

**Mateusz Bogucki**

## **VIKING AGE PORTS OF TRADE IN POLAND**

The article is an overview of the Viking Age ports of trade in the territory of present Poland. The basic theoretical models concerning their emergence and function, as well as their role in society are discussed. The ports of trade, called *emporium* (pl. *emporia*) in written sources, existed in the Slavic lands during the 8th–11th centuries, and were the meeting points for merchants. The productive character of the *emporia* is underscored as well. In this article, the sites are discussed in geographical order. First, in the vicinity of the Odra River, the sites of Wolin, Szczecin and Kamień Pomorski are analysed. The next sites, Bardy and Kołobrzeg, are located in the estuary of the Parsęta River. Finally an overview is given of the research at Puck, Gdańsk and Truso (in the present day Janów Pomorski) in the estuary of the Vistula River. The development of the sites, as well as the most important finds, are discussed. The emergence of the ports of trade in the Slavic lands is considered in a wider context, based on two main models explaining this process.

Artiklis on antud ülevaade viikingiaegsetest kaubasadamatest tänapäeva Poola territooriumil. Käsitletakse peamisi teoreetilisi suundi taoliste sadamakohtade esilekerkimise ja funktsioneerimise lahtiselgitamisel, samuti on pööratud tähelepanu sellele, milline tähtsus oli neil ühiskonnas tervikuna. Kaubasadamad, mida kirjalikes allikates on nimetatud *emporium*'ideks (mitm *emporia*), eksisteerisid slaavlaste poolt asustatud aladel 8.–11. sajandil. Need olid kaupmeeste kokkusaamiskohad, kuid ka käsitöökeskused. Käesolevas artiklis on käsitletud sadamakohad esitatud geograafilises järjestuses. Kõigepealt on analüüsitud Odra jõe suudmealal paiknevaid Wolinit, Szczecinit ja Kamień Pomorskit, seejärel Bardyt ja Kołobrzegi Parsęta jõe suudmes. Viimasena on antud ülevaade Vistula suudmealal asuvate Pucki, Gdański ja Truso (tänapäeval Janów Pomorski) kohta käivatest uurimistöödest. Arutletud on kohtade arengu kui ka sealsete leiumaterjalide üle. Kaubasadamate tekkimist slaavlastega asustatud aladel on vaadeldud laiemas kontekstis ning on esitatud kaks peamist mudelit selle protsessi selgitamiseks.

Mateusz Bogucki, Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of Polish Academy of Science, Al. Solidarności 105, 00-140 Warszawa, Poland; matbogu@yahoo.com

In northern Europe, a new type of settlement appeared in the first millennium AD. On the coastal areas as well as in the lower reaches of big rivers, settlements were founded in whose 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, characterised mainly by production and trade activities have been variously termed – *emporium*, *port of trade*, *early form of town*, *pre-urban nucleus*, *incipient town*, *proto-town*, *Seehandelsplatz* and *vik* (Clarke & Simms 1985, 672). Their existence was one of the phenomena that distinguishes ancient times from the Early Middle Ages – Viking Age in the northern Europe.<sup>1</sup>

### 1. The emergence of the ports of trade

Karl Polanyi, who has treated and defined ports of trade<sup>2</sup> in his writings, has suggested that one of the most important characteristic in defining sites is their location (Polanyi 1963, 30–45; 1978, 92–96)<sup>3</sup>. Ports of trade were situated at the crossroads of trade routes, in most cases in naturally protected places like river estuaries, or on the shores of fjords or bays. A location like that was essential for security. Normally, the ports of trade also marked political, cultural, ethnic, or geographical borders. Security was needed by the local society which feared attacks by large numbers of well-armoured men who were interested in finding loots and slaves. Therefore, the *emporia* were situated in a so-called “no man’s land”. Another important precondition for an *emporium* was the protection given by local chieftains. They were bribed with luxury goods, especially weapons of very high quality. Their support was necessary to guarantee peace and safe conditions for trade.

Characteristically, cult and religious centres can be found inside *emporia* or in their vicinity. In many archaic societies, priests possessed strong power over the people, and they were also interested in the profits obtained from trade.<sup>4</sup> The temples collected profits not directly from the trade, but in the form of ceremonial payments<sup>5</sup> and tributes. Very often the priests were also well-qualified craftsmen,

<sup>1</sup> For other criteria for the beginning of the Viking Age, e.g. changes in art, production character, burial customs, or expansion of trade routes and goods transported see Ambrosiani & Clarke 1998, 33–38. It is essential to explain the chronological terminology used in the text. In the Scandinavian archaeology, the Viking Age is dated from the 8th to the middle of the 11th century. Centuries following it are called early Middle Ages. In Central and Eastern Europe (Russia, Poland, Germany) the early Middle Ages are dated from the 6th to the middle of the 12th century. In this text, I use the term early Middle Ages according to the Central European archaeological tradition.

<sup>2</sup> In this text, I use both the *ports of trade* and the Latin word for them *emporium/emporia* as equivalent terms.

<sup>3</sup> Polanyi’s model is concerned with the whole problem of the functioning of specific trade settlements from ancient (Mesopotamia) to modern times (17th-century slave markets in West Africa). Currently only Richard Hodges looks at these phenomena in a broad way, analysing sites from the North Sea to the Near East (Hodges 2000).

<sup>4</sup> In the written sources there is a lot of information about temple treasures (Bogucki in press).

<sup>5</sup> Here we should mention the *Guldgubber* (gold foils), e.g. from Sortemuld on Bornholm or Uppåkra in Scania (Watt 1992, 195–227; Thrane 1998, 253–256).

like the Benedictine monk Theophilus Presbyter, who described the early medieval jewellery techniques in his *Diversarum Artium Schedula*.<sup>6</sup> In the ports of trade, they could sell a lot of their products. Craft working in general was one of the most important activities of the *emporia*, and usually it developed quite soon into mass production. Tools, weapons, jewellery and other products were distributed both in local and foreign markets. Traces of blacksmithery, horn and amber products, glassmaking, weaving, boat building and other crafts are often recorded in these kind of sites.

A vital role in the existence of *emporia* was played by trade, both long-distance trade and barter of a more local character. The ports of trade were meeting points for merchants from distant lands. The tradesmen could exchange or sell goods directly in the *emporia*, or just use them for storing their wares temporarily, awaiting further transportation. To make this possible, special storehouses where large amounts of goods could be deposited, were erected in such places.<sup>7</sup> At the same time, these ports functioned as markets, where merchants could sell foreign goods and craftsmen could trade their products. People from the local society supplied the places with food, drink and other necessary products. Among the exchange articles, grain and livestock<sup>8</sup> were probably of the greatest importance, but the locals could also sell furs, salt, honey, craft products, and other goods. Another important object of trade was slaves. The *emporia* were places where people from different parts of the Viking world met each other; different economic systems, for example autarkic barter exchange and medieval money markets co-existed there (Dalton 1978, 104–105).

Several attempts have been made to sort out a pattern in the emergence of *emporia*. Although some of them have been heavily criticized because of their high degree of simplification, others can be useful for drawing some guide lines in the general pattern. Some factors can be pointed out as essential for the rise of *emporia*. Of primary importance is overproduction by the community in the district. Most significant was the increase in agricultural production related to the beginning of rye cultivation. Simultaneously with this came the development of craft skills, especially in blacksmith work, which now provided better and better tools. Any surplus of local products was traded for other goods inaccessible to the area. The second important factor was the consolidation of ethnic relationships, which provided for the strengthening of trans-regional bonds. The population of the community increased.

In such a community, people were needed who wanted to, and had the possibility to, take the risk of transacting business. Rulers supported these persons by securing them with a guard, by protecting them and by guaranteeing peace in

---

<sup>6</sup> About Theophilus, his work, and artistic monastery life in the 11th century Germany see Freise 1985.

<sup>7</sup> We know them from Denmark in Hedeby or Tissø (Jankuhn 1986; Jørgensen 2003, 177–207).

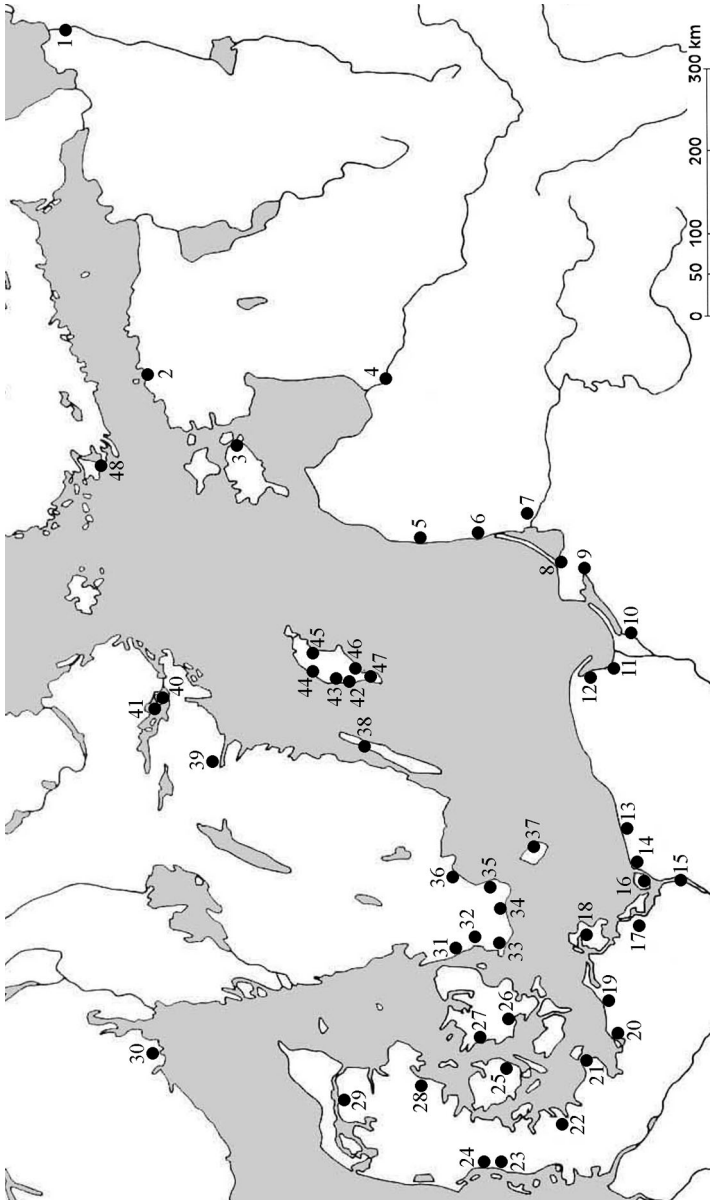
<sup>8</sup> Animal bones and traces of parasites found in Ribe indicate, for instance, that cattle was the main object of trade (Feveile 1994, 91–99; Madsen 1999, 197–202).

the places of exchange. The community had an organized structure and the technical requirements essential for the exchange of goods, like transport, communication routes, and separate places designed for the exchange. An important factor was the change in social structure, which led to the rise of a powerful and wealthy aristocracy and the consolidation of power in their hands. This top stratum gathered the surplus of production. In eastern and southern countries this resulted in the emergence of hill-fort centres.

