked the entrance to the little building to the west, and also blocked the original entrance in the south gable of the main building, making it necessary to make a new entrance in the opposite gable,

as registered as a secondary entrance in 2006. It soon became clear with more investigation that the passage was the key to the interpretation of building phases of this site. The site clearly had two main building phases as during the first phase a passage had been constructed running from the small structure past the south gable end of the main structure, running north alongside the east side of the main building. During the later phase the small building was abandoned and the passage was closed of at the south gable end and the main structure extended towards the south.

In addition to the two main phases on the site, further excavations, to the southeast and southwest of the addition to the main structure, revealed remains of older structures. One turf wall was recorded immediately to the southwest and this wall was partially reused by the western wall of the additional building. A similar turf wall was recorded southeast of the additional building and it was clear that these walls belonged to an even older phase. At the end of the excavation in 2007 five phases had been recognized:

Phase I	Collapse of the youngest building and dumping of material from the nearby farms.
Phase II	Youngest occupational phase – one 10 m long building with a smaller to the east, 2 stone pavements and a passageway
Phase III	The largest occupational phase with 3 buildings with a stonebuilt passage between. 1 uneven stonepavement to the north of the complex.
Phase IV	Older occupational phase – likely to be a building with curved longwalls of stone.
Phase V	Oldest phase – only a small part of a cut stone/turfwall remaining

FINDS

No finds were registered during the 2005-season, but in 2006 38 artefacts were found, and in 2007 64 were found, making the total number of artefacts recorded 102. Most of the artefacts came from the topsoil indicating intense activity in the area after the abandonment of the site. The artefacts were from different periods suggesting that the topmost layer had been disturbed on many occations. Several interesting artefact were found in the topsoil, such as a clay pipe stem with "Stubbekøbing" written on it, an English clay pipe head with floral design, and also a clay pipe with a carefully made face looking away from the smoker. Until the 1650's these human heads on the clay pipes were often facing upwards, telling the story of Sir Walther Raleigh and the crocodile or Jonas and the whale, where the stem would be shaped as either

Fig. 4. Whetstone of possible Irish sandstone

the crocodile or the whale (Duco 1987). Also a schist stylus was found in the topsoil. These are known as late as the 19th century and were produced in Tübringen in Germany. This is not an uncommon artefact in post-medieval contexts in the North Atlanitc. In Greenland several have been found at Uummannaq in The Nuuk Fiord at the site 64V1-II-28 (personal comment Peter Andreas Toft 2008).

The largest numbers of artefacts found in the cultural deposits were ceramic of local manufacture. Most of these are small pieces, but some fragments could be joined together.

Of the more unique artefacts is a fragment of a baking plate of Norwegian slate with the characteristic herringbone pattern, these are common to find at medieval farmsteads, and several were found at Inni áTvørgarði, Eingjartoftum and Innanfyri Heygagerði when excavated (Arge 1989, 115). A rounded whetstone, very likely to be made of lithic aranit, and therefore presumably imported from Ireland was found in connection with the youngest occupational phase. A similar whetstone has only once before been found in the Faroe Islands and was at the time registered as a loose-find and assumed to

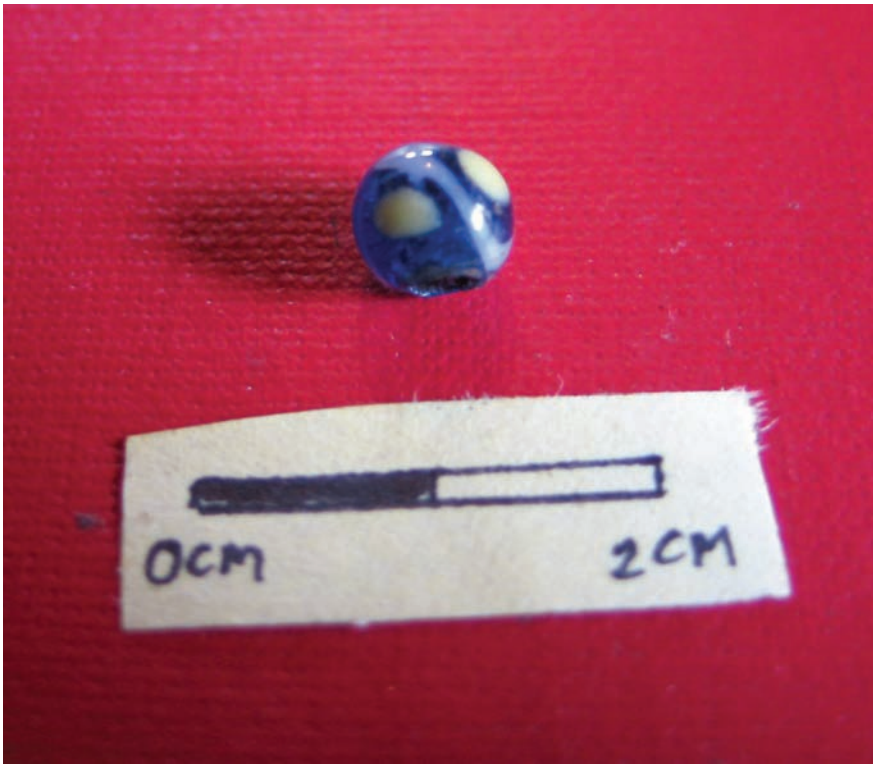

Fig. 5. Glasbead from the lowest contexts of the site

be something modern. At Stöng in Þjórsárdalur, Iceland artefacts of this type were found in large numbers from small and very worn, to bigger and hardly used (Vilhjálmsson 1989).

A black glass bead was found as an unstratified find and a very well preserved completely spheric clear blue glass bead with white and yellow decorations was found in the old turf wall reused by the building added to the main building. Not much can be said about the black glass bead other that it's very likely to be old, and also the blue glass bead is difficult to identify. The decorations on it indicate Viking age, but the shape would then have been barrel-shaped or long, it's never seen as spheric (Calmer 1977). A completely intact cutout stone lamp and two soapstone spindle whorls also deserve mentioning. One of the spindle whorls is flat, but circular, and might have been reused as marks from hanging can be seen in the hole. The other is of the type known from Bergen as type A with a flat bottom and domed top, dating it to the early medieval period (Øye 1988).

CONCLUSION

The main structure was probably used for habitation during its first occupational phase, however the oldest phase of the building has yet not been fully excavated so it is difficult assess its function with certainty. The large amount of peat ashes spread over the entire internal of the building shows that at the last phase, after the abandonment of the site the building served as a dump. The circular built up hearth, that clearly is oversized for a building of this sized represents an era or phase of working before the possible partially collapsed building was transformed into a dump. The small structure on the west side of the excavation is too small to have been used for habitation and it is likely based on the archaeological data that it was used as storage. Not much evidence on the use has been found, since the floor layers are not excavated, and the structure not fully investigated. The smaller building lying at the east-side of the main building is very likely to have served only as a habitation. The excavated floor layers are black and organic, and then doorway leads directly out to the passage. The uneven stone pavements and then underlying possible circular stone platforms are likely to have served as some kind of base or foundation for activities that needed protection from the damp ground, such as drying stacks of hay or drying fish.

The municipality of Vestmanna has decided to protect the location and the surrounding areas, cancelling the construction work originally planned at this place. It is hoped that the site will become part of the increasing cultural tourism in the Faroe Islands. The ruins are not the only thing discussed as a tourist attraction but also the archaeological excavation.

The future archaeological work on the site would besides continuing excavating the visible structures, determining the age and functions of individual phases should also include surveying the area around the main site. Just to the southwest of the site is a hill, which is very like another farm mound and is clearly in the field. A trench across this mound will easily establish weather it is a natural hill as suggested by the late farmer. Also the stream north of the entire complex should be investigated. At the higher and lower ends the stream flows naturally, but in the area right in the middle – in front of the ruins, the sides of the stream are build up to 3 layers of stones similar to those used in the buildings. Whether this is something made in connection with the occupations of the site or a later correction of the stream connected with the growing of the fields is hard to say, but by making a trench or small excavation by the sides of the stream this hopefully could be determined.

So far a midden has not been found. In 2007 part of a possible waterlogged dump or midden was located, since east of the main structures addition, east of the possible two older phases and south of the partly uncovered building,

a very dark, organic area was discovered, containing a large amount of wood, woodchips and worked pieces of wood. There is therefore a possibility, by expanding the site toward the east to find a waterlogged midden with a good wood preservation, and find the connection to the building just north of this possible midden.

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Om Olav Tryggvessons enestående skib og enestående idrætsfærdighed

Else Roesdahl

Olav Tryggvesson er en af de store dramatiske personligheder i Norges og Nordens tidlige historie. I sin korte kongetid (ca. 995-1000) bragte han for alvor kristendommen til Norge. Han var også virksom for den officielle indførelse af kristendommen i Island samt for dens introduktion i Grønland og måske på Færøerne. Han bidrog til samlingen af Norge, og han forestod den første udmøntning her omkring år 995. Forud havde han levet et omskifteligt ungdomsliv, som ifølge sagaerne bragte ham til mange lande; bl.a. havde han deltaget i store vikingetogter i England. Han vendte hjem til Norge med meget sølv erhvervet derovre ved en fredsslutning med kong Ethelred i 994. Han døde i det sagnomspundne søslag ved Svold – han sprang overbord fra sit berømte skib Ormen Lange, da nederlaget stod klart. Sejrherrerne var en stor nordisk koalition af Danmarks konge Svend Tveskæg, den svenske konge Olof Skötkonung og den norske Erik Jarl fra Trøndelagen. Selvsagt er Olav Tryggvesson en stor helt i sagalitteraturen; den ældste særskilte saga om ham er fra ca. 1190, og han har som andre norske konger sin saga i Snorre Sturlassons lidt yngre værk, *Heimskringla* (f.eks. Andersen 1977, 102-6; *KLNM* XII, Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar). På Færøerne mindes han stadig i store kvad som *Ólavur Trygvason, Trølla Kvæði* og *Sigmundar Kvæði*.

Skibe spiller en central rolle i Olav Tryggvessons historie, og Ormen Lange, som han selv lod bygge, er vel det mest beundrede skib i den norrøne litteratur (f.eks. Jesch 2001, 136f; Snorre Sturlasson, 189f og passim). I tidens løb har mange kunstnere og andre skabt billeder af Ormen. Men da sagaerne er et par hundrede år yngre end dette skib, er dets længde, udseende og kvaliteter selvsagt stærkt omdiskuterede (f.eks. Malmros 1985, 97f.; Englert 2000, 71).

Fundet af nu hele tre meget lange skibe – på ca. 30m og derover – fra kort før år 1000 og første halvdel af 1000-årene kunne imidlertid tyde på, at der netop på denne tid eksperimenteredes med at udvikle meget lange og smukke krigsskibe, der hurtigt kunne fragte en konge/høvding og mange mænd omkring, og at Ormen Lange var et af dem. Det politisk-militære klima omkring år 1000, med både kontinuerlige Englandstogter og mange nordiske magt-

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Fig 1. Havhingsten fra Glendalough. Rekonstruktion af Skuldelev 2-skibet. Foto Werner Karrasch 2004. Vikingeskibsmuseet i Roskilde.

kampe, kunne være baggrunden herfor. Hvis det er tilfældet, kan det måske ses som en videreudvikling af den udspecialisering i krigs- og rejseskibe på den ene side og fragtskibe på den anden side, som fandt sted på samme tid eller lidt før (f.eks. Crumlin-Pedersen 1997, 196ff).

Disse tre lange skibe har mange fællestræk (Bill et al. 2000, 222-24) og giver formentlig et godt indtryk af Ormen. Det ældste af dem (Hedeby 1) er fra Hedebys havn (Crumlin-Pedersen 1997, 81-95 og passim). Det blev bygget lige omkring år 985, var 31.9m langt, havde plads til 60 roere og var af så udsøgt kvalitet, at det menes at have tilhørt en konge eller anden fyrste. Det karakteriseres imidlertid som et skib beregnet til "relativt beskyttede farvande", hvilket næppe gjaldt for Ormen. Det noget yngre skib fra Skuldelev i Roskilde Fjord (Skuldelev 2) er bygget i 1042, ganske vist i Dublinområdet. Det var et 29.2m langt, havgående krigsskib, omhyggeligt bygget af velvalgte materialer, men ikke af samme standard som Hedebyskibet. Her var også plads til 60 roere (Crumlin-Pedersen 2002, 141-94, 326-30 og passim). Det sidste skib er det 36m lange Roskilde 6-skib, som er det længste krigsskib, der i dag kendes fra vikingetiden. Det er bygget engang i første halvdel af 1000-årene, sandsynligvis efter ca. 1025, og var ligeledes af udsøgte materialer og høj håndværksmæssig kvalitet. Her var plads til hele 78 roere, og det menes at have kunne fragte op til omkring 100 mand (Bill m.fl. 2000). En tegnet rekonstruktion giver et fint indtryk af Hedeby 1-skibet, mens Roskilde 6-ski-

bet endnu ikke er fuldt publiceret. Hvis man gerne vil have et godt indtryk af, hvordan Olav Tryggvessons sagnomspundne skib Ormen Lange kan have set ud, er det bedste bud i dag derfor rekonstruktionen af Skuldelev 2-skibet "Havhingsten fra Glendalough" (fig. 1).

