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ARABIC DIRHAMS AND OTHER TRADE RELATED ARTEFACTS FROM ŁOZINA, DŁUGOŁĘKA COMMUNE, LOWER SILESIAN VOIVODESHIP

ABSTRACT: Research in Łozina (Długołęka Commune) has not only provided interesting observations about the development, function and disappearance of an extensive 10th-century settlement complex, but has also produced new finds of Arab dirhams. The discovery of these coins is of significant value, as such specimens are seldom unearthed in the context of settlement sites, but rather in the form of hoards. The article presents the aforementioned dirhams and other items from this site that are associated with trade. They also include coins from later times (Prague groschen) and weights. Both the function and the early medieval date of the latter have been questioned. Nevertheless, the analysis concentrates on the dirhams themselves, comparing them with other 10th-century finds from Silesia. Their discovery in Łozina illustrates the importance of this centre in the second half of the 10th century, but it is also a point of discussion about the course of local and supra-local trade routes at that time.

ABSTRAKT: Badania w Łozinie (gm. Długołęka) dostarczyły nie tylko ciekawych spostrzeżeń dotyczących rozwoju, czasu funkcjonowania i zaniku rozległego kompleksu osadniczego z X w., ale przyniosły też nowe odkrycia dirhamów arabskich. Znaleźiska te są o tyle cenne, że monety tego typu rzadko występują w kontekście osadniczym, a zdecydowanie częściej w skarbach. W artykule zaprezentowano wzmiankowane dirhamy oraz inne przedmioty z tego stanowiska łączone z handlem. Wśród nich były również monety o młodszej metryce (grosz praski) oraz odważniki. Zakwestionowano zarówno funkcję, jak i wczesnośredniowieczną metrykę tych ostatnich. Skupiono się na samych dirhamach, porównując je z innymi znaleziskami z X w. ze Śląska. Ich odkrycie w Łozinie obrazuje znaczenie tego ośrodka w 2. połowie X w., lecz jest także punktem do dyskusji nad przebiegiem lokalnych i ponadlokalnych szlaków handlowych w tym czasie.

KEYWORDS: Arabic dirhams, trade contacts, 10th century, Wrocław, Silesia

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: arabskie dirhamy, kontakty handlowe, X wiek, Wrocław, Śląsk

INTRODUCTION

Collections of Arabic dirhams, which are very numerous in hoards from the 10th century or the beginning of the 11th century from the areas of Greater Poland, Pomerania and Silesia, are much less common in cemeteries or settlement sites. During the previous year, numismatic items unearthed in a stronghold in Łozina, Długołęka Commune, Lower Silesian Voivodeship (Fig. 1), were incorporated into the assemblage of coins of this type originating from strongholds and settlements, thereby augmenting the corpus of such items known from Silesia.

Silesia, as a historical land, is an entity created relatively late in historiography.¹ This name should only be used in reference to the 12th century and later times, but so far, no alternative terminology has been proposed for the 10th century, so we will use this term, although only in a territorial rather than political sense. To explain the circulation of dirhams in this region, it is essential to provide a concise overview of the discoveries of hoards and individual coins from this area, including specimens from Łozina.

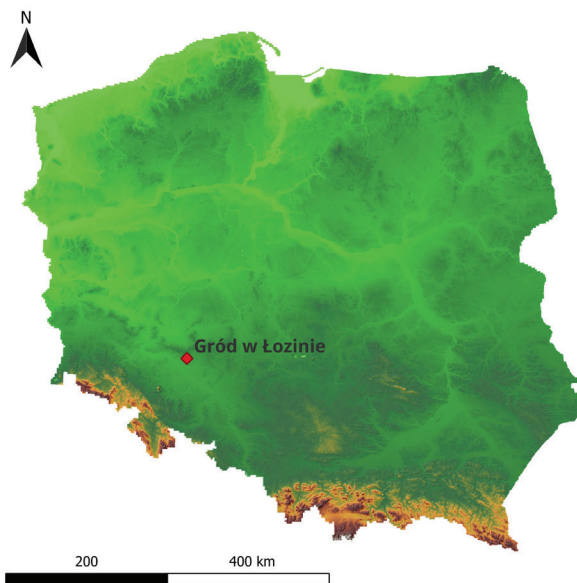


Fig. 1. Location of Łozina on the map of Poland, elaborated by J.K. Pawlicki

Ryc. 1. Usytuowanie Łoziny na mapie Polski, oprac. J.K. Pawlicki

The complex of sites in Łozina (the stronghold and several nearby settlements) is located in the immediate vicinity of the city of Wrocław, approximately 15 km in a straight

¹ Paszkiewicz 2023, pp. 77–131.

line from the hillfort on Ostrów Tumski on the south side and only 3.5 km from the Trzebnickie Hills in the north. The stronghold in Łozina itself was built as a typical low-land, ring-shaped structure, with the original shape of an almost perfect circle with a diameter of about 70 m (counting the diameter at the top of the embankment). Currently, the stronghold is only partially preserved. Apart from the relatively small hillfort, the settlement complex in Łozina also includes settlements (suburbs?) adjacent to the main defensive structure from the east, north and west. In this shape, the fortified complex has a significant size of approximately 11 ha (Fig. 2a). Furthermore, during the construction of the S8 expressway, a complex of early medieval settlements was discovered approximately 500–700 m to the north (sites Łozina 16, 17, 18; Fig. 2a). The presence of an early medieval cemetery, mentioned quite enigmatically in archival sources, cannot be ruled out. Even when considering the uncertain elements, the entire settlement complex, which includes a large stronghold complex, represents a highly extensive settlement structure, which is typical of centres of greater importance. The stronghold and most of the settlements functioned mainly in the second half of the 10th century. Only one of the settlements (site Łozina 18) is slightly older, dating back to tribal times, while the remaining settlements (sites 16 and 17) date back to the 11th century, although at that time there was no stronghold complex and the intensity of land development on sediments decreased

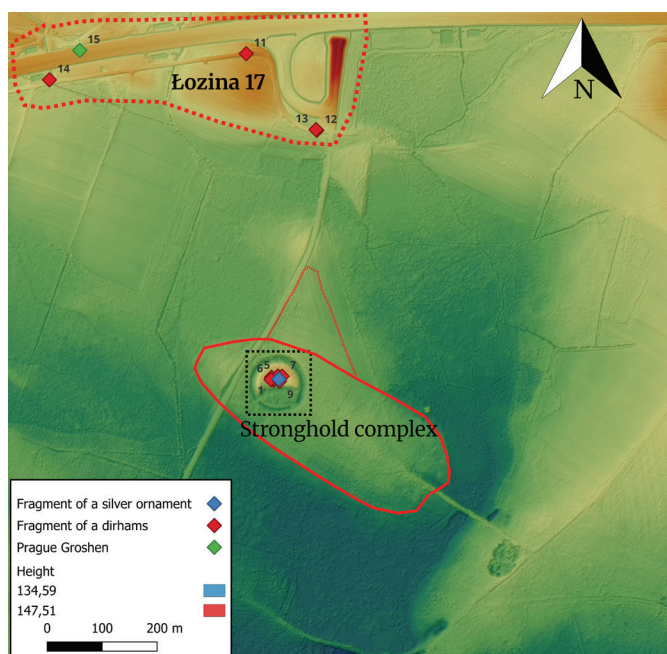


Fig. 2a. The settlement complex in Łozina with marked finds of coins, elaborated by J.K. Pawlicki

