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By Fredrik Svanberg


The article discusses a unique archaeological find from Borgeby in Scania, which consists of artefacts associated with the workshop of a late Viking Age gold- and silversmith. Special attention is paid to a mould (possibly two) used to make a patrrix for brooches in the Hiddensee style, connected according to other researchers with Harald Bluetooth and his court. The implications of the find for interpretations of the role of Borgeby in a local and regional context are evaluated. The find is connected with the nobility of southern Scandinavia. Borgeby is characterized as a center in Western Scania in the late 10th or early 11th century with a dualistic relationship to Löddeköpinge, situated about 1.5 km NW of Borgeby.

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It has for long been thought that the site of the important Medieval castle at Borgeby, Scania (Fig. 1), was probably of significance already in the late Viking Age. Some archaeologists have considered the possibility that the site conceals the remains of a Trelleborg fortress (Holmberg 1977, pp. 41 ff.).

In 1996, the southern branch of the Swedish Board of National Antiquities, UV Syd, made preparations for the publication of an excavation at the village of Löddeköpinge, situated close to Borgeby. The material in question dates mainly from the Viking Age. The Löddeköpinge project will publish details of the excavation and discuss the results in a context incorporating inter alia the historical development in the vicinity of Löddeköpinge. In the course of working for the project, the author was enabled by the excavator, Gunhild Eriksdotter to examine a small material from Borgeby.

In a minor archaeological investigation in the Medieval courtyard of Borgeby Castle in 1993, Eriksdotter dug one of her two narrow and about 4 m long trenches down below the oldest observable paved courtyard. Two thick layers were recorded. Both contained small amounts of Viking Age pottery. In one of the layers, unique workshop traces associated with a late Viking Age gold- and silversmith were found.

Based on this new find, a discussion about Borgeby will include interpretations of circumstances in a regional framework, concerning the late Viking Age in mid western Scania.

A Medieval Power Base in West Scania

For most of the Medieval period, a significant castle existed at Borgeby. Its strategic position and administrative value can hardly be exaggerated. Possession of the site meant direct control of the coastal road between Helsingborg and Lund as well as traffic along the Kävlinge river, the greatest watercourse of western Scania, extending through a vast Iron Age and Medieval settlement area. It also enabled
its castellan to influence and profit from trade and market activities based on the nearby village of Løddeköpinge (Ohlsson 1976; 1980).

In the written sources, the Castle can certainly be traced back to 1334, when it was held by the Archbishop of Lund (Rosborn 1986, pp. 3 ff.). The first references probably date from the early 12th century, when the name "Borgeby" occurs in the records of the archbishopric (Weibull 1923, pp. xxviii ff., 7, 9).

What can be said about early Borgeby from previously known archaeological facts? A research project which investigated the existing buildings of the Castle, has established that reused carved slabs and sculptures in a tower date from the late 12th century (Mårtensson 1997, p. 14). The conclusion is that a stone building of some dignity probably stood on the site at that time.

A Viking Age balance has been found in the castle area at Borgeby (Strömberg 1961, p. 61). Such a find, obviously connected with the handling of precious metals, suggests the existence of a social milieu of some regional significance.

A hoard found one kilometer west of Borgeby castle contained *inter alia* a small object (bead?) with granulation, and a Viking Age balance. The treasure has a TPQ (Terminus post quem) of 1040 (Hårdh 1976, pp. 36 f.). This suggests the presence of people of high social status at Borgeby.

Some coins of the Danish Kings Svend Estridsen (1047–74) and Cnut the Holy (1080–86), show inscriptions which could be interpreted as meaning they were struck at Borgeby (Holmberg 1977, pp. 41 ff.). If this was the case, then the Castle, or at least the village, should be seen as of a particular significance, both as a power base and as a social milieu, since minting was an extraordinary activity in 11th century Denmark, and closely connected with its kings.
The 1993 Investigation at Borgeby

As mentioned above, the excavation of the deepest layers in the 1993 investigation comprised only a length of about four meters in a narrow trench. The spot was located close to the centre of the courtyard of the Medieval castle (Fig. 2). The stratigraphic sequence was drawn (Fig. 3). It is clear that two main layers were observable at the oldest paved courtyard, both of which contained small amounts of Viking Age pottery. The layers were dug by hand but not sieved. In layers 50 and 51, several finds came to light which could be associated with a Viking Age gold- and silversmith. These included three fragments of at least two different moulds, 11 fragments of crucibles, pieces of soldering plates and a piece of silver probably prepared for use in soldering (Brorsson, in press).

