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PRE-TEUTONIC GDAŃSK AND COIN FINDS: NUMISMATICS BETWEEN HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

ABSTRACT: Our aim is to show that numismatics can provide important information about early history of a settlement in the face of a shortage of other types of evidence. We will study the case of Gdańsk. There is a record on the existence of the town (*urbs*) of Gdańsk from 997, but no sufficiently considerable archaeological traces of this town were found. Therefore, we do not know where the oldest Gdańsk was located. Most likely, the settlement relics from that time were destroyed as a result of fortification works at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries. However, the destruction of stratigraphic structures does not mean the destruction of certainly dated historical artefacts, and above all, coins. Registration of early medieval coin finds from the area of Gdańsk provides knowledge of the extent of settlement and functional changes of individual parts of the town complex.

ABSTRAKT: Celem niniejszego artykułu jest pokazanie, że numizmatyka może dostarczyć ważnych informacji o wczesnej historii osadnictwa w przypadku braku innych źródeł. Przeanalizujemy przypadek Gdańska. Miasto (*urbs*) Gdańsk odnotowano już w 997 r., ale nie znaleziono dostatecznie wyraźnych śladów archeologicznych z tego czasu. Dlatego nie wiemy, gdzie znajdował się najstarszy Gdańsk. Najprawdopodobniej pozostałości osadnictwa z tamtego okresu uległy zniszczeniu w wyniku prac fortyfikacyjnych prowadzonych na przełomie XVIII i XIX wieku. Zniszczenie stratygrafii nie oznacza jednak utraty dobrze datowanych zabytków, przede wszystkim monet. Znaleźiska wczesnośredniowiecznych monet z okolic Gdańska dostarczają wiedzy o zasięgu osadnictwa i zmian w funkcjonowaniu poszczególnych części zespołu miejskiego.

KEYWORDS: Gdańsk, early medieval coins, dirhams, coin finds, history of a settlement

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: Gdańsk, monety wczesnośredniowieczne, dirhemy, znaleźiska monet, historia osadnictwa

Gdańsk is known as a city with the oldest written record in Poland. Carefully avoiding the issue of Kalisz and keeping away from postcholastic disputes on what was and was not a city or a town in the Middle Ages, one cannot deny that in the *Life of Saint Adalbert*, written before 1000 AD, one can read that in 997 the saint *adiit primo urbem Gyddanyzc*.¹ Traditionally, this *urbs* was located on the moraine hill of Hagensberg, Hagelsberg or Heidenberg, known after 1945 known as Góra Gradowa or Grodzisko. However, fortification works – especially those conducted at the beginning of the 19th century – practically destroyed the area in terms of its archaeological value, making it seemingly impossible to verify this belief scientifically. The 1945 annihilation of another part of the city, Zamczysko (das Alte Schloss), once a location of the Teutonic castle, was used for great, modern and – most importantly – published archaeological studies. Their result was a widely propagated image of a mighty wooden castle on an island, surrounded by the waters of the Vistula and the Motława in the place where they enter the *Estmere*. That was *urbs Gyddanyzc*, built by Mieszko I almost *manu propria*! This suggestive vision, on which many particular and general theses have been based, collapsed after half a century, when dendro-chronological studies showed that the stronghold had only been built in the second half of the 11th century. Since that time, the academic world has been in confusion about the beginnings of Gdańsk, deepened even further by the long anticipation of the publication of the sensational archaeological material from the research carried out in Gdańsk's Old Town in the first twenty years of the 21st century.²

Will numismatics be able to reinstate the contact between archaeology and history in their study of this issue? Unexpectedly, the affirmative answer was given by Błażej Śliwiński, a medievalist historian, who relied extensively on finds of early medieval coins in his deliberations on when, where and how early Gdańsk was established.³ Given the ambiguity of the few written records and the destruction of archaeological data related to the key section of the city, it is the coin finds that gain in importance as a historical source. In Śliwiński's approach, the coins turned out to be the relatively most durable archaeological sources: they attracted attention, were more difficult to destroy due to earthworks and easier to identify, or at least to provide a description serving later as the basis for a specialist study. Despite the

¹ *Pomniki* 1962, p. 40.

² This work, written in 2018 at the request of the Museum of Archaeology in Gdańsk, was supposed to be an element of such a publication in the "Origines Polonorum" series. However, in view of the project's regrettable failure, I am presenting it here in a modified form. I would like to thank Director Beata Ceynowa for her encouragement, making the material available to me and continuous assistance in my work. I am thankful to Mr Zbigniew Misiuk for sharing with me the unknown material and extensive information. I would also like to thank Mr Grzegorz Arkuszewski and Mr Paweł Milejski for sharing with me the results of their unpublished studies on coins from Gdańsk. Some of the works were conducted as part of the scientific programme "Corpus of Polish Hohlpfennigs (the mid 1200s – early 1400s)", financed by the National Centre for Science, no. DEC-2014/15/B/HS3/02196.

³ Śliwiński 2009, pp. 169-174.

lack of a stratigraphic context, owing to their two-dimensional location they provided a considerable amount of information, appreciated by the historian. According to the knowledge available before 2009, finds of coins older than the middle of the 11th century were registered only in the Grodzisko area, which supported the conclusion that there was the early Gdańsk craft and commercial centre, while the Motława banks could only be the location of agricultural and livestock settlements.

Although we have not witnessed such an appreciation of our discipline in non-numismatic literature for long, for a decade Śliwiński's work has remained almost unnoticed by Polish numismatics. Therefore, we should finally accept the challenge and take the work into consideration, paying attention not only to the old, but also new material, as well as to the so far most complete list of finds of early medieval coins, published in the meantime in the inventory *Frühmittelalterliche Münzfunde aus Polen (FMP)*, volumes II and V/II, by Mateusz Bogucki and his team. However, both the find records and the coin data deserve critical reflection, as not all of the research conducted to date can be accepted unreservedly. While finally addressing the issue, it is appropriate to extend it with equally important discoveries of coins from subsequent centuries in order to find out whether numismatics may provide new knowledge about the poorly investigated question of the first foundation of Gdańsk under Lübeck law, granted by Duke Świętopełk before 1263.⁴

Here we are going to consider finds of coins that preceded the destruction of Gdańsk, made by the Teutonic Knights in 1308. New discoveries, if still not discussed, will be considered in details elsewhere. We will focus here on the evidence which the found coins give to the early history of the Gdańsk settlement complex, with the intention of providing those studying the issue with arguments based on sources.

1. ACHIEVEMENTS OF RESEARCH TO DATE

In the case of Gdańsk, whose role as a regional centre of power and an important centre of trade – practically from the beginning of its existence confirmed in written sources at the end of the 10th century – is not questioned, coin researchers were primarily expected to identify the local coinage. Friedrich August Voßberg from Strzelno, the founder of modern Prussian numismatics, complained that the coins found around Gdańsk, dating back to the pre-Teutonic period, did not shed light on the city's earlier history, as they came from the pagan times. He meant both Roman gold coins and Arabic dirhams.⁵ Not much changed in the first half of the 20th century.

During the "Millennium" archaeological research of Zamczysko and the Old Town (see Fig. 1) in the years 1948-1958 (the then names: site 1 in Rycerska Street and Dylinki, site 2 at Podwale Staromiejskie 69-76, site 4 at Podwale Staromiejskie

⁴ On this very uncertain and widely discussed date, see Śliwiński 2003, pp. 191-192.

⁵ Voßberg 1841, pp. 2-3.

57-59, late medieval site 8 in Osiek, opposite property 17)⁶ nine single coins and a small hoard composed of eight coins were found. The figures may not impress today, when an archaeologist equipped with a metal detector, in accordance with the basic contemporary requirements of his profession, is able to retrieve several hundred coins from a medieval settlement, but at the time it was a considerable achievement. What made it even more significant was the fact that the find was handed over to a numismatist for study, which even today is not a common procedure. Charged with the task, Anatol Gupieniec in his study drew on the generous literature data on foreign early medieval coins in Gdańsk and its vicinity. Apart from the hoard, dating back to the 15th century, the coins turned out to be unusual and largely unprecedented, which meant that the numismatist was not able to say much and could only provide a careful description and a publication, which we today find extremely useful.⁷ The finds of coins from the archaeological research of Gdańsk have been recently given a book monography,⁸ but the excavations the coins came from were located almost exclusively outside the area of the pre-charter and early municipal settlement, so the number of coins from before 1308 was minimal. The excavations not opened at the time or just not yet studied, soon yielded a particularly great deal of material, related especially to the period between the 8th and the 13th century, so the period of the formation of the urban structure, which was to be fundamentally transformed at the beginning of the 14th century. The works were conducted in Zamczysko and the Old Town, in Czopowa, Olejarna and Tartaczna Streets. So far, together with Beata Ceynowa and Bogdan Kościński we have studied only part of the coins found there.⁹ The coins from Czopowa Street have been included in the latest inventory of early medieval finds.¹⁰

2. FINDS OF COINS FROM BEFORE 1308 IN THE AREA OF GDAŃSK

The vast administrative area of today's Gdańsk municipality is rich in finds, especially of early medieval coins, but material from distant districts, such as Oliwa, Stegna or Rębiechowo,¹¹ will be included here only as a background. We will

⁶ See Barnycz-Gupieniec 1998 for a description of the sites at that time; for some incomprehensible reasons while writing about the excavations, the authors avoid to show a general map, despite the fact that the numbering of the properties on Podwale Staromiejskie has changed.

⁷ Gupieniec 1963.

⁸ Paszkiewicz 2013.

⁹ Paszkiewicz 2012; Kościński 2003, pp. 33-34; Ceynowa and Paszkiewicz 2014.

¹⁰ *FMP* II, 53.

¹¹ *FMP* II, 56-57, 196. I was informed about the finds from Rębiechowo by Paweł Milejski, who studied the coins for the Museum of Archaeology in Gdańsk. This is essentially the 11th century material.

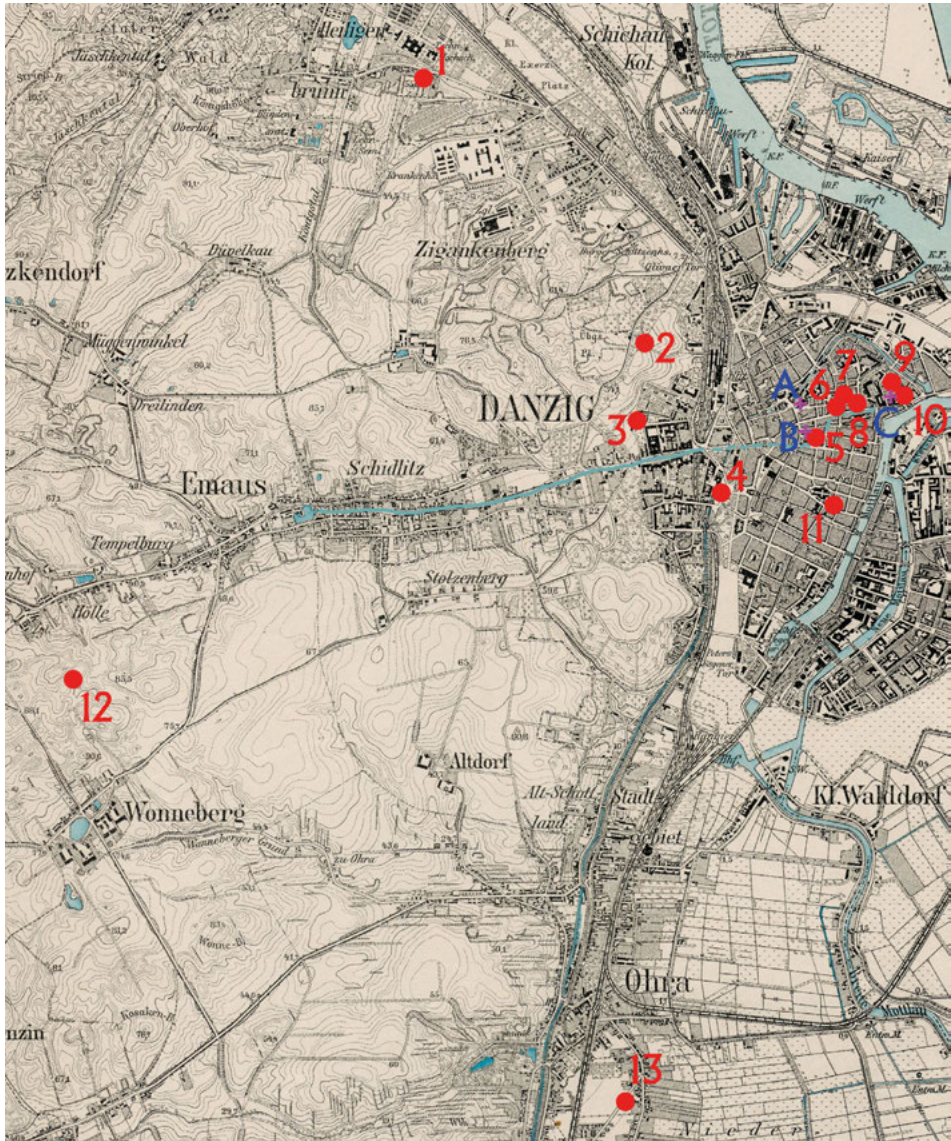


Fig. 1. The places discussed in the work on the map of Königlich Preußische Landesaufnahme from 1908 (ed. 1910, circulation of 1918), Danzig 1677/391, 1:25 000. **Churches:** A St Catherina, B St Nicholas, C Virgin Mary in stronghold (not located). **Findspots:** **Wrzeszcz:** 1 – Góra Szubieniczna. **Grodzisko:** 2 – Grodzisko (Góra Gradowa); 3 – Strzelecka Street. **“Blackfriars ait”:** 5 — Market Hall (Dominikański Square). **Old Town:** 6 – Olejarna; 7 – Tartaczna (Tartaczna and Panińska Streets); 8 – Podwale Staromiejskie. **Zamczysko:** 9 – Rycerska; 10 – Czopowa. **“Długi Targ settlement cluster”:** 11 – Klesza. **Periphery:** 4 – Targ Sienny; 12 – Ujeścisko; 13 – Orunia. A reconstruction of the course of the Siedlecki Stream (the Gdania?) according to Z. Maciakowska (2009) marked with a blue dotted line.

concentrate on those places where the early settlement and political centre, which later developed into Gdańsk, may have formed, so an area no more than 2 km away from the 17th century city fortifications. The finds of coins, discussed in chronological order, with reports taken from the old literature, show us four phases of the presence of coins in early medieval Gdańsk:

Phase 1: an inflow of Arabic coins, from the second half of the 8th century to the middle of the 10th century. As we will see, it is divided into two very unequal sub-phases.

Phase 2: after an interval, an inflow of Western European coins from about 995/1000.

Phase 3: Western coins after 1030 (rather about 1040) are accompanied by Pomeranian coins. The influx of coins from the West ceases gradually, whereas among Pomeranian coins the local, Gdańsk issue appears and immediately gains the advantage in the last years of the 11th century. The phase lasts until the second decade of the 12th century.

Phase 4: after an interruption, there is a return of local coinage and, to a lesser extent, a reappearance of imported coins (mainly from Poland and Western Pomerania), lasting, probably without any interruptions, from about 1190 until the second half of the 13th century. In the 1270s the coins disappear again from the studied area.

With relation to the knowledge gained to that point, the gathered material grew so much that it was possible to present it as divided into the phases, moreover, its beginning was significantly shifted back – up to that point the earliest recorded hoards and finds of single coins in the area of the Gdańsk settlement complex, although quite numerous, were not older than the first half of the 10th century. Even more knowledge was generated after the discovery of the local coinage from the end of the 11th century. It should also be stressed that the determination of the presence or absence of Polish coins in early medieval Gdańsk is equally important. The issue has been neglected in studies so far (except for the superficial remarks made by Gupieniec, who mistakenly classified Saxon cross pennies as Polish coins).¹²

Phase 1a

The new research provided finds of Arabic coins which were older than those recorded in the area of early medieval Gdańsk before. These are mainly two fragments of dirhams from the Tartaczna site, from the beginning of the Abbasid coinage, namely the years 750-757 (probably not later than 755) and 763-765 AD (see the list of finds at the end of the article, nos. Ve: 1-2, and the annex by Grzegorz Arkuszewski). The coins were found in different layers and objects (as far as we know, younger ones), so they are unrelated. Just a little younger was the al-Mahdi coin from 779/80 AD found before 1724 somewhere around (rather not

¹² Gupieniec 1963, pp. 174-176 and 179.

far away from) Gdańsk.¹³ Can we assume that the dirhams from Tartaczna Street, similarly to the Roman coins discovered in Gdańsk (in Tartaczna Street it was Marcus Aurelius's denarius), always deprived of a contemporary context, were just accidentally brought there by man or nature from older, destroyed sites? Rather not, as they are two finds, chronologically close to each other and rare, typical of early hoards such as the Drohiczyn one. On the other hand, however, the later of the two dirhams, of al-Mansur, is seriously worn out, which is indicative of its long circulation.