Ryc. 2a. Kompleks osadniczy w Łozinie z zaznaczonymi znaleziskami monet, oprac. J.K. Pawlicki

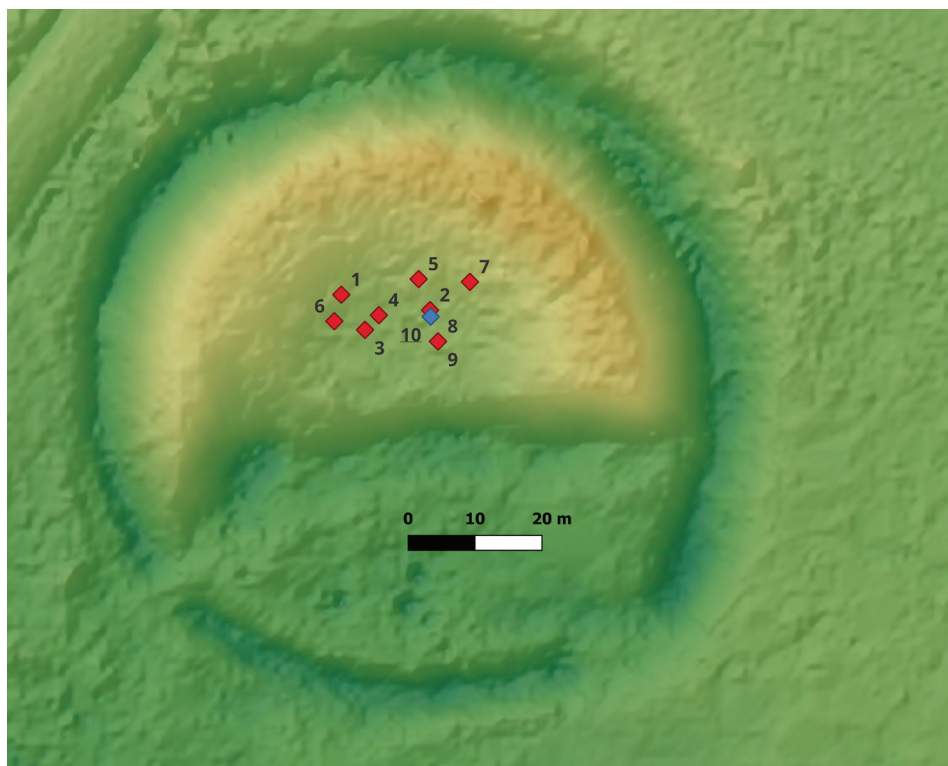


Fig. 2b. The area of the hillfort with marked finds of coins and ornaments, elaborated by J.K. Pawlicki

Ryc. 2b. Obszar grodziska z zaznaczonymi znaleziskami monet i ozdób, oprac. J.K. Pawlicki

significantly.² Until recently, only pottery was the basis for dating. The proposed chronology is also confirmed by the coin fragments mentioned above.

In Poland, both in early medieval hoards and single finds, there are, among other items, Arabic coins. The earliest Arabic coins in the hoards date back to the 8th century, the youngest ones to the turn of the 10th and 11th centuries. Dirhams from the 9th–10th centuries predominate, most often minted by the Samanid emirs.³

MATERIALS AND METHODS

In the autumn of 2022, during metal-detecting survey, six small silver coin fragments were found at the stronghold (cat. nos 1–6). Three more pieces and a fragment of a silver ornament were found during another survey in November

² Pankiewicz, Rodak 2019; also observations based on verification research of the authors.

³ Malarczyk 2015, *passim*.

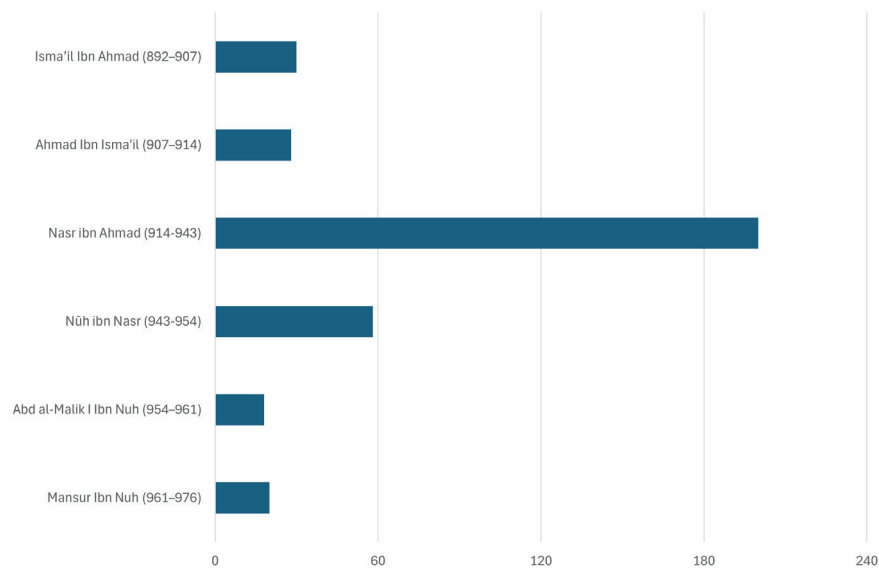


Fig. 3. Coins of Samanid rulers in Silesia

Ryc. 3. Znaleziska monet władców samanidzkich z terenu Śląsku

2023 (cat. nos 1–10). Additionally, four other coin fragments come from archival research (from 2008–2010) in the nearby settlement of Łozina 17 (cat. nos 11–14). A fragment of a Prague groschen (cat. no. 15) and six items that were initially identified as weights (cat. nos 16–21) were also found there.⁴ The classification of the latter raises some doubts. Like the Prague groschen mentioned above, they also differ from the rest of the assemblage, but they will be included in the study, not to omit these finds. All finds were tracked using GPS and mapped (Fig. 2a, b).

FINDS

Arabic dirhams

The recognized coins were issues for two Samanid emirs. The Silesian hoards contain most of the Samanid coins. The coins of Nasr ibn Ahmad (914–943) are the most numerous, followed by those of Nūḥ ibn Nasr (943–954). The dependency data is presented in Graph (Fig. 3).

⁴ The coins were discovered during research prior to the construction of the S8 expressway. Information about the discovery of coins was included in AZP-cards, but without specifying what the finds were. The coins were made available to us for the study of the site by researcher Sławomir Żółkowski, to whom we would like to thank him for all his help.

