

# EXPLORING ATLANTIC TRANSITIONS

Archaeologies of Transience and  
Permanence in New Found Lands

*Edited by*

PETER E. POPE

*with*

SHANNON LEWIS-SIMPSON



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## ABBREVIATIONS

ADP	Arquivo Distrital do Porto, Cabido
AHFF	Arquivo Histórico Figueira da Foz
ANOM	Archives nationales d'outre-mer, Aix-en-Provence, France
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BCLA	British Columbia Legislative Assembly
BL	British Library, London
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
CARD	Canadian Archaeological Radiocarbon Database
CEW	coarse earthenware
CO	Colonial Office
CSW	coarse stoneware
<i>DI</i>	<i>Diplomatarium Islandicum</i>
<i>DN</i>	<i>Diplomatarium Norvegicum</i>
FCF	First Colony Foundation
FORA	Fort Raleigh National Historic Site
GA Amsterdam	Gemeente Archief (Amsterdam), Notarial Archives, at Library & Archives Canada
HA	Journals of the House of Assembly, Bermuda
HMSO	His/Her Majesty's Stationery Office
ICP-AES	inductively coupled plasma atomic emission spectrometry
LAC	Library & Archives Canada
LTSABC	Land Title and Survey Authority of British Columbia
MNI	minimum number of individuals
MoLAS	Museum of London Archaeology Service
NIEA	Northern Ireland Environment Agency
NISP	number of identified specimens
NLI	National Library of Ireland
NPS	US National Park Service
PCA	principal components analysis
Sheffield WWM	Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments
SMBW	Society of Mineral and Battery Works
SMR	Society of Mines Royal
SPMA	Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology
SSHRC Canada	Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada
TNA/PRO	The National Archives/Public Record Office

# I

## On the Verge of Colonialism: English and Hanseatic Trade in the North Atlantic Islands

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NATASCHA MEHLER and MARK GARDINER

*Between the 15th and 17th centuries many foreign trading sites emerged in the North Atlantic islands. However, trade was heavily regulated and most sites lacked investment in infrastructure, which meant that they could be established and abandoned according to commercial conditions or at the direction of local officials. This paper discusses the political and economic factors which underlay trade in the North Atlantic islands at the same period as the English Newfoundland enterprise. It argues that English and Hanseatic business with Iceland, Shetland and the Faroe Islands from the 15th to 17th centuries was pre-colonial, but yet acted as the cradle of the subsequent commercial colonialism of the Danes and Scots.*

### INTRODUCTION

By the time English merchants and fishermen established permanent settlements and colonies in Newfoundland, most North Atlantic islands, including Iceland and Shetland, had already been visited by the English and other Europeans who went there to fish or trade. The English settlements on these islands were occupied only during the summer, as were those of the Germans. Voyages to the North Atlantic islands for fishing and trading can be considered a prelude to the Newfoundland and North American ventures. This paper summarizes English and Hanseatic expansion to the North Atlantic islands from the 15th century onwards, and outlines the character of this trade and the cultural contacts it involved, to set the scene for the English enterprise in Newfoundland.

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

During the early 14th century Hanse merchants began to extend their markets beyond the Baltic and the North Sea, in which they already had captured a substantial part of the commerce. By the second quarter of the 14th century they were well established in Scandinavia and, in 1350, were granted trading privileges in Bergen, where they established a *kontor*.<sup>1</sup> This inevitably led to competition with English merchants, who had been the largest trading partners of Norway, and who found their position seriously challenged for the first time. Rivalries between traders from the two parties became increasingly bitter and the English were driven, at least briefly, from the staple port of Bergen in 1370.<sup>2</sup> As trading conditions in the town deteriorated, the English began to look for ways to avoid the staple port, either by fishing themselves in northern waters or by trading north of Bergen, which

the Norwegians had specifically forbidden since 1294.<sup>3</sup> This northward movement offered a chance not only to forestall their German rivals, but also to avoid the customs dues levied at Bergen.

The Hanse merchants were also aware of the possibilities of directly exploiting the markets of northern Norway and the North Atlantic islands of Orkney, Shetland, the Faroe Islands and Iceland, which were all held by the Norwegian Crown. As long as trade with all these places was channelled through the *kontor* in Bergen, it suited Hanse merchants to support the maintenance of the staple port and observe the ban on commerce with the North Atlantic islands. The Germans at Bergen, predominantly from Lübeck, agreed to prevent direct trade with Orkney, Shetland, Iceland and the Faroe Islands in 1416 at a meeting of the *Hansetag*, the council of the Hanse towns.<sup>4</sup> They had too much to lose in Bergen by defying the king of the now-united realm of Denmark–Norway.

