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International Summer School ‘Wolin/Jómsborg: a meeting point of Slavs and Scandinavians in the Middle Ages.’

July 16 – July 30, 2023 in Wolin, Poland



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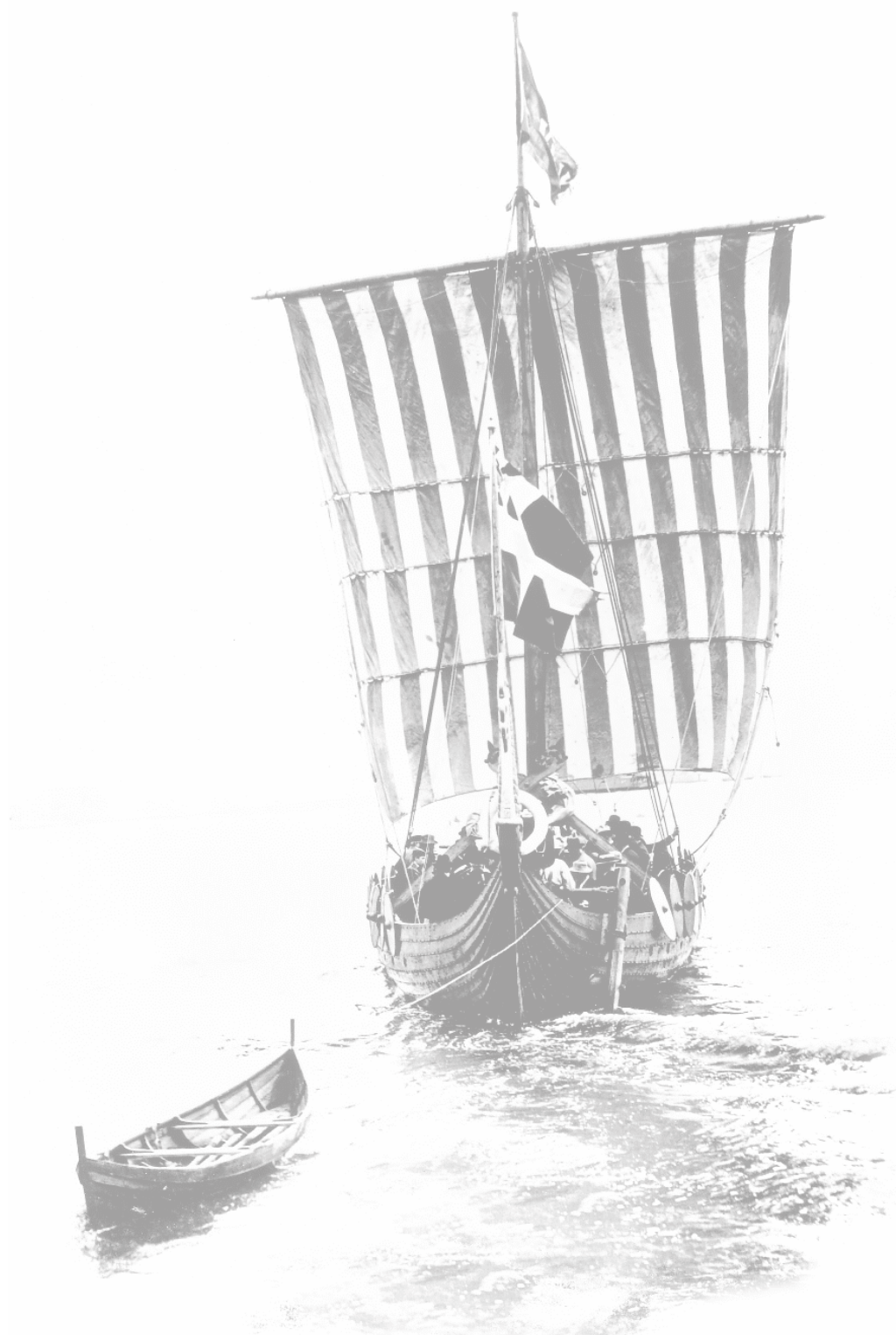
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Programme of the summer school

List of courses

Political, social, and economic history of Scandinavia and Western Slavs in the Viking Age and the Middle Ages

Archaeology of the Baltic zone

History of Old Norse literature

Latin literature in medieval Poland

Codicology and palaeography of Old Norse, Old English, and Slavic manuscripts

Archaeology of early medieval Wolin / Description and interpretation of archaeological artefacts

Scandinavian and Slavic early medieval coinage

Runic script and inscriptions

Extras:

Excursions to Lubin and Cammin

Hnefatafl

A field game



Descriptions of the courses



History of Western Slavs in the 9th –12th centuries. Politics, Economy, Culture

Jakub Morawiec

Since the late eighth and early ninth century, the Baltic zone was the area of important political, economic, and cultural changes that affected the history of the region in the centuries to come. Among these processes, were those that are commonly associated with the Viking Age: the development of lucrative long-distance trade; an emergence of a network of ports-of-trade, the centralization and consolidation of power resulting in the growth of new elites and political units, which, with time, become key elements of the political landscape in the region during the Middle Ages; Christianization and its cultural and social consequences. All these processes affected significantly also the southern shores of the Baltic Sea, that is, the territories encompassing the mouths of a set of rivers being both important traffic arteries and borderlines between particular political entities, cultures, and languages: the Elbe, the Oder, the Vistula, and the Dvina. The territories neighbouring with the southern shores of the Baltic were predominantly populated by Slavs, called the Western Slavs or the Baltic Slavs. Aside from them, those territories were inhabited by Old Prussians and other Baltic tribes as well as by Franks, Saxons and Danes, the neighbours of Slavs.

Both Frankish and Arab accounts leave no doubt that since the ninth century the Baltic region became a principal factor of lucrative far-distant trade, symbolized both by slave-trade and the transfer of Arabic silver into Europe. The trade was dominated by Scandinavians, who started actively penetrating the southern shores of the Baltic then. It resulted in the emergence of the oldest local ports-of-trade, Reric, Menzlin, Wolin, Truso, Wiskiauten, Grobin, to name just a few. Some of them survived the decline of the Baltic economy that came in line with the twilight of the Vikings and played important administrative and other roles at least until the end of medieval period. The long-distance trade enabled the transfer of not only material goods, but also of ideas, fashions, and points of view. It meant peoples' readiness to accept and adopt new trends resulting in the inflow of silver and significant development of local industries, e.g., pottery, jewellery, and shipbuilding.

Prospects of lavish income, generated by the long-distance trade, determined the engagement of local elites, aiming at strengthening their political potency and status. Signs of this tendency were clearly visible already in the early ninth century. It was when the Obodrites, one of the confederations of Slavic tribes, was involved in Charlemagne's wars against Danes (805 A.D.) and when one of the Danish kings, Godfred, destroyed Reric, the Obodritian port-of-trade, in 808 A.D. All these political processes became even more intensified in the tenth century. Apart from the Obodrites, Violetians, another confederation of Slavic tribes, rose to power. Both ethnic units were constantly forced to face the attempts of both Saxons and Danes to take control over the Polabian lands, understanding it as one of the keys to the hegemony in the whole region. These attempts were intensified during times of the Liudolfings. The Polabian lands were covered by a network of marches by Emperor Otto I, which were supposed to lead the conquests of these territories and their integration with the Saxon kingdom. It was a long and arduous process. Among the Slavs, Violetians in particular were able to level down Saxon achievements significantly, through a series of uprisings, especially that of 983 A.D. The Liudolfings, striving for control of Polabian lands, were forced, on one hand, to compete with Denmark, on the other, to cooperate with Poland ruled by the Piast dynasty. The latter, led by Mieszko I, were consolidating their power in the lands between the Oder and Vistula estuaries, and, for obvious reasons, were highly interested in taking control over Pomerania. The Piasts were able to incorporate its eastern part to their dominion relatively easily. Similar attempts toward the western part meant an intense competition with the Violetians, Saxons, and Danes. It resulted in a very volatile political situation in the region, as the problematic status of Wolin and the whole Oder estuary in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries indicate.

The eleventh century brought profound changes in the political relations in the region. The Piasts' influences in both Pomerania and Polabian lands, significantly declined. It was the Empire that

took the lead, forced to compete with Denmark although both Obodrites and Viejietians were able to maintain a relatively large scope of independence, taking advantage of temporary weaknesses of their neighbours. An analogous situation could be observed in the Western Pomerania, where, ca. 1050, a separate duchy emerged, that, similarly to the Polabian Slavs, was forced to balance between Poland, Denmark, and the Empire. The twelfth century brought final settlements. Ca. 1120, the Polish duke Bolesław the Wrymouth was able to mark his strong position in both Pomerania and Polabian lands, although his successes were not long-lasting. On the other hand, both Denmark and the Empire, after overcoming a series of internal problems, decided to make new political and military attempts to take control over these territories using, among others, the crusading ideology. It resulted in a completely incompetently managed and hardly successful crusade against the Slavs organized in 1147 as a joint venture of both German nobles and Danish kings. Eventually, in the late 1160s and early 1170s, both the Danish King Valdemar I and the duke of Saxony Henry the Lion, at times cooperating, at times competing with each other, were able to take control over parts of the Polabian lands. Destruction of the Svantevit temple in Arkona on the isle of Rugen in 1169 symbolically concluded the attempts to eliminate not only Polabian paganism but also Polabian independence. Danes were also able to impose their sovereignty over Western Pomerania in 1185, when Duke Bogusław paid homage to the Danish King Cnut VI.

It was also a period of Christianization of the Baltic zone. It was a complex process. In the case of Poland, it was the key decision of Mieszko I in 966 A.D. to convert. It led directly to the introduction of the first bishop named Jordan, who was responsible for ecclesiastical affairs in the entire Piast monarchy. After his death, the papal Curia sent a new bishop, Unger. Conversion activities were continued by Mieszko's son, Bolesław the Brave, who due to particularly good relations with Emperor Otto III, managed to acquire in 1000 a separate archdiocese for Poland, with Gniezno as its main see and St. Adalbert (Wojciech) as its patron. The latter, who had died three years prior, originated from Bohemia and was a member of a noble Sławnik family, had been a bishop of Prague in the 980s. Conflicted with the duke of Bohemia, he left Prague and then was granted permission to undertake a missionary expedition that was supported by Bolesław the Brave. Firstly, the plan was to send him to Viejietians, but, eventually, following the advice of the Polish duke, he decided to visit Old Prussians in 997. His expedition did not last long: Adalbert was killed shortly after he started preaching. His martyrdom immediately made him saint and proper candidate for the patronage of the new archdiocese. The Christianisation of the Polabian lands remained the concern of the Empire. The Liudolfings tried to deal with the issue the same way they treated Denmark when they founded three dioceses there in 948 A.D.. Twenty years later, in 968 A.D., Otto I established a new archdiocese in Magdeburg that was supposed to manage the Christianization of the Polabian Slavs and support margraves in the process of integration of these territories with the Empire. These attempts faced many obstacles and it would be difficult to find them successful, especially before the end of the eleventh century. The situation changed in the following century when the Empire managed to take control over most of the lands of the Obodrites and Viejietians and eliminate both confederations. It was also the time of new missionary initiatives in the Western Pomerania. Otto, bishop of Bamberg, was converting the region in 1124-1128 under the patronage of the Polish Duke Bolesław the Wrymouth. It resulted in the establishment of a new diocese, firstly located in Wolin, then in Cammin (Kamień Pomorski). The conditions under which Otto led his missionary efforts, the scope of his success and the formal status of the Pomeranian diocese, clearly show that the Polabian lands were still an arena of constant rivalry between Denmark, the Empire, and Poland.

WORKSHOP: Scandinavian/Western Slavonic dynastic ties. A mystery and significance of Świętosława/Sigridr stórrada and her northern marriages.

Written accounts, produced on both shores of the medieval Baltic, provide us with evidence of marital relations between Scandinavian and Slavonic dynasties between the tenth and twelfth centuries. Without doubt, they reflect the politics in the region, and the importance of joint and conflicting interests in the Baltic zone. At the same time, they constitute exclusive insight into the process of making alliances, creating networks, and reacting to fluctuant and unstable circumstances of contemporary political relations. The significance of these dynastic ties on the highest political and social level is reflected, among others, by the fact, that some of them turned into legend and became a colourful and essential part of the Old Norse literary tradition. These aspects will be traced and analysed at the workshop that as its starting point will take up the story of Sigridr the Haughty, the daughter of a Swedish jarl and wife of both the Swedish King Eric the Victorious and the Danish King Sveinn Forkbeard. Special emphasis will be put on the relation of the legend of Sigridr with historical evidence of an anonymous daughter of the duke of Poland Mieszko I, who was the wife of both Eric and Sveinn, and on her political role in the late tenth/early eleventh century Scandinavia. Further considerations will include the following issues: social and cultural circumstances of inter-dynastic ties, the memory of such a marital union in medieval historiographies of the region, the significance of dynastic ties for cultural transfers, and the establishment of economic and political networks in the Baltic zone.

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Fig. 1. Boleslav the Brave by Jan Matejko



Fig. 2. Sigridr the Haughty.

The Baltic region in the late Middle Ages

Radosław Biskup

The Teutonic Order state that existed in Prussia from the thirteenth to sixteenth century was no doubt a phenomenon that had a significant impact on the political, social, and economic processes in the south-western part of the Baltic region. Created by the corporation of knights and clergymen organized into a military order founded during the crusades to the Holy Land. This Order of Brothers of the German House of Saint Mary in Jerusalem (*Ordo domus Sanctae Mariae Theutonicorum Ierosolimitani*) and founded by merchants from Lübeck and Bremen, the Teutonic state was spread over the Mediterranean and Western Europe. In the first half of the thirteenth century, the Order was introduced to Poland and its members, supported by popes and emperors, created their state between the rivers Vistula and Neman.

The main purpose of the lecture on the Baltic region in the late Middle Ages, in connection with the contents of other classes, is to present the development of the state of the Teutonic Order in its three phases: establishment (1228-1309), the rise (1309-1410), and the gradual decadence (1411-1525).

The key questions to be discussed are:

- what are the sources of the research on the history of the Teutonic Order in Prussia?
- how was the Order organized and what was its inner structure?
- how was the state of the Teutonic knights organized?
- what was the structure of the territorial landlordship in medieval Prussia?
- how was the Catholic Church organized?
- what were the features of each of the mentioned phases of the Order?
- what were the Order's relations to its neighbours, such as the Kingdom of Poland?
- what was the position of the order of the Teutonic knights in the Baltic region in the late medieval period?

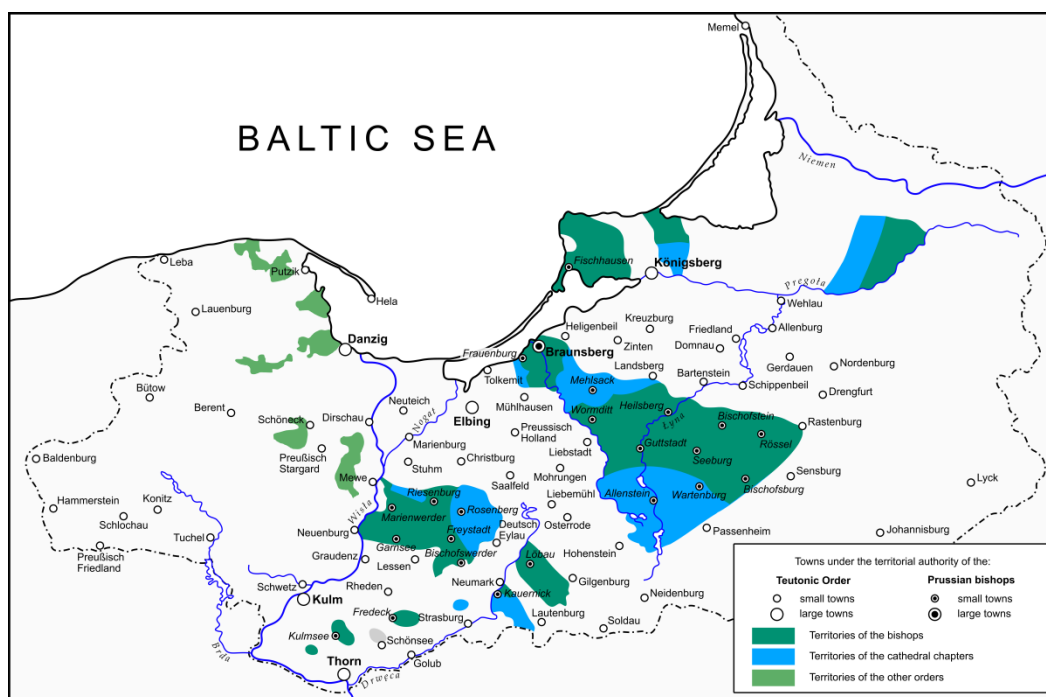
In the workshop (2 h.) students will analyse a selection of Latin texts allowing them to trace the process of the development of the secular and spiritual administration and territorial landlordships in medieval Prussia of the thirteenth and early fourteenth century. The texts to be analysed will include the document of the papal legate Wilhelm of Modena dividing Prussia into four bishoprics, the document founding the cathedral chapter in the bishopric of Pomesania or Sambia (1285), and fragments from Peter of Duisburg's chronicle.

