

MARITIME CULTURE OF THE NORTH • 2

Wulfstan's Voyage

The Baltic Sea region in the early Viking Age
as seen from shipboard



Edited by Anton Englert & Athena Trakadas

Wulfstan's *Voyage*



The Viking Ship Museum in Roskilde

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Lower Saxony Institute for Historical Coastal Research, Wilhelmshaven

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Roskilde 2009

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Front cover: Rowokół (115 m), a prominent landmark of the Pomeranian coast. Photo: Anton Englert, 7 July, 2004.

Contents

Foreword • 7

by Ole Crumlin-Pedersen & Friedrich Lüth

I. WULFSTAN'S ACCOUNT

Wulfstan's voyage and his description of *Estland*: the text and the language of the text • 14

by Janet Bately

Who was Wulfstan? • 29

by Judith Jesch

Wulfstan's account in the context of early medieval travel literature • 37

by Rudolf Simek

On the reliability of Wulfstan's report • 43

by Przemysław Urbańczyk

II. THE WESTERN AND CENTRAL BALTIC SEA REGION IN THE 9TH AND 10TH CENTURIES

Ests, Slavs and Saxons: ethnic groups and political structures • 50

by Christian Lübke, with a note by Przemysław Urbańczyk

Danes and Swedes in written and archaeological sources

at the end of the 9th century • 58

by Władysław Duczko

Routes and long-distance traffic – the nodal points of Wulfstan's voyage • 72

by Søren M. Sindbæk

Hedeby in Wulfstan's days: a Danish *emporium* of the Viking Age between East and West • 79

by Volker Hilberg

Wulfstan and the coast of southern Scandinavia: sailing routes from Langeland to Möre • 114

by Johan Callmer

Viking-Age sailing routes of the western Baltic Sea – a matter of safety • 135

by Jens Ulriksen

Harbours and trading centres on Bornholm, Öland and Gotland in the late 9th century • 145

by Anne Nørgård Jørgensen

- Ports and *emporium* of the southern coast: from Hedeby to Usedom and Wolin • 160
by Hauke Jöns
- The settlement of Truso • 182
by Marek F. Jagodziński
- Handelsplätze zwischen Danziger und Rigaer Bucht zur Zeit Wulfstans • 198
by Vladas Žulkus & Mindaugas Bertasius

III. NAVIGATING THE BALTIC SEA

- Transport zones in Wulfstan's days • 206
by Christer Westerdahl
- An 8th-century written source on ships and navigation:
the *Cosmography of Aethicus Ister* • 220
by Ian Wood & George Indruszewski
- Boats and ships of the Baltic Sea in the 9th and 10th centuries: the archaeological
and iconographic evidence • 235
by Ole Crumlin-Pedersen
- Sailing in Wulfstan's wake: the 2004 trial voyage Hedeby-Gdańsk
with the Skuldelev 1 reconstruction, Ottar • 257
by Anton Englert & Waldemar Ossowski
- Seafaring then and now • 271
by Seán McGrail
- The art of sailing like Wulfstan • 275
by George Indruszewski & Jon Godal, with contributions by Max Vinner

IV. EXCHANGE AND CONTROL

- Principles of trade and exchange: trade goods and merchants • 294
by Heiko Steuer
- The 9th-century Christian mission to the North • 309
by Jörn Staecker
- The Christian mission in the northwestern Slavic territories • 330
by Felix Biermann
- Piracy and naval organisation in the Baltic Sea in the 9th century:
some security considerations concerning Wulfstan's voyage • 343
by Jan Bill

V. SUMMARY

- by Michael Müller-Wille • 356

List of authors • 365

Select index • 368

The settlement of Truso

by Marek F. Jagodziński

Within the archaeological studies of the Early Middle Ages of Europe, there has been an increase of interest in the problems of craft and commercial centres in the Baltic Sea region – the so-called “early urban settlements”. This is due to the fact that such settlements appeared in Scandinavian, Slavic and Baltic areas, as well as the fact that their role in the social and economic development of early medieval communities has not yet been conclusively determined. The appearance of such sites, especially in the regions of Slavic and Baltic colonisation, where foreign influence (usually Scandinavian) is easily observable and perhaps even dominated culturally, has instigated a focus of recent research on Slavic-Scandinavian and Baltic-Scandinavian connections.

Excavations of such settlements, which have taken place in the last decade, have brought to light a significant increase in the amount of the archaeological source material, allowing for detailed analyses.¹ An example of such settlements in Poland is mainly Truso on Lake Drużno, but also Wolin on the Dziwna River (Fig. 1). Both settlements were situated on the estuaries of large rivers: the Vistula and Oder (Polish: the Wisła and Odra). Both were also mentioned in written sources: Truso by Alfred the Great in the Old English *Orosius* (ca 890 or later);² Wolin by Adam of Bremen (1072-1076, *Jumne* or *Julin*),³ by Helmold of Bosau (after 1163 – *Jumneta*, in late medieval copies of *Vinneta*)⁴ and by Saxo Grammaticus (after 1185 – *Jomsburg*).⁵

It is curious that there is also quite a significant gap between the approximate date when Wolin⁶ was first noted in the sources and the date of the only entry about Truso

(almost 200 years); also there are different theories of the place and circumstances surrounding the creation of these sources. The information concerning Wolin given by Adam of Bremen and Helmold of Bosau is quite explicit: “It is populated by the Slavs mixed with other nations, the Greeks and barbarians ... Saxon settlers were given the right to dwell thence”.⁷ However, at the same time there is no such reference to Truso whatsoever. This is perhaps surprising, especially considering the very detailed, almost ethnographical description of the “Land of the Ests” made by Wulfstan.⁸

Before returning to the nature of these written entries, this contribution will first focus on the findings of archaeological research carried out at Janów Pomorski, the site identified as Wulfstan’s *Truso*.⁹ Where appropriate, reference will also be made to the published research results concerning Wolin.¹⁰

The research concerning the Truso settlement, including excavations, has been carried out with only a few interruptions for over 20 years.¹¹ During that time rich and valuable source material has been gathered, which is the foundation for detailed research on status, function, site layout and chronology. Due to an exceptional variety of functions of the site, a special approach was required; it was not possible to consider these above-mentioned research paths entirely in isolation, not the least because of the state of preservation of the settlement. The most recent layers of cultural activity as well as almost all large structural elements have been destroyed, and the specific environmental conditions caused almost total destruction of organic elements including wood, thus ex-

1. Duczko 2000; Łosiński 2000a; Łosiński 2000b; Dulinicz 1999; Dulinicz 2001; Brather 2001; Urbańczyk 2002.
2. Laduba 1961; Bately this volume: 15, 19.
3. See Trillmich & Buchner 1961.
4. Matuszewski 1974.
5. Davidson & Fisher 1979.
6. Adam writes about Wolin in the present tense; Helmold writes in the past tense.
7. Matuszewski 1974: 86.
8. Bately this volume: 15-17.
9. See Jagodziński & Kasprzycka 1991: 696-697, 712-713; Jagodziński 1991: 136-155; Jagodziński 1999: 47-61; Jagodziński 2000: 170-174.
10. Not fully published; see Cnotliwy 1962; Cnotliwy 1970; Cnotliwy *et al.* 1986; Filipowiak 1956; Filipowiak 1958; Filipowiak 1986; Filipowiak 1988; Filipowiak 1989; Filipowiak 1995; Filipowiak & Gundlach 1992; Wilde 1953; Wojtasik 1968; see also bibliography in note 1.
11. Ca 2000 m² of the site has been examined so far.
12. Due to intensive farming in the early 18th century and railway line construction (levelling the rampart and the moat surrounding the settlement). Land reclamation and dam building has changed the lake’s shoreline.
13. Comparable to a wreck discovered ca 15 km south of Truso, near Bagart; see Ossowski 1999.