In the stronghold and at the site of Łozina 17, single fragments of Arabic coins were found. Two fragments may mark the *terminus post quem* for the hillfort: a fragment of a coin of Nasr ibn Ahmad for the years 916–917 AD (cat. no. 5) and a fragment of dirham of Nuh ibn Nasr for 943–954 AD (cat. no. 7). The third of the coins identified is a fraction of a dirham of Nūḥ ibn Naṣr (943–954 AD) or Nūḥ ibn Maṣṣūr, who ruled in 976–997 AD (cat. no. 11). In the case of the last of them, if its minting related to the person of the second ruler, it could come from the final period of use of the defensive structure in Łozina. Due to the considerable fragmentation of the coins the identification of the remaining coins was impossible (cat. nos 1–4, 6, 9, 12–14). The best-preserved fragments that could be read were approximately 1/4–1/8 of their original size (cat. nos 5, 7, 11). Typically, these fragments were much smaller, ranging from 1/10 to 1/24 of their original size (cat. nos 1–4, 6, 8, 9, 12, 13). It is noteworthy that some finds were standardised to 1/12 (cat. nos 6, 12), 1/16 (cat. nos 3, 4) and 1/24 (cat. nos 8, 13) of their original size. They often weighed around 0.2 g (cat. nos 2–4, 6, 14) or half that amount (cat. nos 8, 9, 13). In hoards with more fragmented coins, this degree of fragmentation is repetitive and is probably due to the use of fragments weighing around 0.2 g in small transactions.⁵

Prague groschen

During the Late Middle Ages in Central and Eastern Europe in the 14th–15th century, Prague groschen minted in Kutná Hora was used for payments and for the collection of silver.⁶ The coin found in Łozina was minted in the years 1346–1348 by Charles IV.

The described coin has not been preserved in its entirety. A fragment of approximately 1/8 of its circumference is missing, and this fragment appears to have been deliberately cut out (cat. no. 14). The phenomenon of cutting out Prague groschen is not rare, especially in Red Ruthenia, but also in other areas, e.g. Bohemia and Silesia. However, the custom was to cut the edge of the coins all around, which was supposed to make them similar to other denominations.⁷ The defect in the coin from Łozina has no such character and is clearly visible.

⁵ Bogucki 2020, pp. 223–224, 230–233.

⁶ Pinta 2015.

⁷ Kotowicz, Śnieżko 2016, with literature.

Objects defined as weights

During the research at the Łozina 17 site, six objects identified as weights were also discovered (AZP data).⁸ A determination of their specific gravity indicated that they were composed of lead. Five of the specimens exhibit a lenticular shape and a diameter of 1.3–2.3 cm (cat. nos 17–21). In light of the characteristics of the raw material and the presence of cavities on the poles, these specimens were considered merchants' accessories. Indeed, from medieval and early modern contexts, there is evidence of the use of objects marked in the form of single and double cavities placed on poles.⁹ Some of them actually resemble specimens from Łozina,¹⁰ but it should be noted that on the better-preserved specimens from Łozina, the described "cavities" were in the form of regular pairs of holes (cat. nos 18, 20, 21). Weights with holes through them appear, but only sporadically.¹¹ Furthermore, the lenticular shape of the specimens from Łozina raises questions, as it has no parallel among medieval and modern weights (see above). The flat items bear resemblance to buttons (cat. nos 20, 21), however, it is more probable that they were weights for clothing, particularly dresses, of early modern origin.¹² An alternative interpretation is that the objects should be regarded as modern cloth seals, sometimes equipped with pairs of holes. However, seals of this type were usually signed, bipartite and did not have a lenticular shape, but were flat.¹³ Certain finds from Łozina can possibly be considered modern seed seals,¹⁴ but this category of objects is still too poorly developed to provide suitable analogies. A single item from the aforementioned collection, characterised by a barrel-shaped, strongly flattened form and devoid of any markings, could be used as a weight (cat. no. 16). Analogous specimens are known, among others, from medieval layers of the Old Town in Wrocław¹⁵ and early medieval settlement levels on Ostrów Tumski in Wrocław.¹⁶ The object weighed 3.71 g. This is a relatively small weight, much

⁸ These objects began to function as weights in literature because of the term used in AZP cards – e.g. Pankiewicz 2022, p. 176; Pankiewicz 2023, p. 92.

⁹ E.g. Pedersen 2008, pp. 150–155, il. 6.22, 6.23; Wachowski 2002, Fig. 254a, 255e, 256b, c; Maćkowski 2016a: cat. nos 1, 8; Paszkiewicz, Wachowski 2018, figs 399c, 400a–c, 402b, 403, 404c, 405a–d, 406a–g, 407, 408h, 409h.

¹⁰ Paszkiewicz, Wachowski 2018, fig. 400a, 404c.

¹¹ Paszkiewicz, Wachowski 2018, fig. 406g.

¹² E.g.; <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/552932>; <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/736984>; <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/741707>, [accessed 20.09.2025].

¹³ E.g. Maćkowski 2016b, pp. 171–173, cat. nos 21–14, 30, 54.

¹⁴ This proposal was put forth by Prof. Lech Marek, for which we are grateful.

¹⁵ E.g. Wachowski 2010, pp. 105–107, fig. 136; Paszkiewicz, Wachowski 2018, p. 529, fig. 403–408.

¹⁶ Pankiewicz 2023, p. 308, fig. 205j.

lower than the values usually found among Wrocław weights,¹⁷ although there were pieces with a similar or even lower weight.¹⁸ In the medieval weighing systems that were in use at the time, the weight from Łozina would be equivalent to approximately one-third of a lot (11.9–13.3 g, on average 12.32 g, depending on the region). Nevertheless, the decision was taken to divide individual units in half, rather than into thirds.¹⁹ The absence of precise parallels for the find from Łozina raises questions about both its chronology and its purpose.

In the light of the presented data, the objects from Łozina cannot be considered weights, except for one, also questionable specimen.

DIRHAMS FROM ŁOZINA COMPARED TO OTHER FINDS OF THIS TYPE FROM SILESIA

Hoard of early medieval silver in the form of pieces of jewellery, eastern and western coins are common from Scandinavia to Silesia. Due to the habit of fragmenting silver, even into very small pieces, these deposits are called hacksilver hoards. Dirham fragments occur also at strongholds, settlements and cemeteries. They could have reached the area of Poland from Central Asia by various routes. Their route of arrival led through the territories inhabited by the Volga Bulgars. The routes of merchant caravans described in historical sources facilitate this process. These caravans utilized the Volga, Oka, Don, and Dnieper rivers for expedient travel.²⁰ For years, the role of the Scandinavians in the distribution of Arab silver has been emphasised, but most of the dirhams minted before 950 entered Polish lands overland via Kiev and along the Pripyat–Bug–Vistula line.²¹ It wasn't until the second half of the 10th century that pieces from Scandinavia increased in number, being redistributed by important centres on the Baltic coast, including the emporium in Wolin.²² With the formation of the Piast state in Greater Poland in the 930s and 940s, a significant concentration of silver hoards is recorded in this region, including finds containing a large number of fragments of Arabic dirhams.²³

The hoards containing oriental silver in Silesia have a slightly different origin. The occurrence of early hoards (dating back to the 10th century) and individual

¹⁷ Paszkiewicz, Wachowski 2018, annex 5.

¹⁸ Paszkiewicz, Wachowski 2018, annex 5, nos 12, 13, 33, 45.

¹⁹ More on this topic: Wachowski 2010, pp. 278–285, table 1; Paszkiewicz, Wachowski 2018, pp. 509–512, 526–523, annex 5.

²⁰ Regarding the routes of silver inflow to these areas, e.g.: Łosiński 1993, *passim*; Adamczyk 2009; Adamczyk 2018, *passim*; Bogucki 2016, pp. 238–247.

²¹ Bogucki, Malarczyk, Marczak. 2005, pp. 186–188.

²² Bogucki 2013, pp. 347–351, 354–336.

