

THE ENGLISH MERCHANTS' SETTLEMENT IN ŠVENTOJI: AN ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF THE ARTEFACTS

EDVINAS UBIS, MIGLĖ URBONAITĖ-UBĖ

Abstract

A settlement was established by English merchants in Šventoji in the second half of the 17th century. The rich collection of artefacts and historic documents distinctly suggests the daily life of merchants. In this paper, the artefacts are assessed as indicators of the cultural and personal identity. Most of the finds were imported, and not locally produced. Their provenance, if possible, was identified and associated with manufacturing centres by using a comparative method. Ceramic dishes, glass vessels and cutlery represent merchants' dining traditions and habits, while personal belongings can be associated with the presentation of social status or individual expression.

Key words: archaeology of the early modern period, Šventoji, English merchants, tableware, personal belongings, cultural identity.

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Introduction

The settlement of Šventoji (also known as Heiligen Aa and Janmarienburg) was established in the fourth quarter of the 17th century by English merchants, and is well documented in written historic sources, and in cartography. The purpose of the settlement was to improve the sea trading positions of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, with the help of West European merchants. This political project only lasted a few decades, but it was quite successful in terms of trade and material profit. Historical data and archaeological artefacts allow us to analyse this settlement of English merchants from various points of view.

The first interest in Šventoji as a possible Baltic Sea port was documented in 1662, when ideas for a new port between the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia and Prussia appeared (Kiaupa 1999, 2009). The unfavourable political situation of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania on the coastland emerged: Sweden invaded Riga, and Klaipėda and Königsberg were taken over by Prussia. However, the idea was not implemented, and remained as a project (Kiaupa 1999). Nevertheless, the idea of a new port suggests that interest in Šventoji was growing, even among West European merchants (Kiaupa 1999, 2009). In 1679, English merchants, represented by Richard Borynhi, asked for permission to set up in Šventoji (Kiaupa 2009). Other historians mention that Jan Sobieski only granted permission to establish a trading company in 1685 (Lewitter 1968; Bajer 2012). Merchants were exempt from taxation for six years, with the approval of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania,

and were allowed to build houses, trade, and set up a port on the River Šventoji (Fig. 1).

The English merchants immediately started work in Šventoji, and built a small settlement in six years. In 1685, the English company Jean Hurst et Company was allowed to dredge the river and build a new port (Drevinskas 1989; Žulkus, Springmann 2001). In maps from 1685 and 1688, the settlement is depicted by the bends in the River Šventoji. There was an English company house, warehouses, a trading house, and a tavern (Kiaupa 2009). According to historic data, by 1680, English ships were sailing to Šventoji with cargoes consisting of salt, wine, iron and tobacco (Kiaupa 2009).

Historic evidence of the names of some of the English merchants who worked in this settlement is also available. Four are described as the main people in the Šventoji trading company: Richard Brynley (1685), Thom Rychardson, Jean Hurst and Robert Archer (Kiaupa 1999). In addition, other merchants' names also occur in historic sources: Richard Borynhi (1679), Wilhelm Gattly (1680), Alexander Smith (1686), Brunon Heilmann, John Dreier, Wilhelm Wilet, and John Mydelhorst (Kiaupa 1999, 155; Žulkus, Springmann 2001, 180).

The end of this new and not fully developed port and trading centre came after the death of Jan Sobieski, when disputes with the neighbouring town of Palanga flared up. No historic records about the activities of English merchants in the 18th century are known (Kiaupa 2009). Nevertheless, the port of Šventoji was

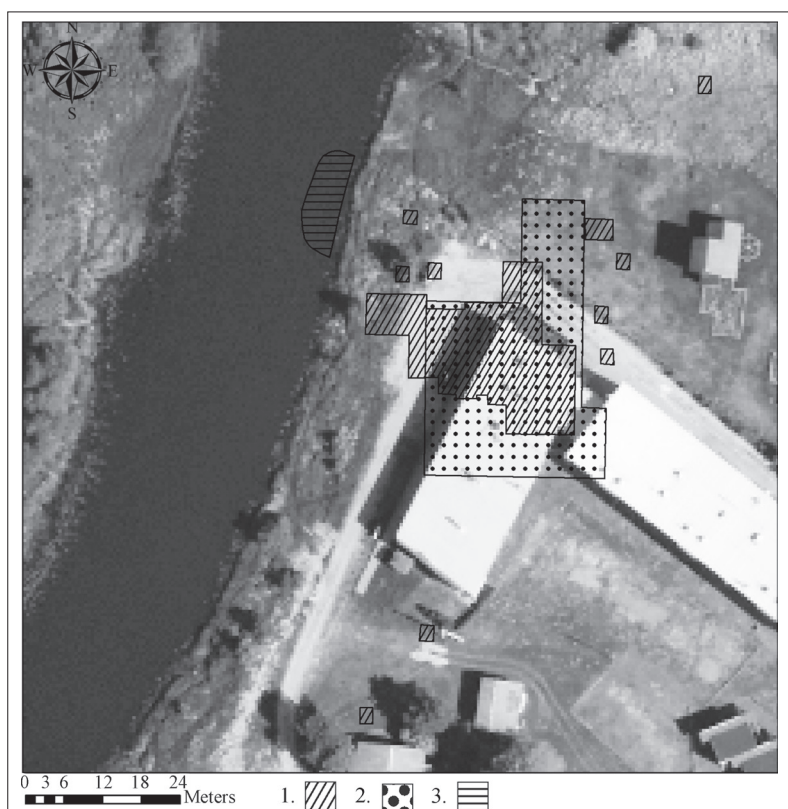


Fig. 1. A general location plan, with geophysical surveys and the area of excavations marked on orthophoto (drawing by J. Greičiūnaitė and L. Žulkiene; modified by the article's authors): 1 the area of archaeological excavations; 2 the area of geophysical surveys; 3 the area of underwater surveys.

still functioning at the beginning of the 18th century, but trading activities were only episodic (Drevinskas 1989).