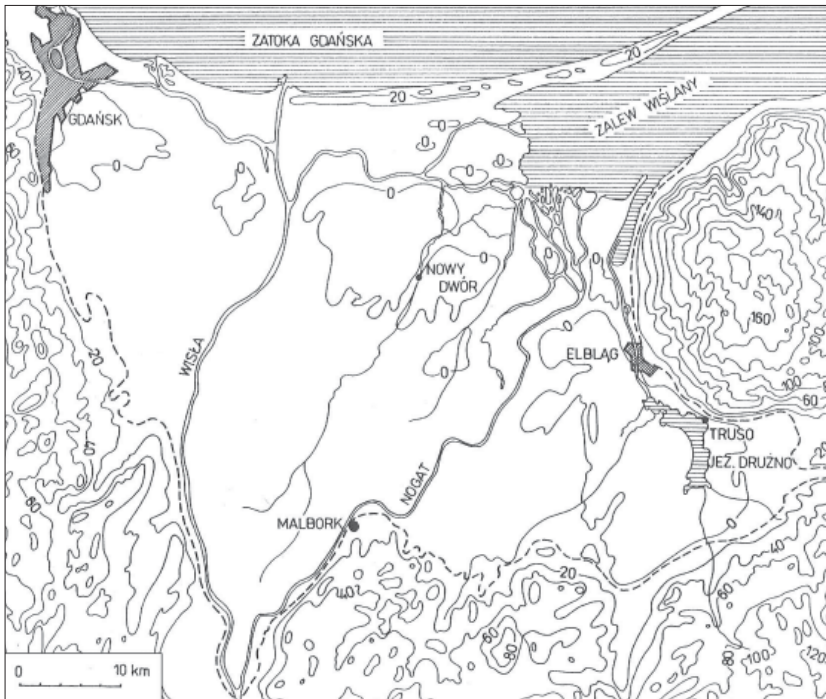


Fig. 1. The Vistula Delta region with the Truso settlement situated on Lake Druzno.

Fig. 2. Reconstruction of the situation of the Truso settlement. The settlement is limited by the stream forking before it joins the lake, marked by arrows.



cluding the possibility of dendrochronological analyses.¹²

Truso was established directly on the shores of Lake Druzno, between the forks of a small river/stream flowing into the lake (Fig. 2). Therefore it was an area with strongly marked boundaries, with some features of an enclosed, fortified place. It has been determined that at its apogee of development, Truso occupied an area of ca 15 ha; taking into account the possible existence of fortifications (as described below), the total area could have been as much as 20 ha (Fig. 3).

Analyses of the preserved structures have made it possible to reconstruct buildings and to determine their character (Fig. 4). Two basic types of houses of rectangular outline were identified: one with dimensions ca 5 x 10 m, the other ca 6 x 21 m – the so-called “long-house” (Fig. 5, detail 1). For some of these houses it was possible to determine what type of structure was employed to build walls. In many cases, a lattice-work of wood covered with clay was often reinforced by buttresses. The majority of houses had three chambers, each of them with a different function: e.g., in typical living quarters usually traces of an open fire were found, as well as the remains of looms. It has also been determined that usually such rooms were divided into two or three parts, indicated by wood and earth footing along walls. These houses and other buildings, often grouped as separate households, were situated so that a regular urban centre of rows of houses facing the same direction with passages between them were created.

Also traces of a regular network of ditches were found, likely marking individual pieces of land. Ditches also separated the port area from the craft and commercial centre (Fig 5, detail 2). In the port area were found remains of flat-bottomed clinker-built boats with sheathing joined by iron rivets. From preserved details it can be ascertained that the boats were 9-11 m long and 2.5-3 m wide (Fig 5, detail 3).¹³ Also, a significant number of

barrels with tar, split rivets as well as unused rivets were found nearby, suggesting that the repair of boats was carried out here as well.

At present, it can be ascertained that the functional and structural features of the settlement were determined by the following factors: firstly, it was a lake settlement (a port), and thus its buildings were constructed in stages and in a regular manner, and, secondly, that undoubtedly trade and craft were the main occupations of its inhabitants, apart from those who practised advanced animal husbandry and fishing. Among the many crafts that developed in Truso, the most important were smithing, gold-smithing, glass production, and the manufacture of amber and horn items. The specific style of buildings, characteristic of this ethnic and cultural circle, as well as the fact that almost all artefacts found here are of Scandinavian origin, show that the settlement was populated mostly by the Scandinavians.

The majority of pottery is of Slavic or Slavic-Prussian form. Because Slavic pottery is also frequently found on Scandinavian sites and is inseparable from the material culture of craft and commercial centres, and also because the problems connected with the distribution and use of Slavic ceramic wares in the Baltic Sea region is quite complex, it is not discussed here.¹⁴

A majority of artefacts were produced locally, also by Scandinavian goldsmiths. This is indicated by tools found during excavation, among them goldsmith's hammers, anvils, etching needles, pieces of melting pots and casting moulds as well as semi-manufactured articles, scrap and production waste. Also other crafts show Scandinavian or Western European influences: for glass, amber and horn item production, there are distinctive parallels to Friesland, the Netherlands and central and southern Sweden. Trade was highly valued, which is indicated by the find of five pieces of scales, more than 300 weights as well as 274 coins, including four Western European pieces: Danish coins

