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FROM ONE SEA TO ANOTHER  
TRADING PLACES IN THE EUROPEAN  
AND MEDITERRANEAN EARLY MIDDLE AGES

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BREPOLS

MATEUSZ BOGUCKI

## On Wulfstan's right hand – the Viking Age *emporía* in West Slav Lands<sup>1</sup>

In northern Europe, a new type of settlements appeared in the first millennium AD. On the coastal areas as well as in the lower reaches of big rivers, settlements were founded in which economy, traditional agriculture and hunting played a minor role. These new type-sites functioned as centres of production, trade and service for merchants and travellers. In archaeological literature these large settlements, which were characterised mainly by production and trade activities have been variously termed - *emporía*, *ports of trade*, *early forms of towns*, *pre-urban nucleus*, *incipient towns*, *proto-town*, *Seehandelsplatz* and *vik*<sup>2</sup>. The existence of these large settlements is one of the phenomena distinguishing ancient times from the Early Middle Ages and Viking Age<sup>3</sup> in Northern Europe<sup>4</sup>. It is important to define the basic terminology of the words mentioned above, since they are often used as general keywords, while their original meaning is lost.

<sup>1</sup> This text is revised and updated version of M. Bogucki, «The Viking Age ports of trade in Poland», *Eesti Arheoloogia Ajakiri*, 8:2 (2004), p. 100-127.

<sup>2</sup> H.B. Clarke, A. Simms, «Towards a comparative history of urban origin», in *The Comparative History of Urban Origins in Non-Roman Europe: Ireland, Wales, Denmark, Germany, Poland and Russia from Ninth to the Thirteenth Century*, ed. H.B. Clarke, A. Simms (BAR International Series. 255 (i-ii), Oxford, 1985, p. 672.

<sup>3</sup> It's necessary to explain the chronological terminology used in the text. In the Scandinavian archaeology 'Viking Age' is dated from the 8<sup>th</sup> to the middle of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Next centuries are called 'Early Middle Ages'. In central Europe (Russia, Poland, Germany), the 'Early Middle Ages' are dated from 6<sup>th</sup> to the middle of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. In this text I will use the 'Early Middle Ages' term according to the Central European archaeological tradition.

<sup>4</sup> For other criteria for the beginnings of the Viking Age, like changes in art, changes in production, changes in burial customs, expansion of trade routes and goods carried, etc. see B. Ambrosiani, H. Clarke, 'Birka and the Beginning of the Viking Age', in *Studien zur Archäologie des Ostseeraumes. Von der Eisenzeit zum Mittelalter. Festschrift für Michael Müller-Wille*, ed. A. Wesse, Neumünster, 1998, p. 33-38.

Karl Polanyi, who has treated and defined *Ports of Trade*<sup>5</sup> in his writings, has suggested that one of the most important characteristics in defining a site is its location<sup>6</sup>. Ports of Trade were situated at the crossroads of trade routes, often in naturally protected places such as river estuaries or on the shores of fjords or bays. These locations were essential for defence. Often, Ports of Trade also marked political, cultural, ethnic, or geographical borders. Therefore, *emporium* were situated in the so-called 'no mans land'. Another important precondition for *emporium* was the protection given by the local chieftains. They were bribed with luxury goods, especially high quality weapons. Their support was necessary to guarantee peace and safe conditions for trade.

Characteristically, cult and religious centres can be found inside or in the vicinity of *emporium*. In many archaic societies, priests possessed a significant power over the people and were interested in profits obtained from the trade<sup>7</sup>. The temples did not collect profits directly from trade, but in the form of ceremonial payments<sup>8</sup> and tributes. Often the priests were also well-qualified craftsmen, for example, the Benedictine monk Theophilus Presbyter, who described the Early Medieval jewellery techniques in his *Diversarum Artium Schedula*<sup>9</sup>. In Ports of Trade, priests could sell their

<sup>5</sup> In this text I will use both the *Ports of Trade* and *emporium/emporium* as equivalent terms.

<sup>6</sup> K. Polanyi, «Ports of Trade in early societies», *The Journal of Economic History*, 23 (1963), p. 30-45; K. Polanyi, «Trade, Markets, and Money in the European Early Middle Ages», *Norwegian Archaeological Review*, 11:2 (1978), p. 92-96. K. Polanyi's model is concerning to the whole problem of functioning of the specific trade settlements from the ancient (Mesopotamia) to the modern times (17<sup>th</sup> century slave markets in West Africa). Today only Richard Hodges looks at these phenomena in a broad way, analyzing sites from the North Sea to the Near East (R. Hodges, *Towns and Trade in the Age of Charlemagne*, London, 2000).

<sup>7</sup> In the written sources there is a lot of information's about temple treasures (M. Bogucki, «Grobina – a Sign of the Future. Early Ports of Trade in the Balt Lands», in *Transformatio mundi – the transition from the Late Migration Period to the Early Viking Age in the East Baltic*, ed. M. Bertasius, Kaunas, 2006, p. 93-106).

<sup>8</sup> Here we should mention the *Guldgubber* (gold foils) from Sorte Muld on Bornholm or Uppåkra in Scania (M. Watt, «Die Goldblechfiguren ('guldgubber') aus Sorte Muld, Bornholm», in *Der historische Horizont der Götterbild-Amulette aus der Übergangsepoche von der Spätantike zum Frühmittelalter*, ed. K. Hauck, Göttingen, 1992, p. 195-227; E. Thrane, «Overvejelser af kultindholdet i Gudmes bebyggelse», in *Centrala platser – Centrala frågor. Samhällsstrukturen under Järnåldern. Uppåkrastudier 1* (Acta Archaeologica Lundensia, series in 8°) 28, eds B. Hårdh, L. Larsson, Lund, 1998, p. 249-261).

<sup>9</sup> About Theophilus, his work and artistic monastery life in 11<sup>th</sup>-century Germany see E. Freise, «Zur Person des Theophilus und seiner monastischen Umwelt», in *Or-*

products. Craft production in general was one of the most important functions of the *emporium*, and small scale production usually developed rather quickly into mass production. Tools, weapons, jewellery and other products were distributed in both local and foreign markets. Traces of blacksmithery, horn and amber manufacture, glass making, weaving, boat building and other crafts are commonly recorded in these kinds of sites.

Trade, both long distance and local was vital in the existence of *emporium*. The Ports of Trade were meeting points for merchants from distant lands. The tradesmen could exchange or sell their goods directly in the *emporium* or just make temporary use of the available storage space. To make this possible, special storehouses where large amounts of goods could be deposited were erected in *emporium*<sup>10</sup>. At the same time, such ports functioned as markets where merchants could sell foreign goods and craftsmen could trade their products. Local people supplied *emporium* with food, drink and other necessary products. Among the goods provided by locals, grain and animals<sup>11</sup> were probably of utmost importance, but they also sold furs, salt, honey and other goods. Another important object of trade was slaves. *Emporia* were places where different economic systems from the Viking world came together, for example autarkic barter exchange and medieval money market co-existed there<sup>12</sup>.

*namenta Ecclesiae. Kunst und Künstler der Romanik. Katalog zur Ausstellung des Schnitthaus-Museums in der Joseph-Heinrich-Kunsthalle*, vol. 1, ed. A. Legner, Köln, 1985.

<sup>10</sup> We know them from Denmark in Hedeby or Tissø (H. Jankuhn, *Haithabu. Ein Handelsplatz der Wikingerzeit*, Neumünster, 1986; L. Jørgensen, «Manor and Market at Lake Tissø in the Sixth to Eleventh Centuries: The Danish 'Productive' Site», in *Markets in Early Medieval Europe. Trading and 'Productive' Sites, 650-850*, eds T. Pestell, K. Ulmschneider, Bollington, 2003, p. 177-207).

<sup>11</sup> Animal bones and traces of parasites found in Ribe indicate, for instance, that cattle was the main object of trade (C. Feveile, «The Latest News from Viking Age Ribe: Archeological Excavations 1993», in *The Twelfth Viking Congress. Developments Around the Baltic and the North Sea in the Viking Age* (Birka Studies 3), eds B. Ambrosiani, H. Clarke, Stockholm, 1994, p. 91-99; P.K. Madsen, «Ribe between West and East – a North Sea harbour and its connections 700-1600», in *Maritime Topography and the Medieval Town. Papers from the 5<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Waterfront Archaeology in Copenhagen 14-16 May 1998*, eds J. Bill, B.L. Clausen, Copenhagen, 1999, p. 197-202).

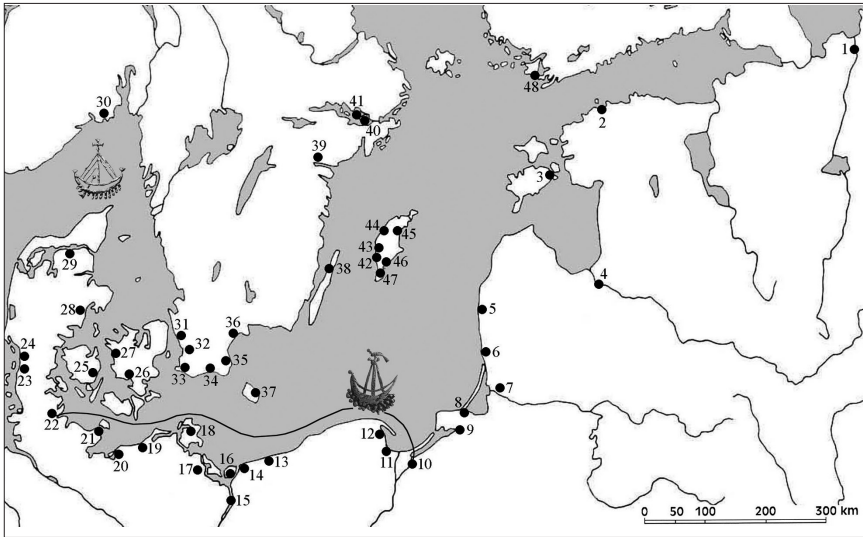
<sup>12</sup> G. Dalton, «Comments on Ports of Trade in Early Medieval Europe», *Norwegian Archaeological Review*, 11:2 (1978), p. 102-107; M. Bogucki, «The Use of Money in the Slavic Lands from the Ninth to the Eleventh Century: the Archaeological/Numismatic Evidence», in *Silver Economies, Monetisation and Society in Scandinavia, 800-1100*, eds J. Graham-Campbell, G. Williams, S.M. Sindbæk, Århus, 2011, p. 129-148.