Olav Tryggvesson var også en fremragende idrætsmand, ligesom i øvrigt adskillige andre norrøne fyrster (f.eks. Jesch 2006). Men "Kong Olav var den bedste i alle slags idrætter af alle de mænd der går frasagn om i Norge" (Snorre Sturlasson, 188), og hans allerstørste idrætsfærdighed knytter sig til skibe. Sagaer fortæller således, at han kunne gå på årerne hele vejen langs den ene side, og tilbage langs den anden side, mens skibet blev roet og var i fart, uden at få våde fødder, og mens han samtidig jonglere med tre sværd. Det var en så usædvanlig bedrift, at det fik en nordnorsk høvding, Eindride, til definitivt at vælge kristendommen: "Dette kunne I, herre, på ingen måde gøre med eders egen færdighed alene, men snarere med den Guds kraft, som I tror på, og deraf indser jeg, at han må kunne formå alt, og derfor skal jeg herefter tro på ham, at han er ene Gud, og ingen anden end han" (denne idrætsfærdighed er kort omtalt i *Heimskringla* men findes med flere detaljer sammen med historien om Eindride i næsten identiske versioner i *Flatøbogen* og i Den store saga om Olaf Tryggveson, se Snorre Sturlasson: 188; *Oldnordiske Sagaer*, 242-43; jvf. *Flateyjarbók*, 1860, 464). Sagaen beretter videre, at kong Olav siden tit gik på årerne udenbords og 'legede' med sværd, når hans mænd roede langs kysten. Det omtales også i et digt:

> Fyrsten på en gang tvende
> færdigheder øved,
> som kun få have kunnet,
> kongens kunster jeg nævner:
> helten, til færdigheder
> oplagt, leged med saxe,
> Mens han uden borde
> gik på svingede årer.

Denne historie, og Olavs skib Ormen Lange, kom i glimt tilbage til mig, da "Havhingsten fra Glendalough" (www.Havhingsten.dk) i sommeren 2007 stod ud fra Roskilde med kurs mod Irland. Det var en stor begivenhed, og mange tilskuere så beundrende til, da det imponerende skib med taktfaste åreslag forlod havnen for derefter at sætte sejl mod sin fjerne destination. Historien havde ligget i mit hoved siden 1977, da Símun V. Arge skrev en fin eksamensopgave om den norske Blakerstol fra slutningen af 1100- eller begyndelsen af 1200-årene (Arge 1977). Her tolkede han forsigtigt en af stolens

Fig. 2. Blakerstolen, Norge. Til højre i stolens højre billedfelt ses billedet af en kronet? person, der jonglerer med tre sværd. Tegning 1844. Efter Ekroll 2006, s. 192.

billedscener (fig. 2) som Olav Tryggvessons sværdleg – den var tit blevet tolket som Olav den Helliges død i slaget ved Stiklestad. Símun argumenterede med, at billedet viste en mand med (vistnok) en krone, der havde tre sværd i spil: et i luften og et med spidsen i hver hånd (han rammes ikke af noget af sværdene) og med, at historierne om Olav Tryggvesson fremhæver, at han jonglerede med hele tre sværd – ikke blot to, som også andre kunne (jvf. *KLNM* XVII, Sverdlek) – samtidig med, at han kunne løbe på årerne som beskrevet. Ganske vist er der intet skib på Blakerstolen (hvilket under alle omstændigheder ville være vanskeligt på grund af billedfelternes karakter), og det pågældende felt viser desuden to mænd i kamp. Men hvis Símuns tolkning af manden med de tre sværd er rigtig, så har Blakerstolen en billedlig fremstilling af en side af Olav Tryggvessons idrætsfærdighed, som den opfattedes ved den tid, da sagaerne blev skrevet.

Ved afsejlingen fra Roskilde var der ingen, som gik på årerne, men historien om kong Olav har fascineret mange, og denne sport er vistnok set i flere vikingefilm. Siden har Vikingeskibsmuseet fortalt, at også medlemmer af Havhingstens besætning har udført den – dog næppe mens skibet var i fart (fig.

Fig. 3. Havhingsten fra Glendalough med mand gående på årerne. Foto Werner Karrasch 2006, fra filmoptagelse. Vikingeskibsmuseet i Roskilde.

3). Der er givetvis også folk, som i dag kan jonglere med tre sværd. Men så vidt vides har endnu ingen kunnet eftergøre hele kong Olavs legendariske, og i virkeligheden dobbelte idrætsfærdighed. Jeg vil gætte på, at den er en yngre konstruktion, der blev anset for passende til en så fremragende national helt, der tilmed havde kristendommens udbredelse som sit store program. De tre billeder, som følger denne hilsen til Símun, er et lille forsøg på visualisering af kong Olavs færdigheder.

Note: Varm tak til Rolf Stavnem, Aarhus Universitet, der venligst har givet mig oplysningerne om sagaomtaler af kong Olavs store idrætsbedrift, med kopi af teksterne og Rafns oversættelse fra 1827. – Citatet fra Snorre er fordansket af forfatteren, og i digtet, der er citeret fra Rafns oversættelse, er stavningen moderniseret. – Varm tak også til Kurt Madsen, Argir, for oplysninger om færøske kvad om Olav Tryggvesson, samt til Anton Englert og Kristian Helmersen, Roskilde, for hh. diskussion om store skibe og hjælp med artiklens fotografier.

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Cultural Landscape in Iceland

Svavar Sigmundsson

The settlement of Iceland is characterized by dispersed individual farmsteads and not villages of the kind found elsewhere in Europe. Typically, one major farm, the so-called *landnámsbær* or 'settlement farm', was established first in the settlement era, and this estate was later divided into smaller units when the settler's kinsmen, shipmates or freed slaves acquired their own land. Such settlement farms often possess nature names (e.g. Melar or Foss), whereas the farms subsequently established often have names in *–staðir* (e.g. Arnkötlustaðir). Settlement farms have not always remained in the same place. They were sometimes moved if the location was deemed unsatisfactory for some reason, and there are various examples of farms that have been moved a shorter or longer distance from the original farm site.

It is not unlikely that the earliest dwellings were rudimentary houses, possibly subterranean, while the hall or *skáli* and other houses were being constructed (Sveinbjarnardóttir 2004). There would have been a pavement or *hlað* in front of the hall, and a lane or *tröð* (pl. *traðir*) would have led up to the *hlað* through the home field or *tún*. Walls would have been raised on both sides of the *tröð*, which could be closed at both ends to contain animals and mainly horses. This practice was called *að traða*. Originally, *tröð* refers to an arable field that was not sown every year so as to give it rest, and the animals then 'trod' the field with fertilizing manure. About ten farms in Iceland are named Tröð or Traðir. A *gerði* stood near the farmstead. This was an enclosed area used for agriculture (as in the name Akurgerði) or to keep animals (as in the names Geitagerði or Álftagerði). The name-change Akurgerði > Akurtröð indicates how a field was given rest and turned into a *tröð* (Tetzschner 2006). The estate was divided into a homefield (*tún*), arable field (*akur*), meadow or grassland (*engi*) and pasture (*hagi* or *heiði*), and the pasture was divided into *heimahagi* 'home pasture' and *úthagi* 'outlying pasture'. Place-names like Tún, Akur, Engi and Hagi reflect these divisions. A *hagi* could get its name from animals that grazed in it, as is the case in Hrúthagi or the farm name Hrosshagi.

Close to the farm lay the *tún* or *völlur* 'homefield'. Dung or *tað* was distributed there to increase the yield of hay, and the hay of the homefield was

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called *taða*. The homefield was surrounded by a wall or *túngarður* constructed from rocks and/or turf. 'Every man shall raise a legal wall (*löggarður*) around his manured homefield (*töðuvöllur*)' according to the medieval law code *Jónsbók* (*Jónsbók* 1970, 159). The farm name Túngarður in Dalasýsla, West-Iceland reflects this practice. The estate was divided by the *garður* or wall – it possessed land within and outside the enclosure (cp. *Jónsbók* 1970, 138, 150).

The *fjós* or cow shed stood near the farmhouse; perhaps some 10-20 m away (Einarsson 1993: 57), and cows were driven through the *tröð*/*traðir* to graze outside the homefield in the *hagi* or pasturage. The cow shed and barn (*hlaða*) or stockyard (*heygarður*) may in earlier times have stood farther from the farmhouse (*c.* 40-50 m) in order to facilitate the spread of manure in the homefield (Berson 2002) or prevent fire spreading from stores of hay or outhouses (Helgi Ívarsson, pers. comm.). The place-name Fjós is often found in its pl. form (*fjós*), either as a simplex or in compounds like Fjósaflöt. Some farm names contain *fjós*, e.g. Fjós, Fjósakot, Andrésfjós. In some regions we find in later times the living room or *baðstofa* adjoined to the *fjós* in a *fjós-baðstofa* so people could enjoy warmth from the cows.

The smithy sometimes stood a fair distance from the farm, probably on account of fire hazard (Einarsson 1993, 57), but the smithy could also stand opposite other houses by the *hlað* and even within a row of buildings. Smiðjuhóll occurs as a farm name, and the smithy has in that case stood far from the original farmhouse since it became a separate farm. The sheep sheds (*fjárhús*) and stables (*hesthús*) stood in the homefield, and the sheep were allocated in separate houses, the ewe shed (*ærhús*), lamb shed (*lambhús*) and ram shed (*hrútakofi*). Additional stables could lie outside the homefield but near the farm, and outlying sheep cots (*beitarhús*) were located in the pasture, where sheep grazed during winter far from the farm. A wether shed (*sauðahús*) was also used for winter grazing and it stood farther from the farmhouse than the ewe shed or sheep sheds. Names like Veturlönd indicate places that were good for winter grazing and on such high ground that snow was insubstantial.

People tended the winter-grazing sheep and had to ensure that they did not stray onto other estates if there were no restricting walls (*vörslugarðar*) between the farms. Shepherds often had a shelter that was called *smalaskáli* or *smalabyrgi* and these words are notably frequent in place-names near or on boundaries. These shelters were sometimes natural, in caves or cairns, but most often they were built with rocks. *Grágás*, the law code of the commonwealth era, presupposes standardized, legal *garðar* or *löggarðar* between neighbours and between estates and common pasture. This type of 'standard earthwork had to be five feet thick at the base and three feet across the top and reach to the shoulder level of a man of average height' (Einarsson et al. 2002: 71).

Where ground was boggy or snowfall was heavy in winter boundary walls were made in such a way that they could serve people travelling between farms, and such walls were called *göngugarðar* (Einarsson et al. 2002, 61-73).

Water was sometimes irrigated or *veitt á* outside the homefield to increase the grass that was to be mowed and hence the place-name Veita. Mowed meadows or grassland were known as *engi* or *engjar*. Since water was of course needed in the farmhouse the farm (*bær*) was often built near a stream, *bæjarlækur* or in eastern Iceland *garðá* (*á* 'river') where the walls of the homefield stood close to a river or stream. Otherwise people dug for water and made a well (*brunnur*/*vatnsból*). A small house or *brunnhús* was sometimes built over the well. A *mylla* 'mill' might stand by the farmhouse stream with a shed built over it (*myllukofi*).

It was once usual to let the lambs follow their mothers from their birth around the middle of May until the end of June when weaning (*fráfærur*) began. From the middle of June it was however common to separate lambs from their mothers and wean them overnight in a special fold known as a *stekkur*. The *stekkur* stood in the pasture some distance from the farm, and hence the term *stekkjarvegur* (*vegur* 'road, way'). Árni Magnússon (1663-1730) (1955, 93) comments that the distance between Hólar and Hof in Hjaltadalur is like a *stekkjarvegur* or short distance between two farms, which was *c*. 2.5 km. Other sources indicate that a *stekkjarvegur* could be *c*. 1 km (for example between Miklibær and Víðivellir in Skagafjörður and Stóra-Vatnshorn and Eiríksstaðir in Haukadalur, Dalasýsla (Ritmálssafn OH). Orri Vésteinsson's study of the length of a *stekkjarvegur* in Eyjafjörður revealed that the average *stekkjarvegur* was 575 m but in most instances the length was *c*. 400 m. (Vésteinsson 1998, 56). Many farms are named after the *stekkur*, e.g. Stekkholt and Stekkjarflatir, and a homefield has later been cultivated in the place named Stekkatún. The *stekkur* had one pen for the ewes and another for the lambs, the so-called *lambakró*. The ewes were then let out but the lambs kept in their pen overnight. Weanlings were then kept in an isolated area and place-names like Lambhagi or Lambhólmi reflect this situation. After the weaning period ewes were driven into a pen each evening and morning to be milked. The pen used for this was called *kvíar* (pl.) and there were two kinds. One was four-sided and made from turf and rocks and stood at a distance of *c*. 100 m from the farmhouse. The other kind was called *færikvíar* 'portable pen' and used in the homefield. The *færikvíar* consisted of four lattice frames that were reduced during milking and enlarged again when the ewes were kept in them during the night. They were then moved about in the homefield that benefited from the manure spread in the process. Many place-names contain *kvíar* and these include farm names like Kvíabekkur or Kvíarholt, and Kvíaból refers to a place

where *kvíar* once stood. Weaning was commonplace in Iceland until *c.* 1900. In earlier times milking cows and ewes were kept in a *sel*, that is a shieling or summer dairy on heaths or mountains far from the farm, and butter, cheese and *skyr* (milk curds) was transported from the shieling to the farm (Hitzler 1979).

