

# *Preseganje meja – Družbena identiteta v srednjem veku in srednjeveški arheologiji*

## *Transcending Borders – Social identity in the Middle Ages and in Medieval Archaeology*

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Izvleček Prispevek opozarja na omejenost tistih arheoloških pristopov pri preučevanju srednjega veka, ki temeljijo na strogem upoštevanju srednjeveške družbene teorije o treh oziroma kasneje štirih redih. Kot primer študije, ki z uporabo kontekstualnega pristopa presega meje takšne štiridelne členitve, avtor predstavlja analizo in interpretacijo vzorcev proizvodnje in porabe lončenine v provinci Skåne in na območju okoli jezera Mälaren med 10. in 13. stoletjem.

**Ključne besede** srednjeveška arheologija, družbena identiteta, štirje redi, lončenina baltskega tipa, Skandinavija

Ko preučujemo preteklost, je koristno, če uporabljamo družbene kategorije, ki izhajajo iz pojmovanj, značilnih za preučevano obdobje. V zvezi s srednjim vekom si lahko pomagamo s kategorizacijami, uporabljenimi v pisnih virih. V zgodnjih stoletjih srednjega veka so govorili o treh družbenih redih (stanovih), ob koncu obdobja pa se je sistem preoblikoval v štiri redove. V prvem sistemu je klasifikacija temeljila na molitvah, vojskovanju in obdelovanju zemlje, pozneje pa se je kot kukavica v gnezdo svete ureditve pridružila porajajoča se buržoazija, ki so jo zastopali trgovci in obrtniki. Družbena kategorizacija in označevanje sta bila za srednjeveškega človeka realnost in zato ju moramo videti kot pomembno raziskovalno izhodišče, ko poskušamo razumeti, kako so ljudje v tistem času živeli. Kakor kukavica lahko koncept štirih redov iz varnega gnezda učenjaškega sveta prežene druge ideje in hipoteze. Če razmišljamo pozitivno, je lahko takšna perspektiva opora, negativno pa lahko postane prisilni jopič. V prispevku trdim, da je členitev na štiri redove sociološkemu preučevanju srednjega veka in kasnejših obdobj lahko prej v breme kakor v pomoč.

Štiridelna delitev srednjeveške družbe je v rabi tako v arheološkem izobraževanju kot pri organizaciji konferenc. Podobne težnje lahko opazimo tudi v nacionalno in internacionalno zasnovanih pregledih srednjeveške arheologije (Clark 1984; Fehring 1987; Liebgott 1989; Fehring 1995). Očitno pa je takšna zasnova že bila prepoznana kot problematična in kar nekaj poskusov je že bilo poudariti teme, ki bi presegle meje posameznih problematik. Na srečanjih *Srednjeveška Evropa* v Yorku, Bruggeju in Baslu so takšen poskus predstavljale sekcije, posvečene metodi in teoriji. Večinoma pa so konference, posebno še na nacionalne, omejene zgolj na problematiko urbanega ali ruralnega življenja, gradov ali cerkvenih zadev. Srečanja, na katerih so teme prav omenjene, pa

**Abstract** *The article aims at pointing out the limitations of those archaeological approaches in the field of medieval studies that strictly follow the medieval social theory of the three and later four orders. As an example of the possibilities offered by the use of contextual approach in attempting to transcend the borders of the four-orders model, an analysis and interpretation of the pottery production and consumption patterns in Skåne and the Lake Mälaren regions from the 10th to the 13th century is presented.*

**Keywords** *medieval archaeology, social identity, four estates, Baltic ware, Scandinavia*

*In studying the past it is fruitful to use social categories embedded in the relevant period's own conceptions. Looking at the Middle Ages we are helped by the categorisations employed in the written sources. Three estates are being postulated in the earlier part of the period, transformed into four estates in the closing centuries. To pray, fight or till the earth were regarded as a means of classification in the former, while the emerging bourgeoisie, represented by merchants and artisans, later moved in like a cuckoo in the nest of holy arrangement. Social categorisation and labelling was a reality for medieval Man, and as such must be seen as an important point of departure for scholars trying to grasp how people lived during that time. Just like a cuckoo, however, the concept of the four estates can force ideas and hypotheses away from the safe nest of the scholarly world. Positively thinking, such a perspective can be a helping grid, in more negative words it is a straitjacket. In this article, I claim that a division into the four estates can be a burden rather than help for social studies of the Middle Ages and later periods.*

*In archaeological education and at conferences, the four-part division of medieval society is used. Similar tendencies can be seen in national and international surveys on medieval archaeology (Clark 1984; Fehring 1987; Liebgott 1989; Fehring 1995). Obviously this has been considered somewhat problematic and several efforts have been made to find a way to point out more border-breaking themes. At the Medieval Europe meetings in York, Bruges and Basel, sessions on method and theory are a response to this need. Most conferences, particularly on a national level, are confined to urban or rural life, as well as castles or ecclesiastical matters. Meetings on these specific topics have a tendency to create cumulative knowledge. Information about a new street discovered,*

kažejo težnjo, da bi ustvarila kumulativno vednost. Podatki o odkritju dotlej neznane ulice, tehnike graditve stavb ali še nezabeleženega artefakta so preprosto dodani v vse obsežnejši arhiv podatkov v skladu z usmeritvijo, ki jo je – med drugimi – John Moreland poimenoval "antikvarstvo" (Moreland 1991, 7).

Ob tej partikularistični težnji pa se v okviru značilnih srednjeveških tem vendarle poraja tudi vednost višje stopnje. Z leti je postalo očitno, da nam na primer ena sama hiša ali kmečko dvorišče še ne omogočata doumeti celote srednjeveškega kmečkega življenja. V želji, da bi izboljšali svoje možnosti za doseg tega cilja, so arheologi prevetрили svoje poglede in v obravnavo specifičnih vprašanj vpeljali holistično perspektivo. Agrarna naselja zdaj preučujemo skupaj z njihovo ekonomsko osnovo, kot so polja in pašniki, razumevanjem krajine ter v interakciji z okoliškimi vasi in mesti. Čeprav gre v tej različici za višjo raven preučevanja, pa omenjeni pristop vendarle ne presega meja agrarne družbe.

Težava ni le v potrebi po nenehnem preverjanju teh konceptov in diskusiji o njih, marveč v spoznanju, da je potrebno raziskave širiti v skladu z zastavljenimi vprašanji in ne zgolj glede na vsakokratni specifični kontekst. V naši vedi ni veliko raziskovalnih vprašanj z družbenimi implikacijami. Predlogi o tem, kaj naj bi vsebovala, pa so prav tako omejeni s specifičnimi raziskovalnimi področji srednjeveške arheologije. Kadar so takšne študije sploh omenjene, so izrazito povezane s tem, kar bi lahko imenovali družbena ekonomija. Sredi devetdesetih let 20. stoletja je Heiko Steuer predstavil teme za nadaljnje delo v družbeni arheologiji (Steuer 1995). Omenil je raziskovanje družbenih hierarhij, ki jih lahko interpretiramo ob pomoči zgodnjersrednjeveških grobov, načinov življenja in reprezentacije, komunikacije in pismenosti, nastanka cehov in družbene topografije mest.

V nedavno objavljenem pregledu britanske srednjeveške arheologije so sklepna poglavja posvečena sedanjim in prihodnjim raziskovalnim področjem. Gerrard poudarja običajna štiri področja, urbano in ruralno življenje, cerkve in samostane ter gradove (Gerrard 2003, 185 sl.). Ob tem navaja še druge, dobro znane raziskovalne teme, namreč stavbe, artefakte in proizvodnjo, ki so navadno kot podteme vključeni v raziskovanje štirih primarnih področij. Gerrard pa se vendarle dotika tudi nekaterih

*some new house construction techniques that have emerged or a formerly undocumented artefact is added to the growing archives, a perspective which John Moreland, among others, has named "antiquarianism" (Moreland 1991, 7).*

*Alongside this particularistic tendency, higher levels of knowledge are created within the framework of typical medieval topics. Through the years it has been obvious that, for instance, a single house or farmyard doesn't make it possible for us as scholars to grasp the scope of medieval rural life. To increase the possibility to do this, archaeologists have reset their sights and brought in a holistic view on their particular subject. Agrarian settlements are now studied together with their economic basis such as fields and pastures, mental perceptions of the landscape and interaction with the surrounding villages and towns. In spite of this enhanced version of studies, the limits of agrarian society are not transcended.*