For the reasons mentioned above, trade contacts with the western part of Europe increased. As a consequence, contacts with the Islamic world were established, which in turn caused special places for the exchange of goods obtained mainly from long-distance trade, to get their start. These factors had different effects in different regions around the Baltic Sea, at the same time bringing about the emergence of a relatively uniform type of trade centres on the coast. *Emporia* were not *suburbia* but completely independent settlements, topographically unconnected with the local political-military centres (Herrmann 1991, 160–167; 1995, 57–72; Blomkvist 2001, 21–22).

The increase of production and the emergence of trading centres in North Europe was connected with the cultural changes in the European *Barbaricum* at the end of antiquity and the beginning of the early Middle Ages. This kind of site was widespread over the whole of Europe, from Ireland to Russia. Among them, the areas of activity of the Slavs, the Scandinavians, the Finns and the Balts formed a distinct group around the Baltic Sea (Fig. 1). These places formed a part of a Baltic economic zone in the Viking Age (Małowist 1948, 81–120; Łosiński 2000b, 119–132). One of its most distinctive features was the use of hacked silver scrap as means of payment both in long distance trade and on local markets (Kiersnowski 1960; Hatz 1974; Callmer 1992, 99–108; 1994, 73–93; Hårdh 1996; Bogucki 2004, 49–76).

In the early Middle Ages, European post-Roman towns were used mainly as residential sites for aristocracy, as well as for political and ecclesiastical administration. Early urban centres – *emporia* – may have had a similar function in Scandinavia and other districts around the Baltic Sea. Their growth in the Baltic zone was, as in the rest of Europe, probably connected with the development of central power. In several places in Scandinavia, the important role royal power played in the function of these ports is noteworthy. In other regions, on the other hand, such a relationship cannot be detected. This is true in particular for the Slavonic area, where it is hard to believe that a political power with royal character developed before the 10th century. The first Slavs arrived on the southern costs of the Baltic Sea in the late 6th century, but the real Slavic occupation of the area cannot be dated earlier than the 7th–8th century (Dulicz 2001, 206–214). Archaeological investigations in the area have indicated that changes in social structure began in the late 8th and early 9th centuries (Łosiński 1994, 101–128; 2000b, 126–127). The concentration of settlements in the 8th century created preconditions for the existence of *emporia* in the western Slavonic area. In the



**Fig. 1.** Some Viking Age ports and early towns around the Baltic Sea. 1 Staraja Ladoga, 2 Iru-Tallinn, 3 Tomimäe, 4 Daugmale, 5 Grobiņa, 6 Palanga, 7 Linkuhen/Rzevkoe, 8 Wiskiauten/Mohovoe, 9 Königsberg/Kaliningrad, 10 Janów Pomorski, 11 Gdańsk, 12 Puck, 13 Bardy-Kotłobrzeg, 14 Kamień Pomorski, 15 Szczecin, 16 Wolin, 17 Menzlin-Görke, 18 Ralswiek, 19 Rostock-Dierkow, 20 Gross Strómkendorf, 21 Oldenburg, 22 Hedeby, 23 Dankirke, 24 Ribe, 25 Gudme-Lundeborg, 26 Dybsø Fjord, 27 Tissø, 28 Århus, 29 Sebbersund, 30 Kaupang, 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.

**Joon 1.** Viikingiaegseid sadamakohti ja varalinnalisi keskusi Läänemere-äärsetes maades.

eastern part of Pomerania, the Balt tribes moved in the Migration Period westward from the Pasłęka River line, to the eastern part of the estuary of the Vistula River – Družno Lake and the Dzierżoń River. In the course of the following centuries, the Vistula River constituted a political and cultural border between the Slavs and the Prussians. It was indicated by different settlement patterns and in different dynamics of economic and demographic growth (Godłowski 1981, 114). The whole district of Pomerania with socially and politically well-organized tribes became a region of interest for foreign merchants, who came there to exchange their silver and other goods for food, salt and slaves.<sup>9</sup>

It is impossible to present here all the *emporium* recorded in the north-western Slavonic area, or to discuss all problems connected to them. I will describe, therefore, only the sites which were situated in the territory of present-day Poland.<sup>10</sup> They were situated in three main regions: around the Odra, Parsęta and Vistula Rivers. The land between the Odra and Vistula Rivers was inhabited by Slavic tribes, each politically independent, but still forming one larger tribal community. In written sources, they were called the Pomeranians (Piskorski 2002, 30–99). Their neighbours to the west were the Obodrites, a Slavic ethnic group, while to the east they were the Prussians.

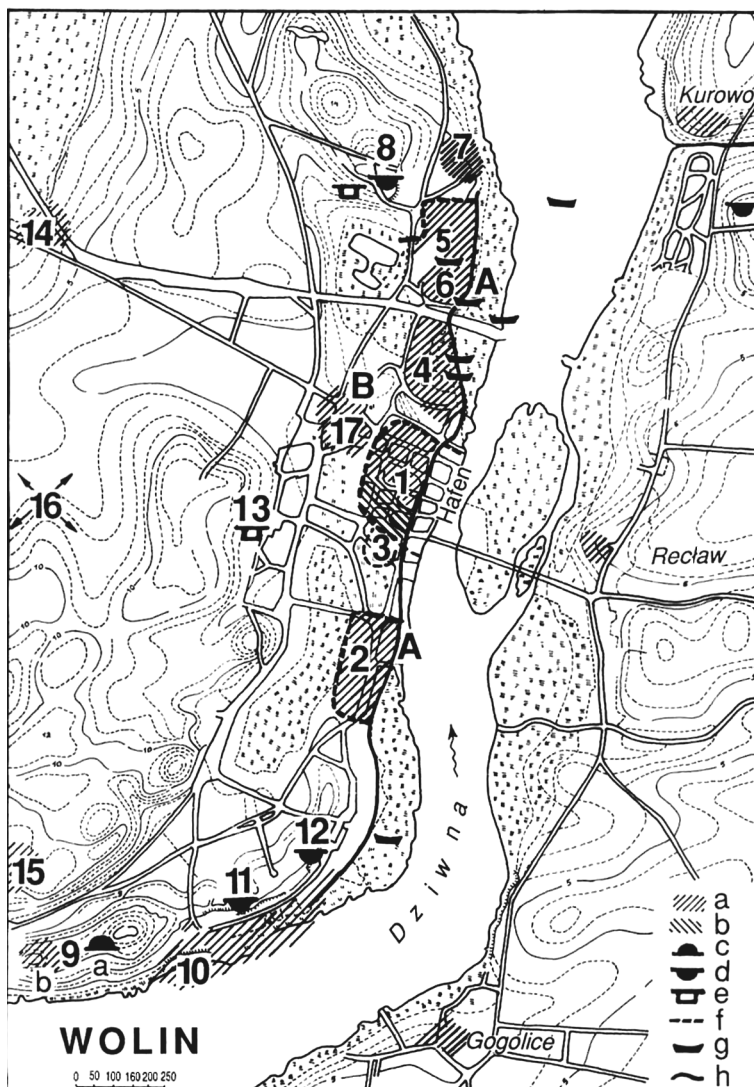
## 2. The *emporium* on the territory of present Poland

### 2.1. The lower reaches of the Odra River

The largest and a most important *emporium* in the lower reaches of Odra River was **Wolin** (Fig. 2), which was founded at the crossroads of important trade routes – the river and the sea route (Filipowiak 1999, 61–70; 2000, 152–155; 2004). The importance of Wolin is underscored by several written sources. Around the 960s, Arab traveller Ibrāhīm ibn Ja'qūb 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 tree trunks. They are fighting with Meško, and their striking force is strong. They do not have a king and they do not allow one*

<sup>9</sup> The area of the Baltic economic zone in the Slavic lands is defined differently by various authors. Beside North Polabia and Pomerania, some researchers also include Great Poland and Silesia in it, because of the hack silver hoards recorded in these areas. At the same time, the hack silver hoards alone cannot be considered as a proof of the functioning of a specific economic model, based on long distance sea trade. So, the question is *Ubi mare finis?* I support the ideas of Władysław Łosiński, who suggested that the Baltic economic zone covered predominantly coastal areas and that no unifying features existed between different regions around the Baltic. Each region had its own character (Łosiński 2000b, 119–141).

<sup>10</sup> For the rest of the western Slavonic area see Łosiński 1994, 101–128; Dulinicz 1999, 97–110; Müller-Wille 2001, 21–31. The *emporium* in the Balt Lands are discussed by Bogucki in press. The eastern Slavonic early trade centres are described by Duczko 2004, 60–114. These writings also give references to earlier publications on the same subject.



**Fig. 2.** Wolin in the 9th–12th centuries. a settlement, b earliest town, c burial mound, d cremation grave, e pit grave, f fortification, g wreck, h former river bank (Filipowiak 1999).

**Joon 2.** Wolin 9.–12. sajandil. a asulakoht, b varaseim linnaline asula, c kääbas, d põletusmatus, e laibamatus, f kindlustis, g laevavrakk, h varasem jõekallas.

[leader] to provide for them. Their rulers are seniors.”<sup>11</sup> In the times of Adam of Bremen, Wolin was called *nobilissima civitas*. According to Adam, Harald Bluetooth found shelter in *Jumne* in 986 (II:xxvii; Tschan & Reuter 2002, 72).

<sup>11</sup> Free translation by Mateusz Bogucki, according to Kowalski 1946, 50.

In Scandinavian tradition, there is a tale about brave *Jomsvikingar*,<sup>12</sup> who controlled the waters of the southern Baltic Sea. The history of Wolin created a base for fantastic tales about the incredibly rich town *Vineta*, which sunk into the sea like the ancient Atlantis, because of the pride and arrogance of its inhabitants. For 12th century writers, it was hard to believe that Wolin, by this time declined, had been one of the biggest towns in the region just 100 years before.<sup>13</sup>

Wolin did not emerge in an empty spot, like for example Hedeby. It developed from a small village into a big town. Its development was directly linked to its local hinterland. The beginning of Wolin is difficult to recapitulate for various reasons. The most important is that Wolin exists as a town into our times. Therefore, as in other such cases (for example Visby), the archaeological data of its beginning is random. Opinions on the early days of the town vary from document to document. Unfortunately, only a little of the archaeological evidence has been published, and it is, therefore, difficult to prove these theories. Based on the facts known to date, it seems however correct to date the beginning of Wolin to the end of the 8th century, without excluding the possibility of some earlier, 7th–8th century, occupation at the place (Dulinicz 2001, 250–251). The possible earlier occupation probably can not be treated as a centre of production and trade. The development of Wolin into an *emporium* took place mainly during the period from the 9th to the 11th century. During this time, there co-existed a large complex of different sites – a hill-fort, an early town with rampart, a harbour, several cemeteries, and a pagan temple.