²³ Kara 2009, pp. 261–264, il. 94; Kara 2018, pp. 315–316, il. 3; Adamczyk 2015, p. 21; Adamczyk 2018, pp. 195–225.

coins in this region was frequently interpreted as evidence of the redistribution of silver from Greater Poland. On occasion, the appearance of hacksilver deposits in the upper and partly middle Oder basin was regarded as a demonstration of the extent of Piast influence.²⁴ The indirect proof of this hypothesis was the significant shortage of cut and oriental silver in Bohemia and Moravia, where the rule of the Přemyslids was already established.²⁵ On the other hand, taking into account the possibility of the Přemyslids controlling at least the south of Silesia, it was wondered to what extent the circulation of silver in this region related to the interest of the rulers from Prague in long-distance trade and control of the flow of goods in this region.²⁶ The possibility of cooperation between the Piasts and Přemyslids in this field was even considered, but this concept, although interesting, is not properly documented yet.²⁷

However, in light of recent discoveries and reinterpretations of deposits that have been known for decades, views that attempt to link their occurrence to one political force appear to be overly simplistic and partly incorrect. It seems that the extent of Piast rule is actually determined by the hoards of slightly younger coins, dating back to the end of the 10th century, after 983–985. This chronological range is not accidental. It was around the mid-980s that Mieszko I established control over the region of so-called Silesia, or at least a part of it. This is evidenced by the construction/reconstruction of a network of strongholds along the Oder line, including Głogów (989), Wrocław (985), Ryczyn (983–984), and Opole (995).²⁸

At that time, several silver hoards were deposited in the vicinity of the nascent centre in Wrocław (Karwiany and Gniechowice – both after 985). Further deposits would appear in this area around the year 1000. These include Kotowice II (after 995 or after 1010), Małkowice (after 1000), Kowale (after 1002), Bystrzyca (after 1003) and Kotowice (after 1010).²⁹

²⁴ E.g. Moździoch 2003, pp. 63–65, fig. 2.

²⁵ Adamczyk 2015, pp. 28–30; Kouřil, Procházka 2018, pp. 49–52; Paszkiewicz 2023, pp. 91–99; further literature in these works.

²⁶ Adamczyk 2015, pp. 28–34; Paszkiewicz 2023.

²⁷ Pankiewicz 2023, pp. 68–72, 368–369.

²⁸ Moździoch 1998, p. 103; Gediga 2022, pp. 33–35; Kara, Krapiec 2000, p. 309; Moździoch, Przysiężna-Pizarska 2008, p. 249.

²⁹ Butent-Stefaniak, Malarczyk 2009, pp. 46–47, 72–74, 241–249, 256–266; FMP IV.B, pp. 241–249, 265–266, 270–272, 281–305, 324–325.

The distribution of contemporary hoards along the Oder line (e.g. hoards from Kadłubiec, Gostyń³⁰) as well as along the course of smaller rivers reaching it is also clear.³¹

In these younger hoards, dating back to the last decades of the 10th century and the very beginning of the 11th century, there is a notable decline in the use of dirhams, which are increasingly superseded by Western, mainly German, coins. This is not so much related to political factors associated with the expansion of the Piast domain, but to economic conditions.

Already after the middle of the 10th century, and certainly from the 970s–980s, along with the gradual cessation of silver supplies from Central Asia and the beginning of large-scale exploitation of deposits of this precious metal in the Harz Mountains, the composition of coins deposited in hoards also changed.³² Among the Silesian finds, dirhams constituted a relatively significant part of the hoard from Kotowice II (19.6%, after 995), Bystrzyca (approximately 24.3%, after 1003), both deposits from Radzików (hoard I: 39.4%, after 996; hoard II: 31%, after 1003), and a hoard from an unspecified location, designated as Silesia VIII (after 985 or 995). In other locations, the number of Arabic coins is significantly lower, comprising only a few percent of the total, or they are not even recorded. A unique example here is the hoard from Legnica, of quite late date (after 1024), containing over 27% of dirhams, only sporadically found at that time.³³

Older finds (in Silesia) have a slightly different character. These include hoards from Sośnica (after 954), Czarnków (after 956, and probably hidden around 960) and Obiszów (after 970 or 975), as well as finds of single coins from Kąty Wrocławskie (after 923) and Wszemirów (after 914, date of issue 914–942).³⁴

The dirham collections from Łozina probably also fall within this chronological horizon. Nevertheless, the early dating of the coins themselves does not allow for an exact determination of the moment of their deposition in the ground. The presence of coins from the 930s and 940s is a common feature of hoards from the late 10th and early 11th centuries. Furthermore, these coins are more numerous than those of a later date.

It is somewhat standard that Islamic coins are “behind” compared to Western specimens by about 20–30 years.³⁵ A feature of older assemblages is that coins

³⁰ There is no certainty as to when the Gostyń hoard was hidden. It is usually dated around 990 (FMP IV.B, no. 21), but the predominance of Arabic coins could indicate an earlier date (960s–970s) of deposition of the hoard (Paszkievicz 2023, p. 104). In this case, it would chronologically correspond to the assemblage from Łozina.

³¹ Butent–Stefaniak, Malarczyk 2009, maps 2 and 3; FMP IV.B, p. 447, map.

³² Butent–Stefaniak, Malarczyk 2009, pp. 190–121; Adamczyk 2018, pp. 226–299.

³³ Generally, about these phenomena: Butent–Stefaniak, Malarczyk 2009, pp. 190–197, 204–211, tables 1, 12, 22.

³⁴ Butent–Stefaniak, Malarczyk 2009, pp. 128–129, 146–148; FMP IV.B, nos 26, 49, 70, 91; Malarczyk 2022, p. 81; Paszkievicz 2022, pp. 157–158; Paszkievicz 2023, pp. 110–112.

³⁵ Paszkievicz 2022, pp. 159–160.

are less fragmented. This is clear in the case of the Sośnica hoard. The specimens from Czarnków exhibited a higher degree of fragmentation, yet a number of intact specimens were also present. Coins from Łozina were preserved in very small pieces (cat. nos 1–13). However, the dating based on bulk materials (ceramics) to the second half of the 10th century is a valuable indication. The stronghold complex is believed to have existed from the 10th century until at least the 10th/11th century.³⁶ These findings were supported by a single dendrochronological date – after 945 – obtained from a post driven at the base of the embankment.³⁷

This time of construction and functioning of the hillfort in Łozina after the mid-10th century and the second half of the 10th century aligns perfectly with the period of issuance and slight subsequent deposition of the dirhams discovered within the whole settlement complex.

The chronology of the site in Wszemirów was defined as the period from the end of the 9th to the mid-11th century. However, an analysis of the ceramics revealed a number of similarities to the assemblages from Łozina³⁸. This may be indicative of the existence of the settlement in the latter half of the 10th century. The stronghold in Obiszów, together with the adjacent settlement, was built in the first quarter of the 10th century and was inhabited until the end of that century. This dating was based on a comprehensive analysis of pottery, supported by analogies to the sites for which we have dendro-dates. From Obiszów itself, the absolute dating of the second phase of the stronghold, whose ramparts were built ca. 933 (-6/+8), is known. The data on the period of existence of the defensive complex in Obiszów is also supplemented by various imports and, of course, the hoard itself. It is associated with the end of the second phase of the settlement of the stronghold complex. Traces of later settlement at the site clearly indicate that it was hidden earlier than the end of the 10th century.³⁹ The deposit from Obiszów comprises dirhams of a high degree of fragmentation, the youngest of which can be dated to the years 954–976. Additionally, it includes German coins, with the latest specimen minted probably around 975–985, and certainly after 970.⁴⁰

Furthermore, a single coin from the years 976–983 has been found in the settlement.⁴¹ The case of the deposit from Obiszów stands out because it comes from a settlement near the hillfort, most likely from a metallurgist's workshop. During a fire, the coins, which were originally in a bag or other organic container, fell near the fireplace. The find from Obiszów is also evidence of the use of coins

³⁶ Pankiewicz, Rodak 2019.