*The problem is not that these concepts are under constant study and discussion, but that the search must be widened according to questions asked, rather than their particular contexts. Questions with social implications are few in our discipline. Suggestions on what they might contain are also limited to specific fields in medieval archaeology. When such studies are mentioned they are strongly connected to what can be called social economy. In the mid 1990's Heiko Steuer presented topics for further work on social archaeology (Steuer 1995). Those mentioned were social hierarchies interpreted from Early Medieval graves, ways of living and representation, communication and literacy, emergence of the guilds and the social topography of towns.*

*In a recently published survey on British medieval archaeology, the final chapters are dedicated to contemporary and future fields of study. Gerrard points out the usual four spheres, urban and rural life, churches and monasteries, as well as castles (Gerrard 2003, 185 ff). Additional subjects are buildings, artefacts and industry, well-known topics studied as sub-themes under the four primary subjects. Gerrard nevertheless touches on some fields that can widen our perspective. At the end of his book he points out some "challenging concepts and ideas" such as identity and society, artefacts and meaning, architecture and the use of space, landscapes and time. In the future, there will surely be*

raziskovalnih področij, ki lahko razširijo naše obzorje. Ob koncu svoje knjige opozarja na nekatere "izzivalne koncepte in ideje", kot so identiteta in družba, artefakti in pomen, arhitektura in raba prostora, krajine in čas. V prihodnje bomo temu seznamu zagotovo dodali še nove. Vsaka generacija bo soočena s potrebo po bolj poglobljeni vednosti, ki jo bo oviralo zgolj njeno lastno pomanjkanje domiselnosti.

Moja kritika študij, ki temeljijo na teoriji o štirih redovih, ne pomeni, da se mi zdijo konference o temah, kot so mesta, agrarna naselja, gradovi in cerkvene institucije, zastarele. So del naše tradicije, enako kot so bile nekdanje realne srednjeveške kategorije. Vsi raziskovalni nazori in interpretacije pa tudi še kako potrebujejo široko, v časovnem in družbenem smislu dobro utemeljeno družbenogospodarsko ozadje za nadaljnje raziskave. Rad bi le poudaril, kako tvegano je zanemarjati tiste predmete raziskav, ki jih ne moremo umestiti v omenjene štiri kategorije, ali pozabljati na omrežno naravo srednjega veka in tedanje družbene zavesti.

Osredotočanje na družbeno interakcijo je bilo seveda sestavni del poprocesnega diskurza v zadnjem desetletju preteklega stoletja. V pomenu kritike tako antikvarstva kot procesualizma v srednjeveški arheologiji je John Moreland poudaril potrebo, da bi ureditve srednjeveškega človeka razumeli kot "vrsto interaktivnih omrežij družbenih odnosov različnega trajanja in gostote" (Moreland 1991, 19). Takšen pogled nas sili opustiti teorijo o štirih redovih kot izključnem okviru preučevanja. Nujnost osredotočanja na družbeno interakcijo, je bila ponovno poudarjena v članku, ki je izšel leta 1998. V njem je Frans Verhaeghe trdil, da bi študij srednjeveške arheologije lahko veliko pridobil, če bi to obdobje razumeli kot preplet družbenih omrežij. Poudaril je, kako pomembno je raziskovanje družbenih odnosov skupno z "ideologijo, vedenjem, družbenimi strukturami in dinamiko, percepcijami in prilagoditvami na realni svet", če želimo dojeti celovitost srednjega veka (Verhaeghe 1998, 267). Verhaeghejev izraz družbena omrežja vključuje vse vrste bazičnih interaktivnih odnosov, stikov in medsebojnih komuniciranj med posamezniki ali skupinami.

Kot pogosto poudarjamo, so mesto, vas, grad in cerkvene ustanove med seboj povezani. Kljub temu pa niso toliko družbene entitete same kolikor naša lastna vprašanja tista, ki postavljajo omejitve naši vednosti. Če se ukvarjamo s

*added new concepts to this list. Each generation will find a need for deeper knowledge, hampered only by its own lack of ingenuity.*

*My critique of studies based on the four estates does not mean that I see conferences on topics such as towns, agrarian settlements, castles and clerical institutions as obsolete. They are a part of our tradition as well as they were medieval categories. All perspectives and interpretations are also very much in need of a broad, well-founded time- and space-bound socio economic background for further inquiries. I only want to emphasize the risk we take in disregarding subjects, which do not fit in these categories or by forgetting the network character of the Middle Ages, and the social awareness of that time.*

*A focus on social interaction was clearly part of the post-processual discourse during the final decade of the last century. As a critique of both antiquarianism and processualism within medieval archaeology, John Moreland emphasised the need to perceive the arrangements of medieval Man as "a series of interacting networks of social relations of varying duration and density" (Moreland 1991, 19). Such a perspective forces us to leave the four estates as the only framework for studies. In an article from 1998, the need for concentrating on social interaction was stressed once more. Here, Frans Verhaeghe declared that the study of medieval archaeology could benefit from seeing the period as consisting of social networks. He stated the importance of social relations as a field of research, together with "ideology, behaviour, social structures and dynamics, perceptions of and adaptations to the real world" if we want to grasp the totality of the Middle Ages (Verhaeghe 1998, 267). When speaking of social networks he included all kinds of basic interactive relations, contacts and intercommunication between individuals or groups.*

*As often emphasized, town, village, castle and clerical institutions are all interconnected. Nevertheless, it is not so much the social entities as our own questions that put a limit to our knowledge. If we work with Medieval and Early Modern society as a whole we can capture some obvious issues on economic interaction such as the nobility's interest in towns, churches and monastic rural estates, the social rise and technical development of artisans in town and countryside. Thus, my critique is not so much directed against such an effort, as a desire to pro-*

srednjeveško in zgodnjenovoveško družbo kot celoto, si lahko zastavimo nekatera očitna vprašanja o gospodarski interakciji, kakor so denimo zanimanje plemstva za mesta, cerkve, samostanska podeželska posestva ter družbeni vzpon in tehnični razvoj obrtnikov v mestih in na podeželju. Moja kritika torej ni usmerjena proti takšnim prizadevanjem, marveč jo vodi želja, spodbuditi tovrstno vpraševanje, ki bi v razpravo vključilo vse redove in tudi druge družbene teme, ne le gospodarski položaj. Če želimo doseči novo razumevanje kulturnih vzorcev v srednjem veku, bi bilo koristno uporabiti perspektivo, ki presega meje štirih redov družbe.

Lahko rečemo, da je Verhaeghejeva opredelitev družbenih omrežij navdihujoča in daljnosežna. Če smo natančnejši – vprašanja etnosa, družbene mobilnosti, pojmovanja otroštva in staranja, konceptov časa in prostora so prepletena in vpeta v več različnih kontekstov. Tu bi se rad osredotočil na en sam bazični koncept, namreč inovacijo in njeno povezavo z dvema različnima oblikama družbene identitete, urbano in kulturno. Recepcija novih kulturnih prvin je vprašanje, ki vključuje številne različne družbene akterje in poteka skozi številna vozlišča. Kontrasti v arheološkem zapisu nam omogočajo pojasniti, kako so bile inovacije uvedene, sprejete in razširjene, pomagajo pa nam lahko razumeti tudi, kako so posamezniki in skupine v preteklosti delovali. V tej ugotovitvi se skriva morebitni ključ za razumevanje sprejemanja tujcev, delitve dela in družbenogospodarskih sprememb v družbi kot celoti. Prav tako je jasno, da te spremembe izražajo regionalne vzorce in razlike znotraj same družbe. Da bi podkrepili to trditev, bomo predstavili primer s področja inovacij v lončarstvu in razširitve v dobi od 11. do 13. stoletja v mestih Lund in Sigtuna in njuni okolici. Takšni primeri lahko ponazorijo razmerje med urbanimi in ruralnimi identitetami, pa tudi kulturno identiteto kot osnovo za etnično afilijacijo (Roslund 2001).