In the southern part of Flói, Árnessýsla, the shielings stood on a swampy tract above the settlement and it seems likely that all the sheep in this region were usually kept in shielings over the summer months. It is not unlikely that the same houses were used as shielings in the summer and as sheep cots in the winter (Helgi Ívarsson pers. comm.). Many farm names contain *sel* in the pl. (e.g. Seljaland). The *afréttur* was common pasture lying outside the estates. It is defined in *Jónsbók* as an area possessed by 'two men or more, however much of it each of them owns' (*Jónsbók* 1970, 177). Many places in the country are named after sheep, e.g. Lambá, Geldingafell, Sauðá, Hrútafjöll, Fjárdalur and Ærlækur (Grímsdóttir [2004], 168; Bruun 1928, 276ff; Franzen 1964, 38-42).

In the *nátthagi* 'night pasture' cows were kept outdoors during the summer and not far from the farm. The cows were milked in a pen known as a *stöðull*, which was also not far from the farm, and this type of pen gives its name to farms like Stöðulfell, Stöðlar and Stöðlakot.

Outside the homefield one might also find a Torfmýri, that is a moor or bog (*mýri*) where turf was cut and then used in the construction of buildings or for transport on horses. *Torf* also occurs in place-names like Torfhóll or Torfnes. Place-names containing *reiðingur* refer to the turf used on packhorses. *Mómýri* denotes a *mýri* where *mór* 'peat' or *svörður* 'sward' was extracted from pits for fuel, and place-names containing *svörður* refer to the same practice in some parts of the country, as in the place-name Svarðbæli.

Fjárborgir were often located in outlying pasture to shelter unhoused sheep. These structures were circular and built of sods; they apparently went out of use when sheep were culled following an outbreak of scabies in 1775-1777 (Helgi Ívarsson, pers. comm.). Place-names containing *borg* or *byrgi* may refer to such sheep shelters (e.g. Borgartún in Öræfi). Shelters were also built in the pasture for horses and with walls that formed a cross so the beasts could find shelter in any kind of wind. The farm name Krossgerði probably reflects this practice. This kind of shelter was also called *ferstikla*, and Ferstikla occurs as a farm name.

Mown meadows could form a continuous tract or consist of dispersed patches. If a meadow lay far from the farm a tent was erected during the mowing season and this could give rise to a place-name like Tjaldhóll or some other name indicative of a camp-site. Especially good patches of meadow

could acquire names with the first element Smjör/Smér- 'butter', e.g. the farm name Smjördalir. Where there was any forest or wood to speak of men could make coal in ancient times and place-names containing *kol(a)* refer to such work. A place-name like Brennimýri may indicate the burning of wood for coals, and the farm names Brennihóll and Brennistaðir may have the same origin.

In some places people commonly relieved themselves outdoors or in the cow shed. It has been suggested (Jón Hermannsson, pers. comm.) that the place-name Leynir (derived from the verb *leyna* 'conceal, hide'), which is frequently found close to farms but out of sight from the farmhouse, refers to places used for this purpose. The name has otherwise been assumed to have a more general sense, and refer, for example, to a place where animals lay hidden. Washing took place near streams, rivers or springs, and names with the element Ullar- 'wool-' or Þvotta- 'washing' refer to such places as does the farm name Þvottá.

This paper has discussed the ways in which the land of a typical farm was employed over the centuries in Iceland. It only considers estates situated inland and without land along the coast. Boundaries and their demarcating functions have not been treated in particular, and it is assumed for the purposes of the present paper that all work relating to the farm took place within its boundaries. *Jónsbók* contains many provisions concerning the various uses of land belonging to others, and such rights were probably much more extensive in early times than later became the case. It is uncertain whether boundaries were firmly fixed in the first stages of the settlement and especially when relatives were involved – pasturage and meadows were then most probably shared and only the home fields treated as separate possessions. As previously noted, farmers were required by law to raise *löggarðar* around their home fields. Icelanders quickly realized the benefits of building and maintaining such standard earthworks between neighbours, and *Jónsbók* has the phrase *garður er granna sættir* 'a *garður* is a peace-maker among neighbours'. These words have become proverbial and mean much the same as the English adage 'good fences make good neighbours'[1].

1 This paper discusses the cultural landscape in the 18th – 19th centuries.

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Shielings in Iceland revisited: a new project

Guðrún Sveinbjarnardóttir

INTRODUCTION

It is generally acknowledged that the earliest settlers of Iceland brought with them the practice of keeping domestic animals in shielings (*sel*) during the summer months, a common practice in the home country, Norway, from well before the Viking period (Øye 2002). The practice was also brought to the Faroes by the first settlers (Mahler 1993; Arge 2005), and from Iceland to Greenland (Albrethsen & Keller 1986). Shielings were important for the farm economy, providing an opportunity to make better use of grazing and other resources in the outfield areas. Buildings were erected and part of the workforce at the farm moved there temporarily in the summer to, among other tasks, milk sheep and cows for butter and cheesemaking and collect winter fodder.

In the 1980s I carried out an extensive archaeological survey and a more detailed investigation of selected sites in three areas in different parts of Iceland (Sveinbjarnardóttir 1992). One type of site encountered were those alleged to be shieling sites (Sveinbjarnardóttir 1991). It became apparent that identifying an inland site as a shieling rather than for example a farm was not a straight forward matter. On the basis of written sources, a study on the ground of the remains and location of the alleged shieling sites, and an entomological study of soil samples taken at one of the sites (Buckland & Sadler 1991), an attempt was made to draw up guidelines for how to decide whether a site was that of a shieling or a farm. Characteristics like small sizes and numbers of rooms, the absence of enclosure banks and of insects associated with hay storage, the stallwart of permanently occupied farms, were suggested, but it was acknowledged that more research was needed and in particular excavation. At the time no shieling site had been the subject of an archaeological investigation in Iceland.

My interest in this topic has remained and as part of the Reykholt project (for a description see www.snorrastofa.is) the opportunity has now arisen to do more research in this area. The shieling component of the project is an inter-

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disciplinary study of the history and environment of the shielings belonging to the Reykholt farm, focusing on the time Snorri Sturluson lived there in the 13th century. Emphasis will be put on establishing the function of shielings and to throw light on the natural prerequisites for the shieling activity and the effect this activity had on the environment. The aim is also to put the Icelandic shieling system into a wider Scandinavian and North Atlantic context. The research so far is being carried out by a team of scholars from Iceland, Norway, Sweden and the British Isles in the fields of archaeology, geography, history and palaeoecology. The project is headed by Professors Guðrún Gísladóttir, geographer, and Helgi Þorláksson, historian, at the University of Iceland and the author who is affiliated with Snorrastofa, the National Museum of Iceland and the Institute of Archaeology, University College London. So far it has received grants from the Icelandic Centre for Research, Kultur- og kirkjedepartementet in Norway, the local bank Sparisjóður Mýrarsýslu, Snorrastofa, a culture and medieval centre at Reykholt and the Ministry of Agriculture in Iceland.

THE SHIELINGS OF REYKHOLT

Six places have been named as potential shieling sites belonging to Reykholt (Þorláksson 2004). Two of these, in Kjarardalur and Faxadalur, definitely had such sites (1, 2 and 3 on fig. 1) while the others may simply have served as grazing areas such as that in Geitland (4 on fig. 1).

The earliest reference to a shieling belonging to Reykholt is in a church charter dated to the late 12th century where it is stated that Reykholt has the right to a shieling in 'kior' together with half of the fishing in the river and woodland in the nearby Þverárhlíð for use at the shieling (DI I, 280). The present name for 'kior' is Kjarardalur and it refers to a valley that lies about 11 km in a straight line to the north of and roughly parallel to the Reykholtsdalur valley (fig. 1). It is today used as highland pasture (*afréttur*) by the farms in Hvítársíða to the south of it and Þverárhlíð to the west. In the past many farms in these areas had shielings in the valley. These are, for example, referred to in Heiðarvíga saga, which is set in this part of Iceland (ÍF III, 283-4). The location of many of these shieling sites is known and ruins are still visible. One of these sites (1 on fig. 1), identified as Reykholtssel, became the first target for an archaeological investigation of the shieling project.

Benedikt Eyþórsson, who is one of the participants in the project, has studied written sources for the Reykholt farm, including its shielings. On the basis of a document dated to 1596 and information from local farmers he has established that the land in Kjarardalur belonging to the Reykholt shieling lay

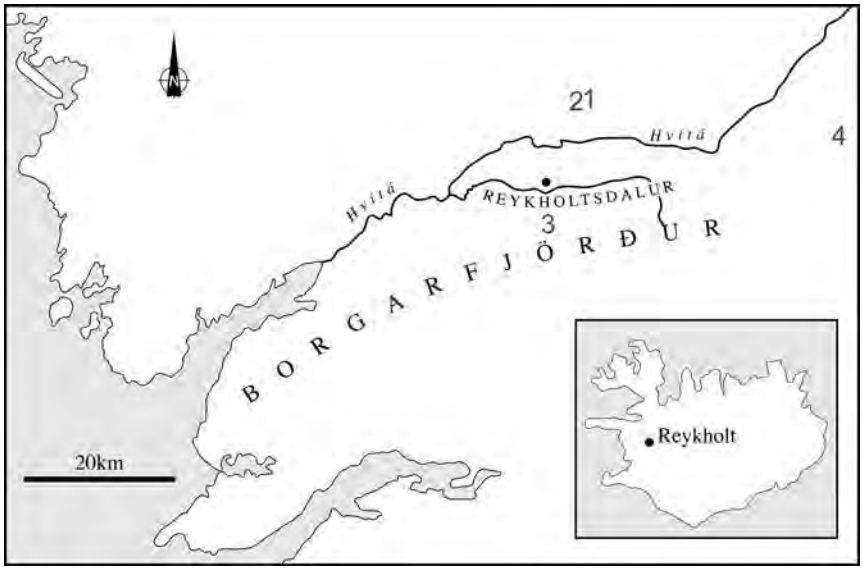

Fig. 1. Map of the study area showing the location of the sites discussed in the text.

between two gorges on the north side of the Kjarará river: Skjaldmeyjargil to the west and the westernmost Rangagil to the east (Eyþórsson 2007, 106-7). The 16th century document also states that there were two shielings within these boundaries, identified as the lowermost or old one, and the one further inland. Two sites have been identified on the ground. The lowermost one, now named Norðtungusel since it was rented to the farmer at Norðtunga in the 19th century (Ibid, 108), lies close to the western limit of the shieling area (2 on fig. 1), with the one further inland, the one which has been called Reykholtssel, just over 2 km further inland, close to the eastern limit of the shieling area (1 on fig. 1). When the project started site 1 was believed to be the original Reykholtssel. Eyþórsson has now concluded, on the basis of his investigations, that the site of Norðtungusel is the older site and that Reykholt used it until the early 16th century when the shieling activity was moved further inland. After that the lower site (2) was rented out, but it is not clear how long the upper site (1) was in use (Ibid, 108). In 1708 when the land survey was compiled for Reykholtsdalur the shieling in Kjarardalur is described as being difficult and far away. It is also stated in the same source that the access to grazing in Faxadalur is now used for a shieling (Jarðabók IV, 231).

Unspecified access by Reykholt to resources in Faxadalur is mentioned in

Fig. 2. Reykholtssel, site 1, looking north.

the 12th century Reykholt charter (DI I, 280), but by the latter half of the 16th century the site is being used as a shieling (Eyþórsson 2007, 111). Eyþórsson interprets the sources in such a way that Reykholt only had one shieling operating at a time, initially located in Kjarardalur and then replaced by the one in Faxadalur which lies considerably closer to the farm, or about 8,5 km in a straight line with only the Reykjadalsá river to cross (3 on fig. 1). In 1842 this was the only shieling still being used by a farm in the Reykholt parish (Mýra- og Borgarfjarðarsýslur, 289). It seems to have come out of use in about the middle of the 19th century (Eyþórsson 2007, 111).

The 12th century charter also mentions Reykholt's access to resources in Geitland (DI I, 280), an inland area about 25 km to the east of Reykholt (4 on fig. 1). There is no known reference to a shieling ever having been in operation in this area, but two sites are known where there are remains of buildings. They have been surveyed and both sites show definite signs of repeated use (Ólafsson 1996, 74-81), the latest apparently taking place at one of them in about 1900 (Pétursdóttir 2002, 30). Both sites contain many ruins, but their function is unknown. There is a reference in *Landnámabók* (The Book of Settlements) to a settlement in Geitland (ÍF I, 77).

THE FIELDWORK

Reykholtssel, site 1

The site, which was not marked on available maps when the project started, was located on the ground during a reconnaissance in the summer of 2004. A location with a description given in an archaeological survey carried out in 2002 turned out to be wrong (Pétursdóttir 2002, 31-2). The site is placed just west of a stream, 7 - 800 m to the west of the westernmost Rangagil, on a platform some distance from the river at a height of about 165 m a.s.l. (fig. 2). Two separate areas were identified as potentially containing ruins, the main one being closest to the stream. The site was overgrown; stones were detected but no clear outlines of buildings. Later in the summer Óðinn Haraldsson, an MA student at the University of Iceland, began an investigation at the site as part of the project. The aim was to examine the extent, nature and date of the remains and this was done by making test holes at even intervals over the area, digging down to the first signs of cultural remains. The investigation confirmed that there were cultural remains at the site spreading over an area roughly 35 x 35 m in extent. Samples of charred birch were obtained from a charcoal concentration at the western edge of the site, giving a date, which falls between 1430 and 1670[1]. Since there was a scatter of charcoal in a lens about 6 cm above the sample location, the dates do indicate one of the last occupation phases at the site, but not the final one.

