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ISLAMIC DIRHAMS FROM THE GÓRA STRĘKOWA HOARD

This hoard was plowed up in the fall of 1984 by Henryk Buczkowski, a resident of the village of Góra Strękowa (cf. Map 1), commune of Zawady, in the voivodeship of Łomża. During the tillage of a field located on the western slope of Góra Strękowa, just under the peak of the rise, a clay pot was uncovered, which broke apart when it was brought out onto the surface. Inside the pot were found coins, laid one on top of the other. There were ornaments lying on top of the coins: 4 three-armed curved strings of beads, made of gilded silver, and two silver earrings with traces of gilding. According to the accounts of eyewitnesses, the pot in which the hoard was located had a capacity of about 2 liters; the walls of the vessel were about half a centimeter thick. The finder handed over part of the hoard to a neighbor woman, Ms. Czyżewska, who in turn gave several coins to hunters who were hunting in the vici-

nity. The hunters informed the District Museum in Białystok of the discovery.¹

Until recently, 29 dirhams from this hoard were on deposit in the State Archeological Museum of Warsaw; at present, they are being kept in the Łomża Regional Museum. The State Archeological Museum has come into the possession, however, of four additional dirhams that are doubtless a part of this find.² According to some accounts, the hoard contained yet other dirhams, which are said to have been on exhibit at the Białystok Regional Museum;³ however, according to information obtained from the latter, the Museum presently does not possess any coins from this hoard.⁴

The dirhams from the hoard in question were transferred, not long after their discovery, to the Department of Oriental Sources and Numismatics of the Jagiellonian University's Institute of Oriental Philology in Cracow, where they were preliminarily identified, after which they were put on display at an exhibition organized in Italy.

The catalogue portion of the present study is based on the coin description system used by the present author in the previous issue of *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne*.⁵

¹ This information was obtained from Ms. Sylwia Małachowska of the State Archeological Museum (PMA), who conducted interviews regarding the circumstances under which the hoard was discovered. Some details associated with this were found in the article recently published by this author on the silver ornaments from Góra Strękowa; see S. Małachowska, „Srebrne ozdoby z wczesnośredniowiecznego skarbu z Góry Strękowej, gm. Zawady, woj. łomżyńskie (Silver Ornaments from the Early Medieval Hoard in Góra Strękowa, Zawady Commune, Łomża Voiv.)”, *Wiadomości Archeologiczne* Vol. III, Part 1 (Warsaw 1993–1994), pp. 35–45.

² These coins were acquired by Dr. Borys Paszkiewicz from a private owner. At this point I would like to express my considerable gratitude to three employees of the State Archeological Museum: Mrs Kunka Szubert for making the coins available for study; Mr. Andrzej Ring for making the photographs; and Ms. Sylwia Małachowska for providing detailed information on the circumstances surrounding the discovery of the hoard.

³ Verbal information received from Prof. Stanisław Suchodolski of the Institute of Archeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, and from Dr. Jerzy Piniński of the Łódź Museum of Archeology and Ethnology. One may thus venture the statement that the hoard certainly included more coins than those described in the present article.

⁴ Letter of November 9, 1993, from the Białystok Regional Museum. There are grounds to suppose that this may involve dirhams that were deposited at this museum for the duration of the exhibition. According to Dr. Paszkiewicz, these would be the specimens later purchased by the State Archeological Museum.

⁵ A. Bartczak, „Dirhams in the Collection of the Auxiliary Science and Archive Department, Institute of History, Jagiellonian University”, *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne* 2 (Cracow 1997), pp. 166 and 168.

ABBREVIATIONS

AD = Anno Domini

AH = Anno Hegirae

do. = ditto

Inv.no. = Inventory number

Obv. = obverse

Rev. = reverse

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Tiesenhausen = O samanidskikh monetakh. *Zapiski Imperatorskago Arkheologičeskago Obščestva*, t. 6, Sanktpeterburg 1853.

von Zambaur = E. von Zambaur, *Die Münzprägungen des Islams*, Wiesbaden 1968.

COMMENTARY

Although the hoard in question does not contain any particularly rare emissions, attention should nevertheless be drawn both to certain aspects of the dirhams in the hoard and to the Oriental part of the find as a whole.

Almost all the coins could be identified in terms of chronology with a very high degree of certainty, thanks to the annual dates preserved on the coins, given according to the Moslem era. One of the coins was struck

before AD 893, while data was obtained that enabled another to be dated to the 7th century AD. The chronology of four coins in the find proved to be impossible to determine precisely. The oldest specimen in the hoard is a dirham of the 'Abbāsīd Caliph al-Manṣūr, struck in 147 AH = AD 764/65 in the mint of al-Kūfah, while the youngest are 2 Sāmānīd dirhams of emir Ismā'īl ibn Aḥmad, struck in the Samarqand mint in 287 AH = AD 900. Thus the span between the oldest and the youngest coins in the deposit is 136 years. For purposes of comparison, the corresponding spans in the case of the finds from Klukowicze, Czechów, and Drohiczyn count to 162,⁶ 171,⁷ and 181 years⁸ respectively. Among the precisely datable coins, the most numerous group (18 specimens) consists of those whose chronology falls within the 890s AD. Two specimens each come from the 760s, 860s, and 900s, while one specimen each is datable to the 780s, 800s, and 810s.