Historic sources allow us to identify the existence of the settlement of Šventoji as being from around 1679 to the beginning of the 18th century. Archaeological excavations have also been conducted there. The remains of a merchant's house and a collection of unusual and luxurious artefacts were discovered. Even though some articles have been published, no detailed analyses of the artefacts have been carried out. Only coin finds were identified, and published by Balčius and Ivanauskas (1986).

This paper focuses on an analysis and interpretation of the artefacts recovered during archaeological excavations at Šventoji. Most of the finds were imported, and only a small part were locally produced. Their identification will allow us to discuss the lifestyle adopted by the merchants, and expressions of their identity. In addition, the imported artefacts provide information about trade routes, cultural and social trends, and cultural and personal identities. As the site is well documented, and some merchants' names are even known, this has led to the hypothesis that all the artefacts re-

covered in the excavations can be associated with English merchants. Identities are expressed through personal artefacts, and can be used for the exploration of differences between cultural groups or individuals (White, Beaudry 2009). The broadest interpretation of finds as identity markers is that all the objects used by a clear group of people represent their identities. There are personal artefacts which are closely associated with the owner's body, and used only by a single person (White, Beaudry 2009). In the case of Šventoji, pottery, glass vessels and cutlery represent adopted dining traditions, which are specific to some cultural areas or social classes, while clay tobacco pipes, dress accessories and coins can be associated with personal belongings, which show how merchants presented themselves.

To discuss these issues, two main groups of artefacts were distinguished, by their presentation of cultural and personal identities: tableware (pottery, glass vessels and cutlery), and personal belongings (clay tobacco pipes, personal adornments and coins). The pottery and glass vessels were classified according to common classification systems used in Western Europe, the tobacco pipes according to makers' marks and the form of the bowl. Provenance was identified and associated with certain manufacturing centres by using a comparative method. The classified artefacts are discussed and interpreted as a marker of a distinct cultural and individual identity.¹

The archaeological background

Excavations in the port and town of Šventoji started in 1985, and were conducted by Professor Vladas Žulkus. The main geophysical and archaeological research results were published in 1988 (Melnikovas et al. 1988).

These archaeological excavations were exceptional, because for the first time in the history of Lithuanian archaeology, a magnetometer was used as a non-invasive survey method. The magnetic survey was conducted by Arkadii Melnikov from St Petersburg and

¹ The archaeological material used in this article is stored in the Museum of the History of Lithuania Minor and the Lithuanian Sea Museum. No – Number of artefact given in archaeological excavation report.

Andrei Staniukovich from Moscow. The total area of the survey was 815 square metres, and the excavation site (538.5 square metres) was chosen according to the results of the magnetic survey (Žulkus 1986; Melnikovas et al. 1988). This strategy was justified, as only 20 to 30 centimetres from the surface, the remains of a wooden house and four waste pits were uncovered (Žulkus 1986, Fig. 2). The size of the house was 15-14.7 by 11.5 metres, it had wooden floors, and in the centre of the building the remains of a big stove were discovered (Žulkus 1986). The waste pits were located to the east of the house. Three out of the four waste pits were connected to each other by shallow ditches, and one pit was covered with 2.5-centimetre-thick wooden planks (Žulkus 1986).

Most of the artefacts were found in the area of the house and in the waste pits. A total of 495 artefacts were recorded, mostly pottery, metal objects (especially nails), glass vessels, clay tobacco pipes, and coins.