In the summer of 2005 the site was revisited and some test trenches were excavated (Sveinbjarnardóttir 2005). The largest trench was put roughly at right angles over what from the surface seemed to be the main complex by the stream. A concentration of flagstones in a few layers that seemed to be from a roof were found and the edge of a stone and turf built wall to the south of it, but no floor layer or other indications of the inside of a building. It was concluded that the building must lie to the south of the trench with the flagstones perhaps having been removed and placed outside it when it came out of use. The reason for doing so might have been in order to retrieve the roof timbers for reuse after the site came out of use, or to prevent the abandoned building from collapsing on top of sheep seeking shelter within it. The site is still vis-

1

Lab. No.	Material	Sample no. and context	Age (^{14}C yr BP; 1σ)	cal AD 2 σ
SUERC-5121	charred birch	RKHsel-04-1, C6	395±35	1430-1640
SUERC-5122	charred birch	RKHsel-04-2, C6	290±35	1480-1670.

These are AMS dates. Calibrations are performed using OxCal v3-10; Bronk Ramsay 2006.
Laboratory code: SUERC: Scottish Universities Environmental Research Centre.

ited by sheep. The only objects found in the trench were two iron nails.

Two smaller trenches were put in the area at the western edge of the site, from where the charcoal was dated. Wall remains were found, but no floor layers. The remains may indicate a fold or a similar structure, but the trenches were too small to allow for this to be established. Two iron nails were found in the charcoal layer from where the charcoal samples came.

One result of these investigations was to demonstrate that the shape of overgrown ruins cannot easily be interpreted from the surface and that small trenches are ineffective in shedding light on such remains. If excavation is continued at the site it is suggested that this should be done by opening a large area for single context excavation.

After these initial investigations it was decided that the next step should be a thorough environmental study of the site and its surroundings. This would involve trying to locate a midden for sampling and analysis of animal bones; insects, plant remains and pollen to establish what activities took place at the site. Samples would also be taken for palaeoecological analysis close to the site to investigate conditions in the past and how they have changed over time, together with a study of the present vegetation cover, which can give an indication of conditions in the past. These investigations started in the summer of 2007. No midden was found, a task that would have been made easier if the entrance to the building was known, since rubbish was usually just thrown right out the door, but environmental samples were taken and the vegetation cover was studied. Similar investigations are planned at sites 2, 3 and 4 described below.

Norðtungusel, site 2

This site, also on the north side of the river, is marked on available maps and the remains were located during the archaeological survey (Pétursdóttir 2002, 31). It is placed on a slight platform about 600 m to the east of the western limit of the shieling area as described in the sources, some distance above the river, at a height of about 165 m a.s.l. (2 on fig. 1). It also contains two separate areas of remains. The main complex consists of a low, overgrown mound about 18 x 11 m in extent, showing only faint indications of a division into rooms (fig. 3). Bits of charcoal were found in a core taken in the mound. About 20 m to the west of it there is a clear long and narrow ruin, about 12 x 4 m in size with an entrance in the west end. It has the shape of a fold where the sheep were milked (*kvíar*). The vegetation in the area is in a better shape than that surrounding site 1 which has suffered bad erosion (see fig. 2).

Fig. 3. Norðtungusel, site 2, looking west.

Faxadalur, site 3

The site is in the heathland of the farm Hrísar in Flókadalur, about one and a half hour's walk to the east of the farm. On flat land, close to a stream, a complex which on the surface seems to contain three rooms was discovered and a separate structure close by that may have been the fold where the sheep were milked (*kvíar*). In 18th century documents the site is described as having three buildings (Eyþórsson 2007, 111). The building remains, which contain stones, look relatively recent which is in keeping with the account that the site was used until the middle of the 19th century.

DISCUSSION AND FUTURE WORK

The three sites discussed above and thought to have served as shielings at different times to the farm Reykholt have many comparable characteristics. All are fairly limited in extent with complexes of what seems to be an average of three buildings and a separate structure interpreted as a potential fold. None displays any obvious signs of enclosure walls or cultivated land, although the latter may still be revealed by the environmental analysis. All are placed in areas some distance away from known farm sites. The sites in Geitland do, on the other hand, have characteristics that are more in keeping with those of

farm sites, with enclosure walls surrounding the infields and ruins, which are more numerous in number, although not all are contemporary.

In Norway a distinction has traditionally been made between three different types of shielings: 1. *fullseterbruk* (a full shieling) where the dairy products were processed at the site requiring full residence during the summer, 2. *melkeseterbruk* (a dairy shieling) from where the milk was transported to the farm every day for processing, and 3. *slåtteseterbruk* (a haymaking shieling), concerned only with winter fodder (Reinton 1969, 28). The secong category would have had to be fairly close to the home farm and would not have needed a dwelling house. A fourth type, *flerseterbruk* (multi shieling system), where people from the same household moved from one shieling to another to make better use of the grazing, is also mentioned (Øye 2002, 370). The two shieling sites identified in Kjarardalur are potential candidates for this category, although, on the basis of the written sources, Eyþórsson has concluded that only one shieling was used at a time from Reykholt while the other was rented out.

The shielings in Kjarardalur would, if only on the basis of their distance from the home farm, have been full shielings. It would not have been feasible to transport the milk the long distance to the home farm every day for processing. This is also likely to have been the case in Faxadalur, although access to it from Reykholt was both considerably easier and shorter. There are other known shieling sites in the Reykholtsdalur valley, though, which might fit into categories 2. and 3. on the basis of the short distance to the home farm and the fact that they lie within the homeland rather than in the outfield. The farms in the valley had little direct access to mountain pasture. Two such sites, variously serving as dependent farms or shielings, are mentioned in the 1708 land survey. One is Hallvarðsstaðir/ Sudda in the land of Skáney, the site of an old abandoned farm which had been a dependent farm for 50 years when the survey was made, but a shieling for a long time before that (Jarðabók IV, 234). The other is Klettur/Péturssel/Fljótsbakki, a dependent farm to Deildartunga (Ibid, 237) which on the basis of one of its names, Péturssel, might have been a shieling at some stage. A third site, Vilmundarstaðasel, lies up in the mountain south of the farm Vilmundarstaðir, south of the river from Reykholt. This site which, according to the place-name survey it took an hour to get to from the home farm (Pétursdóttir 2002, 52), was never occupied as a farm.

The nature of the Icelandic shieling system has only received limited attention. In the 1970s Hitzler (1979) did a study based largely on written sources, where he tried to classify the Icelandic shielings into types based on the Norwegian model. He concludes that the usual number of buildings at a shieling site is three, but produces no plans to support his findings. My study published in 1991 concentrated on analysis of remains on the ground

found in three areas and introduced palaeoecology as a potential tool to aid in the identification of shieling sites. Such methods were applied to and used to interpret an alleged shieling site excavated in eastern Iceland as a rescue operation in 2005 (Lucas et al. 2007). The new project strives to take this further by concentrating in the first instance on the development of the shielings belonging to the farm Reykholt between at least as early as the 12th and the 19th centuries. Eyþórsson (2007) has demonstrated that the shieling activity was instrumental in the rise of Reykholt as an ecclesiastical centre (*staður*) in the medieval period. The homeland of the farm was neither extensive nor particularly fertile.

The aim of the project is to throw light on environmental conditions in the shieling areas through time, how suitable they were to start with, what environmental effect the shieling activity had and why the practice was eventually abandoned. Also, what kind of activity took place there. Were they only used for grazing or was there other activity? In Kjarardalur fishing could be practiced in the river which is today one of the most sought after salmon fishing rivers in Iceland. There was also more woodland than today, as indicated by the written sources, the place name (the element *kjarr* in Kjarardalur means brushwood) and sizeable trunks found in pre-*landnám* layers during sampling close to site 1. Furthermore, soil profiles indicate that the quality of the soil was better around the time of settlement than later in the medieval period. There may also have been brushwood close to the site in Faxadalur (the element *hrís* in the farm name Hrísar means brushwood). This may be revealed with further fieldwork. The location and lay-out of shielings will be studied in an attempt to see whether these elements can be used for identification. Eventually the hope is that the findings can be put into a wider context, both within Iceland itself, the rest of Scandinavia and the North Atlantic, including the Northern Isles, Faroes and Greenland.

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Um lóg føroyinga

Arne Thorsteinsson

Mangan síggja vit, at lóg verður nýtt sum kelda í søguskriving, og ofta verða víðfevndar og meir ella minni álítandi søguligar niðurstøður grundaðar á lógir og rættarskipanir, sum hava verið ella verða hildnar at hava verið í gildi í Føroyum. Ein stórur trupulleiki tykist mær í hesum sambandi vera, at slíkir spurningar sum, hvør lóggáva hevur verið galdandi í Føroyum í og undan 13. øld, hvussu, nær og hví henda lóggáva er komin í gildi, um hon lýsir samtíðar viðurskifti ella eldri viðurskifti, og undir hvørjum treytum lógartekstir yvirhøvur kunnu verða nýttir sum søguligar keldur, hava fingið lítla og onga søguliga keldukritiska viðgerð. Ætlanin við hesum stubba er tó ikki at royna at viðgera lógarinnihaldið og spurningin um, hvussu nýtuligt tað er sum søguligt keldutilfar. Heldur er ætlanin at viðgera og geva mítt svar til spurningin um, hvørjar lógir vóru galdandi í Føroyum í fyrra parti av miðøld, og hvørjar keldur tær bygdu á, tí mangt tykist mær ivasamt, ið fært hevur verið fram um hetta mál.

Tað fyrsta vit frætta um lóg í Føroyum er í Føroyingasøgu, har forn landslóg verður umrødd (Sølvará 2002, 36). Føroyingasøga er skrivað fyrst í 13.øld, og vit mugu halda, at ikki seinri enn tá hevur føroysk lóg verið til. Tó fáa vit einki at vita um, hvørt lógin var niðurskrivað ella ikki. Næstu ferð, vit síggja føroyska lóg umrødda, er í kongsbrævi, skrivað á vetri 1270/71[1], har Magnus kongur lógbøtari (1264-1280) m.a. umrøður eina føroyska (lóg)bók. Men hvør var henda bókin? Hvat stóð í henni? Bókin sjálv er tíverri burtur blivin, og vit hava tí – við einum einstøkum undantaki – ongar beinleiðis upplýsingar um, hvat lógbókin innihelt.

EITT SINDUR UM GULATINGSLÓGINA

Tó síggja vit mangan víst til Gulatingslógina, uttan at høvundin tykist gera sær greitt, um hann heldur Gulatingslógina hava verið galdandi lóg í Føroyum

1 Brævið verður í Diplomatarium Færoense. av óroøttum nevnt "rættarbót"

Helgi D. Michelsen og Caroline Paulsen: Símunarbók. Heiðursrit til Símun V. Arge á 60 ára degnum. Fróðskapur, Faroe University Press 2008. ISBN: 978-99918-65-18-8. EAN: 9789991865188.

ella ikki[2]. Sjálvur havi eg onkuntíð gjørt tað sama. Seinru árini tykist tað gerast alt meira vanligt at siga, at føroyska lógbókin hevur innihildið eina útgávu av Gulatingslógini, eins og íslendska Grágás eisini skal vera ein útgáva av Gulatingslógini (Sølvará 2002, 36, Debes 1994, 13).

Gulatingslógin er ein av teimum 4 landslagslógunum, sum vóru í gildi í Noregi fram til stjórnarskeið Magnusar lógbøtara. Elsta gulatingdømið, nakar veit um, fevndi um Hordaland, Sogn og Fjordana, og var Gulating tá alting. Eftir at Noreg var savnað í eitt ríki varð Gulating uml. 950 umskipað til løgting, t.e. umboðsmannating, og eisini varð tingdømið tá víðkað at fevna um Rogaland og Agdir fyri sunnan og Sunnmøre fyri norðan (Robberstad 1994,140-43). Frá hesi tíð skal Gulatingslógin stava (Robberstad 1994, 151). Gamla altingið í Guloy má tó hava havt sína lóg framman undan, og somuleiðis mugu tey nýggju londini í gulatingdøminum hava havt egnar lógir. Tann nýggja lógin, Gulatingslógin frá miðjan 10. aldar, varð ikki skapað burtur úr ongum, men hevur verið grundað á tær lógir, sum framman undan hava verið galdandi hvør í sinum landi frá Lindisnesi til Raumadalar. Hvussu mangar øldir aftur í tíðina hesar lógarrøtur munnu ganga, kann bert verða gitt um.

Henda samansjóðaða og til løgtingsbrúk tillagaða lóg, sum vit kalla Gulatingslógin varð ikki standandi óbroytt frá 950 til hon varð avtikin í 1267. Tvørturímóti. Hon varð fleiri ferðir broytt, m.a. tá kristinrættur Ólavs Halga, sum fyrst varð samtyktur á Mostratingi í 1024, varð samtyktur á teimum fýra løgtingunum og innarbeiddur í allar 4 landslagslógirnar (Robberstad 1994, 179), somuleiðis vóru stórbroytingar gjørdar undir Magnusi kongi Erlingssyni (1163-1184) eftir at erkabispasætið í Niðarósa varð sett á stovn í 1152, og hartil hava fleiri ferðir smærri broytingar og dagføringar verið gjørdar. Eisini er tað hugsandi, at tá lógin varð uppskrivað, er ein umfatandi ritstjórnan gjørd, møguliga eisini undir ávirkan av lógkønum ráki sunnaneftir.