Several attempts have been made at discovering the catalyst for the emergence of *emporía*. Although some hypotheses have been heavily criticized because of their high level of simplicity, others can be used to outline a more detailed and accurate picture of the establishment of *emporía*. Some factors are essential in the rise of *emporía*. The first is overproduction. The most important factor in the rise of *emporía* was the increase in agricultural production connected with the beginning of rye cultivation. At the same time, the development of craftsmanship, especially in black metallurgy, provided better and better tools. The surplus of local products was exchanged with other goods unavailable in the area. A second important factor in the rise of *emporía* is the consolidation of ethnic relationships, which provided for a strengthening of over-regional bonds. Finally, the community's population increased.

In such a community, people had the financial means to risk carrying out transactions with these visiting merchants were needed. Rulers supported such entrepreneurs by protecting them and the places of the exchange. Thus, the community had an organized structure for the exchange of goods involving, for instance, transport, communication routes and designated places of exchange. An important factor in the rise of *emporía* was a change in social structure, which led to the rise of a powerful and wealthy aristocracy and a consolidation of power in their hands. This aristocracy gathered the surplus of production and built up the community around themselves. In eastern and southern Europe, this resulted in the emergence of hill-fort centres.

The establishment of hill-forts created an increased demand for trade contacts with the western part of Europe. At the same time, contacts with the Islamic world were established, which in turn created a further need for points of exchange, mainly for long distance exchange. Those factors had different effects in different regions around the Baltic Sea, but overall, they brought about a relatively uniform type of seaside trading centre. *Emporia* were not *suburbia*, but completely independent settlements, topographically unconnected with the local political-military centres<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> J. Herrmann, «U źródeł północno-słowiańskiego wczesnego miasta», in *Miasto zachodniosłowiańskie w XI-XII wieku. Społeczeństwo – kultura*, ed. L. Leciejewicz, Wrocław, 1991, p. 159-167; J. Herrmann, «Frühe Seehandelsplätzen am 'äußersten Ende des westlichen Ozeans'. Geschichtliche Grundlagen, siedlungstopographische Strukturen und ethnische Herkunft ihrer Bewohner», *Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica*, 26/27 (1995), p. 57-72; N. Blomkvist, «The Concept of the Town and the Dawn of Urban Life East and West of the Baltic. On the Emergence of Centres, Turn-Over Places, Towns and Cities», in *Lübeck Style? Novgorod Style? Baltic Rim Central Places as Arenas*



1. The most important *emporium* around the Baltic Sea:

1. Staraja Ladoga (*Aldeigja*), 2. Iru-Tallinn, 3. Tornimäe, 4. Daugmale, 5. Grobina (*Seeburg*), 6. Palanga, 7. The Nemunas river mouth district – Linkuhnen/Rževskoe,
8. Wiskiauten/Mohovoe, 9. Königsberg/Kaliningrad, 10. Janów Pomorski (*Truso*),
11. Gdańsk, 12. Puck, 13. Bardy-Kołobrzeg, 14. Kamień Pomorski, 15. Szczecin,
16. Wolin (*Jumne*), 17. Menzlin-Görke, 18. Ralswiek, 19. Rostock-Dierkow,
20. Groß Strömkendorf (*Reric*), 21. Oldenburg (*Starigard*), 22. Hedeby/Schleswig,
23. Dankirke, 24. Ribe, 25. Gudme-Lundeborg, 26. Dybsø Fjord, 27. Tissø,
28. Århus, 29. Sebbersund, 30. Kaupang (*Skiringssal*), 31. Västra Karaby,
32. Uppåkra, 33. Östra Torp, 34. Ystad-Tankbåten, 35. Järrestad, 36. Åhus,
37. Sorte Muld, 38. Köpingsvik, 39. Herrebrö, 40. Helgö, 41. Birka, 42. Fröjel,
43. Paviken, 44. Visby, 45. Bogevisken, 46. Bandlundaviken,
47. Stockviken, 48. Hiittinen.

The growth of production and trading centres in northern Europe was also connected with the cultural changes in the European *Barbaricum* at the end of Antiquity and the beginning of the Early Middle Ages. These kinds of sites are widespread over the whole of Europe, from Ireland to Russia. In addition, the places of activity of Slavs, Scandinavians, Finns and Balts formed a distinct group around the Baltic Sea (fig. 1). These places were part of the so-called ‘Baltic economic zone’ in the Viking

*for Cultural Encounters and Urbanization 1100-1400 AD.* (CCC papers: 5), ed. M. Auns, Riga, 2001, p. 11-35.

Age<sup>14</sup>, of which one of the most distinctive characteristics was the use of hacked silver scrap as a means of payment in both long distance trade and local markets<sup>15</sup>.

In the Early Middle Ages, European post-Roman towns were used mainly as residential sites for aristocracy, and political and ecclesiastical administration. Early urban centres – *emporía* – might have had a similar function in Scandinavia and other districts around the Baltic Sea. Their growth in the Baltic zone was, like the rest of Europe, probably connected with the development of a central power. In several Scandinavian cases, there is no doubt that a royal power played an important role in the function of these ports. In other regions, however, such relationships cannot be detected. This is true particularly for the Slavonic area, where it is hard to believe that a royal, political power developed before the 10<sup>th</sup> century. The first Slavs arrived on the southern coasts of the Baltic Sea in the late 6<sup>th</sup> century, but substantial Slavic occupation of the area cannot be dated before the 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>16</sup>. Archaeological investigations in the area have indicated that changes in social structure began in the late 8<sup>th</sup> and early 9<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>17</sup>. The concentration of settlements in the 8<sup>th</sup>

<sup>14</sup> M. Małowist, «Z problematyki dziejów gospodarczych strefy bałtyckiej we wczesnym średniowieczu», *Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych*, 10 (1948), p. 81-120; W. Łosiński, «Pomorze – bardziej słowiańskie czy bardziej 'bałtyckie'?', in *Ziemia Polska w X wieku i ich znaczenie w kształtowaniu się nowej mapy Europy*, ed. H. Samsonowicz, Kraków, 2000, p. 119-141.

<sup>15</sup> R. Kiersnowski, *Pieniądz kruszcowy w Polsce wczesnośredniowiecznej*, Warszawa, 1960; G. Hatz, *Handel und Verkehr zwischen dem deutschen Reich und Schweden in der Späten Wikingerzeit*, Stockholm, 1974; J. Callmer, «Interaction between Ethnical Groups in the Baltic Region in the Late Iron Age», in *Contacts across the Baltic Sea during the Late Iron Age (5<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries)*, eds B. Hårdh, B. Wyzomirska-Werbart, Lund, 1992, p. 99-108; J. Callmer, «Urbanization in Scandinavia and the Baltic Region ca. AD 700-1100: Trading Places, Centers and Early Urban Sites», in *The Twelfth Viking Congress. Developments Around the Baltic and the North Sea in the Viking Age* (Birka Studies 3), Stockholm, 1994, p. 50-90; B. Hårdh, *Silver in the Viking Age. A Regional-Economic Study*, Stockholm, 1996; M. Bogucki, «The Use of Money in the Slavic Lands from the Ninth to the Eleventh Century: the Archaeological/Numismatic Evidence», in *Silver Economies, Monetisation and Society in Scandinavia*, 800-1100, eds J. Graham-Campbell, G. Williams, S.M. Sindbæk, Århus, 2011, p. 129-148.

<sup>16</sup> M. Dulinicz, *Frühe Slawen im Gebiet zwischen unterer Weichsel und Elbe. Eine archäologische Studie*, Neumünster, 2006 (Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte und Archäologie der Ostseegebiete 7), p. 275-287

<sup>17</sup> W. Łosiński, «W sprawie genezy osiedli wczesnomiejskich u Słowian nadbałtyckich», *Slavia Antiqua* XXXV (1994), p. 101-128; W. Łosiński, «Pomorze – bardziej słowiańskie czy bardziej 'bałtyckie'?', p. 126-127.

century laid the groundwork for the existence of *emporium* in the western Slavonic area. In the eastern part of Pomerania, the Baltic tribes of the Migration Period moved westward from the Pasłęka River, to the eastern part of the Vistula River estuary – Lake Drużno and the River Dzierżgoń. In the following centuries, the Vistula River constituted the political and cultural border between the Slavs and the Prussians as was indicated by different settlement patterns and different dynamics of economic and demographic growth<sup>18</sup>. The whole of Pomerania, with socially and politically well-organized tribes, became a region of interest for foreign merchants, who came here to exchange silver and other goods for food, salt and slaves<sup>19</sup>.

Around AD 880 the Anglo-Saxon traveller Wulfstan, sailed seven days and nights from Hedeby to Truso. He started his journey in southern Jutland, passed the Danish isles and sailed south of Bornholm and Gotland, directly into the Vistula estuary, to the ‘Prussian’ town of Truso. Wulfstan described carefully the islands, lands and tribes living there, but besides Hedeby and Truso, he did not mention any of the other ‘towns’ existing at that time in Scandinavia or the Slavic Lands<sup>20</sup>. Let’s have a look at what he missed.

It is impossible to present all the recorded *emporium* located in the north-western Slavonic area in this paper, or to discuss all the problems connected with them. Since the sites from northern Germany are well known and

<sup>18</sup> K. Godłowski, «Okres wędrówek ludów na Pomorzu», *Pomorania Antiqua*, 10 (1981), p. 114.

<sup>19</sup> The range of the ‘Baltic economic zone’ in the Slavic lands is defined differently by various authors. Besides north Polabia and Pomerania, some researchers also include Great Poland and Silesia in the region because of the hack silver hoards recorded in these areas. At the same time, the hack silver hoards alone cannot be considered as proof for the functioning of a specific economic model based on long distance sea trade. So, the question is *Ubi mare finis?* In this, I support the ideas of Władysław Łosiński, who suggests that the real ‘Baltic economic zone’ predominantly covered coastal areas and that no unifying features existed between different regions around the Baltic (W. Łosiński, «Pomorze – bardziej słowiańskie czy bardziej „bałtyckie”?», p. 119-141). Each region had its own character.