One of the mould finds consisted of a completely destroyed fragment and will not be further discussed here. The second fragment of a mould was a unique find, never before encountered in known material from the Scandinavian Viking Age (Fig. 4). The mould was used to make a patrinx for the manufacture of...
exclusive brooches. The third fragment of a mould still bore traces of the structure of the artefact for which it was intended, but this could not be accurately identified. The mould may have been used to make jewellery in the same style as the second fragment, which is illustrated in Fig. 5. In the material in question, the second mould fragment is the find with most interpretational possibilities, which will be discussed in what follows.

A Small Piece of Burnt Clay

The small piece of hard, burnt clay found in layer 51 in Fig. 3, above called the second mould fragment, was part of a mould used to make a bronze patrix. It is not clear from the documentation whether the find came from the left or the right of layer 51. This type of mould was only used once, and it was broken after casting in order to retrieve the cast object. The patrix was then used for the manufacture of circular brooches, usually made of silver but sometimes of gold. Sheets of gold or silver were applied to the patrix and compressed into shape. In this way a patterned disc was made, which was subsequently decorated with filigree and granulation.

Altogether 13 Viking Age patrices for filigree brooches were known in the mid 1970s. This number has since been increased by later finds, mainly Danish (Capelle & Vierck 1971; 1975; Duczko 1985, p. 82; Näsman 1991, p. 253; Jørgensen 1996, p. 31; Larsson & Hårdh, 1998). The 42 patrices which were found in the harbour area of Hedeby in 1979 (Schietzel & Crumlin-Pedersen 1980; Roesdahl 1981; 1993, p. 254, nr 105) are of special interest.

The piece of a mould found at Borgeby is the first known mould for such patrices and also the first conclusive evidence that the craft was practised at a certain location. The finds of patrices are strong indications of the craft, since in all probability they travelled with the craftsmen. They indicate the presence of the craftsmen but not necessarily the practice there of the actual craft.

The patrix made in the mould would have closely resembled a patrix found at Sigtuna (Arbman 1933, p. 342, Fig. 110; Capelle 1968, Taf. 28:11). Among the patrices from the har-
bour of Hedeby are several which have the right pattern and the approximate size to fit the mould (Schietzel & Crumlin-Pedersen 1980, p. 8).

The type of brooches made with the manufactured patrix can be exemplified with a find from Södermanland in Sweden (Arbman 1933, p. 343, Fig. 113). David Wilson regarded this brooch from Södermanland as an example of the Borre style, which dates from the mid 9th to some time in the late 10th century (Wilson 1995, p. 91 ff.). However, in this case it is possible to discuss the style and dating of the brooches in question somewhat more precisely. They are examples of the most exclusive south Scandinavian jewellery of the late 10th century. The ornamental style has long been discussed in association with its most splendid example, the famous Hiddensee hoard (Paulsen 1936). The style has been designated “Hiddensee type” (Skovmand 1942, pp. 43 ff.) or recently “Hiddensee-style” (Duczko 1983, p. 330).

As stated above, three pieces of moulds were found at Borgeby. Apart from the aforesaid find, there was one more piece with parts of fine pattern preserved. This mould was perhaps also used to make a patrix for an object in the Hiddensee style, as is demonstrated in Fig. 5. The type of patrix in question is included in the find from the harbour of Hedeby and pendants made from such patrices are also part of the Hiddensee treasure itself. The suggested identification of the pattern is not certain, but credible.

The most extensive description of the Hiddensee style has been made by Peter Paulsen, who tried to connect it to the court of Harald Bluetooth at Jellinge, and the Hiddensee treasure to Harald personally (Paulsen 1936, p. 80).