As for the structure of the Oriental part of the hoard, two quantitatively almost equal parts should be distinguished here, comprising dirhams from the Sāmānīd and 'Abbāsīd dynasties, along with two small additions, consisting of dirhams from the Ṣaffārid dynasty and imitation dirhams. A slight edge here is held by the Sāmānīd dirhams, 15 of which are found in this hoard. The 'Abbāsīd dirhams are nearly as numerous, with 12 specimens. The rest consist of emissions from the Ṣaffārid dynasty (2 specimens) and imitations (3 specimens). It proved impossible to specify the dynastic affiliation of one coin.

The group of Sāmānīd dirhams in the Góra Strękowa hoard is very unified in chronological terms, in that they come from the emissions of only one ruler: Ismā'īl ibn Aḥmad. The next group in numerical terms are the dirhams of an 'Abbāsīd ruler, al-Mu'taḍid billāh (3 specimens). Two specimens each belong to the emissions of other rulers from this dynasty, al-Manṣūr and al-Ma'mūn, as well as the Ṣaffārid 'Amr ibn al-Layṭ. The coinage of other 'Abbāsīd Caliphs, i.e. Hārūn ar-Rašīd, Al-Musta'īn billāh and al-Mu'tazz billāh, is represented by one coin each. In six cases it proved impossible to ascribe a given dirham to a particular ruler.

An analysis of the dirhams in terms of the place where they were struck

⁶ Klukowicze, p. 386.

⁷ Czechów, p. 234.

⁸ See the remarks on this subject in *Drohiczyn*, p. 147.

indicated that emissions from Transoxanian mints make up a definite majority. The name of the Samarqand mint can be seen on 9 Sāmānid dirhams, and on one ʿAbbāsīd dirham as well, in the form *Madīnat Samarqand*. This last coin is also the oldest struck in a Transoxanian mint. The second important Transoxanian mint is *aš-Šāš*, where six of the Sāmānid dirhams in the hoard were struck, and two of the ʿAbbāsīd coins. This fact is incontrovertible evidence for the growing role of the mintage of this region for the economy of the Caliphate, especially for commercial contacts with the territories through which the trade routes led to Eastern, Northern, and Central Europe. This is likewise an illustration of the tendency which was soon expressed in the clear-cut dominance achieved by Transoxanian emissions in the composition of deposits found in areas along the Baltic Sea and the adjacent territories. While initially this phenomenon affected the official emissions of the Caliphate, and later the lesser dependent dynasties, it reached its apogee when huge quantities of Sāmānid coins began to flow into these same areas. The remaining provinces of the Moslem empire represented in the hoard are Iraq and Iran. Five and four dirhams respectively emitted in the mints of these regions of the Caliphate are found in the Góra Strękowa deposit, and these are also the oldest coins in the find. As for the Iraqi mints, 3 coins were struck in the capital city of *Madīnat as-Salām* (i.e. Baghdad), and 1 in the city of *al-Kūfah*, lying to the south. One specimen comes from the mint in the city of *Surra man raʿā*, located to the north of Baghdad. The Iranian mints whose names can be seen in the dirhams from this hoard are Arraḡān (2 specimens), al-Muḥammadiyyah, and Iṣbahān (one specimen each). On a total of 7 specimens, on the other hand, the name of the place where the coin was struck is missing, as are other elements which would make it possible to determine the mint in which they were struck.

In typological terms, the dirhams in the Góra Strękowa find constitute quite representative material for the emissions of the Caliphate's mints in the period during which they were struck. The legends that appear on them and their arrangement are typical inscriptions containing religious formulae, supplemented with information on the ruler, date, and place where the coin was struck, and in some cases with other inscriptions as well, making it possible to reach more precise conclusions regarding the circumstances under which these coins were struck. The legend in the obverse

field on 28 specimens occurs in variant Ia, while on 5 it is so obliterated that this information cannot be established. Greater differentiation is exhibited by the reverses, which occur in variant IIa1 on 3 specimens; IIa3 on one specimen, IIb1 on 14 specimens, IIb2 on 10 specimens, and IIa1 or IIb2 on one.⁹ In addition, there is a legend on one dirham that is typical for certain 'Abbāsīd emissions.¹⁰ The circular legends on both the obverse and reverse are also standard.¹¹

Among the more interesting 'Abbāsīd coins in the hoard is the dirham of Hārūn ar-Rašīd (no. 3), emitted in *Al-Muḥammadiyyah* in 172 AH. The name of the governor of this city, Yaḥyā ibn Ḥālīd, located above the kalimah of the reverse, is a testimony to the significant political role of the Barmakid dynasty from which this eminent personality was descended. Other specimens struck in the reign of al-Musta'īn billāh (no. 6) and al-Mu'tazz billāh (no. 7) come from a period when the Caliphate was rocked by unrest, and there were frequent changes of ruler on the throne.¹² The dirhams of al-Mu'taḍid billāh, on the other hand, are not distinguished by anything in particular, nor are the emissions of the Ṣaffarīd rulers.

