

Lund – Odense – Lund – Kołobrzeg. Danish influences in the Zemuzil Bomeraniorum Coinage

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Based on our current knowledge of eleventh-century Slavic imitative coinage it is possible to recognize at least two regions for production of that type differentiated by copied designs, style of dies, chronology and the general 'coin factory'. These regions are Greater Poland and Pomerania. There are a few traces indicating the existence of mints in Silesia¹ and in Mazovia², but they require further investigation.

Studies provided by Peter Ilisch³, Mateusz Bogucki⁴ and

a few other researchers⁵ have focused on imitations of German coins, but the copying of other prototypes is currently very little understood. Exceptions include only a few studies – by Stanisław Suchodolski⁶ devoted to Anglo-Saxon prototypes used in official Polish and Bohemian coinage, and two others by Andrzej Mikołajczak⁷ and Borys Paszkiewicz⁸, devoted to a small group of imitative *CRVX* type coins of Æthelred II, struck from one pair of dies, probably somewhere in Kuyavia region. And, finally, one other study by B. Paszkiewicz that focused on Anglo-Saxon type imitations from Gdańsk.⁹

1 Mateusz Bogucki: Zachodniosłowiańskie naśladownictwa monet bawarskich z X i XI wieku, in: W. Garbaczewski, R. Macyra (eds), *Pieniądz i banki na Śląsku, Studia nad Dziejami Pieniądza i Bankowości w Polsce* 2, Poznań 2012, pp. 85–110.

2 Mateusz Bogucki: Some Polish imitations of Otto-Adelheid-Pfennige, in: G. Dethlefs, A. Pol, S. Wittenbrink (eds): *Nummi docent! Münzen – Schätze – Funde. Festschrift für Peter Ilisch zum 65. Geburtstag am 28. April 2012*, Osnabrück 2012, pp. 123–125; idem: Czy istnieją monety Mieclawa, zbuntowanego cześnika Mieszka II?, *Notae Numismatice – Zapiski Numizmatyczne* IX, 2014, pp. 135–146.

3 P. Ilisch: Eine Serie westslawischer Münzen des 11. Jahrhunderts, *Berliner Numismatische Forschungen* 4 (1990), pp. 7–13; idem: Polnische Otto-Adelheid-Pfennige, *Wiadomości Numizmatyczne* 34 (1990), pp. 160–163; idem: Regensburg- und Otto-Adelheid-Imitationen aus Polen?, *Wiadomości Numizmatyczne* 38 (1994), pp. 65–70; idem: Eine polnische oder pommerische Prägegruppe des 11. Jahrhunderts, *Wiadomości Numizmatyczne* 49 (2005), pp. 191–196; idem: Die Münzen des Fundes von Ulejno (Grosspolen), tpq 1009, in: S. Suchodolski / M. Bogucki (eds), *Money circulation in Antiquity, the Middle Ages and modern times. Time, range, intensity. International Symposium on the 50th Anniversary of Wiadomości Numizmatyczne. Warsaw, 13–14 October 2006*, Warszawa-Kraków 2007, pp. 153–166.

4 Mateusz Bogucki: An unknown hybrid of the 'princes polonie' denier and a new type of Boleslav the Brave's coin, in: O. Järvinen (ed.), *Scripta varia numismatica Tuukka Tālvis sexagenario dedicata*, Helsinki 2008, pp. 77–89; idem: Forged Coins in Early Medieval Poland, *Wiadomości Numizmatyczne* LII/2 (186) [Polish Numismatic News VIII], 2008, pp. 209–236; idem: Die recutting in the eleventh-century Polish Coinage, in: N. Holmes (ed.), *Proceedings of the XIVth International Numismatic Congress, Glasgow 2009*, vol. II, Glasgow 2011, pp. 1382–1391; idem: Some Polish imitations;

idem: Zachodniosłowiańskie naśladownictwa monet bawarskich, pp. 85–110; idem: Czy istnieją monety Mieclawa; Mateusz Bogucki, Jacek Magiera: New coins of Bolesław the Brave, *Wiadomości Numizmatyczne* [Polish Numismatic News IX], forthcoming.

5 Wolfgang Hahn: Imitativprägungen nach frühen bayerischen Münztypen in böhmischen und polnischen Schatzfunden, in: *Denárová měna na Moravě*, Brno 1988, pp. 293–295; Adam Kędzierski: Polskie denary krzyżowe w skarbie ze Słuszkowa, *Wiadomości Numizmatyczne* XLII/1–2, 1988, pp. 21–48; idem: Czy istnieją monety Zbigniewa, syna Władysława Hermana?, *Wiadomości Numizmatyczne* XLIX, 2005, pp. 23–38; idem: Wielkopolskie mennice denarów krzyżowych, in: W. Garbaczewski (ed.), *Pieniądz i banki w Wielkopolsce, Studia nad Dziejami Pieniądza i Bankowości w Polsce* 1, Poznań 2009, pp. 29–39.

6 Stanisław Suchodolski: Imitation of the coinage of Æthelred II in Central Europe, *bikuin* 11, 1985, pp. 157–168; Kenneth Jonsson, Stanisław Suchodolski: A new coin type of Boleslav the Brave found in Sweden, *Wiadomości Numizmatyczne* LIII/1 (187), 2009, pp. 29–40.

7 Andrzej Mikołajczyk: Trzy naśladowcze pensy typu *CRVX* znalezione na Kujawach, in: S. K. Kuczyński, S. Suchodolski (eds), *Nummus et Historia. Pieniądz Europy średniowiecznej*, Warszawa 1985, pp. 57–61.

8 Borys Paszkiewicz: Anglo-Saxon and Imitative Pennies from the Raciążek Hoard (1940), *Numismatic Chronicle* 166, 2006, pp. 251–268.

9 Borys Paszkiewicz: The Pomeranian imitative coinage and the recent discoveries from Gdańsk, in: G. Dethlefs, A. Pol, S. Wittenbrink (eds), *Nummi docent! Münzen – Schätze – Funde*.