The calculation for the English was much less simple. Their interests in Bergen were much reduced by the late 14th century and they had significantly less to lose by ignoring the regulations of the Danish–Norwegian Crown, which after the 1397 Treaty of Kalmar controlled the area of modern Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, and the North Atlantic islands. As early as 1412, and perhaps before, English ships began sailing directly to Iceland, both to fish and to purchase dried fish caught by the Icelanders.<sup>5</sup> Within a few years the number of ships voyaging to Iceland had grown from a few to many score. Although Henry V of England forbade fishing ships from sailing to Norway and Iceland in 1415, this order seems to have had limited effect.<sup>6</sup> The Icelanders clearly benefitted from this English trade, as indicated in a 1419 letter to the Danish–Norwegian king, but this trade represented a loss of revenue to the Bergen staple and, in 1425, all foreigners were banned from going to Hålogaland, Finnmark and Iceland. (The first two districts, in northern Norway, were frequented by English ships fishing for cod.)<sup>7</sup> This order likewise had limited impact, as the king had no way of enforcing his ban. Only from 1429 was English fishing and trading activity in Iceland theoretically regulated by the English Crown, and merchants were told that they might only trade through the Bergen staple.<sup>8</sup> Licences were soon issued as a matter of course and English trade with Iceland was effectively unrestricted.<sup>9</sup> By the 1430s the English were so well established in Iceland that two Englishmen were appointed as bishops, Jón Craxton (1435–7) at Skálholt, and Jón Bloxwich at Hólar (1435–40), reflecting the influence which the English had gained there.<sup>10</sup>

The English did not develop a significant level of trade with the other North Atlantic islands during the 15th century. Orkney and Shetland remained under Danish–Norwegian control, until they were pawned to the Scottish Crown in 1469, and the transfer of sovereignty did not stimulate further trade. The Faroes attracted little, if any, attention from the English. Lübeck merchants continued, officially, to confine their activities largely to Bergen, through which all the trade from the Norwegian-held islands (Iceland and the Faroes) was directed. The Hanse renewed its prohibition against direct trade with Orkney and Shetland in 1494 and 1498.<sup>11</sup> However, there may have been a level of unofficial activity which has left little trace in the written records. A possible indication of this is a deed of 1452 recording the sale by Henrik Soost, most likely a Lübeck *Bergenfarer*, of land in the Shetland island of Papa Stour, a place which was certainly a centre for later trading activity.<sup>12</sup>

Trading activity was transformed for the English merchants in 1490, when the Danish–Norwegian Crown agreed to allow foreign merchants to trade directly with the Faroe

Islands and Iceland, subject to the payment of customs duties, effectively abandoning the attempt to maintain Bergen as the staple port for the north.<sup>13</sup> Even after the liberalization of trade rules, commerce with the Faroes continued to operate only on a small scale. No English merchants appear to have ventured there, even though it was on the route northwards to Iceland. Faroese trade was brought under close regulation again in 1529, when a Hamburg merchant, Thomas Koppen, was granted the monopoly for all of the Faroe Islands, signalling new thinking in Danish policy.<sup>14</sup> On Shetland, German merchants gradually established themselves in the early 16th century and, in the southwest of Iceland, they increasingly challenged their English rivals. In the summer of 1532, the English were forcibly ejected from the ports of Hafnarfjörður, Bäsendar and Grindavík, though they continued to trade in Vestmannaeyjar (Westman Islands) and to fish more widely around the coasts.<sup>15</sup>

Attempts to regulate trade closely had been a feature of North Atlantic commerce since at least the early 13th century.<sup>16</sup> Merchants were so vital for so many goods otherwise unobtainable that unregulated commerce was hardly practical or, for island people, desirable. Regulation included fixing prices and, from the Hanse period onwards, licensing merchants to trade and even defining the ports where they might operate.<sup>17</sup> For some time in the 15th century the English traders appear to have operated without licences which would have restricted them to certain named ports. The return to a licensing system in the second half of the 16th century was merely a resumption of long-standing practice. In 1602 trade with Iceland was further restricted by the Danes with the establishment of the so-called Danish trade monopoly, which allowed Germans to trade only to redeem existing debts, and in 1619 restricted trade to Copenhagen merchants.<sup>18</sup> This led to a severe decline in foreign commerce, although there is some evidence that some Hanseatic trade with Iceland continued well into the 17th century.<sup>19</sup>