³⁷ Krąpiec 2023.

³⁸ Paternoga 2003, pp. 165–171, figs 8, 9.

³⁹ On the basics of dating in detail: Rzeźnik 2006, pp. 180–190.

⁴⁰ Bartczak, Pokora, Suchodolski 1990; Butent–Stefaniak, Malarczyk 2009, pp. 108–110; FMP IV.B, no. 49.

⁴¹ Butent–Stefaniak, Malarczyk 2009, p. 110; FMP IV.B, no. 50.

in the stronghold complex, since they got to the place where they were found as a result of a fire.⁴²

Among other sites in the middle Oder basin area, which can only conventionally be included in Silesia (even in the later, historical understanding of this term), it is also worth mentioning the find of dirhams from Grodziszczce (Świebodzin district). These were fragments of Samanid dirhams, which were the most popular in Poland. The coin fragments were found within the area of embankment. This seems to confirm the hypothesis that fractions of coins were used in small transactions, because otherwise they would not have been found in the vicinity of the former fortifications. Those transactions could be conducted at the border point, i.e. on the embankment of the stronghold.⁴³

Perhaps the finds from Łozina should be interpreted similarly. All specimens discovered during research in 2022 and 2023 were located in the main stronghold, in close proximity to the embankments. The small scatter of coins, occurring within a radius of approximately 10 m from each other (Fig. 2b), may indicate that we are dealing with a dispersed, relatively small hoard. Such conclusions could also be supported by the discovery of a fragment of a silver ornament in the vicinity (cat. no. 10), which, together with the cut-coins, could have been part of the hoard. On the other hand, this is the safe area by the rampart, characterized by very intensive settlement,⁴⁴ and as the central place of the entire settlement complex, it was somehow predestined to serve as a place of trade exchange.

The fact that the coins found in Łozina are not so much a relic of a hoard but of the circulation of “money” (or rather silver) may be evidenced by their distribution within one of the settlements (mentioned site Łozina 17). Some of the dirhams were concentrated in the southern part of the settlement, closer to the stronghold, along the north-south route. However, single specimens were also discovered 120 m further to the north-west and at the western end of the site (at the neighbouring site Łozina 18 – see Fig. 2a). This distance is undoubtedly too great for the contents of one deposit, and thus it may be assumed that the coins were the private possessions of at least several inhabitants of the Łozina settlement complex.

The presence of dirhams in early medieval Niemcza should be interpreted differently. They appeared in four fragments as grave goods in burial no. 91. Like the specimens from Łozina, these coins are attributed to the Samanids and dated to the years 914–960. The remaining 12 fragments discovered in the grave were identified as German or Bohemian coins. The youngest of them were minted after

⁴² Bartczak, Pokora, Suchodolski 1990; similarly Rzeźnik 2006, pp. 189–190; Paszkiewicz 2023, p. 112.

⁴³ Gruszka, Michalak 2019, pp. 205–206. There is only mention of dirhams there. Dr. Bartłomiej Gruszka provided us with more detailed information about the find.

⁴⁴ Pankiewicz, Rodak 2019, pp. 92–95, figs 7, 8; Pankiewicz, Pawlicki 2023, pp. 10–11, figs 2, 7–9.

973 or after 985. Based on the available evidence, the time of their deposition is estimated at the 980s, which makes the cemetery in Niemcza (or at least this part of it) one of the oldest necropolises in Poland.⁴⁵

Nevertheless, there is no evidence to suggest that its origins can be dated to the period preceding the end of the 10th century. The deposition of early coins, including dirhams, is currently associated not with the emergence of the “Bohemian” or “Polish” state, but with the convergence of diverse influences in Niemcza and its strategic location on an important trade route.⁴⁶

ŁOZINA AS A TRANSIT AREA IN SILESIA

In the initial description of the settlement complex in Łozina, particular attention was paid to its specific location, situated between Wrocław and the Trzebnickie Hills. It is important to highlight the reasons why this particular location was of significance.

The second half of the 10th century was a period of enormous socio-political changes in the area that would later become Silesia. During this time, and especially from the third quarter of the 10th century to the first half of the 11th century, the areas of the Barycz basin, including the Trzebnickie Hills, were very intensively settled. This revival of settlements and the construction of a network of new strongholds in this area are associated either with the Piast dynasty’s attempt to take custody and develop these areas,⁴⁷ or, as has recently been indicated, with the relocation of some large “tribal” group, perhaps originating from the southwest of Greater Poland.⁴⁸

In contrast, in the southern, upland region of Silesia, the Silesians tribe continued to evolve, but lost its importance at the end of the 10th century. Between these settlement enclaves is the Oder valley. The river itself in the so-called tribal period constitutes a border rather than a meeting point of local cultures. This situation changed around the middle of the 10th century or slightly later. The oldest stronghold on Ostrów Tumski in Wrocław was probably erected in the 960s and the Oder valley near the mouth of Oława, Ślęza, Bystrzyca and Widawa was intensively settled. At this time, there was a significant increase in the importance of the Oder as a communication artery, which is reflected in the distribution of silver hoards

⁴⁵ Suchodolski 1984; FMP IV.B, pp. 342–344.

⁴⁶ Matyja 2023, pp. 226–235.

⁴⁷ Kurnatowska 2000, pp. 17–19; Teske 2000, pp. 120–123; Teske 2003, p. 113; Kurnatowska, Kara 2008, pp. 161–164; Kolenda 2008, pp. 43–48; Kolenda 2011, pp. 57–58.

⁴⁸ Chrzan 2014, pp. 199–208; Chrzan 2018, p. 254.

along its course.⁴⁹ The extraordinary role of this river, also in the military and territorial dimension, was symbolically sealed by the construction or reconstruction of the most important Silesian strongholds in the 980s along its stream.⁵⁰

In such geopolitical conditions, Łozina became a natural bridge between the Barycz basin and the Trzebnickie Hills and the Oder valley, and in a broader sense, between the north and the south. It is therefore not surprising that in this place (where important north-south and east-west roads intersect also today) a stronghold was built and an extensive settlement complex developed. Łozina is located on the line between Wrocław and Milicz and further north towards Giecz and Gniezno (Fig. 4). There are many indications that this trade route prospered precisely during the period in which fractions of dirhams were deposited in Łozina. As indicated, at this time the Wrocław stronghold was erected and most likely the Milicz stronghold, as evidenced by dendrochronological dates after 960, obtained from the oldest defensive structures of this centre. The phase before the construction of the stronghold, dating back to the first half of the 10th century is represented by unique finds proving extensive interregional contacts of the inhabitants of Milicz. From this phase of settlement of the site come, among others, a fragment of a cylindrical padlock, a weight, a Silesian bowl, bronze forceps, a scalpel, a volute knife and other special products. The subsequent phase of settlement, linked to the existing stronghold, yielded an even greater number of artefacts. What draws our attention here are primarily the finds from the burnt layer dating from the late 10th to the first half of the 11th century, which is confirmed by the ¹⁴C dates. A set of unique, gold-plated fittings was discovered here. This phase of the development of the stronghold is also associated with other merchants' utensils, beads made of semi-precious stones, single coins and a number of special items made of non-ferrous metals, stone, bone and antler, which can be considered as both imports and exclusive products. The role of Milicz's location on the trade route is also emphasized, especially in the early stage of the centre's establishment.⁵¹