#### *Lončenina baltskega tipa in kulturna sprememba*

Vse od 19. stoletja so učenjaki trdili, da so posode, okrašene z vzporednimi ali valovitimi linijami, ki so bile odkrite v severni Evropi, slovanskega izvora. Friedrich Lisch je opozoril na slogovne razlike med germanskimi kroglastimi posodami (*Kugeltöpfe*) in slovanskimi poso-

*... mote further issues, thereby drawing all estates into the discussion, and to add social topics other than the economic position to the discussion. If we want to acquire a further understanding of the cultural patterns of the Middle Ages, it could be fruitful to use perspectives transcending the borders of the four estates in society.*

*Verhaeghe's definition of social networks can be regarded as inspiring, yet wide reaching. To be more specific, issues on ethnicity, social mobility, views on childhood and ageing, concepts of time and space are all interlaced within several contexts. Here, I would like to concentrate on one basic concept, innovation and its bond to two different forms of social identity, i. e. urban and cultural. The reception of new cultural elements is one issue that involves many different actors in society and runs through many nodes. While contrasts in the archaeological record make it possible for us to explain how innovations were introduced, accepted and spread, they can also make us understand how individuals and groups acted in former times. Hidden in the observation lies a possible key to the acceptance of strangers, division of labour and socio-economic change in society as a whole. It is also clear that these alterations express regional patterns and differences within society itself. To emphasise this statement, an example drawn from the experience of pottery innovation and dispersal during the 11th to the 13th century in the towns of Lund and Sigtuna and their environs is put forward. Such examples can be used in order to understand the relation between urban and rural identities, as well as cultural identity, as a basis for ethnic affiliation (Roslund 2001).*

#### **Baltic ware and culture change**

*Since the 19th century, scholars have stated that vessels decorated with parallel or wavy lines found in Northern Europe were of Slavonic origin. Friedrich Lisch pointed out the stylistic difference between German Kugeltöpfe and Slavonic vessels in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (Lisch 1847). Some decades later, Beltz divided the style into two chronological groups, based on observations of hoard finds with a distinct change around the turn of the millennium (Beltz 1893). Outside the primary "homelands" of Slavonic groups the presence of these vessels became a matter of discussion. In 1922, Georg Karlin held a lecture*

dami v nemški deželi Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (Lisch 1847). Nekaj desetletij kasneje je Beltz na osnovi ovrednotenja zakladnih najdb, ki so opozarjale na očitno spremembo okrog preloma tisočletij, slog razdelil v dve kronološki skupini (Beltz 1893). Navzočnost teh posod zunaj območja prvotne "domovine" slovanskih skupnosti je postala predmet razprav. Leta 1922 je imel na nordijski arheološki konferenci v Stockholmu Georg Karlin predavanje, v katerem je trdil, da so bile omenjene posode v velikem številu distribuirane tudi na območju onstran slovanskih etničnih meja (Karlin 1923). V svojem predavanju je poleg tega ugotavljal, da so skandinavski lončarji v 11. stoletju razvili nove sloge, ki so bili vse bolj odmaknjeni od pravih slovanskih posod. Karlin je v svojih izvajanjih uporabljal oznake, kot sta "slovansko-baltska" in "vendsko-baltska" lončenina.

Četudi so učenjaki sprejeli dejstvo, da so posode slovanskega izvora izdelovali in uporabljali tudi zunaj izvorne slovanske "domovine", pa so v poročilih iz tistega časa opazne težave pri določanju njihovega izvora. Že samo opazovanje razširjenosti je vodilo v nesporazume, kot je bilo denimo mnenje Karla Augusta Wildeja, da so bile nekatere uvožene v Wollin iz Birke (Wilde 1939). Tej napačni predstavi je botrovalo dejstvo, da je bilo tedaj dobro znano predvsem gradivo iz Švedske; tam je Stolpe že v 19. stoletju objavil podatke o artefaktih iz svojih izkopavanj. Skromno poznavanje drugih najdišč na južnih obalah Baltika je pripomoglo k temu, da je Birka obveljala kot izvorno območje teh posod. S povečanjem števila izkopavanj v slovanskih deželah, posebno po drugi svetovni vojni, je postalo očitno, da je treba njihov izvor iskati med Slovani samimi.

Z upoštevanjem gradiva s širšega geografskega območja je Karlin leta 1922 prvi zabeležil pojav, ki ga danes imenujemo lončenina baltskega tipa (*östersjökeramik*, *Ostseeware*). Wolfgang Hubener je oblikoval ta izraz, ko je delal v Haithabuju, nekaj desetletij pozneje je Karlin predstavil svoja opažanja (Hubener 1959). Danes lončenino baltskega tipa pojmuje kot tradicijo, ki ima korenine v slovanski lončarski produkciji, vendar jo srečamo zunaj njenega jedrnega območja od okoli leta 1000 dalje (slika 1). Posode z značilnimi lastnostmi v Skandinaviji je potrebno razumeti kot bodisi pozne prave slovanske izdelke bodisi kot del nordijske kulturne sfere.

*at a Nordic archaeological conference in Stockholm, where he claimed that they had also been distributed on a large scale outside the ethnic Slav boundaries (Karlin 1923). In his lecture, he also stated, that during the 11th century, Scandinavian potters had developed new styles, increasingly remote from Slavonic pots proper. Karlin himself used terms such as "Slav-Baltic" or "Wendic-Baltic" ware to express his opinion.*

*Even if scholars accepted the fact that pots of Slavonic origin were produced and in use outside the original Slavonic "home-lands", difficulties in pinning down their origin still haunted the reports of that time. Mere observation of the dispersal led to misunderstanding, as when Karl August Wilde believed some to be imported to Wollin from Birka (Wilde 1939). This misconception was due to the well-known material from Sweden, where Stolpe, already in the 19th century, produced information on artefacts from his excavations. Meagre knowledge about other sites on the South Baltic coast, made it easy to make Birka their place of origin. When the number of excavations increased in the Slavonic countries, especially after the second world war, it became obvious that the origin should be sought among the Slavs themselves.*

*By introducing a wider geographical material in 1922, Georg Karlin was the first to observe a phenomenon we today call Baltic ware (*östersjökeramik*, *Ostseeware*). Wolfgang Hübener created this term when working in Haithabu, some decades after Karlin made his observations (Hübener 1959). Today, Baltic ware is considered a tradition with roots in Slavonic pottery production, yet found outside its core area from around the year 1000 and onwards (fig. 1). When vessels with typical traits appear in Scandinavia, they must be considered to be either late Slavonic proper or part of a Nordic cultural sphere. A sharper definition can be gained through stylistic and petrologic studies.*

*In addition to the growing awareness about the origin of the Baltic ware, theoretical considerations on ethnic interpretations must be discussed when defining it. According to cultural-historical archaeology, assemblages in the same style were supposed to be connected to a group of people with common heritage. Since the 1960's, efforts have been made to explain the relation between ethnic identity and material culture. Historians, anthropologists and archaeologists have come to realise*



Slika 1: Preliminarni očrt razširjenosti lončenine baltskega tipa v Skandinaviji od konca 10. do srede 13. stoletja. Opazna je skromna navzočnost v okolici jezera Mälaren. V Schleswigu in njegovem zaledju je najti tako pravo slovansko lončenino kakor tudi lončenino baltskega tipa, vendar je etnično afiliacijo teh najdb težko določiti. Skromnejše najdbe na zahodu Danske, Norveškem in Finskem na karti niso označene.

*Fig. 1: A preliminary outline of the distribution of Baltic ware in Scandinavia from the late 10th to the middle of the 13th century. A vague presence can be noted around Lake Mälaren. Both late Slavonic ware proper and Baltic ware are found in Schleswig and hinterland, but the ethnic affiliation is difficult to determine. Minor finds in western Denmark, Norway and Finland are not marked on the map.*

Ostrejše opredelitev lahko določimo s pomočjo slogovnih in petroloških analiz.

Poleg vse močnejše zavesti o izvoru lončenine baltskega tipa je potrebno pri opredeljevanju pretresti tudi teoretske premisleke o etničnih interpretacijah. V kulturnozgodovinski arheologiji je veljalo, da so zbirni najdb istega sloga povezani s skupino ljudi, ki si deli skupno dediščino. Od šestdesetih let 20. stoletja potekajo prizadevanja, da bi pojasnili razmerje med etnično identiteto in materialno kulturo. Zgodovinarji, antropologi in arheologi so prišli do spoznanja, da je človekovo delovanje bolj zapleteno, kot smo domnevali (Jones 1997). V središču zanimanja sedaj niso več prizadevanja, da bi opredelili in zamejili kulturne skupine, marveč poskusi, da bi pojasnili in razumeli kulturno izmenjavo in spremembo.