The earliest traces indicating the importance of the place date back to the Migration Period. Postholes along the river bank witness constructions built from the mid-5th to the 8th century. Ceramics belonging to the 5th and 6th centuries have been found. Nevertheless the majority of finds were mixed with later, medieval ones. In Karsibór, in the vicinity of Wolin, a hoard of early Byzantine solidi (t.p.q. 491) were found (Ciołek 2003, 163–180). This evidence demonstrates the importance of the region, and stresses the leading role of Wolin among other settlements. Still, the 5th–8th-century site cannot be considered an *emporium*, let alone an early town (Filipowiak 1999, 61–70; 2004).

From the very end of the 8th to the middle of the 10th century, there was a settlement on the left bank of the Dziwna River. Houses recorded there had been built on piles, in horizontal log technique. Finds of iron slag prove the presence of blacksmiths there. In the southern part of the settlement, there had been a large ditch, probably forming part of a defence system, in the first half of the 9th century. The stockade rampart was built in the second half of the 9th century. It surrounded

---

<sup>12</sup> The *Jomsvikingasaga* has been of scientific interest for a long time (Wachowski 1914). Recent studies are discussed Słupecki 2000, 49–59.

<sup>13</sup> This fantastic story is best represented in *Helmoldi presbyteri Bozoviensis Chronica Sclavorum* (Book I, cap. II), which in large part 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 (1950).



the whole settlement, and stretched directly to the harbour at the river. Harbour constructions were built during 880s to 990s. A street, at right angles to the river, runs directly to a wooden jetty. It was reconstructed twice in every 50 years, between 900 and 995. In the southwestern part of the settlement there was a pagan temple, known from written sources, and next to it a two-roomed building where a small statuette of the god called Światowit was found (Ślupecki 1994, 86–89). The two-roomed building was dated by dendrochronology to the year 996 (Ważny 2001, 156).

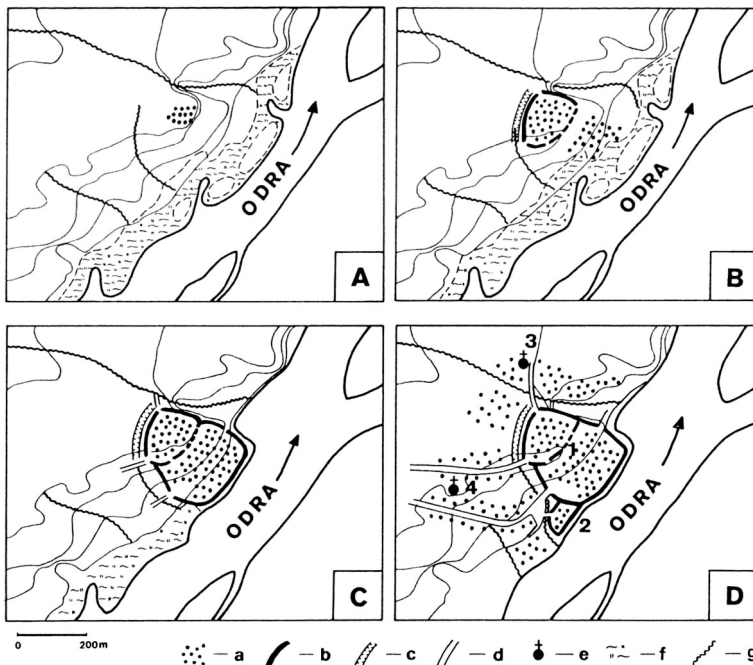
North of the modern town of Wolin, on the southern part of the hill called *Silverberg*, another settlement with a harbour was detected and dated to the middle of the 9th century. Traces of blacksmithing and goldsmithing as well as of amber and horn working were recorded there. In order to erect wooden houses, timber cut in 906 or 907 had been used in the western part of the settlement. Houses on the river bank were later, dated to the end of the 10th century (Ważny 2001, 157). It was probably the site of a market place. In the beginning of the 10th century, the northern part of the settlement was surrounded by a stockade rampart.

Towards the south from the town of Wolin, another settlement arose in the 9th century. By the first half of the 10th century, it had become a part of the earlier town, and surrounded by another rampart. The latter was dated to 904–924 (Ważny 2001, 157). Both these settlements prospered in the 10th and 11th centuries.

Analyses of the wood used for buildings and ramparts in Wolin indicated changes in the exploitation 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 10th 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, approximately 50 km from Wolin, where they could again find wood of 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 (Ważny 2001, 157–159).

Beside the archaeological evidence described above, the remains of at least seven shipwrecks were found in Wolin. In addition to whole ships, a great number of fragments were found, often re-used in buildings, ramparts, or harbour constructions. One of the boats had been built in Szlezwik, the district of Lubeka, in the 860s or 870s, and even mended there around 910 AD. The second rebuilding of the boat had been completed in the middle of the 10th century, by that time in Wolin. The boat was also dismantled in Wolin, around the year 966 (Ważny 2001, 160–161).

Another significant place in the estuary of the Odra River was **Szczecin** (Łosiński 2000c, 156–162; Kowalska & Łosiński in press), first mentioned in written sources in 1121 (Fig. 3). The best description of it can be found in the



**Fig. 3.** Development phases of Viking Age Szczecin. A about 800, B about 900, C about 1050, D about 1200. a settlement, b fortification, c ditch, d road, e church, f swamp, g stream (Łosiński 1994).

**Joon 3.** Viikingiaegse Szczecini arengufaasid. A ca 800, B ca 900, C ca 1050, D ca 1200. a asula-koht, b kindlustis, c vallikraav, d tee, e kirik, f soo, g jõgi.

third *vitae* of St. Otto from Bamberg from the middle of the 12th century. The importance of Szczecin was also noted by Arabian writers, who knew the town as *Sāsīn/Sādzīn*.<sup>14</sup> The beginning of Szczecin is in any case earlier than the 12th century. The first settlement was established on the west bank of the Odra River as early as the end of the 8th century. It was located on the Castle Hill, a high, re-used Bronze Age hill-fort, and on the Vegetable Market near the river bank. In the latter location, a stave ship was found in one early occupation layer. The ship had been built in the first half of the 9th century, and repaired during the years 903–907. During excavations on the Castle Hill, several building constructions were found. Houses of the 10th century were built according to a regular street

<sup>14</sup> This name was given by Abū'l-Hasan 'ibn Sa'īd al-Gharnāti who lived in Spain in the 13th century. In his geographical work *Kitāb bast al-ard fī tūliha wa'l-ard* (The book of the Earth extent in its longitude and latitude), he used some earlier information. Probably from Ibrāhīm ibn Ja'kūb, he had taken the information about the towns of *Lūyānīya* (Wolin) and *Sāsīn/Sāgīn* (Szczecin). There is also a description of the Scandinavian peninsula, called *Yazīrat as-Saqlab* (island or peninsula of the Slavs), which capital is *B.rghādh.mā* (Birka?) (Lewicki 1949, 377–378).

plan. No proof of specialized craft workshops or traces of production were detected. The lack of artefacts like pins, needles and scissors indicate the mainly domestic character of these buildings. In the 10th 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 10th and the first half of the 11th century, a large number of iron tools and weapons were found, indicating that a blacksmith had been working there. The real flourishing of crafts in Szczecin can anyhow be observed in later cultural layers, which were dated to the 12th and 13th centuries – a time of prosperity for all Szczecin (Leciejewicz 1962, 117–121). In the Viking Age, Szczecin existed as a town, but never played a very important role in Baltic long-distance trade. Its supremacy in the following centuries can be connected with the decline of Wolin.

The third place in the estuary of the Odra River, **Kamień Pomorski**, entered the scene later than Wolin and Szczecin – the earliest finds there are dated to the 10th century. Archaeological investigation has demonstrated that Kamień Pomorski played an important role mainly in the 12th and 13th centuries. Nevertheless, some single finds suggest that it may have also been a trading place earlier. First of all, a hoard of about 150 coins (t.p.q. 995) should be mentioned. Several late 10th century coins, a bone with runic inscription (*fuÞ* and *kur*), and a vessel made of Norwegian soapstone, were found in the occupation layers (Filipowiak 1962, 91–104).<sup>15</sup> These finds indicate that Kamień Pomorski was visited by foreign merchants quite early. The character of the earliest phase of this place is a subject for future investigation.

## 2.2. 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 the Slavic occupation in this region should be dated to the late 6th century. One hundred years later, at the turn of the 8th century, a number of large hill-forts were erected there (Gołańcz Pomorska, Rościęcino, Bardy, Lubiechowo, Trzynik, Rymań). At the end of the 8th century, some of them were abandoned, while several new, smaller hill-forts were built. The latter ones were in use up to the 3rd and 4th quarters of the 9th century (Łosiński 2000a, 14–15). Among the hill-forts of the region, a hill-fort at Bardy with nearby cemetery in Świelubie was dominating. According to Łosiński, the 9th century was the time of change from an autarkic to a market economy model in the Parsęta River region. Some crafts, in particular blacksmithing, were more specialized than the others. The most important sector

<sup>15</sup> In addition to this, a Scandinavian reliquary of St. Cordulia, made of antler in the Mammen style around the year 1000 was kept in the cathedral treasury together with later objects; it had probably arrived to Kamień Pomorski in the 12th century (Muhl 1990, 296–332).

in the economy of this region was the extraction of salt from natural sources. Salt was a very valuable product on both European and Asian medieval markets.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the Parsęta region was very often visited by foreign traders. At the hill-forts of Bardy and Kędrzyno, a large number of Arabic dirhams from the beginning of the 9th century have been recorded. Scandinavian graves in the 9th-century cemetery of Świelubie prove the presence of the Scandinavians in these trade centres (Łosiński 2003, 133–139).