Very often it's hard to determine whether the prototype was English or Danish, but a group of coins where Danish motives are clearly visible are so-called Łupawa (Lupow) imitations. They are known mainly from Pomeranian hoards. Łupawa imitations, although recognized in literature since the early twentieth century¹⁰ and described on several occasions¹¹, could not have been satisfactory summarized until now. Our text will not treat this issue either, but we will try to present a few interesting cases from which we can identify preliminary characteristics of the Pomeranian coinage in the eleventh century. The study draws on material from the hoards from Łupawa¹², Gliszcz¹³ and Gralewo.¹⁴ Altogether, there are over 2000 specimens available for research. The description of these coins is far from complete, but at this stage several very interesting specimens and die chains have been noted, and these provide a fresh perspective and opportunity to consider the nature of coin production in Pomerania in the eleventh century.

Imitations of Cnut the Great (1017–1035), Pointed Helmet type (1023–1029)

In 2008 Frédéric Elfver published a die link containing Danish coins of Magnus den Gode, Sven Estridsen from Lund, and typical Łupawa imitations.¹⁵ He suggested that coin dies had been transported between Danish Lund and Pomerania. We have since identified one additional die

Festschrift für Peter Ilisch zum 65. Geburtstag am 28. April 2012, Osnabrück 2012, pp. 127–142.

- 10 Eduard Fiala: *Der Nachmünzenfund von Lupow*, in: E. Fiala, *Münzen und Medaillen der Welfischen Lande*, Bd. I, *Prägungen der Zeit der Ludolfinger (Ottonen), Brunonen, Billunger, Supplinburger etc.*, Prague 1916, pp. 98–126.
- 11 Ryszard Kiersnowski: *Pieniądz kruszcowy w Polsce wczesnośredniowiecznej*, Warszawa 1960, pp. 232–238; Jerzy Piniński: *Gdzie bito tzw. naśladownictwa łupawskie monet wczesnośredniowiecznych?* in: M. Gącarzewicz (ed.) *Falszerstwa i naśladownictwa monet. XI ogólnopolska sesja numizmatyczna w Nowej Soli*, Poznań 1998, pp. 49–59; Ilisch: *Eine Serie westslawischer Münzen*; Frédéric Elfver: *Om stampexport mellan Lund och slaviskt område under 1000-talet*, *Nordisk Numismatisk Unions Medlemsblad* 1, 2008, pp. 20–25; 2011; Paszkiewicz: *The Pomeranian imitative coinage*, pp. 127–142.
- 12 Fiala: *Der Nachmünzenfund von Lupow*; Berndt Kluge: *State Museum Berlin Coin Cabinet. Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman and Hiberno-Norse Coins, Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles* 36, London 1986, No. 34; Genowefa Horoszko: *Wprowadzenie do problematyki skarbów wczesnośredniowiecznych z Pomorza*, in: K. Kowalski, D. Kozłowska-Skoczka (eds), *Zaginione – ocalone. Szczecińska kolekcja starożytności pomorskich*, Szczecin 2012, pp. 325–328.
- 13 Teresa & Ryszard Kiersnowscy: *Wczesnośredniowieczne skarby srebrne z Pomorza*, in: *Polskie Skarby Wczesnośredniowieczne. Inwentarze II*, *Polskie Badania Archeologiczne* 4, Warszawa–Wrocław 1959, No. 41.
- 14 Kiersnowscy: *Wczesnośredniowieczne skarby srebrne z Pomorza*, No. 46.
- 15 Elfver: *Om stampexport mellan Lund och slaviskt område*, pp. 20–25.

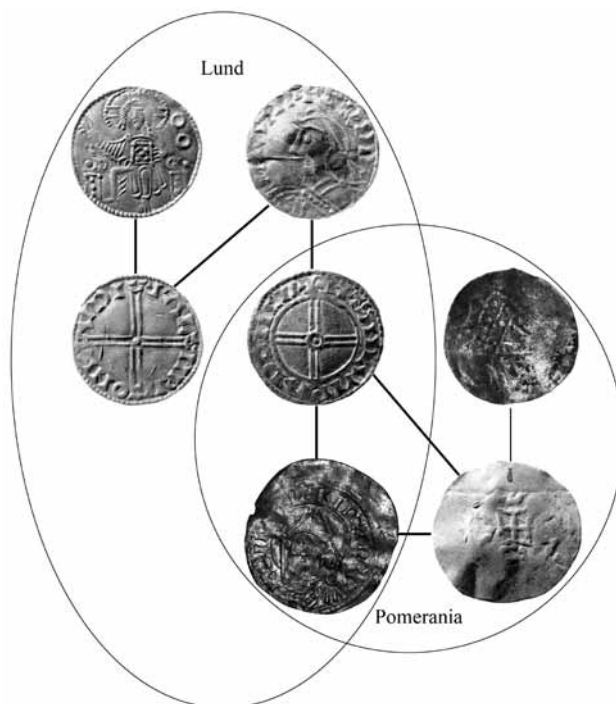


Fig. 1 Die chain from Lund and Pomerania (F. Elfver 2008 with additions).

belonging to this chain (Fig. 1). The question is: which coins were struck in Pomerania? Considering the differences in minting techniques identified by Elfver, even among coins struck from the same dies, we can state that in Pomerania dies of *Pointed Helmet* type bust with the legend +HTSNLVIDADOIICII, reverse in *Short Cross* type with the legend +HTNLVIPADOIICII were used, and there were two dies in clear Łupawa style. On one of them there is visible a cross in arches, on second unclearly visible pattern – probably barbaric chapel of Bavarian type. As mentioned earlier, coins from dies of *Pointed Helmet/Short Cross* have been minted in Denmark, as well as in Pomerania. Some of them were struck evenly on rounded flans with centric hit. But coins from the same pair of dies



Fig. 2 Two coins struck from the same pair of dies. Left: Magnus den Gode (?), mint Lund. Right: coin minted in Pomerania.