The legends of the Sāmānīd dirhams do not show any deviations from the norm. On one of the coins (no. 20), struck in 283 AH in aš-Šāš, an additional inscription, (**بنكث**), can be seen on the obverse under the kalimah. On the reverse, in the field under the name of the Caliph (**المعتضد بالله**), we find the name of the emir. On the earlier coins this still has the form **اسماعيل**, but on the later (in the material from Góra Strękowa, after 283 AH), it is already **اسماعيل بن احمد**.

Among the imitations in the hoard an example was found modeled on an 'Abbāsīd dirham (no. 30). The legends on this coin contain errors and omissions, and moreover show signs of carelessness in executing certain elements, such as the rings. Yet another specimen (no. 31) had legends that are only an imitation of Kufi legends. A third coin, however, is an example of an utterly primitive imitation, having only a ring and a point

⁹ The systematics of the arrangement of legends and shapes is given according to the inventory series of the Swedish finds; cf., for example, *CNS* 1977, pp. xviii–xix.

¹⁰ *Drohiczyn*, p. 94, nos. 224–228.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹² E. von Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam*, (Hanover 1927), p. 4, note 9; *Drohiczyn*, p. 144.

in the center of the field on one of the sides. This justifies the presumption that its model was also a dirham.

The Oriental portion of the Góra Strękowa hoard consists exclusively of whole coins, in which respect it is reminiscent of the deposit from Klucowicze. Some of the specimens show traces of clipping around the edges. The weights of the coins found in the hoard (in grams) fall within the following ranges:

above 4.3	1
3.19 – 3.1	6
3.09 – 3	3
2.99 – 2.92	8
2.69 – 2.6	1
2.59 – 2.5	1
2.45 – 2.42	2
2.29 – 2.20	1
1.89 – 1.8	1

As can be seen, the majority of the specimens have weights approximating the regulation weight of 2.97 g. Several even have a weight exceeding this value. Whereas certain 'Abbāsīd dirhams, especially the earlier ones, have a tendency to attain a weight somewhat lower than regulation, the majority of the Sāmānīd dirhams fit within the upper limits of their weight classes.¹³ The material from this deposit was too scanty to allow for confirmation of the observation made during studies on the Klukowicze hoard, that the fluctuations in the weight of the coins, both up and down, may have been associated with the fact that they were emitted in the mints of Transoxiana, which would serve to explain the not overly precise production of these dirhams.¹⁴ For the same reasons, it is also hard to say anything definite about the weight of the several imitations from the Góra Strękowa hoard, since the opinion about their greater weight is not confirmed here, as is the case with the coins from the Klukowicze deposit.¹⁵ To a certain extent this can be explained by

¹³ This phenomenon was also observed when the dirhams from the Klukowicze hoard were analyzed; see *Klukowicze*, p. 385.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

the trimming of the edges previously mentioned. The disk diameters of the coins in the former hoard also exhibit a certain fluctuation, falling within the range from 23.5 to 28.3 mm. These disks are as a rule smaller in the case of the older coins, and larger in the case of the younger coins.

A certain differentiation can be observed in reference to the state of preservation of the dirhams from Góra Strękowa. The Sāmānid specimens are in better condition, while some of the ʿAbbāsīd specimens and the imitations show obvious signs of wear. This is doubtless associated with their usage in circulation, less intensive in the former case, and more intensive in the latter. Moreover, the dirham of al-Muʿtazz billāh has an opening from reverse to obverse. The majority of the Sāmānid coins must have been removed from circulation in Transoxiana at a fairly early date, and then exported beyond the borders of the Caliphate. Małachowska has also pointed out in her work the excellent state of preservation of the ornaments from the hoard in question, suggesting that the latter were used only briefly and rather quickly deposited.¹⁶ It is difficult, too, to reach a univocal judgment as to whether the wear and damage on some of the coins were caused by more intensive use in circulation while the coins were still in the Caliphate, or only later, in the areas where they were ultimately deposited. In particular cases we may be dealing with deficiencies in the course of producing the dirhams.¹⁷ The good state of preservation of certain parts of the legend on a given coin, while others are ruined (the effect of "letters running together") may also have resulted from the use of dies that were already worn out.

The coins in the deposit may have been a fragment of a larger hoard which arrived in eastern Poland and the adjacent territory. Here above all one thinks of the Klukowicze hoard, of which the Góra Strękowa hoard seems to a certain extent to be a reproduction. Among the most essential points of correspondence should be mentioned their dating, the terrain where they were deposited, the possibility that they are associated with the same trade routes, the similarity of structure, and the fact that they are composed exclusively of whole coins. Both assemblages

¹⁶ Małachowska, p. 41.