Izrazita inovacija oziroma kulturna sprememba je tudi pojav lončenine baltskega tipa v Skandinaviji od konca 10. stoletja dalje. Posebno pozornost posvečamo območju, ki je do leta 1658 predstavljalo vzhodno Dan-

*that human action is more intricate than we have presumed (Jones 1997). Interest is now focused, not so much on defining and delimiting culture groups, as on explaining and understanding cultural exchange and change.*

*One very distinct innovation, or culture change, is the emergence of Baltic ware in Scandinavia from the late 10th century onwards. Special attention is here given to what was Eastern Denmark (east of the Sound) until 1658 and the region around Lake Mälaren in Sweden. Even if the style seems similar in both places, distinct differences in both form and spatial distribution patterns can be observed. Such differences are used to interpret both the levels of interaction between town and countryside and the differences in the presence of Slavonic-speaking groups.*

*Historically, the two regions under study held large differences. From the 10th century, Denmark became a part of the German Ottonian and Salian spheres of interest, thus influenced by Continental political ideas and economic development. Further North, the Svear had a looser political structure, built on personal networks and vague territoriality. Their Slavonic counterparts were also different. The Danes had, at least from the 8th century onwards, close interaction with tribes in what is today known as Schleswig-Holstein, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, including the Oder estuary. In the Lake Mälaren district, interest was directed to the area around Lake Ladoga and along the Volchov River, leading further inland to the South and East. Scandinavians clearly had a strong influence on the political development of what became Rus'. An ethnically diverse population of Balts, Finno-Ugrians, Slavs and Scandinavians constituted this political entity.*

*This point of departure, naturally put both regions in different geographical contexts, which in turn were instrumental in defining their respective contacts with Slavonic societies. Another obvious effect of the difference portrayed above, is that the contacts were constituted by diverse political reasons. To understand Baltic ware as innovation and a manifestation of culture change these contextual facts must be a part of the interpretation.*

sko (vzhodno od morske ožine Øresund), in regiji okoli jezera Mälaren na Švedskem. Četudi se zdi slog podoben na obeh območjih, pa lahko opazimo izrazite razlike v obliki in vzorcih razširjenosti. Takšne razlike lahko uporabimo pri interpretaciji stopnje interakcije med mestom in podeželjem in razlik glede navzočnosti slovansko govorečih skupnosti.

Po zgodovinski plati so razlike med obravnavanima območjema precejšnje. Od 10. stoletja je bila Danska del nemškega, turškega in salijskega interesnega območja in tako so nanjo vplivale kontinentalne politične ideje in gospodarski razvoj. Dalje proti severu je imelo švedsko ozemlje (Svear) bolj ohlapno politično strukturo, zgrajeno na osebnih omrežjih in slabo opredeljeni teritorialnosti. Tudi njuni slovanski sodobniki so bili drugačni. Danci so, vsaj od 8. stoletja dalje, imeli tesne stike s plemeni na območju današnjih nemških zveznih dežel Schleswig-Holstein in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, tudi v ustju Odre. V pokrajini okoli jezera Mälaren pa so se zanimali predvsem za območje okoli jezera Ladoga in vzdolž reke Volchov, ki je vodila dalje v notranjost na jug in vzhod. Skandinavci so očitno imeli močan vpliv na območje, ki je postalo Kijevska Rusija. To politično entiteto je sestavljala etnično raznolika populacija Baltov, Fino-Ugrijcev, Slovanov in Skandinavcev.

Takšno izhodišče je seveda obe območji postavljalo v različna geografska konteksta, ki sta na drugi strani pripomogla k opredelitvi njunih stikov s slovanskimi družbami. Druga očitna posledica očitane razlike je, da so bili ti stiki utemeljeni z različnimi političnimi razlogi. Da bi lončenino baltskega tipa mogli razumeti kot inovacijo in manifestacijo kulturne spremembe, je potrebno v interpretacijo vključiti ta kontekstualna dejstva.

#### *Prečkanje meje med mestom in podeželjem – razširjenost lončenine in urbano-ruralni vzorci porabe*

Na prvi pogled se zdi, da je lončenina baltskega tipa nov slog, ki je prišel na vzhod Danske in v pokrajino okoli jezera Mälaren. Podatke, ki jih pridobimo s temeljitim pregledom vzorca razširjenosti, lahko uporabimo za oblikovanje družbeno-gospodarskih interpretacij. Če se ozremo na nasprotje med uporabo lončenine v urbanih in ruralnih naseljih, je očitno, da je stopnja integracije v obeh območjih različna.

#### *Crossing the border between town and countryside – pottery distribution and urban-rural consumption patterns*

*At a superficial glance, Baltic ware can be seen as a new style being distributed to Eastern Denmark and the Mälaren region. The information achieved by scrutinising the distribution pattern can be used in forming socio-economic interpretations. Looking at the contrast in pottery consumption in urban and rural settlements, integration levels are clearly different in the two regions.*

*Trade is a very strong explanatory mechanism for culture change within medieval archaeology. Throughout the ongoing discussion, a so called "formalist" standpoint is commonly chosen in explaining the forces of economy. The term relates to a modern market economical point of view, presumed to have also permeated pre-industrialised societies. When foreign pottery is found in archaeological contexts, it is often regarded as an "import". By choosing an opposite opinion, I claim that pottery production during the 10th to the late 12th century in Scandinavia should be considered outside such a system. Instead, it must be seen as part of a local household-level socio-economic network. This interpretation has implications for further investigations on pottery change and innovation in Scandinavia examined below.*

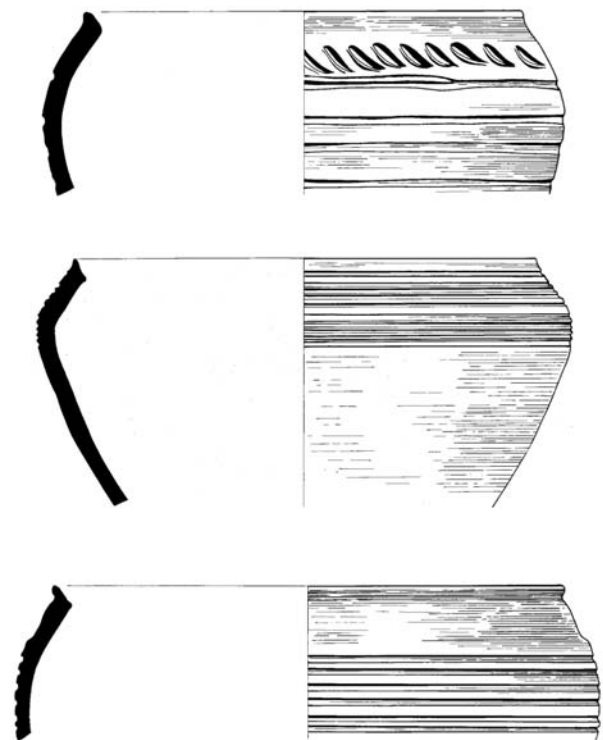
*In Skåne, an Eastern province in medieval Denmark, it is clear that a very quick change can be seen. The event must have taken place around the year 1000, more widely defined between c. 980 and 1050 AD. In the last two decades of the 10th century, late Slavonic pottery was suddenly produced in large quantities and soon altered the everyday life. Potters ceased to produce their local crude, but functional, cooking vessels before 1050 AD. After this date, the Baltic ware dominated both town and country kitchens until the middle of the 13th century. From a hypothetical innovation area in the south-western part of Skåne, the new style spread quickly and thoroughly in the 11th century all over the eastern part of the Danish realm. Looking at sets of vessels in villages around the town of Lund, no delay or qualitative difference can be observed. All households, irrespective of location, used the same forms and decorations for their products. They were made with inverted rims on squat bodies, incised with lines mostly covering the upper part of the vessel's shoulders (fig. 2).*

Trgovina je v srednjeveški arheologiji zelo močan mehanizem za pojasnjevanje kulturnih sprememb. V nenehni razpravi o tej tematiki je za razlago gospodarskih sil navadno izbrano t. i. "formalistično" stališče. Izraz se nanaša na sodobno gledišče tržnega gospodarstva, ki naj bi prežemalo tudi predindustrijske družbe. Kadar je v arheoloških kontekstih najdena tuja lončenina, jo pogosto obravnavamo kot "uvoz". Sam sem nasprotnega mnenja in trdim, da je potrebno lončarsko produkcijo med 10. in koncem 12. stoletja v Skandinaviji opazovati zunaj takšnega sistema. Razumeti jo je potrebno kot del lokalnega družbenogospodarskega omrežja na ravni gospodinjestev. Ta interpretacija ima implikacije tudi za nadaljnje raziskave sprememb in inovacij v lončarstvu na območju Skandinavije, ki jih obravnavam v nadaljevanju.

