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World Heritage List 2018

The Archaeological Border Landscape of Hedeby and the Danevirke (Germany) - Additional Information Request

Dear Ms. Bourdin,

We are very thankful for your interim report and additional information request from 22 December 2017.

We are also happy that Neil Price the ICOMOS expert of the technical evaluation mission to “The Archaeological Border Landscape of Hedeby and the Danevirke” was pleased by the organisation of the mission and the information provided therein.

Following up the ICOMOS World Heritage Panel meeting on Friday 24 November 2017 and your written request, we are pleased to provide the necessary additional information. We identified 11 points at issue. In addition, in the annex you will find a concise thematic study focusing on Hedeby in the context of the role, development and comparison of emporia in Northern Europa between the 8th and 11th century AD (expanding on points 1-3 and 7).

The ICOMOS Panel

was interested

1. in how the site of Hedeby might provide a picture of the **way a trading centre developed and flourished in one area of Northern Europe** over three centuries;

would be pleased if the State Party could further explain

2. whether the form and layout of Hedeby might be seen as typical of other trading centres, as the **best preserved example of a trading village**,
3. or as distinctive because of its **relationship to** what are called **the largest earthworks in Northern Europe**,
4. the **relationship between the two components**, Hedeby and Danevirke and **why they should be kept together**

asked

5. for more detailed evidence as **to how Hedeby and Danevirke might reflect the whole phenomenon of the Viking Age Period** expansion in Northern Europe and the role of the Danish State;

considered that

6. the nominated property does not meet requirements for cultural landscape,
7. the justification of OUV might need to be recast;

noted that

8. the recommendations resulting from the earlier trans-national serial nomination related to the Viking Age were not addressed;

finds that

9. the Viking Age is rather prominent in the justification for OUV,
10. the Justification is rather general in terms of setting out precisely how what survives together with the archaeological evidence reflects the proposed OUV,
11. the arguments surrounding the border concept to be unconvincing and the ideas that the border landscape are meant to address are confusing.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

1. How the site of Hedeby provides a picture of the way a trading centre developed and flourished in Northern Europe over three centuries

- For more than three centuries Hedeby ranged among the largest and most important trading towns in Western and Northern Europe.

From the 8th to the 11th century AD, it was the urban settlement of Hedeby that developed into the vital centre for trade between the Baltic region and Western Europe and between the North Atlantic and the continent. At its peak Hedeby was also one of the largest emporia with respect to the number of inhabitants and occupied space. Hedeby stands out from other trading centres due to its unique location at the portage between the trading networks of the North Sea and the Baltic

Sea and between the Frankish empire and the Danish kingdom as well as due to the connection with the Danevirke securing and controlling the border and the portage.

Furthermore, the essential role of Hedeby in the trading networks of the time is reflected in an extraordinary wealth of finds. Goods were traded via Hedeby to and from the British Isles, Scandinavia, the Carolingian Empire, northern Italy, the Baltic Sea region and eastern Europe, and even as far as the North Atlantic, Byzantium and the Caliphate at Baghdad. Thus, it is not surprising that Hedeby became one of the main gateways of the Christian mission to Scandinavia and the stepping stone for Ansgar's mission to Birka in Sweden. In Hedeby, the first parish and the first bishopric in Scandinavia were founded in 850 and 948, respectively. The choice of Hedeby as an entrance point for the Christian missions into Scandinavia underlines its pivotal role in mediating socio-cultural interactions between continental Europe and the Scandinavian world (p. 108, nomination dossier).

- Hedeby covers all main attributes in an outstanding way over the complete period

The documented early urban characteristics of emporia include central market functions, minting of coins, small-scale parcelling of land and permanent settlement, as well as fortification. All of these are reflected in the outstanding example of Hedeby. Thus, Hedeby bears exceptional testimony to the emerging of towns in Northern Europe, and to the development of wide-ranging trade networks in the 8th to the 11th century AD.

- Hedeby is the best preserved example of a trading centre

In comparison to other significant emporia in Western, North-Eastern and Northern Europe, such as Birka in Sweden, Dorestad in the Netherlands, York in England or Staraja Ladoga in Russia, Hedeby stands out clearly with regard to its scientific value as archaeological and cultural heritage resource. It is by far the best preserved example of a trading centre that covered the complete period of more than 300 years of the rise and decline of emporia and their socio-cultural backdrop. This is illustrated by first and foremost the outstanding preservation conditions on site, notably for perishable material. As a consequence, it has revealed and still reveals a unique diversity and quality of findings and urban structures (as explained on the 24 November 2017 in Paris).

2. Why the form and layout of Hedeby are typical for other trading centres and serve as the best preserved example of a trading village

- Hedeby combines all essential features of emporia to an outstanding extent and displays them in a well-preserved form:

Central market functions: Because of its unique situation in the borderland between the Frankish empire and the Danish kingdoms and at the shortcut between North and Baltic Sea Hedeby evolved into the essential trading hub between the North Sea and the Baltic Sea as well as between continental Europa and Scandinavia. This has been established by more than 100 years of top-level research in Hedeby described in an abundance of publications (see p. 97-99 and Chapter 7.E nomination dossier).

The rich finds show the wide range of the trading network which had Hedeby at its centre due to its favourable geographical location (see point 1).

Large landing stages seem to have lined most of the shoreline within the ramparts and extended far into the Noor. They were not only used for loading and unloading ships but also served as a

town market for the exchange of goods (see p. 108, nomination dossier). Jetties extending far into the water are a clear marker of the great importance of the harbour as they facilitated mooring of the largest of the contemporary cargo ships.

Comparable wharf facilities have not been identified or uncovered to such an extent in any other emporium before. In fact, the market function of these landing stages was first proposed on the basis of research in Hedeby.

Small-scale parcelling of land and permanent settlement: Archaeological excavations and geophysical surveys have revealed the extent of the transition from a small settlement site on the banks of the Haddeby Noor into an urban settlement that occupied the entire interior space encompassed by the town wall built in the tenth century. (see p. 108, nomination dossier)

Hedeby offers the earliest preserved example of a planned town layout in Northern Europe and gives a unique insight into the wooden architecture of towns and harbours in the Viking Age. The maritime trading centre of Hedeby became an excellent showcase for the development of urban structures and for the growth and decline of the emporia in Mediaeval Europe. Places such as Ribe/Denmark, Birka/Sweden, Aarhus/Denmark, Kaupang/Norway, Staraja Ladoga/Russia, Dublin/Ireland, York/England, Dorestad/Netherlands and London originated as trading centres with urban features such as plot divisions within the settlement in the eighth to eleventh centuries but were either abandoned earlier or overbuilt by mediaeval towns. (p. 113, nomination dossier)

Minting of coins: Coins were minted in Hedeby in the ninth and again in the tenth century. Even though it is not clear who actually commissioned the minting, this was a privilege that was most likely granted by the king (see p. 110, nomination dossier). This feature appears mainly in other important emporia or wics in Western Europe such as York and Dorestad.

Fortification: Hedeby features a hillfort on a moraine hill north of the settlement, and was fortified with an earthen town wall in the mid-10th century and connected to the Danevirke. This rendered the sites the largest and longest-living defensive system in Northern Europe.