The first step in the interpretation of these finds must consist in relating them to Władysław Łosiński's concept of re-exporting of early Arabic coins from Prussia to Gdańsk Pomerania, either at the end of the 9th or in the first half of the 10th century.¹⁴ Although Sławomir Wadył has demonstrated that Łosiński's hypothesis was based on weak and largely discredited premises,¹⁵ one should not forget that false premises may lead to a true conclusion. However, the presence of obsolete dirhams in 10th-century hoards (sometimes a significant presence of very obsolete dirhams) is not a phenomenon characteristic of the Gdańsk region only. Dariusz Adamczyk believes that "the already hoarded stocks of older silver, belonging to the tribal elite, [...] were later taken out of hiding and, if necessary – for whatever reason – reintroduced into circulation".¹⁶ In the discussion on the chronology of the influx of dirhams into the Baltic Sea area the position was formed that it should be based on a chronology of hoards, usually quite clear, rather than on the dating of single coins, which could have remained in circulation long before being hidden in the ground.¹⁷ Indeed, without any data on the archaeological context of all the three dirhams, we cannot reject the possibility that they were, indeed, concealed much later. However, if they had been re-introduced into circulation, we would also have later, and rather more numerous Arabic coins in Tartaczna Street as their numismatic context. What we actually have are only these two individual, very early coins, which suggests equally early or slightly later import. If seen in the context not as much of Gdańsk as of the entire Baltic Sea area, they will not make us risk the proposition that those two or three specimens preceded the earliest influx of Arab silver in the 780s, recorded in the collective finds in the area of Uppsala and Staraya Ladoga. The condition of the heavily worn out al-Mansur's dirham also suggests moderation in drawing conclusions. It is possible to link the coins to the earliest influx of dirhams into nearby Truso, although it should be noted that even against that background¹⁸ they are very early specimens. If we take into account

¹³ *FMP* II, 65.

¹⁴ Łosiński 1988, pp. 133-135.

¹⁵ Wadył 2015a, pp. 222-227.

¹⁶ Adamczyk 2018, p. 221.

¹⁷ For more literature, see in: Bogucki 2016, p. 240.

¹⁸ Cf. *FMP* V, 18 and 19.

the generally accepted view that such coins reached Truso via the aforementioned northern centres, it is probably impossible to exclude the possibility that these early dirhams also reached Gdańsk directly from there.¹⁹ The Prussian route may be confirmed, however, by the fact that both coins from Tartaczna Street are regularly cut in halves, which is a feature commonly noted in Prussian finds (unfortunately, not registered in *FMP*). This issue undoubtedly deserves further discussion, especially in the context of non-numismatic historical objects from Tartaczna Street.

Phase 1b

Another Arabic coin with an early coinage date: the dirham of the Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mūn from 812-820, was found in an excavation in Strzelecka Street (Fig. 2). This is an area in the vicinity of Grodzisko. Like the previous ones, this dirham is chronologically isolated, but the literature associates Grodzisko with two later hoards containing, among others, Arabic coins, and in recent years there was also a single find of a Samanid dirham of Nasr ibn Ahmad from the years 914-943.²⁰ The Abbasid dirham most probably left the Caliphate during the late stage of the same first wave of the influx of silver Arabic coin into the Baltic Sea area. So far, apart from Truso, coins from this first wave have been seen in Mecklenburg, and in Pomerania they have been components of hoards from Grzybowo near Kołobrzeg and Kretomino near Koszalin. On the eastern, Prussian bank of the Vistula River, similar hoards were found near Gdańsk, in Stegna, and in several localities on the coast off Truso. The distribution of single finds looks similar.²¹ New finds have corrected this perception by slightly expanding the scope of the early-Abbasid coin in Western Pomerania,²² but most of all by producing a significant number of coins from the Prussian interior.²³

Is it true that al-Ma'mūn's dirham does not have its contemporary or slightly later context in the area of Grodzisko? The earliest find of Arabic coins recorded so far and connected with Gdańsk was made before 1851 in an undetermined area, probably not very far away from the city: the hoard from

¹⁹ Suchodolski 2017, p. 371, demonstrates that the chronology of the oldest dirham hoards in the Baltic Sea area indicates that inhabitants of shores traded with northern Rus directly and not by stages. This reasoning can also be applied to the very early dirhams from Gdańsk, although the significance of this centre was for many years much smaller.

²⁰ *FMP* II, nos. 44, 45 and 55. The news that this Samanid coin was donated to the Museum of Archaeology in Gdańsk is not true – B. Ceynowa, personal message.

²¹ I discuss old finds in more detail and collect literature in Paszkiewicz 2013, pp. 213-214.

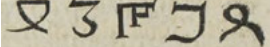
²² *FMP* V/II, 293, 297, 302, 303 and 304.

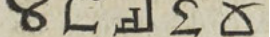
²³ *FMP* V, 1, 5, 8, 11, 14, 16, 24, 26, 28, 29, 30, 35, 38, 39, 42, 43, 49, 51, 53 and 57. This extraordinary expansion of the source base in the Warmińsko-Mazurskie Voivodeship probably resulted in part from the rational policy of the Olsztyn Voivodeship Heritage Protection Service, which created favourable conditions for the disclosure of finds.



Fig. 2. Arab Caliphate, Abbasids, ‘Abd Allah al-Ma’mūn, dirham, year? [812-820], mint? Silver, c. 1/3 of the coin, 1.07g, 20.9×13.5 mm. Gdańsk, Strzelecka Street, excavation 14, layer 283, Museum of Archaeology, Gdańsk (FMP II, 49). Photo by B. Paszkiewicz.

Gdańsk (vicinity) II (*tpq* 849²⁴). Like in the case of the single al-Mahdi dirham mentioned earlier, it is difficult to expect the part of Grodzisko within the city ramparts to be referred to as “the vicinity of Gdańsk”, so the hoard was most likely found outside the modern fortifications – it is not known whether there is any connection with the hill of Grodzisko, which was not wholly encompassed by the rampants. But as early as in 1591 on Grodzisko, there was a discovery of Arabic and ‘Ottonian’ coins, interpreted as a hoard, so allegedly late and repeatedly referred to in the literature as such.²⁵ The original message on this subject undermines the “hoard” interpretation, but at the same time it reveals data that has not yet been taken into consideration. The City Secretary of Gdańsk, Caspar Schütz, wrote in 1592 that a year earlier on Heidenberg hill (one of the names of today’s Grodzisko), gold (!) and silver coins with inscriptions difficult to read had been found near pagan urn graves. Among other things, he wrote that “certain people who looked for these things diligently”, found a coin (from which gold and silver casts were later made²⁶), with an oblit-

erated margin inscription and the letters in the field: .²⁷ In the letters shown on the typographic reproduction one can easily recognise the up-

side-down first line of the Shahada: , written with loosely spaced letters. Such a notation was used on eastern dirhams (the western ones are practically non-existent in Poland) until the end of the 9th century, and this type of coin was found on Grodzisko. The strange bend of the first loose letter *lam* was probably caused by mistakenly joining it with an element of the margin legend on a not perfectly legible coin. It could have been the end of the last letter of the date written in the margin – then it would have been *تِسْعُونَ*, *tisa’in*, “ninety” (Fig. 3),

²⁴ FMP II, 62.

²⁵ FMP II, 44.

²⁶ This message is worth noting. It suggests that a certain source potential may be hidden in early-modern goldsmith objects, rarely explored by numismatists.

²⁷ Schütz 1592, p. 9r.

and the described coin would be dated to the last decade of the 1st century of Hijrah (*i.e.* 708-718 AD). It could also be the initial word of the legend, بِسْمِ 'bi-smi, 'in the name', written not very clearly in the arch (Fig. 4). In this form, it occurs at the same time as the previous one, during the reign of al-Walid ibn 'Abd al-Malik (705-715). However, these hypotheses would require a broader comparative study, which – unfortunately – we are not competent to conduct. At the very least, one can assume that the dirham described by Schütz was coined before the year 900.



Fig. 3. Obverse of Umayyad dirham: al-Walid I ibn 'Abd al-Malik, 94 H. (712/13 AD), Wasit mint. Silver, 2.75 g, 26 mm. DeaMoneta Auctions, LAC Auction 51, no. 382 (<https://www.deamoneta.com/auctions/view/397/382>).



Fig. 4. Obverse of Umayyad dirham: al-Walid I ibn 'Abd al-Malik, 91 H. (709/10 AD), mint Sidjistan (Zaranj). Silver, 2.86 g. MKIC (Dubai), auction 5, no. 24 (<https://www.numisbids.com/n.php?p=lot&sid=2774&lot=24>).

Meanwhile, Schütz's note was linked with the six dirhams stored in the 19th century in the Gdańsk City Library and possibly with a mention of their Grodzisko origin. However, the dirhams from the library look like a fragment of a hoard (and this is how the literature interprets them)²⁸, while Schütz's account relates to indi-

²⁸ See Kiersnowscy 1959, no. 30.

vidual finds (their grave context has not been clearly defined, so maybe it is just a matter of a topographical coincidence). The fragment of the hoard is difficult to date, as only the names of the mints were identified, without the dates or names of the rulers. From the mints – all large and long-running ones – the youngest one was the manufacture in ash-Shash, whose oldest coins come from 166 AH (782/3 AD).²⁹ However, the hoard may as well come from the 10th century. The alleged Ottonian coin will be discussed later, since it belongs to phase 2.

There is therefore a reliable context for the early finds in the area, including Grodzisko. The dirham of al-Ma'mūn could then arrive in Gdańsk at a time close to the time of its minting, or at least before the end of the 9th century. However, a later, secondary influx of the coin is also possible, as a result of its re-entry into circulation at the end of the 9th or the first half of the 10th century. This time we cannot reject such a possibility, basing on a lack of later Arabic coins.

The next dirham was found in yet another area of Gdańsk, in Klesza Street in the Right City (no. VII: 1 on the list, see Grzegorz Arkuszewski's Annex). This is a very interesting, probably Bulgarian forgery of a coin of the Iranian Samanid dynasty, struck after 934 and finding its closest analogy in the Kyïv area (see G. Arkuszewski's Annex). This find must be analysed on several levels, each of which should be approached in depth, for which we do not have enough space here. First of all, as a forged Arabic coin, it is a rare specimen within today's borders of Poland. We know of three forgeries of early-Abbasid dirhams from the Truso emporium (Janów Pomorski). Two of them were made in a similar way: struck in copper or similar metal and later probably coated with silver; the third specimen is lead. The correctness of the inscriptions and dies in general allowed us to assume that they were created in an environment where Arabic writing was used.³⁰ The Gdańsk specimen was based on a century younger model (which probably corresponds to the actual age difference of these objects), and the inscriptions are undoubtedly mistaken. A fragment of an uncertain copper dirham, therefore a forgery, was also found in Wolin.³¹ The possible Volga-Bulgarian origin of the forgery from Klesza Street opens up a new field of observation of trade connections in the 10th century Gdańsk Bay area. The findspot is situated in the Right City, not far from the so-called "settlement cluster in the area of Długi Targ", *i.e.* Kuśnierska Street, where wooden structures dating back to 932 and 901 were discovered.³² Similar dating: 901-936, was determined for the wood from the Artus Court's underground excavation, *i.e.* within a similar distance.³³ A fragment of a dirham, poorly legible

²⁹ Czapkiewicz *e.a.* 1957, p. 213.

³⁰ Bogucki 2008, pp. 210-211 and 225.

³¹ Horoszko 2014, p. 283.

³² Paner 1998, p. 198.

³³ Kochanowski 1999, p. 122; it is possible that both authors have the same samples in mind.

and therefore only generally dated to the first half of the 10th century, perhaps a Samanid one, was discovered in Targ Sienny (no. III: 1 in the list, see Grzegorz Arkuszewski's Annex). For the time being, it is difficult to give it an early-medieval context.

Let us extend the dirhams' finds by a discovery made in a slightly distant Wrzeszcz, where two fragments of Samanid coins were found in an undetermined place before 2001: one from the middle of the 10th century, and the other dated broadly to the 10th century.³⁴

Phase I (if one can treat it as a whole) is partly evidenced by finds of uncertain location, but also without them we can see a concentration of Arabic coins around Grodzisko (a hoard and three single coins), with forward outposts in Wrzeszcz (two coins), in Targ Sienny (one), in the Old Town (two) and even in the Right Town (one coin from Klesza Street). The finds do not align themselves along the Siedlecki Stream as only the Tartaczna site is situated close to it. The generality of the find descriptions that have been published hitherto did not allow for noticing the gap between purely Arabic coinage and the phase of the dominant West European silver coins. Still, no late 10th century Arab coins have been so far observed in the material from the Gdańsk settlement complex.³⁵ There are no coins typical of the late stage of the influx of Arab silver coins, *i.e.* Buwaihid, Hamdanid or Ziyarid dirhams or Byzantine coins.³⁶ This could be a result of the incompleteness of our knowledge, but a similar absence can be observed among single coins starting the next phase: there are not even such typical tenth-century western coins as the *Temple* type cross pennies or Hedeby semi-bracteates (coins from both groups were found in Gdańsk but in much later, mid-11th century hoards). All this indicates an interval in the inflow of coins to Gdańsk, which started around 950 and lasted – as we will soon see – until the 990s.

Phase 2


The determination of the beginning of the western coin influx, which – according to views based on the observation of finds from Poland and neighbouring countries – replaced Arabic silver, requires an analysis not of current finds, which have not

³⁴ *FMP* II, 60. It is not clear whether they were found separately or in an assemblage.

³⁵ There is also a hoard from Gdańsk Oliwa II (outside the area discussed here), dated with a Samanid dirham back to 951/2 AD (*FMP* II, 57). It seems, however, that the only source of information about this hoard was the famous teacher from Święty Wojciech, Józef Nikodem Pawłowski, which means that the information is unbelievable (Ciołek 1998). The attraction of the finds fabricated by Pawłowski – this “hoard” included – makes researchers try to salvage this information for science, perhaps unconsciously, by believing that the lies were limited to coins unusual to the Gdańsk area. These are, unfortunately, *pia desideria* – all of Pawłowski's information needs to be confirmed with another, independent source.

³⁶ The information about single Byzantine coins from the Gdańsk area (*FMP* II, 66) comes exclusively from J.N. Pawłowski (see the previous footnote; Wolsborn 1886).

provided any new data related to the issue, but of the first information on coins dated to the second half of the 10th century found in Gdańsk known to history. Let us then return to Caspar Schütz's account. It includes the following description of the next coin from Heidenberg hill: „On one side of the second broad penny there is an image of a queen resembling an old woman, and on the other an open hand

placed between those two letters: ”³⁷. The later literature interpreted it as a German coin of “Otto’s”,³⁸ and yet it is not difficult to see it as a quite precisely described ‘Aethelred’ type Bohemian penny. Thanks to the characteristic marks on the reverse, we even know that it was Soběslav Slavník’s penny, of type Cach 1970, nos. 149 or 150, struck in Malín in the years c.990-995 (Fig. 5). The description of two other coins, despite the author’s antique associations and the determination of their size as “more or less a quarter taler” may have concerned medieval coins. After all, the accounts were distorted by completely mistakenly interpreted images, renaissance erudition and pagan interpretation, and attempts to understand them, unsuccessful for over 300 years do not promise well.³⁹ In any case, Soběslav’s denar is the earliest western coin found individually in Gdańsk. In this way we established the third oldest find of a Bohemian coin in Eastern Pomerania after the hoard from Słupsk⁴⁰ and the single find of the coin of Boleslaus II (967/72-999) in Gniew.⁴¹ More or less contemporary are also hoards from Mierzeszyn (between Pruszcz and Kościerzyna) and Garsk near Człuchów, hidden

³⁷ Schütz 1592, p. 9r.

³⁸ Schwandt 1905, p. 131.