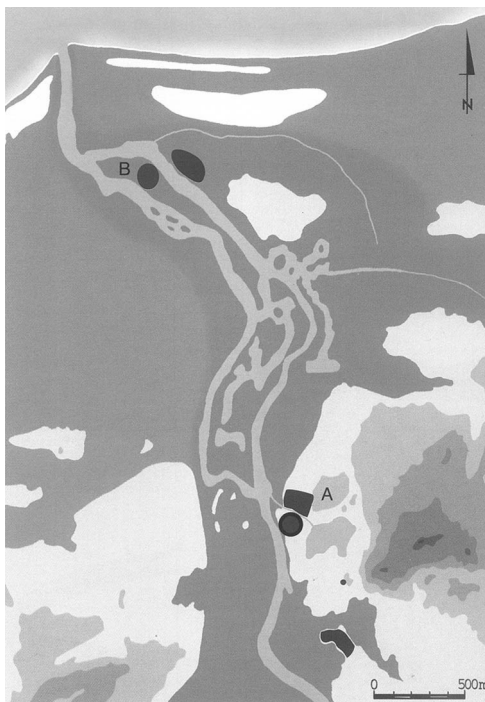
In the second half of the 9th century, most probably in the 870s or 880s, a change in the development of the hill-fort system can be observed in the Parsęta region. Large hill-forts like Bardy and Kędrzyno were abandoned while several smaller but strongly fortified ones appeared. Only one large hill-fort stayed in use – **Kołobrzeg-Budzistowo** (Fig. 4). It was a hill-fort with several fortified *suburbiums*, altogether covering an area of about 25 ha. The depth of the occupation layer on the hill-fort reached 5 m, and the earliest parts of it were dated to the late 8th and the beginning of the 9th centuries. In the end of the 9th century, an area of about 1 ha on the hill-fort was fortified by an earthen and wooden rampart. In the central part of the hill-fort a number of 10th century houses built using wattlework were unearthed. One of the earliest was dated by dendrochronology to 917 while the latest ones had been built after the year 927. A large number of iron items and slag found in the deepest layers indicate the importance of black-smithing. Still, it was mainly salt extraction that had attracted people to this place.<sup>16</sup> The salt extraction was the main reason for the wealth of the district in the 9th–11th century, as well as in later medieval times (Leciejewicz 1962, 140, 157; 2000b, 167–169; Leciejewicz & Rębkowski 2000; Rębkowski 2001).

Other crafts were also represented at the hill-fort of Kołobrzeg-Budzistowo. In the 9th century layers, traces of antler and amber carving were found, and a 9th – early 10th century antler workshop was excavated. Between the hill-fort rampart and a small building, almost 1700 pieces of antler were found, mainly raw material but also finished combs and knife handles, as well as semi-finished products. In addition to antler, some amber pieces, together with beads and pendants cut out of this material, were found (Leciejewicz 1962, 144; 2000b, 167–169). It is clearly observable that, as in Wolin, the quality of products deteriorated in the middle of the 11th century when the crafts started to convert to mass production. It is particularly obvious in the decoration and design of combs, which were now greatly simplified.

The next important changes on the Kołobrzeg-Budzistowo hill-fort took place at the end of the 10th century. In the 980s, the rampart was rebuilt in a chest technique. This development can probably be connected with the action of the Polish chieftain Mieszko I, who took control of Pomerania. In the year 1000, Bishop Reinbern established a bishopric of Kołobrzeg. This was when mass production in

---

<sup>16</sup> The earliest evidence of Viking Age occupation was recorded on the Salt Island in the estuary of the Parsęta River, and was dated to the 7th–8th centuries.



**Fig. 4.** Kołobrzeg-Budzistowo in the 10th century. A hill-fort with open settlement, B salt extraction settlement (Leciejewicz & Rębkowski 2000).

**Joon 4.** Kołobrzeg-Budzistowo 10. sajandil. A linnus koos avasulaga, B soolatootmisasula.

craft workshops started. The increasing number of finds indicate the intensification of trade activity. In the occupation layer from this period, only a few single coins were found, but near the hill-fort and even in it, two hoards were recorded. One consisted of about 700 dirhems from the 2nd half of the 10th century, the other of about 50 West-European coins from the beginning of the 11th century. The end of the 11th century and the 12th century as a whole may be considered as the most prosperous time of Kołobrzeg-Budzistowo (Leciejewicz 1962, 150; 2000b, 167–169). The importance of the site of this period is well demonstrated through several foreign finds uncovered there during the archaeological excavations.

### 2.3. The district around the Vistula River

Truso was first described by Wulfstan in the 880s. The first attempts to locate the site were carried out as early as in the 16th century. Still, it was only recently, in 1982, that a large Viking Age settlement was detected near Lake Družno in Janów Pomorski (Fig. 5). By now, there is no doubt that the settlement really is



**Fig. 5.** Truso, present-day Janów Pomorski (Jagodziński 2000b).

**Joon 5.** Truso, tänapäeval Janów Pomorski.

Wulfstan's Truso. The site, with an area of about 15 ha, is situated on the eastern bank of Lake Drużno (Jagodziński & Kasprzycka 1991, 696–715; Jagodziński 2000a, 41–56; 2000b, 170–174).

The settlement had been established directly on the bank of the former bay and had probably been surrounded by a semi-circular rampart. A little stream flowed through the centre of the settlement. Buildings uncovered at the site had been constructed in wattle, palisade, and horizontal log techniques. The majority of the buildings were in the Scandinavian tradition – divided into three parts. Additional buildings were very often attached to the main one, forming isolated cottages. The houses in Truso had been built on a regular plan, and separated by streets. During archaeological excavations, some ditches arranged in regular intervals were found. Their function was probably to separate neighbouring plots. There was presumably no special construction on the seashore of Truso, and ships visiting the place landed directly on the sand,<sup>17</sup> as in the earliest phase of the *emporium* of Dorestad. Wrecks of several ships were found lying directly in the sand.

<sup>17</sup> This suggestion is based on excavation results (Jagodziński & Kasprzycka 1991, 696–715). In March 2004, Sebastian Brather from the University of Freiburg conducted a geophysical investigation. The current results, together with the analyses of aerial photographs indicate the possibility that there were port basins for ships in Truso, which were in some way similar to these in Ralswiek on the island of Rügen. Still, their existence and character needs future investigation and analysis.

The size and location of the rampart in Truso needs additional investigation. Different data suggest that the *emporium* was surrounded by a semi-circular rampart very similar to the one known from Hedeby. Remains of a tower were uncovered during the excavations. The tower had perhaps formed a part of the defence system, especially considering its width – 10 m. Inside the tower, a sword pommel of X type (Petersen 1919) was found. Historical maps indicate that the rest of the Viking Age rampart was destroyed during the construction of a railway, which today crosses the settlement. Aerial photographs suggest furthermore that there could have been a fosse surrounding Truso.

In the settlement at Truso/Janów Pomorski many traces of production activities and of craftsmen's workshops were detected. Blacksmithing seems to have been the most important line of production, as indicated by several iron bars, semi-fabricated and finished products. Amber working was very intensive – by now, more than 10 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; of no less importance was the goldsmithery. A great variety of tools, such as small hammers, anvils, chisels and files, melting pots (one with semi-melted dirhems), clay moulds for oval brooches, as well as production refuse and finished ornaments of mainly Scandinavian types should also be mentioned among the find material. Fragments of 322 Arabic, 4 West European coins, pieces of scales and about 300 weights of different types may all be considered as evidence of trade activity in the area.

The analysis of the find material dated the settlement at Truso/Janów Pomorski to a period from the end of the 8th until the beginning of the 11th century, but the majority of finds belonged to the 9th–10th centuries. The comparison of artefact chronology with the stratigraphy of the site suggests that the start of Truso may be dated further back than seen in the find material. The earliest layer contained traces of buildings but almost no metal finds. This can be interpreted as the first phase of occupation of this area by Scandinavian (?) settlers, at the time when the whole site was arranged into plots. In my opinion, the beginning of Truso should be dated to the 4th quarter of the 8th century. The artefacts from the end of the 8th and the beginning of the 9th centuries were brought to the settlement in the first decades of the 9th century, when it was already a well-functioning *emporium*.

The end of Truso as an *emporium* should be dated to the middle or the third quarter of the 10th century. Only a few finds (combs, weights, a spur) can be dated to the beginning of the 11th century. In the middle of the 10th century, a strong political power, probably of Piast origin, dominated in the delta of the Vistula River, in the vicinity of Gdańsk. It is quite possible that the new power tried to control international trade in the whole region, succeeded in destroying Truso, and redirected the main trade routes to Gdańsk. At the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th centuries, some people were still living in the old centre of Truso; the place, however, had lost its international commercial importance.

The underwater site at **Puck** in the estuary of the Vistula River has often been described as an *emporium* but is rather a supporting local market. On the basis of ceramic and radiocarbon analyses, it has been dated to the 6th century. This interpretation is strengthened by a hoard of five solidi (t.p.q. 467 AD) uncovered in the nearest region. In the vicinity of Puck, two other hoards of solidi, one in Władysławowo-Wielka Wieś, and the other in Połchowo, were found as well as some single coins (Ciołek 2003, 163–180).

The character of find material recorded in Puck is, however, unclear. On the bottom of a bay, about 300–500 metres from the present coast, a large harbour construction of wood and stone was detected, and dated to the Viking Age because of ceramics found there (Fig. 6; Stępień 1984, 311–321; Zbierski 1985, 124; Pomian et al 1997; Stępień 1998, 36–54). The preserved construction consisted of three parts: eastern, middle and western. The earliest was probably the western part, which was connected with the middle one by a bridge. The majority of the construction had been made of large wooden posts, dug into the ground. The pier had been built of wooden boxes with average measurements of  $4 \times 5$  m (Stępień 1998, 40–41). In other parts,  $2 \times 2$  m large wooden boxes were filled with bark, sticks, straw and stones. Some of the boxes were covered with stones.

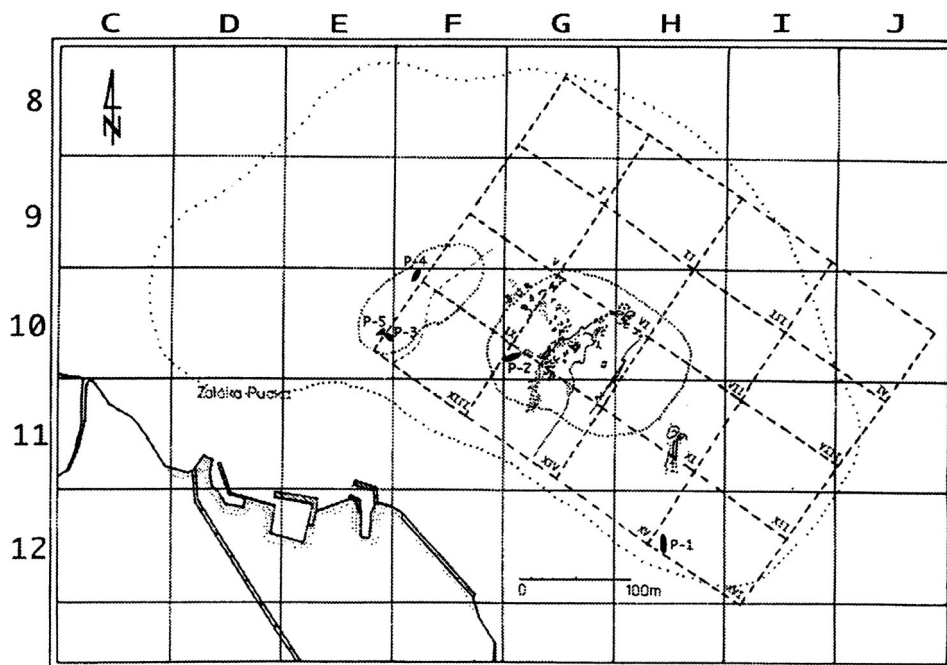


Fig. 6. Harbour constructions in Puck (Stępień 1998).

Joon 6. Sadamaehitised Puckis.