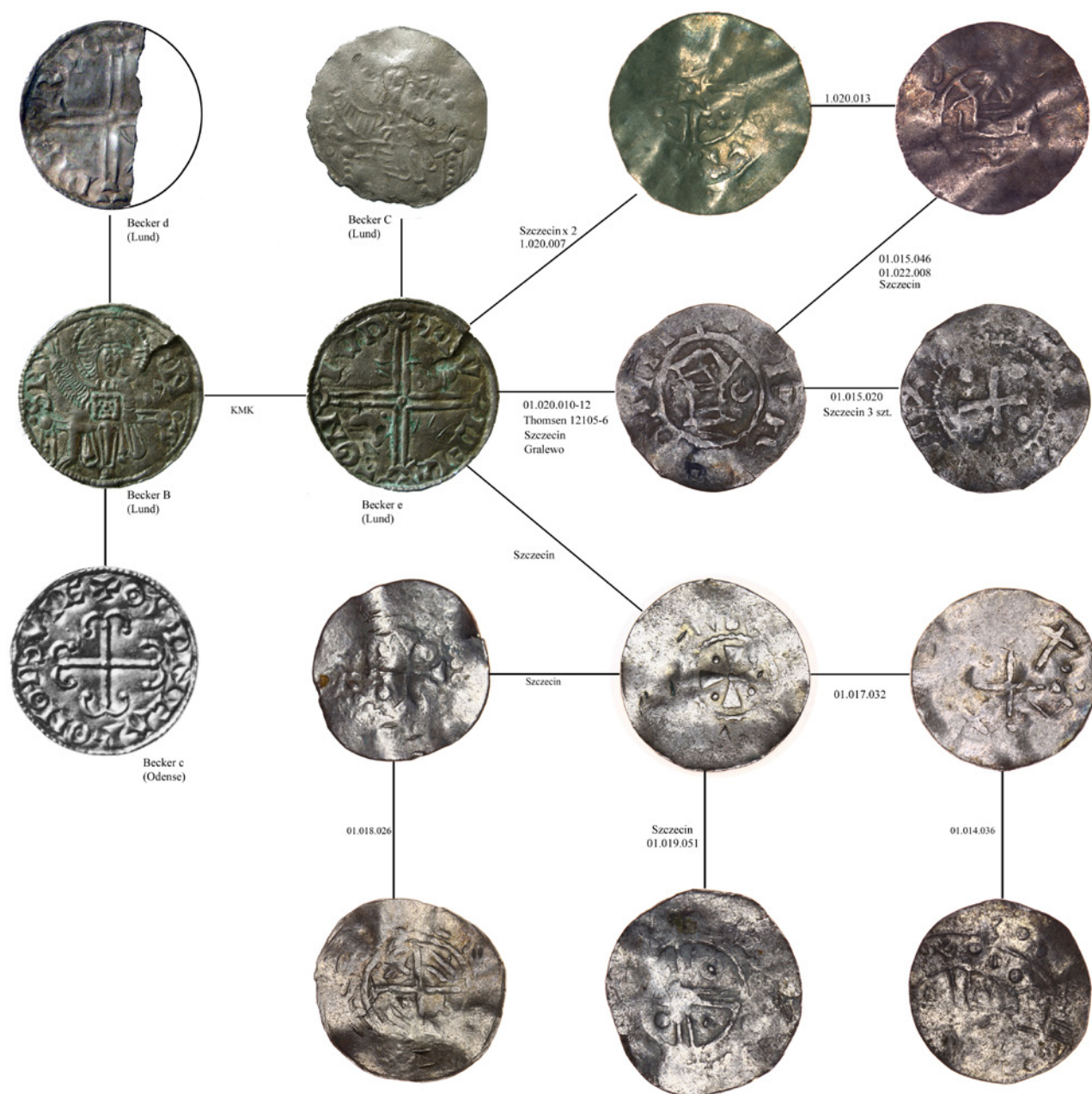


Fig. 3 Die Chain of Danish and Pomeranian coins (Becker 1985 with additions. Photo M. Bogucki, J. Magiera, F. Elvfer). Coins with numbers are from the Łupawa hoard, Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum in Hannover. Coins described as 'Szczecin' are from the Łupawa hoard, Szczecin National Museum.

were also produced in Pomerania – they were struck on irregular flans, often uneven and unstruck at the edges (Fig. 2). A similar phenomenon has been observed in other cases (see below).

Coins which can be attributed to Pomerania have been registered in the Gralewko hoard (tpq 1050 – two examples) and in the Łupawa hoard (c. 1100 – at least eight examples). Other hoards containing those coins are not known, but additional specimens are registered in Russian collections. Those pennies were produced at the end of the reign

of Magnus den Gode (1042–1047) and the beginning of Sven Estridsen's reign (1047–1074), as indicated by coins attributed to Estridsen in the Danish part of the chain.

Lund – Odense – Lund – ?

The above example of Danish dies being transported into Pomerania is not the only one. In the Gliszcz, Gralewko and Łupawa hoards there are groups of coins creating a few die chains. In one of them (Fig. 3), consisting of fourteen dies, in addition to dies that differ stylistically and in terms



Fig. 4 Sven Estridsen mule with Pomeranian (?) imitation.

of quality imitating Otto-Adeleid pennies, cross pennies, short cross and some unidentified imitations, we find original Danish dies of Sven Estridsen, type Hauberg 6 (Lund) and 54 (Odense). The die from Odense was moved to Lund most likely at the very beginning of Sven's rule, when the new king closed the Odense mint.¹⁶ From the position of dies and from the number of coins struck with them, it is clear that the reverse die 'Becker e' type Hbg 6/55 had to leave Lund relatively fast. It is also possible, that the obverse 'Becker C' die was transported to Pomerania, because the only coin known is badly struck, which might suggest a situation similar to that in the abovementioned case of the *Pointed Helmet* imitations. As for the Lupawa imitations from this die chain, we observe that some are well made (especially those imitating the cross deniers), while others are very crude in style. Despite this stylistic differentiation, all imitate coins that are older than those of Sven Estridsen, so they do not provide a chronological argument for dating the whole group.

A third possible example of the transportation of Danish dies to Pomerania is a short die chain of Sven coins (Fig. 4), where an original *Christ* type (Hbg 6) obverse was linked with a crude imitation with cross and pellets (Hbg 27). All three known specimens are poorly struck.¹⁷ The 'Christ' obverse is also linked to a proper *Long Cross* type reverse, but significantly such a coin was found in the Lupawa hoard.

