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**ECONOMIES, MONETISATION AND
SOCIETY IN THE WEST SLAVIC LANDS
800–1200 AD**

edited by Mateusz Bogucki and Marian Rębkowski

Szczecin 2013

Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology Polish Academy of Sciences, Centre for Medieval
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Chair of Archaeology, Szczecin University

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Editors: Mateusz Bogucki, Marian Rębkowski

Rewievers: Prof. Dr. Sebastian Brather and Prof. dr hab. Borys Paszkiewicz

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Preface

Mateusz Bogucki, Marian Rębkowski

It has now become a tradition that the annual Festival of Slavs and Vikings in Wolin is accompanied by academic sessions devoted to the studies of the Middle Ages. The idea for the sessions was initially put forward by the authorities from the Wolin commune and in 2010, at the initiative of the Major of Wolin, a new bi-annual conference series entitled *Wolin Medievalist Meetings* (Pol. *Wolińskie Spotkania Mediewistyczne*) were inaugurated. The conference series is hosted by the Szczecin branch of the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences (currently, Centre for the Medieval Archaeology of the Baltic Region in Szczecin) and the Chair of Archaeology of the Szczecin University. The major goal of the organizers was to create a platform for meetings and exchange of ideas for representatives of various academic disciplines whose research focuses on the history and culture of the Baltic region in the Middle Ages. It has been decided that the subsequent sessions would be devoted to one main theme, but due to the conference location in Wolin there would also be room for other contributions discussing the results of the latest discoveries concerning the medieval past of the Odra estuary and Wolin in particular. The papers from the first conference, which focused on elite culture in the Middle Ages, were published two years ago¹.

The second edition of *Wolin Medievalist Meetings* was organized between the 3rd – 5th August 2012 in the Municipal Office of Wolin and it was attended by over forty archaeologists, historians and numismatists from Poland, Germany, Great Britain and the Czech Republic. More than twenty papers were presented – five of them discussed the Odra estuary in the early Middle Ages, while the majority of other contributions concentrated on the main topic of the conference *Economies, Monetisation and Society in the West Slavic Lands 800–1200 AD*. The direct inspiration for focusing on the notion of medieval coinage was a conference organized in Aarhus in 2008, entitled *Silver Economies, Monetisation and Society in Scandinavia, 800–1100*. The publication including papers presented in Aarhus has demonstrated how rich, diverse and complicated was the notion of the functioning of coinage at the dawn of state formation in Europe². Since the Aarhus volume concentrated on Scandinavia we felt inspired to further expand this research and gather the experiences of scholars who worked on similar notions, but in the West Slavic cultural milieu.

¹ *Ekskluzywne życie – dostojny pochówek. W kręgu kultury elitarnej wieków średnich*, („Wolińskie Spotkania Mediewistyczne” 1), ed. M. Rębkowski, Wolin 2011.

² *Silver Economies, Monetisation and Society in Scandinavia AD 800–1100*, eds. J. Graham-Campbell, S. Sindbæk, G. Williams, Aarhus 2011.

In the introduction to a seminal publication entitled *Pieniądz kruszcowy w Polsce wczesnośredniowiecznej* Ryszard Kiersnowski emphasised that the notion of money circulation in the early Middle Ages is largely understudied, and that his work was only a humble attempt to highlight the major problems³. According to Kiersnowski the main reason for the absence of serious academic interest in these notions was a deficiency of well documented source material, the underdevelopment of research methods and theoretical approaches, but also insufficient collaboration between the various disciplines, which (usually to a very small extent) touch upon the problem of early medieval coinage. At that time historical and archaeological studies within the field of numismatics were usually undertaken separately and their results were rarely confronted and discussed. In his studies Professor Ryszard Kiersnowski skillfully combined the research traditions of history and numismatics, but only to a limited degree was he able to utilize the potential of archaeology. He should not be blamed, however, because archaeology at that time – apart from delivering material evidence – was unable to offer much information for the scholar of the history of money. In recent times this situation has changed significantly. Apart from the obvious fact that the number of source materials is constantly growing – and this includes not only coins – we have now gained extensive experience due to the serious developments within the field of archaeological methods and theory. The application of a plethora of methods stemming from history, cultural anthropology or exact sciences in the current research on early medieval coinage allows us to draw much more substantial information from our sources than it was deemed possible fifty years ago. Therefore, the goal of contemporary scholars of these notions is not to completely dismiss the achievements of past researchers, but to critically reevaluate some of their claims, supplement them and first and foremost to set them within a new and broader context which archaeology itself has to offer.