In the Faroes a trade monopoly had been re-established in the early 16th century. Trade remained under the control of German merchants in the later 16th century but in 1620 was taken over by the so-called Icelandic Company, a company of Danish traders based in Copenhagen and formed to run the trade with Iceland, the Faroe Islands and, in 1729, Finnmark.<sup>20</sup> Only Shetland, which had been transferred to the Scottish Crown, remained open to continuing German, and a growing Scots, trade throughout the 17th century.<sup>21</sup>

#### KUMBARAVOGUR AND THE TYPES OF EVIDENCE FOR TRADE

In 2006 we began to research the operation of international trade in Iceland and Shetland between c. 1400 and 1700. Fieldwork over several seasons has aimed to identify English and Hanseatic trading sites in the rural areas of Iceland and Shetland, as no structural remains have survived in larger modern settlements.<sup>22</sup> Large coastal areas were walked, and promising earthworks or ruins extensively surveyed. We have carried out excavations in Shetland, with more planned for the future.<sup>23</sup> A second major task of the project is the study of written documents and of artefact assemblages obtained from previous excavations. Identifying foreign trading sites in the North Atlantic islands is not straightforward and requires several types of evidence; it cannot be done on the basis of one data source alone. We will now illustrate our methodology, using the Icelandic site of Kumbaravogur as a case study.



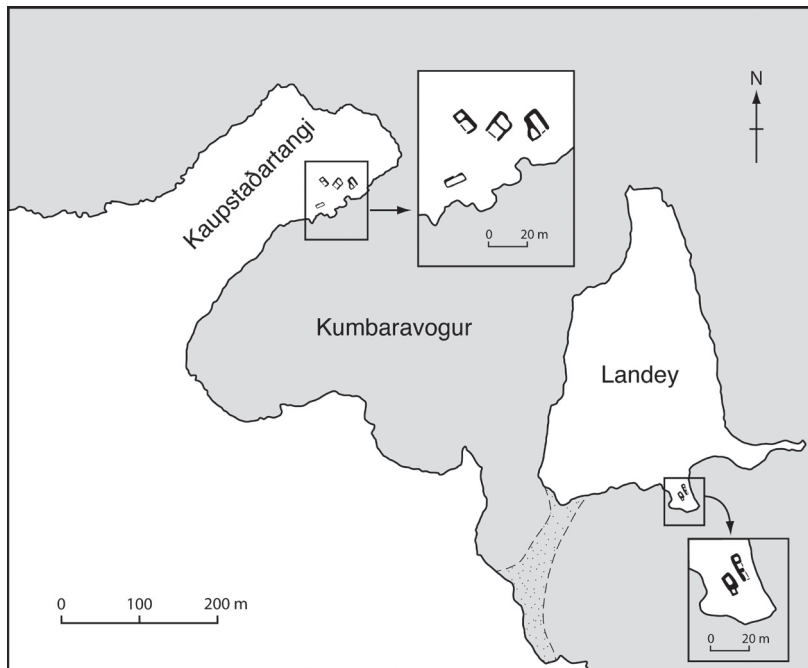
Written sources, the first type of evidence, are often unspecific. Many written documents refer to trade with, for example, England or the Hanseatic League. However, much of the historical evidence is concerned with political issues or disputes between traders and authorities. Customs records or toll registers tell of goods exported and imported from the North Atlantic but do not mention all items transported. Pottery, for example, is never mentioned as ship cargo, though it was widely distributed in the North and can be found at many excavations. Important as written sources are, they give little idea of how the trade operated on the ground on the Atlantic islands, and they seldom tell us the exact locations of trading sites.