Pomeranian imitations of Danish coins from eleventh century

It is often very difficult to distinguish whether the given imitation was based on an English or a Danish prototype. Nevertheless there are many coins, which bear details enabling them to be recognized as imitations of Danish coins. In the seminal monograph on Danish coinage, Peter Hauberg¹⁸ placed among coins of Magnus den Gode two types which by style diverge from regular issues of this ruler. Under numbers 17 and 18 occurred coins struck with the same obverse die with a bust on the obverse and Colonia monogram on the reverse (no. 17) or a cross with dots between

arms and blundered legends (no. 18). Walter Hävernick¹⁹ described the Colonia monogram variant as an unrecognized imitation. In 1980 Georg Galster²⁰ describing hoards from Frostegård and Tornegård in Bornholm, excluded them from Danish coinage, suggesting that they might be a product of Pomeranian provenience based on their presence in Lupawa hoard. His opinion was accepted by C.J. Becker.²¹ Frédéric Elfver²² supported that attribution but with reservations.

In addition to variety Hbg 17 and 18 there are two other varieties struck from the same obverse die and a different reverse die (Fig. 5). One of them imitates the *Short Cross* type, the second is a remote echo of the coin bust from the *Helmet/Fleur-de-lis* type. One coin has also been recognized as having a Colonia monogram reverse and a different obverse imitating original coins from Soest. To date, at least fifteen examples²³ of coins from this die chain have been registered.

19 Walter Hävernick: *Die Münzen von Köln vom Beginn der Prägung bis 1304*, Köln 1935, No. 176.

20 Georg Galster: *Vikingetids møntfnd fra Bornholm, Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift 1977–78*, 1980, pp. 110, 119.

21 C.J. Becker: *Studies in the Danish Coinage at Lund during the Period c. 1030 – c. 1046*, in: M. Blackburn, D. Metcalf (eds), *Viking-Age Coinage in the Northern Lands I*, Oxford 1981, p. 147.

22 Frédéric Elfver: *The coinages at Lund c. 1035–1050 and some metal analyses*, in: C. Alfaro, C. Marcos, P. Otero (eds) *XIII Congreso Internacional de Numismática. Madrid – 2003. Acta – Proceedings – Actes*, Vol. II, Madrid 2005, p. 1175; idem: *Dansk, tysk, engelsk eller slavisk? Om mynt från 1000-talet, influenser och kulturkontakter*, in: *Moneta* 5, 2011, p. 67.

23 Noted by F. Elfver (*Dansk, tysk, engelsk eller slavisk?*, p. 67) specimens from J. Żak description probably never existed and/or were wrongly described by the latter. They were supposed to be a part of Pomerania VII hoard (Jan Żak: *"Importy" skandynawskie na ziemiach zachodniostowiańskich od IX do XI w., Część katalogowa*, Poznań 1963, p. 61, No. 80; idem: *Die Münzen aus Lund (Schonen) in den polnischen Funden des XI. Jahrhunderts*, in: B. Bengtsson (ed.), *Res mediaevales. Ragnar Blomqvist Kal. Mai. MCMLXVIII oblata*, Lund 1968, pp. 279–285, no. C.1) and Dąbrowa hoard (Żak: *"Importy" skandynawskie*, p. 98, No. 140). They were not listed in *"Polskie Skarby Wczesnośredniowieczne"* (Kiersnowscy: *Wczesnośredniowieczne skarby srebrne z Pomorza*, No. 235 and 21), nor by Peter Ilisch, who examined Pomerania VII hoard (Peter Ilisch: *Hoards Berlin I and II (Pomorzanie VII and VIII)* in: M. Bogucki, M. Rębkowski (eds), *Economies, Monetisation and Society in West Slavic Lands 800–1200 AD*, Wolińskie Spotkania Mediewistyczne II, Szczecin 2013, pp. 337–344).

16 C.J. Becker: *Lund – Odense – Lund. Numismatiske bidrag til Danmarks historie i 1040'rne*, *hikuin* 11, 1985, pp. 175–178.

17 Elfver: *Dansk, tysk, engelsk eller slavisk?*, p. 68.

18 Peter Christian Hauberg: *Myntforhold og Udmyntninger i Danmark indtil 1146*, København 1900.

No.	Die comb.	Weight	Find	Region	Chronology	References ²⁴
1	A/1	1.16	Tornegård	Bornholm	t.p.q. 1047	Hbg 17; Häv. 176; Galster 1980, p. 119; DMS, pp. 206–207
2	A/1	?	Tornegård	Bornholm	t.p.q. 1047	Galster 1979, p. 119; DMS, pp. 206–207
3	A/2	1.05	Frostegård	Bornholm	ca. 1050	Hbg 18; Galster 1979, p. 110; DMS, pp. 217–218
4	A/1	1.20	Stojkowo	Pomerania	ca. 1050	PSW II, No. 160; Żak 1963, p. 67, No. 88; Żak 1968, No. C.3
5	A/3	0.80	Stojkowo	Pomerania	ca. 1050	PSW II, No. 160; Żak 1963, p. 67, No. 88; Żak 1968, No. C.3 (wrong attribution as Hbg 18)
6	A/3		Gralewo I	Pomerania	ca. 1050	Berlin VIIIA 6021 (1/2 of coin)
7	A/1	1.33	Łupawa	Pomerania	ca. 1100	Berlin, SCBI 36:1107
8	A/3	0.89	Łupawa	Pomerania	ca. 1100	Berlin, SCBI 36:1106
9	A/4	1.03	Łupawa	Pomerania	ca. 1100	Hanower, 01.020.017
10	B/1	0.96	Łupawa	Pomerania	ca. 1100	Hanower, 01.022.043
11	A/1	1.06	?	Poland	?	Berlin, SCBI 36:1108
12	A/3	1.19	?	?		Copenhagen, NMK KP 1666
13	A/1	?	?	?		Dbg 1780 = Koehne?
14	A/1	1.18	?	?		Elfver 2011, p. 67 (Private collection, ex. Lerche No. 42; ex. Ahlström auktioner 7, No. 732, ex. Bruun-Rasmussen, Auction A. Ernst II, No. 99).
15	A/2	1.05	?	?		Stockholm, The Royal Coin Cabinet, No. 300922 (ex. Lerche No. 43; ex. Bruun-Rasmussen, Auction A. Ernst II, No. 100).

