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## CHAPTER 9

# Historical archaeology in Sweden – from the Middle Ages to Modernity

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*This paper outlines the romantic and national origins and the later transformation of Medieval Archaeology to Historical Archaeology, both as an antiquarian practice and as an academic subject, focusing on the development in Sweden since the eighteenth century. Where the concept of the Middle Ages defined the former subject, both its opportunities and its limitations, now Modernity has turned up as a new challenging concept. Archaeology has already seen a number of studies into Modernity or the process of modernization going right up to the present. However, the Middle Ages and Modernity are both metaphors creating simplified images in our minds, which contribute to the preservation of the divide between different periods. When I have to choose between an archaeology of the Middle Ages and an archaeology of Modernity, I prefer Historical Archaeology with a rather open definition – the methodological meeting between objects, texts and images.<sup>1</sup>*

### Medieval and Modern

You can excavate the Middle Ages or you can excavate Modernity, but if you want to do both you have to be an historical archaeologist! Medieval Archaeology as a discipline faces the challenges of an archaeology of both modernity and the present (Fig 9.1). An answer to these challenges could be an open-minded Historical Archaeology bridging the time-span from the Iron Age to the present. What then is the background to present-day Historical Archaeology in Lund in Sweden? How and why did Historical Archaeology evolve both as a practice and as an academic discipline? How is Historical Archaeology defined and what might it achieve?

My paper is divided into six short sections: (1) the identification of the origins of Medieval Archaeology; (2) the establishment of Medieval Archaeology as an academic discipline in 1962; (3) the break-up of Medieval Archaeology in



Fig 9.1 *Lund Cathedral from the Middle Ages and the modern Visitor's Centre opened in 2011. Photo: Jes Wienberg 2011.*

the 1980s and 90s; (4) the formal transition to Historical Archaeology in 2005; (5) an Archaeology of Modernity; and, finally (6), comments on the character of the new discipline.

In other words I am going to deliver a typical example of the history of archaeology, where selected parts of the past are used to fit present-day aims and perspectives. There will also be intellectual product placements from my factory, the Department of Archaeology and Ancient History at Lund University.

### **Romanticism and nationalism, the monuments and cultural history**

Almost every academic discipline legitimizes itself by referring partly to a long tradition, partly to its capacity for innovation. The discipline is to be perceived as both old and new. Thus, Historical Archaeology has its direct predecessor in Medieval Archaeology. And Medieval Archaeology owes its existence to both

individual initiatives and structural changes in society, which can be traced back through the centuries. From these traces we create traditions to recall at anniversaries. In our story we incorporate individuals and their actions as early examples of our discipline, even if they themselves necessarily perceived their actions in quite another context.

According to tradition, the very first archaeological investigation into medieval remains in Sweden was conducted by a Linnaean apprentice, a botanist and veterinarian, when a new school was built on the site of a former Franciscan nunnery in Skara in 1779 (Peter Hernquist; cf Andersson 1993, 7f). However, this initiative had no direct consequences or successors.

The appearance of Medieval Archaeology in Sweden (and maybe throughout Europe) has two acknowledged roots in the nineteenth century: archaeological monuments from which grew buildings archaeology, into churches and castles, and cultural history from which grew urban archaeology (cf Andersson 1997; Andrén 1997, 35ff, 133ff; Andersson et al 2007). However, there are two ideological roots to be found below the archaeology of monuments and cultural history, namely romanticism and nationalism, both grown from the turbulence during the decades around 1800. I shall also look at the complicated relationship between the roots and traditions as they appear on an institutional level.

In an ideological and also political reaction to the Enlightenment, the ideas of the French Revolution and the chaos of the Napoleonic Wars, the Middle Ages became an ideal epoch characterized by social and religious stability. The nineteenth century enjoyed the Middle Ages as a romantic dream (Fig 9.2) and created a revival for the Romanesque and Gothic styles in architecture (Clark 1928; Kåring 1995; Larsson 2000, 75f; Fritzsche 2004). This is the background for the study of monuments in Christian Europe.