V pokrajini Skåne, vzhodni provinci srednjeveške Danske, je brez dvoma moč opaziti zelo hitro spremembo. Verjetno se je zgodila okoli leta 1000, širše med letoma ok. 980 in 1050 n. š. V zadnjih dveh desetletjih 10. stoletja so nenadoma pričeli v velikih količinah izdelovati pozno slovansko lončenino in kmalu je spremenila vsakdanje življenje prebivalstva. Lončarji so prenehali izdelovati lokalno, grobo, a funkcionalno, kuhinjsko posodje pred letom 1050 n. š. Potem je lončenina baltskega tipa prevladala tako v mestnih kot v podeželskih kuhinjah vse do srede 13. stoletja. Iz hipotetičnega območja, ki je dalo inovacijo – jugozahodnega dela pokrajine Skåne – se je novi slog v 11. stoletju hitro in temeljito razširil po celotnem vzhodnem delu danskega kraljestva. Če pogledamo sestavo posod v vaseh okoli mesta Lund, ne opazimo časovne zamude ali kakovostnih razlik. Vsa gospodinjestva, ne glede na lokacijo, so za svoje izdelke uporabljala iste oblike in okrase. Posode so imele uvihano ustje in čokat trup, ki je bil predvsem na zgornjem delu ramena prekrit z vrezanimi linijami (slika 2).

V nasprotju s tem pa je v okolici jezera Mälaren očitna pomembna razlika. V mestu Birka so uporabljali nekaj posod z območja Kijevske Rusije, ki so jih semkaj verjetno prinesli v obdobju od druge četrtine 10. stoletja dalje (Callmer 1989, 672). Potrebno pa je poudariti, da je bilo 80 % uporabljanega posodja vendarle domačega izvora. Ta vzorec se je ponovil v Sigtuni, mestu, ki je bilo ustanovljeno okoli leta 970 ali 980 n. š. Tam najdemo veliko lokalnih posod, majhno število lončenine baltskega tipa in peščico poznih slovanskih posod, ki so bile v rabi

*In contrast, a significant difference is evident around Lake Mälaren. Some vessels from Rus' were used in Birka, probably brought in from the second quarter of the 10th century (Callmer 1989, 672). It must be stressed that 80 % of the pottery consumed nevertheless was of domestic origin. This pattern was repeated in Sigtuna, a town established around 970 or 980 AD. We find an overwhelming quantity of local vessels, a small amount of Baltic ware and few late Slavonic pots in use until the third quarter of the 11th century (fig. 3). From that period to the middle of the 13th century, the Baltic ware was the most common pottery type in Sigtuna. Thus, the situation slowly changed to the benefit of the Baltic ware. In contrast to the Danish situation, rural settlements did not partake in this change of style. Very few Baltic ware ves-*



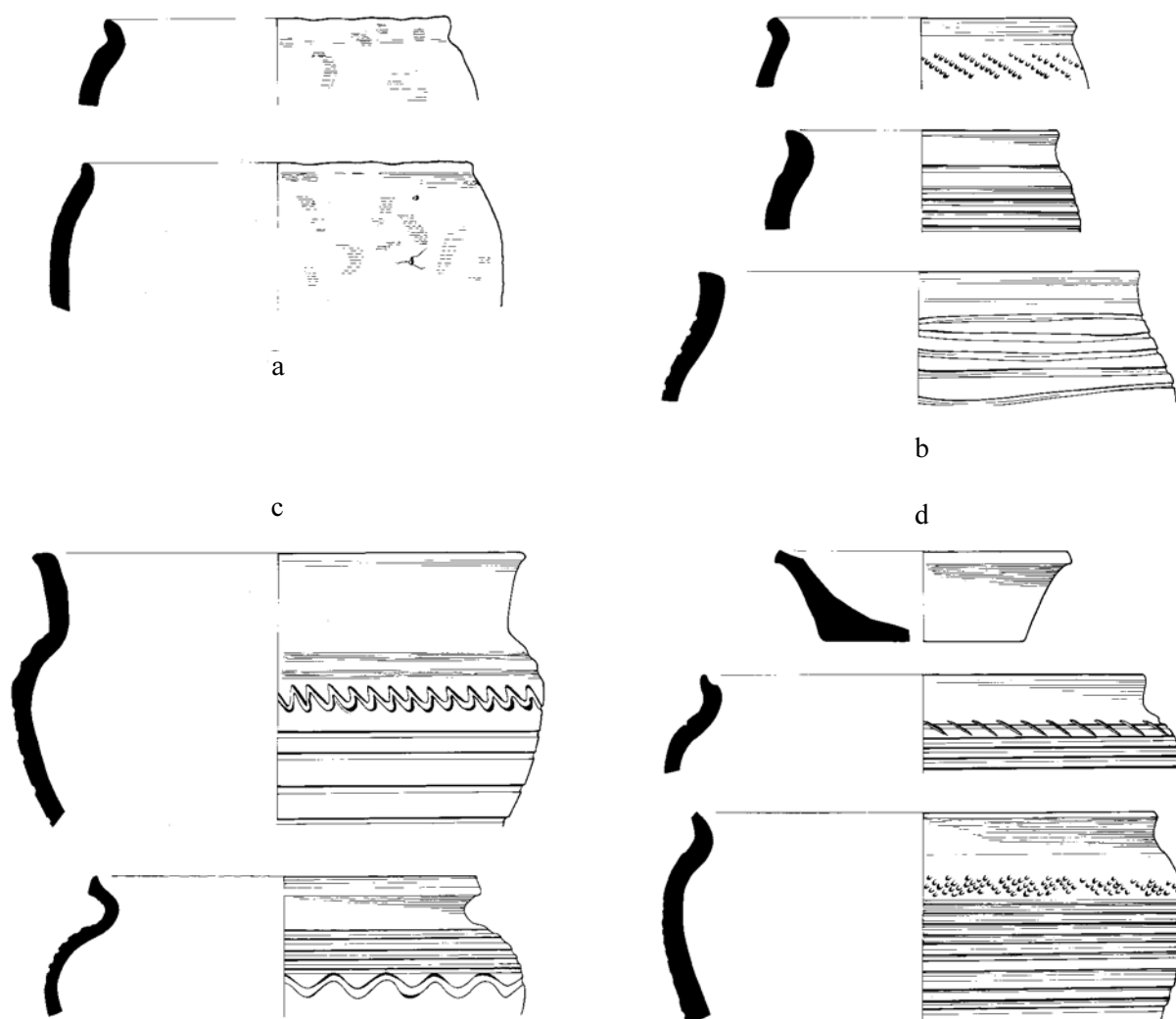
Slika 2: Posode baltskega tipa iz mesta Lund v pokrajini Skåne. Oblike, ki so jih v začetku 11. stoletja uporabljali na južni obali Baltika, so v zgodnjih letih tega stoletja hitro sprejeli tudi na vzhodu Danske. Merilo 1:3.

*Fig. 2: Baltic ware vessels from Lund, Skåne. The forms in use during the early 11th century on the southern shore of the Baltic Sea were rapidly accepted in Eastern Denmark in the early years of the century. Scale 1:3.*



do tretje četrtine 11. stoletja (slika 3). Od tega časa pa do srede 13. stoletja je bila lončenina baltskega tipa najbolj vsakdanja vrsta lončenine v Sigtuni. Položaj se je torej počasi spremenil v prid lončenine baltskega tipa. V nasprotju s položajem na Danskem tod ruralna naselja niso bila deležna omenjene slogovne spremembe. Na podeželju so uporabljali le peščico posod baltskega tipa glede na bogat priliv tega posodja v Sigtuno. Na nekate-

sels were used in the countryside in contrast to the rich influx in Sigtuna. At some farms, sherds are found, but never exceeding 1 % of the total amount of pottery, a handful compared to the omnipresent local ware. Only few local hybrids were produced at these places, stressing a very conservative consumption pattern. A distribution map presenting the hybrid Baltic ware, indicates an affiliation to the water route leading into Lake Mälaren,



Slika 3: Lončenina iz Sigtune od konca 10. do srede 13. stoletja. a) Domače skandinavske posode, b) Lončenina baltskega tipa, ki so jo izdelovali skandinavski lončarji in pri tem uporabljali domače oblike, c) Pozna lončenina slovanskega tipa z območja Kijevske Rusije, odkrita v Sigtuni, d) Lončenina baltskega tipa, ki so jo v Sigtuni izdelovali bodisi Slovani bodisi Skandinavci. Merilo 1:3.