Gulatingslógin fór úr gildi í 1267. Hon er varðveitt m.a. í handriti frá uml. 1250 umframt í nøkrum brotum. Lógin er prentað á fornmálinum í Norges gamle love (1846-1894) og er útgivin, umsett til nýnorskt, av Knut Robberstad í 1937.

2 Jakob Jakobsen sigur tó í Diplomatarium Færoense, s.XIX at "Báðar Gulatingslógir hava ivaleyst verið ráðandi í Føroyum, hvør undan aðrari". Men hetta tykist bygt á eina misskiljing. Hann tykist ikki kenna Yngru Gulatingslógina frá 1267 og nýtir hetta heiti um Landslóg Magnus lógbøtara fra 1274. Tískil heldur hann tað vera Gulatingslógina, sum fær gildi fyri Føroyar í 1270/71.

FØROYAR UNDIR NOREGS KONGI

Vit mugu nú spyrja, hvat høvundar meina við, tá sagt verður, at lógin í horvnu føroysku lógbókini hevur verið ein útgáva av Gulatingslógini. Um tað bert verður hugsað um, at føroyingar, einaferð - ikki ov seint í víkingaøld - hava tikið sær tágaldandi lóg í Gulatingdøminum sum fyrimynd fyri føroyskari lóg, er hetta uppáhald eftir mínum tykki bæði skeivt og villeiðandi. Hetta skal verða tikið upp aftur seinri í hesum stubba undir brotinum "Hvaðani stavar føroysk rættarsiðvenja?".

Men meina teir at Gulatingslógin, sum vit kenna hana úr handritinum frá uml. 1250 og úr prentaðu útgávunum, hevur verið galdandi lóg í Føroyum í miðøld fram til 1270/71 og hevur verið skrivað í tágaldandi føroysku lógbókina, er hetta eitt uppáhald, ið sum fyritreyt helst hevur, at Føroyar komu undir Noregs kong longu í 10. øld. Tí uttan iva hevði kongur verið einasti myndugleiki, ið hevði førleika og áhuga í at leggja fyri føroyska altingið til samtyktar allar tær stóru og smærri broytingar og dagføringar, sum gjørdar hava verið í Gulatingslógini tær øldir, hon hevur verið í gildi. Sæð í hesum ljósi er tað púra natúrligt, at Ólavur Halgi í 1024 bæði sendir føroyingum nýggja kristinrætt sín frá Mostratingi og krevur skatt av føroyingum (Sølvará 2002, 34, Færeyinga Saga, 189-93).

Henda fyritreyt er tó ikki at finna í nýggjastu søguskrivingini í Føroyum. Her verður tvørtur ímóti hildið upp á, at Føroyar komu ikki "veruliga" undir vald kongs fyrr enn í 13. øld (Sølvará 2002, 19, Debes 1995, 14). Eftir mínum tykki er ein sjálvmótsøgn í hesum, at føroyingar skulu hava uppihildið og dagført norska lóg uttan at vera undir valdi kongs. Sum heild tykist henda hugsan, at kongur ikki tók veruligt vald í Føroyum fyrr enn í 13. øld, áleið samstundis við at Ísland og Grønland í 1260-árunum komu undir kongsvald, at vera í andsøgn til miðaldar keldutilfarið.

Ein megintrupulleiki í gransking av føroyskari søgu í miðøld er, at vit bert hava fáar og spjaddar keldur. Men júst í spurninginum um kongsvaldið, er tað so heppið, at vit frá seinru helvt av 12. øld og byrjanini av 13. øld hava ikki minni enn fýra samtíðarkeldur, sum illa ber til at tulka øðrvísi enn, at Føroyar um miðjan 12. aldar vóru undir valdi kongs (Um keldurnar sí Helle 2005, 12-15). Hákunar søga Hákunarsonar sigur frá, at í 1223 var stórur ríkisfundur í Bergen, sum endaliga staðfesti rætt Hákunar Hákunarsonar (1217-1263) at vera einakongur í Noregs ríki og sostatt var meðvirkandi til í 1240 at enda innlendiskríggini, ið høvdu staðið við í eini 100 ár. Umframt innlendis stórmenn, tóku eisini stórmenn úr oyggjalondunum fyri vestan lut í hesum ríkisfundi, teimum oyggjalondum, sum tá vóru undir Noregs krúnu: Orknoyum, Hetlandi og Føroyum, men ikki úr Íslandi og Grønlandi, sum enn ikki høvdu givið seg undir vald Noregs kongs. Men nær komu Føroyar

undir Noregs kong? Kanska ber ikki til at líta á Føroyingasøgu, tá hon vil vera við, at føroyingar góvu seg undir Noregs kong longu undir Magnusi góða (1035-47) nærum 200 ár framman undan, tí hetta kann ikki verða váttað av øðrum keldum. Men hetta kann tó ikki fatast øðrvísi enn, at Føroyar í hvussu so er vóru undir Noregs kongi, tá Føroyingasøga varð skrivað fyrst í 13. øld. Eisini navngevur Føroyingasøga sýslumenn, sum høvdu sitið í Føroyum stutt undan at søgan varð skrivað. Kongaligir sýslumenn í Føroyum kunnu neyvan hugsast uttan at kongur hevur vald í landinum, sum sýslumaður skal útinna. Sýslumansheitið fyri lokalan umboðsmann kongs gjørdist vanligt í stjórnartíð Sverra kongs, verður hildið, og júst Sverri kongur er upphavið til næstu samtíðarkelduna, sum vísir til kongsvald í Føroyum. Í Sverris søgu sigur hann frá, at í ungdómi hansara uml 1170, var ein Karl sendimaður í Føroyum, sum hevði kongsins sýslur í landinum (Sverres saga, 20). Hesin Karl tykist hava verið máttmikil maður, og ilt er at fata, hvørjar sýslur kongs kundu vera í Føroyum, um kongur einki vald hevði í landinum. Fjórða samtíðarkeldan, tann elsta av hesum, er Historia Norwegiæ, sum púra greitt sigur frá, at føroyingar lata regluligan skatt til Noregs kong. Henda kelda hevur verið tíðarfest til seint í 12. øld, men verður nú tíðarfest til miðjan 12. aldar (Helle 2005, 16)

Niðurstøðan má verða, at ikki ber til at staðfesta, at høvundin til Føroyingasøgu fer skeivur, tá hann vil vera við, at føroyingar góvu seg undir kong á døgum Magnusar góða, men tað ber heldur ikki til at staðfesta, at hann hevur rætt. Men í hvussu so er um miðjan 12. aldar standa føroyingar undir Noregs kongi. Tað er tó vert at hava í huga, at Føroyar ongantíð gjørdust norskur landslutur. Noregs ríki lá í miðøld í tvíningum: Noreg innlendis og skattlondini, har Føroyar vóru eitt (Helle 2005, 13). Føroyar lógu undir Noregs kongi, men ikki undir Noregi.

KONGSVALD OG LÓGGÁVUVALD

Hvat man tað so hava at siga, at Føroyar lógu undir Noregs kongi? Historia Norwegiæ nevnir skattskyldu, men "sýslurnar" hjá Karl sendimanni og seinru sýslumonnum kann neyvan bert hava verið at heinta og føra til Noregs einar 40-50 pakkar av vaðmali, sum skatturin tá í mesta lagið hevur verið. Hesir umboðsmenn kongs hava heldur útint fulla vald kongs í Føroyum: Teir kunnu hava rættarsøkt fyri brotsverk, teir munnu hava tikið við tegngjaldi og sakaroyra til kongs og teirra uppgáva kann eisini hava verið at halda landafrið. Eisini hava teir helst lagt fyri altingið lógaruppskot kongs eftir at teir høvdu samráðst við tingið um at veita kongi heimild at fara undir lógarbroyting ella lógardagføring.

Í Noregi hevði kongur ikki stórvegis lóggávuvald av fyrstan tíð – bert í málum, sum fevndu um alt Noreg – tí lóggávuvaldið hjá tí einstaka tinginum fevndi bert um tað ávisa tingdømið – og sum beinleiðis høvdu við uppgávur kongs at gera, m.a. at halda landafrið. Eins og øll onnur hevði kongur tó fullan rætt at seta fram uppskot á tingi, og kongur hevði betur umstøður enn nakar annar at fyrireika nýggja lóggávu at leggja fyri tingið til samtyktar. Men kongur skuldi hava heimild frá tinginum at fara undir arbeiðið við uppskoti til lógarbroytingar. Tað gav at bíta, tá Magnus kongur lógbøtari í 1269 bað um heimild frá Frostatingi at gera nýggja Frostatingslóg. Hesa heimild fekk hann við tí undantaki, at tingið eftir erkabiskupsins ráði sýtti honum heimild at fáast við kristinrættin (Robberstad 1994, 191). Kongur kundi ikki vera vísur í at fáa uppskot síni samtykt og als ikki óbroytt. Magnus kongur lógbøtari (1264-1280) sýnist fult og heilt at hava viðurkent lóggávuvaldið hjá løgtingunum. Hann ferðaðist sjálvur runt til tingini innanlands í sambandi við lóggávuvirksemi sítt og fekk heimildir og samtyktir frá tingunum (Robberstad 1994, 198). Øðrvísi var við soninum, Hákuni V (1299-1320) (Robberstad 1994, 208). Hetta er sami Hákun, ið sum hertogi gav føroyingum Seyðabrævið í 1298). Eftir at hann varð vorðin kongur tykist hann hava hildið tað verið sjálvsagt, at uppskot hansara vórðu samtykt, og hann helt tað vera eitt slag av uppreistri, vórðu brøv hansara ikki góðtikin sum boð frá kongi. Tingsamtyktin verður síðani so við og við ein formsak, og framløgan á tingi gjørdist seinri í miðøld meir at kalla ein fráboðan um avgerð kongs, men hetta skerdi ikki møguleikan hjá tingunum at gera egnar lógir ella aðrar løgskipanir, so leingi tær ikki vóru í andsøgn til galdandi lóg ella gingu rætti kongs ov nær. Norsku løgtingini varðveittu lóggávuvald teirra – formliga í minsta lagið – til kongur fekk einaveldi í 1661 (Robberstad 1994, 144).

Tað er tí ikki rætt at knýta kongsvald og lóggávuvald ov fast saman, soleiðis sum mangan verður gjørt í føroyskari søguskriving, og tað kann ikki vera rætt, at føroyska tingið misti lóggávuvald sítt, tá tikið varð við Landslóg Magnusar lógbøtara í árunum 1274-80, sum gjørdi tingið til løgting.

Vit mugu halda, at eisini í Føroyum hava bæði alting og løgting havt lóggávuvald, í princippinum heilt fram til einaveldið, soleiðis at eingin lóg, rættarbót ella skipan fekk gildi í Føroyum uttan at vera samtykt av tinginum, og soleiðis at føroyska tingið eisini kundi gera egnar lógskipanir við gildi fyri Føroyar uttan at blanda kong upp í, sum vit jú síggja, at tingið hevur gjørt.

At føroyska tingið hevði lóggávuvald er tó eingin forðingur fyri, at tað kann hava samtykt Gulatingslógina og allar tær broytingar og dagføringar, sum kongur gjøgnum øldirnar hevur lagt fyri tað til samtyktar. Tað hevði borið væl til at tikið undir við hesi fatan, um ikki keldurnar frá 13. øld vóru í greiðari andsøgn til hana. Men áðrenn vit fara at hyggja at teimum rættarskipanum

fyri Føroyar, sum stava frá Magnusi kongi lógbøtara og soni hansara Hákuni hertoga, skulu vit royna at hyggja at søguligu fyritreytunum fyri fornari lóggávu í Føroyum.

HVAÐANI STAVAR FØROYSK RÆTTARSIÐVENJA?

Teir norðbúgvar, sum tíðliga í víkingaøld settust niður í Føroyum, tóku ikki einans við sær ein materiellan førning. Í teimum búði eisini ein siðvenja, sum hesi menniskju vóru uppald við, ein hugsunarháttur og m.a. ein rættarkensla, sum stavaði frá tí umhvørvi, tey vóru fødd og uppvaksin í. Skulu vit leita eftir rótum til slíkt sum rættarsiðvenju, noyðast vit at royna at fáa greiðu á, hvaðani føroyingar stava. At vit koma av norska Vesturlandinum, summi helst umvegis strendurnar við írska havið, har tey fingu heitið vestmenn, er lítil ivi um, men ber tað til at koma spurninginum nærri? Navnafrøðilig gransking sýnir, at hóast føroysk bústaðarnøvn sum heild eru skapað av navnaliðum, sum vit finna aftur í Noregi, eru flestallir av teimum navnaliðum sum vóru virknir í Noregi í víkingaøld ókendir í føroyskum bústaðarnøvnum. Men eitt undantak er, navnaliðurin bøur – í týdninginum garður – er í Føroyum nógv vanligari enn nakar bústaðarnavnaliður yvirhøvur er í Noregi sum heild (Thorsteinsson 1996, 190-93).