A/1 – MX/S COLONIA A, Hbg 17 (7 ex.); A/2 – MX/German Cross, Hbg 18 (2 ex.); A/3 – MX/Short Cross (4 ex.); A/4 – MX/Bust (1 ex.); B/1 – Cross/S COLONIA A (1 ex.)

Towards an analysis of the coins presented above one must begin by identifying the prototypes. The obverse with a portrait of Magnus den Gode in radiate crown (A) belongs to a well recognized MX type produced in Lund c. 1044–1046.²⁵ The reverse die with the Colonia monogram (1) creates a set with an obverse with cross with dots between arms and a blundered legend IOIIIIOIIIIE[IIII?III] (B). It should

be analysed together with a stylistically very similar second die with cross with dots between arms, and blundered legend +Æ:HEC̄:O///OIET/// (2). So far all researchers writing about these coins looked to Colonia originals, however our attention should be drawn to the fact that die B and 1 reflects imitations of Colonia type coins minted in Soest, distinguished by small 'O' letters, often with a dot inside and large letters of IIII, and a strongly curled uppercase 'S' letter with serifs. They occurred already at the beginning of the eleventh century, but they were produced in larger numbers in the second quarter of this century.²⁶ Reverse die no. 3 has faithfully copied English and Danish pennies of *Short Cross* type. This type occurred during Cnut the Great's reign and was struck in the years 1029–1035. It was also very popular on Magnus den Gode and Sven

²⁴ Dbg = Herman Dannenberg: *Die deutsche Münzen der sächsischen und fränkischen Kaiserzeit*, I–IV, Berlin 1876–1905; DMS = Jørgen Steen Jensen et al.: *Danmarks middelalderlige skattefunde fra c. 1050 til c. 1241*, vol. I, København 1992; Elfver 2011 = Elfver, Dansk, tysk, engelsk eller slavisk?; Galster 1980 = Galster: *Vikingetids møntfund fra Bornholm*; Häv. = Walter Hävernicks: *Die Münzen von Köln vom Beginn der Prägung bis 1304*, Köln 1934; Hbg = Hauberg: *Myntforhold og Udmyntninger i Danmark*; PSW II = Kiersnowscy, *Wczesnośredniowieczne skarby srebrne z Pomorza*; SCBI 36 = Kluge: State Museum Berlin Coin Cabinet; Żak 1963 = Żak: "Importy" skandynawskie; Żak 1968 = Żak: *Die Münzen aus Lund*, pp. 279–285.

²⁵ Becker: *Studies in the Danish Coinage*, pp. 131, 149.

²⁶ Hävernicks: *Die Münzen von Köln*, Nos 73, 849–850, 856–864; Peter Ilisch: Zur Datierung der in nordischen Funden vorkommenden ottonischen Münzen von Köln, *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift* 1983–1984, pp. 142–143, Abb. 19–20.

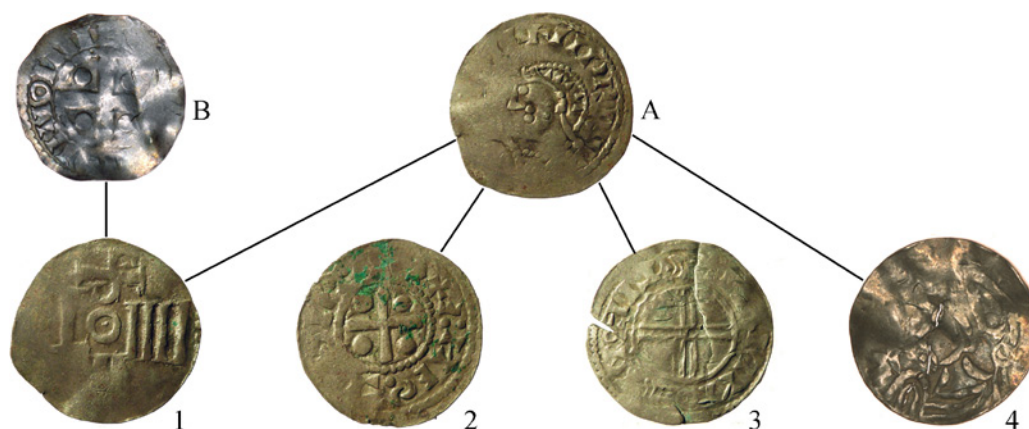


Fig. 5 Die chain of Hauberg 17 and 18 type pennies (photo by M. Bogucki, J. Magiera).

Estridsen coins. More difficulties arise in attempting to describe the prototype of die no. 4 with the bust on the left. Undoubtedly, it can be attributed to Anglo-Saxon or wider Anglo-Scandinavian origins. The drawing may be based on strongly barbaric reproductions of *Helmet* type pennies of Æthelred II (1003–1009) or of the *Fleur-de-lis* type struck for Harold I (1038–1040). Considering the chronology of other prototypes the second possibility is more convincing. In the light of the chronology of the hoards (tpq 1047) and prototypes (second quarter of the eleventh century, after 1029, after 1038, after 1044) we can be fairly certain about dating the abovementioned die chain to c. 1045–1050.

Determining the place of minting of these coins is more difficult, because theoretically the origin could be Danish, German or Pomeranian. It should be emphasized that attributing those coins to the Magnus den Gode coinage was not even supported by preliminary studies – and was based only on the identification of three pieces in hoards from Bornholm, and the similarity of die 'A' to regular Magnus issues. A German origin for the coins is also very doubtful – Reich minting during that period was well organized, legends were usually well-defined and it is extremely rare to find hybrids mixed by style in that region.²⁷ The last possibility is to assign this die chain to the Pomeranian region. With at least seven examples from Pomeranian hoards (and one from an unknown hoard from Poland) out of eleven pieces of known provenience, and fifteen examples known in all, this attribution is clearly the most convincing one.