Fig. 3: Pottery used in Sigtuna from the late 10th to the middle of the 13th century. a) Domestic Scandinavian vessels, b) Baltic ware made by Scandinavian potters using local forms, c) late Slavonic ware from Rus' found in Sigtuna, d) Baltic ware made in Sigtuna by either Slavs or Scandinavians. Scale 1:3.

rih kmetijah je najti posamične črepinje, ki pa nikoli niso presegle 1 % celotne količine lončenine, to pa je le prgišče v primerjavi s povsod prisotno lokalno lončenino. Tod so izdelovali le nekaj lokalnih hibridov, ki samo še podčrtujejo, kako zelo konservativen je bil vzorec uporabe. Karta razširjenosti, ki prikazuje hibridno lončenino baltskega tipa, nakazuje afilacijo na vodno pot, ki je vodila proti jezeru Mälaren ter v Sigtuno in staro Uppsalo. Lončenina baltskega tipa je tako na tem območju postala in ostala urban pojav (slika 4).

Ko uporabljamo lončenino kot vir za preučevanje urbanih in ruralnih povezav na vzhodnem Danskem in v okolici jezera Mälaren, lahko opazimo nekaj izrazitih značilnosti. Če se ozremo k Lundu in Skåne, položaj lahko pojasnimo kot specializirano in razvito delitev dela tako v samem Lundu kot tudi v ruralnih naseljih. To je bila zagotovito posledica prihoda slovanskih lončarjev, ki so preoblikovali staro keramično monokulturo. Vendar pa ni dvoma, da je bil novi način proizvodnje rezultat dela profesionalnih obrtnikov, ki so delali za anonimni trg. Najverjetneje je bila proizvodnja za domačo rabo še vedno sezonska, omogočala pa je obenem tudi, da so posestva in večje kmetije presežek zamenjevala za druge dobrine. Vidimo lahko močno integracijo med mestom in podeželjem, ki jo je povzročila ekspanzija ruralne proizvodnje, kar je vodilo v ustvarjanje presežkov in razvoj neagrarnih specializiranih dejavnosti. Na določen način lahko skanijsko ruralno prebivalstvo vidimo kot "urbanizirano" v tem pomenu, da je imelo skupne kulturne kode z okoljem v Lundu in drugih mestih v provinci. Razširjenost posod lahko interpretiramo kot kazalec velike mobilnosti prebivalstva – tako naj bi se zlahka gibalo med obema družbenima okoljema. Pri preseganju meje med mestom in podeželjem so se posamezniki srečevali s skupnimi kulturnimi potezami.

Zapleteni položaj v Sigtuni, kjer je bilo v uporabi več tipov lončenine, je v velikem nasprotju z ruralno konservativnostjo. Zdi se, da je bila delitev dela na nizki stopnji, vsaj kar zadeva lončarsko proizvodnjo, mesti Birka in kasneje Sigtuna pa sta bili središči, v katerih je vse vrvelo od različnih obrtnih dejavnosti. Nasprotje med sestavoma lončenine v Sigtuni in na podeželju težko pojasnimo, če je bilo ljudem mogoče presegati družbeno mejo med obema okoljema. Če ju prevedemo v človeško delovanje, obe lončarski tradiciji kažeta izrazito dvojnost. Kar zadeva

to Sigtuna and Old Uppsala. The Baltic ware thus became, and remained, an urban phenomenon in the region (fig. 4).

When using pottery as a source for studies on urban and rural connections in Eastern Denmark and around Lake Mälaren some distinct features can be observed. Turning to Lund and Skåne we can explain the situation as a specialised and developed division of labour both in Lund itself, but also in the rural settlements. This must have been caused by an influx of Slavonic potters transforming the old ceramic monoculture to a new one. It is however not unambiguously so, that the new mode of production was a result of professional artisans working for an anonymous market. Most likely, the production still was executed seasonally for domestic use, but also making it



Slika 4: Razširjenost različnih tipov lončenine na podeželju v okolici jezera Mälaren. Sigtuna je označena z večjo piko. a) Najdišče lončenine baltskega tipa, b) lokalne lončenine skandinavskega tipa, c) lončenine baltskega in lokalnega skandinavskega tipa (po Roslund 2001, 228).

Fig. 4: Rural distribution of wares in the Lake Mälaren region. Sigtuna marked by a larger dot. a) Find spot with Baltic ware, b) local Scandinavian ware, c) Baltic and local Scandinavian ware (after Roslund 2001, 228).

lončenino, so izdelovalci lokalne skandinavske lončenine obiskovali obe okolji, le maloštevilni Skandinavci, ki so posnemali slovanski slog, so svoje znanje pokazali tudi zunaj mesta, noben slovanski obiskovalec pa ni zapustil območja, ki je bilo pod jurisdikcijo mesta. Kaže, da so prebivalci Birke in Sigtune bolehalo za "kulturnim zaprtjem" in so višjo stopnjo delitve dela in inovacije zadržali zase. V mnogih pogledih se je med prebivalci mest izoblikoval mestni način življenja, v nasprotju z življenjskim slogom ruralnega prebivalstva v pokrajini. Na drugih področjih lahko vidimo bogato izmenjavo dobrin, kakor denimo priliv hrane, ki je dopolnila nezadostno urbano subsistenčno proizvodnjo. Od samega začetka je bila Sigtuna razumljena kot naselje, zgrajeno na kulturnih kodih, ki so bili drugačni od vrednot, značilnih za ruralno okolje. Najbližje mesto v zelo razpršeni mreži urbanih središč je bilo od njega precej oddaljeno. Nasploh je očitno, da je mestno življenje ljudem na kmetijah okoli jezera Mälaren kaj malo pomenilo.

#### *Prihod tujcev – lončenina in kulturna identiteta*

Podatki o urbani in ruralni distribuciji lončenine baltskega tipa nam omogočajo poudariti regionalne razlike pri obvladovanju človeške mobilnosti v srednjem veku. Asimilacijo ali zavračanje novega stila lahko pojasnimo kot različni stopnji integracije. Za družbeni predmet preučevanja s pomočjo lončenine baltskega tipa sicer lahko izberemo tudi kaj drugega, ne le vzorce uporabe in razširjenost populacije. Kot prišlek iz tujine v kuhinjah Sigtune in vzhodne Danske pa je bila ta lončenina v ospredju kot znak kulturnega prenosa, ki presega meje urbano-ruralnih študij.

V vendelskem in vikinškem obdobju je bila lokalna lončenina v Skandinaviji zelo osnovna. Kuhinjske posode so bile preprosti, toda funkcionalni ročno narejeni izdelki. Niso bile okrašene, kar kaže, da okrasi niso razumeli kot pomembno sredstvo za izražanje skandinavske kulturne identitete. Če privzamemo analogije iz kasnejših obdobj, je več kot verjetno, da so te posode na kmetijah izdelovale ženske. Sezonska izdelava lončenine v sodobnih "tradicionalnih" družbah je pogosto potekala v obdobju, ko ženske niso imele veliko opravkov z osnovno proizvodnjo hrane. Ko odkrivamo lončenino baltskega tipa na vzhodnem Danskem in okolici jezera Mälaren, je očitno,

*possible for estates and larger farms to exchange the surplus for other commodities. We find strong integration between town and countryside caused by an expansion in rural production, leading to surplus and non-agrarian specialised activities. In some senses, the rural population of Skåne can be seen as "urbanised", having common cultural codes with the environment in Lund and other towns in the province. The distribution of pots can be interpreted as indicating high mobility among the population, which moved between the two social scenes with ease. When transcending the border between town and countryside, individuals met common cultural traits.*

*The intricate situation in Sigtuna, where many types of ware were in use, contrasts greatly with rural conservatism. The division of labour seems to be on a low scale, at least in pottery production, while the towns Birka and later Sigtuna were centres, bustling with artisan activities. The contrast between the set of pottery in Sigtuna and the countryside is hard to explain if people were able to transcend the social border between the two environments. Transformed into human action, the pottery traditions carry a strong duality. Those who made local Scandinavian ware visited both environments, very few Scandinavians who copied Slavonic style expressed their knowledge outside the town and no Slavonic visitor went outside urban jurisdiction, as far as pottery is concerned. The inhabitants of Birka and Sigtuna seem to have suffered from "cultural constipation", keeping a higher division of labour and innovation to themselves. In many ways, an urban lifestyle was created among the inhabitants, in contrast to that of the rural population in the region. In other fields a rich exchange of goods can be seen, such as the influx of food to the insufficient urban subsistence production. From the beginning, Sigtuna was seen as a settlement built on cultural codes other than rural shared values. The closest town was situated far away in a sparsely spread network of urban centres. Obviously, in general, town-life meant very little to people on the farms around Lake Mälaren.*

#### *The coming of strangers – pottery and cultural identity*

*Evidence of the urban and rural distribution of the Baltic ware makes it possible to stress regional differences in*

da se je zgodila temeljna sprememba v primerjavi s staro tradicijo. V obdobju od leta 900 do leta 1200 n. š. trgovina z lončenino v Skandinaviji ni bila del medregionalnih gospodarskih transakcij. To spremembo moramo zato obravnavati kot kulturni prenos nove dobrine za porabo v gospodinjstvu. Spremembo so najverjetneje vpeljali posamezniki nizkega družbenega stanja, domnevno sužnji.