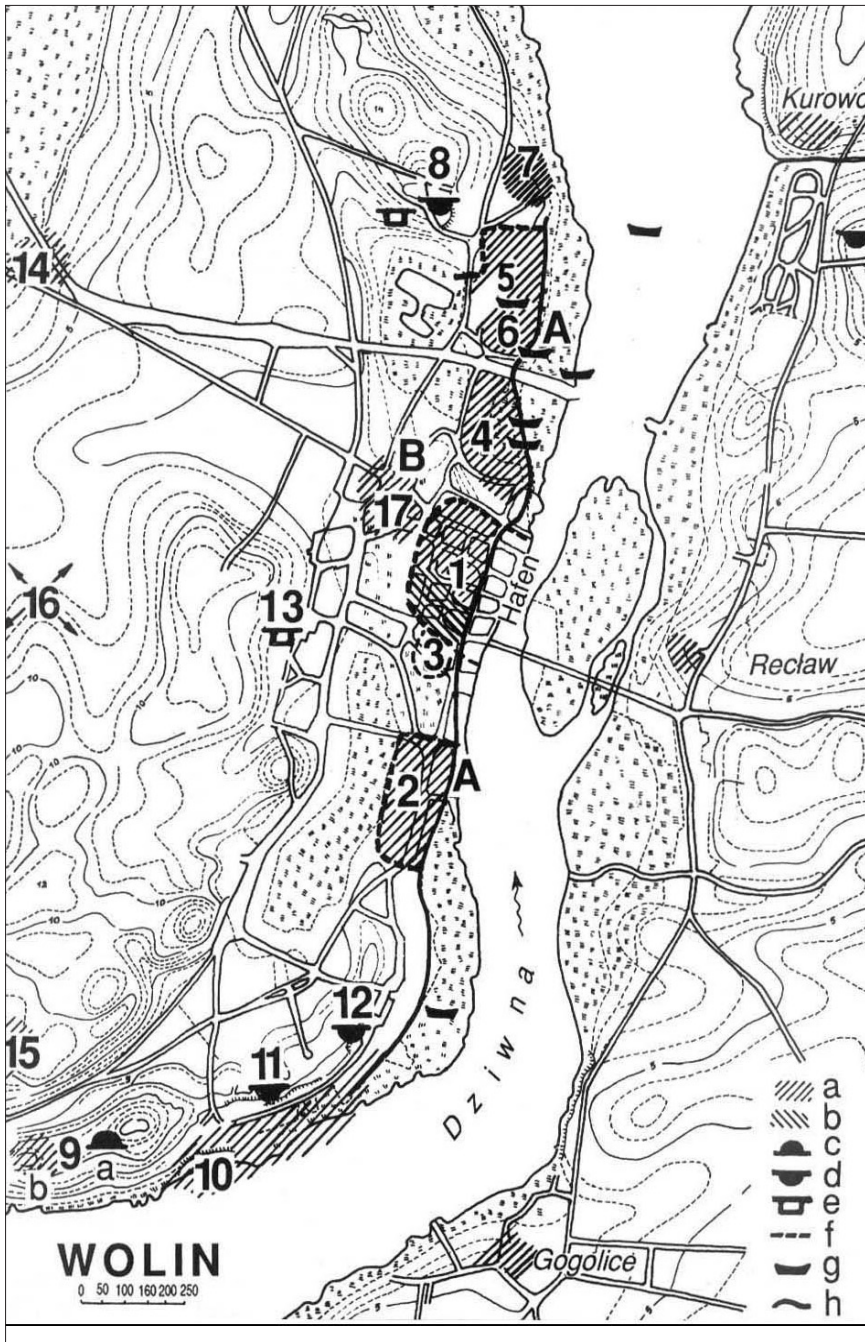
<sup>20</sup> The original text: J. Bosworth, R.T. Hampson, (ed. and trans.), *King Alfred’s Anglo-Saxon version of the compendious history of the world by Orosius*, London, 1859, p. 21-23 (The Anglo-Saxon Text), p. 50-56 (The English Translation with Notes). About various interpretation of the text and confrontation with archaeological sources see: *Wulfstan’s Voyage. The Baltic Sea Region as seen from shipboard*, ed. A. Englert, A. Trakadus, Roskilde, 2009.



are published in either German or English<sup>21</sup>, I will focus on those sites which were situated in the territory of present day Poland. They were situated in three main regions: around the rivers Odra, Parsęta and Vistula. The land between the rivers Odra and Vistula was inhabited by Slavic tribes politically independent from each other, but forming one larger tribal community. In the written sources, they were called Pomeranians<sup>22</sup>. Their neighbours to the west were the Obodrites, a Slavic ethnic group, and to the east, the Baltic Prussians.

<sup>21</sup> The Slavic *emporium* from north Germany are: Oldenburg (I. Gabriel, «Hof- und Sakralkultur sowie Gebrauchs- und Handelsgut im Spiegel der Klein-funde vom Starigard/Oldenburg», *Bericht der Römisch Germanischen Kommission*, 69 (1988), p. 103-291; M. Müller-Wille (ed.), *Starigard/Oldenburg. Ein slawischer Herrschersitz des frühen Mittelalters in Ostholstein*, Neumünster, 1991), Groß Strömkendorf (A. Tummuscheit, «Groß Strömkendorf: a Market Site of the Eighth Century on the Baltic Sea Coast», in *Markets in Early Medieval Europe. Trading and 'Productive' Sites, 650-850*, eds T. Pestell, K. Ulmschneider, Bollington, 2003, p. 208-220; M. Dulnicz, *Frühe Slawen im Gebiet zwischen unterer Weichsel und Elbe*, p. 361-365), Rostock-Dierkow (D. Warnke, «Rostock-Dierkow – ein Wirtschaftszentrum des 8./9. Jahrhundert an der Unterwarnow», *Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters*, 20 (1992), p. 63-80; M. Dulnicz, *Frühe Slawen im Gebiet zwischen unterer Weichsel und Elbe*, p. 368-369), Ralswiek (J. Herrmann, «Ralswiek», in *Europas mitte um 1000. Handbuch zur Ausstellung*, vol. 1, eds A. Wiczorek, H.M. Hinz, Stuttgart, 2000, p. 163-166; M. Dulnicz, *Frühe Slawen im Gebiet zwischen unterer Weichsel und Elbe*, p. 367), Usedom (F. Biermann, «Usedom – an early and high medieval political and economic centre in the Oder estuary», in *Across the western Baltic. Proceedings from an archaeological conference in Vordingborg*, eds K. Møller Hansen, K. Buck Pedersen, Vordingborg, 2006, p. 293-303; F. Biermann, «Usedom», *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde. Begründet von Johannes Hoops*, 31 (2006) Berlin-New York, p. 567-572.), Menzlin (U. Schoknecht, *Menzlin. Ein Frühgeschichtlicher Handelsplatz an der Peene*, Berlin, 1977; M. Dulnicz, *Frühe Slawen im Gebiet zwischen unterer Weichsel und Elbe*, p. 366.). General remarks in J. Herrmann, «Zur Struktur von Handel und Handelsplätzen im südwestlichen Ostseegebiet vom 8. – 10. Jahrhundert», *Bericht der Römisch Germanischen Kommission*, 69 (1988), p. 724-729; M. Dulnicz, «Uwagi o początkach ośrodków handlowych a południowym brzegu Bałtyku w VIII-IX w.», in *Centrum i zaplecze we wczesnośredniowiecznej Europie środkowej* (Spotkania Bytomskie III), ed. S. Moździoch, Wrocław, 1999, p. 97-110; M. Müller-Wille, «Ribe – Reric – Hedeby. Early Urbanization in Southern Scandinavia and the Western Slavonic Area», *Offa*, 58 (2001), p. 21-31. The *emporium* in the Baltic Lands are discussed by M. Bogucki, «Grobina – a Sign of the Future» 2006, p. 93-106. The eastern Slavonic early trade centres are described by W. Duczko, *Viking Rus. Studies on the Presence of Scandinavians in Eastern Europe*, Leiden, 2004, s. 60-114.

<sup>22</sup> J. M. Piskorski, *Pomorze plemienne. Historia – Archeologia – Językoznawstwo*, Poznań-Szczecin, 2002, p. 30-99.



2. Map of Wolin in the 9<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries. a) settlements, b) earliest town, c) burial mounds, d) cremation graves, e) pit graves, f) fortifications, g) wrecks, h) old river bank (Filipowiak 1999).

*The lower reaches of Odra River**Wolin*

The largest and the most important *emporium* in the lower reaches of Odra River was Wolin (fig. 2), which was founded at the crossroads of two important trade routes – the river and the sea routes<sup>23</sup>. The importance of Wolin is indicated by several written sources. Around 960, Arab traveller Ibrāhīm ibn Ja'kūb wrote:

They [people called Wetlaba – the Wolinians] have a huge town by the Ocean. It has twelve gates. It has a port, built of bisected trunks. They are fighting with Meško, and their striking force is strong. They don't have a king and they don't let one [leader] to provide them. Their rulers are seniors<sup>24</sup>.

In the time of Adam of Bremen, Wolin was called *nobilissima civitas*. According to Adam, Harald Bluetooth found a shelter in *Jumne* in 986<sup>25</sup>. In Scandinavian tradition, there is a tale about the brave *Jomsvikingar*<sup>26</sup>, who controlled the south Baltic waters. The history of Wolin gave rise to fantastic tales about the incredibly rich town of Vineta, which sunk into the sea because of the pride and arrogance of its inhabitants, like ancient At-

<sup>23</sup> W. Filipowiak, «Wolin und Szczecin – Hafen und Topographie der mittelalterlichen Stadt», in *Maritime Topography and the Medieval Town. Papers from the 5<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Waterfront Archaeology in Copenhagen 14-16 May 1998*, eds J. Bill, B.L. Clausen, Copenhagen, 1999, p. 61-70; W. Filipowiak, «Wolin – ein frühmittelalterliches Zentrum an der Ostsee», in *Europas mitte um 1000. Handbuch zur Ausstellung*, vol. 1, ed. A. Wiczorek, H. M. Hinz, Stuttgart, 2000, p. 152-155; W. Filipowiak, «Some aspects of the development of Wolin in the 8<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> centuries in the light of the results of new research», in *Polish Lands at the turn of the First and the Second Millennia*, ed. P. Urbańczyk, Warszawa, 2004, p. 47-74; D. Wehner, *Der Frühgeschichtliche Seehandelsplatz Wolin un sein Umland. Eine Studie zu Zentrum und Peripherie*, Neumünster, 2007 (Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte und Archäologie der Ostseegebiete 8); M. Dulinicz, *Frühe Slawen im Gebiet zwischen unterer Weichsel und Elbe*, p. 325-329.