As a paradox, it is the same period that admired the remains of the Middle Ages that also destroyed the authentic buildings when trying to improve them. The real innovation was that the medieval buildings were carefully documented and analysed before or during destruction. In my office, I have had a portrait of an architect and professor of Greek in Lund who laid the foundation for what we would name 'church archaeology' in Sweden by doing just that – rebuilding and documenting medieval churches (Carl Georg Brunius; cf Grandien 1974).

An archaeology of churches, of art and architecture or a Christian archaeology continues up until today. Thus the complicated history of Lund Cathedral and its architectural hinterland in the diocese has been a recurrent subject of several proto or formally established medieval archaeologists (eg Brunius 1836; 1850; O. Rydbeck 1923; M. Rydbeck 1936; Cinthio 1957).



Fig 9.2 Romantic Hjularöd castle in Scania, Sweden, built 1894–97. Photo: Anders Ödman 1998.

The medieval dream is also visualized in exhibitions at the Historical Museum at Lund University, which dates back to 1805. The main focus here, when it comes to the Middle Ages, is on churches and their fittings.

Today, in line with Post-Modernism, we see a New Romanticism, where the Middle Ages are popular again as reflected in new-born medieval markets, re-enactments and the erection since the 1990s of a Hanseatic suburb, Jakri-borg, between Lund and Malmö; however, that is another story.

As another reaction to the Enlightenment, the ideas of the French Revolution and the chaos of the Napoleonic Wars, the nation was imagined as a community defined by its people and language (Anderson 1983). The central concept in nationalism and nation building is the people. The central concept in cultural history is the very same people. The aim is to explore and enlighten the life and culture of ordinary people in contrast to a political or ecclesiastical elite. This is the background for the study of culture in defined nations.

Cultural history as a perspective on the past is well represented in Sweden by the impressive three volumes of *Sveriges Medeltid* (The Middle Ages of Sweden; see Hildebrand 1879-1903; cf 1882); they have been and still are inspirational and an everlasting source of illustrations. Another important work produced in Scandinavia is *Dagligt liv i Norden i det sekstende Aarhundrede* (Daily Life in Scandinavia in the Sixteenth Century; see Troels-Lund 1879-1901).

The creation of *Kulturen*, the Museum of Cultural History in Lund, in 1882, was decisive for the development of an urban archaeology. The museum aimed broadly at exhibiting the four orders: nobility, clergy, burghers and peasants. Archaeological excavations were conducted in Falsterbo, Scania, in 1887-88. However, the breakthrough for urban archaeology happened in Lund where observations and excavations have continued since the 1890s. Finds from excavations for sewers in the streets, and soon also from building plots, were collected from 1890 onwards, and the activity gradually transformed into orderly archaeological excavations, which have continued to the present into the thick cultural layers (Bengtsson 1968; Mårtensson 1980; Larsson 2000, 165ff). Excellent expressions of the growing knowledge from the urban excavations were a volume on the medieval history of Lund (Blomqvist 1951) and the medieval exhibition hall at the Museum of Cultural History, which opened in 1957. Cultural history, urban archaeology and the finds from the excavations have converged into a strong line of archaeological studies of material culture (eg Carelli 2001).

The Historical Museum and the Museum of Cultural History lie within sight of each other and since 1918 at a distance of less than 100 metres. Between the two museums and their leaders there was a fierce rivalry. The archaeological territory of the town had to be divided between the Museum of Cultural History and the Historical Museum under the supervision of the state antiquary in 1909. The rivalry stretched to the summer paradise of the bourgeoisie at the coast, the nearby medieval towns of Skanör and Falsterbo and their twin royal castles, in the decades around 1900. The Museum of Cultural History excavated the castle of Falsterbo, whereas the Historical Museum excavated the castle of Skanör – the latter conducted with stratigraphic methods and (much) later an exemplary publication (Rydbeck 1935).