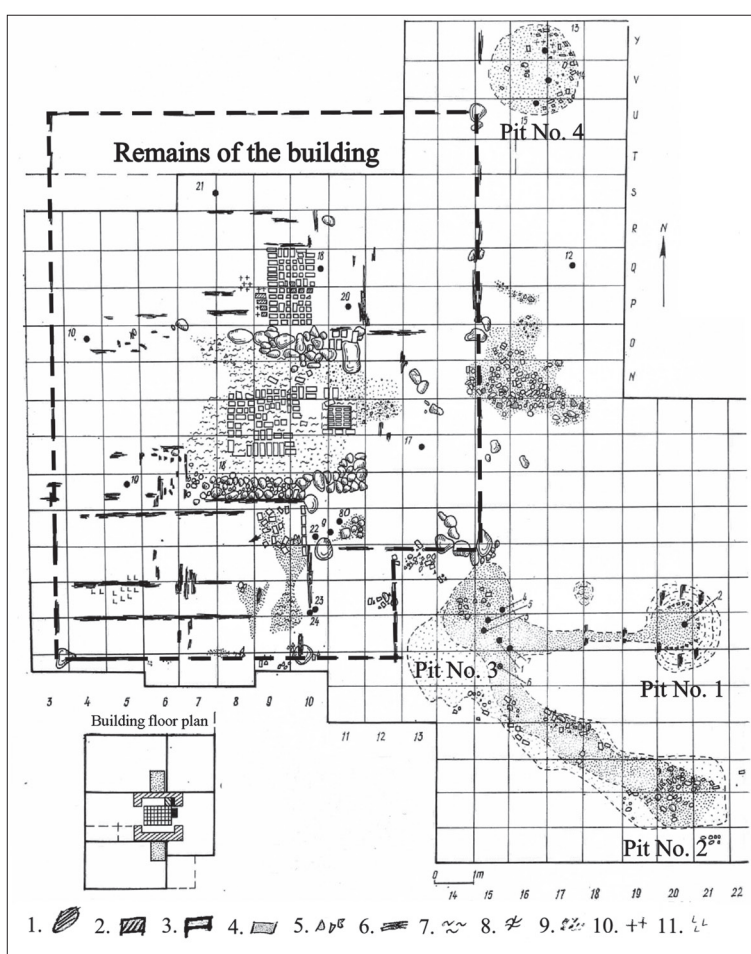


Fig. 2. The planigraphy of excavation plot No 1 (drawing by J. Greičiūnaitė and L. Žulkienė; modified by the article's authors): 1 burnt stones; 2 fired bricks; 3 Dutch-type bricks; 4 unfired bricks; 5 fragments of brick; 6 wood; 7 clay; 8 burnt clay; 9 charcoal, soot; 10 lime mortar; 11 pottery.

Analysis of the artefacts

In this paper, objects of tableware are perceived as markers of the cultural identity. These objects show merchants' dining practices and habits. Artefacts identified as personal belongings have close links with a person's taste and the presentation of his identity. All the finds discussed suggest that people constructed their identities through different objects and on a different scale, accepting their surrounding traditions and expressing their own beliefs and norms. People's social status should also be taken into account when interpreting archaeological material. Before the interpretation, artefacts were classified and dated, in order to fully understand the material culture of the settlement. As has already been mentioned, the artefacts are divided into tableware and personal belongings.

Tableware: ceramic dishes

During the excavations, 126 pieces of ceramic dishes were recovered. Most of them were tableware (77% according to the number of pieces), and only a few were identified as utilitarian pottery. A total of 41%

were glazed earthenware; 18% were unglazed earthenware; faience and slipware accounted for 13% and 11% respectively.

Locally produced pottery was mainly utilitarian pottery: glazed or unglazed earthenware, such as pots and frying pans. The decoration of the pots varies, from horizontal lines to rhomboid stamps and waves. Nevertheless, this chapter will be based on an analysis of the imported pottery, which provides information about the inhabitants' dining traditions, trade routes, and the place and date of manufacture of dishes. Only tableware was found which was identified as imported, and not locally produced pottery. The imported ware found in the settlement of Šventoji is slipware, stoneware, faience, porcelain, probably whiteware and reddish fineware.

There are 16 different fragments of slipware. Most are very small, with no possibility of identifying their provenance. One almost full plate from the Weser region (No 340) of present-day Germany was recovered, which can be dated to the second half of the 17th cen-

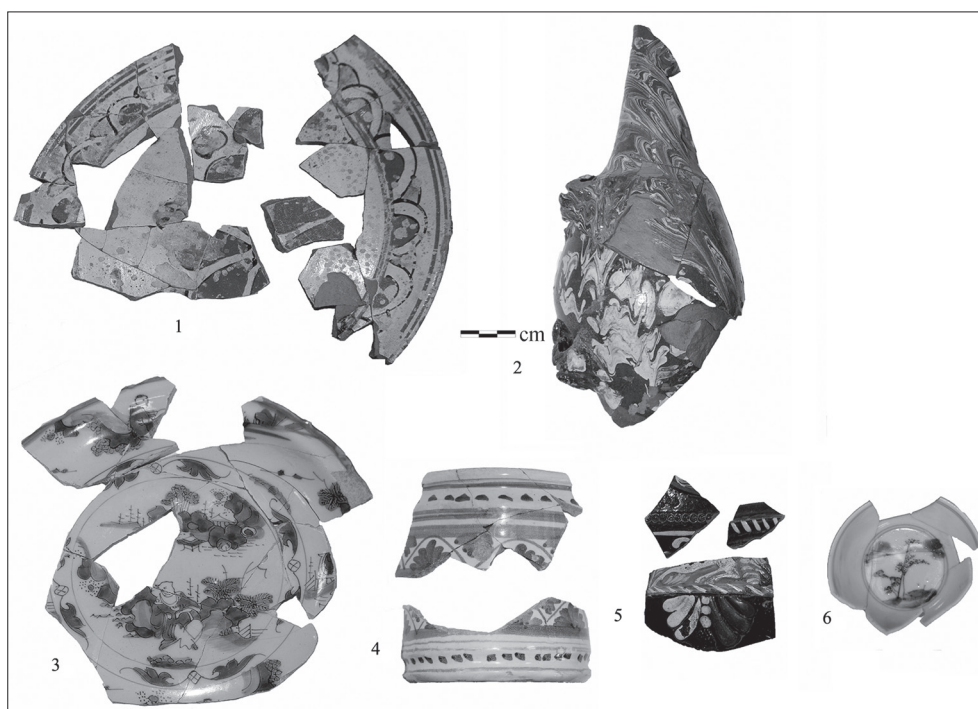


Fig. 3. Examples of ceramic dishes found in Šventoji:
 1 a plate from the Weser region (Germany);
 2 a costrel from northern Italy; 3 a faience plate from the Netherlands;
 4 a jar from the Netherlands or England;
 5 an Annaberg tankard;
 6 a porcelain bowl from China (photographs by the authors of the article, Nos 16-17, 107, 129, 237, 226, 340).

ture (Fig. 3.1). Other slipware pottery includes porringers and plates (Nos 48- 53, 123, 127, 128, 302-307, 478). They were decorated with spirals, dashes and plant motifs. Their provenance cannot yet be identified.