Subsequently, the north-south route led through Wrocław (Fig. 4), continuing along the Ślęza valley through the aforementioned Niemcza and Kłodzko towards Bohemia. This course of communication routes was to be confirmed by the spatial arrangement of the most important strongholds, later customs chambers and the location of hoards, the clear concentration of which can be seen on this route.⁵²

The strategic location of the Wrocław stronghold near long-distance roads was a significant factor in its creation and subsequent growth. While recent research

⁴⁹ Pankiewicz, Rodak 2022, pp. 218–232; Pankiewicz 2022, pp. 162–166, in these works further literature.

⁵⁰ See fragment above.

⁵¹ Kolenda 2008, pp. 24–48; Kolenda 2013.

⁵² Nowakowa 1951, pp. 69–72; Butent–Stefaniak, Malarczyk 2009, Map 1; FMP IV.B, map; Paszkiewicz 2023, Map 3.

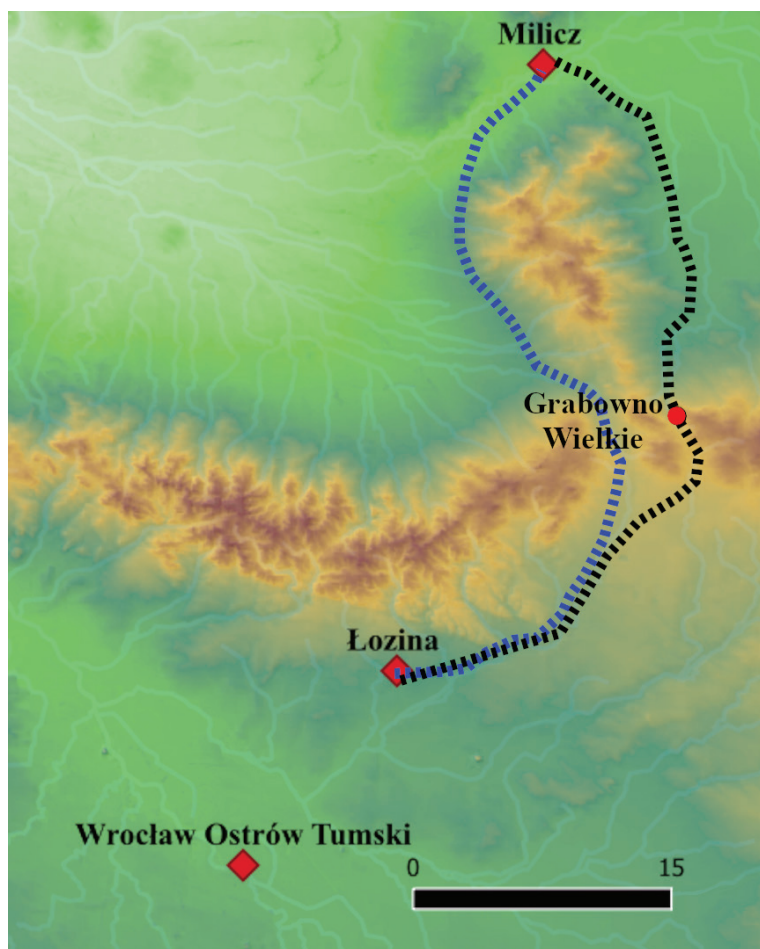


Fig. 4. Probable variants of the Wrocław-Milicz route in the early Middle Ages, including Łozina, elaborated by J.K. Pawlicki

Ryc. 4. Prawdopodobne warianty przebiegu szlaku Wrocław-Milicz we wczesnym średniowieczu, z uwzględnieniem Łoziny, oprac. J.K. Pawlicki

has highlighted that these regional and transregional connections only emerged around the mid-10th century, this does not diminish their importance. They were not only crucial for the development of Wrocław but also for other central places.⁵³

However, until the end of the 10th century, and specifically around 985, the settlement on Ostrów Tumski in Wrocław was poorly explored, and only later did the stronghold on the Oder river acquired the status of a principal centre for Sile-

⁵³ Pankiewicz 2022, pp. 160–165, with literature.

sia.⁵⁴ Previously, the complex in Łozina was unique in this microregion. Around the turn of the 10th and 11th centuries, the stronghold in Łozina was dismantled, perhaps in order to strengthen the political and demographic character of nearby Wrocław.⁵⁵

CONCLUSIONS

The discovery of Arabic dirhams from the settlement complex in Łozina can be described as a new, interesting example of this type of coins in Poland. However, these finds are also of greater significance, as they reflect specific political and economic processes taking place in the upper and middle Oder basin during the 10th century.

The dates of deposition of the coins from Łozina are approximately in the mid-10th century, perhaps the beginning of the third quarter of the 10th century. This represents an early chronological horizon for the emergence of dirhams in Silesia.⁵⁶ It is slightly younger than the hoard from Sośnica, and probably coincides in time with the finds from Czarneków, Obiszów and perhaps Niemcza. This period is not accidental. Dirhams came to Łozina at the time of the foundation of the Wrocław centre, the construction of a number of strongholds in the Barycz river basin, with Milicz at the forefront, and the formation of north-south trade routes between Gniezno and Prague.

It is currently unclear whether the establishment of the settlement complex in Łozina can be linked to the initial conquest of the territories along the Oder by the Piast dynasty. The relatively rapid decline of a prosperous stronghold complex in the “state” times, indicates that it was an investment by local communities in the future Silesia during the 10th century. The settlement in Wszemirów, which is culturally very similar, could also be part of a larger, nameless settlement cluster, which included Łozina.

The settlement at Obiszów, situated within the Dalkowskie Hills, exhibits a somewhat distinct character. However, the functioning of this complex, and practically until its demise at the end of the 10th century, was associated with local groups, implicitly the “tribe” of the Dadosesani.⁵⁷ Similarly, the deposition of the hoard from Czarneków is attributed, although with caution, to the local Tre-

⁵⁴ Pankiewicz 2022, pp. 41–72.

⁵⁵ Pankiewicz, Rodak 2019, pp. 104–109; Pankiewicz 2023, pp. 92–93.

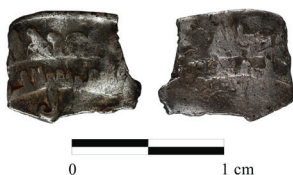
⁵⁶ The present study will not consider individual finds dating back to the 8th century (Paszkievicz 2023, pp. 105–110).

⁵⁷ Rzeźnik 2006, pp. 189–191.

bouane “tribe”.⁵⁸ It is extremely problematic to determine the cultural inspiration that prompted the inhabitants of Niemcza to give fragments of dirhams to their deceased. However, neither uncritical attempts to link these finds with “Polish” or “Bohemian” Niemcza are unconvincing. The role of local communities in the deposition of early silver coins remains undervalued, despite growing recognition of their pivotal role in broader exchanges in Silesia during the 10th century.