The different segments and phases of the various fortifications feature a great variety of defensive architecture and consist mostly of ditches in connection with earthworks which were built on wooden substructures or were combined with wooden dams in wetland areas. (see p. 113, nomination dossier). Ramparts to protect other trading towns were built in the 10th century like in Ipswich/England, Birka, Aarhus and Staraja Ladoga.

(See also the short thematic study in the annex.)

3. Why the relationship between Hedeby and the Danevirke as largest earthworks in Northern Europe is distinctive

- Hedeby and the Danevirke are both taking advantage of a unique geographical and political location linking major trading networks in Europe and are complementing each other:

Hedeby functioned as a means to facilitating exchange between trading networks spanning Scandinavia, the North Sea, the Baltic Sea and continental Europe, and - in conjunction with the Danevirke - to controlling trading routes, the economy and the territory at the crossroads between the emerging Danish kingdom and the kingdoms and peoples of mainland Europe. The archaeological evidence highlights the significance of Hedeby and the Danevirke as a unique example of an urban trading centre connected with a large-scale defensive system in an important borderland and at the core of major trading routes over sea and land.

4. Why Hedeby and the Danevirke should be kept together

- Geographical connection

The strategic location of the Schleswig Isthmus on the Jutland Peninsula – featuring the then shortest and safest route between the seas and narrowing the important north-south passage across the peninsula – enabled the joint development of a linear fortification system (Danevirke) to *control* and an urbanized trading centre (Hedeby) to *enable* communication in political, social and economic ways from east-west and north-south directions (p. 102-106, nomination dossier).

- Structural connection

Both sites became physically connected with each other by the Semicircular Wall and Connection Wall during their common period of use between the 8th and 11th centuries. This spatial and physical linkage is well preserved and its prominent structural remains are still visible and accessible today.

The construction of the so-called Connection Wall around 968/970 “incorporated Hedeby into the defensive system of the Danevirke for the first time (p. 92, nomination dossier)”.

“The urban settlement of Hedeby is connected to the Danevirke by the semi-circular earthen rampart functioning as the “town wall” (Semicircular Wall).” (p. 55, nomination dossier)

- Functional connection

The abovementioned structural and geographical relationships imply a functional nexus as well. As outlined in the nomination dossier, “Hedeby and the Danevirke functioned as demarcations, fortifications and displays of power, and as a means of controlling exchange, trading routes, the economy and the territory at the crossroads between the emerging Danish kingdoms and the kingdoms and peoples of mainland Europe.” (p. 112, nomination dossier)

For these reasons, the State Party considers Hedeby and the Danevirke as an archaeological ensemble that can only be fully understood and appreciated as a historical unit and connected monument.

5. How Hedeby and Danevirke might reflect the whole phenomenon of the Viking Age Period

- Phenomenon of Viking Age expansion and the role of the Danish State are not part of the proposed OUV

The State Party emphasizes that the current proposed OUV is not related at all to the phenomenon of Viking Age expansion. Neither is the role nor development of the Danish State part of the focus of the draft SoOUV. This confusion may be related to the proposed SoOUV of the former transnational serial nomination. However, the complexity in size and construction and constant renewal/rebuilding of the Danevirke as linear fortification and demarcation of the border region is a clear sign of the use of resources by a central power, the evolving Danish state (see Brief synthesis, p. 24, nomination dossier).

- The draft SoOUV focuses on the trading settlement Hedeby and the fortification system of the Danevirke in the border region between Scandinavia and mainland Europe

The Draft SoOUV of the submitted nomination focuses on Hedeby as a trading centre with trans-regional significance in conjunction with the fortification system of the Danevirke in the border region between Scandinavia and mainland Europe. Further details are laid out in chapter 3 of the nomination dossier.

However, the state party considers that Hedeby and the Danevirke reflect a significant cultural, political and economic phase in the history of Northern Europe – the development of long distance-trade networks based on urban trade centres linked to the sea.

(See point 1-3 and 7 and the thematic study in the Annex)

- How Hedeby and the Danevirke reflect the role of long-distance trade in the 8th to the 11th century AD

The early medieval economy developed from redistribution based on local microsystems into large trading macro-systems and markets. Emporia were the important nodes in these long-distant trade networks that served exchange, production and distribution into the hinterland.

Hedeby functioned as a means to facilitating exchange between trading networks spanning the European continent, and - in conjunction with the Danevirke - to controlling trading routes, the economy and the territory at the crossroads between the emerging Danish kingdoms and the kingdoms and peoples of mainland Europe. The archaeological evidence highlights the significance of Hedeby and the Danevirke as a unique example of an urban trading centre connected with a large-scale defensive system in an important borderland and at the core of major trading routes over sea and land.

(See point 1-3 and 7 and the thematic study in Annex)

- How Hedeby and the Danevirke reflect the role of urban development in the 8th to the 11th century AD

The documented early urban characteristics of Emporia include central market functions, minting of coins, small-scale parcelling of land and permanent settlement, as well as fortification.

All of these are reflected in the outstanding example of Hedeby. It was one of the most important merchant towns of Northern Europe, so-called Emporia, of this time.

(See points 1-3 and 7 and the thematic study in the Annex)

6. The nominated property does not meet requirements for cultural landscape

- Archaeological site instead of cultural landscape

The State Party acknowledges this consideration by ICOMOS and suggests, as indicated on page 134 of the nomination dossier, that the nominated property is defined as an archaeological site instead.

- Natural features are protected by buffer zone

The nominated property was built because of and in conjunction with the natural features of the surrounding landscape, which can still be seen to this day. However, today's landscape varies from the historic topography to the degree that it does not meet the requirements of OUV. Therefore, "natural features in the landscape such as fjords, rivers, valleys, lakes and wetlands are not part of the nominated component but are protected by the buffer zone and the wider setting" (p. 60 in the nomination dossier).

7. Proposal for recast of the OUV

The State Party provides the necessary information for a new OUV if a recast is envisaged and implemented by ICOMOS. In this context, the State Party suggests to adjust the Brief synthesis and both criteria but to leave the Statements of Integrity and Authenticity as well as the Requirements for protection and management unchanged.

Brief Synthesis:

The trading centre of Hedeby and the defensive system of the Danevirke consist of a spatially linked complex of earthworks, walls and ditches, settlements, grave fields and a harbour across the Schleswig Isthmus on the Jutland Peninsula in Northern Europe from the first and early second millennia AD. Here, at the Schleswig Isthmus, the singular geographic situation created a strategic link between Scandinavia, the European mainland, the North Sea and the Baltic Sea. A Baltic Sea inlet, rivers and extensive boggy lowlands constricted the north-south passage across the peninsula while, at the same time, providing the shortest and safest route between the seas across a narrow land bridge. Closely tied to the isthmus situation, Scandinavian, Slavonic, Frisian, Saxon and Frankish peoples and kingdoms met in this important borderland.

Because of its unique situation in the borderland between the Frankish Empire in the South and the Danish kingdom in the North and at the shortcut between North and Baltic Sea Hedeby became the essential trading hub between the North Sea and the Baltic Sea as well as between continental Europa and Scandinavia. For more than three centuries - throughout the entire Viking Age - Hedeby was among the largest and most important among the new trading towns in Western and Northern Europe – the emporia. In the 10th century, Hedeby became imbedded in the defensive earthworks of the Danevirke which controlled the borderland and the portage.