On the whole the connection between filigree jewellery and the highest levels of late 10th century society in Southern Scandinavia is obvious. A striking example is the filigree-brooch patrix found at Mammen, which must be associated with the outstanding Mammen grave, which certainly belonged to a member of the highest nobility (cf. Näsman 1991). We can also note the find of a patrix from the special centre at Tissø on Sjælland. This find could be associated with a workshop area just outside a Viking Age farm (Jørgensen 1996, pp. 30 ff.). The mould finds at Borgeby must be seen as certain proof of the existence of a very special environment at the site during the last decades of the 10th century. A jeweller making...
precious brooches used by the highest nobility was at work here.

The Implications of Superb Quality Jewellery

It is reasonable to believe that the local environments, in which patrices and brooches of the type which can be associated with the identified mould are found, reflect the social and political context in which we should see the manufacture and the use of such valuable artefacts in general. Interpretations of the role of Borgeby based on the mould finds must be founded on such a characterization.

The known patrices for late Viking Age filigree brooches are, with two exceptions, concentrated to South-western Scandinavia (Capelle 1968, Karte 32). The exceptions are two finds from Uppland in Sweden which come from Tängberg and Sigtuna respectively (Arbman 1933). The find from Sigtuna can be seen as an indication of the close contacts between Sigtuna and the highest levels of society in Southern Scandinavia at this time, as discussed by Ingmar Jansson (1991, p. 279).

Particularly since the discovery of 42 patrices in its harbour, Hedeby must be seen as an important manufacturing site for filigree brooches. This was suggested already by Capelle, who regarded Hedeby as the principal manufacturing centre, based first and foremost on the two earlier known patrices from the vicinity of the town (Capelle & Vierck 1971, pp. 98 ff.).

The finds of patrices seem to demonstrate that filigree brooches were made in Early urban centres of great political significance (Lund, Viborg, Hedeby and Sigtuna), but also in the Manors where the wealthy users of filigree brooches lived (Mammen) and in Royal fortresses (Trelleborg, cf. Näsman 1991, p. 253). The finds from Tissø (mentioned above) and Uppåkra in Scania (Larsson & Hårdh, 1998) come from Iron Age centres which have been less well characterized. These sites included manors, but also settlements which must be presumed to have differed from the ordinary villages as regards size, function and general character.

Patrices for brooches and pendants specifically in the Hiddensee style (those represented in the Hiddensee hoard) are known from Sigtuna, Hedeby (several) and Trelleborg in Denmark (references for Sigtuna and Hedeby above, for Trelleborg see Roesdahl 1977, pp. 164, 167, Fig. 225). The patrices from Tängberg and Malmö are in a very similar but not identical style. The animal heads on brooches made from these patrices are seen in profile instead of en face, as is usual on the circular Hiddensee brooches (Arbman 1933, pp. 342 f.; cf. Skovmand 1942, p. 52).

Artefacts in the Hiddensee style were manufactured and used in the late 10th century. The earliest known hoards with such artefacts seem to come from what is now Denmark. The earliest is perhaps the Jyndevad hoard with a TPQ of AD 955, thought to have been deposited c. AD 970–980 (Skovmand 1942, p. 80). Skovmand mentions 10 circular such brooches from Denmark with Scania, 10 from the Swedish mainland and nine from Gotland. At least seven are known from Slavonic northern Germany; some fragments are recorded from what is now Poland and one brooch was found in Norway (ibid. p. 52). Since Skovmand’s survey, the finds from Gotland have been treated by Mårten Stenberger. Stenberger was able to identify other probable fragments of the same type. He noted that all but one find from Gotland are heavily fragmented, and that these finds can be dated to c. AD 990–1050, most TPQ dates indicating a deposition well into the 11th century. His conclusion was that the brooches in question were probably not used as jewellery on Gotland (Stenberger 1958, pp. 32 ff.). Many of the finds from the Swedish mainland are also included in hoards with coins giving a TPQ some time in the 11th century (Skovmand 1942, p. 52). The fragments in Poland and most finds from north Germany also appear to be fairly late, indicating they should be seen in a different light from the Danish finds.

