Abstract

The following dissertation entitled *Early Medieval Slavic Jewellery in the Southern Part of the Baltic Sea Basin* is the result of the author's multiannual research conducted in the area of Scandinavia - mainly Bornholm as well as numerous source queries. The material presented comes from, inter alia, excavation works performed on the aforementioned island, which were focused on discovering the context for silver treasures (or the places of potential deposits) containing Slavic jewellery. In addition, there were also source queries run in museums, among which in the Museum in Bornholm, the National Museum in Copenhagen, the Archaeological Museum in Gdańsk as well as a considerable number of library queries.

The paper introduced a vast source material covering the Slavic jewellery appearing in various types of archaeological sites (hillforts, hamlets, grave fields, treasures, miscellaneous finds) in the areas of Pomerania, north Elbe Valley (Mecklenburg, Schleswig-Holstein, a part of Brandenburg), Denmark and southern Sweden (Scania, Blekinge, Halland as well as partially Småland and Oland – in case of the latter two regions serving mostly as the comparative background). The Elbe and Noteć river lines were considered the regional border. In Scandinavia, the border was constituted by the territories of the so-called Old Danmark i.e. Jutland Peninsula, Danish islands and the Scandinavian Peninsula including the regions of Scania, Halland and partially Blekinge (determining the early medieval borders of the Kingdom of Danmark and Sweden on the Scandinavian Peninsula constitutes an extraordinarily difficult task. The significant degree of its complexity is due to the high dynamicity of political changes and consequently the territorial ones in the discussed area in the early Middle Ages).

The chronological frames of the monograph are mainly between the 10th and 12th centuries, however, a part of the archaeological sites covered in this paper encompasses the socalled long chronology and began its existence as early as the 7th century. Some of them were ceasing to exist in the 13th century or even at the beginning of the 14th century.

The purpose of this dissertation is to diversify the hypothesis about the utility of jewellery for chronological determinations, the collection and updating of the database related to Slavic jewellery in the southern Baltic region and their origin as well as the attempt to present the Slavic-Scandinavian relationships through the prism of the discoveries of Slavic ornaments in the area of Scandinavia.

These tasks shall be conducted through the typological and comparative analysis of the source material and also the determination of the waves of the Slavic jewellery influx onto Scandinavian territories. Everything will be depicted in a broader context of Slavic-Scandinavian relationships, additionally embracing other cultural elements.

The paper consists of six chapters. The first chapter refers to the research history on early medieval Slavic jewellery in the area covered in the dissertation as well as Slavic-Scandinavian contacts. The second one discussed the woman's clothing in the southern part of the Baltic Sea. Chapter three constitutes the analysis of the types and forms of the Slavic ornaments existent in the region. The material was divided into the following categories: head ornaments (temple rings, ear cuffs, diadems), neck ornaments (pendants, round pendants, lunula pendants, kaptorga pendants, beads, necklaces), hand and wrist ornaments (bracelets/shoulder jewellery, rings). The particular types of jewellery were considered in formal terms as well as according to the kinds of sites in which they were discovered (hillforts, hamlets, grave fields, treasures, miscellaneous finds) and the country where they were located. The specific data was presented in the catalogue, whereas the sites along with the found jewellery types were mapped using the GIS software.

In the fourth part of the dissertation comparative analyses of the source material were conducted. It was examined from the perspective of concurrent elements in particular teams in the regions and their macroregions (northern Elbe Valley: Mecklenburg, Schleswig-Holstein, Brandenburg; Pomerania: Western Pomerania, Middle Pomerania, Eastern Pomerania, southeastern Pomerania bordering Chełmno Land; Danmark: Jutland Peninsula, Danish islands, Bornholm; southern Sweeden: Halland, Scania, Blekinge). This analysis enabled (especially in terms of silver deposits) indicating their concentration moments in the case of Pomerania and northern Elbe Valley as well as demonstrating their waves in the areas of southern Scandinavia and also the changes of the Slavic component taking into account quantitative and qualitative aspects.

Chapter five, however, depicted the Slavic-Scandinavian relationships through the prism of the written, archaeological, and linguistic sources. The final part of the book constitutes the conclusions of the conducted analyses as well as the encapsulation of the paper. The integral element of the monography is maps presenting the ranges of the occurrence of particular types of ornaments, the arrays and the previously mentioned catalogue consisting of two parts. The first part consists of the profiles of the specific types of ornaments and the second one of the profiles of the sites used in the paper.