¹⁷ This phenomenon was observed by A. Kmietowicz, among others, on the rich material in the Kufi hoards she worked up.

also have the characteristic features of the so-called “merchant’s hoards,” though in the case of the Góra Strękowa find there are other interpretive possibilities as well.¹⁸ The datable coins from the Klukowicze hoard come from 289 AH–AD 901/2,¹⁹ and they were struck in Samarqand and aš-Šāš. The core of both finds consists of the Sāmānīd coins, with which coins of other dynasties, especially the ʿAbbāsids, are mixed. All the Caliphs from this last dynasty represented in the deposit from Góra Strękowa find their representation in the Klukowicze hoard as well.

A coincidence in dating is also noticeable in the Šaffārid emissions discovered in both hoards. In the Klukowicze find, the coins of this dynasty fall in the interval from 273 to 287 AH (= AD 886/7–900). There are no emissions, on the other hand, coming from the same year and mint, since the Šaffārid dirhams from the Klukowicze deposit, struck in Arraġān, come from 280, 285, and 287 AH. The dirham struck in Širāz, on the other hand, comes from 282 AH.²⁰ The legends on the Šaffārid dirhams from Góra Strękowa belong to the most commonly encountered type.²¹

In the light of the differences between the two hoards under comparison here, the question of the circumstances under which the Góra Strękowa hoard was assembled seems to be more complicated. The most essential difference between the Klukowicze and Góra Strękowa hoards – apart from their dimensions, of course – is the presence of ornaments in the Góra Strękowa hoard. While it cannot be precluded that all the components of the hoard may have been assembled on the markets of Kievan Rus',²² it seems equally probable that these components were assembled in northeast Poland or the neighboring territory shortly before the ensemble was hidden. It is well known, after all, that trade routes ran through this area, associated with the water route along the Dnieper, Prypyat', Mukhavets, and Bug rivers. Other finds, in addition to those already men-

¹⁸ *Klukowicze*, p. 4; Małachowska, p. 44. In both cases, the accounts on the circumstances surrounding the discovery of the hoards speak of the coins being stacked, which brings to mind the customs practiced by the merchants of those days. In reference to Góra Strękowa the author does not preclude that this may have been a deposit by a local magnate, or that the objects found in the assemblage may have been loot that was stolen and then buried.

¹⁹ *Klukowicze*, pp. 260–79, 367.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 73–74, 76–77, 387.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 389.

²² Małachowska, pp. 43–44.

tioned, have also been noted in this vicinity, of various dates, containing Arab dirhams, such as the hoards from Drohiczyn, Czechów (cf. Map 2), and Antopol.²³ It is also likely that certain finds from Belarus' may exhibit similar chronology and structure (e.g. the thus-far-unpublished hoard from Pogorelščina²⁴). The attempt to date the whole find on the basis of the ornaments is in turn highly controversial, since the occurrence of such ornaments may be noted on a rather large territory throughout a long period of time. One cannot agree, then, with Małachowska, who dates the ornaments from Góra Strękowa to the latter half of the tenth century,²⁵ to the effect that the moment when the whole deposit was hidden corresponds to a date no later than the mid-point or latter half of the century.²⁶ So late a dating for the entire find is difficult to accept in the light of the structure of the Oriental part of the assemblage (including primarily the absence of later Sāmānid coins and the admixture of other lesser Transoxanian dynasties) and the previously mentioned good state of preservation of the early Sāmānid dirhams. This would argue rather for shifting the moment of deposition to the turn of the second decade of the tenth century, pointing simultaneously to the necessity to verify the chronology of certain types of ornaments.

Translated by BRUCE MAC QUEEN

ANDRZEJ BARTCZAK

Dirhamy arabskie ze skarbu z Góry Strękowej

Skarb został wyorany jesienią 1984 r. w garnku glinianym, który rozbił się przy wyjmowaniu go na powierzchnię. Wewnątrz garnka znajdowały się monety ułożone jedna na drugiej. Na monetach leżały ozdoby – 4 paciorki łukowate trójamienne wyko-

²³ W. Kubiak, „Skarb monet kufickich z Antopola na Polesiu a szlak wodny prypecko-bużański”, in *Vznik a počátky Slovanů*, vol. 2 (Prague), pp. 225–232.

²⁴ The hoard was worked up by M. Czapkiewicz from the Department of Oriental Sources and Numismatics at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, and by V. N. Ryabcevič of the University of Minsk.