The first mention of the concept 'Medieval Archaeology' in Sweden in 1904 (Rydbeck 1904, 83) and the creation of a professorship of 'Prehistoric and Medieval Archaeology' in 1919, at Lund University, belong in my opinion to this context of rivalry. The importance of this professorship with a double definition, 'Prehistoric and Medieval Archaeology', for several decades has been downplayed in retrospect, probably so that it would not overshadow the creation in 1962 of a separate and independent Medieval Archaeology. In fact, even if the professor of Prehistoric and Medieval Archaeology, who was also head of the Historical Museum, managed to cover most periods from the Stone Age to the Baroque, his main efforts lay in the Middle Ages and church archaeology (cf Andersson 2000-02; Stjernquist 2005, 24ff).



Fig 9.3 *The 'Thule Excavation' in Lund, Sweden. Photo: Ragnar Blomqvist, The Museum of Cultural History in Lund, 1961.*

There are, however, both professional and personal connections between the two roots of Medieval Archaeology. Thus the city's antiquary at the Museum of Cultural History, who for decades conducted investigations into the cultural layers of medieval Lund, had in his luggage an art-historical dissertation on churches (Blomqvist 1929).

In the years just before the formal creation of the university discipline of Medieval Archaeology in Lund there was an intensification of urban excavation. The Historical Museum of Lund University conducted excavations in the medieval town Tommarp in Scania (Thun 1967), and the Museum of Cultural History conducted the first large urban excavation in Sweden, the so-called Thulegrävningen (The Thule Excavation) in Lund in 1961 (Fig 9.3; Blomqvist & Mårtensson 1963).

In my story about the background I have emphasized the roots, the rivalry or competition between institutions and their people, which created a 'critical mass' of research into the Middle Ages, located almost too close together for comfort. And we observe that antiquarian and archaeological practice appears before academic establishment.

## Medieval Archaeology in Lund University

Medieval Archaeology was formally established at Lund University in 1962. At the beginning Medieval Archaeology was a complement to the study of Prehistoric Archaeology, but soon it became a full-degree and later also open directly for beginners (Cinthio 1963; 1988).

Lund University became the first place in Scandinavia to establish Medieval Archaeology as a discipline. Therefore many students of archaeology from all over the country came to Lund to take courses. If you wanted to work as an archaeologist, you were expected to have passed exams in both Prehistoric and Medieval Archaeology.

From Lund a large number of dissertations appeared: 11 licentiates in the period 1963-2005 and 33 doctoral dissertations in the period 1976-2005; the majority were published, first in the series *Acta Archaeologica Lundensia* and later in *Lund Studies in Medieval Archaeology* (1986-2005).

Although in the first proclamation Medieval Archaeology was open to post-medieval periods the discipline was in practice totally focused on the Middle Ages. 'Nordic Historical Archaeology' was even suggested as the new name of the discipline during the planning, but it was rejected locally (Cinthio 1963, 192; 1988, 5f, 13). The professor claimed the Middle Ages as a distinctive period that really existed in-between prehistory and modern times, with four fields – the written sources, Christianity, kingship and economy (Cinthio 1984).

The geographical focus of the discipline was on a regional level, meaning Scania or the former diocese of Lund and more broadly on Southern Scandinavia – a more neutral description of medieval Denmark, of which the diocese was an essential part.

However, from the late 1980s and in the 90s the geographical perspective was broadened to medieval Sweden or even Scandinavia. Even the chronological borders were gradually being crossed towards a wider Historical Archaeology (cf Andersson et al 1997).

The establishment of Medieval Archaeology in 1962 was really new in one important sense – that it united the two roots of the discipline: buildings archaeology and cultural history. The initiative came from an art historian and archaeologist who had written a dissertation on Lund Cathedral (cf Cinthio 1957), but the programme of study was much broader and inspired by cultural history and the ambitions of the Museum of Cultural History in Lund.