The importance of the border and portage situation is showcased by large quantities of imports from distant places among the rich assemblages in Hedeby. The remains of a defensive character, buildings, landing stages, burials and settlement infrastructure of Hedeby and of the Danevirke are well preserved constituting a high level of integrity and authenticity. The archaeological evidence, including large amounts of organic finds, provides an outstanding insight into the expansion of trading networks and cross-cultural exchange as well as into the development of towns and the Scandinavian elites over several centuries in the 8th to 11th centuries – the so-called Viking Age.

Criterion (iii):

- Hedeby and the Danevirke are outstanding testimonies to the cultural traditions of Northern Europe in the so-called Viking Age between the eighth and eleventh centuries:

Hedeby in conjunction with the Danevirke were at the centre of the networks of mainly maritime trade and exchange between Western and Northern Europe as well as at the core of the borderland between the Frankish empire and the Danish kingdom over several centuries. Thus they bear outstanding witness to exchange and trade between people of various cultural traditions in Europe in the 8th to 11th centuries, the Viking Age.

Because of their rich and extremely well preserved archaeological material they have become key scientific sites for the interpretation of a broad variety of economic, social and historic developments in Viking-Age Europe. Exceptional archaeological remains of the urban settlement, the harbour and the cemeteries have survived in Hedeby, testifying to different cultural traditions from the eighth to eleventh centuries. These are complemented by ramparts and other defences preserved from more than six centuries, including wooden structures, stone and brick (then novel building materials) which are unique evidence of the development of defensive structures. The extraordinary diverse archaeological structures and finds include large quantities of elsewhere rare organic material. Because of these qualities, Hedeby and the Danevirke are unique among the archaeological sites in Western and Northern Europe of the time.

Criterion (iv):

- Hedeby and the Danevirke are the outstanding example of a pivotal trading town combined with the largest and longest-living defensive structure representing a significant cultural, political and economic phase in the history of Northern Europe – the development of long distance-trade networks based on urban trade centres linked to the sea:

The documented early urban characteristics of emporia include central market functions, minting of coins, small-scale parcelling of land and permanent settlement, as well as fortification. All of these are reflected in the outstanding example of Hedeby. It was one of the most important merchant towns of Northern Europe, so-called Emporia, of this time. Thus, Hedeby bears exceptional testimony to the emerging of towns in Northern Europe, and to the development of wide-ranging trade networks in the 8th to the 11th century AD.

Hedeby functioned as a means to facilitating exchange between trading networks spanning the European continent, and - in conjunction with the Danevirke - to controlling trading routes, the economy and the territory at the crossroads between the emerging Danish kingdom and the kingdoms and peoples of mainland Europe. The archaeological evidence highlights the significance of Hedeby and the Danevirke as a unique example of an urban trading centre connected with a large-scale defensive system in an important borderland and at the core of major trading routes over sea and land.

8. Recommendations were not addressed

- Political reasons impeded continuation of ICOMOS' recommendations

All partners of the transnational serial nomination "Viking Age Sites in Northern Europe" agreed that the recommendations could not be addressed accordingly because they were not seen as viable for the sites combined in the series.

- Independent concept: The new nomination does not follow up the concept of OUV as proposed in the former transnational serial nomination

Although a direct (political) result of it, the new national nomination is not connected to the former transnational serial nomination with regard to the proposed SoOUV.

9. The Viking Age in the justification for OUV

- Viking Age is a chronological and not a thematic framework

The term 'Viking Age', as used throughout the nomination dossier, solely describes the chronological-regional framework of the nominated property. The nomination does not attempt to define 'the Vikings' or 'the Viking Age' in a socio-cultural or ethnic way, nor does it intend to prove that Hedeby and the Danevirke had a major influence over the history and development of Northern Europe during the 'Viking Age'.

- Same terminology is used by ICOMOS

The use of 'Viking Age' as terminology for a period in North European history is widely recognized by scholars in the field, as shown, *inter alia*¹, in the ICOMOS (2005) study "The World Heritage List – Filling the Gaps – an Action Plan for the Future" compiled by Jukka Jokilehto. In this instance, the authors label and categorise five World Heritage sites (no. 84, 555, 697, 731, 1152) under the term "Vikings and Normans" (p. 54, ICOMOS 2005)². Consequently, we analysed Hedeby and the Danevirke within the same chronological-regional framework and compared them with these World Heritage sites, among others (p. 141-142, nomination dossier).

- The term 'Viking Age' can be omitted if misconstrued

However, since the term 'Viking Age' is only used in a chronological context, the State Party would also agree to a proposal that the disputed word be omitted from the original as well as newly proposed SoOUV in order to avoid any misunderstandings or false conclusions.

10. Why the Justification seems rather general

- Given format of SoOUV only allows a condensed summary

Because of the given format with "approximately 1-2 pages" as outlined in UNESCO's (2016, p. 86) "Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention", the SoUV cannot contain the same wealth of information as set out in previous sections and chapters of the nomination dossier.

- Detailed explanations of justification in chapter 2 and 3.1.A-3.1.D

The arguments laid out in the proposed SoOUV reflect the more detailed rationale provided in chapters 3.1.A – 3.1.D (p. 102-121, nomination dossier), which in turn is based on the description and historic development of the archaeological structures and findings along with its scientific research history in chapter 2 (p. 55-96, nomination dossier).

- Hedeby and the Danevirke as key scientific site for the interpretation of historic development in Viking-Age Europe

"Hedeby and the Danevirke have become key scientific sites for the interpretation of historic developments in Viking-Age Europe" (p. 107, nomination dossier). This statement is backed up by numerous and method-rich archaeological investigations that have taken place there since 1861.

¹ See for instance Crawford, B.E. 2013. The Northern Earldoms. Orkney and Caithness from AD 870 to 1470. Edinburg, John Donald Publishers.

Duczko, W. 2004. Viking Rus. Studies on the Presence of Scandinavians in Eastern Europe. Leiden/Boston, Brill Academic Publishers.

² The authors, for example, describes the World Heritage Site of "Birka and Hovgården", no 1152 as "an archaeological complex which illustrates the elaborate trading networks of Viking-Age Europe and their influence on the subsequent history of Scandinavia" (p. 146, ICOMOS 2005).

The intensive scientific endeavours in the field are illustrated by the extensive literature dedicated to the topic (see in-depth bibliography in chapter 7, p. 296-344 in the nomination dossier).

It can be said without doubt that the interpretation of the archaeological evidence of Hedeby and the Danevirke set out in the nomination dossier is state of the art and common ground in the current scientific discourse. It has had an enormous impact on our knowledge and understanding of the 8-11th centuries and beyond.

- Richness and diversity of the archaeological evidence reflects the site's political, social, economic and cultural developments in Northern Europe

The richness, diversity and interculturality of the archaeological evidence, such as: construction material for housing, harbour, infrastructure and fortification, rune stones, shipwrecks, trading goods, burial objects, everyday objects, and so on, clearly bear witness to the site's significance for developments in the areas of trading, exchange, political power, and for the social and spatial organization of cultural traditions in Northern Europe.