The students' learning outcomes should be as follows:

- how did the tradition of Crusades affect the state of the Teutonic Knights and its structure?
- what was the role played the convents of the Teutonic Knights?
- what were the relationships between the secular and spiritual land ownership in medieval Prussia?
- how did the Order affect other forms of landownership and cities in medieval Prussia?
- how did the state of the Teutonic Order change in the fifteenth century?

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The state of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia.

[Source: M. F. Stevens, R. Czaja (eds.), *Towns on the Edge in Medieval Europe. The Social and political Order of Peripheral Urban Communities from Twelfth to Sixteenth Centuries*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2022, p. XXV]

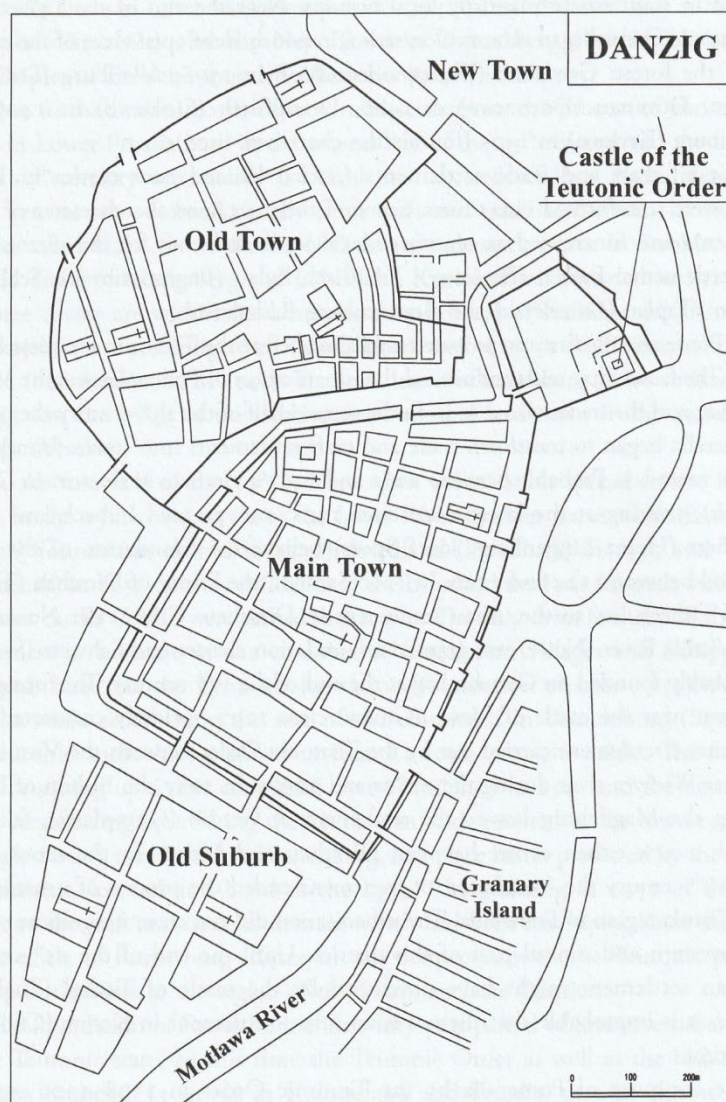


Fig. 20. Medieval Danzig (Gdańsk) town map

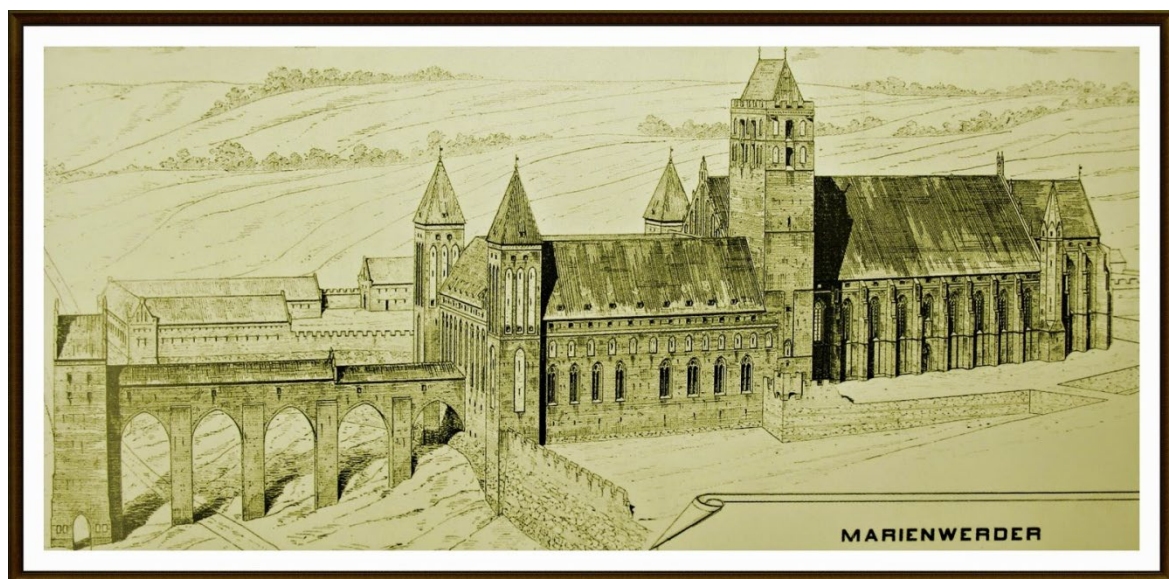
Medieval Danzig (Gdańsk).

[Source: R. Czaja, A. Radzimiński (eds.), *The Teutonic Order in Prussia and Livonia. The political and ecclesiastical Structures 13th–16th C.*, Toruń–Köln, TNT–Böhlau Verlag 2015]



The state of the Teutonic Knights after 1466.

[Source: https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wojna_trzynastoletnia#/media/Plik:Teutonic_Order_1466.png]



The cathedral church and castle of the cathedral chapter in Marienwerder (Kwidzyn)

[Source: <https://katedrakwidzyn.pl/dzieje-kosciola/>]

b) The castle in Marienburg (Malbork)



The Marienburg (Malbork) castle

[Fot. Radosław Biskup]

The History of Medieval Scandinavia (800-1200)

Bjørn Bandlien

This module consists of an introduction to the history of medieval Scandinavia from c. 800-1200, with an emphasis on its political development. The region underwent deep changes from the start of the Viking Age until the High Middle Ages. The point of departure will be the centralization of power in the Danish kingdom during the eighth century, with the building of major defence structures, the establishment of towns, especially Ribe in southwestern Jutland, and the early contacts with the Carolingian Empire. From around 800 A.D., there was a growth of Viking activity from Norway and Sweden as well, and especially the coastal areas were affected by Viking expeditions and the surplus these made. Towns and trade flourished all over Scandinavia during this period, and we will look at the characteristics of the new towns, especially Haithabu, Birka and Kaupang. Some of the finds at these sites, as well as in their hinterland, indicate vibrant contacts with the British Isles, the eastern European waterways, the Middle East, and the Silk Road. The scope of these trading routes and consequences this trade and looting had within Scandinavia will be discussed during the course.

To understand these consequences, it is crucial to understand the dynamics of power and political culture during the Viking Age. In recent scholarship, Scandinavia has been seen as a pre-state and largely oral society, with few institutions and unstable dynasties, where honour and personal networks were crucial to gain and preserve power. At the same time, the wealth acquired from raiding and trading made it possible for some to expand their position over others, developing into larger regional polities, and eventually kingdoms during the late Viking Age. Of special importance in this period is the growth of royal power centred in Jelling in Denmark during the 960s and 970s. Although the importance of Jelling diminished after a few decades, the growth of royal power in Denmark developed into a North Sea empire under King Harald Bluetooth's successors, Sveinn Forkbeard and Cnut the Great.

As part of the legitimization of power, religion has been suggested to play a crucial part. We will analyse some of the places central to it and a selection of rich burials to discuss the relations between the realm of gods, the afterlife, and politics. At the end of the tenth century, Christianization implied a shift in the symbols and rhetoric of power. At the same time, scholars have pointed out to the issues of continuity and the signs of syncretizing of new and traditional religion. These opinions will be discussed, with examples from all three kingdoms.

At the turn of the millennium, other changes are also observable, such as the consolidation of the Church, the rise of urbanism, and the tendencies of developing royal administration: jurisdiction, taxation and military organisation. At the same time, as the flow of external wealth from abroad ends during the mid-eleventh century, there is also an increasing focus on controlling the internal resources of the kingdoms. The eleventh century can be seen as a transformative phase, starting with a settlement of borders between the kingdoms of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, as well as their integration into European networks of trade, education and art. From the twelfth century, these three kingdoms were strengthened by the establishment of separate archdioceses, with closer contact to Rome.

During the twelfth century, especially from the 1130s onwards, internal struggles are observable within all three kingdoms. These struggles have been variously interpreted by scholars, but what all the interpretations have in common is the discussion of the rivalry for resources and power between the king, the Church, and aristocracy. During these struggles, Scandinavian kingdoms imported and adapted European court culture, the crusading movement, and an increased use of literacy. Laws were written down at the end of the twelfth century, at the same time as hagiographic texts, chronicles, and sagas that were written and read by wide audiences. In this stage, Icelanders played a crucial role in the development of vernacular literature. The most famous among them is Snorri Sturluson (d. 1241), with his sagas on the kings of Norway and his *Prose Edda*. The past became crucial for the legitimization of power for the elite in the present. At around the same time, the accounts of the Jomsvikings and of Olaf Tryggvason's journey to Poland also interplayed with and affected the attitudes towards the southern

shores of the Baltic Sea region. At this time, around the year 1200, the narratives of the Baltic were seen as complex stories of an expanding and ambitious kingship, crusading ideology, and heroic ideals.

The module topics and learning outcomes include:

- a fundamental knowledge of the internal causes of Viking expeditions;
- understanding the impact of Viking trading and raiding on Scandinavia;
- the knowledge of some of the central places of power and trade in Scandinavia during the Viking Age;
- being able to explain how power was attained and lost;
- the importance of honour and social networks;
- a basic knowledge of the complexities of the process of Christianization;
- europeanization of Scandinavia.

We will discuss selected passages from Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla* (available in English translation – open access at [Viking Society web site](#)). As part of the learning outcomes, the discussion of the sagas as sources to the past will form part of the class. Two sites will be discussed explicitly in relation to archaeological and written sources: Borre in Vestfold (Norway) and Jelling (Denmark).

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History of Late Medieval Scandinavia

Karl Christian Alvestad

Following the earlier sessions on the Viking Age and the central medieval period, this lecture and workshop (run twice) will focus on late medieval Scandinavia (1348-1522/1537). The lecture will primarily outline the political history of the region from the arrival of the Black Death to the end of the Kalmar Union. At the same time, it will offer insights into the cultural, social, and economic history of the region in this period.

The key questions to be explored are:

- what were the consequences of the Black Death in Scandinavia?
- out of which context did the Kalmar Union rise?
- what role did Margrethe, Valdemar's daughter, play in the late medieval history of Scandinavia?
- what factors impacted the evolution of the Union and eventually led to its demise?
- and, briefly, how did late medieval Scandinavia experience the emerging religious and cultural tensions spreading from the German lands at the beginning of the sixteenth century?

The focal point of the lecture and the seminar will be on the Kalmar Union (1397-1522), but the lecture will also consider the demographic shifts in Scandinavia following the 1340s, and their economic and cultural consequences.

In the workshop, the students will explore the life of the common people in late medieval Scandinavia through the account of Pietro Querini and his visit to Røst in 1432, and its legacy in the modern age. Through this, students will explore the importance of the sea for trade, cultural exchange, and survival in parts of late medieval Scandinavia. Students will also complete an adapted version of Erik Lund's role-playing game "the medieval village" where they will experience the challenges of making a living and surviving in the late medieval North.

From these sessions students will learn more about the life and development in Scandinavia in the late medieval period.

References:

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Medievalism and the memory of the medieval past

Karl Christian Alvestad

In this short lecture and workshop (1 h. in total), we will explore the post-medieval memory of the medieval past. The key case study will be the cultural memory of the medieval period in Norway. At the same time, this will allow us to explore the wider Northern European memorialisation and relationship with the Middle Ages in the modern age.

The key questions we will explore in this session are:

- how and why does the modern age remember the Middle Ages?
- how has this memory evolved over time?
- what does this tell us about the communities, individuals and societies remembering the medieval past?

In raising these questions, we will critically engage with the very core of the subject of history: what is its purpose? We will also consider who the past is for, and how we engage with it as societies. By looking closely at the post-medieval memory of the Viking age in Norway since 1800, in the lecture, we can explore some of the themes of this in a concrete context, but also offer a way of engaging with international cultural trends spanning the last three centuries. Following the short lecture, students will conduct a short research activity in groups, exploring the modern image of the medieval past on different online platforms such as tourist boards, popular culture, and news outlets, and through that they will critically engage with the legacy and impact of scholarly work and popular memory.

References:

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The sarcophagus of Margrethe I of Denmark

https://media.snl.no/media/200609/standard_Tomb_Queen_Margarita_I_side_view_Roskilde_cathedral_Denmark_1.jpg



The seal of Queen Margrethe:

https://media.snl.no/media/35825/standard_Drottning_Margaretas_rikssigill_1_.jpg



Late medieval church art:

<https://dms-cf-09.dimu.org/image/019EBsm2NfPhh?dimension=1200x1200>

The Archaeology of Law from the Scandinavian Viking Age

Alexandra Sanmark

*Ulfkell and Arnkell and Gýi made here a thing site.
There shall be no mightier memorial than this, which
Ulf's sons made in his memory... They raised the stones
and made the staff, also the mighty one, as marks of
honour (SRD, U 225, 226).*

These words appear on two rune-stones erected around 1010–15 at the assembly-site in Bällsta, Uppland, Sweden (U 225 and U 226). The rune-stones stand on a terrace, most likely constructed for meetings, together with a slope forming the “stand” for the audience. In the middle of the terrace there is a square stone setting, which must have served as the focus of the assembly proceedings. The runic inscription also implies that there were two wooden pillars (“staffs”), one larger than the other. This site and the runes-stones are highly significant and point to three important themes that run through the module: 1) this *thing site* was *constructed* at a carefully selected place, 2) *specific and striking elements* made up this site, and 3) this site was created *in memory* of an ancestor.

Outdoor assemblies, such as Arkel’s *thing* site, were the focus of Viking and Norse assemblies or *things* (ON *þing* s.), which functioned as both parliaments and courts. *Þing* in its earliest form meant both “time” and “meeting” and it can therefore be translated as a “gathering at a fixed time”. *Thing* sites were widely distributed across Scandinavia and the Norse settlements in the west, showing their significance to society at this time.