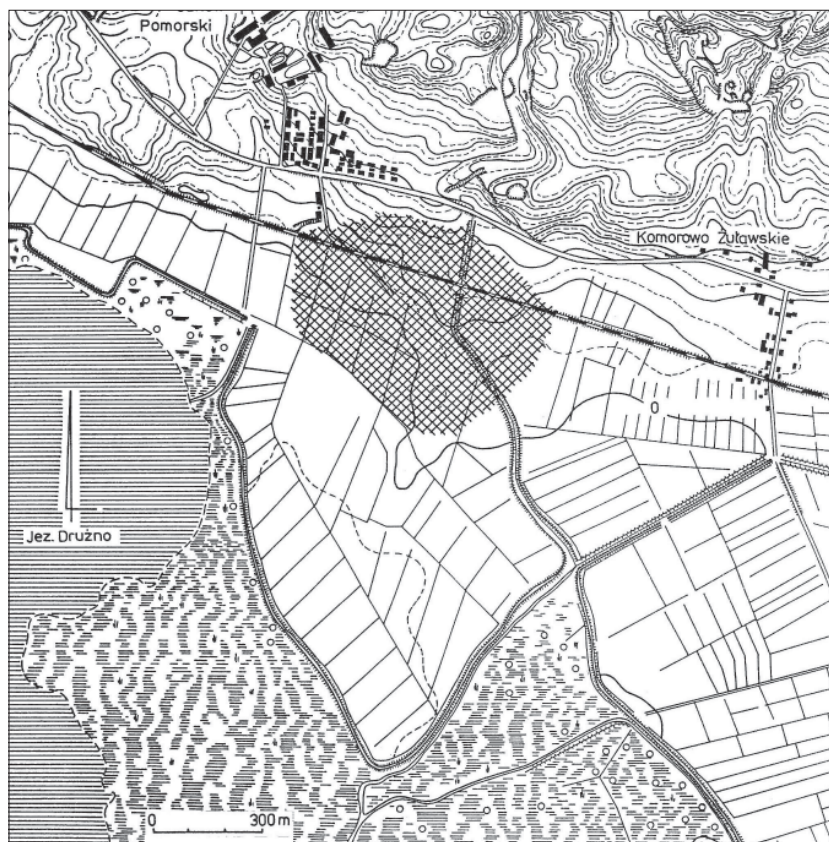


Fig. 3. Limits of the Truso settlement, marked as the cross-hatched area.

of the types KG3 and KG5, a sceatta of the “Wodan/monster” type and a pence of the English king, Ethelwulf.¹⁵

The artefacts from Truso have helped to create a basic chronology of the settlement by dating separate layers and structures, thus determining the development phases.

A bronze equilateral clasp made in Vendel style, as well as a bronze buckle clasp and a bronze belt element – both with Esta-style details – are characteristic of the 8th century. Equilateral clasps of JP-58 – Ljönes style as well as an equilateral clasp of JP80 type (Tanumtypen) – are characteristic of the first half of the 9th century. The Ljönes style clasps found in Janowo Pomorskie/Truso are decorated by a special lace ornament and parallel finds from burials in Norway, Sweden, Finland, Russia and southwest Baltic coast.¹⁶

In general the following artefacts are typical of the 9th century: an oval clasp JP 22,

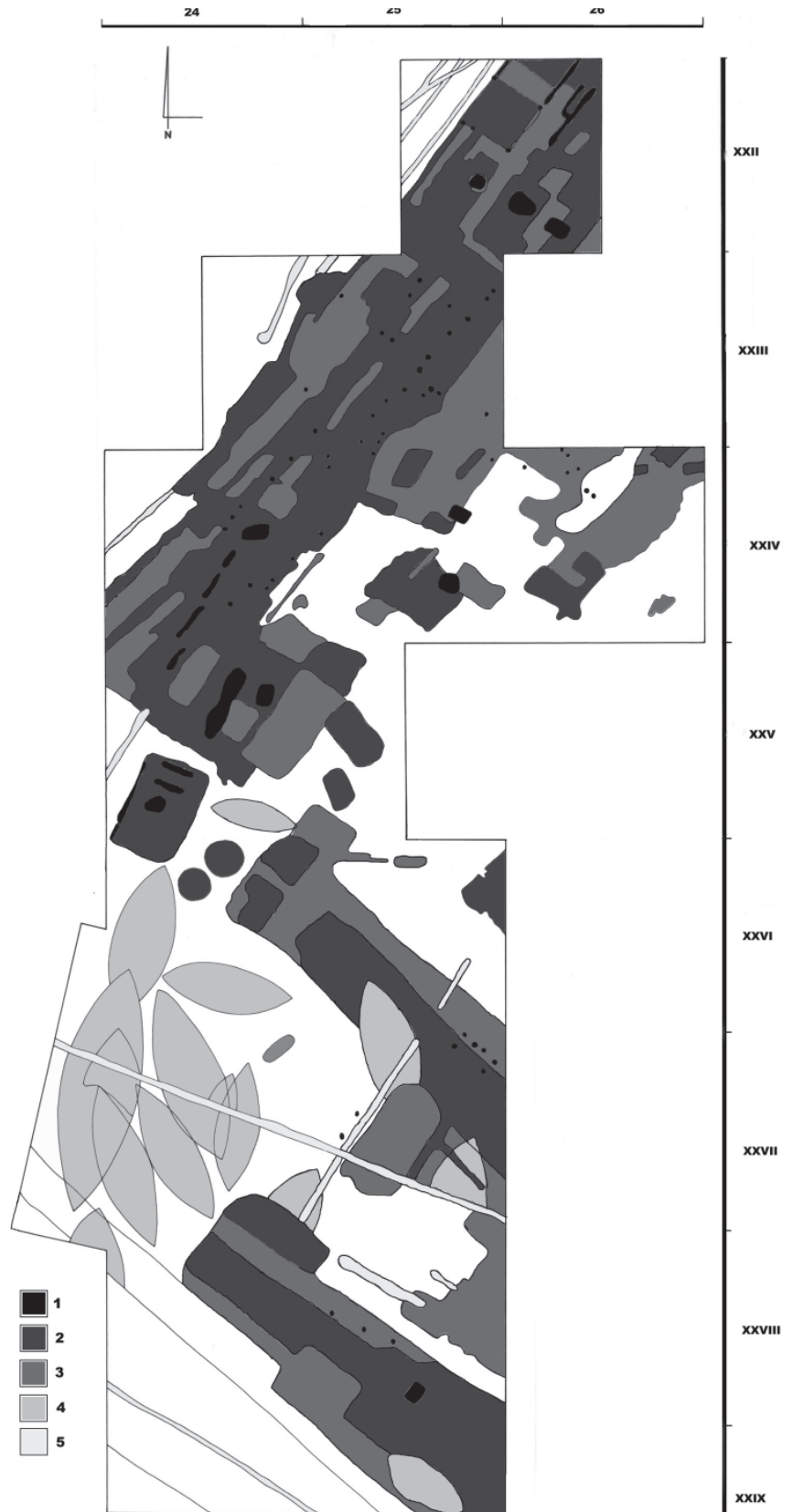
14. Stasielowicz 2003; Brather 1996; Brather 2000; Filipowski 1998.

15. Bartzak *et al.* 2004.

16. Petersen 1928: 76-78, 89; Arbman 1940: Taf. 78-79; Kivikoski 1951: 15-17, Taf. 75, 76; Klejn 1970: Tab. 1, 8; Nosov 1984: Fig. 1-1; Schocknecht 1977: 78; von zur Mühlen 1975: 25.