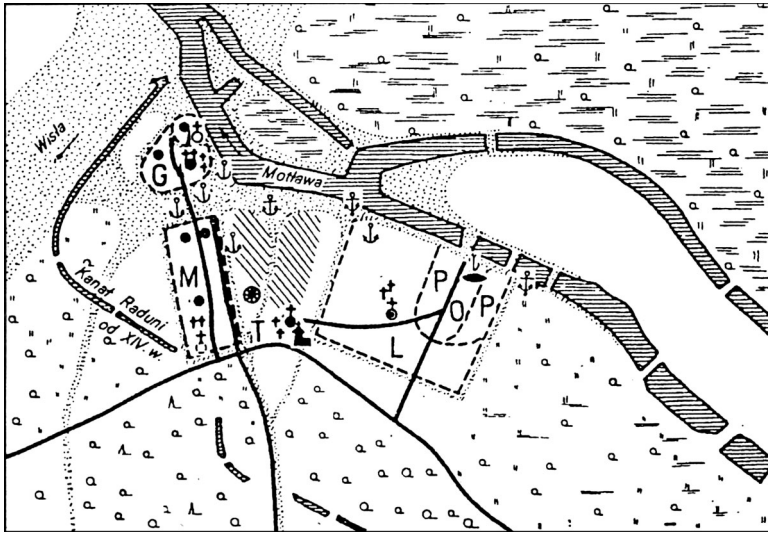


In addition to this, a part of a house and some shipwrecks were found at Puck (Stępień 1998, 42–50). The place is also dated by dendrochronological analyses, taken from altogether 154 samples. The earliest samples dated the house to the second half of the 13th century and the harbour from the first half of the 10th century until the middle of the 14th century. Both places were most intensively used during the 13th century (Ważny 1999, 43, tab. 3). Shipwrecks found nearby were dated mainly by  $^{14}\text{C}$  analyses, and the earliest of them belonged to the second half of the 7th century. Two other wrecks were dated to around 950 and 1245 (Stępień 1998, 45). Only one wreck was dated dendrochronologically – it proved to have been build after the year 1216, and repaired around 1329–30 (Ważny 1999, 60, Fig. 18).

As demonstrated above, almost all dates to the 7th–9th century have been obtained by  $^{14}\text{C}$  and ceramic analyses, which are not supported by any dendrochronological dates. For that reason, the existence of an *emporium* in Viking Age Puck appears less likely. First, no finds characteristic of international Baltic trade have been recorded in the nearest region. The prosperity of Puck took place during the 12th and 13th centuries. It is possible that three medieval phases in the development of Puck can be distinguished. The earliest, indicated only by two shipwrecks, can reflect a tribal organisation of local society. The next would be the time of decline, probably connected with the political influence of the Polish Piast dynasty in the Gdańsk Gulf region in the late 10th and 11th centuries. The third phase was the re-birth of the port during the 12th and 13th centuries. Still, the later port can hardly be considered as a successor to the earlier harbour; it should rather be connected with the growth of Gdańsk, the centre of the Piast dynasty administration in eastern Pommern, in the 11th and 12th centuries (Buko 2004).

The date of the first **Gdańsk** and its development has been the subject of many years of investigation (Fig. 7). As the earliest part of the town is believed to have been at the place of the Town Hall and the Long Market, where Andrzej Zbierski has detected a 9th-century settlement. The site was interpreted as a port and trade settlement (Zbierski 1978, 79–81; Paner 1998, 113). It was generally accepted that the main part of the town, as well as a hill-fort between the arms of the Motława and the Vistula Rivers was built by the Piast dynasty, probably in 970s. During archaeological excavations, 17 occupation layers were distinguished, some of them dated to the period from 970–980s up to 1308 AD, when Gdańsk was conquered and burned down by the Teutonic Order (Paner 1998, 112).

North of the hill-fort, near the later churches of St. Nicolas and St. Catharine, was the second oldest part of Gdańsk. From 980s to 1140s, 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 dated to before 1200 were detected in the same place. Some scholars have suggested that the fortifications originally surrounded the market; others believe that the remains can be defined as a second hill-fort at Gdańsk. Whatever the case, the fortification was destroyed in the end of the 11th century, most probably during the wars in Pomerania in the



**Fig. 7.** Gdańsk. G Piast Dynasty hill-fort in about 980–1308, L medieval town, M harbour and craft district in about 1150, T market place near St. Nicolas church, O 9th-century fortified harbour settlement, P 10th–12th-century fortified trade settlement (Paner 1998).

**Joon 7.** Gdańsk. G Piasti dünastia linnus *ca* 980–1308, L keskaegne linn, M sadam ja käsitöoliste piirkond *ca* 1150, T Püha Nikolause kiriku kõrval olev turukoht, O 9. sajandi kindlustatud sadama-koht, P 10.–12. sajandi kindlustatud kauplemisskoht.

time of the rule of Władysław Herman. Northwards from St. Nicolas church, some traces of a pier, with a 12th-century jetty leading to the market, were uncovered.

The archaeological data, collected from different parts of Gdańsk, is often fragmentary and interpreted in different ways. In the opinion of some researchers, each of the above mentioned settlement layers had a different character and its own fortifications. They emphasize that different parts of the town were subject to different laws: Lübeck or Polish. Other scholars suggest different phases of development: a tribal port in the 9th–10th centuries, a hill-fort next to the Town Hall since the 10th century, and finally the Piast hill-fort near the Motława River from the end of the 10th 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 belong to one very big fortification system of Gdańsk town? And, if it was one large complex, why were these parts so far from each other and do they belong to the same period? Supporting Andrzej Buko's suggestion, I believe that at least the excavated traces indicate different phases of the development of the site. According to this hypothesis, we can talk of an earlier, tribal Gdańsk, and a later Piast administration centre (Buko 2004).

In addition to the descriptions above, there are some other places in Pomerania, where *emporium* might have existed. The hypothetical *emporium* are indicated by a dense settlement net around them, as well as abundant finds of coins, ornaments, weapons, and hoards in the vicinity. Some places are suggested by their topographic localization. In this research, middle Pomerania, the estuaries of the Wieprza and Stupia Rivers, as well as Łeba should be taken into consideration. In all these three regions, a number of 10th–11th century hack silver hoards have been found.

### 3. Discussion

The examples described above prove that the earliest *emporium* were established in Pomerania in the late 8th century. The existence of earlier places of the same sort, as in Scandinavia (e.g. Lundeberg, Sortemuld or Helgö) cannot be excluded, but, apart from single hoards and stray-finds of solidi, there is no proof. At the end of the 8th century, single settlements like Wolin, Bardy or Truso developed in Pomerania. These *emporium* expanded in the 9th century. At the end of the 9th and the beginning of the 10th centuries, essential changes took part in the organization of Baltic *emporium* – they became important places of production. Wolin gained new fortifications and a new craftsmen's quarter. In the Parsęta region, the trade and production activity moved from Bardy to Kołobrzeg-Budzistowo, where a new and much larger settlement got its start. The turning point in the history of Pomerania was the end of the 10th century, when Truso disappeared, and new central places in Gdańsk and Kamień Pomorski were rising. Places like Szczecin and Kołobrzeg were developing. All the settlements were characterised by urban features like streets, quarters, harbours, markets, public places and, in some of them, churches. During the 11th and 12th centuries, some of them, like Szczecin, Kamień Pomorski and Gdańsk, developed, while others, like Wolin, lost their importance. The next step in the development of Baltic towns was the bestowal of town rights and joining the Hanseatic League in the 13th century (Rębkowski 2001).

The recent study has shed light on two main concepts concerning the genesis of Slavonic *emporium*. Both of the theories are defined by the fact that the Slavs appeared on the coastal areas of the Baltic Sea only in the 6th century. During the 7th century, they occupied most of the districts and consolidated as tribes. In the area of some early medieval centres, traces of former Germanic settlement phase are also known. When the Slavs appeared in the region, the old sea-routes with the Scandinavians were reactivated. By the second half of the 8th century, Slavic tribes had become so well-organized that the first trade centers appeared. The *emporium* gave the Slavs access to import goods (Herrmann 1991, 160–167; Dulnicz 1999, 106). Some of the *emporium* evolved from settlements into early urban centres, but still kept the traditional spatial structures. Favourable factors in their development were well-established tribal power structures and a good economic situation. The scenario described above was a typical Slavic way for

the development of early urban settlements. As examples of this model, the complex of sites at Bardy-Świelubie-Kołobrzeg (Łosiński 1994, 102–108; Leciejewicz & Rębkowski 2000) and Szczecin can be mentioned.

Other centres emerged as a result of exterior interference, in co-operation with the local political elite. Primarily, the dominant Scandinavian role can be mentioned in this connection. The centres were founded on the peripheries of local tribal communities. They were built from the beginning as a place for exchange, and their inhabitants lived from the beginning in a developed social structure. The community of these centres consisted mainly of merchants and craftsmen (Łosiński 1994, 102–103). This model was alien to the Slavs. As examples of centres which were established in this way, the settlement complexes in Mecklenburg, Menzlin-Görke (Schoknecht 1977; Dulinicz 2001, 283–284), Rostock-Dierkow (Herrmann 1988, 724–729; Warnke 1992), Groß Strömkendorf (Tummuscheit 2003) and Ralswiek (Herrmann 2000, 163–166), as well as Truso in the Slavic-Prussian borderland can be pointed out.

In addition to these two models, there were sites which do not fit into these definitions, and therefore represent a kind of combination of the sites described above. One site of this type is Wolin, which probably developed from a local fishing settlement into a big town predominantly because of co-operation with a settlement of Scandinavian newcomers in the vicinity (Łosiński 1994, 122–123).

Economic factors, primarily the development of long-distance trade in the Baltic zone, can be pointed out as the main reason for the rise of *emporia* in the region. The duke's rule and the evolution of different elements of the commodity economy, within the frames of natural primitive economy, as well as wider socio-economic changes caused by the formation of the feudal system, were the causative factors in both cases. The development of crafts and exploitation of natural resources were also essential factors. Special attention should be drawn to a manifold mutual relationship between the economy and political power – as a result of this, trade and craft developed in the main political centres (Leciejewicz 1962, 46–47, 81–83).

## References

- Ambrosiani, B. & Clarke, H.** 1998. Birka and the beginning of the Viking Age. – Studien zur Archäologie des Ostseeraumes. Von der Eisenzeit zum Mittelalter. Festschrift für Michael Müller-Wille. Neumünster, 33–38.
- Blomkvist, N.** 2001. 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. – Lübeck Style? Novgorod Style? Baltic Rim Central Places as Arenas for Cultural Encounters and Urbanization 1100–1400 AD. (CCC papers, 5.) Riga, 11–35.
- Bogucki, M.** 2004. Dlaczego we wczesnym średniowieczu powstawały skarby złomu srebrnego? Uwagi na marginesie prac Jacka Kowalewskiego i Przemysława Urbańczyka. – Wiadomości Numizmatyczne, XLVIII, 1 (177), 49–76.
- Bogucki, M.** In press. Grobina – a sign of the future. Ports of trade in the Balt Lands. – *Transformatio mundi* – the Transition from the Late Migration Period to the Early Viking Age in the East Baltic.