One of the few notable exceptions is the debt register (*Rechnungsbuch*) of the brothers Claus and Cord Monnickhusen of Bremen. The register lists their earnings and expenses for the years 1557 and 1558 and provides much detail of the nature and organization of the trade between Icelanders and the Bremen traders. It contains the names of about 110 Icelanders – clients of the merchants who owed them fish which had to be supplied the following year upon the return of the brothers to Iceland. According to the document, the brothers bought a booth in a place named *Kummerwage* in 1557, and sold it the following year.<sup>24</sup> The site had long been thought to be in Norway, as the place-names listed in the register are similar to those in an area north of Bergen. Only recently has it been appreciated that the register must instead refer to a place in Iceland.<sup>25</sup>

Some of the first maps of Iceland, the second type of evidence, were drawn by the Flemish and Dutch cartographers Abraham Ortelius (1527–98) and Willem Blaeu (1571–1638). In 1585, Ortelius produced a map of Iceland based on previous work by the Icelandic bishop Guðbrandur Þórlaksson (1541–1627). Ortelius' map shows a place named *Kumbrumvig* at the northern side of the Snæfellsnes peninsula and the *Tabula Islandiae*. A map by Willem Blaeu printed in 1645, again based on Þórlaksson's map, shows a place named *Krumwick* on the same spot. These place-names are obviously corruptions of the toponym *Kummerwage*, known from written sources including the debt register of the Bremen brothers. The location of the place-names on both maps matches *Kumbaravogur*, a bay on modern maps of Iceland. This place-name (a third source of evidence) is a peculiar one as it is made up of foreign words, providing further evidence for trade: it comprises the words *kumbari* (trading vessel) and *vogur* (bay).<sup>26</sup>

Traditional memory and the evidence of earthworks are a fourth and fifth type of information, and it was oral tradition that allowed the identification of the site (the earthworks of which were surveyed in May 2006). The remains were recorded in the bay of Kumbaravogur near a headland that by oral tradition was referred to as *Kaupstaðartangi*, meaning 'headland of the trading place'. The anchorage lies in a bay formed by the headland of Kaupstaðartangi to the west and the tidal island of Landey on the east (Map 1.1). There are remains of a single building about 2.2 m wide, with outer walls of turf, faced with stone. This structure probably had a wooden facade (Plate 1.1). A short distance to the northeast is a square enclosure with a possible small square annexe. The enclosure is located just above a very small cove which could have been used for beaching boats. To the northwest of the enclosure are two *nausts* (boathouses).<sup>27</sup> On the opposite side of the bay from Kaupstaðartangi lies the tiny tidal island of Landey which is also the site of two house ruins (Map 1.1). It is possible that both abandoned sites were occupied by German merchants, either simultaneously or alternately. Trading ships would have anchored in the bay of Kumbaravogur, from where both sites are accessible.





Map 1.1 Kumbaravogur, Snæfellsnes peninsula, Iceland, with ruins of the Hanseatic trading site at Kaupstaðartangi and the tidal island of Landey

The examination of sites also includes a search for features important for the navigation of ships, such as cairns used as landmarks for sea vessels seeking a harbour.<sup>28</sup> Underwater survey is frequently used as part of the investigation, to determine the depths of bays (so as to assess their suitability as harbours for larger vessels), to look for harbour infrastructure such as pier remains, and to search for fragments of bricks or flint commonly used as ballast (Fig. 1.1), thus indicating the loading and unloading of ships.<sup>29</sup>

Kumbaravogur is mentioned as a trading site many times in the course of the 16th and 17th centuries. The place was visited mostly by merchants from Bremen: in a 1567 letter the Bremen merchant Ioachim Hincken states that traders of his city had been supplying the port of Kumbaravogur for more than 50 years.<sup>30</sup> Other traders, business rivals of the Bremen merchants, came from the city of Oldenburg, which was not a member of the Hanseatic League. Merchants from Oldenburg were certainly present at Kumbaravogur in 1585 and 1586.<sup>31</sup> The Oldenburgers either made use of the buildings the Bremen merchants had erected previously, or built facilities of their own, possibly on the opposite side of the bay, that is on Landey.

The sites at Kaupstaðartangi and Landey were both land bases for the merchants, and only occupied when traders were present. The only permanent settlement was the nearby farm of Bjarnarhöfn. The harbour was abandoned by traders in 1662 and Kumbaravogur is last mentioned in documents in 1733.<sup>32</sup>



Fig. 1.1 Exotic flint from the bay of Laxfirth, Shetland, where a major trading port was located (see Map 1.2). Nodules and flakes of flint were commonly used as ballast in the later Middle Ages and post-medieval period. The three larger examples on the upper left are grey flint from the Baltic area; the origin of the three smaller nodules of brownish flint on the lower right is unknown. Flint does not occur naturally on any North Atlantic island.