In a mainly oral culture, such as Viking-Age Scandinavia, there is naturally little direct evidence of law. This does not mean that law and legal practices did not exist. On the contrary, this can be compared to the statements to the effect that countries in Africa did not have any viable judicial institutions before the time of the European colonisation. It is clear that such institutions did exist, only in a different form. Indeed, law and conflict resolution are key elements to a functioning society and therefore form part of all societies, as seen in the well-known maxim *ubi societas, ibi ius* (“wherever there is society, there is law”), first expressed in the early modern period, but drawing on the works of Aristotle. The Viking Age was no exception and effective legal systems must be envisaged for earlier parts of the Scandinavian Iron Age too. This is not surprising as the significance of law – whether oral or written – for working societies has been highlighted by anthropologists since the late nineteenth century. The work of anthropologists on non-literate societies has been highly significant, such as Bronisław Malinowski’s well-known book *Crime and Custom in Savage Society* (1926). Although some of the methods used by these early anthropologists have been questioned, their research shaped the future discourse of the field. It is now recognised that the concept of law is wider than that of modern, western legal systems and includes societal norms, breaches of which are punished by sanctions. In the absence of the written law, in a society where norms and regulations were transmitted orally, social memory was hugely important. Communal memories were created by spectacular events, repeated in everchanging patterns. As part of this, special artefacts, such as brooches and helmets carried social memory and meaning. Wearing a particular helmet gave the wearer special status and, perhaps, the right to certain place and role in the assembly proceedings.

The *thing* was an arena where the elite and the local community met for political and judicial decision making. By integrating archaeological evidence with conventional sources of *things* and law, the assemblies of Old Norse societies can be examined in a new and powerful way. Through this deeply interdisciplinary approach, the meaning and use of *thing* sites across the Norse world is explored. The classes will move beyond site descriptions and analyses and investigate the activities enacted at the assemblies, as well as how these were experienced by the people gathered. In this way, the importance of the context, material, and experience in the using, and also making, of *thing* sites is explored in detail. Law in oral societies is generally difficult to trace. As *thing* sites are seen as having a central role to play

in the creation and upholding of a rule of law, they can be used to study the importance of law in Norse society.

Indeed, the importance of the assembly organisation and the practice of law is highlighted by its part in the Viking age expansion and the Norse settlers' decision to reproduce the assembly institution in their new homelands; if it had not served such a crucial purpose, they could have left it behind. Instead, both in Scandinavia and their new homes, the people of the Viking Age created an ever-shifting pattern of elaborate *thing* sites. These sites, located in places of key importance that drew on, or reinvented the past, were often maintained and developed over time.

The classes focus on three main themes: landscape, time, and memory. A major strand concerns people's interaction with the landscape and the value they assigned to its various parts. This draws on the landscape archaeology advanced by prehistorians, which in recent years has been increasingly used in medieval archaeology. Landscape entails more than the surface of the earth, it is "a construction, a composition of that world" and therefore "a way of seeing the world" (Cosgrove 1984, 13). Within this, the examination of *place* has been a growing field of study. Places constitute focal points of human thought and are vital for experiencing the environment. They are created by human interaction and memory and vary in accordance with the beliefs and world-views of the people who experience them. As places relate to people, their thoughts, and experiences, as well as their histories and memories, they can be returned to again and again. This depth of time is significant for the *thing* sites and meetings. Places, however, not only involve sites manipulated by people, as natural places also seem to have been significant for people in the past. This theme too is explored in the context of the assembly-sites. The reasons why certain places stood out and were chosen as sites of assembly-sites are examined.

The *thing* sites drew on the natural landscape as well as anthropogenic features. Aspects of the topography were brought into play to help create the right conditions and, in addition, existing anthropogenic features were created and new ones added. In this way, sites were given meaning and time-depth. The sites chosen as assemblies were often places with a long biography of human use, signified by visible monuments, such as cemeteries marked by burial mounds. This link back in time and focus on burials as places where law and politics were enacted provided the elite with support. The ancestors formed an important part of Old Norse religion and ancestral spirits were often seen to reside in mounds. Being able to access a mound, for assembly-meetings and, in effect, to rule from a mound, provided leaders with the backing of the past. This explains the predilection of the Norse for assembly-sites that had roots far back in time. It is significant as assembly-sites were to a great deal elite creations, but were also arenas for the collective.

The creation of a *thing* site also involved time in several different ways. Assemblies should not only be held at the right place, but also at the right time. *Things* should be held in accordance with the lunar calendar and together, the right time and the right place, created a liminal place where the elite and the wider community could meet and interact with the divine. The process by which ritual space at assembly sites were actively "produced" at least from the Roman Iron Age until the late Middle Ages is examined. The concept of production of space was first proposed by Henri Lefebvre (1974), and has recently been usefully developed by historians, archaeologists and geographers. The "means of production" was constituted by the way assembly space was inscribed into landscape, delimited by human-made and natural features, through people's movement to and into the assembly-site, and how the space was used both by the political elites and the wider ritual community.

The created assembly sites needed to be remembered by the community to gain meaning and to create the memory material culture needs to be used. Memory is not constricted to the mind, but instead it is a bodily experience, created through a variety of sensory perceptions including visuals, sounds, smells and tastes. In order to create collective and social memory, rituals, performance, props, and spectacles were employed. Law and power were also enacted through specific artefacts, worn by people with special roles to play in the assembly procedures.

The location of a *thing* site was also of the greatest importance. The sites needed to be in key locations in terms of the district they served and also close to communication routes. Therefore, time, chronology, and time depth could be manipulated. If needed, a site with the right attributes, in other words, a *thing* site that looked old, just like the other ones, could be created. Thus, there was no need

for the connections to the past to be real. The sites, also those with roots far back in time, were continuously manipulated in this way, with features added and redesigned. The displayed chronology and continuity of the site could therefore be real, imagined or created.

Archaeology, therefore, shows patterns of reiteration and elaboration over time. On the one hand, this chimes with re-enactment as a powerful feature of public ceremonial, bringing traditional values into sharp focus and re-asserting them. But change is always there too, and the apparent sequences of elaboration show how traditions were reworked to serve different interests and establish new claims to authority, but always with reference to the past. The key point here is that since *thing* sites occupied a prominent position in the social landscape, bringing the broader world together and in sharp focus, it makes sense that sectional political interests would be pursued by working on the fabric of the places themselves.

The classes will examine *thing* sites in Scandinavia as well as the interdisciplinary methodology developed for the identification and detailed analysis of these sites and the assembly meetings. This will be examined through case studies focusing on particular *thing* sites. Until the early 2000s, the study of Norse assembly sites was rather limited and very few in-depth investigations of *thing* sites had been carried out. Existing overview publications of the Viking Age contained some discussion of the major assembly sites, such as Þingvellir in Iceland or the Gulathing in Norway. However, these were exceptions and local *thing* sites had rarely been investigated. Some research based on the written sources was carried out in the first half of the twentieth century, when scholars produced lists of *thing* sites for the local assembly districts, using late medieval court records. At this time, a few scholars discussed the traits and features of a small number of assembly sites, such as the existence of benches and other seating arrangements, but they were the exceptions rather than the norm.

The breakthrough in assembly research came in Sweden in the late 1990s when a new approach to assembly sites, inspired by landscape archaeology, emerged. This research was interdisciplinary in nature, using place-names, written sources and archaeological evidence and resulted in *thing* site models being produced. It was concluded that assembly sites often had a number of typical features, such as mounds, rune-stones, and a location on crossings between land and water routes. This work was very important and formed the starting point for the research methodology that will be examined in the classes.

A retrogressive method has been devised in which late medieval laws and court records, together with archaeological and place-name evidence, have been a vital source for identifying places of assembly. These sources can also provide some information on the longevity of the meeting site and whether the location was moved over time. Supplementary material has been retrieved from antiquarian accounts, aerial photography, LiDAR data, historic maps dating from the seventeenth century onwards, as well as oral traditions. Site visits are moreover crucial, as sites can then be considered in terms of the topography, archaeological profile, terrain, and communication routes.

The collected data has been entered into the Geographic Information System (GIS) (ArcGIS), together with data from the various National Sites and Monuments Records, including from Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and the UK. The GIS also includes administrative divisions, such as provinces and hundreds, where old boundaries have been reconstructed as much as possible using late medieval documentary sources. In addition, topographic information, resources, communication routes such as water courses, rivers and roads have been included and used in the analysis. In this way, large data sets have been transformed into visual representations in maps, which can expose spatial patterns and relationships. Such detailed landscape analysis of large areas was not possible to scholars of the past and has therefore opened up a new type of research. Consistent use of this method across all the different geographical areas included have provided an invaluable tool for comparative analysis.

The classes will moreover examine two concerns that remain in the examination of assembly sites. The first relates to time; as shown, the evidence employed is derived from multiple time-periods, from prehistoric archaeological remains to historic maps. Many of the identified assembly sites are located in the vicinity of archaeological features that go very far back in time, to the Bronze Age or even earlier and it can be difficult to determine what role, if any, such features played in the assembly

meetings. Through GIS landscape reconstruction, this problem can be alleviated to some extent, as it allows for the examination of the relationships between *thing* sites, human activity, and the natural environment.

By landscape reconstructions, the significance of particular places in the long term has become clear. Maps provide information on fossilised land boundaries and routes, which can point to long-term functions of some assemblies as foci for shared community resources. The relationship to significant places, such as cult sites, specific settlements and high-status farms can provide temporal aspects on the contemporary geography of the assembly and its wider setting. Importantly, landscape reconstruction can also provide clues to places used for gatherings of various kinds, long before their documented use as a medieval *thing*. In parts of Scandinavia, examination of old water levels has also been highly useful for the pinpointing of sites, for example in eastern Sweden, where the land is slowly rising after the last Ice Age. Mapping the gradual change in available landmass has helped determine when certain areas emerged from the sea and became available for use: a *terminus post quem* for the establishment of the *thing* sites in question. In all, through the use of GIS it has been possible to identify the location of the earliest documented *thing* sites and examine these sites, their features and their wider setting in the landscape, as well as their date of origin and development over time.

The second issue that will be examined relates to a *thing* site location. The written sources, such as laws, court records and sagas seldom provide precise descriptions of locations. Place-names can at times allow for a more exact location to be identified. In these cases, added archaeological and topographic data, as well as old water levels often corroborate or confirm locations attested through place-names. In many cases, a larger area of assembly activity has been identified. In some cases, the reason is the lack of exact data, but another important finding of this study is that assemblies involved rather large areas of the landscape. Therefore, in order to get the full picture, it is essential to examine not just the assembly sites, but whole *assembly landscapes*.

Outcomes:

Students should be able to:

- understand the importance of law in Viking Age society;
- identify the main features (archaeological and natural) of assembly sites and their meaning for the assembly meetings;
- use a range of different sources used in the identification and study of assembly sites;
- understand the rituals played out during the assemblies and their significance.

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Anundshög: the wooden monument, watercourse and wetland area combined to fully enclose the site.



Aerial photograph of the *thing* site at Anundshög, Västmanland. Photograph: Daniel Löwenborg.
Aerial photograph inspected and approved for publication by the Swedish Armed Forces, October 2015, FM2015-18792:2.



Top-level *thing* sites in Scandinavia and their respective law provinces. The location of the assembly sites and the boundaries have been mapped through medieval documents and early maps



The assembly site at Bällsta (Uppland, Sweden), known as Arkel's *thing*-site. Photograph: Alex Sanmark.

The Vikings in Poland: An Archaeological Perspective

Leszek Gardela

The area of Poland is not usually seen as an important arena of Viking activity. According to popular belief as well as extant textual sources, Viking raids and expeditions were usually focused on the British Isles, Frankia and other parts of Western Europe. Norse travels to the East and up the great rivers of the Rus are also well-known and extensively researched. However, the Western Slavic territories located roughly between the Oder and the Vistula rivers still tend to be a blank spot on the map of Viking activity. This lecture charts the complex and sometimes controversial history of research on Scandinavian-Slavic interactions on the southern coasts of the Baltic (and Poland specifically) and seeks to shed new light on archaeological evidence attesting to cross-cultural encounters.

Although still largely unknown to the Anglophone world, the history of Polish interest in the Viking world goes back all the way to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As early as the National Romantic period, Polish scholars, artists and writers were mesmerized by Old Norse sagas and myths and the vision of a free and democratic society so vividly depicted in these stories. This was soon followed by archaeological excavations in Pomerania and Poland, some of which brought to light artefacts of Northern provenance eventually leading to more sophisticated questions concerning the nature of Scandinavian-Slavic interactions. During the Second World War, studies on the Scandinavian presence in Poland still continued, but Nazi occupation meant that they had very strong ideological undertones. The post-war period saw increased attempts to revise former misuses of the past. However, linguistic barriers and the difficult situation of Poland, which was then under communist rule, hampered or significantly slowed down the attempts of Polish researchers to disseminate their research abroad. The situation gradually started to change in the late 1980s and early 1990s, when travel restrictions were lifted and when the Viking culture enchanted the Polish public through extremely successful comic book series, novels, historical re-enactment, and ground-breaking archaeological discoveries.

We know today that in the period between the ninth and eleventh centuries the southern coasts of the Baltic were *frequently* visited by people from Scandinavia. Many of them probably came as traders with the hope to sell and exchange foreign goods in the vibrant and multicultural ports of trade and emporia. Some of the Scandinavians, however, had different roles to play and to achieve their goals they had to sail up the Oder and Vistula rivers or travel on foot or horseback through the interior of the emerging Piast realm and its vast forests and fields. This lecture will critically investigate the nature of “Viking” interactions in Poland using a wide array of archaeological evidence including the mortuary record, settlement sites, emporia, hoards, and stray finds. It will also seek to demonstrate that our understanding of the Viking world, its archaeology and history, is incomplete without taking into account the Scandinavians’ southern and eastern neighbours, namely the Western Slavs.

Core themes and problems addressed in the lecture include:

- the historiography of Scandinavian-Slavic interactions in Poland;
- socio-political entanglements in “Viking studies” in Poland;
- a revision of misconceptions concerning Slavic and Scandinavian material culture, with a particular focus on martial equipment and religious objects;
- A revision of misconceptions concerning Scandinavian and Slavic art/style.

WORKSHOP 1: Western Slavic vs Scandinavian Funerary Practices in Poland

Pre-Christian Slavic and Scandinavian societies had sophisticated ideas concerning the afterlife. Remnants of their worldviews can be reconstructed using both textual and archaeological sources. Focusing on selected case studies from cemeteries at Luboń, Lutomiersk, Świelubie, and Ciepłe, this workshop will seek to investigate and discuss the similarities and differences between the funerary practices of Viking Age Scandinavians and Slavs. How did the Scandinavian migrants bury their dead in Pomerania and elsewhere in Poland? Did the burial customs of Scandinavian migrants differ considerably from those of the local population, and how can we tell? Are there any traces of “hybrid” funerary acts, combining foreign and local traditions? What scientific tools can we use today to identify their graves, and what methodological problems might we encounter in the course of our research?

WORKSHOP 2: Western Slavic vs Scandinavian Pre-Christian Religions in Poland

Probably most of the Scandinavians who lived in the vibrant settlements along the southern coast of the Baltic, as well as those who were only transient in the territories that lie within the basins of the Oder and the Vistula, subscribed to their own elaborate pre-Christian system of belief which differed from that of the Western Slavs. Today, the particulars of “Norse paganism” are not wholly lost to us and can be accessed and partly (re)constructed using archaeological and written material. In seeking to investigate material manifestations of Norse beliefs among the Scandinavian migrants to Poland, this workshop will resort to multidisciplinary methods, combining textual and material evidence. Special attention will be dedicated to various small-scale paraphernalia presumably serving the role of ‘amulets’, but other categories of religiously- and symbolically-charged items will also be explored.

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Replica of zoomorphic spurs found in one of the 'warrior graves' at Cieple.



Selection of anthropomorphic figurines found in Truso/Janów Pomorski.