Fyri at skilja týdningin av hesum mugu vit ikki samanbera føroyskan navnasið við norskan navnasið sum heild, heldur ikki við navnasiðin fram við norsku vesturstrondini sum heild. Vit mugu royna at finna greiðu á, hvat av uppruna "londunum" í Noregi er mest líkt Føroyum í navnagávu. Chr. Matras hevur í doktararitgerð síni (Matras 1932, 2) langt síðan peikað á, at føroysk staðarnøvn sum heild eru mest átøk teimum í sunnara parti av vesturstrondini í Noregi. Áðrenn Haraldur Hárfagri um ár 900 savnaði alt Noreg undir sítt vald, vóru hesir landspartar, Rogaland og Agdir, sjálvstøðug lond og egin rættardømi. Navnaliðurin bøur er eisini sera vanligur har á leiðum. Skoytt kann verða upp í, at henda niðurstøða verður stuðlað av, at vit ikki finna rygir, fókið í Rogalandi, sum navnaliður í føroyskum bústaðarnøvnum, meðan grannarnir, hørðar (úr Hordalandi) og sygnir (úr Sogn) tykjast vera at finna í Ørðavík og (Signabø Matras 1957). Hetta bendir alt á, at tey flestu, sum komu til Føroya helst munnu stava frá Rogalandi, meðan aðrir norðbúgvar vóru uppi í, summir teirra so fáir, at grannar teirra tosaðu um víkina hjá hørðum, garðin hjá sygnum og havnina hjá vestmonnum.

Tá tey fólk, sum síðan gjørdust føroyingar, í 9. øld fóru heiman, mugu vit sostatt halda , at mong teirra fóru úr Rogalandi, einum landi, sum tá ikki var fevnt av teirri lóg, sum galdandi var i Hordalandi og Sogn. Tá galdandi lóg og tingskipan í Rogalandi kenna vit ikki, líka so lítið sum vit kenna tá

galdandi lóg í Gulatingdøminum, Hordalandi og Sogn. Uttan at taka dagar í millum, hvør munur kann hava verið á rættarkenslu og lógarsiðvenju í hesum grannalondum, mugu vit tó halda upp á, at høvuðsrótin til "fornu landslóg" føroyinga er ikki Gulatingslógin og ei heldur forn lóg í Hordalandi og Sogn. Við teirri lógarsiðvenju og tingskipan, fólk hava borið við sær úr Vesturnoregi, og tá einamest úr Rogalandi, við teirri tillaging til føroysk viðurskifti, sum kom so við og við, sum fólk vandust við landið, og við teirri ávirkan, sum føroyingum sjálvsagt varð fyri í samskifti teirra við umheimin, skaptist so við og við forna landslóg føroyinga, og hava teir havt tørv á at leita sær ráð og vegleiðing úr gamla heimlandinum at orða og skipa lógina, mundu teir heldur havt leitað til Rogalands enn til Hordalands. Broytt viðurskifti hava í sjálvum sær kravt broytingar í lógini, t.d. tá kristindómurin varð samtyktur, tá kristinrættur varð skipaður inn í lógina, og tá Føroya bispadømi varð sett á stovn, bert fyri at nevna nøkur týðandi viðurskifti. Eftir at føroyingar høvdu givið seg undir Noregs kong, hevur kongur sum uppskotsstillari fingið ein størri leiklut í lóggávuni, og t.d. hevur Magnus Erlingsson kunnað sent føroyingum síni uppskot til dagføringar av lóggávuni, sum hann gav norðmonnum í 1160árunum. Á henda hátt kann føroysk lóg hava verið ávirkað av norskari lóg, men eftir mínum tykki er tað beinleiðis skeivt at siga, at føroyska lógin hevur verið ein útgáva av Gulatingslóg, og tað er villeiðandi, tí tað kann fáa fólk at nýta ta kendu Gulatingslógina, sum um hon hevur verið galdandi lóg í Føroyum. Og próvfast er, at tað var hon ongantíð.

KONGSBRÆV FRÁ 1271 OG LÓGBÓK FØROYINGA

Veturin 1270/71 skrivaði kongur, Magnus Hákunarson, føroyingum bræv (Diplomatarium Færoense, 23-26). Hetta bræv hevur seinri verið kallað "rættarbót". Tað tykist mær vera skeivt. Kongsbrævið sjálvt nevnir seg ikki rættarbót, men í brævinum verður m.a. staðfest ein rættarbót, gjørd av Hákuni Hákunarsyni, ið setur rindanina av sakaroyrum niður í 1/3 (Robberstad 1994, s.197). Í hesum brævi umrøður kongur eini 5-6 ymisk evni. Fyrsta evni er um lóggávu. Magnus kongur staðfestir eftir umbøn føroyinga og "fyri tað lýdni, hann hevur roynt av teimum eins og øllum øðrum tegnum sínum", at í Føroyum skulu ganga somu lógir, sum ganga um alt Gulatings samlagið. Magnus gjørdist kongur í 1264 og er beinan vegin farin undir stórfingna lógarsmíð sítt. Hann byrjaði við Gulatingdøminum, har hann longu í 1267 fekk nýggja lóg, sum nú verður nevnd Yngra Gulatingslóg, samtykta á Gulatingi. Í 1268 kom nýggj lóg fyri Borgarting og í 1269 fekk hann heimild frá Frostatingi at fara undir nýggja Frostatingslóg – kristinrættur undantikin. Í 1270 man hann hava havt tað neyðuga samskiftið við føroyska altingið, sum endaði við staðfestingini

veturin 1270/71 av, at Yngra Gulatingslóg skuldi verða galdandi lóg í Føroyum og í 1271 varð nýggj íslendsk lóg, Jarnsíða, sum kongur hevði latið seta saman, samtykt av íslendska altinginum. Av hesum nýggju lógum eru ongar varðveittar uttan Jarnsíða og kristinrættirnir fyri Gulating og Borgarting. Tað er sostatt tann horvna Yngra Gulatingslógin frá 1267, ið fær gildi í Føroyum í 1271, tó soleiðis at á einum ávísum lógarøki, í Búnaðarbólkinum, skuldi gomul føroysk lóg framvegis vera galdandi: "Búnadar Bolcker skall standa efter thui sem sialf ydar bok watter adr."

Onkuntíð í miðøld hevur tískil forn føroysk lóg verið skrivað í bók. Nær tað er hent, hava vit ongan møguleika at vita, men tað er hesa skrivaðu útgávu av tí føroysku lógini, vit finna umrødda í kongsbrævinum, sum Magnus kongur lógbøtari sendir føroyingum í 1271. Bókin er burtur, og vit vita tí ikki, hvat hevur staðið í henni, men sum kongsbrævið váttar, hevur ein av lógarbólkunum verið nevndur búnaðarbólkur. Í gomlu Gulatingslógini er eingin búnaðarbólkur, og heldur ikki í seinru landslóg Magnusar lógbøtara frá 1274. At føroyingar hava sett á, at teirra gamli búnaðarbólkur eisini framyvir skuldi vera partur av galdandi lóg í Føroyum, bendir skilliga á, at hesar øldirnar, síðan fólk fór av gørðunum í Vesturnoregi og gjørdust føroyingar, hava tey vinnuliga lagað seg so nógv til teirra nýggja heimland, at norsk lóg, sum Magnus kongur hevði ætlað føroyingum, var ónýtulig á búnaðarøkinum, og tí var neyðugt at varðveita gomlu føroysku lóggávuna á hesum øki.

Saman um tikið bendir hetta kongsbræv á, at kongur (ella umboðsmaður hansara) hevur samráðst við tegnar sínar í Føroyum (helst umboð fyri altingið) um ymisk rættarlig og fyrisitingarlig viðurskifti og brævið er ein staðfesting av tí, teir eru vorðnir samdir um. Umrøðan av lógarmálum tykist vera lík støðuni í Noregi, tá kongur samskiftir við tingini um nýggja lóggávu. Hetta kongsbrævið hevur seinru árini verið stórliga yvirtulkað. Høvundar hava sæð hetta bræv sum ein sáttmála við kong á sama støði, sum tann sáttmálin, Gamli Sáttmáli, ið íslendingar gjørdu, tá teir góvu seg undir kong í 1262-64 (Debes 1995, 19, Jespersen og Nolsøe, 23). Tað er einki í kongsbrævinum, sum rættvísger hesa samanbering og ta uppfatan, at føroyingar ikki fyrr enn í sambandi við hetta brævið góvu seg undir kong sum tegnar hansara.

BÚNAÐARBÓLKURIN, LANDSLÓGIN OG SEYÐABRÆVIÐ

Búnaðarbólkurin í gomlu føroysku lógbókini varð verandi í gildi í Føroyum eftir 1271. Men hvat varð síðan av honum?

Eftir at Magnus kongur í 1269 hevði fingið heimild frá Frostatingi at fyrireika nýggja verðsliga lóg, fór hann undir tað stóra lógararbeiði, tað var at fyrireika eina felags lóg uttan kristinrætt fyri alt Noreg. Landslóg Magnusar

lógbøtara varð liðug í 1274 og samtykt á Gulatingi sama ár. Hon varð síðan samtykt á Frostatingi, helst í 1275, og á Eiðsivatingi í 1277. Landslógin sæst ikki beinan vegin at vera samtykt á Borgartingi, men hon fekk tó gildi har. Úrslitið gjørdist, at Noreg varð tað fyrsta landið á europeiska meginlandinum, sum hevði eina felags lóg galdandi fyri alt landið. Í øðrum londum hendi tað sama so við og við. T.d. fekk Svøríki áleið 1350 felags lóg fyri alt landið undir Magnusi Eirikssyni, langabbasoni Magnusar lógbøtara, Danmark í 1683, Frakland í 1802, Týskland í 1896 og Sveits í 1907 (Robberstad 1994, s. 199). Sama lóg fyri alt landið var sostatt eindømi fyri Noreg og síðan Svøríki í miðøld.

Landslóg Magnusar varð samtykt á altingi í Føroyum onkuntíð undan deyða hansara í 1280, og í 1298 gav Hákun hertogi Magnusarson eina skipan fyri Føroyar, sum menn síðan hava kallað Seyðabrævið. Henda skipan hevur verið uppfatað sum ein rættarbót til landslóg Magnusar kongs (m.a. Debes 1995, 25). Orðið rættarbót er tó ikki at finna í skipanini og ei heldur í fylgibrævi hertogans. Í inngangsorðunum til skipanina verður sagt, at skipanin fevnir um teir lutir, sum landinum eru hentastir, og sum ikki standa í lógbók Magnusar, ið varð samtykt á altingi, men í fylgibrævi hertogans verður gjørt heilt greitt, at grundarlagið undir skipanini er Búnaðarbólkurin. Eingin búnaðarbólkur er at finna í landslógini, og talan kann tí bert vera um Búnaðarbólkin í fornu føroysku lógbókini, sum sjálvsagt hevur havt eins stóran týdning fyri føroysk búnaðarviðurskifti í 1298, sum hann hevði í 1270. Umboðsmenn hertogans í hesum máli hava verið Erlendur biskupur í Føroyum og Sjúrður, løgmaður í Hetlandi, sum hertogin hevur sent til Føroya í hesum ørindum. Teir báðir hava síðan greitt hertoganum frá tí, sum føroyingar hava hildið skorta í búnaðarbólkinum. Seyðabrævið, sum tað fyriliggur í uppruna líki í Kongsbókini á Føroya Landsskjalasavni, er tí ikki bert ein skipan, sum hevur tikið støði í Búnaðarbólkinum (Jespersen og Nolsøe 2002, 23). Seyðabrævið frá 1298 eigur at verða fatað sum ein dagførd og økt útgáva av Búnaðarbólkinum í fornu landslóg føroyinga, soleiðis sum hann stóð skrivaður í føroysku lógbókini. Ásetingarnar í Seyðabrævinum eru tí ikki allar frá 1298, men stava frá ymsum tíðarskeiðum. Verður hugt at Seyðabrævinum við rættarsøguligum eygum, ivist eg ikki í, at til ber at skilja millum eldri tekst frá føroyska Búnaðarbólkinum og dagføringar og ískoyti frá 1298.

Sagt verður um Seyðabrævið, at tað hóskar so avbera væl til føroysk viðurskifti, og rætt er tað. Rættarreglurnar um haga og seyðabrúk vórðu í 1637 umsettar til danskt og staðfestar av Kristiani kongi fjórða. Tær liggja til grund fyri fyriskipan um seyð og haga frá 1698, og fyri fyrstu hagalógini frá 1866. Ikki hugsi eg, at hetta hevði verið so, um rættarreglurnar í Seyðabrævinum bert vóru slíkar, sum í bráskundi vórðu settar saman av hertoganum og hansara

monnum at byrgja upp fyri óskili og lógloysi í haganum, soleiðis sum onkur hevur viljað verið við. Orsøkin til, at reglurnar um seyð og haga eru so væl hóskandi til føroysk viðurskifti, er heldur hon, at tær í stóran mun stava frá forna Búnaðarbólkinum, har tær gjøgnum øldir hava verið lagaðar til føroysk búnaðarvíðurskifti.