At the beginning the discipline obviously connected to cultural history and the four medieval orders (cf Cinthio 1988). The orders represent an ecclesiasti-



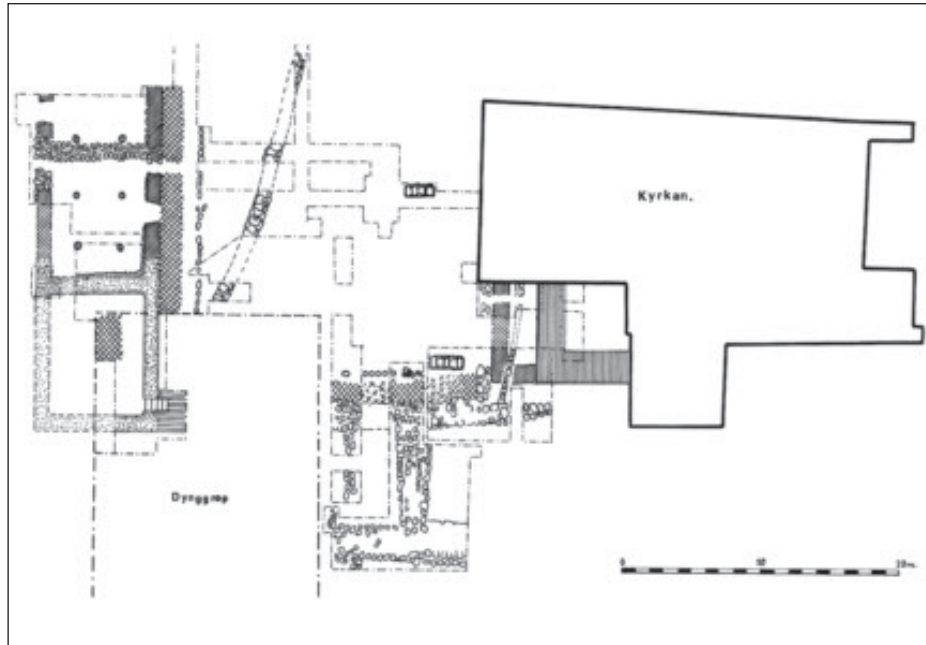


Fig 9.4 Remains of the supposed royal palace west of Dalby church in Scania, Sweden. After Cinthio 1983, 90.

cal ideology based upon four functions in society: those who pray, 'oratores' (ie church archaeology); those who fight, 'bellatores' (ie castle archaeology); those who work, 'laboratores' (ie agrarian archaeology); and those who trade, 'mercatores' (ie urban archaeology) (cf Duby 1980).

In a theoretical perspective Medieval Archaeology in Lund was always sensitive to new trends and often argued for bold theses. From the 1970s it was influenced by New or Processual Archaeology with its emphasis on explicit theoretical reasoning, social and economic perspectives and also quantitative analysis. As a consequence the prefix 'culture' in the teaching courses was replaced in the 1980s with 'social' or 'society' (cf Cinthio 1988, 11). Later during this decade Processual Archaeology was gradually replaced with influences from Post-Processual Archaeology, with its emphasis on interpretation and multiple symbolic meanings.

Three larger research projects ought to be mentioned. Excavations at the church, monastery and manor of Dalby, near Lund (Fig 9.4), were of great importance in the 1960s (summarized in Cinthio 1983; Wienberg 2012). Dom-

inating for two decades in Swedish Medieval Archaeology was urban archaeology as an antiquarian practice and also ‘Medeltidsstaden’, the Medieval Town project (1976-84). Even if this project was not formally conducted from Lund, the majority of medieval archaeologists here and elsewhere were involved in writing reports on individual towns (summarized in Andersson 1990). Finally the department participated in the project ‘The Cultural Landscape during 6000 Years’ (1982-88), generally known as the ‘Ystad Project’ (Andersson & Anglert 1989).

Many of the paradigmatic research topics are to be found synthesized in one single controversial dissertation *Den skånska öresundskustens medeltid* (The Middle Ages of the Scanian Öresund Coast) – the four orders, the ‘Trelleborg’ fortresses, the tower of Kärnan in Helsingborg, town topography, the town-yards, the fishing villages, the Scanian market, the building materials of churches, vaulting, baptismal fonts, apses, burials, chapels, coin pictures, Baltic pottery, cultural contacts and much more (Holmberg 1977).