Fig. 4. Remains of the regular buildings and boats found in the craft and commercial part of the Truso settlement:

- 1: fireplaces, fired beams, postholes
- 2: intensive used parts of houses – the places of concentration everyday life; productions and trading activity
- 3: traces of benches and storage areas
- 4: traces of boats
- 5: traces of ditches – border-lines of plots



which can be classified as group D of Berdal style (closely paralleling an example from Jutland),¹⁷ a three-piece silver belt element decorated by palmet ornament,¹⁸ a bronze three-leaf clasp JP 92 type as well as a hoop of an iron necklace.

The following artefacts are typical of the 9th-10th centuries: combs of IB group, type VII, variety 2c (Hilczerna's and Cnotliwy's typology), which can be correlated with A2 type (Ambrosiani's typology),¹⁹ with parallels from Hedeby, Birka, Århus, Ralswiek, Dorestad and Old Ladoga. From the same period there are also combs of IB group IB, VIII, 1-2 (Cnotliwy's typology), combs A3 type (Ambrosiani's typology), equilateral clasps JP 69/70 made in Borre type,²⁰ ring clasps FAC:US*sex:a type,²¹ silver bead JP 202, pendants in the form of miniatures of iron hammers and Thor's hammers, bronze chains JP 204 type,²² bodkins JP 238,²³ bronze cubical/octahedral weights A (Steuer's typology – appearing in the late 9th century and typical of the 10th-11th centuries), iron flints with bronze lace elements, iron arrowheads type 1a, 1b, 2 and 5 (Kempke's typology),²⁴ iron spurs with hooks bend towards the inside, and keys for locks of latch type and revolving type.

A bronze belt element with equilateral cross with groove enamel is characteristic of the first half or mid 10th century and was manufactured in Rhineland workshops.²⁵

Typical of the 10th century are: horn combs type B1: 1, B1: 2 and B3 (Ambrosiani's typology), silver clasp with an image of a Valkyrie with a horse as well as bronze ornaments with an image of a human head.

Characteristic of the 10th and 11th centuries are: silver buckle pendant (with closest parallels to finds from Gotland and Öland),²⁶ sword of X-type, spurs with long goads type I (Hilczerna's typology), spherical weights with surface type B1 intermediate form and type B2 (Steuer's typology),²⁷ as well as an amber cross.

The majority of artefacts from the site are characteristic of both the 9th and 10th centur-

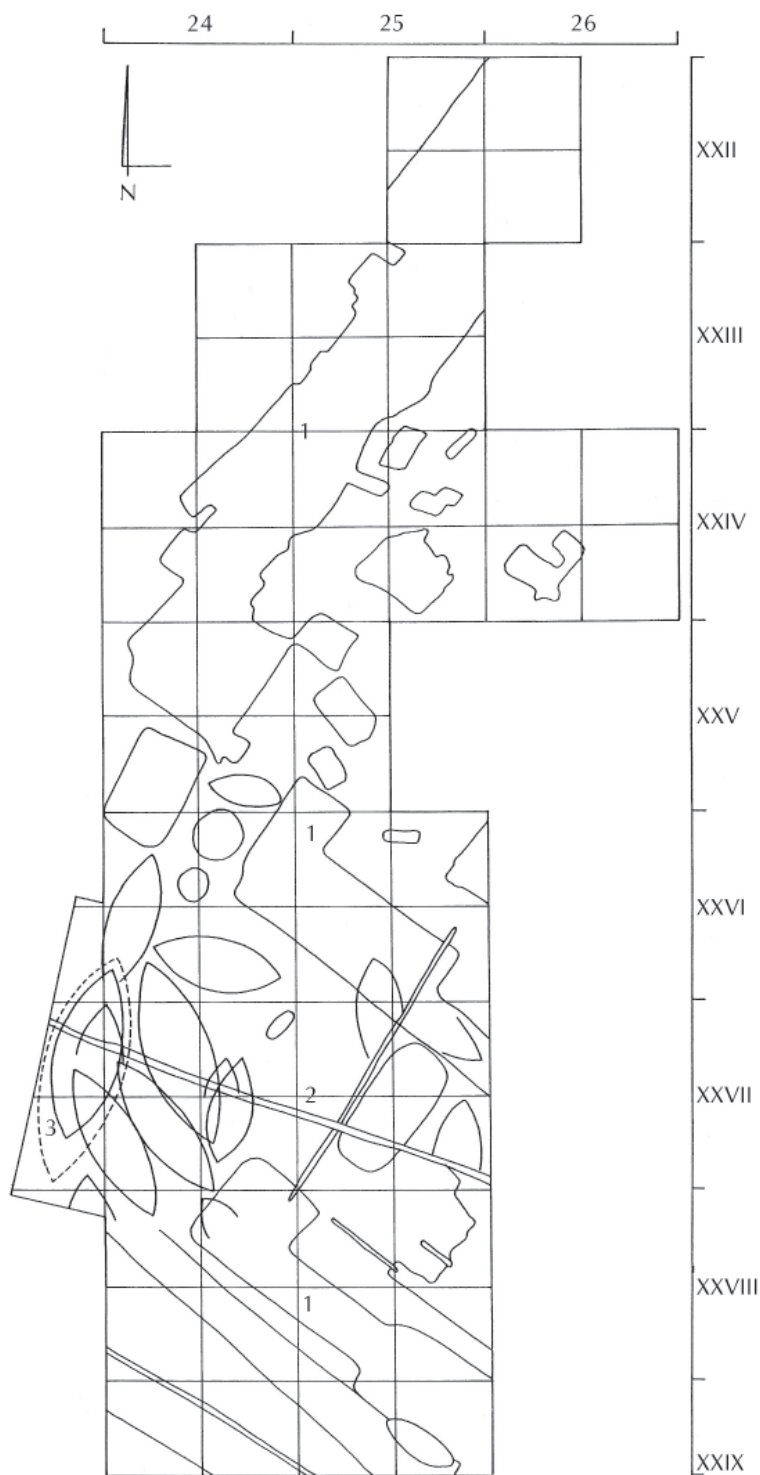
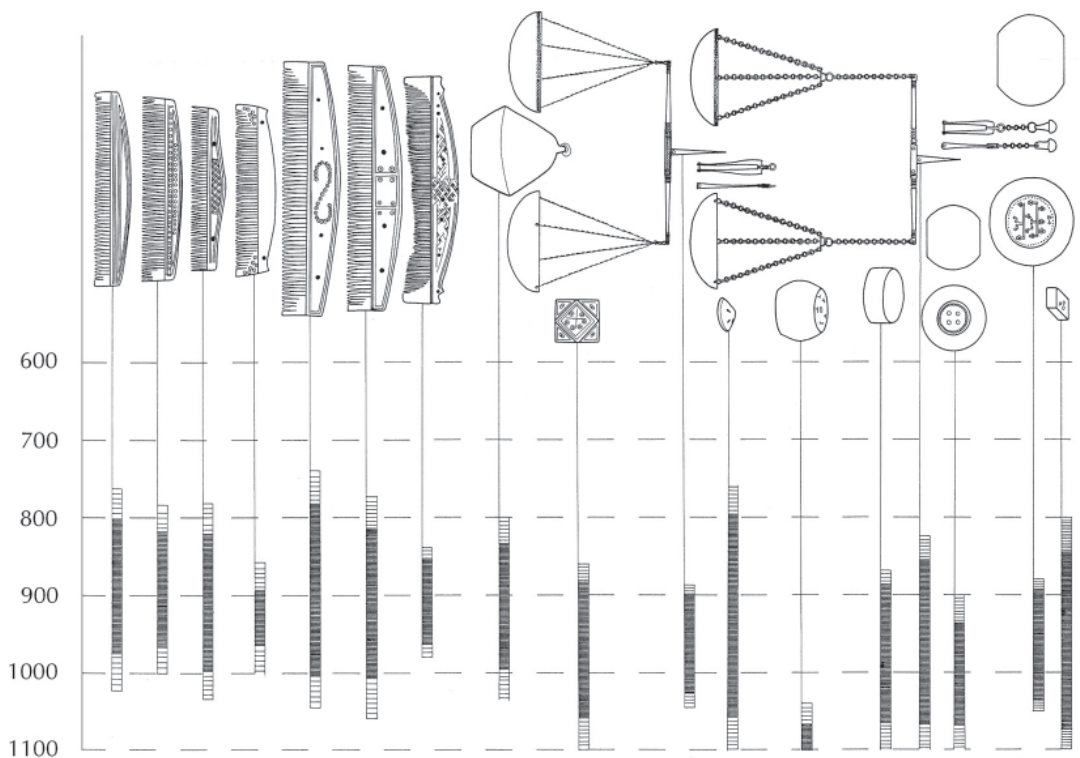