Kulturni prenos je posledica močne družbene interakcije med posamezniki in skupinami z različnim načinom življenja. Razloge za sprejem ali zavrnitev mentalnih in materialnih značilnosti moramo iskati v družbenem delovanju. Pri lončenini baltskega tipa se moramo osredotočiti na medčloveške stike in delovanje v gospodinjstvih. Toda preden pridemo do interpretacije širitve novega sloga, moramo upoštevati različne razmere. Splošnih razlag, kot je trgovina, ne moremo sprejeti kot pojasnitev inovacije in kulturnega prenosa, če želimo delovati v okvirih kontekstualne arheologije. Trgovina je lahko le spodbuda, ne pa razlog za sprejetje novosti. Razmere sestavljajo številni dogodki, ki so vsi družbeno specifični v času in prostoru. Dave Davis je trdil, da na proces kulturnega prenosa vpliva več splošnih dejavnikov (Davis 1983, 60). Izhajajoč s procesnega stališča in z uporabo modelov iz ekonomske geografije in sociologije se je osredotočil na materialne kontekste in kontekste uporabe, da bi pojasnil, na kakšen način je bila inovacija sprejeta. Te okoliščine so:

- objekt ali vrsta entitete, ki je predmet difuzije,
- enote, med katerimi difuzija poteka,
- medij difuzije,
- družbeni kontekst, v katerem difuzija poteka.

Davisovo osredotočanje na družbeno ozadje inovacije v prispevku, ki je nastal sredi osemdesetih let 20. stoletja, je še vedno relevantno tudi za današnjo kontekstualno arheologijo. Marie Luise Stig Sørensen poudarja podobne osnovne razmere in idejo, da mora biti uvoženi predmet kompatibilen z družbo, v kateri se pojavi, tj. del notranje družbene logike in delovanja (Sørensen 1989, 198). Zgolj sama navzočnost ali geografska bližina ne zadostujeta za uspešen prenos novih kulturnih značilnosti.

Če preprosti fizični stiki niso zadostna razlaga, kako torej lahko razumemo družbene procese, ki so bili v ozadju spremembe od lokalne skandinavske do lončenine

*coping with human mobility in the Middle Ages. We can explain the assimilation or rejection of the new style as different levels of integration. However, not only consumption patterns and population dispersal can be chosen as social subjects of study through the Baltic ware. As a foreign newcomer in the kitchens of Sigtuna and Eastern Denmark, it stands out as a sign of cultural transmission, transcending the borders of urban-rural studies.*

*Local pottery in Scandinavia was very basic through the Vendel and Viking periods. Cooking pots were simple, but functional, handmade products. No decoration was used, indicating that it was not seen as an important means of expressing Scandinavian cultural identity. If we accept analogies from later periods, it is more than likely that women on the farms were the producers of these pots. Seasonal manufacturing of ceramics is often performed within contemporary "traditional" societies when female tasks are not involved in basic food production. When we find the Baltic ware in Eastern Denmark and around Lake Mälaren, it is obvious that a fundamental change from the old tradition has taken place. In the period from 900 to 1200 AD, the trade of pottery was not a part of interregional economical transactions in Scandinavia. We must therefore regard the change as cultural transmission instead of a new commodity for household consumption. Most likely, individuals of low social status, presumably slaves, carried this alteration.*

*Cultural transmission is the effect of strong social interaction between individuals and groups with different ways of living. Reasons for acceptance or rejection of mental and material traits must be sought in social agency. In the case of the Baltic ware, our focus must be upon human contact and action on a household level. But before arriving to an interpretation for the spread of the new style, several conditions for transmission must be considered. General statements, such as trade, cannot be accepted as explanations for innovation and cultural transmission if we want to work within the field of contextual archaeology. Trade can only be an incitement, not a reason, for the acceptance of novelties. Conditions lie in many events, all socially specific in time and place. The process of cultural transmission has been stated by Dave Davis to be affected by several general factors (Davis 1983, 60). From a processualist standpoint, and drawing models from economic geography and sociology, he focuses on*

baltskega tipa? V tem prispevku ne moremo pretresti vseh različnih modelov kulturnega prenosa. Enega od pogledov, ki posežejo globlje v človeško delovanje, je predstavila Polly Wiessner. Poudarja pomen dinamike med posamezniki in skupinami v razmerju do zunanjih spodbud (Wiessner 1989). Po njenem mnenju lahko družbeni proces izrazimo kot *družbeno identifikacijo s pomočjo primerjave*. V odnosih znotraj skupine lahko razvoj vidimo v prizadevanju, ustvariti pozitivno samopodobo v očeh drugih, da bi nas sprejeli. V tem primeru je družbena struktura tista, ki omejuje način obnašanja. Toda na proces vpliva tudi nenehno dogovarjanje o statusni, spolni, starostni ali drugih družbenih identitetah znotraj skupine. Tako spoznavni proces vpliva na posameznika, pri čemer so vrednote vedno znova prevrednotene v odnosu do novih kulturnih vzorcev. Če naj bo torej tuja lončarska tradicija sprejeta in posnemana, mora obstajati primarno pozitivno vrednotenje izdelovalca. Druga ključna pogoja, ki sta potrebna, da je inovacija lahko cenjena, sprejeta in reproducirana, sta časovna intenziteta in kvaliteta dobrin. V tem primeru je hitrost kulturnega prenosa majhna. Če so navzoči lokalni hibridi z referencami na tuje slogovne prvine, lahko predpostavimo, da gre za dolgo, intenzivno in pozitivno razmerje. Če se skupina tujcev z lastnim slogom lončene naseli v neki skupnosti, naj bi bil njihov vpliv nenaden in v tem primeru naj ne bi našli sočasnih hibridnih artefaktov. V obeh primerih pa sčasoma družbeni status prišlekov nujno vpliva na zavrnitev ali sprejetje inovacije. Prvine kulturne spremembe so torej nenehno preverjane, preverjanje pa je posledica dogovarjanja o družbenem statusu znotraj skupin in med njimi, zato je zelo pomembno, da se raziskovalci zavedamo časovnih in prostorskih kontekstov.

Če se ponovno ozremo k obravnavanima območjema, je razlike v sestavi lončene mogoče gledati tudi kot posledico pristranskosti oziroma predsodkov proti slovanskim gostom, ki so bili utemeljeni s političnim položajem. Verjetna zgodovinska razlaga razvoja v provinci Skåne je ta, da je sporazum med Obodriti in Danci za skupni boj proti poganskim Liutijcem ob koncu 10. stoletja povzročil priliv nesvobodnih posameznikov na vzhodno Dansko v desetletjih med letoma 980 in 1050 n. š. Uporabili so jih za sužnje v tedanji agrarni ekspanziji. V obdobjih nizke aktivnosti ali primarno zato, da bi

*the material-, and use-contexts of an innovation, in order to explain how it was accepted. The circumstances are:*

- *The object, or kind of entity, that diffuses.*
- *The units between which diffusion occurs.*
- *The media of diffusion.*
- *The social context in which diffusion occurs.*

*Davis' focus on the social background for innovation in his article from the mid 1980's is still relevant for contextual archaeology today. Marie Louise Stig Sørensen stresses similar basic conditions, and the notion that an import must be compatible with the society in which it occurs, i. e. a part of internal social logic and action (Sørensen 1989, 198). A mere presence or geographic closeness is not sufficient for the transference of new cultural traits to occur.*