Seyðabrævið kann tí ikki metast at vera ein rættarbót til landslóg Magnusar lógbøtara, men heldur at vera framhald av fornari føroyskari lóg, sum hertogin eftir áheitan føroyinga hevur latið dagføra og givið føroyingum undir heitinum skipan. Løgtingið kann í sambandi við samtyktina av Seyðabrævinum hava gjørt onkrar broytingar, og seinri kunnu tillagingar vera gjørdar í skipanini. Hugsast kann t.d. at Hundabrævið (Helgason 1951) er ein seinri útgreinan av ásetingunum um hundar í Seyðabrævinum.

Á øllum øðrum økjum – kristinrætturin undantikin – var landslóg Magnusar lógbøtara galdandi, men mangt í lógini hevur verið ónýtuligt í Føroyum, annað hevur verið broytt og tillagað av løgtinginum, t.d. nær á árinum tingið skuldi verða hildið og nær á degnum (Robberstad 1994, 199-200) og í øðrum førum hevur tingið útfylt og tulkað rættarreglur í Landslógini, t.d. í Skipan um Tingfaratoll (Diplomatarium Faroense , 27-28), har ásetingarnar í landslóg Magnusar lógbøtara um samsýning tingmanna verða útgreinaðar og tillagaðar føroyskum viðurskiftum. Tíverri er tað tó bert hendingaferð, at slíkar nýskipanir á tingi eru varðveittar okkum á skrift.

Triðja lógarøkið, kristinrætturin, førdi í Noregi til drúgt stríð millum kongsvald og kirkju. Tað endaði nakað inn í 14. øld við, at Kristinrættur Jóns erkabiskups frá 1273, sum ongantíð varð lagdur fyri nakað ting til samtyktar, varð galdandi lóg. Í Íslandi setti Árni biskupur saman ein kristinrætt, sum varð samtyktur á altingi í 1275. Í Føroyum hevur kristinrætturin í Yngru Gulatingslóg verið í gildi frá 1271, og tað fær illa verið annar enn hesin Nýggjari Gulatings kristinrættur, sum hann vanliga verður nevndur, ið Hákun hertogi í fylgibrævinum til Seyðabrævið áleggur føroyingum at halda væl og vandaliga saman við Seyðabrævinum. Føroyar verða sostatt einasta land í Noregs Ríki, har Nýggjari Gulatings kristinrættur hevði gildi í miðøld (Bøe 1964, s. 302).

Saman um tikið má tí verða hildið, at umframt norska lóg, Yngru Gulatingslógina og Landslógina, sum Magnus kongur lógbøtari hevur lagt fyri føroyska altingið til samtyktar, hevur alla miðøldina á búnaðarøkinum verið í gildi forn føroysk lóg, dagførd og økt í 1298 av Hákuni hertoga, og at tað tí er forni Búnaðarbólkurin, sum framvegis er grundstøðið undir hagalóggávuni.

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Kontakten mellom Bergen og Færøyene i middelalderen i arkeologisk og historisk lys

Ingvild Øye

Sommeren 1987 startet en interessant arkeologisk undersøkelse av et tufteområde på lokaliteten *í Uppistovubeitinum* i Leirvík på Eysturoy på Færøyene. Her ledet Símun Arge utgravningene som pågikk flere somrer utover på 1990-tallet. De avdekket et tunkompleks med tre-fire hustufter, datert til sen vikingtid/tidlig middelalder, og resulterte også i usedvanlig mange gjenstandsfunn etter færøyske forhold (Arge 1997). I en av tuftene, med gode bevaringsforhold for organisk materiale, ble det funnet en rekke husholdsredskaper av tre – fat, dreiede boller og stavbegre, men også mer uvanlige funn, bl.a. restene av en trerive (ibid, 35). To av de i alt ni påviste funn av runeinnskrifter på Færøyene skriver seg også fra denne undersøkelsen (Stoklund 2005). Flere andre utgravde lokaliteter på Færøyene har avdekket tufteområder med et variert gjenstandsmateriale fra samme periode (bl.a. Arge 1989; Hansen 1989; Matras 2005; Mahler 2007). Mange av gjenstandene har paralleller til funn fra utgravningene av norske middelalderbyer – ikke minst Bergen. Med stor sannsynlighet kan flere av gjenstandene som havnet på Uppistovubeiti og andre færøyske middelaldergårder, ha kommet hit via Bergen på grunn av de tette kontaktene mellom de to områdene i middelalderen. Det er denne forbindelsen som er temaet her, sett i arkeologisk og historisk lys.

NÆRE NABOER

Avstanden mellom Bergen og østlige deler av Færøyene utgjør ca. 390 nautiske mil eller nærmere tre døgns seilas[1]– en kortere avstand enn for eksempel mellom Bergen og fiskeriene i nord ved Lofoten – men en god del lenger enn til Shetland, Hebridene og Orknøyene. Koloniseringen av Færøyene ser også ut til å ha skjedd fra hovedsakelig vestnorske områder. Dette blir bl.a. reflektert i den materielle kulturen og i måten bosetnings- og driftsarealer ble strukturert, og også i navngivingen av gårdsbosetninger, jordbruksarealer og

1 Opplysninger fra Arild Marøy Hansen, Bergens Sjøfartsmuseum.

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topografi (Arge 1989, 106). Den nære kontakten Færøyene hadde til vestnorske områder, gjaldt ikke bare landnåmstiden, som det oftest blir fokusert på i den arkeologiske forskningen. Den fortsatte også langt inn i middelalderen, kulturelt, økonomisk og juridisk. Her ble Bergen alt i byens første århundre et viktig knutepunkt. Ikke minst mot slutten av 1100-årene, under kong Sverres styre, ble den politiske tilknytningen til Norge styrket (Helle 1982, 348). Sverre var da også født og oppvokst på Færøyene. I den berømte talen han holdt i Bergen i 1186 fant han grunn til å påpeke handelskontakten mellom de to områdene. Mens han refser tyskere for å bringe unyttige og overflødige varer, roser han kjøpmenn fra Færøyene og de andre nordatlantiske øysamfunnene for å komme med nyttige varer (ibid, 165).

På 1200-tallet var Bergen både reelt og juridisk blitt stapel for utlendingers handel. Det inkluderte Færøyene og de andre såkalte skattlandene i Nordatlanteren, som på denne tiden økonomisk og juridisk lå under fehirden i Bergen (ibid, 331). Hit kom varer fra hele det nordatlantiske området, samtidig som eksportvarer fra lagerbodene på Bryggen ble ført ut igjen (ibid, 173–4). Kontakten var ikke bare enveis. Det gikk også norske skip til Færøyene, og i 1271 fikk færøyingene tilsvarende garanti fra den norske kronen som islendingene tidligere hadde fått: at det årlig skulle sendes to skip dit fra Norge. Også Byloven av 1276 forutsetter hyre- og fraktavtaler til bl.a. Færøyene (ibid, 364). Et testamente til gårdsbonden Torfinn i Henriksgard i Bergen omkring 1320 kan tyde på at han hadde handelsforbindelser med Færøyene (DN VII nr 94; Helle 1982, 363). Inntektene fra disse nordatlantiske områdene var viktige ikke bare for byen, men også kongen. Mot slutten av høymiddelalderen, i 1340-årene, skjedde det også en oppsplitting av Bergen fehirdsle, da kongen krevde inntektene fra øyene i vest og Hålogaland, men kom senere tilbake under Bergen fehirdsle (Helle 1982, 683–84).

Juridisk gjaldt den vestnorske landskapsloven, Gulatingsloven, også for Færøyene, stadfestet i en rettarbot av 1270/71 og senere erstattet av Magnus Lagabøtes landslov av 1274. Unntaket gjaldt landsleiebolken, hvor deres egen lovbok skulle gjelde (NgL IV, 353–54). Områdene var dessuten tett integrert gjennom kirkestyret og førte til hyppig kontakt mellom geistlige fra de to områdene. Det gjaldt også utnevning og utveksling av kirkelige embeter. I andre del av 1200-tallet og inn på 1300-tallet ble biskopen av Færøyene også utnevnt av biskopen i Bergen, en rett som likevel ikke var ubestridt. Stridighetene, hvor til og med paven til slutt ble involvert, nedfelte seg bl.a. i flere dokumenter. De gir samtidig innsyn i de tette relasjonene mellom Bergen og Færøyene. Da biskop Erlend av Færøyene døde sommeren 1308, var han i Bergen (DN VIII nr 20). Den nye biskopen som ble utnevnt var en norsk prest, Lodin prest i Peterskirken i Borgund på Sunnmøre (DN III nr 79). Denne gangen

var det imidlertid domkapitlet i Nidaros som stod for utnevnelsen, noe som ble oppfattet som en krenkelse av den hevdvunne retten domkapitlet i Bergen hadde hatt. Dette utløste en flerårig tvist om retten til å besette bispestolen på Færøyene som ble avgjort voldgiftsdom i 1312.

De kongelige og kirkelige inntektene fra Færøyene bidro også til å utstyre kirkebygg i Bergen. Da kong Håkon V satte opp testamente i 1312, begunstiget han de fire nyopprettede kongelige kapellene, blant dem Apostelkirken i Bergen. Denne kirken ble betenkt med bl.a. alle kongens inntekter av Hjaltland og Færøyene så lenge byggearbeidene med kirken pågikk (DN IV nr 128). Gaver kunne også gå andre veien. Åtte år senere skrev biskop Audfinn i Bergen brev til broder Signar, electus på Færøyene bispestol, hvor han sjenerøst meddelte at han hadde bestilt et sett korstoler som han ville overlate Mariakirken på Kirkjubø – domkirken på Færøyene (DN VII nr. 90). Signar ble samme sommer, i 1320, vigslet i Bergen.

VARENE

Handelen, den verdslige og kirkelige skattleggingen – og de kulturelle kontaktene – førte til en varestrøm områdene imellom. I stor grad var det færøyingene som selv fraktet varer til Bergen, og som selv tok varer med tilbake. Dels ser det også ut til at gårdeiere i Bergen hadde skip som gikk vestover mot både Shetland, Færøyene og Island.

Hvilke varer dette dreier seg om, gir både skriftlige og arkeologiske kilder innsikt i. Hvilke produkter som gikk under betegnelsen nyttige varer i 1180-årene, sier imidlertid ikke Sverres saga noe om. I senere kilder blir ofte ull og vadmål omtalt som innførte varer til Bergen, ved siden av februks- og fangstprodukter. Import av tørrfisk fikk derimot neppe vesentlig betydning fra før omkring 1300, og det var øyfolket selv som sto for transporten til Bergen. Her ble varene i større eller mindre grad omsatt på Bryggen (Helle 1982, 308–310).

Disse forbindelsene og denne utvekslingen har relevans når en skal vurdere og kontekstualisere arkeologiske importfunn på Færøyene, som for eksempel fra Uppistovubeiti, hvor flere gjenstander har fremmed opphav, fremstilt av råmateriale som ikke forekommer på Færøyene – visse mineraler, treslag og metaller. Fra Uppistovubeiti er det foruten funnene som er nevnt innledningsvis, også funn av fiskekroker, kniver, låsfragmenter og vektlodd av ulike metall, og av mer spesielle funn er en dobbelkam, en brystnål av bronse og noen glassperler (Arge 1997, 36). Også andre tuftundersøkelser fra vikingtid og tidlig middelalder har avdekket mange av de samme gjenstandskategoriene.

Det gjelder bl.a. "Niðri á Toft", i Kvívík på vestsiden av Streymoy, hvor det i lagene fra en middelalderbygning ble avdekket en rekke kleberkarfragmenter og håndteinsneller, brynesteiner av ulike slags skifer, perler og også forskjellige gjenstander av tre, bl.a. lekebåter og lekehester (Matras 2005). Tilsvarende funngrupper er også gjort på seterkomplekset Argisbrekka – også der kleberkar, håndteinsneller, brynesteiner, pølsepinner, eiermerker og tellepinner, lås, og personlige gjenstander, som fingerringer, nål og glassperler m.v. – ting som må være tilført utenfra (Mahler 2007, 83–87, 94, 269–270).

Dette er gjenstandskategorier som også fremkom under de store utgravningene på Bryggen i Bergen (1955–1968) og etterfølgende mindre utgravninger fra hele det middelalderske byområdet. På det ca. 4 000 m^2 store utgravningsfeltet på Bryggen, med gode bevaringsforhold for organisk materiale, ble det i tillegg til omfattende konstruksjoner avdekket et særdeles rikt arkeologisk materiale. Forekomsten av åtte godt dokumenterte brannlag ga grunnlag for en fininnstilt kronologi, sammenstilt med opplysninger i skriftlige kilder, daterbare artefakter og dendrokronologi; det eldste fra ca. 1120/30 og det yngste fra 1702 (Herteig 1990–91; Hansen 1998; Helle 1998). Det har gjort det mulig å datere materialet innen tidssekvenser ned til ca. 30 år og opp til 60–70 år, med unntak av den lengste perioden på drøye 200 år ved utgangen av middelalderen fram til 1700. Dette har også betydning for tilsvarende gjenstandsgrupper fra Færøyene, hvor gjenstandene er færre og konteksten ofte vanskeligere å tidfeste like presist. Den tette kontakten mellom Bergen og Færøyene i tidlig middelalder og høymiddelalder gjør det dessuten særlig interessant å vurdere i en slik bilateral sammenheng.