A costrel (No 237) from northern Italy should be mentioned as a very rare artefact in the east Baltic Sea region. This marbled slipware costrel (Fig. 3.2), sometimes referred to as a pilgrim's flask, is decorated with red and cream swirls, with four vertical handles. The fabric is fine, very hard and deep red (Blake 1981; Moore Valeri 2013). The handles were roughly modelled in the shape of lion masks. These costrels were very popular in 17th-century England. No other examples are known from Lithuanian archaeological records.

The faience artefacts consist of only tableware: 23 plates, one lobbed dish, a bowl, and a jar. The manufacturing and decoration features suggest that they all originated from the Netherlands (Fig. 3.3), except for a jar, which could have been made in England (Fig. 3.4). The decoration of the plates were imitations of Chinese porcelain, which were very popular at that time, and are found all across Europe from the middle of the 17th century.

Only nine pieces of stoneware jugs and tankards were recovered during the excavations. Seven of them were made in Westerwald and Frechen, the two biggest 17th-century production sites in the lower Rhineland, and can be dated to the late 17th century or early 18th century (Nos 219, 223, 321, 324, 325, 326, 479). A tankard (No 16-17) from Annaberg can be mentioned

as a rare artefact in this part of Lithuania (Fig. 3.5). This manufacturing centre is located in Saxony, and was established in the 1630s (Horschik 1978). This stoneware can be identified by the yellow, grey-brown or reddish-brown body fabric, while the surface is covered with a dark brown slip and then with a salt glaze. Relief heraldic, figurative and vegetation decorations were mostly made in vivid colours (green, red, yellow, orange, blue and white). According to the form of the pieces and the decoration, this tankard could have been produced between 1650 and 1670 (Horschik 1978). Only one piece of stoneware (No 30) was not identified. The light yellowish-brown body colour and the light brown salt glaze could suggest that the place of manufacture was London.

Three porcelain bowls and one piece of a plate were analysed which could have originated from China (Fig. 3.6).

To sum up the pottery artefacts, it can be stated that glazed and decorated pottery were the main types in Šventoji. Most pieces belonged to dishes associated with tableware, which were manufactured in the Netherlands, the lower Rhineland, Saxony, northern Italy, China, and probably England. Merchants chose to bring their own ceramic dishes, and did not use the local production. This suggests a desire to preserve their usual dining habits, with tableware that they were used to using before settling in Šventoji. Rare and luxurious tableware also suggests the merchants' high social status.

Tableware: glass vessels

Glass vessels represent the most precious part of the material culture that has been found in the settlement of English merchants. In the excavations, 42 full vessels or parts of vessels were recovered. Most were found in cesspit No 3 (26 units); seven in cesspit No 2; three in cesspit No 4; one in cesspit No 1; and another five in the cultural layer near the building. This group of glass can be separated into two main groups: a) glass bottles; b) glass beakers and goblets.

The glass bottles are of three types. The first type is the so-called flattened avoid body bottle, which is made of potash glass (dark green or green). One bottle of this type was recovered (No 76; Fig. 4.1). Four smaller pieces (Nos 174, 255, 360, 362-363) can be associated with this type too, but they might also be parts of globular-shaped bottles. These bottles are also known as wine bottles. This name shows directly that they were commonly used for the storage of wine. The chronology of these bottles is quite wide: from the second half of the 17th century to the second half of the 18th century (Dumitrache 1990; Šimkutė 2011, 2013)

Four fragments belonging to the second type, rectangular-body glass bottles, have been recovered (Nos 149, 253, 254, 361; Fig. 4.2). These glass vessels were also made of potash glass. Their function is generally considered to be the storage of spirits. These rectangular-body glass bottles are dated to a wide range, from the 17th to the 18th century (Dumitrache 1990; Šimkutė 2011).

Hexagonal glass bottles are assigned to the third type. Three fragments (and one full bottle) of this type of vessel were found (Fig. 4.3). They were made of clear or light green (maybe mixed-alkali) glass. The colour of the glass indicates that their origin may be associated with the Low Countries, but these vessels could also have come from England or Italy. The chronology of the vessels is from the 17th to the 18th century.

Another group of glass vessels recovered consists of Roemer beakers, squat beakers and goblets. Most of this group are Roemer beakers (12 units; Fig. 5. 1a-1c). All the beakers are similar in style: the hollow base is built up by coiling strands of molten glass around a conical core; the stem is decorated with raspberry prunts; the walls of the bowl are thin. These glass vessels were commonly used for drinking wine, and rarely for beer. The chronology of this type of Roemer beaker is 17th century (some examples date from the end of the 17th century [Dumitrache 1990]). It is assumed that this group of artefacts was made in a Rhineland-Palatinate state (Germany) or the Netherlands.

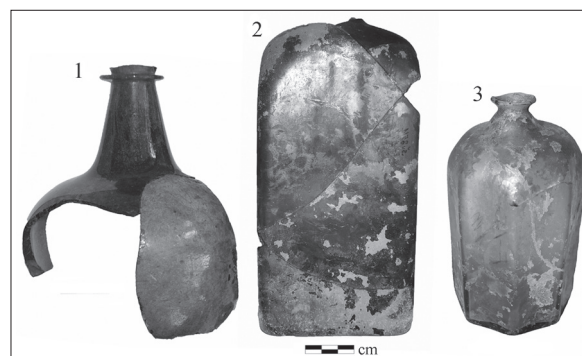


Fig. 4. Types of bottle recovered in Šventoji: 1 flattened avoid body bottle; 2 rectangular body glass bottle; 3 hexagonal glass bottle (photographs by the authors of the article, Nos 76, 149-150).