#### THE NATURE OF THE TRADING SITES

There was a fundamental difference between the conduct of foreign trade in Norway and on the North Atlantic islands. Norway's foreign trade was largely channelled through urban centres – Oslo, Trondheim, Tønsberg and, of course, Bergen.<sup>33</sup> These were all places which developed precisely because they had good access to the sea and provided locations through which goods could be gathered and shipped. As the trade with the Hanse rose in the 14th century Bergen grew increasingly important as it became established as the Norwegian staple port.<sup>34</sup> The contrast with the trading sites on the Atlantic islands could not be more sharply drawn. Trade with these developed later, acquiring significance only in the late 15th and 16th centuries. Most of the island places of exchange were little more than a safe anchorage and a few buildings at which goods might be stored, as the example of Kumbaravogur has demonstrated (Map 1.1; Plate 1.1). They largely lacked the appurtenances of towns, including the infrastructure of seaborne trade, especially harbour installations, and any permanent population. In Iceland foreign merchants were specifically forbidden from overwintering, to prevent any permanent colonies of traders from becoming established.<sup>35</sup>

The lack of investment in most of the island trading sites meant that they could be established and abandoned according to commercial conditions, or at the direction of local officials. In Shetland there are some 24 trading ports distributed all over the islands, but these were not all used simultaneously and were not all of equal importance. In a letter of 1563 Ola Sinclair, chamberlain of Shetland, detailed eight ports which he says were the chief harbours of the islands, but he also lists others which were frequented by Hanseatic vessels (Maps 1.2 and 1.3).<sup>36</sup> There was, therefore, a hierarchy of ports. Much the same was true in Iceland, which had about 40 trading sites, mostly in the south and west.<sup>37</sup> Here too we can distinguish between the larger ports and those of lesser significance. The English and German traders often made use of harbours which had long been frequented both by fishermen and, earlier, by Norwegian traders. One example of such a long-lived harbour is Grindavík in the southwest, which had been used by Norwegian traders, then was occupied by the English, and later taken over by the Germans.<sup>38</sup> From 1602 onwards the Danes also made use of those established ports (Plate 1.2).<sup>39</sup> Hafnarfjörður, near Reykjavík, became a base for Hamburg traders, with a more substantial settlement. Prefabricated house parts were imported from Germany and a church with a copper roof was erected, served by German priests.<sup>40</sup> These places must have been proto-urban and had a population which swelled in the summer months, but comprised Icelanders alone at other times of year.

We know most about the smaller German trading sites, such as Kumbaravogur, because these have survived largely undisturbed. They had few buildings and were established at isolated sites, at some distance from the nearest settlement and situated at good natural harbours. German traders visited these stations only once a year. The ships were rather small compared to the big vessels travelling to the Baltic, holding only about 60–100 lasts, or 120–200 tonnes. They left their Hanseatic home ports in April and arrived in Shetland two weeks later, and in Iceland after a journey of four weeks. They then stayed on the islands for a couple of months before returning home. As a general rule, the crew slept on board while the skipper or merchant lived in the house at the trading station – the booth, as it was called.<sup>41</sup> We are not sure yet why these trading sites were erected away from existing settlements. It could be that they were at locations chosen by the farmer, landowner, or official who gave the traders permission to build.