The selection of topics and authors who accepted our invitation to participate in the Wolin conference was subjected to the conviction that in modern studies on medieval coins it is absolutely vital to incorporate interdisciplinary and supplementary methodologies of disciplines such as history, archaeology, numismatics and even anthropology. Nearly all of the papers presented at the conference have been included in the present volume. Its structure precisely reflects all the goals that we originally set as the organizers. The first part comprises several articles that discuss the latest research on the lands situated at the lower Odra, while the three further parts of the volume are devoted to various aspects of the functioning of money in the West Slavic area in the early Middle Ages. After a range of general papers that focus on the functioning of money in particular cultural contexts, the later contributions concern money media. The volume ends with articles devoted to particular regions of the West Slavic area. We are fully aware of the fact that this publication is not an exhaustive monograph of the matters studied, but at the same time we sincerely hope that it will allow for the wider acknowledgement of the complexity of the problems explored within its pages, the richness of the various phenomena and the great diversity of the West Slavic area.

³ R. Kiersnowski, *Pieniądz kruszcowy w Polsce wczesnośredniowiecznej*, Warszawa 1960.

Preface

Finally we would like to cordially thank everyone who made the publication of this volume possible. We express our gratitude to the authorities of the Wolin commune and the director of the Wolin Museum for creating the perfect intellectual environment for organizing our conference in Wolin, at the Dziwna River. We also thank the authors for their contributions to this volume, including those scholars who could not come to Wolin, but who kindly submitted their articles afterwards. Special thanks to the reviewers for recommending this volume for publication.

Coin finds from Wolin and its hinterland

Mateusz Bogucki

In the Viking Age at the Odra river mouth the sites of Menzlin, Wolin, Szczecin, Usedom and Kamień are of outmost importance. The relations between Menzlin and Wolin were discussed for a long time. During last years, the best known is the comparative study of Donat Wehner (2007; 2010, 258–266). I took part in this discussion, where I tried to argue, that the ways of growth of both emporia/central places were different (Bogucki 2010, 267–272). So far, the relations between Wolin, Szczecin and other centers were not a subject of a separate study.

Apart from historical and archaeological sources, the numismatic evidence was also used, but it played **only a secondary role in this discussion** (Wehner 2007; 2009, 143–144; 2010, 258–266). Thanks to some new finds, including both hoards and single finds, the numismatic analysis may bring new data. Since the full analysis of all Viking-Age coin finds from this region needs more space that is **available here**, in this short article I will try to provide some general observations, which might be helpful in understanding the changes in trade activity in the Odra estuary between the early 9th and late 11th century.

Coin finds from Wolin...

There are a lot of coin finds recorded from Wolin. The best evidence for the high number of silver finds is the name of the main hillfort, called Silberberg (the Silver Hill, Srebrne Wzgórze). It is important to note that the first hoard at that place was noted already in 1378 AD. To date there are at least 4 or 5 hoards found at Silberberg (Srebrne Wzgórze), 2 or 3 from the Mühlenberg (the Mill Hill, Młynówka), 2 from the southern part of the Town, 1 from the so called Hangman Hill (Wzgórze Wisielców). Five more hoards, which are described as being found “near the town” may also come from this sites, of which the Silberberg (Srebrne Wzgórze) is most probable. Altogether, 19 hoards are recorded from Wolin or its close vicinity:

1. Wolin I, Silberberg (before 1378) – **silver, content unknown;**
2. Wolin II, Silberberg or Mühlenberg (before 1590) – **silver coins, unknown;**
3. Wolin III, near the Town (1654) – „a lot of Arabic silver coins”;
4. Wolin IV, Silberberg (1670) – Arabic coins, 2 coins were Samanid;
5. Wolin V, Silberberg (c. 1699) – Arabic coins, unknown;
6. Wolin VI, near the town (1740) – 34 Arabic coins, unknown;
7. Wolin VII, southern part of the town (1755) – fragments of Arabic coins and ornaments, unknown;
8. Wolin VIII, unknown (before 1780) – Arabic coins, including 1 Tabaristan

- halfdirham;
9. Wolin IX, near the town (before 1794) – Arabic coins, known 4 Buyid and Hamdanid;
 10. Wolin X, southern part of the town (1795) – Arabic coins, 34 of them were Samanid;
 11. Wolin XI, Hangman Hill (1805) – Arabic coins, unknown;
 12. Wolin XII, near the town (1823) – unknown coins and ornaments;
 13. Wolin XIII, near the town (1824) – 350 coins and ornaments. 90+233 Arabic coins + 11 European, 11th century;
 14. Wolin XIV, Mühlenberg (1872) – 1 **denier and ornaments**, 11th century;
 15. Wolin XV, Mühlenberg (1882) – *c.* 100 European deniers, *tpq* 1050;
 16. Wolin XVI, unknown (*c.* 1927) – 5 Arabic coins, unknown;
 17. Wolin XVII, unknown (*c.* 1930) – silver ornaments¹;
 18. Wolin XXII, Silberberg (*c.* 1993) – *c.* 120–150 coins and ornaments, known 68 coins, *tpq* 980;
 19. „Insel Wolin” (1846) – Arabic coins, unknown.