Based on the analysed source material it was possible to verify the up to now dating of the historic material, especially the one coming from the silver deposits. In the case of the northern Elbe Valley and Pomerania, one may indicate the forms of ornaments characteristic of a given region and macroregion.

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In the territories of Scandinavia, Slavic jewellery emerged in the 26 deposits in Danmark and 18 in southern Sweden. In the case of hamlets, there were 15 sites from Danmark and 1 from Sweden. Another category was represented by grave fields. In this paper, one grave field in Bornholm was included. In Scandinavia, there were not any hillforts. These data were juxtaposed with the treasures from the areas of Pomerania and northern Germany as well as the material found in hillforts, hamlets, and grave fields.

Slavic jewellery emerged in the discussed area from the year 936 to approximately 1120. In this period, we may observe several waves of jewellery influx as well as the differentiation with respect to the spread of ornaments and the types of ornaments emerging.

This jewellery appeared in a few clusters to which Danish islands can be referred with a particular emphasis on Bornholm where we observe the largest accumulation of the Slavic component coming from both treasures and also hamlets and grave fields. Another area is Scania. The lesser participation of that area is apparent in the Blekinge region. However, in terms of the Jutland Peninsula and Swedish Halland region, these ornaments emerge incidentally.

Regarding the condition of the Slavic jewellery emerging in the deposits, it is frequently preserved fragmentarily and possesses signs of deliberate crumbling. In the majority of cases, these ornaments are the constituents of deposits containing a large participation of the Scandinavian component.

The Slavic ornaments are frequently characterized by single ornaments or their fragments solely. The degree of their fragmentation and participation may suggest that they also constituted the economic element connected with the regional/local circulation of silver.

One could observe the similarities in terms of weight and also the participation of certain jewellery elements such as necklaces, between the areas of southern Sweden along with Bornholm and the south Baltic territories. Particularly, in the case of the deposits dating back to the approximately year 1000 (Hårdh 1996, s. 125-126). There are certain similarities in the

composition of deposits from southern Scandinavia and the areas of Pomerania and Mecklenburg, especially in terms of necklaces and also the convergences of the weight of the silver scrap. For necklaces, one may even admit certain unity of the pattern in the Baltic Sea region. These are ornaments popular in the whole Baltic area, but they were most likely crafted in specific regions, which may be proven by the different forms of their endings. They also have a significant participation in deposits, both as fully preserved ornaments and the ones preserved fragmentarily.

The above-mentioned regions are not the only ones, where western Slavic jewellery emerged. The ornaments of Slavic provenance were found in, inter alia, deposits in Kaldal (tqp 1002) near Nord-Trøndelag as well as in Årstad in the Rogaland region (tpq 1029) in Norway. Most probably the Scandinavian and Slavic components of these two treasures were imported from southern Scandinavia (Hårdh 1996, s. 102). Another area in which the ornaments of western provenance emerged is Norraland region in Sweden. Three deposits were discovered there, which contained small fragments of the western Slavic jewellery. These are the treasures from z Överlännäs (tpq 995), Indal (tpq 1021), Boteå (tpq 1047). The subsequent area in which ornaments of the western Slavic provenance were found was Västmanland where the treasure from Diktuna was discovered (tpq 991)(Hårdh 1996, s. 117-119).

The degree of fragmentation of the silver scrap in the treasures as well as the approximate stylistics of jewellery elements (Scandinavian and western Slavic) constitutes one of the pieces of evidence confirming the intensity of contacts between the areas discussed in this dissertation and the regions located in the centre (or in the far north) of the Scandinavian Peninsula. As a result, we may conclude that jewellery, most frequently in the form of silver scrap (but not only) from Pomerania, northern Elbe Valley and Greater Poland through South Sweden, precisely Scania and Blekinge regions and Bornholm was spread further north to Nord-Trøndelag and Nordland regions (Scania and Bornholm are the areas where the greatest number of deposits with northwestern Slavic component emerged in the region of the South Baltic). The period of the highest intensity of these contacts fell on the end of the 10th century and the first half of the 11th century.

The jewellery emerging in the deposits from the discussed area could also have utilitarian meaning. Some of the deposits contained elements of the set of ornaments. Examples of these treasures are Sturkö or Pæregård and Munkegård, in which for the first two treasures two, ear cuffs sets type "Świątki" as well as star-shaped ear cuff emerged. In the last treasure, lunula pendants were discovered together with beads, which could form a necklace. These deposits come from the first quarter of the 11th century. Taking into consideration their preservation condition and that they appeared as sets one may suggest that they were applied in their primary context i.e. as the ornaments most likely worn by a Slavic woman (women).