- Buko, A.** 2004. Archeologia Polski wczesnośredniowiecznej. Odkrycia – hipotezy – interpretacje. Warszawa.
- Callmer, J.** 1992. Interaction between ethnical groups in the Baltic Region in the Late Iron Age. – Contacts Across the Baltic Sea during the Late Iron Age (5<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> Centuries). Lund, 99–108.
- Callmer, J.** 1994. Urbanization in Scandinavia and the Baltic Region ca. AD 700–1100: trading places, centers and early urban sites. – The Twelfth Viking Congress. Developments Around the Baltic and the North Sea in the Viking Age. (Birka Studies, 3.) Stockholm, 50–90.
- Ciołek, R.** 2003. Znaleźiska solidów na Pomorzu. – Wiadomości Numizmatyczne, XLVII, 2 (176), 163–180.
- Clarke, H. B. & Simms, A.** 1985. Towards a comparative history of urban origin. – The Comparative History of Urban Origins in Non-Roman Europe: Ireland, Wales, Denmark, Germany, Poland and Russia from Ninth to the Thirteenth Century. (BAR International Series, 255 (i–ii).) Oxford, 669–714.
- Dalton, G.** 1978. Comments on ports of trade in early medieval Europe. – Norwegian Archaeological Review, 11, 2, 102–107.
- Duczko, W.** 2004. Viking Rus. Studies on the Presence of Scandinavians in Eastern Europe. Leiden.
- Dulinicz, M.** 1999. Uwagi o początkach ośrodków handlowych a południowym brzegu Bałtyku w VIII–IX w. – Centrum i zaplecze we wczesnośredniowiecznej Europie środkowej. (Spotkania Bytomskie, III.) Wrocław, 97–110.
- Dulinicz, M.** 2001. Kształtowanie się Słowiańszczyzny Północno-Zachodniej. Warszawa.
- Feveile, C.** 1994. The latest news from Viking Age Ribe: archeological excavations 1993. – The Twelfth Viking Congress. Developments Around the Baltic and the North Sea in the Viking Age. (Birka Studies, 3.) Stockholm, 91–99.
- Filipowiak, W.** 1962. Wolinianie. Studium osadnicze, I. Materiały. Szczecin.
- Filipowiak, W.** 1999. Wolin und Szczecin – Hafen und Topographie der mittelalterlichen Stadt. – Maritime Topography and the Medieval Town. Papers from the 5<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Waterfront Archaeology in Copenhagen 14–16 May 1998. Copenhagen, 61–70.
- Filipowiak, W.** 2000. Wollin – ein frühmittelalterliches Zentrum an der Ostsee. – Europas mitte um 1000. Handbuch zur Ausstellung, 1. Stuttgart, 152–155.
- Filipowiak, W.** 2004. Wolin – the trading emporia on the Baltic Sea. – Polish Lands in the Turn of the First and the Second Millennium. Warszawa.
- Freise, E.** 1985. Zur Person des Theophilus und seiner monastischen Umwelt. – Ornamenta Ecclesiae. Kunst und Künstler der Romanik. (Katalog zur Ausstellung des Schnüthen-Museums in der Joseph-Heinrich-Kunsthalle, 1.) Köln.
- Godłowski, K.** 1981. Okres wędrówek ludów na Pomorzu. – Pomorania Antiqua, 10, 65–129.
- Hårdh, B.** 1996. Silver in the Viking Age. A Regional-Economic Study. Stockholm.
- Hatz, G.** 1974. Handel und Verkehr zwischen dem deutschen Reich und Schweden in der Späten Wikingerzeit. Stockholm.
- Herrmann, J.** 1988. Zur Struktur von Handel und Handelsplätzen im südwestlichen Ostseegebiet vom 8.–10. Jahrhundert. – Bericht der Römisch Germanischen Kommission, 69, 720–739.
- Herrmann, J.** 1991. U źródeł północno-słowiańskiego wczesnego miasta. – Miasto zachodnio-słowiańskie w XI–XII wieku. Społeczeństwo – kultura. Wrocław, 159–167.
- Herrmann, J.** 1995. Frühe Seehandelsplätzen am „äußersten Ende des westlichen Ozeans“. Geschichtliche Grundlagen, siedlungstopographische Strukturen und ethnische Herkunft ihrer Bewohner. – Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica, 26/27, 57–72.
- Herrmann, J.** 2000. Ralswiek. – Europas mitte um 1000. Handbuch zur Ausstellung, 1. Stuttgart, 163–166.
- Hodges, R.** 2000. Towns and Trade in the Age of Charlemagne. London.
- Jagodźński, M. F.** 2000a. Truso. Das frühmittelalterliche Hafen- und Handelszentrum im Ostseegebiet bei Elbing. – Westpreussen-Jahrbuch, 50, 41–56.

- Jagodziński, M. F.** 2000b. Truso – Siedlung und Hafen im slawisch-estnischen Grenzgebiet. – Europas mitte um 1000. Handbuch zur Ausstellung, 1. Stuttgart, 170–174.
- Jagodziński, M. & Kasprzycka, M.** 1991. The early medieval craft and commercial center at Janów Pomorski near Elbląg on the South Baltic Coast. – *Antiquity*, 65/248, 696–715.
- Jankuhn, H.** 1986. Haithabu. Ein Handelsplatz der Wikingerzeit. Neumünster.
- Jørgensen, L.** 2003. Manor and market at Lake Tissø in the sixth to eleventh centuries: the Danish “productive” site. – *Markets in Early Medieval Europe. Trading and “Productive” Sites*, 650–850. Bollington, 177–207.
- Kiersnowski, R.** 1950. *Legenda Winiety*. Warszawa.
- Kiersnowski, R.** 1960. Pieniądz kruszcowy w Polsce wczesnośredniowiecznej. Warszawa.
- Kowalska, A. B. & Łosiński, W.** In press. Szczecin: origins and history of the early medieval town. – *Polish Lands in the turn of the First and the Second Millennium*. Warszawa.
- Kowalski, T.** (ed.). 1946. Relacja Ibrahima ibn Jakuba z podróży do krajów słowiańskich w przekazie al-Bekriego. (*Monumenta Poloniae historica. Nova series*, 1.) Kraków.
- Leciejewicz, L.** 1962. Początki nadmorskich miast na Pomorzu Zachodnim. Wrocław; Warszawa; Kraków.
- Leciejewicz, L.** 2000b. Kolberg (Kołobrzeg). – *Europas mitte um 1000. Handbuch zur Ausstellung*, 1. Stuttgart, 167–169.
- Leciejewicz, L. & Rębkowski, M.** 2000. Kołobrzeg. Średniowieczne miasto nad Bałtykiem. Kołobrzeg.
- Lewicki, T.** 1949. Świat słowiański w oczach pisarzy arabskich. – *Slavia Antiqua*, 2, 321–388.
- Łosiński, W.** 1994. W sprawie genezy osiedli wczesnomiejskich u Słowian nadbałtyckich. – *Slavia Antiqua*, 35, 101–128.
- Łosiński, W.** 2000a. Osadnictwo plemienne w dorzeczu Parsęty we wczesnym średniowieczu. – *Salsa Cholbergensis. Kołobrzeg w średniowieczu*. Kołobrzeg, 13–22.
- Łosiński, W.** 2000b. Pomorze – bardziej słowiańskie czy bardziej „bałtyckie”? – *Ziemie Polskie w X wieku i ich znaczenie w kształtowaniu się nowej mapy Europy*. Kraków, 119–141.
- Łosiński, W.** 2000c. Stettin (Szczecin). – *Europas mitte um 1000. Handbuch zur Ausstellung*, 1. Stuttgart, 156–162.
- Łosiński, W.** 2003. Trójramienna zapinka skandynawska z cmentarzyska w Świelubiu pod Kołobrzegiem – aspekt chronologiczny. – *Słowianie i ich sąsiedzi we wczesnym średniowieczu*. Lublin; Warszawa, 133–139.
- Madsen, P. K.** 1999. Ribe between West and East – a North Sea harbour and its connections 700–1600. – *Maritime Topography and the Medieval Town. Papers from the 5<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Waterfront Archaeology in Copenhagen 14–16 May 1998*. Copenhagen, 197–202.
- Małowist, M.** 1948. Problematyki dziejów gospodarczych strefy bałtyckiej we wczesnym średniowieczu. – *Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych*, 10, 81–120.
- Muhl, A.** 1990. Der Bamberger und der Camminer Schrein. Zwei im Mammenstil verzierte Prunkkästen der Wikingerzeit. – *Offa*, 47, 241–420.
- Müller-Wille, M.** 2001. Ribe – Reric – Hedeby. Early urbanization in southern Scandinavia and the western Slavonic area. – *Offa*, 58, 21–31.
- Paner, H.** 1998. Rozwój przestrzenny Gdańska w świetle badań archeologicznych. – *Civitates Principales. Wybrane ośrodki władzy w Polsce wczesnośredniowiecznej. Katalog wystawy*. Gniezno, 112–119.
- Petersen, J.** 1919. De norske vikingesverd. En typologisk-kronologisk studie over vikingetidens vaaben. (*Videnskapselskabet Skrifter*, II. Hist. – Filos. Klasse, 1.) Kristiania.
- Piskorski, J. M.** 2002. Pomorze plemienne. *Historia – Archeologia – Językoznawstwo*. Poznań; Szczecin.
- Polanyi, K.** 1963. Ports of trade in early societies. – *The Journal of Economic History*, 23, 30–45.
- Polanyi, K.** 1978. Trade, markets, and money in the European early Middle Ages. – *Norwegian Archaeological Review*, 11, 2, 92–96.