The archaeological investigations, carried out between 1953 and 2000, have brought very valuable, but not too many numismatic materials. In the cultural layers and graves altogether 32 Viking-Age coins were found. They were discovered at 4 different settlement sites and at the cemetery at Mühlenberg (Młynówka) (Horoszko, in print)². The chronology of the coins is between second half of the 10th to the late 11th century. Coins of the 11th century clearly dominate (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1. Wolin. Selection of the single coin finds. After Horoszko, in print

¹ A separate article is dedicated to this hoard (Wojtkowiak 2012, 261–271), but in spite of its promising title, the reader won't find much about the deposit itself.

² Additional 35 Viking Age coins were found during the excavations at the harbour area in 2012 and 2013 (Janowski, in this volume). Since they have not been conserved yet, they could not be included in this article. In general, at least 12 of them are dirhams, the rest are Western European coins (at least 4 cross deniers and 1 middle 10th century English penny). They will be a subject of a separate study.

The single coin finds from Wolin include:

- Wolin XVIII, the “market” site (1934): 1 Niedersachsen Bardowick denier, after 1050. Dbg. 1778;
- Wolin XIX, Site No. 1 (1953–1971): 8 specimens of 10th–11th century cross deniers (type I, V and VI);
- Wolin XX, the cemetery at the Mühlenberg (Młynówka) (1954–1973): 6 specimens of 11th century coins (1 imitation, 5 cross deniers of type V and VI, 1 unattributed);
- Wolin XXI, Site No. 5 Silberberg (1964–1967): 12 coins (2 dirhams – 1 forgery; 3 cross deniers of type I, II, V; 1 Harald Bluetooth half-bracteate KG 10b; 2 copper 11th c. forgeries, 4 unattributed);
- Wolin XXIII, “near the town” (c. 1999): 1 specimen of a 11th century cross denier, type II; 1 Otto-Adelheid denier, type III;
- Wolin XXIV, site No. 4 Gardens (Ogrody) (1999–2000): 3 unattributed 11th century forgeries, 1 unattributed.

Among those 32 single coins, only two dirhams were found, both at the Silberberg (Srebrne Wzgórze) hillfort. The first is the quarter (0.57 g) of an unattributed Arabic coin, the second is an unattributed heavily worn quarter (0.72 g) of a forgery – pierced copper dirham. Among the single coin finds, other late 10th century ones are not so frequently represented, as we may expect. Apart from the dirhams, which are most probably the 10th century ones, we may list just four other coins: two cross deniers of type I (Gumowski 1939), dated to c. 965–985, one Otto-Adelheid denier of type III (Hatz 1961) and a Harald Bluetooth half-bracteate of type KG10b (Malmer 1966), struck from c. 975 to c. 985, probably in Jelling (Moesgaard 2009, 43–46).

The 11th century coins are much more frequent at Wolin – altogether we may list 24 of them. From the first half of the 11th century there are just 5 coins: two specimens of cross deniers of type II and three copper forgeries, copying the early cross deniers (Bogucki 2009, 212, 226). From the middle and second half of the 11th century there are at least 19 coins, mainly the cross deniers of type V, VI and one Bardowick denier.

Such a scarcity of 10th century coin finds from Wolin might suggest, that this emporium joined the international trading system quite late. In emporia, which were active during the 9th and 10th century, the number of dirhams and 10th century European coins is much more numerous (Bogucki 2007, 94–96). Such an observation is contrary in some part to the archaeological data, which demonstrates that Wolin has strongly expanded at the beginning of the 10th century (Filipowiak 2004; Ważny 2001, 156–161). We may explain this contrast also due the state of research. Wolin, as a still inhabited town, is excavated only in small percent, and the excavated sites result more from the modern building activity than a planned research plan. There is no doubt that Wolin, as a large centre, had areas with different functions and where different activities took place. It is possible, therefore, that during the future excavations it will be possible to reveal the area which played the function of an early medieval market. A place which may have potentially played such a role is located south of the Old Town, where in 2012 and 2013 large

excavations were carried out. The preliminary report (Janowski, in this volume) with the information on 35 Viking-Age coins finds, is promising. However, to get a more reliable picture of the coin circulation in Wolin, we have to confront the single coin finds with hoards.