Based on the conducted detailed research of the source material and comparative analyses, we are able to indicate several waves of Slavic ornaments onto the areas of Scandinavia. The regional differentiation in terms of its intensity is noticeable. In southern Sweden, the first Slavic ornaments emerge in the Blekinge region in the 930s. Next, we may observe certain accumulations of these ornaments in around twenty-year intervals. They took place in the middle of the 950s (955 - 2 deposits), in the early 980s (983 - 2 deposits), at the beginning of the 1000s (1000-1002 - 4 treasures), later in the 1020s (1024-1028 - 2 or 3 deposits) as well as in 1040s (1042-1047 - 2 deposits). In the source material, the gradual increase of the Slavic component and the suspension of its diversity is apparent, which systematically occurs from the 1080s. Its high point falls on the beginning of the 11th century (the ear cuffs sets type "Świątki" comes from that period and was discovered in the treasure from Sturkö) as well as the third decade of that century. From that moment its fall is noticeable. At the same time, the occurrence of the silver deposits in South Sweden is not equally distributed. Its highest concentration is in Scania, where their accumulations appear in quite regular approximately 20-year intervals. On the other hand, in the Blekinge region, the treasures emerged more rarely, however, they belonged to one of the most imposing ones (the aforementioned deposit from Sturkö).

Apart from the treasures, the Slavic jewellery in southern Sweden was also excavated in the site in Uppåkra, where two temple rings type I were found.

A slightly different situation was present in Danmark, where Slavic ornaments appear in treasures, in hamlets as well as in grave fields. In this matter, the island Bornholm was unique because the largest number of silver treasures was discovered there for the whole Danmark. In the remaining area of Danmark, the Slavic jewellery appears in treasures, constituting only its fraction (the material is frequently strongly fragmented, and the excavated ornaments are most often single fragments). In the area of Jutland and the Danish islands (west Baltic), the ornaments discussed emerged in several treasures, which had a mainly economic character. They are dated at the 10th century and the very beginning of the 11th century. Taking into consideration the Danish islands, there is only one noted deposit dated at around the half of the 11th century. Another situation is presented in the above-mentioned Bornholm. The Slavic ornaments appear there from the 960s. Similarly to southern Sweden, one may observe the gradual rise in the Slavic component in deposits, whose peak is dated at the beginning of the 11th century and also the 1020s. The deposits containing elements or nearly complete sets of ornaments also come from that period. These deposits are Pæregård as well as Nørremølle (they most probably included a complete set of ear cuffs with a grape-shaped pendant). At the same time, they are one of the greatest deposits in Denmark from the Viking Age. The accumulation of the treasures is noticeable even in the 1040s.

Regarding stylistics, the ornaments discovered in the area of southern Scandinavia allude to the patterns known in Pomerania, northern Elbe Valley, but also Greater Poland, Kuyavia, Mazovia, Silesia, the territories of Saxony and Thuringia. Władysław Duczko in his research highlights that the patterns of luxurious western Slavic ornaments (i.e. ear cuffs, lunula pendants, kaptorga pendants, pendants, beads) frequently allude to the patterns originating from the areas of the Great Moravia, and these ones taking inspiration from the Byzantine art.

The Slavic jewellery appearing in the early medieval treasures is not the only symptom of the intensity of the Slavic-Scandinavian contacts. The ornaments from the southern part of the Baltic Sea are also discovered in other types of archaeological sites such as hamlets or grave fields, although their number is considerably smaller. From the areas of southern Sweden, we can indicate the finds of two temple rings from the site in Uppåkra. The situation in Danmark looks different as Bornholm constitutes the dominating role in terms of the occurrence of the discussed category of relics. On this island, a significant part of the temple rings was discovered on the hamlet sites. Unfortunately, these sites have not been researched to date, which poses a substantial problem for determining their chronology The temple rings which are found there belong to the types I and II, which are considered the oldest chronologically as well as type III i.e. the most commonly occurring type in northwestern Slavdom.

Thus, based on the finds, we can assume that the ornaments had to be lost between the 9th and 13th centuries (Naum 2009, s. 159; Kóčka-Krenz 1993a, s. 45-47, 56-57). Another relevant site is Nr. Grodbygård grave field is located in the south of the island. It is dated at the years 980-1080. Single temple rings were discovered there including the piece converted into a breastpin as well as single oval beads and the relics of kaptorga pendants. These are not the only elements connected with the Slavic cultural circle found in this grave field. One can also find there the dishes crafted on the potter's wheel and graced with the ornamentation

characteristic of northwestern Slavdom as well as knives' sheaths of Slavic provenance (Wagnkilde 2001, s. 57-77).