History of Old Norse literature

Old Norse Literature

Arngrímur Vídalín

Along with a steady growth in Old-Norse Icelandic saga studies for the past decade, as well as recent movies and television programs such as *Vikings* and *The Northman*, public interest in saga literature has reached an unprecedented zenith. Despite appearances, however, sagas are both a rich and highly complex subject and their relationship with other kinds of literature is a matter requiring detailed scrutiny in order for modern people to be able to begin to appreciate how medieval Scandinavians understood and viewed the world around them — and how different modes of viewing the world can be observed in different genres of saga literature.

„Proto-Racial Dehumanization in Legendary and Family Sagas”

In this module we will familiarize ourselves with two prominent saga genres: *Íslendingasögur* (in English: Family sagas or Sagas of Icelanders) and *fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda* (in English: Legendary sagas or Sagas of Nordic antiquity). Following an introduction to saga genres, we will move on to a controversial theme on some of these sagas, i.e., the dehumanization of designated *Others* that may be found in these types of sagas. This will be done while being mindful of popular depictions of Vikings and the problematics arising from the modern-day revival of Nordic national romanticism.

Lecture: „Proto-Racial Dehumanization in Legendary and Family Sagas”

Isolated places on the edges of the world were in ages past generally known to harbour trolls and other monsters, but what would that tell us about medieval Iceland — a remote island in its own right? How did medieval Icelanders respond to their own placement on the periphery of the known world, in order to illustrate that they, too, were a Christian civilization? There are several indications that a conscious effort may have been undertaken within different literary genres to establish Iceland's place within Christian Europe by redefining the peripheries of the world, pushing them ever farther outwards along with the monstrous heathens living there. In this course we will focus especially on a handful of legendary and family sagas, while introducing the differences of these saga genres.

Following a general introduction to saga literature, this lecture will explore three cases of proto-racial dehumanization. First, the familiar monsters, the next-door neighbour to the Norwegian protagonists of the *Hrafnistumannasögur*, namely the Finnar (Sámi) in the northernmost regions of Scandinavia. Second, the native inhabitants of new lands to the southwest of Greenland, or the *skrælingjar* as Scandinavians called them. Last but not least, the wholly alien, dark-skinned monsters of the southeast, the so-called *blámenn* of Africa and Asia. All these dehumanized others represent a kind of mirror through which Scandinavians could view themselves — through a filter of cultural, religious, linguistic, and racial alterity. An attempt will be made to both ask and to answer the questions of *how* and *why* this was done in Old Norse texts, as well as what ramifications it has for the extant sources on medieval Scandinavian idea-history and mentalities and how we view them today. This lecture will address these issues in light of modern romanticization of Viking heritage to illustrate both the problematics of the source-material and that of modern-day reception of it.

Workshop: Following the lecture, we will study selected examples of encounters between Scandinavians and *Others*, and analyze how their dehumanization occurs within the narratives. Students will have read secondary literature before class, while working in groups to deal first-hand with primary sources in the classroom. Student groups will then discuss the problems arising from the texts themselves, what they can tell us about medieval mentalities and prejudices, and how we might approach such texts in the 21st century.

Core themes and problems addressed in the lecture include:

- racism before race;
- historical dehumanization tactics of “out-groups” by “in-groups”;
- degrees of separation from inherited otherness;
- the late medieval Christian worldview;
- international circulation of ideas and ideals;
- romanticizing the past.

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Law in Old Norse Literature

Anne Irene Riisøy

It is generally acknowledged that dispute, settlement, and the law lay at the heart of the sagas, and these topics also feature prominently in other Old Norse literary genres, such as the Eddic poems. The “Viking law” and the pagan religion were intertwined, and the Kings’ sagas abound in episodes describing how sacrifice at the assembly was necessary to uphold the law and indeed the whole social order, and gods may also be invoked in specific legal procedures.

During the Viking Age, law was preserved in people’s minds, and law came to life when it was spoken in well-recognized and authoritative formulaic language, often accompanied by specific gestures and objects. Law may have also been tasted, typically when alcoholic beverages were drunk to seal a legally binding promise. Phrases, actions, and objects applied in a specified order to settle disputes or change legal status are clearly ritualistic behaviour. This is essentially what we today would label as a legal procedure, which was a crucial aspect of early law. When the Vikings went abroad, they brought their law with them, preserved in their minds, and if need be, ordinary objects, for example weapons may have turned into legal objects and applied in procedures such as oath swearing and fighting single combat to settle disputes. If conflicts arose at sea, an assembly may be held at the sail, and if they were close to land, at the dock.

There are several methodological problems related to how we can use Old Norse sources, whether sagas, poems, and laws, to say anything about the legal world of the Vikings. The most obvious issue concerns the long time-gap between the surviving manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and the action taking place in pagan times. Whereas some scholars would argue that because of such a time-gap, it makes little sense to use the sources for anything but information about the time they were written down, others would say that the written sources contain much older material, some of which may predate the manuscripts by several centuries.

The lecture (or two lectures) presents an overview of some important genres of Old Norse written sources, with a particular emphasis on the Kings’ sagas and poetry, skaldic verse, and the Eddic lays. The key methodological issue of dating will be addressed. One useful method for exploring and assessing the historical value of legal episodes in the Old Norse written sources, is to undertake a comparison with so-called independent sources, originating outside Scandinavia. For example, from the ninth and tenth centuries, several notices in the Carolingian chronicles and the *Russian Primary Chronicle* describe conflicts and conflict resolution, and how the Vikings in such cases adhered to “their law” and applied their own legal procedures. The lecture will also address key characteristics of the Viking Age law, such as the intertwining of law and religion, the use of legal rituals, and the importance of compensation alternatively revenge to settle scores.

Core themes and problems addressed in the lecture include:

- an overview of sources and methodological problems;
- law as tied to religion – a change of religion brought a change of law;
- key characteristics of Viking Age law.

WORKSHOP 1: The same conflict in different Kings' sagas

The sagas abound in stories about various conflicts and conflict resolution. Some of the most colourful conflicts followed in the wake of sex. A typical scenario involves a man, often a chieftain or a king, who sees a beautiful woman, and is immediately struck by passion (or love) towards her. Consequently, the man tries to lure the woman into bed, and in some cases even abduct or marry her, without the consent of the woman's closest relatives. According to the earliest Norwegian laws, in such cases the woman's closest male relative had the right to kill the seducer, and the legal practice that can be teased out from various Kings' sagas shows that even kings may be subject to the same law as other men. One such episode is located in the 960s, and it involves King Sigurðr who abducted and raped the wife of the *hersir* Klypp, who was a member of a powerful dynasty in south-western Norway. The dispute and uproar that followed in the wake of this atrocity, is rather unique because it is described in several Kings' sagas, such as *Heimskringla*, *Fagrskinna*, *Ágrip*, in one of the family sagas, the *Saga of Thord Menace*, and in a short tale. Because one and the same episode is described in several sagas, although each saga presents a slightly different version, this is an excellent case study that allows us to explore if, and to what extent, the sagas may present a trustworthy picture of a conflict and conflict resolution in the Viking Age. This workshop will seek to investigate and discuss the similarities and differences between the portrayal of this conflict in different sources and address various methodological problems that arise. For example, why are different elements, such as people and places, and sequence of events, mentioned in some sources but not in others? Are some elements more stable from one source to the next? Is one version of the rape and ensuing conflict more historically true than others, if so, why?

WORKSHOP 2: Viking law in Old Norse literature reflected in sources from the Volga in the east to Wirral in the west

The students will work with the source material in translation, and will focus upon one aspect of law, that of oath-swearing, where objects such as weapons and rings were applied, and various gods may be invoked in the process. Extracts from Old Norse literature, sagas and the Eddic poems, will be compared with the Viking way of swearing oaths in sources from outside Scandinavia, typically written down on behalf of Christian rulers who had to make agreements such as peace treaties with the Vikings. Working with various types of sources that originated independently of each other but describe similar legal procedures, is also a means to substantiate claims that episodes in sagas and poems where the action is set in pagan times reflect historical reality. The source material also exemplifies the entanglement of law and religion, and, at the same time, shows how Vikings operating outside Scandinavia may have accommodated to their new surroundings. For example, treaties between Greeks from Constantinople and the Rus, presumably of Swedish origin, show that the Vikings in the east had incorporated parts of the Slavonic pantheon into their legal procedures.

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Olav den helliges saga – Olav tinget Hundorp – H. Egedius



Haakon jarls saga – Klypp drep Sigurd Sleve – C. Krohg

Latin literature in medieval Poland

The growth of historiography in medieval

Pomerania and Poland (10th-12th centuries)

Jakub Morawiec

The lecture aims at a presentation and overview of the most important historiographical works that refer to history of Pomerania and Poland and were written between the tenth and twelfth centuries. It would be hard to imagine any studies on history of these lands without referring to the texts, which were produced in order to perpetuate a certain vision of the past of the territories of the southern shores of the Baltic Sea. Special emphasis will be put on our present day knowledge about their authors, their education, literary skills, and what motivated them to be active as writers.

The overview will begin with a focus on the works that were produced in the tenth/eleventh century German lands: *Res gestae saxonicae* by Widukind of Corvey, *Chronicon* by Tietmar, and *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum* by Adam of Bremen. The inclusion of these accounts in the module is dictated by two facts. Firstly, they are the oldest narratives on the political history of the Baltic Slavs, their pre-Christian beliefs, and they provided their audiences with certain influential depictions of the Slavs. Secondly, the authors and their texts inspired later twelfth-century writers, who were more directly linked to Pomerania and Poland, and who were provided with certain stylistic and ideological patterns and frameworks concerning the history of the Baltic zone, interactions between rulers, nations, cultures and religions.

A chronicle, entitled *Gesta principum Polonorum: The Deeds of the Princes of the Poles*, written by an anonymous author, commonly known as Gallus Anonymous, should be listed here as first. From the text of the chronicle one can deduce that its author came to Poland from Hungary in 1113 in the retinue of Duke Bolesław the Wrymouth. The Polish ruler went to Hungary to make amends and visited Somogyvár abbey, where Gall was one of the brethren. Since the very beginning of his stay in Poland, Gallus had been working on the chronicle and completed his work between 1115 and 1118. The main aim of Gallus' work was a praise of the Polish dynasty in general and of Duke Bolesław the Wrymouth in particular. Gallus tried to achieve his goal by showing the history of the dukes and their deeds in connection with nations and countries that were neighbouring Poland at that time, which involved various, mainly political, interactions.

Vincent, nicknamed Kadłubek, was another Polish medieval chronicler. He was born in ca. 1150/1160 as a member of one of the Polish noble families and intended to become a priest. He received his initial education in the Cracow cathedral school led by Magister Amileus. Soon he started working for the bishop of Cracow Gedko. It was the latter who supposedly helped Vincent to gain further education abroad (in Bologna and/or Paris) and become of the chaplain of Duke Kazimierz the Just. In 1208, Vincent was chosen as a new bishop of Cracow. He attended the Lateran Council in 1215. In 1218 he resigned from the post and spent the rest of his life in the Cistercian abbey in Jędrzejów. His account of the history of Poland is enriched by numerous references to legendary figures and nations from the Antiquity, whose deeds and attitude were supposed to be a pattern to follow for the eldest generations of Poles. The Lechits, as Vincent calls them, were supposed to be an integral part of ancient history, that was marked by the deeds of Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, King Arthur and other heroes of the distant past. Not only do such references confirm Vincent's erudition, but also his attempts to construct a glorious past of his home country and his compatriots since its very beginning. Similarly to Gallus Anonymous' chronicle, the relations with neighbouring countries and their rulers were a core of Vincent's picture of the Polish history.

The missionary activity of Otto, bishop of Bamberg, resulted in three *vitae*, which in their own way were supposed not only to confirm his sanctity, but also document his missionary efforts in the Western Pomerania. The authors of all three *vitae* related these efforts to the current political panorama in the

region, the dynasty of local dukes and their relation with neighbouring powers. Studies on St. Otto's *vitae* point to certain, sometimes crucial, differences in depicting Otto's work and the conditions he met in Pomerania. This refers to, among others, the depiction of Bolesław the Wrymouth and his policy towards the region that aimed at its total subjugation to Poland. All three *vitae* were written in the period between 1140 and 1150. The anonymous *Vita Preflingensis* is the oldest one. The other two were written by the monks of St. Michael abbey in Bamberg, Ebo and Herbord.

The group of analysed texts features also *Chronica Slavorum* written in the 1160s/1170s by Helmold, provost of Bozow (present day Bosau) in Holstein. Helmold witnessed the twelfth-century Saxon attempts to conquer and Christianize Polabian territories and his work was to a large extent influenced by these attempts.

Workshop: The category of “otherness” in the 10th–12th-century Scandinavian and Polish historiographies

During the workshop it will be possible to study and analyse selected literary pieces of both Scandinavian and Polish medieval historiographical traditions and to compare how the concept of “otherness” was defined and used by both these traditions. The history of Northern and Central Europe between the tenth and the twelfth centuries was stimulated by ongoing conflicts of power. It resulted in a need of mutual depiction and classification of opposing dynasties and nations. Constant rivalries led to a tendency to create negative images of those who, as hostile, were considered strangers and others.

Accusations of cowardice and theft, intrigues and conspiracies were equally characteristic of the relations between Poles and Czechs, and between Norwegians and Danes. Similarities in the depiction of otherness were rather a result of the influences of Latin culture that both regions experienced independently, and of its specific literary patterns, which were transferred through the education of learned individuals. They were also dictated by new ideological trends represented by ecclesiastical circles, e.g., by Cistercians, promoting a crusading ideology that strongly affected historiographers on both sides of the Baltic.

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An introduction to medieval Latin in Poland and Scandinavia

Grzegorz Bartusik

The lecture briefly presents the history of the Latin language in Poland and Scandinavia in the Middle Ages. The introduction of Latin to Poland and Scandinavia is linked with the acceptance of the Christian religion in the Latin rite in the respective lands in the late tenth and at the turn of the eleventh century (966 A.D. in Poland, ca. 1000 A.D. in Scandinavia). The lecture outlines the adoption of the Latin language by the intellectual and political elites of the respective states, whose clerical and lay representatives understood the necessity of the use of Latin as the language of cult, administration, diplomacy, and contemporary literature. It also intends to demonstrate that adaptations of Latin in its classical form to the social, cultural, and political realities of respective countries had to be carried out; these adaptations involved the modifications of the vocabulary in the regional Latin idiom (new words and new meanings of words in the vocabulary, idiomatic expressions).

The lecture also discusses the characteristics of the Latin language in Poland and Scandinavia during the medieval period including, among others, the following issues: the medieval pronunciation of Latin, differences in orthography, new words and new meanings of words in the vocabulary, changes in gender, declension, case usage, case construction, compound and new prepositions, changes in the constructions with prepositions and confusion in their meaning, compound adverbs, changes in the meaning of pronouns and new pronouns, new conjunctions and changes in the usage of conjunctions, changes in verb forms, new verbs, new meanings of verbs, periphrastic verb forms, compound tenses, idiomatic expressions.

Additionally, the lecture presents a handful of useful Internet resources for medieval Latin studies, such as online dictionaries, databases and tools for language processing, including: 1) “eLexicon Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis. The Electronic Dictionary of Polish Medieval Latin”, 2) “eFontes. The Electronic Corpus of Polish Medieval Latin”, 3) “The Historical-Geographical Dictionary of the Polish Lands in the Middle Ages”, 4) “Digital Corpus and Dictionary of Norwegian Medieval Latin”, 4) “Collatinus web. Online Lemmatiser and Morphological Analyser for Latin texts”, 5) “Logeion. An Open-Access Database of Latin and Ancient Greek Dictionaries”, 6) “Enigma. Unpuzzling Difficult Latin Readings in Medieval Manuscripts”.

Workshop: Introduction to Medieval Latin in Poland and Scandinavia

The workshop includes selected readings from the original Latin text from Polish and Scandinavian source material from the Middle Ages, including numismatic, epigraphic and documentary sources. Special attention will be given to the key characteristics of the Latin language in Poland and Scandinavia during this period, which will be illustrated by the examples of texts. The texts studied will include the legends in coins written in Latin from the circum-Baltic area, epitaphs from Pomerania, Norway and Poland, runic inscriptions containing Latin in Norway (Bryggen in Bergen), and a town privilege charter from Poland.