CATALOGUE

ŁOZINA HILLFORT



1. Fragment of a dirham

Date of issue / ruler: 10th century / unknown

Obv. and rv.: illegible

Dimensions: 9×7×0.5 mm; weight 0.26 g, about 1/10 of the original size preserved

Place of discovery: main stronghold (x: 374098.088433; y: 372150.146787), layer 1, depth 10 cm, inv. no. 187/22; photo by J.K. Pawlicki.



2. Fragment of a dirham

Date of issue / ruler: 10th century / unknown

Obv.: fragment of the Shahada: la Alla.../ ... لا اله الا الله

⁵⁸ Paszkiewicz 2023, p. 111.

Rv.: Muhammad Rasul... / ...لوسر دمحم

Dimensions: 10×6×0.5 mm; weight 0.225 g, about 1/15 of the original size preserved

Place of discovery: main stronghold (x: 374095.771; y: 372163.407), layer 1, depth 10 cm, inv. no. 188/22; photo by J.K. Pawlicki.



3. Fragment of a dirham

Date of issue / ruler: 10th century / unknown

Obv. and rv.: illegible

Dimensions: 8×6×0.5 mm; weight 0.19 g, about 1/16 of the original size preserved

Place of discovery: main stronghold (x: 374092.835; y: 372153.679), layer 1, depth 7 cm, inv. no. 189/22; photo by J.K. Pawlicki.



4. Fragment of a dirham

Date of issue / ruler: 10th century / unknown

Obv. and rv.: illegible

Dimensions: 8×7×0.5 mm; weight 0.19 g, about 1/16 of the original size preserved

Place of discovery: main stronghold (x: 374095.025609; y: 372155.751572), layer 1, depth 8 cm, inv. no. 190/22; photo by J.K. Pawlicki.



5. Fragment of a dirham

Date of issue / ruler: 304 AH (916–917 AD)/Naṣr ibn Aḥmad (914–943)

Obv.: la... sanat [30]4 [x-arba'-x] / ...قنسن

Rv.: illegible

Dimensions: 12×10×0.5 mm; weight 0.30 g, about 1/8 of the original size preserved

Place of discovery: main stronghold (x: 374100.417; y: 372161.698), layer 1, depth 5 cm, inv. no. 191/22; photo by J.K. Pawlicki.



6. Fragment of a dirham

Date of issue / ruler: 10th century / unknown

Obv. and rv.: illegible

Dimensions: 11×8×0.5 mm; weight 0.21 g, about 1/12 of the original size preserved

Place of discovery: main stronghold (x: 374094.126849; y: 3372149.098404), layer 1, depth 5 cm, inv. no. 192/22; photo by J.K. Pawlicki.



7. Fragment of a dirham

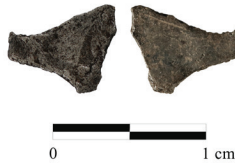
Date of issue / ruler: 10th century / Nūḥ ibn Naṣr (943-954) lub Nūḥ ibn Maṣṣūr (976-997)

Obv.: illegible

Rv.: ...la... / Nū[h]... / ...ال... / حون

Dimensions: 18×9×0.5 mm; weight 0.51 g, about 1/6 of the original size preserved

Place of discovery: main stronghold, north of trench XV (x: 372169.3474784276, y: 374100.0012805844), layer 1, depth 10 cm, inv. no. 329/23; photo by J.K. Pawlicki.



8. Fragment of a dirham

Date of issue / ruler: 10th century / unknown

Obv. and rv.: illegible

Dimensions: 7×5×0.5 mm; weight 0.10 g, about 1/24 of the original size preserved

Place of discovery: main stronghold (x: 372164.58545120526, y: 374091.1102073146), layer 1, depth 15 cm, inv. no. 331/23; photo by J.K. Pawlicki.



9. Fragment of a dirham

Date of issue / ruler: 10th century / unknown

Obv. and rv.: illegible

Dimensions: 7×6×0.5 mm, weight 0.10 g, about 1/18 of the original size preserved

Place of discovery: main stronghold, trench XV (x: 372164.58545120526, y: 374091.1102073146), layer 1, depth 10 cm, inv. no. 332/237; photo by J.K. Pawlicki.



10. Fragment of a silver ornament

Description: a fragment of silver wire with a diameter of 1.5 mm, wrapped in a figure-eight shape

Dimensions: 7×6×1.3 mm; weight 0.42 g

Place of discovery: main stronghold, next to trench XV (x: 372163.4901052596, y: 374094.808142798), layer 1, depth 10 cm, inv. no. 330/23; photo by A. Pankiewicz.

SETTLEMENT, ŁOZINA SITE. 17



11. Fragment of a dirham

Date of issue / ruler: 3XX AH / Nūḥ ibn Naṣr (331–343 AH=943–954 AD)

Obv.: la Alla...

Rv.: ILaAlla... / الال / الال / الال / fragment of the Shahada: bismiallah... wa thalatha mi'atin (300)/... ملال / ملال / [N]uh bin N...

Dimensions: 18×13×0.5 mm; weight 0.49 g, about 1/4 of the original size preserved

Place of discovery: site Łozina 17, are 55, section A, inv. no.: unknown; photo by A. Pankiewicz.



12. Fragment of a dirham

Date of issue / ruler: 10th century / unknown

Obv.: inner marginal legend: ...duriba hada ad-dir[ham]... / ...مردلا اذه بروض...

outer marginal legend: ...al Amr min.... / ...نم رمال...

Rv.: illegible

Dimensions: 10×10×0.5 mm; weight 0.52 g, about 1/12 of the original size preserved

Place of discovery: site Łozina 17, are 880, section C, inv. no.: unknown; photo by A. Pankiewicz.



13. Fragment of a dirham

Date of issue / ruler: 10th century / unknown

Obv.: fragment of the Shahada: ...lahu... / ...لل...

Rv.: illegible

Dimensions: 9×3×0.5 mm; weight 0.11 g, about 1/24 of the original size preserved

Place of discovery: site Łozina 17, are 384, section A, inv. no.: 767/2010; photo by A. Pankiewicz.



14. Fragment of a dirham

Date of issue / ruler: 10th century / unknown

Obv.: illegible

Rv.: ...ul Alla... / ...للألوس...

Dimensions: 9×5×0.5 mm; weight 0.18 g, about 1/7 of the original size preserved

Place of discovery: site Łozina 17, are 384, section A, inv. no.: 767/2010; photo by A. Pankiewicz.



15. Prague groschen, almost completely preserved, approximately 1/6 of the coin intentionally cut out.

Date of issue / ruler: 1346–1348 / Charles IV (1346–1378)

Mint: Kutná Hora

Obv.: inner circumferential legend: +KA[R]OLVS•PRIMVS, outer circumferential legend: +DEI/[GRATI]A *quatrefoil* [RE]X•BOEMIE

Rv.: +++GROSSI+PR[AGE]NSES

Dimensions: diameter 27 mm; weight 3.19 g; Pinta 2015, type I.A/1.

Place of discovery: site Łozina 17, are 683, section B, inv. no.: 690/2010; photo by A. Pankiewicz.