In other Łupawa coins die chains we find other Danish imitations. In a die chain (Fig. 6) consisting of nine dies, in addition to Otto-Adeleide, Bavarian, other German and even Hungarian motives, there are two dies with a recognizable Danish design. The central position in the die

chain has a reverse die of *Long Cross* type with two signs between the arms. It is a clear imitation of Sven Estridsen types Hbg 18 and 25. The other Danish style type is a hand (*Manus Dei*), which is copying the Magnus Hbg 12 type or rather Sven Hbg 40–41 type. As in previously mentioned cases, the Danish style types are the latest in the group, so the whole assemblage might be dated to Sven Estridsen's times.

More difficult to interpret is a small die chain of five dies (Fig. 7), where a *Triquetra* type holds the central position, very similar to Cnut (Hbg 32, 35), Harthacnut (Hbg 32–34), Magnus (Hbg 20–21), and Sven (Hbg 72) types. Other coins imitate Otto-Adeleide, *Short Cross* and *Cross* denier patterns. In this case, the dating element should be the *Cross* denier of later type, which should be c. 1050–1075.

Among other single Łupawa imitations there are many coins imitating Danish ones, but very often mixed with other, usually German or Bohemian, types. The full list of such coins would be too extensive for the present work, so we decided to discuss just the most important examples, in particular those that provide information to contribute to the general interpretation.

Interpretation

So far, the coins described above do not have convincing attributions or part of them were designated as Danish or Anglo-Scandinavian issues. The survey of their typology, chronology and occurrence in hoards supports the thesis that the great majority of them were made in Pomerania in the second, third and also the fourth quarter of the eleventh century. In some cases we can draw further conclusions regarding their specific attributions. This mainly pertains to coins that were part of larger series, often as a part of smaller or larger die-chains. Following B. Paszkiewicz²⁸ we

²⁷ However see Vera Hatz & Ulla Linder Welin: *Deutsche Münzen des 11. Jahrhunderts nach Byzantinisch-Arabischem Vorbild in den Schwedischen Funden der Wikingerzeit*, in: N.L. Rasmussen, B. Malmer (eds), *Commentationes de nummis saeculorum IX–XI in Suecia repertis* II, Stockholm 1968, pp. 3–38.

²⁸ Paszkiewicz: *The Pomeranian imitative coinage*, pp. 127–142.

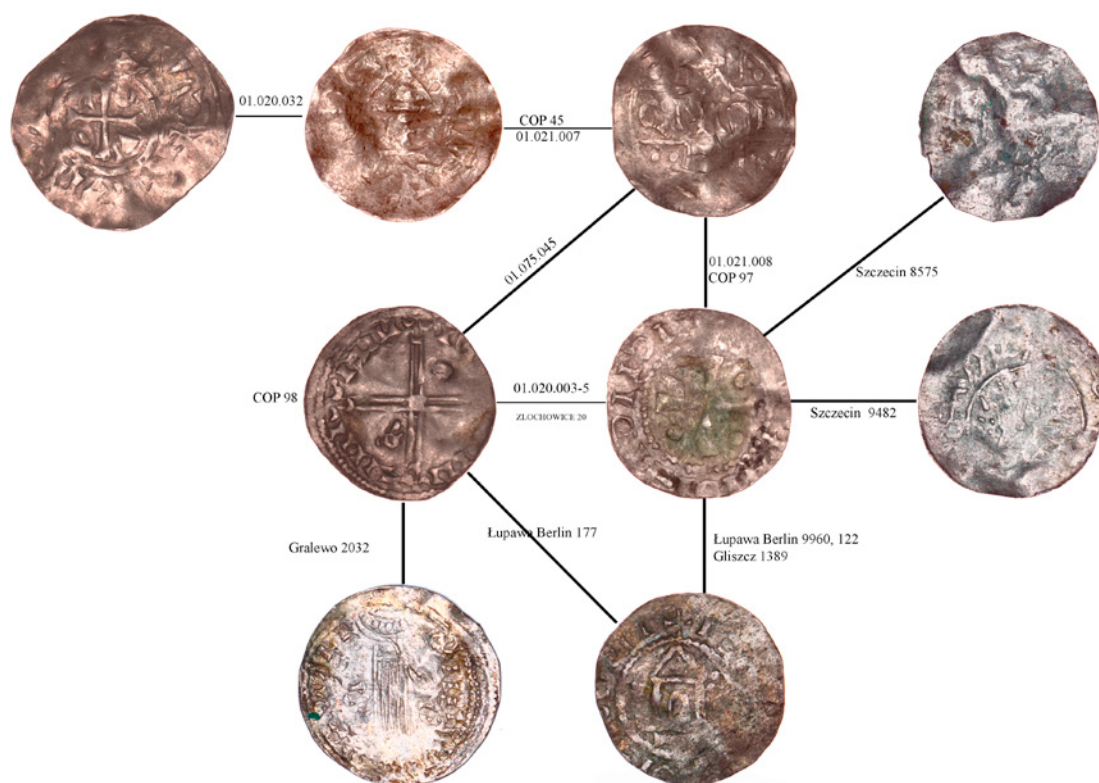


Fig. 6 Die chain of Pomeranian imitations of German, Hungarian and Danish coins (photo J. Magiera).



Fig. 7 Die chain of Pomeranian imitations of German and Danish coins (photo J. Magiera).

should divide Pomeranian coins into a few smaller groups, differentiated also by chronology because, until now, all kinds of imitations were treated simply as Łupawa types. This is not the place for such a study, and we are not able to provide a full explanation here.

In terms of an interpretation of the coins presented here, almost all are more or less secure dated to c. 1040–1060. The *Pointed Helmet* group is dated to the 1040s. The coins of Becker die chain II (Lund-Odense) are from the beginning of Sven Estridsen's reign, as are the Sven Estridsen Hauberg 27 type. Of similar date are the coins in three die chains – Hauberg 17/18, and two die chains (not discussed here in detail due to the lack of space) of Łupawa imitations published by P. Ilisch.²⁹ Coins forming these three chains are characterized by German, Danish and, to some extent, English patterns. Their dies were made properly, but the designs may be described as anomalous in small ways. Despite the fact that the coins are divided among three die-chains there are many similarities in style among them (e.g. Hbg 17/18, No. 1 is very similar to Ilisch, No. 1A I 1B³⁰; Hbg 17/18, No. B very similar to Ilisch No. 11; Ilisch No. 5 similar to Ilisch No. 22). In total, at this stage of research, an additional 33 dies may be identified (Hbg 17/18 – six dies, Ilisch large chain – eighteen dies, Ilisch 1990a small chain – nine dies). Additionally there are a number of single links. Based on an analysis of prototypes and chronology of hoards those coins may be dated to the middle of the eleventh century. Also from the beginning of Sven Estridsen's reign are the coins from the die chains with *Long Cross* (Hbg 18/25) and *Manus Dei* (Hbg 40–41) imitations; the triquetra die chain imitations have broader chronological ranges.