³⁹ For amateurs of puzzles, however, they are worth quoting: „Noch sind andere Silberne Groschen gefunden, so breit als ein Ort vom Taler vngefehr, auff der einen seiten stehet eine gekrönete Königinne, hinder dem heubt gehet ein Pfeil herfür, vnd für jhrem Angesichte stehet dieser Character ☿ wie man des Mercurij Zeichen figuriret oder malet, an dem einen Rande bey dem Pfeile stehen diese Buchstaben, die noch wol vnd deutlich zu lesen sind: LECIPORVS. Am andern Rande gegen der Königinne Angesicht diese CRASSIVRA. Auff der andern seiten des Groschens stehet eine Gießkanne, vnd ein Sieg- oder Triumpffharnisch, die Vberschrift aber ist für alters verblichen, das man keinen Buchstaben kennen kan. Noch weiter ist gefunden, ein ander art solcher breiten Groschen, die haben auff einer seiten, eine gekrönete Königinne mit diesen Buchstaben die noch leserlich sind: CESTIANVS. Auff der andern seiten eine Todtenbahre zugedecket, vnd sitzet ein Menschen Bilde darauff, mit verhülletem Angesicht, die Vmschripte kan man gar nicht lesen”. The first of the described coins is probably a poorly legible Prague groschen of Wenceslas IV (1378-1419), identifiable by fragments of legends (*Tercius?*, *Grossi Pra?*) and the “symbol of Mercury” – a lion’s forked tail. It would be an unverifiable guess to suggest that CESTIANVS was also misread [*Wen*]ceslaus, and the last coin was also a Prague groschen of this king.

⁴⁰ Albrycht-Rapnicka 1968, pp. 165 and 170. Piniński 2004, pp. 56-57, mistakenly includes Uśc near Chelmo (with its hoard hidden after 972) in Pomerania. The hoard from Mały Kack (*FMP* II, 67), with a considerable number of Otto and Adelaide’s pennies and undetermined “probably German” coins, was rather hidden after the year 1000.

⁴¹ *FMP* II, 69.

after 995-996. They contained mainly Boleslaus II's coins, although in Garsk three Soběslav's coins were found (the contemporary hoard found in Miastko, located more westwards contained Soběslav's and St Adalbert's pennies).⁴²



Fig. 5. Soběslav Slavnikid's pennies from the mint in Malín according to František Cach (Cach 1970).

The second western coin within the Gdańsk settlement complex can be an uncertain type of penny of Aethelred II, King of England (978-1016). The coin was a single find from before 1672 in a place which was given a clearly mistaken description in *FMP* of „am Fuss eines Hügels, hinter dem ehemaligen Gerichtsgebäude an der ul. Długie Ogrody (Langgasse)”.⁴³ Of course, Langgasse is the main Długa Street, and the Długie Ogrody (Langgarten) street does not approach any hill. Teresa and Ryszard Kiersnowski located this find “behind the former court building” in Nowe Ogrody Street (then Świerczewskiego Street), that is near Grodzisko.⁴⁴ The information, however, comes from the work by Friedrich-Samuel Bock, where we read: „Bey Danzig hinter dem Gericht wurde unter einem großen Feldstein eine engländische silberne Münze aus dem 10ten Jahrhundert vom Könige Ethelred gefunden, die nach Büttners Urtheil in seinem Kalender von 1672 durch Verunglückung eines Schiffes dahin gekommen, indem in vorigen Zeiten die See diesen Landstrich bedecket hat”⁴⁵. As we can see, the coin was found near Gdańsk (“bey Danzig”), in a place behind “Gericht”, exposed to flooding by the sea (at least in the imagination of this Büttner). In the

⁴² Mierzszyn – *FMP* II, 140; Miastko – *FMP* II, 139; Garsk II – *FMP* II, 43.

⁴³ *FMP* II, 47.

⁴⁴ Kiersnowscy 1959, no. 31.

⁴⁵ Bock 1783, p. 616.

mid-19th century, Ernst Förstemann, citing Bock's message, explained: „Der Ort des Fundes liegt etwa tausend Schritt vor dem nordwestlichen Ende der Stadt am Abhänge der von Danzig nach Oliva zu sich erstreckenden Hügelreihe”.⁴⁶ I did not manage to find the said Büttner's calendar to make sure that it supported this explanation, but for Förstemann it was obvious that the term “Gericht” meant not a court, but a gallows,⁴⁷ so in fact, he described the location of Gdańsk gallows on Góra Szubieniczna [*Gallows Mountain*] in Wrzeszcz⁴⁸ (Fig. 6), in the area of today's Park Traugutta. Förstemann, a Gdańsk teacher and archaeologist, who later gained a worldwide reputation as a linguist and researcher of toponyms, probably located personally the place behind the gallows, marked with a huge boulder. Later authors erroneously associated the reference to “Gericht” with the building of the courthouse in Nowe Ogrody, built only in 1854.⁴⁹ In fact, the find of the penny was made far from Grodzisko and the Siedlecki Stream. Somewhere nearby in Wrzeszcz, two Arabic coins were also found,⁵⁰ and this place can be included in the early medieval Gdańsk settlement complex, whose vastness, documented primarily by coin finds, evokes admiration.

In establishing the chronology of this find, we should not be misled by the long albeit unhappy reign of King Aethelred (978-1016) – the coin with his name certainly did not arrive in the Pomeranian land earlier than in the last years of the 10th century. The oldest known hoard from Gdansk Pomerania with Aethelred II's pennies, from Mierzszyn near Pruszcz, was concealed after c.995.⁵¹ Ethelred II's pennies did not belong to the first wave of western European coins in the Baltic area,⁵² and their mass influx was a result of a series of Scandinavian raids on England, which started in 991.⁵³

The Anglo-Saxon penny was not preceded in Gdańsk by Empress Adelaide's pennies, struck during the reign of her grandson, Otto III (983-1002), in Saxon mints in the Harz region, and after her death in 999 continued in their immobilised form until the mid-11th century. Such a coin, dated after 995, was discovered

⁴⁶ Förstemann 1851, p. 261.

⁴⁷ See Grimm *www*, s.v. Gericht 16b.

⁴⁸ Under that name the gallows is visible on the map *Prospect, Grundris und Gegend der Polnischen vesten Reich und Handels-Stadt Dantzig und ihrem Werder* by J. B. Homann from 1720 and on the map *Danzig und Weichselmünde* from 1800.

⁴⁹ Schwandt 1905, p. 131.

⁵⁰ *FMP* II, 60.

⁵¹ Mikołajczyk 1989, p. 88; *FMP* II, 140; we cannot take into account – as Mikołajczyk did – the hoard from “Rakoczyn” near Kościerzyna, because only Aethelred's coins were recorded from it, other elements were omitted and the hoard description as a whole is unreliable; see *FMP* II, 193.

⁵² Suchodolski 1990, p. 322.

⁵³ Mikołajczyk 1989, pp. 90-91; Adamczyk 2018, p. 236.



Fig. 6. The location of the Gdańsk gallows (*Gericht*) on a moraine over Wrzeszcz on a map from 1720; an excerpt from: J.B. Homann, *Prospect, Grundris und Gegend der Polnischen vesten Reichs und Handels-Stadt Dantzig und ihrem Werder*, 1720 (orientation to the east!). Apparently, the name Hagelsberg in a broader sense was extended to the whole complex of moraine hills between the Old Town (at the top), Suchanki (at the bottom) and Wrzeszcz (to the left).

during the new research at the site by the Market Hall (no. IV: 2 on the list). This next place by the Siedlecki Stream (that is, as Błażej Śliwiński suggests, by the former Gdania) since the times of the “Millenium” studies has been pointed to as a location of a trade settlement,⁵⁴ although recently that fact was questioned when it comes to the 13th century.⁵⁵ Two similar coins were found earlier, during the “Millennium” research, on Zamczysko, in Rycerska Street,⁵⁶ in a quarter occupied “mainly by amber craftsmen and goldsmiths”.⁵⁷ They were heavily worn out and their concealment might have been delayed.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Kościński 1998, p. 95.

⁵⁵ Maciakowska 2009, p. 20.

⁵⁶ *FMP* II, 46: 6 and 7.

⁵⁷ Lepówna 1998, p. 151.

⁵⁸ Gupieniec 1963, p. 169.

New research also produced a *Chapel* type Saxon cross penny, dated to around 1000-1030, from Czopowa Street in the Zamczysko area.⁵⁹ It is a relatively early coin in the group of cross pennies.

We cannot include here a few further finds from vaguely defined “Gdańsk area” – although their findspots were probably similar – but they as well fit into phases 1b and 2 defined here.⁶⁰ Without them, Phase 2 turns out not to be very abundant (six single coins, no hoard), but the numismatic traces are very extensive: from Góra Szubieniczna, through Grodzisko and Dominikański Square to Zamczysko. Except for the first one, the sites align themselves along the Siedlecki Stream.

Phase 3

In the area of Dominikański Square, under the later Dominican monastery, a silver, one-sided imitation of a cross penny of the *Earlier Beaded Cross* type was found (Fig. 7).⁶¹ This is an interesting coin, struck with a very well formed reverse die and without the raised edges typical of cross pennies. Flat, well struck imitations of cross pennies can be found among Łupawa imitations, which were undoubtedly coined in Pomerania, although the specimen from Dominikański Square has a deeper relief. Therefore, we do not include it in the Łupawa group, although its Pomeranian origin comes to mind as the first hypothesis. The coin has a series of incisions, probably made simultaneously and suggesting an earlier circulation. The chronology established by the authors of *FMP* – after 1030 – is based on the dating of original cross pennies with a beaded cross from the earlier phase⁶² and seems to be acceptable, although it may as well be ten years later. In the same area, another post-Łupawa imitation was found, which will be discussed later.



Fig. 7. Imitation (Pomeranian?) of the *Earlier Beaded Cross* type. Silver, 1.235 g, 22 mm. Gdańsk, Dominikański Square, research from 2009 (SAZ 255/5/8), object 2010, layer 2011, cat. 308 (FMP II, 52, no. 1). Museum of Archaeology, Gdańsk. Photo by B. Ceynowa.

⁵⁹ *FMP* II, 54, no. 6; Paszkiewicz 2012.

⁶⁰ See *FMP* II, 61-63 and 65.

⁶¹ *FMP* II, 52 and again *FMP* V/II, 294.

⁶² *FMP* II, 52; Kilger 2000, p. 224.

Coins of this phase were also observed in other parts of the city. The second hoard from Grodzisko, containing Arabic, German and English coins, dates back to the mid-11th century.⁶³ Not much later, after 1068, large hoards were hidden in the close suburb of Orunia⁶⁴ and in the slightly more distant village of Ujeścisko.⁶⁵ They contained a small number of fragments of Arabic coins, numerous cross pennies and Central and Western European coins. Almost 20 imitations were also recorded in Orunia, while in Ujeścisko a large group of coins remained undetermined.⁶⁶ It can be assumed that they were imitations typical of Pomerania and considered to be local.

After about 1040, there is an increase in the numismatic material from the estuary of the alleged Gdania river and Rycerska and Czopowa Streets, located in the Gdańsk Zamczysko – a stronghold from High Middle Ages. There was an unusual accumulation of coins from the mid- and late eleventh century and the first decades of the 1100s. Already in the 1950s late cross pennies were discovered in the excavations in Rycerska Street.⁶⁷ According to the terms and dating revised by the publishers of *FMP*, they were: the *Crosier* type penny from around 1070-1100, *Simple cross* type penny, dating to about 1065-1100, and two forgeries of the *Later Beaded cross* type, made of tin after about 1060 with the same dies,⁶⁸ so most probably locally. In Czopowa Street coins from this phase form a small hoard and a group of single finds.⁶⁹ Some of the latter ones were Łupawa imitations, attributed to the rulers of Pomerania of the 2nd-4th quarter of the 11th century. The so-defined group is wider than the list of types actually represented in the eponymous hoard from Łupawa near Słupsk,⁷⁰ but the current publication of the inventory of Pomeranian finds will surely encourage attempts at a new approach towards this issue. The coins found in Gdańsk will be an important contribution to this research.

The two pennies (Fig. 8 and no. VI: 1 on the list), although found a few dozen metres away from each other, are linked by a common reverse die, imitating the Saxon *Simple cross* penny. The first has a smaller flan, slightly hammered on the edge, the second one is considerably bigger and flat. The obverse of the first also imitates the *Simple cross* type penny, while the obverse of the second one is designed to resemble Saxon Otto and Adelaide's pfennig. Although the obverse legend of the

⁶³ *FMP* II, 45.

⁶⁴ *FMP* II, 58.

⁶⁵ *FMP* II, 59.

⁶⁶ The dating of the Ujeścisko hoard is not unambiguous, as it featured a cross penny of Gumowski 1939 variant no. 627, dated approximately to 1080-1105 (*FMP* II, 59, no. 119). However, it would be an extremely late coin in this hoard. There may have been a mistake either in recognising the variant or in classifying that Gumowski type to the Kilger chronological group.

⁶⁷ Gupieniec 1963, pp. 167-169.

⁶⁸ *FMP* II, 46, nos. 1, 2, 4 and 5.

⁶⁹ *FMP* II, 53 i 54, nos. 1-5 and 7-13.

⁷⁰ *FMP* II, 136.

second penny from Czopowa Street is hardly legible and certainly blundered, the die is characterised by the quality of its execution. We cannot find any other coin with such a die impression in the literature, however, the obverse of the imitation of Otto and Adelaide's penny, known mainly from Mazovia and recently quite convincingly attributed to Mieclaw (1034/7-1047),⁷¹ is very similar. This does not mean that a certainly Mazovian coin was found in Gdańsk (they are very heavy when the coin from Gdańsk is relatively light), but it supports the observation of Mateusz Bogucki and Jacek Magiera that the alliance among King Sweyn Estridsen of Denmark, the Pomeranians ruled by "Zemuzil" and the state of Mieclaw resulted in the exchange of experiences and motives – and even dies – occurring in these rulers' coinage.⁷² The Mazovian obverse die was used together with the Pomeranian reverse, which imitated a Danish design.⁷³ This testifies to both coins from Czopowa Street having been struck earlier than I used to think, in Kołobrzeg, not in Nakło. Another penny from the Łupawa group has equally interesting, although less meaningful associations. On one side it carefully imitates the triquetra from Danish coins while on the other it features a composition compiled from various Anglo-Saxon and Bavarian motifs, maintained in the Danish style (no VI: 2 in the list). Bogucki and Magiera noticed that the obverse with a triquetra is combined with several different reverses, depicting crosses with annulets and three dot groups in angles.⁷⁴ The reverse of the coin from Gdańsk may be die-identical with the reverse of the unprovenanced coin, which the authors marked as "Berlin 9881". A coin with the same obverse, but with a different reverse was found in Gliszcz near Bydgoszcz.⁷⁵ All this associates also this coin from Czopowa Street with Pomeranian imitations with Danish references, described by both researchers and dated to the fifth and sixth decades of the 11th century.



Fig. 8. Pomerania, "Zemuzil" (?), a Łupawa-style, imitative mule of Otto's and Adelaide's penny and a *Simple cross* type cross penny, Kołobrzeg mint (?), c. 1040-1050. Silver, 0.609 g, 15.6 mm. Gdańsk, Czopowa Street, layer 372, 29.10.2009. SAZ 255/01/36, cat. 533, f. inv. 248 (FMP II, 54, no. 13). Museum of Archaeology, Gdańsk, photo B. Paszkiewicz.

⁷¹ Bogucki 2012, p. 124; *ibidem*, *passim* a broader review of Polish imitations of this penny.

⁷² Bogucki and Magiera 2015.

⁷³ Bogucki and Magiera 2014, fig. 4.

⁷⁴ Bogucki and Magiera 2015, fig. 7.

⁷⁵ *FMP* II, 68, no. 212.

One of the imitation coins from the hoard from Czopowa Street – a one-sided “penny” made of yellow metal with a cross in a narrow field (Fig. 9) – has a very close analogy with a coin found at the excavation site in Dominikański Square (no. IV: 1 in the list), which in my view indicates that both specimens were produced locally. Both coins were deep cut with a knife, which suggest the users’ disapproval.



Fig. 9. Gdansk Pomerania (?), “Gdańsk” imitation of cross penny, c. 1090-1119, Gdańsk mint (?). Yellow metal – base silver (?), 0.474 g, 19.5 mm. Gdańsk, Czopowa Street, layer 260, 16.10.2009. SAZ 255/01/36, cat. 520, f. inv. 193h (FMP II, 53, no. 3). Museum of Archaeology, Gdańsk, photos B. Ceynowa and B. Paszkiewicz.