The questions typically raised, the theories used, the methods and materials are also represented in three collective publications: *Medeltiden och arkeologin* (The Middle Ages and Archaeology; see Andrén et al 1986); *Visions of the Past* (Andersson et al 1997); and *Från stad till land* (From Town to Countryside; see Andrén et al 2001). Half in the old tradition of Medieval Archaeology and half in the newly created tradition of Historical Archaeology is a new publication, once again with the title *Medeltiden och arkeologin* celebrating a 90th birthday, many decades of practising and also the impending 50th anniversary of the discipline (The Middle Ages and Archaeology; see Andersson & Wienberg 2011).

At the climax of Medieval Archaeology the division between the two roots and the rivalry from the earlier turn of the century was just distant history. Church archaeology and urban archaeology were integrated when churches were used as source material in the analysis of urbanization (cf Andrén 1985); however, the priority given to the institutions and buildings over the finds from urban excavations, the manifest monuments over the more latently cultural history, created debate. The itinerant research seminar of Medieval Archaeology became (and still is) a melting pot for theory and practice, for academics, antiquarians and others. The melting pot is apparent in *Visions of the Past* (Andersson et al 1997) as a joint venture between the department and the National Heritage Board. Also the new town exhibition, ‘Metropolis’, which opened in 1999 at the Museum of Cultural History, replacing the old medieval hall, is a joint venture between the department and the museum (Wahlöö 2001).

## Breaking up from the Middle Ages

The transition from Medieval Archaeology to Historical Archaeology has been a protracted process accompanied by a long-standing debate not least in the periodical *META* (1979-2006). A new generation wanted to – and did in fact cross – the limiting borders of conventional medieval Europe and its four orders. However, it took time before Historical Archaeology was established as a known concept and deliberate practice; probably, the process has not yet been completed.

The debate started in 1981 in a *META* thematic issue presenting arguments for an archaeology of recent times. Precedents existed in (the already established) Historical Archaeology in the United States and Post-Medieval Archaeology in Great Britain. However, Historical Archaeology here was used as a concept covering both the Middle Ages and later periods (Andersson 1981). In the following years many contributions to the debate were published – on the core or borders of the disciplines of Medieval and Historical Archaeology and their relation to other subjects such as Prehistoric Archaeology and History (see articles in *META* 1979-2006).

The concept of the Middle Ages itself was also criticized as an invention of the Renaissance and a story of which the main plot was written by a few authors and scholars in the twentieth century (Wienberg 1988; 1993, 180f; cf Cantor 1991).

Also belonging to the debate are a few attempts to compromise by redefining Medieval Archaeology, but simultaneously preserving its name. Instead of the conventional period one should use the term ‘the extended Middle Ages’, in which the period stretches from antiquity to around 1800; the period of the feudal mode of production in a Marxist perspective or a ‘longue durée’ in the sense of the *Annales* school (cf Le Goff 1988; Ersgård 1990; Wienberg 1990; 1993, 181). However, the extended Middle Ages belong to a continental context in which the Roman Empire and the French Revolution were of great importance. In Scandinavia the discontinuities at Christianization and at the Reformation are difficult to ignore.

In the debate there were at least two viewpoints on Historical Archaeology: either Historical Archaeology in the methodological meeting between archaeology and history (eg Andrén 1988) – or Historical Archaeology as an archaeology of a historic period (eg Christophersen 1992). These viewpoints may seem close to each other, but represent an important difference: Historical Archae-

ology as both archaeology and history – or Historical Archaeology as primarily archaeology.

Gradually the debate, at least in Lund and its hinterland, converged towards the viewpoint presented in the book *Mellan ting och text/Between Artifacts and Texts*: Historical Archaeology denotes the meeting between archaeology and history, where new methodical possibilities (and problems) arise. Thus Medieval Archaeology is only one of many historical archaeologies; others might be Biblical Archaeology, Classical Archaeology and Industrial Archaeology (Andrén 1997).

At first sight, one might get the impression of a long intellectual process in which medieval archaeologists argued for the benefits of a Historical Archaeology, but this was hardly the case. The almost 25 years of discussion must be seen against the background of a simultaneous shift in the practice of archaeology away from the towns over to the countryside and the outlands, where the concept of the Middle Ages and its four orders was simply less relevant (cf Svensson 1998). A quantitative shift from urban development to investment in infrastructure, such as railways and highways, changed the focus of rescue archaeology and thereby also academic priorities (Wienberg 1999).