- Pomian, I., Latałowa, M., Łęczycki, L. & Badura, M.** 2000. Water or land? Preliminary results of an interdisciplinary project of palaeoenvironmental reconstruction at the site of the medieval harbour in Puck (N. Poland). – Abstracts from 8th International Symposium on Boat and Ship Archeology, September 23–27th, 1997. Gdańsk, 27–36.
- Rębkowski, M.** 2001. Pierwsze lokacje miast w księstwie zachodniopomorskim. Przemiany przestrzenne i kulturowe. Kołobrzeg.
- Schoknecht, U.** 1977. Menzlin. Ein Frühgeschichtlicher Handelsplatz an der Peene. Berlin.
- Słupecki, L. P.** 1994. Slavonic Pagan Sanctuaries. Warszawa.
- Słupecki, L. P.** 2000. Jómsvikingalog, Jómsvikings, Jomsborg/Wolin and Danish circular strongholds. – The Neighbours of Poland in the 10<sup>th</sup> Century. Warszawa, 49–59.
- Stępień, W.** 1984. Archeological nautical excavation in Puck harbour, Gdańsk district, Poland. – The International Journal of Nautical Archeology and Underwater Exploration, 13, 4, 311–321.
- Stępień, W.** 1998. Wczesnośredniowieczny port w Pucku. – Historia Pucka. Gdańsk, 36–54.
- Thrane, E.** 1998. Overvejelser af kultindholdet i Gudmes bebyggelse. – Centrala platser – centrala frågor. Samhällsstrukturen under järnåldern. Uppåkrastudier, 1. (Acta Archaeologica Lundensia, series in 8°, 28), 249–261.
- Tschan, F. J. & Reuter, T.** (eds.). 2002. History of the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen. (Records of Western Civilization.) New York.
- Tummuscheit, A.** 2003. Groß Strömkendorf: a market site of the eighth century on the Baltic Sea coast. – Markets in Early Medieval Europe. Trading and “Productive” Sites, 650–850. Bollington, 208–220.
- Wachowski, K.** 1914. Jomsborg (Normannowie wobec Polski w w. X). Warszawa.
- Warnke, D.** 1992. Rostock-Dierkow – ein Wirtschaftszentrum des 8./9. Jahrhundert an der Unterwarnow. – Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters, 20, 63–80.
- Watt, M.** 1992. Die Goldblechfiguren (“guldgubber”) aus Sorte Muld, Bornholm. – Der historische Horizont der Götterbild-Amulette aus der Übergangsepoche von der Spätantike zum Frühmittelalter. Göttingen, 195–227.
- Ważny, T.** 1999. Dendrochronologia obiektów zabytkowych w Polsce. Warszawa.
- Ważny, T.** 2001. Badania dendrochronologiczne podgrodzia i osady w Wolinie. – Instantia est mater doctrinae. Księga jubileuszowa Prof. Dr. hab. Władysława Filipowiaka. Szczecin, 155–165.
- Zbierski, A.** 1978. Rozwój przestrzenny Gdańska w IX–XIII w. – Historia Gdańska I (do roku 1454). Gdańsk, 71–125.
- Zbierski, A.** 1985. Z kręgu badań problematyki związanej z badaniami kompleksowymi nad początkami portu puckiego. – Peribalticum, IV, 123–142.

**Mateusz Bogucki**

## VIKINGIAEGSED KAUBASADAMAD POOLAS

### Resüme

Meie ajaarvamise esimesel aastatuhandel tekkisid Põhja-Euroopas uut moodi asulad: käsitöö- ja kauplemiskohad. Nende tähistamiseks on eri maade arheoloogikirjanduses käibel erinevad terminid, näiteks *emporium* (mitm. *emporía*), *port of trade*, *early form of town*, *pre-urban nucleus*, *incipient town*, *proto-town*, *Seehandelsplatz* või *vik*. Käsitöö- ja kauplemiskohtade olemasolu on loetud üheks kriteeriumiks, eristamaks rauaaega varakeskajast või Põhja-Euroopa puhul viikingiajast.

## 1. Kaubasadamate tekkimine

Poola uurija Karl Polanyi on näidanud, et kaubasadamad paiknesid alati kaubateede ristumiskohal, enamasti looduslikult hästi kaitstud kohtades: jõesuudmes, fjordi või merelahe kaldal. Enamasti tähistasid kaubasadmad poliitilisi, kultuurilisi, etnilisi või ka geograafilisi piire ning asusid n-ö eikellegimaal. Väga oluline oli kohalike pealike poolt pakutav kaitse. Julgeoleku garanteerimise eest kogusid pealikud makse luksuskaupade, eriti kõrgekvaliteediliste relvade näol. Eliidi toetus oli vajalik rahu kindlustamiseks ja kaubanduse turvalisuse huvides.

*Emporium*'idest või nende vahetust lähedusest on tihti teada religioosseid keskusi. Muistses ühiskonnas olid preestrid huvitatud kaubandusest laekuvast tulust. Lisaks olid preestrid sageli ka oskuslikud käsitöölised, kellel oli kaubasadamates võimalik oma toodangut müüa. Käsitöö kontsentreerumine kaubasadamatesse oli viimaste arengus üks olulisemaid tegureid ja tavaliselt hakati seal üsna varsti n-ö masstoodangut välja laskma. Enamikus sellistest kohtadest on leitud jälgi sepatööst, sarve- ja merevaigutööst, klaasivalmistamisest, kangakudumisest, laevaehitusest ja teistest käsitööharudest.

*Emporium*'ide arengus oli kõige tähtsam siiski kaubandus – nii rahvusvaheline kaugkaubandus kui ka kohaliku iseloomuga vahetuskaubandus. Kaubasadamad olid kokkusaamiskohaks eri maadest pärit kaupmeestele, kes kasutasid neid kas otseselt oma kaupade müügiks või ka laokohana teel kaugematele turgudele. Sellised sadamakohad funktsioneerisid ühtlasi kauplemiskohana, kus müüdi nii mujalt toodud kaupa kui ka kohalike käsitöölise toodangut. Ümbruskonna elanikud varustasid taolisi kohti söögi-joogi ja muu vajalikuga. Kaubeldi eeskätt teravilja ja koduloomadega, kuid ilmselt töid kohalikud müügiks ka karusnahku, soola, mett, käsitöökaupu ja muid tooteid. Kindlasti kaubeldi ka orjadega. *Emporium*'id olid turud, kus kohtusid inimesed viikingiaegse maailma eri osadest ning kus eksisteerisid kõrvuti erinevad majandussüsteemid, näiteks autarkiline vahetuskaubandus ja keskaegne monetaarne süsteem.

*Emporium*'ide kui nähtuse tekkimise kohta on esitatud mitu teooriat, kust selguvad mõned kaubasadamate tekkeks olulisemad tegurid. Esimesena võiks neist mainida ületootmist ühiskonnas. Põllumajandusliku tootlikkuse kasv oli seotud eeskätt rukki kasutuselevõtuga, samuti käsitöö, eriti musta metallurgia arenguga, mistõttu suudeti paremaid tööriistu valmistada. Kohaliku toodangu ülejääk vahetati importkaupadeks. Sellega kaasnes rahvastiku kasv, samuti etniliste suhete konsolideerumine, mis omakorda tihendas regioonidevahelisi sidemeid. Määravad olid asustuse organiseerunud struktuuri väljakujunemine ja kaubavahetuseks oluliste tehniliste võimaluste olemasolu. Mööda ei saa vaadata ka ühiskondliku korralduse muutustest, mis viisid tugeva ja jõuka eliidi väljakujunemiseni.

Tootlikkuse kasv ja kaubakeskuste tekkimine Põhja-Euroopas on seostatav Euroopa *Barbaricum*'i-osas antiikaja lõpul ja varasel keskajal toimunud kultuuriliste muudatustega. Täiesti omaette rühma kuuluvad slaavlaste, skandinaavlaste, läänemeresoomlaste ja baltidega seotud kohad Läänemerd ümbritsevatel aladel (joon 1). Viikingiajal moodustasid need alad nn Läänemere majandustsooni.



Kaubasadamate ilmumine Läänemere lõunakallastele oli ühtlasi seotud Euroopa keskosas toimunud etniliste muudatustega. Esimesed slaavilased tulid neile aladele 6. sajandi lõpul, täiemõdulisest slaavi asustusest võib aga rääkida alates 7.–8. sajandist. 8. sajandil aset leidnud asustuse kontsentreerumine lõi eeldused *emporium*'ide rajamiseks Lääne-Slaavi aladele.

Käesolevas artiklis on kirjeldatud ainult tänapäeva Poola territooriumile jäävaid muistseid kaubasadamaid. Need paiknesid kolmes peamises regioonis – Odra, Parsęta ja Visla jõe suudmealal.

## 2. *Emporium*'id tänapäeva Poola territooriumil

### 2.1. Odra jõe suudmeala

Suurim ja olulisim *emporium* Odra jõe suudmealal oli **Wolin** (joon 2), kirjalikes allikates Jumne. Wolin arenes väikesest külast suureks linnaks. Arheoloogilise materjali põhjal sai sealne kaubasadam alguse põhiliselt 8. sajandi lõpul ning selle areng *emporium*'iks toimus 9.–10. sajandini. Sel perioodil oli tegemist mitmest komponendist koosneva asustuskompleksiga, kus olid esindatud nii linnamägi, valliga ümbritsetud varalinnaline keskus ja sadam kui ka mitu kalmistut ning paganlik tempel.

Teisena võiks mainida **Szczecinit** (joon 3), mida kirjalikes allikates nimetati esmakordselt 1121. aastal. Selle koha tähtsust märkasid ka araabia kirjamehed, kes nimetasid linna Sāsīniks v Sādžīniks. Asula tekkis seal siiski juba enne 12. sajandit, mille varaseim asustuskiht Odra jõe läänekaldal on dateeritud 8. sajandi lõpuga. 9.–10. sajandi hooned olid ehitatud korrapärase plaani alusel ja üksteisest tänavatega eraldatud, samas pole nimetatud perioodi kihtidest leitud käsitöökodade jäänuseid ega tootmisjääke. Käsitöö tõeline õitseng iseloomustab 12.–13. sajandi Szczecinit, mil linn kasvas kiiresti. Viikingiaegne Szczecin eksisteeris kahtlemata kaubasadamana, kuid Läänemere rahvusvahelises kaubanduses polnud ta kuigi tähtis. Koha jõuline esilekerkimine järgnevatel sajanditel on ilmselt seotud Wolini allakäiguga.

**Kamień Pomorski**, kolmas kaubasadam Odra jõe suudmes, tekkis hiljem kui Wolin ja Szczecin. Sealsed varaseimad leiud võib dateerida 10. sajandi lõpuga. Arheoloogilised kaevamised on tõestanud, et Kamień Pomorskil oli kaubanduses tähtis osa peamiselt 12.–13. sajandil.

### 2.2. Parsęta jõe suudmeala

Parsęta jõe suudmeala moodustas teise olulise piirkonna Pomeraania, kus viikingiajal tekkisid kaubasadamad. Ümbruskonnas on teada mitmeid linnuseid, mille hulgas domineeris **Bardy** linnamägi koos kõrval asuva Świelubie kalmistuga. Arheoloogiline materjal osutab, et seal oli spetsialiseerunud mõnele käsitööharule,

millest eelkõige võiks mainida sepatööd. Ümbruskonna tähtsaim tootmisharu oli siiski soolatootmine kohalikest rессurssidest. Mõningad skandinaaviapäraseid matuseid Święlubie kalmistul osutavad, et 9. sajandil elas seal teatud määral Skandinaavia koloniste.