So far, the best studied hoard from Wolin is the deposit from Silberberg (Srebrne Wzgórze), no. XXII, found *c.* 1993, which contained *c.* 120–150 coins and ornaments, of which only 68 coins and at least 1 bracelet and 4 fragments of ornaments are known (Fig. 2). The hoard was deposited around 980–983/4. Among

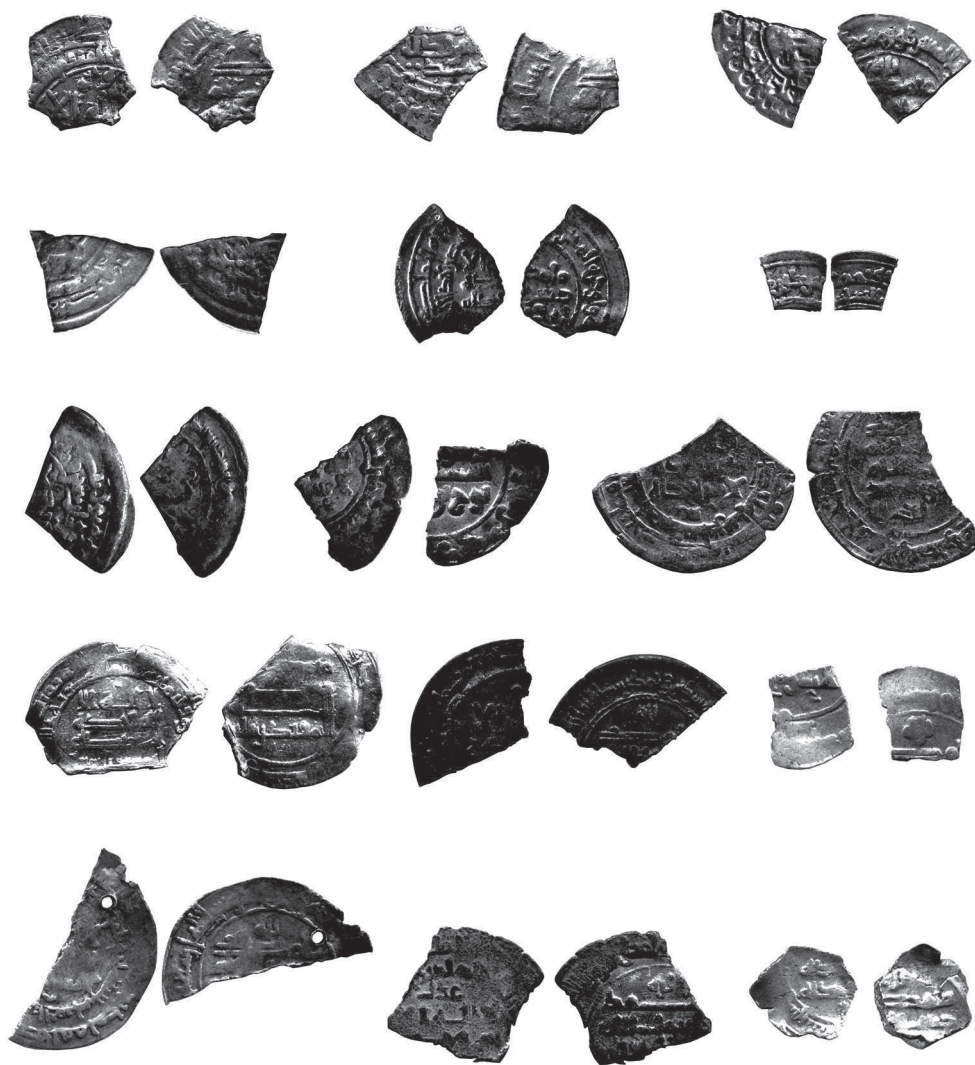


Fig. 2.a. Wolin. Selection of the dirhams from the Silberberg hoard. After Bogucki, Malarczyk 2013

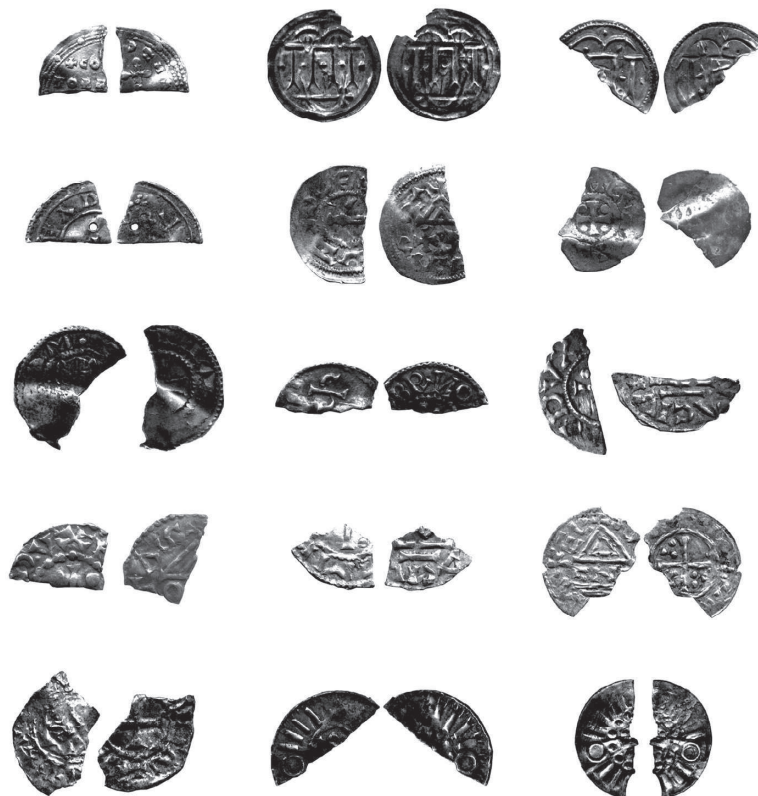


Fig. 2.b. Wolin. Selection of the European coins from the Silberberg hoard. After Bogucki, Malarczyk, in print