The same picture as was demonstrated for the circular brooches would seem to be valid for the pendants occurring in the Hiddensee hoard (illustrated in Fig. 5) as well (ibid. p. 53). Of the finds of patrices for artefacts in the Hid-
densee style listed above, there are such for the pendants from Hedeby and Trelleborg.

This leaves us with evidence for the production of these brooches and pendants mainly in what is now Denmark, in western Scania and to a lesser extent in Uppland. Apparently the artefacts were worn as jewellery in the late 10th century chiefly in South-western Scandinavia, but also by some wealthy individuals in the Mälaren area and a very few in other parts of Scandinavia.

The occurrence of both production and the wearing of such jewellery at the Trelleborg fortresses must be noted. There is a patrinx from Trelleborg, one piece of jewellery from Fyrkat and three brooches from Nonnebakken (Roesdahl 1981; Jansson 1991, p. 275, Fig. 9). We must also consider the soldering plates found in Trelleborg and Fyrkat, which could have been used to make this kind of jewellery (Roesdahl 1977, p. 54; Brorsson, in press). The firm connection of the Hiddensee style to Hedeby, Sigtuna and the Trelleborg fortresses certainly points to an association with the Jellinge kings and their court, or as Ingmar Jansson says, discussing the two finds of Hiddensee style artefacts from Sigtuna: “The objects belong to the sphere of art that was developed around the Danish King Harald Bluetooth and his vassals” (the author’s translation from the Swedish; Jansson 1991, p. 279).

The power of late 10th century kings was not institutionalized, but rather informal. Power depended on the king’s personality, especially on his social relations, on leadership, the achievement of results and on rewards for good service. Such factors determined his ability to gather the right men around him. Royal or other supra-regional power in this time was a power over people, not territories, although a more extensive territorialisation of sovereignty was a development which in Scandinavia seems to have started in the late Viking Age. In order to preserve a certain social status and prestige, kings and other members of the nobility distributed valuable gifts to followers. The retention of power depended to a large extent on exploitation by conquests, or more usually on raids on other areas than their own in order to obtain the wherewithal for their generosity (cf. Gurevij 1979, pp. 74 ff.; Roasdlah 1991, pp. 66 f.).

The author argues that the connection between manufacture and use of artefacts in the Hiddensee style and centres such as Hedeby, Sigtuna and the Trelleborg fortresses, combined with what is known about the nature of sovereignty, makes it probable that this jewellery can be associated with the generosity of late 10th century kings in South-western Scandinavia and their closest vassals. In other words, such jewellery could be used as gifts in order to maintain social status and retain the loyalty of followers. The kings in question would be Harald Bluetooth, c. 958–987, and his son Swein Forkbeard, 987–1014 (cf. Jansson 1991, p. 271 about the beginning of the reign of Harald Bluetooth, and Sawyer 1988, pp. 223 ff. about the probable end thereof).

This interpretation may also apply to the circular filigree brooches of the Terslev type. The use of such brooches can be dated to c. AD 950–1050 (Capelle 1968, p. 83). There are, however, some differences between these brooches and the artefacts of the Hiddensee style. Most important, the Terslev brooches came into use slightly earlier than the other artefacts, they are found in several graves (for example in Hedeby and Birka) and they are not known from the Trelleborg fortresses. Perhaps they have such a connection, although slightly earlier? Such an interpretation could be supported by the finds of patrices from Tissø and Uppåkra, which can probably be dated earlier than the Hiddensee style (the Uppåkra find has been described as “a variety of the Terslev type” by Larsson & Hårdh, 1998) and come from sites which are not associated with known late 10th century Kings in the same way as the Trelleborg fortresses or early urban centres like Hedeby, Lund or Viborg.

The find of the mould at Borgeby indicates a settlement similar to those at the Trelleborg
fortresses, Sigtuna or Hedeby; a site strongly associated with Scandinavian political life of the late Viking Age, and also with the homes of the nobility where they would have spent much of their time. Since it is hardly likely that Borgeby conceals a site of the character of Sigtuna or the later Hedeby, it may well be the site of a Trelleborg fortress. This seems as a suitable continuity backwards in time from its status as an important Medieval castle. In any case it is feasible that a settlement existed at Borgeby, which for a while sheltered late 10th century Kings or their courts, if not a major fortress then at least a large manor.