Moreover, the Slavic jewellery was also discovered on the island as the miscellaneous finds. These were fragments of ear cuffs, temple rings as well as rings. (Czonstke 2009/2010, s. 172, 186-187, 196).

The question which may arise is regarding the reason for the wave of Slavic jewellery onto the territories of southern Scandinavia. Undoubtedly, one of them is the application of the ornaments as the element of economic exchange. Especially, its fragments played a vital role in the economic system of the Baltic area, which I mentioned earlier. However, it would be worth reflecting upon its application as usable "casual" as well as luxurious ornaments, which could relate to the presence of Slavs in the area discussed. There is an array of arguments in favour of these solutions i.e. temple rings numerously discovered in Bornholm's hamlets and also the sets of ornaments indicated in previously mentioned deposits such as Sturkö, Pæregård or Munkegård. This jewellery could also serve the role of a gift.

These valuables could be worn by Slavic women living in these areas. Countless signs of the Slavic pottery found in Bornholm, Scania as well as the remaining Danish islands also advocate for the Slavic settlement in these territories. In addition to this, there are signs of sunken huts, tomb finds in Bornholm and Trelleborg as well as toponomastics. The reasons for the surge of people (emigration and immigration) could be different: from individual choices related to curiosity and the need to discover the world to socio-economic issues such as exile, and searching for a space to live. People could also enter the new territory as qualified craftsmen, merchants, warriors but also prisoners of war, kidnapped brides, and slaves. The crucial part of this system was the alliances formed and the exchange of experienced craftsmen and warriors related to them. Undoubtedly, the significant element of the socio-political system was diplomatic marriages formalised at different levels. Along with the marriages, especially at the elites' level, there was an increased surge of people. Together with the representatives of Slavic women (but also Scandinavian women to the territories of Slavdom - particularly in the Middle Ages) the representatives (both male and female) of the court constituting the closest social environment and craftsmen were coming to the new homeland. The marriage was indissolubly connected with the terms of bride price (i.e. providing material protection to a wife by her husband) and dowry (the assets contributed to a husband by a wife while formalising the marriage). Therefore, the discovered jewellery, especially the one in sets could serve as a form of providing the previously mentioned protection.

The sharp wave of jewellery results from the socio-political situation in the region, which was very dynamic in the 10 and 12th centuries. The waves of the jewellery and the moments of the larger accumulation of the deposits (or its degree) could be linked to the periods of stabilisation, including the socio-political one. Thus, cooperation and collaborative working were relevant to ensure the growth of each of the communities. In that background, Bornholm constitutes a particular place, where we deal with a large number of signs of Slavic presence on the island such as the previously mentioned pottery, grave field, hamlets with jewellery elements or deposits containing the largest amount of Slavic component in the form of ornaments. In the case of Bornholm but also Danish islands and the southern part of Scania we may say that there was a Slavic settlement there.

Bornholm due to its geographical character as the island and peripheral location towards the remaining part of Danmark, similarly to Gotland, formed its own culture and traditions, which differed from the ones known in the other Danish territories. This formed an intriguing Scandinavian-Slavic marriage in the 11th century.

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A collection of monuments used in the book does not constitute the whole database, but barely its representation (a considerable one). This condition is due to the high increase of artefacts, particularly in Germany and Denmark coming from the research conducted with the help of a metal detector. A part of the collections is also unpublished. Additionally, in Scandinavia, a problem also appears with the inability to recognise Slavic jewellery elements, especially the ones of a simple form (temple rings types I and II). Another hindrance in the case of this dissertation was source queries in some of the museums, which disagreed on conducting them or did not make the collections available for research purposes.

The presented material was not subject to the physical-chemical analyses. Due to the considerable cost of this type of research, its application may be justified in case of the findings in the precise sites.

In the future it would be advisable to consider conducting the aforementioned detailed physical-chemical as well as metrical analyses of particular complexes containing Slavic ornaments, the technological analysis of the jewellery, creating the typology (or supplying the existing ones), which takes into account the technological data (commodity, jewellery techniques) as well as the presentation of these results in a broader socio-cultural background, which will allow to formulate new conclusions and research questions.

The monography was written under the supervision of Prof. Witold Świętosławski at the Institute of Archaeology at the University of Gdańsk.