²⁵ Małachowska, p. 40.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

nane ze złoczonego srebra oraz 2 zausznice srebrne ze śladami złocenia. Garnek, w którym znajdował się skarb, miał pojemność ok. 2 litrów, ścianki naczynia były grubości ok. 0,5 cm. Do niedawna 29 dirhamów ze skarbu znajdowało się w depozycie w Państwowym Muzeum Archeologicznym w Warszawie, a w chwili obecnej są one przechowywane w Muzeum Okręgowym w Łomży. Państwowe Muzeum Archeologiczne natomiast weszło w posiadanie 4 dalszych dirhamów będących niewątpliwie częścią tego znaleziska. Według niektórych relacji skarb zawierał jeszcze inne dirhamy, które miały być przez jakiś czas eksponowane w Muzeum Okręgowym w Białymstoku. Dirhamy omawianego skarbu niedługo po odkryciu przekazane zostały do Pracowni Źródeł Orientalnych i Numizmatyki Instytutu Filologii Orientalnej Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w Krakowie, gdzie zostały wstępnie oznaczone, po czym trafiły na wystawę, którą zorganizowano we Włoszech.

Jedną z monet wybito przed 893 AD, inną w VII w. ery chrześcijańskiej. Chronologia 4 monet znaleziska okazała się nie do ustalenia. Najstarszym egzemplarzem jest dirham kalifa ʿabbāsydzkiego al-Manšūra, wybity w 147 AH = 764/65 AD w mennicy al-Kūfa, natomiast najmłodszymi są 2 dirhamy sāmānidzkiego amīra Ismāʿīla ibn Aḥmada, wybite w mennicy Samarqand w 287 AH = 900 AD. Rozpiętość między najstarszą a najmłodszymi monetami depozytu wynosi 136 lat. Wśród monet dokładnie datowanych najliczniejsza grupa (18 egzemplarzy) to monety wyemitowane w latach 890. ery chrześcijańskiej. Po 2 egzemplarze przypadają na lata 760., 860. i 900., natomiast na lata 780., 800. i 810. przypada po 1 dirhamie.

Zespół dirhamów składa się z dwóch prawie równych ilościowo komponent w postaci emisji Sāmānidów oraz ʿAbbāsydów i dwóch niewielkich domieszek, które stanowią dirhamy dynastii Šaffārydów i dirhamy naśladowcze. Dominują tu dirhamy sāmānidzkie (15 egz.) oraz dirhamy ʿAbbāsydów (12 egz.). Na pozostałą część składają się emisje dynastii Šaffārydów (2 egz.) oraz naśladownictwa (3 egz.) oraz 1 moneta o nieokreślonej przynależności dynastycznej. Dirhamy sāmānidzkie są emisjami jednego władcy, Ismāʿīla ibn Aḥmad. Inni władcy reprezentowani w skarbie to ʿAbbāsydzi al-Muʿtaḍid billāh, al-Manšūr, al-Maʾmūn, Hārūn ar-Rašīd, al-Mustaʿīn billāh, al-Muʿtazz billāh oraz Šaffāryda ʿAmr ibn al-Layt.

W skarbie dominują emisje mennic transoksańskich (*Samarqand, Madīnat Samarqand, aš-Šāš*). Inne prowincje imperium muzułmańskiego, reprezentowane w skarbie to ʿIrāq (*Madīnat as-Salām, al-Kūfa, Surra man raʿā*) i Iran (*Arraḡān, al-Muḥammadiyya, Iṣbahān*).

Do ciekawszych monet ʿabbāsyzkich w skarbie należą dirhamy: Hārūna ar-Rašīda (nr 3), wyemitowany w *al-Muḥammadiyya* w 172 AH z imieniem zarządcy tego miasta, Yahyi ibn Hālid nad kalimą rewersu; al-Mustaʿīna billāh (nr 6) i al-Muʿtazza billāh (nr 7).

Wśród naśladownictw w skarbie znalazł się egzemplarz, którego pierwowzorem był dirham ʿabbāsydzki (nr 30). Inny okaz (nr 31) z kolei posiada legendy będące jedynie imitacją legend kufickich. Trzeci natomiast to naśladownictwo zupełnie prymitywne, posiadające jedynie podwójne obwódki liniowe oraz punkt w środku pola na jednej ze stron.

Stan zachowania dirhamów z Góry Strękowej jest najlepszy w odniesieniu do egzemplarzy sāmānidzkich. Część egzemplarzy ʿabbāsydzkich oraz naśladownictw nosi natomiast wyraźne ślady zatarcia. Może to być związane z ich mniej (w przypadku pierwszych) lub bardziej (w przypadku pozostałych) intensywnym użytkowaniem w obiegu. Dirham al-Muʿtazza billah posiada otwór przechodzący z rewersu na awers. Większość monet sāmānidzkich musiała zostać dosyć wcześnie ściągnięta z obiegu na terenie Transoksanii i wyeksportowana poza granice Kalifatu. Bardzo dobry stan zachowania, również i ozdób z omawianego znaleziska, podkreśla w swoim opracowaniu S. Małachowska sugerując, że były one krótko używane i dość szybko zdeponowane.