Finds defined as weights



16. Lead weight (?)

Description: barrel-shaped lead weight (?), strongly flattened poles

Dimensions: 15×13×5 mm; weight 8.6 g

Place of discovery: site Łozina 17, are 414, section A, inv. no.: unknown; photo by A. Pankiewicz.



17. Dress weight (?)/ seed seal (?)

Description: lead clothing weight (?) seed seal (?) dated to modern period, lenticular shape, with a single hole in the central part, item corroded or empty inside

Dimensions: diameter 16 mm; weight 3.71 g

Place of discovery: site Łozina 17, are 385, section A, inv. no.: unknown; photo by A. Pankiewicz.



18. Dress weight (?)/ seed seal (?)

Description: lead clothing weight (?) seed seal (?) dated to modern period, lenticular shape, with two cavities in the central part, visible only from one side; on the other side, there is a clear loss of surface

Dimensions: diameter 15 mm; weight 11.59 g

Place of discovery: site Łozina 17, are 172, section A, inv. no.: unknown; photo by A. Pankiewicz.

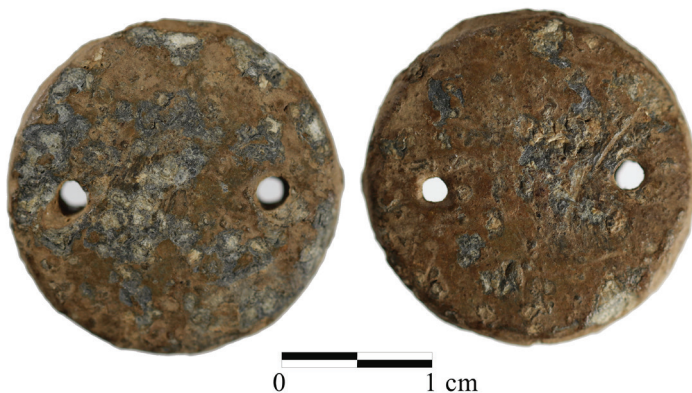


19. Dress weight (?)/ seed seal (?)

Description: lead clothing weight (?) seed seal (?) dated to modern period, lenticular shape, with irregular flattening at the poles; without holes

Dimensions: diameter 16 mm; weight 3.71 g

Place of discovery: site Łozina 17, are 546, section D, inv. no.: unknown; photo by A. Pankiewicz.



20. Dress weight (?)/ seed seal (?)

Description: lead clothing weight (?) seed seal (?) dated to modern period, round, with two holes placed symmetrically on the sides.

Dimensions: diameter 23 mm; weight 19.49 g

Place of discovery: site Łozina 17, are 881, section B, inv. no.: unknown; photo by A. Pankiewicz.



21. Dress weight (?)/ seed seal (?)

Description: lead clothing weight (?) seed seal (?) dated to modern period, 1 round, with two holes placed symmetrically on the sides.

Dimensions: diameter 22 mm; weight 15.09 g

Place of discovery: site Łozina 17, are 835, section A, inv. no.: unknown; photo by A. Pankiewicz.

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ZNALEZISKA DIRHAMÓW ARABSKICH ORAZ INNE ZABYTKI ZWIĄZANE Z HANDLEM Z ŁOZINY, GM. DŁUGOŁĘKA, WOJ. DOLNOŚLĄSKIE

(Streszczenie)

Dirhamy arabskie najczęściej znajdowane są jako składnik skarbów, znacznie rzadziej w kontekście osadniczym. Dlatego za wyjątkowe można uznać znalezisko kilkunastu ułamków tych monet w obrębie wczesnośredniowiecznego kompleksu osadniczego w Łozinie, gm. Długołęka, woj. dolnośląskie. Sam kompleks osadniczy składa się z niewielkiego grodziska, o pierwotnej średnicy 70 m i typowo nizinnej, okrągłej formie oraz przylegających do niego od strony wschodniej, północnej i zachodniej podgrodzi/osad przygodowych (?). W tym kształcie zespół grodowy miał wielkość ok. 11 ha. Ponadto w odległości 500–700 m na północ od grodziska odkryto kilka osad, funkcjonujących mniej więcej w tym czasie co założenie obronne, czyli w okresie od 2. połowy X w., do przełomu X/XI w. Datowanie to określono na podstawie pojedynczej daty dendrochronologicznej (po 945) uzyskanej z podwaliny wału grodu, licznych zbiorów ceramiki naczyniowej, o cechach typowych dla 2. połowy X w. oraz wzmiankowanych monet.

Spośród kilkunastu fragmentów dirhamów odkrytych w Łozinie większość była niestety nieczytelna. W zespole udało się zidentyfikować ułamki monet Nasra ibn Ahmada (lata 916–917 AD), Nuha ibn Nasra (943–954 AD) i Nūḥ ibn Naṣra (943–954 AD) lub Nūḥ ibn Maṣūra (976–997 AD). Biorąc pod uwagę nieco późniejszą datę depozycji dirhamów, względem czasu ich emisji, można stwierdzić, że dokładnie odpowiadają one okresowi funkcjonowania kompleksu osadniczego w Łozinie. Większość numizmatów znaleziono na terenie dawnego grodu, w promieniu 30 m, stąd podjęto przypuszczenie, że pochodzą one z rozwleczonego skarbu. Przeczy temu jednak lokalizacja pozostałych monet, z tego samego czasu, w obrębie pobliskich osad. Wydaje się zatem, że ułamki monet mogły służyć do drobnych transakcji, dokonywanych przede wszystkim na terenie obszaru umocnionego, ale też w jego sąsiedztwie.

Zarówno czas rozwoju kompleksu osadniczego w Łozinie, jak i depozycji tam ułamków dirhamów wydaje się wysoce nieprzypadkowy. To właśnie na 2. połowę X w. przypada bardzo dynamiczny rozwój sieci grodów i osad w dorzeczu Proсны i Baryczy, które zarówno pod względem samych form założeń obronnych, jak i kultury materialnej dokładnie odpowiadają grodowi łożnińskiemu. Ponadto na ten czas, a konkretnie na lata 60. X w., datuje się powstanie umocnień przyszłych, ważnych ośrodków Śląska: Milicza i Wrocławia. Łozina jest położona pomiędzy

Miliczem a Wrocławiem, w miejscu bardzo dogodnym do wytyczenia drogi. W 2. połowie X w. kształtowały się również szlaki handlowe na linii północ-południe pomiędzy Gnieznem a Pragą, w dobie politycznego zbliżenia między Piastami a Przemyslidami, zwieńczonego małżeństwem księcia Mieszka I i Dobrawy, córki władcy czeskiego Bolesława I. Wydaje się zatem, że powstanie i funkcjonowanie rozległego kompleksu osadniczego w Łozinie można łączyć z pomyślną koniunkturą polityczną dla rozwoju tego regionu i istnieniem tu ważnego szlaku handlowego.

Owa pomyślna koniunktura skończyła się dla Łoziny na przełomie X i XI w., kiedy nastąpił wyraźny wzrost znaczenia pobliskiego Wrocławia i likwidacja okolicznych założeń obronnych, których czas powstania przypadł jeszcze na schyłek doby „plemiennej”. Jednocześnie obecność ułamków dirhamów w okresie najpewniej poprzedzającym rządy Piastów w tym regionie podkreśla dynamiczny rozwój lokalnych społeczności w okresie przedpaństwowym.

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