As a paradox, the romantic narrative of the Middle Ages was gradually deconstructed and abandoned in research and education at the same time as it flourished in popular culture. Even if the Middle Ages are an invention, it is a well-known brand.

### **Historical Archaeology in Lund University**

Finally, in 2005, Medieval Archaeology in Lund was formally transformed into a Historical Archaeology on all levels of teaching and research. Historical Archaeology was defined as an archaeology at the methodological meeting of material culture, texts and pictures. At the beginning the period studied was defined as between the Late Iron Age and Industrialization, in other words defined as an extended Middle Ages (Wienberg 2005). However, influenced by archaeologies studying industrialization, modernity and the present we recently (2011) revised the definition. Historical Archaeology in Lund studies material culture, texts and images from the Late Iron Age until the present. And Lund is still the only place in Sweden offering a full education about the archaeology of Post-Prehistoric periods.

A first impression of the present state of Historical Archaeology in Lund heading in partly new directions is to be found in the publication *Triangulering: Historisk arkeologi vidgar fälten* (Triangulation: Historical Archaeology widens the Fields; see Mogren et al 2009). One can see that the transition is an ongoing process characterized by diversity. In practice the Middle Ages are still at the core of the discipline, but we consciously work with earlier and later periods. The focus is still on Sweden, Scandinavia and Europe, but we are working outwards to the Byzantine and Muslim worlds and also to the European colonies, aiming at a more global perspective.

Since 2006 four licentiate dissertations and nine doctoral dissertations have been published, most of them in the new series *Lund Studies in Historical Archaeology*.

Among the many research projects, the Middle Ages are still important. There is ongoing research into the castles, settlement and 'outland' production of northern Scania since 1986 (eg Ödman & Ödman 2011); into the town of Sigtuna and its international network since 2006 (eg Roslund 2010; 2011); a revival of research into Dalby church, monastery and manor since 2010, although now in cooperation with the theological faculty (Borgehammar & Wienberg 2012); and, finally, a renewed emphasis on buildings archaeology as a part of the departmental profile (expressed in an associate professorship devoted to this since 2012).

Among the research projects pointing in new directions, I shall mention just a few: a new venture into the Mediterranean world in Sicily (by Mats Roslund); a project since 2009 between the sections of Archaeology and Historical Archaeology at the department on the Swedish colonies at Delaware in America in the seventeenth century (Naum & Nordin 2013); and a newly formulated project on material from Ravensbrück, a German concentration camp, from which the belongings of prisoners evacuated in 1945 are stored at the Museum of Cultural History in Lund (by Johanna Bergqvist).

Among recent PhD projects might be mentioned those on: urbanization and the bourgeoisie in Eastern Denmark during the Middle Ages and Early Modernity (by Joakim Thomasson); Iron-Age and medieval animal ornamentation (by Maria Domeij Lundborg); altars and relics in the diocese of Lund (by Mattias Karlsson); medieval manors in Scania (by Anders Ohlsson); settlement and landscape in medieval Halland (by Anders Håkansson); a modern cemetery, Assistens, in Copenhagen (Fig 9.5), excavated in 2009-11 (by Sian Anthony); and that started in 2014 on the urban aristocracy (by Kenth Hansen).



Excavations at Assistens cemetery in Copenhagen, Denmark. Photo: Sian Anthony 2010.

Fig 9.5

### Archaeology of Modernity

Since the beginning of the new millennium there have been remarkably many archaeological investigations into post-medieval remains in Sweden, mainly urban excavations (cf Ersgård 2011). One illustrative example might be the pioneer excavations of an early modern manufacturing industry and settlement in Jönköping (Fig 9.6; Pettersson 2011).

Archaeological studies of post-medieval remains have been variously termed: Historical, Post-Medieval, Post-Reformation or Renaissance Archaeology. There are also thematic studies: Industrial Archaeology, Cottage Archaeology, the Archaeology of Capitalism, the Archaeology of the Modern World and Colonial Archaeology (eg Johnson 1996; Orser 1996).