11. The border concept and the ideas of the border landscape

- Danevirke is well established as demarcation in the borderland

While the concept of a border landscape can be disputed, it is a commonly agreed historical fact that the Danevirke and Hedeby are situated in the "southern margins of Danish dominion [...] close to the Saxon, Slav and Frankish polities" (p. 48, McCormick 2007³) for several hundred years between the 5th and the 12th centuries AD.

³ McCormick, M. 2007. Where do trading towns come from? Early medieval Venice and the northern emporia. In: Joachim Henning (ed) Post-Roman towns, trade and settlement in Europe and Byzantium: The heirs of the Roman West. Vol I. Berlin/New York, Walter de Gruyter, p.41-68.



Map of the Frankish Empire (in light brown) and the Danish kingdom (in blue) in the 9th century (from Maixner, Birgit. 2010. *Haithabu – Fernhandelszentrum zwischen den Welten*. Schleswig. © Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf)

This is also testified to by contemporary sources which are all set out in chapter 2 (e.g. p. 53, nomination dossier) and 3 (p. 111, nomination dossier). The Danevirke – in connection with Hedeby – served a central role in this borderland between the 8th and 11th centuries. This is notably shown by the archaeological and historical evidence which proved several extensions and re-fortifications of the Danevirke in the 8th, very likely the 9th and definitely the 10th centuries which are also explained in chapter 2 (pp. 86-96, nomination dossier) and 3 (pp. 112-114, nomination dossier).

This renders the Danevirke the largest and most persistent border fortification by far in Northern Europe. This fact reflects on the longevity and importance of this border as a whole throughout the so-called Viking Age as well as before and after.

The historical consequences of this long-living border notably between early Danish domains and Frankish and East-Frankish realms are of fundamental importance for the formation of the Danish kingdom, which could have been absorbed by the Frankish kingdoms otherwise. The border and the Danevirke became again important in political conflicts of the 12th century and were revived in the Danish national movement of the 19th and 20th centuries where they became tokens of Danish independence (pp. 96-97, 114, nomination dossier).

- Borders show notions of fracture and meeting at the same time

On pages 126-127, the nomination dossier describes according to the scientific discourse (see also McCormick 2007) how borders reflect political and social realities. Notions of demarcation as well as interaction are both part of territorial behaviour at borders⁴. Both aspects are introduced, explained and valued with respect to Hedeby and the Danevirke in chapter 3 in the nomination dossier.

This phenomenon may appear as a contradiction at first, but, in fact, it expresses the special sphere of borders as places of fracture and meeting and, in this instance, the contrast between the historic border landscape as a manifestation of power and as a 'communication hub' for various peoples. Another prominent example of a similar historic situation is the World Heritage Site "Frontiers of the Roman Empire", no 430.

- Sources of political, cultural and economic interactions at Hedeby and the Danevirke are explained in detail in the chapter Description

The chapters Description, in particular 2.B (p. 107-112, nomination dossier), and Justification both explain and justify, according to scientific standards, the archaeological evidence and its interpretation relating to early Danish politics and the interaction of five different peoples in this area. The archaeological and historic sources in question regarding economic interaction and political conflicts are fully described and analysed in the above mentioned chapters. It is not clear what additional information is sought by ICOMOS.

⁴ See for further explanations on historic and recent border (concepts), for instance: Abulafia, D. 2002. Seven types of ambiguity c. 11000- c. 1500. D. Abulafia and N. Berend (eds) *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*. Aldershot, Routledge, pp. 1-34.
Konrad, V. 2015. Toward a Theory of Borders in Motion. *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 1, pp. 1-17.

We hope that all points at issue could be answered as requested. As stated above, further information regarding Hedeby's role and significance as emporium in Northern Europe is explained and justified in detail in the annex.

We are thankful to support the World Heritage Convention and the evaluation process. Moreover, we look forward to the official ICOMOS recommendation regarding the nominated property.

Yours faithfully,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Matthias Maluck', with a stylized flourish at the end.

Matthias Maluck
World Heritage Office
State Archaeological Department of Schleswig-Holstein

Annex: Brief thematic analysis on trading centres in Northern Europe from the 8-11th centuries AD

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Brief thematic analysis on trading centres in Northern Europe from the 8-11th centuries AD

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Comparative conclusions on trading centres

The value of Hedeby as an outstanding example of a trading centre and of an early urban settlement site of the 8th to 11th centuries AD is based on the site's historic importance, its authenticity and good state of preservation.

Hedeby differs from other urban or trading centres of the Viking period due to its unique location at the portage between the trading networks of the North Sea and the Baltic Sea and the Frankish empire and the Danish kingdom as well as due to the connection with the Danevirke securing and controlling the isthmus. Hedeby held a key role among the trading centres connecting different networks.

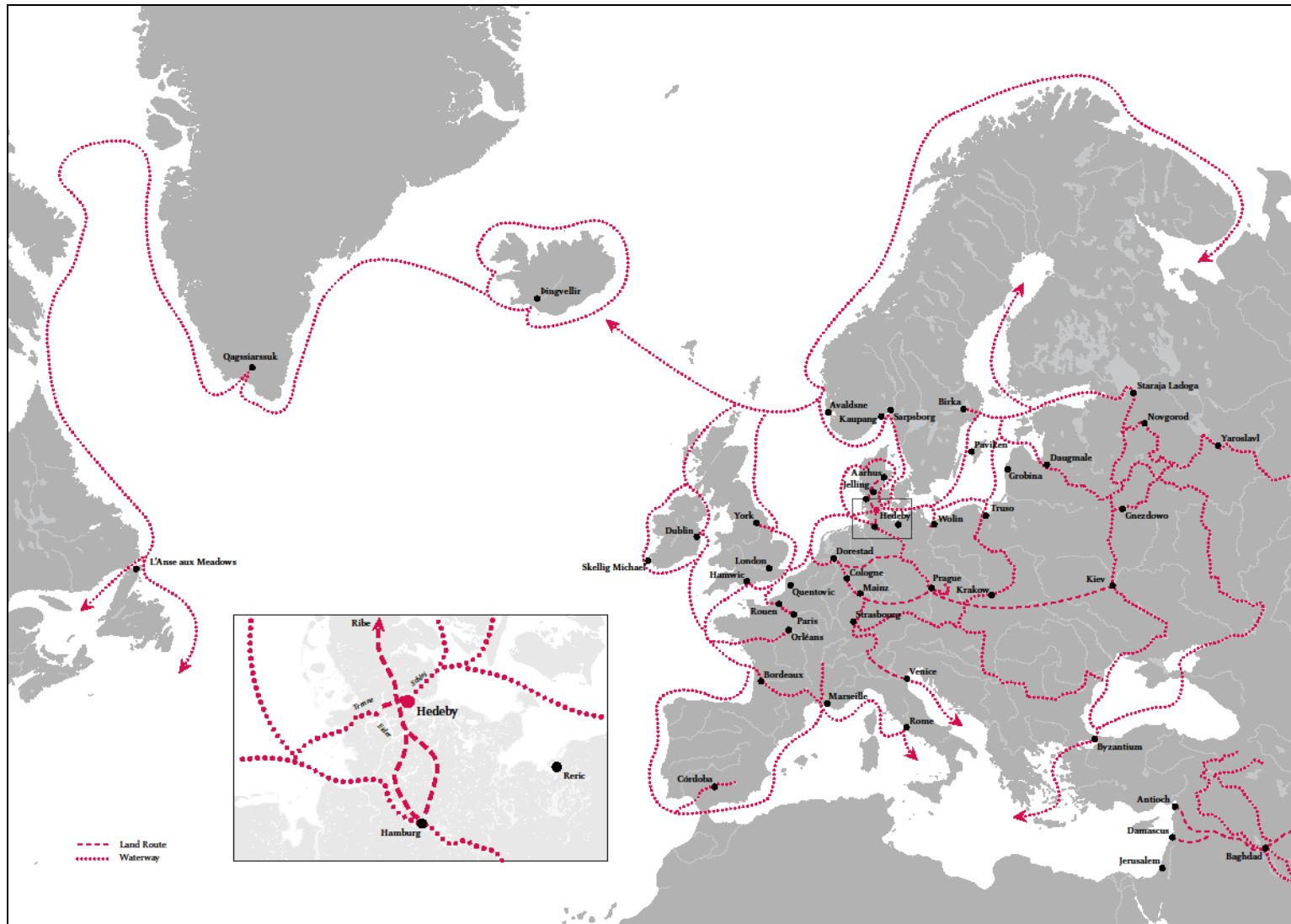
As opposed to places like Kaupang, Ribe, York, Dublin and Aarhus, the visibility and integrity at Hedeby is not compromised by modern urban development. The various components of an Emporium and its layout, such as its town wall, harbour, craft and housing areas, as well as the burial grounds, clearly demonstrate urban development, as seen at Birka in Sweden or, to lesser extent, Kaupang in Norway. In Hedeby, each of these features is expressed in an outstanding way compared to the other trading towns of the 8th to 11th centuries. The remains of Hedeby are distinctly visible even today and in extremely good condition. The extraordinary diverse archaeological structures and finds include large quantities of elsewhere rare organic material. Because of these qualities, Hedeby and the Danevirke are unique among the archaeological sites in Western and Northern Europe of the time.