Monety depozytu mogą być fragmentem większego skarbu, który dostał się na tereny wschodniej Polski i ziemie z nimi sąsiadujące. Tutaj przede wszystkim nasuwa się skojarzenie ze skarbem z Klukowicz. Najistotniejsze punkty zbieżne obu zespołów to datowanie, tereny zdeponowania, możliwość powiązania z tymi samymi szlakami handlowymi, podobieństwo struktur oraz fakt, że tworzą je wyłącznie monety całe. Obydwa zespoły posiadają również cechy charakterystyczne dla tzw. skarbów kupieckich, chociaż w przypadku znaleziska z Góry Strękowej mogłyby wchodzić w grę także i inne możliwości interpretacji. Datujące monety skarbu z Klukowicz pochodzą z 289 AH = 901/2 AD, a wybito je w Samarqand i w aš-Šāš. Trzonem obu znalezisk są monety Sāmānidów, natomiast domieszki stanowią monety innych dynastii, zwłaszcza ʿAbbāsydów. Wszyscy kalifowie z tej ostatniej dynastii reprezentowani w depozycie z Góry Strękowej mają swoją reprezentację także i w zespole z Klukowicz.

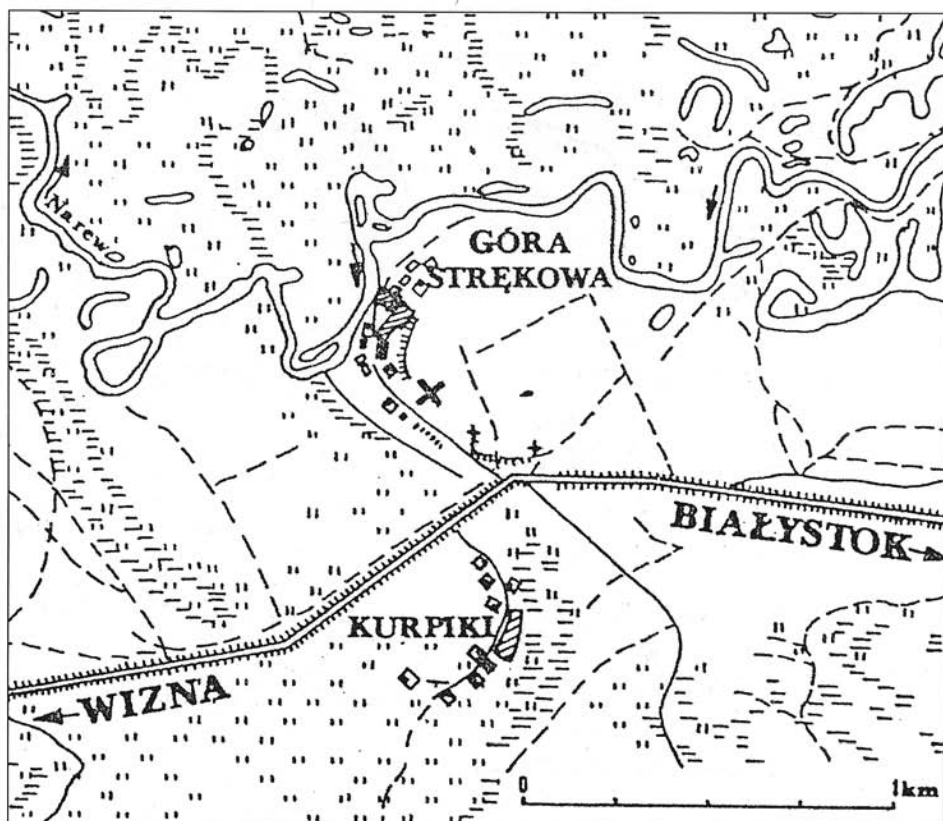
Nie można wykluczyć możliwości połączenia wszystkich składników skarbu na rynkach Rusi Kijowskiej, ale prawdopodobne wydaje się również połączenie tych komponent na obszarach północno-wschodniej Polski lub na terenach sąsiednich na krótko przed ukryciem zespołu. Kontrowersyjna jest próba datowania całego znaleziska w oparciu o ozdoby, których występowanie może być odnotowane na dość dużym terytorium w ciągu długiego okresu czasu. Nie można więc zgodzić się z Małachowską, datującą ozdoby z Góry Strękowej na 2 połowę X w. co do tego, że moment ukrycia całego depozytu nastąpił dopiero około połowy lub w 2 połowie tego stulecia. Tak późne datowanie całego znaleziska jest trudne do zaakceptowania w świetle struktury części orientalnej zespołu.