<sup>24</sup> Translation by M.B., according to T. Kowalski (ed.), «Relacja Ibrahima ibn Jakuba z podróży do krajów słowiańskich w przekazie al-Bekriego», in *Monumenta Poloniae historica. nova series*, vol. 1, Kraków, 1946, p. 50.

<sup>25</sup> F. J. Tschan (ed.), «History of the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen. Adam of Bremen», in *Records of Western Civilization*, New York, 2002, p. 72.

<sup>26</sup> The *Jomsvikingasaga* has been under scientific interest for a long time (K. Wachowski, *Jomsborg (Normannowie wobec Polski w w. X)*, Warszawa, 1914). The recent studies are discussed by L.P. Słupecki, «Jómsvikingalog, Jómsvikings, Jomsborg/Wolin and Danish circular strongholds», in *The Neighbours of Poland in the 10<sup>th</sup> Century*, ed. P. Urbańczyk, Warszawa, 2000, p. 49-59.

lantis. For 12<sup>th</sup>-century writers, it was hard to believe that Wolin, by then in decline, had been one of the biggest towns in the region just one hundred years before<sup>27</sup>.

Wolin did not emerge in an empty space like Hedeby. It developed from a small village into a big town and its development was directly linked to its local background. The early stages of Wolin are difficult to reconstruct for different reasons. The most important reason is that Wolin still exists as a town today. Therefore, like Visby, the archaeological data of its beginnings are sparse. Opinions on the early days of the town vary from publication to publication. Unfortunately, little of the archaeological evidence has been published and it is, therefore, difficult to prove much. According to the facts known this far, the establishment of Wolin dates to the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, not excluding the possibility of an earlier 7<sup>th</sup>- or 8<sup>th</sup>-century occupation<sup>28</sup>. If there was an earlier phase of occupation, however, Wolin should not be treated as a centre of production and trade during that earlier phase. The development of Wolin into an *emporium* took place mainly during the period from the 9<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> centuries. During this time, a large complex of different sites coexisted – a hill-fort, an early town with ramparts, a harbour, several cemeteries and a pagan temple.

The earliest traces indicating the importance of Wolin appear in the Migration Period. Post-holes along the riverbank, dated using C<sub>14</sub> methods, indicate a period of construction from the mid-5<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> centuries. Ceramics belonging to the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries have also been found. The majority of finds were nevertheless mixed with later, medieval finds. In Karsibór, in the vicinity of Wolin, a hoard of early Byzantine *solidi* (t.p.q. 491) were found<sup>29</sup>. The *solidi* demonstrate the importance of the region and stress the leading

<sup>27</sup> This fantastic story is best represented in *Helmoldi presbyteri Bozoviensis Chronica Slavorum* (Book I, cap. II), which in large parts is based on the Adam of Bremen *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum* (Book II: xxii /19). The whole problem of Jumne-Winieta is discussed by Ryszard Kiersnowski, *Legenda Winiety*, Warszawa, 1950.

<sup>28</sup> M. Dulnicz, *Frühe Slawen im Gebiet zwischen unterer Weichsel und Elbe*, p. 325-328; W. Filipowiak, «Some aspects of the development of Wolin» p. 47-50; M. Bogucki, «The Baltic emporia and their settlement hinterland – comments on Donat Wehner's study of Wolin and Menzlin», in *Trade and Communication Networks of the First Millennium AD in the northern part of Central Europe – Central Places, Beach Markets, Landing Places and Trading Centres*, eds. B. Ludowici, H. Jöns, S. Kleingärtner, J. Scheschkewitz, M. Hardt, Neue Studien zur Sachsenforschung, Bd. 1, 2010, p. 267-272.

<sup>29</sup> R. Ciołek, «Znaleziska solidów na Pomorzu», *Wiadomości Numizmatyczne* XLVII, 2003:2 (176), p. 163-180.

role of Wolin among other settlements. Still, the 5<sup>th</sup>-to 8<sup>th</sup>-century site cannot be considered as an *emporium*<sup>30</sup>.

From the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> to the mid-10<sup>th</sup> centuries, there was a settlement on the left bank of the Dziwna River. Houses recorded there had been built on piles, in the horizontal log technique. Finds of iron slag prove the presence of blacksmiths. In the southern part of the settlement, there was a large ditch, probably forming part of a defensive system in the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. The defensive system was expanded with the construction of a stockade rampart built in the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century (fig. 3). It surrounded the whole settlement and stretched out to the harbour. The harbour was constructed in 880-990. A street perpendicular to the river ran directly upto a wooden jetty. Its construction was renewed twice between 900 and 995. According to the written sources, in the southwestern part of the settlement, there was probably a pagan temple next to a two-roomed building where a small statuette of the God called Światowit was found<sup>31</sup>. This two-roomed building was dated to 996 using dendrochronology<sup>32</sup>.

North of the modern town of Wolin, on the southern part of the hill called *Silverberg*, another settlement with a harbour was recorded and dated to the middle of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. Traces of black- and goldsmithery as well as of amber and horn working were detected there. In order to erect wooden houses, timber was cut in 906 or 907 for use in the western part of the settlement. Houses near the river were younger, dating to the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century<sup>33</sup>, probably before the advent of a marketplace there. In the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the northern part of the settlement was enclosed by a stockade rampart.

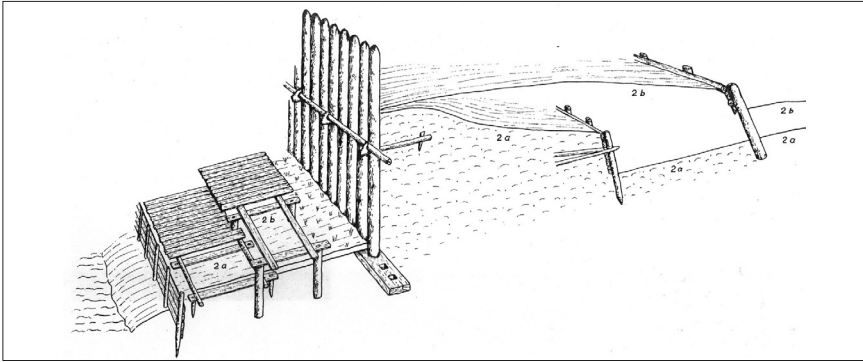
Towards the south of the town of Wolin, another settlement arose in the 9<sup>th</sup> century. By the first half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, this small town had become a part of the early town of Wolin, and was surrounded by another rampart.

<sup>30</sup> W. Filipowiak, «Wolin und Szczecin», p. 61-70; W. Filipowiak, «Wolin – ein frühmittelalterliches Zentrum», 2000, p. 152-155; W. Filipowiak, «Some aspects of the development of Wolin», p. 47-74.

<sup>31</sup> L.P. Słupecki, *Slavonic Pagan Sanctuaries*, Warszawa, 1994, p. 86-89. According to newest interpretations by Błażej Stanisławski, the sacral character of this building is doubtful. Because the results of the study are still unpublished, we have to wait for the new data.

<sup>32</sup> T. Ważny, «Badania dendrochronologiczne podgrodzia i osady w Wolinie», in *Instantia est mater doctrinae. Księga jubileuszowa Prof. Dr hab. Władysława Filipowiaka*, eds E. Wielgocki, M. Dworaczyk, K. Kowalski, A. Porzeziński, S. Słowiński, Szczecin, 2001, p. 156.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 157.



3. Reconstruction of the rampart at Wolin from the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century (Filipowiak 2004).

The later rampart was dated to 904-924<sup>34</sup>. Both of these settlements prospered in the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Analyses of the wood used for the buildings and ramparts in Wolin indicated changes in the exploitation practices of the physical environment. In the very beginning, the people of Wolin used only local wood from thick forests in the vicinity. By the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, they had started to use younger and thinner trees from the local forest. In the following years, the Wolinians were forced to import wood from other regions. They turned mainly to the forests south of Szczecin, at a distance of approximately 50 km from Wolin, where they could again choose wood of a good quality. Timber was also imported from more distant regions, for instance, from the southeastern coasts of the Baltic, probably from the gulf of Gdańsk, at a distance of about 300 km<sup>35</sup>.

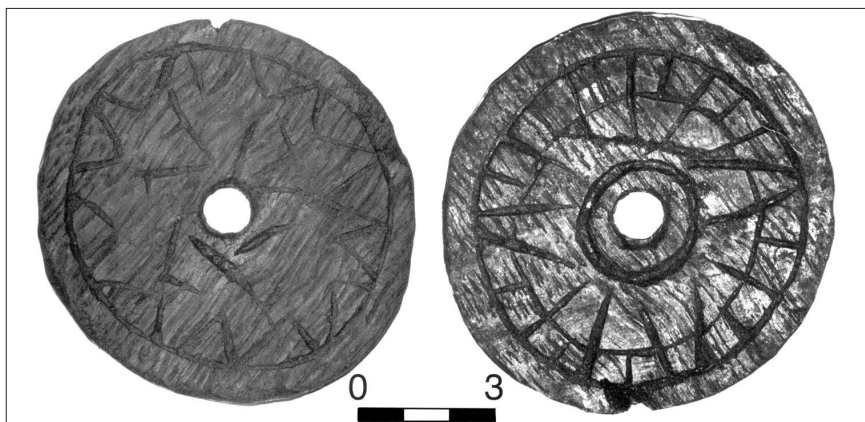
Besides the archaeological evidence described above, the remains of at least seven shipwrecks were found in Wolin. In addition to whole ships, a large number of ship fragments were found re-used in buildings, ramparts or harbour constructions. One of the boats had been built in Szlezwik, in the district of Lubeka, in 860-870, and had even been mended there around 910. The boat was re-built in Wolin in the mid-10<sup>th</sup> century and was dismantled around 966<sup>36</sup>. Also, a solar compass was found in Wolin (fig. 4)<sup>37</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 157.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 157-159.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 160-161.