Not only theirs, in fact. Most of the coins from Czopowa Street were described by the publishers of *FMP* as “Fälschungen aus Messing”,⁷⁶ with which I cannot agree. The basis for identifying “brass” is unknown. In my opinion, relying only on the yellow colour of the cleaned coin and without subjecting it to metallographic analyses, we cannot rule out a small share of silver. After all, even if these specimens do not contain any silver, they are not forgeries. A forgery requires an original, and in this case there is no indication that it ever existed. In the light of the current knowledge, at the end of the 11th and at the beginning of the 12th century there was an imitative “brass” coinage in circulation in Pomerania, symbolically blanched. This practice was similar to the blanching of Roman antoniniani at the end of the 3rd century and small coins in the 14th century in Denmark and northern Italy. The plating was just a customary procedure, which would not deceive anyone at the time when there were no silver coins looking that way in circulation. Paradoxically enough, in the same publication, the clearly counterfeit cross penny from Rycerska Street, pretending to be a silver original, was described as „Imitation aus Zinn”.⁷⁷

A few years ago, while studying the coins from Czopowa Street (only from the 2009 season, the coins from the 2006 season were not known to numismatists at the time), I did not have any sufficiently close analogies from the literature.⁷⁸ However, the efforts of the publishers of the new catalogue of early medieval coin

⁷⁶ *FMP* II, 53.

⁷⁷ *FMP* II, 46; for the definition of a counterfeit and imitation coin, see e.g. Kiersnowski 1964, pp. 65-66; Grierson 1975, pp. 146 and 158-159.

⁷⁸ Paszkiewicz 2012, p. 127-142.

finds changed this situation, bringing to light unpublished archaeological discoveries and forgotten, old collections. It turned out that the hoard found before 1930 in Włynkowo, known so far only from a general description, was still stored in the Museum of Central Pomerania in Słupsk and contained specimens which appeared to precede the coins from Gdańsk in the evolutionary chain of Pomeranian imitations.⁷⁹ In this sequence, Włynkowo's coins are located after the Łupawa imitations (but at least one die from Łupawa coins was identified in Włynkowo). This particularly important aspect of the Gdańsk finds was pointed to by Mateusz Bogucki and Jacek Magiera.⁸⁰ Most of the illustrated Włynkowo coins are marked with crosses referring to cross pennies and pennies of Otto and Adelaide, whereas in Gdańsk, apart from those references, we can also see motifs from Anglo-Saxon and Danish coins. In turn, while working on the coins from the research of the Institute of Archaeology of the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, Adam Musiałowski noticed similar, "brass-coloured" coins at the site in Żółte near Drawsko Pomorskie: an imitation of a cross penny of the *Earlier Crosier* type and an indistinct type with a cross.⁸¹ During the research on the fortified settlement in Pawłówek (on the Noteć River, near Bydgoszcz) several dozen individual coins were found. The same researcher distinguished there eight imitations of cross pennies of the *Later Beaded Cross*, *Simple Cross* and *Later Crosier* types. They were analysed with the EDX method. Three coins did not show any silver content, and five others contained between 1.16 and 7.14 per cent of this metal.⁸² Unfortunately, the publication of the coins was not illustrated, so it is impossible to compare them with the finds from Gdańsk and Włynkowo. Three similar imitations, with crosses on both sides, were also found in Wolin at the Ogrody site (where no "genuine" *i.e.* silver contemporary coins were found). Metal analyses confirmed that they were made of brass, without any silver.⁸³ In any case, the stylistic and to some extent minting continuity visible in the hoards from Łupawa, Włynkowo and Gdańsk suggest the continuity of coinage tradition and of the centre of power (even if the latter changed its location). Relying on the finds from Czopowa Street, I believe that at least the youngest of these coins come from Gdańsk, and that their issue could have been ended by the Polish conquest in 1113-1119.

Slightly different, one-sided brass imitation was found during the "Millennium" research in Rycerska Street (Fig. 10).⁸⁴ In my opinion, it imitates a Danish penny of Canute the Great,⁸⁵ while the publishers of *FMP* point to Aethelred II's *Helmet*

⁷⁹ *FMP* II, 240, plate LXXX.

⁸⁰ Bogucki and Magiera 2015, p. 127.

⁸¹ *FMP* II, 272; V/II, 272.

⁸² Musiałowski 2012, pp. 108-111.

⁸³ Horoszko 2014, pp. 284-286, nos. 27-29, and p. 290; *FMP* II, 264.

⁸⁴ Gupieniec 1963, p. 168; *FMP* II, 46, no. 3.

⁸⁵ Paszkiewicz 2012, p. 133.

penny as the model. In both interpretations, the model was a few dozen years older than the imitation (the dating of the imitation to “after 1003” in *FMP*, based on the chronology of the alleged prototype, is mechanical and far too early), because also this coin belongs to the last two decades of the 11th century.

Phase 3 is very dynamic; in the first decades (the mid-11th century) the hoarding extends to the entire settlement complex: Grodzisko, Orunia and Ujeścisko. At the same time single finds get increasingly denser in Zamczysko, and not only near the Market Hall, to focus at last in the former area. The change occurred around 1070 and could have been not only of monetary nature.



Fig. 10. Pomerania (?), one-sided coin, c. 1080-1100, imitation of the Danish penny of Canute the Great. Brass or base silver, pierced with a knife, 0.55 g, approx. 17 mm (see Bogucki 2008, p. 225, no. 22). Gdańsk, Rycerska Street (FMP II, 46, no. 3). Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography, Łódź, photo M. Bogucki.

Phase 4

Further coins can be seen only at the end of the 12th century in the “Olejarna” and “Tartaczna” excavations, located not far away from each other. Apart from a small number of late medieval and modern coins found in Olejarna Street,⁸⁶ there was also a small hoard, probably the content of a pouch, with 14 bracteates, of which 13 were identified. All the coins were anonymous; 12 represented one type (Fig. 11), with an armed ruler modelled on the figure of the Brandenburg Margrave Otto II (1184-1205) from his coins, while the thirteenth represented a dragon (Fig. 12). The discoverer, Bogdan Kościński, concluded that both types were produced locally, and with the use archaeological methods dated the hiding of the hoard to the period between “the end of the 12th century and the 1220s”.⁸⁷ Following studies – to be discussed in a while – confirmed these conclusions and allowed to include the coins from Olejarna Street into the history of Gdańsk mintage. Most probably we are dealing with the oldest coins of the Gdańsk margraves (the so-called governors), but according to the rules applied in the *renovatio monetae* system, the type with a dragon represented by one damaged coin

⁸⁶ See Suchodolski 2003, pp. 36-37.

⁸⁷ Kościński 2003, pp. 33-34.

would be the older one. The *renovatio* in Gdańsk Pomerania – probably applied to Polish coins – is confirmed by a document from 1148.⁸⁸



Fig. 11. Gdańsk Pomerania, Sambor I, a *Knight* type bracteate, c. 1190, Gdańsk mint. Silver, 18 mm. Gdańsk, Olejarna Street (from a hoard). Museum of Archaeology, Gdańsk, inv. no. GN 1779. Photo by M. Szmit (according to B. Kościński).



Fig. 12. Uncertain bracteate with a dragon, possibly East Pomeranian, c. 1090. Silver, 0.112 g, preserved diameter 15 mm. Gdańsk, Olejarna Street (from a hoard). Museum of Archaeology, Gdańsk, inv. no. GN 1787. Photo by M. Szmit (according to B. Kościński).

To see the continuation of this coinage, we return to the excavations in Tartaczna Street. After a long break, a significant number of coins appear there, dated from the last quarter of the 12th century to the 20th century. In 2014, 365 individual coins and eight collective finds, containing further 69 coins were identified. During the conservation works these numbers may even increase. If we limit ourselves to the material preceding the conquest of Gdańsk by the Teutonic Knights in 1308, 28 single coins and five collective finds will remain. Except for Silesia, such an accumulation of individual and collective finds from the end of the 12th and the 13th century is unprecedented in Poland, where coins from that time are rarely recorded at archaeological sites and hoards are uncommon. This does not necessarily mean that no such accumulations occurred in Poland, but rather that the Gdańsk research was carried out methodically, with the use of a metal detector at every stage of excavation work.⁸⁹ One should never fail to emphasise that under usual circumstances, with the methods available today, invasive examination of a medi-

⁸⁸ Suходołski 2002, pp. 34-35; on the model of hoards in the *renovatio monetae* system see Allen 2012, pp. 38-40.

⁸⁹ Ceynowa 2017, pp. 192-193.

eval settlement site in Poland without the use of the tool (or at least a dense sieve) is tantamount to destroying the archaeological site and movable historical objects and should not be accepted as a scientific method.

Two hoards were found in Tartaczna Street, similar in character to the find in Olejarna: small pouches with bracteates of similar chronology – but of different types. Hoard I consisted of *c.*12 coins of one type glued together (due to their poor preservation it is impossible to determine whether they were made with the same die, but it is possible), with a half-figure of an orant facing (no. Va in the list). Until now, this type has been known from one specimen, discovered in 1999 in a hoard from Cracow, but was also identified in hoard II from Tartaczna Street where it was used several times as a material for re-striking into bracteates with the legend SAMBOR (Fig. 13).⁹⁰ The latter hoard was also homogenous and made up of 25 coins. This way, hoard II somehow explained hoard I: we find out that anonymous coins with an orant preceded Sambor's bracteates, and it was Sambor I (1177/87-1207?) who was the issuer of both types. As in the second emission the orant figure was replaced by a cross monogram of St Otto of Bamberg, both images may have had a common content, and the orant could also have represented St Otto. Although it is possible that coins with the legend SAMBOR initiated the independent coinage of the Gdańsk margrave (and the previous issue still belonged to the superior Duke of Cracow, Casimir the Just), it is much more likely that they constituted the final step in a long process of establishing independent coinage in Gdańsk. In such a situation, the *Orant* type bracteates should also be identified as Sambor I's coins, immediately preceding the inscribed type from hoard II. The representation refers to pennies of Bogusław I, Duke of West Pomerania, from the years 1180-*c.*1183, with similar representations of an uncertainly identified saint, perhaps James the Elder or Bartholomew (Fig. 14). One coin from the "Tartaczna II" hoard was probably overstruck on a bracteate with the armed ruler like coins from the "Olejarna" hoard. Therefore, we can guess that the Gdańsk centre of power (delegated by the superior duke from Cracow) began its coinage with a bracteate with a dragon from Olejarna Street, followed by bracteates with a half-figure of an armed ruler from the same hoard and the coins with the orant. The figure of the orant was then replaced by a monogram of Otto, surrounded by the name of SAMBOR. At the time when a vast majority of Polish dukes' coins were anonymous, to display the name of the Gdańsk margrave must have been a manifestation of position and prestige, so we might hypothetically place the issue shortly after the Battle of Mozgawa (1195), which seriously violated the position of the superior duke of Poland and opened space for such demonstrations.⁹¹

⁹⁰ Hoard II was separately studied in the work by Ceynowa and Paszkiewicz 2014.

⁹¹ Ceynowa and Paszkiewicz 2014, p. 132.



Fig. 13. Gdańsk Pomerania, Sambor I, a *Sambor* type bracteate, c. 1195, Gdańsk mint. Overstruck on an *Orant* type bracteate. Silver, 0.175 g, 18.0 mm. Gdańsk, Tartaczna Street (from hoard II), cat. no. 1041. Museum of Archaeology, Gdańsk. Photo by B. Ceynowa.



Fig. 14. Western Pomerania, Bogusław I, the *Battlemented tower* type penny, 1180-c. 1183, Szczecin or Dymin mint. Obv. ...SCLA.... Rev. +SC... ...TVM. Photo by unknown author.

This is how the sequence of Gdańsk hoards, which can be interpreted as an on-hand content of pouches comes to an end.⁹² We do not have equally informative sources that would outline the further history of the Gdańsk coinage, there is, however, one more outstanding find that deserves mentioning: an iron die for striking bracteates found in Olejarna Street with a representation of a modified OTTO monogram like that on Sambor I's coins. This is the oldest known coin die in Poland (Fig. 15). We do not know coins minted with this tool. Judging by its form, the tool is about half a century younger than Sambor's coins and comes from the second or the third quarter of the 13th century, which also corresponds with the approximate archaeological chronology established by the discoverer, Bogdan Kościński.⁹³ This find has also another aspect – it suggests that there was a ducal mint located in the “Olejarna” excavation area in the mid-13th century. Despite the lack of larger relics of a metallurgical plant, Kościński observed a long-lasting presence of small particles of waste from a goldsmith's workshop. If so, coins were minted in the middle of the 13th century in Gdańsk outside the Ducal Castle.

⁹² See Suchodolski 1997, pp. 154-156.

⁹³ Kościński 2003, p. 35.



Fig. 15. Bracteate die from Olejarna Street in Gdańsk and its impression, the second or the third quarter of the 13th century (?). Iron. Scale c. 1.5:1. Museum of Archaeology, Gdańsk, according to B. Kościński.

The „Tartaczna III” hoard (see no. Vb in the list), despite its similar size has a completely different character. It contains 11 coins of various types, with their analogies in the treasures from Greater Poland and Kuyavia. In the *renovatio* system such a hoard would contain not circulation money but silver scrap, which, in order to be used in circulation, would have had to be exchanged for the circulating coin. Usually, such hoards are much larger. Most probably, all the coins in the hoard came from outside Pomerania. The coins are poorly preserved and their identification is largely uncertain. Judging by their shape, size and manufacturing technique, they come from Poland, although a more precise location is difficult to determine. In hoards that contain their analogies, the types that interest us occur only in small numbers, so they may be imported coins even there. In any case, this is the first discovered hoard of Polish bracteates from the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century in 100 years, apart from the long known finds from Głębokie, Kluczbork, Wieniec, Anusin and the so-called Becker hoard, discovered probably in Silesia, north of Wrocław – all of them being found in the 19th or the early 20th century.⁹⁴ The Gdańsk-Tartaczna III hoard shows the greatest analogy with those from Głębokie near Gniezno and Wieniec near Włocławek, particularly with the former one. From the nine specimens identified as to their types, only one has no analogy in any known find (no Vb.10). This suggests that the assemblage from Gdańsk was collected earlier than that from Wieniec, namely around 1200. It proves that Polish coins appeared in Gdańsk only with the issue of the local coin (at the same time, the appearance of one of the earliest Gdańsk coins in the hoard from Cracow evidences the coin flow in the opposite direction). The cognitive potential of this find is considerable, but it still needs to be compared with collections of and information about remaining Polish hoards.

⁹⁴ Kubiak 1998, nos. 34, 58, 160, 2 and 186; there further literature. The views on the content and dating of these hoards have already changed considerably, see Paszkiewicz 2004b; Paszkiewicz 2009.

The remaining assemblages of coins from Tartaczna Street are very small. The assemblage „Tartaczna IV” (no. Vc) consisted of two bracteates stuck together. The coins feature an image of a cross on steps, flanked by two small crosses. Finding more than one coin of a given type – otherwise unknown – consistent in terms of their technical and metrological characteristics and the content of the die, allows us to put forward a hypothesis that we are dealing with local coins, but it requires more source material to support the conclusion.⁹⁵ We find it in the same excavation site, where two single bracteates of this type were found in different sections (“Panińska” and “Tartaczna”) (nos. Ve: 22 and 23 in the list). The composition of the elements around the cross on the steps was probably borrowed from Byzantine coins. The Gdańsk coins from the 12th–13th centuries known so far did not have such a deep relief, particularly in the lower part of the representation – the steps. The visible fragment of the circular border indicates that this is a flat bracteate, which did not have a bulge around the margin and is not for instance a remnant of a large Silesian or Bohemian bracteate. The Gdańsk origin of this type of bracteate can therefore be considered proven, although we still have no indicators enabling precise dating and have to satisfy ourselves with pointing generally to the 13th century.

It is different with another two-coin assemblage (Gdańsk-Tartarczna V; no. Vd). Its components – two bracteates with an eagle and a composition of two crosiers, despite differing in types show great similarity in terms of the striking technique, execution of the dies and style. The easiest way to see it is by comparing the rather irregular stars from both bracteates. Their appearance together is not random, though, as they must have a common origin. Surprisingly enough, they are also linked by having analogies in the hoard from Sarbsk near Łeba, although these analogies were allegedly in the form of hohlpfennigs, and not flat bracteates like in Gdańsk (Fig. 16). In the case of the coin with the eagle the analogy is almost complete. It is more distant in the case of the coin with two crosiers, although the bracteate from Sarbsk was damaged and not quite legible. In any case, however, the analogy in Sarbsk is constituted by one specimen, which makes one wonder if the conclusion on the local origin of the coins is justified. On the other hand, there is no certainty that the Sarbsk coins were indeed hohlpfennigs like most of the remaining components of the hoard. The illustrator could mistakenly take flat bracteates for secondarily flattened hohlpfennigs and represent them incorrectly. The content of the type, despite the lack of inscriptions, provides some interesting cues. The eagle was not a symbol of the Pomeranian rulers; it would have to refer to either Polish or Brandenburg overlordship.