Fig. 5. A complex of trenches, each covering 100 m² (port as well as craft and commercial part of the settlement), with outlines of objects. 1: longhouses; 2: boundary ditches; 3: boats.

Fig. 6. Chronological table of selected artefacts: weights, scales and combs.

17. Petersen 1928: 19.
18. For origins of Saltovian culture origin, see Jansson 1988: 610, Abb. 23-3; Birka finds, see Arbman 1940: Taf. 95-96, 7-20; Kivikoski 1951: 910-920.
19. Cnotliwy 1973: 98-103; Ambrosiani 1981: Fig. 4. Parallels: Tempel 1969: Tabs 19, 23, 26, 31; Arbman 1943: 28, 437, Tab. 160, 9; Ambrosiani *et al.*, 1973: 42-44, Fig. 25, 1; Andersen, *et al.* 1971: 144-145, Figs BUD, APZ; Lampe & Stange 1984: 393, Fig. 17n.; Holwerda 1930: Figs 72, 96-98; Davidian 1962: 98, Fig. 2.3; Davidian 1968: 57, Fig. 1.9.
20. Originating from southern Norway in the 9th century; found in the 10th century in southern Sweden and southeast Baltic coast; see Petersen 1928: 79-82; Paulsen 1933: 41-43.
21. Carlsson 1988: 22, 69-72.
22. Arbman 1940: Taf. 76-77; Nerman 1958: Taf. 14-15n; von zur Mühlen 1975: Taf. 56.
23. Petersen 1928: 191-193; Arbman 1940: Taf. 170, 1-3, 12-14; Jankuhn 1943: Abb. 73 g,h.
24. Kempke 1989: 294-296, 300-301; Kazakevičius 1988: 65n.
25. Schulze-Dörrlamm 1988: 407; Schulze-Dörrlamm 1992: 115-120; Giesler 1978: 57-72; Giesler 1989: 230-240.
26. Duczko 1989: 14-15, Abb. 2, 4.2, 5; Stenberger 1947: Abb. 49, 230-5; Stenberger 1958: Abb. 41-9.
27. Steuer 1997: 44-51.
28. The rampart was probably destroyed in 1865 during the extension and modernisation of the railway line from Elbląg to Pasłęk; presently, the line crosses the north part of the settlement.



ies, however, other finds date to the 8th, 9th and 11th centuries (Figs 6-8), indicating that Truso was populated from the late 8th century until the beginning of the 11th century.

By comparing these conclusions with identified structures of the settlement and their functions, individual phases can be seen in the development of Truso.

The first phase (end of the 8th century until the mid 9th century) was the period during which manufacturing and trade were carried out seasonally (documented by transactions in/near boats), as well as amber and horn working.

The second phase (from the mid 9th to mid 10th centuries) was the period when the temporary, seasonal-use area was being made into a permanent settlement, by dividing the land into separate sections or lots (in which numerous houses and workshops as well as sheds for storage and livestock were built), marking and constructing roads, and establishing flood-control of the nearby stream. Probably at this time the port started to take

shape – the natural bays were made deeper, thus forming regular, harbour-like inlets.

The third phase (the second half of the 10th century to the first half of the 11th century) was likely marked by greater urban investments; probably then the encircling rampart was built, and also a palisade along the waterfront (Fig. 9).

In order to establish the function and status of Truso it is important to determine if the settlement was fortified. Evidence shows that there was a moat (the above-mentioned stream) flowing around the settlement, whose channel was specially diverted (see Fig. 2). The argument for the existence of an encircling rampart derives from a map fragment of the the Vistula marshlands (Wisła Żuławy) dated to 1862, which shows a semi-circular rise of earth in the place of Truso (Fig. 10). It was probably not a dam, since it was located in a place where the elevation is 7 or 8 m above sea level, and, as the maps reveals, the earthwork almost reached the road which once connected Pasłęk and Elbląg.²⁸

Fig. 9. (opposite) Elements of the settlement of Truso found during excavations.