Flere av materialgruppene fra Bryggen og Bergen som er blitt analysert i de senere år, har relevans for færøyske funn. Det gjelder båt- og skipsfunn (Christensen 1985), tekstilredskaper (Øye 1988), runeinnskrifter, eiermerker og tellepinner (Liestøl 1980; Seim 1988; Grandell 1988; Johnsen 1990), visse keramikkgrupper (Lüdke 1989; Blackmore & Vince 1994), fiskeredskaper (Olsen 2004), kleberkar (Vangstad 2003), leker og barneting (Mygland 2007), og delvis også kammer (Øye 2005). Også tauverk (Schjølberg 1988), skomateriale (Larsen 1994), smykker og draktutstyr (Molaug 1998), våpen (Nøttveit 2001), nøkler og lås (Reinsnos 2006) og glass (Høie 2006) er blitt analysert, men disse ser ut til å ha mindre relevans når det gjelder jevnføring med færøyske funn på grunnlag av det publiserte materialet. Når det gjelder tekstiler (Schjølberg in prep), ulike typer husholdsredskaper (Ågotnes in prep) og laggede kar er analysene ennå ikke ferdige. Uten mer inngående studier kan en jevnføring med bergensmaterialet likevel hovedsakelig bare knyttes til materialkategorier og datering.

Særlig når det gjelder kleberkar har Brygge-materialet kunnet gi en mer

fininnstilt typologi og kronologi enn tidligere, basert på nærmere 1200 deler av til sammen ca. 800 forskjellige kar av varierende form, tilvirkingsmåte og størrelse. Dette er så langt den mest omfattende studien av kleberkar fra middelalderen. Hilde Vangstad, som har analysert kardelene, har klassifisert dem i seks typer (A–F), som hun ser som resultat av en noe ulik produksjonstradisjon og bruk. Rundbukede kar med avstripet fasettert og noe ru overflate, såkalte A-kar – ofte kalt vestlandstypen – er den mest tallrike gruppen, etterfulgt av type B, også den rundbuket, men med utvendig glattede karvegger. Til sammen utgjør A- og B-karene to tredeler av alle kleberkarene på Bryggen. C-kar, også kalt østlandstypen, utgjør bare en liten gruppe her. Også denne typen har buede karvegger, men skiller seg ut når det gjelder overflatebehandling. Både type D og E har rette karvegger, med henholdsvis glatt og fasettert overflatebehandling. F-karene er i form til forveksling lik B-kar, men er ulik i den ytre overflatebehandlingen. Også størrelse og tykkelse varierer, både innen de ulike kartypene og typene imellom, fra 10 cm til over 40 cm i tverrmål. A-karene er de største, de fleste mellom 20–30 cm i tverrmål, men også med store og til dels svært store kar, over 40 cm i diameter.

A-karene, som er den hyppigst forekommende kartypen på Bryggen, dominerer i de eldste lagene, fra tidlig 1100-tallet fram til ca. 1250, men også andre former er representert (B, C og E), men mer sporadisk. Etter 1250 skjedde det store endringer i karsammensetningen. Nå ble B-karene vanligst. I lagene fra og med andre tredel av 1300-tallet er det også vanligere med kar av rettvegget type med flat bunn (D- og E-kar). I en periode på i underkant av 150 år (1332–1476) er alle de seks kartypene representert her. Etter 1400 er slike funn sjeldne innslag på Bryggen. På denne tiden var også Bryggeområdet nærmest blitt en tysk koloni etter at Hansaen etablerte et av sine fire kontorer her rundt 1360, noe som nok også resulterte i andre matskikker og annen redskapskultur (Vangstad 2003).

Kar av A-typen ser også ut til å være den vanlige kartypen på Færøyene, så langt det er mulig å vurdere ut fra publiserte arbeider, men hvor overflatebehandling sjelden er nevnt. Det er derfor sannsynlig at de stammer fra Vestlandet med sine mange kleberbrudd, og hvor Bergen var viktigste distribusjonssenter. Selv om A-karene forekommer særlig hyppig på 1100- og 1200-tallet, viser studien at både A-karene og de øvrige kartypene har lengre tidshorisont enn tidligere påvist. Det kan ha betydning når en skal datere tilsvarende funn fra Færøyene.

En interessant gjenstandskategori på Færøyene, som ikke lar seg forklare ut fra kulturkontakt med Norge og Vestlandet, er den forholdsvis store forekomsten av lokalt produsert keramikk både på Uppistovubeiti og andre færøyske lokaliteter fra sen vikingtid og tidlig middelalder (Arge 1996, 33–34; Mahler

2007, 270–71). Så langt har en ikke påvist hjemlig produksjon av keramikk i Norge i noen av disse periodene. Derimot ble det innført en betydelig mengde utenlandsk keramikk i middelalderen, særlig via byene. Bare fra Brygge-utgravningene er det påvist ca. 150,000–160,000 keramikkskår fra mer enn 60 produksjonssentre. Hovedvekten av materialet er fra England og det tyske området, dessuten også mindre mengder fra Nederland, Danmark, Belgia og Frankrike (Blackmore & Vince 1994, 24, 31). I den tidligste fasen, fra ca. 1120 til ca. 1250, dominerte den tyske keramikken over Belgia, England og Danmark, først og fremst representert ved såkalt Paffrath og Pingsdorf. I den andre perioden forsvinner det belgiske materialet (Andenne) og ble erstattet av fransk og nederlandsk keramikk (Lüdtke 1989, 21–23), mens tysk keramikk igjen dominerer i senmiddelalderen. Også på Færøyene, og på Uppistovubeiti, er det funnet innført keramikk, Andenne og Paffrath (Arge 1997, 37) – ikke usannsynlig også disse kommet via Bergen på 1100- og 1200-tallet.

Tekstilredskaper er en vanlig funnkategori fra middelalderske boplasser, både rurale og urbane miljøer – slik også på Færøyene og i Bergen. På Bryggen er det avdekket et omfattende materiale som avspeiler hele tilvirkningsprosessen fra preparering av fibrer, spinning og veving til ferdigstilling av tekstiler. Redskaper til spinning og veving utgjør de største kategoriene, med håndteinsneller av stein, leire, tre, bein og bly, og vevtyngder til oppstadvev, de fleste av kleber. Håndteinsnellene som er funnet på Uppistovubeiti, er for det meste av stein – kleber, skifer og lokal rød tuff – og noen mer sjeldne av bly. Ut fra både form og størrelse har de paralleller i bergensmaterialet, hvor hvelvede steinsneller med flat base er de vanligste, dernest kjegleformede og flate. Dette ser også ut til å være de vanligste formene også ellers på Færøyene (bl.a. Mahler 2007, 84–87). De mer spesielle håndteinsnellene av bly fra Uppistovubeiti har også paralleller fra Bryggen, men også der som sjeldne innslag. På Bryggen har håndteinsnellene en dateringsramme fra ca. 1120 til 1476, med hovedmengden før ca. 1400 (Øye 1988, 43), men typene forekommer også i vikingtidskontekster i det vestnorske materialet. Blysneller er derimot sjeldne i vikingtidskontekst. Det er altså ikke mulig å foreta noen presis datering av snellene ut fra form og materiale alene. Brygge-funnene viser imidlertid at de har en lengre tidsramme enn det ofte blir regnet med.

Lekesaker – bl.a. trehester og trebåter – som det er funnet i flere færøyske hustufter (Matras 2005; Mahler 2007: 95), er godt representert i middelalderens bygrunn i Bergen. Til sammen har 215 gjenstander latt seg identifisere som sikre, sannsynlig og mulige leker, som indirekte avspeiler barns hverdag og lek. Av disse er det nærmere 20 små trehester og mer enn 50 sikre eller sannsynlige lekebåter av tre og noen få av bark. Begge typer leker har en vid tidsramme i Bergen og dekker det meste av middelalderen, henholdsvis ca.

1120–1476 og ca. 1120–1413, men hyppigst for begge fra slutten av 1100-tallet til inn på 1300-tallet (Mygland 2007, 29–45).

Også når det gjelder husholdsredskaper ligger det til rette for jevnføring mellom funn fra Bergen og Færøyene. På Uppistovubeiti ble det som nevnt gjort funn av dreiede fat, boller og bunner til stavbegre av ulik størrelse, for det meste av treslag som ikke vokser på Færøyene. I tillegg ble det funnet såkalte pølsepinner av tre – en funksjonsbestemmelse som for øvrig er mye omdiskutert – pluss en rekke uidentifiserte gjenstander (Arge 1997, 34–35). Når det gjelder gjenstander av furu, ser bare et fåtall ut til å ha være fremstilt av drifteved – noe som tyder på at det dreier seg om innførte produkter (ibid). De samme funngruppene er også vanlige på Bryggen, men er ennå ikke ferdig analysert. Bare av såkalte pølsepinner dreier det seg om mer enn 2000 funnnumre, som hvert kan inneholde 1–50 objekter. De dekker hele tidsspennet på Bryggen, med en dateringsramme fra før 1170 til ca. 1700 (Ågotnes in prep). Baksteheller av skifer, de fleste sannsynligvis fra brudd i Ølve i Kvinnherad sør for Bergen, er også en svært vanlig funnkategori i middelalderkontekster. Det gjelder også på Færøyene, hvor spektrografiske undersøkelser har vist at de nettopp kommer fra dette området (Arge 1989, 119). På Bryggen utgjør funngruppen om lag 1500 funn-numre, som hvert dekker 1–20 enheter, grovt anslått til over 4000 fragmenter i alt – også disse fra begynnelsen av 1100-tallet og gjennom hele middelalderen (ibid).

Mer sjeldne i en arkeologisk færøyisk kontekst er funn av båtdeler, bl.a. i form av et spant og en keip (Arge 1997, 36). Det omfattende materialet av båt- og skipsfunn fra Bryggen, med mer enn 500 funn-numre (Christensen 1985), byr også her på et interessant sammenligningsmateriale. Fiskeredskapene, som er funnet i arkeologiske kontekster fra middelalderens Bergen (Olsen 2004), har også potensial for sammenligning med materiale fra Færøyene.

De siste funnkategoriene som skal trekkes inn som mulige uttrykk for kontakt mellom Færøyene og Bergen, er funn med runeinnskrifter, eiermerker og tellepinner. Både eiermerker og tellerpinner er tallrike i handelsområdet på Bryggen. Begge kategorier er datert fra slutten av 1100-tallet til inn på 1300-tallet, men hvor tellepinner kan gå tilbake til ca.1120 (Grandell 1988; Johnsen 1990). Både tellepinner og eiermerker er funnet på Uppistovubeiti og også Argisbrekka (Arge 1997, 35; Mahler 2007, 98). Av de to runefunnene på Uppistovubeiti er det ene et eiermerke, men med en ikke tolkbar innskrift (Stoklund 2005). Runefunnene fra Bergen utgjør på sin side en omfattende funnkategori med rundt 660 middelalderske runeinnskrifter, inkludert eiermerker, men som også der foreligger uten innskrift. Med sine ni funn blir det færøyske runematerialet langt mer beskjedent, men likevel med paralleller i bergensrunene. Også her er det fremkommet små trepinner med runer, i til-

legg til eiermerker også en såkalt futhark-innskrift, alle fremgravd av Simun Arge i løpet av de siste 30 år; i tillegg til på Uppistovubeiti, på Durhúsi i Eiði. En av innskriftene fra Færøyene er ristet inn på Kirkjubø prelatstol eller bispestol – *Kefas á mik* (dvs. St Peter) – (Stoklund 2005). Den er også interessant i lys av kontaktene til Bergen. Som tidligere nevnt, skal biskop Audfinn i Bergen ha donert korstoler til Mariakirken på Kyrkjebø i 1320. Var det en av disse som ble utstyrt med runer?

KONTAKTENE SVEKKES

Med hanseatenes inntog på Bryggen ble også kontaktene mellom Færøyene og Bergen svekket. Selv om de norske myndighetene utover på 1400-tallet stadig innskjerpet byens stapelfunksjon, hadde tyske kjøpmenn nå startet seilas til Færøyene, så vel som på Orknøyene, Shetland og Island. Det førte til direkte handel uten å gå via Bergen (Helle 1982, 798–99). Folk fra disse områdene kom likevel fortsatt til Bergen, men nå gjerne for å søke arbeid for kortere eller lengre tid. Ennå inn på 1500-tallet ble det drevet handel og omsatt varer i Bergen fra Shetland og Færøyene, bl.a. vadmål og dun (ibid, 815). Det gikk dessuten fortsatt en varestrøm i form av skatter og kirkelige avgifter som havnet i erkebiskopens gård og lagerboder i Bergen for videre omsetning (ibid, 815, 818). På det verdslige plan kom Færøyene fra 1520-årene til å ligge under slottslenet og høvedsmannens styre på Bergenhus – på den tidligere kongsgården –, men kom senere i forlening til en tysk kjøpmann fra Hamburg (ibid, 832, 835). Kontaktene mellom Bergen og Færøyene var nå over i en ny fase.

Det arkeologiske materialet fra Færøyene har, som vist, mange paralleller til funnmateriale fra Bergen. Det er naturlig å se disse likhetstrekkene i lys av de nære relasjonene mellom områdene, særlig fra andre del av 1100-tallet og gjennom hele høymiddelalderen. Det er også fra denne perioden vi finner de fleste parallellfunnene. Samlet har det arkeologiske materialet fra de to områdene et potensial for videre komparative dybdestudier, et potensial som bare har kunnet antydes i denne lille hilsningsartikkelen til Símun.

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