On the Continent as well as in England and Ireland, the trading towns of Dorestad, Quentovic, Lundenwic, Ipswich, Hamwic, Dublin and Jorvik were important trading centres which connected their hinterland to the trading centres around the North Sea and all have valuable remains from the 9th to 11th centuries. However, in all cases, the archaeological layers are

located beneath the modern city which affects their integrity considerably. The emporia's trade was mainly with the other centres around the North Sea.

The settlements from Oldenburg to Wollin are all nodal points for trade along the Baltic Sea and display roughly the same scope of artefacts. However, Oldenburg, Reric and Ralswiek lack visible traces of the settlements. In Wollin there are still visible remains, but a large part of the settlement has already been excavated.

Places like Grobiņa (Latvia), Wiskiauten (Russia), Rjurikovo Gorodišče near Novgorod, Staraja Ladoga and Gnezdova near Smolensk (Russia) were significant nodal points of the so-called Austrveg (Eastern Way), the route linking Scandinavia with the east, although they differ slightly in chronology and status. All of these places can be understood as multi-ethnic centres for communication, where groups of early traders met. Their situation depends exclusively on the two large river systems of Daugava/Dnepr and Volchow/Volga, which were the essential routes for the Austrveg. At all sites, the correlation between settlements and burial sites is still being considered. All show great diversity in burial customs and archaeological material, demonstrating the interaction between the local society on the one hand and Scandinavians on the other.



Map of important trading routes, towns and other places in Europe in the 8th to 11th century (based on Maixner, Birgit. 2010. *Haithabu – Fernhandelszentrum zwischen den Welten*. Schleswig. © Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf)

The development of trading centres from the 8-11th centuries

Emporia in the 8th to 11th centuries were ports of trade situated in border situations often with urban characteristics. The most well-known urban trading centres of the 8-11th centuries in Northern Europe are: Birka, Ribe, Kaupang and Hedeby.

Urban settlements in Western Europe often developed from earlier Roman towns, which the urban settlements in Northern and Eastern Europe could not - not least due to the lack of Roman occupation. Thus, the early development of towns in Northern Europe was only indirectly influenced by the Mediterranean towns from Roman times. Instead, they are particularly closely linked to seafaring, long-distance trade and the mass production of diverse wares. Urban settlements based on maritime trade, so-called emporia or wīcs in Anglo-Saxon, developed in the Early Middle Ages in Scandinavia, the British Isles and in the Frankish, Frisian and Slavic areas.

In the late 1st millennium the development of emporia bridged the gap between the decline of the ancient cities and the rise of the medieval towns. Originating at the coasts of the North Sea, the development soon spread into Scandinavia, the Baltic Sea area and to the Continent. At the same time in the Mediterranean places like Venice also started as new trading towns, linked by trading routes to the emporia of the West and North.

Only a few political centres existed in Scandinavia in Roman and post Roman times, like Gudme in Denmark and Uppåkra in Sweden from the 4th cen. These centres had no links to important waterway.

From the end of the 6th to the end of the 7th centuries small periodic fairs were established at frontiers and coasts which were very small in size from 0.5-3 ha and showed no urban characteristics.

At a later phase of the development a larger number of emporia established in the early and middle 8th century in Scandinavia and the Baltic with still often only temporary character. Some of the larger trading centres linked Western Europe to the East and North (Ribe, Reric, followed by Birka, Hedeby, Kaupang). The earliest emporia around the North Sea show distinctive characteristics different from these earlier centres and became central places in trading networks with the post-roman towns along the Rhine like Cologne and Strasbourg. The earliest small settlements in Ribe and Hedeby suggest a transfer of concept from Frisia.

The large permanent trading centres developed at strategically well-situated natural harbours. Emporia seem to emerge at systemic threshold locations in places of transition between different transport infrastructures like land and sea as well as at or near borders.

The development of emporia as central hubs was accompanied and complemented by the establishment of many smaller local trading sites around the North Sea and at the Baltic Rim between the late 7th and the early 9th centuries. They were non-permanent, probably served also other purposes than trade and are elusive in the archaeological record.

In the late 8th century the establishment of emporia boomed in Northern Europe (at least a dozen), a development which subsided just about 100 years later. Their number declined in the late 9th century.

Fortification of the remaining emporia began only in the 10th cen. Around 970 it seems the production milieu of emporia collapsed, shown in the decline of most of the remaining places, like Birka. However, a few towns like Hedeby, Ribe or Wolin, continued. In the East-Frankish

Empire or the Kingdom of Wessex urban centres became important for administration and the church. In the late 10th and 11th centuries this trend arrived in Northern Europe, often interpreted as the primary urban phase in medieval Northern Europe. Kings and the church founded new large centres in excess of 10ha in size based on the establishment of a Christian infrastructure, like Roskilde, Lund, Sigtuna, Oslo or Trondheim. Many were close to earlier political centres, like Roskilde or Lund which replaced former the royal seats Lejre and Uppåkra, respectively. Others continued from former emporia and were still largely based on harbours and maritime trade but were also used as administrative or episcopal centres, like Sigtuna or Schleswig, which succeeded Birka and Hedeby, respectively. Furthermore, a number of smaller, local centres emerged which had a role as administration centres for kings and the church as well as for production and trade like Aarhus, Viborg or Horsens in Denmark.