the known coins, there were 38 dirhams – 1 Abbasid, 27 Samanid, and the rest comprised Buyid, Hamdanid coins and some imitations. There was 1 Byzantine miliaresion and among European coins, 1 fragment of Eadmund penny, 8 Harald Bluetooth half-bracteates of KG9b type, 1 Frankish, 1 Bohemian, 16 German deniers and 2 Bavarian style imitations. Also at least 5 silver ornaments were recorded (Bogucki, Malarczyk in print). The hoard no. XXII from Silberberg is a typical hacksilver deposit, characteristic for the 2nd half of the 10th century, composed of Oriental, Byzantine, European coins and fragments of jewellery. Most of those elements are dated to the 2nd and 3rd quarter of the 10th century. *Terminus post quem* for this deposit is 976 AD, dated by the fragment of a Samarqand Mansur ibn Nuh (366–87 AH/976–997 AD) dirham. But the youngest coin is fragment of a Bohemian denier, struck in Prague during the reign of Boleslav II (972–999). The coin is of the so called “sword type I”, dated to the early 980s. The lack of popular Otto-Adelheid deniers suggest, that the whole hoard was deposited after 980, but before 983/4.

The provenance of the coins from the hoard is presented on the map (Fig. 3). Coins from the Wolin hoard come from most of the minting regions of that time. There are dirhams from both Transoxania and Mesopotamia. Only coins from



Fig. 3. Territorial structure of coins from the Silberberg hoard. After Bogucki, Malarczyk, in print

Maghreb and Spain are missing, but they are rare in all 10th century north European hoards. European coins are represented by the English, Danish, German and Frankish ones. “Polish” coins might be represented by 2 imitations, copying the Bavarian deniers.

While tracing the routes of silver inflow to Western Pomerania on the basis of Wolin Silberberg (Srebrne Wzgórze) hoard, we have to point out, that silver came from different cultural and economic regions. The dirhams of several dynasties and a Byzantine miliaresion came from the East. The Byzantine coin most probably came together with Arabic dirhams. The oriental coins came to the Baltic through two main trade routes. The first, northern one, came *via* the Dniepr and Volkhov rivers, Gulf of Finland and flowed to the Baltic. The second, eastern one, came *via* Dniepr, Pripyat, Bug and Vistula river valleys. The west European deniers came into the Western Pomerania from different regions. The English penny of Eadmund and Hedeby half-bracteates came most probably through the Baltic. From the south, *via* Silesia and Odra river, the Bohemian and Bavarian deniers found their way to Wolin. Different origins of the coins from the Wolin hoard show, that they were collected from the local market. Only the composition of dirhams seems more similar to the Great Poland hoards.

The hoard no. XXII from Silberberg (Srebrne Wzgórze) is an important one for Wolin, because to date it is one of the best recognized deposits from the island. All other finds are known just in some parts, usually badly described. Better documented are the hoards Wolin, nos. XIII, XV and XVII. The first one (XIII), deposited after 1024, contained dirhams, Colonia denier of Conrad II, Bavarian deniers of Otto I, Henry I, II and III, five cross deniers and one Hungarian denier of Stephen I. The second hoard (XV) is quite late, deposited after 1050, at the Hangman Hill

(Wzgórze Wisielców). Unfortunately, from *c.* 130 g of coins, only a few are described. There were English pennies of Ethelred II and Canute the Great, German deniers of Otto III, Henry II, Conrad II and few Bishops, cross deniers, Bohemian denier of Bretislaus and one Hungarian denier of Stephan I. The last hoard (XVII) contained only silver ornaments, such as bracelets, temple rings, chains, fragments of neckrings and a lot of scrap metal and cast silver.

As we may see, despite the high number of silver hoards from Wolin, our knowledge on their composition is very random and limited. That is why we need to compare the Wolin finds with other hoards, discovered in its vicinity.

... and it's hinterland

To date no 9th century coin hoard is known from the close vicinity of Wolin. Just recently, in autumn 2012, a set of 6 early Abbasid dirhams were found accidentally *c.* 90 km south-east of Wolin, near the village of Dobrzany, Stargard district³. The coins are of al-Mansur, al-Mahdi, Harun ar-Rasid and al-Ma'mun (Fig. 4). It seems that the Dobrzany hoard is a typical find from the first half of the 9th century, very



Fig. 4. Dobrzany. Selection of the Abbasid dirhams form the hoard. Photo G. Horoszko

similar to the Anklam⁴ or Prussian hoards (Bogucki 2007, 79–108). Despite the fact, that the find is not studied yet, its connection with the activity of Wolin is unclear, especially given the fact that at that time Wolin was not very active in the international trade system. The dirhams from Dobrzany could, for example,

³ I thank Mrs Genowefa Horoszko MA, from the Coin Cabinet of the National Museum in Szczecin for the photos of the coins from the Dobrzany find. It is very probable, that they constitute only a small part of the complete hoard.