9. sajandi teisel poolel toimus Parsęta piirkonna linnuste süsteemis muutus: suured linnused nagu Bardy jäeti maha ning nende asemele tekkis suur hulk väiksemaid tugevasti kindlustatud linnamägesid. Püsima jäi vaid üks suur linnus – **Kołobrzeg-Budzistowo** (joon 4). See oli linnus koos mitme kindlustatud *suburbium*'iga, mis asus umbes 25 ha suurusel alal. Linnuse varaseimad kihid on dateeritud 8. sajandi lõpu ja 9. sajandi algusega. 9. sajandi lõpul kindlustati linnuse umbes 1 ha suurune ala mullast ja puust valliga. Linnuse keskel on kaevamiste käigus avastatud mitme 10. sajandi hoone jäänuseid. Rohke leumaterjal viitab sepatööle, luu- ja sarve- ning merevaigutöötlemisele. Piirkonna jõukusele pani 9.–11. sajandil aluse soolatootmine, mille tähtsus püsis ka järgnevatel sajanditel. Aastal 1000 rajas piiskop Reinbern Kołobrzegi piiskopkonna. See poliitiline akt on seostatav masstoodangu algusega sealsetes käsitöökodades. Lisandunud leumaterjal alates 11. sajandist osutab kaubandussidemete aktiveerumisele. 11. sajandi lõpu ja 12. sajandit võibki vaadelda kui Kołobrzeg-Budzistowo suurima õitsengu aega.

### 2.3. Visla jõe suudmeala

Kunagist tähtsaimat kaubasadamat **Trusot** on 880. aastatel kirjeldanud Wulfstan. Selle asukoht, 15 ha suurune viikingiaegne asulakiht avastati siiski alles 1982. aastal Drużno järve idakaldal tänapäeva Janów Pomorskis (joon 5). Praeguseks pole kahtlust, et tegemist on Wulfstani poolt mainitud Trusoga. Asula oli tekkinud otse kunagise merelahe kaldale ja ilmselt poolkaarekujulise valliga ümbritsetud. Enamik avastatud hoonetest oli ehitatud Skandinaavia traditsiooni kohaselt ja jagatud kolme ossa. Kõrvalhooned olid sageli liidetud elumajaga, moodustades sel viisil suletud hooned. Majad olid eraldatud tänavatega ja paiknesid korrapärase plaani kohaselt. Truso asulakohast leiti rohkesti jäänuseid käsitööst, millest olulisim oli ilmselt olnud sepanudus. Intensiivselt oli tegeldud merevaigutöötlemisega, millest annab tunnistust rohkem kui 10 kg merevaigutükke. Rohkelt leiti ka kammi- ning klaasitootmise, kangakudumise ja laevaehituse jäänuseid, samuti märke kullassepatöökojast. 322 araabia müntide fragmenti, 4 Lääne-Euroopa münti, hõbedakaalude tüki ja umbes 300 kaaluvihti annavad tunnistust elavast kaubavahetusest.

Truso on dateeritud 8. sajandi lõpu kuni 11. sajandi algusega, kuid lakkas *emporium*'ina olemast ilmselt juba 10. sajandi keskel või kolmandal veerandil. 10. sajandi keskpaigaks oli Visla jõe suudmealal Gdański ümbruses kerkinud esile tugev poliitiline võim, arvatavasti Piasti dünastia. Võimalik, et uus võim tahtis piirkonnas kogu rahvusvahelist kaubandust kontrollida, hävitas Truso ning suunas tähtsamad kaubateed ümber Gdańskisse. 10. sajandi lõpul ja 11. sajandi algul oli

Trusos siiski veel elanikke, kuigi koht oli selleks ajaks oma rahvusvahelise tähtsuse minetanud.

Praeguseks vee alla jäänud asulat **Pucki** Visla jõe suudmeala läheduses on samuti sageli defineeritud kui *emporium*'i, kuid pigem on siiski tegemist kohalikele turule suunatud kaubasadamaga. Keraamika ja  $^{14}\text{C}$  analüüside abil on koht dateeritud 6. sajandiga. Puckist saadud leiumaterjali iseloom on paraku ebaselge. Lahe põhjast, tänapäeva rannast 300–500 m kauguselt, on leitud ulatuslikke sadamakonstruktsioone, mis samast saadud keraamika põhjal on dateeritud viikingiajaga (joon 6). Enamik konstruktsioonijäänustest kujutab endast maasse kaevatud jamedaid puuposte ning kividega täidetud palkkaste.

Lisaks eelnimetatuile on Puckist leitud hoonejäänuseid ning mõned laevavrakid. Dendrokronoloogia põhjal on koht dateeritud 10. sajandi alguse kuni 14. sajandi keskpaigaga. Vrakke on dateeritud põhiliselt  $^{14}\text{C}$  analüüside abil ning varaseim neist kuulub 7. sajandi teise poole. Ülejäänud laevavrakid on ehitatud umbes aastatel 950 ja 1245. Vaid üks laevadest dateeriti ka dendrokronoloogia abil. See oli ehitatud pärast 1216. aastat ning parandatud aastatel 1329–30.

Jääb siiski üsna kahtlaseks, kas juba viikingiaegset Pucki võib *emporium*'iks nimetada, kuna selle lähiümbruses pole avastatud rahvusvahelisele kaubandusele viitavaid leide. Pucki õitseng langeb perioodi 12.–13. sajandini. Koha arengus võib eristada kolme põhietappi. Neist esimene, mis on esindatud ainult kahe laevavrakiga, kajastab hõimuühiskondliku korralduse valitsemist ümbruskonnas. Teine etapp on langusperiood, mis oli ilmselt tingitud Piasti dünastia poliitilisest mõjuvõimust piirkonnas 10. sajandi lõpul ja 11. sajandil. Sellele järgnes kaubasadama taassünd 12.–13. sajandil. Samas on varasema ja hilisema sadamakoha vahel raske otsust järjepidevust näha.

**Gdański** teket ja arengut on uuritud juba palju aastaid. Linna varaseim osa asus arvatavasti praeguste raekoja ja Pika turu kohal. Sealst saadud asustuskiht on dateeritud 9. sajandiga ning seda on peetud käsitöö- ja kaubanduskeskuseks (joon 7). Üldiselt arvatakse, et enamik asulast ning linnus Motława ja Visla jõe ristumiskohas on rajatud Piasti dünastia poolt ilmselt 970. aastatel. Gdański vanuselt järgmine osa jääb linnusest põhja poole, kus 980. kuni 1140. aastateni paiknes turuplats. Püha Nikolause kirikust põhja pool on leitud ka jäänuseid 12. sajandi paadisillast.

Gdańskist kogutud arheoloogiline aines on sageli fragmentaarne, mida on mitmel erineval viisil tõlgendatud. Mõned uurijad on avaldanud arvamust, et kõik eelmainitud asulakihid kujutasid endast eraldi seisvaid kindlustatud asulaid. Põhiliseks argumentiks on keskajast teada olev fakt, et Gdański eri osad olid allutatud erinevatele seadusandlustele – kas Lübecki või Poola seadusele. Teiste uurijate arvates on eri asulakihtide puhul tegemist ühe suure asulakompleksi eri arenguetappidega. 9.–10. sajandil võis seal olla kohaliku hõimu sadamakoht, mille lähedale, hilisema raekoja juurde, ehitati 10. sajandil linnus. 10. sajandi lõpul rajas Piasti dünastia oma linnuse Motława jõe kõrvale.

Lisaks eelkirjeldatuile on Pomeraaniast teada veel mõned kohad, kus on oletatud kunagise *emporium*'i olemasolu. Neile hüpoteetilistele kaubasadamatele viita-

vad ümbritsev tihe asustusvõrk ning ümbruskonnast teada olevad rohked aarded, mündi-, ehte- ja relvateiud. Mõnda kohta võib sadamakohaks oletada üksnes topograafilise asendi põhjal.

### 3. Arutelu

Eelolevad näited osutavad, et esimesed kaubasadamad tekkisid Pomeraaniasse 8. sajandi lõpul. Sellised kohad olid näiteks Wolin, Bardy ja Truso. 9. sajandil hakkasid need kauplemiskohad kasvama ja 9. sajandi lõpul ning 10. sajandi algul toimusid nende arengus olulised muudatused: kauplemiskohtadesse kontsentreerus ka käsitöö. Wolinisse kerkisid uued kindlustised ja käsitöölise kvartal. Parşeta jõe suudmealal jäeti maha Bardy käsitöö- ja kaubanduskeskus ning alguse sai Kołobrzeg-Budzistowo palju suurem *emporium*. Pomeraania ajaloos oli pöördepunktiks 10. sajandi lõpp, mil kadus Truso kaubadam ja Gdańskis ning Kamień Pomorskis tekkisid uued rahvusvahelise kaubanduse ja käsitööga seotud keskused. Samal ajal arenesid edasi Szczecin ja Kołobrzeg. Kõiki neid asulaid iseloomustasid linnalised tunnused, nagu tänavate süsteem, kvartalid, sadamad, turud, mõnes kohas ka kirikud. 11.–12. sajandil arenes osa sellistest kohtadest edasi, samal ajal kui teised, näiteks Wolin, kaotasid oma tähtsuse. Järgmiseks sammuks Läänemere-äärsete linnade arengus oli linnaõiguste saamine ja liitumine Hansa Liidu poolt loodud rahvusvahelise kaubanduse võrgustikuga.

Käesolevas töös on tutvustatud kaht peamist kontseptsiooni slaavi *emporium*'ide arengus. Osa kaubasadamatest arenes väiksematest asulatest varalinnalisteks keskusteks. Soodustavaks asjaoluks nende arengus oli hõimuisese hästi arenenud võimusteemi olemasolu, aga ka soodne majanduslik olukord. Selline varalinnaliste keskuste arengutsenaarium oli tüüpiliselt slaavipärane. Osa keskusi tekkis seoses välispidise sekkumisega, kuigi tihedas koostöös kohaliku eliidiga. Siinkohal tuleb mainida eeskätt Skandinaavia mõju. Sellised keskused rajati kohaliku hõimuühiskonna asustuse äärealadele. Need kaubasadamad olid ehitatud kaubavahetuse eesmärgil ning sealsed asukad elasid algusest peale hierarhiseeritud ühiskonnas. Selline arengumudel oli slaavlastele võõras. Kaubasadamad, mis rajati viimasena kirjeldatud moel, olid näiteks asustuskompleksid Mecklenburgis (Menzlin-Görke, Rostock-Dierkow, Groß Strömkendorf ja Ralswiek), kuid see skeem kehtib ka slaavi-preisi piirialal paiknenud Truso kohta.

Kõige olulisemaks teguriks Põhja-Euroopa kaubasadamate tekkes võib pidada majanduse arengut, eeskätt rahvusvahelise kaubanduse intensiivistumist Läänemere majandustsoonis. Mõlema eelkirjeldatud arengumudeli puhul olid tähtsateks eeltingimusteks vürstivõimu olemasolu ning kohalikus algelises majanduses feodaalse süsteemi kujunemise käigus toimunud muutused. Ka käsitöö arengust ning loodusvarade parematest rakendusviisidest ei saa mööda vaadata. Erilist tähelepanu tasub pöörata majanduse ja poliitilise võimu mitmekülgele ja vastastikusele suhtele, mille tulemusel arenesid kaubandus ja käsitöö eelistatult tähtsamates poliitilistes keskustes.