The role of long-distance trade in the 8th to the 11th century AD

The early medieval economy developed from redistribution based on local microsystems into large trading macro-systems and markets. Emporia were the important nodes in these long-distant trade networks that served exchange, production and distribution into the hinterland.

Marine travels in the 8th to the 11th century AD were largely associated with trade. As a consequence, for more than 300 years, notably the Norse people of Scandinavia made use of their sailing expertise and their ocean-going vessels to dominate the long-distance trading routes of Northern Europe, extending as far as Iceland and North America to the north and west and through Russia to the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea to the east. Asia, Northern Europe and the North Atlantic islands as far as Greenland were connected by traders. Furthermore, the establishment of trading networks requires a series of sites which are capable of handling the import and export of large volumes of goods.

These so-called emporia developed from local economic microsystems in their surrounding and became part of large trading macro-systems and markets on which existence they depended in the first place providing the essential nodes. Thus, emporia composed large trade networks of distant but important hubs. The markets for the long-distance trading networks consisted not only of the wealthy nobility and the newly established ecclesiastical elite but seem to be a much larger proportion of the rural society. Thus, goods that were transported to the emporia were usually not consumed there but were distributed further to smaller, local market places. At the emporia, however, raw materials were often processed into more valuable products.

Locally available raw materials, such as soapstone, iron ore, fur and amber, were in great demand in Western Europe and were transported over vast distances. Numerous craft products also constituted part of the trading goods. The various products had to be collected and stocked, sometimes in remote outlying districts, and then taken to trading ports, the emporia – the market, where they were distributed further. It was through trade and commerce that many significant innovations were introduced to Scandinavia.

Urban development

The documented early urban characteristics of Emporia include central market functions, minting of coins, small-scale parcelling of land and permanent settlement, as well as fortification.

Closely connected with trade and production, emerging urban centres based on the Emporia initiated and fostered the development of Medieval towns in Northern and Western Europe, around the Baltic Sea and elsewhere and became a catalyst for the transition to Medieval societies and states. Consequently, some modern towns, like Ribe and Aarhus in Denmark and Dublin in Ireland, are rooted in such trading centres of the 8th-11th centuries. In contrast, settlement in Northern Europe was predominantly rural, consisting of single farmsteads or small villages containing several such farmsteads. Local nobility can be linked with exceptionally rich farmsteads, which often also served as centres for trade and crafts, as in Borre in Vestfold/ Norway.

The knowledge about the development of trading networks based on centres has increased enormously by archaeology in recent decades notably from excavations in major, well-preserved centres like Hedeby, Kaupang and Birka. Most emporia, however, were small settlements of around 12-14 ha in extent and with 500-100 inhabitants. The material culture that can be found in emporia of Northern Europe and the Baltics was mainly Scandinavian/Norse also in non-Scandinavian places.

Archaeologically, this type of site can be differentiated from its immediate surroundings, being evident as an urban settlement where traces of production and consumption are visible. Emporia show a much denser settlement pattern than can be found in the rural surrounding. The trading centres show a highly diverse material culture resulting from a high level of information exchange with the other emporia.

In trading centres like Hedeby, a king had to guarantee the peace in order for permanent trading networks of producers and consumers to be formed. However, the role of elites in the founding of emporia is disputed. Emporia and wīcs in Western Europe were usually connected with local elites but cannot be considered political centres nor were they necessarily fully controlled by the elite. It seems more likely that the initiative came from merchants. It appears that often the role of kings and other rulers in the emporia became stronger only at a later stage as soon as they became successful trading settlements important for income and prestige of the elite, as was the case in Hedeby. This is underlined in a fact which is corroborated by the archaeological evidence: emporia and Anglo-Saxon wīcs were often only mentioned in the historical records of the rulers after some years of their existence. In Eastern Europe urban centres were more related to political power of the Rus and only to a secondary extent to their role in trading networks.

Protected by laws and often permanent enclosures, urban settlements were central to the emergence of early states. One of the most readily visible traces of a link between kings and urban settlements is the minting of coins. Acceptance of a monetary system requires a general belief in the king's abilities to guarantee coinage of a stable metal content, as well as being a sign of more market-oriented trade increasingly based on the mass production of goods.

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The trading towns around the North Sea

Name and description of site	Quality and variety of archaeological finds and features, state of preservation	Layout, structure and features typical for emporia (market, harbour, parcelling, infrastructure, fortifications, minting)	Importance in trade networks
<p>Lundenwic/London (present-day England): Based on a roman town and province capital in 4th cen., disappeared from the historical record from mid-5th to early 7th cen., then site of Anglo-Saxon bishopric, trading centre outside city walls at The Strand, occupation by Vikings around 880, founding of settlement within city walls in 886 acc. to Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, boom in 11th cen.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Very little arch. evidence from early post-roman • Excavations reveal growth of Strand in 7th-9th cen. • Built up by the city with only fragmentary arch. evidence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Walled-enclosure of cathedral documented • Evidence of streets but unknown whether they formed a grid • State investment in infrastructure: street grid, wharfs by Alfred in late 800s 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Among the most important English wīcs • Extramural settlement was involved in international trade
<p>Hamwic/Southampton (present-day England): Anglo-Saxons settlement at the Itchen River centred on what is now the St Mary's area of the city in end of 7th century. The settlement was known as Hamwic, which evolved into Hamtun and then Hampton. Viking raids from 840 onwards contributed to the decline of Hamwic in the 9th century, and by the 2nd half of 10th century a fortified settlement, which became medieval Southampton, had been</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Archaeological excavations of this site have uncovered one of the best collections of Saxon artefacts in Europe. • Not densely built up but streets, buildings, cemeteries excavated • Houses are of contemporary rural type • Built up by the city. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Harbour • Regular street grid • Ditch around no wall as perimeter • Evidence for mint • Production 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Outstanding from other middle-Saxon wīcs • Trading centre for Wessex • Foundation prob. promoted by Wessex kings and church • Trading connections to Rhineland and Loire • Among the most important English wīcs

established. larger than 42ha			
<p>Ipswich (present-day England): Founded in 7th cen. as international port and craft production centre of East Anglia, ca. 10 ha, expansion in 8th cen, ca. 50 ha, Danish occupation from 991 until 917. Declining evidence of trade in 10th and 11th cen. suggest change of functions, large scale abandonment in late 11th cen.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Larger excavations mainly at 2 places revealing possibly a denser town centre at Buttermarket already in 9th cen. • Rich and diverse material • Built up by the modern city 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Settlement, cemetery • Street grid, 2 major lanes with contiguous buildings • Craft production • New urban cellared house type in late 9-10th century • Circular defence in 10th cen. • Spread outside walls in 11th • Mint from around 973 on 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trading centre for East Anglia • Trading links with Dorestad and Rhine but also Belgium and Northern France
<p>Jorvik/York (present-day England): originally a Roman town at the Humber estuary 120km from sea, then largely abandoned, reused in early 7th as Anglo-Saxon Eborac, religious and commercial centre of Northumbria, dominated by Vikings from 866 until 954, York (Jorvik) is one of the urban settlements where Viking Age remains are prevalent from the 9th century AD. However, conflicts regarding supremacy over York grew stronger during the course of that century and already in AD 876 the large army which once attacked York was dissolved and its members were allocated plots of land in the greater Northumbrian region creating a new Anglo-Scandinavian culture which remained prevalent in York. Taken over by William the</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Many Scandinavians adopted Christianity and syncretism is best shown by coins minted in York showing Christian and pagan Norse symbolism and by typical Christian grave slabs bearing pagan symbolism. • Large excavations revealed up to 9m of archaeological layers in damper parts incl. timber • From 970 on new build style with cellars • The Viking Age layers form part of the archaeological heritage which is located beneath the modern city. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Plot division a new street layout by 900 • Important craft centre for metal, glass, combs, textile production • Bishopric in 627, archbishopric in 735 and cathedral • Mint 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trading centre for Northumbria • Most important wīc in North England • Part of international trade network but mostly focussed on provision to hinterland