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An introduction to manuscript studies (1):

the Old Norse manuscript tradition

Katarzyna Anna Kapitan

Introduction

One of the main categories of sources students of medieval studies engage with are handwritten texts in the form of manuscript volumes and documents. These sources pose, however, various challenges for the students. Among the challenging aspects of medieval manuscripts we might mention the use of unfamiliar letter forms (script types) and shortened word forms (abbreviations), the questions of physical (codicological) contexts of textual production, as well as the fragmentary preservation and incomplete transmission of multiple texts (as illustrated in Figure 1 by a damaged leaf from a medieval codex AM 291 4to, dated to the late thirteenth century and preserving *Jómsvíkinga saga*, today held in Copenhagen, Denmark). To use manuscript sources effectively in research, an extensive training in palaeography, codicology, textual criticism, and transmission history is required. This module provides a brief introduction to Old Norse manuscript studies. It introduces key terms and concepts and outlines recent trends within the field. In this module, students will acquire a deeper understanding of medieval manuscripts as cultural and historical artefacts, and their relevance for medieval studies in general. Familiarity with Old Norse and Icelandic languages, while an advantage, is not required, as the language of instruction will be English. No previous knowledge of codicology and palaeography is required.

Course contents

The module consists of three teaching hours, an hour-long introductory lecture and a two-hours long hands-on workshop. During the lecture, students will learn about the role manuscript studies play in Old Norse scholarship and the importance of palaeography and codicology for understanding the nuances of working with manuscript-transmitted materials. During the workshop, students will have a chance to engage more closely with selected examples of Old Norse manuscript culture, including a hands-on transcription exercise.

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An introduction to manuscript studies (2):

the Old English manuscript tradition

Rafal Boryslawski

Introduction

The second part of the module on codicology and palaeography will be devoted to the study of early medieval manuscripts produced outside the Old Norse world, but nonetheless related to it iconographically and, in several cases, sharing their historical contexts with it. This part of the module will focus on the manuscripts produced in pre-Norman Conquest English kingdoms between the late seventh and mid-eleventh centuries, and, to complement the module's first part, the attention will be shifted from the text to manuscript iconography and illuminations. Altogether over two hundred Old English illuminated manuscripts survive from the period. Initially informed and inspired by Irish and continental influences, the early English-speaking kingdoms grew to become some of the most important and most influential areas of manuscript production in early medieval Europe.

The origins of the native tradition of Old English manuscript production and iconographic craftsmanship date back to the Hiberno-Saxon art of the kingdom of Northumbria, of which prime examples are the gospel books of Lindisfarne (BL, Cotton MS Nero D.IV), Durham (Durham Cath. Lib., MS A.II.17), St Cuthbert (BL, Add MS 89000), and, later, Lichfield (Lichfield Cath. Lib. MS 1), and Hereford (Hereford Cath. Lib., MS P. I. 2). That the insular art they represent exerted its influence on the continent is indisputable and is attested by the Gospels of St Gall (St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 51), the Harley Golden Gospels (BL, Harley MS 2788) or the Echternach Gospels (Paris, Bib. N., MS. lat. 9389). Notably, the insular art illuminations display a level of correspondence with Old Norse interlace art, while some of the angular script of their initial pages may bring to mind correlations with runic script. The ninth-century decline in the Old English manuscript production can be associated with the Viking raids in Britain, but the tenth and eleventh centuries see not only a renewal in the production of manuscripts, but—following the cultural and educational programme set by King Alfred and the Benedictine reform a century later—a sharp rise in the production of vernacular manuscripts, such as King Alfred-inspired translation of Gregory the Great's *Cura pastoralis* (e.g., Oxford, Bod. Lib., MS Hatton 20), the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (e.g., BL, Cotton Tiberius A VI), translations of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis anglorum* (e.g., Cambridge, Corp. Chr. Coll. Lib., MS 41) and several notable manuscripts of Old English poetry (e.g., the Vercelli Book, Vercelli, Bib. Cap., MS CXVII; the Exeter Book, Exeter Cath. Lib., MS 3501; the *Beowulf*-manuscript, BL, Cotton MS Vitellius A XV). The Old English manuscript production moves largely south to the then emerging kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons with its centres in Winchester and Canterbury. Many of these are as visually striking as the examples mentioned earlier, such as the Old English Hexateuch produced in Canterbury in mid-eleventh century (BL, Cotton MS Claudius B IV), the lavishly illuminated Benedictional of St. Æþelwold (BL, Add MS 49598), or the Cnut Gospels (BL, Royal MS 1 D IX). Late tenth and early eleventh centuries are also the time when we may observe the appearance of royal portraits in the manuscripts, which frequently serve the purposes of political and religious power. Examples of this kind of royal iconography may be found in the mid-930s representation of King Æþelstan in Bede's *Vita Cuthberti* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 183, f. 1v), King Edgar's charter for the Winchester's New Minster (BL, Cotton MS Vespasian A VIII, f. 2v), the depiction of King Edgar in the *Regularis concordia* (BL, Cotton MS Tiberius A III, f. 2v), and, later, the portraits of King Cnut and Queen Emma (known in England as Ælfgifu) in the *Liber vitae* of the New Minster (BL, Stowe MS 944, f. 6r), as well as the portraits of Queen Emma (Ælfgifu), King Harðacnut, and Edward the Æþeling in the *Encomium Emmae reginae* (BL, Add MS 33241, f. iv). These depictions will also constitute an important part of the course and students will be invited to study and discuss the implications that such royal portrayals bore.

Course contents:

Introductory lecture.

The lecture offers a closer study of the emblematic roles of iconography in selected Old English manuscripts. The lecture part of the module will present an overview of the production of illuminated manuscripts in the early English kingdoms, from early eighth-century Northumbria, followed by the kingdom of Mercia, to the tenth- and eleventh-century kingdoms of Wessex, Anglo-Saxons, and, eventually, England. The manuscript images and illuminations will be discussed within the contexts of their references to the issues of prayer, religious and political prestige, and power. They will also be discussed with regard to the general understanding of the functions of visual arts in early cultures (e.g., narrative, status- and power-oriented, didactic, mnemonic, religious, apotropaic, and containing the elements of “self”-expression). More specifically the symbolic and gnostic senses of manuscript iconography will also be discussed with special emphasis laid upon the interlace art as the depiction of divinely-ordained movement. The lecture part of the module will additionally discuss the contexts of royal iconography of later Old English manuscripts, focusing especially on depictions of King Cnut and Queen Emma (Ælfgifu).

Class: a workshop in reading early English manuscript iconography.

In the class/workshop, I propose a closer interpretative scrutiny of selected images and illuminations found in chosen Old English manuscripts: the depiction of Queen Emma (Ælfgifu) and King Cnut donating a large golden cross in the *Liber vitae* of Winchester’s New Minster; the facing images of St. Æðelþryð and God/Christ/Trinity in the benedictional of Æþelwold; the portrayal of King Edgar and Christ in Majesty from the New Minster charter; and the image depicting Queen Emma and her royal sons in the *Encomium* devoted to her. The students will be encouraged to look for and discuss the representations of royal prestige, power (both spiritual and earthly), and religious devotion. Attention will be directed to the issues of composition (including vectoral directions within the space of the image), colour, gesture, repetition, ornament, and the text (when it does appear as part of the image). The assumption behind the workshop is that manuscript images constituted the layer of meaning which not only complemented the senses conveyed in texts, but which could provide commanding statements and, occasionally, coded messages or even visual enigmas.

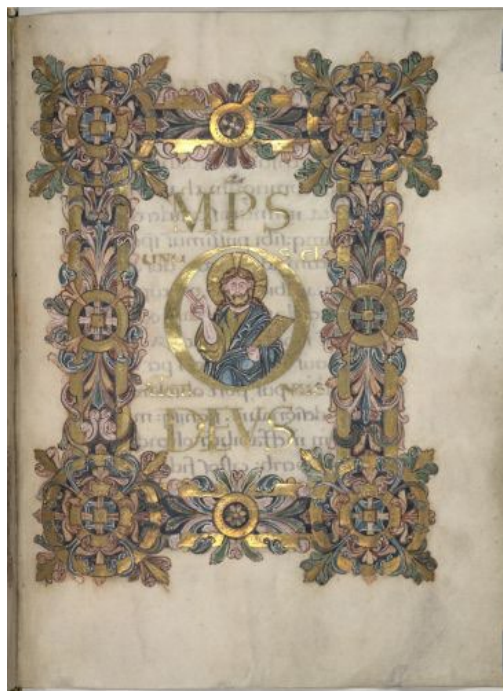
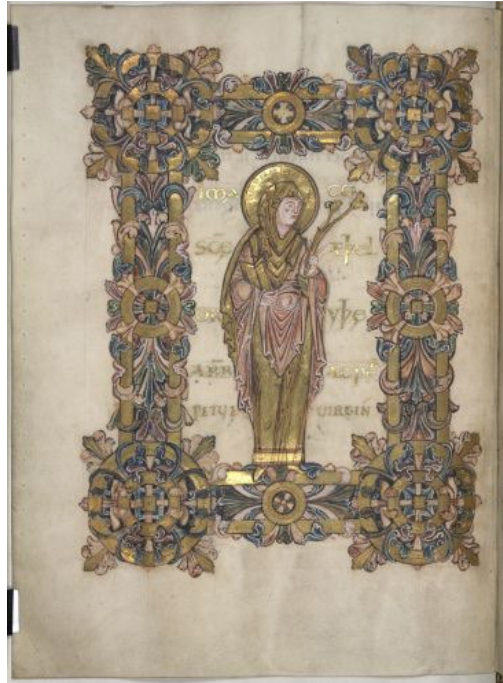
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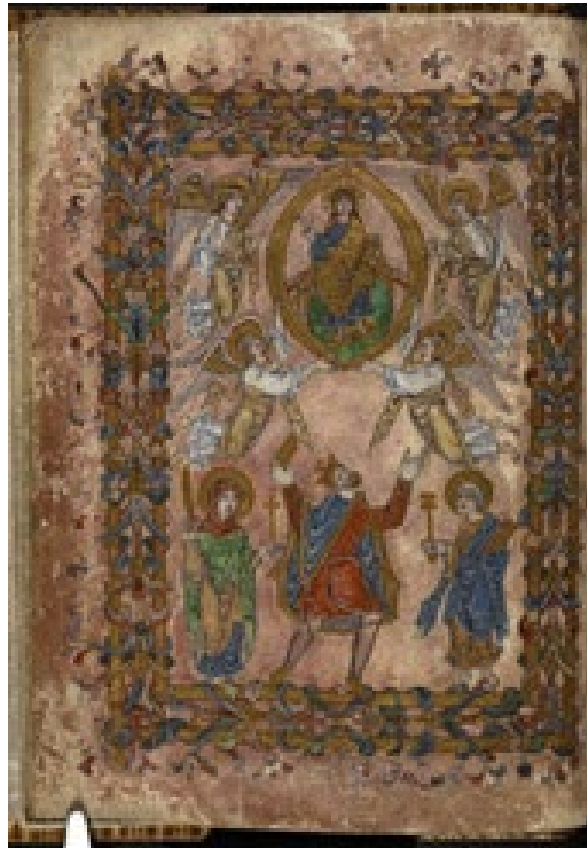
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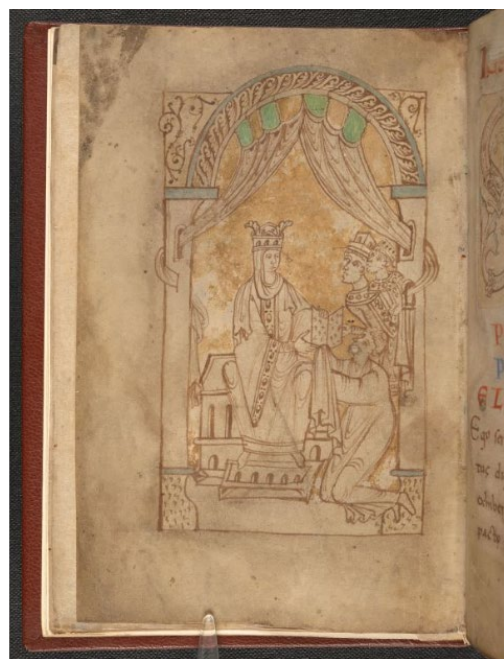
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The *Benedictional of St. Æthelwold*, with facing images of St. Æthelwold and Christ/Trinity. British Library Add MS 49598, ff. 90v-91r; Winchester, c. 971-984



King Edgar's charter for the New Minster, Winchester. British Library, Cotton MS Vespasian A VIII, ff. 2v-3r; Winchester, c. 966.



The prefatory image from the *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, British Library, Additional MS 33241, ff. 1v-2r; S. England or Flanders, c. 1050.



Queen Emma (Ælfgifu) and King Cnut donating a large golden cross in the *Liber vitae* of Winchester's New Minster. British Library, Stowe MS 944, f. 6r



The Lindisfarne Gospels, British Library, Cotton MS Nero D.IV

The archaeology of early medieval Wolin

Description and interpretation of archaeological artefacts

Wojciech Filipowiak

The course “Description and interpretation of archaeological artefacts” is designed to familiarize students with the rich field of theory, methods, and interpretation of archaeological sources. Archaeology, due to the increasing number of excavations, provides an increasing number of sources. However, archaeologists are not the only ones acquiring them. A large number of artefacts are discovered accidentally during construction projects. A huge increase in historical objects is also recorded thanks to the increasing activity of amateur prospectors, who mainly use metal detectors. This results in a “massification” of access to archaeological sources, but does not equally entail a “massification” of knowledge of how to handle them and why to acquire them at all.

The basic question that must be answered before proceeding to analyse monuments is: what are archaeological artefacts? Archaeology long ago ceased to be a discipline dealing exclusively with periods of history not illuminated by written sources. It has boldly entered historical periods – first antiquity and the Middle Ages, then the modern period and, more recently, the present. This is associated with the development of the theoretical thought in archaeology, linked to the development and upheaval in the field of humanities – primarily anthropology, sociology, psychology, or linguistics. So the question is, is an archaeological artefact a remnant of extinct communities? And how to define it? Is the analysis of the remains of a World War II Soviet base still archaeology?

The methods and interpretations of archaeological artefacts are only seemingly obvious. The common perception is that through the use of various methods of analysis, “facts” are established, on the basis of which interpretations about ancient societies are built. However, without reflecting on what theory one uses to select methods of analysis and interpretation and applying so-called common sense, one is led to a situation where one is simply unaware of the initial research assumptions that guide us. Therefore, knowing which archaeological theories are used in research, and which currents of thought are currently being developed, is a prerequisite for working on artefacts. Theory is “the order in which we arrange the facts,” which is why it is so important to have at least a minimal knowledge of it.

The review of archaeological theories will begin with the evolutionist, cultural-historical theories, which, although among the oldest, are still in widespread use. This will be followed by a presentation of the tenets of processual archaeology, which advocated a stronger introduction of scientific methods into archaeology and the “objectification” of results. Criticism of this approach, in turn, resulted in post-processual archaeology, whose focus was within questions of the meaning and symbolism of the objects discovered, with the archaeological record treated as a text to be read. Post-processual archaeology also pointed out that there is no objective archaeology, which is strongly tied to the views of researchers and political conditions. Finally, the latest numerous research theories, originating from the critique of Cartesian dualism in thought, will be presented. Today, some of them depart completely from the anthropocentricity of archaeology, which in this view ceases to be a science of man.

Subsequently, the basic methods of describing artefacts used in research practice will be presented. Each type of an artefact has its own peculiarities, and through the presentation of archaeological theories, the students will realize that there are in principle an infinite number of approaches to analysis. Nevertheless, the typical, most commonly used methods will be presented: description, measurements, techniques, and the equipment used.