A natural candidate as the issuer of the coins is the Pomeranian duke, Siemomysł. Enigmatic Siemomysł appears at least two times in written sources from this period. The first time, 21 June 1040, is a reference recording that a few villages were reclaimed from someone called 'Sememizl' by Emperor Henry III, and those lands were then given to Naumburg Cathedral.³¹ We don't know why goods were reclaimed. It may have been due to Siemomysł supporting another Polish warlord, Miecław, in his activities against King Kazimierz Odnowiciel (Restorer), who from 1039 tried to stabilize his governance in Poland (see below). Siemomysł appears again in a record from 24 June 1046, where he is described as 'Zemuzil [dux] Bomeraniorum' in *Annales Altabenses maiores*³², standing as an equal to the

Czech king, Brzetysław, and Kazimierz Odnowiciel of Poland. Henry III called all three rulers to defuse conflicts between Siemomysł and Kazimierz Odnowiciel. Historians assume³³ that the subject of conflict, aside from fighting battles between Pomeranians and Kazimierz alongside Miecław from 1039, was Siemomysł's refusal to make a tribute payment to Kazimierz. During a second meeting, which took place in Meissen on 29 June 1046, rulers agreed to terms and made peace. As it is well known, Pomeranians (perhaps led by Siemomysł, although no sources confirm this) broke the agreement very soon after, and joined the battle of Pobiedziska in 1047 alongside Miecław, against Kazimierz.³⁴ There is also a third possible reference worth noting: this provides information about the Hungarian king, Bela I, who defeated an unnamed Pomeranian prince in 1043 during his exile in Poland.³⁵ It is uncertain whether this refers to Siemomysł, although it seems possible based on the context and chronology of events.

To summarize, this is what is known about the Pomeranian prince, Siemomysł: before 1040 he lived in Germany, or at least had property there. In 1040 his lands were reclaimed, which probably indicates that at this point in time he already functioned in Pomerania. It also suggests that he supported Miecław, which can be indirectly deduced by a reference about defeating the anonymous Pomeranian prince by Bela I. In the year 1046, following mediations before Henry III, peace was made between Siemomysł and Kazimierz, which was short-lived due to the fact that in 1047 the Pomeranians already supported Miecław in his last battle against Kazimierz. How and where do the coins fit into this geopolitical situation? It seems that two numismatic elements correspond well with the written sources. Most importantly, correctly copied and executed dies based on German prototypes, can be explained by the fact that Siemomysł was present in Germany before 1040.³⁶ It is not difficult to imagine the duke coming from Germany to Pomerania, and preparing for battle against Poland – and, in the process, also collecting funds, and taking with him a qualified craftsman – a die engraver or moneyer who would have produced coins for him. The second element that corresponds with the written sources is the single coin from

41. Some historians have doubts as to whether the 1040 'Sememizl' and the 1046 'Zemuzil' are one and the same person.

33 Edward Rymar: *Rodowód książąt pomorskich*, Książnica Pomorska 2005, p. 79; J. Sochacki: Relacja roczników altajskich o księciu pomorskim Zemuzile, in: I. Panic (ed.), *Średniowiecze Polskie i Powszechnie* 4, 2007, pp. 74–92; R. Schmidt: *Das historische Pomern. Personen, Orte, Ereignisse*, Köln-Weimar 2009, pp. 55–56.

34 Janusz Bieniak: *Państwo Miecława. Studium analityczne*, Warszawa 2010 (first edition 1963); Rymar: *Rodowód książąt pomorskich*, p. 79.

35 Rymar: *Rodowód książąt pomorskich*, pp. 72, 79.

36 Due to lack of space, those coins were not discussed here in detail, but see Ilisch: *Eine Serie westslawischer Münzen*.

29 Ilisch: *Eine Serie westslawischer Münzen*.

30 Ilisch: *Eine Serie westslawischer Münzen*.

31 *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Diplomatum Regum et Imperatorum Germaniae*, Tomus V. Heinrici III. Diplomata, Berlin 1931, No. 60, p. 78.

32 *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum Scholarum, Annales Altabenses maiores*, Hannover 1890, p.

the Łupawa hoard, which on one side has a cross in the type of Otto-Adeleide pennies and on the other side a cross taken from *Arm-and-Sceptre* type of Harthacnut and Magnus der Gode. The Otto-Adeleide die is well known and comes from coins attributed to the self-appointed Prince of Mazovia and ally of the Pomeranians in the conflict with Kazimierz Odnowiciel – Miećław.³⁷

Another important issue is to clarify the occurrence of many Danish influences and the transport of dies between Lund and Pomerania. In this case, written sources are not particularly helpful, but the geopolitical situation of these times sheds some more light on this aspect of the Pomeranian coinage. The key to understanding the Danish influence on the Pomeranian coinage are the battles for the crown between Magnus den Gode and Sven Estridsen, which took place between 1042 and 1047. The complicated struggle is well documented³⁸, so there is no need to report it once again in this article. What is interesting to this study is the fact that Sven allied with the Slavs in his fight against Magnus. Admittedly, sources only mention the Obodrite prince Gosztalk, but considering Magnus' invasion of Wolin in 1043³⁹, we cannot eliminate the fact that Sven allied with the Pomeranians under Siemomysł's leadership. It is also known, that c. 1044 Sven captured Scania, and in particular Lund, where the main mint of Denmark was located. Magnus, who needed a new sources of income, opened two new mints – in Hedeby and Odense. In the second one a set of dies from Lund were used, and probably some were relocated before the town was occupied. We know of three die chains between the mints in Lund and Odense.⁴⁰ Sven Estridsen probably started to strike his own coins in Lund with the king's title even before officially capturing the crown in 1047.⁴¹