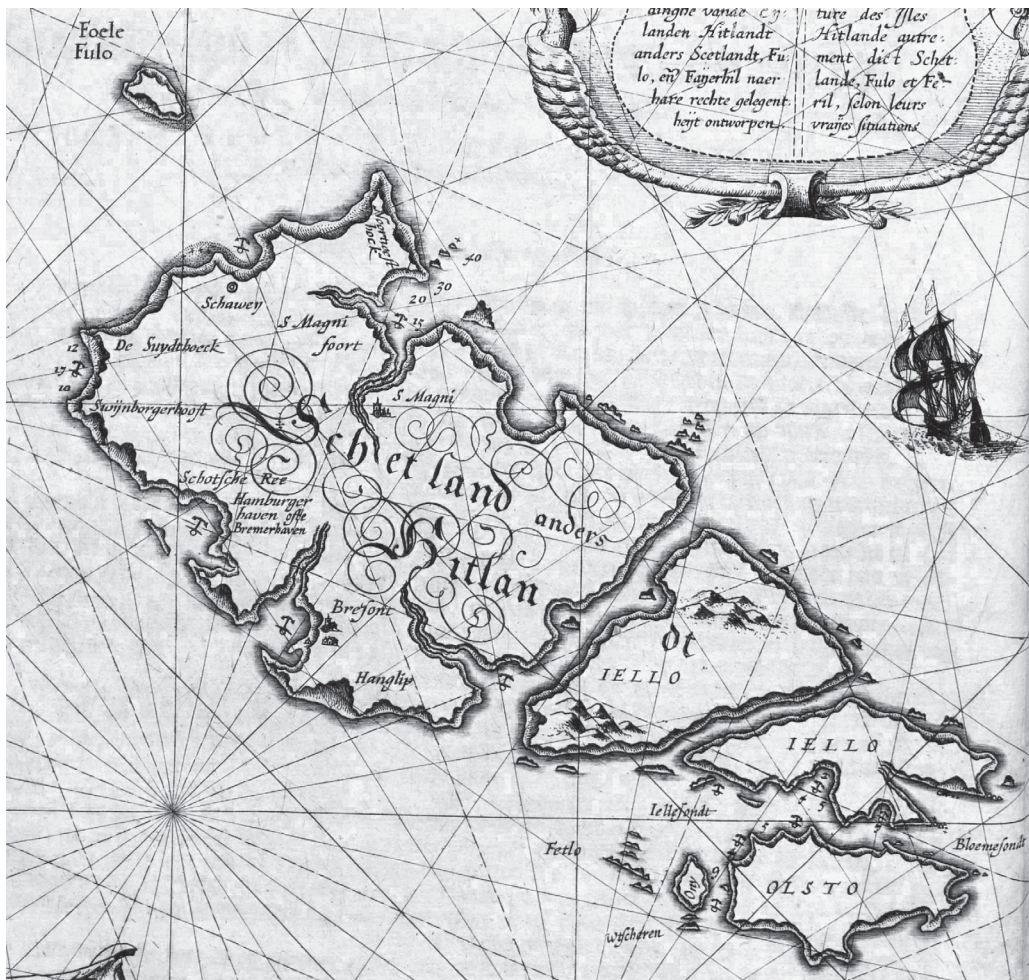
#### WAS THIS COLONIALISM?

Should we interpret the foreign trade with the North Atlantic islands from the 14th to 17th centuries as a form of colonialism? At first sight, the trade seems to have all the elements of a simple colonial relationship between the economic powers of northwest Europe, who were exporting manufactured goods including iron tools, clothing and shoes, in return for raw materials, particularly dried fish and, in the case of Iceland, sulphur and *vaðmál* (coarse cloth). However, the asymmetry of economic power that this seems to suggest is not borne out when we examine the detail of the relationships between the English and Germans on the one hand, and the island inhabitants on the other. The notable feature of trade was that its terms and the conduct were not determined by the northwest Europeans. In Iceland the exchange rate between dried fish and the common goods brought by the English and Germans was established by the *Althing*, or parliament.<sup>42</sup> In the Faroe Islands, during the trade monopoly, prices were regulated by the Danish authorities.<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, the places of trade and the number of traders operating there were determined by the Atlantic island's



Map 1.2 Shetland, with location of ports frequented by Hanseatic merchants, based on field work and documentary evidence. The main harbours, mentioned by Ola Sinclair in the late 16th century, are indicated with a star. There is also another possible site on Fair Isle, about 40 km south of Shetland.





Map 1.3 Detail of Shetland from the book *Het Licht der Zee-vaert*, by the Dutch cartographer Willem Blaeu, printed in Amsterdam in 1608. An anchorage with the descriptors *Hamburger haven* and *Bremer haven* is noted on the mainland.

authorities, who directed traders to specific ports, by issuing harbour licences in the case of Iceland and the Faroes, with a view to ensuring that the benefits of commerce and the goods were widely distributed.<sup>44</sup> Moreover, any tendency towards the establishment of colonial settlements was prevented by laws forbidding traders from staying over winter. In Iceland these are first recorded in 1281 in *Jónsbók*, an Icelandic law book, and were repeated in 1431, with the English in mind, and again in 1490.<sup>45</sup>