Borgeby and Löddeköpinge

The site which has attracted most attention in the immediate vicinity of Borgeby is Löddeköpinge. After considering the evidence from several extensive excavations in the area between 1965 and 1981, Tom Ohlsson concluded that Löddeköpinge was a märket town. Thus it was the centre of a district where the local surplus of agricultural products could be redistributed (Ohlsson 1976; 1980). The relations between Löddeköpinge and Borgeby, or other settlements in the vicinity, was not extensively discussed by Ohlsson. Our knowledge of early Medieval western Scania, was considerably increased by the discovery and excavation of an early Medieval Christian cemetery and two churches close to Löddeköpinge. This part of the Löddeköpinge investigation was conducted by Hampus Cinthio (Cinthio 1980).

By reason of the work of Ohlsson and Cinthio, Löddeköpinge was, for many years, regarded as a market town, comparable with e.g. Birka, Hedeby or Paviken. It is still considered as a regional centre. However, it must be stressed that it differs greatly from such places as Birka and Hedeby. At Löddeköpinge we do not find traces of specialized production of, e.g., bronze jewellery or combs (as we do in such centres). Löddeköpinge also lacks any evidence of crafts, such as gold- or silversmithery and glassblowing. As was suggested by Ohlsson, the site must primarily been seen as a regional market, in all probability dealing chiefly with agricultural products. The connection between the market activities in Löddeköpinge and the social elite in the 9th and early 10th century is difficult to evaluate. From the mid 10th century onwards there is firm evidence of the presence of a social elite in the area of the Medieval village (material which will be published by The Löddeköpinge project).

In the late 10th or early 11th century Borgeby was socially exclusive, while Löddeköpinge, although clearly a place of importance, was only second rate. Borgeby seems to have been the seat of power, controlling the highway, the river traffic and probably the market activities at Löddeköpinge.

A Changing mid western Scania

Late Viking Age Scania cannot be seen as an homogeneous region. There are marked differences between parts of the present landscape. Three vast plains, the south-western, the north-eastern and the south-eastern parts, were more densely settled than the forested areas of north and central Scania. Late Iron Age finds, place-names, the density of Medieval churches and the parish sizes give a general picture of demographic circumstances in the late Viking Age. In another context, the existence of notable cultural differences between the main late Iron Age settlement areas are demonstrated by the author (Svanberg, 1998).

Viking Age societies in Scandinavia had varied social structures and underwent very different historical developments (compare west Scanian history with e.g. circumstances in Dalarna; Ersgård 1997). It would be presumptuous to describe a model of society which would be valid for the entire period. Information is available about different levels of society: kings and chieftains, geomen, slaves, and various social stations in between (cf. Roedahl 1991, pp. 52 ff.). Social structures and behaviours can be described from many perspectives. In materialistic terms, Scandinavian Viking Age society has been described as consisting of three classes: landowning chieftains, yeomen and slaves. As opposed to later developments, this society has been adjudged to lack a formalised hierarchy of power and means for regular transfers of assets from lower to higher so-
As was discussed above, the power of the nobility was to a large extent based on the exploitation of other areas in order to obtain wealth for patronage, necessary for maintaining a social position. A development towards a "more feudal" society meant that internal forms of exploitation, by e.g. taxation and regulated demands for labour, were gaining importance. Power over people was gradually being replaced by power over territories. The development towards a more feudal society can be discerned in the late Viking Age in parts of Scandinavia. However, such transformations of society should be seen in a regional context, adapted to local conditions. Many questions of the continuity or discontinuity of, e.g., religion, settlement structure or power must be seen on such a level.

Profound changes in Viking Age Scania seem to have accelerated during the late 10th and early 11th centuries. Kings from what is now western Denmark seem to have been recognized as overlords of western and south-western Scania at least temporarily in the 9th century, as is suggested for example by the situation of Wulfstan (Svanberg, 1998). The presence of a more powerful Christian sovereign in western Scania in the late 10th century, is represented by the fortress at Trelleborg and establishments at Lund and Helsingborg. This is thus a qualitative change of power, aimed at a more direct control, but probably not a change of overlord.