⁴ This hoard is still unpublished, but it was shown at a few conferences.

be transported through the early centre in Bardy-Świelubie-Kołobrzeg, located in the Parsęta river estuary, where some Scandinavians had settled, as is implied by a number of female graves in Świelubie (Łosiński 2000, 13–22; Duczko 2000, 31–33). The full interpretation of the Dobrzany hoard still has to wait for its full analysis and assessment.

While discussing the dirham finds in the broad estuary of the Odra river, we need to pay attention to another, recently unearthed hoard. At the Coin Cabinet at the National Museum in Szczecin, there is a photographic documentation of a deposit which, according to the relation, was discovered in the vicinity of Daleszewo,

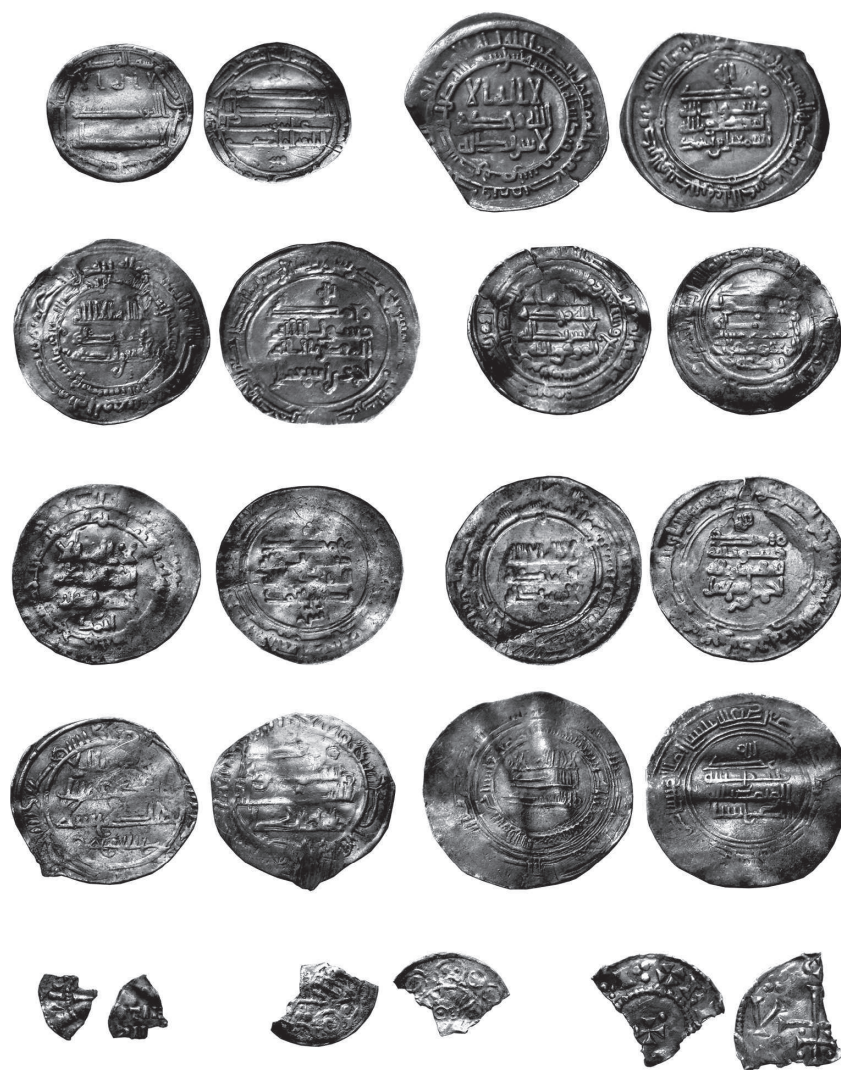


Fig. 5. Daleszewo/Piaski Wielkie. Selection of the coins from the hoard. Abbasid, Samanid and imitative dirhams and European coins. Photo Author unknown

Gryfino district, c. 80 km south of Wolin⁵. However, it is quite possible, that the coins were discovered near the village of Piaski Wielkie, c. 6 km east of Wolin⁶. Since at the present moment I am unable to decide where actually this hoard was found, I will call it “Daleszewo/Piaski Wielkie hoard”.