<p>Conqueror in 1068 ca 100 ha, 1000-2000 inhabitants</p>			
<p>Dublin (present-day Ireland): Founded in AD 840, the settlers from Viken were well acquainted with urban settlements and harbours from their home region in Scandinavia, where both Kaupang and Heimdal (close to Gokstad in Vestfold) were flourishing.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Archaeological excavations of over 200 buildings. • The earliest layers form part of the archaeological heritage which is located beneath the modern city. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Scandinavian urban settlement of Dublin was distinctly different from the Irish settlements of the time. • The excavations have securely established that Scandinavian Dublin was an area of trade and craft production. 	
<p>Quentovic (present-day France): Situating at the banks of the Canche River, Pas-de-Calais. trading centre from the late 7th – 2nd half of 9th centuries, mentioned in written sources at beginning of 8th cen., originally probably Anglo-Saxon, then conquered by the Frankish Empire at the end of 7th cen., larger than 35 ha</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Only a few archaeological surveys with drills, no large excavations, lack of archaeological evidence • coinage well known in archaeological material of other sites 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One of the most important Carolingian mints and toll stations • Craft production unclear 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Port of trade between the Frankish Kingdom in Neustria and England • One of the most important wics
<p>Dorestad (present-day Netherlands): The site was inhabited from AD 675 AD onwards. Dorestad was conquered by the Franks shortly after the Frisians had established it. After repeated raiding and destruction by Vikings, it was deserted and activities moved to Tiel, Deventer and Zutphen.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rich and diverse material • Built over and destroyed by the river. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Its layout is only partially known but very structured along the river. • Craft production unclear • As a mint, it produced a large quantity of Frisian coins for long-distance trade from the mid-6th century. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It can be seen as the first permanent emporium based on models from England and the Frankish domain • Emporium for trade from Austrasia, the eastern portion of the Frankish Kingdom, and the Rhineland to England and the East

The North European emporia

Name and description of site	Quality and variety of archaeological finds and features, state of preservation	Layout and structure (market, parcelling, roads, harbour, fortifications, burial grounds, settlements, production sites etc)	Importance in trade network
<p>Hedeby: Hedeby developed in the late 8th century AD. Hedeby is mentioned in the 9th century AD sources of the Frankish and Ottonian Annals, <i>Vita Anscarii</i> and <i>Ottar's Journey</i>. Abandoned in the late 11th century, 25ha inside wall, the complete complex is larger than 50ha, ca. 1500-2000 inhabitants</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Geophysical surveys have revealed an extensive settlement much larger than the area currently excavated. • The harbour area was extensive and used for the transshipment of goods across the Schleswig Isthmus to the North Sea. • The urban settlement's many functions have been documented through the still-visible structures in the landscape as well as through archaeological excavations, which have confirmed craft production, and written sources, which indicate the sale of slaves, a conclusion which is archaeologically supported by the discovery of chains. • The extensive urban activities of production and consumption inside the town wall clearly distinguish the settlement from its surrounding area. • This is further supported by the presence of foreign objects 	<p>Hedeby was a large and well-structured urban settlement with defined streets and plots, a harbour, extensive burial grounds and eventually also a semi-circular town wall protecting the entire urban settlement. There are extensive remains associated with craft production and long-distance import of mass-produced goods such as quern stones.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most developed and differentiated state of urbanisation amongst comparable emporia • most prominent town wall • hillfort • harbour with shipwrecks and landing stages used as market • parcelling and street pattern • mint • The defence structure of Danevirke is connected to the town wall and thereby highlights the strategic position of Hedeby at the root of Jutland and along its route of communication rich production area 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hedeby's location by the southwestern part of the Baltic Sea and only a short distance from the North Sea's southeastern ports made it a truly interregional nodal point for trade and long-distance transport of both people and goods. • Outstanding role in trading network due to singular position as portage between networks of North Sea, Baltic Sea and Continent

	bearing witness to the city as an arena for multicultural meetings.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • several cemeteries • with Birka the earliest bishopric and earliest archbishopric in Scandinavia 	
<p>Birka (present-day Sweden): In the Viking Age, the urban settlement of Birka was situated on a small island in Mälaren, at the time a fjord connected to the Baltic Sea. The excavations have revealed that Birka was laid out in the second half of the 8th century AD as a year-round urban settlement. As noted in 2.b.2, Birka is mentioned in <i>Vita Anscarii</i> and was exposed to Christianity through Archbishop Ansgar as early as the early 9th century AD. Declined in the 10th century. ca. 900 inhabitants, settlement area 16.5 ha</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Birka's research history stretches over more than a century and the site has yielded invaluable insights relevant to the study of early urbanisation. • No perishable materials preserved. Settlement and harbour not so well researched as Hedeby. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The settlement consisted of well-structured plots and streets protected by the town walls. • A hillfort is located in close proximity to the urban settlement • Traces of wooden poles in the harbour area indicating that there was a defensive barrier protecting the urban settlement from attack. • Hovgården, located on the neighbouring island, is believed to be the royal residence. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most important emporium in the Baltic rim • Birka is currently listed on the World Heritage List as site no. 555 Birka and Hovgården and is owned and preserved by the Swedish state.
<p>Ribe (present-day Denmark): There are extensive traces of craft production and trade from the mid 8th century AD well into the Medieval period. Ribe is also mentioned in <i>Vita Anscarii</i>.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Archaeological excavations indicate that the structure of the settlement was altered several times, whereas the trading and production activities continued to be confined to the harbour area throughout the period. • Today, however, the urban settlement of Viking Age Ribe is situated underneath the modern town. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Settlement was divided into plots, each of which was marked out by clearly-defined ditches. • The buildings are laid out close to each other and surrounded by a town wall. • Harbour with trading and production activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trading centre for West Jutland • Ribe has been particularly important for the study of crafts and trade in the Viking Age. • Together with Hedeby and Birka, Ribe is a central point of reference for the study of early urbanisation.
<p>Kaupang (present-day Norway):</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Archaeological excavations of 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Urban features such as plot 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The scientific value of the site