The students will also be introduced to methods of interpreting monuments. Theoretical and practical ways of identifying objects will be presented. The role of non-source knowledge, which strongly influences the interpretive process, will be analysed, according to methodologist Jerzy Topolski. Subsequent levels of interpretation will be shown, which are often unconscious and lead, in the absence of reflection on the theoretical side of the issue, to popular problems in archaeology – stacked theories

based on very few source resources and the so-called interpretive circle, in which interpretations support each other, leading to erroneous conclusions.

A strong emphasis will be placed on the goals of artefacts interpretation and its context. The latter can be considered as the sum of smaller interpretations – concerning individual objects, the conditions of their deposition, the places in which they were discovered (hut, resource pit, grave – each of these objects has already been interpreted). Different approaches to interpreting collections of artefacts and the possibilities offered by such methods will be presented.

All of the above issues will be interwoven with examples from early medieval Wolin. As case studies, the problems of interpreting artefacts that testify to contacts between the Wolinians and the Scandinavians will be discussed. These are categories of objects around which there is a special debate ongoing in Polish archaeology, since they are of supra-regional importance.

The first example will be the problem of stone and the whetstones made of phyllite. This stone is found both in Poland, in the Sudety mountains, but also in Norway. Phyllite whetstones are commonly found in craft and trade centres on the Baltic Sea. Methods of their description and specialized analysis that lead to the determination of the provenance of the raw material, as well as the special issue of the hybridization of Wolinian and Scandinavian culture will be presented on the example of whetstones.

The second example, related to the first, will be wooden artefacts. We will discuss the wooden idols discovered in Wolin. They are commonly connected with the religious sphere of the communities of the time. These idols are connected either with Scandinavian or Slavic culture. The most famous example is the so-called Svantevit figurine linked to a Slavic deity. There has been a debate around it for several decades regarding its function, cultural affiliation, and meaning.

Designed in a condensed, accessible form, the course will allow students to understand how rich and multifaceted the process of formulating archaeological interpretations is. Thanks to the examples used, they will better understand the scholarly debate on the role of Wolin as a meeting place of different cultures.

Contents of the courses:

1. How can we define archaeological artefacts?
2. What can be read from the artefact: a review of archaeological theories?
3. Methods of describing artefacts;
4. Methods of interpreting artefacts;
5. Case study 1: whetstones;
6. Case study 2: wooden idols and Svantevit figurine.

Methods:

The course will comprise a lecture, during which the aforementioned issues will be presented with the help of narration, graphic representations, as well as physical examples of actual artefacts.

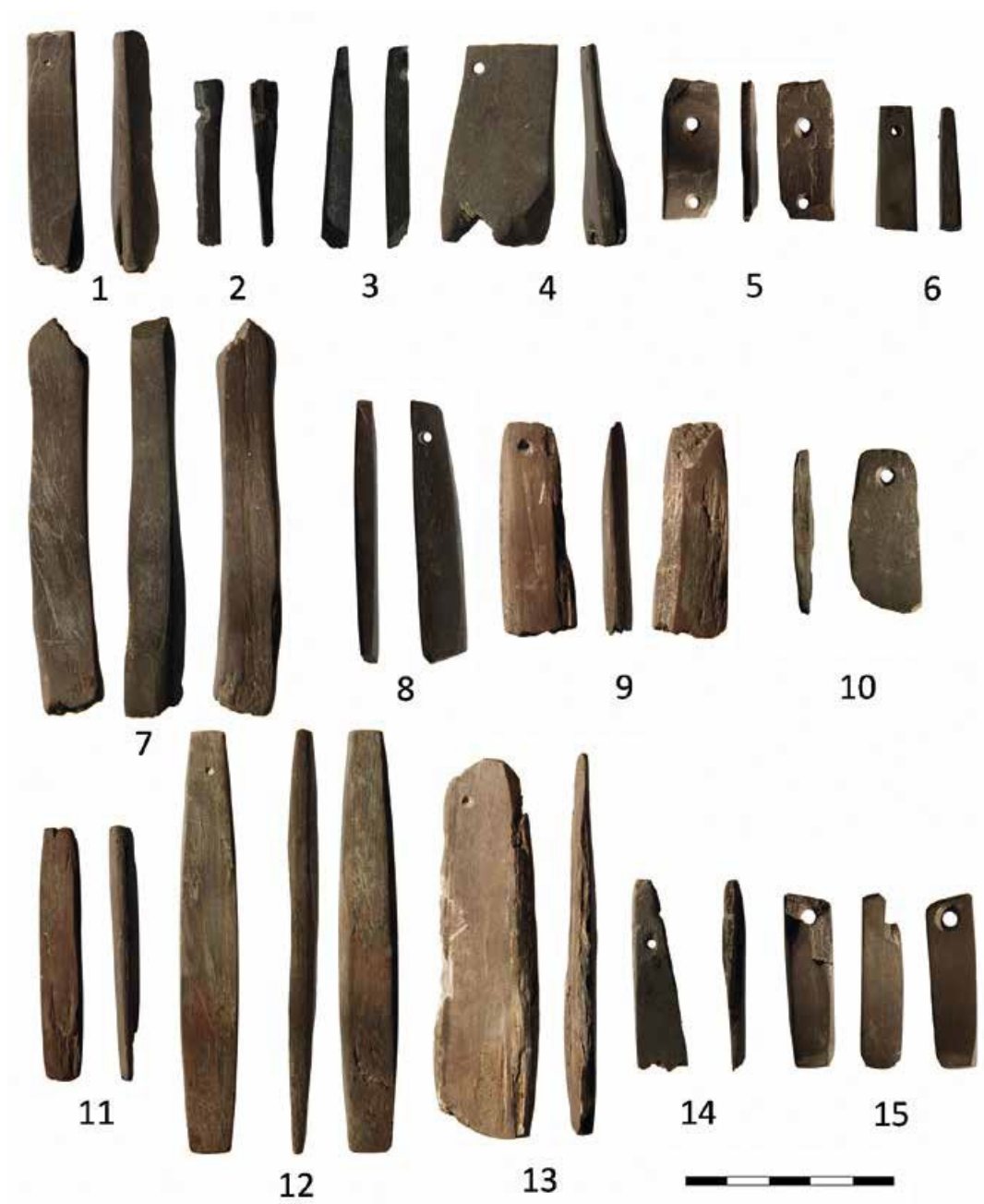
Expected outcomes of the course:

- The students will learn how to define an archaeological artefact and will understand the different types of difficulties in this process;
- The students will acquire basic knowledge of contemporary archaeological theories;
- Students will know how to apply archaeological theory in the description and interpretation of an artefact;

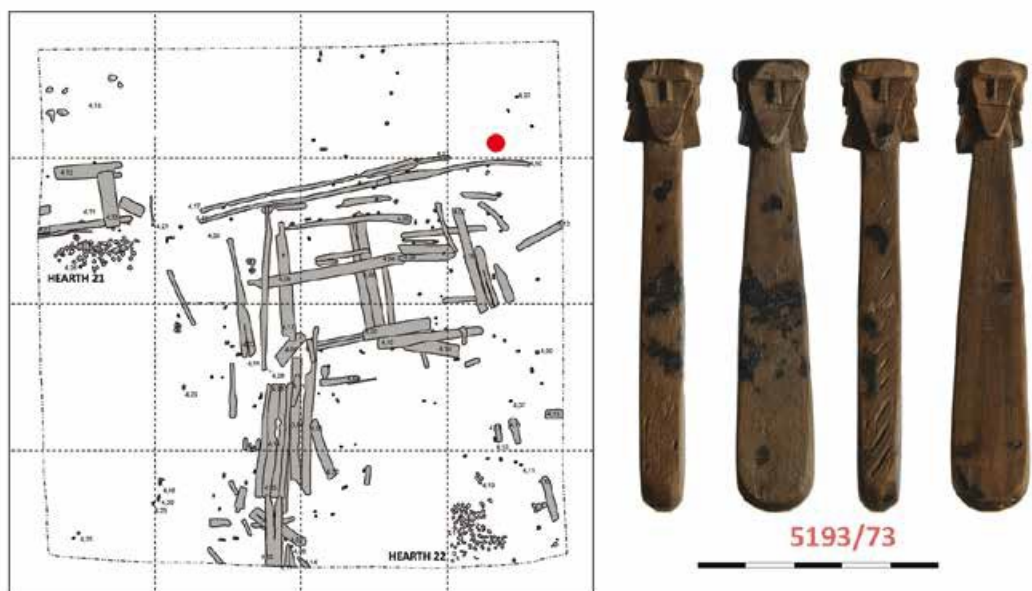
- students will learn the basic methods of describing artefacts and the tools used;
- students will learn the basic methods of interpreting artefacts;
- students will learn about the practical problems of describing and interpreting artefacts on the example of whetstones and wooden idols in the context of the problem of intercultural relations of early medieval Wolin.

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Whetstones from early medieval Wolin



Svantevit figurine from Wolin with the context – drawing of the wooden structures

Archaeological fieldwork

Wojciech Filipowiak

Introduction

The former craft and trade centre underwent major spatial and infrastructural transformations during its history, from the late eighth century to the thirteenth century. Originally, Wolin was a small settlement, which was located in the area of today's town centre. Over time, it grew to a size of nearly 26 hectares. The town became a multi-faceted agglomeration – suburb on Silver Hill was established along with the "Gardens" district, a southern suburb, a southern settlement, as well as numerous suburban settlements. Ports, wharves were built, and the various parts of the agglomeration were surrounded by ramparts, which were repeatedly rebuilt. The buildings inside the town also changed. In addition to this, cemeteries were also created – on the Mill Hill, on the Hangman's Hill and at sites to the west of the town.

All these transformations were related both to the political, social and economic situation of early medieval Wolin, as well as to the agglomeration's relationship to the natural environment – the availability of timber, the location of marshes, the state of the waters surrounding the town. Early medieval Wolin was located in the area occupied today by the modern town of Wolin. For this reason, today's cultural landscape of the town is a palimpsest made up of the entire, more than a 1000-year history of the town.

Field activities will be aimed at familiarizing the students with the space of early medieval Wolin, the most important archaeological sites and components of the agglomeration, learning about the places where the main archaeological research was carried out, learning about the places connected with the legends of Vineta and Jomsborg. During the course, the students will be led through the entire area that Wolin occupied in the early Middle Ages, with stops at key sites – the Mill Hill, Silver Hill, Gardens, Town Centre, Southern Suburb, the Hangman's Hill.

The main issues with specific relevance to the topic of SummerSchool:

1. The role of archaeologists and historians in Wolin – the history of research in space

The history of the research of early medieval Wolin spans at least 500 years, while archaeological research spans nearly 200 years. Generations of historians and archaeologists have attempted to understand the history of the town with different research goals. Initially, they were motivated by the desire to discover the legendary Vineta, a sunken town reported in the twelfth century by Helmold. In time, they added the problem of Jomsborg – a Viking fortress that was supposedly founded by the Danes. Information about it is preserved in the Scandinavian sagas, above all in *Jómsvíkinga saga* dedicated to it. In the 1930s, a major archaeological survey was conducted to determine the role of the Scandinavians in the city. After World War II, numerous archaeological studies focused on all of these issues, but shifted the centre of gravity to economic, as well as religious and ethnic issues. At that time, the focus was on the Slavic character of the city. The history of Wolin's research is largely the history of research into the relationship between Scandinavians and Slavs in the early Middle Ages.

2. The origins of the formation of Wolin

The problem of the origin of Wolin is complex and is strongly connected with the question of the relationship between the Slavic local population and the newcomers, mainly Scandinavians. The first settlement, established on the highlands in the centre of the town, was ambiguous in its nature. Did topographical factors influence its location? The proximity to the crossing of the Dziwna Strait, elevation above the marshes, availability of waterways? Was it related to Slavic beliefs – the symbolism of hills, surrounded by waters, which separated the sacred from the profane? Finally, was the location of the settlement related to its relationship to other settlement units in the region, a place on the border of tribes, convenient for trade?

3. The dynamics of spatial and infrastructural changes in the town

From the middle of the ninth century, the settlement of Wolin begins to develop very dynamically. At first, it occupies the entire area of the present Old Town, becomes surrounded by a rampart, then suburbs are created, as well as cemeteries with different burial rites. Wolin reaches its peak of development in the middle of the tenth century. Over a period of nearly 400 years, it undergoes transformations – from a settlement, through a craft and trade centre, to a town under the ducal law and associated with the expansion of the Pomeranian dukes, to a late medieval town of incorporation. How did this process proceed? What was its chronology, dynamics, what role did the various agglomeration members play? Which elements of the early medieval agglomeration are still legible on the ground? How have they changed since the early medieval period? What role do they play today?

4. The role of Scandinavians in early medieval Wolin

Scandinavian culture left a strong mark on the history of the town. It is clear both in the analysis of artefacts, recorded buildings, as well as in the spatial layout of the city. How did the Scandinavians stimulate the development of the town? Was it a peaceful relationship? Is the urban layout of early medieval Wolin similar to the centres found in Scandinavia?

5. Legends about Vineta, Julius Caesar and Jómsborg

Legends are an important part of the town's history. The South Baltic legend of Vineta originated in the twelfth century and has undergone numerous transformations over hundreds of years. It was also the first inspiration for research in the Wolin area. Does it even make sense today to connect the town to the legendary account? And are there any indications in archaeological sources to look for the origins of its creation? How do other locations where Vineta has been traced compare to Wolin?

The second legend is related to the medieval chroniclers' linking of the town's establishment with the person of Julius Caesar. What were the reasons for this? Where were the elements mentioned in the legend located in the town?

The third and most important is the legend of Jómsborg. It is an invaluable source on Scandinavian-Slavic relations, and for centuries scholars have also argued about the location of the Jómsborg fortress. A consensus was reached that the legend could only be linked to Wolin. However, various parts of the agglomeration were pointed to as the potential home of the Viking Jómsborg. After World War II, the view became established in Polish research that Jómsborg and Wolin were two names for the same town, while the origins of the legend should be sought in the town's political and economic relations with the Scandinavians. Recently, the class instructor has formulated a new theory on the location of Jómsborg, which will be presented to the students.

6. The cultural landscape of Wolin

Today's Wolin and its cultural landscape is composed of many elements, created over the last millennium. Which of these elements are remnants of the early Middle Ages? The most obvious and visible in the field are ramparts, elevations, and a barrow cemetery. The question is, what other elements can be found in modern Wolin that have early medieval origins? The urban layout as a whole? The layout of the streets? Is there continuity of function of certain places in the town since the early Middle Ages, and what is it based on – functional, symbolic? What role do these places play in the consciousness of Wolinians, as well as in the collective consciousness of Poles and Europeans? Should they be protected, and if so, how? What methods of protection can be applied, taking into account the spatial location of these monuments, atmospheric conditions and relations to ancient and existing urban elements?

Contents of the course

List of topics:

1. History of research – sites of excavations carried out, major discoveries;
2. Location of the first settlement;
3. The problem of the town's multicity – one town or several?
4. The problem of fortifications – their course and importance for the town'
5. The spatial layout of the town – the role of suburbs;
6. The problem of cemeteries – different burial rites;
7. The problem of the legend of Vineta – places connected with the legend;
8. The problem of the legend of Julius Caesar – the places combined with the legend;
9. The problem of Jomsborg – places combined with the transmission of the sagas, the role of the Hangman's Hill;
10. The problem of the modern cultural landscape of Wolin.

Methods:

The basic method will be the consideration of the mentioned topics in the field, at the site of the main archaeological sites of Wolin. The issues will be considered with the help of maps, observation of space and relations to landscape elements, comparison with other early medieval centres of Northern Europe.