Following an international line, these investigations have been gathered for the last decade under a new heading as 'Archaeology of Modernity' (cf Thomas 2004) and in Sweden have been presented in two publications: *Modernitet och arkeologi* (Modernity and Archaeology; see Ersgård 2007) and *Modernitetens*

Fig 9.6 *Smithy for the manufacture of pistols uncovered in the urban excavations in Jönköping, Sweden. Photo: Claes Pettersson, Jönköping County Museum, 2004.*



*materialitet* (The Materiality of Modernity; see Lihammer & Nordin 2010; also Lihammer 2011), where many of the articles focus on the so-called Early Modern Period. Behind the Archaeology of Modernity stand a number of archaeologists mainly connected to the National Heritage Board and the National Historical Museum in Stockholm.

In a post-modern world Modernity has been doomed as a part of the past and is therefore a new field for archaeological investigations, museum exhibitions and efforts at preservation. The question is whether Modernity really is dead or has just moved on from the West to other parts of the world.

Also following an international line, a partly different group of archaeologists has focused on the recent past, mainly remains from the First and Second World Wars and also from the Cold War. The aim is to use the material remains as a point of departure for existential reflections and to recall the memories of living people (eg Burström 2007; also Campbell & Ulin 2004; cf Buchli & Lucas 2001;

Holtorf & Piccini 2009). Archaeological studies of the recent past attracted attention in a popular Swedish TV series called *Utgrävarna* (The Diggers; SVT 2005), inspired by the British *Time Team* (since 1994).

The convincing experience from an Archaeology of Modernity and the Recent Past is that materiality can never be totally replaced by written sources. There is a need for archaeology regardless of time and place, also up to the present. It is only in relation to other neighbouring disciplines, to developers and antiquarian authorities trying to minimize budgets that we have to legitimize our efforts (cf Larsson 2011). And the best way of convincing is in my opinion by good examples.

Contemporary archaeology motivated by the reflections or recall of memories might be of interest in academic investigations or popular presentations, but hardly when it comes to rescue archaeology. In addition, the remains are not contemporary but studied because they are abandoned. Personally, I am also sceptical about the construction of a new story on Modernity after having participated in the deconstruction of the Middle Ages. The Middle Ages and Modernity are both metaphors creating simplified images which help to preserve artificial divisions between periods. However, there seems to be a fundamental need for grand narratives to give meaning to the fragments of the past in the present.

As I wrote at the beginning, if you want to excavate both the Middle Ages and Modernity, you have to be an historical archaeologist!

### **Historical Archaeology as archaeology**

Historical Archaeology embracing both the Middle Ages and Modernity is a challenge. It is a challenge to release the discipline from the romantic and national roots which defined the subject of study as Christian Europe and the nation. Where Medieval Archaeology was a study of a period and an area, Historical Archaeology is a study defined quite openly by its methods and with the world as its potential workspace (cf Eriksdotter & Nordin 2010).

The global ambitions for Historical Archaeology are also a challenge. We begin, not surprisingly, in the security of the well known (eg in the colonies); for a British historical archaeology that means half the world, for Scandinavian historical archaeology some scattered spots, but it is still a beginning. We can also follow questions, phenomena and processes out into their global context using as an example world-systems theory (eg Andersson 2009).



However, a Historical Archaeology defined by the presence of written or oral history is a discipline more tied to History than ever. The occurrence of texts, stories and historians might set the agenda for Historical Archaeology (cf Moreland 2001).

Medieval archaeologists had to know the old Scandinavian languages and also Latin; and besides Archaeology some competence in History was also necessary. Historical archaeologists might be confronted with all kinds of languages around the world; a double competence is no longer possible as a common skill. This forces the historical archaeologist to become more an archaeologist than a historian. In my opinion, Historical Archaeology has to be archaeological before it can be historical or anything else.

Language revision: Alan Crozier, Södra Sandby.

### Note

1. This paper was published in a slightly different form in *European Journal of Post-Classical Archaeologies* 4 (2014), 447-70.

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