⁹⁵ We made an attempt at formulating objective principles for interpretation of finds of anonymous bracteates while studying similar material from Wrocław: Duma and Paszkiewicz 2018, pp. 453-454. It turned out that under the circumstances of frequent *renovatio monetae*, even a site with a large accumulation – like the New Market analysed in the work – does not produce enough material to give the researcher a solid basis for the identification of the local coins. Therefore, it is necessary to relax the criteria, which must result in less reliable conclusions.

The former seems unlikely in view of the Gdańsk dukes' politics of independence. Brandenburg's influence in Pomerania was temporarily institutionalized by the homage of Mściwuj II from Świecie in 1269, but most of all by Brandenburg Margrave Conrad's coming into power in Gdańsk in 1271-1272.⁹⁶ It is the latter event that our coin could be associated with more easily. However, Conrad's rule lasted only six months, and a similar coin from Sarbsk cannot be expected to be issued later by the same ruler – it must have been the same issue, or parallel issues of flat bracteates and hohlpfennigs. So, judging by the drawing, the Sarbsk coin – which we do not have access to and cannot say what form it actually had – was simply a flat bracteate from the same issue, a small variation of the type from Tartaczna Street. It is possible that a flat bracteate, instead of a hohlpfennig was struck in Gdańsk at the beginning of the 1270s, all the more so that in all likelihood it was in the 1270s that hohlpfennigs became common in Poland. On the other hand, however, it is believed that hohlpfennigs had already been struck in Tczew by Sambor II, deposed in 1269. This could have happened under the influence of the Teutonic coinage.



Fig. 16. Coins from the hoard from Sarbsk, Lębork district. Silver, diameters *c.* 19 and *c.* 18 mm. According to Dannenberg 1885, Taf. 10 and 12.

The specimen with two crosiers also requires interpretation. It is clearly patterned on a bracteate with the name DVX MESCO, ascribed by Stanisław Suchodolski to Mieszko the Old and by me to Mieszko the Young (the coin is strongly related in style and technique to the early Sambor I's Gdańsk bracteate). The palm in the middle was simplified to a pole and the nimbus around it in the form of three crescents was replaced by three stars, which, however, can still represent the light surrounding the figure. The simplest interpretation that it belongs to an issue of Mieszko the Old for Upper Pomerania (as Gdańsk Pomerania was then called) does not seem likely, since the second coin in the assemblage is apparently much later. However, the similarity to Mieszko's coin can be used to interpret the symbol: according to S.

⁹⁶ For the homages paid by Mściwuj and the rule of Conrad I of Brandenburg in Gdańsk, see Śliwiński 2010, pp. 138-140; Śliwiński 2016, pp. 170-181 and 194-203; Rymar 2009, pp. 51-52. Such an option was intuitively suggested by Herman Dannenberg, who, denying a Brandenburg fashion of all Sarbsk bracteates with eagles, wrote: „...dennoch möchte ich die Möglichkeit nicht bestreiten, dass nicht doch der eine oder der andre derselben etwa in dem nichtmärkischen Theile der brandenburgischen Besitzungen geprägt ist” (Dannenberg 1885, s. 304).

Suchodolski, the palm, crociera and nimbus on Mieszko's bracteate can refer to two martyr bishops, patrons of the state: Adalbert and Stanislaus (in the case of the latter, the cult would have much anticipated the canonisation).⁹⁷ It is fair to assume that had the creators of the younger coin considered the symbol to be meaningless, they would not have used it. It is also impossible that the general meaning would have differed from the original one – two saint bishops are represented by two crociera and the surrounding light. The only difference might have concerned the omission of the martyrdom, as there is a simple pole instead of a palm. At the time, Gdańsk used to have three churches: St Mary's in the stronghold, a parish church of St Catherine and a Dominican church of St Nicholas.⁹⁸ There was therefore only one saint bishop, a confessor, not a martyr. It is difficult to say who the second bishop would be in such an interpretation. Although we see St Otto's monogram on early coins in Gdańsk, it is rather improbable that the crociera symbolised him several decades after the canonisation, in the absence of his local cult. Could it have been St Adalbert, in the legend of whom Gdańsk played a significant role, who was also a patron of a Benedictine priory, located close to the city?⁹⁹

If we hypothetically dated the coin with the eagle to the short reign of Margrave Conrad in Gdańsk, the coin with two crociera would have to be assigned to his predecessor and successor in this capital, Mściwuj II (1269-1271, 1272-1294). On 2 January 1274, this prince promised the Cistercian monastery to found a monastery *ad honorem Dei perpetueque virginis Marie et sanctorum Benedicti et Bernardi confessoris necnon gloriosi martiris et episcopi Stanizlai*.¹⁰⁰ Virgin Mary, Benedict and Bernard are monastic patrons of the Cistercians, and St Stanislaus is here a special patron of the foundation, reflecting the devotion of the duke and his court. However, since Saints Benedict of Nursia and Bernard of Clairvaux frequently appear as patrons of the Cistercian Order and are usually depicted with crociera, it is not impossible that the figure on the coin represents one of those two saints – the stars could then additionally represent Virgin Mary, although the pole in the centre – one must admit – somewhat confounds the researcher. In any case, the Conrad of Brandenburg hypothesis is justified sufficiently enough to date the Gdańsk-Tartaczna V assemblage to after 1271. The circumstances of Mściwuj's return to Gdańsk in the winter of 1271/2, with the siege of the communal city to the west and the stronghold to the east of the ducal open settlement, rather preclude (for safety reasons) a direct continuation of minting activities in the same workshop, so the bracteate with two crociera must have been struck earlier. Perhaps, Mściwuj II's entire minting activity was then transferred to Tczew.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ Suchodolski 2006/2007, p. 20. On the attribution, see Paszkiewicz 2004a.

⁹⁸ Jasiński 1998, p. 79.

⁹⁹ Czacharowski 1997.

¹⁰⁰ Text of the document: Kujot 1875, pp. 61-65.

¹⁰¹ Śliwiński 2016, p. 177.

The “Tartaczna” excavation also provides an interesting evidence to the circulation of foreign coins: a single find of a Gotlandic penny (no. Ve: 3 in the list). Early Gotlandic pennies pose a puzzle in terms of their issuing institution and the circumstances of striking. They visibly refer to North German and Frisian iconographic patterns. Outside Gotland, they have been recorded in Sweden and Livonia.¹⁰² Coins from the early, pre-Hanseatic coinage have been recorded only once in Poland. According to Tadeusz Wolański (1785-1865), at least eight thirteenth-century (slightly later than ours) Gotlandic pennies, were “dug out near Gniezno”.¹⁰³ Unfortunately, we do not know the exact circumstances of this unusual find, which must therefore be considered doubtful. Therefore, the penny from Gdańsk is the first Gotlandic specimen from the pre-Hanseatic period to be certainly found in Poland. Although the dating of the coin discovered in Gdańsk is quite broad – it is not the earliest variety of this long minted type and could have been made as early as the beginning of the 13th century – its appearance in the earliest group of coins from this phase of the study testifies to the role of contacts with Gotland at the beginning of the settlement beneath the Gdańsk stronghold.

The second foreign coin from the same excavation – a Magdeburg bracteate (Ve: 4) is more typical. Coins of the Archbishopric of Magdeburg are often found in Poland in hoards and occasionally also as 13th century single finds (*e.g.* in Wrocław). So while the first foreign coin indicates sea connections, the second one points to a land route.¹⁰⁴ The East German bracteate, dated back to the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century, but without any further specification, was also found in the premises of the Market Hall (no IV: 3 in the list; our earlier assumption of it being a Polish imitation¹⁰⁵ was not confirmed in the style of the coins from Tartaczna Street).

There are two single West Pomeranian pennies from Tartaczna Street, which should be located between local and foreign coins. One of them comes from the last years of the reign of Bogusław I (1155/6-1187) and was treated like a false coin, namely pierced with a knife (Ve: 18). The other one, of unknown ruler but of the same type (as the type was struck till 1189 it may be slightly later than the previous one), is indeed a forgery (Ve: 19), which must have been overlooked by contemporary users who did not deform it. West Pomeranian pennies from the last quarter of the 12th century were basically internal coins, although they are sporadically found in neighbouring countries.¹⁰⁶ Their forgeries are similar to each other and made correctly in terms of the technique, so they probably come from the same manufacture. As many as four out of seven known specimens were found outside

¹⁰² Myrberg 2012.

¹⁰³ Wolański 1847, p. 19, nos. 470-477. Wolański considered these coins to be Polish.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. data on finds of foreign coins in Poland: Paszkiewicz 1990.

¹⁰⁵ Paszkiewicz 2013, p. 216.

¹⁰⁶ Paszkiewicz 2017.

their home duchy (Arkona, Giecz, Gdańsk and Wrocław).¹⁰⁷ This interesting phenomenon deserves to be analysed in the future.

For some of the single coins from the excavations in Tartaczna Street there are some indications that support the hypothesis of their local, Gdańsk origin. This applies in particular to the types already known to Anatol Gupieniec from Podwale Staromiejskie¹⁰⁸ and discovered again in Tartaczna Street (at the same site 2, according to the naming from “Millennium” research) in new specimens: with a cross flanked with rings and set on a chevron (Ve: 28) and with a stag inscribed with CERV9 (Ve: 26 and 27 – see also fig. 17).¹⁰⁹ Chronology makes us associate the coins with Świętopełk (1219/20-1266). It is possible that the figure of the deer is connected with the stag horn on the seal of this duke, known from the oldest impression from 1228.¹¹⁰ Another coin which might be justly identified as originated locally is a singly found bracteate with an armed half-figure, modelled on Magdeburg St Maurice. The two single bracteates represent a previously unknown type with a three-gabled building (Ve: 24 and 25). Others, on the other hand, are completely isolated and although they may have been brought from the south, from other Polish lands, they may also be of local origin. I suspect a Silesian origin of the bracteates cat. nos. IVe: 11 and 15, perhaps also 12, since coins similar in terms of types, style and size were found in the excavation in Św. Katarzyny Street in Wrocław and in the city’s cathedral there.¹¹¹ Interestingly, no bracteates of other types previously identified as local were found in Tartaczna Street, e.g. the three types identified during the research in Olejarna Street or the main types from the hoard from Sarbsk.¹¹²



Fig. 17. Gdańsk Pomerania, Świętopełk (1219/20-1266), bracteate, Gdańsk mint. Silver, 0.06 g, diameter 14 mm. Numismatic antique shop Paweł Niemczyk, auction 5, no. 30.

¹⁰⁷ Paszkiewicz 2017, p. 86. Biermann and Leukhardt 2015, p. 56, and personal information from Paweł Milejski.

¹⁰⁸ Gupieniec 1963, p. 170.

¹⁰⁹ Suchodolski 2002, p. 39.

¹¹⁰ Voßberg 1841, Taf. I.

¹¹¹ The cathedral: Pieńkowski 2002, p. 191. I thank Mr Paweł Milejski for the information about the coin from Świętej Katarzyny Street.

¹¹² Dannenberg 1885.

Thus, in the 13th century, local coins dominate in the settlement discovered in Tartaczna Street, whose connection with the first chartered city of Gdańsk is still being discussed. We should also observe the lack of coins (and borrowings of coin motifs as well) from the region where the elite of the chartered city of Gdańsk had come from, namely Lübeck and northern Saxony. The absence of Low-German coins would correspond with Zofia Maciakowska's recent suggestions that the "Lübeck" Gdańsk was located more to the west, in the area of St Catherine's church and Wood Market, and the lower, eastern section of the Siedlecki Stream (Gdania?) was the location of an open settlement.¹¹³ On the other hand, however, the extraordinary accumulation of coins from that period (and the earlier discovery of a contemporary die, not far away, in Olejarna Street) contradicts the "suburban" character of this settlement suggested by Maciakowska. It was rather an area of the economic activity, connected with the stronghold and belonging to the duke. The absence of Lübeck motifs in the Gdańsk coinage suggests that it was still in the hands of the duke, remaining beyond the influence of the developing municipality. In terms of area, phase 4 differs significantly from the previous one: it is limited to the sites along the Siedlecki Stream, from the Market Hall to "Tartaczna" excavation.

The abundant numismatic material from the studied sites seems not to date back to 1308, but rather ends several decades earlier. Not only did we not see coins attributed to the Gdańsk issue of that time by Waschinski and Suchodolski,¹¹⁴ but also any hohlpennings whose presence at the end of the 13th century was confirmed with the hoards from Sarbsk and Wieleń.¹¹⁵ There were also no Teutonic coins in Gdańsk before 1309. This indicates that in the last quarter of the 13th century there were some changes in the spatial arrangement, and the intensive accumulation of coins could have migrated elsewhere. In the area of the 14th century settlement, a few foreign coins from the previous century (French,¹¹⁶ two Danish and Scottish¹¹⁷) were found, which were most probably brought later.

3. COINS AS WITNESSES OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF GDAŃSK

The results of new research and criticism of old sources are abundant enough to attempt a generalisation. The concentration of early medieval coin finds on Grodzisko, pointed to by Śliwiński, was to an extent weakened and topographically blurred, especially along the edge of the moraine upland, right towards Oliwa

¹¹³ Maciakowska 2009, p. 25.

¹¹⁴ Waschinski 1937; Suchodolski 2002.

¹¹⁵ Beyer 1876.

¹¹⁶ On the plot located between Szeroka and Tandeta Streets a denier tournois of Saint Louis (1245-1270) from before 1250-1266 was found (Duplessy 1999, no. 193).

¹¹⁷ Paszkiewicz 2013, pp. 244 and 256; Dutkowski 2016, p. 128, no. 134; wrong description and dating.

(where a hoard of Arabic coins was found,¹¹⁸ with three finds in Wrzeszcz,¹¹⁹ located on the route to Oliwa), but also down the former Siedlecki Stream to Czopowa Street. On the other hand, its timeframe was determined more precisely.

In the light of what has come to our knowledge, finding two unrelated coins from the 8th century in Tartaczna Street, in an area where up to that point only much later numismatic material was observed, despite the lack of an equally early context, greatly enriches the knowledge of the earliest Gdańsk – both in topographical and chronological terms. One would assume that there were settlement and economic structures of a trade character by the Siedlecki Stream, with connections with nearby Truso, where equally early Arabic coins were found. This indicates a high probability of Gdańsk's participation (maybe through Truso¹²⁰ – maybe directly) in the reception of the earliest wave of Arabic silver import, as early as in the second half – rather at its end – of the 8th century. Contrary to expectations, this activity took place not in Grodzisko, but on the eastern edge of the area, which much later, as in the 13th century, will be occupied by an open settlement (or as Zofia Maciakowska wants it – a suburban one). In any case, that 8th century episode in Tartaczna Street is a temporally separate one, both locally and against a much broader background of the Gdańsk agglomeration. The distinctive wave of the influx of Arabic silver starts only in the middle of the 9th century with the hoard from Gdańsk (vicinity) II – and ends a hundred years later with single coins. It is also worth noting the dating of the hoard from Gdańsk (vicinity) II, which does not fit into any of the identified phases of the Arabic silver influx into the Baltic Sea zone. Where we have a specific location, apart from the earliest episode from Tartaczna Street and an equally isolated forgery from the middle of the 10th century from Klesza Street (which, in a way, mark the beginning and the end of the Arabic sequence), there are a hoard and two single finds from the Grodzisko area as well as two fragments of dirhams from Wrzeszcz – probably from the same range of moraine hills. These finds cannot obviously be treated as proof to the existence of a stronghold in Grodzisko (it is also worth remembering that the name Grodzisko [Polish for 'hillfort'] is a 20th-century christening not an onomastic source), which even if existed was anyway destroyed while erecting the modern times fortifications, which renders the dilemma unsolvable.