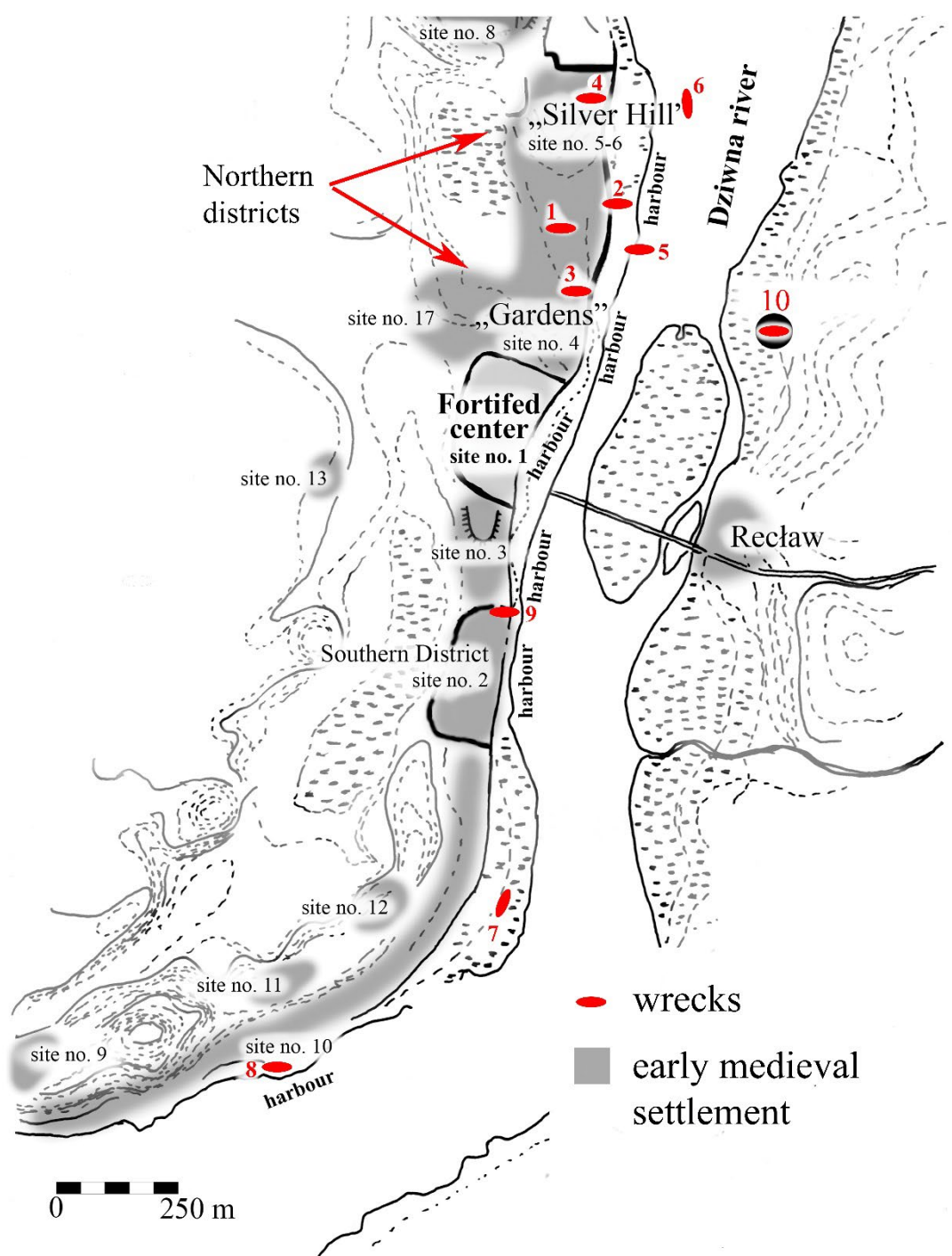
Expected outcomes of the course:

The students will learn the spatial layout of the early medieval town. They will know the components of the agglomeration – the town centre, ports, suburbs, cemeteries. They will understand the relations between them and the dynamics of their development. They will learn about the sites of the most important archaeological investigations and the reasons for their location. The students will know which archaeological sites were associated with the legends of Vineta, Julius Caesar and Jomsborg. They will understand what influence the Scandinavians may have had on the development of the town and what the main sites and spatial issues considered in this context are. They will also know the relationship of early medieval monuments to the town today, what role they play today and how to protect them.

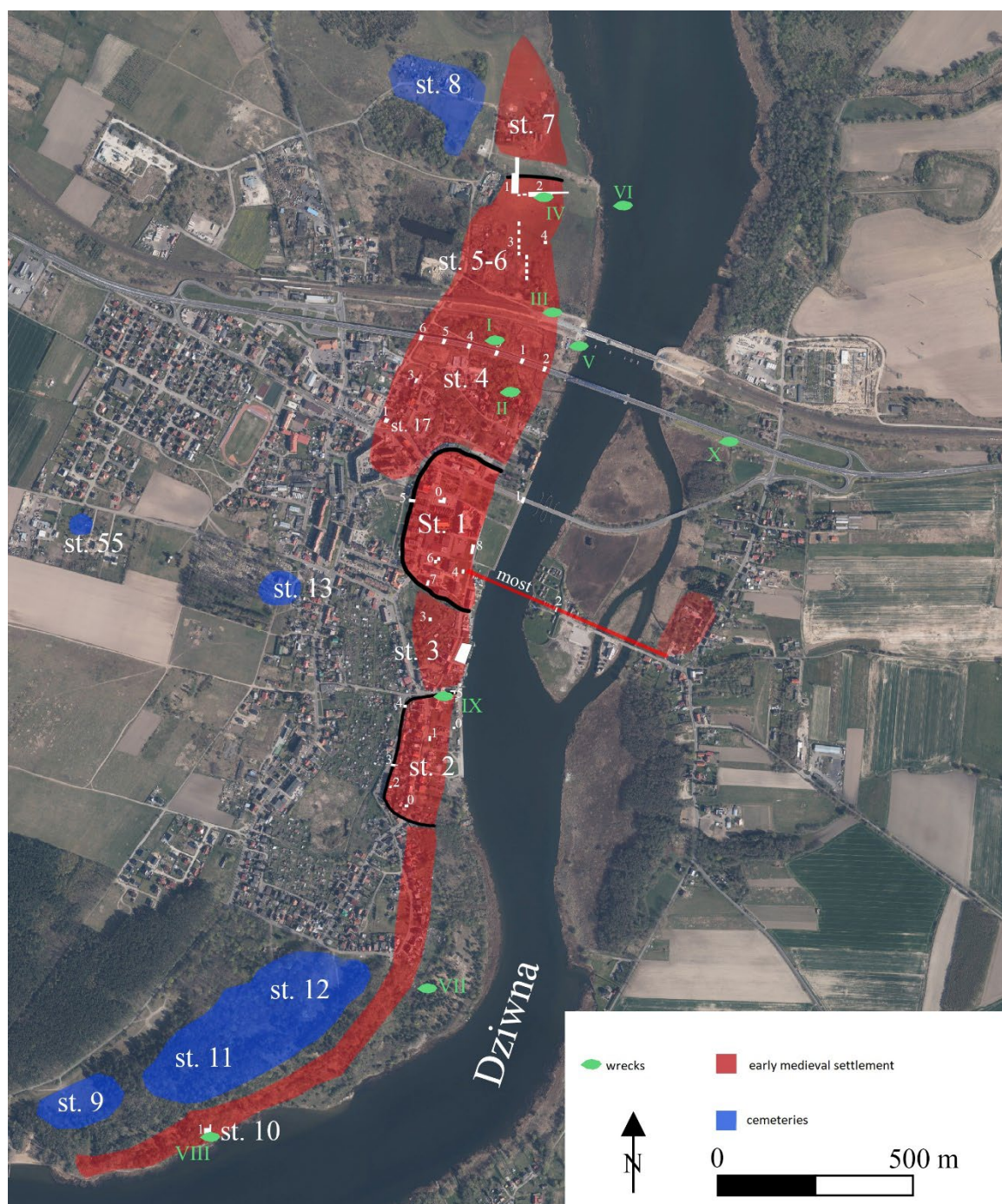
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Map of early medieval Wolin



Map of early medieval Wolin on the satellite image



Early medieval settlement against the background of the modern town

Early Medieval Slavic and Scandinavian Numismatics – Introduction

Mateusz Bogucki

Coins and their finds are one of the fundamental sources studying the history and economy of early medieval Europe, because they are a versatile source – not only archaeological but also historical, thanks to the inscriptions on them, and finally iconographic, thanks to the images of rulers, buildings and various types of objects that were placed on the dies. Thus, numismatic research is by definition interdisciplinary research. Coins are a very important source of historical knowledge, especially for the Viking period, because at that time the custom of hiding hoards was extremely intense – coins from this period are a mass source – only finds of pottery and bones are more numerous. Therefore, numismatic analyses are often based on statistics. Thanks to the analysis of coin finds, it is possible to reconstruct the trade routes, determine international contacts and designate settlements and centres of power. It is on the coins that some of the oldest Christian content and symbols are found, depictions of the oldest insignia of rulers or elements of armament. The oldest surviving name of the country, POLONIA, appears on Bolesław Chrobry's denarii. This is similar to the Scandinavian countries. Coins and their finds are a fundamental source of European heritage and culture.

Enormous numbers of Arab, Anglo-Saxon, German and other silver pennies flowed into Scandinavia, Poland and the Baltic zone from the late ninth to tenth centuries. The number of Arabic dirhams that found their way into Northern Europe in the ninth and tenth centuries is counted in tons of silver. In the late tenth century, the number of Western pennies outnumbered by far the Islamic silver dirhams that dominated the pools-of-silver-circulation up until the mid-tenth century. Northern, Central and Eastern Europe worked in essence as a free market for silver and silver currencies. A Bohemian penny would change hands on the same basis as pennies from the Rhine district, Ireland, or Denmark. The economic system that has been labelled a “bullion-economy” where the silver was of the essence, was widely accepted in the late Viking Age and Early Middle Ages. The nature of the bullion economy is vividly described in the written sources. The classic saga description paints an elaborate picture of the skald being rewarded with a silver ring weighing fifty marks, after which he breaks the ring in pieces and use the silver for purchase. Ibrāhīm ibn Ya‘qūb wrote that in Mieszko I's country, taxes were levied in *al-matakil al-markatija*. This term actually denoted coins or fragmented silver. This was the geo-economic background against which Norwegian, Swedish and Polish rulers introduced coinage around 995. Only in Denmark coinage originates much earlier, from the middle of the eighth century.

Area	No. of coins	No. of finds
Sweden	247,500	2,710
Norway	10,750	268
Iceland	365	7
Faeroe Is	99	2
Shetlands	9	4
Denmark	41,556	676
Finland	8,422	225
West Slav area	271,136	1,300
Estonia	24,599	134
Latvia	5,153	272
Lithuania	409	16
Russia	242,423	1,400
Total	852,421	7,014

Tab. 1. Number of Viking-Age coins found in Northern Europe (Jonsson 2009).

Text description of content that is visualised in the table 1:

Area

Sweden No. of coins 247,500, No. of finds 2,710

Norway No. of coins 10,750, No. of finds 268

Iceland No. of coins 365, No. of finds 7

Faeroe Is No. of coins 99, No. of finds 2

Shetlands No. of coins 9, No. of finds 4

Denmark No. of coins 41,556, No. of finds 676

Finland No. of coins 8,422, No. of finds 225

West Slav area No. of coins 271,136, No. of finds 1,300

Estonia No. of coins 24,599, No. of finds 134

Latvia No. of coins 5,153 No. of finds 272

Lithuania No. of coins 409, No. of finds 16

Russia No. of coins 242,423, No. of finds 1,400

Total No. of coins 852,421, No. of finds 7,014

The aim of the course is to familiarize participants with the main problems of Viking period numismatics in Europe. The course will cover the following topics:

- Types of pre-industrial economies – how did people use to exchange goods and services? When and to what extent were the means of exchange introduced and what were they?
- What other means of exchange, apart from coins, functioned in the Viking Age?
- When and where did coins appear in the Viking world, what were they and where did they come from?
- What were the coins used for in the Viking world?
- What were the coins exchanged for? What kind of goods were sold and to whom?
- How did the market in Northern Europe change over 300 years?
- When and where did the production of own coins start in Northern Europe?
- What were the reasons for starting local coinage?
- What, from the numismatic point of view, distinguishes Pomerania from Scandinavia and Poland?
- Were coins struck in Wolin?

In order to be able to answer the above questions, the course participants will be familiarized with the coin hoards that are found in Europe. The characteristics of finds from individual countries and regions will be presented. The routes of influx of particular types of coins, their chronology, and the scale of imports will be shown. We will see where and what type of coins were used. We will also look at the contexts in which the coins were found. While we usually deal with large sets of coins in hoards, it is mainly thanks to single finds – losses or grave offerings – that we can learn more about how coins functioned in a given community. The Viking period is very diverse and lasted for almost 300 years. Therefore, it is impossible to understand the economy of this time without knowing the wider changes and development of society and its diversity, without knowing the politics of individual countries. We will therefore look at archaeological and written sources that will help us to better understand economic changes. We will also review archaeological and written sources, from which we will learn what goods were exported from the Baltic Sea basin, for which merchants received Arab dirhams or German denarii.

Finally, we will review the local coinage – Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, and Polish – thanks to which we will find out who, when, where, and for what reason started minting coins. It will not only be a review of the coins of a given ruler, but also a story about the development of states.

Since the leitmotif of the course is Wolin, we will try to see how its region of Pomerania stands out from other regions, both in terms of coin finds – whether there are more or less of them, what coins circulated in Pomerania and when. Finally, we will consider whether there could have been a mint in Wolin in the Viking period.

The course is not only lectures, but also (or perhaps above all) workshops. Participants will have the opportunity to test their skills in attributing coins, analysing hoard finds and single coins and drawing conclusions on this basis.

A list of particular topics/problems that will be analysed during the course, employed methods, expected outcomes of the course (what student is expected to know afterwards):

- Types of pre-industrial economies – how did people use to exchange goods and services. When and to what extent were the means of exchange introduced and what were they?
- What other means of exchange, apart from coins, functioned in the Viking Age?
- When and where did coins appear in the Viking world, what were they and where did they come from?
- What were coins used for in the Viking world?
- What were the coins exchanged for? What kind of goods were sold and to whom?
- How did the market in Northern Europe change over 300 years?
- When and where did the production of own coins start in Northern Europe?
- What were the reasons for starting local coinage?
- What, from the numismatic point of view, distinguishes Pomerania from Scandinavia and Poland?
- Were coins minted in Wolin?

Numismatic research is characterized by the use of various methods. Methods typical of archaeology, history, art history, materials science are used: analysis of the archaeological and historical context, finds distribution, texts contained in legends, epigraphy, images on coins, style, iconography. The methods of chemistry and material science are also used to analyse the chemical composition of the metal used for coin production. Numismatics has also developed its own methods – analyses of die chain connections are of key importance here. Thanks to them, it is possible to distinguish coins from the same workshops, their relative chronology, the scale of mint production and its organization. All of the methods mentioned above will be discussed and used to the extent required by the specific topic.

After completing the course, the student will have basic knowledge of:

- the nature of monetary finds and hoards from the Viking period in Northern Europe (especially in Poland and Pomerania);
- different types of economy functioning in Europe in the Viking period;
- various forms of money;
- various functions that coins had in pre-industrial societies;
- trade routes and goods that functioned in long-distance trade;
- the role of Wolin in the commercial connections network;
- basic types of coins circulating on the markets around the Baltic Sea basin;
- the beginnings of coinage in Scandinavia and Poland.

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Dirham hoards from the ninth to the tenth century in Europe



Tenth-century hoard from Wolin



The oldest Danish coins



The oldest Norwegian coins



The oldest Swedish coins



The oldest Polish coins

Runic script and inscriptions

Runes and Runic Inscriptions

Annett Krakow, Rafał Boryślawski

Introduction

The presence and importance of runic characters, inscriptions, and writing is well attested throughout the history of broadly understood Germanic Europe. From the Visigothic Spain to Kievan Rus, from Nidaros to Hagia Sophia, runes appear in an abundance of different contexts and environments well before and well after the Viking Age. The roles which they perform are likewise manifold; from the richly represented commemorative aspects dominant in early medieval Scandinavia, to everyday communicative purposes familiar from Old Norse runic staves, to their associations with magic present in the mythological contexts of the Eddas, to their presence as textual constituents of manuscripts, along with their mnemotechnic and riddle-oriented functions.