The North Atlantic trade with foreigners was therefore largely regulated, but initially it was not colonial in character. The rates of exchange and the management of trade were largely established by the island authorities. Colonial relationships only began to emerge later, once trade began to be controlled from outside the islands. In Iceland this occurred as the Danish authorities began to set the exchange rate for fish and to issue licences to

German merchants, allowing them only to operate in designated ports.<sup>46</sup> The Icelanders were happy when this power was in their hands but less keen on its being exercised from Denmark.<sup>47</sup> Later, in the Faroes and in Iceland, Danish control was further consolidated by the emergence of trade monopolies which strictly restricted the merchants able to participate in commerce. Such monopolies operated solely for the benefit of the Crown and the merchants, and not for the mutual advantage of all parties.

The shift towards an unequal, colonial system of trade in Shetland occurred later. During much of the 17th century it suited the Scottish lairds established in Shetland to continue the established system of trade, which allowed them to sell to German traders the butter and cloth paid in rent by their tenants. Natural disaster, epidemics and accumulating economic pressures in the 1690s precipitated two significant changes. The first was a shift from a trade dominated by German merchants to one which was almost wholly in the hands of Scots. The second was the emergence of fishing tenures which obliged landholding tenants to deliver fish at fixed prices, either to the landlord or direct to designated merchants.<sup>48</sup> At that point, the terms of trade were dictated to the disadvantage of the majority of the North Atlantic islanders and, consequently, the islands entered a prolonged period of impoverishment and economic subjugation.

In defining colonialism in economic terms, we have rather passed over what most people might consider to be the most obvious reason why the relationships with the North Atlantic islands did not represent a simple colonial situation. There was no permanent settlement by a foreign élite, and there were no settlements which could be described as colonies. However, as Chris Gosden has argued, colonialism can exist without colonies.<sup>49</sup> Indeed, colonies may emerge much later in the development of colonial relationships. Colonialism, he suggests, stems from the way in which imported artefacts are perceived in the recipient country. Colonialism is as much about the attitudes of the colonized to the traded goods they received, as it is about economic power. If the introduced artefacts and practices are associated with superior power, then the native peoples place themselves in an inferior, colonized position. Trade becomes colonial when the exchanged goods are more highly prized by one party than the other, as was the case during the Danish trade monopolies in Iceland and the Faroe Islands, and during the Scots domination of Shetland. The exchange becomes unequal when the need for goods and the value placed upon them is also unequal.<sup>50</sup>

This redefinition of the meaning of colonialism, which is a much-simplified summary of Gosden's arguments, helps us to begin to understand the nature of trade relationships in the North Atlantic in the post-medieval period. The complexity of the attitudes which attached to the Hanseatic goods traded to the North Atlantic island has been discussed elsewhere.<sup>51</sup> We have suggested here that colonialism developed in the 17th and early 18th centuries, after the Hanseatic period, through the assertion of power and a growing dependency on traded goods.

## CONCLUSIONS

Trade is never simply trade; it is a politically and socially embedded transaction. This paper has emphasized the political, social and economic factors which underlay trade in the North Atlantic islands, and the places at which trade occurred. In particular, we have examined the development of colonialism on these islands. English and Hanseatic commerce was

pre-colonial, though, as Karl Polanyi has noted, ports of trade under such conditions were the growing points of the world economy.<sup>52</sup> In the development of colonialism in the North Atlantic islands, English and Hanseatic trade led the way. The profit the English and Hanse traders made from the islands encouraged Denmark and Scotland to establish the conditions for full colonialism.

It should be apparent that archaeology has much to offer understandings of the complex and symbolic nature of transactions, which are only hinted at by the documentary record, and of the cultural impact that trade had on islanders, foreign merchants and fishermen. Life was transformed by the goods imported into the North Atlantic islands, not merely in terms of standard of living (though that was important) but also in a cultural sense too. The material culture of the north was altered in a profound way by exposure to Hanseatic goods.<sup>53</sup> As so often in the archaeological record, pottery must stand in for other imported goods now consumed or decayed. When we examine the post-medieval ceramics in Shetland and Iceland from before the start of the 18th century, we see the overwhelming dominance of north German or southern Scandinavian redwares, almost to the exclusion of all others.<sup>54</sup> In this small way we can begin to appreciate the magnitude of the impact of trade on the North Atlantic islands.