<p>Kaupang was a trading centre which, from the early 8th century AD, Kaupang is most likely mentioned as Skiringssal in Ottar's late 9th century AD account and, based on the Frankish Annals from AD 808 and 813, the establishment of Kaupang has been seen in relation to the Danish King Godfred in 9th cen. more than 4 ha</p>	<p>the settlement, as well as the burial grounds around it, have been conducted.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recently, geophysical surveys have contributed to a better understanding of the layout of the settlement. • At the settlement site, there are traces of craft production similar to the other urban settlements in Scandinavia at the time. • Today, the traces of the Viking Age settlement are located under pasture land and the modern settlement. The area is protected by the Norwegian Heritage Act. 	<p>divisions within the settlement.</p>	<p>is defined by its contribution to settlement studies and the study of Viking Age trading networks of Northern Europe.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not as large and long-lasting than Hedeby and Birka
<p>Aros/Aarhus (present-day Denmark): first small settlement from 770AD, only 6ha in 10th cen.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continued excavations from 1960s • Built over by modern town 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fortification with rampart in 10th cen. • Mint in 11th cen. • Craft production 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trading centre for East Jutland • One of the prominent trading towns of Early Medieval Old Denmark • Late emporium as founding was connected with the diocesan seat in 948

The trading towns in Austrveg: The Baltic Rim and Eastern Europe

Name and description of site	Quality and variety of archaeological finds and features, state of preservation	Layout and structure (market, parcelling, roads, harbour, fortifications, burial grounds, settlements, production sites etc)	Importance in trade network
<p>Starigard/Oldenbug (present-day Germany): Starigard or</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Today, only a couple of town walls remain from the first 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A hillfort and a heathen sanctuary are associated with 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Part of a wide-ranging contact network, which extended north

<p>Oldenburg was a trading centre whose history goes back to about AD 700.</p>	<p>settlement</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • now located on the outskirts of the Medieval town of Oldenburg. • lacks visible traces of the settlement. 	<p>the site.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Excavations have ascertained that there was a large harbour whose remains show it was part of a wide-ranging contact network, which extended north to Scandinavia. 	<p>to Scandinavia.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The hillfort was converted into the episcopal centre in AD 1150. • Nodal points for trade along the Baltic Sea
<p>Reric (present-day Germany): Reric is mentioned in the Frankish Annals of AD 808 and 809, when the trading centre was destroyed and Danish King Godfred reinforced Danevirke and moved his traders to Hedeby. Reric is thought to have been situated south of Wismar in Germany, near Groß Strömkendorf. The finds date the settlement to the 8th and early 9th century AD.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extensive excavations of settlement, harbour and burial ground • Lacks visible traces of the settlement. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The site developed according to an organised layout. • A large settlement, a harbour and a burial ground with Scandinavian artefacts, including six boat burials were discovered. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Early emporium • Nodal points for trade along the Baltic Sea • Deserted already in 8th century
<p>Ralswiek (present-day Germany): Ralswiek is located on an oblong islet in a protected fjord on the island of Rügen in Germany. The settlement is dated to AD 750-850, whereas the burial ground, which consists of c. 400 burial mounds, had a period of use extending over c. 300 years.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cremation graves and urn graves reveal that the deceased were of Scandinavian origin. • Lacks visible traces of the settlement. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Burial ground and settlement. • The settlement is characterised by the production of ceramics, bone and horn artefacts as well as boat-building and metalwork. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nodal points for trade along the Baltic Sea
<p>Wollin (present-day Poland): Wollin is situated on the Polish island of Wolin at the estuary of the river Dziwna.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 130 graves have been excavated and dated to the period AD 900-1200. • The archaeological remains resemble those of Birka and 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The settlement has urban features such as plot divisions and streets. • During the 9th century AD, a semi-circular town wall was 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nodal points for trade along the Baltic Sea

	Hedeby, but there is a much greater presence of Slav crafts at Wolin than at the two other sites.	constructed <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a harbour has also been located as has a burial ground with at least 200 graves; 	
Grobiņa (present-day Latvia): Grobiņa in Latvia is one of the early overseas settlements in the Baltic area. Already by the mid-7 th century, people from what is today Sweden settled along the Baltic coast and Grobiņa represents one of these early overseas settlements.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The presence of these people in Grobiņa is demonstrated by the many cemeteries displaying Scandinavian burial traditions. The archaeological record indicates Scandinavian presence over a period of 200 years (AD 650-850) However, no settlement structures and layers clearly identified and excavated so far 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The settlement of Grobiņa can be characterised as an early urban settlement and was mostly known as Seeburg in the Viking Age. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Its strategic position along the river Ālande, which reached the Baltic Sea in the Viking Age, made the settlement attractive for trade and thereby also as a place to settle. One of the starting or finishing points of the Austrveg
Wiskiauten (present-day Russia): Wiskiauten is a large burial ground situated at Mohovoe near Kaliningrad in Russia. It consists of over 500 mounds dating from the 9 th to the 11 th century. The burial tradition and multiple finds are of Scandinavian character.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Recent surveys show mainly local settlement activities as well as local cremation burials from the 7th – 12th centuries. A total of 300 mounds have been excavated. However, no international trade settlement structures and layers clearly identified and excavated so far The Scandinavian burial site has been subject to illegal plundering activities during recent years. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Settlement is still unclear Mainly burials 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> One of the starting or finishing points of the Austrveg but mainly of secondary importance in trading network
Staraja Ladoga (present-day Russia): Staraja Ladoga is situated on the west side of the Volkhov River in Russia. In the 8 th century AD, it was already	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In addition to predominantly Slav material, many Viking Age objects and features testify to a Scandinavian presence in Staraja Ladoga. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> By the 10th century AD, it developed to a large trading centre and noble residence fortified with ramparts. There are several cemeteries 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ladoga is seen as the gateway on the Austrveg for the journey south along the Russian rivers. According to the Primary

<p>established as a small market place.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • great diversity in burial customs and archaeological material but at the cemetery, which has been excavated since the 1970s, nothing is visible above ground • Most of the Viking Age settlement is now covered with modern houses. 	<p>in its vicinity.</p>	<p>Chronicle, this was the seat of Rurik, a Swedish king who was called in to help by local chiefs and established a dynasty here in AD 862.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Significant site along the Austrveg and centre for the origin of early state and monarchy.
<p>Rjurikovo Gorodišče (present-day Russia): The site lies on the Volkhov River in Russia close to Novgorod. From a small Slav settlement, it developed to a fortified trading centre in the 9th and 10th centuries AD.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The archaeological remains revealed clear traces of Scandinavian and Slav settlement, including typical burial mounds. • great diversity in burial customs and archaeological material 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fortification • burial grounds 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The market function moved to Novgorod in the 10th century AD, but Gorodišče remained a military and administrative centre. • Significant site along the Austrveg and centre for the origin of early state and monarchy.
<p>Gnezdova (present-day Russia): Gnezdova is situated 15-20 km south of Smolensk in Russia. It occupies a strategically important location on the land connection between the rivers Dnieper and Lovat. The Primary Chronicle reports its foundation by Oleg from Novgorod in AD 882. The trading centre lasted until the end of the 10th century.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The archaeological remains revealed rich Scandinavian finds among local material. • great diversity in burial customs and archaeological material • Gnezdova is better preserved and more visible than in Staraja Ladoga but has also been largely excavated. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is a large cemetery with more than 4000 barrows and a settlement with a fortified centre. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Significant site along the Austrveg and centre for the origin of early state and monarchy.