*If a mere "rubbing of shoulders" is insufficient as an explanation, how can we understand the social processes at work behind the change from local Scandinavian ware to Baltic ware? It is not possible to discuss several different models of culture transference in this article. One perspective that moves deeper into human action is that presented by Polly Wiessner. She stresses the dynamics between individuals and groups as important in relation to external incitements (Wiessner 1989). According to her, the social process can be expressed as social identification by comparison. In intra-group relations, development can be seen in efforts to create a positive self-image in the eyes of others for acceptance. In this case, it is the social structure that limits the way of conduct. But the process is also influenced by continuous intra-group negotiations on social status, gender, age or other social identities. Thus, a cognitive process influences the individual where values are permanently reassessed in relation to new cultural patterns. Therefore, if a foreign ceramic tradition is to be accepted and copied, a primary positive assessment of the producer must exist. Other vital conditions for an innovation to be appreciated, win acceptance and be reproduced, are intensity in time and quantity of goods. This should lead to a slow pace of cultural transmission. If there are local hybrids with references to foreign stylistic elements, a long, intense and positive relation can be assumed. If a foreign group with its own style of pottery settles in a community, the impact should be observed as sudden and no contemporary hybrid artefacts should be*

delali kot specialisti, so Slovani izdelovali posode za gospodinjstva in tako naredili veliko posodja v slogu, ki so se ga naučili v otroštvu. Po koncu prve polovice 11. stoletja je v Skåne prišla le še peščica ljudi s tem znanjem. Zato se je ohranila stara slogovna tradicija, v domovinah Slovanov, kjer so lončarji že začeli izdelovati nove oblike, pa ne. Hitra in razširjena sprememba se je zgodila v omejenem časovnem obdobju in je spremenila kuhinjsko kulturo. Potomci prvih lončarjev so se obrti naučili z neartikuliranim znanjem in so oblike spremenjali le počasi in na konservativen način. Če se ozremo k modelu P. Wiessner, ki govori o *družbeni identifikaciji s pomočjo primerjave*, je jasno, da na vzhodnem Danskem ni bilo dolge, pozitivne interakcije med zahodnoslovanskimi in skandinavskimi lončarji. To lahko sklepamo iz dejstva, da tod niso našli hibridnih posod, ne iz časa pred kulturno spremembo ne iz kasnejšega časa. Še bolj presenetljiva indikacija, da so bili za spremembo odgovorni slovanski lončarji, pa so posode, najdene v pokrajini Skåne, ki so bile obešene nad ognjiščem in so po svoji funkciji skandinavske, toda izdelane po slovanski modi. Funkcijo je narekovala lokalna potreba, toda slog je bil prinesen z juga.

V osrednji Švedski je kulturni vzorec izrazito zaznamovala interakcija s Kijevske Rusije. Vsaj od konca 8. stoletja dalje so ljudje potovali med Kijevske Rusije in pokrajino Mälaren. Ugotovimo lahko, da se je v Birki priliv iz Kijevske Rusije povečal v 10. stoletju; to kažejo najzgodnejše posode, izdelane na lončarskem vretenu v obdobju 930–950 n. š. dalje. Več je tudi grobih, ročno izdelanih posod tipa Ladoga, ki nakazujejo tesno sobivanje različnih etničnih skupin (Roslund 2001, 203; Bäck, v tisku). To tesno razmerje na več ravneh lahko vidimo tudi v Sigtuni. Kvalitativna raziskava je prinesla dokaze o zapletenem sestavu slogov lončenine, ki so bili v rabi. V desetletjih od približno 970–980 pa do srede 13. stoletja so uvožene pozne slovanske posode prišle v mesto skozi pristanišče. Posode visoke kakovosti, izdelane iz lokalnih glin in izrazito slovanskih oblik, so uporabljali v mestu, Skandinavci pa so izdelovali hibride v slovanskem slogu (slika 3b). To kaže, da so posamezni Slovani živeli zelo blizu Skandinavcev in da so ti želeli posnemati materialno kulturo svojih "gostov". Prevzem slovanskega sloga lahko opazimo že v Birki, saj so bile lokalne posode okrašene z valovnicami. Nekaj desetletij kasneje so bili

*found. With time, the newcomers' social status will inevitably influence the rejection or acceptance of the innovation in both cases. Elements of culture change are thus under constant revision due to intra- and inter-group negotiations on social status, making it essential for scholars to be aware of the time and space contexts.*

*Turning once more to our regions of study, it is possible to look upon the differences in the sets of pottery as guided by biased opinions towards the Slavonic guests based on the political situation. A plausible historical explanation of the development in Skåne is that the agreement between Abodrits and Danes to fight the pagan Lutizians in the end of the 10th century created a flow of unfree individuals into Eastern Denmark during the decades from 980 to 1050 AD. They were used as slaves in the agrarian expansion of that time. During seasons of low activity, or with a primary aim to be used as specialists, the Slavs made pots for the households, thus producing a large volume of vessels in a style learnt from childhood. After the first half of the 11th century, few persons with this knowledge arrived to Skåne. Therefore, an old style tradition was maintained in contrast to the homelands of the Slavs where new forms were produced by the hands of potters. The quick widespread change took place over a limited time, altering the kitchen culture. Descendants of the first potters were taught the handicraft through tacit knowledge, slowly altering the forms in a conservative fashion. Turning to the Wiessner's model of social identification by comparison it is clear that there was no long, positive interaction between West-Slav and Scandinavian potters in Eastern Denmark. This can be deduced from the fact that no hybrid vessels have been found, neither from before the cultural change, nor after it had occurred. An even more striking indication that Slavonic potters were responsible for the change, are the vessels suspended over the hearth found in Skåne, that are functionally Scandinavian but made in Slavonic fashion. Function was based on a local need, but style was brought in from the South.*

*In central Sweden, intense interaction with Rus' left a distinct mark on the cultural pattern. Since the end of the 8th century at least, people travelled between Rus' and the Mälaren region. In Birka, we can state that the influx from Rus' increased during the 10th century, expressed by the earliest pots made on a turn-table from c. 930–950 AD. Several crude, Ladoga type, handmade pots were also*

vidni rezultati procesa akulturacije v Sigtuni v preprostih oblikah lončenine baltskega tipa; oblike ustij in trupa so očitno prevzete iz pororcev lokalnega posodja. Vse to kaže zelo pozitivno in raznoliko družbeno interakcijo, ki je segla vse do temnih kotičkov kuhinj. Tu je resnično mogoče slediti predpostavki P. Wiessner o *družbeni identifikaciji s pomočjo primerjave*.

#### *Sklepni komentar*

V svoji kritiki hegemonije štirih redov sem poskušal pokazati možne poti, ki jih lahko uberemo, da bi našemu raziskovalnemu območju dodali nova vprašanja. Na konferencah je potrebno družbene teme obravnavati kot naravni sestavni del naših študij, namesto da jih uvrščamo v posebne sklope o teoriji in metodi. Največ je mogoče narediti v izobraževanju, ko nove generacije arheologov seznanjamo s programom discipline. Če na konferencah in v študijske programe zavestno vključujemo družbene teme, ki temeljijo na specifičnih raziskovalnih vprašanjih, in ne le kontekstov, kot so mesta, vasi, gradovi ali cerkve, je mogoče postaviti pod vprašaj in preseči splošno sprejete meje srednjega veka in srednjeveške arheologije.

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Prevedla Katarina Predovnik

*present, indicating a close ethnic co-occupation (Roslund 2001, 203; Bäck, in print). This close relationship on several levels can also be seen in Sigtuna. A qualitative investigation has provided evidence of an intricate set of pottery styles in use. During the decades from approx. 970–980 to the middle of the 13th century, imported original late Slavonic vessels came through the harbour area. High quality pots, made of local clays, and with distinct Slavonic forms, were present in the town, and Scandinavians made hybrids in Slavonic style (fig. 3: b). This indicates that individual Slavs lived very close to Scandinavians, and that the latter group wanted to mimic the material culture of their "guests". Adoption of the Slavonic style can already be observed in Birka where local vessels were decorated with wavy lines. Some decades later, the results of the acculturation process can be seen in Sigtuna on simple forms of the Baltic ware with rim-forms and shapes obviously drawn from local vessel proportions. A very positive, and diverse, social interaction is expressed deep into the dark corners of the kitchens. Here it is indeed possible to follow Wiessner's assumption on social identification by comparison.*

#### *Concluding remarks*

*In my critique against the hegemony of the four estates, I have tried to point out possible steps that can be taken to add new questions to our field of study. At conferences, social themes must be regarded as natural, integral elements to our studies, and not be put into specific theory and method blocks. Greatest impact can be made in education where new generations of archaeologists are introduced to the subject's agenda. If we consciously include social themes based on questions, not only contexts as towns, villages, castles or churches at conferences and in study programmes, it is possible to question and transcend the well-accepted borders of the Middle Ages and of medieval archaeology.*

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