<sup>37</sup> B. Stanisławski, «Dysk drewniany z Wolina jako kompas słoneczny – następny krok w badaniach nad wczesnośredniowieczną nawigacją?», *Materiały Zachodniopomorskie*, 46 (2000), p. 157-176.



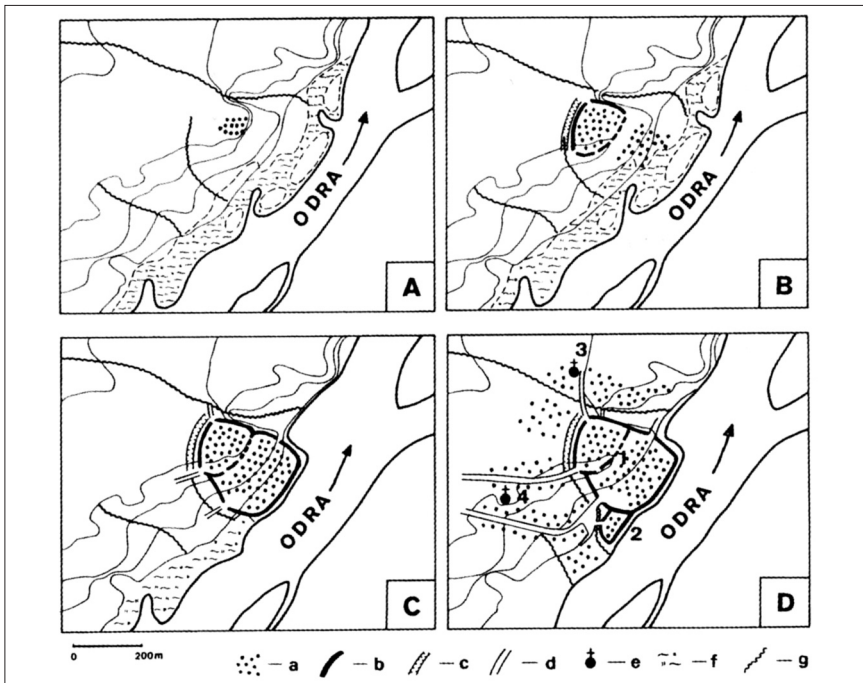
4. Wooden solar compass from Wolin (Stanisławski 2000).

### *Szczecin*

Another important place in the estuary of the Odra River was Szczecin<sup>38</sup>, first mentioned in the written sources in AD 1121 (fig. 5). The best description of Szczecin can be found in the third *vitae* of St. Otto from Bamberg in the middle of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Arabian writers also noticed the importance of Szczecin, who knew the town as *Sāsīn/Sādžīn*<sup>39</sup>. The first settlement was established on the western bank of the Odra River at the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century. This settlement was located on two sites: the first, ‘Castle Hill’, was the former location of an elevated Bronze Age hill-fort, and the second was the ‘Vegetable Market’ near the riverbank. In the latter location, a stave ship was found in an early occupation layer. The ship had been built in the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, and repaired c. 903-907. During

<sup>38</sup> W. Łosiński, «Stettin (Szczecin)», in *Europas Mitte um 1000. Handbuch zur Ausstellung*, vol. 1, eds A. Wiczorek, H. M. Hinz, Stuttgart, 2000, p. 156-162; A.B. Kowalska, W. Łosiński, «Szczecin: origins and history of the early medieval town», in *Polish Lands at the turn of the First and the Second Millennia*, ed. P. Urbańczyk, Warszawa, 2004, p. 75-88; M. Dulnicz, *Frühe Slawen im Gebiet zwischen unterer Weichsel und Elbe*, p. 322-324.

<sup>39</sup> This name was given by Abū'l-Hasan ‘ibn Sa’id al-Gharnāti who lived in Spain in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. In his geographical work, *Kitāb bast al-ard fi tūliha wa’l-ard* (The book of the Earth extent in its longitude and latitude), he used some older information. He probably he took the information about the town of *Lūyānīya* (Wolin) and *Sāsīn/Sāğīn* (Szczecin) from Ibrāhīm ibn Ja’kūb. There is also a description of the Scandinavian peninsula, called *Yazīrat as-Saqḻab* (island or peninsula of the Slavs), whose capital is *B.rghādh.mā* (Birka?) (T. Lewicki, «Świat słowiański w oczach pisarzy arabskich», *Slavia Antiqua* II, 1949, p. 321-388).

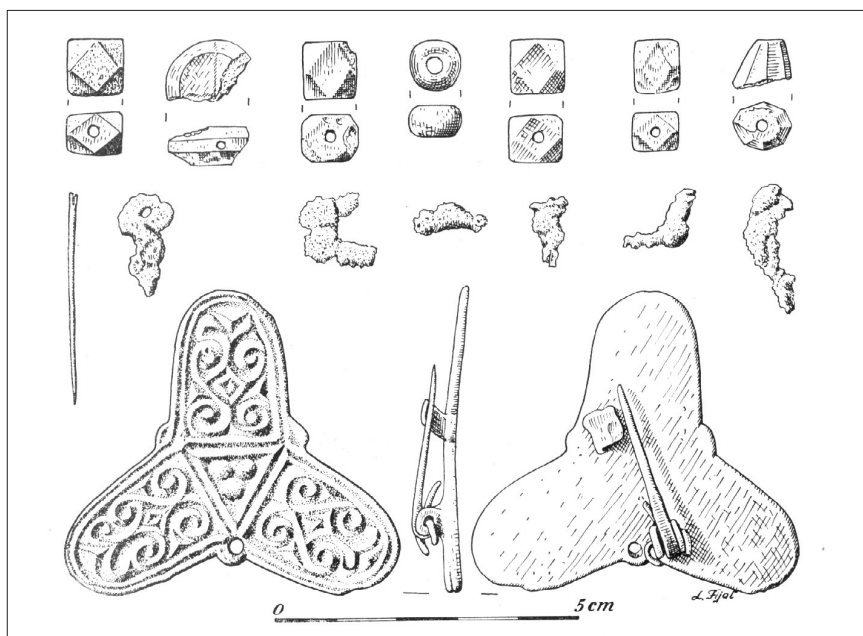


5. Phases of the Viking Age Szczecin. A) ca. 800, B) ca. 900, C) ca. 1050, D) ca. 1200. a) settlements, b) fortifications, c) ditches, d) roads, e) churches, f) swamps, g) streams (Łosiński 1994).

the excavations on Castle Hill, several buildings were found. 10<sup>th</sup>-century houses were built according to a regular street plan; still, no proof for specialized craft workshops or traces of production were detected. No artefacts like pins, needles or scissors indicate that these buildings had a domestic character. In the 10<sup>th</sup> century the Castle Hill was fortified with a large earthen rampart. Later fortifications also surrounded other parts of the settlement, including the Vegetable Market. In the layers dated to the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, a large number of iron tools and weapons were found, indicating that a blacksmith had been working there. The greatest growth in Szczecin and the most prolific period of craft production is observed in later culture layers, which were dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>40</sup>. In the Viking Age, Szczecin existed as a town, but never played a very important role in Baltic long distance trade. Its su-

<sup>40</sup> L. Leciejewicz, *Początki nadmorskich miast na Pomorzu Zachodnim*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków, 1962, p. 117-121.





6. Ornaments from barrow no. 10 at Świełubie (Łosiński 1972).

premacny in subsequent centuries can be connected with the decline of Wolin.

### *Kamień Pomorski*

A third place of importance in the estuary of the Odra River, Kamień Pomorski, was established after Wolin and Szczecin, with its earliest finds dating to the 10<sup>th</sup> century. Archaeological investigation has demonstrated that Kamień Pomorski played a particularly important role in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries. Nevertheless, some finds suggest that it may have been a centre of trade at an earlier date. For instance, a hoard of about 150 coins (t.p.q. 995), several late 10<sup>th</sup>-century coins, a bone with a runic inscription (*fuP* and *kur*) and a vessel made of Norwegian soapstone with iron ear were found in the occupation layers<sup>41</sup>. These finds indicate that Kamień

<sup>41</sup> W. Filipowiak, *Wolinianie. Studium osadnicze*, vol. I. *Materiały*, Szczecin, 1962, p. 91-104. The famous Scandinavian reliquary of St. Cordulia made of antler in the Mammen style around AD 1000 was kept in the cathedral treasury together with later objects; it probably arrived in Kamień Pomorski in the 12<sup>th</sup> century (A. Muhl, «Der Bamberger und der Camminer Schrein. Zwei im Mammenstil verzierte Prunkkästen der Wikingerzeit», *Offa*, 47 (1990), p. 296-332).

Pomorski was visited by foreign merchants quite early, although the character of the earliest phase of this place remains to be investigated.

### *The district around the Parsęta River*

Other important Viking Age centres in Pomerania were situated in the Parsęta River region. According to Władysław Łosiński, the beginning of Slavic occupation in this region should be dated to the late 6<sup>th</sup> century. A hundred years later, during the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries, a number of large hill-forts were erected (Gołańcz Pomorska, Rościcino, Bardy, Lubiechowo, Trzynik, Rymań). At the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, some of the forts were abandoned while several new, smaller hill-forts were being built. The latter forts were in use during the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century<sup>42</sup>. Among the hill-forts of the region, Bardy with a nearby cemetery in Świelubie (fig. 6) was dominant in the region. According to Łosiński, the 9<sup>th</sup> century was a time of change from an autarkic economy to market economy in the Parsęta River region. Some crafts, in particular back-smithing, were more specialized than the others. The most important business in the economy of this region was the extraction of salt from the land. Salt was a very valuable product in both European and Asian medieval markets.