Nevertheless, one may say, that given the model of accumulation of Arabic silver observed in Poland, *if* there had ever been a stronghold in Gdańsk in the second half of the 9th century and in the first half of the 10th century, it must have been located in Grodzisko. It might have also been a non-defensive, symbolic centre of the

¹¹⁸ *FMP* II, 56. We consider the second hoard from Oliwa to be unbelievable (see above, footnote 36).

¹¹⁹ *FMP* II, 60.

¹²⁰ This is an opinion of S. Wadył 2015b, p. 556.

community, perhaps even uninhabited.¹²¹ It is impossible to agree with S. Wadył's opinion that "Although there is a lot of controversy about the oldest settlement (a stronghold?) in the vicinity of the Main Town Hall, and the very nature of the settlement is unclear, this place must be considered the oldest certain traces from the area of the current city of Gdańsk".¹²² This is a methodological error pointed to half a century ago by Philip Grierson. „Archaeologists, who value numismatic evidence almost entirely for its use in dating other objects, are inclined to limit the useful recording of coins to those where the precise circumstances of finding are known; otherwise, where no stratigraphical information is available – and this means the vast majority of casual finds – many of them regard it [*i.e.*, the recording of finds] as a waste of time".¹²³ To illustrate this misguided methodological position, Grierson quoted a Polish theorist of archaeology, so it is not surprising that in Poland this harmful view – formed under the strong influence of the Marxist doctrine, which despises individual cases in favour of the "laws of history" – has survived until today. No observations in Poland have confirmed that any hoards or individual finds of Arabic coins come from an early medieval anecumene.¹²⁴

New finds and the criticism of the old ones have made us aware of the lack of coins – both eastern and western – from the years around 950 to around 995, which, according to observations of other Pomeranian sites, should have reached the region. This makes the Gdańsk settlement complex different not only from Western Pomerania or Słupsk, but even from Puck.¹²⁵ It is becoming increasingly difficult to dispel doubts with the hope that the archaeologist's shovel has not yet been used in the right place. We are not going to interfere in the discussion whether the Piast conquest of Gdańsk Pomerania took place in the 950s or only at the end of the century, but we believe that our observations testify to significant changes in the local settlement and symbolic structure in the 950s and should be included while solving the issue. Let us leave the explanation of the nature of these changes to scholars having access to all the excavation material.

The new phase of the coins' presence starts with Soběslav Slavník's penny, struck before 995 and found on Grodzisko. It is virtually the only numismatic find – maybe next to Aethelred II's penny found near Góra Szubieniczna – which remained after St Adalbert's *urbs Gyddanyzc* from 997. The fact that it was the coin of St Adalbert's brother may be incidental, but one must admit it speaks to the imagination.

¹²¹ Modzelewski 2018, pp. 489-498.

¹²² Wadył 2015b, p. 557.

¹²³ Grierson 1965, p. iii.

¹²⁴ Trzeciński 2016, p. 303. Cf. reflections on the role of Kalisz in the 10th century: Bogucki and Miłek 2010, pp. 49-60.

¹²⁵ *FMP* II, 166. As we have already observed, the hoard from Mały Kack was rather slightly younger.

It was not until the early 1000s that the Saxon pennies of Otto and Adelaide of the type struck from 995 but continued until about 1040 came to Gdańsk. Coins from that period were excavated at the Market Hall and in Rycerska and Czopowa Streets on Zamczysko. Since we recorded three finds from the latter site, we have no reason to consider all of them as deposited much later, and the subsequent coins from these sites, several decades younger, testify to the continuation of human activity there in the 11th century (according to archaeologists exploring the site, it was an area of craft activity). This also applies to Grodzisko, where this continuation is confirmed by a hoard hidden in the mid-11th century. One may assume that Grodzisko – being from the end of the 10th century (after an interval?) a hypothetical centre of the Piasts' power – was an area of silver accumulation and hoarding, while both places down the Siedlecki stream were areas where the metal was directly used. In order to accept this interpretation, however, two somewhat distant contemporary hoards from Ujeścisko and Orunia must also be taken into account and interpreted. One should also remember about the single find from the "Gericht" area, situated with some effort near Góra Szubieniczna in Wrzeszcz. Whatever the explanation, the coin finds show the revival of the Gdańsk settlement complex, which once again stretched over a large, though slightly shifted area. As for the discussion on the location of the marketplace from the pre-charter time, the coin finds suggest that it may have been located in the area of today's Market Hall and Dominican Church, not in the 13th, however, but the 11th century. On the other hand, one cannot but observe that three coins representing almost a century and found within a marketplace area is a very small number (particularly when compared with the contemporary, although functioning longer, marketplace in Giecz).¹²⁶ The question arises whether there are other archaeological materials from this place and time that relate to commercial activity, *e.g.* scales and weights (by nature dated less precisely than coins). If the opposite was true, the coins should be connected with a settlement located near the Church of St Nicholas in the second half of the 10th and particularly in the 11th century.¹²⁷

A significant change in the settlement structure must have occurred around the year 1070. We know too little to associate it with political changes, especially with the northern part of Pomerania gaining independence of Poland at that time (in accordance with Śliwiński's theory it happened around 1060).¹²⁸ The last quarter of the 11th century seems to end the use of coins on the moraine hills or even limit the use to a narrow settlement strip in the lower section of the Siedlecki Stream. However, the end of the century brings a much more distinguishing accumulation of coins in Czopowa Street on Zamczysko. They are attributed a Pomeranian, and in the case of the later specimens – Gdańsk origin. They also formed a small

¹²⁶ See Krysztofiak and Wyrwa 2015.

¹²⁷ Wadył 2015b, p. 558, further literature there.

¹²⁸ Śliwiński 2000, pp. 21-24.

hoard there. Similar specimens were found individually in Rycerska Street – also on Zamczysko – and under the Market Hall. The dominant role of Zamczysko in this phase suggests that the coins were used, hoarded and most probably produced there. This would mean that around 1070, a centre of power formed on Zamczysko, next to a settlement of a commercial character. It also testifies to the functioning of symbolic money in Upper Pomerania of a character similar to that observed in Lower Pomerania and Mecklenburg.¹²⁹ The end of this phase falls on around the conquest of Gdańsk by Boleslaus the Wrymouth in the second decade of the 12th century, but we are not able to decide on our own about the actual link between the two facts, because the decrease in number of coins in the 12th century Poland was much larger and affected entire Europe, resulting primarily from the shortage of silver,¹³⁰ which, by the way, was the first cause of the “brass” coinage. Therefore, one should analyse other archaeological material, asking to what extent it reflects the activity of Boleslaus the Wrymouth in Upper Pomerania

Finally, the extremely rich and interesting phase of independent coinage in Gdańsk, which started in the last years of the 12th century and was visible more or less until the 1270s, is reflected in the materials from various excavations in the area of sites 2 and 4 (but not 1 – Zamczysko!). This is the area separating Zamczysko with the duke’s stronghold (or already a castle) from the area of St Catherine’s Church, where the first town chartered under the Lübeck law is believed to have been located before 1263. Finds from Olejarna Street indicate that this is where the duke’s mint was located in the 13th century. Of course, in order to include the results of new numismatic studies in the discussion on the topography and functional structure of 13th-century Gdańsk, it is necessary to analyse not only the coins from Tartaczna Street. Therefore, we have to wait, but we may hope for the best. What also needs to be explained is the lack of coins from the second quarter of the 12th century and later on Zamczysko.

Future studies should also clarify the two gaps in the material mentioned before. As for the first one, probably dividing phase 1 from 2, it is first of all necessary to verify the composition and dating of hoards from Gdańsk and the surrounding area, analysing each data separately (for even the term ‘Ottonian coins’ could have different designations for various researchers, and the presence of Otto and Adelaide’s pennies due to shifts in their chronology and long minting time has to be interpreted anew every time), and then relate them to the surrounding finds. Awaiting explanation is also the issue of the disappearance of coins in Gdańsk in the period from the incorporation to Poland in the second decade of the 12th century until the 1180s (between phases 3 and 4). What needs to be decided is the question whether the absence can be ascribed to a lack of data (resulting from reach settlement layers remaining unexplored so far) or reflect the past accurately, and if the latter is the case, what the reasons for the regress were. Let us

¹²⁹ Wiechmann 2013.

¹³⁰ Spufford 1988, pp. 96-99. Adamczyk 2018, p. 326, points to the development of the internal market in Germany, which retained those already scarce resources of silver in the country.

recall that according to a written source, monetary relations in Gdańsk and Gdańsk Pomerania were developed to such an extent that the *renovatio monetae* generated a profit in 1148, taxed for the benefit of the Church.¹³¹ The causes may have been complex, starting with the silver crisis visible in 12th century Europe, but it is necessary to try to establish the importance of various factors.

The most intriguing question, however, seems to be the phenomenon of the “credit”, or at least heavily debased coinage in Pomerania at the end of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century. How close are the already visible similarities among the material from Gdańsk (Czopowa and Rycerska Streets and the Market Hall) and Włynkowo, Pawłówek, perhaps Żółte and other still unidentified sites? Are they connected with one, moving centre of power or more? The answer to these questions is probably already within our cognitive capacity, requiring only access to the material and analysis of the dies and metal.

As we can see, numismatics – as proposed by Błażej Śliwiński – can take on the function of mediating between history and archaeology, while not relieving the representatives of these disciplines of their duties, but explaining things which, either because of the destruction of layers or the failure to produce documents, would not be grasped with the methods specific to other fields. We cannot, therefore, join Sławomir Wadył in his appeal “...for the homogeneity of scientific argumentation conducted within ‘ones own’ discipline on the basis of sources specific to a given field of science. All too often, historians unjustifiably include arguments stemming from archaeological research in their narrative. [...] it is not justifiable practice to hold archaeologists responsible for the content and conclusions of their works, particularly in terms of chronology.”¹³² To be honest, we may admit that a numismatist sometimes feels equally annoyed seeing how an archaeologist or historian treat his findings. The thoughts of a historian-medievalist, who counts how many times archaeologists used *e.g.* the phrase *sedes regni principales* without any reflection on what the chronicler meant when using the words, must be similar. However, who in the world of science is then entitled to build an interdisciplinary synthesis of history, that is to say, to answer the classic question *Wie es eigentlich gewesen?* If we forbid historians to do so (and not all of them are eager to take on such a challenge) there will be no one left. The misunderstandings in the perception of the findings of one’s own discipline by partners from other fields should necessitate the reflection on the means of communication used in numismatics, archaeology and ‘documentary’ history alike. Above all, it should point to the need of syntheses, because the situation when the number of necessary readings faced by each generation of scholars is growing exponentially, the absence of competent syntheses written on an ongoing basis leads to isolating ever smaller fields and discovering the same thing many times over. The fact that the current science organisation system in Poland operates in the exactly opposite direction is a pessimistic forecast.

¹³¹ Perlbach 1882, no. 2.

¹³² Wadył 2015b, p. 559.

**NEW OR CORRECTED REPORTS ABOUT FINDS OF COINS
FROM THE 8TH-13TH CENTURY FROM THE GDAŃSK AREA**

I. Grodzisko (corrected attributions)

Ia. On Heidenberg hill, near “pagan urn tombs”, single finds from 1591 (*FMP* II, 44, no. 7):

1. Arab Caliphate, dirham, before 900.
2. Bohemia, Soběslav Slavníkiid, penny, Malín mint, Cach 1970, nos. 149 or 150.
3. Bohemia, Wenceslas IV (?) (1378-1419), Prague groschen (?).
4. Undetermined late-medieval coin (perhaps also Wenceslas IV’s groschen).
5. Gold coins with incomprehensible inscriptions (probably Late Roman solidi).

Ib. In an undetermined time and circumstances (before 1851) on the hill a hoard of dirhams was discovered, of which 6 were identified as to their mints (*FMP* II, 44, nos. 1-6). We have established *tpq* as 782, but the hoard could have been hidden both in the 9th and 10th century.

II. Wrzeszcz (corrected location)

At the foot of Góra Szubieniczna, by a large boulder, before 1672 (*FMP* II, 47):

1. England, Aethelred II (978-1016), penny of undetermined type and mint.

III. Targ Sienny (new discovery)

A fragment of an Arabic coin was discovered – as the only early medieval coin – in 2017 during large-area research conducted by Robert Krzywdziński:

1. Samanids (?), uncertain ruler and mint, end of the 9th – first half of the 10th century. Silver, cut fragment, about 2/5 of the coin (field inventory no. 1792).¹³³ See Annex by G. Arkuszewski.

IV. Dominikański Square (Market Hall; new finds and correction of an attribution)

In 2001, during the research of the Market Hall, a bracteate was found.¹³⁴ I am presenting it again because of the corrected attribution. In 2009, one early medieval coin was found in Dominikański Square during the research of former cemetery and monastery areas, which has already been published (*FMP* II, 52, no. 1; see above Fig. 7), and the following year two more, not yet published.

¹³³ Personal message from Paweł Milejski, the coin was described by Dorota Malarczyk.

¹³⁴ Paszkiewicz 2013, p. 216. fig. 2

1. Gdańsk Pomerania, cross penny imitation, *c.* 1090-1119, Gdańsk (?). Cross patée in linear border, margin illegible. One-sided, flat, base silver or brass, 18.6 mm; 0.945 g; a long cut in the field, going through, most likely made with a knife. Layer 2716, 06.10.2010. SAZ 255/05/08, cat. 458, f. inv. 362.¹³⁵



2. Saxony, Adelaide (with Otto III), penny, 995 – *c.* 1040, Goslar mint (?). Hatz 1961, type IV 20.f, g or k. Silver, 18.2 mm; 0.894 g. Excavation 1, part E, torn-off profile S, E, from the floor of layer 2005 to 2327, 02.03.2010. SAZ 255/05/08, cat. 478, f. inv. 208.¹³⁶ Photo by B. Ceynowa.



3. East Germany, bracteate, 12th/13th century. The bust of the ruler facing, in a cloak buckled on his chest, raising a sword in his right hand, maybe a shield in his left hand, below, an arch decorated with 4 balls, and a wide margin bulge. Original diameter *c.* 20 mm, current weight 0.07 g. Excavation 1, layer 178, strip 7, f. inv. 311. Imitation of Brandenburg coin (similar: Bahrfeldt 1889, nos. 300, 518, 519, 535) or Lübeck (Bonhoff 161).



¹³⁵ Description: Paweł Milejski.

¹³⁶ Description: Paweł Milejski.

V. Tartaczna Street (new discoveries)

The site, extremely rich in historical objects (excavations marked as Tartaczna, Tartaczna 2 and Panińska), surveyed in 2007-2010 under the supervision of Zbigniew Misiuk, material has not yet been fully studied, but we have a list of coins discovered there. 28 individual coins and five collective finds from the studied period come from here, including the already published hoard of bracteates with the name SAMBOR and the monogram OTTO¹³⁷ (here: hoard II) and two dirhams, also published (*FMP II*, 51). We repeat the information on the latter solely for the sake of providing a complete description.

Va. Hoard I. *Excavation Tartaczna; layer 4048, object 4039; SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1266-1269; f. inv. 5460; 01.04.2010 (c. 12 coins).*

1. Gdańsk Pomerania, Sambor I, an *Orant* type bracteate, Gdańsk mint, last decade of the 12th century (before c. 1195). A male half-figure facing, in a coat buckled at the neck, with open hands raised; a pellet on top of the head. Silver, corrosion defects, 0.057 g, 16.1 mm. SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1266; f. inv. 5460a.
2. As above; no ball on top of the head. Silver, corrosion defects, 0.113 g, 17.4 mm. SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1267; f. inv. 5460b.



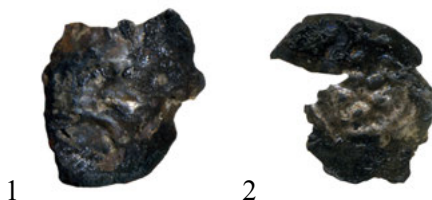
3. As above; no ball on top of the head. Silver, part of the bracteate's collar broken off, 0.094 g, 18.1 mm. SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1268; f. inv. 5460c.
4. File of *Orant* type bracteates, last decade of the 11th century, Gdańsk mint. Two outer coins with reverses out: A male half-figure facing, in a coat fastened at the neck, with open hands raised; without a ball on top of the head. Silver, corrosion defects, undetermined number: about 9 (6-10) pieces; total weight 1.128 g, diameter c. 19 mm. SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1269; f. inv. 5460d.



¹³⁷ Ceynowa and Paszkiewicz 2014 (see above fig. 13).