As the new die-chains confirm, connections between Pomerania and Denmark in the mid-eleventh century were not incidental. And, if imitating Danish coins in Pomerania could be explained by the proximity of Denmark alone (but in this context we have to point out the small number of original Danish coins in Pomeranian hoards and single finds⁴²), the physical transportation of dies from Lund to Pomerania proves connections that went beyond just cul-

tural influences. We should also consider the possibility that Pomerania attacked Lund and stole the dies, but we assume – considering the written sources about Pomerania, Siemomysł and the Danish crown wars – that some form of political or economic interaction is much more plausible. In our opinion Siemomysł supported Sven Estridsen against Magnus den Gode during the battle for power in 1044–1047. It is possible, that after Sven Estridsen took the Danish crown, he supported his former ally Siemomysł, helping him to establish a more efficient mint. This could explain the presence of original Danish dies in Pomeranian Coinage.

Where were Siemomysł's Pomeranian coins produced? Considering the downfall of Wolin after Magnus den Gode's revenge attack in 1043, it seems the only possible location of a mint workshop under Siemomysł would have been in the early town of Budzistów near Kołobrzeg, which, at that time, was the biggest centre of power in Pomerania.⁴³ The history of the eleventh-century Pomeranian coinage does not end with the coins presented here. Without going into detail, it is important to note the newest attribution of Borys Paszkiewicz, who based an analysis of hoards and single finds from Gdańsk and historical studies of B. Śliwiński⁴⁴ and E. Rymar⁴⁵, and suggests that in second part of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth century two centres – certainly Białogard in the west and Nakło in the south – could produce its own coins made of poor silver.⁴⁶ Before presenting a short summary of the Pomeranian coinage, one other find should be mentioned, which is usually listed as a common example of a deposit of coins in Łupawa type – namely, the Włynków hoard. It should be emphasized that the coins from Włynków differ from coins from Łupawa, Gliszcz and Gralewo. As Łupawa coins are made from good silver and include a variety of types, so pennies from Włynków imitate mostly cross pennies of the latest types and were minted on often misshaped polygenic plates which were harder than Łupawa imitation flans, due to the small amount of silver used in their production. The result is visible cracks in the flans. Due to the fact that at least one of the dies seen in the Łupawa hoard is used among Włynków hoard coins, it seems there is an indirect link between actual imitations of Łupawa type and low grade pieces from Gdańsk.

37 Bogucki: Some Polish imitations of Otto-Adelheid-Pfennige, pp. 111–126; idem: Czy istnieją monety Miećława, pp. 135–146.

38 In Polish literature by Jakub Morawiec: *Wojna Magnusa Dobrego ze Swenem Ulfssonem o rządy w Danii (1042–1047) w świetle źródeł pisanych i numizmatycznych*, *Magazyn Numizmatyczny* 36, 2008.

39 Jakub Morawiec: *Wolin w średniowiecznej tradycji skandynawskiej*, Kraków 2010.

40 Becker: Lund – Odense – Lund, pp. 175–178.

41 Becker: Studies in the Danish Coinage, p. 459; idem: Lund – Odense – Lund, p. 176.

42 Żak: Die Münzen aus Lund, pp. 279–285.

43 Lech Leciejewicz, Marian Rębkowski: *Salsa Cholbergensis*.

Kołobrzeg w średniowieczu, Kołobrzeg 2000; idem: *Kołobrzeg*.

Średniowieczne miasto nad Bałtykiem, Kołobrzeg 2000; idem:

Kołobrzeg. Wczesne miasto nad Bałtykiem, *Origines Polonorum* 2, Warszawa 2007.

44 Błażej Śliwiński: Pomorze w polityce i strukturze państwa wczesnopiastowskiego (X–XII w.), *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 107 2, 2000, pp. 3–40; idem: *Początki Gdańska. Dzieje ziem nad zachodnim brzegiem Zatoki Gdańskiej w I połowie X wieku*, Gdańsk 2009.

45 Rymar: *Rodowód książąt pomorskich*.

46 Paszkiewicz: The Pomeranian imitative coinage, pp. 127–142.

Based on the present study, it seems we can try to present an initial outline of our conclusions concerning the eleventh century coinage in Pomerania (Fig. 8). No doubt this proposal is preliminary and requires confronting with other sources and more detailed and further analysis of other types of coins from Łupawa, Gliszcz, Galewo, Włynków, Gdańsk and other finds. The chronology and production centres proposed here should be treated as preliminary, particularly those concerning coins minted in the second part of the eleventh century. While the chronology of the first Siemomysł coinage can be confirmed by written sources,

his anonymous successors are absent there. The proposed chronology is based only on the dating of the prototypes and the process of reducing the quality of silver used for production of flans, which was a common process in the second half of the eleventh century. Also, the proposed location of mints in Budzistów, Białogród and Nakło are suppositions, and should be treated as an initial proposal. Finally, the identification of some of the coins with the Prince of Pomerania Zemuzil/Siemomysł might not be accepted by all. We can only postulate that in this case the attribution is a distinct possibility.

	Wolin	Budzistowo	Białogard?	Nakło?
1000–1030	?	?	–	–
ca. 1030–1043	– pearly style?	?	–	
ca. 1043–c. 1047	–	Siemomysł – Hbg 17/18; – Ilisch 1990; – „Mieclaw”	–	–
ca. 1047–ca. 1069/70	–	Siemomysł – Pointed Helmet; – Hbg 27; – Becker II – die chains, Fig. 6–7	–	–
ca. 1069/70–ok. 1100	–	Various imitations from high quality silver	Various imitations from high quality silver	Various imitations from high quality silver
ca. 1090–ok. 1100	–	Type Włynkowo?	Type Włynkowo?	Type Włynkowo?
ca. 1100–ok. 1020	–	?	– imitations from red metal	Świętopełk (1109–1013) – imitations from yellow metal

Fig. 8 Schematic proposal of dates and attribution of Pomeranian imitations from the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth century.