This module is divided into two parts, with part one focusing on Viking Age-runic inscriptions from Scandinavia and the territories bordering on the eastern and southern shore of the Baltic Sea, and part two focusing on the British Isles and the use of the runic script in the Old English period, particularly, its presence in Old English manuscripts and the body of Old English poetry.

Part 1: In accordance with the subject of the Summer School, part one aims at familiarising students with runic inscriptions from the Viking Age that reflect contacts between Scandinavia and “Eastern Europe.” The corpus comprises both inscriptions from Scandinavia, with those from Sweden on monumental, free-standing, dominating stones, and inscriptions from other lands bordering the Baltic Sea, such as modern-day Russia, Latvia, Poland, and Germany, where inscriptions on portable objects made of metal, bone, or wood prevail.

Part 2: The aim of this part of the module on runes and their contexts is to offer a closer study of their presence and functions beyond Old Norse environments. The attention of the course will be shifted towards the occurrences of runic script in the Old English (also known as Anglo-Saxon) period, and in particular to their presence in Old English manuscripts and within the body of Old English poetry. The module will present an overview of their manifestations, from the poems on early bone and stone carvings to the uses of runes as codifiers of messages in such Old English manuscripts as the Vercelli Book and the Exeter Book. The presence of the runic characters in the two manuscripts is an example of the correlation and interdependence of the Latin script and runes, where the latter often perform the roles of additional coding and decoding of senses, names, and solutions. The module will also introduce the students to different functions attributable to Old English runes and runic writing, from those that are purely textual and oriented towards the phonetic value of runes, to those related to their semantic values along with their mnemotechnic dimensions, and those connected with figurative, deliberately enigmatic, and confusing readings of runic signs.

Contents of the course

Part 1, introductory lecture: The lecture will start with presenting some central issues related to runic script used in the Nordic material in the period roughly equivalent with what is generally termed the Viking Age, such as theories concerning the transition from the older to the younger *futhorc*, the characters of the younger *futhorc* in its variants long-branch, short-twig, and staveless runes, their transliteration and assumed sound values. The focus will then shift to inscriptions from that period that were carved in Scandinavia, especially those on stone from Sweden, and witness of travels along the eastern way (*austrvegr*) over the Baltic Sea and beyond. These inscriptions will be quantitatively and

qualitatively put into a relation to the overall corpus of runic inscriptions from Viking Age-Scandinavia. The last part of the lecture will give a brief overview of runic inscriptions on primarily portable objects found in the territories on the southern and eastern shore of the Baltic Sea, in particular those from ancient Rus’.

Part 1, class: From the body of runic inscriptions preserved in Sweden, we will study selected examples that relate to “Eastern Europe.” We will practise transliteration and transcription/normalisation (also discussing peculiarities and potential difficulties), deal with the content and interpretation of the inscriptions (e.g. toponyms, information on the commemorated and their activities, and their type of death), and also look into the ornamentation of the stones and their location.

Part 2, introductory lecture: The lecture part of the module will introduce the students to the Old English *fuþorc* and its correlations to Old Norse Elder *fuþark* via the parallels of the Old English “Rune Poem” and other examples of surviving rune poems. The lecture will then provide an overview of the poetry recorded in runic inscriptions and manuscripts. Students will be made familiar with the poem of the Franks Casket; the runic rendering of *The Dream of the Rood*, the runic signatures of Cynewulf, and the runic inscriptions appearing in the Exeter Book, specifically those appearing in *The Husband’s Message* and in the Exeter Book riddles. The lecture will focus on the mnemotechnic aspects of the Old English runes and on their specific functions within the body of the texts where they appear – from those associated with a gnostic coding of messages, names and clues to solutions, to those that open interpretative possibilities enhancing the senses and messages offered by the poems.

Part 2, class: The class will offer a close study of selected examples of runic writing. Students will be divided into groups and invited to decipher and analyse chosen examples of Old English runic writing. Depending on the students’ level of advancement, the class will be devoted to the analysis of the runic signatures in the poems attributed to Cynewulf (*Christ II: The Ascension*; *Juliana*; *The Fates of Apostles*; *Elene*), the runic directions in *The Husband’s Message*, or examples of runic clues to selected Exeter Book riddles.

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Additional resources:

Megan Cavell, *The Riddle Ages* website of the University of Birmingham
<https://theriddleages.bham.ac.uk/>

The digital Exeter Book (Exeter Cathedral Library and Archives & University of Exeter Digital Humanities Lab) <https://theexeterbook.exeter.ac.uk/index.html>

Course instructors

Dr Karl Christian Alvestad is an associate professor in Social Studies and medieval history at the University of South-eastern Norway. He holds a PhD in History from the University of Winchester in United Kingdom. His main area of research is medievalism (the reception of the Middle Ages in the post-medieval world), but he also works on the cult of St Olaf, royal power in early medieval Norway, and modern nation building in Norway. Among his most recent publications are:

- ‘Mainstream Norwegian Medievalism in the Twenty-First Century: Continuity and Change in Narrative and Form’, *Mirator*, vol. 20 (3), 2021, pp. 50–64.
- ‘Mighty Lady and True Husband: Queen Margaret of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden in Norwegian Memory’, in G. Storey (ed.), *Memorialising Premodern Monarchs: Medias of Commemoration and Remembrance*, Cham, Palgrave Macmillan, 2021, pp. 245–264.
- ‘Swithun in the North: A Winchester Saint in Norway’, in R. Lavelle, S. Roffey, K. Weikert (eds.), *Early Medieval Winchester: Communities, Authority and Power in an Urban Space, c.800-c.1200*, Oxford–Havertown (PA), Oxbow Books, 2021, pp. 257–274.
- ‘The ‘Accurate’ Deeds of Our Father: The ‘Authentic’ Narrative of Early Norway’, in K. Ch. Alvestad, R. Houghton (eds.), *The Middle Ages in Modern Culture: History and Authenticity in Contemporary Medievalism*, London, Bloomsbury Academic, 2021, pp. 15–27.

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His latest publications include, among others, the edited books:

- G. Bartusik, R. Biskup, J. Morawiec (eds.), *Adam of Bremen’s Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum. Origins, Reception and Significance*, London, Routledge, 2022.
- A. Waśko, J. Morawiec (eds.), J. Morawiec, A. Waśko, M. ReyRadlińska, J. Srholec-Skórzewska, R. Leśniakiewicz-Drzymała, G. Bartusik, R. Gogosz (trans.), *Snorri Sturluson: Heimskringla*, Kraków, Księgarnia Akademicka, 2021.
- J. Morawiec, A. Jochymek, G. Bartusik (eds.), *Social Norms in Medieval Scandinavia*, Leeds, Arc Humanities Press–Amsterdam University Press, 2019.

and the articles:

[in press] 'The Biblical Metaphor of "Governing as Shepherding" and Catholic Biopolitics in Medieval Icelandic Contexts', *Maal og Minne*, vol. 115, 2023

'Graeco-Roman Metaphor of Human Fate as a Fabric Woven and Thread Spun by Supernatural Beings in Medieval Icelandic Contexts', *Studia Scandinavica*, vol. 26, 2022, pp. 13–31.

'Himna smiðr : the Ancient Hebrew Conceptual Metaphor GOD IS THE MAKER OF HEAVEN in the Old Icelandic Language and Literature as a Marker of Christianization in Iceland', *Scandia: Journal of Medieval Norse Studies*, vol. 3, 2020, pp. 64–101.

Radosław Biskup is Associate Professor in the Institute of History and Archival Studies at the Nicolaus Copernicus University of Toruń. His research focuses on history of the Baltic zone in the Middle Ages, especially ecclesiastical developments in the Teutonic Order in Prussia. His research interests focus on the history of cathedral chapters in medieval Prussia, settlement processes in church properties and the editing of sources. His most recent publications in chronological order are:

R. Biskup, M. Glauert (eds.), *Die Domkapitel des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen und Livland*, Münster, Aschendorff, 2004.

R. Biskup, *Das Domkapitel von Samland (1285-1525)*, Thorn, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2007.

R. Biskup (ed.), *Formularz z Uppsali - późnośredniowieczna księga formularzowa biskupstw pruskich*, Toruń, Fontes Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, 2016.

G. Bartusik, R. Biskup, J. Morawiec (eds.), *Adam of Bremen's Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum. Origins, Reception and Significance*, London–New York, Routledge, 2022.

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He completed his PhD in archaeology at the University of Warsaw (2005) and his habilitation (2015) at the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences. His PhD thesis concerned the Viking Age trade and craft centres in the Baltic region (supervisor: Prof. Andrzej Buko).

His research interests include the economy of Central and Northern Europe in the Early Middle Ages, with a special emphasis on the Scandinavian-Slavic-Baltic contacts and the connections of the Baltic Rim with Western Europe and the Orient. He participated in the examination of the ninth to tenth century-settlement in Janów Podlaski (near Elbląg, identified as the famous emporium of Truso). Along with Dr. Marek Jagodziński, who discovered this archaeological site, Bogucki launched the *Truso Studies* publishing series. As a numismatist, Bogucki focuses mainly on the circulation of silver in the Baltic zone in the eighth to the eleventh century, on the most ancient Polish coins, as well as on the imitation and counterfeiting of coins in the Early Middle Ages. These issues were the main topic of his habilitation thesis in 2015: *Polish and Foreign Coins in Early Medieval Poland*.

Mateusz Bogucki has published extensively on archaeology and numismatics: he is author and co-author of over 130 articles and over a dozen books, including *Frühmittelalterliche Münzfunde aus Polen*, a series of inventories containing early medieval findings of coins and hoards. This five-volume series,

co-edited with Prof. Stanisław Suchodolski and Dr Peter Ilisch, contains detailed information on 1.146 archaeological finds (hoards, grave and single finds) with over 255.000 historical objects.

Rafał Boryślawski is an Associate Professor in the Institute of Literary Studies, University of Silesia, Poland and co-founder of the Centre for Nordic and Old English Studies of the University of Silesia. His research focuses chiefly on Old English culture and literature as well as on the questions of medieval culture associated with the field of social history. He has published a book on the idea of enigmaticity in Old English literature and over fifty papers discussing topics devoted to Old English philosophical and cultural outlooks, Middle English romances and fabliaux, and Old French literature and visual culture. He has also co-edited seven scholarly volumes of papers related to medieval studies and the intersections of history, historiography, and philology. Rafał Boryślawski has also co-authored a project resulting in a book of his poetry and computer art inspired by medieval culture. He is a member of ISSEME (International Society for the Study of Early Medieval England), and he has lectured at the Universities of Oslo, Reykjavik, Rome-Sapienza, Tarragona, Vilnius, Warsaw, and York St. John. Between 2014 and 2017 and since 2020 he has co-ordinated an international exchange programme for students and scholars wishing to study in Scandinavia and Poland, and, as the supervisor of H/Story (a doctoral research group exploring interdependencies between literary and philological studies), he has organized a number of successful international conferences. He is currently leading a National Centre of Science grant investigating the poetics and politics of fear in Old English literary tradition.

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Wojciech Filipowiak is an archaeologist employed at the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences. On a daily basis, he works at the Wolin Archaeological Workshop IAE PAS. He graduated in history and archaeology from the University of Szczecin and defended his doctorate at the IAE PAS on the basis of a dissertation on the early medieval shipbuilding of Wolin.

Finalist of the scientific award of the *Polityka* journal, winner of the Scholarship of the Minister of Education and Science for outstanding young researchers. Participant of numerous archaeological studies and supervision of investments in Western Pomerania, especially in Wolin. Author of two monographs and more than a dozen scientific articles.

Manager of the project “Qarjat as-Saqaliba. In search of a lost thousand-year-old Slavic fortress in Morocco.” Originator and organizer of the research team, which has set as its goal finding the village of Slavic slave-guards mentioned by the Arab historian al-Bakri (eleventh century), which was established in the Rif mountains in Morocco in the ninth/tenth century. So far, the first reconnaissance expedition to the Rif mountains has been carried out, financed with the support of a private sponsor.

Excavation manager for the project of prof. Marian Rębkowski “Madinat Ilbira – predecessor of Granada. A Medieval Umayyad and Mozarabic City in the Iberian Peninsula,” which investigated an early medieval urban centre in Andalusia.

Participant in the grant “The Oder Estuary in the Early Middle Ages. Wolin and Lubin – edition of archaeological sources.” As part of the project, he was involved in the study of the culture of early medieval Wolinians on the basis of two categories of artefacts: those made of wood and those made of stone, which were discovered during a major archaeological survey in Wolin in the 1970s.

He is interested in early medieval urbanization, shipbuilding and boatbuilding, the issue of Slavic slavery, the theoretical side of archaeology, and the influence of material culture on culture.

He is currently preparing a habilitation thesis – a monographic study of the history of early medieval Wolin. One of its elements is the research conducted under a grant from the National Science Centre titled “Genesis and dynamics of early medieval settlement on the ‘Silver Hill.’ Recognizing the problems of dating the northern district of Wolin using the 14C AMS method.”

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Anne Irene Riisøy is a Professor at the University of South-Eastern Norway where she teaches pre-nineteenth century history. She holds a PhD from the University of Oslo that was reworked and published by Brill: *Sexuality, Law and Legal Practice and the Reformation in Norway* (2009). Riisøy has an ongoing interest in legal history, but since her PhD she has switched focus from the late medieval

and Early Modern back to the Viking Age and the transition between the Viking Age and the Early Medieval period. A post-doctoral project on outlaws and outlawry resulted in articles such as “Outlawry and Moral Perversion in Old Norse Society” (2010), “Outlawry: From Western Norway to England” (2014), and “Deviant Burials: Societal Exclusion of Dead Outlaws in Medieval Norway” (2015). A second key area of interest has been to apply Old Norse Poetry, particularly the Eddic poems, to explore Viking Age law and legal practice, for example: “Sacred legal places in Eddic poetry. Reflected in real life?” (2013), “Performing Oaths in Eddic poetry: Viking Age Fact or Medieval Fiction?” (2016), “Vǫlundr – a Gateway into the Legal World of the Vikings” (2020).

Alexandra Sanmark undertook her undergraduate and postgraduate training at the University of London and obtained her PhD on the Christianisation of Scandinavia from University College London. She was then employed in the Department of Archaeology at the University of Uppsala, where she was Programme Leader for the MA programme Viking and Early Medieval Scandinavia. After two years as Research Fellow at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London, she started working for the University of the Highlands and Islands in 2009, first in Orkney and currently in Perth.

Alex Sanmark has a strong research interest in Iron Age Scandinavia, in particular the Viking Age and the Viking Expansion in the west. Since her PhD she has been fascinated by Viking Age religion and the Christianisation of northwest Europe. Her interests also include assembly and political practice and she has collaborated on [The Assembly Project \(TAP\)](#), a three-year international project funded by the Humanities in Europe Research Area (HERA). TAP examined multidisciplinary evidence for the emergence of assembly sites and administrative frameworks across Northern Europe from AD 400-1500. Alex Sanmark’s research strand was entitled Assembly and Colonisation and explores the establishment of the Norse *thing* organisation and assembly sites in the areas of Norse settlement and colonisation, compared and contrasted to the situation in the Viking homelands. This work resulted in the book [Viking Law and Order. Places and Rituals of Assembly in the Medieval North](#) (Edinburgh University Press, 2017).

Since the completion of this project, Alex Sanmark has also been involved in projects on Scandinavian execution sites, as well as on Viking Age landing sites and harbours in Scotland.

Arngrímur Vídalín is Assistant Professor of medieval Icelandic literature at the University of Iceland (2019—). Previously he has been visiting researcher at the University of Copenhagen (2014, 2018) and Harvard University (2016), as well as a visiting lecturer at the University of Silesia in Katowice (2016) and guest lecturer at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków (2016), the University of Colorado, Boulder (2016), the University of Tartu, Estonia (2019), and the University of South-Eastern Norway, Notodden (2022). His research has focused on medieval learning, the supernatural, dehumanization, and proto-racism. He is currently working on an English language monograph concerning the racially othered “Blue Man” in Old Norse literature, as well as an Icelandic language monograph based on his dissertation on Old Norse monsters.