This deposit contains at least 880 coins of which only 3 are European ones (Fig. 5). All others are Arab dirhams, of which there were 43 whole, about 40 halves and quarters and more than 800 smaller fragments. The oriental part of the Daleszewo/Piaski hoard is only provisionally recognized, but it seems quite clear, that the hoard contained at last 1 Umayyad, 1 Abbasid, 43 Samanid and 5 Volga-Bulgar (?) imitations. Among 43 identified Samanid dirhams there are 15 specimens of Ismail ibn Ahmad (892–907), 12 of Ahmad ibn Ismail (907–913), 11 of Nasr II ibn Ahmad (913–954) and 1 of Nuh ibn Nasr (942–954). Since all European coins are one of the oldest of its kind discovered on Polish soil, I will provide their detailed description below:

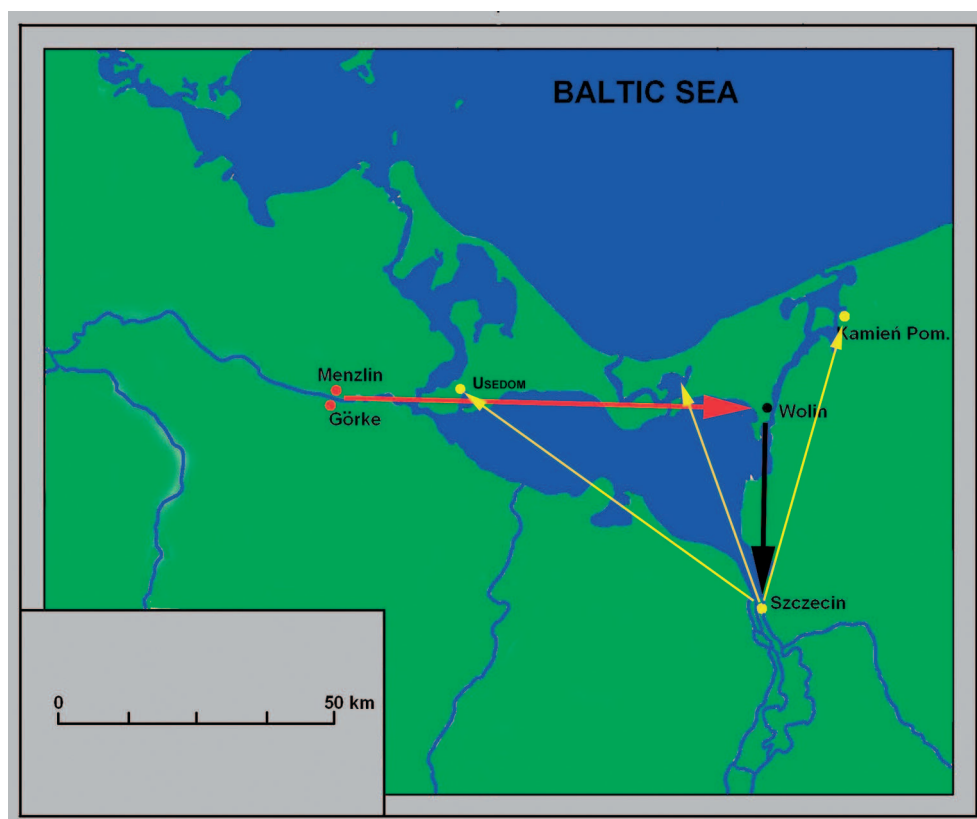


Fig. 6. The Oder River estuary and the reconstruction of moving the trade activity from 9th to 12th centuries

⁵ I thank Mrs Genowefa Horoszko MA, from the Coin Cabinet of the National Museum in Szczecin for the photos of the coins from the Daleszewo/Piaski Wielkie.

⁶ Information courtesy of Dr Błażej Stanisławski from the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences.

1. Germany, Strasburg, Louis the Child (899–911), Prou, nos. 51–53; Morrison, Grunthal, no. 1555; Depeyrot 1998, no. 961. Similar in the Jynevad hoard, *tpq* 955 (Galster 1951)⁷.
Av.: plain cross, on the margin [HLVDOV]VIC[VSPIVS], Rv.: backwards ITNĒ[ΘRA] 2A[TIVICAN]
2. Denmark, Ribe, anonymous, *c.* 840–860, Malmer KG6, no. 13 (same dies).
Av.: Deer legs, beneath a serpent, Rv.: Mask with spiky hairs, on the margin a mask with mustache, serpents on the sides;
3. Northumbria, York, Viking occupation, Cnut (*c.* 895–902), North, no. 497.
Av.: cross with a pellet, on the margin ✠EB[RAICE C]:I*, Rv.: double cross, on the margin C[N]V[T]

Comparing the oriental part of the Daleszewo/Piaski Wielkie hoard with the Ribe denier, which is dated to *c.* 840–860, the deposition date may be around 950. Such structure and dating corresponds well with other hoards found in the Odra river mount (Table 1).