Vb. Hoard III. *Excavation Tartaczna 2, layer 3215, 23.06.2009. (11 coins).*

1. Mazovia-Kuyavia, Casimir the Just (?), bracteate of “undetermined Boleslaus”, before 1194 (?). A wall, perhaps with the inscription ...X·BO, a wide arch in it, on the right a fragment of a narrow arch. Over the wall a fragment of the cloak from the duke’s bust and probably a sword blade. Stronczyński 1884, no. 68. Silver, chipped, *c.* 2/5 of the coin, 0.066 g, 15.2 mm. SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1056; f. inv. 4125/3.
2. Poland, uncertain bracteate, 4th quarter of the 12th century. Traces of margin legend (?), a five-leaf rose in a circle. Possibly Stronczyński 1884, no. 83 (with the name of St John the Baptist, wrongly ascribed to Silesia). Silver, less than a half of a broken coin preserved, 0.050 g, 15.1 mm. SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1055; f. inv. 4125/2.



3. Poland, uncertain bracteate, fourth quarter of the 12th century. A pseudo-legend, a very primitive half-figure facing, in a cloak (?) in a beaded bulge, wavy hair going sideways. Stronczyński 1884, nos. 153-154. Silver, bent, 0.143 g, 18.5 mm. SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1061; f. inv. 4125/8.
4. Poland, uncertain bracteate, fourth quarter of the 12th century. A male bust to the right, with his left hand pointing to his eye; a ball above the head, a sword on the shoulder (held in the right hand – not visible). Stronczyński 1884, no. XXI:42; Garbaczewski 2007, fig. 127. Silver, 0.128 g, 16.8 mm. SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1052; f. inv. 4125/1.



5. Poland, uncertain bracteate, fourth quarter of the 12th century. Head facing, extremely simplified, surrounded with a radiate bulge. Stronczyński 1884, no. XXI:42; Triller 1991, p. 21, fig. 83 (hoard from Głębokie). Silver, crumbled, 0.084 g, 17.4 mm. SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1060; f. inv. 4125/7.
6. Poland (?), uncertain bracteate, fourth quarter of the 12th century. A quadruped walking right, border from thick beads. Silver, *c.* ½ of the coin, 0.067 g, 18.1 mm. SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1062; f. inv. 4125/9. The type could not be identified, perhaps due to damage to the specimen.



7. Poland, uncertain bracteate, end of the 12th/beginning of the 13th century. A nimbate man facing, with a sword on the lap, raising a four-bead cross in the right hand and a lily in the left. Stronczyński 1884, no. XXI:30a. Silver, 0.106 g, 16.5 mm. SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1057; f. inv. 4125/4.
8. Poland, uncertain bracteate, end of the 12th/beginning of the 13th century. A nimbate man facing, with a sword on the lap, raising a four-bead cross in the right hand and a lily in the left. Stronczyński 1884, no. XXI:30a, the same die as on cat. no. 1057. Silver, 0.091 g, 16.8 mm. SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1059; f. inv. 4125/6.



9. Poland, uncertain bracteate, 12th/13th century. At the top a pseudo-Hebrew legend, under an ornamented arch a very primitive half-figure facing, between marks which can be interpreted as letters: A on the left and IIC on the right; a group of three dots over the alleged letters. Stronczyński 1883, p. 163, no. 30; Stronczyński 1850, no. 50. Silver, crumbled, *c.* ¼ of the coin is missing, 0.091 g, 18.0 mm. SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1058; f. inv. 4125/5.

10. Poland, uncertain bracteate, 12th/13th century. A crowned human figure stands between two crosses, holding a spear, a pennant or a raised sword in his right hand; on the right side of the head an eight-pointed star, pellets under the crosses; the lower half of the representation is missing. No analogy. Silver, crumbled, *c.* ½ of the coin, 0.104 g, 15.0 mm. SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1053; f. inv. 4125/10.



11. Uncertain bracteate. Completely illegible, small parts of a coin. SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1054; f. inv. 4125/11.

Vc. Assemblage IV. *Excavation Tartaczna 2, layer 2685; SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1023; f. inv. 3488; 10.04.2010. Two coins stuck together.*

- 1-2. Gdansk Pomerania, bracteates, 13th century. On three steps a cone topped with a ball and a massive cross standing on it; on the sides two free-hanging crosses. Type visible on less than half of the bracteate and on two fragments of another bracteate, also impressed in a lump of patina. No known analogy. Silver; the larger part of the coin weighs 0.07 g, maximum length 17.7 mm. A flat bracteate, slightly similar to the hohlpfennig Beyer 1876, no. 88.



Vd. Assemblage V. *Excavation Tartaczna; layer 4069, (heap); SAZ 255/04/04, f. inv. 5462; 10.04.2010. Two coins.*

1. Gdańsk Pomerania, Mściwuj II (1252-1294), bracteate, Gdańsk mint. An arch, a sharpened pole on the arch and, symmetrically, two crosiers; two four-pointed stars at the top, one at the bottom and two pellets on the sides. Similar to Dannenberg 1885, no. 117, but flat. Silver, small corrosion defects, 0.097 g, 15.2 mm. (glued, on fabric) SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1242; f. inv. 5462b.



2. Gdańsk Pomerania, Conrad of Brandenburg (1271-1272), bracteate, Gdańsk mint. A simplified eagle with three-feather spread wings, the head to the left (of the viewer), a ball and a three-pointed star on the sides. Like Dannenberg 1885, no. 91, but there are two four-pointed stars at the head of the eagle. Silver; small losses and bends, 0.127 g, 17.3 mm. SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1253; f. inv. 5462a.



Ve. Single coins (28 specimens).

1. Abbasids, as-Saffah (132-136 AH/750-754 AD) or al-Mansur (136-158 AH/754-775 AD), dirham, 132-139 (rather by 137) AH = 750-757 (755) AD, al-Kufa (?). Silver, cut half, 1.109 g, *c.* 24×10×0.9 mm; Tartaczna 2; layer 1469; SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1339; f. inv. 1564; 25.08.2008 (*FMP* II, 51, no. 1). See Annex by G. Arkuszewski.
2. Abbasids, al-Mansur (136-158 AH/754-775 AD), dirham, 146 or 147 AH (?) = 763/4 or 764/5 AD, al-Basra. Silver, 0.678 g, diameter 23.7 mm, 0.678 g, cut half broken, in 2 fragments; Tartaczna 2; layer 3128; object 3179; SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 16 088; f. inv. 3907; 10 06 2009 (*FMP* II, 51, no. 2). See Annex by G. Arkuszewski.
3. Gotland, penny, *c.* 1190-*c.* 1220, Visby mint (?). Obv. simplified church (obliquely checkered roof between two poorly visible towers, at the top in the middle a small tower with a conical roof). Rev. The margin legend is invisible, a thin cross with arms of equal length, dashes in the corners and pairs of pellets, in the middle an annulet with a pellet. Lagerqvist 1970, no. XX 8a. Silver; fragments, 0.086 g, 11.9 mm (glued). Tartaczna 2; layer 1469; SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1241; f. inv. 1565; 26.08.2008.



4. Magdeburg, the archbishopric, St Maurice bracteate (*Moritzpfennig*), c. 1210-25, Magdeburg mint. A building with a perspective roof, in the middle an arch (?) topped with a cross, on the left a tower with a conical roof, a margin bulge. Berger 1993, no. 1571 variant (there a ball also on the tower), Mehl 2011, no. 470 variant (there a ball also on the tower). Silver, a cut quarter, 0.177 g, 16.1 mm (half of the coin's diameter – 10.3 mm). Excavation Tartaczna 2, layer 2710, 10.04.2009. SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1022; f. inv. 3459.
5. Poland, bracteate, end of the 12th – first half of the 13th century. Cross and four pellets in angles, around a moderate bulge, the flan hammered from a rectangular plate. A very deep relief. Silver, 0.245 g, 20.2 mm. Excavation Tartaczna 2, layer 2754, 15.04.2009. SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1024; f. inv. 3487.



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6. Poland, bracteate, first half of the 13th century. A high cross and a crosier connected by a horizontal and a broken lines, a crosslet between them, another crosslet on the right, on the left partly indiscernible object similar to an inverted, elongated S. No analogy. Silver; 0.106 g, 16.5 mm. Excavation Tartaczna; layer 4069; SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1246; f. inv. 5463; 10.04.2010.
7. Poland, bracteate, first half of the 13th century, a ruler sitting (?), rising a sword in his right hand, in the left hand an object resembling a tower (or a banner), two sets of two pellets at the edge, a moderate margin bulge. No analogy. Silver, 0.101 g, 18.0 mm. Excavation Tartaczna 2, layer 6, object 2873, 05.05.2009. SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1072; f. inv. 3810.



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8. Poland, bracteate, first half of the 13th century. A wall with three simplified towers and a triangular gate with three small towers included towards each other visible in the passage. Coin overstruck on another: a pellet and a group of the pellets visible by the bar. No analogy. Silver, losses, squashed, 0.165 g, 18.9 mm. Excavation Tartaczna 2, layer 2839, 28.04.2009. SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1050; f. inv. 3597.
9. Poland, bracteate, first half of the 13th century. A half-figure facing, in episcopal robe, holding a crosier in his right hand and a short cross in his left; on his head a crown-shaped headdress with three points, on the sides and between them there are pellets; the margin from thick beads blended into a bulge. No analogy. Silver, 0.069 g, 16.1 mm (glued). Excavation Tartaczna 2, layer 3063, 26.05.2009 SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1071; f. inv. 3718.



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10. Poland, bracteate, first half of the 13th century. Convex figure in the centre, two parallel, curved lines to the edge, two pellets, perhaps connected with the figure; the die is significantly shifted. No analogy. Silver, significant corrosion defects, 0.08 g, 18.4 mm. Excavation Tartaczna 2, layer 1294, 18.06.2008. SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1063; f. inv. 1199.
11. Silesia?, bracteate, c. 1240-1250. Two heads, bare and hairless, facing one another and slightly bowed, between them a cross standing on a pellet, beneath a capital A with a broken bar. No analogy. Silver, 0.081 g, 16.4 mm. Excavation Tartaczna 2, layer 1528, 26.08.2008. SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1068; f. inv. 1568. Photo by B. Ceynowa.



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12. Silesia?, bracteate, 13th century. Two heads, a tall cross between them, pellets over the cross, missing lower part, moderate margin bulge. No analogy. Silver, *c.* ½ of the coin preserved, highly flattened, 0.097 g, 16.1 mm. Excavation Tartaczna 2, heap, object 1314, 01.09.2008. SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1078; f. inv. 1907. Perhaps another die of the same type as coin no. 11.
13. Poland, bracteate, 13th century. Arch, three towers (?) on it, in it as if a smaller arch topped with two towers inclined towards one another with conical roofs topped with balls. No analogy. Silver, chipped, *c.* 2/3 of the coin, 0.087 g, 14.2 mm. Panińska excavation, layer 3750, 25.11.2009. SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1067; f. inv. 4664.



12



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14. Poland, bracteate, 13th century. Two arches, under the right one, topped with a pole with a pellet, there is a head with a bicornate mitre. No analogy. Silver, squashed, significant losses, 0.065 g, 18.1 mm. Panińska excavation, layer 3750, 25.11.2009. SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1079; f. inv. 4665.
15. Silesia?, bracteate, *c.* 1240-1250. Two male busts facing, separated by a pillar (or a cross). No analogy. Silver, significant breaks, 0.103 g, 17.7 mm. Excavation Tartaczna 2, layer 936 or 963, 20.05.2008. SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1066; f. inv. 755.



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16. Poland, bracteate, second half of the 13th century. On a small arch a one-level tower with two high, arched windows, topped with a slightly rounded roof with a pellet at the top and pellets at the eaves; the right side of the representation visible, a pellet on the side; a margin bulge around. Similar: Gumowski 1917, no. 93, Beyer 1876, no. 97, Dannenberg 1885, no. 111. Silver, significant corrosion defects, (completely preserved edge), 0.123 g, 20.7 mm. Excavation Tartaczna, layer 3691, object 3692, 13.11.2008. SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1074; f. inv. 4528.
17. Poland, hohlpfennig, second half of the 13th century. A tower with a conical roof and a single window (without flanking elements in the field). Silver, crumbled, 0.048 g, length of the largest fragment 9.5 mm. Excavation Tartaczna 2, layer 2039; SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1270; f. inv. 2024; 20.10.2008.
18. Western Pomerania, Bogusław I, the *Cross/building* type penny, c. 1183-1187, Szczecin mint. Obv. ...ELLVF..., cross within a quatrefoil, with pellets in corners and a circle. Rev. +CVT..., a tower on an arch with two windows and a conical roof, on the sides elevated wings of a building covered with a high roof, with single windows. Kiersnowski 1960, no. 5d-k. Silver, pierced with a knife, from Obv. to Rev., 0.432 g, 15.0 mm. Excavation Tartaczna 2, layer 1286, 17.07.2008. SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1113; f. inv. 1192. Photo by B. Ceynowa.



19. Western Pomerania, Bogusław I or Warcisław II, the *Cross/building* type, forgery, c. 1183-1189. Obv. \\OEC\\CV, cross within a quatrefoil and a circle. Rev. \\X\\N\\, a tower with two windows and a conical roof on a low arch decorated with four balls, on the sides elevated wings of a building covered with a high roof. Dannenberg 1893, nos. 5-9, 14 or 15. Copper covered with a layer of white metal, strongly corroded, 0.227 g, 14.3 mm. Excavation Tartaczna 2, layer 1256, 1261; SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1380; f. inv. 1179; 15.07.2008. Photo by B. Ceynowa.
20. Gdańsk Pomerania (?), bracteate, end of the 12th century. A wall with an arched gate, an uncertain figure (cross?) in the passage, a half-figure facing over the wall, with a sword on his shoulder between two towers with conical roofs; a narrow margin bulge. No analogy. Silver, 0.212 g, 20.2 mm. Excavation Tartaczna, layer 3731, 18.11.2009. SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1073; f. inv. 4530b.



19. Gdańsk Pomerania (?), bracteate, early 13th century. An armoured half-figure facing, raises a sword in his right hand, resting on his shoulder, a palm in his left hand. The headgear uncertain, the nimbate head, a star over the right shoulder. No analogy. Silver, significant corrosion defects, 0.075 g, 17.9 mm. Excavation Tartaczna; layer 3996; SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1248; f. inv. 5449; 24.03.2010.
22. Gdańsk Pomerania, bracteate, 13th century. On three steps a cone topped with a pellet and a massive cross standing on it; on the sides two free-hanging crosses. No analogy. Silver, squashed, 0.236 g, 19.2 mm. Excavation Panieńska, layer 3827, 30.11.2009. SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1065; f. inv. 4707. A very deep relief, partly weakly struck.



21. Gdańsk Pomerania, bracteate, 13th century. A blurred representation, probably steps arranged in a pyramid, a cross with extended ends on the right, a margin bulge. No analogy. Silver, squashed, chipped, *c.* 1/2 of the coin, 0.064 g, 15.1 mm. Excavation Tartaczna, layer 3957, 15.12.2009. SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1051; f. inv. 5034.
24. Gdańsk Pomerania, bracteate, 13th century. Wide, three-bay building with a multi-window façade, a roof wider than the building, with three triangular gables: the high in the middle, the left low; a linear border inside margin bulge; traces of overstriking on another bracteate. Silver, broken *c.* 1/2 of the coin, 0.074 g, 14.5 mm. No analogies (similar to cat. 1247). Excavation Tartaczna 2, layer 1554, 26.08.2008. SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1064; f. inv. 1567.



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25. Gdańsk Pomerania, bracteate, 13th century. Wide, three-bay building with a multi-window façade, a roof wider than the building with three triangular gables: the middle one higher than the others; a continuous border inside an unstruck margin bulge. No analogies (similar to coin no. Ve: 24). Silver, corrosion defects, 0.112 g, 16.8 mm; bent in half, obverse outside. Tartaczna; layer 4011; SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1247; f. inv. 5431; 24.03.2010.



26. Gdańsk Pomerania, Świętopełk II (1219/20-1266), bracteate. CCR-V9, stag to the right, a sphere between front legs, continuous, prominent border. Like Gupieniec 1963, p. 170, no. 16. Silver, 0.131 g, 16.9 mm. Excavation Tartaczna 2, layer 3172, 09.06.2009. SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1070; f. inv. 3914. Photo by B. Ceynowa.



27. Gdańsk Pomerania, Świętopełk II, bracteate. CCR-V9, stag to the right, between the front legs a sphere, a continuous, prominent border. Like Gupieniec 1963, p. 170, no. 16. Silver, corrosion defects, 0.112 g, 12.7 mm. Die identical with coin no. Ve: 26. Excavation Tartaczna 2, layer 2099, 23.10.2008. SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1069; f. inv. 1947. Photo by B. Ceynowa.