## NOTES

- 1 *DN* 3, no. 272; Gade 1951, 55; Helle 1995, 732.
- 2 *DN* 19, no. 591.
- 3 *DN* 5, no. 27.
- 4 Burkhardt 2009, 64ff.; Friedland 1973a, 68; Skúlason 1938, 196ff.
- 5 The standard account of the early years of English fishing and trade in Iceland is given in Carus-Wilson 1954, 98–142; see also Olesen 2000, 91–3.
- 6 *DI* 3, no. 644.
- 7 *DI* 4, nos 330, 380. On the foreign fishing in Norway, see Christensen & Nielssen 1996, 151f.
- 8 Blyke & Strachey 1767–77, IV:347.
- 9 Childs 1995, 18, no. 22 indicates the numbers of licences issued.
- 10 Þorsteinsson 1970, 74ff.
- 11 Friedland 1973a, 69; an English translation of the same paper without notes has been published as Friedland 1983.
- 12 Campbell *et al.* 2010; Rolf Hammel-Kiesow, Archiv Lübeck, pers. comm.; Ballantyne & Smith 1999, no. 22; Crawford & Ballin Smith 1999, 39.
- 13 *DN* 6, no. 609.
- 14 *DN* 12, no. 452; Arge & Mehler 2012.
- 15 Þorsteinsson 1957–61, 80–3.
- 16 For a discussion of this matter for Iceland prior to the arrival of the English and Germans, see Þorláksson 1978, 113.
- 17 E.g. Ballantyne & Smith 1999, no. 140. For Iceland, see Gunnarsson 1983, 52–3.
- 18 Gunnarsson 1983, 27.
- 19 Mehler 2009, 97.
- 20 Mehler 2009, 97; Arge & Mehler 2012.
- 21 Smith 1984, 10–25.
- 22 Gardiner & Mehler 2007; Campbell *et al.* 2010.
- 23 The preliminary results of the excavation of the Hanseatic trading site at Gunnister Voe, Shetland, have been published in Gardiner & Mehler 2010.
- 24 Hofmeister 2000b, 50; Hofmeister 2001.
- 25 Hofmeister 2001, 23.
- 26 The Icelandic priest Björn Halldórsson (1724–1794) in his late 18th-century dictionary refers to *navis mercatoria* or *Kjøbmandsskib* (Danish for merchant ship). Halldórsson 1814 *sub verba* ‘Kumbari’; Gardiner & Mehler 2007, 409–10.
- 27 Gardiner & Mehler 2007, 415–8.
- 28 Campbell *et al.* 2010, 6–8.
- 29 On the ballast at the Hanseatic trading site Avaldsnes, Norway, see Elvestad 2001, 55, 61.
- 30 *DI* 15, no. 12.
- 31 Kohl 1905, 46, 48.
- 32 Gardiner & Mehler 2007, 415–8; Hofmeister 2000; Kohl 1905.
- 33 E.g. Helle 2006, 80–6, 101ff.
- 34 E.g. Burkhardt 2009, 24.

- 35 E.g. Hofmeister 2001, 22.  
 36 Ballantyne & Smith 1999, no. 140.  
 37 Baasch 1889, 106–7; Skúlason 1938, 192; Gardiner & Mehler 2007.  
 38 Þorsteinsson & Grímsdóttir 1989, 145–6.  
 39 Gunnarsson 1983, 59.  
 40 Baasch 1889, 93, 110; Skúlason 1938, 192–6.  
 41 Gardiner & Mehler 2007, 402–6.  
 42 *DI* 4, no. 337.  
 43 West 1972, 34; Arge & Mehler 2012.  
 44 For the Faroe Islands, see Arge & Mehler 2012.  
 45 *DI* 4, no. 506.  
 46 Gunnarsson 1983, 53–4.  
 47 Gunnarsson 1983, 54.  
 48 Smith 1979, 13–5; Shaw 1980, 182; Smith 2000, 68–74.  
 49 Gosden 2004, 3.  
 50 Gosden 2004, 20.  
 51 Mehler 2009.  
 52 Polanyi 1963, 36.  
 53 Mehler 2009.  
 54 Crawford & Ballin Smith 1999, 156–67; Crowley & Mills 1999, 200–1; Hall & Lindsay 1983, 565–72; Melton 2001. See also finds from Breckon in Yell, Shetland, held at the Shetland Museum and Archives, Lerwick, and discussed in Melton 2001, 284–5.

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