The amount of squat beakers recovered (four units) is not large, but it is significant in comparison with Great Britain (until 2001, only 17 fragments are known in the whole country [Willmott 2002, 43]). They are all slightly different. The first was a so-called plain squat beaker (Fig. 5.2a). By its form, it can be dated to the period 1600 to 1675. The origin of the first squat beaker is perhaps the Low Countries. Two others had raspberry-prunt feet (Fig. 5.2b). This is a feature indicating an origin in the Low Countries. The last squat beaker had no feet, and was coloured with white colour trails (Fig. 5.2c). The form and decoration of this glass vessel indicates its origin: *façon de Venise* (Janssens 2013). This one squat beaker dates from the period 1650 to 1700. All the squat beakers were used for drinking spirits or wine.

The last group of glass vessels is goblets. Two goblets were recovered, of which the origins can be identified. The first one, a tall fluted goblet with a simple rod-stem made from soda or mixed-alkali glass, may have been manufactured in England, the Low Countries or *façon de Venise* (Fig. 5.3a). The second, a tall fluted goblet with a simple rod-stem made of soda glass, originates from Venice (Fig. 5.3b).

Besides some small and hardly identified fragments of glass vessels, two other vessels were found of which the function is in doubt. One of them may be a small pedestal cruet (Fig. 5.4). It is made from soda glass, and should be considered a *façon de Venise*-style vessel. The second, made from pale glass, may be a small globular flask. It could have been made in the Venice region, but its provenance is still questionable.

An analysis of the glass artefacts shows that merchants brought dining and drinking cultural habits to the newly settled town of Šventoji which were common to high-status urban communities. As the bottles show, the main beverages used on their table were beer, wine



Fig. 5. Examples of other glass vessels: 1a-c Roemer beakers; 2a plain squat beaker; 2b squat beaker with raspberry-prunt feet; 2c squat beaker with white colour trails; 3a-b goblets with a simple rod-stem possibly from *façon de Venise*; 4 pedestal cruet (photographs by the authors of the article, Nos 152, 158-159, 161, 163-165, 168, 172).

and spirits. In addition, glass tableware, such as beakers and goblets, can be regarded as drinking vessels, which, besides their main function, had a symbolic status and representation meaning. It can be said that they decided to bring all their glassware with them to Šventoji, and not to use locally manufactured vessels for drinking or for the performance of other dining habits. It is possible that imported glassware was a marker of a certain table culture, through which English merchants expressed their high social status in the town of Šventoji.

Tableware: cutlery

Cutlery is a small part of the archaeological material found in Šventoji. However, it is a crucial part of discussing dining and drinking habits adopted in this English merchants' settlement. Along with ceramic dishes and glass vessels, cutlery represents the main objects used during dining. These objects enrich our understanding of individual daily activities, and sometimes even clarify a hypothesis. Interestingly, while the ceramic dishes and glass vessels are luxurious and of high quality, the finds of cutlery are very modest and simple.

Only three knives (Nos 75, 261, 378), four spoons (Nos 184-187) and one corkscrew (No 262) were recovered during the excavations.

Two knives are identified as table knives, while one (No 378) was a folding knife. They were used while eating, but could also have been used in other daily activities. The handles were made of bone, and there are no decorations on them. Also, no makers' signs could be seen on the blades.

A more interesting group of cutlery is the brass spoons. The inside surfaces of three spoons (Nos 184, 185, 187) were covered with silver. All the bowls were oval, and almost the same size (5.5-5.9 by 4.4 by 5.3 centimetres). In the inside of spoon No 184, a maker's mark (?) was found with the letters '... T LILLY' surrounded by small dots (Fig. 6). The lower part was hardly visible, and no other specific features of a mark could be specified. As the spoon was only covered with silver, it suggests that this mark could not be a hallmark. So the provenance of this spoon was not identified. Also, a full spoon with a twisted handle (No 187) was found.

A metal object identified as a corkscrew was found in waste pit No 4. This find, along with different types of glass vessels and a stoneware tankard, confirms the idea of merchants drinking all kinds of beverages.

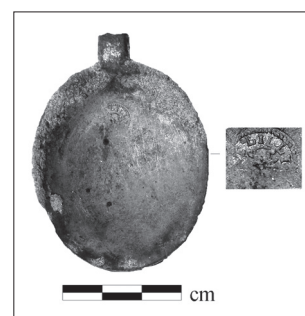


Fig. 6. The metal spoon with the mark '...T LILLY' (photograph by the authors of the article, No 184).

Personal belongings

In this paper, personal belongings are defined as objects possessed and used by individuals for their personal use: leisure activities and adornment. They include clay tobacco pipes, dress accessories and coins. Some of these artefacts could also have been shared with other people, but most likely they can be identified as personal belongings.

Personal belongings: clay tobacco pipes

A total of 51 fragments of clay tobacco pipes were recovered in the settlement. Among them were 33 bowls or heels of bowls (27 with marks) with stems, and 18 stems (ten of them decorated).