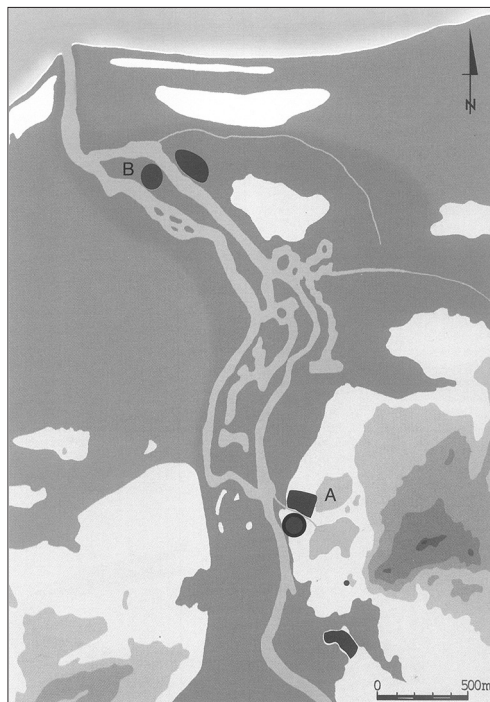
It is not surprising, therefore, that the Parsęta region was often visited by foreign traders. For instance, at the hill-forts of Bardy and Kędrzyno, a large number of Arabic dirhams from the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century have been recorded; and Scandinavian graves in the 9<sup>th</sup>-century cemetery of Świelubie show the presence of Scandinavians in these trade centres<sup>43</sup>.

### *Kołobrzeg-Budzistowo*

In the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, probably in the 70s or 80s, a change in the development of hill-forts can be observed in the Parsęta region. Large hill-forts like Bardy and Kędrzyno were abandoned while several smaller, but strongly fortified forts began to appear. Only one large hill-fort remained in use – Kołobrzeg-Budzistowo (fig. 7). Kołobrzeg-Budzistowo had several fortified *suburbia*, altogether covering an area of about 25 ha. The depth of the occupation layers at the hill-fort reached up to 5 m, and the

<sup>42</sup> W. Łosiński, «Osadnictwo plemienne w dorzeczu Parsęty we wczesnym średniowieczu», in *Salsa Cholbergiensis. Kołobrzeg w średniowieczu*, eds L. Leciejewicz, M. Rębkowski, Kołobrzeg, 2000, p. 14-15.

<sup>43</sup> W. Łosiński, «Trójramienna zapinka skandynawska z cmentarzyska w Świelubiu pod Kołobrzegiem – aspekt chronologiczny», in *Słowianie i ich sąsiedzi we wczesnym średniowieczu*, ed. M. Dulnicz, Lublin-Warszawa, 2003, p. 133-139.



7. The Kołobrzeg-Budzistowo in the 10<sup>th</sup> century. A – the hill-fort with open settlement. B – the salt extraction settlements (Leciejewicz, Rębkowski 2000).

earliest layers were dated to the late 8<sup>th</sup> and early 9<sup>th</sup> centuries. At the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, an area of about 1 ha on the hill-fort was fortified by earthen and wooden ramparts. In the central part of Kołobrzeg-Budzistowo a number of 10<sup>th</sup>-century houses built with the wattlework technique were unearthed. One of the earliest was dated to AD 917 using dendrochronology, while some of the latest houses were built 927. A large number of iron items and slag found in the deepest layers again indicate the importance of blacksmithery. Still, it was mainly salt extraction that attracted people to this place<sup>44</sup>. Salt extraction was the main reason for the wealth of the district in the 9<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> centuries and throughout later medieval times<sup>45</sup>.

<sup>44</sup> The earliest evidence of Viking Age occupation was recorded on Salt Island in the estuary of the Parsęta River, and was dated to the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries.

<sup>45</sup> L. Leciejewicz, *Początki nadmorskich miast*, p. 140, 157; L. Leciejewicz, «Kolberg (Kołobrzeg)», in *Europas mitte um 1000. Handbuch zur Ausstellung*, vol. 1, eds A. Wiczorek, H.M. Hinz, Stuttgart, 2000, p. 167-169; L. Leciejewicz, M. Rębkowski, *Kołobrzeg. Średniowieczne miasto nad Bałtykiem*, Kołobrzeg, 2000; M. Rębkowski,

Other crafts were also represented at the hill-fort of Kołobrzeg-Budzistowo. In the 9<sup>th</sup>-century layers, traces of antler and amber carvings were found and a 9<sup>th</sup>- to early 10<sup>th</sup>-century antler workshop was excavated (fig. 8, Colour Plates). Between the hill-fort ramparts and a small building, almost 1700 pieces of antlers were recorded. Although most of the pieces were raw material finished combs, knife handles, and other semi-finished products were also found. In addition to antlers, amber was also found carved into beads and pendants<sup>46</sup>. It is clear that, like in Wolin, the quality of products deteriorated in the mid-11<sup>th</sup> century when crafts began to be mass produced. This is particularly obvious in the decoration and construction of combs, which were now extremely simplified.

The next important changes on the Kołobrzeg-Budzistowo hill-fort took place at the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century. In the 980s, the rampart was rebuilt using a box technique. This development is probably connected with Mieszko I, who took control over Pomerania at this time. In 1000, Bishop Reinbern established the bishopric of Kołobrzeg. This was when mass production in the craft workshops started, and an ever-increasing number of finds indicate an intensification of trade activity. In the occupation layer of this period, only a few coins were found, but nearer to the hill-fort or even within it, two coin hoards were found. One consisted of about 700 dirhams from the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the other of about 50 West-European coins from the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The end of the 11<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> century as a whole may be considered the most affluent period in Kołobrzeg-Budzistowo's history<sup>47</sup>. The importance of the site during this period is well-demonstrated by the discovery of several foreign finds, which also serve as evidence for long distance trade.

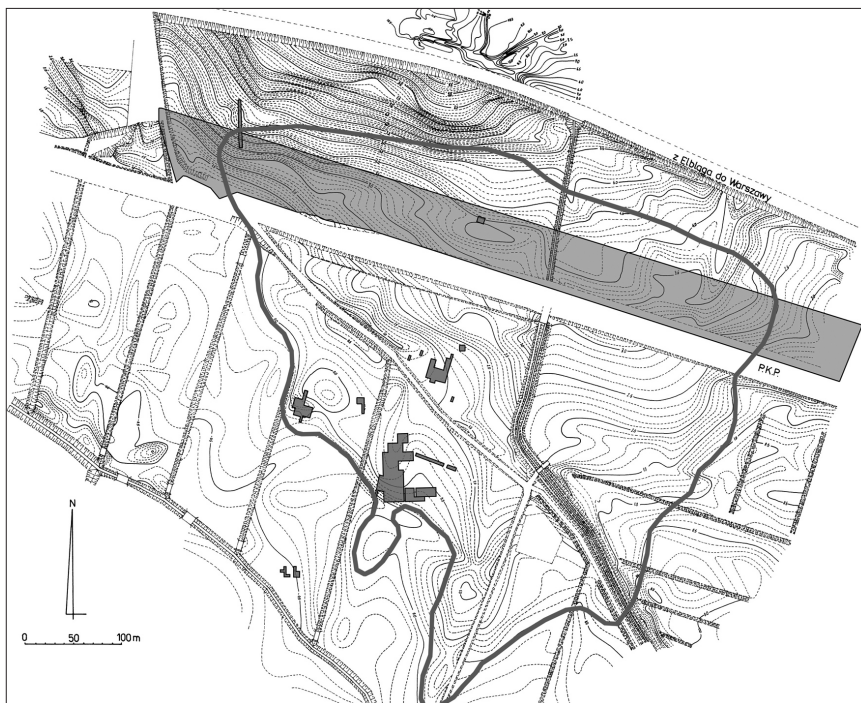
### *Truso*

*Truso* was first described by Wulfstan in the 880s. The first attempts to localize the site were carried out as early as in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Still, it was only recently (in 1981) that a large Viking Age settlement was detected near Lake Drużno in Janów Pomorski (fig. 9). By now, there is no doubt that

*Pierwsze lokacje miast w księstwie zachodniopomorskim. Przemiany przestrzenne i kulturowe*, Kołobrzeg, 2001.

<sup>46</sup> L. Leciejewicz, *Początki nadmorskich miast*, p. 144; L. Leciejewicz, «Kolberg (Kołobrzeg)», p. 167-169.

<sup>47</sup> L. Leciejewicz, *Początki nadmorskich miast*, p. 150; L. Leciejewicz, «Kolberg (Kołobrzeg)», p. 167-169.



9. Map of Janów Pomorski – Truso with marked excavated area (Jagodziński 2010).

the settlement really is Wulfstan's *Truso*. The site of about 15-20 ha is situated on the flood terrace of the eastern bank of Lake Drużno<sup>48</sup>.

The settlement was been established directly on the bank of the former bay and was probably surrounded by a semi-circular rampart. A little stream flowed through the centre of the settlement. Buildings uncovered at the site had been constructed using wattle, palisade and

<sup>48</sup> M.F. Jagodziński, «Truso. Das frühmittelalterliche Hafen – und Handelszentrum im Ostseegebiet bei Elbing», *Westpreussen-Jahrbuch*, 50 (2000), p. 41-56; M.F. Jagodziński, «Truso – Siedlung und Hafen im slawisch-estnischen Grenzgebiet», in *Europas mitte um 1000. Handbuch zur Ausstellung*, vol. 1, ed. A. Wiczorek, H.M. Hinz, Stuttgart, 2000, p. 170-174; M.F. Jagodziński, «The settlement of Truso», in *Wulfstan's Voyage. The Baltic Sea Region as seen from shipboard*, eds A. Englert, A. Trakadus, Roskilde, 2009, p.182-197; M. Jagodziński, M. Kasprzycka, «The early medieval craft and commercial center at Janów Pomorski near Elbląg on the South Baltic Coast», *Antiquity*, 65/248 (1991), p. 696-715; M.F. Jagodziński, *Truso. Between Weonodland and Witland*, Elbląg, 2010.

horizontal log techniques. The majority of the buildings were of Scandinavian tradition, divided into three parts. Additional buildings were very often subsequently attached to the main one, forming isolated cottages. The houses in Truso were arranged according to a regular plan and separated by streets. During archaeological excavations, some ditches situated in regular intervals were found; their function was probably to separate neighbouring plots. There were, as far as we know, no special constructions on the seashore of Truso, and visiting ships landed directly on the sand<sup>49</sup>, just as in the earliest phase of the *emporium* of Dorestad. Wrecks of several ships were found lying directly in the sand.