LIST OF COINS

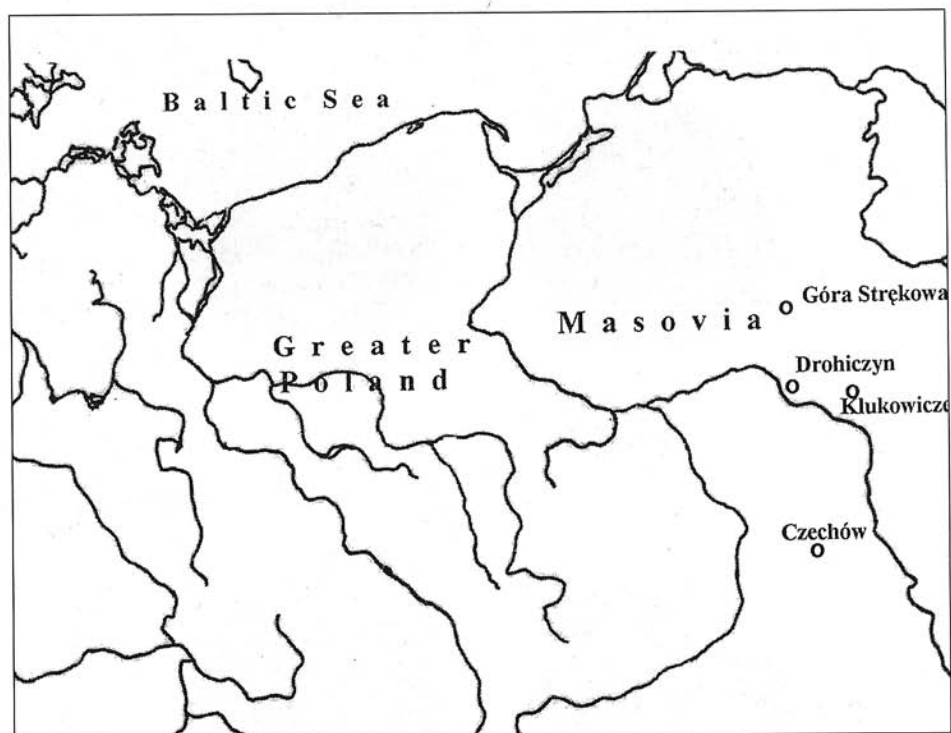
No.	Mint	Date AH=AD	Weight(g) φ (mm) Die axis(°)	References; Remarks; Additional inscriptions; <i>Secondary individual data</i>
1	2	3	4	5
ʿABBĀSID				
[al-Manṣūr] 136 - 158 AH= 754 - 774 AD				
1	al-Kūfah	147=764/65	2,859 24,8 90	Inv. no. Łomża 4. Obv: as <i>Drohiczyn</i> , p. 19, no. 32 but another mint name. Rev: as above but no ۞ beneath kalimah.
2	Madīnat as-Salām	149=766/67	2,420 24,8 30	Inv. Łomża 22. Obv: as <i>Czechów</i> , p. 33, no. 43. Rev: as above but ۞ ۞ beneath kalimah.
[Hārūn ar-Rašīd] 170 - 193 AH= 786 - 809 AD				
3	al-Muḥammadiyyah	172=788/89	2,670 25,5 30	Inv. no. Łomża 17. <i>Miles</i> , p. 55, no. 72E and <i>CNS</i> 1977 p. 239, no. 485.
al-Ma'mūn 198 - 218 AH= 813 - 833 AD				
4	Madīnat Samarqand	195=810/11	2,450 26 30	Inv. no. PMA 6. As <i>Czechów</i> , p. 108, no. 330.
5	Madīnat Iṣbahān	197=812/13	2,920 25,2 90	Inv. no. Łomża 24. <i>Nützel</i> , p. 196, nos. 1321-24 but dots on Obv. as no. 1319; <i>Czechów</i> , p. 110-12, nos. 336, 340.
al-Mus[taʿīn billāh] 248 - 251 AH= 862 - 866 AD				
6	aš-Šāš	2[5]1?=865/66	4,320 24,9 30	Inv. no. Łomża 2. Obv: as <i>Czechów</i> , p. 152 no. 517?; partly obliterated. Rev: almost completely obliterated; rings as <i>Czechów</i> , p. 151, no. 511; <i>CNS</i> 1975, p. 117, no. 21, p. 126, nos. 274 - 275.
[al-Muʿtazz billāh? 251? - 55 AH= 866 - 869 AD				
7	?	[251 - 55]= 866 - 869	3,190 26,1 0	Inv. Łomża 10. Obv: completely obliterated. Rev: part of caliph's name; trace of a ring; almost completely obliterated. <i>A hole from Rev. to Obv.; slightly bent.</i>
al-Muʿtadīd billāh 279 - 289 AH= 892 - 901 AD				
8	Madīnat as-Salām	280=893/94	2,570 25,4 180	Inv. no. Łomża 15. <i>Nützel</i> , p. 245, no. 1592; <i>CNS</i> 1982, p. 234, no. 17.
9	Surra man.ra'ā	283=896/97	3,110 25,3 180	Inv. no. Łomża 29. As <i>Nützel</i> , p. 245-46, no. 1587 and <i>CNS</i> 1977, p. 161, no. 25 but another dates.