After studying the marks on the bottom of the heel, and after studying the form of the bowl, it was possible to identify six makers from the Gouda region (Table 1). They were Govert Davitsz, Claes Lourensz de Vroom, Jacobus de Mol, Jan de Vink Louwijs, Cornelisz van der Burghand, and Jan van Duyn. The majority of the bowls (for example No 225) occur as type 16, which is dated from 1675 to 1700 (van der Meulen 2003, 15; Åkerhagen 2012). Some of them have some attributes common to type 17, which dates from 1700 to 1750. So by the bowl type, the pipes were assigned to the period 1675 to 1750. Also, one artisan mark with the inscription IHS was associated with a place of production in the town of Enkhuizen (the Netherlands) and by form dated to 1680 to 1700.

Another big group of pipe bowls (seven units) has dots on the base or the side of the heel. These pipes are usually related, as all the above-mentioned pipes, to production sites in the Netherlands. Only one pipe's origin is doubtful. It is a pipe bowl (No 66) which seems like a spurred pipe with a curved bowl, which may be dated to 1620 to 1710. This one could have been produced in England or the Netherlands, but its provenance cannot be specified.

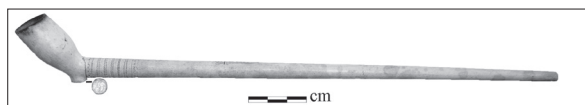


Fig. 7. A fully preserved pipe with a mermaid (?) pipe maker's mark dated 1680–1700 (photograph by the authors of the article, No 131).

Table 1. The clay tobacco pipe bowl marks, identified makers and chronology

No. of bowls	Mark	Maker's name	Date range of the mark, maker or workshop
1	Swan	Govert Davitsz.	1667-1719
1	Church lamp	Claes Lourensz. de Vroom	1687-1726
1	Jonah in the whale	Jacobus de Mol	1688-1729
11	Jumping deer	Jan de Vink	1688-1753
1	Single crown	Louwijs Cornelisz van der Burgh	1699-1725
1	Dutch virgin in the Dutch garden	-	early 1700s
1	Mermaid holding mirror (?)	-	By form 1680-1700
1	IHS	-	By form 1680-1700
1	Candlestick	Jan van Duyn	1719-1730

One fully preserved pipe (Fig. 7) allows us to discuss its manner of use. It is generally accepted that long pipes were used for smoking in the house, because smoking with long-stem pipes was more pleasant, but not so convenient outside. Therefore, it represents one of the English merchants' leisure activities performed in Šventoji during dining or at another time of day. On the other hand, some pipes were highly decorated (ten out of 18 stem fragments were decorated). The person who owned these pipes, together with other personal adornments, may have expressed his social status during his daily activities through these items.

To conclude, it can be stated that the majority of places of origin of the pipes is the Netherlands (mainly Gouda). Taking together all the dating information from the pipes that were recovered during excavations, it is likely that they were deposited in the 1700s, in the first quarter of the 18th century. This is quite controversial in comparison with the historical data, and allows us to talk about merchants' activities in the first quarter of the 18th century.

Personal belongings: adornments

An individual's expression of his identity is closely associated with fashion and clothing. People tried to express themselves in an organised and stratified so-

ciety by wearing dress accessories and carrying personal objects. Personal adornments consist of objects of clothing and accessories (White, Beaudry 2013). While only a few fragments of textiles survive in the cultural layers, most interpretations of them are based on metal elements of clothing, such as buckles, buttons, brooches, pendants, etc. In the settlement at Šventoji, one plain iron buckle (No 193), one fragment of an annular brooch (No 495), two finger-rings (Nos 77, 471), two amber pendants (Nos 108, 256) and two beads (Nos 209, 441), and one amber button (No 442) were found.

Buckles and brooches were used to fasten two parts of clothing, or purely for decorative purposes (Egan, Pritchard 2002, 50, 247). Buckles with decorative frames are associated with an individual's expression of fashion, while brooches with inscriptions could also represent a political or religious position (Egan, Pritchard 2002). A plain square iron-frame buckle and a fragment of a brooch with an annular plain frame were discovered in the Šventoji settlement, which do not allow us to make conclusions about a merchant's political or religious opinion. Nevertheless, the existence of these artefacts itself indicates people's self-presentation.

Two finger-rings were found in the Šventoji settlement. A signet ring (No 77) is decorated with semi-lunar scratches on the front (Fig. 8.2). The meaning of this ornament cannot yet be determined. Signet rings were used as a display of status or political patronage, and had the function of being used as a seal (Stanley 2010 55).

A fede ring (No 471; Fig. 8.1) found in Šventoji is associated with courtship, and could also be a wedding gift (Stanley 2010). Some fede rings had religious inscriptions associated with God, and some are plain. Fede rings are interpreted as a gift to another person, and represent a person's intentions or feelings (Stanley 2010).