The size and location of the ramparts at Truso need additional investigation. Different data suggest that the *emporium* was surrounded by a semi-circular rampart very similar to the one at Hedeby. Historical maps indicate that the Viking Age rampart was destroyed during the construction of a railway, which today crosses the settlement. Aerial photographs also suggest that there could have been a ditch surrounding Truso.

In the settlement at Janów Pomorski, many traces of production activities and of craftsmen's workshops were discovered. Blacksmithing seems to have been the most important line of production, as indicated by the presence of several iron bars, half fabricates and finished products. Since amber working was quite intensive – more than 30 kg of raw material, semi-finished products and finished artefacts (e. g. beads, amulets, *hnefatafl* game stones) have been found. Remains of comb making, glass working, weaving, boat building (hundreds of iron nails, rivets and paddings) were abundantly recorded; and of no less importance was goldsmithing. A great variety of tools, such as small hammers, anvils, chisels and files were found, as well as melting pots (one with semi-melted dirhams), clay moulds for oval brooches, production refuse and finished ornaments of mainly Scandinavian types (fig. 10). Fragments of more than 1000 Arabic dirhams, 13 Western European coins, pieces of scales and about 600 weights of different types may all be considered as evidence of trade activity in the area.

Analysis of the finds showed that the settlement at Truso can be dated from the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> to the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, but the majority of finds (apart from the coins) date to the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries.

<sup>49</sup> This suggestion is based on the excavation results. Analysis of aerial photographs and geomagnetic research indicate the possibility that there were jetties for ships in Truso, which were in some way similar to those in Ralswiek on the island of Rügen. But their existence and character need future investigation and analysis.

However, Truso's beginnings are even earlier than the finds indicate, as shown by comparison between the chronological analysis of the finds and the stratigraphy. The deepest stratigraphic layers contain a few buildings lacking rich metal finds, which could be interpreted as the first phase of occupation in this area. The Scandinavian settlers arrived later and probably arranged the site into parcels. In my opinion, the beginning of Truso should be dated to the fourth quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century.

It is important to note that the end of Truso as a trading port should be dated no later than to the mid-10<sup>th</sup> century. Only a few finds (some combs, weights and one spur) can be dated to the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. In the middle of the 10<sup>th</sup> century a strong political power, probably the Piast dynasty, was present in the delta of the Vistula river in the vicinity of Gdańsk<sup>50</sup>. It is possible that these rulers tried to seize control of Truso and, when this proved impossible, destroyed the town and redirected the main trade routes to Gdańsk. There were still people living in Truso at the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> centuries, but by this time the town had lost its international importance and commercial function.

### *Puck*

The underwater site at Puck in the estuary of the Vistula River has often been defined as an *emporium*, but it is, in fact, a supporting local market. On the basis of ceramic and radiocarbon analyses, Puck's beginnings have been dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> century. This interpretation is strengthened by a hoard of 5 *solidi* (t.p.q. 467 AD), which were uncovered in the region. In the vicinity of Puck, at Władysławowo-Wielka Wieś and in Połchowo, two other hoards of *solidi* and a few individual coins were found<sup>51</sup>.

The character of the material recorded in Puck is, however, unclear. On the bottom of a bay, about 300-500 metres from the modern coast, a large harbour, constructed of wood and stone, was detected and dated to the Viking Age by using ceramics found onsite<sup>52</sup>. The preserved har-

<sup>50</sup> A. Buko, *The Archaeology of Medieval Poland. Discoveries – Hypotheses – Interpretations*, Leiden, 2008, p. 198-199; B. Śliwinski, *Początki Gdańska. Dzieje ziem nad zachodnim brzegiem Zatoki Gdańskiej w I połowie X wieku*, Gdańsk, 2009, p. 31-33, 242.

<sup>51</sup> R. Ciołek, «Znaleziska solidów na Pomorzu», p. 163-180.

<sup>52</sup> W. Stępień, «Archeological Nautical Excavation in Puck Harbour Gdańsk District Poland», *The International Journal of Nautical Archeology and Underwater Exploration*, 13:4 (1984), p. 311-321; W. Stępień, «Wczesnośredniowieczny port w Pucku», in *Historia Pucka*, ed. A. Groth. Gdańsk, 1998, p. 36-54; W. Stępień, J. Litwin, «The Puck Bay Wrecks – An Opportunity for a 'Polish Skudelev'», in *Shipsshape. Essays for the Ole*



10. Scandinavian jewellery from Janów Pomorski – Truso. Phot. M. Bogucki.

bour consisted of three parts: an eastern section, a middle section and western section. The earliest portion of the harbour was probably the western part, which was connected with the middle section by a bridge. The majority of the harbour was made of large wooden posts dug into the ground (fig. 11). The pier, however, was built of wooden boxes averaging 4x5 m in size<sup>53</sup>. In other parts of the harbour, 2x2 m wooden boxes were filled with bark, sticks, straw and stones. Some of the boxes were covered by stones.

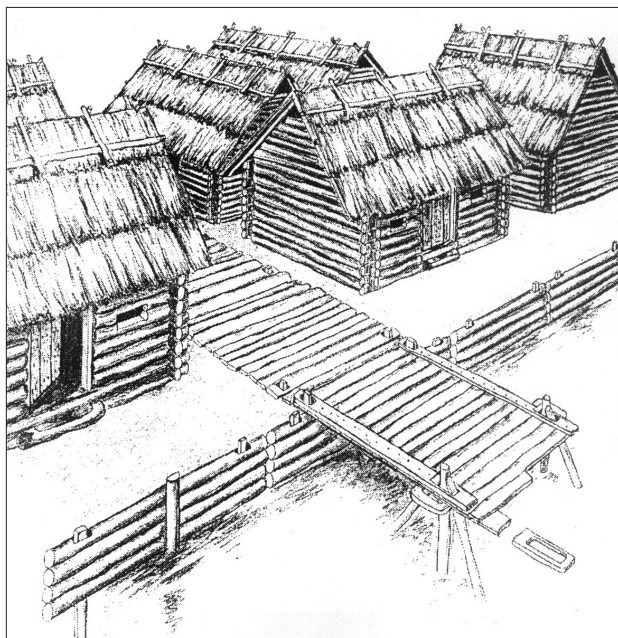
In addition, a part of a house and a few shipwrecks were found at Puck (fig. 12)<sup>54</sup>. These have also been dated by dendrochronological analyses taken from 154 samples. The earliest samples dated the house to the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and the harbour to a period extending from the

*Crumlin-Pedersen on the Occasion of his 60<sup>th</sup> Anniversary*, eds O. Olsen, J. Skamby Madsen, F. Rieck, Roskilde, 1995, p. 135-150; I. Pomian, «News from ongoing excavations of the Early Medieval harbour in Puck Bay», in *Abstracts from 8<sup>th</sup> International Symposium on Boat and Ship Archeology, September 23-27<sup>th</sup>, 1997*, Gdańsk, 1997.

<sup>53</sup> W. Stępień, «Wczesnośredniowieczny port w Pucku», p. 40-41.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 42-50.





II. Reconstruction of the harbour buildings in Puck (Stępień 1998).

first half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century until the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century. Both places were most intensively used during the 13<sup>th</sup> century<sup>55</sup>. The shipwrecks found nearby were dated mainly using  $C_{14}$  analysis, the earliest of which belonged to the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. Two other wrecks were dated to around 950 and 1245<sup>56</sup>. Only one wreck was dated dendrochronologically – it proved to have been built after 1216, and repaired around 1329-30<sup>57</sup>.

As demonstrated above, almost all dates obtained from the 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> centuries have been obtained by  $C_{14}$  methods and ceramic analyses, which have not been supported by precise dendrochronological dates. Therefore, the existence of an *emporium* in Viking Age Puck appears unlikely. First, no finds characteristic of international Baltic trade have been recorded in the surrounding region. Only recently have new finds of this kind come to light (fig. 13, Colour Plates). Puck prospered during the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries. It is possible that three medieval phases in the development of Puck can be dis-

<sup>55</sup> T. Ważny, *Dendrochronologia obiektów zabytkowych w Polsce*, Warszawa, 1999, p. 43, tab. 3.

<sup>56</sup> W. Stępień, «Wczesnośredniowieczny port w Pucku», p. 45.

<sup>57</sup> T. Ważny, *Dendrochronologia obiektów zabytkowych*, p. 60, Fig. 18.



12. The wreck Puck 2. Photo W. Stępień (www.vikingskibsmuseet.dk).

tinguished. The earliest, indicated only by two shipwrecks, reflects a tribal organisation of local society. The next phase would be a time of decline, probably connected with the political influences of Polish Piast dynasty in the Gdańsk Gulf region during the late 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> century. The third phase was marked by the 're-birth' of the port during the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries. Still, the later port can hardly be considered a successor of the earlier harbour; it should rather be connected with the growth of Gdańsk, the administrative centre of the Piast dynasty, in 11<sup>th</sup>- and 12<sup>th</sup>-century eastern Pomerania<sup>58</sup>.

### *Gdańsk*

The date of the first settlement at Gdańsk and its development has been the subject of many years of investigation (fig. 14). The oldest part of the town is believed to have been the Town Hall and the Long Market, where Andrzej Zbierski has detected a 9<sup>th</sup>-century settlement. The site was interpreted as a port and trade settlement<sup>59</sup>. It was generally accepted that the main part of the town and the hill-fort between the arms of the Motława and the Vistula Rivers were built by Piast dynasty in the 970s. During the

<sup>58</sup> A. Buko, *The Archaeology of Medieval Poland*, p. 197-199.

<sup>59</sup> A. Zbierski, «Rozwój przestrzenny Gdańska w IX-XIII w.», in *Historia Gdańska*, vol. I (do roku 1454), ed. E. Cieślak, Gdańsk, 1978, p. 79-81; H. Paner, «Rozwój przestrzenny Gdańska w świetle badań archeologicznych», in *Civitates Principales. Wybrane ośrodki władzy w Polsce wczesnośredniowiecznej. Katalog wystawy*, eds T. Janiak, D. Stryniak, Gniezno, 1998, p. 113; H. Paner, «The spatial development of Gdańsk to the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Origins of the Old and Main Town», in *Polish Lands at the turn of the First and the Second Millennium*, ed. P. Urbańczyk, Warszawa, 2004, p. 15-32; B. Śliwinski, *Początki Gdańska*.

archaeological excavations, seventeen occupation layers were distinguished, some of them dated from the 970-980s up to the 1308, when Gdańsk was conquered and burned down by the Teutonic Order<sup>60</sup>.