28. Gdańsk Pomerania, bracteate, second half of the 13th century. On a small chevron, a Latin cross, two pellets below the cross bar, lower on the sides two annulets connected by a shorter cross bar. Like Gupieniec 1973, p. 170, no. 15. Silver; 1/3 of the coin and two fragments of thick corrosion with an impression (one Obv., one Rev.); weight of the coin fragment 0.060 g, original diameter of the coin about 18 mm; 18.11.2019. Excavation Tartaczna; SAZ 255/04/04, cat. 1245; f. inv. 4530a.



VI. Czopowa Street (additional coins)

Coins from the 2009 research come from one building and its surroundings, and some ambiguities in the stratigraphy make it difficult to determine whether some coins do belong to the hoard and other to single finds. The coins have been published,¹³⁸ whereas two single coins – from earlier research by Zbigniew Polak in 2006 in the directly adjacent excavations – are unpublished to date.¹³⁹

1. Pomerania, “Zemuzil” (?), a Łupawa style imitative mule of Otto’s and Adelaide’s penny and a *Simple cross* type cross penny, Kołobrzeg mint (?), c. 1040-1050. Obv. unclear traces of the letters ΛЄ\\\\E\\\\, continuous border, a simple cross, in angles, around the centre O-D-O-D. Rev. = ▲▲─▲Я..., border from thick dashes, cross patée, in the corners crescents with shoulders outside. Edge with traces of cutting. Silver, 0.756 g, 18.9 mm. Rev. die identical with Paszkiewicz 2012, no. 2.6 (see above, fig. 8). Excavation 1, section A, probably layer 344, 29.10.2009; f. inv. 44281.

¹³⁸ *FMP* II, 53 and 54; the original study by Paszkiewicz 2012 (see above, fig. 8 i 9).

¹³⁹ Information and photographs by Zbigniew Misiuk.



2. Pomerania, a Łupawa-style imitation of a Danish penny, Kołobrzeg mint (?), mid-11th century. Obv. ...IIRIC..., a triquetra in a trilobe, in its only visible angle at least three pellets, linear borders. Rev. ...III..., a long voided cross with an annulet in its only visible angle; linear borders, die significantly shifted. Silver, 0.162 g (after conservation), cut (?) 1/3 of the coin, 16.4 mm (before conservation). Like Bogucki and Magiera 2015, fig. 7, coin marked "Berlin 9881" (Obv. with the same die, identity of the reverse die possible but not confirmed). Excavation 2, layer 548.



VII. Klesza Street (corrected attribution)

The research conducted in 2008 on the plot at 7 Klesza Street in the Right (Main) Town produced coins from the 14th to 20th century as well as another Arabic coin:

1. Volga-Bulgars (?), forged Samanid dirham (?), after 934. Klesza 7, layer 561, 25.11.2008. See Annex by G. Arkuszewski.

ABBREVIATIONS

FMP – *Frühmittelalterliche Münzfunde aus Polen. Inventar*, ed. by M. Bogucki, P. Ilisch and S. Suchodolski:

II – G. Horoszko, J. Piniński, P. Ilisch, D. Malarczyk and T. Nowakiewicz, *Frühmittelalterliche Münzfunde aus Pommern*, Warszawa 2016.

V – M. Bogucki, P. Ilisch, D. Malarczyk, M. Kulesza, J. Piniński and T. Nowakiewicz, *Frühmittelalterliche Münzfunde aus Ermland und Masuren*, Warszawa 2016.

V/II – M. Bogucki, P. Ilisch, D. Malarczyk, P. Chabrzyk, A. Kędziński, M. Kulesza, T. Nowakiewicz and R. Wawrzczak, *Frühmittelalterliche Münzfunde aus Polen, 2011-2013. Addenda et corrigenda*, [in:] *FMP V*.

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PRZEDKRZYŻACKI GDAŃSK I ZNALEZISKA MONET: NUMIZMATYKA MIĘDZY HISTORIA A ARCHEOLOGIA

(Streszczenie)

Najstarsze pisemne świadectwo o istnieniu Gdańska – i to już jako miasta, *urbs* – pochodzi z „Żywota św. Wojciecha”, spisane przed rokiem 1000. Według tego źródła, w 995 r. św. Wojciech przybył do Gdańska. W wyniku szerokich badań archeologicznych, prowadzonych od 1948 r., utrwalił się pogląd, że ten najstarszy Gdańsk leżał nie na wzgórzu morenowym Hagensberg (obecnie Grodzisko; zob. ryc. 1, punkty 2 i 3), gdzie lokalizowała go tradycja, ale przy porcie u ujścia Motławy, gdzie po 1308 r. stanął zamek krzyżacki (ryc. 1, punkty 9 i 10). Nowe badania dendrochronologiczne wykazały jednak, że gród u ujścia Motławy zbudowano dopiero w 2. połowie XI w. Nasuwa się zatem przypuszczenie, że tradycja była słuszna. Nie można jej jednak potwierdzić archeologicznie, gdyż Hagensberg został na przełomie XVIII i XIX w. zniszczony przez prace fortyfikacyjne. Pojawiły się więc hipotezy, wiążące najstarszy Gdańsk z relikwiami budowli drewnianych z X w. odkrywanych w innych miejscach w dzisiejszym historycznym centrum Gdańska.

W tradycyjnych przekazach, od XVI w., wiadomość o pradawnej roli Hagensbergu wspierana była wiadomościami o znaleziskach monet arabskich i ottońskich na wzgórzu i w jego okolicy. Historyk, Błażej Śliwiński, sporządził listę tych znalezisk i zauważył, że rzeczywiście skupiają się wokół Grodziska wskazując, że tam właśnie był ośrodek osadnictwa w regionie Gdańska w X w. Spotkał się ze sprzeciwem archeologów, twierdzących, że świadectwo pozbawionych kontekstu monet i skarbów nie jest wystarczające.

Celem artykułu jest stwierdzenie, co w istocie w tej kwestii ma do powiedzenia numizmatyka. Wymaga to weryfikacji dawnych wiadomości o znaleziskach oraz uwzględnienia nowych znalezisk, dokonanych już w XXI w. Nowo wydany inwentarz znalezisk wczesnośredniowiecznych w Polsce (*FMP*), aczkolwiek niezwykle użyteczny, nie został jednak poprzedzony wystarczająco gruntowną krytyką dawnych zapisów. W rezultacie okazało się, że niektóre odnotowane jeszcze w XVI w. monety znalezione były gdzie indziej lub miały inne pochodzenie, niż sądzono. Przy okazji chcemy także przejrzeć znaleziska późniejszych monet, poprzedzających najazd krzyżacki w 1308 r. i zastanowić się, czy miejsca ich występowania przynoszą wiadomości o przemianach funkcjonalnych poszczególnych części średniowiecznego Gdańska.

Napływ monet do Gdańska we wczesnym i pełnym średniowieczu dzieli się na cztery fazy. Najstarsza obejmuje wyłącznie monety arabskie. Najwcześniejsze z nich, dirhemy abbasydzkich kalifów As-Saffaha i Al-Mansura, z lat 750-763 po Chr., znaleziono osobno, bez współczesnego kontekstu, na ul. Tartacznej (ryc. 1, punkt 7), gdzie w XIII w. powstanie duża, nieobronna osada. Monety arabskie z najnowszych znalezisk omawia osobno Grzegorz Arkuszewski w aneksie do tego artykułu. W nieznanym miejscu poza historycznym centrum Gdańska znaleziono przed 1724 r. dirhem Al-Mahdiego z roku 779/80. Mimo obserwowanego na Pomorzu zjawiska wtórnego włączania do obiegu bardzo wczesnych monet arabskich w X w., nie sądzimy, by tak należało objaśniać te dirhemy z VIII w., dla których żadnego – choćby tylko numizmatycznego – kontekstu z X w. nie ma. Są to najprawdopodobniej relikty najwcześniejszego napływu srebra arabskiego do strefy bałtyckiej pod koniec VIII w. Napływ ten z pewnością odbywał się poprzez wczesne

emporium normańskie w Starej Ładodze i Uppsali, nie jest natomiast konieczne – choć możliwe – by kolejnym etapem na drodze monet do Gdańska było Truso.

Dopiero kolejny dirhem abbasydzkiego kalifa Al-Ma'mūna z lat 812-820 znaleziony został w pobliżu Grodziska (ryc. 1, punkt 3). Na samym Grodzisku (ryc. 1, punkt 2) znaleziono jeszcze dirhem, który – sądząc ze sporządzonego w XVI w. opisu – mógł pochodzić sprzed roku 900, oraz pojedynczą monetę z 1. połowy X stulecia i skarb monet arabskich o niejasnej chronologii. Choć jest możliwe, że starsze monety arabskie trafiły na Grodzisko w IX w., to jednak nie ma takiej pewności i tylko 1. połowa X w. może być uznana za poświadczoną monetami. Fragment dirhema, przypuszczalnie samanidzkiego, z 1. połowy X w., znaleziono na Targu Siennym (ryc. 1, punkt 4), a dwa fragmenty na północnym przedmieściu Wrzeszcz (ryc. 1, punkt 1). Najpóźniejsza moneta arabska pochodzi z około połowy X w. (to niezwykle fałszyfikat z Bułgarii Kamskiej wybity po roku 734), który został znaleziony na Prawym Mieście w Gdańsku (ryc. 1, punkt 11), w rejonie, gdzie zaobserwowano konstrukcje drewniane z 1. połowy X w. Znaleźiska monet arabskich zatem rzeczywiście skupiają się na Grodzisku, ale ich skupisko nie jest już tak zwarte, jak to wyglądało na liście Śliwińskiego.

Nie ma w Gdańsku i jego najbliższej okolicy monet arabskich z 3. ćwierci X w., gdzie indziej często spotykanych, nie ma również monet łacińskiej Europy sprzed roku 990. Ta przerwa świadczy o osłabieniu osadnictwa i ma prawdopodobnie związek z przekształceniami politycznymi tej części Pomorza, których szczegóły są wciąż dyskutowane, ale których rezultatem było przyłączenie ujścia Wisły do Polski. Najstarszą monetą z nowej fazy napływu jest czeski denar Sobiesława Sławnikowica (brata św. Wojciecha) z lat ok. 990-995, znaleziony na Grodzisku i w literaturze błędnie odnotowany jako moneta ottońska. Faza napływu wyłącznie monety zachodniej trwa do ok. 1040 r. i poświadczona jest tylko sześcioma pojedynczymi monetami, znalezionymi poza tym we Wrzeszczu, w rejonie późniejszego klasztoru dominikanów (punkt 5) i w rejonie Zameczyska (punkt 10). Około 1040 r. zaczyna się faza 3: oprócz monet zachodnich pojawiają się naśladownictwa monet saskich, anglosaskich i duńskich pochodzenia pomorskiego, początkowo bite prawdopodobnie w Kołobrzegu. Pojawiają się też skarby, w których monety niemieckie, angielskie i skandynawskie występują wraz z naśladownictwami pomorskimi. Jeden z tych skarbów pochodzi z Grodziska, a dwa z peryferyjnych osad w Ujeścisku i Oruni (punkty 12 i 13). Po około 1070 r. znaleźiska monet skupiają się na Zameczysku. Nie znamy przyczyn tego zjawiska: jego chronologia pokrywa się z utratą przez Polskę kontroli nad Pomorzem. Wśród najpóźniejszych znalezionych na Zameczysku monet są naśladownictwa wykonane z złotego metalu, bite prawdopodobnie w Gdańsku.

Po początku XII w., może w związku z ponownym podbojem polskim, przestają pojawiać się w Gdańsku nowe monety (mimo że świadczenia pieniężne i nawet renowacja monety są tam poświadczone dokumentami). Dopiero w końcu tego stulecia, w serii wykopów w dzielnicy Stare Miasto (ryc. 1, punkty 6, 7 i 8), widzimy serię znaleźisk zespołowych i pojedynczych, które przedstawiają wczesne emisje brakteatów gdańskich, początkowo bitych przypuszczalnie w imieniu zwierzchniego władcy Polski. Są zwykle anonimowe, z wyjątkiem jednego typu z imieniem *Sambor*, odnoszącym się niewątpliwie do margrabiego gdańskiego Sambora I (1177/87-1207?), co wiążemy z osłabieniem pozycji zwierzchniego księcia Mieszka III w 1195 r. Sekwencję typów zaobserwowano dzięki widocznym śladom przebicia jednych typów na drugie. Pojedynczo pojawiają się także brakteaty z innych części

Polski, które formują również mały skarb. Monety obce (z Zachodniego Pomorza, Gotlandii i Magdeburga) są tylko wyjątkowe. Na ulicy Olejarnej (punkt 6) znaleziono stempel do bicia brakteatów – najstarszy w Polsce stempel menniczny (ale monet bitych takim stemplem jeszcze nie znaleziono). Późniejsze brakteaty gdańskie nie układają się w tak czytelną sekwencję, ale możemy je prześledzić aż do lat 1270., kiedy udało się nam wyodrębnić monetę bitą w Gdańsku podczas krótkich rządów margrabiego brandenburskiego Konrada I (1271-1272). Nie jest jasne, czemu monety urywają się wtedy. Do tego też czasu brakteaty gdańskie są płaskie, tzn. nie mają wysokiego reliefu, charakterystycznego dla brakteatów guzickowych, jakie widzimy w skarbie z Sarbska na Pomorzu Wschodnim. Nie wykazują też motywów związanych z Lubeką czy w ogóle północnymi Niemcami, mimo że to stamtąd przybyli mieszkańcy pierwszego lokowanego miasta w Gdańsku. Sugeruje to, że mennictwo pozostawało wciąż w rękach księcia gdańskiego.

W konkluzji wnioskujemy, że zgodnie z obserwowanym na ziemiach polskich modelem gromadzenia się srebra arabskiego – jeśli w Gdańsku w 2. połowie IX w. i w 1. połowie X w. istniał gród, to na Grodzisku. Mogło to być też nieobronne, symboliczne centrum wspólnoty, nawet niekoniecznie zamieszkałe. Wymaga wyjaśnienia luka w napływie monet w 2. połowie X w. Następnie Grodzisko – od końca X w. hipotetyczny ośrodek władzy Piastów – było przypuszczalnie obszarem akumulacji i tezauryzacji srebra, gdy miejsca położone poniżej były terenami jego bezpośredniego użytku. Nie widać skupiska monet, które by wskazywało położenie w XI w. targu. Moneta znika w końcu XI w. ze wzgórz morenowych – przypuszczalnie wraz z osadnictwem – na rzecz obszaru położonego u ujścia Motławy i Potoku Siedleckiego. Na Zamczysku w 2. połowie XI w. powstał ośrodek władzy obok osady o charakterze handlowym. Interesującym zjawiskiem z innej dziedziny jest funkcjonowanie na Pomorzu Wschodnim na przełomie XI/XII w. pieniądza symbolicznego o charakterze podobnym do zaobserwowanego na Pomorzu Zachodnim i w Meklemburgii. Kolejna luka w obecności monet w latach ok. 1120-1190 pozostaje do wyjaśnienia. Niezwykle bogata i interesująca faza samodzielnego mennictwa gdańskiego, rozpoczęta w ostatnim dwudziestoleciu XII w. i widoczna mniej więcej do lat siedemdziesiątych XIII w., znajduje odzwierciedlenie w monetach (i stemple mennicznym) z wykopów na terenie Starego Miasta, ale nie z Zamczyska, gdzie monet nie ma. Niezwykle jak na Polskę nagromadzenie monet z XIII w. ujawnił teren oddzielający Zamczysko z grodem (czy już zamkiem) książęcym od rejonu kościoła św. Katarzyny, gdzie upatruje się lokacji na prawie lubeckim. Teren „monetarny” uważany jest przez historyków za obszar książęcy, związany z grodem, a nie miastem lokacyjnym.

Monety okazały się stosunkowo najbardziej trwałymi źródłami archeologicznymi: przyciągały uwagę, były trudniejsze do zniszczenia w wyniku prac ziemnych i łatwiejsze do identyfikacji, a przynajmniej do opisu umożliwiającego identyfikację specjalistycznie. Nawet pozbawione kontekstu stratygraficznego zachowały spory ładunek informacyjny. Archeolodzy i historycy nie powinni lekceważyć otrzymywanych z tego źródła wiadomości.

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