Amber beads are well known in the Medieval and Post-Medieval period in Europe, while other amber artefacts, such as pendants or buttons, are rarely mentioned in literature. Two round amber beads were recovered in the Šventoji settlement (Fig. 8.5). These amber artefacts are often linked with the Hanse trade in the north of Europe, and are interpreted as a marker of trading. Amber finds discovered in England are associated with amber from the east Baltic. E.R. Stanley (2010) suggests that amber was imported from the region to England in its unworked form. Amber bead manufacture waste has been found in England, and is strong evidence of the manufacture of amber objects

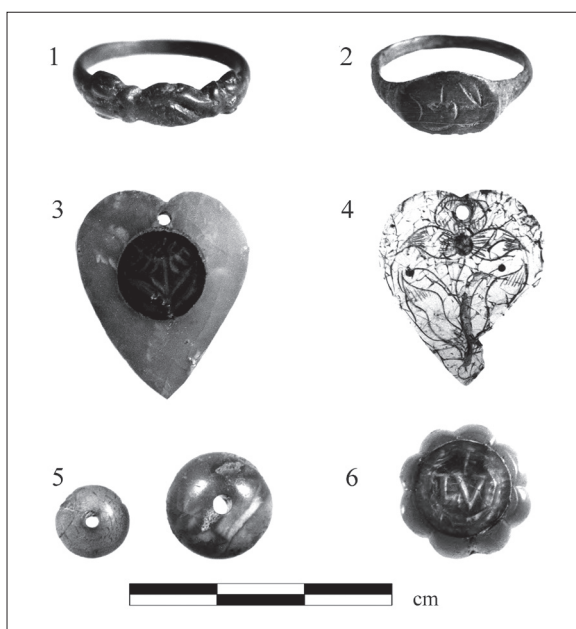


Fig. 8. Examples of personal adornment artefacts: 1 fede ring with clasped hands; 2 signet ring with marks; 3-4 heart-shaped amber pendants with engraved flowers; 5 amber beads; 6 polygonal amber button with the engraved letters LV (photograph by V. Žulkus, modified by the authors of the article, No 77, 108, 209, 256, 441-442, 471).

(Egan, Pritchard 2002; Stanley 2010). Amber beads were usually used as part of a rosary or as pendants.

The two heart-shaped amber pendants are interesting artefacts. No analogies in Lithuanian archaeological material are yet known. The first pendant (No 108; Fig. 8.3) is made of non-translucent orange amber. In the middle is a one-centimetre-diameter round encrust made of dark red amber. There is an engraving of a sunflower (?) on the inside of this encrust. The other heart-shaped pendant (No 256; Fig. 8.4) is made of translucent orange amber, and engraved with a realistic flower.

A polygonal amber button (No 442; Fig. 8.6) is also a rare artefact in Lithuania. It was made of two pieces of amber. The lower part is manufactured of non-translucent orange amber, while the encrusted piece is made of translucent dark orange amber. Interestingly, the letters LV are engraved on the inside of this piece. It is possible that these letters are a person's initials, but their meaning cannot be determined.

Only a few personal adornments have been recovered, but some of these finds are rare in post-Medieval Europe. These artefacts represent the way English merchants accessorised their clothing. Also, some finds such as a fede ring, show aspects of a merchant's personal life. The quantity and exceptional quality of the amber artefacts suggest their importance in the lives of the merchants. They could have used amber acces-

sories as an expression of their activities in the new market in the east Baltic.

Personal belongings: coins

A total of 24 coins from different countries were found during the excavations. They were identified and published by Balčius and Ivanauskas (1986). These coins were minted in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (three coins), Poland (three counterfeit coins), the town of Elbląg in Poland (one coin), Riga (four coins), Prussia (ten coins), the town of Geldern in the Netherlands (one coin), and there was one unidentified shilling (Balčius, Ivanauskas 1986, 91). The chronology of the coins is from 1623 to 1700. Most of them were found in waste pit No 3, and around the buildings.

The archaeological context suggests that all the coins were lost by accident. Also, they were all of the lowest nominal value, which leads us to the assumption that they were used for personal purposes, and not for large-scale trade deals. Moreover, the coins allow us to assume which places merchants visited on their trips to or from Šventoji. The places the coins were minted indicate that during their voyages they visited countries such as the Netherlands, Prussia, Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and Sweden (Riga).

Discussion

In archaeological literature, imported artefacts are often related to direct trading routes, and are identified as commodities in demand. Archaeologists have discussed problems in identifying the routes between trading points and final locations (Vernaeghe 1999). It is recognised that imported artefacts rarely represent direct trade from the place of manufacture to the final destination, which makes the interpretation of finds more complicated (Mehler 2009).

In the case of the settlement at Šventoji, the artefacts presented were mostly imported from European production sites, and could possibly be identified as trading objects. However, historic records show that incoming ships carried goods other than the recovered artefacts. Moreover, the archaeological context of the finds suggests that the objects were most likely used in activities in the merchants' daily life, rather than being objects of trade. This leads to the implication that the analysed complex can be assessed as an indicator of a different cultural identity. Only a cloth lead seal with the letters XX above two points from Amersfoort (in the Netherlands) can be interpreted as a direct indicator of trading.

As the interpretation of the finds shows, the tableware represents a dining culture that is distinct from that of the local community. The English merchants in Šventoji had dining traditions that were specific to them. They brought tableware with them that was produced in Italy, the Low Countries, Germany, and maybe England, and this tableware was used on purpose. This fact strengthens the hypothesis that they showed their cultural identity and social status through their dining traditions. Moreover, the personal belongings show that the merchants expressed their identity and social status in public. As the presented pipes and dress accessories suggest, people who came to new places tried to look like individuals from abroad. In some cases, aspects of their personal life were expressed publicly too, as the presence of a fede ring suggests.

Only the amber objects can be interpreted as proof of cultural interaction with the locals. The use of amber for the expression of personal belief or matters of fashion suggests that local raw materials were attractive to the merchants. In addition, it can be assumed that in their homeland, these amber personal belongings reflected their contacts with the east Baltic region.