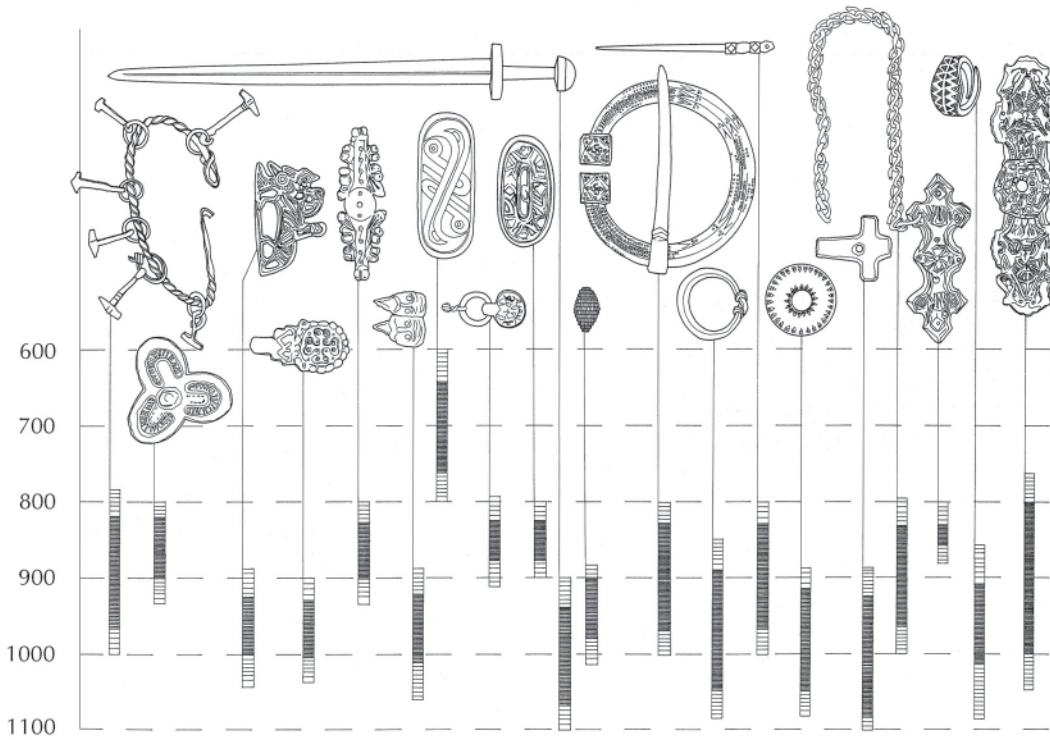


Fig. 7. Chronological table of selected artefacts: ornaments and pieces of weapons.

Fig. 8. Chronological table of selected artefacts: keys, arrowheads and spurs.

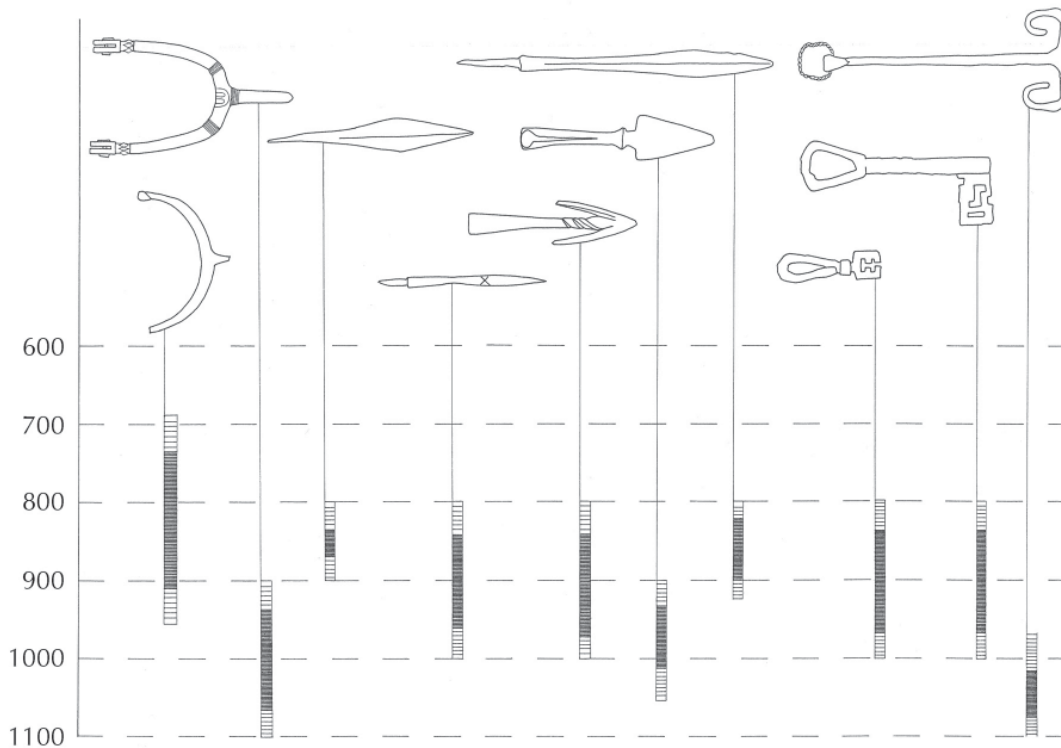


Fig. 10. (opposite) Map of a part of the Vistula marshlands from 1862, where a rampart around the Truso settlement is marked above the symbol 'RM'.

- 29. A hilt of a sword type X (Petersen's typology) was found within the tower.
- 30. Klim 1979.
- 31. Regarding the origin of early cities, see Leciejewicz 1962; Leciejewicz 1979; Herrmann 1982; Filipowiak 1988; Clarke & Ambrosiani 1991; Callmer 1994; Łosiński 1995; Łosiński 2000a; Dulinicz 1999; Böhme 2001; Urbańczyk 2002.
- 32. See Skre 2007.



By comparing the detailed plan of the contour lines of the settlement with a cadastral survey (Fig. 11) as well as with aerial photos (Fig. 12) it is possible to locate precisely the mound (hatched area). In a test trench excavated in this area, directly south to the location of the presumed moat, part of a building was found. Probably square in shape, the structure can be preliminary identified as the remains of a tower of defensive character.²⁹ It is located directly within the limits of the identified mound, strongly suggesting that it was in fact a fortification. We can also speculate that the waterfront of the settlement was fortified. The numerous poles in the bed of Druzno Lake, often found by fishermen, are probably the remains of a navigational barrier in the shape of a palisade. The places where the poles have been found have thus been named “The Depth of Thousands of Poles”, “Four-Pole Depth” etc.³⁰

Considering the elements of the structural design described above, as well as functional characteristics, it can be assumed that the type of settlement discovered in Truso can be identified as ‘early urban’, a type which developed and functioned in the Baltic Sea region between 700 and 1100.³¹ These places were situated at some distance from the open sea, but still within easy reach of the Baltic.

In southern and western Scandinavia, similarly-situated sites were located at Kaupang/Skiringssal in Norway and mentioned by Ohthere at the end of 9th century,³² Paviken on the west coast of Gotland, Århus on Jutland, Åhus on the north shores of the Helge River in eastern Scania, Löddeköpinge on the Lödde River in western Scania, Helgö on the coast of Lake Mälär in central Sweden, Birka on the island Björkö mentioned in *Vita Anskari*, or Hedeby and Ribe, which at that time were the principal port cities of the Jutland peninsula, described by Adam of Bremen and At-Tartuschi.

The settlements – *emporia* – that appeared at that time in other areas of the Baltic Sea region such as the southern Slavic coast

were of a similar character. Examples of such craft production and commercial centres in north Połabie are, among others, *Starigard/ Oldenburg* on the Ina River, *Groß Strömken-dorf* on the Bay of Wismar (recently identified as the seaside market *Reric* mentioned in *Annales regni Francorum*),³³ *Rostock-Dierkow* at the mouth of the Warnow river, *Ralswiek* on *Rügen*, the *Menzlin-Görke* complex on the lower *Piana* River. In western Pomerania, such examples are *Wolin* on the *Dziwna* river, *Szczecin* at the mouth of the *Oder*, as well as complex at *Kołobrzeg-Świelubie-Bardy* on the *Parsęta* river. Examples in eastern Pomerania are at *Gdańsk* on the *Motława* river and probably also *Puck*.