The plain of mid western Scania was densely populated in the Late Iron Age. There are indications of the existence of powerful chieftains or petty kings on these plains around c. AD 800. The most obvious manifestations are the richly furnished graves at Lackalånga (Strömberg 1961, p. 62) and Källby (Wilson 1955). The grave from Källby contains equestrian equipment of probably Continental origin (Wamers 1985, p. 73). This is to be expected in a high status grave from this area, since finds of west-European coins and frankish mounts in a number of west Scanian hoards (Hårdh 1976, nr 40, 41, 66, 71, 85, 112, 124 and 142) strongly suggest that the local chieftains participated in Viking raids westwards in the 9th and early 10th centuries. Uppåkra has been interpreted as an important Iron Age centre on the plain (Stjernquist 1996). Its nature and importance in the Viking Age specifically are uncertain. The find of a patrix for brooches described as "a variety of the Terslev type" (see above) is a strong indication of people of a high social standing at the site in the 10th century; slightly earlier than, or even contemporary with, the time of use of the jewellers’ workshop in Borgeby.

There is strong evidence that early Lund was a centre founded by one of the Jellinge Kings. Here we find the earliest known Christian cemetery and Church in Scania, its earliest graves dated to around AD 990 (Nilsson 1985). It probably served a widespread population. Lund was a religious centre and obviously a centre of royal power. Since it must have held a number of specialists, not involved in agrarian production, it needed economic relations with the hinterland. A patrix for Terslev brooches has been found in Lund (Arbman 1933), which must be connected to the above discussion of the manufacture of filigree brooches. A hoard from Värpinge, just outside Lund, with a TPQ of AD 999, including almost 600 English coins (Jonsson 1986, pp. 123 ff.), is of interest since it can be associated with late 10th century organized raids to England. As a power base, Lund was the most important of the centres in Scania from the early 11th century onwards. However, in a slightly earlier phase of royal establishment, a place like Borgeby may well have taken precedence.

The village of Lomma, by the sea, was of some significance in the late 11th century. Lomma had strategic importance as a harbour, but there is no archaeological or other evidence to enable a closer characterization of its role around AD 1000. Gårdstånga was probably an early royal base, controlling the highway between western and north-eastern Scania, and the upper Kävlinge river. It is included in a list of royal administrative centres from around AD 1230. Two rune-stones at Gårdstånga can also be connected to the late Viking Age settlement (Söderberg 1995).

The establishment of new centres were not
the only physical change in the landscape of mid western Scania around AD 1000. A rearrangement of settlements and burial grounds in a new structure was also in progress. In this context it is not possible to examine the complicated transformations of settlement structure in any detail. However, it appears that most Medieval villages in the area can trace their origins to about this time, while the excavated Viking Age settlements often seem to be abandoned in the same period (cf. Söderberg 1994).

Anglert has divided the 53 Scanian runestones of the so-called Post-Jellinge type, dated around AD 1000, into three groups, and presents convincing arguments for regarding the first of these as representing older interests than the second (Anglert 1995, pp. 36 ff.).

The summarized material conveys a picture of a society under reconstruction, where a new order gradually supersedes older traditions. This incorporates the establishment of a different royal power in new centres as well as developments of local authority and the rights of higher social strata in a somewhat feudal fashion. The Christianization was one important aspect of these changes, since the Church was ideologically and practically suited to another order than "the old society". The transformations meant a very marked physical restructuring of functions and settlements in the landscape.

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kungarna eller någon av dennes närmaste störmän under perioden ifråga. Om inte en trelleborg funnits på platsen bör det åtminstone ha rört sig om en extraordinär gårdsanläggning. I ett lokalt sammanhang har Borgeby kontrollerat en viktig landsväg, trafiken på Kävlingeån och utbytes- och handelsaktiviteter kring det närbelägna Löldeköringe. I artikels avslutande avsnitt diskuteras Borgeby i ett regionalt historiskt sammanhang och knyts då till samhällsförändringar och den nya kungamakten i området kring Lund kring år 1000.