Considering the limitations of the information provided by the archaeological artefacts, the miscellaneous types of material analysed reflect the complexity of the social and economic system adopted in Šventoji, and in particular behaviour in the Early Modern Period. In our opinion, the artefacts from Šventoji represent an urban way of living and a different cultural identity. Moreover, no parallels with, for example, the glass vessels, Italian and Annaberg pottery, or the amber objects, could be ascertained in local towns or settlements. These facts suggest that the English merchants brought their own everyday objects, and did not use the locally produced supply. This can be interpreted as the merchants' expression of their high status and different lifestyle, and a distinct cultural identity compared to the locals.

Conclusions

The artefacts from Šventoji were classified according to their function as tableware and cutlery, and personal belongings. Analyses of the ceramic dishes revealed that most of the dishes were imported, and were produced in different places in Europe. However, this does not show direct trading routes. As the interpretation of the finds shows, the tableware represents a dining culture that was distinct from that of the local communities. The English merchants in Šventoji had dining traditions that were common to them. They brought tableware with them which was produced in Italy, the

Low Countries, Germany, and maybe England, and decided to use this tableware on purpose. Therefore, this leads us to the conclusion that the various vessels present their cultural habits and decisions.

The second group of artefacts is personal belongings, through which the merchants publicly presented themselves to others. Most of these were also not made by locals. Only the coins suggest possible trading routes. It can be assumed that they visited and traded in countries such as the Netherlands, Prussia, Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and Sweden (Riga). Other personal belongings, such as dress accessories, tell us about individual expression by the English merchants in Šventoji. Finds such as rings show that in their daily life they expressed not only their social status, but personal relations too.

The group of amber artefacts enables us to discuss the phenomenon of cultural interaction. As the amber beads, pendants and button suggest, the English merchants used local amber material for the production of personal adornments. Most likely, the manufacture of amber was done in other places, maybe England or other countries in Western Europe. The use of local material allows us to interpret this as a mark of the local influence on merchants. It is clear that in other trading places, such as the Netherlands, England, or elsewhere, this personal adornment showed that they were involved with the east Baltic region. Such exotic personal adornments distinguished the merchants of Šventoji from others in Western Europe.

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Edvinas Ubis
Institute of Baltic Region History and Archaeology
Klaipėda University
84 Herkaus Manto St, LT-92294 Klaipėda, Lithuania
E-mail: edvinas.ubis@gmail.com

Miglė Urbonaitė-Ubė
Institute of Baltic Region History and Archaeology
Klaipėda University
84 Herkaus Manto St, LT-92294 Klaipėda, Lithuania
E-mail: migle.ube@gmail.com

ANGLŲ PIRKLIŲ GYVENVIETĖ ŠVENTOJOJE: RADINIŲ ANALIZĖ IR INTERPRETACIJA

**EDVINAS UBIS,
MIGLĖ URBONAITĖ-UBĖ**

Santrauka

Anglų pirkliai apie 1679 m. įkūrė Šventosios gyvenvietę, kuri XVIII a. pradžioje pamažu neteko reikšmės ir sunyko. Nors gyvenvietė egzistavo vos kelis dešimtmečius, tačiau istoriniai duomenys liudija, jog Šventoji buvo aktyviai ir gana pelningai veikęs nedidelis prekybos taškas ir uostas rytinėje Baltijos jūros pakrantėje.

Tuo tarpu archeologiniai tyrinėjimai, vykę šioje vietovėje 1985 m. (vadovas profesorius Vladas Žulkus), suteikė daugiau informacijos apie pirklių kasdienį gyvenimą. Tyrimų metu ištirtas daugiau kaip 500 m² dydžio plotas, kuriame aptikta medinio gyvenamojo pastato liekanų ir keturios atliekų duobės. Pastato aplinkoje ir duobėse aptikti 495 archeologiniai radiniai. Radinių archeologinis kontekstas rodo, kad aptikti daiktai buvo naudojami ne prekybos tikslams, o kasdienėje veikloje, tokioms kaip valgymas ar rūkymas (1, 2 pav.).

Šio straipsnio tikslas – aptiktų radinių analizė ir interpretacija. Daugelis aptiktų artefaktų buvo importuoti, tad jų identifikavimas suteikia galimybę diskutuoti apie pirklių gyvenimo būdą ir kultūrinį identitetą. Identiteto klausimas archeologijoje tiriamas pasirinkus tam tikras

radinių grupes, kurios atskleidžia kultūrinės ir asmeninės reprezentacijas visuomenėje. Tyrime išskirti du blokai radinių: stalo indai bei įrankiai ir asmeniniai daiktai (pypkės, drabužių aksesuarai ir monetos), kurie atskleidžia kultūrinės ir asmeninės pirklių nuostatas bei tradicijas (3–8 pav.; 1 lent.). Radinių gamybos vietos ir chronologija nustatyta taikant komparatyvinį metodą. Straipsnyje diskutuojama, kad importuoti radiniai ne visada rodo prekybinius kontaktus, neretai jie reprezentuoja tam tikrų žmonių kultūrinę priklausomybę ir jiems priimtą gyvenimo būdą, kuris ir reiškiasi per jų turėtus daiktus. Turtinga ir analogų neturinti archeologinė medžiaga leidžia priėti prie išvadų, kad anglų pirkliai Šventojoje nemėgino priimti šiam regionui būdingų tradicijų ir gamintų daiktų, o juos atsivežė kartu su savimi ir naujoje gyvenvietėje sukūrė savo kultūrinei erdvei būdingą gyvenamąją aplinką.