1	2	3	4	5
10	Madīnat as-Salām	[28]4=897/98	2,920 25,2 150	Inv. no. Łomża 9. As <i>Nützel</i> , p. 247, no. 1597; <i>CNS 1977</i> , p. 281, no. 2143; <i>Drohiczyn</i> , p. 64, no. 108.
Indeterminable caliph				
11	aš-Šāš	2[79]-2[80]? = 892/93-893/94	3,103 26,1 90	Inv. no. Łomża 3. Attributed on type and on epigraphical grounds; <i>von Zambaur</i> , p. 156. Obv.: legends partly obliterated. Rev: part of kalimah II b 1.
12	?	3rd century of hiġra?	3,090 26,5 ?	Inv. no. Łomża 25. Attributed on type grounds. Obv.: completely obliterated. Rev.: traces of kalimah II b 1.
ŠAFFĀRID				
ʿAmr ibn al-Layṭ 265 - 289 AH = 878/79 - 901/2 AD				
13	Arraġān	282=895/96	2,800 25,6 180	Inv. no. Łomża 1. <i>CNS 1977</i> , p. 288, no. 2405. Rings and legends partly obliterated.
14	Arraġān	282=895/96	3,070 26,1 45	Inv. no. Łomża 13. Type do. Rev.: marginal legends partly obliterated.
SĀMĀNID				
Ismāʿīl ibn Aḥmad 279 - 295 AH = 892 - 907 AD				
15	aš-Šāš	281=894/95	3,080 26,5 150	Inv. no. Łomża 12. Cf. <i>Tiesenhausen</i> , s. 89; Obv.: (!) احد ثمانين. Obv. and Rev.: obliterated or unstruck.
16	Samarqand	282=895/96	2,950 27-27,4 270	Inv. no. PMA 7. <i>Tiesenhausen</i> , p. 92, <i>Klukowicz</i> , p. 86-7, nos. 159-61. Obv. and Rev.: marginal legends partly obliterated or unstruck.
17	Samarqand	282=895/96	2,880 27,2 315	Inv. no. Łomża 16. Similar but different epigraphy.
18	aš-Šāš	282=895/96	3,100 25,8 315	Inv. no. Łomża 5. Cf. <i>Klukowicz</i> , p. 99-101, nos. 194-200. Date slightly obliterated.
19	aš-Šāš	282=895/96	2,950 26,4-27,3 270	Inv. no. PMA 8. As <i>Klukowicz</i> , p. 91-2, nos. 173-5.
20	aš-Šāš	283=896/97	2,930 28,3 45	Inv. no. Łomża 28. <i>Tiesenhausen</i> , p. 93, type 3; <i>Klukowicz</i> , p. 108, no. 220, p. 127. <i>Clipped around the edges</i> .
21	aš-Šāš	283=896/97	2,990 27,5 225	Inv. no. Łomża 7. <i>Tiesenhausen</i> , p. 93, type 2; <i>Klukowicz</i> , p. 110, no. 226?, p. 127.

1	2	3	4	5
22	aš-šās	283=896/97	2,920 27,8 0	Inv. no. Łomża 21. Type do? Obv. and Rev.: partly obliterated or unstruck.
23	Samarqand	284=897/98	2,830 27,8 0	Inv. no. Łomża 20. <i>Tiesenhausen</i> , p. 94; <i>Klukowicze</i> , p. 129, no. 292. <i>Clipped around the edges</i> .
24	Samarqand	284=897/98	2,870 27 90	Inv. no. Łomża 11. Type do.
25	Samarqand	284=897/98	2,890 26,5 270	Inv. no. Łomża 14. Type do.
26	Samarqand	285=898/99	2,880 27,1-27,4 270	Inv. no. PMA 9. As <i>Klukowicze</i> , p. 141-44, nos. 331-43. Rev.: amīr's name slightly obliterated, without ۞? Obv. and Rev.: marginal legends and rings partly obliterated.
27	Samarqand	287=900	2,920 26,9 270	Inv. no. Łomża 19. <i>Tiesenhausen</i> , p. 96; <i>Klukowicze</i> , p. 188-89, no. 480. Obv. and Rev.: marginal legends and rings partly obliterated or unstruck.
28	Samarqand	287=900	3,130 28,1 45	Inv. no. Łomża 26. Type do. Obv. and Rev. slightly obliterated or unstruck.
29	Samarqand	28x	2,860 27,5 45	Inv. no. Łomża 27. Type similar, date obliterated.
IMITATIONS				
ʿAbbāsīd prototype				
30	?	?	2,290 24,4 90	Inv. no. Łomża 23. Obv. and Rev.: pseudo-Kufi legends containing mistakes and omissions.
Indeterminable prototype				
31	?	?	1,800 23,5 300	Inv. no. Łomża 18. Obv. and Rev.: pseudo-Kufi legends.
32	?	?	2,830 24,9 ?	Inv. no. Łomża 8. Primitive imitation. Obv?: double ring; a dot in centre. Rev?: double ring.
INDETERMINABLE DYNASTY				
33	?	?	3,192 24,4 ?	Inv. no. Łomża 6. Obv: obliterated. Rev: part of a marginal legend; double ring; obliterated.



Map 1. Góra Strękowa, voivodeship of Łomża, showing the immediate vicinity with the place where the hoard was discovered (x); according from S. Małachowska, p. 35



Map 2. Certain finds in the area of Eastern Poland



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