Hoard	<i>Tpq</i>	Sas.	Um.	Abb.	Sam.	other	Imita- tions	Europ.
Wolin IV	909				2			
Łabędzie	929		1	6	134	2	87	
Bielkowo	938	3	10	163	57	2	7	
Płoty-Resko	940			4	30	3		1
Daleszewo/Piaski	942		1	14	43	1	4	3
Gogolice	946			1	3	1		
Dramino	950		1+?	4	20	17	1	10
Lubin I	950			5	9	1	1	
Szczecin-Niemierzyn	950		4	19	12	1	3	
Świątki I	950			3	6	1		4
Świątki II-III	954			1	11		1	
Raduń	955				2			2
Szczecin-Stargard Szcz.	955			4	31	2	1	
Trzebianowo	955			8	108	8	2	17

Table 1. Comparison of hoards from the first half of the 10th century from Western Pomerania. Hoards with a well-known structure are marked in grey

In the close vicinity of Wolin, three hoards from the second half of the 10th century were discovered. The oldest one was found between the villages Piaski and Dramino, Kamień Pomorski district. It was deposited after 950 (Kiersnowscy

⁷ For help in identifying this coin I thank Professor Stanisław Suchodolski from the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences.

1959, 80–81, no. 121). The next one comes from Trzebianowo, Goleniów district, and was hidden after 955 (Kiersnowscy 1959, 109, no. 182). A hoard deposited around 980 is known from Kamień Pomorski (Kiersnowscy 1959, 53–54, no. 63). Unfortunately, the small number of European coins from those hoards cannot give a solid base for comparison with the Wolin XXII hoard.

The provenance of German coins from the Wolin-Silberberg (Srebrne Wzgórze) hoard and other late 10th century deposits from Western Pomerania is similar (table 2). The Bavarian, Saxon and Lower Lorraine coins dominate clearly. The Franconia coins are missing in the Wolin-Silberberg (Srebrne Wzgórze) hoard, which most probably reflect its early chronology. The presence of English and numerous Danish coins is the result of joint direction of coin inflow into the Pomeranian areas. It can be concluded that the hoard from Wolin-Silberberg is representative of the whole of Western Pomerania.

	Pomerania (950–990)		Wolin-Silberberg (980–983/4)	
	ex.	%	ex.	%
Lower Lorraine	7	14 %	3	18,75 %
Saxony	9	18 %	4	25 %
Franconia	5	10 %	0	0 %
Swabia	2	4 %	1	6,25 %
Bavaria	27	54 %	8	50 %

Table 2. Comparison of German coins from the Western Pomeranian hoards (Suchodolski 1990; 2012) and from Wolin-Silberberg (Bogucki, Malarczyk, in print)

Conclusions

On the basis of finds presented above we may draw some general conclusions:

1. There is no evidence for 9th century coin finds from Wolin and its close vicinity;
2. Finds dated to the beginning of the 10th century are doubtful – only very small part of the hoards is known;
3. There is good evidence for dirham hoards with *tpq* 940 and younger. This means that they were deposited *c.* 950–970, before the high inflow of European deniers;
4. The “high” percentage of older coins (Umayyad, Abbasid) shows that the silver came to Wolin and its vicinity *via* the Baltic Sea. Hoards from the first half of the 10th century found in Eastern and Greater Poland are of “primary” character – they comprise almost exclusively of Samanid dirhams, with a very small percent of older, Umayyad and Abbasid coins;
5. Coin finds from Wolin and its vicinity are completely different than those from Menzlin, Anklam or Rügen. Such a picture corresponds well with the archaeological data.

On the basis of numismatic finds, compared with other archaeological evidence, we may try to reconstruct the general history of the Odra river mouth in the Viking

Age/early medieval times. The oldest emporium in the region was the settlement complex around Menzlin, which started to be active in international trade in late 8th–early 9th century. This is confirmed by the Anklam hoard. It seems that the trade activity and trade routes were transferred from Menzlin to Wolin in the early or even middle of 10th century. This is confirmed not only by numismatic finds, but also on the basis of recent archaeological research. The newly excavated harbour is dendro-dated to the late 9th – early 10th century, with some later repairs (Janowski, in this volume). Later, in the end of the 11th and at the 12th century the role of a central place in the Odra river mouth was played by Szczecin, which was supported by smaller, **satellite trading places in Usedom in the West** (Biermann 2004, 149–165; 2006a, 293–303; 2006b, 567–572), hillforts in the Świna estuary in the middle (Dworaczyk, Piotrowski 2011, 13–20), and Kamień (Filipowiak 1962, 91–104) on the eastern side of the Odra river mouth (Fig. 6).

The only question is, if such a transfer was a planned, organized and “political” action (like moving Reric to Hedeby or Birka to Sigtuna) or whether it was a long term process, caused by economic, social or even ecological and environmental changes. In order to answer this question further comprehensive studies on all those sites are necessary. However, it would be not surprising, if the reasons for their emergence were highly sophisticated, and if all those features were equally important.

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