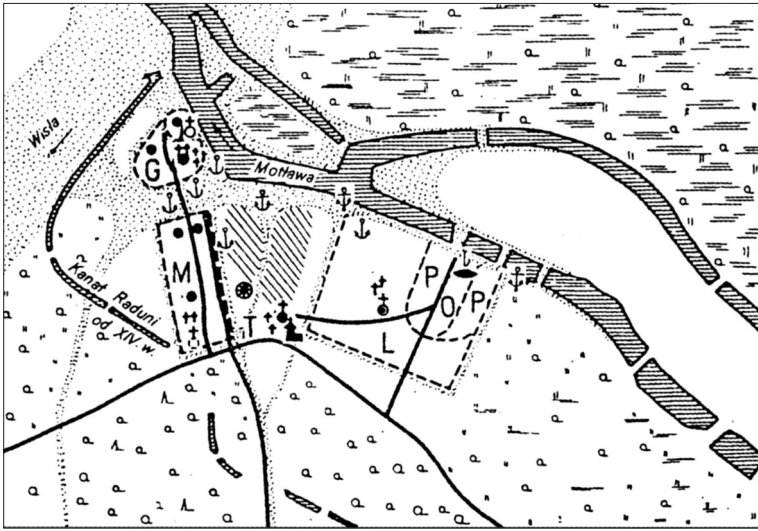
The second oldest part of Gdańsk was north of the hill-fort, near the later churches of St. Nicolas and St. Catharine. From 980-1140, a market place was situated there. In the catacombs of St. Nicolas church, a burnt-down construction of wood and stone was found. Parts of fortifications dating before 1200 were detected in the same place. Some scholars have suggested that the fortifications originally surrounded the market; others presume that the remains are a second hill-fort in Gdańsk. Whatever the case, the fortification was destroyed at the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, probably during the Pomeranian wars of Władysław Herman's reign. Northwards from St. Nicolas church, some traces of a pier, with a 12<sup>th</sup>-century jetty leading to the market, were uncovered.

The archaeological data, coming from different parts of Gdańsk, is often fragmentary and can be interpreted in different ways. Some researchers argue that each of the above mentioned settlement layers had a different character and its own fortifications. They emphasize that different parts of the town were subjected to different laws: Lübeck or Polish. Other scholars suggest different phases of development: a tribal port in the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries; a hill-fort next to the Town Hall built in the 10<sup>th</sup> century; and finally, the Piast hill-fort near the Motława River erected in the late 10<sup>th</sup> century. Nevertheless, none of these hypotheses can be proven without additional excavations. The main question is – do the fortifications detected so far indicate different hill-forts, or did they all belong to one, very big fortification system at Gdańsk? And, if it was one large complex, why were those parts so far from each other and do they belong to the same period? Supporting Andrzej Buko's suggestion, I believe that the excavated traces indicate different phases in the development of the site. Following this hypothesis, there was an earlier, tribal Gdańsk, and a later Piast administrative centre<sup>61</sup>.

There are other places in Pomerania where *emporium* might have existed. These hypothetical *emporium* would be identified by evidence of a surrounding, high-density settlement, as well as abundant finds of coins, ornaments, weapons and other hoards. Some places are likely candidates because of their topographic localization. With these criteria in mind, some possible *emporium* sites might include, the middle Pomerania, the estuary of the

<sup>60</sup> H. Paner, «The spatial development of Gdańsk», p. 15.

<sup>61</sup> A. Buko, *The Archaeology of Medieval Poland*, p. 196-199; B. Śliwinski, *Początki Gdańska*.



14. Map of Gdańsk. G) Piast hill-fort ca. 980-1308; M) port-crafts district from ca. 1150; T) market near St. Nicolas church; L) medieval town; O) fortified port settlement from 9<sup>th</sup> century; P) fortified trade settlement from 10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> century (Paner 1998).

Wieprza River, the surroundings of Słupia, and finally Łeba. In all of these regions a number of 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> century hack-silver hoards have been found.

The examples described above prove that the earliest *emporia* were established in Pomerania in the late 8<sup>th</sup> century. The existence of earlier *emporia*, for instance, in Scandinavia (Lundeborg, Sorte Muld or Helgö) cannot be excluded, but, apart from a few hoards and stray-finds of *solidi*, there does not appear to be any proof. At the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, a few settlements like Wolin, Bardy or Truso in Janów Pomorski developed in Pomerania and expanded in the 9<sup>th</sup> century. At the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> centuries, essential changes took place in the organization of Baltic *emporia* – they became important places of production. Wolin gained new fortifications and craftsmen's quarters. In the Parsęta region, trade and production activity moved from Bardy to Kołobrzeg-Budzistowo, to a new and much larger settlement. The turning point in the history of Pomerania was the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, when Janów Pomorski – Truso disappeared, new central places arose in Gdańsk and Kamień Pomorski, and places like Szczecin and Kołobrzeg began developing. All these settlements were characterised by urban features like streets, quarters, ports, markets, public places and, in some, churches.

During the 9<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries Szczecin, Kamień Pomorski and Gdańsk developed while Wolin dwindled in importance. The following step in the development of the Baltic towns was the bestowal of town rights and the joining of (completion?) the Hanseatic international trade network in the 13<sup>th</sup> century<sup>62</sup>.

Recent study has shed light on two main concepts concerning the genesis of Slavonic *emporía*. Both theories suggest that the Slavs appeared on the coastal areas of the Baltic Sea in the 6<sup>th</sup> century. During the 7<sup>th</sup> century, Slavic tribes constituted a majority of the population and occupied the greater part of the area. In the area of some early medieval centres, traces of an earlier Germanic settlement phase are known. It is possible that Scandinavians were aware of earlier trade routes until the 8<sup>th</sup> century when they reactivated the ancient route upon the appearance of the Slavs in the region and became partners in international trade. By the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, Slavic tribes had become so well-organized that the first trade centres arose. The *emporía* gave Slavs access to sought-after goods<sup>63</sup>. Some *emporía* evolved from settlements into early urban centres, while maintaining the traditional spatial structures. Well-established tribal power structures and a stable economy were key in the development of these *emporía*. The scenario described above was called 'a typical Slavic way' of development in early urban settlements. Examples of this model include the complex of sites at Bardy-Świelubie-Kołobrzeg and Szczecin<sup>64</sup>.

Other centres arose as a result of exterior interference in co-operation with the local political elite. Scandinavians were typically the dominant 'exterior' force in the region. The centres were founded on the peripheries of local tribal communities. From the beginning, *emporía* were a place for exchange and, as a result, inhabitants, primarily merchants and craftsmen, lived within a developed social structure from the beginning<sup>65</sup>. According to some theories, this was alien to the Slavs. Examples of centres established in this way include the settlement complexes in Meklemburg, Menzlin-Görke, Rostock-Dierkow, Groß Strömkendorf and Ralswiek, as well as Truso in the Slavic-Prussian borderland.

There are also sites, which do not fit into these two models, rather, they are a kind of combination of those sites described above. One site of this type is Wolin, which probably developed from a local fishing settlement

<sup>62</sup> M. Rębkowski, *Pierwsze lokacje miast*.

<sup>63</sup> M. Dulnicz, «Uwagi o początkach ośrodków handlowych», p. 106; J. Herrmann, «U źródeł północno-słowiańskiego wczesnego miasta», p. 160-167.

<sup>64</sup> W. Łosiński, «W sprawie genezy osiedli wczesnomiejskich», p. 102-108.

<sup>65</sup> W. Łosiński, «W sprawie genezy osiedli wczesnomiejskich», p. 102-103.

into a big town because of co-operation with a settlement of Scandinavian newcomers in the vicinity<sup>66</sup>.

Thanks to intensive archeological investigations carried out on various trading and central places around the Baltic in recent decades, it is rather obvious now that such dual vision of *emporio* growth is too simplified. First, both theories of *emporio*'s origins are unconnected with any ethnicity, so they should not be called Slavic, Balt, Scandinavian, Frisian, etc. Both theories have been demonstrated on different lands, not only Slavic. The simple mapping of settlements in Scania from the Migration, Vendel and Viking Periods shows that trading places like Uppåkra, Ystad-Tankbåten, Järrestad and Åhus emerged on the basis of later settlement structures<sup>67</sup>. In addition, it is easy to show places, where strong foreign influences did establish an *emporium*<sup>68</sup>. The simple conclusion is that each of the places in question (*emporio*, central places, towns, etc.) should be treated individually. Each *emporium* emerged, developed, existed and perished in a different way<sup>69</sup>. Of course, there are similarities and differences between them, which allow us separate them into groups according to characteristics of growth, function and other factors.

The development of long-distance trade in the Baltic zone is the main reason for the rise of *emporio* in the region. The duke's rule and the evolution of different elements of a commodity economy within the framework of a natural, primitive economy, as well as wider socio-economic changes caused by the formation of the feudal system, were the primary catalysts for the rise of towns in both theoretical models. The development of crafts and the exploitation of natural goods were also essential factors. Special attention should be paid to the mutual relationships between economy, political rule, trade and craft, which developed in the main political centres<sup>70</sup>.

<sup>66</sup> W. Łosiński, «W sprawie genezy osiedli wczesnomiejskich», p. 122-123; M. Bogucki, «The Baltic emporia and their settlement hinterland», p. 267-272.

<sup>67</sup> M. Strömberg, *Untersuchungen zur jüngeren Eisenzeit in Schonen. Völkerwanderungszeit – Wikingerzeit*, vol. I, *Textband*, vol. II, *Katalog und Tafeln*, Bonn-Lund, 1961.

<sup>68</sup> M. Bogucki, «Grobyna – a Sign of the Future», p. 93-106.

<sup>69</sup> M. Bogucki, «The Baltic emporia and their hinterland», p. 267-272.

<sup>70</sup> L. Leciejewicz, *Początki nadmorskich miast*, p. 46-47, 81-83.