Also in the east lands of the Slavs there were a number of settlements of early urban character, among which are *Old Ladoga* at the mouth of the *Volhov*, described as the oldest capital of Russia, *Great Novgorod* on *Lake Ilmen*, *Gnizdovo* on the *Dniepr*, as well as the settlement complex in *Timieriev* near *Yaroslav*.

Similar site situations are found in the lands of the Balts. In *Sambia*, at the *Kurland Lagoon*, a significant centre of this type existed near *Kaup-Wiskiauten*. In the former land of the *Kurs*, *Seeburg-Grobin* was also situated, on the *Ålanda* River, and described by *Rimbart*. In the borderland between the lands of the Slavs and the *Old Prussians*, *Truso*, mentioned by the description of *Wulfstan*, served as such a centre.

However, of the above-mentioned examples of early urban settlements, it should be remembered that their appearance was connected with various factors of economic as well as social and political nature. This problem is more widely discussed by *Władysław Łosiński* with respect to the early urban settlements of the *Baltic Slavs*.³⁴ In reconstructing traditional structures of settlements, *Łosiński* argues that new forms of social ties were created, concluding that the economic factors were the most significant. The wealth and economic capabilities of individual commu-

nities, and particularly their ability to trade on a larger scale, was of utmost importance when 'accepting' new trends.

Łosiński also presents two different models of settlement of early urban character which appeared in the later stages of the *Early Middle Ages* among the *Baltic Slavs*. The first model originates from settlements of rural character, fixed in the traditional structures of settlements. These settlements, which utilised the advantages of the emerging markets of long-distance trade, gradually developed into craft and commercial settlements, and then into early urban settlements, finally achieving the status of fully urban, economic and social centres. This model is regarded as a *Slavic* example of early urban forms in the *Baltic Sea* region, and *Wolin* is often seen as a settlement of this type (as well as the complex *Kołobrzeg-Świelubie-Bardy*).³⁵

The second model according to *Łosiński* was brought from outside and can be compared to other settlements of this type found on the coast of the *Baltic Sea*, and which are called *Seehandelsplätze*. These settlements, founded by foreigners (mostly *Scandinavians*), were of a pre-determined economic function, usually related to the operation of specialised craft workshops and trade; usually they also were built according to a uniform structural plan. This model also appeared on the borderland of the *Slavs* and the *Prussians*, and *Truso* can be regarded as an example of such a settlement. Scholars, such as *Brather*, see *Wolin* as a *Seehandelsplätze*.³⁶

The centres of this type, which have already been partially identified in western Pomerania and southern Scandinavia, indicate that the urbanisation processes in these regions varied slightly, even though there were similarities in chronology and often in organisation. However, it has to be stressed that in both *Scandinavian* and *Slavic* craft and commercial settlements there are many finds that reveal their multi-ethnic character. An example of such settlement in *Slavic*

33. See *Jöns* this volume.

34. *Łosiński* 1995; *Łosiński* 1996; *Łosiński* 1997; *Łosiński* 2000a.

35. *Cnotliwy et al.* 1986; *Filipowiak* 1988; *Łosiński* 2000b.

36. *Brather* 2001: 142.

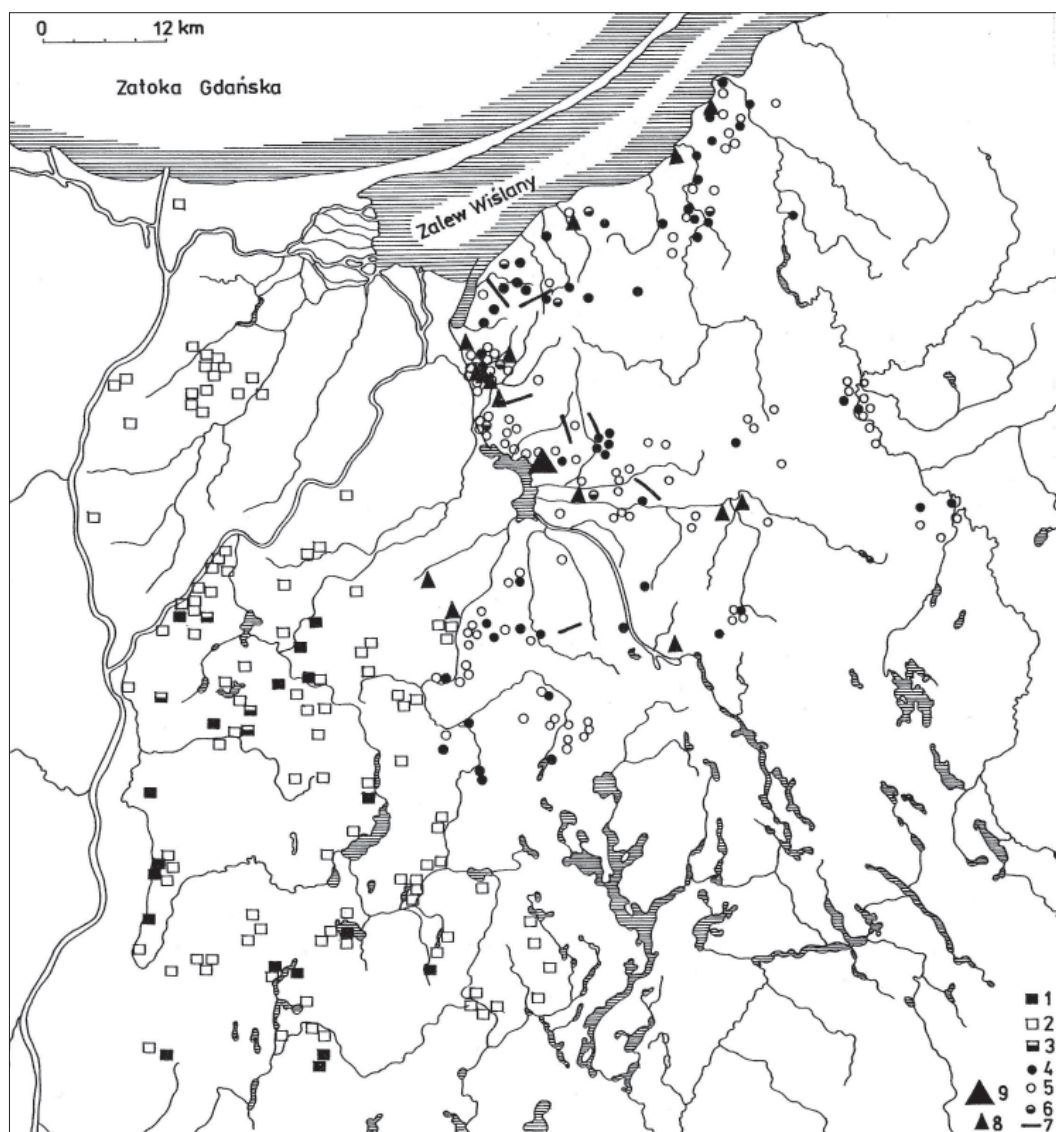


Fig. 13. Colonisation between the rivers Vistula and Pasłęka in the 9th and 10th centuries:

- 1: Slavic strongholds
- 2: Slavic settlements
- 3: Slavic burial grounds
- 4: Prussian strongholds
- 5: Prussian settlements
- 6: Prussian burial grounds
- 7: long mounds
- 8: traces of Scandinavian penetration and colonisation
- 9: Truso

lands is Groß Strömkendorf, where the diversification appears also in the style of building: Slavic pit houses were excavated, which can be connected with the Saxon and Scandinavian building tradition, and similar burials found at the settlement.³⁷ The question can then be raised: did the Scandinavians play an initiating role in the creation of such centres in Pomerania?³⁸ It is not easy to answer this question, and the arguments should be sought in other areas of research. The Scandinavian element, however distinctive, in fact was not decisive in the creation of these

centres, even though it greatly influenced the trends and the rate of development. The general trend to create new economic solutions, often inspired by political factors, was of fundamental importance here, both within the tribal organisation as well as later, when territorial lands were established.

Probably another local curiosity has also to be taken into account in the case of Truso, which, as a significant trade and commercial centre, operated in specific economic, political and ethnic conditions. An analysis of archaeological sites between the rivers Vistula

37. Jöns & Mazurek 1998.

38. Duczko 2000.

and Pasłęka shows that these were created in the borderlands between the areas of Prussian and Slavic settlements (Fig. 13).³⁹ The basic question here is: what were the relations between the neighbouring communities of the Prussians, Slavs and Scandinavian settlers? Who governed the settlements? To what extent did the local authorities and regional authorities participate in the government? We have limited ability to draw conclusions to these questions, mainly due to the amount of research. It is certain, however, that ties between the groups must have existed.⁴⁰ Further research is of fundamental importance in solving this problem, and it should comprise not only Truso itself, but also its background. It can be speculated that this background was created by not only Prussian domains, but also by Slavic domains. Thus, perhaps the borderland between Prussian and Slavic lands – which is a long, narrow strip located close to attractive terrestrial and maritime routes (via the Vistula Lagoon, Lake Druzno and Dzierzgoń river), where an exceptional accumulation of elements of craft and long-distance trade has been documented and where Truso was situated – can be regarded as a separate and unique territorial unit of inter-regional and multi-ethnic character.⁴¹ It is also significant that objects found in this strip of land date to the 6th century and show influences either from Gotland and southern Scandinavia or from Jutland and the Rhineland.⁴²

Currently the conclusions which can be drawn from the research on Truso indicate that significant influence of the centre's creation can be attributed to the Danes. This is supported both by artefacts as well as the layout of the settlement, which is evidently similar to the once principal ports of the Jutland Peninsula: Hedeby (*Haithabu*) and Ribe. The political activities of the rulers of the Danes, and all the economic influences that follow, have already been documented, especially for Mecklenburg and western Pomerania. Therefore it is possible that a similar situation

could be encountered in the Vistula Delta, where Truso may have marked the eastern limit of lands under the Danish influence.⁴³

Truso – as well as Wolin – were created at the end of the 8th century. They were non-agrarian, and craft- and trade-oriented settlements located near the estuaries of great rivers, but at some distance from the open sea – clearly similar factors that were taken into account by the founders of these *emporium*. Future research could be conducted on subsequent stages of development of these centres, although it is possible at present to highlight the similar turning points in their functions and evolution. It is difficult to examine such settlements, however. For example, terms used in connection with Truso and Wolin are not uniform. The relevant literature, which is not insignificant, presents a variety of terms concerning the settlements themselves, and by applying specific names, a variety of interpretations concerning the status of these places arises. For example, trading centres, trading *emporium*, trading places (*permanent or semi-permanent settlements*), trading settlements, trading places with urban elements, seaside centres, ports of trade, craft and commercial centres, open centres of trade and craft, non-agrarian craft and trade settlement, *emporium*, colonies or *Seehandelsplätze*. There is a need for further research concerning both centres, as well as the region, which will hopefully provide insight into the functions and locations of settlements.

In conclusion, the written sources mentioned at the beginning of this paper can be touched upon again. In the case of Wulfstan's report, there are three basic sets of information provided. The first deals with the voyage from Hedeby to Truso, describing the ethnic relations in the Baltic Sea region. The second describes in detail the Vistula Delta and the location of Truso. The third set of information describes the land of the Ests, their customs and skills. Therefore, apart from its location, there is no infor-

39. Jagodziński 1997; Jagodziński 1998; Jagodziński 1999.

40. Callmer 1994: 77; Łosiński 2000a: 123; Urbańczyk 2002.

41. For the appearance in the 8th and early 9th centuries of cremation burials in the city of Elbląg and their goods of Scandinavian origin, see Neugebauer 1968 (Elbląg-Pole Nowomiejskie [Elbing-Neustädterfeld]) and Haftka 1973; Ehrlich 1932 (Elbląg-Kępa Północna [Kämmerei-Sandland]); Scandinavian goods were also found in Elbląg-Zawada (Pangritz-Colonie) and Elbląg-Winnica (Weingarten, Pulverhaus). These finds date to the first half of the 8th/early 9th and the 10th centuries.

42. At the end of the 8th and early 9th centuries, cremation burials with ornaments and weapon of Scandinavian origin started to appear, which have so far been found in the city of Elbląg; see Neugebauer 1968; Haftka 1973; Ehrlich 1932.

43. In 1210, an expedition of Waldemar the Second, king of Denmark, reached these regions as well as western Prussian lands. The written sources mention Lanzania, a land located in the Elbląg uplands, directly north of the hypothetical land of Drusen and the Truso settlement. See Powierski 1968: 139; Powierski 1982: 108; Jagodziński 1998: 184.

mation concerning Truso itself whatsoever. Thus, the question arises: why did Wulfstan not describe Truso itself, focusing instead on the land of the Ests and their customs? Perhaps it was due to the fact that this area was already described elsewhere or known to

the audience or the readers. As to the population of Truso, Wulfstan's report does not specify who they were.⁴⁴ Archaeological evidence, however, suggests that the settlement was populated by Scandinavians with particular influence attributed to the Danes.

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44. In the case of Wolin, however, the written evidence is more substantial, but this is due to the fact that these descriptions, such as *Chronica Slavorum* written by a German priest, Helmold, mainly deals with the history of Christianisation of the north branch of the Polabian Slavs.

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